

---

## Race and Multigenerational Family Structure, 1900-1980

---

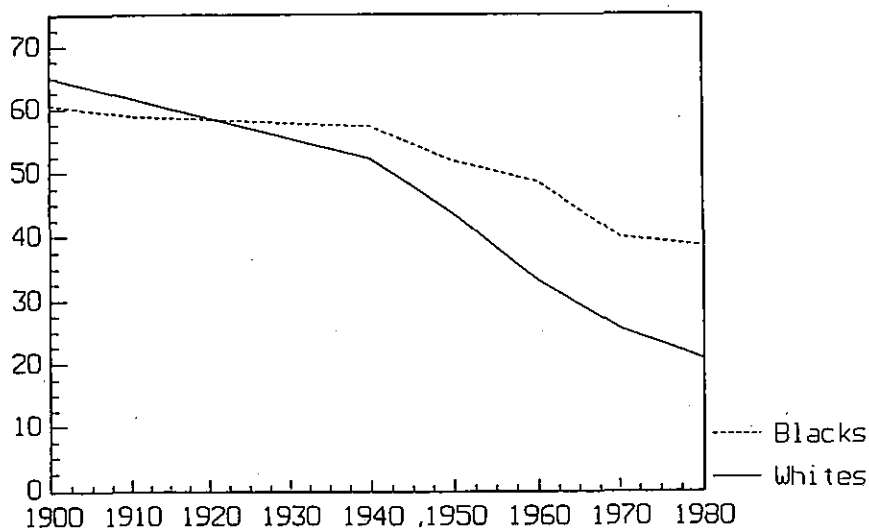
*Steven Ruggles and Ron Goeken*

In the late nineteenth century, family and household composition in the United States was more complex than ever before or since.<sup>1</sup> More than a fifth of Americans resided with their extended kin, and about a quarter resided in households with nonrelatives, usually boarders, lodgers, or servants. Most people lived in extended or augmented households at some point during the course of their lives. Fewer than one in twenty households consisted of only one person (Ruggles 1987, 1988).

The 1980s represent the opposite extreme: Households are now simpler than they have ever been. Only 6 percent of households now include extended kin, and the proportion of families with unrelated individuals is even lower. This change does not reflect a new dominance of nuclear households consisting of a husband, a wife, and their children. The frequency of such households has declined by about a third, and by 1983 they accounted for only 29 percent of all households. The change has come through an increase in fragmentary households: married couples without children, unmarried couples, single-parent households, and persons living alone (Ruggles 1988; Sweet and Bumpass 1987; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1983, 1987).

This chapter represents the preliminary stage of a larger project concerning one facet of the simplification of household structure: the decline of multigenerational living arrangements, with a special focus on differentials between blacks and whites. Figure 2.1 shows the percentages of elderly whites and blacks residing with adult children or extended kin in each available census year. There are no data currently available on such living arrangements for the 1920 and 1930 census years, so there may have been fluctuations in the interval between 1910 and 1940 that are not reflected in the graph. At the turn of the century, about 65 percent of whites aged

Figure 2.1 Percent of Persons Aged 60 and over Residing with Adult Children or Extended Kin by Race and Census Year



sixty or older resided with their adult children or extended kin. The proportion of elderly blacks with such living arrangements was slightly lower. By 1980, the situation had changed dramatically: Only a quarter of the elderly resided with adult children or kin. Moreover, by the later census year a substantial differential had emerged between elderly blacks and whites; blacks resided with adult children or other kin almost twice as frequently as did whites.

Our research focuses on these dramatic shifts in living arrangements. We are concerned with two basic questions: (1) Why did the frequency of multigenerational and extended families decline during the course of the twentieth century? (2) What is the source of the reversal of the race differential in the family structure of the aged?

### Theoretical Considerations

A generation ago there would have been near consensus among historians and sociologists about the causes of the simplification of household structure during the past century. Most scholars regarded the breakdown of complex household structures as an inevitable consequence of economic and social development. Structural-functionalists argued that a shift from family to factory production undermined extended and augmented households (Parsons 1959; Parsons and Bales 1955; Smelser 1959). Modernization theorists pointed to economic and social mobility, the rise of individualism, urbanization,

literacy and education, the loss of traditional values, and the decline of community, all of which supposedly reduced the utility of the extended family and contributed to the ideal of the isolated nuclear family (Fletcher 1963; Goode 1963; Nimkoff 1962; Tonnie 1957). Virtually all theorists envisioned a general shift from extended family to nuclear family structure sometime between the seventeenth and the twentieth centuries.

We now know that these models contradict the historical record for Western Europe and the United States. Few people lived in extended families before the nineteenth century. The evidence indicates that the frequency of extended families actually increased during the industrial revolution, as did the incidence of boarding and lodging (Anderson 1971; Laslett 1972; Ruggles 1987; Wall 1983).

Clearly, then, there is no straightforward relationship between economic development or modernization and the decline of complex family structures. In the wake of these findings, the theorists are in disarray. Some historians and sociologists have turned to new kinds of functional economic explanation. They argue that the harsh economic conditions of early industrial capitalism strengthened the interdependence of family members and led to a high frequency of extended families (Chudacoff and Hareven 1979; Hareven 1978; Katz 1975; Modell 1978). According to exchange theorists, multigenerational families served a variety of economic needs for their members (Anderson 1971, 1976). The elderly often lacked sufficient resources to meet their living expenses, but they could provide assistance to their children, especially in the area of childcare for families with working mothers. Many historians agree that extended living arrangements often served as a defense against poverty. By "sharing and huddling," a family could make the most efficient use of limited resources (Foster 1974; Levine 1977; Medick 1976). In the twentieth century, according to this thesis, real wages rose and living conditions improved, and so the functional need for extended families diminished. Thus, the result of the relaxation of economic stress was a general simplification of family structure; people started living independently because they could afford it (Beresford and Rivlin 1966; Michael, Fuchs, and Scott 1980; also, see Angel and Tienda 1982).

Other theorists point to institutional changes in the twentieth century. The institutionalization of fixed retirement ages and the simultaneous introduction of private pensions and Social Security are said to have contributed to the fragmentation of extended families because they provided the means for the elderly to maintain separate residences. The restrictions imposed on welfare recipients under Aid to Families with Dependent Children are also seen as contributing to the fragmentation of households (Anderson 1977; Chevan and Korson 1972; King 1988; Troll 1971).

The black extended family has its own theoretical literature. In the first half of this century, several sociologists argued that conditions of slavery

had resulted in disorganization and instability in black families (DuBois 1909; Frazier 1939). The thesis that the black family was pathological became the dominant interpretation of the 1940s and 1950s (Elkins 1959; Myrdal 1944). This school of research culminated with Moynihan's (1965) report, which concluded that the "pathological" nature of black communities could be traced to the deterioration of black family life. In response to Moynihan's study, which emphasized the high frequency of black female-headed households, many sociologists have stressed the strength of extended kin ties among blacks (e.g., Aschenbrenner 1973; Hays and Mindel 1973; Hill 1971; Martin and Martin 1978; McAdoo 1983; Riessman 1966; Staples 1975). Most argue that the black extended family is a defense against poverty or a means of coping with single parenthood (Allen 1979; Billingsley 1968; Farley 1971; Fischer et al. 1968; Hofferth 1984; Stack 1974). Others point to cultural differences between blacks and whites that encourage stronger multigenerational kin ties among blacks (Nobles 1978; Scanzoni 1971; Shimkin, Shimkin, and Frate 1978). Historical research, by contrast, has challenged Moynihan's thesis from the opposite direction by pointing out that most blacks in the nineteenth century resided in male-headed nuclear families (Furstenberg et al. 1975; Gutman 1975, 1976; Lammermeir 1973; Pleck 1972; Riley 1975; Shifflet 1975; Smith et al. 1979).

