

# Family demography

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# Outline

- Field of family demography
- Brief historical review
- Marriage and family today



# Introduction

- Family demography is a subfield of demography
- It refers to the study of the changing nature of intergenerational and gender ties that bind individuals into households and family units
- It investigates the variation of these relationships among subpopulations

# Goldscheider (1995)

- Family demographers ask why do individuals behave as they do toward each other
- Once those individual behaviors are aggregated into nations, why are societies similar or dissimilar
  - Not only in their family configurations
  - But also in their economic, political, and cultural institutions

# Sweet and Bumpass (1987)

- Family demography is ultimately a study of individual and societal well-being
- It is through family ties and household groupings that resources are exchanged and the less-able members are cared for by the more-able members

# Changes over time

- In the last half century, family has undergone tremendous change
- No other institution elicits as much contentious debate as the North American family
  - Many argue that changes from traditional marriage and gender roles have seriously degraded family life
  - Others view family life as diverse, resilient, and adaptive to new circumstances (Cherlin 2009; Popenoe 1993; Stacey 1993)
- Changes in family behaviors and structures differ across subgroups of the population
  - E.g., race, class, and nativity status



# Fewer changes

- In the first decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, trends suggest fewer or slower family changes in many industrialized countries, including the United States
- Little change has occurred in the proportions of two-parent or single-parent families in the U.S. since the mid-1990s (Casper, Bianchi 2002; U.S. Census Bureau 2017)



# Examples of fewer changes

- After a significant increase in the proportion of children living with unmarried parents, the living arrangements of children seemed to stabilize
- Divorce rate increased substantially in the mid-1960s and 1970s, reached its peak in 1980, and has declined only slightly since
- In the U.S., between 43% and 46% of marriages contracted these days are expected to end in divorce (Schoen, Canudas-Romo 2006)
- The rapid growth in cohabitation among unmarried adults has also slowed



# Families are still evolving

- Young adults have been
  - Postponing legal marriage
  - Favoring same and opposite sex cohabitation
  - Delaying childbearing to complete higher education before attempting to enter labor markets
- These trends have been accompanied by continued increase in births to unmarried women
  - As of 2014, 40% of all births in the U.S. were to unmarried women (Hamilton et al. 2015)



# Partner relationships

- Roles for each partner are shifting as industrialized societies value more equal roles for men and women
  - More father-only families
  - After divorce, fathers are more likely to share custody of children
  - Within two-parent families, fathers are also more likely to be involved in the children's care
- Number of same-sex couples has been increasing
  - A larger proportion of them are now raising children



# Thinking about the future

- It is important to understand the evolution of families and the implications these changes have for societies, families, and individuals
- In order to comprehend contemporary family life, we need to use theories, concepts, methods, and data of family demography

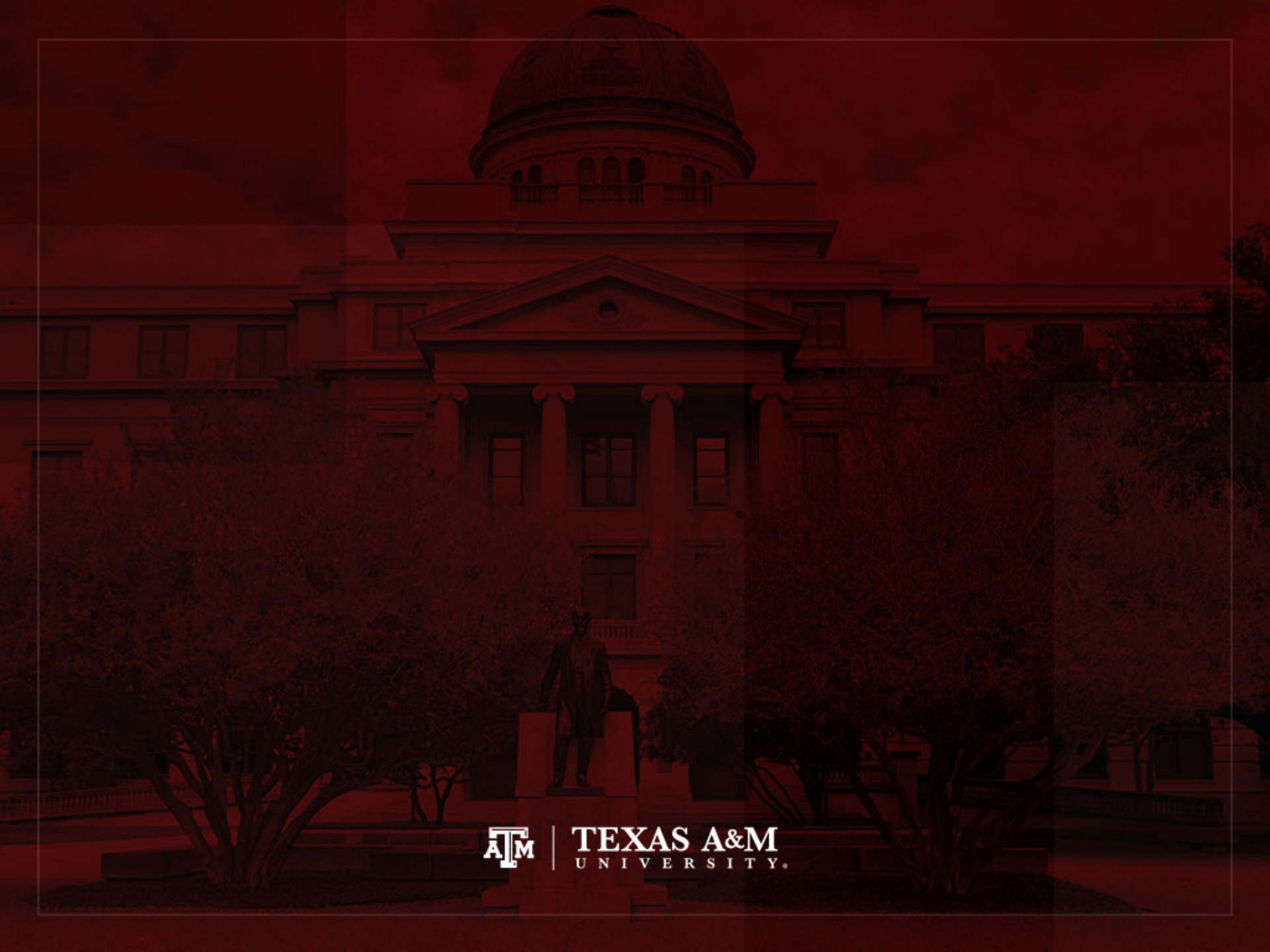
# The family

- The family is one of the most important foundations and agents of socialization
  - The family is the first place we learn culture, norms, values, and gender roles
  - Usually where fertility occurs (production of children)



# Family constitution

- Family constitution varies across cultures and over time
  - The Western world traditionally regarded a family as consisting of a husband, wife, and children
  - Increasing number of one-parent families, gay and lesbian families, blended families, childless families
  - Descent system: bilineal (U.S.), patrilineal (China)



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# Brief historical review

- Polygyny was banned around the 12th century, and extended families declined in number
- Up to around the 17th century, marriages were used mainly to
  - Gain ancestral legitimacy
  - Establish military, political, commercial, and economic alliances



