

# NEW ZEALAND FAMILIES TODAY

A brief demographic profile





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## Introduction

This brief demographic profile presents a broad overview of the make-up of the New Zealand family in 2012 and identifies trends over the past few decades.

The aim is to make available to the general public the latest information on New Zealand families, and in doing so, make them better informed of the diversity of family life. There are dangers in simplifying demographic trends that often vary for different groups (eg ethnic, geographical or socio-economic), but more detailed studies of New Zealand family and whānau are available for those interested.<sup>1</sup> These studies offer a more complete picture of family trends and the factors contributing to family change.

Historical studies of the family<sup>2</sup> show that there has never been a period that might serve as the 'norm', as the nature of family relationships has changed throughout history. Until recently we tended to compare current family forms with the 'nuclear family' model of the 1950s and 1960s (eg mum, dad and the kids). This brief shows that this model no longer serves to describe the variety of family forms in New Zealand today, if indeed it ever did.

**This report mainly uses data collected and published by Statistics New Zealand<sup>6</sup> with additional information from the Ministry of Social Development's 'Social Report'.<sup>7</sup> With the delay of the 2011 Census until 2013, the most recent Census data is from the 2006 Census, unless figures are based on other data sources.<sup>8</sup> To avoid excessive referencing, data comes from these primary sources, unless stated otherwise in the text.**

1 Pool, I., Dharmalingam, A., & Sceats, J. (2007). *The New Zealand family from 1840: A demographic history*. Auckland University Press, Auckland; Families Commission (2008) *The Kiwi Nest; 60 years of change in New Zealand families*. Families Commission, Wellington; Families Commission (2011) *Whānau Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*. Families Commission, Wellington; Te Puni Kōkiri (2011) *Māori: Demographic dividend for economic return*. Te Puni Kōkiri, Wellington; Te Puni Kōkiri and FC report on Māori demographics.

2 Coontz, S. (2005). *Marriage, a History*. Penguin; New York.

## New Zealand's population

New Zealand's population has grown steadily over the last 30 years and was estimated as 4.44 million as at 30 June 2012.<sup>3</sup>

While the rate of natural growth has been steady the contribution of migration to population growth has varied. In some years there has been a net flow out of New Zealand (eg the mid 1980's) and some years an inward flow (eg since 2002). Immigration and the higher birth rates, and younger age profile, of Asian, Māori and Pacific peoples is resulting in an increasingly diverse cultural mix for New Zealand.<sup>4</sup>

Like many 'developed' countries, New Zealand's population is aging. For example, the median age of the population has increased from 26.4 years in 1976 to 35.8 years in 2006, and is estimated as being 37 years in 2012. The proportion of the population who are children has fallen, while the proportion in the 65 years plus age group has risen. This aging of the population is likely to result in fewer working-age New Zealanders supporting an increasing number who have retired.<sup>5</sup>

Where New Zealanders live within New Zealand has also undergone significant change. There has been greater growth in urban areas and the North, with the Auckland, Hamilton and Tauranga experiencing greater than average population growth. In 2006 86 percent of the population was living in urban areas, with almost a third of New Zealanders living in Auckland.

3 Demographic Trends 2011, New Zealand resident population.

4 Ministry of Social Development (2010). *The Social Report*. Ministry of Social Development, Wellington. See also the recent *Growing Up in New Zealand* study, Morton, S. et al. (2010). *Growing up in New Zealand: A longitudinal study of New Zealand children and their families. Report 1: Before we are born*. Auckland: Growing up in New Zealand.

5 Jackson, N. (2001). *The policy-maker's guide to population ageing: key concepts and issues*. Policy Research Paper No. 13. Department of Family and Community Services, Canberra.

6 Statistics New Zealand (2012). *Demographic Trends 2011*. Census

7 Ministry of Social Development (2010). *The Social Report*. Ministry of Social Development, Wellington.

8 For example, the Household Labour Force Survey or occasional specific topic surveys.



# Who do people live with?

Most New Zealanders live in households with other people, to whom they may or may not be biologically related.

When statistics are collected in the Census, people are categorised as living in households and, where relevant, in families. A household can contain one or more families, or a person living alone, or a group of unrelated adults

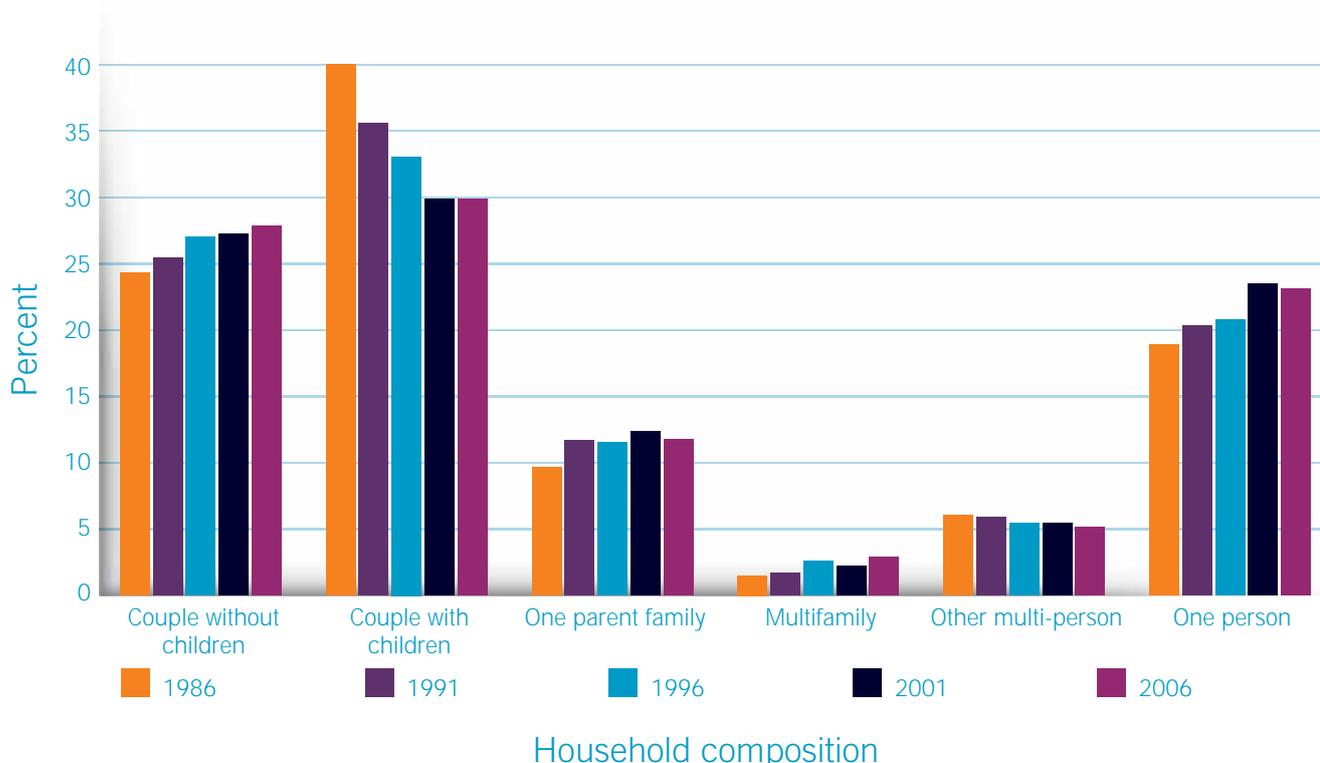
(eg students flatting together). Families are categorised in terms of the relationships between household members (eg a couple with or without children). Over time there may be changes in both the composition of households and in the main types of family.

