# PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FAMILIES



AN INTRODUCTION

**ANDREW J. CHERLIN** 



# PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FAMILIES



#### An Introduction

ANDREW J. CHERLIN

Johns Hopkins University

Consulting Editor
CRAIG CALHOUN

The University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

#### McGRAW-HILL, INC.

New York St. Louis San Francisco Auckland Bogotá Caracas Lisbon London Madrid Mexico City Milan Montreal New Delhi San Juan Singapore Sydney Tokyo Toronto

#### PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FAMILIES: An Introduction

Copyright © 1996 by McGraw-Hill, Inc. All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. Except as permitted under the United States Copyright Act of 1976, no part of this publication may be reproduced or distributed in any form or by any means, or stored in a data base or retrieval system, without the prior written permission of the publisher.

Acknowledgments and Photo Credits appear on pages 511–516, and on this page by reference.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

1234567890 KGP KGP 9098765

ISBN 0-07-010632-0

This book was set in New Baskerville by GTS Graphics. The editors were Rhona Robbin, Jill S. Gordon, and Peggy Rehberger; the designer was Joan E. O'Connor; the production supervisor was Richard A. Ausburn. The photo editor was Inge King. Quebecor Printing/Kingsport was printer and binder.

Cover painting: Paul Klee, Rich Harbour.

Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel, Kunstmuseum
Gift of the artist's heirs 1948

#### Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Cherlin, Andrew J., (date).
Public and private families: an introduction / Andrew J. Cherlin.
p. cm.
Includes index.
ISBN 0-07-010632-0
1. Family—United States. 2. Family. I. Title.
HQ536.C44 1996
306.85—dc20 95-8973

# ABOUT THE AUTHOR



Andrew J. Cherlin is Benjamin H. Griswold III Professor of Public Policy in the Department of Sociology at Johns Hopkins University. He received a B.S. from Yale University in 1970 and a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1976. His books

include Marriage, Divorce, Remarriage (revised and enlarged edition, 1992); Divided Families: What Happens to Children when Parents Part (with Frank F. Furstenberg, Jr., 1991); The Changing American Family and the Public Policy (1988); and The New American Grandparent: A Place in the Family, A Life Apart (with Frank F. Furstenberg, Jr., 1986). In 1989–1990 he was Chair of the Family Section, and in 1995–1996 he is Chair of the Population Section, of the American Sociological Association.

Professor Cherlin is a recipient of a MERIT (Method to Extend Research in Time) Award from the National Institutes of Health for his research on the effects of divorce on children. He was a member of both the Panel on Child Care Policy and the Committee on Child Development Research and Public Policy of the National Academy of Sciences. His recent articles include "Stepfamilies in the United States: A Reconsideration," in the Annual Review of Sociology; "Nostalgia as Family Policy," in The Public Interest; "Longitudinal Studies of the Effects of Divorce on Children," in Science; and "Recent Changes in American Fertility, Marriage, and Divorce," in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. He also has written many short articles for The New York Times, The Washington Post, Newsweek, and other periodicals. He has been interviewed on ABC News Nightline, the Today Show, the CBS Evening News, National Public Radio's All Things Considered, and other news programs and documentaries.

### **PREFACE**



The sociology of the family is deceptively hard to study. Unlike, say, physics, the topic is familiar (a word whose very root is Latin for "family") because virtually everyone grows up in families. Therefore, it can seem "easy" to study the family because students can bring to bear

their personal knowledge of the subject. Some textbooks play to this familiarity by mainly providing students with an opportunity to better understand their private lives. The authors never stray too far from the individual experiences of their readers, focusing on personal choices such as whether to marry and whether to have children. To be sure, giving students insight into the social forces that shape their personal decisions about family life is a worthwhile objective. Nevertheless, the challenge of writing about the sociology of the family is to also help students understand that the significance of families extends beyond personal experience. Today, as in the past, the family is the site of not only private decisions but also activities that matter to our society as a whole.

These activities center on taking care of people who are unable to fully care for themselves, most notably children and the elderly. Anyone who follows social issues knows of the often-expressed concern about whether, given developments such as the increases in divorce and childbearing outside of marriage, we are raising the next generation adequately. Anyone anxious about the well-being of the rapidly growing elderly population (as well as the escalating cost of providing financial and medical assistance to the elderly) knows the concern about whether family members will continue to provide adequate assistance to them. Indeed, rarely does a month pass without these issues appearing on the covers of magazines and the front pages of newspapers.

