The American Family:
Human Capital
Investment as a
Counterpoint to the
Ages of Capitalism

June Carbone University of Minnesota Law School

The Family as a Legal System Tied to Income, Wealth

Transformation of American Families, 1800–2015

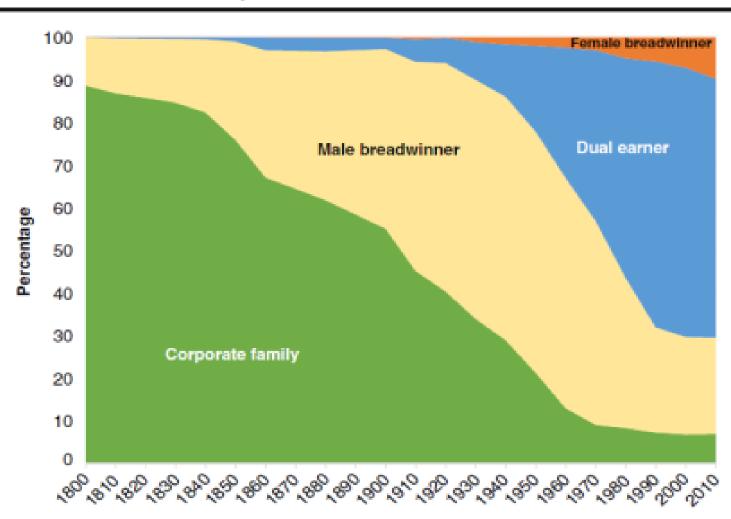


Fig. 4 Family economies of U.S. couples aged 18–64: United States, 1800–2010. Source: Ruggles (forthcoming)

Agricultural Societies: Patriarchy

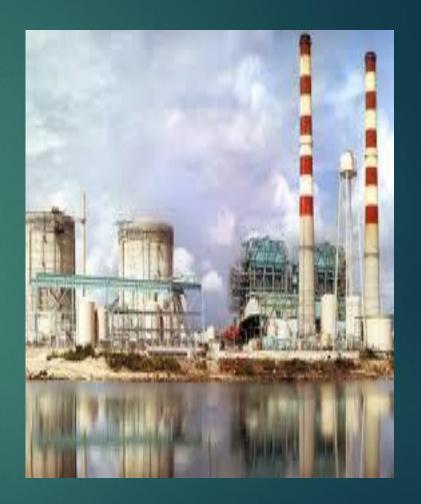
- Farm ownership = security, subsistence
- Farm household = "little commonwealth"
- ▶ Male land ownership = readiness for marriage
- Patriarchal authority within marriage
- ▶ 1800: 90% of Americans live on farms





Industrial Revolution: Separate Spheres

- Urbanization: Disruption of landbased subsistence
- Step 1: Reinvention of middle-class marriage
- Step 2: Rise of the family wage
- Step 3: Reinvention of the State





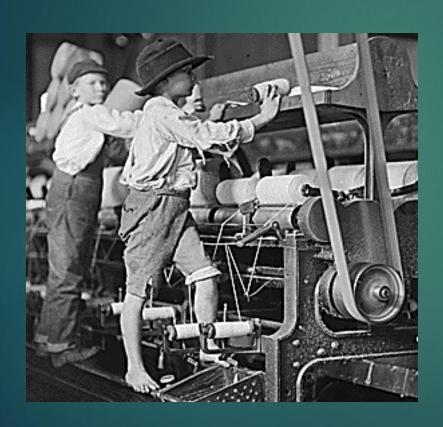
The New Middle-Class System

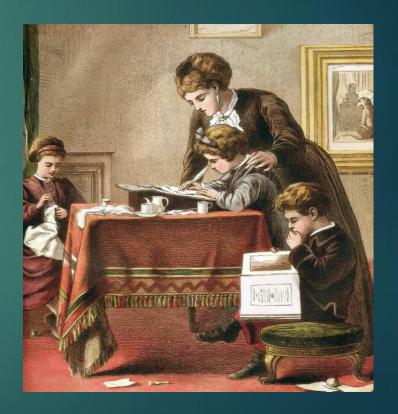
- ▶ Age of marriage rises, male security
- ▶ Separate spheres: women gain prestige as homemakers
- Celebration of women's virtue (just say "no" = fewer kids, at later ages)
- ▶ Greater investment in children, education
- Beyond reach of working class until 1940



