

ASPECTS OF AUSTRALIAN  
FAMILY STRUCTURE:  
A FIELD STUDY OF A SAMPLE  
OF URBAN FAMILIES.

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PART IV.

CONCLUSION.

## Chapter XI

### CONCLUSION

#### 1. Discussion of the Findings

The evidence which has been presented has shown the family to be the basic unit of society in two senses: first, it supplies the bearers of public roles with family reasons for being placed where they are; and secondly, by accepting the responsibility of producing and socializing children, it is the maker of society. Because the family is so strongly implicated with the general society in these two ways an integrated relation with the whole would seem to be important. It was found, however, that the relation of these Sydney families to the whole society was marked by dislocation in two ways. First of all, each one was separated from vast sections of the community by its class distinctiveness, and, secondly, it was surrounded by other families whose basic values might well be different from its own. The result was that families had little or no sense of membership in a total society. According to the way in which they believed their own interests were related to what they knew of the existing society, the parents of families adopted different attitudes of social responsibility,

and imparted these to their children. Thus the families, in their role of makers of society, endowed it with instability.

Because of this divergence of interests the integration of families into the wider society depended almost entirely on co-operation between them for the only important interests they had in common with all other families, i.e. for securing money as a means of exchange for furthering their particular interests - and for educating their children to do the same. For these respective purposes fathers and children went out of the family circle to associate with others in secondary relationships. As their endeavours in both situations were primarily instrumental to private ends, and not to a collective end shared with those with whom they were associating, these relationships were strongly characterized by individual achievement and competitive striving. Thus the mechanism which integrated families into the larger society could alienate them from one another. This induced in the members of many families a sense of unwilling self-contradiction on account of its contrast with the membership

involvement they prized, and sought to practise in the family at least.<sup>1</sup>

The sexual role differentiation between husbands and wives, for which, we have seen, children are carefully prepared, is one which seems to be polarized by this contradiction. The husband strives impersonally in a competitive world from which family considerations are excluded, and the mother fosters family values protected from the demands of occupational achievement. As one partner must be completely extended to fill a place in the occupational system, there can be little overlapping of roles. Thus the method of integrating into one society families differing in class status and values, by allowing opportunity for self-interested striving in an occupational system, entails a tremendous pressure towards keeping the adult sex roles distinct. Hence the standardization of these roles in all the families of

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<sup>1</sup> Parsons (Anshen, 1949, p.191) has pointed out the contrast existing in America between the way of defining status, rights and obligations within the family by membership as such, and in the occupational system by specific achievement. He has written, "Broadly speaking, there is no sector of our society where the dominant patterns stand in sharper contrast to those of the occupational world than in the family. ... Clearly for two structures with such different patterns to play crucially important roles in the same society requires a delicate adjustment between them."

the sample, even though theories about the ideal roles for husbands and wives varied. The existence of this pressure probably explains why the role of the mother has been so unamenable to reshaping by the ideal of release from domestic duties.

Because they experienced a lack of permanent membership with others, and particularly, perhaps, because of early and prolonged experience of this lack in schools, a high proportion of family members chose to follow egoistic satisfactions side by side with membership satisfactions, and there were some who followed them to the exclusion of membership satisfactions. By following multiple values in this way, they gained a certain advantage of easy adaptation to the society, since this mixture of values seems to have become so preponderant as to be a norm; but at the same time the internal life of their families was threatened. On the other hand, the type of family which was most free from internal difficulties, on account of its members seeking to keep membership values pure, had a problem of adaptation with the wider society. Though seeking for consistency in membership, such a family could not very well include itself in membership with the whole society, because of the two sources of dislocation mentioned. It consequently either withdrew from wider contacts or sought for membership mainly

in the church, and, on the supra-social dimension, in religion and culture. Withdrawal was found to be self-defeating in the objective of preserving purity of membership values. Following the alternative course the family became a spiritual cell for resisting the trend to duplicity in the culture. The occurrence of certain families of this type within the sample supports Zimmerman's view (1947, p.668), that the family is not necessarily passive in adjusting to a society's pattern, but may resist society until the society adjusts to itself. The three family types, therefore, can be regarded as different types of response to an urban society showing class cleavage and divided in its values.

One cannot present this conclusion without relating it to the large body of literature on the modern family which depicts it as changing and, therefore, a problem<sup>1</sup>. Recent thought on this subject has been stimulated by earlier theorists such as Westermarck (1926), Engels (1942) and Spencer (1885), all of whom applied the evolutionary or developmental notion to the family, and, as an almost inevitable entailment of their conceptual tools, laboured its variability and repudiated its permanence. There are now two schools

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<sup>1</sup> Zimmerman's "Family and Civilization", 1947, embodies a critique of most of this literature.

of thought about the seriousness of the problem which the modern family presents and the probable issue from it. One of these schools is directly in the evolutionary stream of thought initiated by the above writers, and sees the modern family as a stage in the progressive betterment of the family, whose form must change continually to adapt to changing conditions - in the present phase to industrialization and urbanization. The other school considers the evolutionary notion is mistakenly applied to the present condition of the family. It believes that there is something permanent about the social nature of the family, but that from time to time the family undergoes decay and subsequent restoration. If its present form is different from earlier forms it is not because it is evolving but because it is in decline, a phase which has been seen in history before. While differing in their evaluation of it, however, both schools of thought are agreed about the nature of the trend: it is the same thing they have in mind. Burgess and Locke (1953), who represent the progressive school, describe it as a trend from institution to companionship. Zimmerman (1947, pp.672-704) depicts it as a trend from familism to atomism. The change which both formulas aim to capture is one from a state of affairs in which the quality of the corporate life of the family is the main consideration to one in which the



happiness and independence of the individual are placed first. The evolutionists believe this change is good because it is "democratic", the traditionalists believe it bad because it shows an unwillingness to embrace moral constraint, a feature which has marked "the anti-institutional line of reasoning dominating western society for some time past." (Zimmerman, 1947, p.703). Burgess and Locke (1953, pp.311 and 312) express the opposition between the two types in the following way:

"The unity of the large-patriarchal family was based on tradition, the mores, community pressure, law, elaborate ritual and ceremony, authority, superordination and subordination of family members, definite roles especially in the division of labour, and rigid discipline. Most of these factors making for family integration are absent or at a minimum in the modern urban American family. Unity in the companionship family develops and is maintained in mutual affection, emotional interdependence, sympathetic understanding, temperamental compatibility, consensus on family objectives and values, family events, celebrations and ceremonies, and interdependence of family roles. Social pressure of the community, particularly that of relatives, friends and neighbours, still exerts an influence, although one that is diminishing.

In a society in transition from an agricultural to an urban civilization characterized by heterogeneity and cultural conflicts, there is not the same uniformity in family integration as found in a homogeneous society."

If I interpret Zimmerman's concept of familism correctly, it appears to contain six chief elements:

(1) a large number of children in the family; (2) close solidarity with kinsfolk and neighbourhood, with a resulting acknowledgment of the right of kin and community to prescribe what constitutes proper family conduct; (3) the transmission between generations of a traditional definition of family roles and a traditional conception of one's place in society; (4) strong ties of dependence between family members because of the family's multiform functions (including the maintenance of its own property, the family estate); (5) the acceptance by members of control by the family and authority within it; and (6) a high conscious valuation placed upon family unity and family life. Opposite this Zimmerman places the atomistic family of the modern city in which these elements are thought to be lacking, and in which the members are mainly bent upon egoistic satisfactions.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Sorokin (1942, p.187) is another thinker who gravely regards the decline from institutionalism or familism. He writes, "As it has become more and more contractual, the family of the last few decades has grown ever more unstable, until it has reached the point of actual disintegration." Anshen (1949, pp.3 to 17, and 426 to 435) expresses a similar point of view when she writes to show "how the decline of the family has taken place and how this decline is always coincident with the decline of philosophy, morality and religion in the life of man" (p.4).

In this time of general disintegration Zimmerman (1949) believes that "polarization" is developing within the society. By that he means a sharp cleavage between those who entertain creative ideals for the family and seek to restore familism,<sup>1</sup> and those who entertain negative or destructive ideals, attempting to live in families which are denied the elements of familism, or to live without family life altogether. He strongly opposes the view expounded, for example, by Ogburn (1923, pp.240 to 245), that there is a cultural determinism making the trend away from familism inevitable and irreversible, because of modern conditions, and he believes that the issue from the modern dilemma will only depend on which cause triumphs in the struggle. The position he opposes regards the decline from familism as an inevitable outcome of the necessity to grapple with changing conditions in an urban, industrial society. Its followers consider familism to be the product of an earlier, rural society, with its domestic economy

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Zimmerman (1947, p.701) considers that "children are the fundamental basis of familism", and appears to believe that the other elements of familism flow from the one indispensable condition of having a large number of children.

and isolation.<sup>1</sup> They not only hold that the structural features which lent it cohesion are no longer possible, but believe they are no longer necessary; for they believe that sexual attraction and the appreciation of companionship are enough to ensure the continuing cohesion of a family,<sup>2</sup> and that an experimental style of family life will best enable family members to adapt to their complex environment and find out in what ways the family can bring them most personal happiness.

While the indices by which the participants in this debate claim to detect family change are mainly such objective evidences of instability as the high rates of desertion, divorce, delinquency, adultery and homosexuality, one feels that their debate has been conducted too far

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The information which we have on the rural family in the two countries of Ireland (Arensberg and Kimball, 1940) and Sweden (Myrdal, 1941) suggests that it is too sweeping a conclusion to take familism for a function of rural conditions. In both of these countries farm holdings which are too small for sub-division among sons seem to have given cause for an avoidance of family responsibility, although in different ways. Among the Irish it has resulted in prolonged or permanent bachelorhood, amongst the Swedes in a high incidence of pre-marital sexual relations and illegitimacy.

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His belief in the sufficiency of these factors for a family basis causes Folsom (1940) to describe this form as the "reproductive-emotional family".

removed from the empirical study of contemporary family structure for it to be very profitable.<sup>1</sup> When placed against a background of field research, the alternatives which they present appear too dramatically exaggerated.<sup>2</sup> One is prompted, first of all, to ask how far the six main elements of familism have disappeared? And, a more important question, one would also ask to what extent those elements are tied together? Does the loss of one entail the loss of others? Has the practice of thinking of familism as a cluster of elements, without empirical inquiry into the constancy of the association between them, led to error in thinking that the loss of any entails the loss of all? Zimmerman believes, for instance, that having a large number of children in the families of a society is the whole basis of familism, and that the other elements flow from

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They have, of course, conducted much research. Zimmerman's (1947) historical and literary research has been vast. Burgess (Burgess and Cottrell, 1938), on the other hand, has conducted research into certain factors affecting adjustment between marriage partners. But one feels that research more specifically concerned with defining family structure, to which this study is a contribution, would be better designed for testing many of the assertions these writers make.

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This view of the debate is one which is taken, for example, by Hill (1947) and Margaret Redfield (1946).

this as inevitable consequences.<sup>1</sup> One might wonder, then, whether all the elements of familism will be entirely absent in societies where families are small. The data reported in this thesis can assist toward answering these questions.

We know, independently of any data reported here, that Australian families are no longer generally large.<sup>2</sup> That element of familism has disappeared from the greater number of the families studied. Close solidarity with neighbourhood has disappeared also. People preferred to "keep to themselves" rather than having their neighbours "tell them what to do". At the same time, they were not indifferent to "what the neighbours think" about the more public aspects of their family's conduct. Solidarity with kinsfolk, while it may not have extended as widely nor been as intense as in less urbanized communities, was by no means extinct. It remained for the families covered by

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<sup>1</sup> He writes (1947, p.700), "We are thus driven to the conclusion that the basis of familism is the birth rate. Societies which have numerous children have to have familism. Other societies (those with few children) do not have it."

<sup>2</sup> Borrie (Caiger, ed., 1953, p.24) gives the 1941 average issue to Australian women by the age of 50 as 2.6 children. Unfortunately, Zimmerman does not state what critical number separates large from small families. I will assume, therefore, that families in which there are four or fewer children are small. Only six of the thirty-eight families of the sample had more than four children.

this study the most important resource for help, and for most of the parents the most important region for primary relations.<sup>1</sup> At the same time, having kinsfolk living in the same house was not popular. Every effort was made to keep the immediate family group free from the interfering control of relatives; although, as their favourable opinion largely determined their willingness to help, some indirect control was exercised by that means.

The third element to consider is the transmission of a traditional definition of family roles and a traditional conception of one's place in society. I have shown that there was a movement away from the traditional conception of the reciprocal roles of parent and child in all families of the sample, and that in a number of them there was a departure from the traditional conception of the reciprocal roles of husband and wife. But the reaction was significant. Departures were hemmed about with cautions. There was a general tendency to conservatism, in that, in all but the most unstable families, parents strove to preserve (or to restore if it had been lost) the element of authority in their relations with the children, and husband and wife

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<sup>1</sup>

Young (1954) has shown how important kinship relationships were for a sample of families in East London.

divided authority for family control between them in the traditional way. Thus there were signs of a returning pendulum swing after a wave of experimentation.<sup>1</sup> Children were strictly guided into acquiring the characteristics traditionally considered proper for their sex. Also, the general division of tasks between husband and wife, into those of breadwinner and homemaker respectively, remained substantially the same as in previous generations. However, the role of the child as a helper in the family was disappearing: traces of it remained only in the larger families.

As for the inheritance of a conception of one's place in society, I have shown that, notwithstanding the opportunities

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The outstanding recent example of this kind of development in regard to the family was the experimentation which took place in Russia following the revolution. Schlesinger (1949) has edited documentation on the course of events there. Under the influence of feminist thought regarding the emancipation of women and general social equality, the family code of 1926 made divorce available on demand from either party, recognized de-facto marriages and legalized abortion. Opportunities for women to participate in production, agriculture, industry and the professions, were thrown open, and they were encouraged to think of their status in terms of this participation rather than as mothers and wives. But from 1936 on, with the need to stabilize the new society after the reconstruction had been effected, and not without connection with the growing danger of war and population needs, the state began to encourage women to seek status in the roles of mother and housewife. The decrees of 1936 embodied this new ideal. Then, in the legislation of 1944, de facto marriage was deprived of its legal recognition and divorce was made difficult.



which exist for class mobility, there is still a high degree of occupational conservatism between generations, and children have a certain resistance to attempts to project them beyond the class position in which they are born. Their view of social class is taken from their parents. If they are tradesmen's children they have a narrower perspective than professionals' children on the wider society, and affairs of the world generally; and, in particular, they have less understanding of the part which voluntary association plays and feel less secure in entering into it. Children assume the same attitude of responsibility to the wider society as their parents; and this means that if they are tradesmen's children they are less likely to take a conservative attitude than if they are professionals' children. Unless, for special reasons, they revolt in adolescence, they also learn from their parents what ends are to be followed as intrinsically satisfying. If they are tradesmen's children they are more likely to find partisanship a worth-while experience than if they are professionals' children, while the latter are more likely than the former to learn that complete self-absorption in an interest or occupation can be satisfying.

We come next to the question of the specifically family functions, and the ties of dependence they give rise to.

The only exclusively family functions found in all the families of the sample were those relating to reproduction and physical survival, managing and economic functions, some productive functions, and the primary functions relating to the conferring of an identity through the family role and through socialization; although it was possible to swell the complement by multiplying the productive functions and by including some religious and recreational activities. Because production, education, religion and recreation have been wholly or partly surrendered to groups outside the family, it might appear that the family's members have less for which they depend on one another. But three points ought to be made in regard to this. First, the functions which remain to the family are very considerable, and in all of the cases studied they include the maintenance of family property, even if it be only household furniture and personal effects; although most commonly it amounted to much more. Secondly, the managing functions to which I have drawn particular attention, should be taken into account when making a balance sheet of the modern family's functions, for these have increased as executive functions have decreased and, in a sense, compensate for them. Thirdly, although it is true that certain functions are carried out away from the family, there is nevertheless an accompanying

tendency for family members to depend on one another to participate in these groups on behalf of them all. These facts mean that it would be a superficial estimate indeed of the degree of dependence existing between members of a family merely to count the number of things they do jointly.

The two elements of familism which remain to be considered are the acceptance of control by the family and authority within it, and a high conscious evaluation on family life and unity. These were matters in which the families of the sample showed variation, although they were matters which tended to vary together. It has been shown that the families which valued membership in the family highly were those whose members were willing to accept the constraints of sanctioned roles and in which authority was legitimized.

The conclusion that emerges is that these city families have lost some of the elements of familism (including large size in most cases - the factor which Zimmerman regarded as basically determining for the whole complex) but have retained others; and that it is possible for small families to show a high degree of cohesion and place a high valuation on family life and unity, although some do not. All families of the sample were uniform in what they retained or relinquished from the first four elements of familism, they varied

in whether they retained or relinquished the last two. This makes the interpretation possible that what has been retained in respect to the first four elements may indicate something about the permanent nature of the family, what has been lost in respect to them may indicate the influence of specifically urban conditions, and variability in respect to the last two may indicate that these are matters which are not directly determined by urban conditions but matters in which families may exercise some option.

It is possible, then, that reduction in family size, loss of neighbourhood ties and weakening of kinship ties, and the relinquishment of a number of former functions accompanied by an elaboration of managing functions, can be attributed to urban conditions. But, throughout these changes a constant core has remained in reproductive, survival, economic and personality-shaping functions, and in the transmission from one generation to the next of a traditional conception of family roles and of one's place in society. The extraordinary degree of closeness between members of the family, and between the two generations particularly, which enables it to fulfil these tasks, seems to be one of the distinguishing characteristics of the family as such. It seems likely that if a group exists as a family at all it will be marked by a consensus amongst

members which is pervasive enough to facilitate their co-operation for these ends to some extent. The organization which gives effect to these ends would constitute what Homans (1951, pp.81 to 107) calls the external system. Recognition of this fact helps toward a sociological definition of the family; and in making that definition we see more clearly that the connection between individual and society depends upon the nature of the social structure in which the individual is embedded. The relation is not fixed but varies as the distance between the individual and social structure varies, and in the family the distance between the two orders is less than in most other social structures. The family is that group comprising man, wife and children which, in order to perform the above tasks, shows a high degree of consensus in the presence of irremovable differences of sex, age, experience and temperament. The individual's relation to the family is like that of the branch to the tree: whatever his individuality may be, he does not stand out separately - or rather, in so far as he does the family

is less effective in its tasks, less a family.<sup>1</sup> For this reason it involved no straining of meaning to speak in the thesis of a family's class position, politics, values, and so on, and to regard internal divergences as marginal cases. Such properties are real properties of families, for families have a reality of their own above the aggregation of individuals, by virtue of their organization for the tasks which have been defined, and by virtue of the pervasive consensus on which the efficient performance of those organized activities rests.

But whether it fulfils its essential tasks efficiently or imports obstacles which make it possible to fulfil them only with difficulty, whether it fulfils them sparingly or with supererogatory generosity, or whether it adds other

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Though the fact is as slippery as quicksilver, something quantitative in the very constitution of the family forces itself upon us. It is the distance between its members and itself, which is measured by the extent of their departure from consensus. A family can only be thought of as something which is more or less a family. I believe that this is a critical feature about all groups whose structure is described in terms of principled behaviour, which will have to be recognized more than at present, if a more realistic and useful sociology is to emerge. I think it is likely that the next stage in the development of sociological method, after the phase of establishing it as a science is exhausted, will be to establish its distinctiveness amongst sciences by demonstrating that it belongs to the class of sciences whose subject matter is itself normative - that what is observed is always more or less what is capable of being. Medicine and personality psychology are other disciplines in the same class.

functions to them, are matters which a family decides for itself. The identification of members with the family group by the achievement of an identity of purpose which will enable them to bring their entire lives under its control, to distribute authority amongst them, and to identify vicariously with one another in regard to those differences which are irremovable, is something about which families may be careful or indifferent. Those who are careful over it can attain it to a degree which distinguishes them from other families. The organizational machinery which develops to effect and maintain this quality of identification, and which is added in some families to the basic organization which is necessary in all, is presumably what Homans (1951, pp.108 to 155) isolates as the internal system. The fact that there were some families in the sample who valued family unity highly and others who had little regard for it because of the members' preoccupation with individual goals lends support to Zimmerman's view that this is a time of polarization between those who regard the family in different ways. The data, however, do not support his view that the cluster of elements which makes up familism is constant and basically determined by large family size. Surrender to family control, strong cohesion, and a high conscious valuation on family unity, which would seem to be some of the finest fruits of

the cluster, were found in small families of two or three children as well as in larger families.<sup>1</sup>

As for the view of the second school of thought, that the family can find a basis for unity in factors other than structural ones - in sexual attraction, affection, appreciation of companionship and the pursuit of personal happiness;<sup>2</sup> it is not supported by the present data, which demonstrate that cohesion depends on regularization. The vague emotional interchange which progressionists recommend in place of structure lacks the constancy and permanence

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Inspection of Appendix E will show that of the twenty-three families approximating to the identification type seven had two children, six three, six four, three five, and one six; i.e. more than half had fewer than four children.