In this textbook, consequently, I have written about the family in two senses: the *private family* in which we live most of our personal lives and the *public family* in which adults perform tasks that are important to society. My goal is to give students a thorough grounding in both aspects. It is true that the two are related—taking care of children adequately, for instance, requires the love and affection that family members express privately toward each other. But the public side of the family deserves equal time with the private side.

#### **ORGANIZATION**

This book is divided into six parts and sixteen chapters. Part One ("Introduction") introduces the concepts of the public and private families and examines how sociologists and other social scientists study them. It provides an overview of the history of the family and then examines the central concept of gender. Part Two ("Race, Ethnicity, Class, and the State") deals with the larger social structures in which family relations are embedded: social class hierarchies, and racial and ethnic divisions. A chapter is then devoted to the influences of the nation-state on family life. In Part Three ("Sexuality, Partnership, and Marriage"), the focus shifts to the private family—and specifically to the emergence of the modern concept of sexuality, to the formation of partnerships through dating, courtship, and cohabitation, and to the interpersonal relations between spouses and cohabiting partners.

Part Four ("Power, Conflict, and Disruption") deals with the consequences of conflict and of inequalities in power. First, the connections between the world of work and the balance of power and authority in the family are examined. Attention shifts to violence against wives, partners, and children. Then divorce and remarriage are discussed. Part Five ("Links across the Generations") explores how well the public family is meeting its caretaking responsibilities for children and the elderly. Finally, in Part Six ("Family and Society"), I discuss where the great social changes of the twentieth century have left the institution of the family.

#### SPECIAL FEATURES

This textbook differs from others in several ways. The first is the public versus private distinction, which underlies its structure. It is my hope that this organizing principle will lead to a more balanced portrait of contemporary family life. Furthermore, the focus on the public family leads to a much greater emphasis on social issues involving the family than in most other textbooks. In fact, every chapter except the first includes a short, boxed essay under the general title, "Families and Public Policy." The topics encompass homeless families, the AIDS epidemic, teenage childbearing, foster care, surrogate mothers, and more. Given the attention currently paid to issues such as these, the essays should stimulate student interest and make the book relevant to current political debates.

Although the emphasis in the book is on the contemporary United States and other Western nations, no text should ignore the important historical and cross-cultural diversity of families. Consequently, in addition to relevant material in the body of the text, I have also included in every chapter except the first another boxed essay under the title, "Families in Other Cultures." The topics of these cross-

cultural and historical essays include gender relations in China and Russia, parents' influence over the choice of marriage partners in Thailand, wife-beating in less-developed nations, the origins of the wicked stepmother myth, the high rates of poverty of U.S. children compared to children in other developed countries, and the lives of the elderly and their families in Japan. I hope that these essays will not only pique the readers' interest but also broaden the scope of their understanding. Moreover, both the policy essays and the cross-cultural essays should provide good starting points for class discussions.

The attention to the public family also led me to write several chapters that are rarely found in sociology of the family textbooks. These include Chapter 6, "The Family, the State, and Social Policy," Chapter 14, "Children and Parents" (written from the perspective of examining children's well-being), and Chapter 15, "The Elderly and Their Families." These chapters examine issues of great current interest, such as income assistance to poor families, the effects of out-of-home childcare, and the costs of the social security and Medicare programs. Throughout these and other chapters, variations by class, race, ethnicity, and gender are explored.

#### PEDAGOGY

Each chapter begins in a way that should engage the reader, with introductions on such topics as the neither-men-nor-women *berdaches* of many Native American tribes; the nineteenth-century diary in which Maud Rittenhouse described her suitors; the plight of Lafayette and Pharoah Rivers, two children growing up in a violent Chicago neighborhood; the story of the first person ever to obtain a divorce in England; the case of Danny Henrikson, taken from the stepfather who raised him and awarded by a judge to a father he did not know; and so forth. In fact, throughout the book, I have tried to write lively, succinct prose.