Social scientists frequently view household structure as a strategic and rational response to prevailing demographic or economic conditions. This functional approach is partly a consequence of static analysis. If we study household structure at a single moment in time, the range of potential explanations is effectively limited to concurrent structural factors. We believe that analyses of household structure should focus on processes of change. This is especially important because a large body of sociological theory rests on untested assumptions about the evolution of the family. Our ability to construct meaningful social theory and to design effective public policy is handicapped if we are limited to static explanation. To understand current residential behavior we should study behavior in the past.

### Data Sources

This research is made possible by the recent release of large microdata sets of historical census data. We have used samples drawn from the United States federal censuses for the census years 1900, 1910, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, and 1980, and we plan to add data from the 1880 census when it becomes available (Graham 1979; Ruggles and Menard 1990; Strong et al. 1989; U.S. Bureau of the Census 1972, 1973, 1982, 1984a, 1984b). Since 1960, the Census Bureau has made public-use samples of the census available to researchers within a few years of the decennial enumeration. During the past decade, projects carried out at the University of Washington, the

University of Pennsylvania, and the University of Wisconsin in conjunction with the Census Bureau have converted large national samples of the 1900, 1910, 1940, and 1950 census manuscripts into machine-readable form, and a similar project for the 1880 census is currently underway at the Minnesota Social History Research Laboratory.

All these census files provide individual-level information on age, sex, race, family relationships, marital status, occupation, and birthplace. For the most part, these basic variables can be made closely compatible across census years. Although there were significant changes in census definitions and variations in the sampling procedures, it is possible to construct consistent versions of the census files with only a moderate loss of information. For a full discussion of the problems of comparing data from the series of public-use samples and the methods we have used to overcome them, see Ruggles (1991).

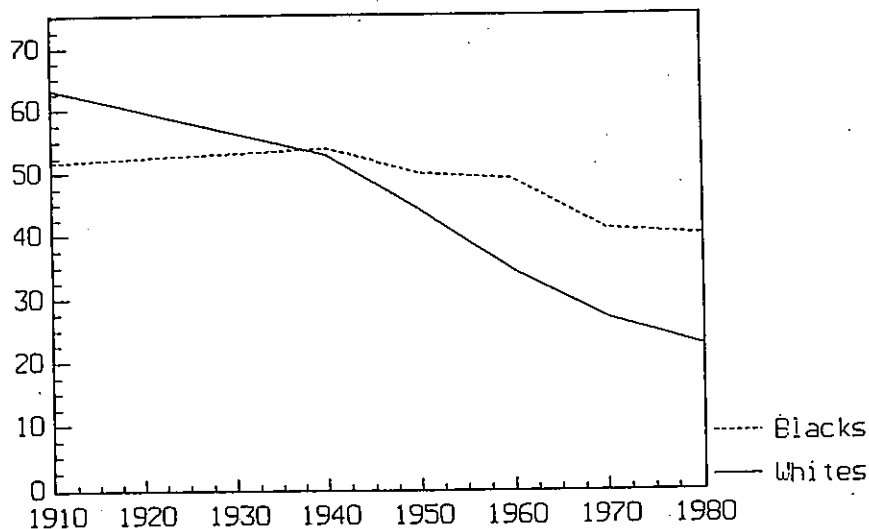
### Changes in Family Structure and Demography

The dramatic changes in population composition during the course of the twentieth century complicate the study of changing family structure. Life expectancy at the turn of the century was about 47 years, compared with 74 in 1980, and total fertility was twice as high as it is today. These changes had important consequences for extended family structure, because they altered the pool of kin available for coresidence. In addition, massive urbanization during the twentieth century has transformed the social context of family life.

We have only begun to sort out the effects of these changes. An initial attempt to account for the long-term effects of compositional change is given in Figure 2.2. Like Figure 2.1, this graph shows the percentage of elderly blacks and whites residing with adult children or extended kin, but this time we have simultaneously controlled for race and period differentials in age, sex, marital status/presence of spouse, metropolitan residence, and farm residence. The method we used is multiple standardization, which is closely related to the decomposition of rates approach as developed by Kitagawa (1955) and later refined by Das Gupta (1978). The appendix to this chapter describes the methods and decomposes the race and period differentials into the effects of each factor. For whites, the effects of factors tended to cancel one another out; overall, the changes in population composition can account for only 6.2 percent of the overall decline in the proportion of the elderly residing with adult children or other kin. By contrast, among blacks compositional factors account for more than 40 percent of the change in family structure.

For these reasons, in Figure 2.2 the contrast in the historical experience of blacks and whites is magnified. When population structure is held

Figure 2.2 Percent of Persons Aged 60 and over Residing with Adult Children or Extended Kin Controlling for Age, Sex, Marital Status, Presence of Spouse, Metropolitan Residence, and Farm Residence by Race and Census Year



constant, the peak frequency of residence with adult children or kin among blacks occurred in 1940 instead of 1900, and the long-term decline of such families was small. The dramatic simplification of family structure of the elderly in the twentieth century mainly affected whites; among blacks, there has been relatively little change.

The treatment of family structure as a simple dichotomy masks some key differences between blacks and whites. Table 2.1 breaks the living arrangements of the elderly into seven categories. The top section for each race shows the percentages of persons 60 and over residing in simple families, subdivided into those residing without any relatives and those residing with only their spouse or children under 21. Among both blacks and whites, the increase of simple families has been evenly divided between these two categories.

The second section of Table 2.1 shows the percentages of elderly residing in multigenerational families, which we define as residence with children who are older than 21 or ever-married. These are subdivided into residence with never-married adult children, ever-married adult children and no grandchildren, and both children and grandchildren. The final section of the table gives the percentages of elderly residing with other extended kin, broken into residence with grandchildren and no children and residence with other extended kin. This last category of other kin primarily consists of siblings, nephews, and nieces.

TABLE 2.1 Living Arrangements of the Elderly by Year and Race Controlling for Age, Sex, and Marital Status

	1900	1910	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
<b>Whites, residing in</b>							
<b>Simple families</b>	<b>34.9</b>	<b>38.1</b>	<b>47.0</b>	<b>55.8</b>	<b>65.9</b>	<b>74.1</b>	<b>78.4</b>
Unrelated individuals	14.4	15.6	19.3	22.7	26.8	31.8	35.2
Spouse and/or child under 21	20.5	22.5	27.7	33.1	39.1	42.3	43.2
<b>Multigenerational families</b>	<b>53.4</b>	<b>50.1</b>	<b>42.2</b>	<b>32.9</b>	<b>22.3</b>	<b>16.4</b>	<b>14.1</b>
Never-married adult child	24.2	23.4	18.8	12.4	9.5	7.2	7.1
Ever-married child	7.2	7.5	9.1	8.6	5.1	3.9	3.6
Child and grandchild	22.0	19.2	14.3	11.9	7.7	5.3	3.4
<b>Other extended families</b>	<b>11.7</b>	<b>11.7</b>	<b>10.9</b>	<b>11.1</b>	<b>11.7</b>	<b>9.4</b>	<b>7.5</b>
Grandchild, no adult child	3.7	2.9	2.0	1.5	1.3	1.3	0.8
Other kin	8.0	8.8	8.9	9.6	10.4	8.1	6.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	5791	11402	12368	17160	10882	13282	15601
<b>Blacks, residing in</b>							
<b>Simple families</b>	<b>37.2</b>	<b>40.9</b>	<b>42.2</b>	<b>48.7</b>	<b>51.9</b>	<b>60.5</b>	<b>62.0</b>
Unrelated individuals	15.8	18.4	18.4	21.7	22.6	26.8	28.3
Spouse and/or child under 21	21.4	22.5	23.8	27.0	29.3	33.7	33.7
<b>Multigenerational families</b>	<b>38.4</b>	<b>38.9</b>	<b>36.3</b>	<b>30.8</b>	<b>25.4</b>	<b>20.5</b>	<b>21.9</b>
Never-married adult child	9.0	8.9	7.4	4.9	4.6	5.9	7.2
Ever-married child	7.8	8.4	11.4	10.8	8.4	5.9	6.0
Child and grandchild	21.6	21.6	17.5	15.1	12.4	8.7	8.7
<b>Other extended families</b>	<b>24.4</b>	<b>20.0</b>	<b>21.5</b>	<b>20.5</b>	<b>22.7</b>	<b>19.0</b>	<b>16.2</b>
Grandchild, no adult child	12.5	11.0	9.1	8.1	7.1	6.4	5.3
Other kin	11.9	9.0	12.4	12.4	15.6	12.6	10.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of cases	535	1562	4659	6248	8601	11671	14100

