

following his heart instead of the family's political networks and bloodlines. They married in April 2011 at Westminster Abbey. Kate chose to break with royal protocol (as did Diana), eliminating the "to obey" clause from the wedding vows. Unlike Diana and Charles, William and Kate met in college and were a couple for 8 years. They are about the same age and are a match intellectually. They lived together before they wed. Their first child, Prince George of Cambridge was born in July 2013.

SCHOOL

Prince William spent his early years in London in Kensington Palace. He began nursery school when he was 4 1/2 years old. When he was 8 he went to private school, and when he turned 13 he entered Eton College, an all boys' school near Windsor Castle, the home of his grandmother, Queen Elizabeth II.

At Eton, William was co-captain of his swim team. After Eton, William entered the University of St. Andrews, from which he graduated in 2005 with a degree in art history. At St. Andrews, he was elected to be captain of his water polo team.

William took a year off from his university studies to spend time in Chile, Belize, Tanzania, and Kenya. He also completed training during that time at the Royal Air Force College as an officer and a pilot in the British military. Since, as heir to the throne, he would not be permitted to serve in combat, he decided to train to be a helicopter pilot with the Search and Rescue Force.

the Cross distribution center to pack emergency supplies in countries that were affected by the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami.

Prince William became patron to the United Kingdom City, Centerpoint, which works with homeless young people. As a child, he would often accompany his mother during patronage. The traditional practice of members of the royal family lending their names to organizations through formal patronage is thought to have existed since the 18th century. William also became a patron to the Tusk Trust, an organization that works towards conserving wildlife and initiating community development across Africa.

Another important duty of the royal family is political. For example, at age 21, Prince William was appointed as a Member of State, and began his royal duties when the Queen was called to Nigeria for a meeting. He traveled overseas to New Zealand to participate in World War II commemorations on behalf of his grandmother in her role as Queen of New Zealand. He accompanied his cousin, who is President of the United Kingdom Scout Association, in opening the 21st Scout Jamboree.

As we can see, public service for the benefit of the community is an important value for which Prince William was so

- How did your family's social class influence your socialization experiences and consequent developmental outcomes?
- How did your cultural or ethnic orientation (collectivism, individualism, or combination) influence your value developmental outcomes?

3-1 > Family Systems: Basic Structures

What is a family and how does it work?

This chapter provides an understanding of what a family is, what a family does, how different families adapt to change, and how different families cope with external forces. Figure 3.1 shows a bioecological model of the contexts in and between which family interactions take place over time. *Family systems theory*, on the other hand, looks more within the family, viewing it as a whole, in terms of its structure and organizational patterns, and viewing its members in terms of how they interact with one another (Parke & Buriel, 2006). Family systems theory is used by many therapists to understand the different ways in which families carry out basic functions; functions are discussed in the next section.

In Chapters 1 and 2, the aims, methods, and outcomes of socialization were discussed, and the agents of socialization identified. Here, the family, the primary agent of socialization, is explored. A family is a microsystem. How a family is defined has important implications regarding issues of income tax filings, adoption and foster-care practices, employee benefits, property rights, inheritance, and so on. How each state resolves the debate over the legality of same-sex marriage will also have significant effects on such issues.

The classic (structural-functional) definition of a family, according to sociologist George Murdock (1962, p. 19), is "a social group characterized by common residence, economic

