MN PLANNING LIBRARY
3 0327 00001 8078

FILE COPY

FAMILY IMPACT ANALYSIS

Minnesota State Planning Agency
Human Resources Planning

101 CAPITOL SQUARE BUILDING
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA 55101

SPRING, 1977

HQ
535.2
.M3
c.1

4169569
HQ535.2
M3

FAMILY IMPACT

ANALYSIS

Three papers presented to the Minnesota State Planning Agency by Paul Mattessich, a doctoral candidate from the Family Studies Center of the University of Minnesota.

Spring, 1977

SUMMARY

This collection of papers was prepared for policy analysts who are involved in the study and formulation of legislation, programs and administrative rules and procedures that may impact the quality of family life. They reflect the growing concern about the absence of a comprehensive family policy in the United States and represent an initial effort to develop procedures for family impact analysis.

The first paper explores operational definitions of the concept "family." Several taxonomies are reviewed including the approach of the Bureau of the Census, and several sociological classifications. The latter group distinguishes between nuclear and extended families, "experimental" families, and the developmental stages of families. The author suggests that two sociological taxonomies appear most useful for family impact analysis at the present time: The Family Development Taxonomy and The Intra-Family Systems and Transactional Systems Taxonomy.

The second paper is an annotated bibliography of current literature that addresses issues of social policy and the family. Intended as a reference tool for family impact analysts, the bibliography contains both the author's annotations and a list of significant ideas, suggestions and definitions taken from the literature.

The final paper presents a preliminary conceptual framework for conducting family impact analysis. It suggests that the task of the family impact analyst is to determine the unique effects of public policy on the quality of family life and distinguish them from the effect of other factors in the social environment. Six steps for preparing family impact statements are outlined. They include: (1) identifying policies which may have an impact on families, (2) specifying the probable impacts of each policy on various types of families,

(3) determining the extensiveness of these impacts, (4) evaluating the probable intended and unintended effects with respect to their contribution to the quality of family life, (5) comparing alternative policies with one another, or with the absence of any policy, in light of the advantages and disadvantages, and (6) selecting the most palatable policy alternative.

These reports acknowledge the fact that family impact analysis is in its developmental stages. The conceptual framework suggested in the third paper is one that will be refined as experience is acquired through specific applications.

TAXONOMIES FOR

FAMILY IMPACT ANALYSIS

BY

Paul Mattessich

Minnesota State Planning Agency
August, 1976

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	1
The Census	5
Definitions	5
Distributions	6
Discussion	7
Sociological Definitions	8
Nuclear Family, Extended Family	9
Definitions	9
Distributions	10
Discussion	11
Variant and Experimental Forms	15
Definitions	15
Distributions	16
Discussion	18
Functional Definitions	20
Definitions	20
Distributions	21
Discussion	22
Family Development	23
Definitions	23
Distribution	24
Discussion	24
Intra-Family Systems and Transactional Systems	27
Discussion	29
Special, Issue-Oriented Taxonomies	30
Conclusion	31
Notes	36
References	38

INTRODUCTION

This report on family taxonomies is the first of several brief reports intended to aid the State Planning Agency in the development of a framework for assessing the impact of governmental policies, programs, and other activities upon families. The initial steps toward framework development for family impact analysis include:

a. conceptualization of the unit of analysis, "family" (to identify the organizational units, and their members, which will experience the impacts);

b. classification of families into types (to aid in specifying the families who will feel the greatest impact from each governmental action); and

c. determination of the distribution of each family type within the population (to "weight" the amount of attention which analysts should pay to needs assessment for specific family types and to evaluate the extensiveness of policy impacts which affect only some types of families).

By presenting a set of family taxonomies, this report takes each of those steps. The report is intended to serve as a reference tool for impact analysts.

Defining the family seems problematic, due to the diversity of family forms which exist in American society. Remarks by an official of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in Washington, during a recent phone interview, reflect the concern among many persons that definitional problems may even be insurmountable: "Understanding family impact--that's great. But there are millions of definitions of 'family,' so your task is almost impossible."

It is undoubtedly true that we can point to many different living arrangements which people call "families." Culturally, the

pluralism of ethnic and religious heritages in the United States has resulted both in a wide range of family values and attitudes toward family relationships and in a variety of family structures. Contemporary social movements have added new, "alternative" family forms to the traditional ethno-religious base. Demographic characteristics of the population (e.g., degree of geographic mobility, the sex ratio, average life span for each sex) have altered both the distribution of family statuses among individuals and the norms concerning such family practices as the decision to marry, the decision on desired family size, the launching of children from their families of origin, and the degree of expected interaction among family members who reside in different households.

However, despite all the diversity and continuous change within our family system, the first month of work on the family impact project has led to the conclusion that only a limited set of simple, straightforward taxonomies is necessary to make initial progress toward family impact analysis. An original goal for this report included the identification and presentation of as many family taxonomies as possible. Later, the range became limited to those which would be most helpful in developing the framework for impact assessment.

Some authors have viewed the diversity of family forms and have urged strongly that a variety of forms other than "traditional nuclear" families be considered in family impact analyses. Kamerman and Kahn (1976) therefore offer an all-inclusive definition of the family as "one adult and one dependent other." While analysts must grapple with the problem of inclusion, the far greater problem is that of classification. All groups which fall under the heading, "family"

do not share identical needs, face identical problems, or have identical modes of internal organization. Even the "traditional nuclear family" exhibits wide variation depending on the number and ages of its members and their social characteristics.

Thus, an all-inclusive family definition such as "one adult and one dependent other," while responding to the problem of pluralism, falls short of offering to the impact analyst the means for operationalizing units of analysis. Such a definition omits consideration of a vast set of family relationships; for example, those among kin, among siblings, or between spouses. (Ironically, this particular definition, taken as worded, excludes both egalitarian, childless marriages and marriages between minors.)

In any case, the point is clear: We must conceptualize the family in broad enough terms to include all units which might be considered families, and simultaneously, we must develop a manageable set of family types so that "family impact" can be expressed concretely, measured, and evaluated.

Consideration of the family taxonomies proceeds according to the following format:

a. Each family type within each taxonomy is defined. If a definition is taken from a specific source, the source is identified.

b. Some estimate of the distribution of types within the population is offered. In some cases, the distributions are easily and accurately ascertained because the family types correspond closely to census units of analysis. In other cases, no comprehensive statistics exist (e.g., for estimating the extent of kin network interaction), and thus, distributions must be estimated very indirectly. In one case, that of the family development typology, partial statistics appear, although detailed analysis of census tapes could provide a relatively accurate picture of the distribution of families according to life cycle stage.

c. The taxonomy is discussed in terms of its implications for family impact analysis. The discussions are brief and are only intended to be suggestive. They deal with such matters as the advantages and disadvantages of particular taxonomies, problems of conceptual clarity, data sources and data inadequacies, the relationship of the definitions presented to a general framework for impact analysis, and the usefulness of the taxonomies for determining family needs.

The important, lasting goal of this report is to pass the first conceptual hurdle in building a concrete framework which will enable the State Planning Agency to determine:

1) the salient needs of families in Minnesota--needs which will differ according to family structure;

2) the most appropriate units toward which to direct programs and services (e.g., the individual, the household, the nuclear family); and,

3) the direct and indirect effects of legislation and of program regulations (both existing and proposed) upon families.

This report covers the following taxonomies:

A. The Census

B. Sociological Definitions

1. Nuclear Family, Extended Family
2. "Variant" or "Experimental" Forms
3. Functional Definitions
4. Family Development
5. Intra-Family Systems and Transactional Systems

C. Special, Issue-Oriented Taxonomies

The taxonomies discussed have potential utility. Whether, in fact, they are actually valuable is an empirically resolvable issue. As family impact analysis develops, it will become more clear as to which schemes for classifying families should be retained, modified, discarded, or created. This report is written with the perspective that the most useful framework for family needs assessment will be that of Family Development and that the most useful framework for constructing a checklist for determining intended and unintended

consequences of governmental activities will be the logically derived taxonomy called "Intra-Family Systems and Transactional Systems."

A. The Census

a. Definitions

Family: Two or more persons living in the same household who are related by blood, marriage, or adoption. All persons living in a household and related to each other are regarded as one family. (Some of them may also be members of a subfamily.)[1]

Subfamily: A married couple with or without its own children, or one parent with one or more of his/her own children, living in a housing unit and related to the household head, but excluding the head.

Family Type: Families and subfamilies are classified according to the sex and marital status of the family head.

a. Husband-Wife Families: The head and his wife were enumerated as members of the same household.

b. Other families with Male Head: The family has a male head, but no spouse of the head is present.

c. Families with Female Head: The family has a female head, and no spouse of the head is present.

Household: All persons occupying a single housing unit are referred to as a household, whether or not they are related to one another.

Head of Household: The person reported as the head by members of a household. (However, if a married woman with husband present is reported as a head, her husband is recorded as the head.)

Family Head: A household head living with one or more persons related to him by blood, marriage or adoption.

Primary Individual: A household head living alone or with non-relatives only.

Wife of Head: A woman married to and living with a household head.

Child of Head: A son, daughter, step-child, or adopted child of the head of the household of which he/she is a member.

Other Classifications: Grandchild of head; parent of head; son or daughter-in-law of head; brother or sister of head; parent-in-law of head; brother or sister-in-law of head; other relative of head.

b. Distributions

The census offers a vast set of data concerning family status and living arrangements of Minnesota residents, most of which can be examined on a county by county basis. (For example, a report prepared by the State Planning Agency's Early Childhood Development Project (1974) used the 1970 census to describe certain characteristics of young children and their families.) Data from the 1970 census corresponding to the significant definitions of the previous section are presented below.

Table 156. **Families by Type, Number of Own Children Under 18 Years Old, Presence of Own Children and Sons and Daughters of Selected Ages, and Race and Age of Head: 1970**

[Data based on sample, see text. For minimum base for derived figures (percent, median, etc.) and meaning of symbols, see text]

The State Urban and Rural Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas of 250,000 or More	Total	Number of own children under 18 years					Presence of own children of selected ages				Presence of sons and daughters of selected ages		
		None	1	2	3	4 or more	Under 3 years	Under 6 years	Under 12 years	Under 18 years	13 to 19 years	18 to 24 years	Under 25 years
THE STATE													
Total													
All families	921 332	387 950	151 862	153 795	107 835	119 870	161 461	266 275	420 376	533 382	276 420	125 787	578 850
Percent	100.0	42.1	16.5	16.7	11.7	13.0	17.5	28.9	45.6	57.9	30.0	13.7	62.8
Husband-wife families	820 595	334 760	133 489	141 027	99 986	111 333	152 614	248 790	387 446	485 835	247 253	108 591	522 446
Head under 25 years	53 551	24 454	19 697	7 683	1 295	422	25 853	28 398	28 863	29 097	535	265	29 154
Head 25 to 34 years	179 824	28 066	36 236	54 611	35 052	25 859	88 614	130 326	150 915	151 758	7 100	426	151 834
Head 35 to 44 years	171 854	12 851	17 364	38 758	41 175	61 706	32 059	71 641	136 362	159 003	97 575	22 334	160 968
Head 45 to 54 years	167 384	55 270	39 702	32 298	19 179	20 935	5 532	16 671	61 384	112 114	104 750	56 205	128 017
Head 55 to 64 years	130 774	100 433	18 267	6 900	2 965	2 209	463	1 482	8 933	30 341	33 251	25 005	45 438
Head 65 to 74 years	79 526	76 393	1 990	708	287	148	49	179	838	3 133	3 639	3 943	6 305
Head 75 years and over	37 682	37 293	233	69	33	54	44	93	151	389	403	413	730
Families with other male head	27 181	18 660	3 302	2 213	1 307	1 699	1 546	2 908	5 685	8 521	5 648	3 310	10 274
Head under 35 years	4 468	2 161	993	649	322	343	1 071	1 731	2 244	2 307	212	184	2 375
Head 35 to 44 years	4 230	1 800	485	587	500	858	379	864	1 880	2 430	1 606	378	2 535
Head 45 to 64 years	11 283	7 769	1 649	923	467	475	78	271	1 466	3 514	3 583	2 412	4 832
Head 65 years and over	7 200	6 930	175	54	18	23	18	42	95	270	247	336	532
Families with female head	73 556	34 530	15 071	10 555	6 562	6 838	7 301	14 577	27 245	39 026	23 519	13 886	46 130
Head under 35 years	17 575	1 747	5 591	4 645	2 896	2 696	6 267	11 347	15 418	15 828	1 756	144	15 883
Head 35 to 44 years	12 739	1 637	2 886	2 765	2 300	3 151	869	2 581	7 547	11 102	9 166	3 187	11 813
Head 45 to 64 years	26 775	14 984	6 428	3 077	1 322	964	137	583	4 077	11 791	12 404	10 236	17 822
Head 65 years and over	16 467	16 162	166	68	44	27	28	66	203	305	193	319	612

Heads of Households: 1,157,522
Family Heads 921,332
Primary Individuals 236,190
(U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1973a)

c. Discussion

Census data can greatly aid the family impact analyst to estimate the number of families of a given type and in a particular region whom policies might be expected to affect. The major advantage of the census is, obviously, the sample size. It offers an excellent source of information on a number of the family characteristics of the total population. It also offers an excellent source of information on living arrangements within households (e.g., the social and demographic characteristics of household members, their relationships to one another, the physical characteristics of the household). Published census materials can usually answer general demographic questions relating to family impact analysis; while public use census tapes will be necessary for making special classifications or for performing in-depth analyses.

The census, however, suffers from some disadvantages. Since it focuses essentially upon demographic characteristics of persons and physical characteristics of households, it lacks data on family relationships, attitudes of individuals, and so on, which a comprehensive impact analysis may require. (Knowledge of the number of children in a household does not equal knowledge of parent-child relationships in that household.) The call for impact analysis has included concern for the "quality of life" and for the "family environment," but the census provides only indirect information on these matters. The analyst must make inferences about quality of life from social variables (income and educational resources of families, age composition, mobility, household headship and characteristics of heads, etc.) and/or physical variables (persons per

room, presence of phone and plumbing facilities, quality of dwelling units, etc.). Such inferences are only as accurate as the research which establishes correlations between the available social and physical variables and the components of "family output" which the quality of life is expected to affect.

The census also offers no information on family relationships outside of households with the result that relationships among kin, between adult children and parents, etc., are excluded. So, for example, grandparents who live above their children and grandchildren in the upper level of a duplex and who care for the grandchildren, eat many meals downstairs, and offer other assistance whenever necessary, will not be enumerated as part of a family along with these younger generations, even though the two households very much constiture a single, well-functioning social unit.

Thus, for preliminary steps in assessing family impact, such as the identification of segments of the population most likely to be affected by policies, the census has great utility. The definitions are straightforward; the sample is comprehensive and reliable. For the specifics of family impact, however, other taxonomies remain necessary.

B. Sociological Definitions

A number of family typologies exist in the sociological literature. As with the census, a basic distinction is made between "family" (a set of persons related to one another by blood, marriage, or adoption, and constituting a social system) and "household" (a set of persons who share a common dwelling unit). Family arrangements have been placed into at least five taxonomies, each of which will be described:

1) the nuclear family vs. the extended family or the kinship network;

2) "variant" or "experimental" families;

3) groups functionally defined as families;

4) developmental classifications; and,

5) intra-family systems and transactional systems.

Although these taxonomies are not mutually exclusive, each does present a different set of family variables to take into account when discussing family impact.

1. Nuclear Family, Extended Family

a. Definitions

Nuclear Family: One husband and wife and their children, living in a common household. Or, a group whose members fill the following positions: husband-father; wife-mother; offspring-sibling. (In a case where one or more of the positions is not filled, the nuclear family is "incomplete," but still may be termed nuclear. E.g., a newly-married couple without children, a widow and her children.)

Extended Family: In theory, an extended family consists of a nuclear family extended to include both older and younger generations as well as relatives (both consanguineal and affinal) such as uncles, cousins, brothers and sisters-in-law, etc.--in practice, the effective "kinship network" consists of nuclear households or unmarried individuals who see, or correspond with, one another, and who operate within a reciprocal system of exchange of goods and services. (Note: The term, "extended family" is not limited in application to a household containing kin of several generations or several nuclear families. Such incorrect usage is implicit in observations concerning extended familism which are based upon household data from the census.)

b. Distributions

The number of nuclear families can be ascertained from census data. It equals the total of both husband-wife families and other families with a male or female head. For Minnesota, in 1970, the total was 921,332 families. These families were enumerated if they lived in a household as a unit; several nuclear families, of course, can live in one household, and each is counted in the census tally of families.

No comprehensive statistics exist on the number of extended families or on the frequency of extended family interaction. Glick (1975) mentions tentative plans for the development of social indicators of kin network relationships.[2] To date, the best data on kinship come from relatively small samples drawn in a variety of geographic locations.

Despite the common belief that kinship has become unimportant, losing many of the functions it had in the past, the empirical information from these studies indicates just the opposite: sizeable proportions of the population interact with their kin, exchange services with their kin, and rely upon kin for assistance in time of crisis. Sussman (1965) noted that "the evidence on the viability of an existing kinship structure carrying on extensive activities among kin is so convincing that we find it unnecessary to continue further descriptive work in order to establish the existence of the kin network in modern urban society." Adams' (1972) major review of kinship literature during the 1960's led to the conclusion that the modern family is definitely not isolated from kin "interactionally, attitudinally or in terms of knowledge."

Several studies within Minnesota have likewise pointed to the existence of functioning kinship networks. MacDonald (1964) had the rare opportunity to study 255 nuclear families, from the Twin Cities area, who made up 85 sets of three-generation, extended kin groups. He reported "close integration" and a large amount of mutual assistance more frequently from kin than from other individuals or groups. They preferred kin both for general sorts of aid and for aid after the occurrence of unusual stressor events.

