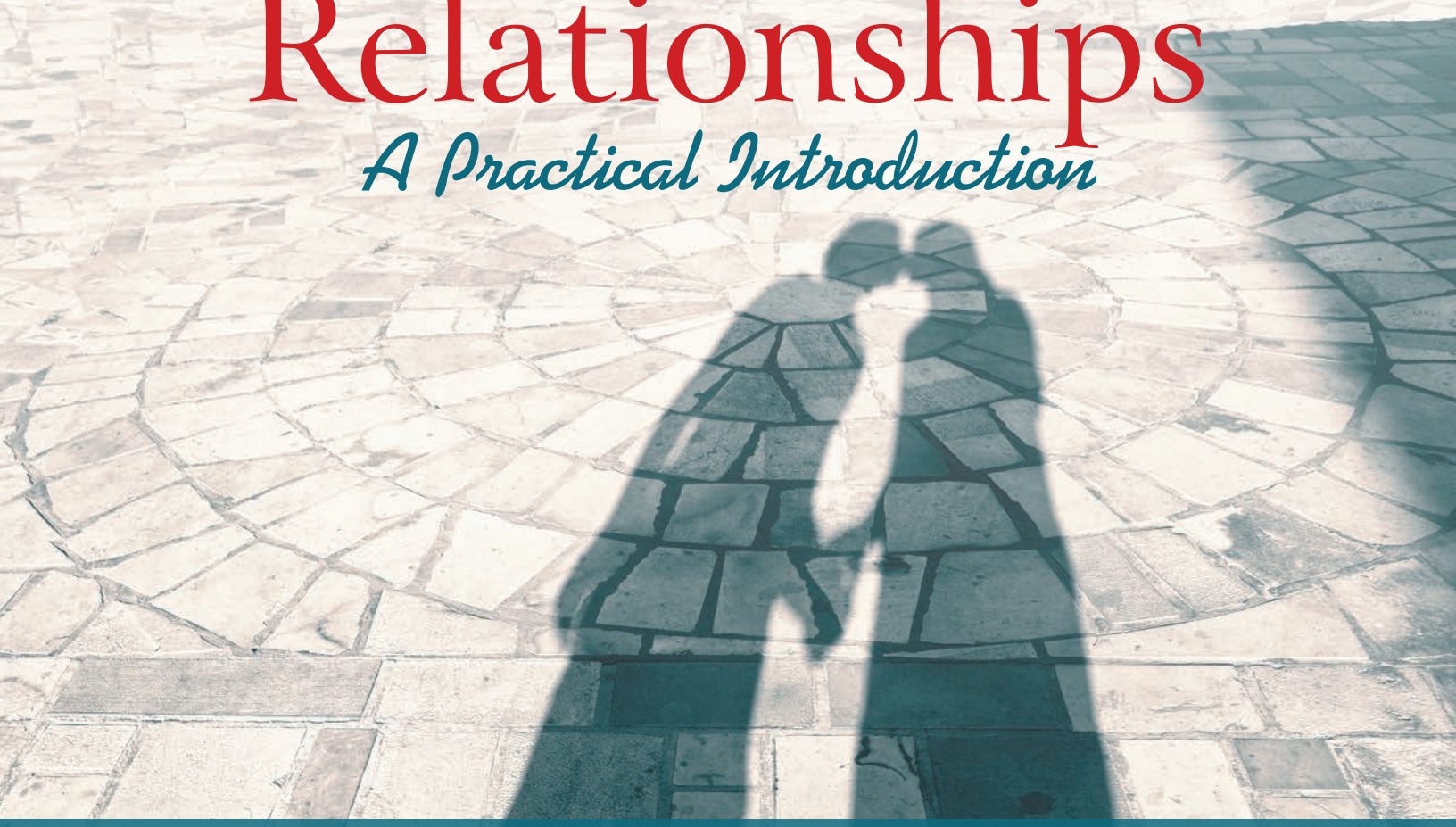
Fifth Edition

Marriages, Families, & Intimate Relationships

A Practical Introduction



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Marriages, Families, & Intimate Relationships

A Practical Introduction

Fifth Edition

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To the precious memory of my father and mother, Harry A. Williams and Gertrude S. Williams. Also dedicated to my children and their spouses and their children—Kirk, Julia, Nicolas, and Lily of Palo Alto and Sylvia, Scott, and Atticus of Oakland—who I hope can learn from this.

—B. K. W.

To Peter—my family for too short a time.

—S. C. S.

To my wife and best friend, Nancy J. Wahlstrom. Thank you for your love, support, and encouragement.

—C. M. W.

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Preface

Happiness: Can people still find it in intimate relationships in the complex world we now live in? With all the influences imposed on modern life and our expectations governed by an unpredictable economy, globalization, computerization, the all-pervasive media, and so on, are there lessons we could pass along that would help our students negotiate the dangerous shoals and make lasting personal connections?

Marriages, Families, & Intimate Relationships: A Practical Introduction, Fifth Edition, discusses fundamental concepts and insights from across the social sciences. It also attempts to engage students with high-interest, useful information and to answer the questions that matter greatly to them. By blending our strengths—teaching, consulting, counseling, researching, writing, and publishing—we have tried to create a research-based, yet highly readable and practical text on intimacy, family, and personal happiness that appeals to today's distracted, visually oriented students.

A glance at the table of contents will show that the text covers the topics and principles that most instructors have come to expect: gender, love, marriage, sexuality, parenting, and so on. In addition, we cover issues that today's students need to know about: nonmarital families and households; the effect of work on intimate relationships; managing stresses, crises, and violence; and dealing with divorce and remarriage.

Beyond these, however, we believe our book has **four key features that make it unique**:

- An emphasis on practicality
- An emphasis on readability
- A student-centered approach to learning
- An emphasis on currentness and theory.

1. Major Theme & Features: Emphasis on Practicality

We want this book to be as **useful and meaningful as possible for students**. Accordingly, we cover not only basic concepts and the latest research but also offer a great deal of **practical advice**, of the kind students look for on the Internet and social networks, from their friends and teachers, and from newspapers and magazines. This advice is expressed not only in the main narrative but also in the following features:

- **Popular Culture, the Media, & Technology** chapter introductions **help students separate fact from myth** by showing examples of the often misleading messages we receive about intimate relationships from TV, popular music, the Internet, advertising, and the like. Examples: "The Varieties of Gender Stereotypes," "What Is This Thing Called Love?," "How Do We Learn about Sex?," and "Is Money the Measure of Love?"
- **Numbers That Matter** boxes provide **provocative statistics** that will **stimulate class discussion** and help students focus on important data about marriages, families, and relationships. Many of the statistics used point out significant variations by race, ethnicity, gender, social class, and age.
- **Practical Action** boxes, which usually appear at least once in every chapter, **offer concrete advice that students will find beneficial** in their personal and work lives. Examples: "Happiness: Is It within Your Grasp?," "Love on the Internet: Can You Find the Perfect Partner Online?," "Before Moving in Together: Setting Ground Rules for Understanding," and "Legal & Financial Considerations for Unmarried Couples, Straight or Gay."
- **Example Of** boxes use **real-world situations** to illustrate key points made in the text. Among them are "Example of an Expression of Romantic Love: The Kiss" and "Example of Being Childless in a Child-Oriented Society: A Woman's View, a Man's View."

2. Readability: Helping Students Retain Information

Research shows that textbooks **written in an imaginative and accessible style significantly improve students' ability to retain information**. We make use of **frequent headings** as signposts to help readers along, **numbered and bulleted lists**, and **advance organizers**. Besides presenting information in bite-size form, we have employed a number of journalistic devices—plenty of examples, colorful facts, short biographical sketches, apt direct quotes—to make the material as interesting as possible.

In addition, to help readers be clear on what important terms mean, we **print each key term in *italic boldface* AND its definition in boldface**. (We also offer pronunciation guides for some terms to help nonnative speakers.

3. Pedagogy: A Student-Centered Approach to Learning

The strategy of this text is to use a visually appealing, **magazine-like layout** that links design format with pedagogy **to help students read with purpose**. Accordingly, we have attempted **to arrange topics into constituent parts for easily manageable units of study**, chunking material into smaller, bite-size sections and making innovative use of boxes, photographs, and other graphics for reinforcement.

After a motivational chapter-opening discussion on Popular Culture, the Media, & Technology (which we hope will inspire lively class discussion), we proceed with the following pedagogical approach:

- **Learning Objectives** designed to be provocative, motivational, and **of high student interest** are given at the opening of each chapter and are repeated throughout at the beginning of each section. Examples of Learning Objectives: Identify and discuss four ways one might react to a deteriorating relationship and the factors involved in ending a relationship." "Discuss the positive and negative aspects of jealousy." "Identify and discuss good and bad reasons for getting married."
- **What's Ahead in This Chapter** provides an **overview of the material to come** in the chapter.
- **Preview** appears at the beginning of each section, following the learning objective, to give students a **brief overview** of the section they are about to read.
- **Critical-thinking questions** are **integrated throughout**, appearing in all photo captions, at the end of the "Example" boxes, and within the "Practical Action" boxes, to help encourage student involvement and class discussion.
- **Key Terms** defined within each chapter are repeated at the end of the chapter, along with page numbers for ready reference to the definitions.
- **Summaries & Reviews**, which include a repeat of the learning objectives, provide a useful reprise of the most important concepts, not merely a once-over-lightly review.
- **Internet Resources** listings offer website addresses that students can use to investigate chapter topics further. Example: In one chapter, we direct readers to the "Passionate Love" scale created by academics Elaine Hatfield and Susan Sprecher to help readers find out how they rate on passionate love, companionate love, and so on.

4. Emphasis on Currentness: What's New in the Fifth Edition

The most important change we have made to this edition is to **thoroughly update the citations to reflect recent research**. Thus, we have made a great effort to revise this edition to include new statistics that reflect the latest results of topical sources from **the years 2016 to 2018**. We have also referred to many new studies.

In previous editions, we said we wanted to make the point to students that in this course they can't approach the subject by simply relying on their general knowledge in an "I feel" way. Thus, we have presented a complete discussion of the eight principal sociological perspectives in Chapter 2. We then showed how to apply three of these perspectives—**structural-functional, conflict**, and **symbolic interaction**—to each of the remaining chapters, such as gender, sexuality, marriage, reproduction, parenting, work, and uncoupling. In addition, we have expanded coverage of gender identity, gender fluidity, and the concept of transgender in Chapter 3, "Gender," and Chapter 9, "Variations."

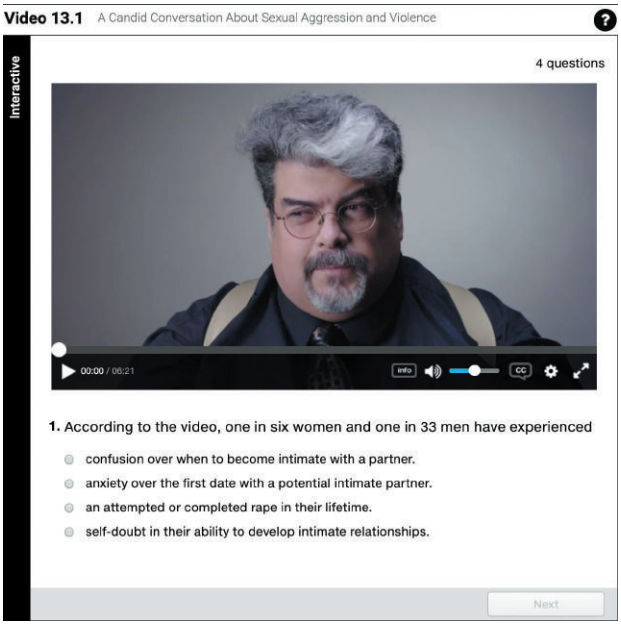
Finally, we have modified and made more prominent the 27 colorfully written mini-cases, examples, and short reports that we called "Up Close" so that they are now more visible and pedagogically useful examples. The purpose is to demonstrate the breadth of experience and human behavior encompassed by the study of marriage, family, and intimate relationships. Examples: "Cross Cultural Cross-Dressing Women," "The Fairy-Tale Wedding & the Wedding-Industrial Complex," "Virginity—A Cross-Cultural Look," "Transgender Children," "Variations in Communal Living," "Gender Roles—Who's in Charge of the Money?," "Sexual Assault on Campus," and "The Difficulties of Interracial Marriage."

Revel for Marriage, Families, & Intimate Relationships

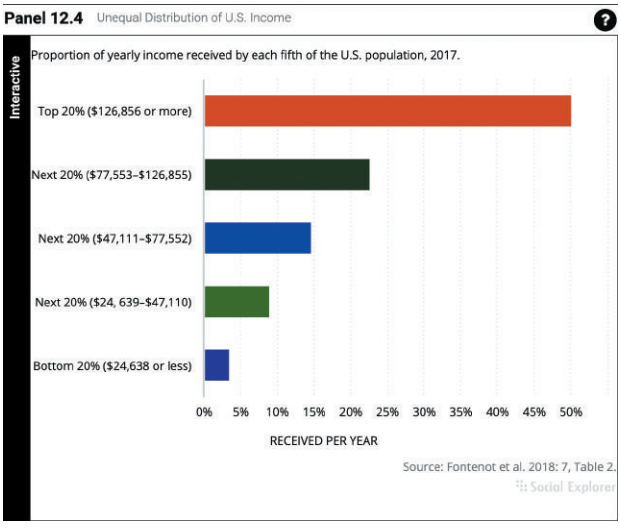
Revel offers a fully interactive digital experience that allows students to investigate and understand social problems while using various types of interactives and assessment. These activities are directly related to the author's narrative and enhance the learning experience.

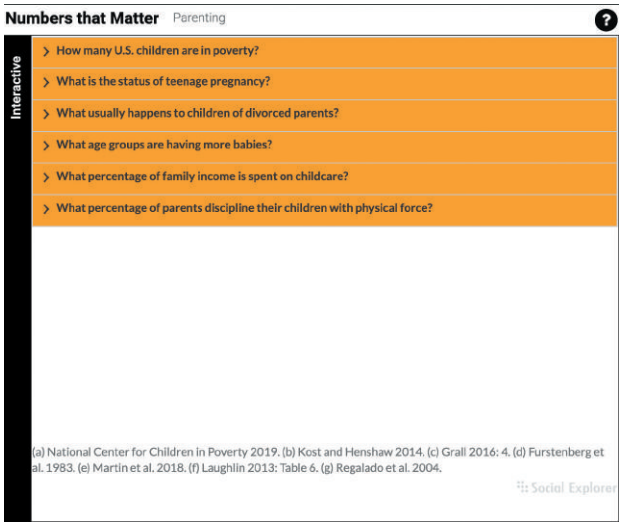
- The ***Pearson Original*** **docuseries videos** highlight stories that exemplify and humanize the concepts covered in Sociology courses. These videos illustrate a variety of social issues and current events, bringing key topics to life for students while creating opportunities to further develop their understanding of sociology.

Therefore, students not only connect with the people and stories on a personal level, but also view these stories and individuals with greater empathy all while contextualizing core course concepts. These videos are incorporated into the chapters and can also be easily accessed from the instructor's Resources folder within Revel.

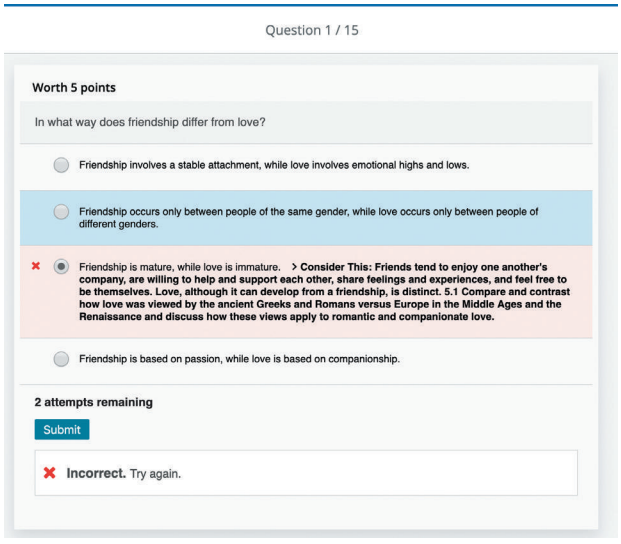


- **Interactive figures and tables** feature Social Explorer technology to show data in interactive graphs with rollover information to support the data and show movement over time. PowerPoint presentations with every Social Explorer Visualization can be accessed from the instructor's Resources folder within Revel.