Marriage and the Middle Class: Greater Investment in Fewer Children

Specialization among men, not men and women







1st Demographic Transition: 1800 = 8 children 1900 = 4 children





Brides Pregnant at the Altar

1800: 30% 1860: 10%





NAME WEATHER-

THE DETROIT JOURNAL

PROPERTY PRINT VEAR.

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The Rise of the Family Wage

- ▶ 1913: Ford turnover = 370%
- Solution: Double pay for married men
- Increase family, worker identification with company
- Protections against dismissals
- "Socialization Organization:" men who drank too much or had wives who worked not eligible for family wage

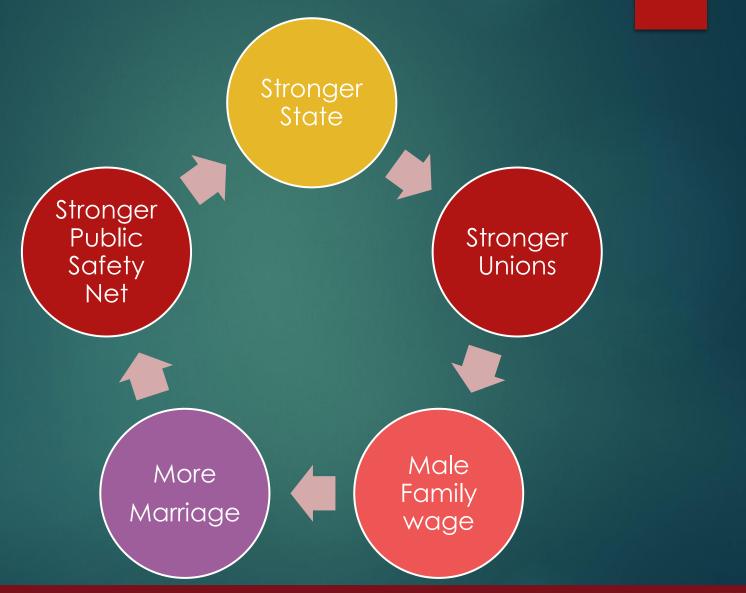


The New Deal and Social Insurance

- Government programs: "monetary protection against risks associated with living in an industrial or post-industrial society in which income typically derives from paid work"
- Social Security (retirement)
- Unemployment Compensation
- Disability and Survivors' Benefits
- Aid to Dependent Children (afterthought)



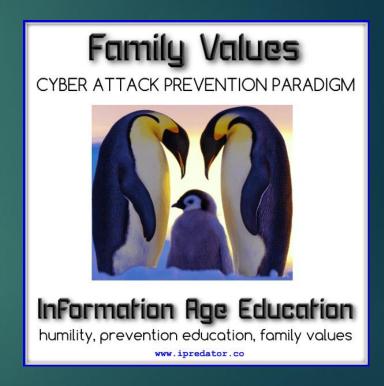
Reinvention of the 20th Century State





Information Age: Dual Earners

- Disruption of Male Wage Labor, Family Stability
- Step 1: Reinvention of Middle-Class Marriage
- Step 2: Employability replaces employment
- Step 3: Blocking the reinvention of the state





Shifting Power



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The Firm as
Network and the Rebirth of Inequality



Labor and the information age

Industrial Era

- Bricks and mortar
- Need: Unskilled labor-men
- Internal career ladders
- Wage subsidies over time
- Transaction costs: high (needs: supply chains, trained workers, markets)
- Loyalty between firms/workers

