



THE HISPANIC FAMILY IN FLUX

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By virtue of its size, growth, and relative youth, the Hispanic population* will have a growing impact on all policy matters related to the family. This impact will be large and distinctive. The growth of the Hispanic population has already slowed the decline of the two-parent parent family in the United States as immigration produces a steady flow of young adults with a higher propensity to marry than their native-born peers, both Latino and non-Latino. But, immigration, particularly under current policies, is also producing a disproportionate number of Hispanics who are geographically separated from their spouses. The dynamics shaping the Hispanic family are both complex and fluid. Within the Hispanic population there are notable differences in the prevalence of some key behaviors. Of greatest concern is the finding that births to women who are unmarried are more common among native-born Latinos than foreign born Latinos. Such differences are especially significant for the long term because a large and growing share of the youth population is made up of the native-born children of immigrants. Survey data shows that a powerful process of acculturation is taking place among immigrants and their offspring which produces an erosion of the strong sense of family evident among recent immigrants in favor of attitudes similar to those of non-Latinos in the U.S. population.

The Hispanic Family

The family is a complex and important social structure in any population, but it is especially complex and increasingly important in the Hispanic population. Latinos account for all of the growth in the number of young adults, those of prime marrying and childbearing years. Indeed absent the Hispanics, the U.S. population would be shrinking in the 20- to 35-year-old age bracket. The prime sources of Hispanic population growth are immigration and high fertility among immigrants. As a result, marriages, childbearing, and household formation often take place in the cauldron of change that is migration. For most Latinos, families are made and broken amid transformations in culture, economic footing, civic status, and identity. Any consideration of policy consequences has to take account of this very powerful, very particular context.

Hispanics are a diverse people, and rapid demographic growth is making them only more diverse. Immigrants come with a range of talents and abilities. They come from a variety of places, and they come under a variety of circumstances. Once in the United States some live in densely Latino communities where civic society and public institutions geared towards the immigrant experience are well-established while others venture into new settlement areas where Latinos are a sparse presence. Meanwhile, the social, political, and legal backdrop is shifting as the host society comes to terms with the influx of newcomers. And finally, aside from immigrants and their offspring, there are also many millions of Latinos who trace their roots in this country back multiple generations and who have their own varied expressions of American culture and mores.

As a result, it is a mistake to generalize about matters such as marriage and early childbearing among Latinos both because of the diverse outcomes within the group and because these behaviors and the attitudes that underlie them are very much in a state of flux. As with much else regarding this population, any discussion of the Hispanic family must be framed in terms of diverse trajectories and multiple outcomes. Policy formulations designed for a static

*The terms Hispanic and Latino are used interchangeably in this paper. Unless otherwise noted, references are to the entire population regardless of nativity, citizenship, or immigration status. Hispanics can be of any race. The terms white and black are used to refer to non-Hispanics who identify themselves in those racial categories.

population with fixed characteristics will be of limited utility at best. Instead, with a population typified by perpetual motion, policy discussions have to start with an appreciation of multiple processes of transformation and then develop responses that attempt to guide those processes towards desired outcomes over long periods of time.

Examining all of the transformational factors shaping the ways that Latinos marry, have children, and form families, and assessing all of the policy implications would be a very extended undertaking, far beyond the scope of this paper. My goal here is to illustrate a few of the key trends with the intent of stimulating a policy discussion that takes account of the dynamism and diversity that characterizes the Hispanic family.

The first part of this paper examines several demographic measures in order to assess how the growth of the Hispanic population, particularly the immigrant population, has affected trends in marriage and family formation in the United States. The second part of the paper examines public opinion survey data in order to assess how life in the United States affects attitudes towards marriage and family among Latinos, especially immigrants.