# Love match

- By the end of 18th century in Western Europe, the “love match” became normative
  - Husband providing for the family
  - Wife focusing on the family life
- In the U.S. during the colonial era, there were no sharply divided roles of the husband and the wife
  - The husband, wife, and children all worked together



# Extended to nuclear families

- Societal and structural changes in Europe and the U.S.
  - Industrialization, urbanization, productivity, market economy, and individualization
  - Rural-urban migration: more adults working in factories and other non-familial settings
- Control and decision making moved from extended families to nuclear families
  - Decision-making became less based on familial connections



# Demographic changes in the U.S.

- Life expectancy at birth
- Age when women have last child
- Marriage and childbearing no longer defining events



# Life expectancy at birth

- Life expectancy at birth in the U.S. increased
  - From 74 in the 19th century
  - To around 83 as of 2012

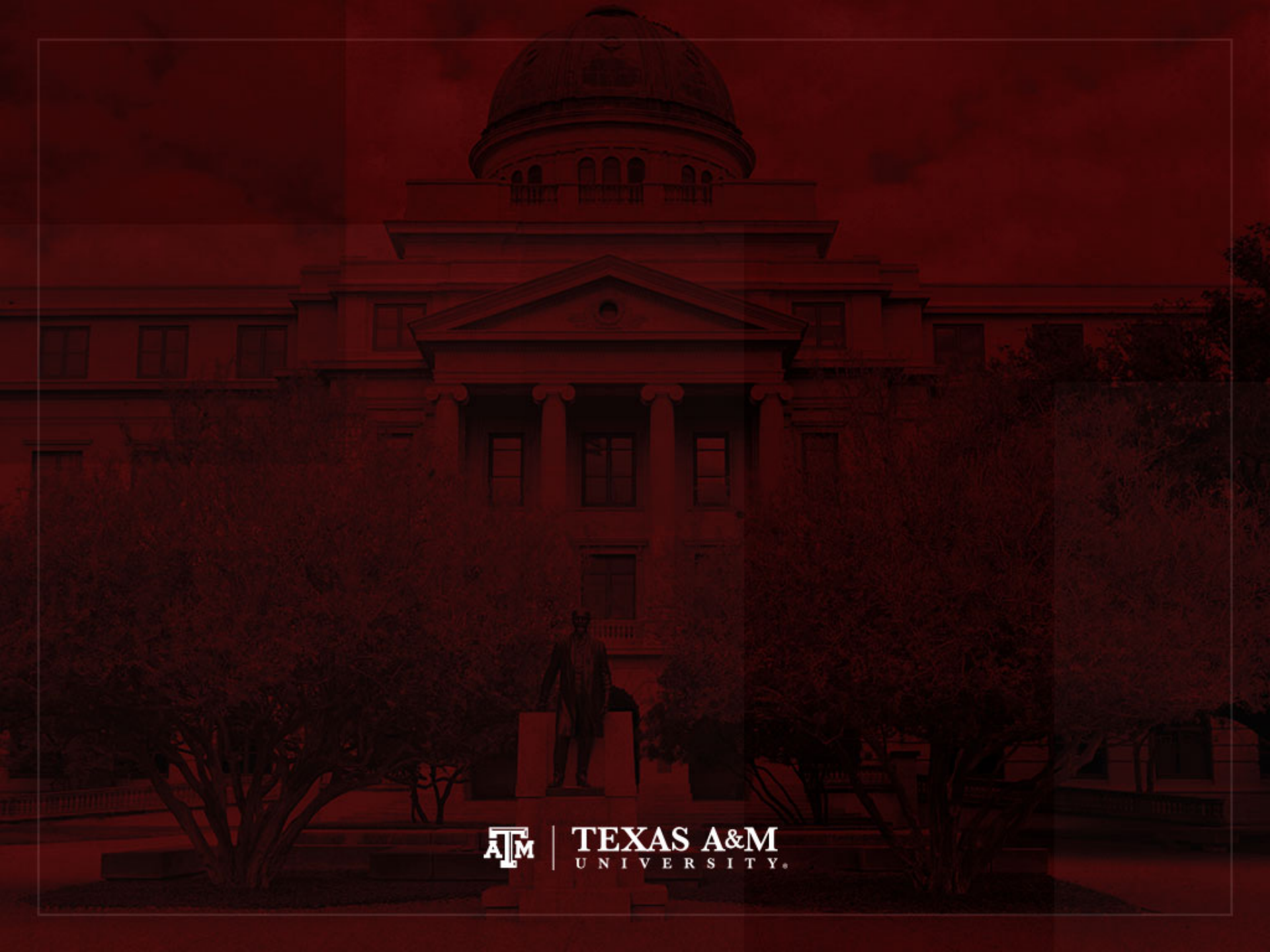
# Age when women have last child

- The age when a woman would have her last child does not greatly impact her any more like it did in the 19th century
  - Women in the 19th century had 14 years of life remaining after they have raised their last child to age 15
  - Women today have 33 years of life remaining by the time they have raised their last child to age 15

# Marriage and childbearing

- Marriage and childbearing are no longer defining events and activities of our lives
  - In earlier times, they were our identity
  - Today, they are a less central part of our life





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# Marriage and family today

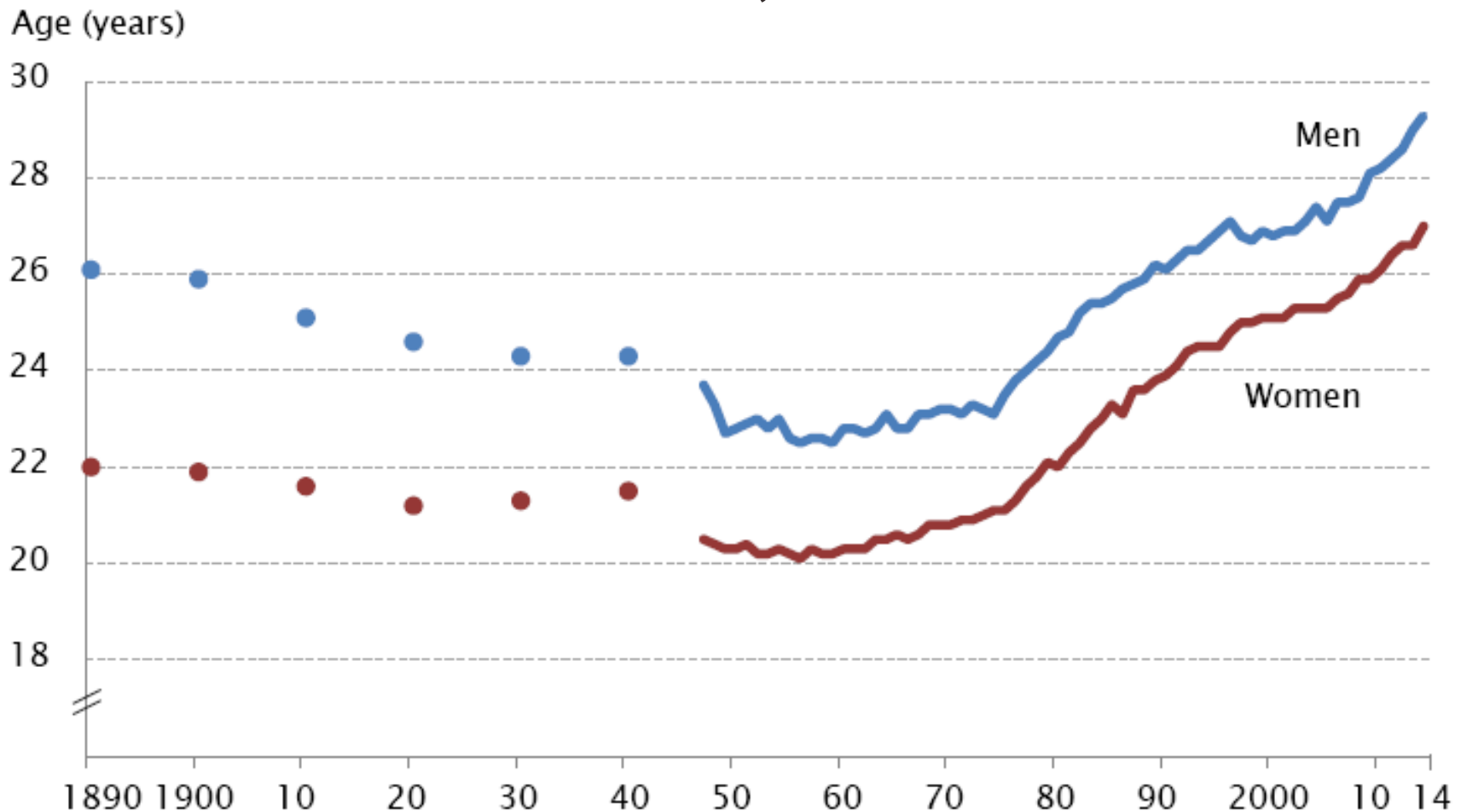
- Focus on the United States
  1. How old are people today when they marry for the first time?
  2. How many people get married?
  3. How many people cohabit before marriage?
  4. How many babies are born to unmarried women?
  5. What are the trends of interracial marriage?



