

~ Preface

This book was born of necessity, inspiration, and friendship. We both have taught various courses on the sociology of families and have been frustrated by the lack of adequate course materials available to teach from a critical feminist perspective. We typically assign monographs of original research and an anthology or two and then assemble numerous articles to fill in content and perspectives that would otherwise be missing.

After years of frustration, we decided to seize the opportunity and design an anthology that reflected upon and debated the complex intersections of structural forces and micro processes that together shape family life in the United States. We set out to compile and edit a collection that would meet our need for teaching state-of-the-art courses for undergraduate sociology majors, nonmajors, feminists, postfeminists, and nonfeminists alike.

Over the past several years we have read

learned more about recent innovations (primarily by feminists) in the study of families, clarified our own perspectives on how to analyze families, and had a wonderful time working together. We have also spent some time wondering about the significance of the fact that our spell-checking software does not recognize the words "parenting," "gendered," "caregiving," or "ethnographic." As in any project, we were assisted along the way by many people. We would like to thank the friends and colleagues who helped us enormously through the process of compiling this volume.

Several colleagues and students read earlier drafts of the Introduction, sometimes on short notice, usually at the most inconvenient of times. Our thanks to Karen Barone, Andrew Bundy, Karla Hackstaff, Cameron Macdonald, Monica Roberts, Nicholas Townsend, Latasha Treger, and Lynet Uttal, and to our writing group who did not flinch at the prospect of

Brown, Nazli Kibria, JoAnne Preston, and Shelley Tenebaum. Many colleagues along the way suggested articles to include, titles to avoid, and ingenious marketing strategies. To those people, too numerous to mention, we offer our thanks.

Research assistants and graduate students helped us at various moments by searching the literature on elder care and on family violence, for example, or by running to the library to obtain and photocopy yet another new article, and by doing a myriad of supportive and intellectual tasks. We wish to thank Jody Grimes, Anne Pollock, Robyn Whipple, and Carrie Yodanis for their careful work and good humor. The reference librarians, especially Leslie Stebbins, at the Goldfarb Library at Brandeis have been unstinting in their time and energy, hunting down articles in obscure journals or finding phone numbers or e-mail addresses for authors we desperately sought.

The world of "permissions" is a mysterious and often frustrating place. In requesting from publishers the rights to reprint previously published material, we sometimes felt as if we had wandered into enemy territory. But they enabled us to compile this anthology and for that we thank them. We want particularly to thank Jim Henson of Sage Publication's Permissions Department for his assistance throughout this process, and we wish all permissions departments ran as smoothly as his does. But most of all, we appreciate his wonderful sense of humor, which made working with him fun as well as productive.

It has been deeply satisfying to work with the authors whose writings are included in this collection. We thank them for their enthusiasm about this project and for their col-

tributes to analyzing families with a feminist sociological imagination.

It has been our great pleasure to work with Michael Ames, who regularly offers us the best tradition of editorship—one that combines intellectualism and sage advice—and who has exercised a supportive, noninterventionist strategy toward the book.

In addition to those who have contributed directly to the completion of this book, we wish to acknowledge those who have provided emotional and material support through and beyond the journey of this joint project. Megan King good naturedly played "Civil War" and Parcheesi with Benjy and Evan even when her senior thesis beckoned. When we encountered a setback early on and considered abandoning the project, Andrew Bundy encouraged us to move forward. He and Nicholas Townsend have covered our share of daily life responsibilities during periods of intense work on the book, have joined us in celebrating each milestone in the book's preparation, and have, throughout it all, kept us laughing. And our children—Kelley, Sasha, Benjy, and Evan—have kept us mindful of the satisfactions of daily life, the importance of playing, and the reasons for writing this book.

We especially wish to thank Arlie Russell Hochschild. Not only has she been influential as a teacher, a mentor, and a role model risk-taker, but it was as graduate students in her class on gender at the University of California at Berkeley, that we first met.