For elderly whites, the largest category of multigenerational families in 1900 was comprised of persons living with their adult never-married children. The late-Victorian pattern of coresidence of single children—especially daughters—and their elderly parents is a common theme of nineteenth-century literature, and the phenomenon has also been noted by social historians (Anderson 1984; Auerbach 1978, 1982; King and Ruggles 1990; Mintz 1983; Ruggles 1987; Showalter 1977; Watkins 1984). A high proportion—over 10 percent—of white women in this period never married. Contemporaries generally ascribed this to the “selfishness” of bachelors or to the “surplus of women” (Burgess 1965; Cobbe 1862; Cruikshank et al. 1912:330; also, see citations in Kanner 1972:182–185). Given the social and

economic constraints of marriage in the late nineteenth century, no doubt many white women chose not to marry in order to maintain their independence. Those who never married typically remained in their parental households because there were few alternatives available to single women in this period. Moreover, the prescriptive literature of the period is clear on the duties of children to care for their parents in old age (See, for example, Butler 1912; Griffin 1886; Hague 1855; Robins 1896). Indeed, it is likely that some women at the turn of the century never married precisely because they felt obligated to remain in their parental households.

During the course of the twentieth century, it became more socially acceptable for unmarried white women to live alone or in group quarters, and the Victorian sense of duty to parents diminished. Moreover, after the Great Depression the proportion of women marrying increased dramatically. Between 1900 and 1980, the proportion of elderly whites residing with never-married adult children declined from 24.2 percent to 7.1 percent, a change that accounts for over 40 percent of their total decline in the frequency of multigenerational families.

Among blacks, residence of the elderly with unmarried children has never been very frequent, and the frequency of such living arrangements has changed only slightly over the century. This is probably related to higher proportions marrying among blacks; almost 97 percent of blacks at the turn of the century eventually got married. In addition, the social constraints against unmarried women living alone—which were most pronounced among the white bourgeoisie—probably had a smaller effect on blacks than on whites.

A second major difference between blacks and whites in family composition has been the proportion residing with grandchildren but without married children. This category appears near the bottom of Table 2.1. From 1900 through 1980, elderly blacks were three to eight times more likely than whites to reside with grandchildren only. A significant source of this difference is higher mortality among blacks, which left a larger proportion of parentless grandchildren. We have not yet developed estimates of the differential frequencies of parentless grandchildren, but although the mortality differentials are large we expect that they are not great enough to account for the entire race difference in residence with grandchildren. Shimkin, Louie, and Frate (1971) have suggested that the high frequency of blacks residing with grandchildren and no children in the South can be ascribed to the reverse migration of grandchildren whose parents had moved north. However, because northward migration was only a minor phenomenon at the outset of our period, this too is only a partial explanation. A third possibility is that the differential is connected to higher rates of illegitimacy among blacks. All three of these explanations can be investigated further, and we intend to pursue them.

The rest of this chapter focuses on the multigenerational category of Table 2.1. Analyses of the trends and race differentials in multigenerational family structure should take the experience of both the older generation and the younger generation into account, because the power to decide whether to form a multigenerational family often rests with the younger generation. Figure 2.3 compares the frequency of multigenerational families from the perspective of the younger generation and the older generation. The top panel, Figure 2.3a, shows the percentages of persons aged 21 to 59 residing with elderly parents, and Figure 2.3b shows the percentage of persons aged 60 and over residing with adult or ever-married children. Like Figure 2.2, both the graphs in Figure 2.3 use multiple standardization to control for compositional change in age, sex, marital status/presence of spouse, metropolitan residence, and farm residence.

The trends and differentials in multigenerational family structure are strikingly different when we measure them from the perspective of the younger generation. When we control for the changing population composition, the peak frequency of multigenerational residence for the younger generation occurred in 1950 among both whites and blacks. There has been a sharp decline in the frequency of multigenerational families for younger-generation whites since 1950, but for blacks the percentage has remained constant. Equally important, when we control for differential population composition, residence with elderly parents was more common among whites than among blacks in every census year except 1980, when the two were virtually identical.

The contrasts between Figures 2.3a and 2.3b are probably largely a result of demographic patterns. Controlling for the effects of changing population composition only partly accounts for the effects of demography on family structure. The decline in mortality between 1900 and 1950 meant that far more adults had living parents with whom they could reside. Furthermore, declining fertility from the late nineteenth century to the depression meant that adults in 1950 had many fewer siblings than their counterparts of 1900. Because the elderly have rarely resided with more than one of their adult children, the decline of fertility meant that the increasing numbers of parents were divided between a declining number of offspring, so the odds of residence with any particular adult child went up. These two demographic factors are doubtless responsible for the increase in the percentages of adults residing with their parents from 1900 to 1950. After 1950, the mortality trend slowed and the fertility trend reversed, and the overall percentage of the younger generation residing in multigenerational families finally began to go down.

Mortality and fertility also affected the differential frequency with which adult blacks and whites resided with their parents (Ruggles 1986, 1987). Black mortality has been markedly higher than that of whites throughout

Figure 2.3a Percent of Persons Aged 21-59 Residing with Parents Aged 60 or over Controlling for Age, Sex, Marital Status, Presence of Spouse, Metropolitan Residence, and Farm Residence by Race and Census Year

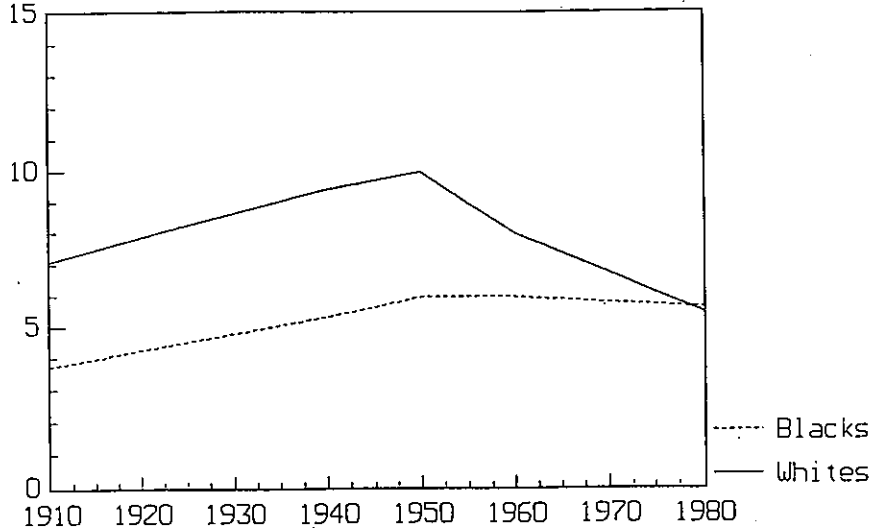
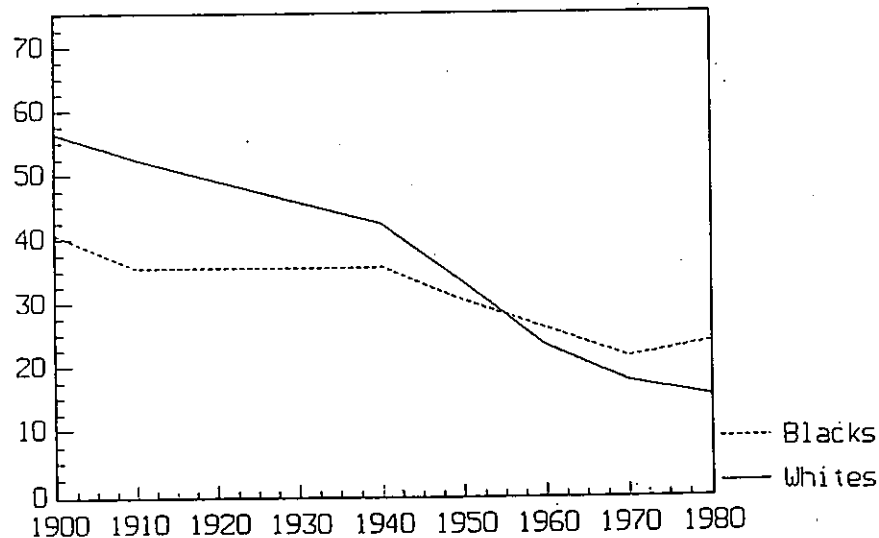