Stromberg (1967) intensively interviewed 60 suburban St. Paul families concerning the nature of their social network activities, and his report indicated that eighty-seven percent of the families received aid from parents or parents-in-law. A random sample of adults in Minneapolis and its suburbs, drawn in 1975, revealed that 3 or more relatives were accessible to seventy percent of the respondents and that seventy-three percent of the respondents had received a moderate to high degree of aid from their kin during the year previous to the interviews. (Mattessich, 1976)

c. Discussion

Much of family impact analysis will be concerned with the nuclear family since it is the most common, and most easily identified, family form. In this society, it is, for example: the most common residential unit for persons who consider themselves as "living in families;" the organizational unit to which primary childrearing responsibilities are assigned; the officially recognized unit for purposes of establishing dependencies, deductions, etc., in tax policies; and an economic decision-making unit as well as a unit of consumption. Even persons with intense ties to a large network

of kin usually devote their most significant attention to a nuclear family. Fortunately, the measurement of nuclear family relationships is relatively easy to accomplish. The census provides comprehensive demographic data on such families (because they comprise so popular a residential unit). Moreover, survey sampling can reach these families and determine, with reasonable accuracy, the aspects of their internal relationships which might be of interest to family impact analysis.

All nuclear families do not share similar traits, however. Variability within and among nuclear families will be discussed in later taxonomies. The impact analyst and the policy-maker will desire to remain aware of such variability for the purpose of assessing family needs and for the purpose of identifying the proportion(s) of the total number of families upon which a given policy or program will be expected to have an impact.

An important task for impact analysts is that of recognizing the implications of the data on extended kin relationships. While the nuclear family constitutes an important unit of analysis, it does not constitute an exclusive one. Research has well established the existence of functioning kinship networks in modern society. Kin visit one another, exchange services, provide mutual advice, and so on. Shanas (1974) contends that even many of the aged, so frequently reported as "primary individuals," actually live in "families" of extended kin.--They prefer to live close to their children and other relatives, although not actually in the same household.

When policy-formulation has included attention to families at all, it has never considered kinship networks. Irving (1971) charges

that even social workers, who could, on a case to case basis, determine the extended family relationships of their clients, frequently neglect to do so. Inattention, and sometimes indifference, to kinship has at least two undesirable consequences.

First, it promotes ignorance of the degree to which kinship systems provide support to individuals. A survey by Freed (1975) showed that isolated individuals (those without kin) and individuals with only very few kin comprised the largest portion of clients in the Boston agency which she studied. It would seem that policy-makers could determine the most efficient family-government complementarity if they utilized data on the nature of extended family relationships. Such data could indicate: the types of services offered by kin to one another (with breakdowns according to age, class, geographic proximity); the willingness of persons to approach kin (if they are available), as opposed to a formal helping institution, when significant problem situations arise; the most necessary forms of government assistance for the purpose of maintaining beneficial kin relationships; and the sorts of policies, programs, and other activities which act to inhibit kin relations.

Second, the inattention to kinship has, in some cases, had deleterious effects upon existing kin relations. Mizio (1974) reports on the way in which the tax structure of the Unites States jeopardizes the strong extended family system within one subculture, that of Puerto Rico. Other policies, with more general effects, are those which discourage adults from living with offspring, or discourage other relatives from living with one another, because the sharing of a housing unit would result in a reduction of income benefits or other forms of assistance. (See Axinn and Levin, 1972; Glick, 1975)

Hill (1970), in the concluding section of his three generation family study (conducted in Minnesota), offered some related observations on kinship and social policy:

> Of equal import is the discovery that nuclear families are integrated into modified extended family networks three generations in depth. These networks should be recognized publicly as problem solving resources of some moment. Current social policy largely ignores the presence of functioning three generation networks in favor of the nuclear family unit. Under some welfare laws, to be sure, punitive policies require that economic resources of kinsmen be exhausted before economic assistance may be given to needy families. Fortunately, perhaps, these policies are largely honored in the breech. What is needed is a policy which rewards intergeneration transfers for educational, professional, and health objectives, recognizing the enormous social gains achieved through these exchanges and supporting a type of modified extended familism which cements intergenerational relationships. This would, in turn, encourage social agencies to treat the kinship network more as a problem solving resource in depth than as a source of problems in boundary maintenance of the basic nuclear family unit.

To conclude, it is obvious that the policy-analyst and the policy-maker will focus much attention upon nuclear families--identifying them, classifying them, assessing their needs, and determining the impacts of policies upon them. However, exclusive attention to such families is shortsighted. Both Minnesota data and national data demonstrate that large numbers of families and primary individuals participate in kinship networks. It would seem important to evaluate policy impacts according to the degree to which they enhance or inhibit the provision of a benign environment for extended family relationships.

2. Variant and Experimental Forms

a. Definitions

Three Generation Family (Common Residence): A nuclear family plus one or more members of the grandparent generation, living in a common household.

Single Parent Family: A nuclear family with only one parent, as a consequence of divorce, abandonment, separation, or death of spouse, usually including pre-school or school-age children. (Due to the high rates of remarriage among divorced persons, the single-parent family is frequently considered a transitional arrangement--a factor which may need to be recognized when assessing family impact. Ross and Sawhill (1975) refer to single parenthood as a "time of transition," for most women, between living in one nuclear family and another.)

Unmarried Couple: An unrelated male and female sharing a common residence.

Commune: A household of more than one monogamous family (or, in the case of a "group marriage," a household where all adults treat one another as spouses and as parents to the children present) where all members share common facilities and resources and where socialization of children is a group activity.

Permanently Childless: Married couples who never bear children. (Although all married couples commonly experience childlessness at the beginning and at the end of their marital careers, the argument can be made for a useful distinction between such temporary childlessness and the permanent childlessness of couples who decide never to have children. Permanently childless couples differ from childbearing couples in that they do not undergo the same family changes, they

experience somewhat different needs and face different problems, and they lack the assets and/or liabilities which adult children bring to aged parents.)

b. Distributions

Three-Generation Families: National figures from the 1970 census reveal that approximately four percent of all families have a parent of the family head or spouse living in the same household. Three percent of husband-wife families and three percent of all families with children under age 18 fall into this category. (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1973c)

[Data based on 5-percent sample, see text. For meaning of symbols, see text]

United States Urban Rural	Families with no parents or grandchildren				Families with parents, no grandchildren		Families with grandchildren, no parents		Families with parents and grandchildren			
		With subfamilies by type										
	Total	Husband–wife only	Parent–child only	Husband–wife and parent–child	Total	Parents in subfamily	Total	Grandchildren in subfamily	Total	Parents, no grandchildren in subfamily	Grandchildren, no parents in subfamily	Parents and grandchildren in subfamily
UNITED STATES												
All Races												
All families	47 462 981	214 278	56 876	442	2 107 272	116 691	1 523 198	780 239	49 411	806	25 341	598
With own children under 18	26 811 958	71 770	29 311	144	942 491	64 231	447 495	249 845	17 270	466	8 988	192
Husband–wife families	41 709 201	125 585	26 149	91	1 366 749	74 691	894 126	473 562	31 982	566	16 264	444
Head, under 35 years	12 062 648	15 358	12 764	60	218 775	24 855	31 469	7 139	1 844	126	648	16
With own children:												
Under 18	9 152 469	11 697	10 576	60	181 562	20 323	21 107	4 440	1 173	83	339	–
Under 6	7 725 023	9 300	8 644	19	140 598	16 646	13 677	1 483	623	60	144	–
Head, 35 to 64 years	24 249 080	94 029	12 138	31	1 074 482	48 621	665 715	384 396	27 427	424	14 613	407
With own children:												
Of any age	16 569 329	89 073	7 954	12	718 468	36 291	537 976	374 592	21 223	322	14 104	407
Under 25	16 087 481	79 534	7 852	12	698 901	35 862	427 902	283 590	16 941	274	10 593	342
Under 18	14 196 924	43 397	7 425	–	602 475	32 727	272 381	161 005	10 621	262	5 612	124
Under 6	3 915 189	7 949	2 879	–	146 426	9 979	44 378	22 215	1 740	63	774	21
Head, 65 yr. and over	5 397 473	16 198	1 247	–	73 492	1 215	196 942	82 027	2 711	16	1 003	21
With own children:												
Of any age	765 365	13 905	213	–	14 546	402	112 518	76 117	1 367	16	882	–
Under 25	321 939	4 408	176	–	9 559	295	35 277	21 294	538	–	343	–
Under 18	169 648	1 129	148	–	5 594	199	14 131	6 595	251	–	150	–
Other families	5 753 780	88 693	30 727	351	740 523	42 000	629 072	306 677	17 429	240	9 077	154
Head, under 35 years	1 536 884	6 806	13 285	48	142 668	15 743	32 827	8 385	1 505	43	611	–
With own children:												
Under 18	1 371 183	2 897	7 735	32	50 215	5 353	15 112	4 870	553	20	173	–
Under 6	942 540	2 003	5 508	32	29 016	3 068	7 474	1 701	288	20	51	–
Head, 35 to 64 years	3 122 656	49 560	14 696	266	552 397	25 663	381 240	211 168	14 285	197	7 794	104
With own children:												
Of any age	2 692 232	36 058	4 056	53	140 293	6 992	290 215	201 978	10 143	133	7 267	104
Under 25	2 396 975	27 987	3 809	53	128 885	6 610	203 724	134 754	7 535	114	5 045	104
Under 18	1 887 805	12 035	3 405	39	101 723	5 629	120 572	70 872	4 612	101	2 696	68
Under 6	308 610	1 812	732	–	13 958	907	17 586	8 993	706	36	424	–
Head, 65 yr. and over	1 094 240	32 327	2 746	37	45 458	594	215 005	87 124	1 639	–	672	50
With own children:												
Of any age	695 414	23 314	326	13	4 219	53	119 645	74 701	772	–	473	16
Under 25	62 497	1 983	137	13	1 364	–	11 377	7 274	164	–	106	–
Under 18	33 929	615	22	13	922	–	4 192	2 063	60	–	18	–

Single Parent Families: In 1970, Minnesota had 47,547 individuals, without spouses, who headed families with children under 18 years of age. Of these, 39,026 (82%) were headed by females, and 8,521 (18%) were headed by males. There were 1,255,156 children under age 18 in husband-wife families (92% of all children under 18 who lived in families) and 108,642 children under age 18 in single-parent families (8%).[3] Specific figures appear below. (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1973a)

[Families and subfamilies classified by marital status and sex of head; unrelated individuals and inmates of institutions classified by marital status and sex of person. Data based on sample, see text. For minimum base for derived figures (percent, median, etc.) and meaning of symbols, see text]

The State Urban and Rural Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas of 250,000 or More	Total	Married, wife present	Married, spouse absent				Widowed		Divorced		Single	
			Separated		Other							
			Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
THE STATE												
Total												
Families	921 332	820 595	772	6 743	4 754	3 541	7 491	33 518	2 730	19 543	11 434	10 211
Percent	100.0	89.1	0.1	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.8	3.6	0.3	2.1	1.2	1.1
No own children under 18 years	387 950	334 760	310	719	1 695	782	4 819	21 895	1 187	3 725	10 649	7 409
1 own child under 18 years	151 862	133 489	209	1 659	871	984	1 177	5 225	663	5 375	382	1 828
2 own children under 18 years	153 795	141 027	126	1 839	776	786	671	2 805	450	4 575	190	550
3 or more own children under 18 years	227 725	211 319	127	2 526	1 412	989	824	3 593	430	5 868	213	424
Total own children under 18 years	1 363 798	1 255 156	1 010	15 593	8 213	6 342	5 826	25 095	3 194	36 936	1 767	4 666

Unmarried Couples: National data from the 1970 census are presented below. There were approximately 140,000 unmarried couples in the United States in 1970.[4] (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1973b)

[Data based on 5-percent sample, see text. For meaning of symbols, see text]

United States	Households with primary individual as head	Households with male primary individual head by age					Households with female primary individual head by age				
		Total	14 to 24 years	25 to 44 years	45 to 64 years	65 years and over	Total	14 to 24 years	25 to 44 years	45 to 64 years	65 years and over
ALL RACES											
Household members	14 218 997	5 548 218	916 434	1 623 625	1 569 498	1 438 661	8 670 779	780 986	973 264	2 776 062	4 140 467
Head of household living alone	11 114 833	3 965 316	344 564	1 134 268	1 262 849	1 223 635	7 149 517	327 941	694 587	2 420 918	3 706 071
Member of 2-person household	1 988 930	976 663	288 306	325 255	207 831	155 271	1 012 267	251 915	188 246	256 557	315 549
Head of household	991 263	487 506	143 945	162 755	103 842	76 964	503 757	125 654	93 715	127 442	156 946
Lodger-partner	422 744	218 755	77 765	81 306	38 331	21 353	203 989	74 126	52 737	39 552	37 574
Male	175 347	149 381	64 567	58 874	17 631	8 309	25 966	4 007	6 183	9 563	6 213
Under 25 years	75 975	71 377	55 089	14 556	1 014	718	4 598	2 553	823	863	359
25 to 44 years	65 725	57 817	9 138	40 945	6 582	1 152	7 908	1 325	4 421	1 694	468
45 to 64 years	22 116	14 290	227	3 065	8 631	2 367	7 826	105	881	4 978	1 862
65 years and over	11 531	5 897	113	308	1 404	4 072	5 634	24	58	2 028	3 524
Female	247 397	69 374	13 198	22 432	20 700	13 044	178 023	70 119	46 554	29 989	31 361
Under 25 years	98 324	21 534	11 776	8 909	655	194	76 790	62 598	11 789	1 501	902
25 to 44 years	63 774	18 069	1 359	11 411	4 708	591	45 705	7 209	31 751	5 382	1 363
45 to 64 years	50 678	20 533	42	1 915	13 576	5 000	30 145	154	2 670	17 861	9 460
65 years and over	34 621	9 238	21	197	1 761	7 259	25 383	158	344	5 245	19 636
Member of 3-or-more-person household	1 115 234	606 239	283 564	164 102	98 818	59 755	508 995	201 130	90 431	98 587	118 847
Head of household	324 084	176 637	82 641	48 498	28 552	16 946	147 447	58 467	26 295	28 591	34 094
Lodger-partner	318 171	181 027	100 691	48 539	21 867	9 930	137 144	81 802	30 840	13 264	11 238
Male	158 251	145 885	91 706	34 310	13 794	6 075	12 366	3 726	2 609	3 232	2 799
Under 25 years	112 042	105 542	83 845	16 733	3 721	1 243	6 500	3 172	1 417	1 043	868
25 to 44 years	33 318	30 625	7 547	16 622	5 107	1 349	2 693	538	852	837	466
45 to 64 years	8 208	6 454	151	758	3 992	1 553	1 754	–	283	924	547
65 years and over	4 683	3 264	163	197	974	1 930	1 419	16	57	428	918
Female	159 920	35 142	8 985	14 229	8 073	3 855	124 778	78 076	28 231	10 032	8 439
Under 25 years	110 698	19 835	8 037	7 920	2 776	1 102	90 863	73 399	12 542	2 632	2 290
25 to 44 years	30 716	8 730	843	5 488	1 964	435	21 986	4 446	14 385	2 271	884
45 to 64 years	11 844	4 703	61	729	2 870	1 043	7 141	142	957	4 084	1 958
65 years and over	6 662	1 874	44	92	463	1 275	4 788	89	347	1 045	3 307

Communes: There are, at present, no accurate data concerning this family form, although communes can be assumed to comprise only a very small proportion of the total number of families.

Permanently Childless: The measurement of permanent childlessness is problematic. If all couples were interviewed, their statements of childbearing intentions would indicate the extent of permanent childlessness with reasonable accuracy. In using demographic data, it becomes necessary to set a maximum age (age 35 is good for several reasons) after which women will be considered permanently childless.

The following proportions of ever married Minnesota women, in the specified cohorts, could be designated permanently childless, as of the 1970 census:

Age	Proportion Permanently Childless
35-39	6.0%
40-44	6.7%
45-49	8.0%
50-54	10.6%
55-59	14.7%
60-64	18.0%
65 and over	16.7%

(U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1973a)

c. Discussion

The term, variant, implies difference, not value. In a statistical sense, the family arrangements described in this section constitute minority arrangements, although the increasing numbers of some of them (e.g., single-parent families) may render the impact of legislation upon them an important concern for policy-makers. The term, incomplete, may more appropriately describe single-parent arrangements, especially if the absence of a spouse, with consequent

increased responsibility and stress for the single parent, is the major feature which distinguishes such arrangements from husband-wife families.[5] (Note that single-parent families are included both as "nuclear" families and within the family life cycle taxonomy.)

For purposes of assessing family impact, it is necessary to determine intelligently the circumstances under which variant families should be treated separately from other families. Frequently, the tendency exists to contrast variant forms with standard forms, at the expense of ignoring their similarities. Any family with children, for example, will have certain needs in the area of health, recreation, etc.--These needs must be satisfied whether an arrangement is that of dual-parents, a single parent, or communal parent. On the other hand, variant and standard forms may differ markedly in their personal resources: the three-generation family (assuming all adults are able bodied) will be rich in such resources; the single-parent family, by definition, will be short-handed.

Several authors have expressed concern that alternative family arrangements may not receive the attention due them in the analysis of government policies (e.g., Sussman, 1971; Kamerman and Kahn, 1976). However, the fact that the overwhelming proportion of families are nuclear (both single-parent and dual-parent) argues for devoting primary emphasis to determining their needs and to assessing the impact of policies upon them. Communes and cohabiting couples provide a wealth of data for the journalist, but at this time they need receive little attention from planners and policy-analysts.

Thus, the position suggested here is that, with family impact analysis in its infancy, the "variant" family forms should be placed

into proper perspective. The truly unique forms do not at present deserve attention, purely on statistical grounds. The more common forms, such as single-parent families (and possibly, unmarried couples and three-generation families), will adapt well, with minor modifications, to other taxonomies used in the framework for impact analysis. If, at a later point in time, it is empirically demonstrated that a particular variant form merits unique analysis, an adequate framework can be developed.