The work of producing this collection was shared equally. We have listed our names in alphabetical order in the Introduction and we have reversed the order on the volume itself, but the editorship was a joint effort in every respect. We brought different expertise and interests to the project—for example, one of us had

both compulsively meet deadlines, indulge our cats, honor our working-class and immigrant heritage (Hungarian-Jewish and Scandinavian-Peasant, respectively), and share the joyful and sometimes frustrating experience of being mothers of sons. Through the past several years we have weathered our respective professional roller coaster rides while taking turns managing

family crises. And despite a difference of opinion about the role of the state in our visions of utopia, we have had remarkably few disagreements about politics, methodology, or which articles to include. The postpartum depression we anticipate will not be about publishing the book but about no longer sharing a collaborative project.

~ Introduction

Analyzing Families with a Feminist Sociological Imagination

ANITA ILTA GAREY AND KAREN V. HANSEN

Imagine a family photo—of a wedding, of a holiday gathering, of a picnic at the beach. Who are these people? What is their relationship to one another? How do they feel about one another? Where were they the day before the photo was taken? Although a snapshot may provide a lot of information, the “Big Family Picture” lies outside the frame. What is the income of this family? How does their income influence the size of the wedding? Or where and how do they spend their summer vacation, if indeed they have one at all? We need to know the immediate circumstances in which the photograph was taken as well as the larger political, economic, and cultural worlds in which these people live. What would we see if we turned a page in the family album? Do some people disappear from the photographs? Has divorce, death, or separation removed someone from the family constellation? What new faces appear? Births, deaths, weddings, and family feuds change the particular picture

by placing it within a historical moment, an economic system, a political process that shape what is possible in family life.

Sociologist C. Wright Mills (1959:3) once wrote: “Neither the life of an individual, nor the history of a society, can be understood without understanding both.” In this collection of readings, we apply Mills’s insight to the study of families in the United States. To understand families we place them in their social and historical context—and to understand this society, we study the families within it. This moves us toward answers to the questions we posed about the snapshot. Mills called this approach “the sociological imagination.” We expand his approach by analyzing the differing relationship of men and women to work, privilege, and power both inside and outside the family. We posit a feminist sociological imagination as the most illuminating way to study families.

Using rich ethnographic field work, in-

lies and social structure. Our collective analysis begins with the knowledge that the organization of work influences the possibilities for finding employment, for earning a living wage, for advancing in a career, for affording education, and in turn, for making a satisfying family life. But despite the power of economic processes and social institutions to shape the parameters of what is possible, individuals engage in relationships and take action. They strategize to find resources for their families; they seek satisfaction for their souls; they make decisions that have consequences in the marketplace and in the political arena. In addition to anchoring families in a larger context, the articles in this reader analyze the complexity of kin relationships and chart the peaks and valleys of emotional life.

This collection is about families in the United States. While there is much to be learned from looking at families internationally, we have chosen to concentrate on presenting a textured portrait of family life in one country. There are three advantages to our focus on families in the United States: (1) we investigate fully the influence of the dominant *culture and social structure* within shared geographical, political, and social boundaries; (2) we explore the direct relationship between the *privileged circumstances* of some families and the *disadvantaged positions* of other families; and (3) we deepen our understanding of the *experiences of individuals* within families as they differ by race-ethnicity, sexual orientation, class, gender, or culture.

To study families with a feminist sociological imagination, we integrate the following analyses: (1) of structural inequality within society, (2) of power within the family, (3) of the connections between families and kinship systems, and (4) of change over time. These

Structural Inequalities

All families do not share equal opportunities or equal conditions of living. Families, like individuals, occupy particular social locations in regard to race-ethnicity,¹ social class, and place in the life cycle. Therefore, the structure of everyday life within families, the meaning of relationships, and the effect of economic and social changes will vary with a family's social location.