Figure 2.3b Percent of Persons Aged 60 and over Residing with Adult Children Controlling for Age, Sex, Marital Status, Presence of Spouse, Metropolitan Residence, and Farm Residence by Race and Census Year



American history, and for most of the twentieth century black fertility has been higher than white fertility. Thus, black adults were less likely to have living parents and had a larger number of siblings competing for the available parents. By comparison, white adults have consistently had greater demographic opportunities to reside with their parents.

The effects of demographic differences on the frequency of multigenerational families are not confined to the younger generation. Clearly, the fertility of the elderly determines their opportunities to reside with children: Those with many children are more likely to have at least one who wants to coreside. Mortality is also a factor, both because it affects the number of surviving children and because the death of a spouse can precipitate the formation of a multigenerational family. The effects of spousal mortality are controlled in Figures 2.2 and 2.3, because they are standardized for marital status and presence of spouse.

#### Economic Status and Multigenerational Family Structure

The leading explanation for the decline of multigenerational living arrangements among the elderly is that rising incomes allowed increasing numbers of the aged to maintain separate residences. Unfortunately, the census did not provide sufficient information to calculate the total income of the elderly members of each family until 1960. This section will first briefly examine the effects of rising incomes on the family structure of the elderly in 1960 and 1980 and will then turn to alternate measures of economic status to investigate the question in the earlier period.

Figure 2.4 shows the relationship between the income of each generation and the frequency of multigenerational families in 1960 and 1980. The two graphs at the top of the page give the percentages of the elderly residing in multigenerational families for blacks and whites, and the two graphs at the bottom show the percentages of persons aged 21 to 59 residing with elderly parents. In all four graphs, income refers to the sum of own income and spouse's income and is expressed in quintiles.

Among the elderly, low income was associated with a high frequency of multigenerational families among both races in both census years. The same was true for the younger generation in 1980, but in 1960 the frequency of multigenerational families was not consistently related to income of the younger generation for either whites or blacks.

To estimate how much of the decline in the frequency of multigenerational families between 1960 and 1980 should be ascribed to increasing income, we turned to decomposition analysis (Das Gupta 1978; Ruggles 1989). Income was expressed in hundreds of 1967 dollars, and we simultaneously controlled for age, sex, and marital status. Among whites, the rise in incomes of the

If family structure is considered as a consequence of labor-force status, we can estimate the consequences of declining participation among blacks. Because working blacks were less likely to reside in multigenerational families than those who did not work, the decline in the percentage in the labor force cannot help to explain the decline of the multigenerational family; indeed, all things being equal, we would expect the drop in labor-force participation to contribute to an increase in the frequency of multigenerational families. Decomposition analysis with age, sex, and marital status indicates that the increase resulting from changing labor-force participation would be about 3.5 percent. Thus, if labor-force status were held constant, the total decline in the percentage of multigenerational families would be about 20 percent instead of the actual 16.5 percent.

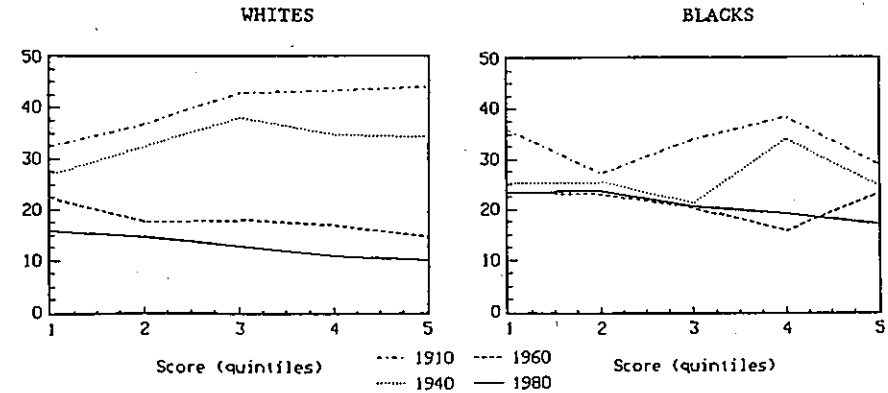
To assess the role of economic status for persons in the labor force, we have developed a measure we call the economic score. Each specific occupational title that can be identified across census years is assigned a score based on the median income of persons with that occupation in 1950. For occupations held by both men and women in significant numbers, the score is calculated separately for each sex. Of course, this measure is imperfect because it ignores changes in the hierarchy of occupations over time. All conventional occupational classification systems share this problem, however, and the economic score provides a more subtle index of relative economic status than any conventional classification. Moreover, there is considerable evidence that the hierarchy of occupational prestige has changed only modestly since the mid-nineteenth century (Hauser 1982; Hodge, Seigel, and Rossi 1964; Sharlin 1980; Treiman 1976; Tyree and Smith 1978).

Figure 2.5 is analogous to Figure 2.4, except that it is based on economic scores instead of on income and therefore can include figures from the early twentieth century. For the elderly generation in 1960 and 1980, the effect of economic score is similar to the effect of income: low economic status is associated with a high frequency of multigenerational families. But the pattern is quite different for the earlier period. Indeed, at least for elderly whites, there appears to be a positive relationship between economic score and multigenerational family structure in 1910 and 1940. For blacks, the pattern is less clear, but the highest proportion of multigenerational families among the elderly is found in the fourth quintile of economic score. Among the younger generation, there are few consistent effects of economic score on the frequency of multigenerational families.