In the case of unmarried couples, the factors which influence their incidence may interest the impact analyst more than the characteristics of the couples (who, as just mentioned, can probably be treated as if they were "standard" families). Those factors include tax laws and other policies which offer disincentives to legal marriage (e.g., the case of widowed persons who will lose survivor benefits if they remarry).[6]

3. Functional Definitions

a. Definitions

Some definitions of the family derive from the unique functions which families perform in a given society.[7] Reiss (1976) offers a cross-culturally applicable definition of the family as a small kinship-structured group with the key function of nurturant socialization of the newborn. A similar definition was adopted by the Education Commission of the States in its report on the role of the family in child development:

> the term 'family' will be used here to refer to any adult arrangements that has as one of its functions the nurturing of an infant of a young child. (1975:3)

Others broaden the functional definition for American society to include:

a. socialization (including nurturance);

b. reproduction; and

c. satisfaction of adult personality needs (e.g., Schorr, 1962; Chilman, 1973; Giele and Lambert, 1975)

b. Distributions

Potentially, all families can perform "family functions" within a society, although obviously, some do not do so adequately, and some do not do so at all (e.g., some marriages do not produce offspring; some do not satisfy personality needs). The goal of a statistical distribution at this point would be to convey a picture of family "functioning" (i.e., the observable, concrete activities of families) insofar as it corresponds to the functions which families perform for the society.[8] The work of Geismar and La Sorte (1964), Geismar (1969), and Nye (1976) has progressed in the direction of evaluating the performance by family members of roles which constitute the individual level activities by which the family's societal functions are carried out. Geismar and La Sorte built upon a perspective toward the family as "not merely an aggregate of individuals but also as an interacting group of persons playing mutually complementary roles and carrying out certain basic tasks or functions which are necessary for the welfare of the family and are in keeping with the expectations of society." (1964:64) They reported on a "Profile of Family Functioning", developed by the Family Centered Project of St. Paul.[9] The Family Centered Project made a major effort to operationalize a scale by which multi-problem families could be

compared with well functioning families. Geismar (1969) suggests strategies for using such scales of family functioning for assessing needs and for initiating programs of preventive intervention. It will be future surveys of family role performance which will provide estimates of the statistical distribution of functional activities within the general population.

c. Discussion

The functional definitions comprise the broadest family taxonomy. Consequently, their use to planners and policy-makers lies in the formulation of broad goals and the raising of general issues with respect to policy impacts. When an operational problem involves the identification of organizational units involved in a general activity of interest, as it did for the Education Commission of the States (1975), then functional definitions are of greater use than if an operational problem involves discrimination among types of families. The French have a similar, strong interest in satisfying the socialization needs of families and thus have defined the family, for policy purposes, in terms of the presence of children of French nationality. (Rodgers, 1975)

Functional definitions can alert us to general societal goals which specific policies and programs might reflect, and they can alert us to aspects of family functioning which policies and programs can enhance or impair. Schorr (1962) and Chilman (1973), for example, argue that socialization and need satisfaction within the family have become more crucial in industrialized society than they were previously; thus, policy-makers ought to maintain an awareness of these functions, shaping policies and programs in a way which will improve, or at least preserve, the family's ability to perform them. The evaluation

of policy can determine the extent to which governmental actions (1) directly aid the family in the performance of its functions, and (2) affect (positively or negatively) the level of stress associated with performing each.

4. Family Development

The family development framework provides a means for classifying families within stages of the "family life cycle." The concept of the family life cycle best applies to nuclear families. The framework identifies needs, activities, stresses, etc. which all such families share as they progress from the initial point of marriage to dissolution. With some modifications to include the special needs, stresses, and structural attributes of other types of families, the life cycle concept can also be applied to these other types.

a. Definitions

Three criteria provide the basis for demarcating stages of the family life cycle: 1) changes in the number of family members; 2) the developmental stage of the oldest child; and 3) the retirement status of the breadwinner. (Aldous, 1975)[10] The stages are the following:

I. Childless-Married Families (begins at marriage)

II. Childbearing Families (begins at birth of first child; lasts until first child becomes mobile, i.e., walks, talks, etc.; oldest child aged approximately 0 to 2)

III. Families with Preschool Children (from mobility of oldest child to beginning of oldest child's formal education; oldest child aged approximately 2 to 6)

IV. Families with School Children (from beginning of oldest child's formal education to reaching of "teen-age" by oldest child; oldest child aged approximately 6 to 12)

V. Families with Adolescents (from oldest child's reaching teens to legal adulthood of oldest child; oldest child approximately 13 to 18)

VI. Families with Young Adults (from adulthood of oldest child to launching of last child)

VII. Families in Middle Years (from launching of last child to retirement of breadwinner)

VIII. Aging Families (from retirement of breadwinner to death of one spouse)

b. Distribution

At present, no accurate system, with regular, inclusive samples, exists for determining the distribution of families according to life cycle stage. Published census figures provide some indirect data by classifying families with children by the ages of those children. With proper coding, census tapes could be used to identify families at various stages of the family life cycle. Data on tape can indicate: family size; age of oldest child (to represent developmental stage); and retirement status of the breadwinner.

Some of the published figures in which Minnesota families are classified according to the presence and ages of their children appear in the section of this report on census definitions. Working from these figures, the following rough estimate of the distribution of Minnesota families according to life cycle stage is suggested:[11]

I.	Childless	7%
II.	Childbearing Families	17%
III.	Families with Preschool Children	11%
IV.	Families with School Children	17%
V.	Families with Adolescents	12%
VI.	Families with Young Adults	13%
VII.	Families in Middle Years	23%
VIII.	Aging Families	23%

c. Discussion

The major advantage of the family life cycle classification is that it breaks us out of the mold of conceiving of the "nuclear

family" as a homogeneous entity. At any one point in time, all nuclear families are not similar. For example, a family with adolescents differs in needs, stresses, and activities from a family with preschool children.[12] The developmental framework describes the way in which all families tend to proceed through the life cycle, and it describes the way in which life cycle stages differ from one another.

Within each stage, it is necessary for the family to perform certain developmental tasks. These are functions, and the concrete activities associated with each will differ according to life cycle stage. The tasks include:

1. Physical maintenance of family members.
2. Socialization of new members for roles in the family and other groups.
3. Maintenance of family members' motivation to perform family roles and other roles.
4. Maintenance of social control within the family and between family members and outsiders.
5. Addition of family members through adoption or reproduction and their release when mature.

By means of the framework, the analyst can think simultaneously about the needs, activities, stresses, and resources which are typically characteristic of families over time. Aldous and Hill (1969), for example, outlined different levels of family vulnerability over the course of the life cycle. Working from the developmental perspective, they were able to identify the two most efficacious points in the family life cycle for governmental action to remove the "inheritance of poverty," characteristic of poor families. For purposes of illustration, tables from their article appear on the following page.

TABLE 1. THE FAMILY'S VULNERABILITY TO STRESS OWING TO DEFICITS IN EXPRESSIVE RESOURCES [a]

Deficit	Family Stage						
	Establishment	Childbearing	School-age Children	Adolescents	Launching	Postparental	Aging
Incidence of divorce and separation [b]	5	3	2	2	1	1	1
Degree of marital dissatisfaction [c]	1	1	2	3	5	4	5
Dissatisfaction with love [d]	1	1	2	3	5	3	4
Dissatisfaction with companionship [e]	1	2	3	4	5	3	4
Lack of marital communication [f]	1	2	5	4	3	2	2
Segregation of marital roles [g]	1	2	2	3	5	4	5
Husband's alienation from home tasks [h]	1	2	5	5	5	3	3
Wife's failure to share problems with husband [i]	1	3	4	5	5	4	5
Total vulnerability score	12	16	25	29	34	22	29
Duration of marriage (in years)	0–1	2–7	8–14	15–21	22–29	30–43	44–50
Husband's age	22	24–30	31–37	38–44	45–52	53–65	66–72

[a] The scores range from least vulnerable (1) to most vulnerable (5).

TABLE 2. THE FAMILY'S VULNERABILITY TO STRESS OWING TO THE INSUFFICIENCY OF INSTRUMENTAL RESOURCES [a]

Deficit	Family Stage						
	Establishment	Childbearing	School-age Children	Adolescents	Launching	Postparental	Aging
Income per member [b]	5	4	4	3	3	1	5
Size of family [c]	1	4	5	5	3	1	1
Adequacy of housing [d]	4	5	4	3	3	2	2
Medical expenses [e]	1	4	5	3	2	2	5
Family debts [f]	2	5	5	4	3	1	1
Job changes [g]	5	5	3	3	2	2	1
Wife in labor force supplementing income [h]	1	5	4	3	2	3	5
Total vulnerability score	19	32	30	24	18	12	20
Duration of marriage (in years)	0–1	2–7	8–14	15–21	22–29	30–43	44–50
Husband's age	22	24–30	31–37	38–44	45–52	53–65	66–72

TABLE 3. THE FAMILY'S VULNERABILITY TO STRESS OWING TO DISSATISFACTION WITH INSTRUMENTAL RESOURCES [a]

Evaluation	Family Stage						
	Establishment	Childbearing	School-age Children	Adolescents	Launching	Postparental	Aging
Satisfaction with level of living [b]	1	3	4	4	3	5	2
Satisfaction with job [c]	1	3	5	5	3	1	1
Disagreements over money [d]	1	5	4	4	4	4	3
Worries about financial cost of children [e]	1	3	5	2	4	2	1
Total vulnerability score	4	14	18	15	14	12	7
Duration of marriage (in years)	0–1	2–7	8–14	15–21	22–29	30–43	44–50
Husband's age	22	24–30	31–37	38–44	45–52	53–65	66–72

The question of family needs and stresses associated with life cycle stages draws the impact analyst into the area of political and moral values. Suggestions of a "value-free" procedure for handling the problem of family needs assessment will appear in the proposal of a model for impact analysis. At this point, it is merely worth raising the issue to reveal some of the variability which will arise with respect to "needs" (definition; determination of existence; necessity of response; etc.). For example, high consensus probably exists among everyone (general public and social scientists) that a family with young children requires adequate resources to nourish those children and to send them to school. However, what of the family with several college-aged children? Should the financial resources which it requires to feed these adult offspring and to send them to school appear in a general model of "family needs?" One could legitimately respond in the negative, since the need for a college education is not universal, and such a family has simply opted to retain these adults rather than to push them into the outside world. In short, specific needs depend upon the choice of one alternative as opposed to another. The fewer the alternatives, the greater the likelihood of general recognition that resources desired by a family are truly needed.

5. Intra-Family Systems and Transactional Systems

A final taxonomy is logically derived for this report from consideration of all possible sets of family relationships which could exist for a typical nuclear family embedded within an extended kin network and having transactions with other institutions and networks, such as schools, the community, and the work-place. This taxonomy is

presented as a step toward both the isolation of significant family variables and the sorting out of sectors of family interaction which government legislation and programs may affect. As it is evident that policies will differentially affect various forms of family arrangements, so it is evident that policies may have different impacts upon various family members and family sub-systems.

The units presented below comprise the sub-systems and the external linkages. Variables characteristic of each unit are presented in order to provide examples of aspects of family functioning upon which government policies and programs may have an impact. These aspects (and others) could appear on a "checklist" comprising one type of "family impact statement."

Unit	Variables Associated with Unit (Examples)
Individual	- satisfaction (general marital) - self-esteem - confidence in outside aid sources - commitment to neighborhood - level of health - competence to perform family roles - rationality - use of violence - developmental stage
Marital Dyad	- division of labor - decision making - amount of time together - number of joint activities - coordination - conflict - stability or permanence
Parent-Child	- authority - effectiveness of training - companionship - impact upon parent's time - type of discipline - closeness of bond - number of joint activities

Sibling Subsystem	- authority - companionship - cooperation - mutual socialization
Nuclear Family	- cohesiveness - division of labor - size - life cycle stage - developmental task performance - authority structure - distribution of power - number of joint activities - amount of resources - mobility
Links to Other Networks	
Extended Family	- extensity of relationships - intensity of relationships - amount of mutual assistance - obligations - ability to live together
School	- frequency of activation and time required - expectations of school
Community	- amount of social and political participation - information processing
Work	- compatibility of family/work schedules
Marketplace	- consumership

c. Discussion

This taxonomy is described as "logically derived." It simply divides all of family interaction into sectors. Then, it identifies variables associated with the interaction within these sectors. The impact analyst can attempt to measure these variables, and the measurements will indicate the effects of government activity upon both the amount and quality of family interaction. This taxonomy will be included in part of the final framework developed for family impact assessment.

C. Special, Issue-Oriented Taxonomies

The need to address special problem areas or the raising of questions by specific interest groups will give rise to a variety of family classification schemes. Virtually any variable of interest to a particular group can be used to classify families (e.g., one spouse employed vs. both spouses employed, rural families vs. urban families, families with a chronically-ill child vs. families with healthy children, etc.). Such classifications (especially when dichotomous, as in the examples) can simply be appended to other taxonomies for the purpose of introducing additional variables to consider when assessing family impact. So, for example, a family with two employed spouses will undergo life cycle changes, although it will be subject to special stresses with respect to child care, the division of labor in the household, available time for performing linkage roles with external organizations, and so on.

Thus, for the purpose of moving toward a framework for assessing family impact, two steps are suggested.

1. The analyst should remain sensitive to political issues and to taxonomies presented in the political arena.

2. When such taxonomies arise, they should be adapted to other taxonomies to indicate:

   - heightening of particular needs (e.g., the physical maintenance needs of a family with an ill child or a disabled spouse);

   - differences in personnel resources (e.g., single-parent vs. dual-parent families);

   - existence of a special need (e.g., care for an aged parent);

   - differences in a subsystem of interaction (e.g., the parent-child dyad and foster parents vs. natural parents).

So long as interest groups exist, a plethora of family classification schemes will exist. The analyst can avoid confusion and reduce the effort required for analysis by adapting these classifications to basic, existing taxonomies. Such a procedure will translate the specific concerns of interest groups into general variables, and as such they will not require separate methods of analysis.

CONCLUSION

With the taxonomy review complete (at least for the present), what can we say of the next step toward developing a framework for family impact analysis? The ultimate, desirable goal, of course, is the construction of a concrete, methodological tool which legislators and/or planners can use to evaluate any piece of legislation, any program, or any administrative decision with respect to its effects upon the quality of family life. Attainment of that goal may well be impossible if the number of variables to include in an impact analysis renders any potential methodology unwieldy or overly complex, if the measurement of significant variables lacks adequate precision, or if the data required for analysis are not feasible to collect. If such is the case, the family impact analysis framework may have to remain very broad--perhaps simply a set of ideas or principles which legislators and planners could "keep in mind," but without a rigorously formal process of assessment. Proceeding, however, with the assumption that a concrete methodology for impact assessment is possible, two sociological taxonomies appear most useful, at least initially: taxonomies B-4 (Family Development) and B-5 (Intra-Family Systems and Transactional Systems).

The family development classification draws attention to the needs, stresses, and resources of families over the course of the life cycle. The impact analyst can use it to respond to the question, "How does a given governmental activity affect the ability of families to meet their needs and reach their goals?" Prior to policy-development, it can alert legislators and planners to needs which proposed legislation might satisfy.

The classification of intra-family systems and transactional systems can serve as the basic component of a "checklist" which the analyst can use to respond to the question, "How does a given governmental activity affect family interaction?" (and the data on extended families pointed up the necessity to conceive of family interaction broadly.) If analysis reveals an impact or potential impact of legislation upon familial patterns of interaction, then the desirability of that impact could be ascertained.

In closing, a few words on the data necessary for impact analysis are in order. A crucial need exists for the identification and development of data sources appropriate for family impact assessment. In order to move toward adequate data, the following is suggested:

1. Impact analysis should create a set of family social indicators and implement a regular system for their collection. Such indicators would probe family patterns much more deeply than does the census. They should include information on kinship relations. Although small, local samples abound, comprehensive data, drawn from representative samples within regions of interest to government agencies, are needed to indicate the potential amount of kinship resources

available to individuals and the actual amount of interdependence among nuclear families and primary individuals, based upon kinship. The indicators should precisely classify families according to life cycle stage and determine the needs and resources of families in each stage.

2. Impact analysts should begin to cull historical data for clues concerning family impact. It may be necessary to limit the dependent variables in historical analysis to those which have been continuously collected and aggregated, such as statistics on marriage and divorce, but nonetheless, such analysis offers the advantageous opportunity to seek out intended and unintended consequences of governmental activity over extensive time periods.[13] The major disadvantage of historical analysis is that available data may not be appropriate for estimating, even indirectly, the impact of many policies under current consideration by a legislature or government agency.

3. The large-scale samples which gather family social indicators and the historical analysis might be supplemented with smaller, well-executed studies specifically directed toward assessing the impact of governmental activity upon the internal dynamics of families. It is easy to speak in broad terms about aggregate rates, but a concern for the quality of family life underlies the movement toward family impact analysis, and the measurement of quality demands some in-depth interviewing.

All forms of data collection should attempt to cover as wide a range of policy consequences as posssible. There will be negative and positive consequences of any governmental activity. If both

types are not identified and measured, ill-informed opinions will continue to influence the final disposition of legislation.

The responsibility for data collection should probably fall less upon the state than upon academic institutions, the federal government (which already has ongoing statistics--generating programs), and other research institutions. The state should become aware of the available data for impact analysis so that in applying a concrete framework to the analysis of any activity, policy-makers can base their evaluations upon sound evidence.

Questions concerning values will arise in the final framework. Moynihan (1968) contended that when it comes to family policy, values and facts are inseparable. He is basically correct, but it does seem than an impact analysis framework can distinguish between general values (goals) and values concerning the propriety of specific family structures (preferences). This report on taxonomies has attempted to take a position as "value-free" as possible: no form of family structure was posited as "ideal" or as the proper focus of study. On the other hand, impact analysts should use the empirical data on the incidence of the various family forms for guidance concerning the amount of attention to be directed toward each. (That is both a pragmatic and politically wise orientation.)