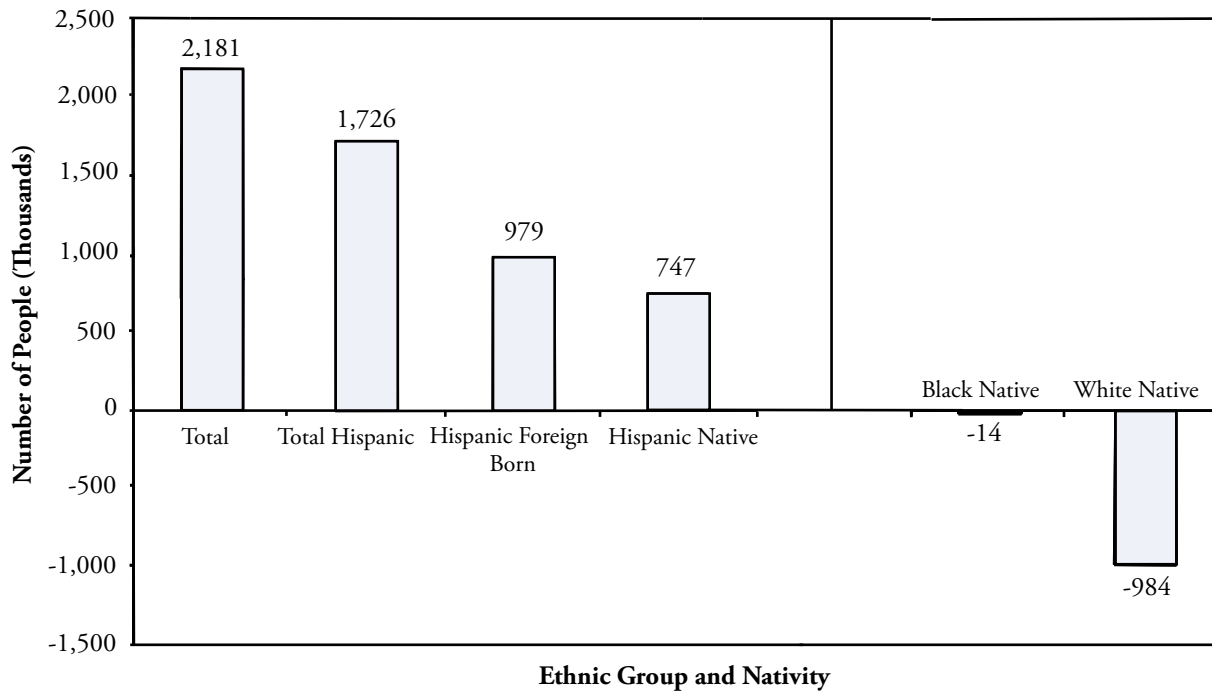
Demographic Changes

Demographic superlatives about the Hispanic population are not in short supply, and there is no need to repeat the high growth rates, the rise in absolute numbers, and their impact on the size and characteristics of the U.S. population as a whole. However, it does seem relevant to focus for a moment on the one sector of the population most relevant to a discussion of family: young adults in their prime marrying and childbearing years. Consider that between 2000 and 2005 the number of people ages 20 to 35 years old in the United States increased by 2.2 million (Figure 1). Of this 2.2 million, 1.7 million were Hispanic, including 980,000 foreign born and 750,000 native born. Meanwhile, the number of native-born whites in that age category dropped by nearly 1 million and the number of native-born blacks was essentially unchanged. Whites remain a majority of the young adult population, 60 percent, but by a much narrower margin than in the older age brackets. For example, they are 78 percent of the population between 55 and 74 years of age. Looking to the future, whites make up only 55 percent of the population that is now under the age of five years old. The population numbers alone argue powerfully for greater consideration of Latinos in discussions of family, marriage and childbearing.

Family Composition

The perceived decline of the American family has been a periodic and sometimes intense preoccupation for all manner of politicians, policy makers, researchers, and commentators since the 1960s. One measure of this phenomenon is that two-parent families have declined as a share of all families with children under the age of 18 from 89 percent in 1970 to 72 percent in 2005. During this period one of the largest changes in the population is the rapid growth of the Hispanic population from 4 percent of the population in 1970 to 14.5 percent in 2005. How do these two developments relate to each other? Focusing on the trends since 1990, the period of fastest growth in the Hispanic population, shows that the overall decline in the two-parent family with children would have been much sharper if it were not for that Hispanic growth. In 1990, Latinos accounted for 9 percent of family households with their own children under 18 years old. By 2005 they were for 17 percent of the total. Over the course of that time the number of families with children increased by about 4 million, and nearly 3 million of those added families were Hispanic (Figure 2). The largest impact from Hispanic population growth however

Figure 1: Change between 2000 and 2005 in the Number of Hispanics, Blacks, and Whites Ages 20-35 in the United States



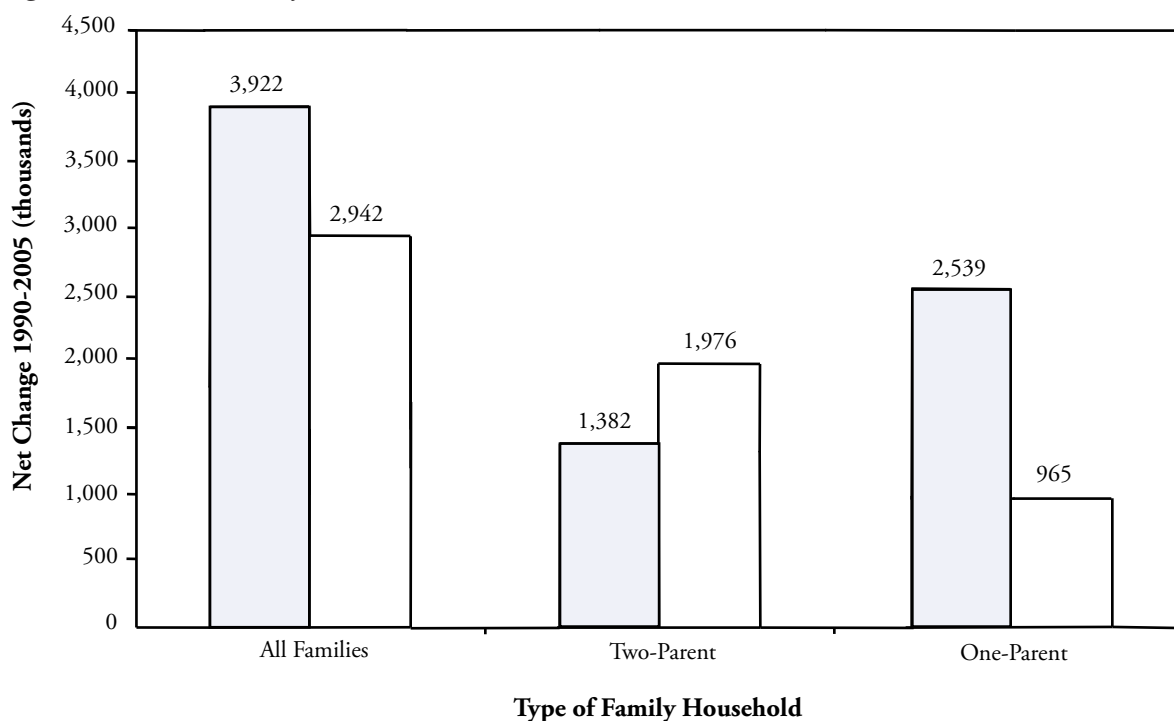
Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations using the Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement, March 2005, and the U.S. Census Bureau, 2000 Decennial Census.

was on two-parent families raising their own children. The total number of those households increased by 1.4 million over those 15 years, but meanwhile the number of Latino households in that category increased by 2 million. The absolute number of two-parent families raising their own children would have declined had it not been for the growth of the Latino population between 1990 and 2005. But the picture for Hispanic families is not entirely rosy because, as we will examine in more detail later, the number of single-parent families is increasing for Latinos as it is in the population as a whole. The number of Hispanic single-parent families increased by 1 million between 1990 and 2005 while the total of families in this category increased by 2.5 million.