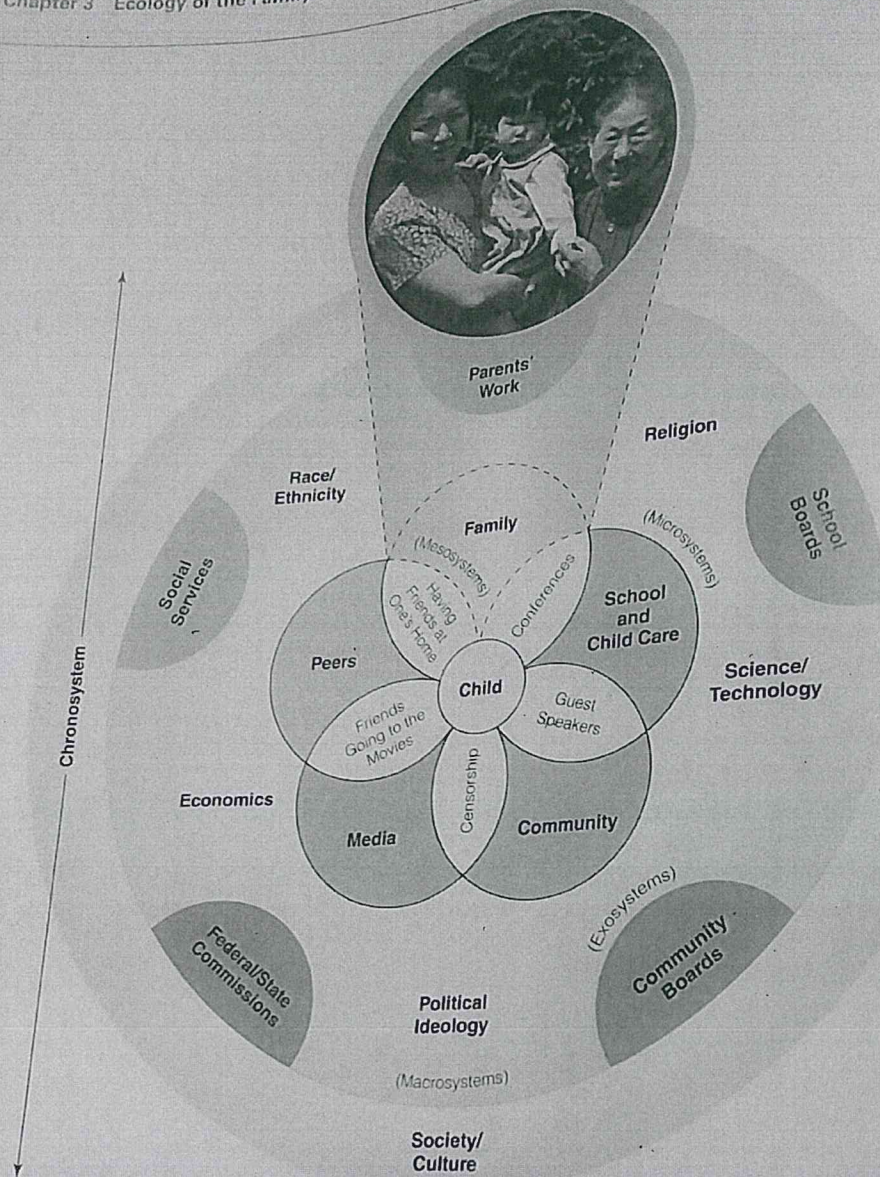


FIGURE 3.1 A Bioecological Model of Human Development The family is a primary influence on the child's development.

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cooperation, and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children (biological or adopted) of the sexually cohabiting adults." How many families do you know that fit this classic definition?

Today, relationships that do *not* conform to Murdock's definition are more common than those that do, illustrating the impact of societal change on the family system's form and function. To accommodate changes in family patterns, the U.S. Bureau of the Census defines a **family** as "two or more persons related by birth, marriage, or adoption, who reside together." Thus, a family can be two or more adult siblings living together, a parent and child or children, two adults who are related by marriage but have no children, or adults who adopt a child.

family any two or more related people living in one household

Some states have legalized same-sex marriages. In 2004, Massachusetts became the first state to do so. As of 2013, 14 states, Washington, DC, and three Native American tribes (tribal law differs from state and federal law) have passed Freedom to Marry acts. Other states and cities have legally recognized certain unrelated people in caring relationships who live together in a household as a "family." These laws pertaining to "domestic partnerships," "reciprocal partnerships," or "civil unions" are intended to provide same-sex couples, foster parents, related pairs (mother/daughter, two brothers), and stepfamilies with rights and privileges related to health insurance policies, medical and educational decisions, employment leave policies, employment benefits, annuities, and pensions.

It is important to understand the changes in the concept of the definition of family structure, not only for legally related issues, but also because these changes affect the functions that families perform, the roles its members play, and the relationships its members have with one another, thereby affecting the socialization of children.