# 1. Age at first marriage

- Males at 26 years of age and females at 22 at the end of 19th century
- Males at 22.8 and females at 20.3 in about the year of 1960
  - Along with the growth of well-paid jobs under industrialization
- Increase in age at first marriage since 1960
- Males at 29 and females at 27 in 2014

# Median age at first marriage, United States, 1890–2014

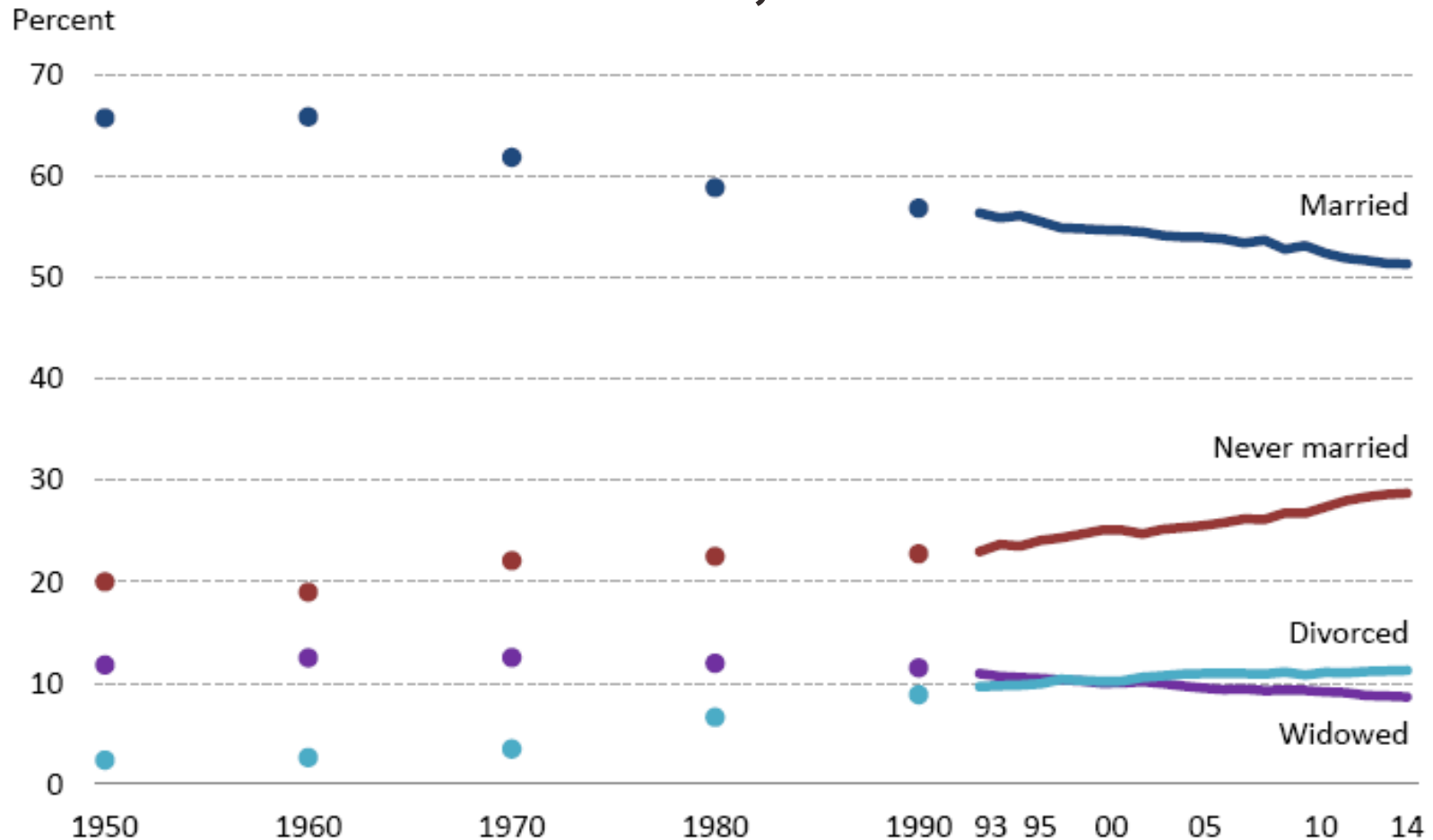


Source: U.S. Census Bureau, <https://www.census.gov/hhes/families/files/graphics/MS-2.pdf>

## 2. Marital status

- In 1950, among people of age 15+
  - 66% of women were married, 20% never married
  - 68% of men were married, 28% never married
- In 2014
  - ~50% of women were married, 39% never married
  - 52% of men were married, 35% never married
- Trends of age group 45–54
  - In 1980, 5% of women were never married
  - In 2010, 14% of women were never married
  - In 2030, 25% of women are projected to not be married (Pew Research Center)

