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

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PART II.

EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE FAMILIES.

Chapter V

POSITION IN THE SOCIETY

1. Class Status

Every society ascribes a place to its members which legitimizes the initiative that each may enjoy. Significantly enough, this place is conferred upon families rather than their separate members,[1] and in societies such as our own where it is possible to change one's place, it is only possible to do so by creating a new family or by attenuating all family connections until they are nearly socially invisible. This means, on the one hand, that an open-class society places a strain on the continuity of kinship relations, and, on the other, that the inescapable dependence on kinship sets limits to the amount of real social mobility which can occur, so that some part of what seems to be promised is illusory. The class status of any Australian family, therefore, is one of its crucial characteristics.

It will be the aim of this chapter to explore the way in which family membership determines status, noticing

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[1] This is a point made by Parsons (1949, p.173) in his essay on the theory of social stratification.

in particular the limits set to differentiation in status by the relationships of husband to wife and parent to child. The family is the ideal unit with which to study social status, and, indeed, one might almost say the proper unit. If we think of any of the crude indices of status, such as a man's income, residence or wealth, we understand these to confer status by virtue of what they can do for the family of which he is the breadwinner and the legal head, and we don't think of them, ordinarily, as benefits invested in solitary individuals. Again, when we refer to social mobility, although we would mean any change in any person's status over any length of time (say through the simple act of changing his job), what we mean most commonly, and most significantly, is how the person changes his status by passing from his family of origin to the family in which he is a parent - in fact, a comparison of his own status as an adult with that of his father. For these reasons it seemed desirable to devote a considerable part of the thesis to a discussion of certain problems connected with the social status characteristics of the families.

The notion of class status is complicated indeed. When it is analyzed it always seems to be made up of separable factors, but in comparing one family with another each appears (and is commonly taken) to have a quite generalized

status - and I do not think this appearance is deceptive. In fact, the very notion of class status, as distinct from occupational, income, wealth, leisure, inheritance, and other separate statuses, implies generalized status. Such a generalized status does exist, because, behind each separate index of status is a measure of freedom which it implies, and it is the total amount of this freedom which defines class status. This freedom, if we recall the definition which was given of that concept, takes two directions: emancipation from a necessitous determination by nature and society, and control in the manipulation of nature and society. This way of conceptualizing class status has simplicity to commend it. But we have to remember that the measure of the freedom enjoyed is not what an outside observer might estimate, but what society, i.e. public opinion, estimates. It will depend entirely on what benefits the society believes advantage attaches to. For the very objective nature of class status is constituted by an ascription of position by public opinion, i.e. by prestige. Public opinion may be mistaken about the real advantage which could be conferred on a person by the benefits he possesses, but that itself will impair their usefulness to him, and it does not alter the fact that his objective class status is entirely what is allowed to

him by public belief. A complication which arises from this is that no society can be said to have a class system or any definite classes, unless there is one opinion about class which is fairly generally diffused throughout the society and which, if other opinions exist beside it, is at least dominant. All classes must regard the system which includes them in much the same way, although whether they agree spontaneously or through accepting the outlook of a dominant class will not be important. For these reasons, an objective measure of class status can only be made from characteristics which prestige attaches to quite generally: it requires a knowledge of public opinion as much as of a person's endowment. While the concept I propose of differential freedom is a useful formula for expressing class status, it must be remembered that complexities like these are summarized in it.[1]

The inclusiveness of this definition of class status can be illustrated by one index of class status which has

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[1] Shils (1954) gives a similar summary definition of class status by describing it as deference granted. Bott (1954) describes how people, when estimating their own status, telescope their statuses from separate group memberships, reducing them to a common denominator. The procedure by which they do this is not accurate, but is accurate enough for orienting a person in a complex society. We may presume that public opinion does the same in taking an overall view of the relative status of society's ranks.

often been accepted - "old family"[1] - and which sometimes seemed puzzling because of the way in which it continued to command status despite fluctuations in family fortune. But "old family" carried status in itself by virtue of the fact that members of families long established in a community were in direct descent of those who had been continuously determining the way of life, so that they were privileged initiates into the insights and skills needed to adapt to its present state as well as those needed to further the trend of its development. As a result members of old families enjoyed a certain initiative which could not be acquired in any other way.