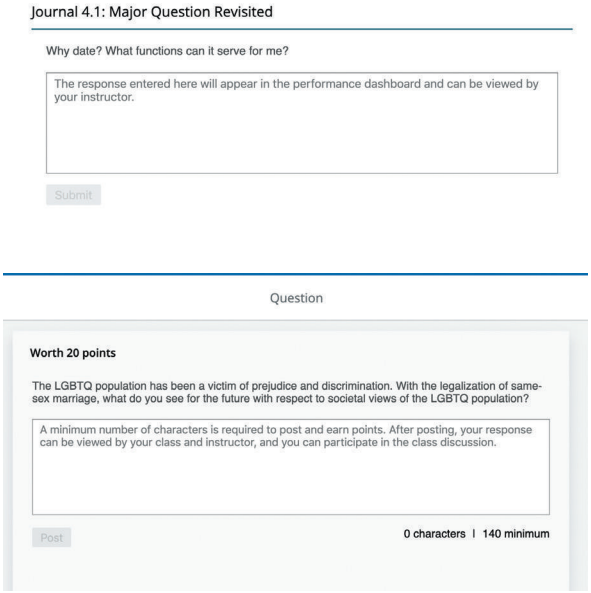


- Interactive **Review the Chapter** summaries utilize flashcards that feature key terms and definitions to allow students to review and reinforce the chapter's content.
- **Assessments**, which are tied to each chapter's major sections, allow instructors and students to track progress and get immediate feedback. It is the same with the full chapter tests.



- **Integrated Writing Opportunities** help students reason and write more clearly. Each chapter offers the following writing prompts:
  - **Journal prompts** invite students to reflect on a chapter's content and to consider how social problems affect their country, communities, and personal lives.

- **Shared writing** prompts invite students to sharpen their critical thinking skills while sharing their own views and responding to each other's thoughts and opinions. Students reflect on and consider issues related to the social problems highlighted in each chapter.
- **Essay prompts** are from Pearson's Writing Space, where instructors can assign both automatically graded and instructor-graded prompts. Writing Space is the best way to develop and assess concept mastery and critical thinking through writing. Writing Space provides a single place within Revel to create, track, and grade writing assignments, access writing resources, and exchange meaningful, personalized feedback quickly and easily to improve results. For students, Writing Space provides everything they need to keep up with writing assignments, access assignment guides and checklists, write or upload completed assignments, and receive grades and feedback—all in one convenient place. For educators, Writing Space makes assigning, receiving, and evaluating writing assignments easier. It's simple to create new assignments and upload relevant materials, see student progress, and receive alerts when students submit work. Writing Space makes student work more focused and effective with customized grading rubrics they can see and personalized feedback. Writing Space can also check students' work for improper citation or plagiarism by comparing it against the world's most accurate content comparison database available from Turnitin.



Supplements

Make more time for your students with instructor resources that offer effective learning assessments and classroom engagement. Pearson's partnership with educators does not end with the delivery of course materials; Pearson is there with you on the first day of class and beyond. A dedicated team of local Pearson representatives will work with you to not only choose course materials but also integrate them into your class and assess their effectiveness. Our goal is your goal—to improve instruction with each term.

Pearson is pleased to offer the following resources to qualified adopters of *Marriage, Families, & Intimate Relationships*. Several of these supplements are available to instantly download from Revel or on the Instructor Resource Center (IRC); please visit the IRC at **www.pearsonhighered.com/irc** to register for access.

- **TEST BANK** Evaluate learning at every level. Reviewed for clarity and accuracy, the Test Bank measures this material's learning objectives with multiple-choice and essay questions. You can easily customize the assessment to work in any major learning management system and to match what is covered in your course. Word, BlackBoard, and WebCT versions are available on the IRC, and Respondus versions are available on request from **www.respondus.com**.
- **PEARSON MYTEST** This powerful assessment generation program includes all of the questions in the Test Bank. Quizzes and exams can be easily authored and saved online, and then printed for classroom use, giving you ultimate flexibility to manage assessments anytime and anywhere. To learn more, visit **www.pearsonhighered.com/mytest**.
- **INSTRUCTOR'S RESOURCE MANUAL** Create a comprehensive roadmap for teaching classroom, online, or hybrid courses. Designed for new and experienced instructors, the Instructor's Resource Manual includes learning objectives, lecture and discussion suggestions, activities for in or out of class, research activities, participation activities, and suggested readings, series, and films as well as a Revel features section. Available within Revel and on the IRC.
- **POWERPOINTS** In order to support varied teaching styles while making it easy to incorporate dynamic Revel features in class, two sets of PowerPoint Presentations are available for this edition: (1) a set of accessible lecture PowerPoint slides outline each chapter. (2) An additional set of the lecture PowerPoint slides includes LiveSlides, which link to each Social Explorer data

visualization and interactive map within the Revel product. These presentations are available to adopters in electronic formats at the Instructor's Resource Center (**www.pearsonhighered.com/irc**) or in the Instructor's Resources Folder within the Revel product.

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Chapter 1

Seeking
Finding Happiness in Relationships in a Complex World

Learning Objectives

1.1 Discuss how love and relationships affect personal happiness.

1.2 Describe the components, types, and benefits of families.

1.3 Explain how the families of yesterday differed from our own.

1.4 Describe the great forces that influenced family life.

What's Ahead in This Chapter

All of us seek happiness, and that is the subject of the first section. We then consider the components of marriage and family. We describe the benefits of families and the economic and demographic trends that are changing today's families.

Popular Culture, the Media, & Technology

What Is It That We Seek?

"Sarah, my love for you is deathless. It seems to bind me with mighty cables that nothing but Omnipotence can break; and yet my love of country comes over me like a strong wind and bears me irresistibly with all those chains to the battlefield.

"The memories of the blissful moments I have spent with you come crowding over me, and I feel most gratified to God and to you that I have enjoyed them so long. And how hard it is for me to give them up and burn to ashes the hopes of future years, when, God willing, we might still have lived and loved together, and seen our boys grow up to honorable manhood around us.

"I know I have but few claims upon Divine Providence, but something whispers to me . . . that I shall return to my loved ones unharmed. If I do not, my dear Sarah, never forget how

much I love you, nor that when my last breath escapes me on the battlefield, it will whisper your name."

This tender, passionate letter to his wife was composed by Sullivan Ballou, a Union Army major from Rhode Island, a week before he was killed at the first battle of Bull Run on July 21, 1861, during the Civil War (Ballou 1861). The letter expresses qualities we all seem to seek: Love. Devotion. Loyalty. Happiness. Isn't that what intimacy, marriage, and family are all about? Isn't this what we wish for ourselves—and to give to another?

- **Vitalized versus devitalized marriages** We live in supposedly cynical times, but there are many marriages today in which the partners might express similar devotion to each other. Indeed, *in general* people who are married are happier than people who are single (Gower and Helliwell 2017). Presumably, such contented, even passionate couples would be those whose marriages, as some classic research involving over 15,000 couples found, could be described as "vitalized" (9% of cases), "harmonious" (8%), "balanced" (8%), or even "traditional" (10%) (Fowers et al. 1996; Lavee and Olson 1993; Olson and Fowers 1993).

  Unfortunately, they are almost overshadowed by the 14% of "conflicted" couples, 11% of "financially focused" but unhappy couples, and the huge 40% that fall into the lowest category—"devitalized"—which is characterized by "dissatisfaction with all dimensions of the marital relationship." The study is an assessment of nine dimensions of relationships: personality issues, communication, conflict resolution, leisure, parenthood, family and friends, religion, finances, and sexuality.
- **Why not study relationships as you would a career?** Perhaps, suggests David Olson, one of the researchers, so many marriages are mostly unhappy partly because society does little to help the institution of marriage (Olson, reported in Kochakian 1992). With their careers, for example, most people believe they should put time and money into the relevant education; however, they don't feel that about marriage.

  With that in mind, we are going to ask you to invest your time and energies in this text and this course with all the seriousness and attentiveness you would invest in preparing for a career.
- **What do popular culture, the mass media, and the internet tell us?** Our perceptions of love and family are affected not only by our own life experiences but also by *popular culture*, the *mass media*, and the *internet (including social media)*, as we discuss at the start of every chapter. Television, movies, music, magazines, Facebook, Instagram, Twitter, and most certainly advertising convey certain images, stereotypes, and myths, including these:

  - Somewhere there is a soul mate for each of us. This was believed by two-thirds of Americans in one survey (Monmouth University Polling Institute 2017).
  - If we love each other enough, we can overcome all problems.
  - A marriage partner should be everything: best friend, terrific sex partner, sympathetic confidante, and good provider.
  - A normal family is a close-knit unit consisting of a father, a mother, and children, plus close relatives.
  - Perfect families are "always there for us," providing love and solidarity, nurturing, and support.
  - The main source of social problems is family breakdown.

Belonging, unity, and continuity are strong human needs. What kind of relationships will fulfill our desires? That is the subject of this text.

Seeking Happiness through Love & Intimacy

1.1 Discuss how love and relationships affect personal happiness.

PREVIEW Many people think that they will be happy if they can find the right relationship. In fact, among the happiest people are those who are married. It's possible that you can manage your emotions for happiness just as you manage other things in your life. Happy couples have common strengths in at least five areas: they communicate well, they are flexible as a couple, they are emotionally close, they have compatible personalities, and they agree on how to handle conflict.

Happiness. It is enshrined in the American Declaration of Independence ("life, liberty, and the pursuit of . . . "), in the words of popular songs ("Happy" by Pharrell Williams), and in the titles of self-help books (*This Book Will Make You Happy*). Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) believed that happiness, as a form of excellence, was the supreme good, so much so that everything else was the means to its attainment. Philosopher-psychologist William James (1842–1910) thought happiness was so important that "how to gain, how to keep, how to recover happiness is in fact for most [people] at all times the secret motive of all they do" (quoted in Myers 1992: 19). Another psychologist, Abraham Maslow, proposed a hierarchy of five needs—physiological, safety, belongingness, esteem, and self-actualization—the last one representing self-fulfillment, the need to develop one's fullest potential.

And what is it—for the purposes of this text—about intimacy, marriage, and family that relates to happiness? According to the evidence, scholars say, one factor that matters a great deal in happiness is marriage (see, for instance, Grover and Helliwell 2017). Married people are happier than any other configuration of people, with 43% of married respondents in one survey reporting they were "very happy" compared with 22% of unmarried individuals (Pew Research Center 2006).

Let us see what the present facts show about love and happiness.

Happiness: Love versus Loneliness

The happiest people seem to spend the least time alone, instead surrounding themselves with friends and family. Loneliness, in fact, may be hazardous to one's health, having been found to be a major risk factor in increasing blood pressure, disturbing sleep, and raising the risk of suicide (Caccioppo and Patrick 2008; Cigna 2018).

However, in this respect, singles may be better off because some research shows that marriage actually reduces social ties, with less parental contact, including financial

HAPPINESS. Laughing, feeling good, feeling energetic—are these the qualities you associate with happiness? Would it take intimacy with another person to make you feel happy, to be "complete"? If you didn't have this, what else could make you happy?

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Ruslan Guzov/Shutterstock

and emotional support, being found among married offspring (Gerstel and Sarkisian 2007). Some people think of a close group of friends as their "chosen family."

Marriage & Well-Being

Among the happiest people are those who are married. According to University of Chicago sociologist Linda Waite (Waite and Gallagher 2001), surveys show that those who say they are "very happy" include:

- 40% of those married
- 24% of those living together
- 22% of those who have never married
- 18% of those previously married

A more recent Gallup poll survey (Carroll 2007) found that 65% of married adults said they were satisfied with their personal lives, while just 45% of unmarried adults said the same. When asked about their own personal happiness, 59% of married adults said they were very happy, compared with 41% of unmarried adults.

Although there is evidence that people who marry are happier to begin with, there's much stronger research showing that once adults marry, their well-being improves, Waite says.

Actually, suggests one writer, maybe "it isn't marriage that's the key to happiness, but the quality of the relationship itself." That is, if you see the person you call your partner, whether you're married or not, as your *best friend*, "perhaps it's this factor, rather than getting married (or not) that appears to matter the most for happiness" (Brodwin 2016, citing Glover and Helliwell 2017).

Love, Appreciation, Intimacy, & Happiness

Is love all you need for a successful marriage? "Saying 'I love you' is just words," says Pennsylvania engineer Chris Kline, 42 (quoted in Bernstein 2013: D1). Instead, Kline prefers to do things for his wife "that require effort, planning, and a little bit of sacrifice," such as warming up her car on cold mornings. "It shows you are putting the other person first," he says. Small, selfless acts that regularly express love, says psychology professor Harry T. Reis (cited in Bernstein 2013: D1), who studies couple interactions, aren't just a nicety, they are necessary and make spouses happier in their marriages.

Numbers That Matter

Marriage, Families, & Happiness

- **Who is happy?** 40% of married people say they are happy compared with 24% of never-married people.[a]
- **What helps happiness?** 75% of happy couples agree on the high quality of their communication; only 11% of unhappy couples do.[b]
- **Can people change?** In one study, about two-thirds of couples who were unhappily married at the outset said they were happy five years later.[c] In another study involving unhappy parents of young children, two-thirds said they were happy or very happy 10 years later.[d]
- **Are people marrying later?** In 1970, the median age of first marriage was 23.2 years for men and 20.8 years for women. In 2017, it was 29.5 for men and 27.4 for women.[e]
- **Are married-couple families declining?** The percentage of households with married couples declined from 71% of all households in 1970 to 44% in 2017.[f]

[a]Waite and Gallagher 2001. [b]Olson and Olson 2000. [c]Waite 2005. [d]Benson and McKay 2017. [e]U.S. Census Bureau 2011; Geiger and Livingston 2018. [f]Schondelmyer 2017.

Practical Action

Happiness: Is It within Your Grasp?

Are we meant to be happy? Perhaps not. "We aren't built to be happy," goes one view. "Rather, we are built to survive and reproduce. . . . Working hard and raising children may not make us happier. But these beliefs keep society functioning" (Clements 2006: D1).

We're also not very good at judging how happy we or others are or of forecasting what will make us happy. Indeed, people chronically overestimate how happy their peers are, a misperception that leads to feelings of loneliness (Jordan et al. 2011).

What's going on here? Do you feel the way you do because you're hardwired that way biologically, or because something happened to you (say, you got an A—or an F—on a test) that makes you elated or depressed?

The Happiness "Set Point"

Nature or nurture, your genes or your environment—which more influences your mood?

Scientists suggest that a person's happiness level is about half influenced by genetics. Each of us has a "set point" or baseline for moods, just as we do for weight. Research by Richard Davidson and his colleagues (2002, 2003) and other scholars (Lyubomirsky 2008, 2013; Lyubomirsky et al. 2005) have identified an index for this set point. A few unlucky people, they found, had clinical depression or anxiety disorder, and another lucky few were happy and enthusiastic and rarely troubled by bad moods. Most people, of course, were in the middle, with a mix of good and bad moods.

Although the set point can change over the years (Lucas et al. 2004), what's interesting is that, in general, the set point keeps our emotional ups and downs from being lasting or extreme. Win the lottery? Suffer a horrible accident? Either way, most people's moods generally return to their established set points within a year. This phenomenon is sometimes called the *hedonic* (pronounced "heh-*don*-ik") *treadmill* or *hedonic adaptation*—the idea that we rapidly adapt to improvements in our lives and thus can end up feeling not much better off (Brickman and Campbell 1971; Brody 2013).