# Marital status of women 15+, United States, 1950–2014



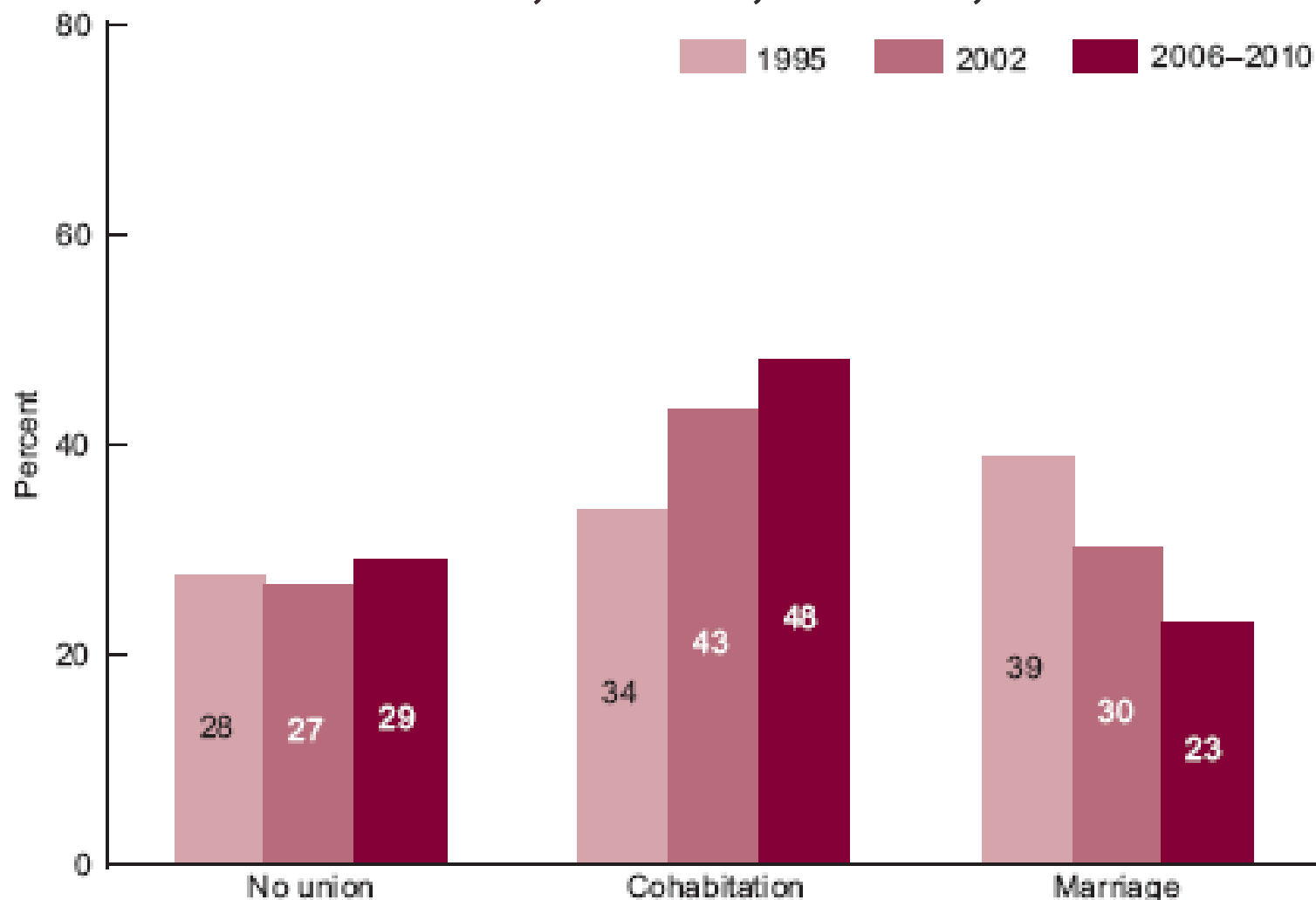
Source: U.S. Census Bureau. <https://www.census.gov/hhes/families/files/graphics/MS-1b.pdf>

# 3. Cohabiting before marriage

- First unions: cohabitation and marriage
  - Very little change between 1995 and 2010 (NSFG) in the percentages of women aged 15–44 not in a union: 28%
- Changes of women marrying and cohabiting
  - Cohabitation: 30% in 1995; 50% in 2006–2010
  - Marriage: 39% in 1995; 23% in 2006–2010
- Of the 50% of women cohabiting
  - 40% transitioned to marry, 32% remained cohabiting, and 27% dissolved the relationships
- Cohabiting without being married is becoming more acceptable



# Type of first unions among women 15–44, United States, 1995, 2002, 2006–2010



Source: Copen, Daniels, and Mosher, 2013: 4.



# Cohabiting through time

- Women aged 19–44 reported cohabiting prior to their first marriage (Manning, 2013)
  - 11% in 1965–1974
  - 46% in 1985–1989
  - 59% in 1995–1999
  - 66% in 2005–2010
- Cohabitation is the “new normal” these days

# Percentages of women 19–44 who cohabited before their first marriage by marriage cohort, United States, 1965–1974 to 2005–2010

