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Sotto lo Stesso Tetto: Mutamenti della Famiglia in Italia dal XV al XX Secolo. by Marzio Barbagli

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Hispanic Youth: Emerging Workers, by RICHARD SANTOS. New York: Praeger, 1985. 198 pp. \$30.95 cloth.

JOHN A. GARCIA
University of Arizona

As we enter the mid-point of the decade of the Hispanics, social scientists continue to explore various dimensions of Hispanic experience. Richard Santos presents a survey of critical factors and experiences of Hispanic youth. This overview represents a profile based on the National Longitudinal Survey (1979 and 1980 panels), including information about Hispanics' labor-force participation rates, unemployment rates, experiences with government-sponsored training, and important attitudes and expectations about the world of work.

As Santos indicates, social scientists have only recently investigated the labor-market experiences of Hispanic workers. In particular, past and current studies have examined earnings, occupational attainment, economic sector participation, and impact of discrimination upon Hispanic workers. Most analyses of the Hispanic labor force have taken up the role of cultural factors (e.g., language use—Spanish and English—and foreign birth, etc.) in relation to wages, occupational status, and labor-force participation rates. This book is one of the few works on young Hispanic workers. Given the youthfulness of the Hispanic population, this segment represents a significant proportion of new workers.

Early in the book, Santos outlines the salient factors that influence the experiences of youth in the labor market: educational attainment, English proficiency, foreign workers, job-training skills, job-search skills, and attitudes to the world of work. In a sense, the accumulation of human capital investments and experiences within the labor market should improve a youth's opportunities for successful and "appropriate" employment. For Hispanic youths, living in poverty households, higher school dropout rates, English language limitations, and family responsibilities reduce their human capital assets. At the same time, according to Santos, Hispanic youths have a greater perception of discriminatory practices in the labor market (based on nationality and language).

The employment status of Hispanic youths is related to their ability to stay in school and to the labor-market opportunity structure.

There are limited numbers of jobs available in the central city, and many Hispanics live in regions of the country experiencing economic decline—the northeast and midwest. In addition, Hispanic youths are found in service or manufacturing sectors, particularly males. Obviously the conditions of the labor market sectors will affect both wage levels and opportunities. Finally, Santos' examination of the NLS data reveals favorable participation levels among Hispanic and Black youths in government-sponsored training programs; yet many involved a sponsored job rather than skill advancement and counseling.

If there is a central theme to this book, it might be characterized as substantiating the disadvantaged position of Hispanic youth in the labor market, in terms of human capital skills, labor-market information and job-search strategies, language disadvantages, and, implicitly, discriminatory practices. Yet it is a labor pool that has positive work-oriented attitudes and high job-status aspirations.

A wide range of topics and critical variables are introduced in the book, which is both a strength and a weakness. *Hispanic Youth* does provide interesting and well-based information about a segment of the Hispanic work force that has not been well covered. At the same time, labor-market factors and cultural factors need discussion in greater depth. Given well-established literature on the maturation process of young people, the early career/occupation selection(s) of new workers, and minority status, it would have been possible to utilize a conceptual scheme or model to organize the data and results. The lack of such an organizational scheme gives the book the form of a report rather than significantly contributing to the youth and labor market literature.

Santos concludes with a discussion of job prospects for Hispanic youths. Basically, he does not see much improvement of job opportunities in the future. His prognostication can be changed by "creating a more favorable economic climate and better employability of youth." The policy implications are substantial; this concluding chapter is only the tip of an iceberg for policy examination.

Family

Sotto lo Stesso Tetto: Mutamenti della Famiglia in Italia dal XV al XX Secolo, by

MARZIO BARBAGLI. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1984. 521 pp. Lit 30,000.

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As the history of family life and family forms in Italy begins to be documented, many previous generalizations about the course of family relations in the West become untenable. In this outstanding study, Marzio Barbagli—one of Italy's premier sociologists—goes far in documenting a society in which large, complex family households were common and relating this pattern to a variety of sociological theories about the evolution of the Western family.

The book is divided into two parts: the first deals with patterns of household composition in north-central Italy from 1400 to the present, and the second part examines the transformation of family relations that occurred during these years. The focus of the book is on the north-central region, where complex family households have historically been abundant, but there are comparisons to different patterns found elsewhere in the peninsula, especially the south. Barbagli's investigation of household forms is based primarily on ecclesiastical and civil enumerations of various kinds. However, the second portion of the book relies on less demographic material: oral histories from a large sample of women born between 1880 and 1910, empirical studies conducted in Italy in the 1930s by a variety of economists and sociologists, and evidence from folklore and folk customs.

Barbagli contrasts the urban dwellers, who lived largely in nuclear family households, with rural populations, where most people lived in households containing members of two or more kin-related families. In the cities, only the upper classes typically practiced patrilocal residence after marriage, forming complex family households. In the countryside, farm dwellers overwhelmingly lived in complex family households, generally formed by bringing the sons' brides into the parental household. Indeed, in the nineteenth century Barbagli finds that only a quarter of the children under the age of 10 living in tenant-farming households were children of the household head; households were more commonly headed by their grandfathers or paternal uncles. Similarly, women began their married lives as daughters-in-law of the head and were subservient to their mothers-in-law for

an extended period. This pattern of urban-rural differences lasted for centuries.