Indeed, according to studies by social psychologist Daniel Gilbert, people expect that events will have a larger and more enduring impact on them—for good or ill—than they really do (Gilbert 2006; Gilbert and Ebert 2002; Wilson et al. 2001). But Gilbert theorizes that we have a "psychological immune system" that goes into effect in response to a big negative event such as the loss of a job or the death of a spouse but not in response to small negative events such as a car breakdown. This suggests, as one reviewer (Stossel 2006: 16) put it, that "our day-to-day happiness may be predicated more strongly on little events than on big ones."

Can Money Buy Happiness?

A country's economic growth does correlate with happiness, according to some economists (Sacks et al. 2013; Stevenson and Wolfers 2008). That is, as a country gets richer, its people get happier. The United States ranks 15th in residents' self-reported feelings of well-being—Norway is first, Canada seventh, Mexico 22nd, according to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (2016). The United States also ranked 18th in world happiness (Finland was first, Canada seventh), according to the *World Happiness Report* (Helliwell et al. 2018). The report uses a rating system based on life expectancy, income, freedom, social support, trust, and generosity.

People living in extreme poverty on average are not as happy as those whose basic needs have been met. Beyond that, however, wealth doesn't lead to a richer life (Diener and Diener 2008; Diener and Oishi 2000). "Once you're safe and warm and fed," says management professor David Schkade (quoted in Clements 2006: D1), "it makes surprisingly little difference." In fact, the more money people earn, the more likely they are to spend their time working, commuting, and doing other compulsory activities that bring little pleasure (Kahneman et al. 2006).

One recent study found that, for an individual in the United States, the ideal yearly real income for emotional well-being is $60,000–$70,000 and for overall life satisfaction is $95,000 (Jebb et al. 2018). That's around twice to three times the actual 2017 median personal income of $31,610 (household income was $61,372) (U.S. Census Bureau 2018: Table A-4.) The researchers also found that very high incomes actually produced a *decrease* in life satisfaction.

To the extent that you can buy happiness, suggests one scholar, Sonja Lyubomirsky (cited in "Gross Domestic Happiness" 2011), you should spend your money on others rather than yourself, on matters that promote your personal growth (a cooking class, say), on lots of little things rather than one big thing, and on experiences (a special trip perhaps) rather than on possessions.

Overall, however, money does not buy happiness. "Money can buy *pleasure*, but pleasure isn't happiness," suggests *Star Wars* director George Lucas (quoted in Wilson 2004: 2D). "Happiness is a feeling that goes beyond pleasure." Because desire can be infinite, "materialism is toxic for happiness," says University of Illinois psychologist Ed Diener (quoted in Elias 2002a). Being happy means managing the natural yearning for more. "Evolution hasn't set us up for the attainment of happiness," suggests biological psychologist Daniel Nettle (2005), "merely its pursuit."

Where Do You Live? The Effect of Culture on Happiness

Happiness is influenced not only by genetic heritage but also by one's ethnic culture. In the United States, a Pew Research Center (2006) poll of 3,000 Americans found that 84% described themselves as being "very" or "pretty" happy. However, what constitutes happiness in one culture may not be the same in another culture.

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THE IDEA OF HAPPINESS. If you were going to write an ad promoting happiness, what would you say? And how obtainable do you think true happiness is for most people?

"Everybody wants to feel good," says Stanford psychology professor Jeanne Tsai, "but people want to feel good in different ways" (quoted in Platoni 2006). For example, Tsai, who heads Stanford University's Culture and Emotion Lab, has found that European Americans aspire to more high-energy elation, whereas Asian Americans tend to fall in between the Eastern idea of calm and the Western preference for elation (Tsai et al. 2004, 2006). However, in America today, according to scholar Christina Kotchemidova (2005), the main emotional norm is what she calls "the culture of cheerfulness."

Happiness can also depend on where you live, as suggested by the following indicators:

- **World Database of Happiness** The happiest people of 158 nations live in Costa Rica (followed by Denmark, Mexico, Iceland, Canada, and Switzerland), according to Dutch sociologist Ruut Veenhoven (2018), a founding editor of the *Journal of Happiness Studies.* In Veenhoven's World Database of Happiness, the United States ranks 22nd; Togo and Tanzania are last.
- **The Happy Planet Index** Devised by the Centre for Well-being at the London-based New Economics Foundation (Jeffrey et al. 2016), the Happy Planet Index rates happiness according to ecological footprint (environmental impact), well-being, life expectancy, and inequality. In the 2016 version, Costa Rica again is first out of 140 countries, followed by Mexico, Colombia, Vanuatu, and Vietnam, whereas the United States is 108 because of its vast ecological footprint. Canada is 85; Togo, Luxembourg, and Chad are last on the list.
- **The *World Happiness Report*** Sponsored by the United Nations and produced by Columbia University's Earth Institute, the *World Happiness Report* (Helliwell et al. 2018) uses a rating system based on life expectancy, income, freedom, social support, trust, and generosity. Here Denmark, Norway, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Sweden are the happiest, and Togo and Benin are the least happy. The United States ranks 17th out of 156 countries; Canada is 6 and Mexico is 16.
- **The World Happiness Map** Analytic social psychologist Adrian White (2007) of the University of Leicester, who created a World Happiness Map, found that Denmark ranks first out of 178 countries (followed by Switzerland, Austria, Iceland, the Bahamas, and Finland), with the United States ranking 23rd and the least happy countries being Zimbabwe and Burundi. "A nation's level of happiness was closely associated with health levels," declares White (quoted in Wagner 2006), "followed by wealth . . . and then provision of education."
- **The Blue Zones of Happiness** Journalist Dan Buettner (2017), with 15 years at *National Geographic*, developed unusual knowledge in finding the most extraordinary populations on earth, which led him to explore the secrets of happiness, as measured in terms of life satisfaction ("What Can We Learn from the World's Happiest People?" 2018). In his book *The Blue Zones of Happiness: Lessons from the World's Happiest People*, he describes three specific places that seem to be the happiest on earth: the Cartago province of Costa Rica, Denmark, and Singapore.

A good healthcare system may be one reason the Danes are high on so many of these lists (Christensen et al. 2006). Besides free health care for life, the Danes also get free college tuition, 10 months of paid maternity leave, and a guaranteed retirement. In addition, they live in a culture of low expectations and thus aren't terribly disappointed when things don't go well.

We return to the subject of happiness now and then throughout the book.

John Gottman, coauthor of *Ten Lessons to Transform Your Marriage* (Gottman et al. 2007), would agree, noting that successful couples say or do at least five positive things for each negative interaction with their partner (reported in Parker-Pope 2011). Gottman and his wife, Julie Schwartz Gottman, direct Seattle's Gottman Institute ("the Love Lab"), which specializes in marital stability and divorce prediction. "The best single predictor of whether a couple is going to divorce is contempt," he says, as when one corrects the other's grammar while they're arguing. The best antidote to contempt, he says, is to cultivate "a culture of appreciation," constantly looking for "things to appreciate and moments to communicate respect" (Gottman, quoted in Cole 2007). Of course, demonstrating appreciation for your partner makes you feel better, too (Barton et al. 2015; Bernstein 2014; Gable et al. 2012; Gordon et al. 2012; Monfort et al. 2014).

Appreciation forms the basis for ***intimacy***, **the intense affection for, commitment to, and sharing of intellectual, physical, and emotional connections with another person**.

How Happy Are You in a Relationship?

What do happy couples know or do that unhappy ones don't? Are you currently in a happy relationship?

In the opening of this chapter, we mentioned pioneering University of Minnesota family researcher David Olson (2000). Olson found that happy couples built at least five key areas of their relationship into solid strengths: (1) they communicate well, (2) they are flexible as a couple, (3) they are emotionally close, (4) they have compatible personalities, and (5) they agree on how to handle conflict. (For example, 75% of happy couples agree on the high quality of their communication; only 11% of unhappy couples do.)

Other areas that affect a couple's happiness are (6) their sexual relationship, (7) their choice of leisure activities, (8) the influence of family and friends, (9) the ability to manage finances, and (10) an agreement on spiritual beliefs.

We explore these matters in the coming chapters.

How does one's culture (design for living) impact a person's happiness?

Marriage & Family: The Basic Concepts

1.2 Describe the components, types, and benefits of families.

PREVIEW Marriage has five components: emotional, ceremonial, legal, sexual faithfulness, and parenting. Family may be a traditional "modern" or nuclear family, or today, it may be a "postmodern" family, such as a two-household (binuclear) or blended family (stepfamily), or even one consisting of "affiliated kin" who are family by reason of emotional closeness.

Will getting married make you happy? Lots of people think so. But a study of 24,000 individuals found that most people were no more satisfied with life after marriage than they were prior to marriage (Lucas et al. 2003). "There are things you can do to make yourself happier," says study author Ed Diener (quoted in Becker 2003), "but something external like getting married isn't a royal road to changing your set point"—the individual baseline for moods that keeps emotional ups and downs relatively stable.

Indeed, in surveys of thousands of married couples taken over five years, sociologist Linda Waite (2005) found the following:

- About two-thirds of couples who were unhappily married at the outset *said they were happy* five years later.
- Those who were unhappily married and who had divorced five years later *were found to be no happier* than those who stayed with their original spouse.

These results square with another study (Benson and McKay 2017) involving unhappy parents of young children, which found that two-thirds said they were happy or very happy 10 years later.

"There's a certain plasticity in marriage, an up-and-down," says Waite (quoted in Elias 2002b). "A lot of problems resolve over time, and married people tend to get happier. It's a message some people disbelieve, but they have unrealistic ideas about marriage."

What Is Marriage?

Marriage **can be defined as a socially approved mating relationship**. Until recently this definition referred to heterosexual marriages, but homosexual unions since the historic U.S. Supreme Court ruling in June 2015 are now lawful marriages in the

United States. Marriage has five components: (1) emotional, (2) ceremonial, (3) legal, (4) sexual faithfulness, and (5) parenting.

THE EMOTIONAL COMPONENT: IS LOVE NECESSARY? In most parts of the United States, people marry for love (or at least what they perceive as love). In fact, 93% of married Americans and 84% of unmarried say love is a very important reason to get married (Cohn 2013).

That's not the case in many parts of the world or even in certain cultures within the United States and Canada, where the choice of spouse is arranged by the parents. Even in these marriages, however, love is often expected to develop as the spouses come to know each other. (We discuss arranged marriages in Chapter 5, "Love.")

THE CEREMONIAL COMPONENT: CHURCH, STATE, OR OTHER? Every culture has some sort of ceremony (what sociologists call "cultural universals") cementing the union. In the United States, you need to obtain a governmental marriage license for the jurisdiction in which you will be married, have an authorized person perform the ceremony (generally with two witnesses present), and return the necessary documentation to the government.

You might choose to be married in a civil ceremony—by a judge, marriage magistrate, justice of the peace, or courthouse clerk. Or you might be married in a church, synagogue, or mosque—or have a religious ceremony in a nonreligious setting. Or you can arrange to be married in a secular ceremony, for which there are many options. Sometimes couples will be married by a civil servant and then be married again in a more meaningful (to them) religious or other ceremonial occasion. In France, a couple living in the countryside may have three ceremonies: civil (performed by the mayor at the town hall); religious (performed by a priest in a church); and village, with a 10-course banquet, singing, toasts, and banging of pots and pans by the villagers to remind the couple of the possible difficulties of marriage.

THE LEGAL COMPONENT: DOES THE STATE HAVE TO BE INVOLVED? In most states of the United States of America, it is no longer illegal (or laws against it are no longer enforced) for a boyfriend and girlfriend age 18 and older to live together without being married. But once a marriage license exists, then the state has an interest. Generally, to get a license to marry *without* parental consent, bride and groom must be at least 18 years old (Mississippi and Nebraska are exceptions), must not already be married to someone else, and may have to pass a blood test (to detect sexually transmitted diseases, among other things). Waiting periods may also be required between

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WATER WEDDING. Being legally married requires a piece of paper from the state, but the ceremony itself can be anything. Most couples prefer religious ceremonies, but others take their matrimonial vows, whether religious or civil, under circumstances meaningful to them, such as on ice skates, skydiving, or even under water. What form would your fantasy wedding take—and why?

applying for and receiving a marriage license. State laws vary as to the minimum age at which people may marry *with* parental consent. (*See* ■ Panel 1.1.)

Panel 1.1 State Marriage Laws.

Forty-eight states allow people 18 years and older to marry without parental consent, although in Nebraska the age is 19; in Mississippi, males may marry at age 17 and females at age 15 without parental consent. Forty-three states allow both males and females to marry with parental consent at age 16 or older; the exceptions are given in the following table.

State	Minimum Age May Marry with Parental Consent
Arkansas	Male 17, female 16
California	No limits
Delaware	Male 18, female 16
Hawaii	15
Indiana	17
Kentucky	18
Louisiana	18
Massachusetts	Male 14, female 12
Mississippi	No limits
Missouri	15
Nebraska	17
New Hampshire	Male 14, female 13
Ohio	Male 18, female 16
Oregon	17
Rhode Island	Male 18, female 16
Washington	17
West Virginia	18
Puerto Rico	Male 18, female 16

Source: Based on *Marriage laws of the fifty states, District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico*. 2015. Legal Information Institute, Cornell University Law School, www.law.cornell.edu/wex/table_marriage#v (accessed June 28, 2015).

With a license, the marriage has legal standing that affects matters of property, children, debts, and inheritance. People who are married share property with each other, become heirs to their spouse's estate in the event of death, become equally responsible for rearing children, and, in most states, are responsible for each other's debts.

One kind of marriage-without-a-license that is recognized in certain states is ***common-law marriage*, a type of living arrangement in which a man and a woman living together present themselves as being married and are legally recognized as such**. The states are shown in the map in ■ Panel 9.8 in Chapter 9, "Variations," where we consider this subject further.

THE SEXUAL-FAITHFULNESS COMPONENT: ARE MONOGAMY & EXCLUSIVITY REQUIRED? For most people, marriage is based on sexual exclusivity: A partner is expected to be sexually faithful to his or her spouse. Yet there are variations. A marriage can be of three types: *monogamy*, the only legal form of marriage in North America, and two forms of *polygamy—polygyny* and *polyandry*.

- **Monogamy—One Spouse Only** ***Monogamy* is a marital or sexual relationship in which a person is committed exclusively to one partner**. In the past, breaking this marital rule (unfaithfulness, infidelity, adultery, "cheating") was legal grounds for divorce.
- **Polygamy as Polygyny—More Than One Wife** ***Polygamy* (pronounced "po-*lig*-a-me") is a form of marriage in which one person has several spouses**.

One type, ***polygyny*** **(“po-*lig*-a-nee”), is a marriage in which one husband has more than one wife**. This describes the kind of marriages found among offshoots of the Church of Latter-Day Saints (LDS), also known as the Mormon Church, in parts of the American West, Canada, and Mexico. (These marriages are considered illegal by the state and are even grounds for excommunication by the LDS church.) Polygamy is legal in 58 of 200 sovereign nations around the world, despite the United Nations’ viewpoint that it violates the rights of women.

- **Polygamy as Polyandry—More Than One Husband** ***Polyandry*** **(“*pah*-lee-an-dree”) is a marriage in which one wife has more than one husband**. This is a much rarer form of polygamy, although it has been found among certain Buddhists in Tibet and in parts of India, Africa, the Arctic, and the Pacific Islands (Crook and Crook 1988; see also Starkweather and Hames 2012). It, too, is illegal in North America and is not typically sanctioned by any government or religion, rather existing as a cultural practice.

THE PARENTING COMPONENT: ARE CHILDREN THE MAIN REASON FOR MARRIAGE? If you decide to get married, it may be for love, companionship, and happiness. The idea of having children may be something you think the two of you might do “eventually”—or not at all.