The impact of Hispanic population growth can also be measured by looking at what share of the change in the number of families in a given category is due to the rising number of Latinos (Figure 3). Hispanics accounted for 75 percent of the growth in the number of all families with children under 18 years old. Meanwhile, they accounted for 143 percent of the growth in the number of two-parent families but only 38 percent of the growth in one-parent family households.

The intent of these tabulations is to show the effect of Latino population growth on the broad trends in U.S. family structure. Certainly, the increased number of Latino one-parent families, especially in the second generation, is worrisome, but the Hispanic share of the increase in this category is disproportionately low (38 percent) compared to their share of the growth in families with children overall (75 percent). The Latino share of the increase in two-parent families is disproportionately high. Given the value put on two-parent households in debates over the state of the American family, one has to judge the Latino effect as positive overall; not enough to stem the decline driven by trends in other groups but enough to keep the decline from being worse than it would be otherwise.

Figure 2: Growth in Family Households with Own Children under 18, 1990-2005



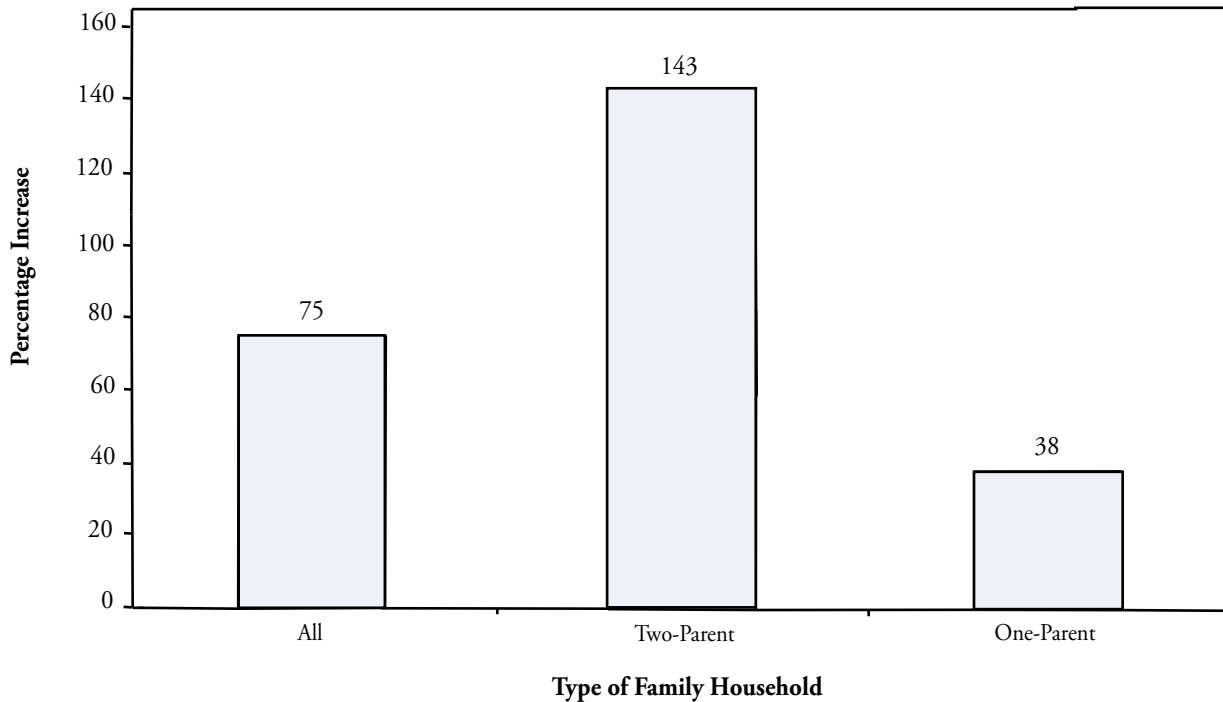
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Historical Series, Table FM-2, based on the Current Population Survey, www.census.gov/population/socdemol/hh-fam/fm2.xls.

Marriage Rates

In popular culture and in the social science literature and in many places in between, Latinos are often depicted as being distinctly oriented towards the family as a social and economic unit, as a source of personal well-being, and as an object of moral valuation. Putting the family first, ahead of individual prerogatives, or “familism” as some researchers have dubbed it, has been deemed a key characteristic of the Latino population and measuring its relative weight among different sub-groups of Latinos and the interplay of familism and various socioeconomic factors are the subjects of extensive, ongoing study.¹

The share of a population that is married is one strong measure of the array of behaviors and attitudes that produce a portrait of family life. Looking at the Hispanic population as a whole, Latinos are somewhat less likely to be married than whites but more likely to be married than blacks (Figure 4). But, looking at marriage rates in population groups as a whole can be misleading because marriage is, in part, a function of age and the Hispanic population is younger overall than other groups. (The median age for Hispanics is 27 years old compared to 40 for whites and 31 for blacks.) A better approach is to focus on young adults between 20 and 30 years of age. In this key age group the share of married Latinos is similar to that of whites (39 percent and 35 percent respectively) and twice as high as among blacks (18 percent). Moreover, another important distinction emerges when this cohort is examined by nativity: Foreign-born Hispanics have the highest rates of marriage by far of the groups in this comparison while the native born are again similar to whites (Figure 5).

Figure 3: Three Measures of Hispanic Share of Change in Family Households with Own Children under 18, 1990 -2005