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I can only deal with the "companionship" family by regarding its pure type, the "reproductive-emotional" family. It is possible by verbal subterfuge to lend this type of family certain characteristics assumed to be distinguishing of the institutional family, which is asserted to be alternative to it. I think Burgess and Locke do this, for instance, in the quotation I have cited. They say, for example, that unity in the companionship family depends, inter alia, on consensus in family objectives and values, not recognizing that this may be the basis for the authority and discipline which they say distinguishes the institutional type. They also say that the institutional family has definite roles, especially in the division of labour, but that the companionship type (as if to distinguish it) has interdependence of family roles.



which the performance of family functions needs. Of the families studied it would be the adaptation and false-identification types which have taken shape under the influence of this conception of the family. The false-identification family lacks cohesion and fails to meet its members' needs. The degeneration of relationships there may be due to an over-dependence upon feeling for cohesion, and a lack of due reliance upon structure. The absence of structure has soured feeling, and attraction has been transformed into resentment and rejection because of parents expecting from feelings the support which is only gained by having a defined place in a joint endeavour. This point is not unlike one which Sirjamaki makes (1953, pp.190 to 191) when he attributes the instability of many American marriages to an excessive demand for satisfaction, and for security particularly, from emotional sources. It is also related to the point fairly frequently made, for example by Truxal and Merrill (1947, p.36), that the cult of romance is leading increasingly to disillusioned marriages. On the other hand, the adaptation type of family is cohesive in its restricted sphere. However, it is wrong to suppose that it depends for this property on those emotional factors which the progressionists recommend; for its cohesion is rather of a contractual or commercial kind. Thus, while families

broken by divorce or desertion were deliberately excluded from this study, it will be apparent, I think, that pressures in those directions are already to be found in families of these two types. The frustration suffered in the false-identification type could at any time exceed tolerance point, and precipitate one partner into leaving the family. A partner of the adaptation type of family might at any time reckon the gains not worth the cost. It would be naive, then, to suppose, that what are often loosely described as "emotional" needs, such as the needs this thesis postulates, can be supplied from "emotional" sources, such as demonstrations of affection. It appears from this study that needs of this kind require structural factors to satisfy them - a definite role, an area of authority or initiative, an acknowledgment of obligation, a clear sense of aim or agreement, a feeling of being able to count on help or give it, and so on. It was only in the identification type of family that care was taken to foster these

structural properties, by subordinating the direct pursuit of personal satisfaction to concern for family order.<sup>1</sup>

But it was in their inability to produce happy youngsters by satisfying the needs of children that the adaptation and false-identification families revealed most plainly the weakness inherent in their structural deficiency. For instance, the random impulsiveness of the children in the adaptation type of family was very reminiscent of the type of behaviour which has been described in a more developed form in delinquent children.<sup>2</sup> The oppressed mentality of children in the false-identification family, which accustomed them to dealing with differences between themselves and others by evasions rather than by resolving or bridging them, is reminiscent of the trends which I

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<sup>1</sup> Zimmerman (1947, p.57) charges some defenders of the companionship principle with being blind to this fact: "In other works of this school there appears also the underlying assumption that family life is based upon a conscious happiness, sometimes called 'adjustment' to avoid the alleged evaluativeness of conscious happiness. They find inconceivable a well-considered plan where man and woman, parent and child fight out the battles of life together, with happiness depending upon the ultimate success of this mutual venture, rather than on day-by-day emotional states. It is a return to the straight pleasure-pain psychology which assumes that life exists and is justified entirely on the instantaneous conscious level."

<sup>2</sup> By Stott (1950, p.71) for example.

think can be discerned in the characteristics some authors impute to neurosis.<sup>1</sup> Multiple centres of personality organization (one in the family, such as it was, and one in the peer group) which adolescents of these types of family were prone to develop, are also characteristic of some cases of moral disorder.<sup>2</sup> And finally, children in these

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Horney (1945) describes compulsions to compliance, isolation or aggression as typifying neurotic behaviour. Fromm (1949) describes similar compulsions to "symbiosis" (meaning by that a suffocatingly close relationship similar to compliance), withdrawal and aggression. The common feature about these various manifestations is an anxiety in the presence of difference, which promptly abolishes the distance, either by siding with the object, withdrawing out of its field or attempting to destroy or incapacitate it.

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I refer to the Jekyll-Hyde development which comes to light from time to time when the diverse "sides" of a person are discovered, perhaps in the case of a public figure whose indiscretion reveals a world of secret activities whose disclosure creates a public scandal. This can be presumed to be due to the fact that impulses not acknowledged in one social context are driven to seek acceptance in another. A searching analysis of the genesis of this sort of inner cleavage is given in Alan Paton's novel, "Too Late the Phalarope" (Jonathan Cape, London, 1953). This kind of behaviour shows some analogy with the dissociation described in some psychoses; for example, those described by Bowlby (1940, pp.95 to 103). There seems to be a difference between the moral and mental disorders, however; for, although more liberal thought regards moral disorder as an illness it does not impute to it the total irresponsibility which it concedes to insanity. The difference is possibly that the audience sought by the unacknowledged impulses in mental disorder is in phantasy, thus leading to systematic withdrawal and an ultimate inability to cope with reality; while, in the case of moral disorder, the audience sought is actual, so that the person is responsibly involved in two worlds, which, though they are kept separate, are both real. It seems not unlikely, however, that the causes for both kinds of disorder are much the same.

family types were liable to grow up accepting, unexamined, value conflicts, as they were untrained both in value discrimination and in self-discipline. In the false-identification type of family they were likely to assimilate conflicting values from one or both parents; in the adaptation type they were likely to take over different values from each parent; and in both cases they were likely at adolescence to reject values which were already implanted in them, thus adding to their own confusion. The undisciplined growth of multiple, unorganized need-dispositions resulting from this can be expected to produce "emotionally immature" adults; for whatever else that loose term may connote, fundamental to the condition is the childishness of not knowing what one wants, and the consequent inability to discipline oneself and associate reliably with others to obtain it.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Saul (1947) has analysed eight factors in emotional maturity: self-reliance or independence from the parent or a parent figure; productiveness; freedom from inferiority, egotism and competitiveness; ability to be conditioned and trained for socialization and domestication; love; freedom from the emotional vulnerability which makes the aggressive reaction disorganizing; a firm sense of reality; and flexibility and adaptability. Summarized, this cluster of factors seems to amount to an ability to master inclination by making responsible decisions which have due regard for the objective nature of the situation. It is value conflict which undermines a person's capacity to do this and leaves him overwhelmed by feeling. "Emotional immaturity" is frequently given, e.g. by Baber (1939, pp.227 to 229), as a cause of marital discord. Marriage guidance counsellors report it as one of the commonest problems with which they have to deal.

The danger of value conflict, however, was one to which children in all three types of family were exposed, although children in the identification family were fortified against it to an extent. The basic contradiction of the culture of trying to make both egoistic and spiritual values self-sufficient had roots in all of them, due to their simultaneous orientation to ends of individual achievement and distinction (through the school mainly) and ends of membership (through the family mainly). By their preparation, therefore, all of them would seem to be unready for total surrender to family control and the exaltation of family unity above individual satisfaction - the optional elements of familism which, this study shows, are still possible under modern urban conditions. Of any who chose them, most could be expected to find them difficult (and even painful) to achieve, because of the presence of deeply implanted contrary tendencies which would have to undergo extinction; and it would not be surprising if some misunderstood the way to unity and sought it without success through false-identification.

Thus the adaptation and false-identification types of family tend to repeat themselves by preparing a new generation ready for much the same sort of family as that in which they were nurtured; but there may be a pressure towards

an increasing proportion of families of these types, because of the fact that children in identification families come under ambivalent influences.

If the theory I have developed is correct, family cohesion, a high valuation on family life and unity, and the capacity of families to satisfy the needs of their members, all go together; they are possible under urban conditions but all are being made difficult to achieve because of the practice of integrating the family into the society through a competitive, occupational system, and the practice of preparing children for their part in that system by mass-education in schools; and these practices in turn are a consequence of the facts that any family and its neighbours may follow radically different values and may be isolated from one another by class distinctiveness. "Adapting" to these urban conditions means no more in the end than giving up the difficult struggle to maintain a high quality of family life by preserving purity of membership values, and results in the needs of the family's members going unsupplied. Those families have more strength, and their members more satisfaction, who persevere in the struggle and resist the trend to duplicity in the culture. But for some individuals the struggle is much less difficult than for others, because they are better prepared. The

preparation of some candidates for family life is so unpropitious that the pains of the struggle could well exceed the bounds of human tolerance.

## 2. Appraisal of the Study

It remains to estimate the value of this study as a contribution to knowledge of the family. The family has exercised a tremendous attraction as a subject for study to many workers: it has been well explored already. Approaches to the subject have been diverse, ranging from the psycho-analytic treatment of Flugel's (1948) study, to the broadly comparative ethnological method of Elmer (1945), or the developmental method used by Levy (1949). Some gifted scholars have made it their task to assemble in text-books the knowledge that has been collected. That compiled by Baber (1939) is, I think, one of the best of these. Two numbers of the American Journal of Sociology (Vol. 52, no.3, November, 1946; and Vol. 53, no.6, May, 1948) have been devoted to family topics. Since the mysteries of the family have engaged so many mature minds, it might seem rash for a student to enter the field of study at all. My justification for doing so, however, is three-fold. First, it is becoming apparent that the family has become the subject of the day. Personal and social disorders are disturbing



even the most stable countries, and it is guessed that the cure, as the cause, lies with the family. The influence of this line of thought in official circles is signally demonstrated in the institution by the World Health Organization of the world-wide research on the relation between maternal care and mental health, the report on which appeared in 1952 (Bowlby, 1952) . Two pointers, from different countries, that the same line of thought is having sway in academic circles, are seen in the exhaustive research at present being sponsored by the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations into a small number of London families (Bott, 1954), and in the fact that, as this conclusion is being written, a recently published interpretation of the family written by Parsons and Bales has reached me in Australia (Parsons and Bales, 1955). The present study was undertaken in the hope that some material on Australian families would help in laying the descriptive and comparative foundations for this live investigation.

But, even though the family has become the subject of the day, families are exceedingly difficult to come close to. And this supplies my second reason for entering the field of study. There is a limit to what can be learned about the family by historical or clinical methods, for

example, or from general impressions. The first part of this chapter has shown how far removed from concrete knowledge of families is much of the literature on the subject. Conceptions of what the family is are ideologically coloured almost as much as conceptions about the church or government; and so much so that it has become almost impossible to simply describe them as one sees them without being charged with distortion.<sup>1</sup> The field worker in sociology can contribute to knowledge by reporting on the ordinary life of families, by using the methods most characteristic of his discipline - observation of and questioning about regularities. It is in its attempt to make an approach to the intimate life of families, by grappling with some of the deeper and often carefully guarded motives which underlie the regularities of their ordinary life, that much of the justification of this study lies.

Thirdly, I believe that sociological concepts and themes of inquiry are particularly relevant to the study of families, especially those pertaining to values. Even if values were not central to the subject matter of sociology itself, as

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Zimmerman wrote in 1947, "There is greater disparity between the actual, documented, historical truth and the theories taught in the family sociology courses, than exists in any other scientific field." (1947, p.810).

I believe they are, they would be central to the study of the family. For there we have husband and wife facing the problem of living together with largely pre-formed values, and children facing the problem of developing values while living with parents. In a sense, therefore, values draw the outlines of a family's structure. If they are ignored, as they might be, for example, by limiting inquiry to such questions as communication, temperamental compatibility or methods of control, it is not unlikely that the mere absence of outline will create appearances of significance for problems which would otherwise seem trivial. The issue from research of that kind is usually to be led back to the things which have been ignored - with something of an air of surprise and discovery.<sup>1</sup> Much of the advancement of science seems to depend on breaking that sort of circular arrestment by the exercise of courage rather than intellect, by recalling attention to things whose importance, though obvious, is embarrassing to contemporary prejudices. Though fumblingly, I have tried to draw attention to the fact that one of the most significant matters for the study of families,

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An example of this can be seen in the Hawthorne Experiment (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1940) in which the inquiry turned from the effect on production of conditions and wage incentives to the effect of interpersonal relations at work and personal situations outside of work.

and one in the context of which other problems might profitably be set, is that of the family's values.

This approach has led me to the identification of three family types which are, in a sense, only three logical possibilities. People in association may have either like or different values, and where their values differ they may either exclude the pursuit of different ends from their joint activity or implement coercive measures to gear their joint activity to only one of the conflicting ends. Of these three possibilities each of the family types I have identified makes one case.

I do not think that fact detracts from the value of the study: I believe, rather, that that is its strength. It is important to know whether what is possible exists in fact. And it is also important to know with what incidence each possibility occurs and to know what are the factors each possibility entails. In regard to incidences it would be unwise to draw any conclusion from this thesis, but the thesis offers a simple method of identifying the family types in terms of control and personal space, so that their incidence might be estimated through some form of mass research by some well put questions. In regard to what factors are entailed in each type, the thesis offers no more than a theory for testing. It is plain that this

thesis does no more than establish the most tenuous connections between the factors which are asserted to cluster together in the types. As the types only emerged in the course of the analysis it could not have been otherwise with so small a sample. But the constancy of the connection between the separate factors which have been depicted as clusters could be explored by more intensive and more rigorously designed research. The types could be valuable in that each one may circumscribe the limiting conditions within which certain generalities about relations between husband and wife and parent and child may hold. This would seem to be a very important contribution to the study of families, since generalizations about such relations for the whole society can be so easily belied by citing exceptions. Work on internal relations between family members is being carried out with great success in the University of Pennsylvania under the William F. Carter Foundation (Bossard, 1948, 1953). The results from research of this kind would benefit from a more scientific ordering if it were possible to limit certain types of relationship to certain family types. The solution of the particular question whether certain parent-child relationships are determined by certain definite husband-wife relationships would especially be furthered. And this is a question which is worth exploring

exhaustively, for it is one which could focus the scientific study of families in such a way as to make it directly relevant to the pressing practical problems of the day.

Finally, the typology of families arrived at here seems a better classification for guiding field research than any which is known to me. Zimmerman's (1947) typology of trustee, domestic and atomistic families was, like the typologies of the earlier theorists, intended for historical study. Mowrer (1939, pp.109 to 123) classified Chicago families on a geographical basis as one moved along a radius from the non-family centre of the city to its circumference, into emancipated families (i.e. where ties of solidarity were loose and divorce common), paternal families, equalitarian families and maternal families. This geographic distribution, however, appears to depend on a certain distribution of classes which is not constant for all cities. It is, moreover, a classification according to overt features of family control, any one of which, I have suggested, might mask more important differences. Kuhn (Becker and Hill, editors, 1948, pp.166 to 167) gives a classification of families according to the things on which they "centre": a family may be people-centred, things-centred, idea-sentiment -complex centred, activities-centred, status-centred, or turned in on itself. This classification

is interesting and could make a stage towards the classification of families by values, but it seems too miscellaneous, and the different objects on which families may centre are of such different orders that they would scarcely be exclusive of one another. The same objection can be made against the classifications offered by Boll (Bossard, 1954, pp.367 to 368). Boll's classification does have the systematic virtue of grouping family patterns according to the differences in the families' values, activities, organization and size. But her classification by activity, for example, into nomadic, joiner, cliff-dweller, community benefactor, and family-of-the-intelligentsia types embraces activities whose significance, sociologically speaking, is of rather different orders; and the same is true of her classification by values, into social-climber, materialistic, overly-religious, scientific, superstitious, and conventional families. Burgess and Locke (1953, pp.311 to 312) give a classification of U.S.A. families by their degree of unity, ranging from the disrupted family through the unorganized family, the habit-bound union, the highly solidified family, and the dynamically unified family. This is a classification which has affinities with the one arrived at here (the highly solidified family, for instance, is like the withdrawing variant of the identification family, the unorganized family has some

features of both the adaptation and false-identification types), but the principles used for differentiating the types need to be more clearly defined and related. The three types identified in this thesis have an advantage of simplicity, because the principles which differentiate them stand out. Also, because the types are defined in terms of the logical possibilities in certain general features of association, they have a universality which would allow us to relate what we learn about behaviour in families to behaviour in other forms of social organization, thus furthering the search for universal principles of behaviour. <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I would align myself with the aim to the advancement of which Homans (1951) dedicated himself in writing, "The Human Group", of building a new sociological synthesis by developing a general sociological theory. I believe that one means to this end will be the description of behaviour in terms which are general enough to be applicable to many forms of social organization.



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A P P E N D I X    A

SCHEDULE OF INFORMATION SOUGHT

Part I.    In Group Interview with the Whole Family.

1. Obtain each member's routine of activities, both within and outside of the home, noting particularly those activities done with or in the presence of other people. Cover the normal day, variations between days of the week, the normal week-end, public holidays, annual holidays, and variations between the seasons of the year. The person concerned will be asked to relate this information himself, and all others present will be invited to interrupt with comment or contradiction. The interviewer will also interrupt with comment and questions, to fill out the significance to the person of the activities he relates. Special attention will be given to the father's work and children's schooling, with the aim of determining their social relationships, competence, satisfaction and status in those situations. Record currently.

2. Obtain a summary report of the external activities of each member, under these categories:

- (1) with kin;
- (2) with neighbours;
- (3) with friends -
  - (a) in special, intimate friendship;
  - (b) in general friendship;
- (4) with religious groups;
- (5) with recreational groups;
- (6) with social groups, lodges, etc.;
- (7) with cultural and educational groups;
- (8) with political groups;
- (9) with occupational groups;
- (10) with other kinds of group;
- (11) communication by correspondence and telephone;
- (12) external activities more or less independent of groups.

Obtain information on the frequency, content and intensity of these activities. Cover the broad lines of development of the relations with kin, friends and neighbours, and find out where and when friendships were made. The person concerned will be asked to

relate this information himself, but will be assisted by the others, particularly in the case of young children. Where it seems that the individual is unwilling to refer to anything in front of his family, note this, and raise the matter later in the private interview. Record currently.

Part II. In Joint Interview with Both Parents.

1. Obtain the parents' attitudes, aspirations and policies relating to the following matters:

- (1) the training, discipline, and schooling of the children, and their occupational (and perhaps other) aspirations for them;
- (2) the prospects of father's continuance in his job or change of it, and his occupational aspirations; the attitude to the possibility of mother's going out to work;
- (3) arrangements about household management and maintenance, viz.
  - (a) the allocation and control of money,
  - (b) saving,
  - (c) borrowing,
  - (d) insurance,
  - (e) keeping the garden,

- (f) keeping the property in repair,
  - (g) furnishing and decorating the home,
  - (h) heavy and light cleaning, washing, ironing, cooking, buying clothing, mending, altering and making clothing;
- (4) joining clubs, lodges and societies;
  - (5) visiting relatives and friends, and inviting visitors home;
  - (6) participating in sport;
  - (7) attending concerts, theatre, pictures, dances;
  - (8) spending spare time in the family circle - going for drives, picnics and other outings, and relaxing with the children.

In this, some of the ground covered in the account of routine will be retraced, but now the emphasis will be on the evaluation of one's own behaviour, the reasons for behaviour, and on any alternative which might be preferred. Pay attention to which of the partners takes the initiative in answering each question, who seems most informed about it, whether there is agreement or disagreement about it, and whether ideas are decisive or confused.

Record currently.

2. Obtain the following information about the personal history of the parents, and development of the family:

- (1) date of marriage;
- (2) circumstances of parents' meeting;
- (3) ages of parents;
- (4) sex and ages of children;

(5 - 18, for each parent)

- (5) place of birth, and places of residence since;
- (6) place of education;
- (7) type of education;
- (8) termination of education;
- (9) occupational training;
- (10) places and types of employment until marriage;
- (11) position among own siblings;
- (12) marital status of own living siblings and parents;
- (13) places of residence of own living siblings and parents;
- (14) occupation of own living siblings and parents;

- (15) memories concerning own family of origin, in regard to
  - (a) prosperity,
  - (b) strictness or laxity of discipline,
  - (c) happiness,
  - (d) religious practice,
  - (e) whether own parents sought positions of public responsibility,
  - (f) degree of sociability of own parents;
- (16) own philosophical, political and religious development up till the time of marriage, and due to what influences;
- (17) own philosophical, political and religious development since marriage, and for what reasons;
- (18) number of generations during which own ancestors have lived in Australia, and their countries of origin;
  
- (19) geographic mobility of the family since marriage, and the reasons for it;
- (20) occupational mobility (of any working members) since marriage, and the reasons for it;
- (21) the parents' estimate of their own economic improvement or deterioration since marriage, and the reasons for it.

Record currently.

3. Obtain information on the parents' values and attitudes to the larger society. Provoke undirected discussion on the following topics:

- (1) the goals which they had set for themselves as a family, and have now realized;
- (2) the goals which are still ahead of them;
- (3) the standards of conduct and value which they aimed to induce in the children;
- (4) whether the allegation that Australians are becoming materialistic is true, and, if so, serious?;
- (5) whether keeping-up-with-the-Joneses is a strong motive in the lives of people in their neighbourhood, and, if so, how it affects their family?;
- (6) what view is taken of the whole question of social class and class consciousness in Sydney and Australia, and what class-ranking they would give their own family?;
- (7) what view is taken of the great influx of New Australians since the war?;
- (8) whether they were interested in the Royal Visit, and what view is taken of the monarchy?;
- (9) what view is taken of relations with the Commonwealth and America?;
- (10) whether Communism is believed to be a serious internal threat to Australia?;
- (11) other topics which the subjects seem disposed to dwell on.



(Some of the views expressed here can be taken up again later, at a meal or at supper, if suitable to the company then present.) Record only brief notes currently, amplify afterwards.

Part III. In Private Interview with Individuals.

A: Parents, and Children of or above Senior

School Age

Obtain information about personal relations within the family, and each person's attitude to and satisfaction with the family and the roles of the members,

by asking the following direct questions:

- (1) Would you say that any of the children (of this family) do the things which are expected of them around the home more effeciently or more willingly than the others?
- (2) Do you think too much is expected of anyone in the home (yourself included)?
- (3) Do you think too little is expected to anyone - that anyone gets off too lightly?
- (4) Do you ever find yourself thinking that someone else in the family leads a more interesting life outside of the home than you do?
- (5) Do you find it interesting to learn what the others do outside of the family? Do they talk about it very much?

- (6) How would you describe the main traits of personality and character of each member of the family? Suppose you were writing a character sketch, for instance, or explaining them to someone who did not know them, what would you say were the main faults and qualities of each?
- (7) Are there any members of the family whom, quite apart from their merits and defects, you find naturally more likable than the others? with whom you get on more easily?
- (8) Are there any whom you find it hard to get on with? What do you think are the reasons?
- (9) Do you think any member of the family is irritating to any other member? For what reason?
- (10) Do you think there is any serious jealousy or resentment in the family?
- (11) Do you feel that you have sufficient freedom in the home? Do you feel too tied down? I suppose there are two parts to freedom (initiative and independence) and I mean both. Do you feel that you have enough say in the way things are run? Do you feel you have enough time of your own to follow your own interests?
- (12) Are there any big changes which you have always wanted to make in the home without being able to do so?
- (13) Is there anything which you have wanted to do very much which your husband (or the others) was opposed to you doing?
- (14) Do you ever find yourself wishing that your family was like some other family you know of? In what particular ways?
- (15) On what factors do you think a continuing, successful marriage and family depend?