From the standpoint of society, however, having children is probably *the* principal reason for the institution of heterosexual marriage. That is, the main purpose of marriage between opposite sexes is to provide a stable framework for the bearing, nurturing, socializing, rearing, and protection of children—tasks that the state cannot do as well or even at all. Thus, despite the great number of children currently being born to unmarried parents in the United States, there is a certain amount of pressure for fathers and mothers to be married. Indeed, even with unmarried parents, the state will insist, where possible, that they continue to be responsible for their offspring, as is seen in instances in which the state tries to get unmarried fathers (and occasionally mothers) to pay child support.

What Is a Family?

After a married couple has a child, does that mean that they are a family? Actually, they might be a family already—if, for example, as U.S. tax laws define it, they are supporting dependent parents. Moreover, it’s clear that an unmarried couple with children also constitutes a family, which goes to show that defining “family” is more difficult than defining “marriage.”

Interestingly, public perception as to the definition of a family has shifted over the years, so that now the majority of Americans say it includes same-sex couples with children as well as married gay and lesbian couples—but *does not* include unmarried cohabiting couples, either heterosexual or same-sex, to be a family, unless they have children (Powell et al. 2010). (We consider this matter further in Chapter 9, “Variations.”)

FAMILY VERSUS HOUSEHOLD: NOT THE SAME Traditionally, a ***family*** **has been defined as a unit of two or more people who are related by blood, marriage, or adoption and who live together**. This traditional definition thus excludes foster families, couples who live together (cohabit), homosexual couples, and communal and multigenerational arrangements in which a child is reared by several people other than the parents. A family is also to be distinguished from a ***household***, **which the U.S. Census Bureau defines as any group of persons residing together**.

Let’s explore the different types of family arrangements.

THE FORMERLY “MODERN” FAMILY: THE NUCLEAR FAMILY The family into which you may have been born and the family that you will begin if and when you


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Maria Dubova/123RF

FAMILY MATTERS. If the word *family* describes only a married male and female couple with children, what should we call an unmarried couple with children, whether or not they're heterosexual?

marry and have children are both nuclear families. **The *nuclear family*—also once thought of as the *modern family*—consists of father, mother, and children living in one household**. The nuclear family, a term coined by anthropologist George Murdock in 1949, is the idealized version of what most people think of when they think of a heterosexual "family." The oldest example of a nuclear family was found in bones laid out in a meaningful way, discovered by archeologists in Germany who unearthed a grave dating back to the Late Stone Age, 4,600 years ago (Haak et al. 2008).

In the past, the nuclear family has often been thought of as the ***traditional family*, in which the man's role is primarily husband, father, and income earner and the woman's role is wife, mother, and homemaker**.

A nuclear family can be one of two types—*family of origin* or *family of procreation*:

- **Family of Origin** **The *family of origin*, also called the *family of orientation*, is the family into which you were born or in which you grew up**. As you might expect, this kind of family had an important influence on you and on your views about marriage and family in general.
- **Family of Procreation** **The *family of procreation*, also called the *family of cohabitation*, is the family you begin if and when you get married and have children**. In the United States in 2016, 69% of children were living with two married heterosexual parents (down from 73% in 1960), according to the U.S. Census Bureau (2017d).

TODAY'S "POSTMODERN" FAMILIES: BINUCLEAR, BLENDED, & SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES The old definition of what a family is—the modern or nuclear family—no longer seems adequate to cover the wide diversity of household arrangements we see today. Thus has arisen the term ***postmodern family*, which is meant to describe the great variability in family forms,** including *single-parent families* and *child-free couples*, as we discuss in detail in Chapter 9, "Variations," and Chapter 11, "Parenting."

Three common examples of the postmodern family are *binuclear families*, *blended families*, and *single-parent families*:

- **Binuclear Family** When children talk about going to "Mom's house this week and Dad's house next week," they are talking about a binuclear family. **A *binuclear family* is a family in which members live in two different households**, most likely the result of parents being divorced and their children spending time with both.
- **Blended Family** **A *blended family*, or *stepfamily*, is created when two people marry and one or both brings into the household a child or children from a previous marriage or relationship**. Clearly, children can find themselves not only in

binuclear households but also in blended families if one or both of their parents remarries someone who has children from a previous marriage or relationship.

- **Single-Parent Family** **A *single-parent family* is one in which a child or children lives with one parent**. About one-third of U.S. children live with an unmarried parent, a figure that has more than doubled since 1968, going from 13% then to 32% in 2017 (Livingston 2018). About one in five (21%) live with a solo mother, 4% with a solo father.

THE EXTENDED FAMILY: KIN & AFFILIATED KIN No doubt many people think of their families as including more than just those in their nuclear family. These are members of their ***extended family*, which includes not only the nuclear family but others as well**—uncles and aunts, nieces and nephews, cousins, grandparents, even great-grandparents.

In addition, a postmodern family might consist not only of kin but also of *affiliated kin*.

- **Kin** **The *kin* in your family are your relatives by blood, marriage, remarriage, or adoption, ranging from grandparents to nieces to brothers-in-law**. Of course, some kin don't usually live in the same household with you, but here, too, there are many variations. For instance, it is not unusual to see grandparents raising their grandchildren because the generation in between is unable to do so (because they are incapacitated by drug abuse, for example). In 2012, 3% of family groups were grandparents raising grandchildren under age 18 (Ellis and Simmons 2014). Three years earlier, as the 2007–2009 Great Recession ended its second year, 9% of all children in the United States lived with a grandparent.
- **Affiliated Kin** ***Affiliated kin* are unrelated individuals who are treated as if they are related**. For example, godparents or the boyfriend of a divorced mother may be considered affiliated kin. The primary indicator seems to be *emotional closeness* rather than relationship through marriage, remarriage, descent, or adoption. One scholar, who has identified 23 different types of family structures, says that some include only friends or group-home members (Wu 1996).

BEYOND THE HOUSEHOLD: EXTENDED FAMILIES & PATTERNS OF RESIDENCE In many countries and cultures, members of extended families live in close proximity to one another; indeed, there are three common ways in which families establish residence: *neolocal*, *patrilocal*, and *matrilocal*.

- **Neolocal—In Their Own Home** This tends to be the pattern in North America. Pronounced "nee-oh-*loh*-kal," **a *neolocal residence* describes the situation in which newly married partners set up their own household**, not connected with the bride's or groom's parents.
- **Patrilocal—With the Husband's Family** This is the most common pattern around the world. **A *patrilocal residence* describes the situation in which newly married partners live with the husband's family**.
- **Matrilocal—With the Wife's Family** This pattern is not as common. **A *matrilocal residence* describes the situation in which newly married partners reside with the wife's family**. This arrangement occurs, for example, among some groups in the Pacific Islands and Africa and among some Native Americans.

A minority ethnic group known as the Mosuo in southwestern China has sparked a tourism boom there among visitors fascinated with the country's apparently last matrilineal society, "where the children take their mothers' surnames and daughters are preferred to sons," in one description (Quin 2005: A4). There the woman is the head of the household and children stay with their mothers' families for life (Genova 2018: 38).

The Great Recession, with its job losses and home foreclosures, forced more people into multigenerational families—that is, households with at least three generations—to survive economically. Indeed, in 2016, a record 20% of Americans lived in multigenerational households, a huge jump from the 12% who lived in such households in 1980 (Cohn and Passel 2018; Fry and Passel 2014).

Growing numbers of Asian, Hispanic, and foreign-born populations, many of which favor multigenerational households, have fueled the trend. In addition, for the first time in 130 years, living with parents is the most common arrangement for adults ages 18 to 34 (Cohn and Passel 2018).Often the newly divorced (and their children), unable to afford their own residences, move in with parents or grandparents. Middle-aged couples may also have their own parents living with them. We continue this discussion in Chapter 9, "Variations."

Why Have Families at All? Four Benefits

Why are families even needed at all? The great family sociologist William Goode (1982) theorized that living in a traditional family offers four benefits: (1) economic, (2) proximity, (3) familiarity, and (4) continuity.

ECONOMIC BENEFITS: ECONOMIES OF SCALE Families offer economic benefits. It's easier to buy a house if both husband and wife are bringing in incomes. It's almost as easy for one person to clean house, do laundry, or buy groceries for three or four people as for one. Such savings in time and money result from what are called *economies of scale*—a reduction in the cost per unit because of the increased size of the "household production facilities." In other words, if the cost of providing for one person is spread over three or four people, the cost of those services per person (per unit) is reduced. Indeed, most of the tasks of running a household (feeding babies, mowing lawns, and so on) don't require much training, so nearly anyone can do them, whether you're a laborer or a neurosurgeon.

PROXIMITY: CONVENIENCE If you're a single parent and need someone to watch your child, or if you feel like sitting down with a friend for conversation, you might have to travel some distance. A second benefit of a family, therefore, is—or at least can be—that members are in *close proximity*, and so it is more convenient to obtain help or company.

If you're a single working parent with no resources, an ill child is a crisis. Do you insist that the child go to school anyway (even though you know you shouldn't)? Or do you leave the child home alone while you are at work (a frequent occurrence, although most parents who do this have great misgivings—especially because it's illegal)? Or do you telephone your boss and pretend that you're sick and can't come in (a frequent ploy)? By contrast, if you're fortunate enough to live close to a cooperative, nonworking relative—your own parents, say, or one of your siblings—who can agree to watch the child, such problems become easier to handle.

FAMILIARITY: AT YOUR BEST & AT YOUR WORST Fellow family members are generally more apt than anyone else to know who you really are, and vice versa. That is, a family offers *familiarity* because you and others in the family have seen one another under good and bad circumstances. Yes, they have observed

Gina Sanders/Fotolia

"AS YOU ARE, SO ONCE WAS I." At one time, the older woman may well have looked much like the younger one. What is the tradition in your family about caring for older members, and does it extend outside the immediate household to aunts, uncles, and others? What kind of connections do you hope to have with family members when you are elderly?

you acting selfishly and irrationally, but they have also seen you behaving kindly and courageously. Most people's friends probably don't know them that well.

CONTINUITY: PEOPLE WHO ARE ALWAYS THERE FOR YOU Is your home the place in which, in poet Robert Frost's words, "when you have to go there, they have to take you in"? Although friends may offer you emotional comfort, bankers may lend you money, and hired contractors may fix your plumbing, it is home and family that can offer the possibility, at least, of *continuity*—long-time emotional support, attachments, and assistance.

Explain how changing economic factors have impacted extended families.

A Short History of Families

1.3 Explain how the families of yesterday differed from our own.

PREVIEW This section presents the history of the American family during three eras: the early American era, the 19th and early 20th centuries, and the modern era. We describe variations for different ethnic and racial groups.

Although marriages and families have taken many forms in many times and places, it can be hard to step outside the familiarity of our own culture and analyze how our own relationships work. In addition, love and intimacy can be highly emotional subjects, and at some time in most relationships partners have to work their way through such emotions as dominance, power sharing, jealousy, and the like. Add to that the strong feelings so many people have about such intimate matters as homosexuality, abortion, and contraception, and you can see that there are many opportunities for more heat than light. Often the temptation is to hold fast to our old beliefs and ways of doing things—to rely on one's general knowledge in an "I feel" way. But we live in a complex world—one in which such uncritical thinking is no longer viable. We need to learn to approach such important questions using the research and tools of sociology.

As a way of beginning, we present a history of the American family to show how it differed from, yet led to, today's modern family. We begin by considering three eras in the history of the American family: (1) the early American era, (2) the 19th and early 20th centuries, and (3) the modern era.

AMERICAN INDIANS: SOME MATRILINEAL. In some American Indian cultures, such as the Hopi and the Zuni, family systems were matrilineal—children traced their descent through their mother's line. Can you think of any other instances in world culture systems that are not based on the male line of descent?

Nancy G Western Photography/Nancy Greifenhagen/Alamy Stock Photo

American Families in the Colonial Era

The family in early America, during the 1600s through the mid-1800s, may be considered according to four groups: (1) American Indian families, (2) white colonial families, (3) African American families, and (4) Hispanic (Latino) families. (We describe Asian families later in the chapter.)

AMERICAN INDIAN FAMILIES At the time of the English settlement in North America in the early 17th century, there were possibly as many as 2 million American Indians (north of Mexico) already there, living in more than 240 groups and speaking around 300 languages (John 1988; Mintz and Kellogg 1988). Family and kinship systems were amazingly diverse. Some, such as the Pueblo, were ***matrilineal*, meaning that children traced their descent, and perhaps rights and property, through the mother's line**. Others, such as the Cheyenne, were ***patrilineal*—descent and ownership of property came down through the father's line** (Mintz and Kellogg 1988).

- **Marriage and Sex** Most American Indians married at young ages—usually 12 to 15 for females and 15 to 20 for males. In some families, young people were allowed to choose their own marital partners; in other families, such as those in California tribes, marriages were arranged by the parents. Some groups allowed men to take more than one wife (polygyny, described earlier in this chapter), although most were monogamous. Marriages were generally for a lifetime, but divorce was also allowed, practices varying according to tribes. "In many societies, divorce was easy," write Stephen Mintz and Susan Kellogg (1988: 30), "and either a husband or wife could dissolve a marriage." Some tribes also allowed men to have sex outside of marriage when their wives were pregnant or nursing.
- **Families** In general, children were welcomed. Most families were small because of high infant and child mortality because mothers breast-fed their children for two or more years and because mothers abstained from sexual intercourse during that period. Children were treated with great kindness, and physical discipline was uncommon, although public shaming might be employed if they misbehaved. Children were taught by example, and politeness and gentleness were emphasized. Among some tribes, mothers or grandmothers did the childrearing, but among others, male relatives, such as uncles and grandfathers, were active mentors.
- **Transitions** Children began playing with dolls or hunting as preparation for the transition to adulthood. Later, during ***puberty*, the period during which one develops secondary sex characteristics (such as breasts or facial hair)**, there would be ceremonies and rites of passage, as when a girl experienced her first menstruation or a boy killed his first game animal. "Among many tribes," say Mintz and Kellogg (1988: 30), "when a boy approached adolescence, he went alone to a mountaintop or into a forest to fast and seek a vision from a guardian spirit. On his return, he assumed adult status."

Example of American Indians

Struggling to Preserve Their Culture

Some of the greatest engineering and vibrant cultures in the world used to flourish among American Indian tribes, as attested by the awe-inspiring thousand-year-old cliff-side dwellings of Mesa Verde in Colorado and Chaco Canyon in New Mexico. Today, however, four out of the five poorest U.S. counties are found within the borders of Indian reservations, and American Indians struggle constantly to preserve their culture. That includes protesting use of "Redskins" as the name of an NFL football team; Indians do not see or refer to themselves as "redskins" (Treuer 2014). American Indian names, symbols, and mascots continue to be popular for European sports teams even as they slowly disappear in the United States (Keh 2018).

The Navajo Nation, for instance, may be the largest American Indian nation in the United States, but it encountered a leadership crisis when it had trouble finding a new president fluent in the Navajo language. The language "is prized as a cultural legacy," according to one report (Turkewitz 2015: A11), "and for its vital role in transmitting military secrets during World War II," as shown in the 2002 movie *Windtalkers*.

Fortunately, the Navajo Nation and other tribes have been turning to computer programs, mobile apps, and even video games to preserve their language and culture. "Alaska Natives worked with a developer to launch a video game that draws on their art, language, humor, and history of storytelling," says one report (Fonseca 2014). Having already translated *Star Wars* into Navajo in 2013, the Navajo Nation then teamed up with Walt Disney Studios to do the same with *Finding Nemo*. Other tribes, such as the Pomo Indians in northern California, work at reviving Indian food traditions (Duggan 2017: A1).

Several museums are devoted to the history of American Indians; Google "Native American Museums."

Your Call

How much effort should be made, in your opinion, to preserve American Indian culture? Should family coherence be maintained by inducing younger tribal members to speak their native language? Should *you* be expected to speak your forebears' native language(s), whatever that might be?

WHITE COLONIAL FAMILIES The European colonists—British, French, Spanish, and Portuguese—who arrived in the (to them) New World in the 1500s and 1600s brought with them the Christian-influenced model of the so-called *godly family*, a family ruled by the father much as the Christian God the Father was supposed to have ruled his children. Such a family is called a ***patriarchal* (pronounced "pay-tree-*ar*-kil")** family, **one in which the father holds the power,** as opposed to the less common ***matriarchal* ("may-tree-*ar*-kil")** family, **in which the mother holds the power**.