Families are organized in different ways around the world. A family consisting of a husband and wife and their children is called a **nuclear family**. For the children, such

nuclear family a family consisting of a husband and wife and their children

IN CONTEXT

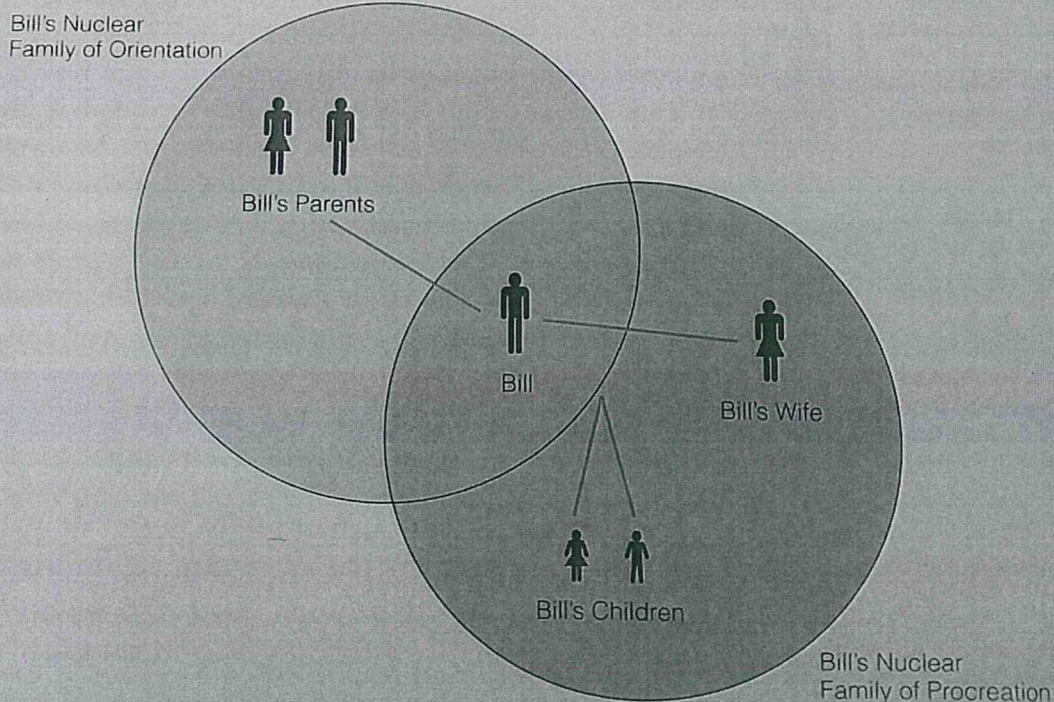
Family—Ideal or Real?

- Is family a structure or function?
- What were some of your family traditions?
- What about your family was healthy/unhealthy?
- What is your concept of an ideal family?

a family is the **family of orientation**, which means the family into which one is born. For the parents, the nuclear family is the **family of procreation**, the family that develops when one marries and has children (see Figure 3.2). In the nuclear family, the wife and husband depend on each other for companionship and the children depend on their parents for affection and socialization.

family of orientation the family into which one is born

family of procreation the family that develops when one marries and has children



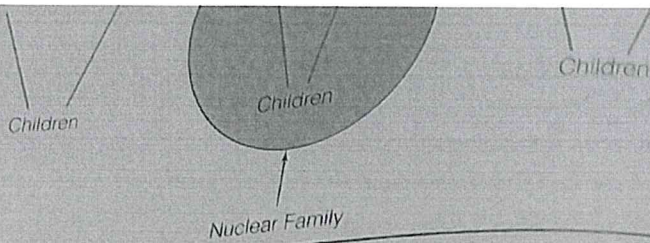


FIGURE 3.3 Extended Family

The significance of the nuclear family structure is that it is the main source of children and so provides the basis for the perpetuation of the society. Most societies adopt responsibility for the care and socialization of children to the couple that produces them, and societies sanction the sexual union of a male and a female by legal tradition—in our society, by legal marriage. The institution of marriage, then, serves not only to legalize a sexual union but also to fix the obligation toward children who result from that sexual union.

The **extended family** pattern consists of relatives of the nuclear family who are economically and emotionally dependent on each other. They may or may not live together (see Figure 3.3).

In some cultures, various ethnic groups place great emphasis on the extended family (obligation to family supersedes obligation to the self). Examples are Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Italian Americans. In these ethnic groups, tradition assigns certain obligations and responsibilities to various members of the extended family—for example, who socializes the children, who decides how the family resources are allocated, and who cares for needy family members. Some ethnic groups emphasize the mother's side of the family as having formal authority and dominance. These families are known as **matriarchal**. A contemporary example would be the royal family in Great Britain, headed by Queen Elizabeth II. Other ethnic groups emphasize the father's relatives as having formal authority and dominance. These families are known as **patriarchal**. This organizational pattern can be found in literature (as in Biblical stories, Roman classics, or Shakespeare) and in media (as in *The Godfather*, *The Sound of Music*, or the TV series, *Modern Family*).