- (16) What do you think is the proper arrangement about authority in the family? Should there be a final boss? Whom do you think it should be? Is this the arrangement which you follow?
- (17) Would you say that your wife and you (or both your parents) are equally ambitious. Would you say that your ambitions lie in the same directions?
- (18) Would you say that your wife and you (or both your parents) have the same interests? What particular interests would you have in common, and in what interests would you differ?
- (19) Would you say that anyone in the family was a complaining type of person?
- (20) What are the particular things about your home and family that you feel you can be modestly proud about?
- (21) Is there anything about your home and family that embarrasses you?
- (22) Have you had to discourage any good friends because your wife (husband, parents) didn't like them?
- (23) (Children only) Have you, at this stage of your life, done much thinking about politics or religion? How like or unlike your parents' views do you think your own will become?
- (24) (Children only) What work do you hope to do later on?

B: Children Below Senior School Age.

- (25) What do you want to be when you grow up?
- (26) Are there any grown up people you know whom you would like to be like when you grow up?
- (27) What sort of thing do you like doing most around the home?

- (28) Is there anything that you have to do around the home that you don't like doing?
- (29) If you could have your wish, what would you like most in all the world?
- (30) Would you change anything about the family if you were the boss, instead of mother and father?
- (31) What do you like most about mother and father? Do you like either one better?
- (32) What do you like most about (each) brother and sister? Do you like any one better?
- (33) Do you think that any of the children are spoilt? Who spoils them?

C: All Children

- (34) What are some of the things you have done that have been displeasing to your parents? Which one punished you? What form did the punishment take?
- (35) Can you remember some of the things you have done that were pleasing to your parents? How did you know they were pleased.

Record currently.

Part IV. Individual Tests.

The Allport-Vernon Study of Values will be administered to each parent and each child of senior school age or above. (page A).

Part V. Written Response.

The Family Economy Form will be left with the parents, who will have the option of completing it, and forwarding it through the post. (page B.)

# STUDY OF VALUES

REVISED EDITION

Gordon W. Allport · Philip E. Vernon · Gardner Lindzey

## Part I

**DIRECTIONS:** A number of controversial statements or questions with two alternative answers are given below. Indicate your personal preferences by writing appropriate figures in the boxes to the right of each question. Some of the alternatives may appear equally attractive or unattractive to you. Nevertheless, please attempt to choose the alternative that is *relatively* more acceptable to you. For each question you have three points that you may distribute in any of the following combinations.

<p>If you agree with alternative (a) and disagree with (b), write 3 in the first box and 0 in the second box, thus</p>	<table border="1" style="border-collapse: collapse; margin: auto;"> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">a</td></tr> <tr><td style="text-align: center; padding: 2px;">3</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">b</td></tr> <tr><td style="text-align: center; padding: 2px;">0</td></tr> </table>	a	3	b	0
a					
3					
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<p>If you agree with (b); disagree with (a), write</p>	<table border="1" style="border-collapse: collapse; margin: auto;"> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">a</td></tr> <tr><td style="text-align: center; padding: 2px;">0</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">b</td></tr> <tr><td style="text-align: center; padding: 2px;">3</td></tr> </table>	a	0	b	3
a					
0					
b					
3					
<p>If you have a slight preference for (a) over (b), write</p>	<table border="1" style="border-collapse: collapse; margin: auto;"> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">a</td></tr> <tr><td style="text-align: center; padding: 2px;">2</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">b</td></tr> <tr><td style="text-align: center; padding: 2px;">1</td></tr> </table>	a	2	b	1
a					
2					
b					
1					
<p>If you have a slight preference for (b) over (a), write</p>	<table border="1" style="border-collapse: collapse; margin: auto;"> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">a</td></tr> <tr><td style="text-align: center; padding: 2px;">1</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding: 2px;">b</td></tr> <tr><td style="text-align: center; padding: 2px;">2</td></tr> </table>	a	1	b	2
a					
1					
b					
2					

Do not write any combination of numbers except one of these four. There is no time limit, but do not linger over any one question or statement, and do not leave out any of the questions unless you find it really impossible to make a decision.

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 By arrangement with HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY, U.S.A.

1. The main object of scientific research should be the discovery of truth rather than its practical applications. (a) Yes; (b) No.
2. Taking the Bible as a whole, one should regard it from the point of view of its beautiful mythology and literary style rather than as a spiritual revelation. (a) Yes; (b) No.
3. Which of the following men do you think should be judged as contributing more to the progress of mankind? (a) Aristotle; (b) Abraham Lincoln.
4. Assuming that you have sufficient ability, would you prefer to be: (a) a banker; (b) a politician?
5. Do you think it is justifiable for great artists, such as Beethoven, Wagner and Byron to be selfish and negligent of the feelings of others? (a) Yes; (b) No.
6. Which of the following branches of study do you expect ultimately will prove more important for mankind? (a) mathematics; (b) theology.
7. Which would you consider the more important function of modern leaders? (a) to bring about the accomplishment of practical goals; (b) to encourage followers to take a greater interest in the rights of others.
8. When witnessing a gorgeous ceremony (ecclesiastical or academic, induction into office, etc.), are you more impressed: (a) by the colour and pageantry of the occasion itself; (b) by the influence and strength of the group?

	a	b				
			a		b	
	a			b		
		a		b		
			a	b		
	a				b	
			a	b		
				a	b	
Total						
	R	S	T	X	Y	Z

Page 2

9. Which of these character traits do you consider the more desirable? (a) high ideals and reverence; (b) unselfishness and sympathy.
10. If you were a university professor and had the necessary ability, would you prefer to teach: (a) poetry; (b) chemistry and physics?
11. If you should see the following news items with headlines of equal size in your morning paper, which would you read more attentively? (a) PROTESTANT LEADERS TO CONSULT ON RECONCILIATION; (b) GREAT IMPROVEMENTS IN MARKET CONDITIONS.
12. Under circumstances similar to those of Question 11? (a) SUPREME COURT RENDERS DECISION; (b) NEW SCIENTIFIC THEORY ANNOUNCED.
13. When you visit a cathedral are you more impressed by a pervading sense of reverence and worship than by the architectural features and stained glass? (a) Yes; (b) No.
14. Assuming that you have sufficient leisure time, would you prefer to use it: (a) developing your mastery of a favourite skill; (b) doing volunteer social or public service work?
15. At an exposition, do you chiefly like to go to the buildings where you can see: (a) new manufactured products; (b) scientific (e.g., chemical) apparatus?
16. If you had the opportunity, and if nothing of the kind existed in the community where you live, would you prefer to found: (a) a debating society or forum; (b) a classical orchestra?

	a	b				
			a		b	
	a			b		
		a		b		
			a	b		
	a				b	
			a	b		
				a	b	
				a	b	
Total						
	R	S	T	X	Y	Z

Page 3

17. The aim of the churches at the present time should be: (a) to bring out altruistic and charitable tendencies; (b) to encourage spiritual worship and a sense of communion with the highest.

18. If you had some time to spend in a waiting room and there were only two magazines to choose from, would you prefer: (a) SCIENTIFIC AGE; (b) ARTS AND DECORATIONS?

19. Would you prefer to hear a series of lectures on: (a) the comparative merits of the forms of government in Britain and in the United States; (b) the comparative development of the great religious faiths?

20. Which of the following would you consider the more important function of education? (a) its preparation for practical achievement and financial reward; (b) its preparation for participation in community activities and aiding less fortunate persons.

21. Are you more interested in reading accounts of the lives and works of men such as: (a) Alexander, Julius Caesar, and Charlemagne; (b) Aristotle, Socrates, and Kant?

22. Are our modern industrial and scientific developments signs of a greater degree of civilization than those attained by any previous society, the Greeks, for example? (a) Yes; (b) No.

23. If you were engaged in an industrial organization (and assuming salaries to be equal), would you prefer to work: (a) as a counsellor for employees; (b) in an administrative position?

	a		b			
				a		b
					a	
						b
	a	b				
				a	b	
						b
	a					
				a	b	
Total						
	R	S	T	X	Y	Z

Page 4

24. Given your choice between two books to read, are you more likely to select: (a) THE STORY OF RELIGION IN AMERICA; (b) THE STORY OF INDUSTRY IN AMERICA?

25. Would modern society benefit more from: (a) more concern for the rights and welfare of citizens; (b) greater knowledge of the fundamental laws of human behaviour?

26. Suppose you were in a position to help raise standards of living, or to mould public opinion. Would you prefer to influence: (a) standards of living; (b) public opinion?

27. Would you prefer to hear a series of popular lectures on: (a) the progress of social service work in your part of the country; (b) contemporary painters?

28. All the evidence that has been impartially accumulated goes to show that the universe has evolved to its present state in accordance with natural principles, so that there is no necessity to assume a first cause, cosmic purpose, or God behind it. (a) I agree with this statement; (b) I disagree.

29. In a paper, such as the New York Sunday Times, are you more likely to read: (a) the real estate sections and the account of the stock market; (b) the section on picture galleries and exhibitions?

30. Would you consider it more important for your child to secure training in: (a) religion; (b) athletics?

		a	b			
				a		b
					a	
						b
	a	b				
				a	b	
						b
				a	b	
Total						
	R	S	T	X	Y	Z

Page 5

The Allport-Vernon Study of Values.





7. Assuming that you are a man with the necessary ability, and that the salary for each of the following occupations is the same, would you prefer to be a —

- a. mathematician
- b. sales manager
- c. clergyman
- d. politician

8. If you had sufficient leisure and money, would you prefer to —

- a. make a collection of fine sculptures or paintings
- b. establish a centre for the care and training of the feeble-minded
- c. aim at becoming a Member of Parliament
- d. establish a business or financial enterprise of your own

9. At an evening discussion with intimate friends of your own sex, are you more interested when you talk about —

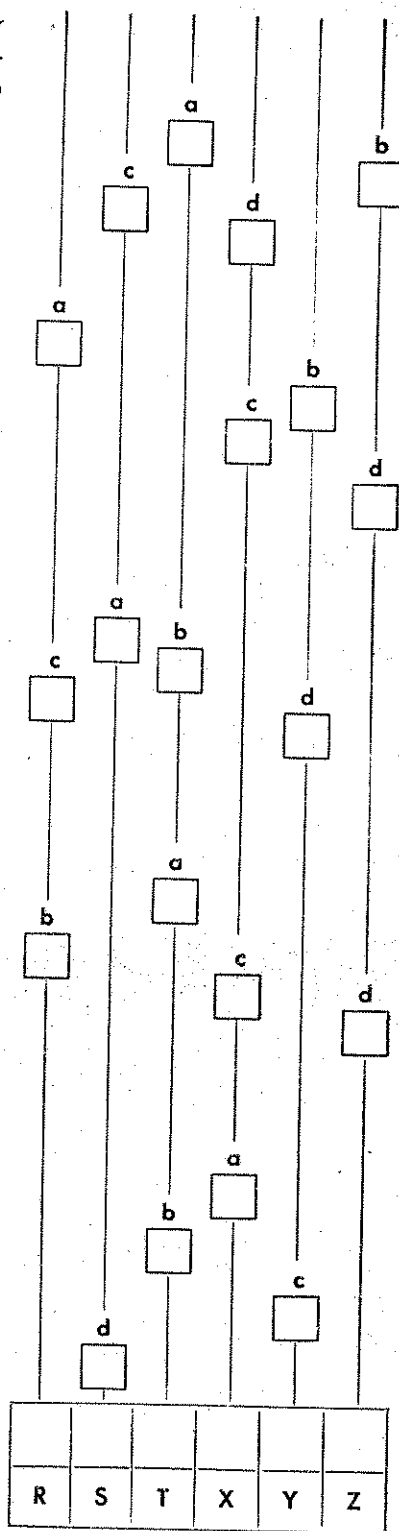
- a. the meaning of life
- b. developments in science
- c. literature
- d. socialism and social amelioration

10. Which of the following would you prefer to do during part of your next summer vacation (if your ability and other conditions would permit) —

- a. write and publish an original biological essay or article
- b. stay in some secluded part of the country where you can appreciate fine scenery
- c. enter a local tennis or other athletic tournament
- d. get experience in some new line of business

11. Do great exploits and adventures of discovery such as Columbus's, Magellan's, Byrd's and Amundsen's seem to you significant because —

- a. they represent conquests by man over the difficult forces of nature
- b. they add to our knowledge of geography, meteorology, oceanography, etc.
- c. they weld human interests and international feelings throughout the world
- d. they contribute each in a small way to an ultimate understanding of the universe



12. Should one guide one's conduct according to, or develop one's chief loyalties toward —

- a. one's religious faith
- b. ideals of beauty
- c. one's occupational organization and associates
- d. ideals of charity

13. To what extent do the following famous persons interest you —

- a. Florence Nightingale
- b. Napoleon
- c. Henry Ford
- d. Galileo

14. In choosing a wife would you prefer a woman who — (*Women answer the alternative form below*)

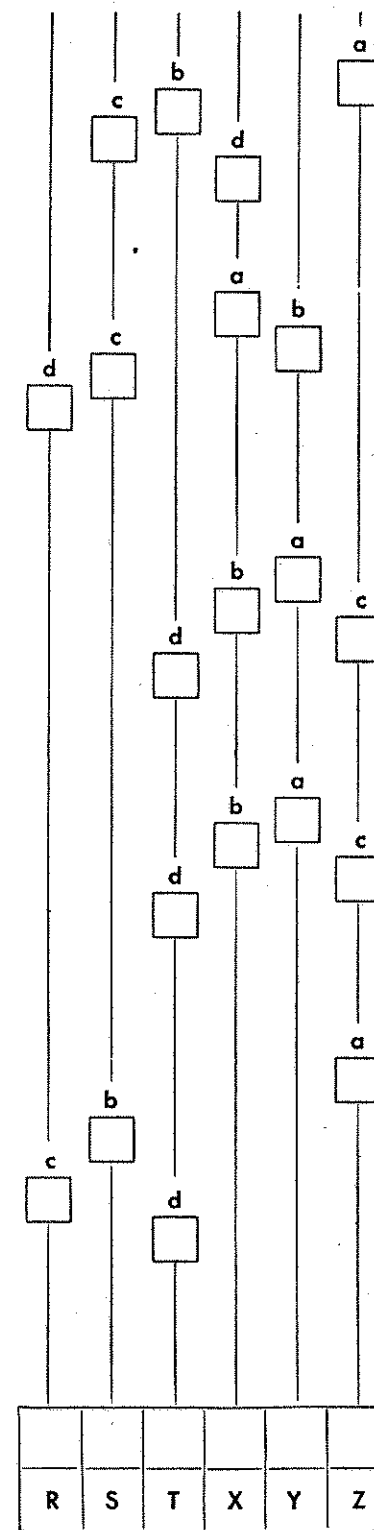
- a. can achieve social prestige, commanding admiration from others
- b. likes to help people
- c. is fundamentally spiritual in her attitudes toward life
- d. is gifted along artistic lines

(*For women*) Would you prefer a husband who —

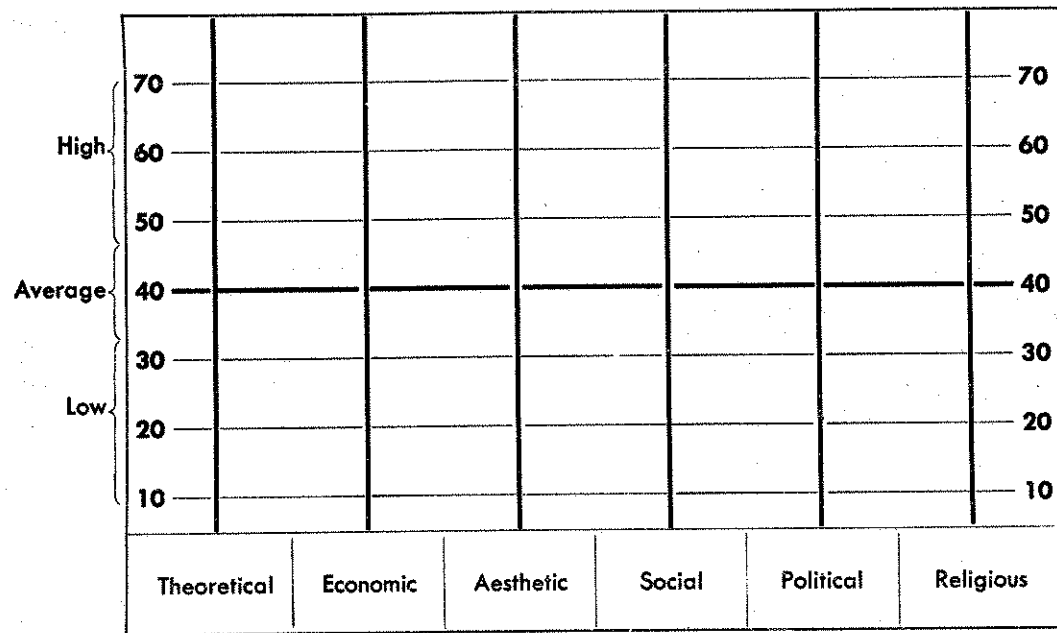
- a. is successful in his profession, commanding admiration from others
- b. likes to help people
- c. is fundamentally spiritual in his attitudes toward life
- d. is gifted along artistic lines

15. Viewing Leonardo da Vinci's picture, "The Last Supper," would you tend to think of it —

- a. as expressing the highest spiritual aspirations and emotions
- b. as one of the most priceless and irreplaceable pictures ever painted
- c. in relation to Leonardo's versatility and its place in history
- d. the quintessence of harmony and design



## PROFILE OF VALUES



*High and low scores.* A score on one of the values may be considered definitely high or low if it falls outside the following limits. Such scores exceed the range of 50 per cent of all scores for that value, i.e., 1 Probable Error. (These ranges are approximate since each Probable Error is rounded to the nearest whole number.)

Theoretical	34-46	Social	35-45
Economic	34-46	Political	35-45
Aesthetic	34-46	Religious	33-47

*Outstandingly high and low scores.* A score on one of the values may be considered very distinctive if it is higher or lower than the following limits. Such scores fall outside the range of 82 per cent of all scores for that value, i.e., exceed 2 Probable Errors.

Theoretical	29-51	Social	30-50
Economic	29-51	Political	31-49
Aesthetic	27-53	Religious	25-55

The *Manual of Directions*, page 9, gives detailed norms for 1816 college students who served as the standardization group for the *Study of Values*.

## SCORE SHEET FOR THE STUDY OF VALUES

**DIRECTIONS:**

1. First make sure that every question has been answered.

*Note:* If you have found it impossible to answer all the questions, you may give equal scores to the alternative answers under each question that has been omitted; thus,

Part I.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  for each alternative. The sum of the scores for (a) and (b) must always equal 3.

Part II.  $2\frac{1}{2}$  for each alternative. The sum of the scores for the four alternatives under each question must always equal 10.

2. Add the vertical columns of scores on each page and enter the total in the boxes at the bottom of the page.
3. Transcribe the totals from each of the foregoing pages to the columns below. For each page enter the total for each column (R, S, T, etc.) in the space that is labelled with the same letter. **Note that the order in which the letters are inserted in the columns below differs for the various pages.**

Page Totals	Theoretical	Economic	Aesthetic	Social	Political	Religious	The sum of the scores for each row must equal the figure given below.
<b>Part I</b>							
Page 2	(R)	(S)	(T)	(X)	(Y)	(Z)	24
Page 3	(Z)	(Y)	(X)	(T)	(S)	(R)	24
Page 4	(X)	(R)	(Z)	(S)	(T)	(Y)	21
Page 5	(S)	(X)	(Y)	(R)	(Z)	(T)	21
<b>Part II</b>							
Page 7	(Y)	(T)	(S)	(Z)	(R)	(X)	60
Page 8	(T)	(Z)	(R)	(Y)	(X)	(S)	50
Page 9	(R)	(S)	(T)	(X)	(Y)	(Z)	40
<b>Total</b>							240
<b>Correction Figures</b>	+ 3	- 1	+ 4	- 3	+ 2	- 5	
<b>Final Total</b>							240

4. Add the totals for the six columns. Add or subtract the correction figures as indicated.
5. Check your work by making sure that the total score for all six columns equals 240. (Use the margins for your additions, if you wish.)
6. Plot the scores by marking points on the *vertical lines* in the graph on the next page. Draw lines to connect these six points.

A P P E N D I X B

CASE STUDY OF A FAMILY

The following case study shows the way in which the data collected by using the schedule (printed in Appendix A) were assembled in preparation for the analysis. Material collected for each family was indexed in order to give comparable information for each numbered item.

(Symbols used in this account are as follows: F = father; M = mother; 1S = first son; 1D = first daughter; Sr = sister; Br = brother; FF = father's father; MBr = mother's brother; and there are other similar combinations.)

I. General Family Characteristics.

1. Duration of marriage. M and F have been married for fifteen years.
2. Age and sex of members. M and F are 37 and 40 respectively, and have two children: a boy aged fourteen (1S), and a girl aged eight (1D).
3. Place of residence and home ownership. They live at Bondi, in a rented home.
4. F's occupation and place of work. F is a linotype operator, working on the press of a Sydney newspaper in its city premises. He also holds a part-time job as a teacher of linotyping to correspondence students of the Sydney Technical College.
5. Description of home. The home is a small, semi-detached, single-fronted cottage on a small strip of land. It has three bedrooms leading off a

long hall, a lounge room, dining room, bathroom, kitchen and back verandah. It is extremely neat and clean and tastefully decorated.