Each of the six parts of the book is preceded by a brief introduction that sets the stage. And each chapter contains an opening outline, key terms (highlighted in boldface where they are introduced and defined), and a chapter-ending summary and list of key terms. In addition, there is a comprehensive end-of-book glossary. Information is presented graphically in 53 charts and graphs. Numerous photographs illustrate important points in each chapter.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To write a book this comprehensive requires the help of many people. The first drafts of eight chapters were assigned in sociology of the family classes at the University of North Carolina by Ronald R. Rindfuss and at the University of Pennsylvania by Frank F. Furstenberg, Jr. Their summaries of their student's experiences helped me to shape the revisions. Furstenberg also was kind enough to read drafts of some other chapters. Two other colleagues whose opinions I frequently rely upon, P. Lindsay Chase-Lansdale of the University of Chicago and Nancy E. Riley of Bowdoin College, provided excellent comments on several chapters. At McGraw-Hill sponsoring editors Sylvia Shepard and then Jill Gordon provided me with editorial guidance, while senior developmental editor Rhona Robbin prepared detailed critiques that greatly improved every chapter. In addition, the fol-

xxviii

lowing individuals provided reviews of parts of the manuscript: Lawrence S. Beckhouse, College of William and Mary; Michael G. Breci, St. Cloud State University; Robert L. Burgess, Penn State University; Susan A. Farrell, Kingsborough Community College; Robin Franck, Southwestern College; Lee Frank, Community College of Allegheny County; Rosalie Gilford, California State University–Fullerton; Norval D. Glenn, University of Texas–Austin; Elizabeth Grauerholz, Purdue University; Nancy A. Greenwood, Indiana University–Kokomo and affiliated with Purdue University; Peter L. Heller, Middle Tennessee State University; Bron Ingoldsby, Ricks College; Gregory E. Kennedy, Central Missouri State University; David Kent Lee, California State University–Sacramento; Diane Lye, University of Washington; David E. Olday, Moorhead State University; Jill Quadagno, Florida State University; Terry C. Rodenberg, Central Missouri State University; Stacy J. Rogers, Iowa State University; Roger H. Rubin, University of Maryland; Marlena Studer, Tulane University; Peter Uhlenberg, University of North Carolina–Chapel Hill; and Lou Wylie, James Madison University.

Finally, I thank Richard Cohen and Meredith Vieira for providing me with a writing retreat during my fall 1992 sabbatical leave.

Andrew J. Cherlin



## PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FAMILIES



An Introduction

# CONTENTS IN BRIEF

LIST OF BOXES PREFACE	xxiii xxv
PART ONE INTRODUCTION	1
1 PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FAMILIES 2 THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY 3 GENDER AND FAMILIES	3 31 67
PART TWO RACE, ETHNICITY, CLASS, AND THE STATE	97
4 SOCIAL CLASS AND FAMILIES 5 RACE, ETHNICITY, AND FAMILIES 6 THE FAMILY, THE STATE, AND SOCIAL POLICY	99 125 159
PART THREE SEXUALITY, PARTNERSHIP, AND MARRIAGE	185
7 SEXUALITY AND LOVE 8 PATHS TO FAMILY FORMATION 9 SPOUSES AND PARTNERS	187 221 259
PART FOUR POWER, CONFLICT, AND DISRUPTION	285
10 WORK AND FAMILIES 11 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE 12 DIVORCE 13 REMARRIAGE	287 319 349 379
PART FIVE LINKS ACROSS THE GENERATIONS	405
14 CHILDREN AND PARENTS 15 THE ELDERLY AND THEIR FAMILIES	407 445
PART SIX FAMILY AND SOCIETY	475
16 SOCIAL CHANGE AND FAMILIES	477
GLOSSARY ACKNOWLEDGMENTS PHOTO CREDITS INDEX	505 511 515 517

# **CONTENTS**

LIST OF BOXES PREFACE	xxiii xxv
PART ONE INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1 PUBLIC AND PRIVATE FAMILIES	3
INTRODUCTION	3
American Ambivalence toward Marriage and the Family	5
Marriage and the Family: Contrasting Sociological Viewpoints	8
HOW SOCIOLOGISTS STUDY THE FAMILY	11
The Sociological Perspective	11
Other Perspectives	13
WHAT IS A FAMILY?	15
The Public Family	16
The Private Family	19
Two Views, Same Family	22
SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY AND THE FAMILY	23
The Functionalist Perspective	23
The Conflict Perspective	24
1	