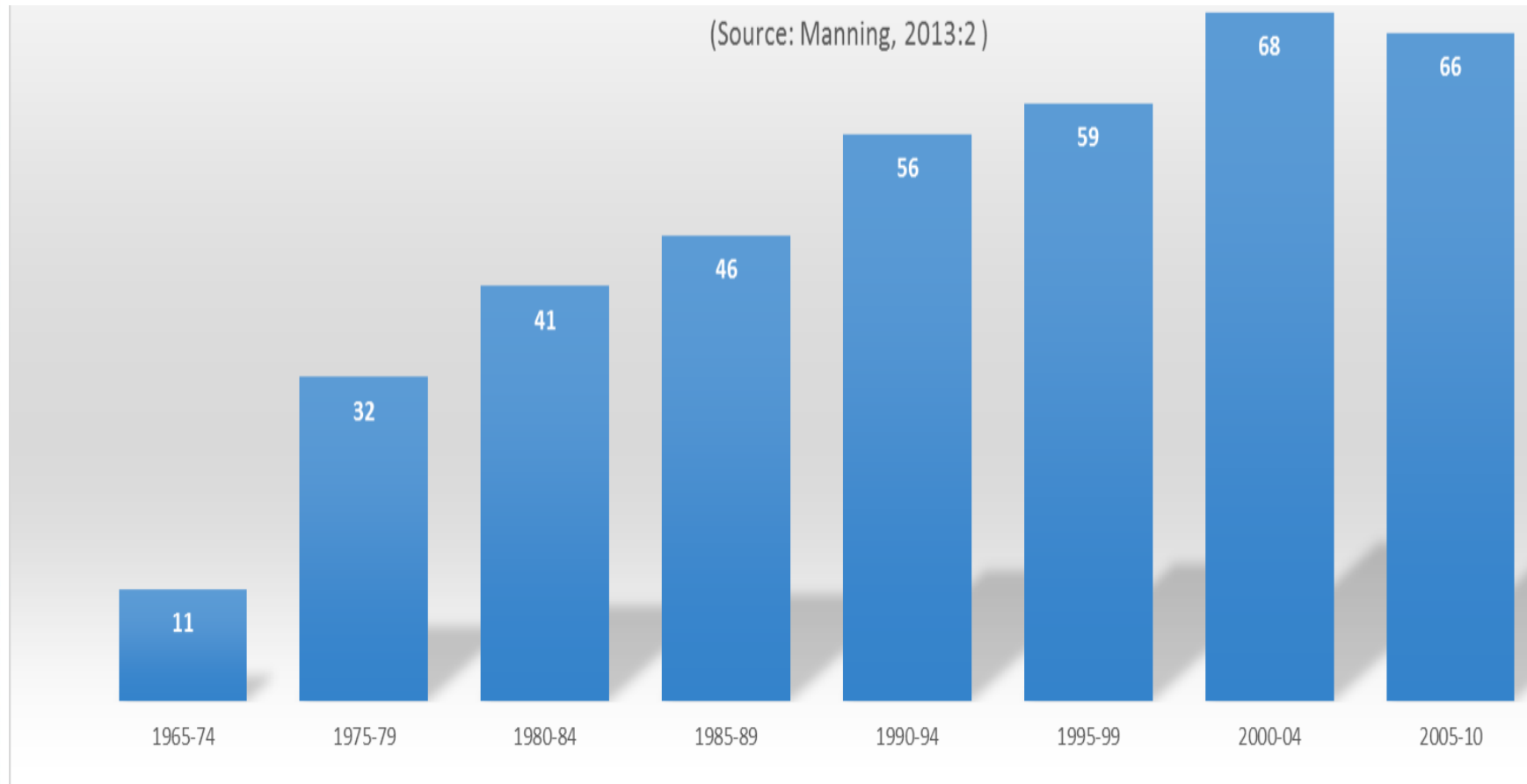
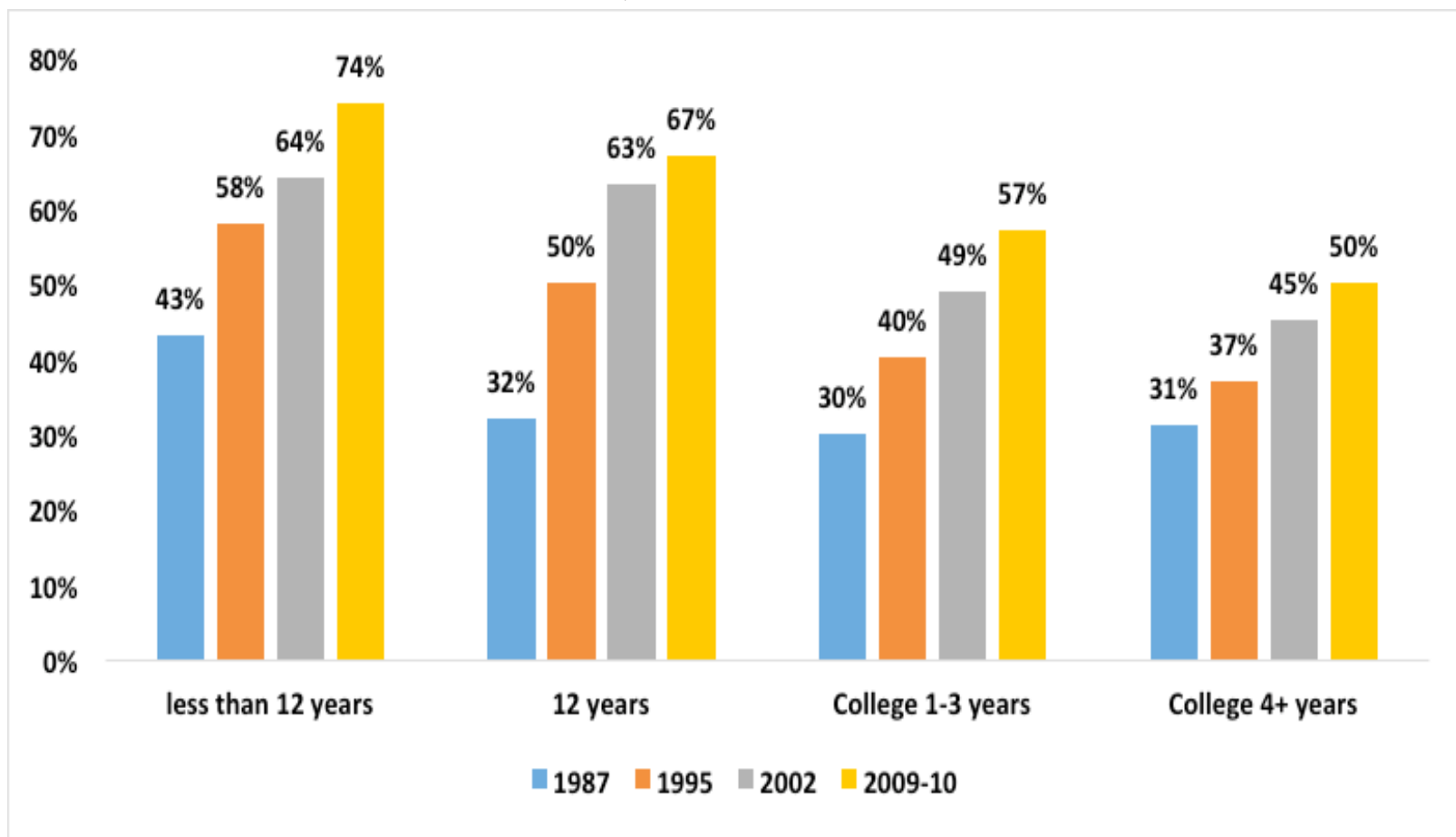


Figure prepared by Huanjun Zhang and DLP.

# Cohabitation and education

- Different cohabiting rates by levels of education
- More educated women are less likely to cohabit
- In 2009–2010
  - 74% with less than a high school degree have ever cohabited
  - 67% with high school degree
  - 57% with one to three years of college
  - 50% with four or more years of college

# Percentages of women 19–44 who have ever cohabited by level of education, United States, 1987 to 2009–2010



Source of data: Manning, 2013: 3.

Figure prepared by Huanjun Zhang and DLP.

# Cohabitation and marital expectations

- “Stalled” second demographic transition
  - 18–24 single women have stronger expectations to marry than cohabit (2011–2015 NSFG)
- Among young women expecting to marry
  - 68% expect to cohabit with their future spouse
  - 32% expect to marry without cohabiting first
- Women from disadvantaged backgrounds report the lowest expectations to marry
- Variation by education
  - No education variation in cohabitation expectations
  - Marriage expectations do vary by education



# 4. Babies born out-of-wedlock

- Percentage of babies born to unmarried mothers
  - 5% in the late 1950s
  - 14% in the mid-1970s
  - 30% in the mid-1980s
  - 41% in 2013
- Homes for unwed mothers reduced in number
  - The legalization of abortion
  - Contraception widely available and effective
  - Increased percentages of single mothers
  - Changing societal attitudes toward single parenthood