6. Technical appliances in the home. Gas stove and refrigerator.
7. Assets and income. The family's only assets are the household furniture, which was worth £500 at 1939 values, and a small savings bank account (of undeclared amount). F earns £1,000/year (less tax) from his two jobs. L earns £50/year from a delivery job with a nearby chemist. Child endowment brings in £39/year.
8. Employed help. The family employs no help.
9. Residential history since marriage. The family has lived in Bondi ever since marriage. They first of all lived in a one-bedroom top flat, but moved to their present residence when the first child had begun to grow up a bit, to obtain a place with a back yard.
10. Occupational history of parent(s) since marriage. F has done the same type of work as a linotype operator continuously since marriage, although in three different places of employment. He changed employment on both occasions for improvement of status and income, and for trade experience. He has been in his present job for thirteen and a half years. M has not taken employment outside of the home since marriage.
11. Economic improvement or deterioration since marriage - crises, peaks and depressions. Since marriage the economic position of the family has always been reasonably satisfactory. From 1939 till August 1942 they were just able to make ends meet, because they were paying off furniture at that time. For three and a half years after that, when F was in the Air Force, there was a bit of a drop. In this period they just managed, but were

not able to save. Since 1946, there has been a steady upward trend, both in savings and the family's standard of living, although the graph has flattened out in the last three years, "thanks", they say, "to Artie Fadden".

## II. Father's History.

12. Number of generations for which F's ancestors have lived in Australia, and their countries of origin. FF's parents migrated from England; FM's great grand-parents migrated from Ireland.
13. F's position in family of origin. F was the elder of two children in his family of origin, having a younger sister.
14. F's memories of his family of origin, concerning prosperity, happiness, discipline, religious practice, public activity of own parents, and their sociability. FF was never unemployed, so F's family always enjoyed the benefits of a working man's living. F's childhood was never unhappy, although the discipline was fairly strict ("much stricter than the routine discipline of to-day"). FM was described as "a very bigoted, church-going Catholic", his F as "non-church-going C. of E." In youth the two children attended the Roman Catholic church, but when F got older and began to think for himself he gave it up; although his Sr is still a church-goer. His parents did not seek to exert influence within the community at all. They gave social evenings in the home regularly - "the kind of thing which you never see now".
15. F's residential history up till the time of marriage. F was born at Canterbury, Sydney, and moved at the age of two to Bondi, for the sake of his M's health, and has lived there ever since - although in seven different places up till the time of his marriage. This was due to the restlessness

of his M, who "couldn't stay put". The change of residence was never made because of the pressure of hardship.

16. F's place and type of education, and standard reached. F attended Bondi Superior Public School for his primary education, and Randwick Intermediate High for his secondary schooling up to the Intermediate, which he took at the age of sixteen. His secondary course was a commercial course.
17. F's occupational history up till marriage. F worked as a compositor in only one place of employment up till the time of his marriage, and for some time after.
18. F's religious and political development up till the time of marriage. F had become indifferent to religion by the time of marriage and had no definite attitude. Prior to the war (which also means prior to marriage) he had also no definite political views of his own. He had simply taken over his parents' political sympathies for the Labour Party, and was satisfied that "their line of thinking was satisfactory for his station in life".
19. F's religious and political development since marriage. Since marriage there has been no change in F's religious indifference. There has been a considerable maturation in his political views, however. From watching "the muddledom and insincere efforts of those who waged the war", he decided to do something about it. He was implicated in the organization of some strikes in the Air Force, and that experience, together with a host of social injustices with which he felt himself surrounded, have caused him to engage in politics actively ever since.
20. Marital status, occupation and place of residence of all members of F's family of origin. F's only sibling, a Sr, is married to a white-collar worker who has just obtained a job as Private Secretary to



the Premier, after having been many years in the Public Service. Her family lives at Hearne Bay. FF is dead, FM living. FF was a paper-ruler in the printing industry.

21. Circumstances of meeting M, and circumstances under which their friendship developed. F and M met one another at a party organized by the Bondi cricket club. F did not belong to this club, but patronized its functions as a member of the local football club. The friendship developed mainly through dances arranged by the football club.

### III. Mother's History.

22. Number of generations for which M's ancestors have lived in Australia, and their countries of origin. MFM migrated from England; MFF from Scotland.
23. M's position in family of origin. M was the second youngest of a family of five children.
24. M's memories of her family of origin, concerning prosperity, happiness, discipline, religious practice, public activity of own parents and their sociability. M's family always enjoyed reasonable working-class prosperity. They didn't "have to go begging, although they certainly never had too much of anything". They had plenty of wealthy relations, but MM was too proud to accept help from them. From the time the two brothers went to work until the depression they had quite prosperous times. They had always a comfortable home, but during the depression had to tighten up considerably. M remembers her childhood as a very happy one. The discipline was very strict and was exercised almost exclusively by MM - MF being too occupied with his club and racing pigeons to be concerned. Her parents were not religious. MM made them go to C. of E. Sunday School - "but we didn't have religion like some I've seen". Her parents themselves were not

church-goers, although MM went for a little while after MF death. MF was nominally Methodist. His people were strict church-goers, although he himself was not. M's parents were not interested in seeking positions of responsibility in the community. Her parents were very sociable. People used to come with their musical instruments for musical evenings - as many as 20 or 30 people at a time. M remembers even having jazz bands to practice in the home.

25. M's residential history up till the time of marriage. M was born at Leichhardt. Her family lived in four different places in the first twelve years of her life. They had left the first because her F died, the second because it was too big, the third because it was too expensive for a widow to pay the upkeep of. They moved to a fifth house in Bondi to better themselves, "more or less to have a better life", by living near the sea. They moved again in the depression because they could not afford to pay the rent. Then they broke up home, and M went to live for one year with a Sr in Bondi. Then they decided they were not happy separated, and so got a cottage going again during the depression. Then MM married again and they went to live in another place in Bondi which was nearer to the beach. Then in mid-1938 MM and MstepF went to the country. M didn't want to go to the country, so she and her Sr boarded in Bondi. It was while boarding there that M was married.
26. M's place and type of education, and standard reached. M gained her primary schooling at Orange Grove School, Leichhardt, and her secondary schooling at a Domestic Science Public School in Bondi, which she left at the age of fourteen and a half.
27. M's occupational history up till marriage. After leaving school M "went in for hosiery and embroidery and mending - that was about the only sort of work you could get then". She worked in two places up till the time of marriage, doing the same type of work.

28. M's religious and political development up till the time of marriage. M has never at any time had any defined attitudes to religion or politics. She had inherited from her parents a nominal C. of E. position, and had taken over her parents' Labour politics without thought.
29. M's religious and political development since marriage. M regards herself as nominally C. of E., and the children are C. of E. She is not anti-religious, although never church-going, and has seen some terrible things done in the name of religion - "often the more religious people are the more vicious they are". M is of a different religion from F, who is a nominal Roman Catholic, but they have never had any arguments about either one of them changing their religion.
30. Marital status, occupation and place of residence of all members of M's family of origin. The eldest child of M's family of origin is a Sr who is now married to a duco-sprayer living in Bondi. The next, a Br, is married, is a qualified accountant and production manager for Neon Signs, and also lives in Bondi. The next child, another married Br, is an electrical installations and maintenance engineer, and lives at Leichhardt. Her younger Sr lives at North Sydney and is married to a cordial foreman working for Mynor (he was a motor mechanic). M's own F, who died during her childhood, was an interior decorator. Her stepF was a telegraphist, and is now a postmaster at Richmond.

IV. Father's Activities Within Family Circle.

31. Household maintenance. F's contribution to the maintenance of the household consists of the performance of the following tasks: complete responsibility for maintaining the lawns and gardens (he likes this work, and wishes he owned his own place so that he could "let himself go"); washing up after the evening

meal when home for it; filling and lighting the kerosene heater in winter; turning the ringer for M on wash days (F generally arranges to be at home when the blankets are washed, as these are pretty solid work).

32. Personal care. F's personal care activities do not extend beyond care for himself.
33. Household and family management. The management of the family and household is left entirely to M.
34. Child control and supervision. F plays little part in the supervision of the children's activities, nor in the discipline of them, except where his intervention is actively invited by M. He is the "strong arm of the law", and, at M's request, will strap or "roar at" the children for offences whose commission he has not witnessed. In this way F shares with M the responsibility of instilling rules of behaviour.
35. Recreational activities within the family circle. F's recreational activities within the family circle include listening to the radio some evenings with all members assembled ("The Dam Busters", and Isador Goodman), going about 1/month to the pictures with the family when the children press him, on a wet day (when off work) going to town with M and, perhaps, to a morning session of the pictures, going for a walk with one or more members of the family to Rose Bay or to the beach on Sundays, going on outings with the children.
36. Other opportunities for face-to-face interaction within the family. F has breakfast with the family; kisses everyone good-bye in the mornings; has tea with the family (save the three nights/month when he stays in town); takes 1D across the road in the mornings on his day off work; spends time in the others' presence in the evening marking Technical College papers, or at week-ends listening

to the radio or reading the paper. F has two periods of a fortnight each for his annual holidays throughout the year, and one of them is taken during the school holidays so that he can go away with the family and M's people, renting a cottage or camping, generally at the water on the South Coast.

37. Quality of face-to-face interaction. F is effusive and demonstrative. He lavishes affection freely on all the family, and readily communicates his mind to them. He is very open with them all. He is disposed to be self-congratulatory, and expects a certain adulation from the others: in turn, he flatters them, especially M and ID. His demonstration of anger towards them is sudden, violent and soon over. He is impatient and sarcastic with IS because of his backwardness in school work, but he does try to help him.

38. Leisure activities taken within the family circle, unregulated by expectations from other members. F has a few swings of the golf club in the back yard each evening, he reads the evening newspaper from front to back every night, he potters around the garden with a few plants on his off day, he spends most of Sunday reading or listening to the radio. (F takes pride in the fact that he reads good books. He is a member of the London Reprint Book Club, and obtains very good books cheaply in this way. He is reading through the issues systematically. There are special extras from time to time. He takes it in turn with his mates at work to buy these, and they circulate them amongst themselves. One which he is reading at present is Churchill's "Memoirs".)

V. Father's Activities Outside the Family Circle.

39. General character and emphasis of outside activities. F has two occupations: his full-time occupation as a linotype operator, and a part-time occupation (carried out at home) as a correspondence tutor for

the Technical College. The voluntary activities away from home which are most important to him are his connections with the trade union movement. His participation in golf (played mainly with work-mates) is important, both as exercise and for sociability, although he does not belong to a club.

40. Occupation. F earns the family's entire income, except for £50/year earned by IS by giving part-time assistance to the local chemist. In his full-time occupation F is one of seven "time-operators" in a composing room, where he is under the supervision of an overseer and two deputy overseers. He gives no directives, and is at the end of the downward chain of communications. His work is type-setting completely: setting headings, introductions and advertising matter. He works 40 hours/week over five shifts, never has Saturday off, but one week-day by rotation. He has three quarters of an hour for lunch, and a "smoko" break (with tea or soft-drink) in the afternoon. F has lunch in the firm's cafeteria with the same three work-mates each day: after spending the first twenty minutes there he will spend the rest of the time playing cards or watching a card game. There will be six or seven penny rummy schools in operation.

F's part-time work for the Technical College occupies about three evenings/week at home, up till 9.30 p.m., or 10 p.m., and some time during his day off often.

41. Occupational associations. F is a very active member of the Printing Industry's Employees Union of Australia. He is the president-elect of the federal union. In this position of chief executive officer he chairs the annual conference of the federal union, and represents the union on delegations in conferences with employers or the A.C.T.U. He is the Vice-President of the N.S.W. Branch, in which office he deals with the credentials of new members, with resignations, transfers from one state to another, and appeals for donations to charitable organizations, e.g. to the Spastic

Organization, the Red Cross; and donations to the Labour Party at election times; and towards printing election propaganda. He also deals with correspondence appertaining to all sections of the industry, e.g. from advisory committees, shop chapels, individual members, employers' organization; and gives instructions to the Secretary, e.g. on the formulation of resolutions.

He is a member of the Board of Management of the N.S.W. Branch. This is really the supreme controlling body of the branch. They will consider decisions made by the executive, and in particular will pass for payment items listed in the Treasurer's report.

He is the Secretary of the Machine Composing Advisory Committee, which meets regularly twice yearly to discuss matters relating to this section, and has the object of putting the working of each section into the hands of the people in that section.

He is the clerk of the Machine Composing sub-chapel at the "Truth and Daily Mirror".

F gives up three evenings each month to the State Executive, and one to the Board of Management. In town on his day off he will often spend some of his time in union business, or he will often spend time then - or on other evenings - writing letters in connection with union affairs.

F also belongs to the part-time teachers' section of the Teachers' Federation.

42. Political, religious and moral associations.  
F's trade union activities have a political orientation, and not simply occupational. As well, he is a member of the Bondi Branch of the A.L.P. He has been asked to accept office in the Branch, but feels that he has not time to do so. He takes part fully in the discussion at meetings, and does the usual jobs at election time - filling letter boxes and printing propaganda.

F has no religious activities of any kind. He has stood by with IS and ID and listened to a children's Sunday School in the park on some Sundays, and finds this interesting.

43. Recreation. F could, but does not, belong to any of the returned servicemen's clubs - only because he believes that if you can't be in a thing properly it is better not to bother about it at all. Although he plays golf a great deal, and mainly with work-mates, he doesn't belong to a golf-club, because he can't make use of the membership, as he is working at week-ends. Prior to working on the newspaper - which occupies all of his Saturdays - he used to be interested in a number of sports: baseball, tennis, cricket, football. He played competition football each season and belonged to the local club. Four or five hours of nearly every day off F will be at golf, playing either with one of his work-mates or a casual player picked up at Moore Park. Very occasionally on his day off he will watch a match, e.g. football. One Sunday a month F plays what he calls "social golf", and would be away from home from 8 a.m. till 9 p.m. These outings would take a bus load to Wallachia, Camden or Wentworth Falls, and are organized by a social golf club at F's place of work.
44. Cultural and educational activities. F has attended evening courses in Economics I and Advanced Economics with the W.E.A. Next year he plans to attend a wood-work class at the local Evening College.
45. Social clubs, lodges, and other similar associations. F doesn't believe in lodges or secret societies. He belongs to no clubs (e.g. R.S.L.), because time is a limiting factor.
46. Contact with kin (for whole family). K's relatives are more in contact with the family than F's. MM and MstepF, who live at Richmond, are seen in week-end visits (made both ways), about once every three



weeks. This contact with kin involves some exchange of services, e.g. occasionally F helps MstepF turn the soil. Once/week M meets MM in the city for a day, and helps her do her shopping. Also MBr, who lives in the same street, is seen quite regularly. They visit one another's homes and meet on the bus. They work in together. If there is sickness in one family the other M will do the shopping, cook the tea, etc. They water one another's gardens and mind the animals in the holidays. The M's do shopping together, walk out together, go to the pictures together. Till very recently FM lived only a quarter of a mile away, and would come in for about half an hour six nights a week. Now she is living in a small apartment at Petersham, and they are just beginning to establish a pattern of regular visits. F used to do such odd jobs for her as would normally be done by the man about the house, e.g. repairs, lawns, etc. F's married Sr at Hearne Bay is also seen about six times/year. This family will almost always take the initiative in making visits. It has become a regular practice over the years for "everyone" to visit this family on Christmas eve, and on this occasion anything up to twenty relatives are present - nieces, uncles, MM and MstepF. Relationships with relatives are friendly, warm and open. M and F say, "It's open house here - casual and unorganized. The house might be full some nights. People aren't asked: they simply drop in."

47. Contact with neighbours (for whole family). M and F say they are very fortunate in their neighbours - except for one man who doesn't like children, is abusive and a heavy drinker. They get on well with their neighbours and they are always ready to assist if asked. There is a lot of mutual help, e.g. watering gardens at holiday time, taking 'phone messages, bringing in milk, taking children out in the car or for picnics. F always cuts the grass for a particular neighbour who can't bend; M has minded certain neighbours' children. "All the kids

come over the fence and we have a gathering of the clan." At the same time they don't visit the neighbours' homes at all - and don't encourage the practice either. Only at Christmas people on both sides would come in for a drink. There would be ten households of neighbours with whom relationships are of this intensity. F has lived in Bondi for 30 years and knows "umpteens" people through school, cricket and football associations. He never goes out in Bondi without meeting someone he has known for years. (When about 17 years old he actually lived with his family of orientation in the same house as that in which he now lives.)

48. Personal friendships. F had only one extra-special friend, but this man was a war-time casualty. All of his intimate teen-age associates have grown up and moved away. His only friends now are the five men with whom he works. These make a kind of unit. They have an outing every Christmas, going in turns to one another's homes, they organize picnics with their complete families, make a party for the staff ball, go to the club ball of one who belongs to a bowling club, or the other who belongs to a golf club, and make up theatre parties. Three of these five would spend days of social golf with F. (During the depression, F says, "we" started a Rugby Union club in Bondi - we were all friends - we also had dances and our mothers used to give the suppers - a lot were unemployed, and those that were working would club-in and help those that were not. After being in R.A.A.F., F retained interest in the club and tried to help keep it going until 1947. Then, because of Union interests, he had to give it up.)

49. Personal correspondence. F's personal correspondence is restricted to what is sent out to students who have been seeking advice in some way. These letters are additional to routine connections. He has written friendly letters to a couple of students in Long Bay, to one in Tasmania, to a couple of Indians in Fiji, to a couple of missionaries in French Equatorial Africa and one in the Belgian Congo. Letters would be exchanged with

overseas correspondents only about once in six months.

50. Allport-Vernon Study of Values. F's scores on the Allport-Vernon Study of Values were as follows: Economic, outstandingly high; political, high; social, average; theoretical, average; religious, low; aesthetic, outstandingly low.
51. Personal traits observed. F is expansive, conversational, convivial. Much of his conversation and thinking runs in the direction of exposing and expostulating against social injustices. He is indignant against anything of this kind, e.g. against his treatment by the Fair Rents Court (he had to pay added rent for improvements six months before they were made, and he knows friends who have had to pay added rent for improvements which they themselves have made.) He is intelligent, active, progressive, stable, purposive and integrated.

VI. Father's Perception of Self and Situation.

52. The main emphases of F's self-perception. F thinks of himself primarily as a promoter of the welfare of the working class, and an exponent, in his family role of F, of what the working class in Australia can offer.
53. Perception of the universe. F accepts the orthodox Christian views of God and man, and in a faint way places himself in this scheme of things. But he has no personal interest in the ultimate background of individual and social life, and eternal matters count little. He is respectful towards religion, and shows a certain interest and enthusiasm for the Open Air Campaigners' park Sunday School, but it is because of its moral influence on children that he appreciates it. With M he pays tribute also to the liveliness of the local Anglican minister, and to his efforts to keep the young people interested in the church.

54. Perception of Australian society (for whole family).  
F frankly identifies with the "working class", but keeps his perspective narrow so that he does not see it contrasted with other classes. He refuses, in fact, to grant legitimacy to class distinction based on wealth, although he admits that differences of wealth are found. He would acknowledge only two classes, distinguished by moral criteria: the good and not-so-good. This moral criterion is the only one by which one may distinguish between people, he says, "wealth doesn't come into it at all". As a participant in society he thinks of himself in four roles mainly - tradesman, teacher, leader in the working-class movement, and father. In addition, he thinks of himself as a student. He believes that all the values which he holds, material and cultural, can be realized within the working class where he is found, and he has no aspiration to move into a different class. He does not anticipate radical social change, but pins his hopes on the gradual legislative reforms of the Labour Party.

M and F feel no resentment towards people better off than themselves, except for the "snobbish would-be's". We all start equal, they say, and it is possible for some to go up without being affected by snobbery, while others remain where they start, because they just don't care. All of this is all right, but F refuses to grant legitimacy to distinctions of social superiority or inferiority which are achieved by this process. "I dips me lid to none," he says.

M says you can distinguish the "would-be's" from the people who are really quality, because great people are really gentlefolk and don't make you feel inferior. M says, however, that, without being snobbish, there are some people whom they themselves feel a little better than - people whose conduct is inferior, others who live in dirty houses, others who don't speak to their children very nicely. F says, "You'd say we had a moral code, although you couldn't actually put it into words".

F and M regard themselves as loyal Australian citizens. They favour the continuance of the monarchy as something to look up to and a rallying point for the people of the Commonwealth. They think it is an institution which is too costly, however, and some economy measure should be introduced - without actually threatening the institution.

They see a drift towards materialism in modern Australian society, but they see no fault in this. They think you can't ever be too materialistic. Under the present world set-up you have got to provide for all eventualities.

They object to the scale of the migration since the war rather than to immigration itself, and mainly because of the housing shortage. F said we should have put our own house in order first. They also discriminate between northern and southern Europeans. They dislike the latter, and say there should have been more of the former.

They think that the bogey of Communism is played up too much. F says that if people can be aroused to take an interest in their everyday life, their work and work associations, Communism wouldn't have a chance of getting a hold. He thinks that people have been more alert regarding these matters in the past few years.

55. F's perception of his family role. Within the family, F views his role mainly as that of material provider. Together with M he is a moral guardian and director of the children. He is a source of love, affection and appreciation for M and the children. He is a strong resource of wisdom, and physical and verbal punishment to which M may appeal - in matters of domestic management as well as child control. He has a high sense of responsibility and personal value, which derive from the family's dependence on him.

56. Family's perception of F. F is loved and respected by the whole family, but slightly feared in some ways by LS. He is seen by the children as being generous toward them, affectionate, and predominantly friendly. M regards him as being highly reliable (apparently in contrast with the instability which she has noticed in other husbands), as being popular with men and women alike, a good mixer and leader, ambitious and progressive - for all of which things she is very proud of him. She says he is quick-tempered, but at the same time soft-hearted and affectionate. She says that he and LS rub one another up the wrong way, only because they are terribly alike. The family is satisfied that F discharges his role as a F well. He does more even than is expected of him, and is very helpful about the place. M considers herself fortunate in such a husband. The children appreciate the interest he takes in them and the trouble he goes to for them. LD admires him tremendously and thinks that both of his jobs - printer and teacher - are very glamorous.