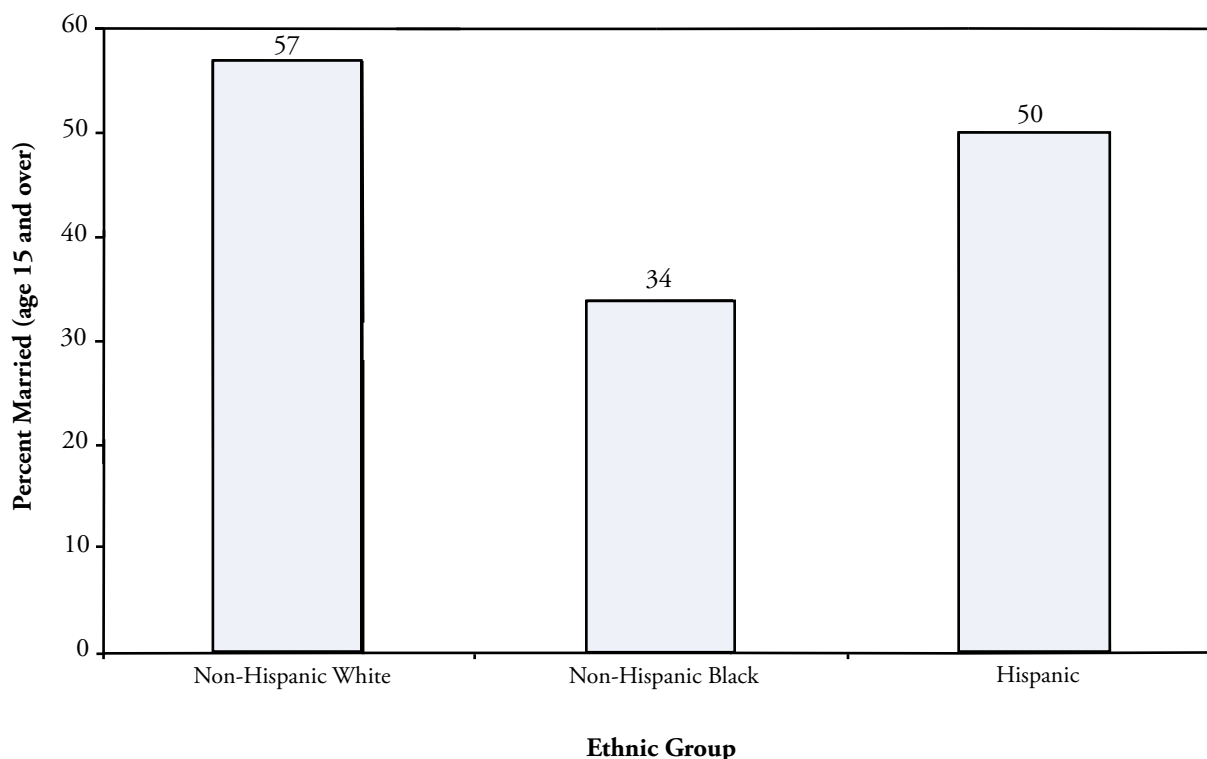
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Historical Series, Table FM-2, based on the Current Population Survey, www.census.gov/population/socdemo/hh-fam/fm2.xls.

This finding is also significant because the years between 20 and 30 years of age are the prime age bracket for immigrant arrivals, and so most of these young foreign-born married couples are relative newcomers having lived in the United States for a decade or less. Moreover, the foreign born make up about half of all the Hispanics in this age bracket and nearly two-thirds of all the married persons. Not surprisingly then, it is essential to understand trends in Hispanic family behavior in the context of the large-scale immigration which fuels Hispanic population growth.

Effects of Immigration

Immigration often produces the disruption of families when a spouse, child, or sibling sets off for a new land, leaving the rest behind. Recent research has shown that these separations can produce strains on family ties and a stressful environment with ill effects on both parents and children.² As a matter of broad principle with long standing, U.S. immigration law has made family reunification one of its central goals. As such, about two-thirds of all visas for permanent immigration go to the family members of people already in the country. Nonetheless, recent Hispanic immigration has included a large share of spouses coming to this country without their partners. This reflects a number of underlying factors, but among the most significant are legal and procedural barriers to obtaining family reunification visas even for qualified applicants and the large number of Latinos who have come to this country in recent years without authorization and who are thus ineligible to petition for family reunification visas under current law.

Figure 4: Marriage Among Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics



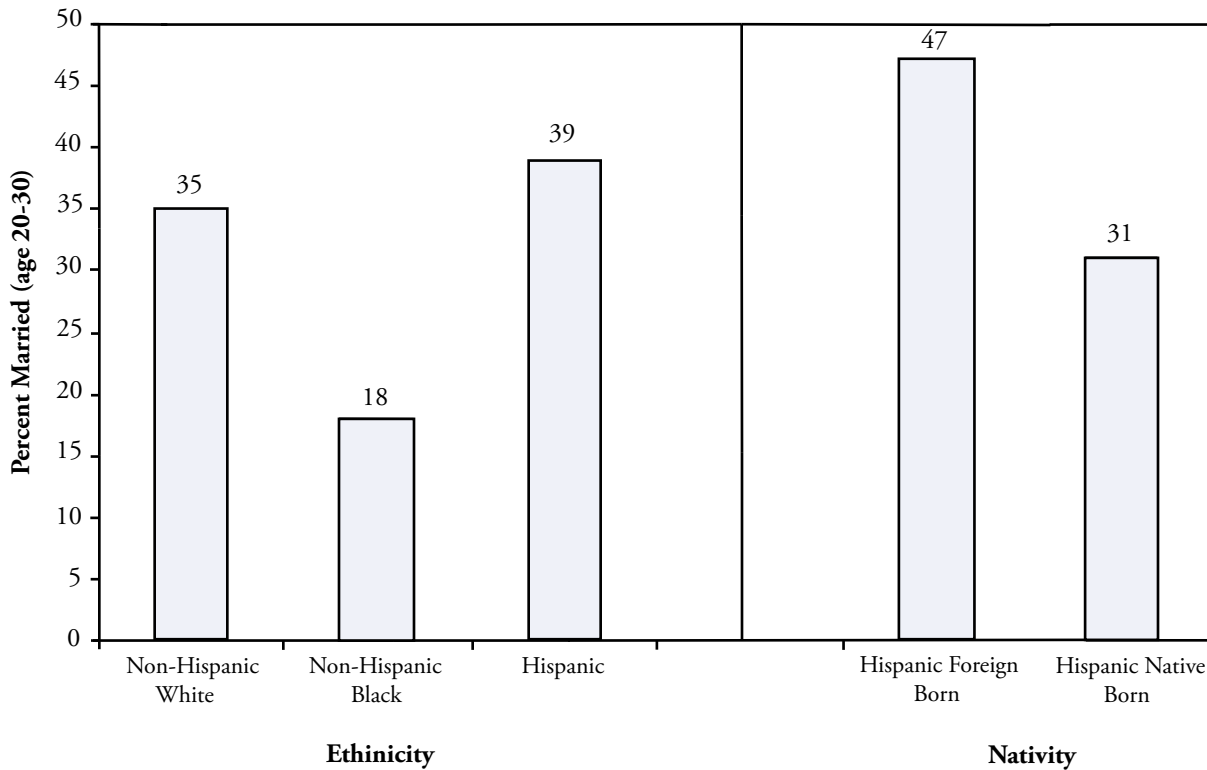
Source: Author's calculations using the U.S. Census Bureau, 2005 American Community Survey, www.census.gov/acs/www.