In any case, this report is only one building block in the movement toward family impact analysis. It has identified different forms of family structure, specified their distributions, and discussed the implications of the definitions and distributions. One can draw the general conclusion that the many fears expressed concerning our inability to deal with the complexity of a society with a

pluralistic family system are largely unfounded. We can move from a relatively simple set of taxonomies to the development of a framework for family impact analysis and to the actual analysis itself.

NOTES

[1] The census classifies all persons as living in either households or group quarters. Group quarters include quarters occupied by five or more persons unrelated to the head, and quarters with no head but with six or more unrelated persons. No families are recognized as living in group quarters. (See: U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1970.)

[2] David Heer, of the University of Southern California, has drawn a small (295 cases) sample from nine counties in the United States as part of a pilot study for a proposed kinship indicators project.

[3] These totals refer to "own" children. However, the number of children present in the households who are not the children of the household heads would alter the total by only a very small percentage.

[4] This includes all households of two or more unrelated persons of the opposite sex who are classified as "partners." (Lodgers and resident employees are excluded.) The total number of such households containing two persons only was 95,340.

[5] Ross and Sawhill (1975) suggest that the poor economic status of female-headed families is their major distinguishing characteristic and that policy-makers should focus their attention toward improving the economic condition of these families.

[6] The age distribution of persons sharing living quarters with an unrelated member of the opposite sex was, in 1970:

	Males	%	Females	%
Total	104,516	100.0	38,332	100.0
Under 25	22,183	21.2	7,733	20.2
25 to 44	36,661	35.1	8,792	22.9
45 to 64	28,773	27.5	12,795	33.4
65+	16,899	16.2	9,012	23.5

Such figures indicate clearly that cohabitation is not merely an activity of the new generation of young adults. They also support the argument that the current policy situation may deter older persons from formal marriage. Especially striking is the large number of females over age 45 who share living quarters with an unrelated "partner" of the opposite sex.

7
Although the discussion in this section is compatible with family research within the "structure-function" framework, it is not based upon the literature of that framework.

8
Strictly speaking, the functional typology is intended to differentiate organizational units from one another by identifying the principle functions of each. A statistical distribution could show the numbers or proportions of organizations which perform each of a given set of functions. However, the work discussed here concerns level or adequacy of performance rather than performance vs. non-performance.

9
The scale measured nine areas of family functioning on a seven point continuum ranging from adequate to inadequate. The nine areas were: care and training of children; individual behavior and adjustment; family relationships and unity; social activities; relationships to social worker; use of community resources; economic practices; health conditions and practices; and home conditions and household practices. These broad areas were divided into subcategories. Data collected from open-ended interviews and from agency records were rated on the continuum by two or more judges.

10
Finer gradations of the family life cycle have been proposed. These are based upon additional criteria such as the age of the youngest child in a family, e.g., see the proposals of Rodgers in Aldous,(1975). However, a large set of life cycle stages can become unwieldy, and such a set is of little utility if a policy-analyst does not have data adequate for distinguishing the characteristics of families in one stage from those of families in another stage. Until the parameters of a finely graded life cycle have been established, it is worthwhile to make use of these eight stages.

11
Reuben Hill, in personal correspondence,suggested these percentages as good approximations for Minnesota. Accurate figures require analysis of public use census tapes.

12
One discussion of changing family needs over the course of the life cycle is offered by Wynn (1970).

13
We will, of course, depend upon a contribution from historians to learn of the way in which policy impacts over time can be separated from the consequences of other societal events.

REFERENCES

Adams, Bert N.
1972 "Isolation, Function, and Beyond: American Kinship in the 1960's." Pps. 163-186 in Broderick, Carlfred (ed.), A Decade of Family Research and Action. Minneapolis: National Council on Family Relations.

Aldous, Joan
1975 The Developmental Approach to Family Analysis (Volume 1). Minneapolis: Minnesota Family Study Center. (Mimeo)

Aldous, Joan, and Reuben Hill
1969 "Breaking the Poverty Cycle: Strategic Points for Intervention." Social Work 14:3-12.

Axinn, June, and Herman Levin
1972 "Optimizing Social Policy for Families." The Family Coordinator 21:163-170.

Child Development Planning Project
1974 "Selected Census and Service Data for Children Under Six." Unpublished paper. Minnesota State Planning Agency.

Chilman, Catherine
1973 "Public Social Policies and Families in the 1970's." Social Casework 54:10:575-585.

Education Commission of the States
1975 The Role of the Family in Child Development: Implications for State Policies and Programs. Denver, Colorado: Education Commission of the States.

Freed, Anne O.
1975 "The Family Agency and the Kinship System of the Elderly." Social Casework 56:10:579-586.

Geismar, Ludwig L.
1969 Preventive Intervention in Social Work. Metuchen, New Jersey: Scarecrow Press, Inc.

Geismar, Ludwig L., and Michael A. LaSorte
1964 Understanding the Multi-Problem Family: A Conceptual Analysis and Exploration in Early Identification. New York: Association Press.

Giele, Janet Zollinger, and Joan Dahr Lambert
1975 Current Family Policy Development in the United States: A Preliminary Report (Draft). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Radcliffe Institute.

Glick, Paul C.
1975 "Some Recent Changes in American Families." Current Population Reports: Special Studies: Series P-23, No. 52. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office.

Hill, Reuben
1970 Family Development in Three Generations. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Schenkeman Publishing Co., Inc.

Irving, Howard H.
1971 "Relationships Between Married Couples and Their Parents." Social Casework 52(2):91-96.

Kamerman, Sheila B., and Alfred J. Kahn
1976 "Explorations in Family Policy." Social Work 21(3): 181-186.

MacDonald, Robert W.
1964 "Intergenerational Family Helping Patterns." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota.

Mattessich, Paul W.
1976 "Kin Network Participation and Voluntary Organization Membership." American Sociological Association, annual meeting.

Mizio, Emelicia
1974 "Impact of External Systems on the Puerto Rican Family." Social Casework 55(2):76-83.

Moynihan, Daniel P.
1968 "Foreward" to paperback edition of Myrdal, Alva, Nation and Family. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press.

Nye, F. Ivan
1976 Role Structure and Analysis of the Family. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications.

Reiss, Ira L.
1976 Family Systems in America (2nd edition). Hinsdale, Illinois: The Dryden Press.

Ross, Heather L., and Isabel V. Sawhill
1975 Time of Transition: The Growth of Families Headed by Women. Washington, D. C.: The Urban Institute.

Schorr, Alvin L.
1962 "Family Policy in the United States." International Social Science Journal 14:452-467.

Shanas, Ethel.
1974 "Zero Population Growth and the Family Life of Old People." Journal of Social Issues 30(4):79-92.

Stromberg, Jerome S.
1967 "The Family and Its Kinship, Quasi-Kinship, and Friendship Networks: An Exploratory Study of Middle and Working Class Families." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota.

Sussman, Marvin B.
1965 "Relationships of Adult Children with Their Parents in the United States." Pps. 62-92 in Shanas, Ethel, and Gordon F. Streib (eds.), Social Structure and the Family: Generational Relations. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

1971 "Family Systems in the 1970's: Analysis, Policies, and Programs." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Volume 396, 40-56.

U. S. Bureau of the Census
1970 1970 Census Users' Guide. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office.

U. S. Bureau of the Census

1973a 1970 Census of Population, Volume I, Characteristics of the Population, Part 25, Minnesota. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office.

1973b 1970 Census of Population, Volume II, Final Report PC(2)-4B, Persons by Family Characteristics. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office.

1973c 1970 Census of Population, Volume II, Final Report PC(2)-4A, Family Composition. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office.

Wynn, Margaret

1970 Family Policy. London: Michael Joseph.

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

FOR FAMILY IMPACT ANALYSIS

BY

Paul Mattessich

Minnesota State Planning Agency
August, 1976

This annotated bibliography, developed during June and July, 1976, is intended to serve as a reference tool for family impact analysts. It includes published materials which offer a general rationale for initiating family impact analysis on the state or federal level, which identify problems arising due to the absence of an explicit family policy in the United States, which point to definitional confusion with respect to the appropriate recipient units (family, household, individual, etc.) within social service programs, or which suggest strategies for evaluating the effects of governmental activities upon families. The bibliography omits general material on evaluation and policy research, and it omits the technical literature on social impact assessment. The impact analyst will borrow models and methods from these areas, but they deserve their own, independent bibliographic exploration.

The literature review began with an examination of the International Bibliography of Research on Marriage and the Family, compiled at the Minnesota Family Study Center, and of Social Work Abstracts. Computer searches from ERIC and from NTIS also revealed some source material. From the references in initially identified sources, additional, topical works were pulled, with a consequent "tree-like" historical mapping of the domain of literature on family policy. It is reasonable to presume that the bibliography contains annotations of the major portion of literature which deals with "family impact analysis."

As with any bibliography, the annotator's orientations act as a prism to alter the original remarks of the authors. Inadequate emphasis or even incompleteness are hazards of the annotating task. However, the utmost effort has been made to provide comprehensive, accurate coverage. Annotations certainly cannot always replace the reading of original material, but these annotations were made somewhat lengthy, so that as a reference tool the bibliography could frequently relieve the impact analyst of the burden of a literature review.

The bibliography has two parts. Part I contains the actual annotations, listed alphabetically. Part II contains a list of significant ideas, suggestions, and definitions, taken from the literature. Their sources are indicated.

PART I

1. Aldous, Joan, and Reuben Hill, "Breaking the Poverty Cycle: Strategic Points for Intervention." Social Work, 1969:14(3):3-12.

Authors discuss changing needs and resources of families over the course of the life cycle and the implications of these changes for determining the most appropriate target in a program designed to destroy the intergenerational inheritence of poverty. Couples who marry young frequently face greater economic hardship than those who marry at older ages. The children of poor families, with alternatives lacking, often marry young and thus continue with the same economic stresses which their parents faced (especially the stresses associated with early childbearing plus an inadequately established occupational position). There are two family life cycle stages at which an income maintenance program would be most effective. In the family-with-adolescents stage, the discrepancy between family needs and resources is greatest. An increase in economic resources at this time would better enable families to fulfill their social placement function. Adolescents could be retained within the family and would not rush prematurely into establishing their own impoverished families. In the childbearing stage, an increase in economic resources would lower the pressure among fathers to desert their families, and it would increase the options of families to determine their own development.

2. Axinn, June, and Herman Levin, "Optimizing Social Policy for Families." The Family Coordinator, 1972:21:163-170.

Although legislators frequently state the goal of "enhancing family life," policies and programs are oriented toward individuals. Some programs have an "anti-family" bias: Survivors Insurance Program; AFDC; the Old Age Assistance Program. When government deals with the family, it deals with the nuclear family as an economic unit; the government perspective is based upon the erroneous belief that extended family relationships are unimportant in modern society. "Relative responsibility" in the Poor Laws has produced a "dual system of family law" in which poor children support poor parents while rich children have no such burden. Authors suggest that government allow freedom of individual choice in the definition of family; and that the family be viewed as a decision-making unit.

3. Bell, Carolyn Shaw, "Should Every Job Support A Family?" Public Interest, 1975:40:109-118.

Points to the confusion between earnings as a "reward to the worker" and earnings as "income to the family." Questions whether workers should be paid as individuals or as providers to households. Labor statistics on income are frequently shortsighted because they lack a definition of family and neglect analysis of family formation. Suggests that U. S. should resolve issue of the relation between earned wages and family support, and perhaps take family maintenance as a major social goal. Society must decide whether to take the welfare of the individual or the well-being of the family as the criterion for establishing goals.

4. Bell, Winifred, "Relatives' Responsibility: A Problem in Social Policy." Social Work, 1967:12:32-39.

States differ in their definitions of the responsibility of family members for each other's support; however, many laws reflect the Poor Law concept that the income of relatives is a potential resource to individuals who might seek public assistance. The result is a "dual system of family law" which spreads poverty among the impoverished while not affecting the rich. The kin of the poor, who are also usually poor, are forced to spend their resources to assist relatives. Relatives' liability laws also injure family cohesion and destroy family relationships.

5. de Bie, Pierre, and Clio Presvelou (eds.), National Family Guiding Images and Policies. Leuven, Belgium : Centre de Recherches Sociologiques, 1967.

Summary of a general discussion of family policy in international perspective. It was noted that there exists no universal definition of family policy; sometimes "family" policy is really not ever directed toward families per se, but rather toward individuals (e.g., child welfare). The distinction should be made between "normal" and "pathological" families, with policy attention paid to the former as well as the latter. Studies should be undertaken to assess the effects of government measures upon two family functions: the emotional function, whereby the primary needs of the individual are satisfied; the educational function, whereby the primary needs of the society are considered.

6. Brandwein, Ruth A., Carol A. Brown, and Elizabeth Maury Fox, "Women and Children Last: The Social Situation of Divorced Mothers and Their Families." Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1974:36(3):498-514.

Authors raise issues for policy-makers to consider in attempting to create a good social environment for single parents and their families. Over ten percent of U.S. families (in 1970) were single parent families: ninety percent of these were headed by women. Most divorced mothers suffer economic burdens due to sex discrimination and the reluctance of outside agencies and ex-husbands to aid them. Women generally cannot attain the same authority and respect as male heads of household. Taking a job tends to conflict with performance of housekeeping and child-care responsibilities; familial needs are ignored by the employment structure. The divorced mother is frequently viewed in a negative light and regarded as deviant, although she can generally rely on a network of friends and relatives for assistance.

7. Bronfenbrenner, Urie, "Statement before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth." Pps. 134-180 in American Families: Trends and Pressures, 1973. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974.

Rapid change has occurred to American family during past quarter century: more working mothers, fewer adults in family to care for children; increase in number of children affected by divorce; increase in single-parent families. Poverty is extensive in single-parent families. About 4.5 million children under six live in families who need help to sustain normal family life. Black Americans are in an especially critical situation with respect to poverty, working mothers, and single-parent families. Both children and their families have become increasingly isolated due to the erosion of the social fabric of our nation. Persons are becoming increasingly alienated, and this is directly attributable to family disorganization. The achievements of children in school are affected more by family background than any other factor. Any force or circumstance which affects the parent-child system in turn affects the development of the child. Presenter offers a suggested "American Family Act." Suggests: legislation should enhance family support systems; child care programs should be family-centered, not child-centered. No single-parent should be forced to work full-time, nor should both parents have to work full-time to support their family. Businesses should be encouraged to: set up child-care services; make working hours flexible; modify work schedules. Planners of neighborhoods, housing projects,etc. should provide for needs of children and families. Schools should involve older children in care of young. Federal, state, and local government should establish committees to

monitor the impact of all legislation upon families and children. Homemakers should be provided to give overburdened parents some free time to spend with their children. Day care should become more easily available. Training should become available for child care workers. The federal government should encourage the establishment of commissions for children and families at the neighborhood or community level. Research should focus upon the effects of specific components of programs upon child and family development. The Federal Government should adopt the employment policies suggested here as an example for other employers.

8. Bronfenbrenner, Urie, "The Origins of Alienation." Scientific American, 1974:231(2):53-61.

Profound changes are occurring in lives of American youth because family, the major context for development, is being affected in the direction of disorganization--by external forces such as those of business, of urban planning, of transportation systems. Young people are increasingly alienated--not integrated into society. Family change has occurred in terms of: more working wives; decrease in number of adults in household who care for child; greater divorce rate among families with children; more children in single-parent families; less parental contact with children; increasing segregation of generations (frequently caused by housing design). Children isolated because of: fragmentation of extended family; separation of residential and business areas; breakdown of neighborhoods; working mothers; delegation of child-care to specialists; age segregation of social life. Consequences of alienation include: pessimism toward future; violence in family; runaways; school drop-outs; drug abuse; suicide; vandalism. Two important conclusions from past three decades of research: family disorganization is the most significant antecedent of behavior disorders and social pathology; and disorganization arises not within the family but because of circumstances imposed upon the family. Several institutions are likely to have greatest impact upon welfare of youth: day care,work,school,neighborhood. Day care tends to separate children from parents, reduces parental and community feelings of responsibility for child-rearing. Head Start demonstrated that preschool programs have no lasting impact unless they affect both the children and the others in the children's normal environment. Since women presently do most child-care, goal should be to enhance status of women in all walks of life. Children today are separated from work world--this affects their development into persons who can take on responsibility. Schools are most potent breeding ground for alienation because they have become isolated from rest of society. Schools should teach "human development" courses. Neighborhood planners should pay attention to the effects of design upon the opportunities children have. Space does not give children as much freedom as does the presence of people and

things which fire the imagination. The cure for alienation lies not in the victims but in the institutions which produced it.

9. Burns, Eveline M., "The Bearing of Social Security Programs on the Family System." Chapter 5 in Burns, Eveline M., Social Security and Public Policy. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1956.

In establishing public social security programs, a major concern is the effect of such programs upon family functioning and cohesion. Modern public assistance programs have narrowed the economic responsibilities of families. Reviews three policies: relatives' responsibility; the ADC program; and children's allowances. 1) Relatives' responsibility. Most states require that adult children support needy parents; but other relatives do not share responsibility, as they did under the poor laws. Problems cited with relatives' responsibility regulations: enforcement is sometimes impossible if adult children refuse to comply; it is difficult to determine the amount of support to require; and among low-income groups (frequent assistance-recipients), relatives often have no financial assets. Some feel requirement to support parents promotes family cohesion by enforcing responsibility. Others feel it weakens cohesion by creating tensions between children and parents. 2) ADC. Some claim program encourages desertion and illigitimacy. However, from the point of view of the child's welfare, it seems most beneficial to retain the program. 3) Children's allowances. Many income-related programs grant benefits for dependent children, e.g., tax deductions. But tax deductions least aid persons in poverty--those who most need money to support their children. It may be desirable to give payments or allowances to families on the basis of the number of children which they have. This would maintain an adequate minimum living standard for the children. Problems with this include cost, opposition by organized labor, and possible misuse of funds by parents. Countries with similar programs have seen its effects more upon lowering mortality than increasing the birth rate. Thus, it doesn't seem to contravene population control.