## Households

Households usually contain only one family unit, either a single person living alone or a couple with or without children. In 2006 only 3 percent of households contained multi-family units, although this is more common among Asian, Pacific and Māori households.<sup>9</sup> Figure 1 shows how the composition of households has changed over 20 years.

<sup>9</sup> Statistics New Zealand (2008) Housing indicators, indicator six multi-family households, [http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse\\_for\\_stats/people\\_and\\_communities/housing/housing-indicators.aspx](http://www.stats.govt.nz/browse_for_stats/people_and_communities/housing/housing-indicators.aspx)

Figure 1 Distribution of households, by household composition, 1986–2006



Source: Statistics New Zealand

Household composition: Statistics New Zealand (1998) 1996 Census: Families and Households, Table 1; Statistics New Zealand (2002) 2001 Census of Population and Dwellings: National Summary, Table 36; Statistics New Zealand (2006) 2006 Census, Classification Counts, Table 55.



Although couples with children are the most common household type, at just under a third of households, they have been a decreasing proportion of households. Over the past 20 years, couple-only and one-person households have become more common. Population aging and the lessening difference in male vs female life expectancy are factors contributing to this change (eg there are more couples whose adult children have left home). However declining fertility, delayed marriage, relationship breakdown, changing values and attitudes to partnering are also likely to have contributed to these changes.

## Families with dependent children

While households may contain a couple living with their adult children, where children are present in a household they are usually aged under 18 years of age (dependent children). Table 1 shows the changes in family type, for those families with dependent children, between 1976 and 2006.

Table 1 Families with dependent children, by family type, 1976–2006

	1976	1981	1986	1991	1996	2001	2006
Number							
Two-parent family	398,772	380,886	363,489	339,681	346,086	339,159	370,809
One-parent resident	46,296	62,280	82,632	110,055	126,585	140,178	145,032
Mother only	39,153	52,938	71,388	92,028	107,394	117,018	120,996
Father only	7,143	9,342	11,244	18,024	19,191	23,163	24,036
<b>Total families</b>	<b>445,068</b>	<b>443,166</b>	<b>446,121</b>	<b>449,736</b>	<b>472,671</b>	<b>479,337</b>	<b>515,841</b>
Percent							
Two-parent family	89.6	85.9	81.5	75.5	73.2	70.8	71.9
One-parent resident	10.4	14.1	18.5	24.5	26.8	29.2	28.1
Mother only	8.8	11.9	16.0	20.5	22.7	24.4	23.5
Father only	1.6	2.1	2.5	4.0	4.1	4.8	4.7
<b>Total families</b>	<b>100</b>						

Source: The Social Report (2010)

Note: The census definition of a dependent child has changed over time. From 1996, a dependent child is a person in a family aged less than 18 years who is not in fulltime employment. For earlier years, a dependent child is a person in a family, aged under 16 years or aged 16–18 years and still at school.



Since 1976 there has been a decrease in the share of families with dependant children who are in two-parent families, from 89.6 percent in 1976 to 71.9 percent in 2006, and an increase in sole parent families,<sup>10</sup> from 10.4 percent in 1976 to 28.1 percent in 2006. Recent analysis indicates that the rate of growth in the proportion of families headed by a sole parent is levelling off.<sup>11</sup> It is relevant to note that in 1981 the Family Proceedings

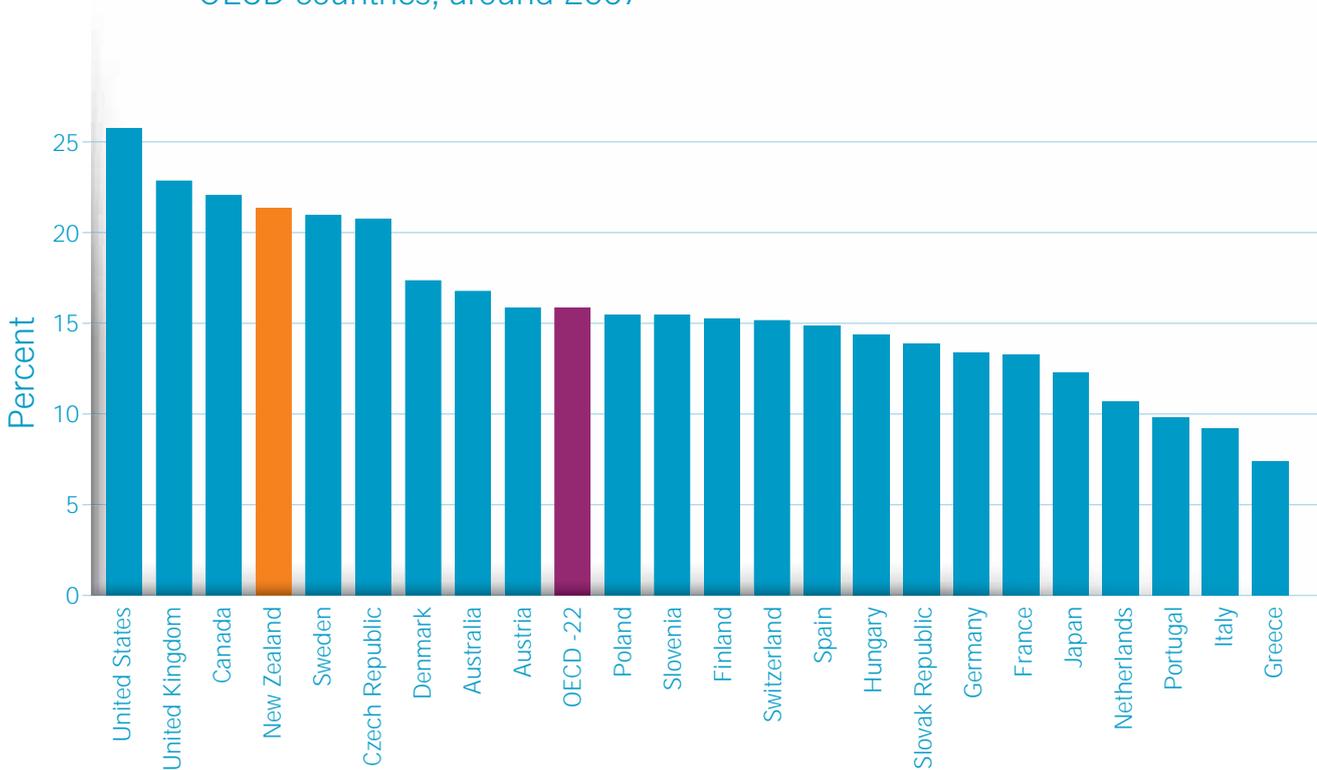
Act (1980) came into force, doing away with fault-based divorce and seeing a significant increase in divorce (see p. 8). The increase in the proportion of sole parent families mirrors overseas trends, although New Zealand's rate is relatively high by international standards (Figure 2). It is important to note that while at any one time just over one-in-four families with dependent children contain only one resident parent, the chances of ever living in a sole parent family are higher, with an estimated third of children having lived in a sole mother family by age 17.<sup>12</sup>

10 It should be noted that the term 'sole parent family/household' is used to refer to the situation where only one parent is living in a child's usual residence. In most cases the other parent is still fulfilling a parenting role and children often spend time living in this other parents household (for a discussion of this issue see Callister, P. & Birks, S. (2006). Two Parents, Two Households: New Zealand Data Collections, Language and Complex Parenting, Blue Skies Fund research, Families Commission).