VII. Mother's Activities Within Family Circle.

57. Household maintenance. The maintenance of the household falls almost entirely to M, who has it well under control. She is very thorough and methodical, working fairly consistently to a weekly routine. She says that she never asks the children to do any household maintenance work unless she is pressed for time, and then LD may do some small thing like setting the table. She says that there is nothing about housework that she does not like, and derives a real sense of fulfillment and satisfaction from it - also, a pleasing sense of having given service and satisfaction. She prepares all the meals and does all the cooking and cleaning, washing and ironing, and does not like to have to let it go. F says MF says she wears the house out with the vacuum cleaner, carpet sweeper and broom. She gives the house a thorough do through once each week. She knits and machines,

makes clothing for herself and LD, and alters clothing for F and LS. She does a lot of mending and darning. She shops locally every second day and goes to town occasionally, and on Fridays goes to the Junction to do the week-end shopping.

58. Personal care. M wakes F and LS in the mornings, plaits LD's hair, chases LS around in the morning till he catches his bus, as he finds it hard to get off to school in the mornings, etc. She has the general supervision of the self-care of both children.
59. Household and family management. M is keen and enthusiastic about the management of the home, which is left to her entirely. She has a sense of vocation in this role.
60. Child control and supervision. This falls to M entirely, except when she chooses to invite F's intervention.
61. Recreational activities within the family circle. M's recreational activities within the family orbit include visits to the local pictures with F and/or the children on some week-day evenings, listening to the radio in the presence of the family in the evenings, taking the children (with F) for a swim on Sundays, going over with F and LD to join LS in his outings with friends at Watson's Bay, or strolling out with the family in the evenings. She goes to dances and balls with F, and when F goes interstate for executive meetings she goes with him and makes a holiday out of it. She plays shuttle-cock with the children.
62. Other opportunities for face-to-face interaction within the family. M has other opportunities for face-to-face interaction with the family in having breakfast and tea with them, in the casual and frequent appeals made to her by the children throughout the day, reading the paper in their presence on Sundays, and spending a fortnight's holiday with them each year.

63. Quality of face-to-face interaction. M is extremely affectionate, and appreciative and understanding towards F and both children. She is contented, level, and enthusiastic, and infects the others with her confidence. There is a very open exchange of communication between her and the rest of the family.
64. Leisure activities taken within the family circle unregulated by expectations from other members. Activities within the family orbit which are unregulated by the expectations of others are having morning tea alone, listening to a lot of radio serials (all that are on 2UW between 8.30 and 11.30) most mornings while doing work, browsing in the sun on the verandah for a short time after lunch in the cooler weather (perhaps knitting), doing some reading in the evenings or in bed before retiring (M describes this as a bad habit, because she can get too interested and do nothing else) - but she doesn't read a lot.

VIII. Mother's Activities Outside the Family Circle.

65. General character and emphasis of outside activities. Outside the family M's regular activities are concentrated amongst her kin. Her relationships with relatives entail a high degree of mutual service and sociability. She fulfils no public roles.
66. Occupation. M engages in no external occupational activities.
67. Occupational associations. Nil.
68. Political, religious and moral associations. Nil.
69. Recreation. M belongs to no recreational groups. Her most regular form of recreation outside the home is attending the cinema. This she does most often with family members, but sometimes with her M or Sr-in-law. She goes with F to a few balls throughout the year, but not to anything regularly.



70. Cultural and educational activities. Nil.
71. Social clubs, lodges and other similar organizations. Nil.
72. Contact with kin (see also item 46). M regards relatives as supplying her main friendships, she has a Sr and Sr-in-law of about her own age, and is closely attached to these.
73. Contact with neighbours (see item 47).
74. Personal friendships. M has only one important friend, apart from relatives, with whom she worked before marriage, and who was her bridesmaid. This friend visits the family for tea once every fortnight, and spends the evening chatting. She takes a great interest and shows affection for the children, having none of her own.
75. Personal correspondence. M has no regular correspondence at all. There is a lady who was very nice to them when they were children, and M writes to her every Christmas.
76. Allport-Vernon Study of Values. M's scores on the Allport-Vernon Study of Values were as follows: social, outstandingly high; theoretical, economic, aesthetic and political, average; religious, low.
77. Personal traits observed. M is placid, contented, well-integrated, self-respecting, well-adjusted, sensible.
- IX. Mother's Perception of Self and Situation.
78. The main emphases of M's self-perception. M sees herself primarily in the role of M within the family, in which role she is highly satisfied.
79. Perception of the universe. M faintly fits herself into the Christian view of God and the universe,

but is not personally concerned with the ultimate background of life. She believes in religion; that is, she says, in what it is, but not in what people make of it. She believes in being good and considers that she is better than a lot who are religious. She is quite scandalized that most children in the Bondi district don't attend church.

80. Perception of Australian society (see also item 54). M limits the horizon of her perception in regard to the larger society, and is content with her working-class role.
81. M's perception of her family role. Within the family M sees herself with satisfaction in the roles of home manager, carer for and trainer of the children, a source of affection for F and children. She would never consider going out to work unless compelled to do so by dire economic circumstances. That position has never been reached and the possibility has never been discussed. M is very proud of the home, likes to keep it clean and attractive, and has a refurnishing plan under way for the lounge and hall. She is very economical and has an eye for a bargain; F says she is an economist's dream. She takes pride in these achievements. She says she pleases herself entirely in her arrangements.
82. Family's perception of M. M is loved and respected by the whole family. F congratulates her for her good home management and economy and efficiency. He says she takes an interest in everyone, and always gives herself last priority. The children appreciate the interest which she takes in them - particularly in taking them out.

X. Children's Activities Within Family Circle. (IS, 14 years; ID, 8 years).

83. Household maintenance. IS has no regular tasks for household maintenance. He may help F in the

garden or in mowing the lawn, or M with the washing up - on request.

ID contributes to household maintenance by washing up in the mornings, going a few short messages each afternoon, setting the table sometimes in the morning if M is in a hurry - or for tea, accompanying M to shopping on Saturday morning, and going for the bread on Sunday morning.

84. Personal care. IS and ID assume practically all of their own personal care responsibilities - under M's direction and supervision.
85. Household and family management. Nil.
86. Child control and supervision. Nil.
87. Educational and training activities. IS does about half an hour's homework each evening, with a longer session, occasionally, on woodwork or science.
- ID has only a small list of words to learn each evening for homework.
88. Recreational. IS and ID listen to the radio in the presence of the whole family on Sunday nights, go with one another to the cinema on Saturdays, swim together. The family will walk out together, picnic together and holiday together. The children will go with M to shows in the city during vacations.
89. Other opportunities for face-to-face interaction within the family. IS and ID have breakfast with the family and week-end meals. IS is usually in late for tea on week-days and the others have eaten. IS and ID appeal to M a great deal throughout the day. They also play a great deal together. They sit in the same room as M and F in the evening to carry out their separate activities.

90. Quality of face-to-face interaction. IS is friendly toward all the family but is over-dependent on approval. He is matter-of-fact, and is embarrassed about expressing feeling. He is abashed by F's sarcasm and impatience about his backwardness at school, but bears it shyly and patiently. He is slightly withdrawn - and doesn't talk spontaneously very much - he has to be pumped to talk about what he has done outside the family. He is respectful towards his parents, and even a little afraid of F - of losing F's approval or exciting his anger. He is affectionate towards his Sr, but finds her very irritating at times, because she teases quite deliberately - when he's doing his hair, or when he's in the bathroom she'll push the door open, or when his mates are around she will hang around too. When she goes beyond a certain stage he "does his block" with her.

LD is very open, expressive, communicative and affectionate; respectful and obedient to parents and fond of them; affectionate to IS, but also teasing.

91. Leisure activities taken within the family circle, unregulated by expectations from other members. IS looks through the newspapers each evening, will read an interesting book, or browse over the papers on Sundays.

LD plays tirelessly.

#### XI. Children's Activities Outside the Family Circle.

92. General Character and emphasis of outside activities. Outside the family IS is mainly oriented towards his school, a play group of neighbouring boys, his delivery job with the chemist, and his association with the church.

LD is mainly taken up with school, school-friends and neighbourhood friends (including boys who are friends of IS), and with relatives.

93. Occupation. IS does not contribute to the family's income directly, but earns money of his own by working for the local chemist each afternoon after school and on Saturday mornings. He earns £1/week, of which 15/- is banked in his own account, and 5/- is spent as pocket money.

ID has no income-earning activities.

94. Occupational associations. Nil.

95. Political, religious and moral associations. No political.

IS shows a genuine interest in his religious activities - a sensitiveness, respectfulness, seriousness and warmth is evident in his response to them. He indicates that he has received personal appreciation in church association. He has attended Sunday School (C. of E.) up to and including the Bible Class. He is missing out this year, but will go again next year in the mornings because he is to be confirmed next year. Once each month in the evenings he goes to Fellowship at church, and then to the church service following. He used to be an enthusiastic member of C.E.B.S. - "until it fell apart: when the older ones more or less commandeered the place".

ID goes to Sunday School (C. of E.) each Sunday morning. She enjoys the company of the children, and is attached to the teacher.

96. Recreation. IS's recreational activities are taken mainly with boys in the neighbourhood. On Friday nights, fairly regularly, he will go to the pictures with one of his mates. On Sundays he will play football or swim nearly all day with six of them - and will meet others from the district; for example, he knows all the boys down at the surf club. Sometimes he goes to Rose Bay or Watson's Bay with some of them for fishing - or to the Zoo, or some similar place. These outings are just arranged

amongst themselves informally. Some long week-ends one of these mates will take him with his family to Woronora. In the hot weather in the summer he never misses going for a swim with a mate each day.

ID plays with the neighbouring children on the front footpath each afternoon after school, goes to the pictures some Saturday afternoons with the girl next-door, swims and plays with friends of IS.

97. Cultural and educational activities. IS is in 2B at Cleveland Street High School. He does a course which includes, besides general subjects, woodwork and technical drawing. There is no subject which he likes in particular, but he is pretty indifferent to French and positively dislikes music theory. His performance in all subjects is poor to average. He enjoys sports but is not very competent in any. He follows athletics in winter and swimming in summer.

ID is in 3B at Bondi Girls' School, where she is a monitress. She takes the general primary course, and is very keen on all subjects. Sport consists of games of various kinds, about all of which she is enthusiastic, although she has not much competence on account of being small for her age.

98. Clubs, lodges, etc. Nil.

99. Contact with kin (see also item 46). IS and ID are both particularly enthusiastic about visits to the grandparents at Richmond, and will frequently stay there during the holidays. ID goes to the pictures sometimes with her cousin who lives down the street. Sometimes on Sundays she will visit the aunt who lives in the street - just by herself. She will also visit other aunts with her M.

100. Contact with neighbours (see also item 47). Two immediate neighbours have boys of about the same age as IS, who are his special mates, and there are four others in close vicinity.

ID also mixes with these boys, and will go swimming or to the pictures with them. There are also three families in the neighbourhood with girls of about her own age, with whom she is friendly, and with whom she plays a great deal. There is also a small boy of three, a neighbour, whom she will sometimes mind.

101. Personal friendships. IS regards as his special friends three boys in the neighbourhood with whom he has grown up. This friendship has remained firm even though they have been dispersed by attending different secondary schools.

ID's main friendships are with three girls of her own age whom she has met at school. They live in the district, and she will bring them home or visit their places in the afternoon after school.

102. Correspondence. Nil.

103. Personal traits observed. IS is passive, slow, sensitive, withdrawn, respectful, a little anxious about masculinity.

ID is active, confident, self-contained, expressive, energetic, affectionate, communicative, respectful, contented, secure.

## XII. Children's Perception of Selves and their Situations.

104. The main emphases of self-perception. IS thinks of himself as a school-boy who is having a bit of a struggle with his school-work, and who, consequently, can't be of much account to anyone - except M and his peers. He sees himself seeking ease from the tensions and failures associated with school by absorption in a life of activity among his neighbourhood mates; as improving his value by maturing in religious understanding and status; as being effective and practical in holding down a part-time job. He has, as yet, no definite ideas about what he will do after leaving school.

ID thinks of herself mainly by position within the family, and as accepted, liked and effective at school, Sunday School and with her friends. She expects to be included in and accepted by IS's peer-group, but they deny her this right. She hopes to work in an office when she grows up, although she is not yet sure of this.

105. Perception of family role. Within the family IS views himself as a dependent member, and expects to be allowed much time for recreation and school studies, and time to do work from which he can accumulate personal savings. He expects to have to show consideration to others in the family in a crisis, e.g. when M was ill he did a lot of things about the house, and for her personally. He expects to be called upon to do things in the home only when a special need arises for him to give extra assistance.

ID sees herself as occupying a place of some importance within the family, particularly by virtue of the attention and appreciation which M and F lavish on her, and F specially. She sees herself in a definitely dependent role and expects to have much time for play, although she expects also to help in the family in some small minor tasks regularly (e.g. washing up each morning, messages each evening), and in other irregular tasks besides.

106. Family's perception of children. IS is seen by the family as being neither particularly efficient nor willing in the work he is given at home (which is very little), and depends on the special emotional appeal of a crisis, e.g. M's illness, to goad him into giving service. Then he is both considerate and kind. He is seen by his parents as "a bit of a dreamer, always miles away". He is lacking in initiative, but will try if you push him. However, you always have to lead him and show him the way. He is kind-hearted and sensitive and easily upset. He feels that people don't like him, and won't be satisfied until it is very forcibly demonstrated that they do. He is quiet, doesn't talk much about



his outside activities, and has to be probed. He is popular amongst his friends. He is good to take out - compliant and dignified. ID likes him a great deal because he plays with her and takes her places.

ID is seen by the family has having boundless energy and enthusiasm: an Indian rubber ball. She always wants to be doing something, and works hard and plays hard. She is both efficient and willing in the tasks she is given: she does everything graciously. She communicates freely and openly. IS likes her a great deal, except that she is a nuisance with her teasing and her hanging around when his friends are there.

#### XIII. Parental Practice and Aspiration.

107. Principles of discipline. The parents vary the method of punishment which they adopt, the variation arising mainly from a "try-something-different" policy, when a former method of punishment has failed. F declares, for example, that they don't believe in using the strap, but they plainly do so on certain occasions, and the method of punishment most commonly reported by the children is being slapped or strapped. Other punishments are deprivations, e.g. being forbidden to go to the cinema. Isolation has also been practised, e.g. when IS was locked out of the house because of his continually coming home late. Both M and F will actually hit either of the children, but only F will strap IS. F also does a larger share of the "roaring on" than M, because of his greater gift for moralising. Offences can be cumulative. IS says that if he gets into too many rows through the week he's not allowed to go out at week-ends.

The children are never promised rewards for good behaviour. If they do what is right they are told they are good (F says, "You're rare sparks"); but giving rewards is bribery. The children are always thanked for specific services which they render.

M and F think they have made a mistake with IS in keeping him on a level with themselves. They have treated him too much as an adult, and he has come to think of himself as being of the same age as themselves and speaks to them more or less in the same manner as they speak to one another. They are now trying to break this.

F uses a tone of threat towards IS (with a trace even of sadism?), which IS plainly fears, as though this is appropriate for a boy and will make a man of him; but he is effusively indulgent and congratulatory to ID, as though her sex earned her this differential treatment. M is firm but kindly towards both children.

It was observed that the children were both respectful and obedient.

108. Specific direction and supervision.

- (a) Homework. The parents have never had to give deliberate directions to the children to apply themselves to their homework: they simply go and do it.
- (b) Listening to radio. The family only listens to the radio in moderation, in the parents' opinion, and the children's wishes in this regard have never had to be curtailed.
- (c) Reading, particularly comics. F rigidly forbids the children to bring comics into the house from Mondays to Fridays inclusive. At week-ends it is all right.
- (d) Formation of friendships. The parents have actually taken a hand in supervising the formation of certain friendships by IS. There are a few lads in the neighbourhood whom they don't encourage him to associate with. They simply tell him that a certain person is not a good companion, and point out the pitfalls that he could get into through being in the wrong company.
- (e) Pocket money. F gives 6d./week to each child, explaining to ID that it is actual

payment for her services in wiping up. M also 1D 6d., but gives 2/6d./week to 1S. 1D saves her money to buy Christmas and birthday presents, and uses it almost exclusively for these purposes. If they ever go out and want to spend money they appeal to the parents for extra money, and are given it. 1S works for the local chemist, and earns £1/week. Of this 15/- is banked, and he keeps 5/-. With his 7/6d./week he buys small things for himself, and for school. If he needs large amounts for special purposes, e.g. buying a large quantity of books, M will give him money for this. He likes to draw his money out at Christmas time to buy presents. He'd like to draw out a lot more and buy big presents, in fact, but M makes him hold on to his savings.

109. Standards of conduct. The parents want to see the children grow up to be respectable and good: honesty (in the widest understanding of the term), kindness and good manners, are the most important things to be aimed for. They want them to go to church while young to obtain a religious and moral training which will stand by them later on.
110. Schooling proposed for the children. The schooling which they will give the children depends on the children's ability and interest, the parents say. They take it for granted that they will attend a state school for all of their education. 1S is at Cleveland Street High School, and whether they will keep him at school till fifth year depends on the standard which he has to show at the third year. After her primary course they hope that 1D will go to Dover Heights High School. M thinks that this is easily the best of the high schools in the area. Both parents have a great deal of factual knowledge about the various schools, their standards and courses.

111. Occupational aspirations. The parents' aspirations for the children are fluid, as they consider that a great deal will depend on their own choices on arriving at the age of discretion, and on the abilities which they have yet to demonstrate. If IS's ability is not sufficient to take him beyond the Intermediate, they expect that he will go into some trade of his own choosing, but he is not showing any particular inclinations at the moment. He has, alternatively, some other ideas: he may become a primary school teacher, a carpentry teacher, or a Naval Officer Cadet at the Flinders Naval Base.

M and F don't know what to hope for for ID. She herself thinks she would like to go into an office, but M thinks that she is far too young yet to know her own mind in the matter. She is doing so well at school that M thinks she may well become a teacher.

#### XIV. Perception of Some Family Factors.

112. Family goals: past and present. The only family goals which M and F had consciously formulated in the past were, (1) "to get a few hundred pounds behind us to meet a rainy day", and (2) to achieve security of employment. These have now been realized.

The present goals are to get a home of their own, and perhaps a car to take the children out. They want the home to be comfortably furnished, but not over-furnished. They want to see the children set on their feet. F claims, and M admits, that he is more eager about these things than she is, but both desire them.

M also likes to see F get ahead in his two jobs and his union work, but doesn't supply any drive for him. M says, "I'm pleased for him, but I wouldn't like to be having to go ahead too." Both parents disclaim any desire to accumulate money for its own sake.

113. View of the requirements of a successful family. The parents believe that family life requires a great deal of give and take, and that very often personal desires have to be surrendered to the family good. Without this their family would not be where it is. M thinks it is very important to see that each person pleases himself to a certain extent, particularly the children. She feels it incumbent upon her to try to keep everyone happy, particularly in giving the children the amount of their own way which they need, without over-indulging them.
114. View of the proper balance of emphasis between generations. Parents place a value on themselves because of their maturity and service to the community. They are recoiling from the "mistake" of giving LS roughly equal importance with themselves. They organize the family much more about their own ends than the children's. But some of the children's wishes are acceded to, particularly those in regard to recreation, and their educational advantage is jealously watched.
115. View of the authority arrangements existing between husband and wife. M is given a free hand to run the home and supervise the children, only inviting F's intervention when she desires it. She calls him in for disciplinary action against the children, or for consultation when she expects to run into heavy expense or institute some unusual procedure. F gives M all except £2 of his weekly wage. He keeps this amount for fares, lunches, smokes, family entertainment, sport, etc. From the remainder M allocates for household expenses and regular saving.

The arrangement is entirely pleasing to both, because, by it, each parent expresses confidence in the other, and because each one is allowed a defined area of initiative which is agreeable. F is pleased to leave household and children to M while he moves out into the world to earn for them. This ultimate, actual dependence upon him as breadwinner gives him sufficient feeling of importance,

and he does not begrudge surrendering all internal authority to M. On the contrary, he is proud of the way she is able to assume it.

116. View of shared and separate interests. M and F claim to share all of one another's interests, but there are some of F's in which M is not involved actively, although she expresses sympathetic interest. Cinema, music and dancing engage them both. F has an interest in union affairs and current affairs into which M is incapable of entering very far. M does not take an active interest in sport as she is unable to stand up to it physically, but she takes a pleasure in seeing F take part. Both parents share an intense interest in the family itself, and the home.

XV. Attitude to Research.

117. Cooperation. The family were unreservedly cooperative from the start, and showed little reticence in communicating confidences.
118. Special interest. M and F inclined to the belief that sociological research would be of ultimate benefit to the working people.

A P P E N D I X C

TESTS OF STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Throughout the thesis generalizations have been made from sample findings of three kinds, provided ( except in the derivation of the master-types ) the findings were significant at the 15% level of confidence at least.

Case I. From the proportion of the sample showing a certain characteristic I have concluded that it would be unlikely to be found if the proportion in the universe were either .5 or on the other side of .5 from the sample proportion; so that the incidence of the characteristic within the sample makes the interpretation allowable that there is association ( either positive or negative ) between the members of the universe and the characteristic.

Case II. From a difference between the proportions of two sub-samples ( e.g. the two occupational groups ) showing a certain characteristic I have concluded that the difference is unlikely to be found if the proportions in the two parent populations were equal; so that the interpretation is allowable that there is a differing degree of association between the characteristic and the two parent populations.

Case III. From an ununiform distribution in the sample of more than one characteristic I have concluded that the

distribution is unlikely to be found if the characteristics were uniformly distributed in the universe; so that the interpretation is allowable that the more frequent are more characteristic of the universe than the less.