10. Chilman, Catherine S., "Public Social Policy and Families in the 1970's." Social Casework 1973:54(10):575-585.

Public social policy should be seen as a process, not merely as a statement of principles. The well-being of society is intertwined with family well-being; and the need for the close, supporting relationships of the family is more important now than previously, due to the impersonality and complexity of modern society. The nation must shift away from its individualistic ideology which inhibits the adoption of programs to aid the family. Partial, inexpensive programs, directed toward people rather than systems, are inadequate to handle

the problems of modern society. Six major obstacles to implementing policy are: antiquated nature of government; pressures induced by selfish interest groups; the complexity of the legislative process; limitations in the formation and input of scientific knowledge; outworn cultural attitudes; and poor uses of natural resources.

11. Cohen, Nathan E., and Maurice F. Connery, "Governmental Policy and the Family." Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1967:29:6-17.

Provides a brief, historical overview of factors which have contributed to the development of current explicit and implicit United States' policies with respect to the family. Points to societal changes due to industrialization and the consequent stresses with which the traditional family resources were inadequate to cope. The influence of Social Darwinism and of an ideology of individualism delayed government intervention; when such intervention finally came, programs and policies were developed with the individual as the unit of concern rather than the family. The authors contend that the family has a unique institutional role, and they suggest a number of guidelines for thinking about policy. It is clear that the U. S. cannot simply respond to change; it must seek to influence change--it does so with respect to fiscal policy, foreign policy, agricultural policy, but it doesn't put social science to use for family policy. Data collection procedures (social indicators, etc.) will be difficult, but must be implemented. Authors suggest that in formulating policy: the unique characteristics of the family be recognized; the unintended consequences of legislation be explored; that policies be "active, comprehensive and habilitative rather than residual, reactive and rehabilitative." Suggest that the family has a remarkable resilience and a capacity to adapt; government should act to mitigate family stresses--should realize that a strong family system contributes to the preservation of basic, democratic values.

12. Education Commission of the States, The Role of the Family in Child Development. Denver Colorado: Education Commission of the States, 1975.

Commission presents a report concerning the shaping of public policy at the state level in support of families and family life. The family is the primary influence in the young child's development; it is the system which delivers to young children the educational stimulation which will influence their entire lives. At present, this society needs a coherent policy of support for all families (not just those who are poor or in difficulty). The goal of state-supported programs suggested in this report is to increase family cohesion and to increase

its independence in child-rearing. Child-rearing is a stressful experience for all parents, and some lack skills and resources to do it properly. Thus, many children suffer malnutrition, receive inadequate health care, become involved in accidents, have behavioral difficulties, or are subjected to child abuse. Four objectives are suggested for state programs concerned with young children: 1) To make it possible for parents to become more involved with their children. 2) To help parents better understand child growth and development. 3) To provide assistance to increase family stability. 4) To utilize the strengths of different cultural values and family forms. Report suggests a variety of programs: Education for Parenthood (school-related programs, programs in medical settings, programs in day care settings, home-based programs, media technology, etc.); Preparation of Adolescents for Marriage and Parenthood; Health Services; Day Care; Services to Parents and Children with Special Needs (e.g., handicapped, child abuse prevention, programs for school-age parents (under 18). Many services now provided by states are fragmented among several agencies; individual programs tend to disregard the family unit; thus, present arrangements frequently fail to deliver significant aid to children and their families. Recent experience in attempting to coordinate services suggests: the importance of public recognition of services for young children and parents as a state priority; the need for a state-level coordinating mechanism; the need for a state plan; the significance of community-level involvement for maintaining and expanding the state commitment. The cost of statewide comprehensive services if high. However, the cost of not providing services is also high. Commission recommendations: A. Recognize many family forms. (Each form has its own strengths and weaknesses.) B. Establish a common set of program objectives. C. Develop extended services in four major areas (education for parenthood, health services, day care, services for special needs). D. Develop a comprehensive approach to services for children and parents. E. Increase state initiative in developing and coordinating funding sources.

13. Frank, Lawrence K., "A National Policy for the Family." Marriage and Family Living, 1948:10(1):1-4.

A policy is a formulation of long term goals; it is something which gives direction to the tactics of immediate daily operations and decisions. A family policy is necessary to replace the traditional beliefs and values which formerly guided individuals who were taking action which affected family life. The absence of a family policy gives all interest groups the opportunity to try to impose their values on others. A national policy would recognize the pluralistic family patterns which exist and would strengthen their right to exist; but it would also prevent any one group from imposing its patterns on others. One aim of policy would be to coordinate the wide range of organizations which now deal with families--without dictating to

any organization. Policy would offer to government a formulation of how governmental activities affect family life. Taking the family seriously for policy purposes is a revolutionary step because it forces us to give meaning to vague generalizations about the family as "cornerstone of society," etc. Governmental agencies, federal, state and local, even if not directly concerned with families, frequently affect family life. Sometimes, conflicting demands upon families from agencies produce acute family conflicts.

14. Freed, Anne O., "The Family Agency and the Kinship System of the Elderly." Social Casework, 1975:56:579-586.

States that a primary casework goal is to help the elderly and their families find their own linkages with the various support systems in the community. Provided data from one agency (Family Service Association of Boston) on the kinship relations of clients, using a four category system: isolated nuclear family; dissolving family; modified extended family; extended family. The largest groups of clients were isolated individuals, with few or no friends and kin; next largest group came from dissolving families, with some relatives, but very few. Only a small number came from modified extended families, however, caseworkers could rely upon the kin of these clients to aid them. Concludes that where modified extended family exists, kin aid each other, and the agency at most only assists them in their roles. The agency takes an active role only when it is needed to substitute for kin who have died or otherwise abandoned the client.

15. Giele, Janet Zollinger, and Joan Dahr Lambert, Current Family Policy Development in the United States: A Preliminary Report (Draft) (Chapter 1). Cambridge, Massachusetts: Radcliffe Institute, 1975.

Family policy is a timely subject because: 1) Many family functions have been transferred to other organizations; 2) Private affiliative networks, frequently identifiable kin groups, have been recognized as important in modern society; 3) Age roles and sex roles have been changing. Most U. S. policy affecting families has been implicit rather than explicit, rehabilitative rather than habilitative. U. S. history has seen a steady growth of programs to help families, but marked ambivalence toward anything that can be labeled family policy. Policies which affect families include: Homestead Act; pension programs; W.P.A.; housing policies; G. I. Bill; Social Security. In international perspectives, development of family policy seems frequently to have occurred after recognition of a demographic crisis, e.g., low birth rates, labor force shortages, lengthening life span, age structure of a population. Authors suggest two most salient

issues for social policy: the socialization of children; the provision of income support to the unemployed family member or to the inadequately supported family unit. Costs of aiding in child socialization are far less than costs of rehabilitating adults. In authors' view, "policy seeks to implement desired objectives by changing the institutional fabric of society." To the present, family policy has remained implicit because the emphasis of policy has been upon changing individuals or very specific types of families, but not upon changing the broader institutional structure.

16. Glazer, Nathan, "Housing Policy and the Family." Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1967:29(1):140-163.

Housing policy includes local, state, and federal policies; includes direct policies intended to control housing and indirect policies such as taxation; and it includes some absent actions; also includes policies directed toward neighborhoods. Issue of effect of housing policy upon family is extremely complex. Correlation, but not cause, has been shown with respect to poor housing conditions and poor family conditions. It is difficult to prove that density is a causal factor. Problems also exist because of the variety of policy consequences and their interpretations (e.g., policies which promote housing independence may break up families). The overwhelming preference of the American family is for a single-family home; American housing policy is directed toward facilitating the acquisition of such homes. Housing policy makes difficult other forms of family life, such as the extended family--a reasons why many ethnic groups prefer the denser city to the spread-out suburbs. Critics have charged that American housing policy favors the better-off, destroys urbanism (breaks down density, heterogeneity), and does not create a valid form of community expansion and community building. Author concludes that American housing policy has improved the living conditions of most families. But little has been done for the poor, who need income maintenance or housing subsidies.

17. Harris, Robert, "Policy Analysis and Policy Development." Social Service Review, 1973:47(3):360-372.

"Policy analysis" is considered to consist of "research that defines a social problem, weighs alternative solutions and their implications, and makes implementable recommendations." Suggests that much policy change occurs only with fanfare and advance notice, but that much also occurs due to the normal, day-to-day activities of government. The following generalizations are offered: a) the analyst must be an advocate, but must remain objective; b) the analyst has difficulty

making his work directly relevant to policy-makers; c) operating agencies themselves generally fail to consider all program alternatives; d) the place for the "grand-policy analyst" is a high level organization rather than in an agency which is implementing programs; e) political feasibility is a poor criterion for choice of policy-analysis projects; f) it may be necessary to do much policy analysis outside of government; g) analysts must stick with a problem for a long period of time.

18. Irving, Howard H., "Relationships Between Married Couples and Their Parents." Social Casework, 1971:52(2):91-96.

Suggests that the focus of family treatment change from the nuclear family to the "relevant family." Despite evidence that the nuclear family is not isolated from its kin, most social workers consider it isolated and tend to overlook relationships with parents in in-laws. The term, family, should become a variable, changing with each new clinical situation to include the full range of relatives with whom a client interacts. Social workers should utilize parents as resources.

19. Kahn, Alfred J., and Sheila B. Kamerman, Not for the Poor Alone (Chapter 9). Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1975.

Questions whether government should limit its intervention to responses to problems, or should act for enhancement and prevention. Cites trends in U. S.: a rise in dependency ratio; an increase in the number of working mothers; an increase in the number of young adults who maintain household apart from relatives. But strongest, central trend is the decline in large households and the shift of family tasks to other institutions, with the limited abilities of some families to cope with this. Family may need strengthening in its new tasks of nurturance, socialization, emotional satisfaction. Investment is needed in "public social utilities," basic services for average people in response to daily needs.

20. Kamerman, Sheila B., and Alfred J. Kahn, "Explorations in Family Policy." Social Work, 1976:21(3):181-186.

Draws some preliminary, rough categories for thinking about "family policy" (which, in its broadest sense, refers to anything which

government does to or for the family): a) Situations in which government undertakes specific programs and policies regarding family goals; b) Situations in which, although no overall goals exist, programs or policies nevertheless do things to and for the family; c) The secondary consequences for families of governmental actions and policies not specifically addressed to the family. Actions such as day care, child welfare, family planning, etc. can be considered "explicit" family policies; actions such as road building, immigration laws, etc. can be considered "implicit." Policy analysis should differentiate the family unit from roles within the family, since policies may affect family members in different degrees. Authors suggest that implementing family policy will prove difficult because it runs counter to national ideologies of individualism, democracy, and family-government separation.

21. Keller, Ed, "The Child and Family Services Act: Quo Vadis?" The National Elementary Principal, 1976:55(5):82.

Reports on the problems of passing the Child and Family Services Act. Act has been subject of vehement, anonymous attacks, including charges that government would take over all responsibility for education, for nutritional interests, and for psychological interests of children (thus removing the rights of parents in these areas). NAESP (National Association of Elementary School Principals) officially refuted these charges, showing them completely erroneous. Despite support of Act by large number of national organizations, it probably won't pass because its costs are too high.

22. Lerman, Robert I., "The Family, Poverty, and Welfare Programs: An Introductory Essay on Problems of Analysis and Policy." Pps. 1-36 in U. S. Congress (Joint Economic Committee), The Family Poverty and Welfare Programs: Factors Influencing Family Instability, Paper 12, Part I. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1973.

The treatment of different family types in income transfer programs is problematic. To prevent inequities, government policies must recognize differences among family types. "Confusion is rampant because of the large number of different rules about family units. And the rules of some programs are obviously unfair to many families." The family unit problem arises because people share incomes--thus, individual income does not represent their living standard. The AFDC family unit rule discourages marriage and encourages separation. All unit rules (the individual, the family, the household) have advantages and disadvantages. Author suggests the following steps in making family unit rules. First, recognize the impossibility of removing every bad

incentive or equity feature. Second, avoid the worst distortions of family and household behavior (e.g., for AFDC, don't exclude families with two parents, just give them fewer benefits). Third, take account of actual family and household patterns. This will help in determining program effects from a particular unit definition. Fourth, consider how to adjust benefits by family size. Finally, rules about recipient units are under legal attack. The courts have ruled that the exclusion of households of unrelated individuals from the Food Stamp program violates the right to freedom of association.

23. Mead, Margaret, "Statement before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth." Pps. 121-133 in American Families: Trends and Pressures, 1973. Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974.

Our contemporary family system is in disarray. There are increasing numbers of broken families, fathers who can't support children, children without someone to care for them, teenage runaways, elderly people who lack needed services, etc. While we are willing to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars on persons after they commit criminal acts, we won't spend even a few hundred dollars preventatively, to enhance the family life of individuals before they commit such acts. There is no agency of government which looks at family life as a whole. We need some kind of family well being impact statement. This statement would determine consequences of such things as: urban renewal which breaks up communities, freeways which cut communities in half, tax laws unfair to young families and working mothers, cumbersome bureaucratic procedures which entangle the elderly. We could determine how legislation affects desire to marry, ability to find a home, ability to care for children, the nutrition of children, the quality of life in a neighborhood, etc.

24. Meld, Murray B., "The Politics of Evaluation of Social Programs." Social Work, 1974:19(4):448-455.

Provides a perspective on the extent to which decisions by legislators concerning social policies and programs are influenced by social research vs. political considerations. Shows that the fates of the War on Poverty, Medicare, and the Family Assistance Plan were determined by politics, with little or no input from policy analysts and program evaluators. Concludes that: Program evaluation has little to do with initiating, implementing, and modifying social programs. Small scale studies usually don't influence the legislative process, but they are frequently exploited by politicians. The usefulness of

social research depends largely on "a socio-political climate conducive to honest inquiry." Social accounting must assume a public value on a par with fiscal accounting.

25. Mizio, Emelicia, "Impact of External Systems on the Puerto Rican Family." Social Casework, 1974:55(2):76-83.

The Puerto Rican family system emphasizes the extended family. High value is placed upon intimate kin relations; there are important mutual kin obligations; and networks of ritual kinship are also strong. The American sociolegal system jeopardizes this system because it addresses itself to the nuclear family. For example: no tax deductions exist for "compadres" or for common-law spouses; social security and health insurance coverage are not defined with reference to the Puerto Rican concept of family. The Puerto Rican family should be helped to utilize its own strengths; at this point, official policies as well as service agencies ignore those strengths.

26. Moynihan, Daniel Patrick, "A Family Policy for the Nation." America, (September 18, 1965):280-283.

States that a national family policy "need only declare that it is the policy of the American government to promote the stability and well-being of the American family; that the social programs of the Federal government will be formulated and administered with this object in mind; and finally that the President, or some person designated by him . . . will report to the Congress on the condition of the American family in all its many facets." Current policies are oriented toward individuals, with statistical indicators gathered which do not distinguish among family types. The AFDC program is a family allowance program for broken families. Taxation is an area where a family policy is needed, because taxes frequently bear most heavily upon poor families. A national policy is crucially needed since the stability and quality of family life significantly determine the achievements of later generations.

27. Moynihan, Daniel P., "Foreward" to Paperback Edition of Myrdal, Alva, Nation and Family. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T.Press, 1968.

States that theme of Nation and Family is that: "In the nature of modern society no government, however firm might be its wish, can

avoid having policies that profoundly influence family relationships . . . The only option is whether these will be purposeful, intended policies, or whether they will be residual, derivative, in a sense concealed ones." Myrdal develops two propositions. First, a family policy is nothing less than a social policy at large. Family policy is not a program, but an objective of social programs. Second, constructive social engineering requires knowledge of values as well as facts. Facts are to be seen in the light of values; values cannot merely be assumed--they are to be discovered and analyzed just as are "facts." The Myrdals felt any family policy must ensure "all the freedom for the individual that is compatible with social orderliness." The message of Alva Myrdal in the early forties was that: "A nation without a conscious family policy leaves to chance and mischance an area of social reality of the utmost importance, which in consequence will be exposed to the untrammeled and frequently thoroughly undesirable impact of policies arising in other areas." Modern industrial states have comprehensive policies for employment, education, health, housing, transportation, agriculture, but rarely for the family. Values in contemporary American society have inhibited family policy; same persons feel government shouldn't tamper with families; some identify profamilial attitudes with political conservatism. The problem which may push the United States toward a family policy is that of the decline of social control among the poor, as manifested by rising violence and greater family instability. Challenge is not just to provide adequate income, but to provide individuals with a place in society, with stable expectations about themselves and others, and with the power to love and to control impulses toward hatred. American tradition of individualism puts responsibility for failure upon individuals. But humanitarianism suggests that lower classes not be stigmatized. Riots in cities have drawn attention to effects of family instability.

28. O'Toole, James, "Statement before the U. S. Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth." Pps. 98-109 in American Families: Trends and Pressures, 1973. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1974.

In most federal programs, work is equated with paid employment. The denigration of unpaid work may have contributed to the unwillingness of many parents to perform their most important task for society: bringing up their children. Work should be considered "any activity that produces something of value for other people." Work offers the individual self-sufficiency, status, identity, self-esteem, and a sense of order and meaning. Absence of work, or of rewarding work, produces: chronic disorganization in lives of parents and children; poorer school grades; diminished sexual activity; deterioration of physical and mental health; less family stability; higher rates of illegitimacy; and less willingness to enter marriage. In short,

unemployment and underemployment are primary causes of continued marital instability among the poor. At present, work and family are considered separate spheres. Lives are thus segmented; the generations are segregated; children rarely see their fathers during their crucial formative years. Major policy suggestion is to make work available to those who want it.

29. Ozawa, Martha N., "Family Allowances for the United States: An Analysis and a Proposal." Social Work, 1971:16:4:72-84.