- **Marriage and Sex** In the New England colonial family, the selection of mates for children of marriageable age was customarily arranged by the parents, although the partners were usually known to the children. The notion of marrying for love was not a consideration. It was believed that love would come after marriage and that it was a duty for a person to love his or her spouse.

  A committed couple was considered married, in others' views, even if a ceremony had not occurred. "If they could not restrain their sexual impulses," says one account, "they were forgiven more readily than couples who were not spouses (and the number of cases in which couples confessed to fornication during the period of their espousals suggests that Puritans possessed no more restraint than other human beings)" (Morgan 1966: 33).

  In one practice, known as *bundling*, parents would allow a visiting young male suitor to sleep in the same bed as their daughter, but the suitor (and sometimes the daughter) would be sewn into a sack (called a bundling sack) up to his neck, and the couple would be inspected the next morning to ensure that sack and stitching were as they had been the night before. (Alternatively, young men and women slept together in the same bed fully clothed but separated by a wooden board—a bundling board.)

  Young women who were ***indentured servants*—who worked under contract to an employer for a number of years to pay for their passage to the New World or other obligations—**were more at risk for sexual exploitation, with resulting unwanted sex and pregnancy (Harari and Vinovskis 1993; Mintz and Kellogg 1988).
- **Families** In colonial New England, the family was considered principally an economic unit for producing goods and a social unit for taking care of family members, including those who were widowed, orphaned, aged, or sick (Demos 1970). Wives, who were subordinate to their husbands and economically dependent on them, had six children on average. Infant and child mortality rates were so high that up to a third of children didn't live through the first year.

  Although most women worked as homemakers—preparing food, cooking, washing, sewing, caring for children, and the like—their roles might also include working in the fields while men, older family members, or siblings took care of the children. However, women generally were limited in their ability to own property, collect debts, or obtain credit, even while (particularly as unmarried women) they might be running such businesses as inns, laundries, schools, and grocery stores or working as midwives.
- **Transitions** Boys—and usually only boys from fairly wealthy families—were given instruction in reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion at home; girls were generally given only minimal education. Puritans believed that children were inherently evil, being born with original sin, and therefore were thought to be corrupt, stubborn, and in need of frequent discipline.

The notion of ***adolescence*—a separate social and psychological stage of development coinciding with puberty and characterized by rebellion and crises**—did not exist in colonial times (Mintz and Kellogg 1988). In fact, children were set to some kind of useful work by age 7 (Morgan 1966). After that, they worked in households,

fields, and shops for their own families. At age 10 they might be sent out to live with other families as indentured servants or as apprentices to learn a trade or a "calling," a process that might take seven years. The term *adolescence* was first used in 1903, probably in response to the greater amount of free time made possible by the Industrial Revolution.

AFRICAN AMERICAN FAMILIES The first African Americans to appear in North America were not slaves but indentured servants. After fulfilling their years of service, they were then free to spend their energy on their own domestic interests. However, by the mid-17th century, this agreement between master and servant had dissolved; most blacks, who were largely brought from West Africa, were enslaved.

- **Marriage and Sex** As slaves, blacks were prohibited from legally marrying. Nevertheless, slaves themselves legitimized their own unions by such rituals as "jumping over a broomstick." "The partner jumping over first, highest, or without falling," says one account, "was recognized by the wedding party as the one who would 'wear the pants' or rule the family" (Blassingame 1979: 166). At least where the slavery system did not break up marriages and families, the wedding was followed by permanent attachment.

  A great problem during colonial times, however, was that it was difficult for an African American to find a spouse because either slaves were not allowed to associate with other blacks or they lived on plantations with few other slaves and at some distance from other plantations. When slave marriages did occur, they were often cut short by death from overwork or disease (Blassingame 1979; Mintz and Kellogg 1988). Moreover, before the 1800s, there was a great disparity in the ratio of men to women.

  Still, many slave owners realized that monogamy was conducive to discipline. Later, in 1808, when slave imports were abolished, many owners recognized the importance of encouraging slave breeding and large families, although many marriages were disrupted by the selling of slaves (Blassingame 1979; Gutman 1976).

  Although the black culture discouraged casual sexual relationships, female slaves were vulnerable to sexual exploitation by their white owners. Still, many resisted bearing or raising children by using various contraception and abortion techniques and even murdering their infants (Mullings 1997).
- **Families** Slave families were actually far stronger than was once believed. Historian Herbert Gutman (1976, 1983) has shown that—contrary to beliefs that slavery emasculated black men and made black women heads of their families—most black households had two parents or a single father. (Two-parent families were also characteristic of free blacks.)

  In fact, the adversity of slavery made many fathers and mothers exceptionally strong. "The family, while it had no legal existence in slavery, was in actuality one of the most important survival mechanisms for the slave," says historian John Blassingame (1979: 151) because it offered companionship, sympathetic understanding, lessons in avoiding punishment, and cooperation. "However frequently the family was broken, it was primarily responsible for the slave's ability to survive on the plantation without becoming totally dependent on and submissive to his master."

  Black men acted as father figures to many children, became small-time entrepreneurs (hunting, cultivating vegetables, making furniture, and the like), and even tried to save females from being sexually exploited by slave masters (Genovese 1981; Jones 1985). Black women cared not only for their own children but also for those of the master, in addition to working in the fields or doing all the domestic chores required by the slave owner's family (Jones 1985; Matthaei 1982). Blassingame (1979) points out that slave parents could help cushion the shock of bondage for their children, teach them values different from those their master tried to instill in them, and give them a source of self-esteem other than the master.

Everett Collection/Newscom

AFRICAN AMERICANS: KINSHIP. Before and during the Civil War, blacks had strong kinship networks that often included slaves who were not blood related. Do you know of any families today, regardless of race or ethnicity, in which there is someone not related by blood, marriage, or adoption who is treated as if he or she were a family member?

Whenever possible, African Americans established strong kinship networks, which often included slaves who were unrelated. Children were named after aunts, uncles, grandparents, and other blood kin. After Emancipation in 1863, many former slaves preserved the kinship networks.

Several museums are devoted to the history of African American life in the slavery and post-slavery eras; see *BlackPast.org*.

HISPANIC (LATINO) FAMILIES Spanish-speaking people appeared in what is now Florida, as well as Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, even before the Pilgrims arrived in New England. In 1848, at the end of the Mexican War, the Southwest became the territory of the United States. Most of the 80,000 to 100,000 Mexicans living there lost their land through confiscation or fraud, and as ranching, agriculture, railroads, and mining developed in the region, the benefits went mainly to whites of non-Mexican descent. Mexicans and their descendants became the laborers on whose backs economic development flourished.

- **Marriage and Sex** Much of Mexican family life was influenced by Catholic religious teachings. Rites of passage were important: baptism, first communion, confirmation, quinceañera (celebrating a girl's 15th birthday when, traditionally, she became a woman), marriage. Also important were ceremonial aspects of Mexican culture: saints' days, birthdays, and other occasions. Children in middle-class and well-off families were protected through adolescence, living at home until they were adults, although working-class children were obliged to go to work early.

  As part of their training to become "good wives and mothers," girls were closely chaperoned and limited in their social lives outside the home. Women were expected to remain virgins until marriage and faithful to their husbands afterward. Men, by contrast, in accordance with the notion of *machismo*—a

concept of masculinity that emphasizes dominance and sexual prowess—could engage in premarital and extramarital sexual adventures.

- **Families** In Latino families, the well-being of the family was emphasized, a concept called ***familism*—that is, when decisions are made, family collective concerns take priority over individual concerns**. In accordance with the practice of *compadrazgo*—establishing a system of godparents and others as a way of expanding family ties—families consisted of a network of not only grandparents, aunts and uncles, and in-laws but also godparents (*padrinos*), who acted as co-parents (*compadres*). All these extended family members provided affection and perhaps financial support as well as discipline, and in turn children were expected to show obedience, affection, and respect (Ramirez 2004; Ramirez and Arce 1981).

  The father held all the authority in a Mexican family, and women were expected to be mainly mothers and homemakers (Williams 1990). However, in poorer families, in which men were forced to migrate to find jobs, many families were headed by women, even though the two-parent family was always held to be the most desirable type (Griswold del Castillo 1984). Often, when men became unemployed, the mother became the principal wage earner as well, usually working in agriculture or domestic services (Camarillo 1979).

Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, D.C. 20540 USA [LC-USF34-037853-D]

LATINOS: FAMILY FIRST. Traditionally many Latino families emphasized the welfare of the family over the welfare of the individual, with family networks including godparents who served as co-parents. How would you characterize the family you grew up in—more family oriented or individual oriented?

Several museums exist that are devoted to the history of Latinos and Hispanics in the United States; see *americanlatinomuseum.org*.

Except for some Filipino sailors who, in 1750, settled in what was to become Louisiana, there was no significant Asian immigration to the United States during the colonial era. We consider Asian families in the next section.

Families in the 19th & Early 20th Centuries

In the 19th century, the United States was disrupted by upheavals that transformed the American family and set it on the road to becoming the modern family we see today.

INDUSTRIALIZATION, URBANIZATION, & IMMIGRATION Three kinds of social and economic forces occurred during the early and mid-1800s: (1) *industrialization*, (2) *urbanization*, and (3) *immigration*.

- **Industrialization—From Self-Sufficient to Wage-Earning Families** The 19th century brought great economic and social changes to England, Europe, and the United States, when the production of goods shifted from home-based human labor to machines and factories, a transformation known as the Industrial Revolution. Before the Industrial Revolution, families produced goods and services for their own consumption. But as factories began to churn out agricultural machines such as tractors and harvesters, less farm labor was needed, and people began to migrate to cities to sell their labor working in factories.
- **Urbanization—The Movement to the Cities** As families moved to the cities and as factories were built, the cities began to expand. Housing became scarce and more expensive, which affected birth rates. Transportation systems increased mobility, so husbands and fathers were able to travel far from their families. As a

result, men became identified as the principal providers, contact with extended families was reduced, and children had less supervision and became more engaged in delinquency and crime.

- **Immigration—Two Waves of Newcomers** Immigration to America is commonly divided into two eras of old and new immigrants. (1) During the period 1830–1882, "old" immigrants came mostly from western and northern Europe (primarily English, Irish, German, and Scandinavian), although large numbers of Chinese also came to the West Coast. (2) In the period 1882–1930, "new" immigrants came mostly from eastern Europe (Russian, Polish, Hungarian, Slavic, Austrian) and southern Europe (Italian, Greek), although Japanese also came to Hawaii and the West Coast. Most new immigrants were poor and joined the low-wage old immigrants in dilapidated housing in crowded cities competing for bottom-rung jobs. Although many Americans regarded whites as the superior race, a century ago Irish, Italians, and Jews were not considered white or were considered inferior whites (Roediger 2005; also see Painter 2015).

THE IMPORTANCE OF KINSHIP NETWORKS For immigrants, kinship networks were important to survival. Most newcomers came from small villages and settled in ethnic neighborhoods of big cities, where mutual cooperation helped them overcome economic hardship and resist the hostility and prejudice directed at them by the dominant culture, as represented in such signs as "English speakers only" and "No Irish need apply." Kinship networks also helped former slaves in the aftermath of the Civil War, when they continued to suffer poverty and exploitation.

Indeed, it's particularly noteworthy that kinship systems enabled many immigrants and blacks to survive conditions such as slavery, poverty, and new beginnings in a new country that were probably far more difficult than some challenges of the modern era, such as unemployment, which often seem to be followed by family disintegration and violence (Newman 1988). As you might expect, however, the harsh conditions did lead many immigrant families to suffer family breakdown, demoralization, and delinquency among their children.

ASIANS: IMMIGRATION AND DISCRIMINATION. Asians have experienced a long history of discrimination in the United States. In 1924, an immigration law banned further Asian immigration. During the 1930s, Chinese already in this country, such as those shown here, many of whom lived in urban "Chinatowns" or ghettos, suffered as much as anyone during the catastrophe of the Great Depression. If you're non-Asian, do you think about Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and other Asians in a way different from the way you think about other racial and ethnic minorities? Why?

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THE CHANGING FAMILY & CHANGING ROLES Among native-born whites in the middle and upper classes, the role of husbands and fathers became mainly economic, and they went off to work as the family breadwinners. Wives stayed home and spent their time in unpaid work—caring for and nurturing husbands and children, maintaining the home, socializing, and keeping up appearances. Their most important roles, of course, were in raising children and in keeping the household running, which served to make the home the center of their lives.

As economic, technological, and other social forces made the family less important as a work unit, economically liberated women felt freer to choose

marriage partners on the basis of compatibility and affection—in a word, *love*. In addition, as children became less important as contributors of labor to the family's economic well-being, women began to emphasize childrearing over childbearing. Indeed, the number of children per woman dropped from an average of 7 in 1800 to 3.5 in 1900.

Because fathers went off to work, they no longer exerted the same authority over their children's behavior. Because they usually had less land, fathers also had less importance in the distribution of property to their heirs, and so children became less dependent on fathers economically. In addition, children were no longer regarded as miniature adults, and they were allowed to spend more time playing than working. Adolescence came to be recognized as a separate stage of development.

All these benefits did not extend to the poor and to the working classes, however. In these groups, men, women, and children all had to work outside the home to survive economically.

Families in the Modern Era

With the arrival of the 20th century, many economic, educational, and social welfare activities had shifted from the family to outside agencies, and the main function of the family became one of taking care of its members' intimacy, sexual, and psychological needs. With this shift also came an emphasis on individualism over familism: Individual concerns began to take priority over collective family concerns.

RISE OF A NEW FORM: THE COMPANIONATE FAMILY Previously families were based on patriarchal authority, sexual repression, and hierarchical organization. In the 1900s, sexual attraction and compatibility began to become the basis for middle-class marriage and family relationships. Steven Mintz and Susan Kellogg have written extensively about the history of the American family. They point out that in a ***companionate family*, the marriage was supposed to provide "romance, emotional growth, and sexual fulfillment"; wives were no longer supposed to exercise sexual restraint; spouses shared decisions and tasks equally; and adolescent children were allowed greater freedom from parental supervision** (Mintz and Kellogg 1988: 114).

THE EFFECT OF THE WORLD WARS & THE GREAT DEPRESSION World War I (1914–1917), the Great Depression (1929–1939), and World War II (1939–1945) all brought tremendous changes to American society and families.

- **The Great Depression—Out-of-Work Men Blame Themselves** In the Great Depression of the 1930s, the U.S. unemployment rates reached 24.9% (in 1933) at a time when most of the workforce was male. Although families in the upper-middle classes survived with only a few adjustments, in many middle-class households, women took jobs such as clerical and white-collar government jobs that enabled their families to continue their standard of living.

  The impact was greatest, as might be expected, on working-class agricultural and urban families. Husbands left in search of work (or sometimes deserted their families), farm families lost their land, young adults moved to the cities, and children dropped out of school to take menial jobs. Accustomed to being the primary breadwinners, many men blamed themselves instead of the countrywide (indeed worldwide) economic conditions (Filene 1986).
- **World Wars I and II—Women Take "Male-Only" Jobs** The two world wars also affected gender roles. During World War I, as millions of American men went off to war, 1.5 million women took many of their places in both civilian jobs and wartime production jobs. The same massive change in the workforce happened in World War II, when government patriotic campaigns induced millions of women to work in shipyards (giving rise to the famous Rosie the Riveter) and ammunition factories as well as civilian jobs. Many were middle-class married women, but working-class women, white and black, particularly benefited (Filene 1986; Mintz and Kellogg 1988).

When male war veterans returned home, many women found it difficult to leave the greater wages and freedoms associated with traditionally male jobs. Participation of women in the workforce continued to increase after the war, even as the popular culture and mass media once again stressed the importance of women's roles as wives, mothers, and homemakers.