The belief that the United States is a relatively class-less society and that most people are "middle class" camouflages a system of structural inequities that shapes family life. The assumption that upward mobility is possible for everyone in the "land of opportunity" leads some people to claim that those who do not succeed are not trying—they must be lazy, or stupid, or in some way unworthy. The ideology of equal opportunity portrays children who are born into poverty and those who are born into affluence as if they competed on a level playing field. A structure of opportunity in which children from poor families receive less education and African Americans earn a lower income than whites with the same education affects their respective families differently (U.S. Bureau of Census 1995). The ideology of equal opportunity ignores Mills's (1959) distinction between "private problems" and "public issues of social structure" because it locates social issues and their solutions *within* families. So, for example, poverty gets framed as a private problem caused by teenage mothers, divorce, or "dead-beat dads" rather than as a public issue caused by changes in government tax policies to favor the wealthy, or shifts in the economy, such as the export of jobs, corporate downsizing, and massive unemployment in some sectors of the population.

For this reason, we must also link structures of racial inequality to those of economic opportunity. Attempts to represent the racial-ethnic and class diversity of families in this country have often taken a pluralistic approach. Studies of Korean American, African American, Mexican American, and immigrant families, to name a few, are often represented as alternatives to "The Family," which is presented as white, Euro-American, middle-class. In the best instances, they are celebrated as "different." In the worst instances, they are judged inadequate by the standards set for "The Family."

This pluralist approach to the racial-ethnic and class diversity of families has several key limitations. First, consistent with American pluralist politics, it is presented as a smorgasbord of different experiences and cultures. This focus on "difference" obscures the relationships between the social locations of families and ignores the problem of race and class privilege. The economically and socially privileged position of the upper-middle-class dual-earner couple is linked to the economic and social disadvantages of the immigrant woman who is paid to care for their children.

Second, the pluralist approach does not question the importance of middle-class status or whiteness in defining the "normative" family. White middle-class families are not just the norm from which all others depart. They too have a racial identity and occupy a class position.

Third, it does not challenge the idea that the most typical family form is a "breadwinning father" and "stay-at-home mother." All other families are then seen as somehow lacking and less than adequate when compared to this "norm."

Looking at all families with attention to

Domestic Politics: Power Within Families

Feminist scholarship launched a renaissance in family studies. Since the 1970s, scholars have taken a critical stance in investigating families, questioning the taken-for-granted and sparing no relationship from assessment. They have uncovered the painful underside of an institution popularly regarded as a "haven in a heartless world" (Lasch 1977). An inquiry into American history reveals that the greatest culprits of the mistreatment of children are their parents. And according to several authors in this volume (Barrett and McIntosh, Chapter 16; Demos, Chapter 49; and Straus, Chapter 48), this abuse and its toleration result from the misconception that children are private property. In heated debates about the nature of family violence, researchers may disagree about whether physical violence in the family amounts to "mutual combat," but they do not debate the statistics that show women, not men, as the vast majority of those who end up in emergency rooms with broken bones, lacerations, and serious injuries.

Feminist scholarship has explored the many ways that family life is gendered. That is, family processes often have asymmetrical outcomes for women and for men. Jessie Bernard writes that there are two marriages within every marriage: "his marriage" and "her marriage" (see Chapter 33). For example, no surprise to any working mother, studies have found that even women who work full time outside the home continue to do most of the housework. Arlie Russell Hochschild (1989) says this means that women work an extra month of twenty-four hour days every year.

In terms of parents and children, there may

upbringing in very different ways. These differences are not simply products of individual variation. They are patterned differences, related both to power and authority within families and to larger economic, legal, and social structures.

The insight that families are gendered leads feminist scholars to examine women's and men's concrete experiences in families. In so doing, researchers have shifted the focus away from seeing women's family activities as the result of their "natural" expressiveness and nurturance. Instead, scholars investigate child rearing, feeding the family, organizing holiday celebrations, and the like, using the analytical category of "work." To describe these activities as "work" does not imply that they are necessarily unrewarding chores. On the contrary, people can take great pride in and reap meaningful rewards from their work. What the concept of "work" does imply is that women expend a great deal of effort in thinking about and executing these tasks. Further, analyzing what women do within the family as "work" enables scholars to conceptualize men's family activities also as "work." Men's labor force participation has been portrayed as the only thing men do for their families, overshadowing their other contributions.