Information Age

- Dynamic networks
- Unskilled labor: automation
- Outsourcing: flexibility
- Need: services-female
- Transaction costs: Lower (trade, info revolution)
- Opportunity: acquire experience, skill
- End of loyalty
- Employability matters



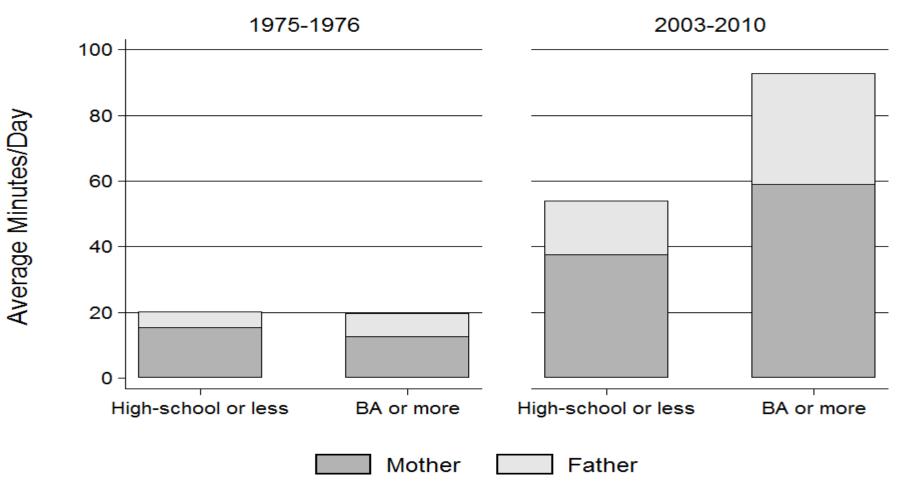
The New Middle-Class Family Model: Greater Investment in Family Capital

- Invest in girls' as well as boys' income capacity
- Postpone family formation until emotional maturity, financial independence
- Marriage = trust, flexibility, interdependence
- ▶ Two incomes = cushion
- Employability matters





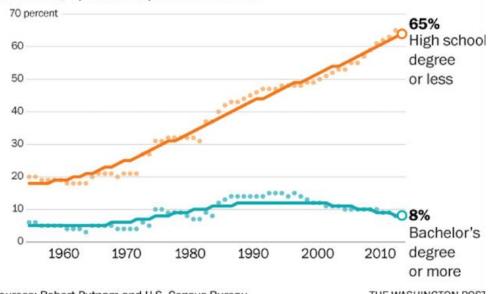
GROWING CLASS GAP IN TIME SPENT WITH PARENTS (1970s vs 2000s)



Non-Hispanic Whites Only Source: American Heritage Time Use Study

Children living in a single-parent home

In 2012, 65 percent of children whose mothers never made it past high school spent at least part of their early childhood in a single-parent household, up from 20 percent in 1953.