FAMILIES IN THE 1950S When promoters of family stability wring their hands over today's family breakdowns, out-of-wedlock births, unmarried live-together couples, and two-income families, they often hark back to a highly unusual time: the 1950s, marked by a stable, suburban nuclear family consisting of a working dad, a homemaker mom, and their two children.

Such a Golden Age of family life, as sociologist Stephanie Coontz (1992, 1997, 2005, 2011) points out, was not always so golden. Many of people's perceptions of the 1950s are based on the families portrayed in such TV sitcoms as *Ozzie and Harriet*, *Father Knows Best*, and *Leave It to Beaver*. Even at the time these series were on the air, "People didn't watch these shows to see their own lives reflected back at them," says Coontz (1997: 38). "They watched them to see how families were *supposed* to live."

What made the 1950s unusual were some singular events (Coontz 1997; Mintz and Kellogg 1988):

- **The Baby Boom—The Swelling Population** The Baby Boom, consisting of the group of people (Baby Boomers) born in the United States between 1946 and 1964 (now in their 50s, 60s, and 70s), and that made up about 25% of the entire U.S. population, had a major impact on society, economics, and family practices. More children were produced during this period than ever before—at least until the wave of Millennials (born 1981 to 1996) was anticipated to overtake them in 2019 (Fry 2018).
- **Suburbanization—The Move to the Suburbs** Buoyed by unprecedented prosperity, government support for home building and highway construction, low-interest mortgages, and other inducements, families began a huge migration from the cities to the suburbs to realize dreams of home ownership.
- **The Child-Centered Culture** Mothers, following the advice in Dr. Benjamin Spock's influential book on how to raise healthy children, *Baby and Child Care*, tended to communicate with their children rather than use physical discipline. Dr. Spock was unjustly blamed for the permissiveness that was alleged to be the cause of many subsequent social problems, including the hippie culture of the 1960s, juvenile delinquency, and divorce.

Despite the glowing pictures painted by the mass media, suburbia, a focus on childrearing, and frequent career-related moves didn't always make for happiness. Indeed, they often made for isolation and loneliness rather than personal fulfillment.

HOW THE FAMILY STANDS TODAY In recent times, there have been six significant trends altering the look of the American family.

- **Trend #1—People Are Living Longer and Marrying Later** Earlier in our history, in the mid-1800s, when people didn't tend to live long, the median age of the U.S. population was 17. Today, the median age is a full 20 years older—37.8, up from 29.5 in 1960. *Median* means that half the people in the United States today are over 36.8 years of age and half are under it.

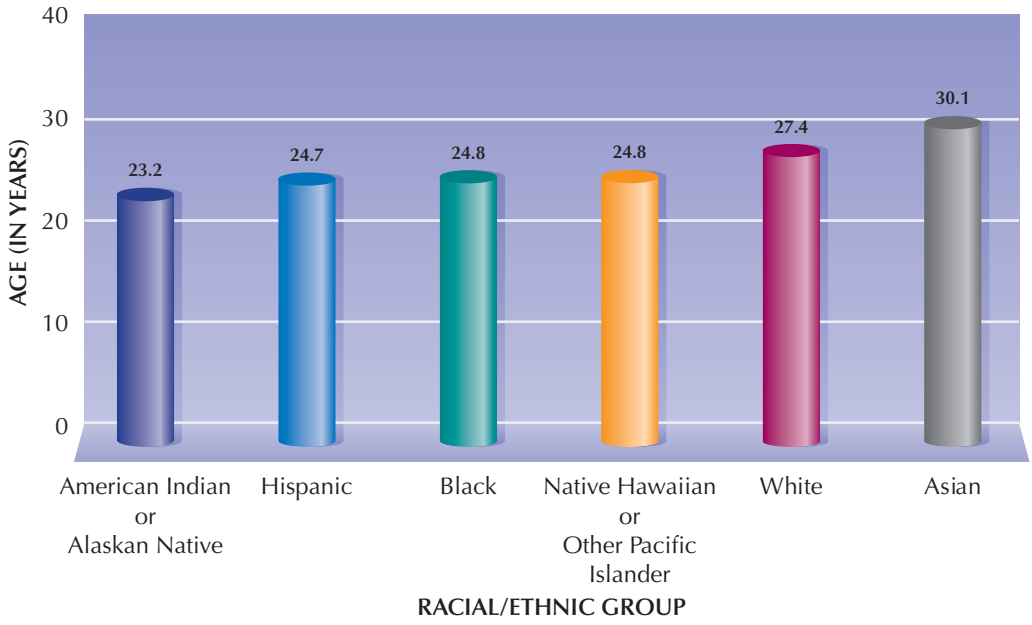
  More adults are also remaining single longer. The median age at first marriage has been rising since the 1950s: In 1970, it was 23.2 years for men and 20.8 years for women. In 2017, it was five years or so older—29.5 for men and 27.4 for women (Geiger and Livingston 2018; U.S. Census Bureau 2011).
- **Trend #2—Women Are Having Fewer Children and Waiting Longer to Have Them** Compared with the late 1800s, women in the United States are having fewer children, and they finish raising them earlier in life, which means that children grow up and leave home sooner.

More recently, the birth rate among U.S. women ages 15 to 44 sank to record lows, dropping almost by half, from 118 per 1,000 women in 1960 to 60.2 in 2017 (Martin et al. 2018). This is the lowest fertility rate the country has ever seen, and some officials worry it could negatively affect U.S. economic growth because it could mean fewer younger workers to buy things and fewer to pay into the Social Security system (Adamy 2018; Rugaber 2018).

Also, women are having their first child at a later age: The mean age of the American woman at the birth of her first baby rose from 21.4 years in 1970 to 26.6 in 2016 (Martin et al. 2018). (*See* ■ Panel 1.2.)

Panel 1.2 Diversity Data: First Birth.

Mean age of mother at first birth, by race and Hispanic origin, in 2016.

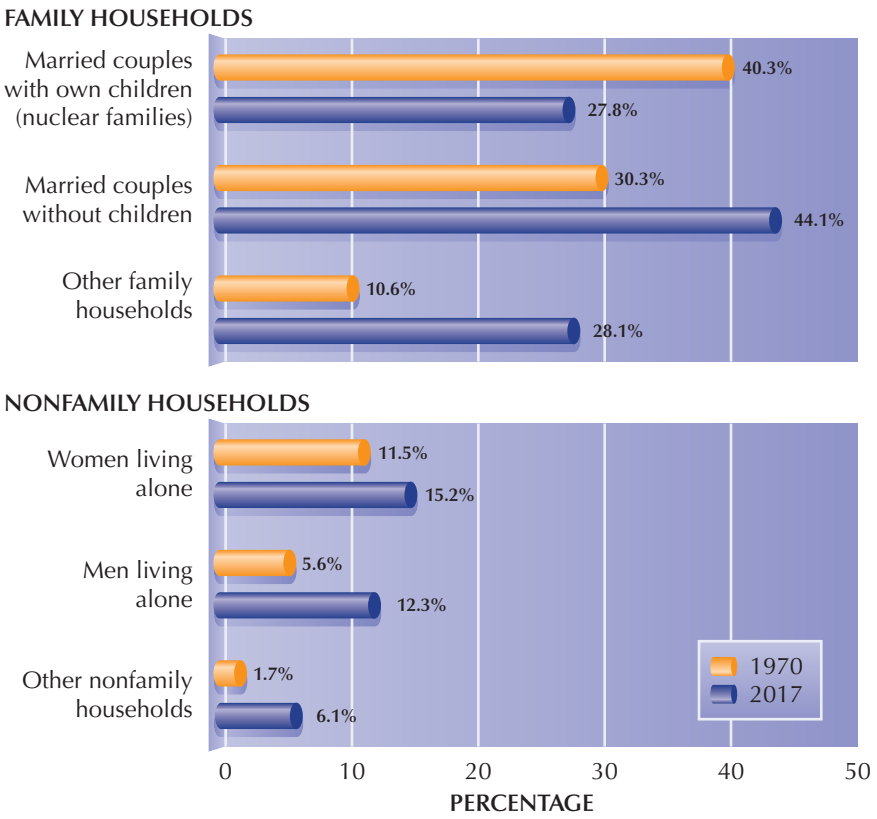


Source: Martin, J. A., B. E. Hamilton, M. J.K. Osterman, S. C. Curtin, and T. J. Mathews. 2015. Births: Final data for 2013. National Vital Statistics Reports 64(1). Hyattsville, MD: National Center for Health Statistics: Table 13. www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nvsr/nvsr64/nvsr64_01.pdf (accessed August 23, 2015).

Middle children are disappearing, with two thirds of women today having only one or two children—"an oldest, a youngest, but no middle" (Sternbergh 2018: 28), whereas in 1976 the average woman of childbearing age had given birth to more than three children (Livingston 2015). Not surprisingly, U.S. households are getting smaller: The average household size was down from 3.35 in 1960 to 2.54 in 2017 (U.S. Census Bureau 2017a).

- **Trend #3—More People Are Living Alone or in Unmarried Relationships** The modern (nuclear) family has given way to the postmodern (many-faceted) family. The biggest change in the last five decades, points out one statistician, comes from the decline in households with married couples (from 71% in 1970 to 44% in 2017) and a rise in households with a person living alone (20%) or with an unmarried partner (8%) (Schondelmyer 2017). Indeed, today only 20% of families probably can be considered nuclear (Coates et al. 2017: 88). (*See* ■ Panel 1.3.) (We discuss unmarrieds in Chapter 9, "Variations.")
- **Trend #4—More Familes Are Single-Parent Families** In 1971, 83% of children under age 18 lived with two married parents, but by 2016 this figure had declined to 69% (U.S. Census Bureau 2016). From 1970 to 2016, single-mother families grew from 12% to 23% and single-father families from 1% to 4% (ChildStats.gov 2017). In 1970, 11% of all births were to unmarried women; in 2016, that figure rose to 39.8% (Martin et al. 2018). (We discuss single-parent families in Chapter 9, "Variations," and Chapter 11, "Parenting.")

Panel 1.3 Changing American Family Households, 1970 Compared with 2017.



Source: Vespa, J., J. M. Lewis, and R. M. Kreider. 2013. America's families and living arrangements: 2012. Population Characteristics, August. P20-570. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau, www.census.gov/prod/2013pubs/p20-570.pdf (accessed June 21, 2015).

- **Trend #5—More Two-Parent Families Feature Both Parents Working** In 1998, only 23% of all families with a child under the age of 6 had one parent working and the other parent staying at home. Families with children in which both parents are working nearly doubled from 1976 to 2016—from 31% to 61.1%. Between 1970 and 2016, the percentage of married women with children under age 6 who were in the labor force went from 30% to 66.8%. From 1975 to 2016, the labor force participation rate of mothers with children under age 18 rose from 47% to 72.5% (U.S. Department of Labor 2017). (We discuss this topic further in Chapter 11, "Parenting," and Chapter 12, "Work.")
- **Trend #6—There Are More Divorces, Remarriages, and Blended Families** Between 1970 and 2005, the number of divorced persons in the United States rose from 4.3 million to 22.1 million (U.S. Census Bureau 2009). If all marriages are considered, about 2% to 3% end in divorce in any particular year. However, anywhere from 40% to 60% of *new* marriages will eventually end in divorce at some point—about one out of two. Divorces set the pattern for many of the postmodern families: single-parent families, remarriages, and blended families. In 2013, 15% of children under age 18 lived in blended families—that is, living with two parents who are in a remarriage (Livingston 2015). (We discuss divorce in Chapter 14, "Uncoupling," and remarriage and blended families in Chapter 15, "Remarriage.")

IS THE FAMILY IN DECLINE? The changes in traditional American family households have resulted in two points of view, as follows:

- **"The Decline in Two-Parent Families Means Trouble for Children"** Some sociologists, such as David Popenoe (1993, 2009, 2017), believe that the changes represent real and steep family decline, with serious consequences. He argues that

families have lost power and authority, that familism has diminished as a cultural value, and that people have become less willing to invest time, money, and energy in family life, instead turning to investments in themselves. The breakup of the nuclear family, he suggests, leaves two essential functions at risk that cannot be performed better anywhere else: (1) childrearing and (2) the provision to its members of affection and companionship.

- **"Children Are No Worse Off with Other Kinds of Parental Arrangements"** Other social scientists, as represented by Vern Bengtson and others (Bengtson et al. 2002; Biblarz and Stacey 2010), who drew from one of the longest-running studies in sociology, the Longitudinal Study of Generations, have a different view, finding that high rates of divorce, "fatherlessness," and working mothers had little or no negative effect.

  "The conventional wisdom that today's family is in decline implies that moms who work or choose to divorce are robbing their children in some way," said Biblarz (quoted in Silsby 2003). "Our study shows that single motherhood and working moms have not produced any dire consequences."

  The researchers hypothesized three reasons why Generation X (born 1965 to 1980), which came of age in the 1990s, has not become the "generation at risk" after all: (1) Extended kin relations, particularly the role of grandparents, were more important than ever. (2) Today's two-parent families were more successful than ever before. (3) Most parents seemed to continue to find ways to take good care of their children despite ups and downs.

How have changing social forces such as technology and economics impacted the family and the reasons to choose a mate?

Major Forces Affecting Relationships & Families

1.4 Describe the great forces that influenced family life.

PREVIEW Traditional families are being radically influenced by economic and demographic forces. Economically, the family has been affected by the Industrial Revolution, technological change, globalization, the mass media and popular culture, and recent economic changes. Demographic trends are affecting changes in ethnic and racial diversity.

Every few hundred years in Western history, according to famed management theorist Peter Drucker, there occurs a sharp transformation in which, within a few decades, "society rearranges itself—its world view; its basic values; its social and political structure; its arts; its key institutions" (Drucker 1993: 3). We are living through such a transformation today, with major economic, technological, and demographic forces having a profound impact on relationships, marriages, and families.

Today's Changing Families: Economic Forces

We consider the effects on intimacy, marriage, and family life posed by (1) the Industrial Revolution, (2) technological change, (3) globalization, (4) the mass media and popular culture, and (5) recent economic changes.

THE EFFECT OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION: FROM FAMILISM TO INDIVIDUALISM In the past century and a half, powerful economic forces caused families to move from a philosophy of familism to a philosophy of individualism.

- **Familism** Before the Industrial Revolution, which in the United States occurred mainly during the middle and late 1800s, human (and animal) labor, rather than machinery, was the dominant means of producing goods. In those times, families

lived mainly on farms or in villages and produced goods and services principally for themselves. "The traditional family," points out sociological theorist Anthony Giddens (2003: 18), "was above all an economic unit."

Family decision making, therefore, followed the philosophy of *familism*—that is, when decisions are made, family collective concerns take priority over individual concerns. Familism is still a guiding principle of families in China, Mexico, and many other parts of the world.

- **Individualism** As the United States became industrialized, families lost their self-sufficiency. Men were forced to leave home to work in mills and factories, while women were expected to tend to households and children. As a result, men became less actively involved in childrearing, and large numbers of children were no longer valued as contributors of labor to the family enterprise but instead were considered a drain on family resources.

  To support their children, both parents then became obliged to work outside the home, giving rise to the two-income family, and families moved to cities to have access to factory jobs. With both parents out of the house a great deal, children had less adult direction (Zaretsky 1976). Increasingly, family decision making switched to the philosophy of ***individualism*—that is, when decisions are made, individual concerns take priority over family collective concerns**. Individualism led to a search for personal fulfillment and less focus on children that, it has been suggested, may have contributed to less nurturing and more absent parents, with a consequent rise in juvenile delinquency, violence, and divorce (Hewlett 1992; Small 2002).

TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE: MORE COMPLEXITY OR MORE CHOICES? The hallmark of great civilizations has been their effective systems of communications. In the beginning, communications was based on transportation—the Roman Empire's network of roads, the far-flung navies of the European powers, the unification of the North American continent by transcontinental railroads and later airplanes and interstate highways.