About one of every ten (11 percent) of all married Latinos age 15 or more (the commonly accepted universe for the tabulation of marriage data) are geographically separated from their spouses compared to only 2 percent of whites and 8 percent of blacks (Figure 6). The phenomenon is much more telling when nativity is taken into account. Among foreign-born Hispanics, 13 percent of married persons are living away from their spouses compared to 7 percent of the native born. Not surprisingly, the largest share of this kind of marriage is to be found among recently arrived immigrants. Nearly three of every 10 marriages (28 percent) among foreign-born Hispanics who have come to the United States since 2000 involve a spouse living geographically apart.

The prevalence of these kinds of marriages is lower among immigrant Latinos who have longer tenure in the country. Among those who arrived in the 1990s it is 13 percent of all marriages but for those who arrived in the 1980s it is 6 percent. The passage of time creates greater opportunity for spouses to reunite, but public policy is an important factor as well. The legalization programs for unauthorized migrants enacted in 1986 made more than 3 million foreign-born Latinos eligible to petition for family reunification visas, and through much of the 1990s approving such visas for the beneficiaries of the legalization programs was a priority in immigration policy. These policy measures undoubtedly contribute to the lower shares of marital separations among the Latino immigrants who arrived in the 1980s and 1990s. No similar provisions have been in place in this decade.

Measuring the specific effects of time spent in the United States on immigrant marriages is a complicated task because a great many factors are in play. Not the least of them is the fact that the immigrant population that has been here longer is also older and hence the prevalence of marriage is higher simply as a function of age. And, conversely, rates of divorce also increase with age. Even with these limitations in mind, however, the data are illustrative. The prevalence of marital breakups (as measured by the share of divorced individuals among those

Figure 5: Marriage among 20- to 30-Year-Old Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics.



Source: Author's calculations using the U.S. Census Bureau, 2005 American Community Survey, www.census.gov/acs/www.

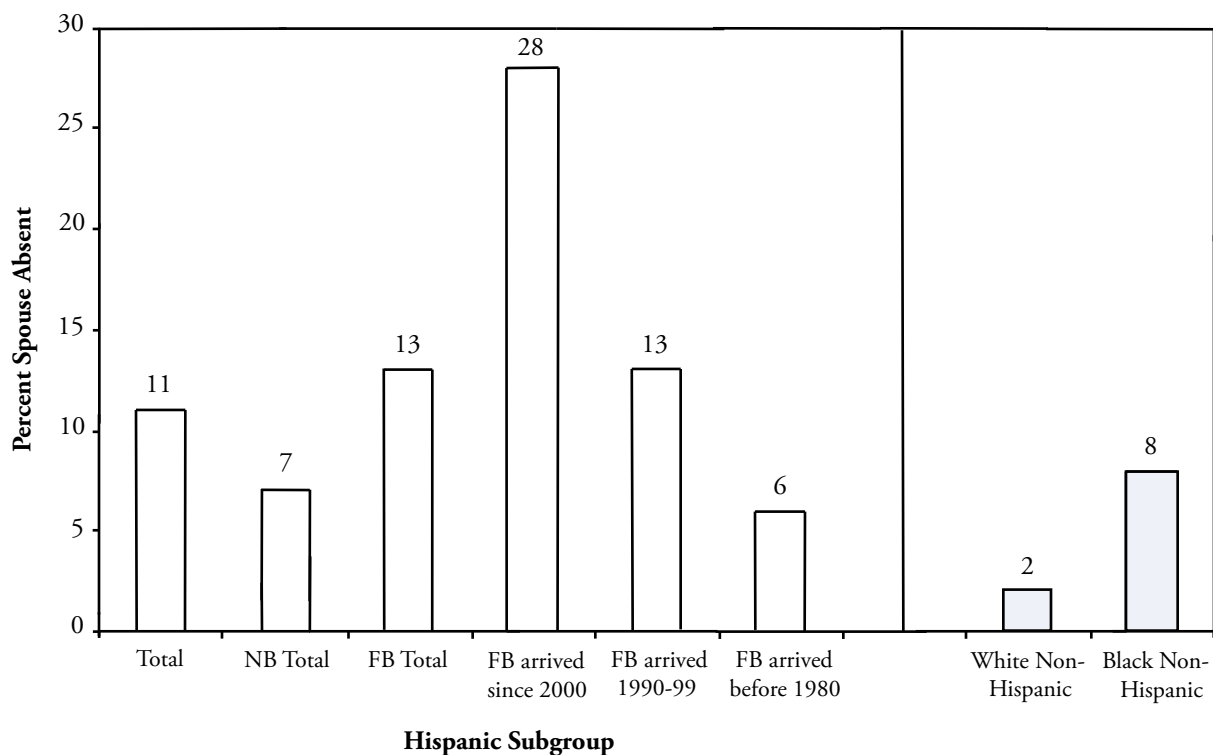
who have ever been married) increases among the Hispanic foreign born according to how long they have been in the United States. So, among those who came since 2000, 5 percent of persons ever married are divorced (Figure 7). That figure rises to 7 percent among those who came in the 1990s and 9 percent among those who came in the 1980s. But note that this measure of marital breakups is lower for all these groups of foreign-born Hispanics than among predominately native-born groups (14 percent for whites, 16 percent for native-born Hispanics and 21 percent for blacks).