In the United States, both sides of the extended family are generally regarded as equal or **egalitarian**. Your mother's parents have as much legal authority and responsibility as you as do your father's parents. If something happened to your parents and they could no longer care for you, both sets of grandparents would have equal claim to your custody. Regardless of whether your extended family is matriarchal, patriarchal, or egalitarian, its main function is support; relatives are the people you turn to when you need help when you have joys to share. Because in today's society many nuclear families do not have an extended family nearby for support (for reasons that include moving, divorce, remarriage, and death), the people they turn to for help might be friends, neighbors, coworkers, or children's teachers (see Figure 3.4). These people assume some of the traditional support functions of the extended family and become one's **personal network** (Dean, 1992). People who have no such personal network have to rely on the **formal network** of social professionals or government agencies—for support (Garbarino, 1992). Support services

extended family relatives of the nuclear family who are economically and emotionally dependent on each other



matriarchal family family in which the mother has formal authority and dominance

patriarchal family family in which the father has formal authority and dominance

egalitarian family family in which both sides of the extended family are regarded as equal

3-1

The family survival pact

- ◆ Re...
- ◆ Soc...
- ◆ Assi...

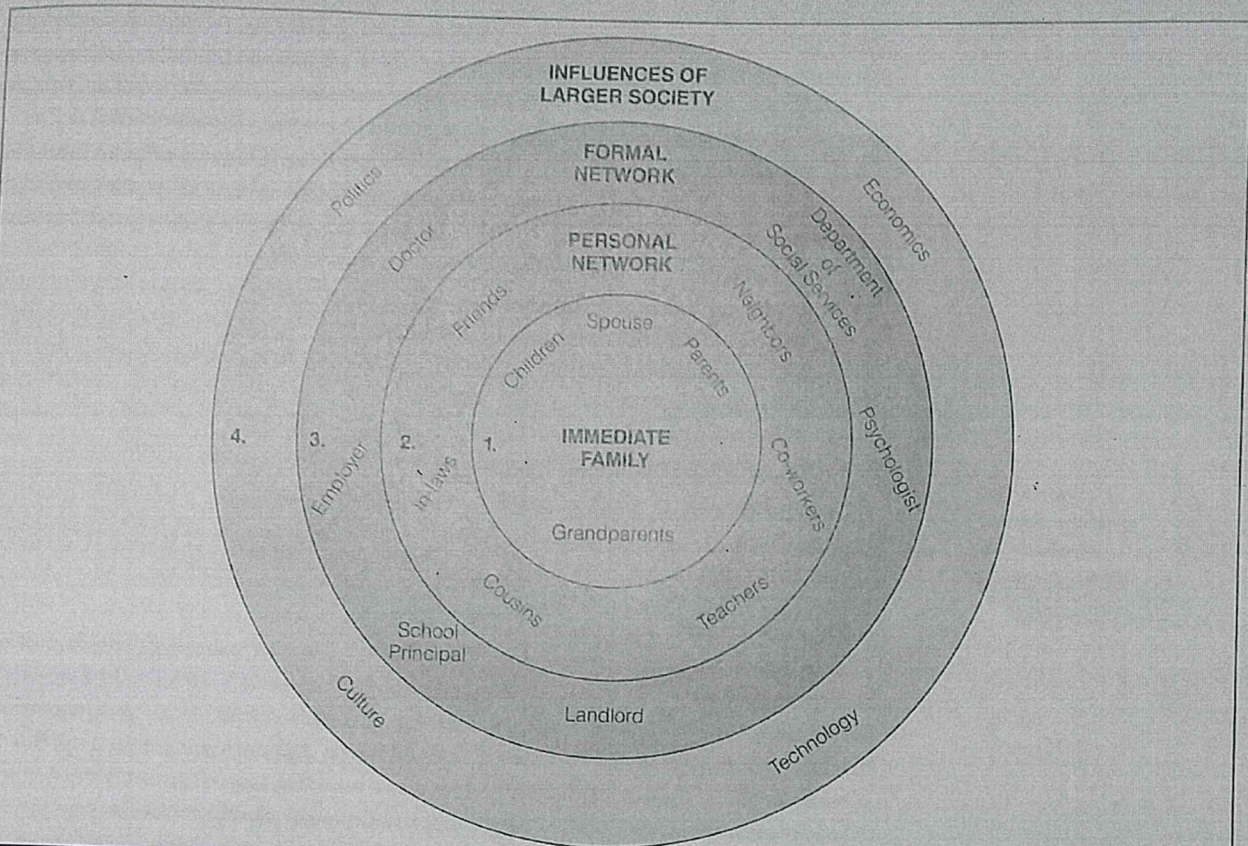


FIGURE 3.4 Sources of Family Support

Source: Adapted from Dean (1984).

provided by the formal network are influenced by politics, economics, culture, and technology. For a political example, the federally funded preschool program Head Start was launched by the Democrats and later experienced a reduction in funding under the Republicans. For an economic example, the cultural norm of working for a living was a significant factor in changing government financial support for needy families from welfare to workfare. For a technological example, cell phones and computers, especially social networking sites, compete for family members' time together.

3-2 > Family Systems: Basic Functions

The family performs certain basic functions generation after generation, enabling it to survive and adapt. The following basic functions may vary by culture and may be impacted by economic, health, or social stresses.

- ◆ **Reproduction.** The family ensures that the society's population will be maintained; that is, a sufficient number of children will be born and cared for to replace the members who die.
- ◆ **Socialization/education.** The family ensures that the society's values, beliefs, attitudes, knowledge, skills, and techniques will be transmitted to the young.
- ◆ **Assignment of social roles.** The family provides an identity for its offspring (racial, ethnic, religious, socioeconomic, and gender roles). An identity involves behavior and obligations. For example, a Jewish person may not eat pork and may feel obliged

What do families do?

When the economy began to change from agriculture to industry and farms started to sell produce and animal products, men took over the responsibilities of making contacts for sales and transporting the goods, and the woman's role diminished.