- **From Transportation to Communication** Transportation began to yield to the electronic exchange of information. The amplifying vacuum tube, invented in 1906, led to commercial radio. Television came into being in England in 1925.

  During the 1950s and 1960s, as television exploded throughout the world, communications philosopher Marshall McLuhan (1951, 1960, 1964; McLuhan and Fiore 1967) posed the notion of a "global village," the "shrinking" of time and space as air travel and the electronic media made it easier for the people of the globe to communicate with one another. Then, with the invention of cell phones, pagers, fax machines, and voicemail, the world became even faster and smaller.
- **Computers, the Internet, and the Web** The microprocessor "is the most important invention of the 20th century," says Michael Malone (1995). This "silicon chip," used in all computers, enabled the revolution in consumer electronics, massive databases, and most certainly the internet , that worldwide computer-linked "network of networks."

  The internet might have remained the province of academicians had it not been for the contributions of Tim Berners-Lee, who came up with the system that debuted in 1991 as the World Wide Web. His work expanded the internet into a worldwide mass medium.

  Now we are well into the internet's second generation, which includes ***social networking websites*, or online communities of internet users who share a common bond**, such as Facebook, Twitter, and LinkedIn. Also important are ***media-sharing websites*, online social networks in which members share media such as photos, video, and music,** such as YouTube, Whatsapp, Instagram, and Pinterest.
- **Developments in Biology** The discovery in 1953 of DNA, the "living thread" that is the genetic basis of evolution and inheritance, gave researchers insights

into the molecule that makes and maintains all life. Now scientists are learning to redefine medicine from a discipline that tries to treat disease symptoms to one that finds out and fixes exactly what's wrong.

Practical Action

How Are Social Media Affecting Relationships?

When you have to abstain from using the instant connections and information afforded by social media, how do you feel? In withdrawal? Frantically craving? Very anxious? Miserable? Jittery? Crazy? These terms—the same terms associated with drug and alcohol addiction—were expressed by American college students who gave up all media for 24 hours, according to a University of Maryland study (International Center for Media and the Public Agenda 2010).

Was the addiction to the media themselves? More likely, the students were actually missing the social ties—friends and relationships with others. "What they spoke about in the strongest terms," said study director Susan Moeller (quoted in Nauert 2010), "was how their lack of access to text messaging, phone calling, instant messaging, e-mail, and Facebook meant that they couldn't connect with friends who lived close by, much less those far away."

The iGeneration

For young people ages 8 to 18, media and mobile devices are "part of the air that kids breathe," says Vicky Rideout (quoted in Toppo 2010), director of Kaiser Family Foundation's Program for the Study of Media and Health. Indeed, children and youths in this age range spend almost eight hours a day on various forms of media (Rideout et al. 2010). For this so-called iGeneration, growing up with 24/7 technology has given them adeptness at multitasking, a desire for immediacy, and the ability to use technology to create a vast array of "content," such as posting videos on friends' Facebook walls (Anderson and Jiang 2018; Rosen 2010; Twenge 2017).

Much has been written about the possible untoward effects of media and technology on attention spans, study skills, business productivity, and privacy—people who incessantly check their smartphones and the Web are more likely to be forgetful, have trouble focusing, and lack awareness of their surroundings (see, e.g., Anderson and Rainie 2018; Hadlington 2015; but also see Friedman 2018; Rideout and Robb 2018). But what about relationships? Is technology making people less sociable or is it enhancing relationships?

The Positives of Communications Technology

Some research (Hampton et al. 2011, 2015a, 2015b) finds that internet, cell phone, and especially social media users "tend to have more diverse and a large number of close relationships," says Keith Hampton (2015: R4). "What has changed is that communication technologies have made many of our relationships more persistent and pervasive." Because about 28% of noninstitutionalized people age 65 and older live alone (Administration on Aging 2018), online networks may offer an opportunity to stay connected (Bambina 2007). But the social positives don't stop there. "People are more likely to attend high school and college reunions because of shared interests with friends, thanks to social-networking services," says one writer (Swartz 2009: 2B). Communications technology allows military personnel and college students far from home to stay connected to their families and friends. Parents are also able to find community with other parents online, thus facilitating a kind of information exchange and intimacy not always available in today's compartmentalized world (Weise 2010). Teenagers use the internet not only to maintain existing friendships but also to forge new ones with peers they meet while browsing social networks such as Instagram or playing multiparty games like Candy Crush Saga (Lenhart 2015). And, of course, communications technology helps people find intimacy in the first place, as through online dating services, as we discuss in Chapter 4, "Involvement."

The Negatives of Communications Technology

"It seems like he can no longer be fully in the moment," Brenda Campell complains about her husband (quoted in Richtel 2010). Her spouse, Kord, is so distracted by the stimulation he gets from his electronic gadgets that he forgets dinner plans and has trouble focusing on his family.

Many users of smartphones and personal computers find these gadgets more intrusive, making it difficult to concentrate and increasing stress levels (Clark et al. 2017; Rosen 2012, 2015; Turkel 2011; Vannucci et al. 2017). People under age 45 are particularly affected, with almost 30% saying these devices made it harder to focus, compared with 10% of older users, according to a *New York Times*/CBS News poll (reported in Connelly 2010). Although others disagree, some scholars worry that "ease of electronic communication may be making teens less interested in face-to-face communication with their friends" (Rideout and Robb 2018; Subrahmanyam and Greenfield 2008). Some studies suggest that otherwise healthy individuals are more vulnerable to depression if they spend too much time on the internet (Lam and Peng 2010; Steers et al. 2014).

There are other ways that communications technology has changed human interaction for the worse. Elsewhere we touch on such subjects as Facebook-induced jealousy, cyberbullying, sexting (sending revealing text-message attachments), and "Webtribution" (internet vengeance).

Discoveries in biology are already being used to treat fertility problems. It is expected that as gene therapy becomes available it will help spare prospective parents having to deal with such heartbreakers as mental retardation, cystic fibrosis, and spina bifida in their children. Perhaps revelations in biology can also begin to reverse the depredations of aging, including dementias such as Alzheimer's disease.

Technology can have both bad and good effects on relationships. Air travel may take breadwinners away from their families, for instance, but email, cell phones, and videoconferencing may keep them connected. Improved forms of birth control allow people to be physically intimate and pursue their educations and careers, yet they also can have the effect of pulling people away from extended family ties that revolve around childcare.

GLOBALIZATION We are living in a world being rapidly changed by ***globalization*—the trend of the world economy toward becoming a more interdependent system**. In the late 1980s, the Berlin Wall came down, signaling the beginning of the end of communism in Eastern Europe; the countries of the Pacific Rim began to open their economies to foreign investors; and governments around the globe began deregulating their economies. These three events set up conditions by which goods, people, and money could move more freely throughout the world—a global economy. The global economy is the increasing tendency of the economies of the world to interact with one another as one market instead of many national markets.

Is globalization good or bad? There are opposing arguments.

- **Argument for Globalization** Some think the global connections among U.S. exports, international trade, and the U.S. economy are a good thing (Collins 2015; Josephson 2017). For the United States, globalization broadens access to goods and services, creates jobs, makes companies more competitive, and lowers prices for consumers. For poor countries, globalization gives them the chance to develop economically and can lift people out of poverty. For both the United States and the world, globalization can spread information and technology more easily and increase cultural awareness.
- **Argument against Globalization** Critics (Collins 2017; Josephson 2017; Pryor 2002) say globalization limits the ability of the United States to protect particular sectors of its economy and makes it more vulnerable to external shocks. For instance, financial crises throughout the world resulted in vast surplus funds from global investments flowing into the United States and being invested badly in a housing-and-credit bubble that burst (the so-called subprime mortgage meltdown), leading to the 2007–2009 Great Recession that hurt so many people.

  Globalization has also contributed to the reduction in some good-paying, low-skill manufacturing jobs in the United States as these jobs have moved to low-wage countries. In addition, multinational corporations decided to redirect investments and businesses offshore instead of in the United States. An important result of these changes is an increase in wealth inequality, which (along with immigration challenges) has led to a voter backlash against political leaders in the United States and Europe (Ip 2018; Smick 2018). We discuss these matters in more detail in Chapter 12, "Work."

One result of globalization is that the U.S. economy is no longer dominated by manufacturing and the production of goods but rather by the performance of services, such as those in business, health, and social services. Service-providing industries are expected to account for the majority of job growth generated between 2014 and 2024 (U.S. Department of Labor 2015).

Some jobs in services require college educations and pay well (general managers, nurses, postsecondary teachers). Unfortunately, most of the growing service jobs don't require much education and do not pay well (food service personnel, retail salespeople, cashiers, clerks, security guards, truck drivers, nursing aides, and janitors, for

example). Because the stability and happiness of relationships and families depend so much on good-paying jobs, globalization has meant trouble for some families.

Robert Kneschke/Shutterstock

GLOBALIZATION AND TECHNOLOGY. Easier cross-border trade may bring many benefits to the United States, such as cheaper products and services. But how will you and the relationships within your family be affected if traditional good-paying American jobs are transferred to low-wage countries such as India, which hosts hundreds of customer call centers like this one? How should you prepare for this possibility?

THE MASS MEDIA & POPULAR CULTURE: RELIEF FROM BOREDOM & OTHER EFFECTS Therapists often blame adultery and divorce on communication breakdowns and other problems, but could the main threat be pure, simple boredom? One study of 123 married couples found that those who reported boredom at year seven of their marriages were less likely to be satisfied with their marriages at year 16 (Tsapelas et al. 2009).

We discuss the causes of infidelity elsewhere in this text, but here let us consider that huge empire built to fight boredom in modern life—the mass media, the entertainment industry, and all those companies trying to sell new cars, clothes, music, and products for spicing up your sex life.

The mass media and their sidekick—popular culture—are a major source of much of the information, both accurate and inaccurate, we have about *roles*, *beliefs*, and *values* in our lives.

- **Roles** **A *role* is the pattern of behaviors expected of a person who occupies a certain social position within a certain group or culture**. Spouses are expected to play one role, parents another, and sometimes the two collide; this is called *role conflict*. Popular magazines might encourage you to be wild and sexy for your mate, for example, but sober and responsible for your kids. (We consider role conflict, role strain, role overload, and role ambiguity in Chapter 12, "Work.")
- **Beliefs** ***Beliefs* refer to the definitions and explanations people have about what is true**. The mass media perpetuate and reinforce many beliefs—for instance, that long-term marriages are "successful" and short-term marriages are "failures." Or that people who are handsome or beautiful are better than those who are not.
- **Values** ***Values* are deeply held beliefs and attitudes about what is right and wrong, desirable and undesirable**. The media encourage conflicting values: Being "swept away" in a romantic relationship is considered desirable, for instance, yet so is "standing by your man."

Because the mass media and popular culture can have such an impact on our roles, beliefs, and values in relation to intimacy, marriage, and family, we begin each chapter with examples and discussion of these powerful influences.

THE GREAT RECESSION & ITS AFTERMATH: THE REDISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH The Great Recession, as it has been called, officially began December 2007 and officially ended June 2009. Through 2008 the decline in mortgage values and plunging home prices battered banks and other financial institutions. The September 2008 bankruptcy of investment bank Lehman Brothers triggered a near meltdown of the U.S. financial system. Stock prices collapsed, down by 34% a year later and destroying $14 trillion in household wealth. A record 8.4 million jobs disappeared and the U.S. unemployment rate soared to 10% (Belsie 2010). And the economic crisis went global, affecting countries from Iceland and Ireland to China and Japan.

By 2009, the median income of working-age (under 65) households had tumbled 4.6%, the number of people without medical insurance rose by 4.4 million, and nearly 44 million people were living in poverty—more than 14% of the population, the highest percentage in 15 years and the highest number in more than a half-century. More than a quarter of all African Americans and a similar percentage of Hispanics were poor; more than 15 million children were found to be impoverished. By 2017, the richest 1% owned more of U.S. wealth than at any time in the previous 50 years (Ingraham 2017; Schwartz 2018; Wolff 2017).

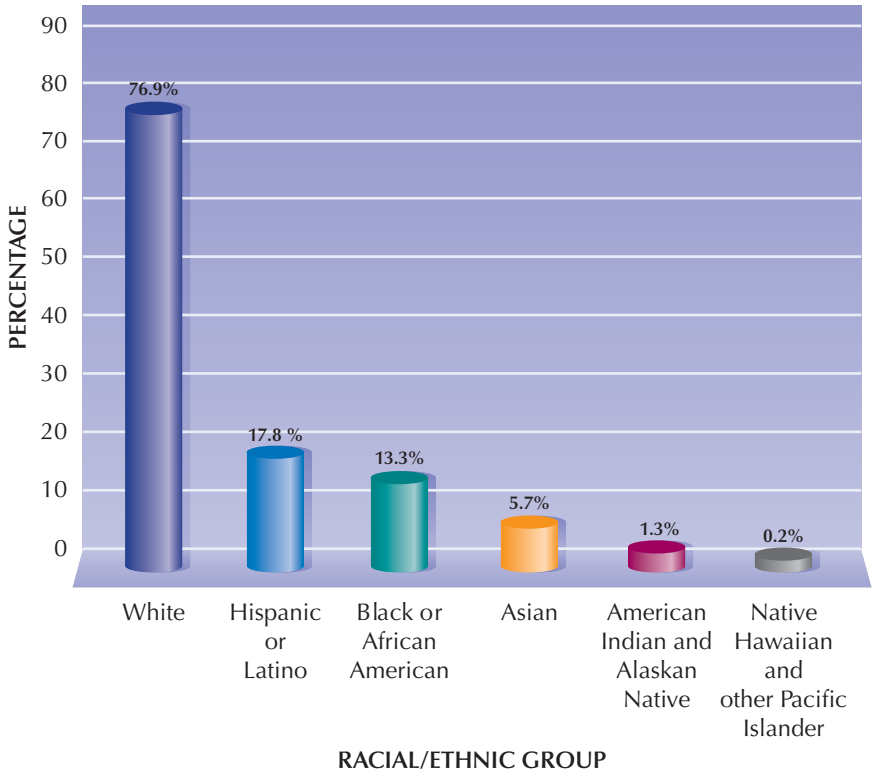
The effects on families were enormous. We mentioned that more multigenerational families are living together, more grandparents are raising children, and more children (32%) now live with an unmarried parent (Livingston 2018). In addition, more young adults have moved back home with their parents (Fry 2017a). The rate and number of babies being born has declined (Rettner 2018). Fewer Americans own their own home or have moved to a new residence (Fry 2017b). Fewer people have gotten married (Schneider et al. 2018). Finally, it took a full 10 years for the U.S. economy to claw its way back to pre-recession levels (DePilis 2018; Fox 2018.)

Today's Changing Families: Demographic Trends

***Demography* ("dem-*og*-graf-fee") is the study of population and population characteristics—called *demographics* ("dem-oh-*graf*-iks")—such as family size, marriage and divorce rates, and ethnicity and race.**

The major racial and ethnic groups in the United States today are shown in the following panel. (*See* ■ Panel 1.4.) ***Race* describes inherited physical characteristics that distinguish one group from another. *Ethnicity* describes cultural characteristics that distinguish one group from another.**

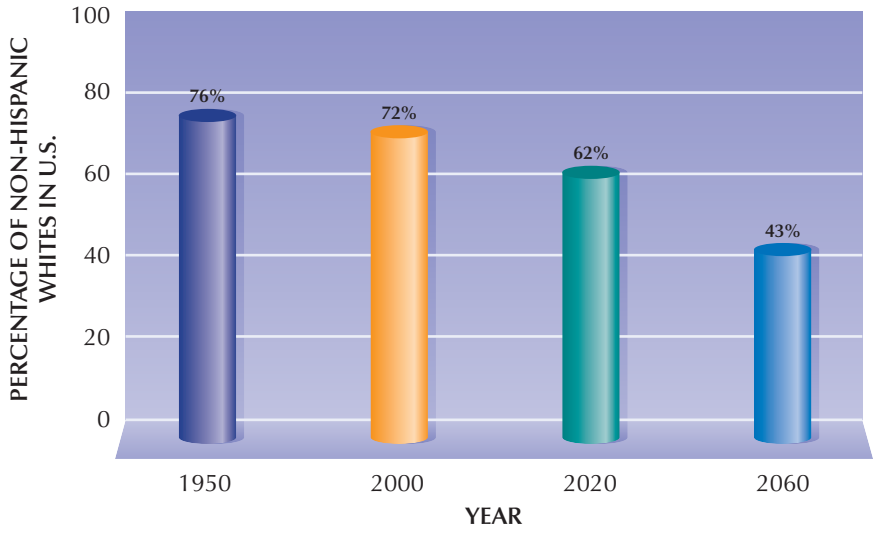
Panel 1.4 Diversity Data: Major Racial and Ethnic Groups in the United States, 2017 (persons reporting only one race).