Sources: Robert Putnam and U.S. Census Bureau

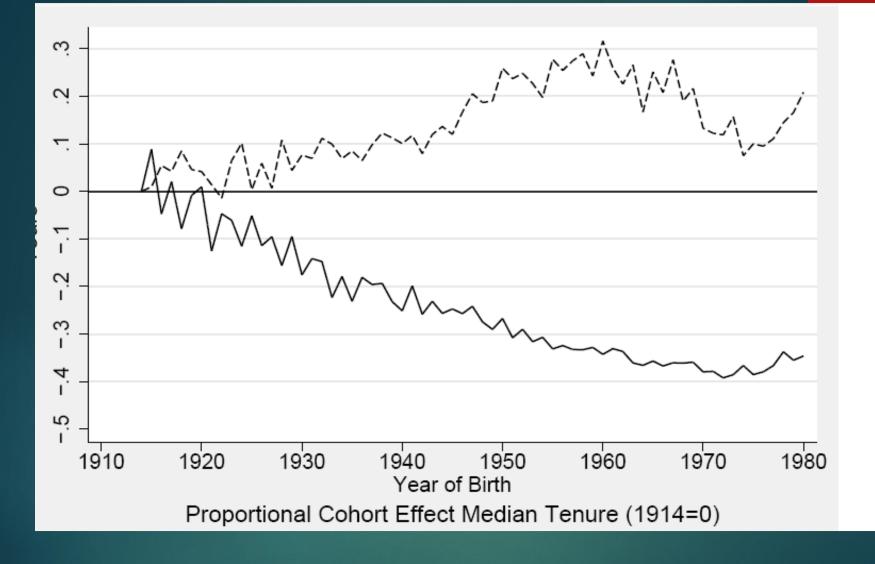
THE WASHINGTON POST

A Model
Once Again
Beyond the
Reach of
the Working
Class

Econ 101: Volatility and Commitment

- Consistent with theories of investment . . .
- Firms with high volatility [in income]
- Need a higher capital cushion to survive
- ► They cut investment
- Cut non-cash current assets
- ▶ Dotted line = ability to pay day to day bills

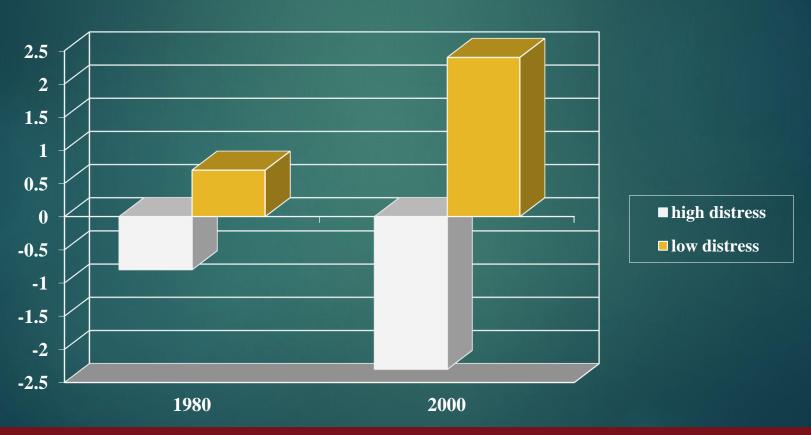




Changes in Employment Stability by Gender (Men solid line) and Birth Year



Divorce Proneness by Perceived Economic Distress (Amato, et al)

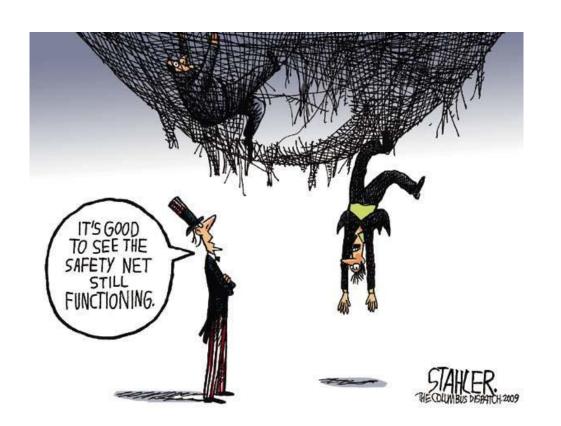




Marriage = Vulnerability

- Bethany, re: Calvin, the father of her child
- Marriage "means one less granola bar for the two of us."
- Women's fear: need to "evict partner"
- Working class couples have no cushion or trust
- For couples without savings, commitment = using your income to pay off your partner's traffic tickets, bar bill while unemployed (unemployed men drink more), car repairs, while your children go without
- ▶ 40% of American families have < \$400 in savings
- Marriage = joint liability to creditors; jt custody





Less Secure Employment, Less Stable Families, and Greater Family Insecurity

Three Primary Ideas

- Universal Basic Income
- ► (or family allowances)
- Guaranteed Jobs
- (or go back to school free cards)
- Stock options for everyone
- ▶ (or inclusive capitalism)





Challenge

HOW TO INSTITUTIONALIZE SUPPORT FOR THESE IDEAS?

Reinvention of the 21th Century State