Leisure is another index of social class which has been historically important, which can also illustrate how social status is equivalent to freedom. Leisure is essentially a freedom from determination by necessity, and the "leisured class"[2] comprised those who were not under pressure to produce in order to survive. In the case of leisure the first aspect of freedom (liberation from necessity) plays a greater part than the second (control).

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[1] See Warner, W. Lloyd, and Lunt, P.S. (1941, pp.127-201).

[2] See Veblen, T.,(1908, pp.35-67).

In modern society leisure is not as important for class status as control. This is presumably due to a number of causes, but one would be the prodigious growth of science which has increasingly confirmed the belief that knowledge is power and has made that power available in fluid form. Thus there is a discernible trend to grade social classes by control exercised through knowledge. That this is a trend which is discerned by different grades of Australian society is evident from the tremendous, almost sycophantic, regard paid to education, and from the attractiveness exercised by the professional role. The material collected in the present study reveals an extraordinary veneration for education in both occupational groups, and a tendency on the part of both to regard the professional role as the open thoroughfare to status improvement.

In taking our historical perspective on society we should register this swing from leisure to control as a decisive factor for status, if we are not to allow diminishing differences in leisure to deceive us into thinking that status differences have been superseded. For in fact, the swing has become so complete, and freedom from necessitous determination (by nature, although not by society) has become so enlarged for all grades of society, that the

lower social grades often enjoy more leisure than the higher, due to the fact that members of the latter are so tirelessly occupied increasing their capacity and opportunity for control.

Professionals and tradesmen, by the nature of their work, exercise differential degrees of certain types of control. But what concomitant differences in freedom from necessity and in control does the present study reveal, either between the families of the two groups or amongst the families of each?

2. Property Ownership

We will attend first to the ownership of property. 85% of the professionals' families owned their own homes, and 66% of the tradesmen's. Among these homes there was a tremendous range in value. The modal range for tradesmen's homes at 1954-55 values was between £1,000 and £4,000, for professionals' between £4,000 and £10,000. 85% of the professional families owned a car; four out of the twenty owned two, three of these being families of medical practitioners. 40% of the tradesmen's families owned cars. Two others out of the eighteen enjoyed the use of utilities which the self-employed fathers had bought for purposes of work. As with the homes there was a difference in the

expensiveness of the cars owned by the two groups. Most of the tradesmen's cars had been purchased second-hand, and only two were valued above £500. Some of the professionals' cars had been purchased second-hand, but most of them had been acquired new. Only three were valued at less than £500, the modal range being £600 to £1,000. Every family owned its own furniture, but again the difference in quality and value between that owned by the two occupational groups was marked. Estimates given by tradesmen of the value of their furniture and personal effects ranged between £500 and £1,000, those given by professionals were between £1,500 and £2,500.

Besides furniture, small bank accounts and life insurance policies were general forms of property ownership among tradesmen. Few families declared the amount of their savings, so no comparisons can be made. Every tradesman's family, however, indicated that it was using a bank account. Some saved regular amounts, but most were unable to do so. The six families who did not own their own homes had all been saving to buy homes, but the short supply of homes and restrictions on credit had caused two of these to buy cars instead, and two others expected to follow the same course. The others saved as a precaution against a crisis. Home furnishings and a few hundred pounds in the bank against a rainy day was all that some of the tradesmen's

families possessed. Two others possessed a small block of land besides, in the hope of being able "some day" to build their own homes.

All except one of the tradesmen's families held one or more life insurance policies, the father being the first insured and then the sons, since it was reasoned that only the death of breadwinners (and the sons were potential breadwinners) would entail real economic distress. The family not holding life insurance policies refrained on religious grounds.

Life insurance was equally popular amongst the professionals, every family holding policies. They were larger policies than those held by tradesmen, were held less discriminate of sex, and usually directly served the additional expressed purposes of saving, and minimising taxable income. While professional families had savings accounts, they were not usually relied upon for saving in the same way as the tradesmen's accounts. There was a tendency among the professionals to save instead by investment and insurance. As might be expected of course, more than half of the professionals worked in independent practices, businesses or partnerships, and these carried quite a lot of capital. 60% indicated as well that they owned shares, although the number varied tremendously, individual holdings ranging in value from £200 to £25,000.