11 Centre for Social Research and Evaluation (2010). Sole parenting in New Zealand: An update on key trends and what helps reduce disadvantage. Ministry of Social Development, Wellington.

12 Dharmalingam, A., Pool, I., Sceats, J. & Mackay, R. (2004). Raising Children in New Zealand, Patterns of Family Formation and Change in New Zealand. Ministry of Social Development: Wellington.

Figure 2 Proportion of children aged 0–14 years in sole parent households for OECD countries, around 2007



Source: OECD Family Database ([www.oecd.org/els/social/family/database](http://www.oecd.org/els/social/family/database)).



## Partnerships

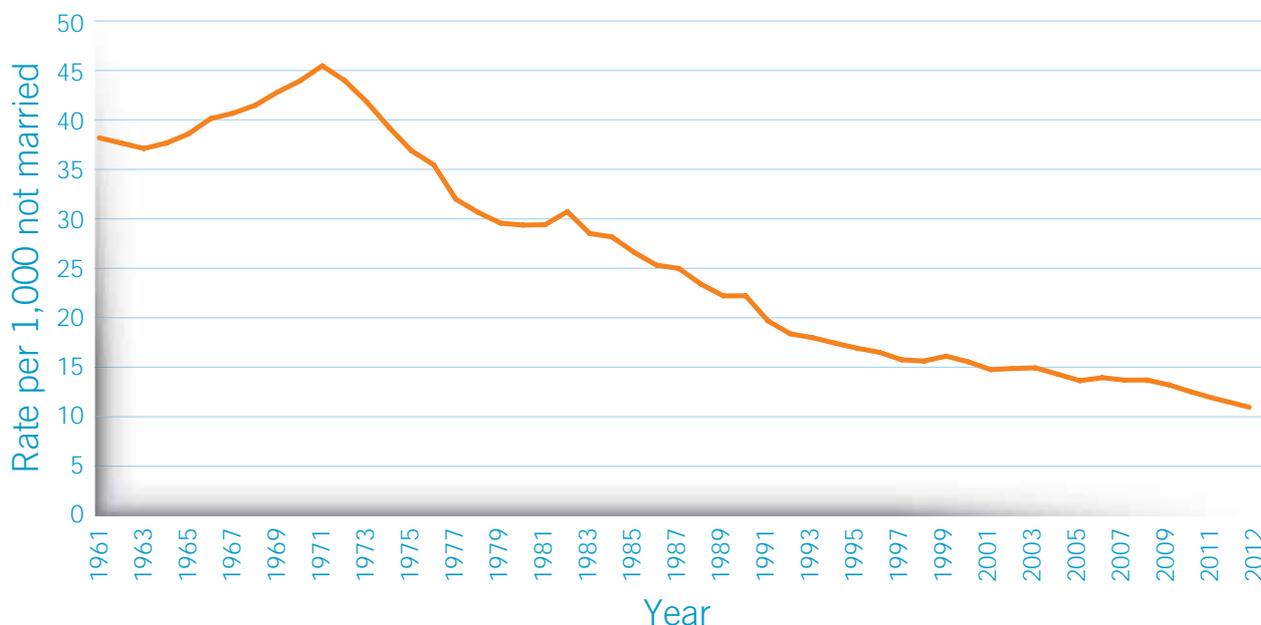
In 2006 57 percent of all adults aged 16 and over were living with a partner. The majority of those who were partnered were married (76 percent) with the remainder in de-facto, or cohabiting, partnerships.<sup>13</sup> There are also an unknown number of couples who would consider themselves to be in a committed partnership, but who through circumstances (eg work and study) do not live together (often referred to as LAT or Living Apart but Together couples). The proportion of adults who are partnered has declined over the past 20 years with 23 percent living alone in 2006, up from 19 percent in 1986. This may partly be a result of the aging of the population, but could also be due to people delaying cohabitation.

<sup>13</sup> Families Commission (2008). The Kiwi Nest; 60 years of change in New Zealand families. Families Commission, Wellington.

Figure 3 shows the marriage rate for the last 50 years. Since the early 1970s there has been an almost uninterrupted decline in the general marriage rate (number of marriages per 1,000 not-married population aged 16 years and over). At 13.2 in 2009, the rate is currently less than one-third of the peak of 45.5 marriages per 1,000 non-married, recorded in 1971. Many factors have contributed to the fall in the marriage rate, including the growth in de-facto unions, a general trend towards delayed marriage, and increasing numbers of New Zealanders remaining single.

Evidence that some people are delaying marriage is seen in the increasing median age of those who marry. For example, the median age of men who married for the first time in 2012 was 30 years, about seven years older than the median age of those who married for the first time in 1971. The median age of women who married for the first time has risen by a similar margin, from

Figure 3 Marriage rates, 1961–2012



Source: Statistics New Zealand. Demographic Trends (2011)

Rate per 1,000 mean not-married estimated population aged 16 years and over.



20.8 years in 1971 to 28.5 years in 2012. Amongst all marriages (first and remarriages) the median age for men in 1971 was 23.5 rising to 32.3 years in 2012 and 21.2 years for women, rising to 30.2 years. Women still tend to marry men older than themselves, but the gap between their median ages at first marriage has narrowed. In 1971, the gap was 2.1 years, but by 2012 it had narrowed to 1.5 years.

However the increasing age at marriage does not mean individuals have been foregoing either relationships or partnering. As indicated above, a growing proportion of New Zealanders now live together without legally formalising their relationship, similar to trends in Australia, North America, and Europe. The five-yearly Census is the primary source of information on de facto unions, since, unlike marriage or civil unions individuals don't have to register a de-facto relationship. In 1996, about one-in-four men and women aged 15–44 years who were in partnerships were in de-facto relationships. By 2006, this figure had increased to almost two-in-five. Other New Zealand research<sup>14</sup> indicates that each generation has seen a greater proportion cohabit with a partner, rather than marry, as their first relationship. It is now the norm for de-facto cohabitation to be the first form of relationship and for those who marry to have time in a de-facto relationship before marrying.

Divorce rates have increased until recently (see p. 8) and the proportion of people who marry for a second time has been increasing. In 1971 just 16 percent of marriages involved the remarriage of one or both partners, but by 2011 it was 31 percent. These remarriages do not always involve dependent children, as the previous marriage may have been childless or the children may now be adults. Remarriage figures do not capture individuals who may have had children with a previous de-facto partner (ie was not previously married). For this reason remarriage rates do not provide an indication of the numbers of stepfamilies (often also referred to as blended families).

Stepfamilies form when a couple enter a partnership and one or both adults have a child from a previous relationship (either marriage or de facto). We do not have national estimates of the proportion of children living in stepfamilies in New Zealand. However the rates are likely to be at least as great as in Australia (7 percent)<sup>15</sup> and England (9.5 percent).<sup>16</sup> One estimate is that as many as 20 percent of children in New Zealand will have the experience of living with a step-parent before they turn 17 years.<sup>17</sup>

The Civil Unions Act 2004 came into force on 26 April 2005, and the first ceremonies were celebrated on 29 April 2005. By 31 March 2012, there had been a total of 2,745 civil unions registered to New Zealand residents. Of these, 2,195 (80 percent) were same-sex civil unions.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Dharmalingam, A., Pool, I., Sceats, J. & Mackay, R. (2004). Raising Children in New Zealand. Patterns of Family Formation and Change in New Zealand. Ministry of Social Development: Wellington.