xii CONTENTS

The Exchange Perspective	25
The Symbolic Interactionist Perspective	25
The Feminist Perspective	26
SUMMARY	29
KEY TERMS	29
CHAPTER OF THE INCTORVOETHE FAMILY	0.1
CHAPTER 2 THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY	31
INTRODUCTION	31
WHAT DO FAMILIES DO?	34
The Origins of Family and Kinship	34
Native American Families	36
Modes of Production	38
THE AMERICAN FAMILY BEFORE 1776	39
The Primacy of the Public Family	39
The Dominant Role of the Father	41
THE EMERGENCE OF THE "MODERN" AMERICAN FAMILY: 1776–1900	42
The Rise of Individualism	43
From Cooperation to Separation: Women's and Men's Spheres	43
Working-Class Families	46
AFRICAN-AMERICAN AND MEXICAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES	49
African-American Families	49
Families in Other Cultures: The Process of Marriage	
in Sub-Saharan Africa Mexican-American Families	52 53
Mexican-American Families	33
THE RISE OF THE PRIVATE FAMILY: 1900–PRESENT	54
The Early Decades	54
Families and Public Policy: Divorce Reform: Have We Been	
Here Before? The Depression Congretion	56
The Depression Generation The 1950s	58 60
The 1960s and Beyond	63
SUMMARY	6.4
KEY TERMS	64 65
	00
CHAPTER 3 GENDER AND FAMILIES	67
THE BERDACHE	67
THE CHILDHOOD CONCEDUCTION OF CONCEDUC	
THE CHILDHOOD CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER Parental Socialization	72 72
The Media	73

C	ONTENTS	xiii
Early Peer Groups Children's Preferences Hormonal Influences Culture and Biology The Psychoanalytic Perspective		74 76 77 78 79
THE CONTINUAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER Doing Gender Taking the Role of the Other		81 82 84
GENDER AND MALE DOMINATION The Sex-Gender System		85 86
Families and Public Policy: The Wage Gap Gender, Class, and Race		86 89
THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF GENDER STUDIES		90
Families in Other Cultures: Sex and Temperament According to Margaret Mead		92
SUMMARY KEY TERMS		94 95
PART TWO RACE, ETHNICITY, CLASS, AND THE STATE		97
CHAPTER 4 SOCIAL CLASS AND FAMILIES		99
DEFINING SOCIAL CLASS Four Social Classes Changing Conceptions of Social Class		100 101 103
FAMILIES AND THE ECONOMY		103
Families and Public Policy: Homeless Families: The Tip of the Iceberg The Impact of Economic Restructuring Unequal Distribution of Income		104 106 107
LOWER-CLASS FAMILIES Chronic Poverty and Kin Networks The Costs of Kin Networks		111 111 113
WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES Gender Role Segregation Changing Attitudes toward Gender Roles		114 115 115

xiv CONTENTS

MIDDLE-CLASS FAMILIES The Primacy of the Conjugal Family The Role of Women in "Doing" Kinship	117 117 119
SOCIAL CLASS AND THE FAMILY	119
Families in Other Cultures: Kinship Networks among the Mexican Upper Class	120
SUMMARY KEY TERMS	123 123
CHAPTER 5 RACE, ETHNICITY, AND FAMILIES	125
RACIAL-ETHNIC GROUPS	126
AFRICAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES	129
Families and Public Policy: Race, Ethnicity, and Statistical Policy Directive 15 The Decline of Marriage The Shortage of Employed Black Men African-American Culture Explaining the Changes Middle-Class Black Families	130 132 133 135 138 139
HISPANIC FAMILIES Mexican Americans Puerto Ricans Cuban Americans	140 141 143 146
Families in Other Cultures: Social Capital and Immigrant Families	148
ASIAN-AMERICAN FAMILIES	150
NATIVE AMERICAN FAMILIES	153
RACE, ETHNICITY, AND KINSHIP	154
SUMMARY KEY TERMS	156 157
CHAPTER 6 THE FAMILY, THE STATE, AND SOCIAL POLICY	159
THE FAMILY AND THE STATE The Welfare State	162 163
Families in Other Cultures: Women Hold Up Half the Sky The Family Wage System	164 166
FAMILY POLICY DEBATES The Conflict over Women's Autonomy The Conflict over Income Assistance	167 169 172
CASE STUDY: THE FAMILY SUPPORT ACT OF 1988	174