Amongst the tradesmen there were some parallels to the professionals' capital investment in their own practices. These were the cases of the five self-employed tradesmen who owned workshops or small factories. But any estimated values given for these were less than half of the lowest value estimated for a professional practice. A number of professionals valued their businesses or practices at £10,000, but no tradesman gave the value of his business above £5,000. These self-employed tradesmen who were in business on their own accounts all complained of the extreme difficulty of securing capital, labour and materials, and found it hard to maintain their business in the face of the competition of large-scale industry. Only two of the tradesmen's families held any shares.

Only four of the families held land for investment, and these were all professionals'. Two of the tradesmen's families held land, as already mentioned, in the hope of ultimately building homes. One professional's family and one tradesman's owned additional property on the outskirts of the city, on which they were building week-end cottages. Only two families, both of them professionals', indicated that they possessed property for letting.

It is interesting to notice the different attitudes to credit-seeking between the two occupational groups.

While many of the tradesmen took advantage of petty advances through time payments, and while some had borrowed to buy homes, there was a definite shrinking from large-scale borrowing amongst them. It was even a point of honour with a number of them "to owe nothing to anyone". This contrasted with the professionals, many of whom were entirely accustomed to running domestic affairs by the help of liberal overdrafts and mortgages. Most tradesmen's families were fearful of committing themselves beyond their means, while most professionals were prepared to be expansive about their commitments, confident that they would be able to increase their means to meet them. The tradesmen who were exceptional in this regard were those who were self-employed and who, like many of the professionals, were accustomed to borrowing for business purposes. This suggests that the difference in attitude is to be explained by the greater expectation of economic improvement which the self-employed person allows himself to entertain, and the experience of borrowing which his occupational role affords.

3. Income

We can now turn to income. Although families were selected by occupational type in the hope of obtaining two groups which would be fairly homogeneous for class status,

there was some variation within the two groups, as well as some overlapping between them. Incomes, for instance, indicated some sub-groupings.

The greater number of tradesmen's incomes fell between £600 and £900, with a smaller group clustering around £1,000. This second group merged with and partly overlapped the lowest of the three income divisions among the professionals. That division ranged between £1,000 and £1,500. The second professional division ranged between £1,500 and £2,500, and the third from £3,000 to over £4,000. An unusual income of £650 within the professional group was earned by a clergyman, which placed his income amongst those of the lowest paid tradesmen.

The income sub-divisions within the two occupational groups are connected with gradations within the occupational type. The higher-paid tradesmen practised the more demanding skills such as those of fitter and turner or linotype operator. The lowest grade professional incomes were earned by employed men with less extensive professional training, e.g., photographer and industrial chemist; the middle grade by employed men with more extensive training, e.g. research engineer and economist; and the higher grade by those practising independently, e.g., medical practitioner, lawyer, pharmacist. While the greater part by far of everyone's

income was from exertion, it was supplemented by dividends for 60% of the professional workers, and for 10% of the tradesmen.

If we merge into one the two groups which overlap we will have obtained four income divisions. But we will gain a quite mistaken picture of the comparative effectiveness of these incomes if we neglect the differential taxation to which they were subject. Taxation gradations were finer than those of the income groups which have been identified here, of course, but, by using averages, it is possible to compare roughly the taxation burdens falling on each group. The lower income group of tradesmen surrendered less than 1/10th of their incomes in tax, the upper income group of tradesmen and lowest income group of professionals, which overlapped, surrendered about 1/8th, the middle income group of professionals about 1/5th, and the upper income group of professionals as much as 1/3rd or more. The differential tax reduced the inequalities in income of the four groups, but the difference is only marked in the case of the top group. The actual proportions between effective incomes when tax has been deducted are, again roughly, 1 : $1\frac{1}{2}$: $2\frac{1}{2}$; $3\frac{1}{4}$. With uniform tax the second and third figures in this series would not be remarkably different, but the figure in the fourth position would be about $4\frac{1}{2}$. For simplicity, these

calculations are made without regard for the deductions allowable for dependents. But, as these are the same absolute amounts whatever the income, the smaller incomes enjoy a greater proportional reduction, so the effect is to reduce the inequality of incomes still more.

While in practically all of the families the customary complaints were made against taxation, in the upper income group of professionals there was a smarting sense of injustice and evident frustration. Resentment, bitterness and serious concern were expressed over what was believed to be a disproportionate imposition and a curb on initiative.

4. Index of Status Characteristics

The combined effectiveness for status of occupational type, income and certain aspects of property can be expressed by Warner's Index of Status Characteristics.[1] This seemed an ideal index by which to grade the whole sample because it does not make use of actual income, but the source of income, and actual income was not obtained for every family of the sample.