Much is gained from applying the concept of "work" to family members' activities. The focus shifts from a description of activities to an analysis of the product of those activities. Much of this family "work" reproduces the family as a social institution. As di Leonardo illustrates in Chapter 31, keeping in touch with relatives by making telephone calls, sending birthday cards, visiting, and planning holiday gatherings constitutes "kin work," which reinforces family ties and maintains family networks. Monitoring one's marriage and "working" to keep the rela-

visible the connections between individual actions and social institutions.

While it is important to analyze a family as a group, with its own identity and interests, it is also necessary to understand that families are made up of individuals. Within a family, individuals occupy distinct positions and may want dissimilar things. Not only do positions vary by gender, but they also vary by generation. As a result, the interests of various family members often conflict. For example, if a young woman born to a farming family in the mid-nineteenth century wanted to continue her education beyond the sixth grade, her desires may have conflicted with the household imperative. Her parents could see her labor as essential to the family economy and therefore deny her further schooling. The existence of conflict points to an important issue in our analysis: family life is not the same for each member of a family.

Families and Larger Kinship Systems

Families are not isolated units but exist as part of webs of kinship relations. "Kinship" is a system of rights and responsibilities between particular categories of people, for example, fathers and children, wives and husbands, and maternal aunts and their nephews and nieces. It is important to note that "kinship" refers not only to biological or legal connections between people but also to particular positions in a network of relationships.

Anthropologists distinguish between two kinds of kin: consanguineal kin, who are related by descent or "blood" (children, grandparents, siblings), and affinal kin, who are related by marriage (husband and wife, parents-in-law). Families and cultures differ

a man, his sons, and their sons; or adult sisters and brothers living together. Others organize kinship around relationships of marriage, a husband and a wife.

Most adults will eventually belong to both the families they were born into and the families they create as adults. Cultural groups vary, however, by how they organize the rights and responsibilities of family members along these two lines. In many African cultures, for example, the rights and responsibilities between generations are more central than those between wives and husbands (see Sudarkasa, Chapter 8).

Different cultures have various implicit and explicit rules and understandings about the rights and obligations between members of kinship groups. All cultures recognize that each person must have a place within a network of kin relations (see Stack and Burton, Chapter 30). In some cultures, for example, a woman's brother has important obligations toward his nieces and nephews. If the mother has no brother, someone else must step into that kinship position and take on the rights and obligations that come with it. The term "fictive kin" refers to the practice of including nonbiologically related people as kin in the web of rights and responsibilities (Stack 1974). For example, people in the United States often refer to friends of their parents as "uncles" and "aunts."

In the United States, however, the dominant cultural image of "The Family" is of a conjugal unit organized around the husband and wife and of a nuclear family in which husband, wife, and their children live together in their own household. Even our terminology reflects the centrality of the conjugal unit: Calling some relationships "premarital" implies that marriage is the inevitable end point; and calling some children "illegitimate" im-

sented in the popular media, the ideal embedded in most discussions of family policy, and the starting point in the majority of textbooks on the subject of families in the United States. But the increase in single-parent households, people living alone, and multiple-generation households makes the nuclear family household one form among many. And although many families may pass through a nuclear phase, households expand and contract with life-course changes and economic fluctuations. Individual families change over time; and the structure and content of families has changed historically. It is therefore inaccurate to limit research and discussion to nuclear family forms.

Because the conjugal nuclear family has been used as the social norm for describing "The Family," other family forms and other ways of organizing familial rights and responsibilities are described as failing to meet this norm and are often labeled as "deviant." Therefore, family stability has become equated with marital stability; adult children who live with their parents are described as having failed in the transition to adulthood; and in most states same-sex parents, unlike heterosexual couples, are denied the legal right to adopt.

Historical Context: Change over Time

While the family must be understood in the context of kinship, structures of inequality, and internal inequities, none of these intersecting forces is static. The family is not universal; nor is it unchanging. The family must be culturally situated and placed within a historical moment. All societies and cultures have webs of kinship relationships, and the design of these webs

that seem familiar, we cannot assume that those features held the same meaning in 1776 as they do at the turn of the twenty-first century.