The test of significance used in each case was as follows:

Case IA. Where  $N$  was large enough to consider that the sampling distribution of the proportion was normal and continuous, the deviation of the sample proportion from .5 was expressed in standard deviation units, and the probability of obtaining a sample as unusual as this from a universe with a proportion of .5 was read from the tables. ( Hagood, M.J. and Price, D.O., "Statistics for Sociologists" Henry Holt & Co., N.Y., 1952, pp. 237 to 241, using Appendix Table C. ) By an empirical rule,  $N$  was considered large enough to assume a normal distribution, if it satisfied the equation

$$Np_s + 9p_s > 9 \quad (\text{when } p_s < q_s),$$

where  $p_s$  is the proportion that possesses the attribute, and  $q_s = 1 - p_s$ . ( Hagood, M.J. and Price, D.O., ibid., p. 233.)

Case IB. Where  $N$  was smaller than this, the probability of getting a sample as unusual from a universe with a proportion of .5 was directly calculated from the binomial expansion. ( Hagood, M.J. and Price, D.O., ibid., pp. 242 to 245.)

Case IIA. Where  $N$  was shown ( by the above equation ) to



be large enough to consider the sampling distribution normal and continuous, the difference between the proportions was expressed in standard deviation units, and the probability of observing the difference in such a distribution was read from the tables. ( Hagood, M.J. and Price, D.O., ibid., pp. 315 to 320, with Appendix Table C. )

Case IIB. When N was smaller than this the chi-squared value was estimated, using Yates' small-sample correction for continuity of subtracting .5 from each difference between observed and expected values. The probability of observing the difference for the number of degrees of freedom was read from the tables. ( Hagood, M.J. and Price, D.O., pp. 356 to 371, with Appendix Table E. )

Case III. This was regarded as a special simple case of Case IIB. Taking the same expected value for each of the characteristics, viz. the mean of the observed values, chi-squared was estimated, using Yates' correction for continuity. ( Connolly, T.G. and Sluckin, W., "Statistics for the Social Sciences" Cleaver-Hume Press Ltd., London, 1953, pp. 112 to 115.) Two different types of ununiform distribution were tested:

Case IIIA. The first case was where each member of the sample could have only one from the available group of characteristics, due to the characteristics being mutually exclusive.

Case IIIB. The second case was where each member of the

sample could have any or all of the characteristics, since they were not mutually exclusive. In this case chi-squared was estimated by giving a separate square to the observed value of every possible combination.

Below are listed the places in the text where probabilities have been indicated, together with the tests used.<sup>1</sup> The case which the test makes will show what numerical measures the signs refer to, wherever this is not entirely plain in the text. Where actual numbers are not given in the text they are stated here.

<u>Page</u> 101	xx	<u>Case IA.</u> 8 out of 40 professional parents originated in families of workers in the manual division of occupations.
105	..	<u>Case IIB.</u> 20 out of 24 professional parents moved up with a partner: 4 out of 12 tradesman parents did so.
106	xx	<u>Case IIIA.</u>
107	x	<u>Case IIIA.</u>
109	xx	<u>Case IB.</u> 9 out of 23 cases.
109	xx	<u>Case IB.</u> 2 out of 23 cases.
110	xx	<u>Case IIB.</u> 14 out of 36 non-Roman Catholic professional parents attended private schools: none of the 24 non-Roman Catholic tradesman parents did so.
111	xx	<u>Case IIA.</u>
112	xx	<u>Case IIB.</u>
117	xx	<u>Case IIB.</u>
118	xx	<u>Case IIA.</u>
120	x	<u>Case IIA.</u>

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<sup>1</sup> Where more than one test is referred to on one page, the order of listing here corresponds to the order of the tests on the page.

Page	127	x	<u>Case IIB.</u>	
	127	..	<u>Case IIA.</u>	
	137	..	<u>Case IB.</u>	15 out of 20 cases.
	151	.	<u>Case IIA.</u>	
	152	xx	<u>Case IIA.</u>	
	152	x	<u>Case IIA.</u>	
	153	..	<u>Case IIA.</u>	
	160	xx	<u>Case IIB.</u>	
	162	x	<u>Case IIB.</u>	18 out of 20 professional families: 9 out of 18 tradesman families.
	172		Table.	
			First square of first row	xx <u>Case IB.</u>
			Second square of first row	x <u>Case IB.</u>
			Second square of second	
			row	xx <u>Case IB.</u>
			Second row	xx <u>Case IIB.</u>
			First square of fourth row	xx <u>Case IB.</u>
			Fourth row	xx <u>Case IIA.</u>
			First square of fifth row	.. <u>Case IB.</u>
	172	xx	<u>Case IIIB.</u>	For the sake of being able to apply a chi-squared test, the relative incidences of membership, self-expansion and partisanship only were considered, leaving the other two aside.
	174	xx	<u>Case IIIB.</u>	See note on 172 xx <u>Case IIIB.</u>
	175	xx	<u>Case IIA.</u>	
	175	xx	<u>Case IIIB.</u>	See note on 172 xx <u>Case IIIB.</u>
	175	xx	<u>Case IIB.</u>	
	178		Table.	
			Last column	x <u>Case IIIA.</u>
	179	xx	<u>Case IIIA.</u>	
	179	x	<u>Case IIIA.</u>	
	179	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	
	184	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	
	184	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	
	184	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	
	184	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	
	184	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	38 out of 40 professional parents: 18 out of 36 tradesman parents.
	186	x	<u>Case IIB.</u>	
	188	x	<u>Case IA.</u>	9 out of 31 cases.
	199	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	34 out of 38 cases.
	201	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	
	201	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	34 out of 38 cases.
	201	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	35 out of 38 cases.
	202	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	
	204	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	

<u>Page</u>	207	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	
	212	xx	<u>Case IIIA.</u>	
	214	xx	<u>Case IIB.</u>	
	217	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	
	218	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	
	224	xx	<u>Case IIA.</u>	
	232	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	8 out of 76 cases.
	234	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	
	240	.	<u>Case IA.</u>	
	240	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	
	241	xx	<u>Case IA.</u>	3 out of 20 professional families: 4 out of 18 tradesman families.
	257	xx	<u>Case IIB.</u>	8 out of 20 professionals' wives: none out of 18 tradesmen's wives.
	258	xx	<u>Case IIB.</u>	
	265	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	
	268	xx	<u>Case IA.</u>	
	270	xx	<u>Case IA.</u>	
	286	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	
	286	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	
	295	xx	<u>Case IIA.</u>	
	296	..	<u>Case IA.</u>	
	296	x	<u>Case IB.</u>	
	310	.	<u>Case IB.</u>	
	310	xx	<u>Case IB.</u>	
	311	.	<u>Case IA.</u>	

# APPENDIX D

## SUMMARY OF TYPES

Each family is numbered.  
Inspection of this summary enabled relationships to be identified

I.S.C. & CLASS		PROFESSIONALS'				TRADESMEN'S			
1	Upper middle	11, 15, 18, 22, 23, 24, 27, 32	12, 21, 25, 28, 20, 24	5, 7, 8, 13, 14, 26	33, 38	1, 3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 16, 17, 19, 30, 31, 35, 36, 37	2, 3, 4		
2	Middle middle	8/20	6/20	6/20	2/18	14/18	2/18		
3	Lower middle								
4	Upper lower								
5	Middle lower								
<b>SOCIAL MOBILITY</b>									
1	Through major barrier	15, 27	18, 22, 23, 24, 11, 32	12, 20, 21, 25, 29	5, 7, 8, 13, 14, 26, 28	33, 38	6, 10, 16, 17, 30, 31, 36, 37	1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 14, 34, 35	
2	To ceiling of class of origin	2/20	6/20	5/20	7/20	2/18	8/18	8/18	
3	To below ceiling of class of origin								
4	No upward movement								
<b>ASPIRATION FOR CHILDREN</b>									
1	Beyond family of origin	7, 13, 15, 27, 32	5, 8, 11, 12, 14, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29			1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 14, 31, 34, 35, 36, 37	10, 16, 17, 30, 33, 38		
2	Equal with family of origin	5/20	15/20			12/18	6/18		
<b>SOCIALLY MOBILE PARENTS' ADJUSTMENT</b>									
1	Settled	11, 18, 22, 23, 24	15, 27, 32			10, 16, 17, 30, 33, 36, 38	6, 31, 37		
2	Unsettled	5/8	3/8			7/10	3/10		
<b>SOCIALLY IMMOBILE PARENTS' ADJUSTMENT</b>									
1	Disappointed			7, 13	5, 8, 14, 26, 28		1, 2, 9, 19, 34, 35	3, 4	
2	Content			2/7	5/7		6/8	2/8	
<b>CLASS SELF-INCLUSION</b>									
1	U. stratum	23, 32	5, 7, 8, 13, 14, 15, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29	11, 12, 14, 26	3, 33, 38; 4, 6, 16, 19, 36, 37	10, 30, 35	1, 31	2, 9, 17, 34	
2	M. imperialist								
3	Distinctive W.								
4	Aggressive W.								

APPENDIX D (continued)

PROFESSIONALS'

TRADESMEN'S

PARENTS' MAIN NON-OBLIGATORY CONTACT		5, 20, 21, 24, 26	7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 22, 23, 28, 29, 32	25, 27, 32	7, 2, 3, 4, 16, 17, 19, 30, 34, 35	6, 9, 10, 31, 33, 36, 37, 38
1	Primary relations	5/20	12 1/2/20	2 1/2/20	10/18	8/18
2	Voluntary association					
3	Sociability					
ADOLESCENTS' RANKING OF FAMILY & PEER GROUP		14, 23, 32	5, 7, 8, 13, 15, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29	11, 12, 18	9, 31	1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 16, 17, 19, 30, 34, 35, 37, 38
1	Peer group first	3/20	14/20	3/20	2/18	13/18
2	Peer group & family equal					3/18
3	Peer group last					
EXTERNAL ORIENTATION		5, 12, 24	7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 21, 22, 28, 29	20, 25, 27, 32	8, 23, 26	4, 19, 30, 35
1	Withdrawing					2, 6, 10, 16, 17, 31, 36, 38
2	Positive out-going	3/20	10/20	4/20	3/20	4/18
3	Negative out-going					1, 3, 4
4	Positive & negative out-going					3, 9, 33, 37
FRINGE FUNCTIONS: RECREATION and/or RELIGION		5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 15, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29	13, 14, 20, 27, 32		3, 4, 6, 10, 16, 17, 19, 30, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38	1, 2, 9, 31, 34
1	Retained beyond minimum		15/20	5/20	13/18	5/18
2	Reduced to minimum					
FRINGE FUNCTIONS: PRODUCTION		5, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, 18, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29	14, 20, 23, 27, 32		2, 4, 6, 10, 16, 17, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38	1, 3, 9, 19, 31, 37
1	Retained beyond minimum		15/20	5/20	12/18	6/18
2	Reduced to minimum					
CONTROL TYPE		5, 11, 15, 22, 24, 28	20, 25, 32	26	12, 18, 21, 29	7, 8, 13, 14, 23, 27
1	L. Patriarchy					4, 6, 10, 16, 17, 35, 36, 37
2	A. Patriarchy					2, 3, 9, 34
3	A. Matriarchy	6/20	3/20	1/20	4/20	6/20
4	P. Matriarchy					8/18
	S. Partnership					4/18
	U. Partnership					2/18
						1/18
						2/18
						1, 31
						19
						30, 38, 3
BUDGET DETERMINATION		12, 23	5, 7, 8, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32		10, 16, 19, 37	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 17, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 3
1	F. and M. equality					
2	Surrendered to M.	2/20	18/20		4/18	14/18
3	F. leadership or independence					
DOMESTIC HELP BY FATHERS		8, 21, 26, 29	5, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 18, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 32		10, 16, 19, 30	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 9, 17, 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38







APPENDIX F

A NOTE ON THE RELIABILITY OF THE METHOD

Beneath any piece of research lie the assumptions the research worker makes concerning the nature of the quest for knowledge. These assumptions are conventions, in that they affirm things which seem to be true on the whole but have not been finally validated, and they act as barriers to keep the doubts which surround knowledge from engulfing it with confusion. While the research worker cannot hope to examine such assumptions with the thoroughness of the philosopher, part of whose profession it is to find out whether there be any flaws in them, when it is possible for him to choose between alternative assumptions, he must be faithful to whichever ones seem to him the better grounded. In this note I try to share with the reader my own estimation of this thesis as a piece of knowledge. In the course of doing that I will have to lay bare certain assumptions, and indicate why they have been preferred to others.

It seems to me that the methodical search for systematic knowledge which we call science, earns its prestige by commending itself in two main ways. It presents conclusions which are consistent with other independently derived conclusions and with new experience - that is to say, conclusions which can be tested and proven; and it works towards conclusions by a method which is constant or reliable, and can therefore be repeated. This distinction between testing and repeating is a clear one, and we should not suppose that conclusions are tested by repeating the steps through which they were reached. Testing lies rather in the application of results to wider contexts.<sup>1</sup>

The extent to which any piece of work leans on either of these two elements for its acceptance varies greatly. Broadly speaking, repeatability is not expected of the methods by which hypotheses are conceived or new concepts developed, nor of the methods by which conclusions are reached concerning non-persistent objects (such as emotional states) or non-recurring events (such as the origin of mammals). Such conclusions commend themselves,

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1 Larrabee writes: "In the usual sense of the term, to prove anything is to show that it is a necessary consequence of something else which has been independently accepted on other grounds." (Larrabee, H.A., "Reliable Knowledge", Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, N.Y., The Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1945, p. 316.)

usually after time rather than immediately, by their ability to withstand testing over a range of phenomena. On the other hand, repeatability is expected of the methods by which conclusions are reached about quantifiable details or single cases which remain constant, since, by virtue of their specificity, such conclusions cannot be widely tested. As a result, these methods usually entail some experimental or quasi-experimental design.

To say this is to make an over-simplification, of course, for probably no piece of work ever leans on one of these supports only. There is a tendency, particularly, to seek acceptance for the study of a detail or a single case by reporting it as if it were illustrative of something broader, and, by suggesting analogies, to subsume it under a more widely applicable concept or theory. Also, the widely applicable theory grasps whenever it can at evidences which themselves can be commended by their repeatability. It seems to me, therefore, that we ought not to expect that any piece of work must lean on only one or other of these supports, or that it must lean on both, or even one, to the fullest possible degree. The question is not one of either/or, nor of all-or-none, but of how much of each is appropriate to the case.

As I have stated (pp. 8-11), my aim in the present piece of work was entirely exploratory - to describe, to observe likenesses and differences between cases, and to suggest hypotheses to explain them by noticing what factors seemed to occur together. Also, I was interested in the more significant aspects of behaviour which defy quantification. And, further, in order to deal with roles in relation to values and needs, I had to use some new concepts which, in a first trial, I could not expect to apply with extreme precision. For these several reasons I did not consider it appropriate to the case to proceed by a standardized method which would have a high degree of reliability, and I expected that the work would commend itself mainly by offering hypotheses which could be tested against other knowledge and, perhaps, against differently designed pieces of new work.

At the same time, I wished to preserve whatever rigour of method I could. Thus my aim placed me in a middle position in which I sought to preserve the advantages of the more insightful and significant sociology (of which I would consider Durkheim, Weber, Simmel, Mannheim, Thomas and Parsons to be some of the best exemplars), without regressing from any genuine advance which might have been made in the recent striving after a better scientific status for the subject.

I aimed at a target at this middle level because I share the desire which some writers now express, for a sociology which will hold theory and research together. Merton has said that this object will be furthered if inquiry is guided by theories of the middle range.<sup>1</sup>

Larrabee is another person who has commented on the divorce between the theoretical and empirical members of the sociological house, and he is careful to lay half the blame upon the offences of the latter member.<sup>2</sup> If anyone has felt acute dissatisfaction over the state of affairs which these authors describe, he will be sensitized to the detection of

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<sup>1</sup> "Complete sociological systems today, as in their day complete systems of medical theory or of chemical theory, must give way to less imposing but better grounded theories of the middle range." (Merton, R.K., "Social Theory and Social Structure, Toward the Codification of Theory and Research", The Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, 1949, p.7.)

<sup>2</sup> "The social studies deal with unique personalities living in particular societies; and both individuals and groups are extremely complex and subject to change.  
"This means that the seeker for reliable knowledge in these fields faces a continual dilemma in devising methods of attack to cope with his elusive materials. If, in imitation of the physical sciences, he insists upon relentless analysis and precision in measurement, he runs the risk of mutilation and dismemberment of the living wholes which form an important part of his data. If, on the other hand, in sympathy with the approach of the artist he resorts to broad, pictorial generalizations, he may find that they are so vague that he can neither prove nor disprove them. As a result, the social studies suffer chronically from a plethora of heaped-up details without unifying meanings, and an over-supply of grandiose theories and broad concepts unlinked to adequate supporting data." (Larrabee, H.A., *ibid.*, p. 22.)

the assumptions responsible for it, and he will want his own work to contribute something to the rehabilitation of the subject.

It seems to me very likely that in this movement into the middle range not only will the grand theories have to be made smaller, but the topics of empirical research will have to be made larger and more significant, and they may have to sacrifice a certain amount of formal exactness. Secondly, we may have to lay more stress on the fact that in applicability science has another support to lean upon besides reliability, and that sometimes it must be leant upon much more heavily. We may also have to settle the question of whether or not, in the study of human behaviour, the mixture of these two ingredients of scientific plausibility must be different from that in the study, say, of physical phenomena.

As no royal road into this middle position is open to us, any avenue which appears to promise access to it is probably worth trying. One of the more promising would seem to be a comparative study of different pieces of empirical work, undertaken to find out whether any recurring theoretical themes are implicit in them. Another would be to conduct empirical work in a spirit of theoretical enquiry, and not feel that when one ventures into the exhilarating world of real data one must leave theoretical considerations behind. The present study was conceived on the latter plan of



approaching field data with the theoretical concepts of our sociological heritage in mind, of trying their usefulness for describing actual cases, and of theorizing about connections between the factors which can be isolated through using them.

Operating in this middle position I wanted, in particular, to try the usefulness for systematic field work of the ideal type, as it appeared to be a tool which was suited to work in this range. Anyone who hopes to develop general hypotheses from concrete field data has to find his way from the diversity of experience to the simplicity of a model. All sciences which proceed to generality deal with such simplified constructs. They aim to abstract, and, by dropping out things of lesser relevance, to replace experience with conceptual models. The ideal type would seem to be the model par excellence for describing behaviour, since behaviour is most significantly apprehended as a complex of factors - a "living whole" as Larrabee has called it. This model asserts the relative constancy of a constellation of factors, so that simply to describe by means of an ideal type is to theorize. For this reason it is well suited for the task of holding theory and research together. I made it my theoretical aim, therefore, to describe the families I saw either as one or several ideal types.

The upshot of this is that the really serious and

important test of this thesis cannot be presented with it, as it lies in the future. The test of its acceptability will be whether the hypotheses developed here are proved in further work. And there is a test of worth apart from this. That test will not actually be that future work should prove the hypotheses true, but that the hypotheses should draw attention to problems which will be found to be significant and answerable - whether they be answered affirmatively or otherwise. The value of a worth-while hypothesis lies in the fact that it draws attention to a crucial problem, and this is of fundamental importance, since asking the right question is one of the most critical stages in the whole scientific process for determining the fruitfulness of the results. For this reason it is important that hypotheses should be clear, definite and pointed, and I have striven for these qualities in the depiction of the master types.

It is difficult to know how the hypotheses will be taken up, but it might not be altogether idle to speculate on the way further work could proceed, if it used the present hypotheses for its point of departure. I said early (p. 8) that any typology reached as a result of the study could not claim to be exhaustive, as it would only cover the types chanced upon in a small number of cases. On the other hand, the types having been delineated, they appeared to be simply logical possibilities for cohesion - either husband and wife pursued the same comprehensive ends



through the family; or, though following certain like ends, they also followed some notably different ones. In the latter case they either excluded the pursuit of their different ends from their associational life in the family, thus exercising a fair amount of independence, or one or both adopted some coercive measure in an effort to make the family serve ends unshared by the partner. Here, at once, is a problem for further investigation, both on the theoretical and empirical planes. Although these are logical possibilities, are they exhaustive - or are there other possibilities besides? Can other cohesion types be conceived, and can they in fact be found in a larger sample? A second question of a related kind is whether or not there are sub-types within each type. For example, I have described the withdrawing and out-going variants of the identification type of family. Do variants of some kind or other also exist for the adaptation and false-identification types? Are there other variants of the identification type?

I have said that "the types could be valuable in that each one may circumscribe the limiting conditions within which certain generalities about relations between husband and wife and parent and child may hold" (p. 442), and that "this would seem to be a very important contribution to the study of families, since generalizations about such relations for the whole society can be so easily belied by citing exceptions" (p.442). An exception may be a pointer towards the limits wit

which a generalization holds true, rather than an evidence of its falsehood. The main value of the family types is that they postulate that certain things go together, only under a particular umbrella as it were - the umbrella being supplied by identity or divergence in the parents' values, and by acknowledgement or suppression of divergence where that occurs. Pairs of factors which seem to occur together must therefore be tested for association in families of one type, rather than in any family at all. For instance, I have suggested that habitual rivalry between children is found in the adaptation type but not in the identification type. It could scarcely be considered a general characteristic of the families of our society, therefore. Again, I have suggested that adolescent revolt only occurs in adaptation and false-identification types of family, and that only in the latter type is it characteristically accompanied by feelings of guilt. I have also suggested that in adaptation type families the parents' relations with the child are cold and irresponsible but indulgent, in the identification type they are responsible and warmly affectionate, and in the false-identification type they are psychologically oppressive. These, and all other hypotheses posited by the master types will need to be separately tested.