<sup>15</sup> Family Characteristics survey 2009-2010, Australian Bureau of Statistics: Canberra.

<sup>16</sup> Focus on Families (2007). Office National Statistics, London.

<sup>17</sup> Dharmalingam, A. et al. (2004). Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Statistics New Zealand (2012). Provisional civil unions and marriages.



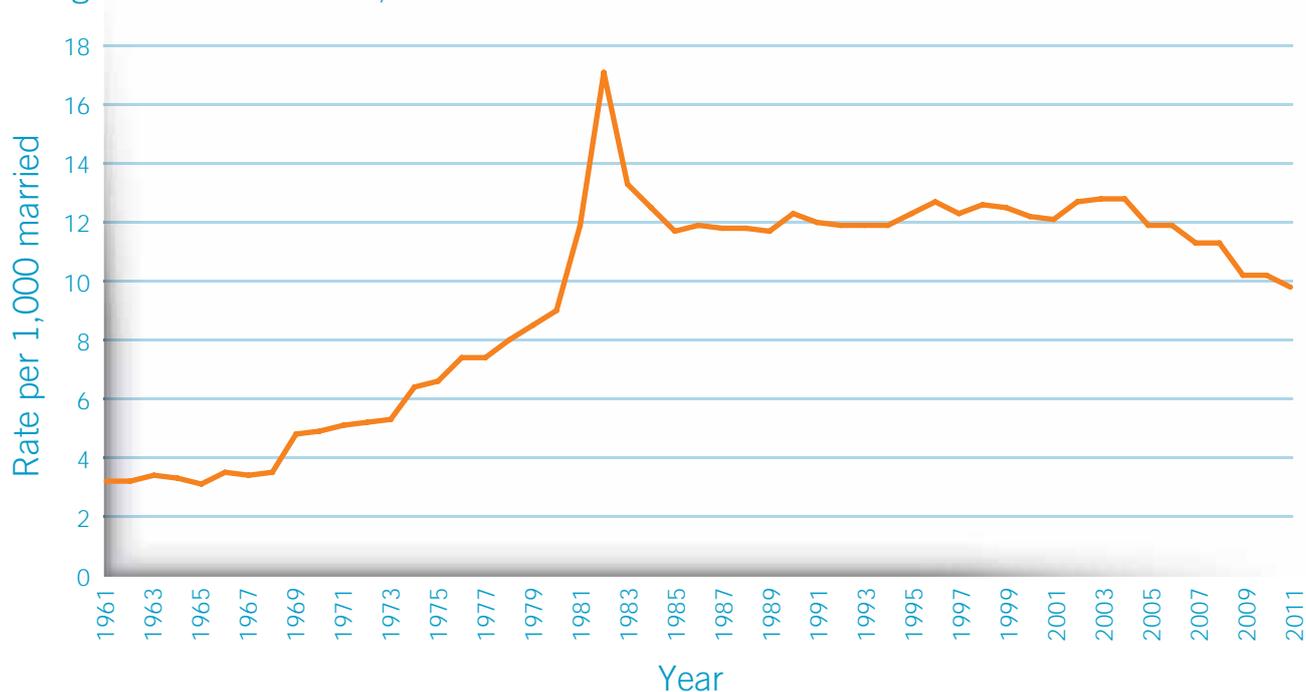
## Divorce

Figure 4 shows the divorce, or dissolution, rate for the last 50 years. In 1981, there was a sharp increase in divorces following the passing of the Family Proceedings Act 1980, which allowed for the dissolution of marriage on the grounds of irreconcilable differences rather than fault. This resulted in a record high divorce rate in 1982, partly due to the backlog of people who had separated in the past but had not divorced under the pre 1982 law. After 1982 both the number and rate of marriage dissolutions dropped. The trend was then for a gradual increase in the divorce rate until the mid 2000s when the rate declined again.

However, annual divorce statistics do not give a complete picture of the chance of a marriage ending in divorce. Analysis of divorce statistics by year of marriage shows that just over one-third of New Zealanders who married in 1985 had divorced before their silver wedding anniversary (25 years of marriage). For those married in 1975 and 1970, the corresponding figures were 30 and 28 percent divorced, respectively.

In line with the increased age at first marriage, age at divorce is also increasing. The median age at divorce in 2011 was 45.4 years for men and 42.8 years for women, compared to 40.6 years and 37.8 years respectively in 1996.

Figure 4 Divorce rates, 1961–2011



Source: Statistics New Zealand. Demographic Trends (2011)

Rate of orders for dissolution of marriage granted in New Zealand per 1,000 estimated existing marriages



# Having children

## New Zealand women are giving birth to 2.1 children on average.

This is about half the high of 4.3 births per woman recorded in 1961, when there was early and near-universal marriage, and early childbearing (Figure 5). For comparison, 40 years earlier in 1921, the total fertility rate was 3.1 births per woman.

The level of fertility required by a population to replace itself in the long term, without migration, is 2.1 births per woman. The total fertility rate for the year ended December 2012 was 2.0. New Zealand's fertility rate has hovered around this figure since the late 1970's. New Zealand's total fertility rate of 2.18 in 2008 was higher than many of

the comparable countries; US (2.08), Australia (1.97), England and Wales (1.97), Canada (1.68), Japan (1.37) and Switzerland (1.48). Some countries are concerned about their below replacement fertility and some have taken active measures to increase fertility (eg payments to new mothers).<sup>19</sup>