Family allowances are usually initiated for social, economic, or political reasons. Many economists contend that such allowances help stabilize the economy, assure employment in an unplanned economy, and keep up the level of consumption. Socially, allowances equalize the burden of child-rearing. Politically, they can aid in constructing a positive population program. Some issues which arise concern: the level of allowance; tying the amount per family to family characteristics; whether allowance is wage-related; the existence of a means test; the method of financing. Canada provides allowances for all children under age 16, although the computation of income tax will reduce allowance to nothing for persons above a certain income level. Author suggests a U. S. allowance of $50.00 per child per month, with no means test. Allowance would be taxable. Financing would come from a progressive income tax.

30. Rodgers, Barbara N., "Family Policy in France." Journal of Social Policy, 1975:4:113-128.

Definition of family for policy purposes varies (e.g., in India, extended family; in West, nuclear family). France has explicit definition: Family is defined in law by the presence of children of French nationality. Laws set out rights and duties of parents and children in the nuclear family. Some benefits of French policy for families are: basic family allowances; prenatal allowances; maternity grants; "congés de naissance" (holidays with pay for fathers around time of birth); single parent allowance; day care allowance for some working mothers; increasing support for family holidays; loans for young married people; and more. Cites needs for Britain: Reorganize personal social services for families with special problems, but in addition, develop all social services, voluntary and statuatory, in way to encourage more self-help and mutual aid among families who are normal.

31. Roemer, Milton I., "Governmental Health Programs Affecting the American Family." Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1967:29(1):40-63.

All governmental health programs affect the family directly or indirectly. The overall role of government in the health services has been to promote their social organization. This role is of four sorts: direct, systematic provision of certain technical services; financial support for certain health services or related functions through the use of tax funds; setting and enforcing of qualitative standards on the delivery of health services; planning, coordinating, or technical consulting on health services offered or to be offered to people. Some programs affect all families, such as mass-oriented preventive services (e.g., water sanitation), construction of health facilities, licensure of personnel and facilities, and actions which promote professional education and medical research. Some programs affect only certain types of families, such as medical care for the poor, maternal and child health programs, care for veterans and military dependents, and care for other special families (e.g., Indians, migrant workers, merchant seamen, federal civilian employees). Some programs directly affect families with certain diseases, such as governmental units for mental hygiene, programs for tuberculosis and veneral disease, programs for the handicapped and for the industrially injured. Some programs are based upon a type of medical service, rather than a particular class of person or illness, e.g., general hospitals, hospitals for chronic illness, dental care in government clinics, laboratories, and home nursing services. Government and non-governmental organizations have jointly promoted health insurance with its consequent protection of American families. Trends in family life have influenced patterns of health care. These include: smaller families, more working mothers, higher divorce rates, and greater permissiveness in child-rearing. Problems which confront the government include the provision of health services to the poor, who generally receive less medical care than the affluent, in spite of governmental measures and in spite of their greater burden of illness.

32. Ross, Heather L., and Isabell V. Sawhill, Time of Transition: The Growth of Families Headed by Women. (Chapter 7) Washington, D. C.: The Urban Institute, 1975.

Single parenthood, for most women, is a "time of transition" between living in one nuclear family and another. The increase in female-headed housholds deserves our consideration; its causes include rising divorce rates, rising teenage illegitimacy, and a greater tendency for women to set up independent households rather than to live with relatives. Two important predictors of marital instability are employment problems for the husband and availability of alternative means of support for the wife. Welfare does have an impact on family structure

not because it affects separation but because it inhibits remarriage. Analysis suggests that additional transfer income to low-income, husband-wife families would add to their stability. There is a need to build careful links between the policy envirionment and the costs and benefits of different family behaviors. The most pressing challenge which female-headed families present to policy is the problem of inadequate income: Female-headed families are very frequently poor and are currently a majority of poor families with children. Major need is to develop employment opportunities for women. Also needed are policies to promote both private transfer payments (alimony, child support) and public transfers (income maintenance programs). Income maintenance programs should not discriminate against husband-wife families. An overhaul in the welfare system to extend benefits to all low-income families would likely result in a shift of family structure back toward husband-wife family units. Family policies should remain neutral, not promoting one family pattern over another. Neutrality is difficult to achieve, but desirable.

33. Schorr, Alvin L., "Family Policy in the United States." International Social Science Journal, 1962:14:452-467.

Defines "family policy" as "consensus on a core of family goals, towards the realization of which the nation deliberately shapes programs and policies." Cites three traditions which have influenced development of family policy in U. S.: individualism; private enterprise; diversity within political system. Diversity is a two-fold problem: groups differ in their definitions of the family and in feelings on family goals; and there is a wide variety of families whom policies serve or affect. Family policy development is now becoming crucial, due to the two "root" functions of the family which have become more significant: socialization of children and satisfaction of personality needs of adults.

34. Schottland, Charles I., "Government Economic Programs and Family Life." Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1967:29(1):71-123.

Absence of a governmental family policy is clearly evident in the increasing number of economic programs with intended and unintended consequences upon families. U. S. economic programs have centered almost exclusively around individuals (e.g., programs for employment and for unemployment insurance). United Nations has stressed that family well-being is a major concern of every national government. Income for a family means both ability to secure goods and services and security: economic, social, emotional. Original reluctance to provide social insurance for unemployed was produced by American

value system stressing individualism, but now, nation realizes the bad effects of unemployment upon: family relationships, individual self-esteem, attitudes toward society, community participation. Movement of women into labor force has greatly affected family life--movement was caused by fundamental changes in this society's economic organization. Employment emancipates women from husbands' domination, equalizes resources of husband and wife. Families face such economic threats as natural disasters, low wages, inflation, absence of wage earner, sickness, etc. Government policies to mitigate bad effects include: unemployment insurance; social security programs (old age, survivors, disability, and health insurance); public assistance; workman's compensation; retirement programs; voluntary pensions; miscellaneous programs. Increasingly, OASDHI has become family-oriented, protecting family members as well as insured, because of value placed upon maintaining family stability. Social insurance benefits have resulted in reducing number of households that include relatives since relatives are enabled to pay their own way. Insurance and public assistance have acted to increase the options available to families and to the aged.

35. Shanas, Ethel, "Zero Population Growth and the Family Life of Old People." Journal of Social Issues, 1974:30(4):79-92.

Presents a brief demographic perspective upon the aged in the United States. In 1970, there were 20 million Americans aged 65 and over--a figure equal to the total population of the 21 smallest states. Women outnumber men; and there are four times as many widows as widowers. Older persons are generally a low income group. "Family" for old persons is not the same as "household." Most old people do live in families, contrary to popular belief. Old people prefer to live close to their families (children, other relatives), but not with them. The family provides the major social and psychological support of the elderly. But, with a declining birth rate, government will be forced to provide many more services to the elderly, to meet their needs for housing, recreation, health care, and income maintenance. Zero population growth will inevitably lead to a welfare society for the elderly.

36. Staples, Robert, "Public Policy and the Changing Status of Black Families." The Family Coordinator, 1973:22(3):345-351.

Cites two government programs with negative effects upon black families: AFDC, which promotes the absence of fathers; the Family Assistance Plan, which has the intention of forcing black welfare mothers to work. Notes that the socio-economic status of blacks

changed little during the 1960's. Marital and family patterns will continue their trend toward the "attenuated nuclear family." For demographic reasons, many black families will remain female headed, and author suggests the following policies: decisive government action to eliminate sex discrimination; a guaranteed income of $6,000 to each family with at least one parent and three children; community controlled, 24-hour day care centers; a national, comprehensive program of child development; subsidized adoption to support families who want children but cannot afford them; safe, free contraceptives and abortion; and a system which includes major policy inputs from the black community itself.

37. Sussman, Marvin B., "Family Systems in the 1970's: Analysis, Policies, and Programs." The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Volume 396, July, 1971:40-56.

American society consists of a pluralism of family forms; few individuals experience only one type of family structure, although most have some experience with the traditional nuclear family. The expectations, capabilities, needs, problems, and interests of persons in various family forms will be different; no single policy, act, or program will uniformly affect all family structures. The nuclear family is frequently treated as the most important family unit in American society; many laws label the nuclear family as the unit which has corporate responsibility for its members. However, research has well established the existence of well-functioning kinship networks in both rural and urban settings: kin build relationships of exchange and reciprocity, with mutual visitng, financial assistance, advice-giving, and child-care services as frequent activities. The main tasks of families are: developing capacities to socialize children; coping with demands of organizations; utilizing organizations; providing an environment for the development of identities and affectional response; creating satisfactions and a mentally healthy environment for family well-being. The nulcear family and the kinship network play significant roles as mediators between the individual and the bureaucratic environment; however, members of bureaucratic organizations often push individuals into subordinate relationships. Members of each family type have needs, problems, and capabilities--some unique, some shared with other family types. The U. S. must build policies around people in families, rather than attempt to fit everyone into a universal mold. Author repeated a White House Conference recommendation for a national institute for the family, with the contention that the present system of delivering human services fragments the family. Concludes that all recommendations for improving the quality of family life are fruitless without a guaranteed income for all families.

38. Sussman, Marvin B., "What Every School Principal Should Know About Families: An Immodest Proposal." The National Elementary Principal, 1976:55(5):32-41.

Distinguishes between "legal family," recognized by state, and the "everyday family," a network of selected kin and quasi-kin. Suggests that current governmental, institutional, and agency policies are based upon a sterotypical, "traditional" nuclear family model; they ignore family networks and variant family forms. Human service systems find it easier to assume a uniform family system than to offer a varied structure of programs. Sussman's estimates: (sources not provided) 59% of families are nuclear; 11% are childless; 11% consist of one previously married partner; 12% are single-parent families, predominantly among the poor; 19% of all households are single people; 6% of population live in communes. Conditions which produce variant forms include: institutions which support nuclear family have lost their formal control; Western countries are in the throes of social revolution; and certain social conditions have changed (women pulled into labor force, changing attitudes toward divorce, etc.). Basic family values have changed: divorce and remarriage more acceptable; open discussion of sexuality; equality between spouses; etc. Human service systems organized as economic entities--not always with benefits to clients in mind. Author suggests: need for decentralized, family centered programming; ongoing needs assessment for educational needs of different family structures; development of a crisis intervention service agency for families; involvement of family members in policy-formulation; removal of legislation which discriminates against variant family forms. Finally: conjugal nuclear family is predominant form; efforts should be made to strengthen it.

39. Veevers, J. E., "Voluntary Childlessness and Social Policy: An Alternative View." The Family Coordinator, 1974:23(4):397-406.

Suggests several changes in social policy: a) Explicit attempts should be made to legitimize childlessness as a respectable alternative marriage form. These attempts might include a tax bonus for childless couples. b) The helping professions should not actively advocate parenthood. c) Fertility control (contraception, abortion, sterilization) should become the right of the individual.

40. Vincent, Clark E., "Mental Health and the Family." Journal of Marriage and the Family, 1967:29(1):18-39.

Federal legislation and funding shows, at best, only indirect interest in families. Practice of returning the mentally disturbed to their families as soon as possible goes on despite fact that the presence of such individuals may upset family harmony. Social workers and policy-makers have ignored the existence of extended family relationships, although evidence abounds for role of kin during times of stress. Suggests that, prior to legislation, someone determine how policies will affect families. Such analysis would consider both families and their component subsystems. Warns that the family is remarkably adaptive, but the need remains to enhance its social environment.

41. Walz, Thomas H., "The Family, The Family Agency, and Post-Industrial Society." Social Casework, 1975:56(1):13-20.

Author draws conclusions with respect to implications of societal changes for the family service agency. Sees basic societal changes: family's shift from producer to consumer; family now primarily a psychological unit; family expectations go beyond survival to securing the "good life;" major shifts in age distribution of population; increasing number of organizations. Feels family must adapt. Family adaptations are emerging, such as: greater number of child-free couples; more "segmented families," where primary relationships are carried out exclusively within particular developmental stages; more "institutional parenting;" more dual-career families; more public and private enterprises involved in designing family living environments. Voluntary family agencies should work toward determining the family patterns best suited to post-industrial society. Several agency models are: the family consultation and research center (where experimental services are provided and evaluated); the family self-help or cooperative center (which acts to complement or aid the family, rather than direct it, in task performance); the family advocacy center (which would lobby before government, churches, businesses on behalf of families). A fourth model, the family agency as a comprehensive service-giving agency, would be possible if the public sector chose to deliver basic, universal services through purchase-of-service arrangements.

42. White House Conference on Children 1970, "Changing Families in a Changing Society." (Report of Forum 14) Pps. 226-238 in Report to the President, White House Conference on Children 1970. Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

The United States is a pluralistic society, and we should foster acceptance of pluralism. Most policy-makers hold a narrow and static concept of family: the nuclear household of husband (breadwinner), wife (homemaker), and their children. Due to variety of forms, a uniform policy and human service program is impossible; we need varied policies and programs, responsive to all family structures. Most prevalent family forms are: nuclear; dyadic nuclear; dual-work; single-parent; three generation; second-career; institutional. Emerging forms: commune (monogamous); commune (group marriage); unmarried parent and child; unmarried couple and child; homosexual couple and child. Policies should be built around people; families shouldn't be forced into molds. Interventions of any kind are accepted when individuals voluntarily choose them; forceful interventions are usually rejected. Present human service systems fragment and undermine the family. Recommendations: Establish a National Institute for the Family. Give research and training priorities by the Institute (and other agencies) for: measurement of health, social competence, and nutritional status of families; studies of incidence of variant family forms; studies of reducing prejudice toward variant forms; studies of linkages of families with non-bureaucratic organizations; competences needed by children to cope with change; establishment of nationwide family life education program. Establish state level institutes on the family. Support legislation which assures families of an income to meet basic needs.

43. Winston, Ellen, "A National Policy on the Family." Public Welfare, 1969:27:54-58.

Cites the absence of a clearly enunciated, basic philosophy with respect to the family in the United States. Consequently, positive approaches to the family have been left to voluntary organizations and agencies. The government has only provided remedial service--generally with an individual approach rather than a family approach. Suggests we must recognize the relationship between family stability and the stability of the nation.

44. Wynn, Margaret, Family Policy. London: Michael Joseph, 1970.

Chapter 1: "Family Responsibilities." Societies will increasingly focus upon children if only for the utilitarian reason that they are such a crucial resource upon which societal progress depends. The family environment is the major influence in determining the quality of the next generation; social investment in education is frustrated if children have a poor family environment. Responsibility for childrearing is unevenly spread over the population--at any one time, most adults have no parental responsibilities; most income goes to adults with no children to support; most of nation's wealth flows to non-parents. Needs of families must be understood if we are to make best use of resources; social policies initiated with knowledge of needs make best use of resources. Chapter 2: "The Assessment of Family Need." Needs assessment is difficult, but crucial. Some sort of "need scales" are required if policies are to avoid injustice. Setting standards is difficult due to different conceptual levels of adequacy. Different standards for determining families needs have emerged: "modest, but adequate" income level in the U. S.; "poverty level" in U. S. and U. K.; the "minimum social" in France. Minimum subsistence levels in a country are ususally a compromise between what the government can afford and its wish to spare those in poverty. Minimum subsistence incomes can be tested against levels necessary for adequate nutrition (e.g., poverty level in U. S., critical level of expenditure). Many factors will influence the needs of any particular family: size, time of year; sex of children; region of country; etc. Chapter 3: "The Comparative Needs of Children, Young Persons, and Adults." Child maintenance costs increase steadily from early childhood to age 14. During late teenage, costs reach a peak, exceeding the cost of maintaining a grown adult. Average physiological needs also peak in late teens and then decline. Various events over course of individual life cycle produce heightened needs and greater financial expenditures: entering school; pregnancy; taking employment; etc. Chapter 6: "The Life Cycle of Family Needs." Person's standard of living is inseparable from that of the family to which he or she belongs. Family income and family responsibilities rarely keep in step (e.g., income of career people highest later in life, when children are raised, lowest during childbearing years);many women don't contribute to family income until family responsiblities subside. Family life cycle tends to have initial period of relative prosperity and financial accumulation; then, drop in living standard when children arrive. Maximum economic stress occurs when children are adolescents, frequently adding to parent-child tensions. Second period of family prosperity occurs when eldest child leaves school. (Sometimes, teenagers marry early to escape family situation, but this has disadvantages.) France and Belgium have tax concessions and family allowances to aid families through the trough of the family life cycle. Chapter 11: "The Boundaries of Family Policy." Family policy is always bounded by traditions and the extent of public support; support for family policies may grow because they are forward-looking,

long-term policies necessary for planning in today's complex societies. Family policy concerns the ground rules of a society with respect to the family; it concerns the way laws affect the ability of families to meet needs, the way laws protect families from consequences of events such as unemployment. Little legislation does not in the same way influence the family environment. The U. S. has become more aware of need for family policy. Family policy must be concerned with all social arrangements which affect families: for example, housing, employment of mothers, adaptation of working hours of mothers to school hours of children. Chapter 12: "Conclusions on Family Policy." The absence of family policy allows the production of policies biased against the family. Family policy influences economic forces toward what benefits families. Social security systems, at present, most benefit non-parents; parents with dependent children pay increasing amounts to support these programs, much in excess of what they receive while they are parents. Families with dependent children have lower living standard than other families; families pay more in taxation than the value of services they receive. Cost of childrearing is rising rapidly in Western countries. One purpose of family policy should be to ensure that parents are not too burdened by inadequate resources, bad housing, ill-health and can cooperate with schools. All children's allowances should increase with age at rate of increase in child maintenance costs. Special allowances should go to families with adolescents between 14 and 21. Allowances for families should take winter needs into account. A scale for estimating approximately the standard of living of any family is required. All means tests for school meals, clothing, school maintenance allowances, and scholarships for colleges should be eliminated. Family allowances are the only satisfactory means for supplementing the incomes of poor families with dependent children. Housing for families with dependent children should be subsidized at expense of households or individuals without dependent children.