In the Conclusion I have suggested that in the adaptation and false-identification families pressures are recognizable which might lead towards separation or divorce (p. 431). It

would be interesting to go further and inquire whether divorce and separation are confined to these types of family. This might be done by taking a sample of recent cases of separation and divorce, and attempting to reconstruct the situation from as many informants and sources of information as can be found, to discover what were the characteristics of the divorcees' family. I have also suggested that impulsive behaviour in children in the adaptation type of family had some affinity with certain kinds of behaviour seen in delinquents, and that the oppressed mentality of children of the false-identification type had affinities with neurotic behaviour. It would also be interesting therefore to study the families of selected children who are known to have shown marked delinquent or neurotic tendencies, to discover whether or not their families have always the features of these respective types.

If the types I have described win any credence, it would probably be thought worth-while (and certainly it would be necessary) to try to define much more precisely the kinds of behaviour by which they can be recognized, and that in itself would afford scope for much research. This applies to all the evidences used for classifying the simple types, but it applies particularly to the evidences needed for identifying the master types. How can we tell with confidence whether or not control in a family and the personal space enjoyed by its members are legitimate (as

"legitimate" is defined on p.263)? We may recognize such sanctioned behaviour by a correspondence existing between verbalized principles and constantly repeated performances, in much the same way as we recognize the existence of personal values. But a great deal of the most strongly sanctioned behaviour is taken for granted and passes without comment, and to pronounce upon it seems to the actors ludicrous or priggish. How do we know that behaviour of that kind is legitimate? Negative evidences such as willing compliance, acceptance of leadership and absence of remonstrations, and positive evidences such as approval of the person whose actions affect one, sympathy with his strivings and interest in his welfare, will probably afford the necessary clues if they can be studied and described carefully. It seems to me that recognition of this kind of behaviour is crucially important in sociology, since the equipment for drawing the fundamental sociological distinctions depends on it.

Further, in the matter of a better definition of behavioural evidences, if we are interested in relating social structures to individual satisfaction, the evidences of individual need-satisfaction, such as were outlined on pp. 390 and 391, will want much more precise definition. How do we know, for example, when a person is controlling his impulses with the object of conforming his behaviour to an idea of who he is, that is, of acting in character?

Or, to take another example, how do we recognize the spontaneity that comes from transcending self-consciousness by being wholly lost in a group? How is this enthusiasm distinguished from and related to the absorption of engrossment in a task, and the shedding of self-consciousness which also accompanies that state?

This last question could lead on to another more obscure problem, and it is one which entails theoretical as well as empirical considerations. It is sometimes said that we ought not to speak of needs for such generalized things as security and freedom, but only for specific securities and freedoms. Presumably this is because of the semantic objection to abstract terms. But I prefer to retain the notion of a generalized need, because I think the generality is psychological rather than conceptual (just as it is with values), in the sense that one thing may do instead of the other, and alternative external objects may meet the one subjective lack. It appears that we do not need specific things at all but only a satisfaction having fairly general characteristics. Thus engrossment in a task and enthusiasm in a group may be equally able to satisfy the same need for freedom - intoxication may be another way of doing so. Security may be equally and alternatively supplied by anchorage in a group, in a love-relationship, in history, in the material world, or in a religious system. The need for identity might be satisfied by a highly

elaborated ego-ideal, an ascribed role, an actual achievement, or in phantasy. The chapter on need satisfaction was intended to show how satisfactions for these same needs are found in different ways by the members of different types of family. If pursued with greater refinement in the study of the family, this line of inquiry might throw some light on general problems having to do with the relation between the individual and the group.

The foregoing has supplied hypothetical examples of the kind of further work in which the conclusions of the present work might be applied, and in which their worth and truth will be tested. But I have said that, though I expected the work would commend itself mainly by its applicability in ways like these, I tried to preserve whatever rigour of method I could in reaching my conclusions. Understanding the task as I did, as an exercise in the adoption of the ideal type, on the side of repeatability (or what I shall now call reliability), I paid attention to two things mainly. First, I tried to show the steps of condensation by which I passed from a number of concrete cases to the three master type models. It was in the process of doing this that it became important to count the number of cases which were of each type. This numerical step was a precaution for guarding against that impressionism (which otherwise always accompanies a knowledge of a number of cases) which is disposed to conclude that "most" or "few"

cases of a certain kind had a certain second characteristic. Because I was able to do so I simply counted them, and did not allow myself to develop ideas about connections unless it was plain that the factors in question went together in a number of cases. And, in addition to this, I tried to school myself in the practice of using explicit behavioural evidences for assigning the cases to simple types. I know of no better drill than this for work which tries to penetrate to the middle range by the road I have taken. But, before I say why I considered that attention to these two things would suffice for reliability, I must say a word about the notion of reliability itself.

It must be admitted by all that, considered in any other form than the standard error of quantitative measures, reliability is one of the most elusive, confused and disputable concepts in methodology - which contrasts strangely with the fact that it has recently been accepted so widely. The concept refers essentially to the consistency with which a measuring instrument or procedure will produce the same measure. But how is this to be demonstrated for non-quantitative observations?

In psychological and educational tests there have been four main ways of attempting to establish reliability: the "split-half" method, by which the scores for a group of cases on half the items of a test are correlated with those on the other half; the "test-retest" method, in which the

scores on the one test administered twice over an interval of time are correlated; the "alternative form" method, in which the correlation between scores on two equivalent forms of a test is estimated; and the Kuder-Richardson "rational equivalence" method, which is really based on a definition of equivalent forms in terms of the interchangeability of the items in pairs.<sup>1</sup> Jordan<sup>2</sup> has shown that the first and third of these are different measures, and Goodenough<sup>3</sup> has shown that the first and second are different measures - they are not three different ways to the one thing "reliability" at all. Loevinger,<sup>4</sup> who is amazed that, since Goodenough wrote, so much work has been conducted without regard for her conclusions, supports her views, and points out the unwarrantable assumptions on which all four of the tests rest. Both Goodenough and Loevinger recommend that the notion of reliability be abandoned, that the procedure taken to commend the repeatability of a measure be simply

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- 1 The four methods are described in a monograph by Loevinger Loevinger, Jane, "A Systematic Approach to the Construction and Evaluation of Tests of Ability". In Psychological Monographs, Vol. 61, no. 4, 1947.
  - 2 Jordan, R. C., "An Experimental Study of the Reliability Coefficient". In Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol. 26, 1935, pp. 416-426.
  - 3 Goodenough, Florence L., "A Critical Note on the Use of the Term "Reliability" in Mental Measurement". In Journal of Educational Psychology, Vol. 27, 1936, pp. 173-178.
  - 4 Loevinger, Jane, *ibid.*



stated, and that the particular procedure chosen should be that which is appropriate to the case.<sup>1</sup> There should be no belief that, when a certain test has been performed and a correlation coefficient obtained, satisfaction has been given and the matter put beyond doubt. It would seem to me especially important to keep oneself from believing that by such gestures any measure can be categorically put beyond the doubt in which other measures, not likewise testable, are thought to remain.

Except that one prefers not to jettison the term, one finds this recommendation of Goodenough and Loevinger appealing. It is a stroke of simple wisdom, somewhat analogous to that by which Fisher<sup>2</sup> dismisses the arbitrarily chosen confidence levels of statistics as tests of significance which have imperatively to be satisfied. Both are acts of clarification which remind us that it is one world, and that all serious methodical work may be embraced in science, one piece of work differing from another in its

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1 Goodenough states: "What we should do, I think, is to relegate the use of the term 'reliability' to the limbo of outworn concepts and express our results in terms of the actual procedure used." (Goodenough, Florence L., *ibid.*, p.177). Loevinger echoes her view: "The statistical formulas utilizing reliability coefficients are based on assumptions at best so inaccessible, at worst so contrary to clinical experience, that the attempt to find a substitute for the notion of reliability, based on assumptions closer to the real situation in testing, appears well justified." (Loevinger, Jane, *ibid.*, p.16).

2 Fisher, Sir R. "Statistical Methods and Scientific Induction". In *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, Vol.17, no.1, 1955.



degree of precision and applicability, but not in kind. What the acceptance of this view meant for the present piece of work was that I adopted the twofold procedure I have described: (i) showing the steps of condensation by which I passed from a number of actual cases to the fictional master-types, and (ii) using explicit behavioural evidences for assigning the cases to simple types, because I judged this to be the only way to secure what reliability I could without forfeiting the theoretical significance I desired in the treatment of the data.

This was a modest discipline which was possible within the limits imposed by my aim, and one which I was therefore obliged to embrace. I did not imagine, though, nor did I mean to pretend, that these cautions would lend any high degree of reliability to the study. As I admitted very early in the thesis, much inexactness remained (p.15). This was partly due to the inexact nature of some of the analytical concepts themselves, and partly due to the fact that the behavioural evidences on which my typing judgments were based were not standardized or pre-ordained - as the response of an objective test are. Thus cases might be classified together on the basis of very diverse items of behaviour, or different combinations of items, or items which only took on significance because of their context in the complete case study.

I went to work on the analysis of the material I had

collected by saturating myself with the case studies. I needed to hold all the data about any family in mind at once, if I could, since there was no simple correspondence between the categories under which I had collected the material and the analytical concepts, which were even then only emerging in my mind. More than this, for these concepts to become clear, I needed to hold the data on all the families in mind at once, since it was only the likenesses and differences between cases that suggested what analytical concepts would be relevant. This was a Marathon task, and I spent three months' full-time work reading over the whole set of case histories a number of times, until the details were vivid in my mind and almost memorized. Only then was I equipped to proceed with the typing, and in assigning any case to a type I satisfied myself that there was some explicit behavioural pattern which would give me grounds for doing so. I took one pace forward from the intuitive type of judgment which apprehends something without being able to give reasons for believing it to be the case - which might assert, for instance, "I believe this family to be so-and-so, but I couldn't say why". Instead, I constantly asked myself, "How was this shown?" when a typing judgment was made. Even so, for the reasons which I have given, I was only able to indicate very broad classes of evidence as indices for assigning the families to types. But I considered it important for the acceptability of my

method that the reader should understand what these were, and, in every case where it would not be plain either from common sense or from the definition of the types themselves, wherever I have distinguished between types of cases I have given the range of behavioural evidences on which I based my judgments about particular cases. And I supplemented this by giving illustrative examples.<sup>1</sup> I believe that anyone who tries to stand in the unenviable middle position of preserving the dual advantages of insight and method can do little more

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1 For example, on p. 148 I give the range of behavioural evidences on which judgments about social responsibility were made, on pp. 149-150 I define the types abstractly, and between pp. 152 and 169 I give illustrative instances of the different ways in which these attitudes were shown. On pp. 169-170 I give the range of behavioural evidences on which judgments about values were made, on pp. 73-76 the abstract definition of the types, and illustrations are given between pp. 172 and 176. The types which were thought to be self-explanatory or whose definitions themselves conveyed the sort of behaviour involved, were a few which had to do with overt characteristics, such as whether or not the parents excused themselves from demonstrating affection for the children, whether or not the father relinquished the affective-interest role to the mother, whether or not the father exceeded a minimum share in child direction and instruction, whether the domestic help given by the father was only token help or more than that, whether the fringe functions were reduced to a minimum or deliberately retained, and whether the husband or wife had exclusive power of determining the budget or shared it with the partner. But in all cases where the abstract classification was some distance removed from the behaviour that was believed to exemplify it, I have been at pains to connect the abstract type with the sort of behaviour on which judgments were based. All of the places in the thesis where this has been done will be given, when I show for what reasons the family described in the case study was assigned to the various types.

than this. Nor can he do less. His heavy burden is to convey the intuitive across to the objective.<sup>1</sup> If he succeeds in this it might be called his peculiar contribution to science.

The result was that, through the whole process of analyzing the data, I was conscious of the necessity of demonstrating what I asserted, and, at the same time, of the extreme difficulty of doing so. This was due to the fact that I was usually referring to a number of cases, on each of which I had probably made a composite judgment on a rather miscellaneous assortment of items of behaviour, which were of very varied adequacy from case to case. From start to finish I was tempted to retreat from this position into one of the more comfortable and conventional extremes. I only managed to screw my courage to the sticking place by firmly resolving upon the convention of stating the order of data on which I would base my judgments, and illustrating. For I came to believe that this would be a fair way of supplying the reader with the material he would need to

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1 The word "objective" can be used in different ways. It can mean something which is there for anyone to discover, and, used thus, it makes an opposite of "subjective", when that term is made to mean the projection of one's own preconceptions or demands. But it can mean a form of knowledge which is public, because expressed in terms which are conventionally defined, and then it is opposed to "subjective", when that word means private or intuitive knowledge. Taking it for granted that the matter reported in the thesis is quite objective in the first sense, I am trying to make the point that it is a stage on the way to objectivity in the second sense.

estimate for himself the degree of reliability inherent in the study. The mode of presentation was itself to be the indicator of reliability, so to speak. I did not imagine that it would do other than transparently show the reliability to be meagre, but I hoped it might earn for the study the credit of being more than intuitive.

It will perhaps serve as a sample of my procedure, if I set out now in tabular form my reasons for assigning the family in the case study in Appendix B, to the various types, including the master type. This family was number 17 on the chart shown in Appendix E. For each type I will list (i) the place in the text where the types are defined, (ii) the place where the kind of behavioural data used for assigning a case to one or other of the types is given, and (iii) the items from the case study from which a behavioural pattern for this particular family was recognized. As well as listing these places, to which the reader may refer, I will try to summarize (ii) and (iii) in brief formulae.

#### SOCIAL CLASS

- (i) Types defined: pp. 96-98.  
(ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp.94-95.  
In which mode the family is placed by scoring the data used in Warner's I.S.C.  
(iii) Classification of this family: Upper Lower Class,  
from case study items
- |                              |       |             |
|------------------------------|-------|-------------|
| no. 4 (father's occupation): | 4 x 4 | - 16        |
| 7 (source of income):        | 5 x 3 | - 15        |
| 5 (house type):              | 5 x 3 | - 15        |
| 3 (dwelling area):           | 5 x 2 | - 10        |
|                              | Total | - <u>56</u> |

The score of 56 lies within the mode to which the designation Upper Lower Class is applied.

### SOCIAL MOBILITY OF FIRST GENERATION

- (i) Types defined: p.107.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: p.107.  
Comparison of the occupations, prosperity, places of residence and social participation of parents with those of their own parents.
- (iii) Classification of this family: Moving to ceiling of class of origin, from case study items no. 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 41 and 42. From the families of a paper-ruler in the printing industry and an interior-decorator, respectively, F and M have moved into the family of a qualified lino-type operator. In their families of origin they enjoyed the benefits of a working man's living. They "didn't have to go begging", but certainly never had too much of anything. Since marriage F has changed his job twice to improve his status and income, but has not changed from the actual trade in which he was trained. The family has changed from its former place of residence, but has not moved from the one suburb. After paying off the furniture, and recovering from the setback of being on Air Force pay, the family has become established by a steady increase in income and savings and in its standard of living. Whereas their own parents were not interested in accepting positions of responsibility in the community, F is extremely active and holds a number of responsible positions in the labour movement.

### ASPIRATION FOR CHILDREN

- (i) Types defined: pp. 120-121.
- (ii) Behavioural Data for classifying cases: pp. 120-121.  
Parents' expressed wishes.
- (iii) Classification of this family: Equal with family of origin, from case study items no. 97, 104, 110 and 111. The parents' aspirations for the children are fluid, for what they finally do will partly depend on what ability they demonstrate. So far, LS has demonstrated very little ability, and it seems very unlikely that he will continue at school beyond the Intermediate Examination. In that eventuality the parents expect that he will enter some trade of his own choosing. LD, at the age of eight, is too young for anyone to entertain serious aspirations for her.

### CLASS SELF-INCLUSION

- (i) Types defined: pp. 136-143.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: p. 135.  
Views and attitudes directly expressed.
- (iii) Classification of this family: Working class imperialism

from case study items no. 38, 39, 41-44, 54, 80 and 116. The parents, and F particularly, grant no legitimacy to class distinctions and treat all people alike, i.e. as "workers". They believe that all that is valuable, whether material or cultural, can be realized within the working class. F's wide associational life extends exclusively to movements for working-class betterment, and sporting, social and cultural groups comprised of workers.

#### RESPONSIBILITY ATTITUDE

- (i) Types defined: pp. 149-150.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp. 148-149. Political affiliation, and attitudes expressed to a variety of things in the society, particularly to some controversial features of it.
- (iii) Classification of this family: Liberal, from case study items no. 18, 19, 51, 54, 56, 112 and 116. F has inherited his own parents' political sympathies for the Labour Party. Observing the muddledom and insincere efforts of those who waged the war and other social injustices he decided to do something about our social betterment. But he does not anticipate radical social change, pinning his hopes instead to the gradual legislative reforms of the Labour Party. For instance, he favours the monarchy, but he thinks that many reforms are called for in that institution. He has a strong sense of responsibility to the existing occupational structure in contributing to his trade and trade associations, and opposes the radicalism of Communism. He recommends instead that people should all take a responsible interest in their everyday life and work. M, who had earlier adopted Labour Party views, sympathetically and quite uncritically assumes F's attitudes.

#### VALUES

- (i) Types defined: pp. 73-76.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: p. 169. Correspondence between persistent efforts to achieve a certain type of satisfaction (as shown by the trend in the composite picture of the family's activities) and the verbalization of principles of behaviour, especially expressions of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, and views about the standards of life and sense of values which parents hope to see their children develop.
- (iii) Classification of this family: Spiritual (including membership) + egoistic real, or, more specifically in



this case, membership + partisanship + self-expansion, with membership and partisanship predominant; from case study items 38, 46, 50, 53, 54 (third paragraph), 64, 76, 79, 109, 112 and 113.

The family's membership values are shown in the high valuation placed upon family life by all members, in particular, and upon their relations with kinsfolk. The parents believe that family life requires a great deal of "give and take", and that very often personal desires have to be surrendered to family good - without this their family would not be where it is. There is a strong conviction about the importance of a general morality to regulate relations outside of the family, and for training in which the children are sent to church and Sunday School. Partisan values are shown in the intense absorption in activities for the working-class movement. In sport and recreation some membership values are also sought as an important part of F's golf and M's theatre-going is the company in which they are enjoyed, and team membership has been very important in games which F has played earlier. They deliberately set themselves against the egoistic and ostentatious outlook which wants money for its own sake and wants the home over-furnished. Certain egoistic values are expressed, however, in the excessive time and devotion which F gives to golf, often not caring whether he has a familiar partner or not, in his other leisure activities at the week-end, in his self-improving activities in attending evening classes, and in reading; and also by M in her browsing and radio-listening. The parents' A.V. tests, giving average to high scores in both cases for economic, political, social and theoretical "values", and low for religious lends some support to the view that they are seeking their main satisfactions through solidarity with kin, family and class.

#### VALUE DIVERGENCE BETWEEN PARENTS

- (i) Types defined: p. 185.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: p. 185.  
Direct observation of different values followed by the separate parents, and expressions by the parents of disappointment, frustration, resentment and shame relative to the other partner, in so far as he or she pursued satisfactions for which there was no shared liking.
- (iii) Classification of this family: No value divergence between parents, from case study items listed as for Values. A large part of the evidence was negative in that behaviour of the kind used for detecting value divergence was not found. But there was also

positive evidence, in so far as there was strong agreement in the membership and partisanship values described above - the principal values. Both parents relied upon one another for the realization of membership values within the family and with kin, and M was strongly sympathetic with and supported F in his sporting activities and in those for the labour movement.

#### VALUE DIVERGENCE BETWEEN GENERATIONS OF THE FAMILY

- (i) Types defined: p. 186.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: p. 186.  
Direct observation of different values being followed by the parents and children separately, and feelings of betrayal by, dissatisfaction with, or contempt for the parents on the part of the children.
- (iii) Classification of this family: No value divergence between generations, from case study items as listed for Values, and also items no. 88, 89, 90, 92, 95, 96, 99, 100 and 101.  
A large part of the evidence was negative in that behaviour of the kind used for detecting value divergence was not found. There is some positive evidence for the same thing in that, to the extent that the children have consciously reflected their desires, they value participation with the family and kin in the same way as their parents do, and seek a similar kind of satisfaction with peers and in the church.

#### PREFERRED CONTACT FOR PRIMARY RELATIONS

- (i) Types defined: pp. 199, 202-204.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp. 199, 200-204.  
Intensity of feeling, degree of interaction and mutual dependence of parents with relatives, neighbours and friends respectively.
- (iii) Classification of this family: Kin preferred, from case study items no. 46-48, 65, 72 and 74.  
M has only one particular friend apart from relatives. F formerly had one, but now has none of any intensity, the closest approach being some contacts with a few work-mates. Contacts with neighbours are deliberately kept from becoming involved. Contacts with relatives are frequent, friendly and open, and embrace a great deal of mutual service. M considers that her main friendships are supplied by relatives, particularly by her Sr and Sr-in-law.

### NEIGHBOUR RELATIONS

- (i) Types defined: pp. 204 and 207.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp. 204 and 207. Intensity of feeling, degree of interaction and mutual dependence of parents with neighbours.
- (iii) Classification of this family: Polite curtailment, from item 47.  
Services of petty help are exchanged amongst the neighbours, and the children are encouraged to mingle freely. But intimacy between adults is avoided, by never visiting one another's homes, except at Xmas, and by positively discouraging the practice.

### PREFERRED USE FOR SOCIABILITY

- (i) Types defined: pp. 196-197, 216 and 219.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp. 196-197, 216-219.  
Whether the discretion of sociability is observed or relaxed, thus preventing or leaving the way open for relationships to develop into enduring friendship, and whether sociability is exploited for public conspicuousness.
- (iii) Classification of this family: Seeking friendship, from items 43, 48 and 69.  
F's and M's sociability activities, apart from those with family and kin and M's close friends, are with F's five work-mates. These friendships are enduring, the same friends are met in a variety of circumstances, and they are sufficiently taken for granted for marked discretion to be unnecessary.

### MAIN NON-OBLIGATORY CONTACT

- (i) Types defined: pp. 239 and 240.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp. 239 and 240. Time and attention given to sociability, primary involvements and voluntary association respectively.
- (iii) Classification of this family: Primary involvements, from items 41-44, 46-48, 69, 72 and 74.  
Primary relations, principally with kin, make up the greater part of the non-family relations of both parents. M is engaged by relationships of this type almost exclusively. With F, voluntary activities connected with the union are also important, but do not occupy whole week-ends and evenings in the way his primary relationships do.