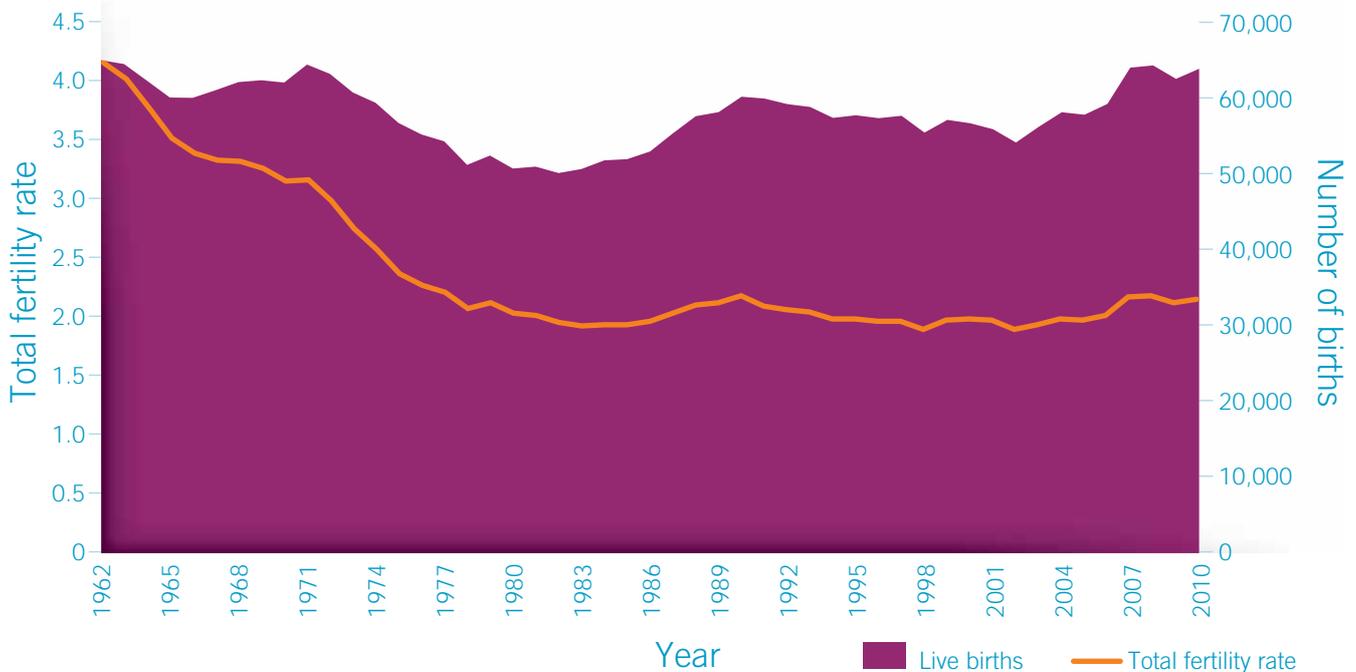
There has also been an increase in the number of women who remain childless.<sup>20</sup> Using Census data, Statistics New Zealand analysis indicates that in 2006 15 percent of women aged 40–44 years were childless, compared to 12 percent in 1996 and 9 percent in 1981. This rate of childlessness is very similar to that in Australia (16 percent in 2006).<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> McDonald, P. (2005). Fertility and the State: the efficacy of policy. Paper presented at the XXV International Population Conference of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, 18-23 July, Tours, France.

<sup>20</sup> Statistics New Zealand. [http://www.stats.govt.nz/Zealand/browse\\_for\\_stats/population/mythbusters/more-women-remain-childless.aspx](http://www.stats.govt.nz/Zealand/browse_for_stats/population/mythbusters/more-women-remain-childless.aspx)

<sup>21</sup> Hayes, A., Weston, R., Qu, L. & Gray, M. (2010). Families then and now 1980-2010. Australian Institute of Family Studies, Melbourne.

Figure 5 Number of live births and total fertility rates, 1921–2010



Source: Statistics New Zealand. Demographic Trends (2011)

The total fertility rate is the average number of births a woman would have during her life if she experienced the age-specific fertility rates of a given period (usually a year).



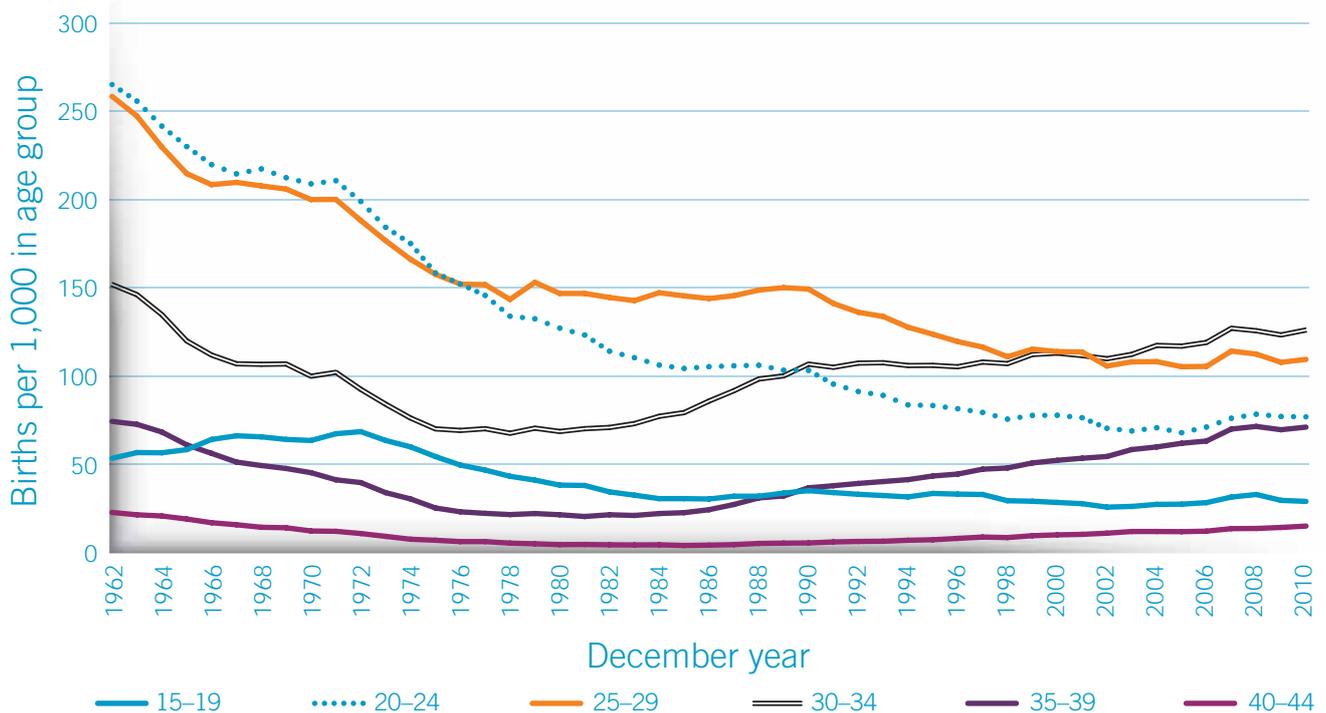
## Age of parents

Age-specific fertility rates measure the number of live births 1,000 women in a particular age group have in a given period (usually a year). Age-specific fertility rates (Figure 6) show a big drop in births to women in their 20s, especially from the early 1960s to the late 1970s. In the December 2010 year, women aged 30–34 years had the highest fertility rate. From the chart it can also be seen that fewer New Zealand women in their teens are having a child compared with the 1960s. The birth rate for women aged 15–19 years was 69 per 1,000 in 1972, before dropping to 30 per 1,000 in 1984. It has hovered around 31 per 1,000 ever since. Although the teen birth rate is lower than

the US (39.1) it is still high by international standards. For example, Australia (16.7), England and Wales (24.2), France (7.3), Denmark (5.1) and Switzerland (2.8) have lower teen birth rates.

Reflecting these changes, the median age of New Zealand women giving birth is now 30 years, compared with 26 years in the early 1960s (Figure 4). The median age dropped to just under 25 years in the early 1970s. Although there has been a significant increase in the median age since the 1970s, it has been relatively stable at around 30 years in the past decade. The median age of fathers has also increased over this period.