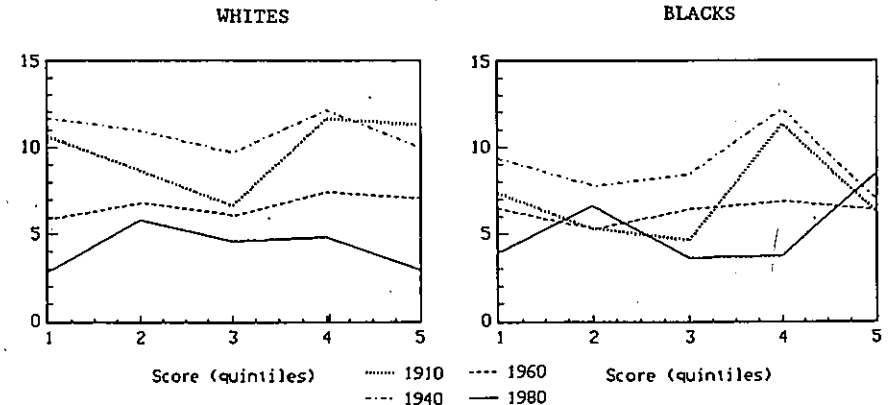
Because the economic scores only indicate relative economic status within census years, we cannot analyse the impact of changes in economic scores on living arrangements across census years. However, the data in Figure 2.5 strongly suggest that the decline in the frequency of multigenerational families in the first half of the century cannot be ascribed to rising economic

Figure 2.5 Percent of Persons in Multigenerational Families Controlling for Age, Sex, Marital Status, and Presence of Spouse by Economic Score, Generation, Race, and Census Year

a) Older Generation (Persons 60 and Over)



b) Younger Generation (Persons 21-59 Years Old)



status of the elderly. This does not rule out economic explanations; it simply means that they have to be more subtly constructed.

One approach is to analyze the economic relationships between generations in multigenerational families. Table 2.3 represents an initial step in this direction. The first column in each panel shows the percentage of multigenerational families in which the older generation was the primary income producer or wage earner, accounting for 75 percent or more of the income or economic score. The second column shows the percentage of families in which the presence of the older generation increased the family per-capita income or economic score. In all periods and according to both measures, the economic contribution of the elderly was significantly higher

TABLE 2.3 Measures of the Economic Contribution of the Older Generation in Multigenerational Families, Controlling for Age, Sex, and Marital Status

Income-based measures		
	<i>Percent of Families in Which the Older Generation is the Primary Income Producer</i>	<i>Percent of Families in Which the Older Generation Raises Family Per-capita Income</i>
Whites		
1960	20.1	32.3
1980	25.6	44.5
Blacks		
1960	31.1	47.5
1980	32.5	51.8
Measures based on economic scores		
	<i>Percent of Families in Which the Older Generation is the Primary Wage Earner</i>	<i>Percent of Families in Which the Older Generation Raises Family Per-capita Economic Score</i>
Whites		
1910	14.4	31.5
1940	10.7	26.4
1960	15.2	34.1
1980	13.3	34.4
Blacks		
1910	29.0	48.6
1940	22.0	37.7
1960	23.2	42.2
1980	16.3	40.5

for blacks than for whites. In terms of economic score, the contribution of the elderly has diminished over time, but the data on income suggest the possibility that this trend may be counteracted by the increase in nonwage income of the aged.

The evidence on the economic contributions of the elderly in multigenerational families suggests a possible explanation for the greater decline in multigenerational living arrangements among whites. Most elderly whites who did reside in multigenerational families seem to have been economically dependent. The economic incentives for elderly whites to reside with their children are obvious, but the motives of their children are less clear. For many, maintaining their parents was no doubt an economic burden, although it may have been offset by other contributions to family welfare such as homeownership, childcare, and responsibility for domestic duties. But as noted earlier, among whites there were powerful cultural sanctions against those who did not maintain their parents in old age. During the course of the twentieth century, these social norms have shifted dramatically.

Without the force of social obligation, the younger generation has had little incentive to take in their parents.

But the story is somewhat different for blacks. Elderly blacks in multigenerational families have always made a larger economic contribution to the family than elderly whites. From the perspective of the younger generation, the parents have often been an economic asset. Indeed, in many cases it was the younger generation that was dependent. As the century progressed, younger-generation blacks, to a significantly greater extent than younger-generation whites, had a continuing economic incentive to reside with their parents.

### Conclusion

Both historians and sociologists have written extensively on family structure. For the most part, however, the historical literature is confined to the nineteenth century and before; the sociological literature has focused on the period since 1960. Moreover, each discipline has adopted different systems of analysis and methods of classification. One of our major aims is to connect the nineteenth-century studies with research on the recent past by analyzing household structure in a consistent way for the entire twentieth century.

One of the difficulties of studying family structure over such a long period is that the magnitude of demographic and economic change in the past century has shifted the social context of family structure. We have attempted to cope with some of the basic structural changes in the population through the use of multiple standardization. A much more intractable problem is posed by the effects of demographic changes on the availability of kin. As we pointed out above, fertility and mortality can have dramatic consequences for the composition of kin groups. Although the census does provide information on the characteristics of kin who reside together, it tells little about relatives beyond the household. The pool of available kin constitutes the context within which residence decisions are made, and that pool is highly sensitive to changing demographic conditions. Therefore, we consider it essential to attempt to control for the effects of changing demography on the population at risk to reside with kin. To that end, we are planning a new demographic microsimulation of kinship that will be specifically tailored to aid analyses of family structure using the public-use samples. We expect that this model will overcome most of the problems that have hampered previous efforts to analyze the demography of kinship (De Vos and Palloni 1989; Ruggles 1990; Ruggles forthcoming).

This chapter represents only a tentative first step; beyond the refinement of the data that will be made possible by the microsimulation, there is a wide range of additional issues and approaches we have yet to explore.

Nevertheless, we owe it to the reader to offer our speculations on the basic questions we posed at the outset: Why did the overall frequency of multigenerational living arrangements among the elderly decline, and why did the differential between blacks and whites reverse?

For whites, much of the decline in multigenerational families came in the category of elderly persons residing with their never-married children. We suggested above that the disappearance of this phenomenon was connected to changing values. First, it became more socially acceptable for unmarried women to live on their own; and second, the social obligations to care for parents in old age diminished. We also suspect that much of the decline in residence with ever-married children results from shifting social norms. Rising economic status of the elderly before mid-century apparently cannot help to explain the decline of the multigenerational family. In the postwar years, however, increasing income does account for much of the change. Finally, we should note that dropping fertility in the late nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century markedly reduced the number of options the elderly had to reside in multigenerational families.

Our interpretation depends on a fundamental shift in social norms among the white population, and we are left with the task of explaining the source of change in norms. We could, of course, haul out the usual list of candidates cited by modernization theorists and structural functionalists—urbanization, industrialization, economic and social mobility, loss of traditional values, decline of community. These may indeed have played a role. But we should bear in mind that the anomaly in white family structure is not so much the late twentieth century but rather the late nineteenth century: Nuclear family structure predominated before the industrial revolution, just as it does today. It was the Victorians who were obsessed by the family, not the colonial population. In this light, the interesting question is not so much the source of late twentieth-century norms about living with parents but the source of the late nineteenth-century norms.

For blacks, changes in population composition—age, sex, marital status/presence of spouse, metropolitan residence, and farm residence—explain much of the decrease in multigenerational living arrangements. Moreover, in the period since 1960, income changes alone explain 95 percent of the decline in multigenerational families among blacks. If we measured these variables more precisely and included additional factors such as fertility, geographic mobility and regional variation, compositional changes would very likely account for virtually all of the change among blacks. The question, then, is why the frequency of multigenerational families has been so stable among blacks.

Several studies of the black extended family argue that elderly kin in black families provide assistance to help overcome problems posed by single

parenthood or poverty (Anderson and Allen 1984; Goeken 1989; Martin and Martin 1978; Shimkin, Shimkin, and Frate 1978). Some argue that this is a new response, but others stress the cultural continuity of the black extended family.

The evidence on economic relationships within black multigenerational families supports the hypothesis that the elderly have traditionally provided support in black extended families. Multigenerational families among blacks have served the needs of the younger generation as much as the needs of the older, and this may have helped the survival of this family type into the late twentieth century. Because the overall relationship of economic status to multigenerational family structure did not differ markedly between whites and blacks, it does not seem plausible that the differences between black and white multigenerational families were simply a result of greater poverty among blacks. Instead, we suspect that the race differences in family structure during the twentieth century reflect underlying cultural differences between blacks and whites.