ADOLESCENTS' RANKING OF FAMILY AND PEER GROUP

- (i) Types defined: p. 212.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: p. 212.  
Adolescents' conversational preoccupations and use of spare time.
- (iii) Classification of this family: Family and peer group ranked equal, from items 61, 88, 96, 100 and 101  
IS spends a great deal of recreation in company with the family, and also a great deal with peers. The two are linked together by all his neighbourhood friends being encouraged to come to the house, and by the family sometimes joining the peers on Sundays in certain of their recreational activities.

EXTERNAL ORIENTATION

- (i) Types defined: pp. 240-241.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp.240-241.  
Extent of external participation, preoccupations of family discussion, and nature of the pressure causing members to move out.
- (iii) Classification of this family: Positive out-going, from items 39-49, 52, 56, 65-75, 92-101, 112, 116.  
Their kinsfolk, F's work-mates and voluntary activities, and the children's companions are all cultivated far beyond the requirements of obligatory association, and form a large part of their common concern and interest of the members of the family. They are not driven into these interests because of dissatisfaction with the family, but seek them because of their intrinsic satisfaction.

FRINGE FUNCTIONS. I. RECREATION &/or RELIGION

- (i) Types defined: p. 222.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp.222-228.  
How far religious &/or recreational activities are retained by the family.
- (iii) Classification of this family: Retained, from items 31, 36, 61, 62 and 88.  
A large portion of the free time of family members is spent in recreation together, including an annual holiday together. Religious activities are relinquished.

FRINGE FUNCTIONS. II. PRODUCTION

- (i) Types defined: p. 222.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp.222, 256-25  
How far productive activities are retained by the family.

- (iii) Classification of this family: Retained, from items 31, 55-57, 81 and 82.

M finds a great deal of the intrinsic satisfaction of her role in the preparation of food for the family, in making clothing, and in decorating and fitting up the home. F gives himself enthusiastically to the gardens and lawns, and does more even than is expected of him by doing helpful jobs about the place

#### FAMILY CONTROL

- (i) Types defined: pp. 262-266, 273-285.  
(ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp. 263-266, 273-285.

Whether the division of responsibility for decision-making is by agreement and consent (and according to a certain principle), or by assertion.

- (iii) Classification of this family: Legitimate patriarchy, from items 33, 55-57, 59, 78, 81, 82, 115.

F determines the budget, and is the undisputed final judge in questions relating to discipline, heavy expense and radical changes in the family's way of life. M is allowed complete control of the household and routine family activities, and "pleases herself entirely in her arrangements". Both parents have a sense of personal worth and satisfaction in discharging the responsibilities allotted to them, and each is highly satisfied with the partner's performance.

#### DOMESTIC HELP GIVEN BY FATHERS

- (i) Types defined: p. 258.  
(ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: p. 258.  
Whether or not a larger share of domestic duties than token help is undertaken by F as his due obligation.  
(iii) Classification of this family: Token help, from items 31, 33, 57 and 58.  
F's part in domestic duties and personal care of the children is almost negligible.

#### BUDGET DETERMINATION

- (i) Types defined: pp. 265-266.  
(ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp. 265-266.  
Whether F's determined the initial allocation of their earnings alone, or in consultation with their wives, or surrendered the decision to their wives completely.  
(iii) Classification of this family: Budget determined by F alone, from item 115.  
F determines what he shall keep for his own expenses and what shall be given to M.

### F's PART IN CHILD-DIRECTION

- (i) Types defined: pp. 291-292.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp. 291-292.  
Whether the F's part in the direction and instruction of the children exceeded such intervention as M invited and what was made inescapable by the situation of being left alone with them, and whether it rivalled the part played by the M.
- (iii) Classification of this family: Minimum participation by F, from item 34.  
F has no regular supervision of the children and gives no directives of any routine kind. He will, when invited by M, play the role of "the strong arm of the law".

### DEMONSTRATION OF AFFECTION FOR CHILDREN

- (i) Types defined: p. 300.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: p. 300.  
Whether the parents consciously strove to show affection for the children or excused themselves from doing so.
- (iii) Classification of this family: Parents demonstrate affection, from items 35-37, 55, 56, 61-63, 81, 82, 107  
Both parents make a point of spending a lot of time with the children and are extremely open and expressive with them. Even though F's attitude to LS is sometimes sarcastic and sometimes slightly sadistic, it is also kindly, and never distant, indifferent or rejecting.

### ELASTIC ROLE ADHERENCE

- (i) Types defined: p. 312.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: p. 312.  
Whether or not the parents rigidly confined themselves to their own tasks, or frequently took over and helped with one another's duties.
- (iii) Classification of this family: Elastic role adherence not shown, from items 31-34, 55-57, 60, 78, 81, 82, and 112 (third paragraph).  
Inside matters are left to the M and outside matters to the F almost in their entirety. Each parent takes pride in being able to meet the requirements of his or her role unaided.

### EXPERIMENTAL CHILD TRAINING

- (i) Types defined: p. 296.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: p. 296.  
Whether or not parents are applying consciously formulated theories of child development.
- (iii) Classification of this family: Not employing experimental child training, from items 107-109 and 114.

Parents emphasize the subordination of the children to themselves, assert authority and exercise punishment, and seek to have them trained in the traditional moral and religious virtues. Unnoticed, they had kept LS more or less on a level with themselves, and consider this to have been a mistake, and are breaking him from it.

ADMISSION OF CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS TO FAMILY CONTROL

- (i) Types defined: p. 286.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: p. 286.  
Whether or not the children are admitted to the parents' confidence concerning matters of policy, and whether or not the children are invited to take part in family conference.
- (iii) Classification of this family: Exclusion of children from family control, from items 33, 59, 85, 105, 106, 108, 113 and 114.  
Although it is a principle of M's management of the family that each person should please himself to a certain extent, this liberty does not extend to the parents' inviting the children's opinions on their decisions, or inviting the children to participate in decisions on matters affecting the whole household. LS had been allowed to fall into the habit of doing these things, and is now being checked.

MASTER TYPE

- (i) Types defined: pp. 328-332.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp. 328-332.  
Whether or not the parents pursue the same or different values through the family, and, in the latter case, whether they separate out their different interests and pursue them independently, or do not separate them out but use some overt or covert coercion to make the family serve their private ends. These things are shown by the presence or absence of legitimate control and the acceptance of the legitimate bounds of personal space.
- (iii) Classification of this family: Identification type, from items as given above for Family Control, and also items 35, 36, 38, 43, 44, 61, 62, 64, 69, 82, 112, 116.  
The form of control has been shown to be that of legitimate patriarchy.  
M and F both enjoy a considerable amount of freedom. F in sport, voluntary work for the Labour Movement, evening classes, reading and radio listening; M in film-viewing, reading and radio listening. Neither begrudges the other these liberties, and it is an explicit principle of M's that, for a satisfactory family, every person should please himself to a

certain extent. M is sympathetically interested in those activities of F into which she cannot enter actively, and is keen to see him get ahead in them. F appreciates M's willingness to curtail her freedom for the family's good, and says that she always gives herself last priority.

#### PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS

- (i) Types defined: pp. 340-341, 358 and 378.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp. 340-341, 358 and 378.

Whether the parents' approach to the children was marked by warmth, coupled with objective distance and a principled sense of responsibility; or by careless distance, combined with exploitation of the child's affections; or by a suffocating closeness which deprived the child of emotional and moral autonomy, seeking a power over his will.

- (iii) Classification of this family: Warmth, objective distance and a principled sense of responsibility, from items as given above for Demonstration of Affection for Children, and also items 90, 109, 110 and 113.

The parents show warmth towards and interest in the children, both of which are appreciated by the children and reciprocated. M is careful to see that the children are free to please themselves to a certain extent. The parents do not refrain from punishing the children from fear of losing favour with them. By this, and in their supervision of and interest in their school and church activities they show a responsible concern for the personality and moral development of the children.

#### INTER-SIBLING RELATIONS

- (i) Types defined: pp. 342 and 360.
- (ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp. 342 and 360.

Whether, habitually, the relations are marked, predominantly, by jealousy, quarrelsomeness, selfishness and rivalry, in the one case, or by friendliness, generosity, co-operation and consideration, in the other.

- (iii) Classification of this family: Predominantly friendly, from items 89, 90 and 106.

The children play together a great deal and are extremely fond of one another. LD's teasing, however, and also her tendency to attach herself to her Br in his peer groups, are a source of irritation to LS.



From what has been said so far, I think it will begin to be clear why I did not consider it appropriate to the case to go further in attempting to commend the reliability of my method. In particular, there were several reasons why I did not use the method of having additional judges assign the families to types. The first was that I did not expect a high degree of agreement would be demonstrated; or, if it were, I suspected that would only provide a spurious and misleading index of reliability.

My second reason for not using additional judges was a practical one. Since the pre-requisite for making the type judgments was complete familiarity with all the case studies, it was too large a task to ask any other person to undertake. And it would, indeed, have been an impossibly long task for me to prepare all the roughly-written case studies in a presentable form for a second person to use. For, although all the case studies were sub-divided and indexed in such a way as to allow me to find comparable information for the numbered items of the case study printed in Appendix B, they have not been redrafted in that same finished form. It is not inconceivable that to put so many case studies in that form might take almost as long again as it took to write the thesis itself, and early in the analysis I was advised against devoting so much time to an intermediate step. Had I intended from the outset to have my judgments checked, my procedures both of questioning and recording

would have been much more standardized, and the items of my schedule would have corresponded much more closely with my analytical categories.

My third and most important reason for not using additional judges was the insuperable obstacle presented for me by the logic of that procedure. I am inhibited from adopting it, because I sense a subterfuge in the procedure which renders it invalid. As far as I am able to understand it, it seems to me not to measure reliability, whatever else it may measure. But this calls for some discussion.

To have two or more judges classify the same data by the same criteria, believing it possible that some variability may occur between them, means that each may understand the criteria differently because of the inexactness of those criteria, or that they may understand the data differently, or both. For a test of reliability we must rule out of consideration the component which has to do with variability in understanding the data, since a test of reliability can only be made by repeated measurements on precisely the same object: it is the variability in the measuring instrument we are concerned with. If we cannot obtain a constant object, we have to pretend it is constant.

It is admittedly not easy to know how to examine the logical properties of this procedure. Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook regard the practice of using additional judges as being

analogous to the test-retest method.<sup>1</sup> But the test-retest method lacks the element of deliberately contrived difference which is made use of in the procedure of having different judges. It would seem to me that the practice of having different judges finds its more precise parallel in the equivalent forms method of testing for reliability. The analogue of the test-retest method would be to ask the same person to classify his cases twice, in order to discover whether any random variability occurred in his understanding of his own criteria from one time to another. It seems that if we attach any specific importance at all to having a different person make the classification, rather than having the same person repeat it, it is because we expect it is possible that the two persons may understand the criteria differently not because of random differences but because of systematic differences between them<sup>2</sup> - they may be people, for example, of entirely divergent religious or political opinions, or of differing academic schools of thought, so that their understanding of words and concepts and their weighting of them, will tend to diverge from one

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1 Jahoda, M., Deutsch, M., and Cook, S. "Research Methods in Social Relations with Especial Reference to Prejudice" Dryden Press, N.Y., 1951, p. 105.

2 I am using "systematic" and "random" here in the sense commonly given to the words in methodological discussions. Systematic errors are constant or biasing errors which affect every particular judgment or measure in the same way, random errors are variable errors.

another in a fairly pervasive and constant way. Thus the two constructions which they place on the criteria become, in effect, "equivalent forms". For this reason, it seems better to regard the procedure as having the logical properties of that method of testing for reliability.

As Loevinger<sup>1</sup> has trenchantly pointed out, and both Spearman<sup>2</sup> and Kelley<sup>3</sup> have admitted, this method

' "has embodied in it a belief or point of view of the investigator", namely, that the two forms or two halves of a test correlated are "equally trustworthy measures". ' 4

And, as I think Loevinger has shown convincingly, this is circular, and calls for the abandonment of the practice. And, with Loevinger, one wonders how, after their admission of subterfuge, Spearman and Kelley can proceed to commend it. It seems that it is only by his designation of the tests as "similar", or "as excellent" or "equally trustworthy", rather than as "equally reliable", that Kelley is able to ward off a full realization of the absurdity. But trustworthiness is reliability purely and simply, and it is similarity and excellence in this respect which he implies.<sup>5</sup>

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1 Loevinger, Jane, *ibid.*

2 Spearman, C. "Correlation Calculated from Faulty Data". In *British Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 3, 1909-1910, pp. 271-

3 Kelley, T.L. "The Reliability Coefficient". In *Psychometrika*, Vol. 7, 1942, pp. 75-83.

4 Loevinger, Jane, *ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

5 If it should be said that it is "equal validity" that is meant here, I would not strongly object, unless it is also implied that that means that "equal reliability" is not meant. For the two things are not as separable as that. Simply because we are able to give them separate definitions saying validity is this and reliability is that, we should

Had he put it this way, Kelley's statement would have read:

"We conclude that a belief that two or more measures of a mental function exist is prerequisite to the concept reliability, and further, not only that they exist but that they are available before a measure of reliability is possible. We posit the question, what function of the two sets of measures  $X_1$  and  $X_2$ , gotten by twice measuring the same individuals, and conceived of as tapping the same fundamental ability, is the best measure of reliability? Further, either  $X_1$  and  $X_2$  must be judged a priori to be equally reliable (my substitution for "equally trustworthy") measures of this ability or the one be judged some number of times as reliable (my substitution for "as excellent") as the other.... This act of a priori judgment is inherent.... " 1

In short, two tests must be judged to be equally reliable before they can be used to estimate the reliability of one of them! In the case of having two judges, what this means is that, initially, the interpretations put on the criteria by both of them must be assumed to be equally reliable. But it is absurd to say that anyone proceeding in a task, the object of which is to establish the degree of reliability of one judge's understanding of certain criteria, will be able to know, in the course of the task, that a second judge's understanding is of exactly equivalent reliability with the first's. If we know these two values we do not

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(Ctd. from p. 535)

not suppose that they do not inter-penetrate. For a measure to be valid it must be free from both systematic errors and the random errors which affect reliability. Validity, therefore, presupposes reliability, and a measure cannot be valid if it is not also reliable.

1 Kelley, T. L., *ibid.*, p. 76.



need to make the test to find out one of them, and if we do not know them we cannot make the test.<sup>1</sup>

The correlation between the single judgments which two judges make on a whole series of cases only serves to measure the amount of agreement between them in that field of perception.<sup>2</sup> If we take this for a measure of the reliability of the judgments of either one of them, we are likely to be entirely deceived. We may be made falsely confident, or alternatively, by being made unreasonably sceptical, we may reject valuable data. I believe that in accepting a work on the grounds of such agreement we are not doing so because it is thereby proved reliable (in the defined sense of the word), but we are introducing

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1 If it is said that we can know the comparative values of two measures without knowing the "absolute" value of either I would point out that we can only do so by adopting some conventional scale (such as making one of the measures unity and expressing the other as a fraction or multiple of it), and any "absolute" scale is likewise conventional after all. We must have knowledge of quantities in some form. But such an objection, if it were raised, would not be relevant to the case, for we are not starting with a guess of the relative values of two reliabilities with the aim of converting this into a measure of one in the units of an absolute scale. Our final estimate is itself purely a correlation, that is to say a relational measure of the similarity existing between the two values. We are therefore assuming that we already know the thing that is to be found out.

2 I understand perception in the way Larrabee defines it, as "sensation plus inference". For instance, he gives the following examples of the child's dawning power of perception: "That noise was a car; that pressure is the arm of my chair; that red light means stop." (Larrabee, H.A., *ibid.*, p. 143).

a third element into the grounds of acceptability of scientific work - to applicability and repeatability we add agreement in perception. This tendency to agreement on the part of two judges in their perception of a number of separate instances, is quite a different thing from a tendency towards centrality in repeated measurements (whether these be made by one judge or several) on the same object, the measurements being made by following a prescribed measuring or observational procedure. The latter is the "agreement" which belongs to reliability and not the former. There seems to be no way out of this, the former is quite a different thing. Where we depend upon such agreement, we are not concluding that the criteria taken are sufficiently exact for measurements made with them to be reliable. We are admitting, rather, that, since we are saddled with inexact measuring instruments and volatile data, and an inability, therefore, to show reliability, we will be satisfied instead with agreement in a series of direct perceptions on the part of separate judges, that p is a case of x, q a case of y, and r a case of z - where, possibly, x, y and z are indefinite concepts only now being brought into visibility. In other words, if someone else can be found who thinks like the person in question, we can trust that person's thinking.

As the perceptions of some men in any particular

sphere are much sounder than those of others, and as the history of science shows that the advancement of knowledge has largely depended on this inequality of perception between one person and another, I find myself unable to admit agreements of this kind as a third ground of the acceptability of scientific work. While it is the final end of science to make knowledge public, it would seem self-defeating to exclude knowledge from consideration if it could not first be shown to be public by earning agreement from others. Conceived as a test of admissibility, then, the practice of having additional judges seems to me premature, and it could be detrimental to the growth of knowledge if made mandatory.<sup>1</sup>

It does seem that the practice of having additional judges has a certain interest if it is not conceived as a test. It can serve as an illustration of what occurs

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1 Zander quotes from the report on a series of studies on observer reliability which were made by Thomas, Loomis and Arrington. These authors reached the conclusion that "reliability cannot be determined by one simple measure of agreement between two equally trained observers." This report was not available to me, so that I was not able to explore the grounds on which the conclusion rested, but, in view of the considerations I have presented, I do not find the conclusion which these workers reached surprising.

(Zander, A. "Systematic Observation of Small Face-to-Face Groups." Chapter 15 of "Research Methods in Social Relations, with Especial Reference to Prejudice", by Jahoda, M., Deutsch, M., and Cook, S.W., editors. Dryden Press, N.Y., 1951, p. 531. Zander quotes there from Thomas, D.S., Loomis, A.M., and Arrington, R.E., "Observational Studies of Social Behaviour", Vol. 1, Social Behaviour Patterns, Yale University Institute of Human Relations.)



in the normal course of events, by showing how much communication actually passes from one person to another, how far B learns to think like A. However, as the outcome of that process depends as much on B's ability and willingness to learn as on A's ability to teach (if it does not also depend on B having learned what A knows from a source independent of A), it would be wrong to attribute either success or failure in the result to A alone.

A person's reason for committing his results to writing, of course, is that he hopes to effect such communication. My manner of setting out the material in the thesis was designed with the idea in mind of communicating my thought as fully and clearly as I could. As an exercise to find out how much communication occurred in one case, a person was asked to read the thesis as well as the case study printed with it, but was not told the ways in which I had classified the case study. Then, using the criteria given in the thesis (which I have summarized in the middle part of this appendix) this person assigned the family described in the case study to the various types, including the master type. To do this has taken many spare hours. In the outcome we found that this person's classification of the family was the same as my own for the master type and for all except one of the simple types. The exception was in the matter of the parents' main non-obligatory contact. I had judged that the main contact was in primary relations.

This person considered that, although the classificatory criteria were clear enough, the data did not indicate one thing more than the other. While it was plain that the mother's contacts were mainly of a primary nature, primary relations and voluntary association seemed of equal importance to the father, if voluntary association did not actually take priority. It seemed impossible, therefore, to make a single classification for the parents jointly, and it was preferred not to make any. I had been confronted with the same difficulty but had decided that, although kinsfolk and voluntary association claimed about equal attention from the father, the former claimed more of his time, so that the balance seemed to swing in the direction of primary relations.

I have said that if we are using different judges to test for reliability we are only concerned with variability in their understanding of the classificatory criteria and that we must rule out of consideration any differences in their understanding of the data. But the operation is such that these elements cannot be separated, and this gives the test a concealed ambiguity. I have also said that the operation comes, in the end, not to a test of reliability but to a test of how much agreement exists between two persons. It seems likely that in accepting work on the grounds of this agreement in perception we may slip across from concern with the criteria to concern with the data,

and really lean on the test to demonstrate how far the judges agree in their understanding of the data. In placing reliance on the test we probably vacillate more or less unthinkingly between these two things. But, in so far as our concern is with the judges' understanding of the data, we do not even intend to use the test to measure reliability, but to test something more like validity. We use it to find out whether or not something which a person claims to report, as a result of certain observations really exists - not to find out whether he consistently recognizes it for the same thing.

We look for assurance or demonstration in this way because we cannot afford to be deceived by those who are themselves deceived. But, again because of the inequality of perception which exists between one person and another, it seems to me that the way to discriminate between those who are deceived and those who are not is different from asking whether others can already be found who agree with them. Rather, we should ask those who seek to show us something to analyze for us, as far as the exactness of the case permits, the elements of what they have perceived, so that, by seizing on those elements which are more familiar, we might be enabled to discover their association with the unfamiliar whole. We can insist that they tell us, along with what they have seen, how it was shown. If they are deceived, this discipline will expose the fact. If they are not deceived, but groping, it will show whether they

will need to study and describe the data more exhaustively before they can share their knowledge by objectifying what they have intuited.

The assumptions disclosed in the discussion now concluded have been aired to show the whole orientation from which the present work was conceived, without meaning to suggest that those assumptions have any more finality than assumptions can ordinarily claim. For the reasons given, they seem to me the soundest basis on which to build. I feel fairly confident, too, that they will make a fertile ground for sociological knowledge. They admit new thought, which often begins intuitively, without disregarding the need for its ultimate objectification. By stressing that science may lean on applicability for its acceptance as well as on repeatability, they remove the pressure towards triviality which can arise from thinking that only precisely repeatable work is scientifically respectable. For these reasons the assumptions underlying this thesis may play a part in bringing together some proper companions which recently seemed fated to sterile separation. They may help to reunite theoretical with empirical sociology, and the old sociology with the new.