	CONTENTS	XV
TOWARD A CONSENSUS ON FAMILY POLICY? The Conservative Viewpoint The Liberal Viewpoint A Practical Compromise		177 178 178 179
A Practical Compromise  Families and Public Policy: The Abortion Dilemma		180
Families and Public Policy: The Abortion Dilemma		
SUMMARY KEY TERMS		182 183
PART THREE SEXUALITY, PARTNERSHIP, AND MARRIAGE	. 1	85
CHAPTER 7 SEXUALITY AND LOVE		187
WHY MAUD CHOSE ELMER OVER ROBERT		187
THE EMERGENCE OF SEXUAL IDENTITIES		189
Families in Other Cultures: Was Alexander Hamilton Gay? And Other Irrelevant Questions The Colonial Era to 1890: Spiritual Love and Sexual Restraint 1890 to 1960: Romantic Love and Sexual Gratification 1960 to the Present Sexuality and Marriage		190 190 193 195 201
THE CREATION OF A GAY AND LESBIAN SUBCULTURE A Historical Overview The Gay Political Movement The Origins of Sexual Orientation		202 203 207 208
THE AIDS EPIDEMIC AND SEXUALITY Sexual Behavior and AIDS Social Networks AIDS and Sexuality		210 210 213 215
Families and Public Policy: Dealing with the AIDS Epidemic		216
SUMMARY KEY TERMS		218 219
CHAPTER 8 PATHS TO FAMILY FORMATION		221
PARENTAL INFLUENCE		225
Families in Other Cultures: Parental Influence on Marriage in Thailand		226
COURTSHIP AND DATING Anglo-American Courtship The Rise (and Fall?) of Dating		229 229 231

xvi CONTENTS

The Sociology of Courtship	234
WHO MARRIES WHOM The Marriage Market The Changing Marriage Bargain Marital Similarity	237 237 239 241
COHABITATION A Substitute for Marriage? Part of the Marriage Process? Manifest and Latent Functions	243 245 246 247
CHILDBEARING WITHOUT A PARTNER The Teenage Pregnancy "Problem" Where Are the Fathers? The Consequences for Teenage Mothers	249 250 253 253
Families and Public Policy: Selection Effects and Teenage Childbearing	254
SUMMARY KEY TERMS	256 257
CHAPTER 9 SPOUSES AND PARTNERS TWO MARITAL TRANSITIONS	259 260
The Companionship Marriage The Independent Marriage Explaining the Transitions	261 262 264
INTERACTION IN NONMARITAL UNIONS Cohabiting Couples Gay and Lesbian Couples	265 266 266
Families and Public Policy: Domestic Partnerships	268
MEASURING MARITAL SUCCESS	270
OBSERVING COMMUNICATION Intensive Observation Communication Styles	271 272 274
Families in Other Cultures: Culture, Kinship, and Disagreements	276
THE TRANSITION TO PARENTHOOD New Baby Care and Gender Roles	277 279
MARRIAGE AS AN ONGOING PROJECT	281
SUMMARY KEY TERMS	283 284

334

336

336

337

338

338

#### PART FOUR POWER, CONFLICT, AND DISRUPTION 285 CHAPTER 10 WORK AND FAMILIES 287 POWER AND AUTHORITY 289 289 The Meaning of Power The Family's Internal Economy 290 POWER AND MODES OF PRODUCTION 291 The Familial Mode of Production 292 The Labor Market Mode of Production 294 FROM SINGLE-EARNER TO DUAL-EARNER MARRIAGES 295 Families in Other Cultures: "I Also Have Some Rights" 296 Married Mothers Enter the Labor Force 296 The Current Situation 299 Wives' Power and Authority 302 The Stalled Revolution? 303 OVERLOAD AND SPILLOVER BETWEEN WORK AND FAMILY 307 Spillover 308 Childcare 309 Unemployment 311 TOWARD THE RESPONSIVE WORKPLACE? 312 Families and Public Policy: Parental Leave 314 **SUMMARY** 316 **KEY TERMS** 317 CHAPTER 11 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE 319 DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE 320 Early History 320 The Twentieth Century 321 WHAT DO WE KNOW? 324 What Constitutes Domestic Violence? 324 Marital Violence 325 Child Abuse 329 Families and Public Policy: Foster Care

Elder Abuse

**EXPLANATIONS** 

Social Learning Perspective

Social Exchange Perspective

Frustration-Aggression Perspective