To obtain the index each family is scored on a seven point scale for type of occupation, source of income, type of house and residential area. The score for type of

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[1] Warner, W.Lloyd, Meeker, M., and Eells, K., 1941.

occupation is weighted by the factor 4, source of income and house type both by 3, and residential area by 2. The highest possible score is 84, the lowest 12, and the lower the score the higher is the social status. The aspects of property which the index covers are those which are included or implied by house type and residential area. These are rated irrespective of ownership, but where the house concerned is not owned the size, quality and position of the dwelling which a family is able to rent carries its own implications. It is plain that the index does not summarize the precise features about income and property which have been discussed above, but it affords some approximation. Furthermore, the index was designed for use in America, and would only be applicable here if the four items used to estimate it were amongst the

important items which conferred prestige in our society. But I think I am justified in assuming that this is so.[1]

When the scores were obtained for all of the families three definite modes were found to occur within each occupational group. The lower mode for professionals' families coincided with the upper mode for tradesmen's, so that five groups emerged in all. Eight professionals' families fell in the first group, with scores ranging from 20 to 25, 6 professionals' in the second group, all with scores around 30 (29-32); 6 professionals' and 2 tradesmen's in

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[1] Warner's approach to the study of social class is somewhat out of vogue. Admittedly, it is too conventionalized, but its rejection on the grounds forwarded by Cuber and Kenkel (1954, pp.108-131, and 303-309) that discrete classes have no objective existence and that there exists instead a social continuum, seems mistaken. I think, on the basis of the data to be presented in the next chapter, that the subjects of this research preferred to picture themselves and the population about them as gathering around a few simple stereotypes; and, as I have said, this ascription of position is one of the things which constitutes the objective nature of class. If in large cities the picture is clouded at the edges and not seen in the same way by all, it is so probably for two reasons: the class structure is changing, and the number of people who have to assimilate their perception of it to a norm is increasing. Besides, one has to catch one's informants in their most disinterested mood to know what they really think about the class structure. People will present ideologically coloured views of the social structure at one time and realistic views at another, and if we separated out the realistic views we would probably find more consensus than otherwise. The person who angrily said, "There are no classes: there are only the good and the bad", also said, on another occasion, "We belong to the working people, and we're proud of it." As this was not specifically a study of social class the problems with which the subject bristles could not be explored. In the absence of any tool capable of dealing with the material better, therefore, I am employing Warner's I.S.C.

the third group, with scores between 35 and 45; 14 tradesmen's families, which means the greater bulk of them, in the fourth group, with scores between 55 and 60; and two tradesmen's families in the fifth group, with scores of 65. This modal distribution of the scores is sufficient in itself to suggest that distinct social levels are represented.

The method which Warner uses for assigning a class name to any range of scores is to find out how the social participation of people within that range is evaluated by the community. This method is clearly not feasible in a large city where people are not well known to one another. But I have <u>provisionally</u> assigned class names to the groups because, in its general living standard each group seemed to be homogeneous in itself and distinct from the others, and because I think I have <u>some</u> knowledge at any rate of how the community evalutes the participation of the members of different occupational groups. I am referring to data which I collected and which are reported in the following chapter. I have to anticipate them here.

All of the professionals' families would be quite generally thought of as middle class. This suggests that the appearance of three modes within that class delineates lower, middle and upper middle class levels. The tradesmen's

families would generally be thought of as "good working class", the term "lower class" having little currency among Australians, and "working class" not being understood to exactly coincide with it anyway. "Working class", as generally used, is believed not to reach to the bottom of the social scale, but to be joined below by another class of people who are irresponsible, improvident, or just unfortunate and plain hard up. At the same time, the upper limit of the "working class" is deliberately clouded, and can extend into middle class. Some members of the "working class" are understood to enjoy this commodious and dignified place.

The fact that two of the tradesmen's families obtained a score which placed them with the lowest group of the professionals therefore seems to justify classifying them as lower middle class. The next group, in which all but four of the tradesmen's families fall, can be called upper lower class - this high level within the grade being the force of "good" in the phrase "good working class". Two remaining families of lower score and obviously less status are classifiable, then, as middle lower class.

5. Social Mobility of the First Generation

A comparison of the present status of the parents with that of their families of origin will indicate by what

route the family has reached its present position in society. It will also indicate to what extent the parents are able to confer on their children more (or less) freedom from external determination and expectation of control than they enjoyed themselves. For the sake of concreteness I will present this comparison mainly by using the simple index of occupation.