Figure 6 Age specific fertility rates, 1962–2010



Source: Statistics New Zealand. Demographic Trends (2011)



## Ex-nuptial births

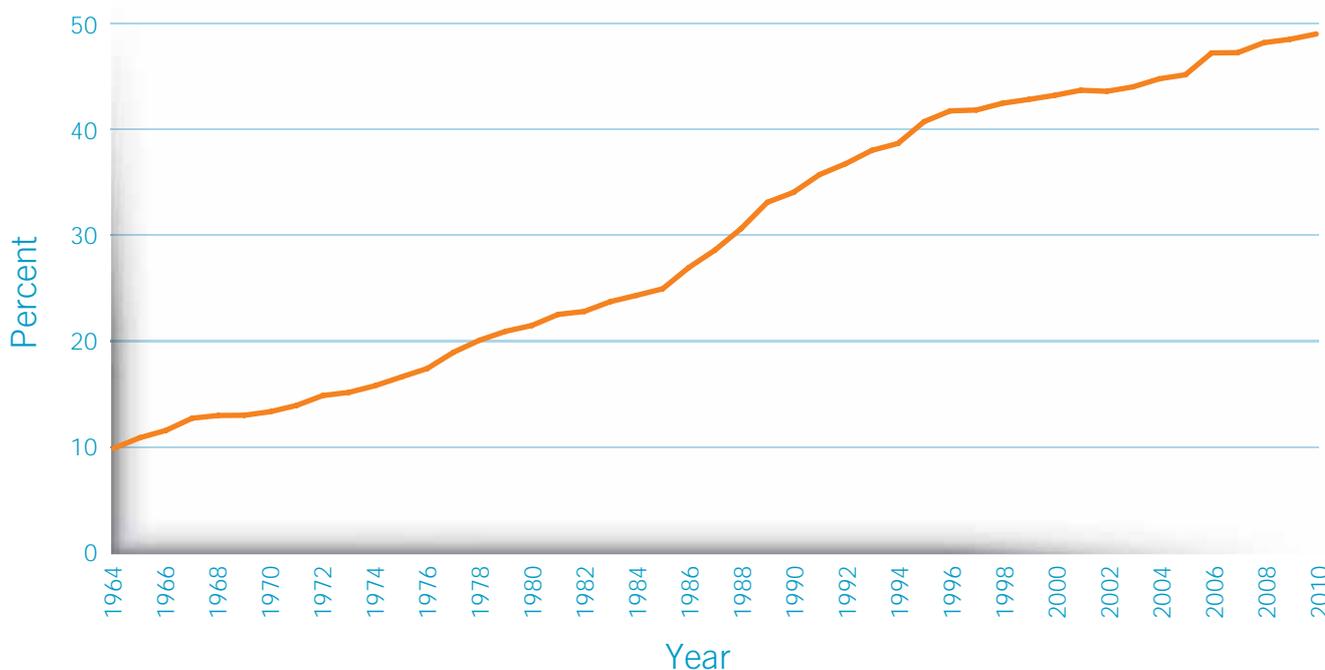
As the rate of cohabitation has risen, so has the proportion of births to women who are not married to the child’s father (referred to as ex-nuptial births). While just under 10 percent of births were to unmarried women in 1964, nearly a quarter of all births were by the early 1980s and nearly 50 percent of all live births in 2010 (Figure 7). However it is estimated<sup>22</sup> that in the 1960s

22 Pool et al (2007) *ibid*.

almost a quarter of births were conceived before the marriage date. Most of these conceptions led to marriage before the birth. Most of the increase in ex-nuptial births has been due to the growth in the number of children born to cohabiting couples. These cohabiting couples may go on to marry, although US and UK data suggests that increasingly many do not.<sup>23</sup>

23 Beaujouan, E. & Ni Bhrolchain, M. (2011). Cohabitation and marriage in Britain since the 1970s. *Population Trends*, 145, Office of national Statistics, London.

Figure 7 Ex-nuptial births as percentage of live births, 1964–2010

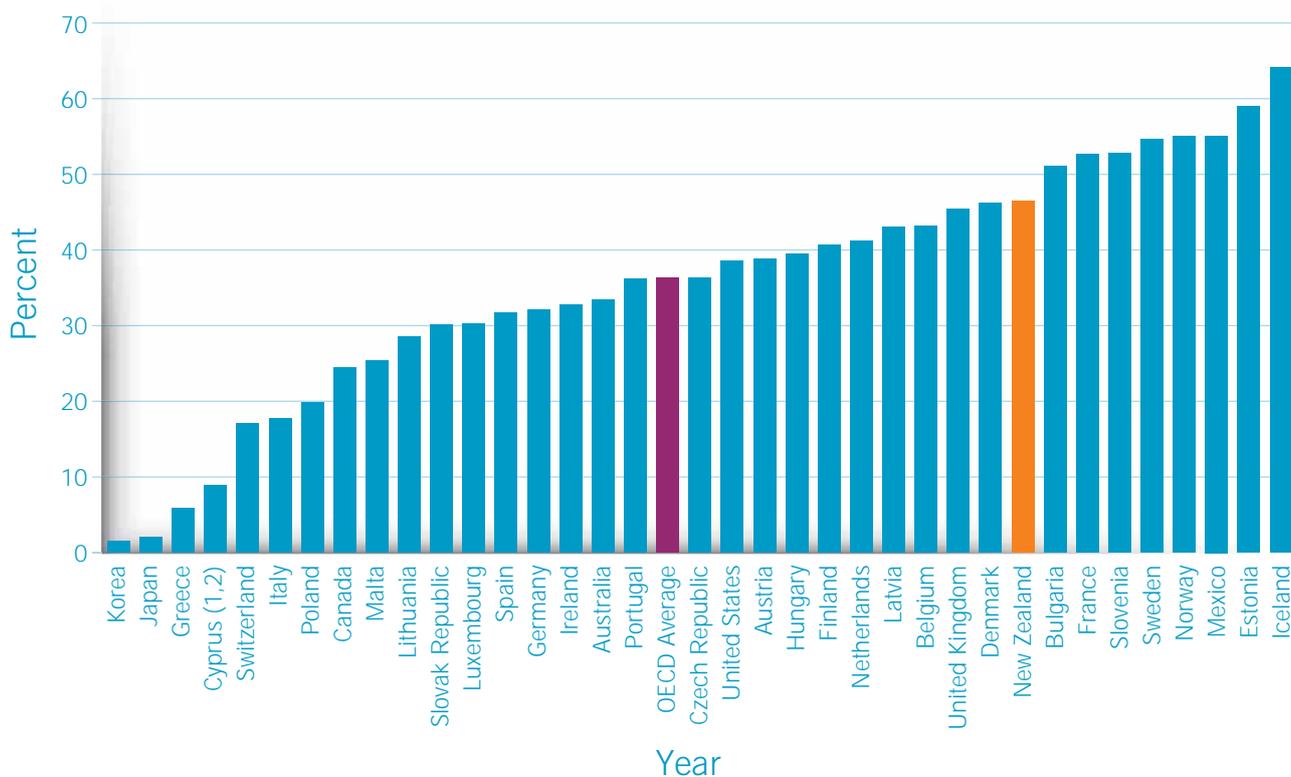


Source: Statistics New Zealand. <http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/families-a-history/7/2>



International comparisons are shown in Figure 8. The New Zealand rate of ex-nuptial births (48 percent) is comparable to that in the United Kingdom (45 percent), but higher than in Australia (34 percent) and the US (41 percent).