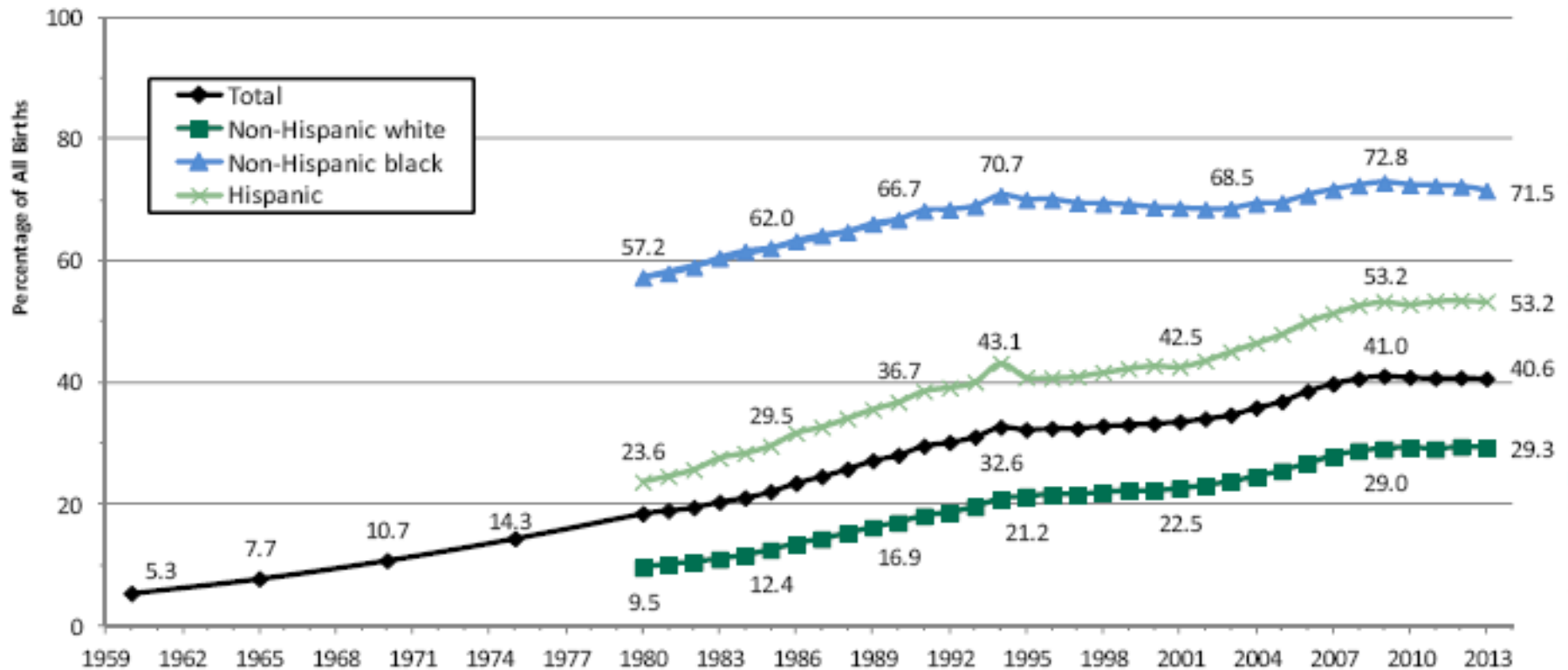


# Race/ethnicity

- Births to unmarried mothers by race/ethnicity
- Non-Hispanic White women
  - 10% in 1980
  - 29% in 2013
- Non-Hispanic Black women
  - 57% in 1980
  - 72% in 2013
- Hispanic women
  - 24% in 1980
  - 53% in 2013



# Births to unmarried women by race/ethnicity, United States, 1959–2013



Source: Child Trends, 2015: 3 (reprinted with permission of Child Trends).

# Unmarried Black women

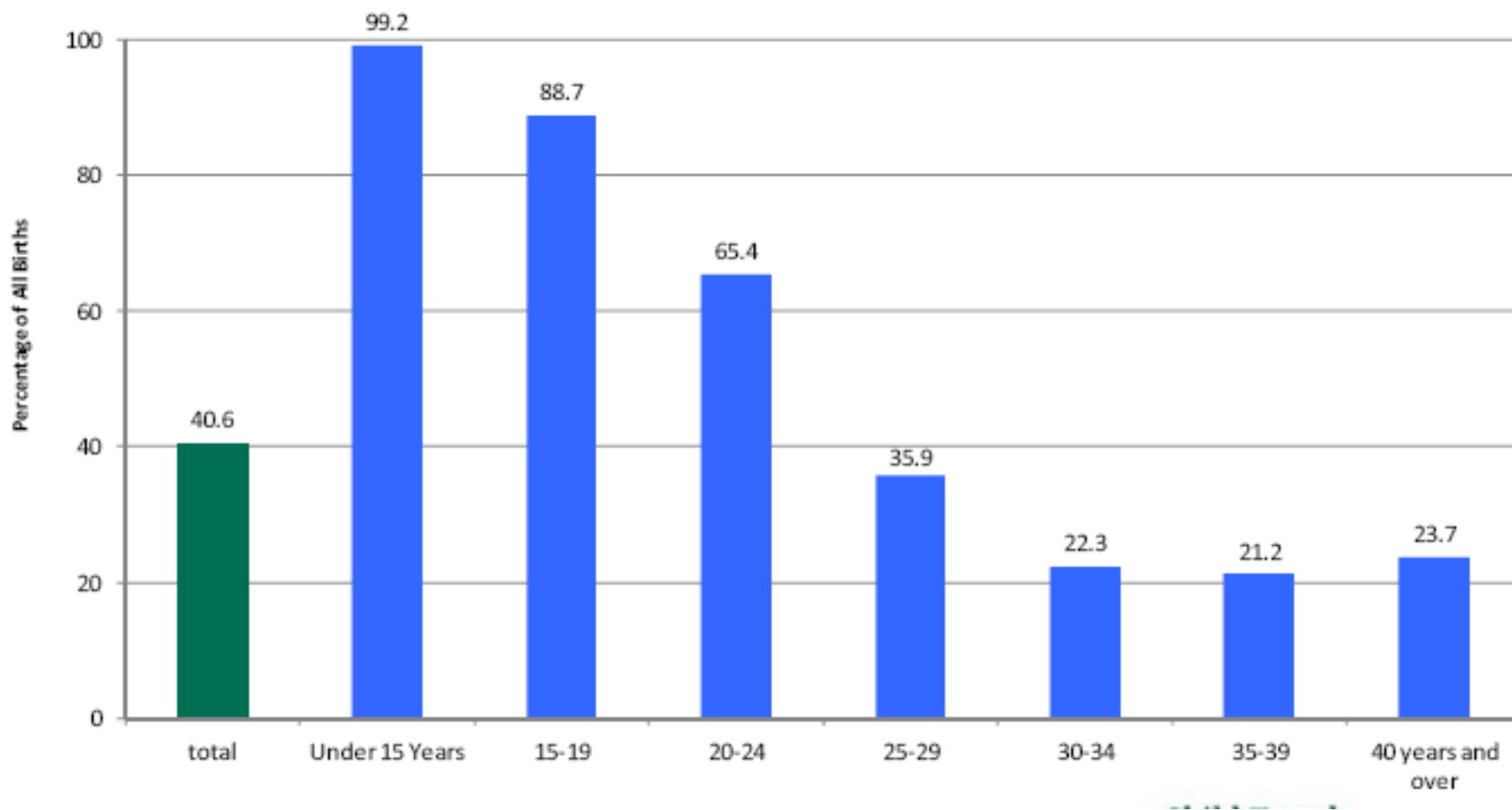
- Some reasons why percentages of births to unmarried Black mothers are so much higher than White percentages
- Of the 72% of the births to unmarried Black women, 30% of the women are cohabiting
  - There is a father helping to raise the child along with the mother
- The availability of black men is low
  - 1.5 million of the 8 million black men in the ages 25–54 are not available for the black women, due to incarceration and high mortality



# Age of mother

- The older the woman, the more likely she has married
- The older the woman, the less likely she is not married when she gives birth
- Percentage of births to unmarried women by age of mother when children were born...