Among the Hispanic native born the share of divorced persons out of those ever married is similar to that of whites (16 percent vs. 14 percent) and lower than among blacks (21 percent). In this regard too, the growth of the Hispanic population through immigration is strengthening the traditional family, and the positive effects persist even among Hispanics of long tenure.

Single Mothers

In addition to changes in rates of marriage and divorce, the rise in the number of single-parent households, particularly those headed by single women, has been a cause for alarm about the condition of families in the United States. Hispanics are a significant and growing share of these households with the trend most evident among the native born.

Figure 6: Married with Spouse Absent as a Share of All Married for Whites, Blacks, and Hispanics



Note: NB = Native Born; FB = Foreign Born

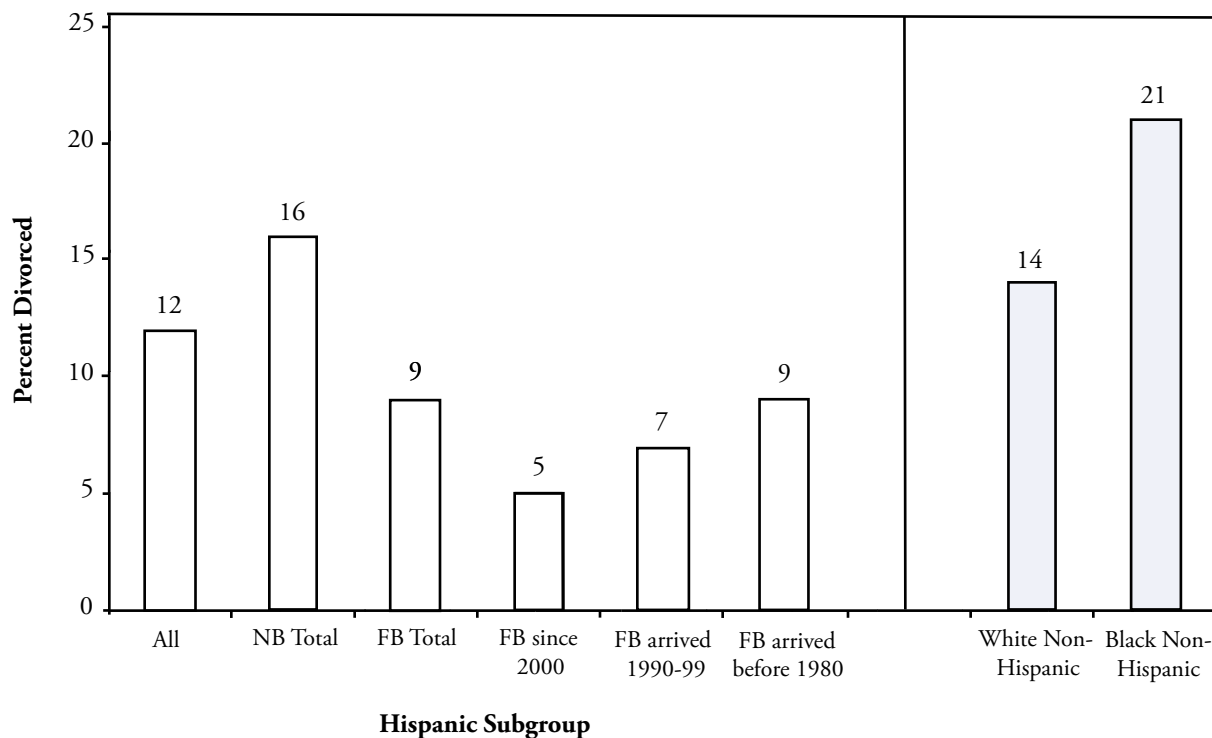
Source: Author's calculations using the 2005 American Community Survey, www.census.gov/acsl/www/

Between 1990 and 2005 the number of family households headed by a single mother with a child under 18 of her own increased by 25 percent in the U.S. population as a whole. Meanwhile, among Hispanics the number of these households grew by 102 percent. And more recently the same pattern has held true. Between 2000 and 2005, the number of female-headed households increased by 9 percent in the population as whole but by 31 percent among Hispanics.

These measures are significant to public policy debates because they mark an increase in the absolute number of households headed by single mothers, a circumstance that can produce undesirable effects for both mother and child, particularly when combined with joblessness or poverty. The rising number of Latino single mothers, however, appears primarily to reflect population growth rather than changes in behavior. In other words, the number of Hispanic women is increasing but not the share of them who are unmarried mothers. From 1990 to 2005, the share of family households with own children under 18 headed by a single mother has held relatively steady with only small increases across all racial groups; among whites it is about one-sixth, among Hispanics about one-quarter and among blacks about one-half (Figure 8). In the population as a whole the share of female-headed households has held relatively steady at about one-fifth. In this regard, the effect of Hispanic population growth has been essentially neutral. As noted above, Hispanics have contributed a disproportionately large share to the number of two-parent families, more than making up for declines in other groups, and their contribution to the share of female-headed households has not altered the basic trend.

Another way of looking at these trends is to examine the marital status of women who have recently given birth.