Industrialization provided an opportunity for the expansion of women's roles, but few jobs were open to women initially. In the 19th and early 20th centuries in the United States, women were usually employed only as seamstresses, laundresses, maids, cooks, housekeepers, governesses, teachers, and nurses. Not until World War II did this pattern change. Today, more than half of all mothers with children under 18 are employed outside the home, occupying work roles similar to men.

Husband/Father. Traditionally, a man was responsible for economically supporting his wife and children; a wife was responsible for maintaining the household. This division of labor between husband and wife affected their parental roles (Mintz, 1998). In colonial families, children learned appropriate gender roles from both father and mother, because there was no sharp split between work and home. In 19th-century families, however, mothers assumed more child-rearing tasks because fathers worked in industry and were away from home much of the time.

Today, the role of father is being redefined by technological and ideological changes in our society. In many families, men are assuming more household and child-care responsibilities (Lamanna & Riedmann, 2011; Parke, 2002). This is especially true in families in which the mother is employed. It is also true in cases where the parents are divorced and the father has full or partial custody of the children. Today, many fathers are active participants in the socialization of their children.

Children. In preindustrial times, children contributed to the family work by helping adults on the farm, in the business, and in the home. Today, most adult family members work for pay outside the home and children rarely work at all. Work and family life are separate entities. Families have become consumption units rather than production units. Children used to be an economic asset, contributing to the family by doing chores or contributing wages earned outside the family. Now they have become an economic liability; they not only have to be sheltered, clothed, and fed until age 18 but also have to be educated as well. In dual-earner families, the cost of child care must be added to the economic liability. Not only are children expensive to raise, but most cannot be counted on to provide economic support when their parents reach old age.

4. Authority Patterns

The balance of power and authority patterns in the family have changed over time. Like families in the Biblical era and ancient Rome, families in colonial America were patriarchal and extended. The father was not only responsible for the economic survival of the family, but also for the socialization of the children as well. It was not until the 20th century that mothers gained status as family providers, influenced by political events. Their help was needed in the workforce while many men were engaged in the war effort (Coontz, 1997; Lamanna & Riedmann, 2011). It took implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed racial and gender discrimination, for women to gain more equal authority in the workplace and, consequently, at home. Now, authority patterns in many families approach an egalitarian pattern, or some sort of collaborative one with both parents negotiating the responsibility for tasks; the father being responsible for some and the mother for others (Kaslow, 2001).