# Births to unmarried women by age of mother, United States, 2013

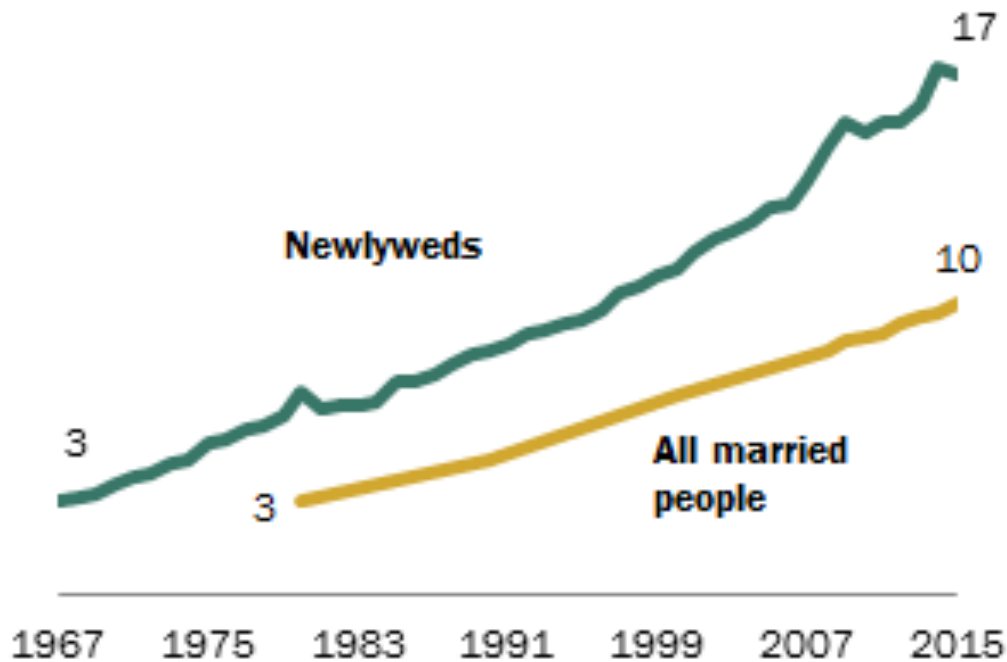


Source: Child Trends, 2015: 4 (reprinted with permission of Child Trends).

# 5. Interracial marriage

**Since 1967, a steady rise in intermarriage in the U.S.**

*% who are intermarried among ...*



Note: Data prior to 1980 are estimates. See Methodology for more details. For "all married people," 1980, 1990, 2000, and 2008-2015 data points are shown.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2008-2015 American Community Survey and 1980, 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses (IPUMS).

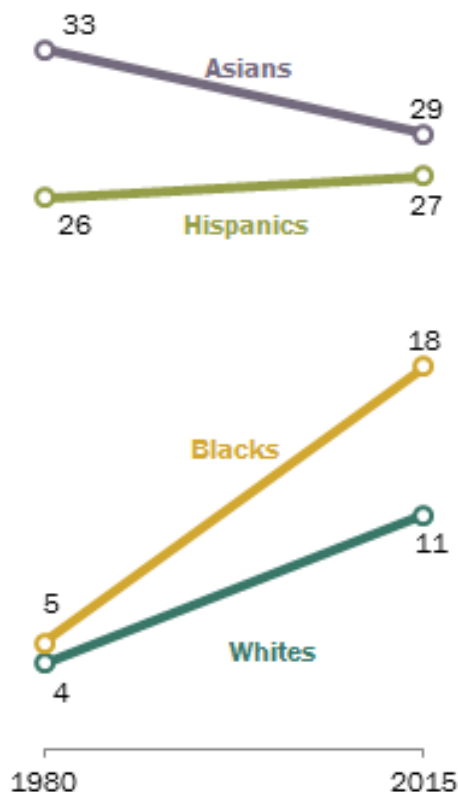
"Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 Years After Loving v. Virginia"

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# Intermarriage by race/ethnicity

## Dramatic increases in intermarriage for blacks, whites

*% of U.S. newlyweds who are intermarried*



Note: Whites, blacks and Asians include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race. Asians include Pacific Islanders. The 2015 time point is based on combined 2014 and 2015 data.

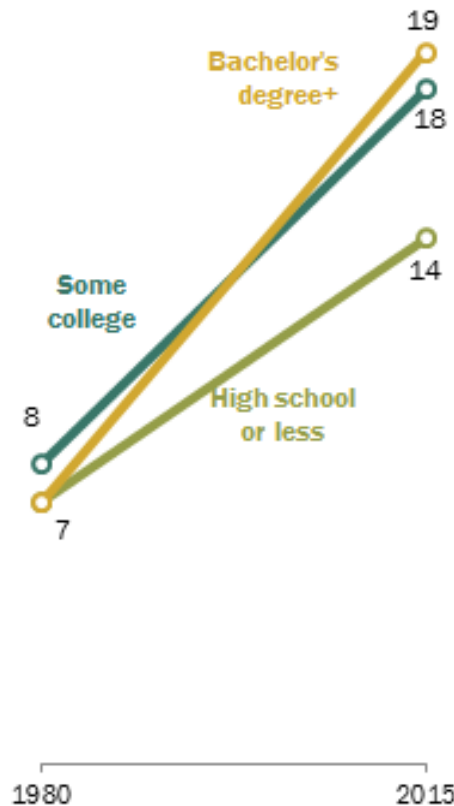
Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2014-2015 American Community Survey and 1980 decennial census (IPUMS). "Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 Years After Loving v. Virginia"

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# Intermarriage by education

**Intermarriage rises more  
for those with at least  
some college experience**

*% of U.S. newlyweds ages 25 and  
older who are intermarried*



Note: "Some college" includes those with an associate degree and those who attended college but did not obtain a degree. The 2015 time point is based on combined 2014 and 2015 data.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2014-2015 American Community Survey and 1980 decennial census (IPUMS). "Intermarriage in the U.S. 50 Years After Loving v. Virginia"

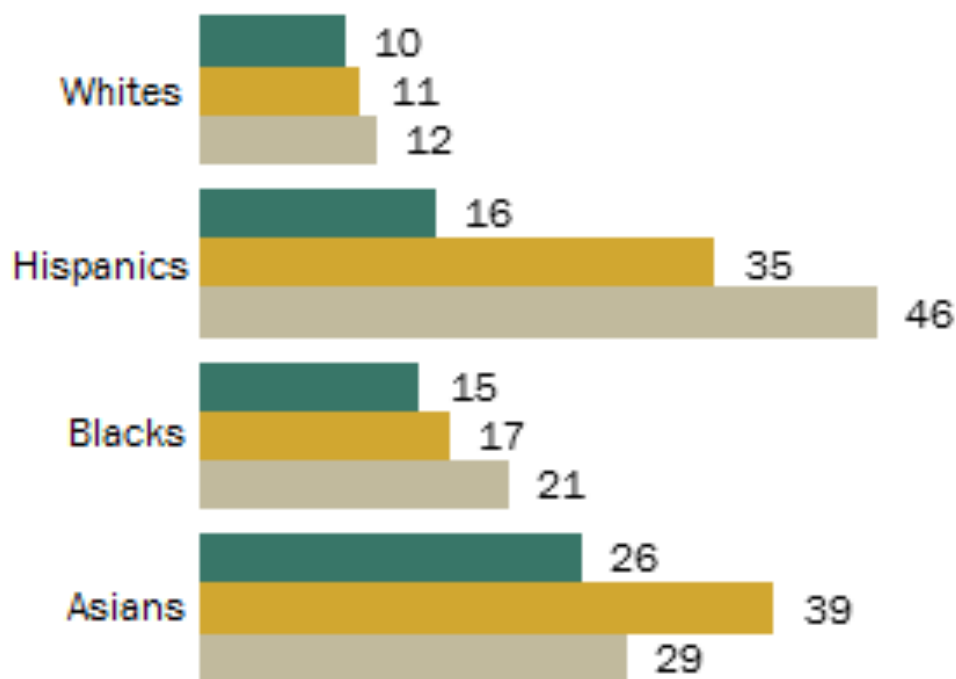
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# Intermarriage by race/ethnicity and education

## Among blacks and Hispanics, college graduates are most likely to intermarry

*% of newlyweds in the U.S. ages 25 and older who are intermarried*

■ High school or less ■ Some college ■ Bachelor's degree+



Note: Whites, blacks and Asians include only non-Hispanics. Hispanics are of any race. Asians include Pacific Islanders. "Some college" includes those with an associate degree and those who attended college but did not obtain a degree.