#### Appendix 2.1: Multiple Standardization and Decomposition Analysis

The results presented in this chapter are for the most part the product of multiple standardization or decomposition analysis. They were computed using DECOMP, which is a general-purpose package for multiple standardization and decomposition developed at the Social History Research Laboratory (Ruggles 1989). Multiple standardization is a straightforward extension of the direct standardization technique routinely used by demographers to control for differences in age structure when comparing population rates. In all cases, the standard population was considered to be the sum of all groups being compared. With four simultaneous controls, the standardized rate or percentage for a particular subpopulation—such as blacks in 1910—is calculated as

$$\text{Standardized Rate} = \sum_i \sum_j \sum_k \sum_l R_{ijkl} \cdot P_{ijkl}$$

Where  $R_{ijkl}$  is the rate or percentage rates for persons in the subpopulation to be standardized with characteristics  $i, j, k$ , and  $l$ , and  $P_{ijkl}$  is the proportion of the standard population—in this case the sum of all subpopulations—with those characteristics. Thus, the standardized rate simply shows what the rate for the subpopulation would be if the subpopulation shared the population distribution of the standard population.

The closely related technique of demographic decomposition was developed by Kitagawa (1955) to provide a means of partitioning a difference between

two rates into components. Later refinements of the method by Das Gupta (1978) increased the power of the technique and simplified the interpretation of results. These methods have proven to be powerful tools for analysis of changing household composition; for examples see Sweet (1984), Kobrin (1976), and Ruggles (1988). Given two populations with differing rates and a set of factors, Das Gupta's approach decomposes the difference between rates into the combined effect of factors, the effect of each factor, and a rate effect. In the four-factor case, the rate effect is considered to be

$$\text{Rate effect} = \frac{\sum_i \sum_j \sum_k \sum_l \frac{P_{ijkl} + p_{ijkl}}{2} (R_{ijkl} - r_{ijkl})}{2}$$

Where  $R_{ijkl}$  and  $r_{ijkl}$  are the rates for persons with characteristics  $i, j, k$ , and  $l$  in the two populations and  $P_{ijkl}$  and  $p_{ijkl}$  are the proportions of each population with those characteristics. The rate effect is the difference of rates in each cell weighted by the average of population proportions in each cell. This is identical to the standardized difference between the populations, using the average of population proportions as the standard.

The effect of factors is the complement of the rate effect:

$$\text{Combined IJKL effect} = \frac{\sum_i \sum_j \sum_k \sum_l \frac{R_{ijkl} + r_{ijkl}}{2} (P_{ijkl} - p_{ijkl})}{2}$$

The effect of factors represents the difference in population rates that is entirely accounted for by differences in population distributions. The sum of the rate effect and the effect of factors is equal to the total difference between populations. The effect of factors is then decomposed into the effect of each of the four factors. This procedure is too complicated to explain here, but it involves repeated standardizations by every possible combination of marginal distributions to isolate the independent effects of each factor.

Decomposition is well suited to the problem of analyzing race and period differentials in family structure. The issue here is not one of explaining the variance in family structure, where a form of regression might be more appropriate; rather, we are concerned with assessing the factors associated with a difference of two population rates. Decomposition is especially appropriate where the dependent variable is dichotomous, the factors to be considered are largely categorical or nonlinear, and substantial interactions are suspected. All of these conditions apply in the present instance.

Neither decomposition nor multiple standardization assumes additivity. Because the methods rely on a multiway matrix of rates, they take all interactions among factors into account. This is the greatest advantage of

TABLE 2A.1 Composition of the Aged Population by Race and Period

	Whites				Blacks			
	1910	1940	1960	1980	1910	1940	1960	1980
Age								
60-64	36.0	34.3	30.4	28.3	38.1	32.6	32.2	29.8
65-69	27.0	27.1	25.9	23.8	24.5	32.9	28.1	26.5
70-74	18.0	18.4	20.8	19.0	18.0	17.6	19.2	19.8
75-79	11.3	11.5	12.6	14.2	9.2	8.6	11.3	12.4
80-84	5.2	6.0	6.5	8.1	5.7	4.4	5.4	6.6
85-89	2.5	2.7	3.8	6.6	4.5	4.0	3.9	4.9
Marital status								
Mar. w/ spouse	52.8	52.3	55.8	57.8	53.4	45.5	45.2	41.9
Mar. no spouse	3.4	3.7	2.9	2.0	3.7	5.7	7.0	8.0
Widowed	35.9	32.9	30.7	30.3	38.9	41.8	39.9	37.3
Divorced	.8	1.3	2.7	4.2	.5	1.1	2.7	6.4
Never married	7.2	9.8	7.9	5.7	3.5	5.9	5.3	6.3
Metro								
Metropolitan	23.0	53.6	62.1	73.6	12.0	36.6	59.7	82.0
Nonmetropolitan	77.0	46.4	37.9	26.4	88.0	63.4	40.3	18.0
Farm								
Nonfarm	69.3	79.2	92.9	96.1	55.2	65.8	92.1	98.9
Farm	30.7	20.8	7.1	3.9	44.8	34.2	7.9	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	11435	12666	10746	15718	1570	4676	8632	14265

the approach but also its greatest limitation; it is easy to design analyses in which the matrix contains more cells than there are cases in the population. Therefore, decomposition and multiple standardization are most useful when the analyses are relatively simple.

The following tables (2A.1-2A.3) illustrate the decomposition of race and period differentials in the percentage of elderly residing with adult children or other kin. The factors are age/sex, marital status, metropolitan residence, and farm residence. The first two tables give the population marginals and the overall percentages of residence with kin for these variables, respectively, and the decomposition results are given in Table 2A.3.

### Notes

1. In this paper, the term family refers to related persons residing in the same household; multigenerational families are those containing two adult generations; and complex households contain either kin or nonkin beyond the nuclear group.

TABLE 2A.2 Percent of the Aged Population with Kin or Adult Children by Race and Period

	Whites				Blacks			
	1910	1940	1960	1980	1910	1940	1960	1980
Age								
60-64	57.9	50.0	30.3	22.5	57.4	53.1	46.8	40.6
65-69	60.9	50.5	31.7	18.8	58.4	57.3	47.9	37.7
70-74	63.0	52.0	31.1	17.0	59.7	56.0	47.6	37.1
75-79	66.9	56.2	37.6	19.5	59.7	59.8	49.0	33.4
80-84	71.8	59.3	43.4	24.1	60.0	68.4	52.2	39.0
85-89	70.5	69.4	44.7	30.6	65.7	78.8	68.6	45.0
Marital status								
Mar. w/ spouse	56.6	47.0	24.0	15.8	57.3	54.2	43.4	34.8
Mar. no spouse	43.7	42.6	32.7	21.3	46.6	41.6	40.0	37.1
Widowed	74.4	66.0	48.2	27.6	64.5	66.8	58.2	43.2
Divorced	50.6	37.3	36.5	25.2	50.0	37.0	42.4	33.2
Never married	45.4	40.4	37.8	32.6	32.7	32.5	35.8	40.0
Metro								
Metropolitan	65.5	53.4	34.0	20.8	48.4	50.5	46.3	37.8
Nonmetropolitan	60.6	51.0	31.6	20.7	60.2	61.3	52.1	41.0
Farm								
Nonfarm	57.5	50.8	32.3	20.3	51.1	52.4	46.8	38.3
Farm	71.2	57.8	42.7	33.7	68.3	66.9	69.9	47.0
Total	61.7	52.3	33.1	20.8	58.8	57.3	48.6	38.4
N	11435	12666	10746	15718	1570	4676	8632	14265

## References

- Allen, Walter R., 1979. "Class, Culture and Family Organization: The Effects of Class and Race on Family Structure in Urban America," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 10:301-313.
- Anderson, Kristine L., and Walter R. Allen, 1984. "Correlates of Extended Household Structure," *Phylon* 45:144-157.
- Anderson, Michael, 1971. *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1976. "Sociological History and the Working-Class Family: Smelser Revisited," *Social History* 1:317-343.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1977. "The Impact on Family Relationships of the Elderly of Changes Since Victorian Times in Governmental Income Maintenance Provisions," in E. Shanas and M. B. Sussman, eds., *Family, Bureaucracy, and the Elderly*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1984. "The Social Position of Spinsters in Mid-Victorian Britain," *Journal of Family History* 9:377-393.