Figure 8 OECD comparisons of ex-nuptial births, around 2007



Source: OECD Family Database ([www.oecd.org/els/social/family/database](http://www.oecd.org/els/social/family/database))



# Trends in educational attainment

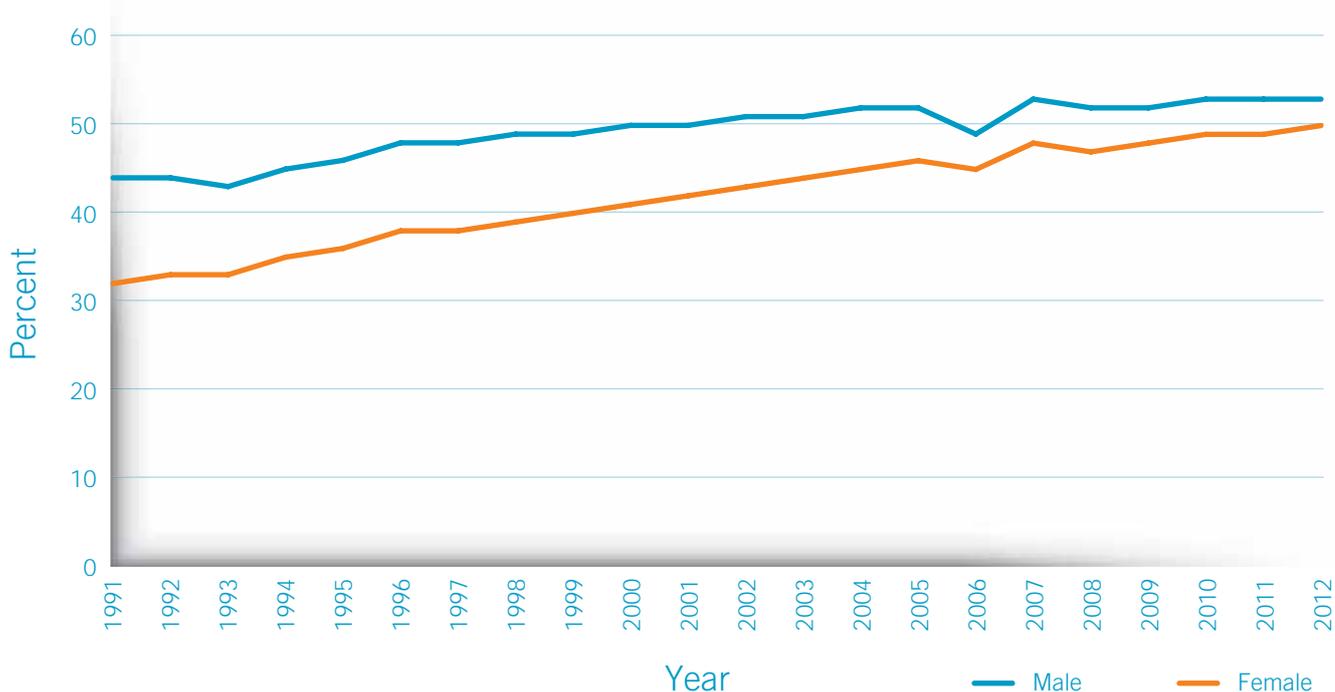
Educational achievement has been increasing over the past 20 years (Figure 9).



While this has been the case for both men and women, the gap in achievement has been closing.

Between 1991 and 2012, the proportion of women holding a post-school qualification increased from 32 percent to 50 percent. Men are still more likely than women to hold a post-school qualification, with 53 percent of men holding a qualification at this level in 2012. The gender gap has been steadily closing – from 12 percentage points in 1991, to 3 percentage points in 2012.

Figure 9 Percent of people aged 15 years and over with post-school qualifications, by gender, 1991–2012



Source: Statistics New Zealand. Quarterly Household Labour Force Survey



# Employment

The participation of women in the labour force has also been steadily increasing over time (Figure 10).

Between 1991 and 2011, women’s labour force participation increased from 49 percent to 58 percent. Although women’s participation in the labour force still remains lower than men’s, the gap has closed from 18 percentage points in 1991 to 12 percentage points in 2011. Women are more likely than men to be working part-time. More than one-third (35.1 percent) of employed women worked part-time in 2008, compared with 11.8 percent of men. Nearly three-quarters (72.4 percent) of part-time employees in 2008 were women.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Ministry of Women’s Affairs (2009). Mothers’ Labour force participation. Ministry of Women’s Affairs, Wellington.

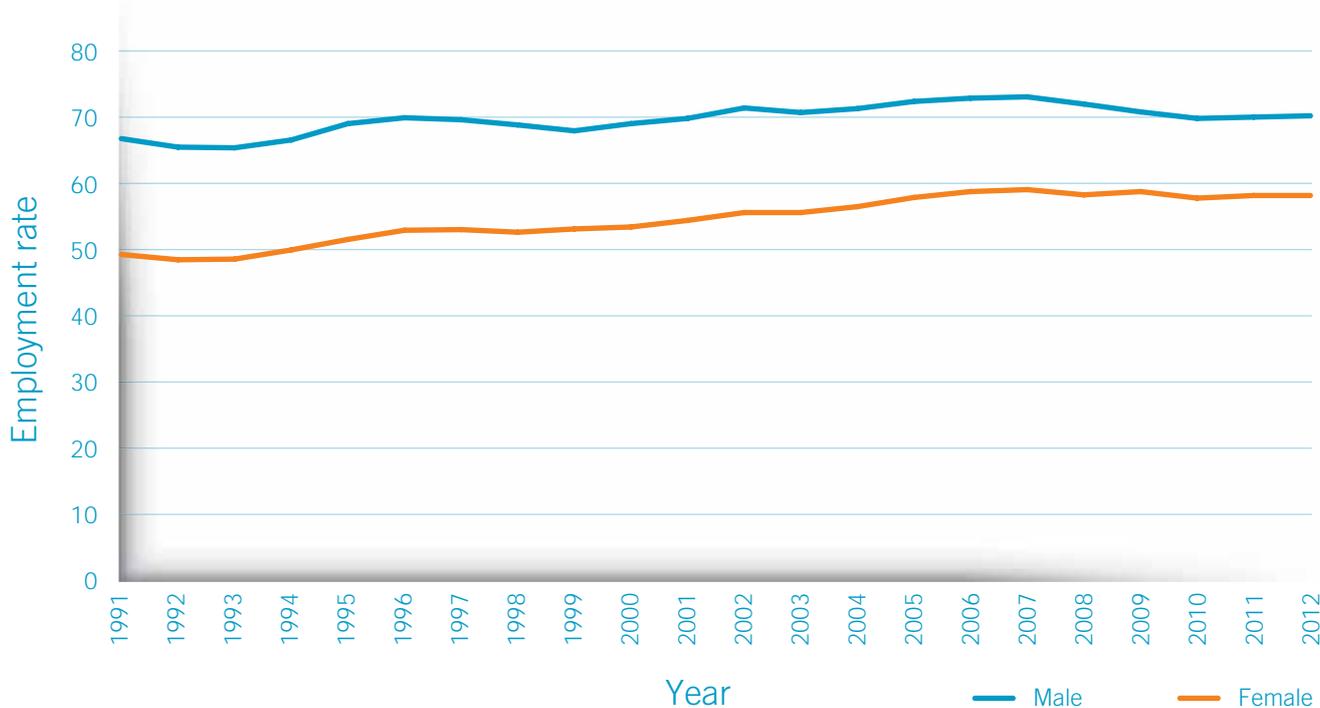
Figure 10 shows the increase in participation in employment for all women. These trends are mirrored in the increase in labour force participation of mothers with dependent children. Census data<sup>25</sup> from 2006 indicated that 66 percent of all mothers were in employment in 2006 (in Australia the comparable figure was 63 percent in 2009). In comparison, in 1976 40 percent of mothers were in employment. As might be expected, participation also increases with the age of the youngest child (eg in 2009, 49 percent of mothers with a youngest child aged 0–2 years were employed, compared to 84 percent of mothers with a youngest child aged 14 years and older).<sup>26</sup>

Fathers’ employment rates have been fairly consistent at about 90 percent, so almost two-thirds of couple families with dependent children have both parents in employment.