Studying change over time within a culture can uncover striking differences in human kinship arrangements. The meaning of childhood, even the ages that define childhood, has profoundly changed in the past two hundred years. Farm families of the early nineteenth century constituted an economic unit whose members were expected to work. Children made economic contributions to their household. An eight-year-old child was expected to gather eggs or weed in the garden or take care of an infant while his or her parents worked in the field. In a dramatic transformation from the economically productive child, the twentieth century witnessed the arrival of the "priceless child," who elicits deep emotional satisfaction and "costs" a great deal (Zelizer 1985). While the priceless child may occasionally take out the garbage, family well-being does not rise or fall on his or her reliability in doing chores. When we read about children in the eighteenth century, we must remember that their experience was very different from that of children today. Sensitivity to historical change challenges many assumptions about what seems "natural" or inevitable. Historical studies have taught us about changes over time in household composition, sexual behavior, the organization of motherhood, the rights and responsibilities of fatherhood, and the roles of siblings, aunts, uncles, grandparents, and cousins. Families and kinship networks exist in a historical and social context; that is, they exist in a constant state of flux.

Explicitly feminist perspective on families. It does not intend to incorporate all feminist perspectives, but, rather, feminisms that recognize structural inequalities and that situate their analyses in historical context. Our feminist approach does not accept existing inequalities as inevitable. We apply a critical analysis to racial hierarchies and the unequal distribution of wealth and income, and to how these shape families.

Scholars and citizens alike have reacted to feminist criticism: "The Family," they say angrily, "Love it or leave it." But our critical perspective on the family does not translate into a rejection of the family. Despite some popular misconceptions, feminists neither hate men nor reject out-of-hand those characteristics—nurturing, caretaking, kinkeeping—associated with traditional femininity. Feminists care passionately about families. We believe that families can be satisfying places for people to live, grow, and love. But we acknowledge that families can simultaneously be arenas of conflict and exploitation. In the quest to overturn oppression and eliminate inequality, the goals of feminism include developing a full range of emotional capacities in all people and sharing the work of family life.

Not all the authors in *Families in the U.S.* subscribe to this kind of critical feminist perspective. In our judgment, however, their scholarship contributes to an important reconceptualizing of families and significantly advances the analysis of kinship and domestic politics.

NOTE

1. According to Baca Zinn, Chapter 3 in this volume, the use of race and ethnicity together points to the ways that groups of people are "labeled or race" in the context of certain historical.

social forces in the wider society, most notably distinctive forms of labor exploitation. Each group is also bound together by ethnicity, that is, common ancestry and emergent cultural characteristics that are often used for coping with racial oppression. The concept racial-ethnic underscores the social construction of race and ethnicity for people of color in the United States" (note 1).

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≈ Organization of the Book

With this anthology, we intend to prompt readers to rethink the conventional social science approaches to studying families. *Families in the U.S.* does not begin with the assumption that the heterosexual two-parent nuclear family is the basic family form. Such an assumption posits “intact” families to be only those with two biological parents and their children living in the same household.

Even the term “extended family” implies that in all cases there is some smaller unit that forms the “basic” or “core” or “real” unit of the family. Instead, we have de-centered “the breadwinning-father, stay-at-home mother” family by treating it as one family form among many, and by placing families into the wider context of kinship relations. *Families in the U.S.* incorporates some of the most outstanding and thoughtful writing on families. We have included classic writings as well as new, cutting-edge scholarship. Our selections

The book is organized into six parts:

- Family Composition
- Families Within Society
- Webs of Family Relationships
- Complexities and Contradictions of Family Bonds
- Labor and Family Intersections
- Social Policy and Family Values

Each part includes a brief introduction that situates the chapters in relation to one another, to the themes of the part, and to the study of families.

These parts approach each topic with a feminist sociological imagination. Chapters are not arranged by “type of family”—whether by family form, the class status, or race-ethnicity—or by stages of the life course. Instead, chapters are arranged by analytical topics, such as “families and the economy” or “kin networks,” and each article contributes

So, for example, chapters on marriage can be found in the part titled "Webs of Family Relationships" along with articles on fathering, mothering, and divorce. Similarly, chapters on care giving and nurturance are juxtaposed with chapters on violence and power in the part titled "Complexities and Contradictions of Family Bonds." We chose to pair these two sections in order to call attention to the contradictions of an ideology that constructs the family as universally nurturant and "the irony that in our society the place where nurturance and noncontingent affection are supposed to be located is simultaneously the place where violence is most tolerated" (Collier, Rosaldo, and Yanagisako 1992, 44).