Source: U.S. Census Bureau. 2015b. Hispanelic Americans by the numbers. InfoPlease. www.infoplease.com/spot/hhmcensus1.html (accessed June 21, 2015).

Much past research on American marriage and families was based on whites—whites not of Hispanic descent. (Hispanics can be of any race.) But research findings about whites should not be generalized to nonwhites. This conclusion becomes all the more important when we consider that the percentage of non-Hispanic whites is fast declining in the United States. The domination of the white European majority has dropped from 76% in 1950 to an expected 62% in 2020 and is projected to slip to 43% by 2060. (*See* ■ Panel 1.5.)

Panel 1.5 Diversity Data: Declining U.S. Population That Is Non-Hispanic White—Actual and Projected.

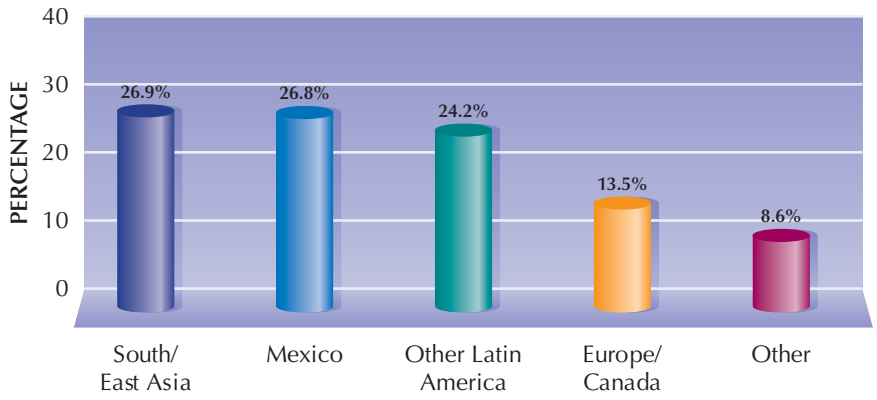


Source: Colby, S. L., and J. M. Ortman. Projections of the size and composition of the U.S. Population: 2014 to 2060. Population Estimates and Projections, March. P25-1143. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Census Bureau. 2012b. U.S. Census Bureau projections show a slower growing, older, more diverse nation a half century from now. Newsroom Archive, December 12. www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/population/cb12-243.html (accessed June 21, 2015).

Indeed, the racial and ethnic composition of the United States is changing in significant ways. A big contributor to this demographic upheaval is the new immigration: In 2015, 13.4% of the U.S. population was foreign born—43.2 million people (Lopez and Radford 2017). Whereas in 1960, 84% of immigrants living in the United States were born in Europe or Canada, by 2015 only 13.5% were, with the rest coming from non-European countries. (*See* ■ Panel 1.6.) Today, according to the U.S. Census Bureau,

Panel 1.6 Diversity Data: Origins of the Foreign-Born, 2015.

U.S. legal immigrants by region of origin.

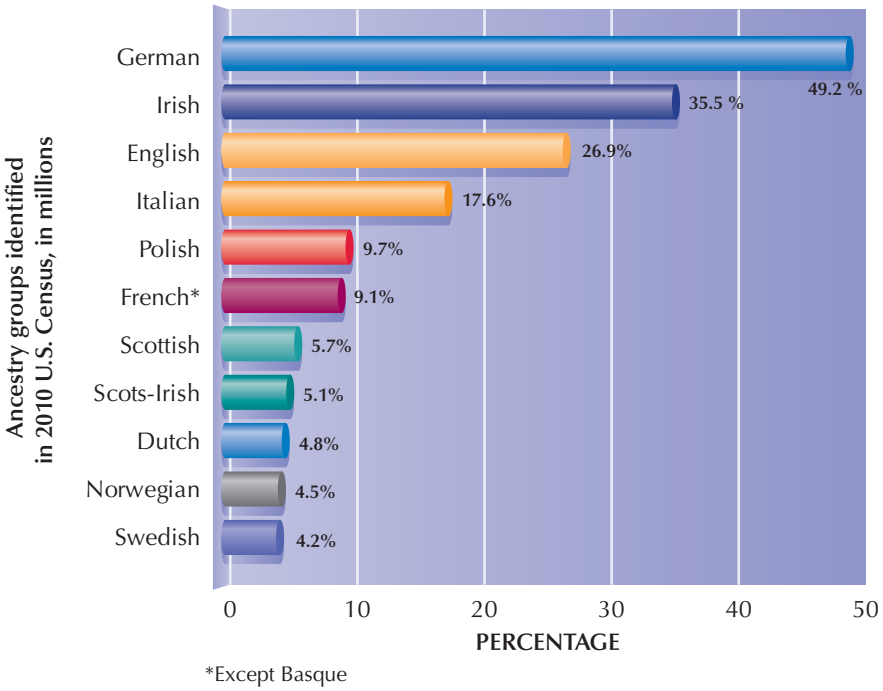


Source: Based on Lopez, G., and J. Radford. 2017. Facts on U.S. immigrants, May 3. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. http://www.pewhispanic.org/2017/05/03/facts-on-u-s-immigrants (accessed May 21, 2018).

"the foreign-born population in the United States has reached its highest share since 1910," writes a *New York Times* reporter (Tavernise 2018: 1A). The number of immigrants living in the United States is projected to almost double by 2065 (Cohn 2015).

WHITES—76.9% OF AMERICANS IN 2017 The largest number of whites is of European and Canadian descent, with the top three European ancestry groups in the United States being German, Irish, and English, followed by Italian, Polish, French, Scottish, Scots-Irish, Dutch, Norwegian, and Swedish (O'Connor et al. 2013). (*See* ■ Panel 1.7.) People of Jewish ethnicity are also generally of European descent. There are about 2 million Americans claiming French Canadian ancestry.

Panel 1.7 Diversity Data: What Are the Principal Ancestral Origins of Non-Hispanic White Americans, 2010?



Source: Based on data from O'Connor, L., G. Lubin, and D. Spector. 2013. The largest ancestry groups in the United States. Business Insider, August 13. http://www.businessinsider.com/largest-ethnic-groups-in-america-2013-8 (accessed May 22, 2018).

Whereas earlier in U.S. history members of European ethnic groups preferred to drop their ethnic identifications and take on the beliefs and values of the majority culture, now many descendants like to demonstrate their ethnic identification, especially during major holidays such as St. Patrick's Day (Irish), Columbus Day (Italian), and Hanukkah (Jewish).

HISPANIC OR LATINO—17.8% IN 2017 Members of ethnic groups calling themselves Hispanic or Latino—who might identify themselves racially as white, black, Asian, or American Indian—make up the largest minority group in the United States as well as the fastest growing. (*See* ■ Panel 1.8.)

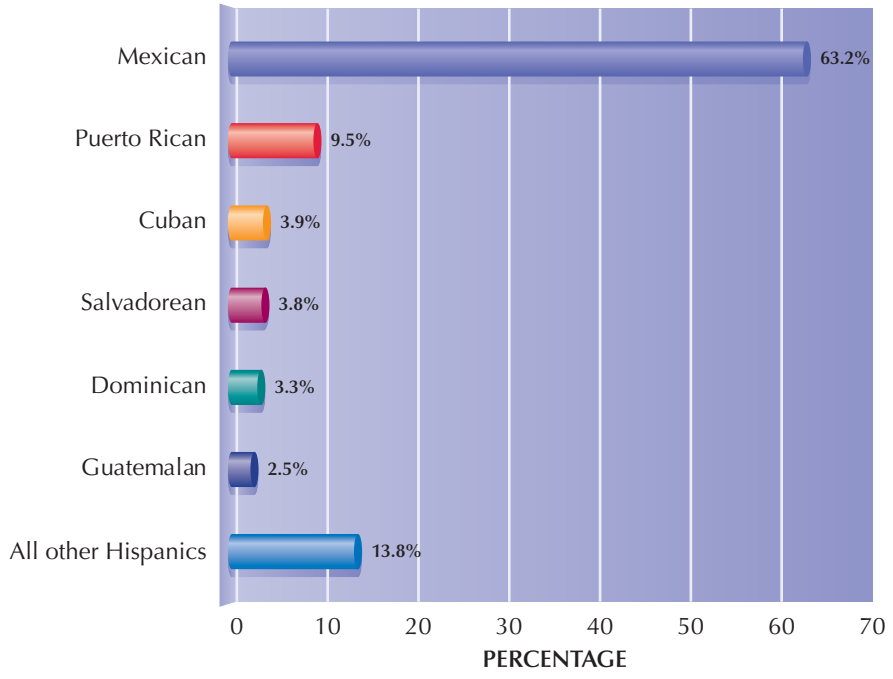
As the chart on the next page shows, more than 63% of Hispanics are of Mexican origin. (*See* ■ Panel 1.9.) Hispanic families are particularly affected by economic upheavals occasioned by such forces as the increase in globalization, the rise of new computer-based technologies, the dominance of information and service sectors of the economy over manufacturing, and the movement of capital between countries (Baca Zinn and Wells 1999; Suro 2007), which affect their employment. As a result, Hispanic families tend to be

Panel 1.8 Diversity Data: Who Are Hispanics or Latinos?

- Hispanics represent the largest minority in the United States. In 2013, there were far more Hispanics in the United States (58.6 million) than there were Canadians in Canada (37 million). In 2016, 66% were native-born and 34% were foreign-born. Sixty-three percent have ties to Mexico, 9.5% to Puerto Rico.
- "Hispanics" and "Latinos" are the terms used by the Census Bureau, although Mexicans may use the term "Chicanos." Most people of Spanish descent identify with a particular country—Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Cubans, and so on. (In this text, we generally use the term "Hispanics.")
- There are 17 major Hispanic subcultures: Californians (divided among immigrant Mexicans, middle-class Mexicans, barrio dwellers, and Central Americans); Tejanos (South Texans, Houston Mexicans, Texas Guatemalans); Chicago Latinos (Chicago Mexicans, Chicago Puerto Ricans); Miamians (Cubans, Nicaraguans, South Americans); New York Hispanics (Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, Colombians); and elsewhere in the United States (New Mexico's Hispanos, migrant workers all over).
- Many Hispanics in the United States speak only English; indeed, the percentage of Hispanics age 5 and older who speak English proficiently has risen from 59% in 2000 to 69% in 2015, while those who speak Spanish at home declined from 78% to 73%.

Sources: Flores 2017; Krogstad 2017; Krogstad and Lopez 2017; Krogstad et al. 2015; Marin and Marin 1991; U.S. Census Bureau 2017c.

Panel 1.9 Diversity Data: Ancestry of People Who Identified Themselves as Being of Hispanic or Latino Descent, 2016.



Source: U.S. Census Bureau. 2017c. Facts for features: Hispanic Heritage Month 2017. Newsroom, August 31. https://www.census.gov/newsroom/facts-for-features/2017/hispanic-heritage.html (accessed May 22, 2018).

poorer than non-Hispanic whites, are more likely than whites or blacks to have a family household, and are more likely than blacks to have a married couple in the household.

Hispanic nuclear families are augmented by strong kinship networks of relatives who tend to live close by and lend mutual assistance. More than one-third of Hispanic families have five or more children. Hispanics are more likely to separate or divorce compared with non-Hispanic whites, though less so than African Americans.

Interestingly, the notion of *machismo*, or male dominance, that we described as being associated with earlier Hispanic families seems to be less common than it was in the past, although husbands, particularly in working-class families, seem to have more power than their spouses. In most cases, Hispanic families seem to show more egalitarianism than male dominance, with men helping with childcare and spending

more time with their families than with other men (Cardona et al. 2000; Harwood et al. 2002; Lam et al. 2012).

BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICANS—13.3% IN 2017 Today middle-class black families are as stable as comparable white families. In two-parent black families, both parents often work, resulting in more egalitarian division of domestic responsibilities. Children are valued, family loyalty is prized, and many African Americans have extended families to lend economic and emotional support.

On the other hand, African Americans own one-tenth the wealth of white Americans and they are burdened by more costly debt (Hanks et al. 2018). Because there is a high correlation between poverty and broken families (families in which the parents are separated or divorced), poor African Americans have high rates of divorce, of births to unwed mothers, and of households headed by a single parent.

Unlike many Hispanics and Asian Americans, most African Americans—particularly those whose ancestors were part of the Atlantic slave trade—are not able to identify their country of origin. "Black" is not synonymous with "African-American," and for the 2020 U.S. Census it's proposed that blacks be allowed to be more specific, writing Jamaican, Nigerian, Ethiopian, and so on.

About 9% of the U.S. black population was foreign-born in 2015, about half being from the Caribbean, with Jamaica and Haiti being the most frequent countries of origin (Bialik and Cilluffo 2017; Macias 2018).

ASIAN AMERICANS—5.7% IN 2017 As with Hispanics, Asian Americans trace their roots to many different countries of origin. (*See* ■ Panel 1.10.)

Panel 1.10 Diversity Data: Who Are Asian Americans?

- Asians were, at 5.7% in 2017, the fastest-growing racial group in the United States—four times faster than the total U.S. population. Asian Americans come from more than 20 countries in East and Southeast Asia and the Indian subcontinent.
- Asians may be identified by the U.S. Census as either "Asian alone" or "Asian in combination with other races." In terms of Asian alone, the largest groups are Chinese (22.8%), Asian Indian (19.4%), Filipino (17.4%), Vietnamese (10.6%), Korean (9.7%), and Japanese (5.2%).
- More Asian immigrants have arrived in the U.S. than Hispanic immigrants each year since 2010, topped by arrivals from China and India. Asians are projected to become the largest immigrant group in the country, surpassing Hispanics in 2055. Today 59% of the U.S. Asian population was born in another country.
- Nearly three-fourths of all Asians live in nine states: California, New York, Texas, New Jersey, Hawaii, Washington, Florida, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. The Asian population represents over 50% of the total population in Hawaii and over 8% in five other states.

Source: Based on Hoeffel, E. M., S. Rastogi, M. O. Kim, and H. Shahid. 2012. The Asian population: 2010. C2010BR-11. 2010 Census Briefs, March. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau, Lopez, G., N. G. Ruiz, and E. Patten. 2017. Key facts about Asian Americans, a diverse and growing population. Fact Tank, September 8. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/09/08/key-facts-about-asian-americans (accessed May 24, 2018).

Asian Americans are the most economically well-off racial category in the United States. For instance, Chinese Americans tend to be among the best educated, have the highest incomes, and suffer the lowest unemployment compared with other Americans. How much Asian Americans tend to be culturally distinct depends on whether they are American-born or foreign-born and whether they are members of older immigrant groups or more recent ones. The newer they are to the United States, the more apt they are to emphasize familism, strong parental control, kinship ties, conservative sexual values, large families, and motivation to achieve (Ishii-Kuntz 1997; Lin and Fu 1990; Sakamoto et al. 2012).

In 1882, Congress initiated a policy of prohibiting Chinese laborers from immigrating to the United States (who had earlier been encouraged to immigrate because of the need for cheap labor). The 1924 immigration law excluded in effect all Asians. The law was loosened in 1943, but discriminatory immigration quotas against Asians prevailed until 1965. Whereas most of the Asian immigrants before World War II were peasants, the ones who have arrived in recent times have been either poor, uneducated