Figure 7: Persons Divorced as a Share of Persons Ever Married for Various Hispanic Subgroups



Note: NB = Native Born; FB = Foreign Born

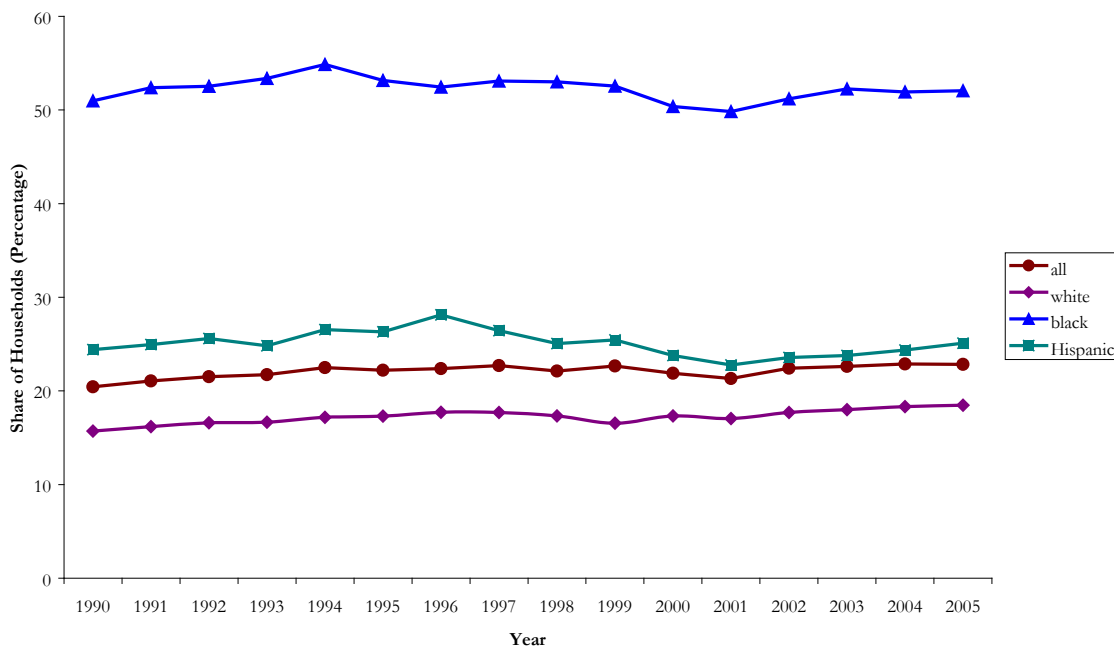
Source: Author’s calculations using the U.S. Census Bureau, 2005 American Community Survey, www.census.gov/acs/www.

In 2005, nearly half (47 percent) of all native-born Hispanic women who had given birth in the past year were unmarried. By comparison, less than a third (32 percent) of foreign-born Hispanic women giving birth were unmarried. Both of the Hispanic measures are above the figure for whites (24 percent) but below the share of blacks (70 percent). Narrowing this to young women, who can suffer greater socioeconomic consequences from births out of wedlock, the propensity for marriage among young foreign-born Hispanics has a notable effect. Among Hispanics ages 15 to 24, the marital characteristics of women giving birth in the past year are virtually the same as they are for whites: about 45 percent married vs. 55 percent unmarried. In contrast among black women in this age category the split is 11 percent married vs. 89 percent unmarried. Here again, population growth through immigration has a positive, or at the very least, a neutral effect on the overall picture.

Effects of Acculturation

Migration inevitably changes people. Leaving one’s homeland and starting a new life somewhere else brings about transformations that can stretch across an immigrant’s lifetime and continue on into the next generation and beyond. This process, loosely termed acculturation, can produce effects on a wide range of behaviors and opinions. Given the size of the immigrant population, it is important to ask how life in the United States changes attitudes towards family, marriage, and childbearing. As noted above, Latino immigrants, and particularly the

Figure 8: Share of Family Households with Children Headed by Single Women, 1990-2005



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Historical Series, Table FM-2, based on the Current Population Survey, www.census.gov/population/socdemol/hh-fam/fm2.xls.

relative newcomers, show a greater attachment to marriage than the native born. The fact that this higher prevalence of marriage and two-parent families holds up in comparison to native-born Latinos suggests that this is not driven primarily by ethnicity but instead relates to attitudes brought from Latin America and the migratory experience itself.

As the current wave of migration is still a relatively new and evolving phenomenon, the demographic data offer a tentative and incomplete picture of acculturation's potential effects. And because time in the United States can bring about changes in many aspects of life, from increased income to the simple process of aging, it is difficult to isolate the effects of acculturation. One approach is to focus on language. The acquisition of English is a potent and readily measurable marker of change. By taking language as an indicator of acculturation, we can try to mark how the process of adapting to life in the United States changes attitudes.

Virtually all foreign-born Hispanics, who account for 40 percent of the Hispanic population and closer to 60 percent of Latino adults, arrive in this country speaking Spanish as their primary language. Only a small share, generally those coming with a college education, start out speaking much English. Over the course of one generation, from the immigrants to their native-born children, this picture changes dramatically so that English is common among virtually all (96 percent) Latino adults who were born in the United States and Spanish survives in the form of bilingualism.

A series of surveys conducted by the Pew Hispanic Center between 2001 and 2007 included a battery of six

Table 1: Hispanic Immigrants Acquire English Rapidly

Primary or Dominant Language	1st Generation ^a	2nd Generation ^b	3rd Generation ^c
Spanish	72	7	0
Bilingual	24	47	22
English	4	46	78

Note: All figures are percentages

Source: The Pew Hispanic Center-Kaiser Family Foundation 2002 National Survey of Latinos

^a *Foreign born*

^b *Native born of foreign born parentage*

^c *Native born of native born parentage*

questions that explored how much Latinos read and speak English and Spanish and which language they use at work and at home.³ This is much more information on language ability and usage than is available from the Census Bureau. With this robust survey data respondents can be categorized as to whether English or Spanish is their primary language, meaning that they speak and read that language very well and use it in daily life while having limited abilities and usage of the other language. Bilinguals, people who are thoroughly functional in both languages and use both languages regularly, constitute a third category. As one would expect, very significant differences emerge according to nativity (Table 1). Spanish is the primary language of nearly three-quarters of the first generation (the foreign born) and almost all of the rest are bilingual. The second generation (the native born of foreign-born parentage) is almost evenly divided between those who are bilingual and the English dominant with only a handful who are Spanish dominant. And, Latinos of long tenure, the third generation and higher (those who are the native born of native-born parentage), are almost the mirror image of the newcomers. About three-quarters are English dominant and the remainder are bilingual. Across generations reliance on Spanish diminishes greatly as English takes on a central role, but Spanish does not disappear entirely as a degree of bilingualism persists.