We realize there are many ways to study families. We have tried several of them in our own teaching and have struggled with issues of organization. Because we have organized the

book in a way that cuts across the traditional structure of family courses, we have created the Guide to Topics for locating chapters. For example, someone taking a life-course approach to teaching about families could turn to the Guide to Topics to find all the selections that deal with children and childhood or aging/elder adults. Or one could use it to identify the chapters on immigration or on historical perspectives on families. The Guide to Topics provides instructors with a user-friendly way to incorporate the articles in this collection into their own course organization.

REFERENCE

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≈ Guide to Topics

ADOPTION

- hooks, b., "Revolutionary Parenting" (Chapter 43)
Wegar, K., "Adoption and Kinship" (Chapter 4)

AFRICAN AMERICAN FAMILIES

- Carothers, S., "Catching Sense" (Chapter 22)
Dill, B., "Fictive Kin, Paper Sons, and *Compadrazgo*" (Chapter 32)
hooks, b., "Revolutionary Parenting" (Chapter 43)
Jones, J., "My Mother Was Much of a Woman" (Chapter 50)
Malveaux, J., "Race, Poverty, and Women's Aging" (Chapter 12)
Stack, C., and L. Burton, "Kinscripts" (Chapter 30)
Sudarkasa, N., "Interpreting the African Heritage in Afro-American Family Organization" (Chapter 8)
Uttal, L., "Racial Safety and Cultural Maintenance" (Chapter 44)
Zimmer, B., "Felicia: Working with a Teen Mother" (Chapter 47)

AGING/ELDER ADULTS

- Abel, E., "The Ambiguities of Social Support" (Chapter 41)
Malveaux, J., "Race, Poverty, and Women's Aging" (Chapter 12)

ASIAN AMERICAN FAMILIES. See CHINESE AMERICAN FAMILIES; JAPANESE AMERICAN FAMILIES; VIETNAMESE AMERICAN FAMILIES

CARE FOR THE SICK AND ELDERLY

- Abel, E., "The Ambiguities of Social Support" (Chapter 41)
Hansen, K., "Masculinity, Caregiving, and Men's Friendship in Antebellum New England"

CHICANA/O FAMILIES. See MEXICAN AMERICAN/CHICANO FAMILIES

CHILD CARE

- Folbre, N., "Children as Public Goods" (Chapter 59)
Hochschild, A., "Ideals of Care" (Chapter 39)
Hertz, R., "The Parenting Approach to the Work-Family Dilemma" (Chapter 54)
Michel, S., "The Politics of Child Care in America's Public/Private Welfare State"
(Chapter 60)
Uttal, L., "Racial Safety and Cultural Maintenance" (Chapter 44)

CHILDREN AND CHILDHOOD

- Demos, J., "Child Abuse in Context" (Chapter 49)
Folbre, N., "Children as Public Goods" (Chapter 59)
Goldscheider, F., and L. Waite, "Children's Share in Household Tasks" (Chapter 57)
Hernandez, D., "Children's Changing Access to Resources" (Chapter 15)
Straus, M., "Ten Myths That Perpetuate Corporal Punishment" (Chapter 48)

CHINESE AMERICAN FAMILIES

- Dill, B., "Fictive Kin, Paper Sons, and *Compadrazgo*" (Chapter 32)

CLASS DIFFERENCES

- Barrett, M., and M. McIntosh, "The Anti-Social Family" (Chapter 16)
DeVault, M., "Affluence and Poverty in Feeding the Family" (Chapter 13)
Garey, A., "Constructing Motherhood on the Night Shift" (Chapter 51)
Hertz, R., "The Parenting Approach to the Work-Family Dilemma" (Chapter 54)
Hochschild, A., with A. Machung, "The Working Wife as Urbanizing Peasant"
(Chapter 55)
Malveaux, J., "Race, Poverty, and Women's Aging" (Chapter 12)
Pardo, M., "Mexican American Women Grassroots Community Activists" (Chapter 19)
Toro-Moin, M., "Gender, Class, Family, and Migration" (Chapter 14)
Uttal, L., "Racial Safety and Cultural Maintenance" (Chapter 44)
Witherow, J., "Native American Mother" (Chapter 24)
Zinn, M. Baca, "Family, Feminism, and Race in America" (Chapter 3)

DEMOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS

- Garey, A., "Fertility on the Frontier" (Chapter 7)
Hernandez, D., "Children's Changing Access to Resources" (Chapter 15)
Uhlenberg, P., "Mortality Decline in the Twentieth Century" (Chapter 6)

DISABILITIES

- Finger, A., "Claiming *All* of Our Bodies" (Chapter 61)
Reinelt, C., and M. Fried, "I Am This Child's Mother" (Chapter 25)
Schiller, N., "The Invisible Women" (Chapter 40)

DIVORCE

- Arendell, T., "Best Case Scenarios" (Chapter 29)
Friedman, N., "Divorced Parents and the Jewish Community" (Chapter 38)
Hackerstaff, K., "Wives' Marital Work in a Culture of Divorce" (Chapter 34)

Ettelbrick, P., "Since When Is Marriage a Path to Liberation?" (Chapter 36)

Minow, M., "Redefining Families" (Chapter 1)

Rothman, B., "Motherhood Under Patriarchy" (Chapter 2)

Stoddard, T., "Why Gay People Should Seek the Right to Marry" (Chapter 35)

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Coltrane, S., "Household Labor and the Routine Production of Gender" (Chapter 56)

Hertz, R., "The Parenting Approach to the Work-Family Dilemma" (Chapter 54)

FRIENDS (KITH)

Abel, E., "The Ambiguities of Social Support" (Chapter 41)

Hansen, K., "Masculinity, Caregiving, and Men's Friendship in Antebellum New England" (Chapter 42)

hooks, b., "Revolutionary Parenting" (Chapter 43)

Wellman, B., "The Place of Kinfolk in Personal Community Networks" (Chapter 17)

GAY AND LESBIAN FAMILIES. See **LESBIAN AND GAY FAMILIES**

GOVERNMENT POLICIES

Folbre, N., "Children as Public Goods" (Chapter 59)

Hochschild, A., "Ideals of Care" (Chapter 39)

Malveaux, J., "Race, Poverty, and Women's Aging" (Chapter 12)

Michel, S., "The Politics of Child Care in America's Public/Private Welfare State" (Chapter 60)

Pardo, M., "Mexican American Women Grassroots Community Activists" (Chapter 19)

Schiller, N., "The Invisible Women" (Chapter 40)

Stacey, J., "The Right Family Values" (Chapter 62)

GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDPARENTING

Friedman, N., "Divorced Parents and the Jewish Community" (Chapter 38)

Townsend, N., "Fathers and Sons" (Chapter 27)

HISPANIC FAMILIES. See **MEXICAN AMERICAN/CHICANO FAMILIES; PUERTO RICAN FAMILIES**

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

D'Emilio, J., "Capitalism and Gay Identity" (Chapter 10)

Demos, J., "Child Abuse in Context" (Chapter 49)

Garcy, A., "Fertility on the Frontier" (Chapter 7)

Glenn, E., "The Dialectics of Wage Work" (Chapter 53)

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Hernandez, D., "Children's Changing Access to Resources" (Chapter 15)

Jones, J., "'My Mother Was Much of a Woman'" (Chapter 50)

May, M., "Bread Before Roses" (Chapter 11)

Osterud, G., "'She Helped Me Hay It as Good as a Man'" (Chapter 58)

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- HOUSEWIFERY AND HOUSEWORK** (see also Contents: Part V, Section B, "Household Division of Labor")
- Arendell, T., "Best Case Scenarios" (Chapter 29)
- Ulrich, L., "Housewife and Gadder" (Chapter 18)
- IMMIGRATION** (see also **MIGRATION**)
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