The classification and status grading of occupational types which will be used is as follows:

	Urban Occupations	Rural Occupations
Mental Division	1. Professional and high administrative	1. Large property owner
	2. Semi-professional and managerial	
	3. "White-collar", small business proprietor, and supervisory	2. Small farmer
Manual Division	4. Skilled trade	
	5. Semi-skilled	3. Farm employee
	6. Unskilled	

It is almost impossible to rank rural and urban occupations on one scale, but for the sake of treating social mobility those which are placed opposite to one another are considered

to be roughly equivalent. Semi-professional is distinguished from "white collar" because there seem to be two fairly distinct grades here. "White collar", for the present discussion, would find its prototype in the routine clerk. Semi-professional refers to that grade of occupations which requires some specialist training (usually specific for the job), such as pathology technician, personnel officer, journalist, etc.[1]

Of the parents of present-day professionals' families 33% came themselves from families of professionals, 7% from families of men of the grade designated semi-professional and managerial, and 33% from families of white collar workers, etc. 12% came from families of tradesmen. One of the forty parents originated in the family of a semi-skilled worker, two in the families of unskilled workers, three in the families of graziers. This means that 60% have risen above their families of origin in occupational status, and over half have risen through at least two gradings. The grade outside of itself which has supplied most

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[1] This classification is based on a standard classification of occupations by prestige status, compiled for Britain by Hall, J., and Jones, D.C. (1950). I have adapted it to express what I think would be the prestige rankings Australians might give these occupations.

recruits for the professional grade is that of the white collar worker. Of those who achieved professional status without being born into it only 1/3rd originated in families of workers in the manual division of occupations, and of the total number who now enjoy professional status only 1/5th originated in that division - and more than one half of these graded up by marriage. This means that though it is possible to grade from childhood in a family in the manual division to parenthood in a family in the professional division, it is comparatively difficult.[xx]

In the case of the parents of the tradesmen's families 37% came themselves from families of tradesmen, 21% from families of white collar workers, 13% from families of semi-skilled workers, and 13% also from families of unskilled workers. One parent out of the thirty-six came from the family of a managerial worker, one from a grazier's family and two from the families of small farmers. This means that slightly less than one third have risen in occupational status, but only 13% have risen through at least two gradings; while 24% have actually declined in status. The semi-skilled and unskilled, taken together, have supplied most outside recruits for this grade, but the white collar grade makes a close second.

The extent to which change in occupational status is due to marriage can be noticed. Of the parents of professionals' families who graded up, slightly more than half did so by marriage. They were women who married men who hold occupational status above that of their wives' fathers. The remainder were men who have risen above their own fathers. In the case of tradesmen's families, two thirds of those who have graded up were women who married into a better status, and one third were men who rose above their fathers; but the difference is without significance. Of those who graded down, slightly more than half did so by marriage.

Some facts about the circumstances in which the parents met and under which their friendships developed throw light on another aspect of this question.

Two thirds of the parents of the tradesmen's families met in their own city locality, and in Sydney this could imply a fairly definite class equality. Only one third of the parents of the professionals met in their city locality, but the same class equality can perhaps be assumed in the cases of those who did. The local medium through which the meetings were effected varied, of course, between cases. For the professionals the local church figures more prominently than any other. For the tradesmen it is the

local sports clubs and their auxiliary social activities which take first place, but these are followed closely by the local church. Then come local dances, a local musical society, and a local Scottish community. Among the professionals there is one case of meeting at a local tennis club. There are only two cases - one in each category - of meeting through actual close neighbourhood.

Another situation of meeting which made for class equality was that provided for the parents of three families by radical groups which sprang up during the depression to treat with social and political issues. Two of these families are tradesmen's, one a professional's.

The parents of three of the professionals' families met at their place of work, those of two more met at University, and those of two others were introduced by mutual friends. These are circumstances of meeting which were not found amongst the other occupational group at all. Three cases of meeting occurred amongst the tradespeople through association between the two families of which they were members, and the same situation was responsible for the meeting of the partners of one professional's family.

Other meetings were chance meetings at weddings, parties, dances - a cruise; after which the partners sought one another out independently. This type of meeting was

found with much the same frequency in both categories, but was not high for either.

