# Family Structure Outcomes of Alternative Family Definitions 

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The term FAMILY may get you to think of ALL or SOME of the following:

A married couple \& their children at home
A married couple, their children \& grandchildren wherever they live

- A single mother \& her children living in subsidized housing
- Two sisters living together

Two unrelated married couples living in the same residence An unmarried couple cohabiting

- A divorced couple, their children \& stepchildren wherever they live
A military wife staying with her parents
- A couple, the woman's ex-husband, children \& step-children
- An extended kin network
- AND MANY OTHERS


## GOVERNMENT AND SURVEY DEFINITIONS OF THE FAMILY

- The concept of the FAMILY that is found in US Censuses and most surveys is restricted and excludes some of the foregoing relationship patterns.

■ In the US Census, the CPS, and other surveys, a FAMILY is defined as:
"All persons related by blood, marriage, and adoption AND living in the same residence"

- This definition was formally established in the 1940's and has never been changed.


## GOVERNMENT AND SURVEY DEFINITIONS OF THE FAMILY (Cont'd)

- The FAMILY so defined differs from a HOUSEHOLD (which includes one or more persons, related or unrelated, living in a given residence).
- A FAMILY is always part of a HOUSEHOLD but a HOUSEHOLD may not include a FAMILY.
- In early censuses, the terms FAMILY and HOUSEHOLD were often used interchangeably.


## WHY IS THE STANDARD DEFINITION OF THE FAMILY SO RESTRICTIVE?

1) Responsible census and survey designers have not recognized some societal changes in social relationships as altering the FAMILY definition.
2) Responsible census and survey designers often argue for keeping definitions constant to preserve historical data series.
3) Data collection in censuses and surveys is based on complete coverage or sampling of housing units, and a given family can only be observed within a single household.
4) The logistics and costs of identifying family members at a different residence in a census or survey would be prohibitive.

# EXAMINING OTHER FAMILY MEASURES AND THEIR IMPACT 

1) Using family history (or genealogical) data
2) Using kinship surveys

We give examples of the use of each of these.

## EXPLANATORY NOTES FOR CHART OF A SINGLE NUCLEAR FAMILY HISTORY

1. The chart is designed to compare family structures based on the demographic (census or survey) household concept with an alternative based on genealogical information for the family.
2. The particular family that is described in the chart is used for illustrative purposes only. There obviously will be substantial variation in patterns when other families are described in similar ways.
3. Years of change are reported, along with markers for the census years. Reference is to April of the year, when censuses are taken.

## EXPLANATORY NOTES FOR CHART OF A SINGLE NUCLEAR FAMILY HISTORY (Cont'd)

4. Initials refer to different family members.
5. The first column indicates who would be included under the demographic (residence-based) family definition.
6. The second column refers to the nuclear family, irrespective of residence.
7. In the first column, members are deleted in the year of death or when a family member leaves the household. Members are added through birth or when a family member returns to the household.

| CHART -- ALTERNATIVE FAMILY FORMS |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| YEAR | IN SAME | TOTAL |
|  | RESIDENCE | FAMILY |
| 1956 | CN,MT | CN,MT |
| 1960 CEN | CN,MT | CN,MT |
| 1961 | CN,MT,DN | CN,MT,DN |
| 1962 | CN,MT,DN,RN | CN,MT,DN,RN |
| 1970 CEN | CN,MT, DN,RN | CN,MT,DN,RN |
| 1971 | CN,MT,DN,RN | CN,MT, DN,RN |
| 1975 | CN,MT, DN,RN | CN,MT,DN,RN |
| 1980 CEN | CN,MT,DN,RN | CN,MT,DN,RN |
| 1981 | CN,MT,DN | CN,MT,DN,RN |
| 1982 | CN,MT | CN,MT, DN,RN |
| 1983 | CN,MT,DN | CN,MT,DN,RN |
| 1984 | CN,MT,DN,RN | CN,MT, DN,RN |
| 1985 | CN,MT,DN | CN,MT,DN,RN |
| 1986 | CN,MT | CN,MT,DN,RN |
| 1988 | CN,MT,DN | CN,MT,DN,RN |
| 1989 | CN,MT | CN,MT,DN,RN |
| 1990 CEN | CN,MT | CN,MT,DN,RN |
| 1991 | CN,MT | CN,MT, DN,RN |
| 1992 | CN,MT | CN,MT,DN,RN |
| 1995 | CN,MT | CN,MT,DN,RN |
| 1999 | CN,MT,DN | CN,MT,DN,RN |
| 2000 CEN | CN,MT | CN,MT,DN,RN |
| 2000 | CN,MT | CN,MT,DN,RN |
| 2001 | CN | CN,DN,RN |
| 2002 | CN | CN,DN,RN |

## FINDINGS FROM ANALYSIS OF CHART:

1. The nuclear family has very different time profiles, as shown in the two columns. Ignoring household residence, the 4-person family established by 1962 remained constant in size until 2000, a period of 39 years. The residence-based nuclear family changed its composition sharply over time, remaining intact for only 18 years.
2. Factors accounting for the changing residencebased family are births, deaths, leaving to go to college, returning for a short period after college, leaving after marriage, returning after divorce, and leaving after a second marriage.