Among the immigrants themselves a process of linguistic transformation is underway. Among foreign-born Latinos who have been in the United States for five years or less about one-fifth say they can speak English either very well or pretty well. That level increases to more than a third among those who have been in the country for ten to twenty years. The speed with which Latino immigrants acquire English abilities depends on a variety of factors but especially age of migration—the young learn languages faster—and level of education.

Language is not only a marker of the changes taking place in the Latino population, especially among immigrants, but is also a vehicle of change. Learning English opens immigrants to American culture, and is the avenue through which they absorb American attitudes. On a wide range of matters from social issues like abortion to the more practical question of what it takes to succeed in an American workplace, the opinions expressed by English-dominant Latinos often resemble the views of non-Hispanics, particularly non-Hispanic whites. Meanwhile, the

Table 2: Measures of Acculturation of Various Language Groups of Hispanics

Acculturation Measure ^a	Language Group			
	Spanish-Dominant	Bilingual	English-Dominant	Non-Latino
It is better for children to live in their parents' home until they get married:				
Agree	95	75	52	46
Disagree	5	24	47	52
Having a child without being married:				
Acceptable	49	60	67	55
Unacceptable	48	38	31	43
In general, the husband should have the final say in family matters:				
Agree	43	34	27	29
Disagree	56	65	71	70
Elderly parents should live with their adult children:				
Agree	76	71	69	56
Disagree	23	26	28	41
Sex between two adults of the same sex:				
Acceptable	16	27	38	35
Unacceptable	81	70	60	62
Abortion:				
Acceptable	10	22	36	41
Unacceptable	88	73	59	55
It doesn't do any good to plan for the future because you don't have any control over it:				
Agree	59	31	24	17
Disagree	40	68	75	82
Are willing to work long hours at the expense of your personal life:				
Agree	17	33	45	45
Disagree	81	66	55	54

Source: The Pew Hispanic Center-Kaiser Family Foundation, 2002 National Survey of Latinos

^a Measures are percentages of those polled. Totals may not equal 100 percent due to "don't know/no opinion" responses.

views of Spanish-dominant Latinos are quite distinct. Acculturation, as measured by the acquisition of English, is clearly associated with changes in a variety of attitudes related to family, marriage and other social mores.

Family and Hispanic Identity

The centrality of family is often cited as a key element of Hispanic identity.⁴ However, as shown by Table 2, Latinos differ considerably on the question of whether adult children should live with their parents until they marry. The Spanish dominant are almost unanimous (95 percent) in saying this is preferable but the share taking this view is lower among the bilingual (75 percent) and lower still among the English-dominant (52 percent). Those Latinos who are fully acculturated to English hold views similar to those of non-Latinos (46 percent agree).

A similar pattern is evident on the issue of whether it is acceptable to have a child without being married. The Spanish dominant are evenly divided while the English dominant find it acceptable by a margin of two-to-one with the split among bilinguals falling in between. Among non-Latinos a majority (55 percent) finds unmarried childbearing to be acceptable. The same pattern again holds true on the question of gender roles within a marriage with 43 percent of Spanish-dominant Latinos saying that in general the husband should have the final say compared to 27 percent of the English dominant and 29 percent of non-Latinos.

Acculturation does not appear to have an effect on views about whether elderly parents should live with their adult children, a key measure of the strength of family bonds. Although declining somewhat with the acquisition of English, the share of Latinos saying that elderly parents should live with their adult children is not significantly different across the language categories and is higher among English-dominant Latinos than it is among non-Latinos.

On the charged issues of homosexuality and abortion, the acculturation pattern is quite clear: large majorities of the Spanish dominant reject these behaviors. While majorities of the English dominant also take a negative view, their opinions are more divided and their attitudes are similar to those of non-Latinos.

It is important to note that the same pattern of attitude change associated with acculturation extends into realms far removed from the family. Fatalism, or the sense that an individual has little control over his or her destiny, is more than twice as prevalent among the Spanish-dominant as among English-dominant Latinos or among non-Latinos. Similarly, a willingness to work long hours at the expense of one's personal life increases with the acquisition of English among Hispanics until it is similar to the views held by non-Latinos.

A statistical analysis of these results shows that language contributes substantially to these differences in attitudes even when controlling for a variety of other factors, including age, gender, income, education, country of origin, religion and the number of years an immigrant has lived in the United States.⁵ In other words, when all those factors are taken into account, it is language that is most powerfully associated with these differences of opinion among Latinos.

These survey results support the findings from demographic data showing that immigrant Latinos come to the United States with a more powerful devotion to traditional notions of marriage and family than is common among the native born, both Latino and non-Latino. Over time and across generations, however, those attitudes change and become very much like those found in the non-Hispanic population.

Conclusion |

The positive effects that the growth of the Hispanic population has had on the overall state of the family in the United States—most notably on the number of two-parent families raising children—can be expected to dissipate absent continued high levels of immigration. Already for the past several years births in the United States have contributed more to the growth of the Hispanic population than immigration primarily because of high fertility rates among immigrants already settled here. This large and fast-growing second generation of Latinos is still quite young with some two-thirds under the age of 18. Both the survey and demographic data suggest that as these children move into adulthood, the children of immigrants will resemble not their parents so much as non-Latinos in the ways they go about marrying and raising their children.

This dynamic points to a potential conflict between two policy objectives that might seem unrelated but that might be at cross-purposes: the promotion of marriage and the promotion of acculturation. While pressing immigrants and their offspring to rapidly adopt English as their primary language may produce benefits in education and economic well-being, it might also promote the deterioration of attitudes that support traditional formulations of marriage and family. English is the vehicle for the acquisition of values and attitudes that are common among non-Latinos and that have contributed to the decline of the traditional family in that population. Moreover, the rapid pace of acculturation among Latino immigrants and their offspring has been found to produce a variety of strains within Hispanic households.⁶ Native-born children tend to acquire English and American attitudes faster than their parents, leading to kind of cultural generation gap which can both erode parental authority and inhibit the transmission of parents' values on a variety of matters including family, marriage and childbearing.

End Notes |

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