It is plain that all of these circumstances of meeting, except, perhaps, some of the chance meetings, could be evidence of class equality. Thus it seems probable that there has been a principle of restriction operative in most of these people's lives of which they may seldom have become aware, which has concentrated their relations on people of similar social status, and their marital choice has been made within that group.

This is borne out by the further independent evidence that half of the parents of the professional families married into families of exactly the same occupational status as their own had been, and a third of the tradesman parents did so. Two thirds of those whose fathers had been tradesmen and who had married into families of different status married into families of white collar workers, and the remaining third married into lower manual grades. Inter-marriage between trades and white-collar families was the only inter-marriage across the line from manual to mental occupations, except for two cases.

The material further shows that more than four fifths of the husbands and wives in the professionals' families who have risen <u>have moved together</u>, both having taken their

origin from families of lower occupational status, while only one third of those who have risen to the status of tradesman's family have done this, and in only one of the eight cases which sacrificed status in establishing a tradesman's family did this occur. This suggests that people who rise to professional status from lower occupational status make partners easily with those who undergo a similar experience of mobility, and that they may be more dependent on this support than others who have experienced mobility, but have remained within the division of manual occupations.** Also, the ease with which children of white-collar workers marry both tradesmen and the children of tradesmen, side by side with the fact that only one of the thirty-six parents of the tradesmen's families came into it from a family enjoying occupational status above that of the white-collar grade, suggests that these two occupational grades do not distinguish between one another with anything like the rigidity that tradesmen and those above white collar distinguish between one another, and that both occupational groups lie along that indeterminate fringe already referred to where "working class" and "middle class" merge.

Thus it is seen that the social group into which one tends to marry is wider than the narrow occupational grade being employed here, but it seems to be confined to either

the major mental or manual category, except for inter-marriage at the fringe between trades and white-collar families.

The two exceptional cases in which this barrier was crossed from grades not immediately bordering on it were inter-marriage between a trades and professional family, and between a semi-professional and semi-skilled. It is interesting that in both cases the partners shared the same strong religious convictions and seem to have been attracted largely because of them.

The data allow us to compare the incidence of the three types of inter-marriage:[xx]

(i) where the parents' fathers were of the same major occupational division (like-class marriage - the commonest type - fourteen professionals', thirteen tradesmen's);

(ii) where the fathers of both parents were close to the barrier between the two major occupational divisions, but on different sides of it (adjacent inter-class marriage - four professionals', five tradesmen's);

(iii) where the fathers of the parents were considerably distant from one another in the occupational grading, so that one or both were removed by at least two grades from the line of major division (distant inter-class marriage - two professionals').

If now, to the information about the occupations of their own parents, other information is added about the prosperity, places of residence, and social participation of their families of origin, the profiles of the parents' social mobility can be sharpened. These profiles reveal that most commonly the change undergone by both parents has been similar, but where it has not that of the father is used, in order to type families for their social mobility. Four types are distinguishable:[x]

(1) those which have not moved up significantly at all, or may even have retrogressed slightly (fifteen cases - eight tradesmen's and seven professionals');

(2) those which have moved up within their class of origin, but still have space ahead of them within the class division (five cases - all professionals');

(3) those which have moved up to a position of consolidation at the upper limit of the class in which they originated (fourteen cases - eight tradesmen's and six professionals');

(4) those which have moved through a class division (four cases - two tradesmen's and two professionals').

The tradesmen who have moved through a class division have crossed from the lower class into the lower middle class. The data on inter-marriage also showed this to be

the commonest kind of movement which involved the crossing of a major barrier. The professionals who moved through a class division covered a much greater range. In one case both parents had graded from lower lower to upper middle, in the other the father had graded from middle lower (the mother being middle middle) to upper middle. These families gained I.S.C. scores which placed them at the peak of the sample. In the former family both parents had experienced poverty in their families of origin. The father recalls that a tremendous impression was made on him when his mother took on work after his father's early death, and he determined from that time "to make plenty of money".

The composite picture gained from these results is this. More than one third of the fathers have experienced no significant improvement at all in social class. Of the seven tradesmen in this group five had originated (and remained) at the upper lower class level and, from their point of view, few satisfactions and perhaps many burdens would be gained by moving beyond that ceiling. The other two had originated (and remained) at a middle lower class level. One of these was bitterly disappointed at not having made headway, due to the difficulties of running an independent business as a self-employed tradesman. The other was simply indifferent to social improvement. Six of the

seven professionals in this group had originated (and remained) in the lower middle class, and one in middle middle. Three of these expressed disappointment over not having made more progress because of obstacles. The remaining four were content.