<sup>25</sup> This measure differs from that obtained by the Household Labour Force survey, shown in Figure 10, and so figures may differ.

<sup>26</sup> Centre for Social Research and Evaluation (2010). Sole parenting in New Zealand: An update on key trends and what helps reduce disadvantage. Ministry of Social Development, Wellington.

Figure 10 Labour force participation rate, by gender, 1991–2012



Source: Statistics New Zealand. Quarterly Household Labour Force Survey



# Child care

With the falling cost of ECE for three and four year olds, increasing employment of mothers of dependent children and increased joint work hours for couples there is potentially an increased need for childcare.

It is likely that both informal (eg grandparents, friends and neighbours) and formal care (eg childcare centres, in home care services)<sup>27</sup> is being used to meet these childcare needs, and that flexibility in work arrangements is important to couples.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Families Commission (2011). Caring for Kids: Parents' views on out-of-school services and care. Families Commission, Wellington.

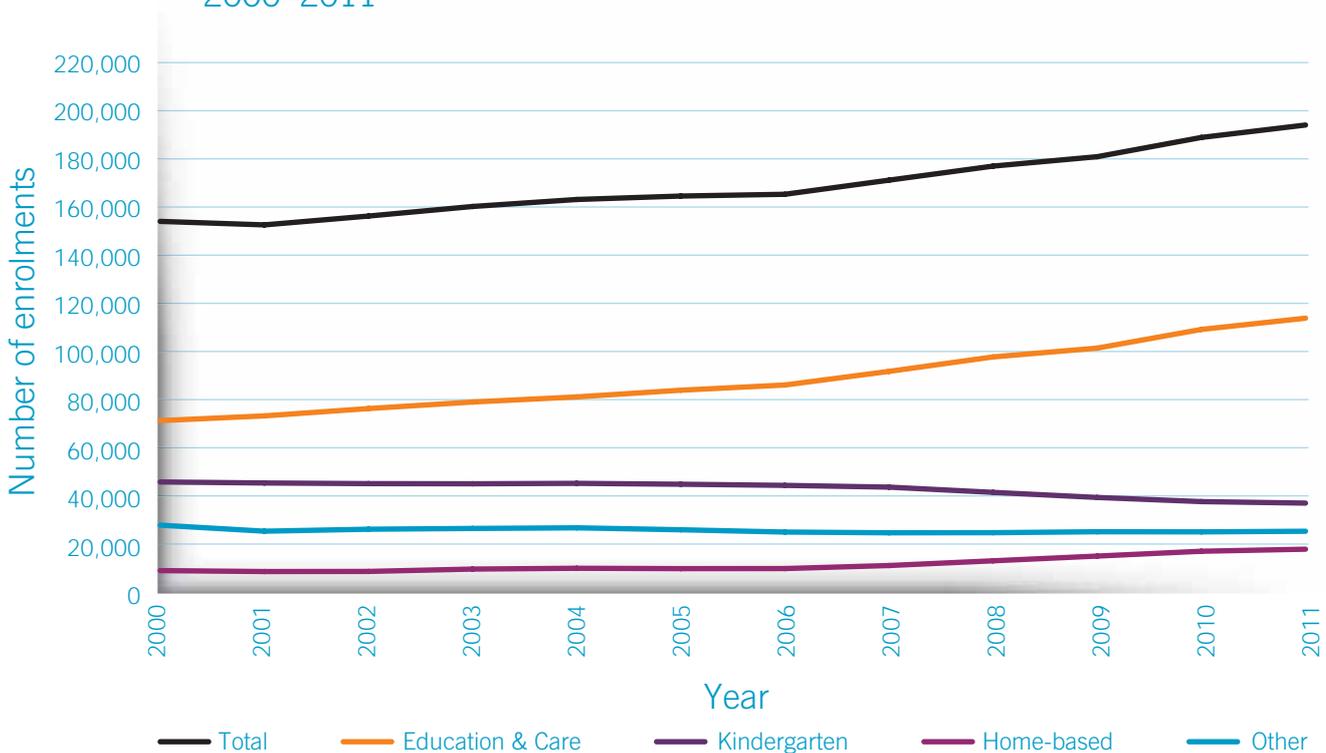
<sup>28</sup> Families Commission (2009). Finding Time: Parents' long working hours and the impact on family life. Families Commission, Wellington.

Figure 11 shows the increased use of formal early childhood education (ECE) services over the past 10 years, with a particular increase in the use of education and care centres and home-based care services. In 2010 53.9 percent of preschool children attended formal ECE, and 44.1 percent attended informal care, and 80.9 percent of children aged 3 to 5 years who attended formal ECE, used 20 hours ECE.

For school-aged children, most parents provide before- and after-school care themselves during school terms (56 percent) or during school holidays (57 percent).<sup>29</sup> Less than one in 10 report currently using formal before- or after-school services or holiday programmes. The remainder of the gap in childcare for school-aged children is usually met by grandparents or other family members.

<sup>29</sup> Families Commission (2011). Caring for Kids: Parents' views on out-of-school services and care. Families Commission, Wellington.

Figure 11 Number of enrolments in licensed ECE services by service type 2000–2011



Source: Ministry of Education Annual Summary



## Conclusion

As indicated in the introduction to this brief demographic profile of New Zealand families, its purpose is to map the broad demographic changes over the past 20 to 30 years.

Inevitably such an approach raises many questions: What impact do these changes have on family wellbeing? What is 'driving' these changes? How are these changes in family life related to one another? Where is the family heading in the future?

It is clear that there have been major changes in the sequencing and timing of significant 'life' events – education, employment, partnering, child-bearing, marriage, child rearing, divorce, remarriage etc. There has been much academic<sup>30</sup> and popular debate about what is driving family structural changes. It is clear, however, that family and whānau still remain a basic unit of society. Marriage is still popular and, whether married or cohabiting, couples perform perhaps the most important role in society – the care and nurturance of children. What is missing from the above picture, and from our statistical data collections, is the place of the parents within the wider context of extended family and whānau relationships.<sup>31</sup>

As to the future, there are some trends that are clearly emerging and predictable, such as population aging. Other trends, such as decreasing rates of marriage, may reverse. For example, after many years of increase the divorce rate has in recent years begun to fall. However it is unlikely that we will return to the situation of 1960's, particularly as attitudes towards cohabitation and marriage have changed so much since then.<sup>32</sup> As the above data show, there is a diversity of family forms in New Zealand.

30 For example Pool, I., Dharmalingam, A., & Sceats, J. (2007). *The New Zealand family from 1840: A demographic history*. Auckland University Press, Auckland; Coontz, S. (2005). *Marriage, a History*. Penguin; New York; Cherlin, A. (2009). *The marriage-go-round: the state of marriage and the family in America today*. Alfred A Knopf, New York.

31 For example see the following for a discussion of the lack of information on whānau relationships. Families Commission (2011). *Whānau Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow*. Families Commission, Wellington.

32 Thornton, A, & Young-DeMarco, L. (2001). Four decades of trends in attitudes toward family issues in the United States. *Journal of Marriage and Family*; Nov 2001; 63(4); pp 1009-1037.



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