45. Zigler, Edward, "Statement before the U. S. Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth." Pps. 66-97 in American Families: Trends and Pressures, 1973. Washington, D.C. : U. S. Government Printing Office, 1974.

The nation's perspective toward family policy seems to be one of apathy; its attitude toward problems in the family institution is one of benign neglect. The family is one institution among many, but it is unique since it lies at the intersection of the other institutions and is therefore constantly influenced by government, industries, schools, and the media. Sometimes, families recognize exactly the pressures which they feel; other times, they simply experience a sense of malaise. Many factors make contemporary family life more difficult than it used to be: decline of extended family; increase of working mothers; increased geographic mobility;

isolation of American families from one another--all these factors remove traditional family supports. We now need a close examination of American families as they exist in their major current forms and a course of action directed toward enhancing their viability. The U. S. has a family policy by default; it needs a coherent policy. National family policy would involve: 1) identifying the major problems which interfere with sound family functioning and determining available solutions, assessing the cost effectiveness of various solutions, and assigning priorities to specific policies; 2) continuous analyses of other governmental policies for their impact on family life, so that any cost-benefit analysis of these policies would include in its equations the factor of whether it helps or hurts families; and, 3) use of the powers of the Federal Government to persuade other institutions to adopt policies beneficial for families. The Office of Child Development might become the Office of Child and Family Development. A major problem which family impact analysts will face is the lack of consensus on family values. Due to economic and political realities, some recommendations for enhancing family life will not be accepted in the near future (e.g., guaranteed annual income). Government must come to grips with problem of day care for working mothers; it also should confront problems in areas of foster care, home emergency services, child abuse.

THE WRITING OF STATE LEVEL FAMILY IMPACT STATEMENTS: A PRELIMINARY REPORT

BY

Paul Mattessich

MINNESOTA STATE PLANNING AGENCY
NOVEMBER, 1976

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. INTRODUCTION 1

A. Purpose of Family Impact Analysis 1
B. Definitions 2
C. The Distinction Between "Impact" and Evaluation of Impact 3

II. THE COMPLEXITY OF CONCEPTUALIZING IMPACTS OF POLICIES UPON THE FAMILY 5

A. A Basic Analogy 5
B. A Formal Model 6

III. SUGGESTED STEPS FOR PREPARING FAMILY IMPACT STATEMENTS 12

A. Identifying Policy Components With Potential Impacts . . 12
B. Specification of Probable Impacts 13
C. Determination of the Extensiveness of Impacts 14
D. Evaluation of the Advantages and Disadvantages of the Probable Impacts 15
E. Comparison of Alternative Policies 17
F. Final Recommendation 18

IV. CONCLUSION 18

SUMMARY

This report was prepared for policy makers who are involved in the formulation of legislation, programs or administrative rules and procedures that may impact the quality of family life. It contains a conceptual framework for what is sometimes referred to as family impact analysis.

Section I emphasizes the need for a more systematic way of monitoring trends in the quality of family life and provides some basic definitions. A distinction is made between measuring the changes on families that result from policy implementation and evaluating whether those changes promote the physical, social, and psychological well-being of the family.

Section II suggests that family impact analysis involves a process of forecasting how government policies and programs will interact with current social trends to effect changes in family life. The task of the family impact analyst is to determine the effects which are the unique result of public policy and distinguish them from the effect of other factors in the social environment.

Section III outlines the six steps for preparing family impact statements. They include: (1) identifying policies which may have an impact on families, (2) specifying the probable impacts of each policy on various types of families, (3) determining the extensiveness of those impacts, (4) evaluating the probable intended and unintended effects with respect to their contribution to the quality of family life, (5) comparing alternative policies with one another, or with the absence of any policy, in light of the advantages and disadvantages of their probable impacts, and (6) selecting the most palatable policy alternative.

This report acknowledges the fact that family impact analysis is in its developmental stages. The framework suggested here is one that will be refined as experience is acquired through specific applications.

than family, basis. It is for these reasons that the State of Minnesota has begun the effort to identify which units, other than individuals, might be the most efficient recipient units in social service programs.

In short, the family is buffeted from all sides, both by governmental activity and by general changes within the society. Efforts to relieve the strains of such buffeting have been incoherent at best, non-existent at worst. Family impact analysis has as an ultimate goal the provision of a benign social environment for family relationships. In approaching that goal, impact analysts will seek to eliminate policies which are ineffective in their intended effects upon families and to eliminate or modify policies which "backfire", so to speak, with unintended, negative family impacts.

A fuller description of the need for family impact analysis and for some sort of family policy in the United States appears in an earlier report by the Minnesota State Planning Agency, "An Annotated Bibliography for Family Impact Analysis." Interested readers might also consult the works of Kamerman and Kahn (1976), Cohen Connery (1967), and Wynn (1970) as well as the hearings of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth (1974).

B. Definitions

1. A <u>family</u> is a set of persons related to each other by blood, marriage, or adoption. There is a wide range of structures which are called "families". The means for classifying families into types are discussed in a previous report by Minnesota State Planning Agency, "Taxonomies for Family Impact Analysis."

2. Family impact is the set of effects which occurs to some or all families as the result of a governmental action (e.g., a piece of legislation, a program, an administrative decision) and which will not occur if that action is not taken. Impacts differ along at least three dimensions: direct vs. indirect; long term vs. short term; intended vs. unintended.

3. Family impact analysis is the procedure by which governmental activities are assessed with regard to their consequences (i.e., impacts) for families.[1] While the primary output of such analysis (i.e., a "family impact statement") is prospective, the analysis itself will build upon theoretical propositions developed from past social and behavioral research.

4. A family impact statement is a report prepared by an organization or individual(s) to assess the potential effects of a proposed policy or other governmental activity upon all families or upon certain categories of families. A tenative, step-by-step procedure for preparing such a statement is offered in this report.[2]

C. The Distinction Between "Impact" and Evaluation of Impact.

At the root of family impact analysis lies the basic reasoning that the quality of family life ought to be enhanced, or at least protected. While some individuals might consider this a merely arbitrary value choice, others will contend that it is a pragmatic societal strategy since families, as organizations, are principal units within which the socialization of children occurs, the

emotional needs of adults are satisfied, and the goods and services of the society are distributed.

However, the factors which motivate individuals to examine the effects of public policy upon the family do not affect the process of impact analysis itself. Family impact analysis refers to a set of methods for describing and understanding the consequences of governmental activities for families. It does not include a set of ethical quidelines for determining the "goodness" or "badness" of those consequences.

While the values of impact analysts will potentially influence their choice of questions or choice of units to label as "families", such influences can be minimized, just as they are in any scientific endeavor.

The procedure for drawing up impact statements suggested in this report attempts to separate the formal determination of cause-and-effect relationships (i.e., of independent policy variables upon dependent family variables) from the evaluation of whether or not a policy change which has an effect upon families ought to occur. Steps A, B and C suggested for the preparation of family impact statements are those directed toward the "value-free" identification of probable impacts of policy variables upon family variables. Steps D, E, and F are concerned with the evaluation of the desirability of those probable impacts.

It is crucially important that the distinction between the identification of impacts and the evaluation of impacts be made explicit and that it remain explicit throughout the process of family impact analysis.

II. THE COMPLEXITY OF CONCEPTUALIZING IMPACTS OF POLICIES UPON THE FAMILY.

A. A Basic Analogy

The impact analyst will approach his or her task much as the doctor approaches a patient. The doctor, when performing a physical examination, runs through a checklist of items which ensures an overall perspective upon the patient's physical condition. Additional, specialized tests are then performed either if the patient falls into a particular category (e.g., within a certain age group) or if the initial exam results indicate a potential problem in the functioning of some part of the patient's body.

The impact analyst will similarly approach a proposed policy or program with a mental checklist of items (or perhaps a more formal sort of checklist) and will "diagnose" the proposal in terms of its potential family impacts. Where an impact is suspected, the analyst will conduct "additional tests" to learn about that impact in detail. These "tests" might include: communication with other persons knowledgeable about families; consultation of research literature or historical material to discover the impacts of similar policies enacted elsewhere; and whatever other procedures the analyst considers necessary for making accurate predictions about the effect of a proposed policy or program.

Discerning the independent effects of policies upon families, however, is not a process without complexity. Just as several different factors might produce identical changes in an individual human's bodily condition, a variety of social factors, in addition

to public policy, might produce identical (or nearly identical) changes with respect to families. Since public policies coexist with other aspects of the social environment, the independent effects of those policies can be rendered nil in either of two cases: first, if social trends counteract the policy; or second, if social trends themselves bring about the policy goals, with the result that the policy itself simply has no effect. An example of the second case appeared in a study by Udry et al. (1976) which indicated that the subsidization of family planning services in the United States between 1969 and 1974 did not produce expected changes in reproductive behavior beyond those which were evident in the general reduction of the birth rate during the early 1970's. Thus, the government policy in question had no family impact beyond the impacts of trends in the social environment.

The next section will discuss the impact complexity issue in a relatively formal way. While it is intended to serve as an aid in the analysis of the family impacts of policies and programs, it can be omitted by those who prefer to do so. The point it makes in a formal way is really quite simple and straightforward: Families are affected by many aspects of their social environment; and the task of family impact analysis is to determine the effects which uniquely result from governmental policies or programs.

B. A Formal Model

Family impact analysis begins with the goal of discovering the way in which independent, policy variables (X_1, X_2, ..., X_J). affect dependent, family variables (Y_1, Y_2, ..., Y_K).

The policy variables can be components of governmental activity in which an analyst is interested. For example, these might include: the number of hours per day during which free counseling services are provided; the amount of land made available for housing by a zoning law; the number of day care facilities in a neighborhood; or a tax rate. The family variables may be institutional characteristics (e.g., a marriage rate), nuclear family characteristics (e.g., division of labor), family member characteristics (e.g., marital satisfaction), or other characteristics which relate in some way to the family.

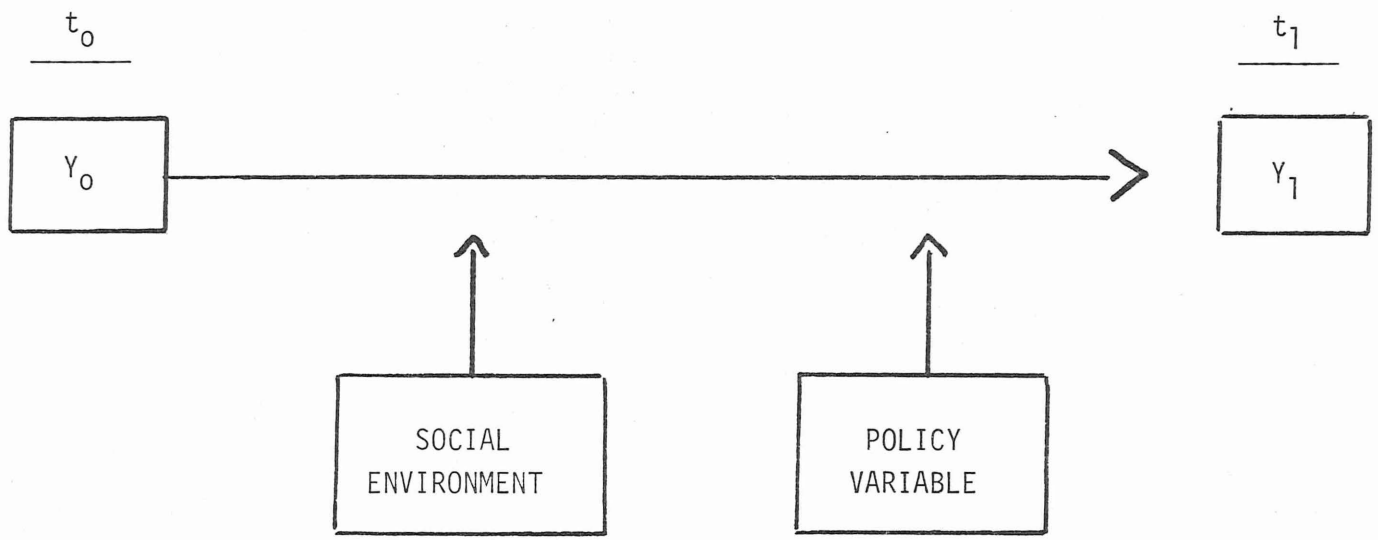
If we think about the measurement of a set of family variables over time, we can obviously expect change to occur naturally in some or all of the variables during any time interval. For instance, marriage rates fluctuate; individuals become more and less satisfied with their marital relationships; the average real income of families changes; and so forth. The impact of a governmental action is the change which occurs because of that action and which would not have occurred if no action had been taken.

The assessment of family impact becomes complex because the values of the family variables (Y_1, Y_2, ..., Y_N) at any point in time are a function not only of government policy variables, but also of many different exogenous variables in the social environment. Cook and Scioli (1972: 332) state that "Policy-impact analysis cannot proceed on the basis that outputs and impacts are discrete phenomena to be examined within an isolated context but rather must recognize that they exist in an interdependent net of sociophysical relationships".

Figure 1_a offers a simple illustration of the way in which different factors combine to produce a value of a family variable (Y_1). These factors are identified as: policy variables; the "social environment";[3] and the value of Y_0 at some previous point in time.

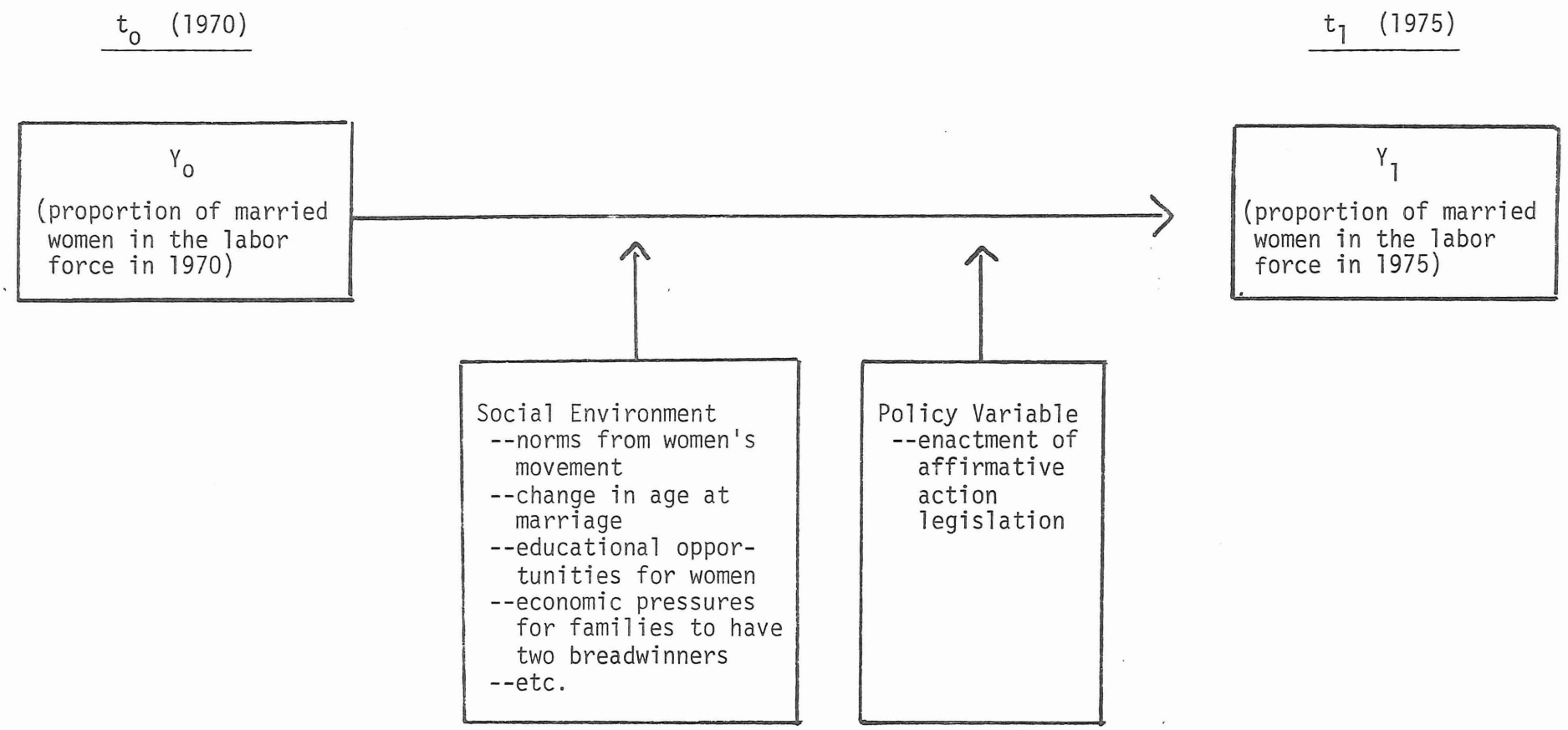
Figure 1_b offers an example. If an impact analyst chooses to examine the family impact of affirmative action legislation, many dependent, family variables will be selected. One of these is simply the proportion of married women who join the labor force, variable Y_1. Figure 1b indicates that the value of Y_1, in 1975, results from the effect of the policy change, from a variety of factors in the social environment, and from its previous value (e.g., in 1970). The task for the impact analyst (and is not an easy one) is to distinguish the effect of the policy from the effects of all other factors which may have produced change over the five year time interval in the proportion of married women in the labor force. Although, intuitively, one might expect the policy change in this case to produce an increase in the size of the dependent variable, this will not necessarily occur. First of all, an affirmative action law might have no effect because employers may not abide by it or because other social factors (e.g., economic pressures on families to have two breadwinners, norms from the women's movement which encourage career pursuits by females, etc.) produce the change, regardless of the law. Secondly, the law could, in theory, exert pressure which reduces the proportion of employed married women (if, for example, it opened employment opportunities for the increasing number of women who are remaining single and thereby excluded

FIGURE 1a



t_o = The time of the first observation
t_1 = The time of the second observation
y_o = The value of the family variable at the first observation
y_1 = The value of the family variable at the second observation

FIGURE 1b


t_o (1970)
t_1 (1975)
Y_o
(proportion of married women in the labor force in 1970)
Y_1
(proportion of married women in the labor force in 1975)
Social Environment
--norms from women's movement
--change in age at marriage
--educational opportunities for women
--economic pressures for families to have two breadwinners
--etc.
Policy Variable
--enactment of affirmative action legislation

some married women from the labor force).