5. Economic Support

A major function of the family remains the economic support of its members, but the scope of this responsibility has changed, as well as which family members contribute financially.

Until the 18th century, most American families were extended. They owned and occupied farms and plantations that were self-sufficient, producing most of what the family needed. Families built their own houses, grew their own food, and made their own furniture and clothing. Things the family needed but did not produce were usually

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obtained through barter. These early American families were economic units in which all members, young and old, played important productive roles. Thus, children were essential to the prosperity of the family. The boys helped cultivate the land and harvest crops; the girls helped cook, sew, weave, and care for domestic animals and younger children.

During the 19th century, farm families had begun raising crops to sell, using the proceeds to buy goods produced by others. Thus, families gradually became less and less self-sufficient. As industries grew, family members began to work for wages in factories and businesses. Money, then, became the link between work and family. The nuclear family became more common as houses were smaller and family providers had to be willing to move to where the work was (Coontz, 1997; Lamanna & Riedmann, 2011).

Today most families require the economic contributions of both parents in order to afford food, clothing, shelter, services, and other goods needed for themselves and their children.

6. Nurturance/Emotional Support

The nurturing and emotional support function of families for the young (and sometimes the old) has remained fairly stable, but the range of the caregiving has diminished. For example, as medicine advanced, the family turned to doctors and nurses to provide health care. In the 19th century, health care as we know it today did not exist. There were no preventive inoculations (except for smallpox in the latter part of the century), no clinics, few hospitals, few medications, and doctors were few and far between. The sick were cared for by their families, as were the elderly. Today, we have insurance plans to cover costs of long-term care in residential facilities; we have disability plans; we have hospices to care for the dying. Because of the expense of caregiving outside the family, however, the importance of multigenerational bonds and links to extended kin needs to be reassessed (Bengston, 2001).

How has the family adapted to societal change?

3-3 > Family Transitions: Structural/Functional Changes

Throughout history, family structure has adapted to accommodate economic, social, political, and technological influences. Examples of such chronosystem influences include the Industrial Revolution, birth control, welfare reform, and no-fault divorce laws.

According to Coontz (2007), the origins of modern divorce patterns actually date back more than 200 years, to the historically unprecedented idea that marriage should be based on love. Ironically, she says, “the fragility of modern marriage stems from the same values that have elevated the marital relationship above all other personal and familial commitments; the concentration of emotion, passion, personal identity, and self-validation in the couple relationship and the attenuation of emotional attachments and obligations beyond the conjugal unit” (pp. 8–9).

Family composition is influenced by biological factors (fertility, age, health), cultural or religious beliefs, psychological factors (stress), and social factors (economics). Changes in family composition can include the addition of family members to the household, as by birth, adoption, remarriage, or relatives (kin) moving in; or the removal of family members, as by death, divorce, or children becoming adults and moving out.

Although families are always in a process of transition (marriage, childbirth, death), certain

Early American farm life required everyone's participation for family survival.

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events affect the socialization of children more than others. Examples are divorce, single parenting, stepparenting, and cohabitation.

3-3a Divorce

The increase in divorce in the last 40 years and in the proportion of children living with only one parent illustrate the commonality of changes in family ties for children today. Sixty-four percent of children ages 0–17 lived with two married parents, 24 percent lived with their mothers, 4 percent lived with their fathers, 4 percent lived with two unmarried parents, and 4 percent lived with neither of their parents (FIFCFS, 2013).

Parental divorce is not a single event but rather represents a series of stressful experiences for the entire family that begins with marital conflict before the actual separation and includes many adjustments afterward. Families must often cope with a reduction in family resources, assumption of new roles and responsibilities, establishment of new patterns of interaction, reorganization of routines, and probably the introduction of new relationships into the existing family (Amato, 2010; Hetherington & Clingempeel, 1992). Parents in conflict, especially those who have not separated, are less able to help their children regulate emotions and behavior, and less able to self-soothe their own stress (Kelly, 2000). When such parents do separate, attention toward children's needs is more likely to occur.

As the divorce rate has risen, so has the frequency of remarriage (Department of Health and Human Services [USDHHS], 2009), another common change in family ties affecting children. When a divorced person remarries, the children gain a stepparent. With the stepparent come additional kinship relationships. New roles and obligations, not derived from custom and tradition, have to be established.