TABLE 2A.3 Decomposition of the Trends and Race Differentials in the Percentage of Complex Families Among the Elderly

Change over time	Time Interval			
	1910-1940	1940-1960	1960-1980	1910-1980
Whites:				
Total change in period	9.43	19.16	12.25	40.84
Effects of factors:				
Age/sex	-.14	-.50	-.44	-.99
Marital status	.88	.93	.73	1.84
Metro residence	-1.51	-.19	-.25	-1.92
Farm residence	.71	1.43	.38	3.60
Combined effect of factors	-.06	1.67	.41	2.53
Rate effect	9.49	17.49	11.84	38.30
Blacks:				
Total change in period	1.32	8.70	10.13	19.62
Effects of factors:				
Age/sex	.20	-.98	-.40	-.70
Marital status	.39	.63	.61	.85
Metro residence	1.70	1.11	.70	3.55
Farm residence	.47	4.41	.86	4.26
Combined effect of factors	2.75	5.17	1.76	7.96
Rate effect	-1.43	3.53	8.37	11.67
Differential between blacks and whites				
	Year			
	1910	1940	1960	1980
Total difference (whites-blacks)	2.90	-4.96	-15.57	-17.70
Effects of factors:				
Age/sex	-.05	.52	.37	.04
Marital status	-.73	-1.66	-1.90	-1.16
Metro residence	-.05	-.33	-.06	.08
Farm residence	-1.79	-1.49	-.13	.19
Combined effect of factors	-2.62	-2.97	-1.72	-.85
Rate effect	5.52	-1.99	-13.85	-16.85

- Angel, R., and M. Tienda, 1982. "Determinants of Extended Family Structure: Cultural Pattern or Economic Need?" *American Journal of Sociology* 87:1360-1383.
- Aschenbrenner, Joyce, 1973. "Extended Families Among Black Americans," *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 4:257-268.
- Auerbach, N., 1978. *Communities of Women: An Idea in Fiction*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- \_\_\_\_\_, 1982. *The Woman and the Demon: The Life of a Victorian Myth*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Beresford, J. C., and A. M. Rivlin, 1966. "Privacy, Poverty, and Old Age," *Demography* 3:247-258.
- Billingsley, Andrew, 1968. *Black Families in White America*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Burgess, Charles S., ed. 1965. *Health, Growth and Heredity: G. Stanley Hall on National Education*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Butler, Samuel, 1951 (1886). *Note-Books*. London: Cape.
- Chevan, A., and J. H. Korson, 1972. "The Widowed Who Live Alone: An Examination of Social and Demographic Factors," *Social Forces* 51:45-53.
- Chudacoff, Howard, and Tamara Hareven, 1979. "From the Empty Nest to Family Dissolution: Life-Course Transitions into Old Age," *Journal of Family History* 4:69-83.
- Cobbe, F. P., 1862. "What Shall We Do with Our Old Maids?" *Frasers Magazine* 66:694-610.
- Conk, Margo A., 1980. *The United States Census and Labor Force Change*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press.
- Cruikshank, G., et al., 1912. *The Comic Almanack: An Ephemeris in Jest and Earnest, Containing Merry Tales, Humorous Poetry, Quips, and Oddities*. London: Chatto and Windus.
- Das Gupta, P., 1978. "A General Method For Decomposing a Difference Between Two Rates into Components," *Demography* 15:99-112.
- De Vos, Susan, and Alberto Palloni, 1989. "Formal Models and Methods for the Analysis of Kinship and Household Organization," *Population Index* 55:174-198.
- De Vos, Susan, and Steven Ruggles, 1988. "The Demography of Kinship and the Life Course," in P. B. Baltes et al., eds., *Life Span Development and Behavior* 8:259-281.
- DuBois, W.E.B., 1908. *The Negro American Family*. Atlanta: Atlanta University Press.
- Elkins, S., 1959. *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Farley, Reynolds, 1971. "Family Types and Family Headship: A Comparison of Trends Among Blacks and Whites," *Journal of Human Resources* 6:275-296.
- Fischer, Ann, et al., 1968. "The Occurrence of the Extended Family at the Origin of the Family Procreation: A Developmental Approach to Negro Family Structure," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 30:290-300.
- Fletcher, R., 1970. "The Making of the Modern Family," in K. Eliot, ed., *The Family and Its Future*. London: Churchill.
- Foster, J. O., 1974. *Class Struggle in the Industrial Revolution: Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English Towns*. London: Arndd.
- Frazier, E. F., 1939. *The Negro Family in the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Furstenberg, Frank, T. Hershberg, and J. Modell, 1975. "The Origins of the Female-Headed Black Family: The Impact of the Urban Experience," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 6:211-233.

- Goeken, R., 1989. "Black Extended Families in the Twentieth Century: A Quantitative Analysis of Research Models." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Social Science History Association, Washington, D.C.
- Goode, W. J., 1963. "Industrialization and Family Change," in B. F. Hoselitz and W. E. Moore, eds., *Industrialization and Society*. Paris: UNESCO.
- Graham, Stephen N., 1979. *1900 Public Use Sample: User's Handbook*. Seattle: Center for Demography and Ecology, University of Washington.
- Griffin, W. T., 1881. *The Homes of Our Country: Or, The Centers of Moral and Religious Influence; The Crystals of Society; The Nuclei of National Character*. New York: Union Publishing House.
- Gutman, Herbert, 1975. "Persistent Myths About the Afro-American Family," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 6:181-210.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1976. *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Hague, W., 1855. *Home Life: Twelve Lectures*. New York: S. S. Dickerson.
- Hareven, Tamara, 1978. "The Last Stage: Historical Adulthood and Old Age," *Daedalus* 105:13-28.
- Hauser, Robert M., 1982. "Occupational Status in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," *Historical Methods* 15:111-126.
- Hays, W. C. and C. H. Mindel, 1973. "Extended Kin Relations in Black and White Families," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 35:51-57.
- Hill, Robert, 1971. *The Strengths of Black Families*. New York: Emerson Hall.
- Hodge, Robert W., Paul M. Siegel, and Peter H. Rossi, 1964. "Occupational Prestige in the United States, 1925-63," *American Journal of Sociology* 70:286-302.
- Hofferth, Sandra L., 1984. "Kin Networks, Race, and Family Structure," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 46:791-806.
- Kanner, S. B., 1972. "The Women of England in a Century of Social Change: A Select Bibliography," in M. Vinicus, ed., *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Katz, Michael B., 1975. *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth Century City*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- King, Miriam, 1988. *Changes in the Living Arrangements of the Elderly: 1960-2030*. (Special study, Congressional Budget Office) Washington, D.C.: GPO.
- King, Miriam, and Steven Ruggles, 1990. "Immigration, Fertility, and Race Suicide at the Turn of the Century," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 20:347-369.
- Kitagawa, E. M., 1955. "Components of a Difference Between Two Rates," *Journal of the American Statistical Association* 50:1168-1194.
- Kobrin, Frances, 1976. "The Fall in Household Size and the Rise of the Primary Individual in the United States," *Demography* 13:127-138.
- Lammermeir, Paul, 1973. "The Urban Black Family in the Nineteenth Century: A Study of Black Family Structure in the Ohio Valley, 1850-1880," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 35:440-455.
- Laslett, Peter, 1972. "Introduction," in Peter Laslett and Richard Wall, eds., *Household and Family in Past Time*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Levine, David, 1977. *Family Formation in an Age of Nascent Capitalism*. New York: Academic Press.