## FINDINGS FROM ANALYSIS OF CHART (Cont'd):

3. Relevant information about the children is that one of them has always lived in the same community and visited parents often, while the other one lived in another state but visited frequently and telephoned (and more recently emailed) almost every day.
4. In 2001, one of the couple died. Consequently, in the first column, there was no longer a family in the one-person household. In the second column, there is still a 3-person family, and a family has existed for 46 years and counting.

## NETHERLANDS KINSHIP PANEL STUDY

- A large panel study that allows examination of family and kinship from a dynamic multi-actor perspective.
- "Anchor," their spouse or cohabiting partner (if applicable), max. of 1 parent, max. of 2 children aged $15+$, and max. of 1 sibling aged $15+$.

Drawn from two samples of Dutch population:

- Random sample of individuals within private households between age 18 and 79.
- Stratified random sample of members of 4 largest migrant groups: Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese \& Dutch Antilleans.

8,151 interviews conducted in Oct. 2002 - Jan. 2004

## STANDARD DEMOGRAPHIC MEASURES OF FAMILY

- Family Structure = grouping of people living together who are related by birth, marriage or adoption
- Marital status, presence of children, duration of union
- Resident Family Size = anchor, resident spouse, \& children related through birth, adoption or marriage
- Resident Children = children related through birth, adoption or marriage (step-children)
- Number of resident children, age of resident children


## ALTERNATIVE MEASURES USING BROADER DEFINITIONS OF FAMILY

- Total Family Size = anchor, spouse (resident or non-resident) or cohabiting partner, \& children related through birth, adoption, marriage or cohabitation
- All Children = biological, adoptive, step-, and/or cohabiting partners' children
- Total number of children, biological/legal relationship of all children to anchor, age of all children
- Proximity of All Children
- All children living inside the home;
- Child/ren living outside the home, but all in same municipality;
- Child/ren living outside municipality, but all in same province;
- Child/ren living outside the province


## TABLES AND FIGURES

- Tables provide a comparison of demographic measures across 3 different definitions of family.

1) Traditional (Census-like) Residence-Based Definition
2) Expanded Residence-Based Definition (includes cohabiting partners \& their children as family members)
3) Broader Non-Residence-Based Definition (includes cohabitors, their children, \& any non-resident children \& spouses)

- Figures provide a comparison of the Definitions \#1 and \#3.


## Percentage of Sample in Each Family Structure (n=8151)


$\square$ Two Married Adults w/o Kids in Home
$\square$ Two Cohabiting Adults w/o Kids in Home $\square$ One Adult w/o Kids in Home
$\square$ Two Married Adults w/Kids in Home
$\square$ Two Cohabiting Adults w/Kids in Home
$\square$ One Adult w/Kids in Home
$\square$ One Adult w/Parents
*Traditional Definitions would not acknowledge cohabitors as a separate family type. Cohabiting adults would be included in the "one adult" categories, and labeled as "single".



## Mean Number of Children in Resident Family (Traditional Definition) vs. Mean Total Number of Children (Broadest Definition), by Family Structure



Mean Number of Children in Resident Family (Traditional Definition) vs. Mean Total Number of Children (Broadest Definition), by Age of Household Head


## Mean Age of Children in Household vs. Mean Age of All Children



## Respondents' Proximity to All Children



## Conclusions

■ Which definition of "family" is correct?

- The correct definition remains a matter of sociological judgment.
- However, the definition chosen makes a significant difference when describing family size and characteristics.


## Conclusions

- Measuring family characteristics with a broader definition of family allows us to:
- Capture a greater number of family members, particularly non-resident children.
- Determine the age of all children, regardless of residence.
- Determine the general proximity of non-resident children (residence in the same municipality or province).
- The difference between family characteristics when measured using a standard demographic definition vs. our alternative definition is greater for:
- Respondents in the older age categories (46-60 \& 60+).
- Respondents living without children in the home.


## Conclusions

- Future work will:
- Examine the qualitative content of family relationships to determine whether non-resident nuclear family members provide similar benefits as resident nuclear family members.
- particularly for those in the older age categories and those living w/o children in the home.
- Further expand our definition of family to include more relatives (e.g. siblings, grandparents, grandchildren, etc.).