In addition to family ties based on marriage, divorce, and remarriage, over the past decade there have been large increases in the number of individuals who live with a sexual partner of the opposite sex. As a result of the growing prevalence of cohabitation, the number of children born to unmarried parents has also increased (USDHHS, 2009).

Divorce and the Law

In the 1970s, many states changed their divorce laws to reflect societal changes, such as the increased cost of living, employment of women, and father's increasing role in child care. Prior to then, the law permitted divorce only if one spouse committed such serious marital misconduct as adultery, cruelty, or desertion. Traditional divorce proceedings involved a determination of who was guilty and who was innocent. Child custody arrangements and financial settlements were intended to reward the innocent party and punish the guilty one. For example, a woman deemed to be the innocent party would not have to agree to a divorce unless her husband, deemed to be the guilty party, provided adequate support for her and the children. Further, judges would often divide property in accordance with family need. The mother and children retained the family home and enough support to avoid sudden poverty (Skolnick, 1987). Divorce cases were often costly financially and emotionally—to both parents and children.

Today, divorce law is “no-fault”; assigning blame is no longer a legal issue. Instead, divorces are granted on the basis of “irreconcilable differences” or “marital breakdown.” The financial consequence, in most states, is that the family's assets are divided equally between the spouses, often necessitating that the family home being sold. Thus, in addition to the emotional impacts of the dissolution of a marriage, there are significant economic and social ones as well.

Divorce and the Family

Divorce has certain consequences for family functioning and the socialization of children. Barring external social support, the effect of divorce on the custodial parent is that the responsibilities double. The single parent is responsible for financial support, child care, and home maintenance. Because the parent is usually under great stress, parenting is

How is the socialization of children affected by divorce and other changes in family ties?

likely to diminish (Emery, 2011). The children may have to take increased responsibility for themselves and may have less time available to spend with the parent to receive love and security. In an attempt to prevent the consequences of divorce, some states are enacting mandatory waiting periods, mediation, and marital counseling before legalizing an application for divorce.

Divorce and Family Dynamics

To assess the effect of divorce, one must examine how all the various members of the family deal with the transition, reestablish their role obligations to one another, and perform such functions as the following (Hetherington & Clingempeel, 1992; Hetherington & Kelly, 2002):

- ◆ **Socialization/education.** Child rearing must continue; behavior must be monitored, values and morals imparted.
- ◆ **Assignment of social roles/authority.** Power for decision making within the family must be allocated and responsibilities for tasks assigned.
- ◆ **Economic support/domestic responsibilities.** The family must obtain enough money to provide for the support of its members. The physical well-being of the children must be provided for, and the residence must be maintained in a safe and healthy manner.
- ◆ **Nurturance/emotional support.** Caring and involvement toward one another are necessary to provide for the emotional well-being of family members.

A divorcing family's ability to carry on its former functions is affected not only by the coping skills of its members but also by societal forces, such as economic disparity for females, attitudes regarding the ideal two-parent family, and available informal or formal support services in the community (Coontz, 1997; Hetherington, 1989).

Regardless of their marital status, women do not earn income on the same scale as men. Sometimes a woman who heads a family must turn to her own family of orientation or to the government for economic assistance. Evidence has shown that children living in mother-only families were four times as likely to be poor compared to children living with two parents (Children's Defense Fund [CDF], 2012).

Socioeconomics

The change in the economic status of the family resulting from divorce means not only a change in family consumption habits, but also a change in housing. Moving, in itself, is a source of stress to the family; for one thing, former neighborhood supports are no longer available. Also, maintaining two households is costly when a parent lives in one place but must contribute to another.

Authority Distribution

Divorce affects the distribution of authority within the family. Before the divorce, the father may have had more authority because traditionally he had been regarded as the primary breadwinner, or authority may have been shared by both parents. After the divorce, however, the residential parent assumes day-to-day authority over the children, and the nonresidential parent becomes restricted to areas spelled out in the divorce agreement. Hetherington and Kelly (2002) found that both fathers' and mothers' authority over children, as indicated by their parenting practices, tended to deteriorate in the first two years following the divorce. There was less consistency, control, and affection.

Domestic Responsibility

Divorce affects the distribution of the domestic functions of the family. Before the divorce, both parents performed chores related to family functioning. If the mother was not employed outside the home, she likely was primarily responsible for household duties and child care while the father was earning the money. In such cases, after the divorce, the mother was more likely to have residential custody of the children (Hetherington &