Source: Pew Research Center analysis of 2014-2015 American Community Survey (IPUMS).

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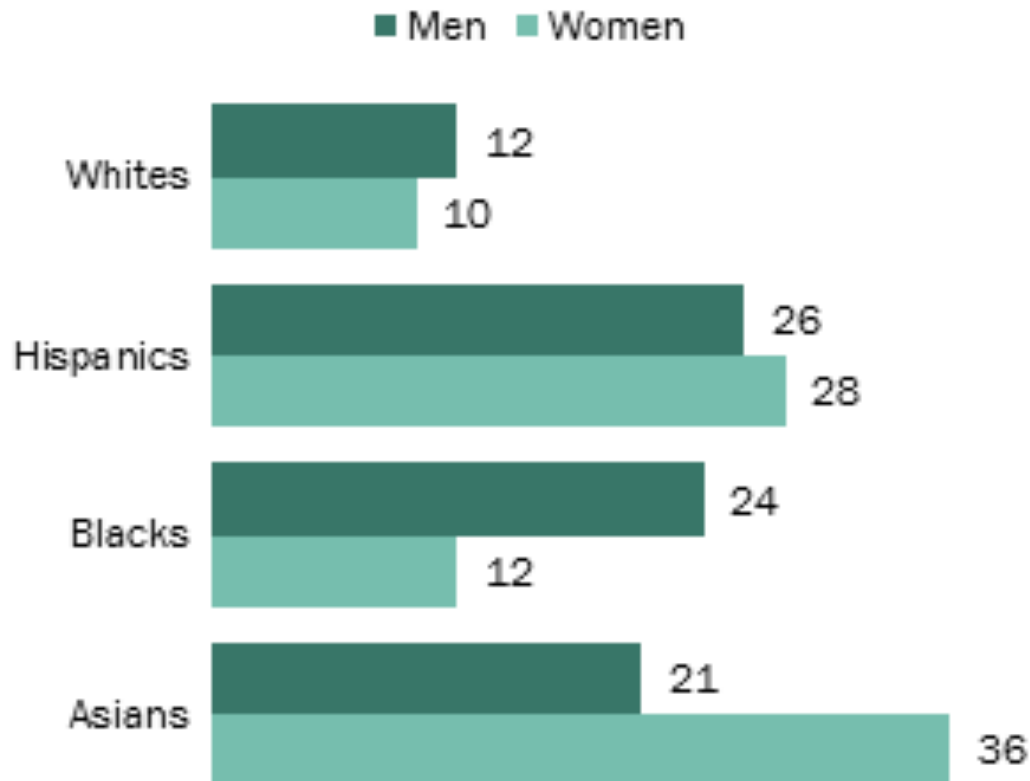
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# Intermarriage by race/ethnicity and sex

## Black men are twice as likely as black women to intermarry

*% of U.S. newlyweds who are intermarried*



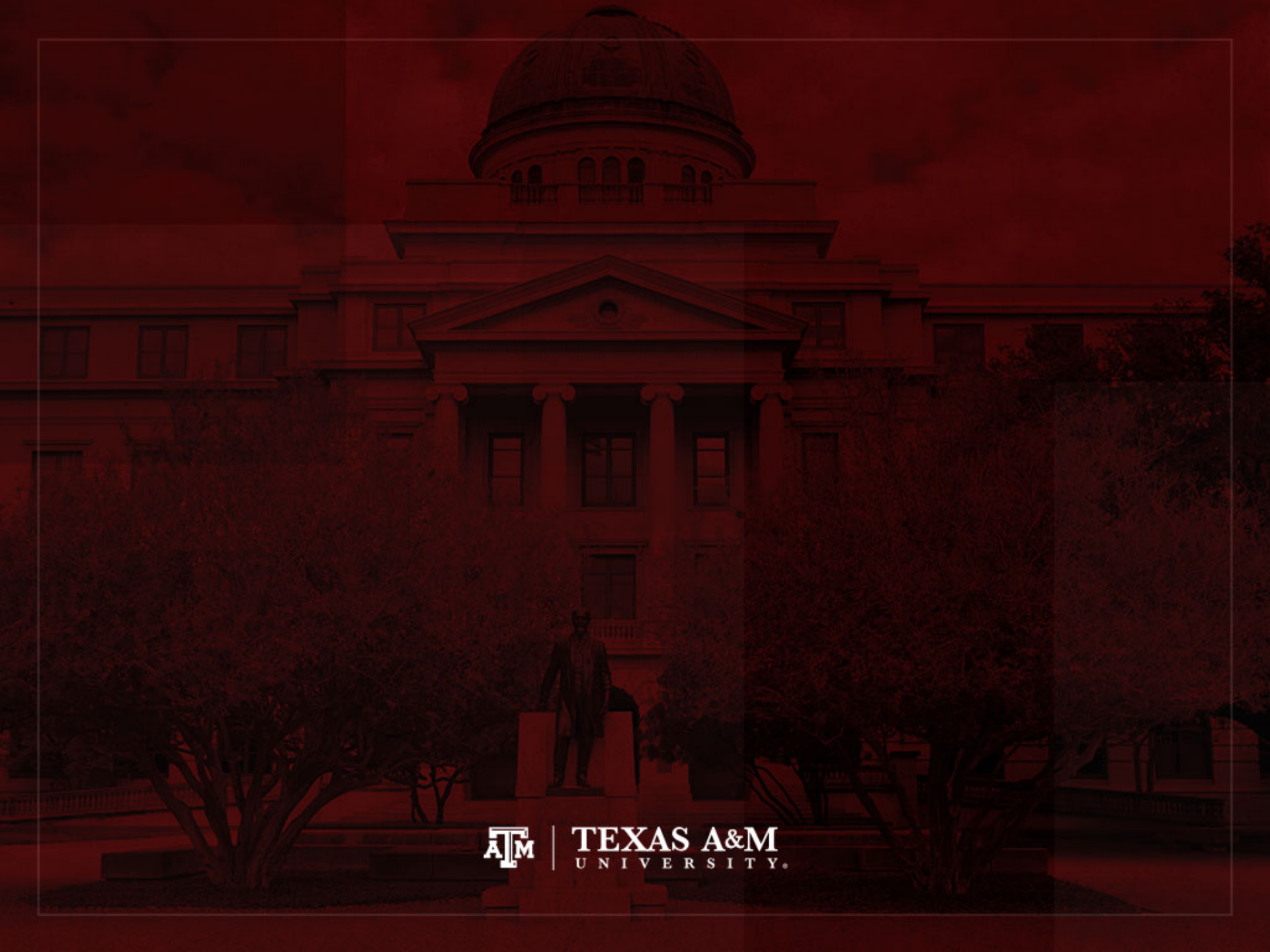
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