But changes were taking place, though not of the kind predicted by most sociological theorists. From 1400 to 1800, agricultural households became increasingly complex, the changes linked to the increased dispersion of the population across the land. This, by the way, was not the case in southern Italy, where various historical factors led the farmers to live in concentrated settlements and where nuclear family households were often (but not everywhere) the rule. Meanwhile, in the cities, the earlier pattern of the upper-class population living in complex family households was changing, with altered inheritance rules increasing the nuclearization of households.

The high point of complexity in north-central Italian family households was reached in the period 1750–1850, linked in part to the long decline in the proportion of the population living in cities and the increased weight of the tenant-farming system. It was only after 1850 that the transition to fewer, patrilocal, multiple-family households occurred, yet this did not take place in any simple fashion but was linked to fluctuations in the rate of urbanization and in the proportion of the agricultural work force working for wages (wage-earners tending to live in nuclear family households).

In Barbagli's view, patriarchal authority was the dominant motif of family relations in both rural and urban Italy for centuries, with a rigid hierarchy of family roles linked to sex, age, and birth order. The household head held all major decision-making power, and his wife and children were completely subordinate to him. Moreover, both husband and wife treated the children with emotional distance.

A crisis in this cultural pattern occurred around the turn of the nineteenth century, related to larger political changes of the time that opened Italy up to "modern" cultural influences from farther north in Europe. A new type of family slowly emerged—the intimate conjugal family, with a reduction in distance between husband and wife and between parents and children. This change first occurred, according to Barbagli, in the cities among the more intellectual portions of the bourgeoisie and the aristocracy, spreading in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century down the class hierarchy in the cities and outward to the countryside.

In deference to those who do not read Ital-

ian, I have devoted my space to a summary of this book rather than to a point-by-point critique. There are some arguments—such as Barbagli's heavy emphasis on the powerlessness of women before the late eighteenth century—that are open to debate. However, the book represents a masterful use of diverse primary sources and an elegant combination of particular historical description with broad social theory. It is an important contribution to European family history and the sociology of the family.

The Single-Child Family, edited by TONI FALBO. New York: Guilford Press, 1984. 304 pp., \$27.50 cloth.

GEOFFREY MARUYAMA
University of Minnesota

As a parent in the process of transition from having a single-child family to a (hopefully only) two-child family, reviewing *The Single-Child Family* was a task I looked forward to, for it allowed me to compare our thoughts and concerns with those of social scientists trying to disentangle folklore and history from current reality. In this respect, the book met my expectations; it contains thoughtful analysis of the societal issues that influence parents' choices about family size (e.g., the child needs sibling companionship; it would be nice to have a girl/boy as well as a boy/girl). Further, the authors attempt to critically examine whether beliefs about "only child" deficiencies both intellectual (e.g., not learning through teaching/tutoring siblings) and social (e.g., not developing social skills) are in fact valid. The structure underlying this examination is a major strength of the book; the different chapters focus on varying developmental periods and cover a full range of ages from infancy to adulthood. In addition, a number of different methodologies are employed. As a result, the book provides a good departure point for researchers who want to pursue research on only children.

From another perspective, however, part of this book might be viewed as continuing a research tradition that would be better forgotten. The surge of birth-order studies during the 1960s was tempered by the critical reviews of Schooler (*Psychological Bulletin* 78: 161–175, 1972) and others, pointing out the imprecision and artifactual nature of many of the findings. The birth order studies that re-

emerged were primarily those that assessed very large samples; controlled confounding variables such as family social class and family size; looked at specific birth positions; and/or spoke carefully about the magnitude of the effects. In *The Single-Child Family*, however, some of the findings would not withstand the scrutiny of reviewers like Schroder; for example, samples were as small as seven only children, the magnitude of effects often was not reported and could not be assessed, and different birth positions (e.g., first- and last-borns of two-child families) were lumped together for comparisons with only children.

As is true of most edited books, there is some unevenness and redundancy. Further, cross-chapter links could have been better, for interesting and potentially important points raised in one chapter are ignored in others (e.g., chapter 2 raises the point that complications during pregnancy and delivery are more prevalent for mothers of only children). In addition, the methodological rigor is variable, particularly in discussions of the meanings of significant findings. As an example, table 3.6 presents standardized discriminant function coefficients for two-group comparisons of -3.57 , 2.31 , -2.16 , and 1.77 ; the magnitudes of these coefficients suggest a collinear set of predictor variables and an unstable solution not worth interpreting. Finally, in addition to the concise overview, I would have liked a concluding chapter that critically reviewed and summarized the various papers and synthesized them. Such a chapter could have highlighted the major contributions found in the book, woven together the samples and approaches, and provided a broader framework that assessed impacts of societal change (e.g., divorce and remarriage), values, and technology on families.

Overall, *The Single-Child Family* is an interesting collection of work addressing aspects of being an only child. These contributions clearly delineate popular thinking about family size and cast such thinking in terms of social science theory and methodology. The findings argue that popular beliefs about only children may be wrong and suggest that birth position may have limited impact. As a first attempt, this book should prove to be an important work.

Family Case Studies: A Sociological Perspective, edited by RALPH LAROSSA. New York: Free Press, 1984. 253 pp. NPL paper.