- Martin, Elmer P., and Joanna M. Martin, 1978. *The Black Extended Family*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McAdoo, H. P., 1980. "Black Mothers and the Extended Family Support Network," in L. Rogers-Rose, ed., *The Black Woman*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1983. *Extended Family Support of Single Black Mothers: Final Report*. Columbia, Md.: N.p.
- Medick, H., 1976. "The Proto-Industrial Family Economy: The Structural Function of Household and Family During the Transition from Peasant Society to Industrial Capitalism," *Social History* 1:291-315.
- Michael, R. T., V. R. Fuchs, and S. R. Scott, 1980. "Changes in the Propensity to Live Alone, 1950-1976," *Demography* 17:39-53.
- Mintz, Steven, 1983. *A Prison of Expectations: The Family in Victorian Culture*. New York: New York University Press.
- Modell, John, 1978. "Patterns of Consumption, Acculturation, and Family Income Strategies Late Nineteenth-Century America," in T. K. Hareven and M. Vinovskis, *Family and Population in Nineteenth Century America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Moynihan, D. P., 1965. *The Negro Family: The Case For National Action*. Washington, D.C.: GPO.
- Mutran, Elizabeth, 1985. "Intergenerational Family Support Among Blacks and Whites: Response to Culture or Socioeconomic Differences," *Journal of Gerontology* 40:382-389.
- Myrdal, G., 1944. *An American Dilemma*. New York: Public Affairs Committee.
- Nimkoff, M., 1962. "Changing Family Relationships of Older People in the United States During the Last Fifty Years," in C. Tibbitts and W. Donahue, eds., *Social and Psychological Aspects of Aging*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Nobles, W., 1978. "Toward an Empirical and Theoretical Framework for Defining Black Families," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 40:679-698.
- Pampel, F., 1983. "Changes in the Propensity to Live Alone: Evidence From Cross-Sectional Surveys," *Demography* 20:433-438.
- Parsons, Talcott, 1959. "The Social Structure of the Family," in R. Anshen, eds., *The Family: Its Functions and Destiny*. New York: Harper.
- Parsons, Talcott, and R. F. Bales, 1955. *Family, Socialization, and the Interaction Process*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.
- Pleck, Elizabeth, 1972. "The Two-Parent Household: Black Family Structure in Late-Nineteenth Century Boston," *Journal of Social History* 6:3-31.
- Riessman, Frank, 1966. "In Defense of the Negro Family," *Dissent* 13:141-144.
- Riley, Peter, 1975. "The Black Family in Transition: Louisiana, 1860-1865," *Journal of Southern History* 41:369-380.
- Robins, J. B., 1896. *The Family: A Necessity of Civilization*. Atlanta: N.p.
- Ruggles, Steven, 1986. "Availability of Kin and the Demography of Historical Family Structure," *Historical Methods* 19:93-102.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1987. *Prolonged Connections: The Rise of the Extended Family in Nineteenth Century England and America*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1988. "The Demography of the Unrelated Individual, 1900-1950," *Demography* 25:521-536.

- \_\_\_\_\_, 1989. "DECOMP, A Program for Multiple Standardization and Demographic Decomposition: Technical Documentation and User's Guide." Minneapolis: Social History Research Center, University of Minnesota.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1990. "Family Demography and Family History: Problems and Prospects," *Historical Methods* 23:22-30.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1991. "Comparability of the Public-Use Data Files of the U.S. Census of Population," *Social Science History* 15:123-158.
- \_\_\_\_\_, forthcoming. "Confessions of a Microsimulator: Problems in Modeling the Demography of Kinship," in Douglas A. Wolf, ed., *Recent Developments in Microsimulation: An International Perspective*. Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute Press.
- Ruggles, S., and Menard, R., 1990. "A Public Use Sample for the 1880 Census of Population," *Historical Methods* 23:104-113.
- Scanzoni, J., 1971. *The Black Family in Modern Society*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Sharlin, Allen, 1980. "On the Universality of Occupational Prestige," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 21:115-125.
- Shifflett, Crandall A., 1975. "The Household Composition of Rural Black Families: Louisiana County, Virginia, 1880," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 6:235-260.
- Shimkin, D., G. Louie, and D. Frate, 1978. "Black Extended Families in Holmes County, Mississippi," in D. Shimkin, E. Shimkin, and D. Frate, *The Extended Family in Black Societies*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Shimkin, D., E. Shimkin, and D. Frate, 1978. *The Extended Family in Black Societies*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Showalter, E., 1977. *A Literature of Their Own: Women Novelists from Brontë to Lessing*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Smelser, Neil, 1959. *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Smith, Daniel S., 1978. "A Community-Based Sample of the Older Population from the 1880 and 1900 United States Manuscript Census," *Historical Methods* 11:67-74.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1981. "Historical Change in the Household Structure of the Elderly in Economically Developed Countries," in R. W. Fogel, S. B. Keisler, and E. Shanas, eds., *Aging: Stability and Change in the Family*. New York: Academic Press.
- Smith, Daniel S., M. Dahlin, and M. Friedberger, 1979. "The Family Structure of the Older Black Population in the American South in 1880 and 1900," *Social Science Research* 63:544-565.
- Stack, Carol, 1974. *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Staples, Robert, 1975. "The Black Family in Evolutionary Perspective," *Black Scholar* 5:2-9.
- Strong, Michael, et al., 1989. "User's Guide: Public Use Sample, 1910 Census of Population," Philadelphia: Population Studies Center, University of Pennsylvania.
- Sweet, James A., 1972. "The Living Arrangements of Separated, Widowed, and Divorced Mothers," *Demography* 9:143-158.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1984. "Components of Change in the Number of Households, 1970-1980," *Demography* 21:129-140.

- Sweet, James A., and Larry Bumpass, 1987. *American Families and Households*. New York: Russell Sage.
- Tonnies, F., 1957. *Community and Society*. East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan University Press.
- Treiman, Donald J., 1976. "A Standard Occupational Prestige Scale for Use with Historical Data," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 7:283-304.
- Troll, L. E., 1971. "The Family of Later Life: A Decade Review," *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 33:263-290.
- Tyree, Andrea, and Billy G. Smith, 1978. "Occupational Hierarchy in the United States: 1789-1969," *Social Forces* 56:881-899.
- U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972. *Public Use Samples of Basic Records from the 1970 Census: Description and Technical Documentation*. Washington, D.C.: GPO.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1973. *Technical Documentation for the 1960 Public Use Sample*. Washington, D.C.: GPO.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1982. *Public Use Samples of Basic Records From the 1980 Census: Description and Technical Documentation*. Washington, D.C.: GPO.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1983. *1980 Census of Population: Subject Reports. Persons by Family Characteristics*. Washington, D.C.: GPO.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1984a. *Census of Population, 1940: Public Use Sample Technical Documentation*. Washington, D.C.: GPO.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1984b. *Census of Population, 1950: Public Use Sample Technical Documentation*. Washington, D.C.: GPO.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 1987. *Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1986. Current Population Reports, Ser. P-20, No. 410*. Washington, D.C.: GPO.
- Wall, Richard, 1983. "The Household: Demographic and Economic Change in England, 1650-1970," in R. Wall, ed., *Family Forms in Historic Europe*. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press.
- Watkins, S. C., 1984. "Spinsters," *Journal of Family History* 9:310-325.
- Wolf, Douglas A., 1986. "Kinship and Family Support in Aging Societies." Laxenburg, Austria: International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis, WP-86-81.