It must be noted that at this point the analyst is not evaluating the "goodness" or "badness" of the effect of affirmative action laws upon the proportion of married women who work. The analyst is simply stating whether or not some cause and effect relationship exists. (In point of fact, this example was chosen because few, if any, persons would contend that a change in labor force participation among married women, in and of itself, is either good or bad.)

We can briefly examine some additional examples, ones that are less complex. The so-called "anti-grandmother" provision in the federal day care laws had a definite family impact. It disallowed tax deductions for day care expenses if close relatives provided the services. With respect to the model in Figure 1a, the analyst might choose two dependent variables: the average tax payment by families with pre-school children and the proportion of parents who send children to non-relatives for day care. Variables in the social environment will only minimally confound the analysis of the effect of the policy variable. If the analyst can show an increase in the value of either, or both, of the dependent variables, then an impact on the family will be demonstrated. Once demonstrated, it can then be evaluated with respect to its "goodness" or "badness".

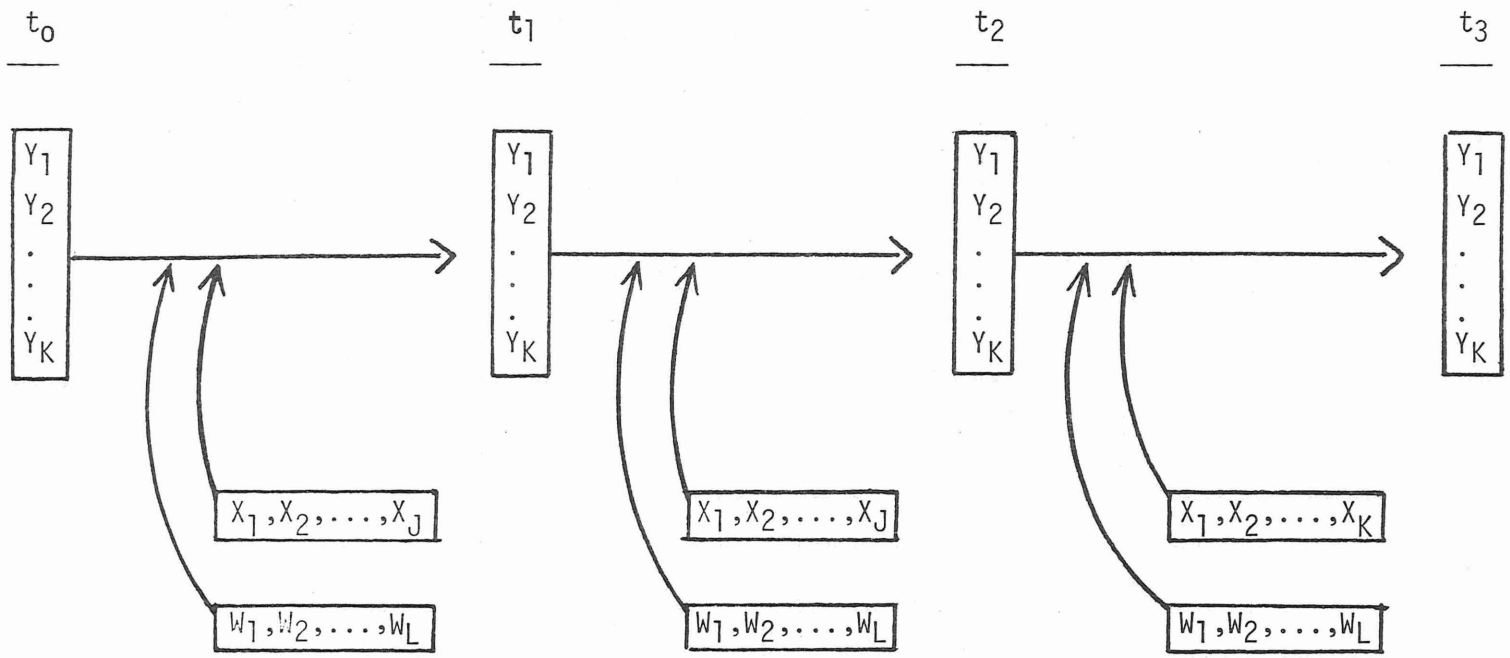
It is evident from this second example that the analyst will not treat "the family" as a homogeneous entity. After impactors are identified, only those types of families which will potentially experience an impact remain in the analysis. In the day care example, obviously, only families at a certain stage of the life

cycle (i.e. with pre-school children) will experience an impact. The identification of probable impactors and the selection of families likely to be affected is systematically discussed in Section III of this report.

Figure 2 enlarges the previous figure to illustrate the impact(s), over time, of policy variables upon family variables. The family variables (Y_1, Y_2, ..., Y_K) are a function of one another (e.g., they are interrelated, and their values at t_1, partly result from their values at t_0), of the policy variables (X_1, X_2, ..., X_j) and of the exogenous variables in the social environment (W_1, W_2, ..., W_L). A detailed treatment of the means for separating the effects of an enacted or a proposed policy from the effects of all other variables is beyond the scope of the present report.[4]

The definitions presented earlier noted that "impacts" can be direct or indirect. A direct impact occurs when the immediate effect of a change in a policy variable is a change in a family variable. For example, a change in a tax policy can directly affect the average real income of families. An indirect effect occurs when a change in a policy variable affects some "intervening" variable which, in turn, affects a family variable. Intervening variables will frequently be part of the social environment. For example, laws concerning medical malpractice may influence the number of doctors in a state (or the number willing to perform certain medical activities). Will this indirectly affect family health care? In addition, intervening variables can be family variables which receive an immediate impact and, in turn, affect other family variables.

FIGURE 2



X_J = Policy variable J

X_K = Family variable K

W_L = Environmental variable L

Similarly, employment policies might have a direct impact upon the free time available to parents and, because of this, have an indirect impact upon the socialization of children.

In closing this section, we should note that the impact analyst faces the same problem faced by any natural or social scientist: In a world where "everything affects everything", the scientist selects effects which are significant or relevant and discards those which are not. The major task for family impact analysts will be to inventory direct and indirect, immediate and long-term, intended and unintended, policy consequences, separating the significant from the trivial. In many cases, examining the relationship between public policy and the family may require the employment of specific research designs and sophisticated statistical techniques for data analysis. In other cases, especially for the writing of family impact statements for proposed policies, non-statistical methods (e.g., "expert opinion") will be necessary because no data will exist for accurately specifying relationships between policy variables and family variables.[5] Impact analysis will require a team effort by many social scientists. The range of family phenomena is too broad for any one group to have a full understanding of all dependent, family variables, and the range of methods for analyzing and interpreting relationships between policy and the family stretches beyond the boundaries of any one discipline.

In the next section, a tentative framework appears as a set of guidelines which a state agency can use to assess the immediate, potential consequences of proposed policies. It is

presented with the caveat that it is tentative, that it should be revised as family impact analysis becomes better developed, and that it does not include strategies for identifying all of the many indirect impacts which policies can have.

III. SUGGESTED STEPS FOR PREPARING FAMILY IMPACT STATEMENTS

A. Identifying Policy Components With Impact Potential

There probably exists no governmental activity which does not, in some way, affect families. However, the first step in preparing an impact statement will be the placement of a policy into one of two broad categories: policies with potential impact and policies with extremely remote impact. Thus, the Highway Department's policy standards on asphalt or on paint for marking roadways would not require a full, family impact assessment, while the Department's decision on the building of a road through an existing community would require such an assessment. Note: the classification of policies as "too remote in effect" to merit a comprehensive impact assessment will constantly become modified as family impact analysis develops. So, for example, alteration of land use in a state park might be judged as something whose impact exists, but statistical and conceptual techniques cannot accurately gauge. However, as impact analysis develops, as data bases on family functioning increase, and as our conceptualization of the "recreational function" of the family improves, identification and evaluation of the consequences of such a policy might become quite simple.

Policies which are considered likely to have an impact upon families will then be fully described: each component will be identified. Those components which are considered the ones which

will have an impact then become the subject-matter of later steps in the impact assessment.

When identifying policy components which may affect families, the analyst may need to move through several layers of government. The broad policy guidelines as they are legislated will receive modification as they filter down to persons who actually administer programs, enforce laws, or carry out other governmental activities. The concrete family/government interface has greater impact than abstract policy formulations.[6]

B. Specification of Probable Impacts

With this step, the analyst selects dependent, family variables which independent, policy variables will likely affect. The family variables might be selected from any or all of three levels: the institutional level (e.g., a demographic distribution); the family group level (e.g., family cohesion); and the individual level (e.g., parental role performance).

It is extremely important that the analyst ask the proper questions with respect to the consequences of governmental activity upon families. If the range of variables considered at each of the three levels is too narrow, the impact analysis will be biased and inaccurate. A standard method for asking questions about the effects of proposed policies will undoubtedly emerge as family impact analysis develops. For now, the taxonomies described in the report, "Taxonomies for Family Impact Analysis", can serve to stimulate such questions.

Two taxonomies discussed in the report may prove especially helpful: "Intra-Family Systems and Transactional Systems" and "Family Development". The former differentiates units of analysis

and lists some variables associated with each unit. It alerts the impact analyst to the fact that policies may have different effects upon different family members. The latter taxonomy offers to the impact analyst a perspective upon the needs of families over the course of the life cycle (e.g., health, shelter, recreation, etc.). The analyst should attempt to determine the way, if any, in which a policy will affect the ability of families to meet these needs.

In specifying probable impacts, the analyst should indicate the degree of confidence with which one can accept the predictions. That is, has survey research established the probable link between a policy change and a family impact? Has historical data revealed the impact? Or has the analyst simply had to rely upon "expert judgment" in making predictions?

C. Determination of the Extensiveness of the Impacts

Once probable impacts have been specified, the analyst can estimate the number of families and the proportion of all families which a policy will affect. If, for example, a policy will potentially affect the social development of young children, then only families with young children are relevant units for the impact statement. If it will affect the ability of aged parents to live with their adult children, then only kin networks of parents and adult children are the relevant units.

Estimation of the extensiveness of an impact can proceed as follows:

1) The analyst specifies the family type(s) which will <u>potentially</u> experience an impact.

2) The analyst estimates the distribution of the type(s)

within the population. When developed from census data, such estimates can be quite accurate. Accuracy diminishes when the analyst must rely upon small samples of the population.

3) The analyst estimates the actual number of families which will experience an impact.[7] So, for example, it may be the case that of all potentially affected families, only those within a certain income range or who live in a certain region will actually feel an effect.

D. Evaluation of the Advantages and Disadvantages of the Probable Impacts.

The first three steps are as "neutral" or "value-free" as possible. In formal terms, they involve the specification of independent, policy-related variables, of dependent family-related variables which will change as a result of policy-implementation, and of the distribution of family units for which the changes will occur. At this step, however, the analyst must do some evaluation of the impacts identified as likely outcomes of the policy under consideration. Such evaluations can be grouped as follows:

1. Determination of the extent to which the intended impacts of a policy will likely be realized.

(This pertains only to policies which are designed specifically to affect families. If no such direct effects are intended, the comments on this section of evaluations do not apply--the analyst will evaluate only the unintended

impacts.)

The first question which the analyst will raise concerning intended impacts is whether the results expected by policy makers are among the probable outcomes of the policy under consideration. Here, the impact analyst's task does not differ from that of any policy evaluator. If a policy is intentionally directed toward families and yet none of its intended effects will occur, then little reason exists to proceed further with an impact analysis, since, clearly, the evaluation is that the policy constitutes a fruitless effort.

2. Evaluation of unintended impacts

For each of the probable, unintended impacts which the analyst has previously specified, an evaluation should be made. The evaluation categories might be three-fold: positive, neutral, and negative.

The analyst should indicate the criteria by which the evaluation of each impact is made. As Kamerman (1976) has suggested, it may be easier to establish consensus on what is clearly "bad" for families than to define what is "good" for them; nonetheless, evaluations must be offered.

The analyst can evaluate policies with respect to their effects upon the ability of families to meet their needs.

The analyst can select other evaluative criteria from the literature on healthy family functioning. For example, the links between unemployment, individual depression, heightened tension between spouses, and poor nutrition

are well documented. Thus, a policy which reduces unemployment (or somehow mitigates its effects) could be rated positively with respect to its impacts upon the unemployed family breadwinner(s), the marital dyad, and the nuclear family; policies which do not reduce unemployment or minimize its effects would receive a negative evaluation. Although some disagreement may exist over whether certain items are truly needed or are merely optional, consensus will probably exist as a whole.

E. Comparison of alternative policies with one another and with the absence of any policy, in light of the advantages and disadvantages of impacts.

The impact analyst always makes at least one comparison: the predicted values of a set of family variables expected to be affected by a policy are compared with their predicted values in the absence of the policy. The difference(s) between the two sets of predicted values comprise(s) the "impact(s)". These impacts are then evaluated individually so that a final decision concerning the policy can be made.

The analyst may, in addition, have several, alternative policy proposals to evaluate. If this is the case, the "plusses" and "minuses" of each policy will be compared. The policy with the most "plusses" will likely be the one promoted by the analyst in the final recommendation, assuming that all impacts receive equal weighting in terms of significance. To this point, the analyst may have a work sheet which abstractly resembles this:

Policies	Evaluation Criteria A	B	C	D
I				
1	+	+	+	+
2	-	-	+	+
II				
1	+	+	+	+
2	o	o	o	o
III				
1	+	+	-	-
2	-	-	-	-

+ = positive effect of a policy component with respect to a criterion
- = negative effect
o = neutral or no effect

(Policy components are labelled as "1" and "2" for each of the three policies.)

F. Final Recommendation

Using the work sheet of evaluations of alternative policies, the analyst makes a final, brief recommendation. The basis for the recommendation and the degree of confidence which the analyst places in it are all included explicitly in steps A through E.

IV. CONCLUSION

This report has attempted to provide an initial basis upon which to build family impact analysis. Sections I and II outlined the issues in general. Section III offered a specific procedure for examining impacts. It is hoped that Section III will be continuously revised and expanded in light of whatever developments occur in the field during the next few years. One needed addition is a checklist which would ensure that analysts consider all aspects of family functioning

when examining a proposed policy. This checklist could standardize step B, the specification of probable impacts.

Despite the seeming complexity, the overall strategy for family impact analysis is quite straightforward. It involves: the identification of impactors; the specification of families whom they will likely affect (or whom they have affected, if done retrospectively); and the evaluation of those impacts. Whenever completed, a family impact analysis will offer to policy-makers new and valuable information to use when considering the advantages and disadvantages of a proposed policy.

NOTES

[1]This report deals with governmental activities. However, the phrase, "and actions by private organization," could be inserted whenever appropriate. The proposed model for assessing and evaluating impacts can be applied to private social service organizations, to business organizations, or to any other organization unit. In its general form, it is simply a means for examining the effects of policies generated from any source upon families. It can also include analysis of the consequences for families of the absence of certain legislation.

[2]Definitions 3 and 4 are modifications of those presented by Kamerman (1976).

[3]This is a short hand term which includes all of the many factors which might, in addition to public policy, cause change in a family variable of interest to the analyst.

[4]The statistical methods employed need not be too complex. Regression analysis could, for example, indicate the main effects and interaction effects of the policy variables and the environmental variables.

[5]Family impact analysis, in an "ideal" sense, approximates a standard research design. In practice, however, research will not be possible each time that a policy is proposed and each time that a family impact statement is desired. "Expert opinion" will frequently substitute for the data desirable in a true research project. It is important to realize that family impact analysis is by no means just research.

[6]Again, it should be noted that policies and programs of organizations in the private sector can be included.

[7]The means for estimating distributions of families who will potentially and actually be affected by proposed policies are suggested in the report, "Taxonomies for Family Impact Analysis."

REFERENCES

Bell, Carolyn Shaw. "Should Every Job Support A Family?" Public Interest. 40:109-118. 1975

Cohen, Nathan E., and Maurice F. Connery. "Government Policy and the Family." Journal of Marriage and the Family. 29:1. 1967.

Kamerman, Sheila B. Developing a Family Impact Statement. An Occasional Paper From the Foundation for Child Development. 1976.

Kamerman, Sheila B., and Alfred J. Kahn. "Explorations in Family Policy." Social Work. 21(3): 181-186. 1976.

Lerman, Robert I. "The Family, Poverty, and Welfare Programs: An Introductory Essay on Problems of Analysis and Policy. Pps. 1-36 in U.S. Congress (Joint Economic Committee), The Family, Poverty, and Welfare Programs: Factors Influencing Family Instability, Paper 12, Part I. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office. 1973.

Mattessich, Paul W. "An Annotated Bibliography for Family Impact Analysis." Minnesota State Planning Agency. 1976a.

Mattessich, Paul W. "Taxonomies for Family Impact Analysis." Minnesota State Planning Agency. 1976b.

Mead, Margaret. "Statement before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth." Pps. 121-133 in American Families: Trends and Pressures, 1973. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office. 1974.

Moynihan, Daniel P. "Foreward" to paperback edition of Myrdal, Alva Nation and Family. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The M.I.T. Press. 1968.

Udry, J. Richard, Karl E. Bauman, and Naomi M. Morris. "The Effect of Subsidized Family Planning Services on Reproductive Behavior in the United States, 1969-1974." American Sociological Association, annual meeting. 1976.

U. S. Senate Subcommittee on Children and Youth. American Families: Trends and Pressures, 1973. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Wynn, Margaret. Family Policy. London: Michael Joseph. 1970.