Amongst those who have carried their families up, the commonest pattern has been to move towards the ceiling of the class in which they originated and, if possible, to consolidate there.[xx] It is rare to move through the barrier between lower and middle class to any position high within middle class.[xx] It is perhaps less rare, if the data on inter-marriage are considered in conjunction with those relating to the father's mobility, to move from a position close to it in the lower class to a position close above it.

6. Social Mobility of the Second Generation

As most of the children in the families of the sample were not yet in employment it is largely a matter of conjecture what the social mobility of the second generation will be. But certain fair indications can be obtained by comparing the education of the parents with that which their children will enjoy, and by comparing the parents' occupations with those which their children might realistically be expected to achieve.

All of the parents in the tradesmen's families were educated at state schools, with the exception only of Roman Catholics, who were educated in schools sponsored by their own church. The only private schooling which any of these parents had other than this was that of two mothers who attended private schools to complete their schooling - one for three years and one for one.

The school background of the parents of the professionals' families is not nearly so homogeneous.[xx] Again, the Roman Catholics attended their own schools. Of the remainder, 60% attended state schools for the greater part of their education, and 40% attended private schools. Of the eight families in the sample who have been grouped as "upper middle class", and who command the highest social status of any in the sample, the parents of one attended a Roman Catholic school, those of three attended other private schools, and those of four attended state schools. These facts seem to challenge the belief of a section of public opinion that it is socially disadvantageous to be educated at state schools. However, the parents in this group who were educated in state schools themselves all subscribe to this article of opinion, and send their children to private schools.

The duration of the schooling of the parents in the two groups was remarkably different. The following table shows the numbers of parents who left school at different stages.

	Tradesmen		Professionals	
	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers
Primary final or early secondary	11	9	0	0
Intermediate or during senior school	6	7	3	11
Leaving Certificate	1	2	17	9
Totals	18	18	20	20

This indicates that while the greater number of parents in the tradesmen's families left school before the Intermediate Examination none in the professionals' families did so,[xx] and most of these completed the Leaving Certificate.

Like their parents, all of the tradesmen's children are attending or have attended state schools, except the Roman Catholics, who are all attending schools of their own denomination. In one Protestant family the parents expressed the hope that their daughter would be able to spend the final years of her secondary schooling at a private school, "because", they said, "it's a finishing school, and a very well known place". But the school attendance of the children of professionals' families, like that of

their parents, is less homogeneous.[xx] The Roman Catholic children are all attending their own schools, but of the remainder of the families 60% send their children predominantly to private secondary schools, and 40% send theirs predominantly to state secondary schools. The commonest pattern amongst those using private schools for secondary education is to send the children to state schools for their primary schooling - or at least to send the boys there. Three reasons are given for this. First, the parents seem to be entirely satisfied with the standard of teaching in the state primary schools, some believing it to be more up to date than that in the private schools. Secondly, since it is satisfactory education, and since it is free, it saves money. And the third reason given is that in an equalitarian society it is a good thing for one's children to rub shoulders with those who are less fortunate - and attending a state primary school will afford the opportunity for this. In only four of the twenty families did all of the children receive (or expect to receive) their whole education at private schools. There was one case in which the children had received their secondary education predominantly at state schools, but a part at private schools. The reason for this was simply that the family could not afford to give them more private schooling.

Beside the reasons given for preferring state primary schools, there are other reasons determining the preference between the kinds of schooling available. First of all, the Roman Catholics, both professionals and tradesmen, preferred their own schools because the church required attendance at them. But this was not the whole reason for any one of them. They also preferred them because of the attention given to religion, and to some of them an education which did not give first place to this matter seemed little less than scandalous. There were tradesmen who were paying up to £3 or £4 per quarter for each child to secure this type of schooling, and in the sample there was no one who paid it any way but gladly, because of appreciation of the benefits which it was believed would flow from it.

Parents in tradesmen's families prefer state to private schools because the cost of private education is beyond them (it costs anything up to £120 per year to send one child to private school as a non-boarder), the attitudes it inculcates are strange to them, and their own experience has familiarized them with state schooling. For these reasons they tend simply to take it for granted that their children will attend state schools, and their way of educating their children can hardly be taken to

be a result of choice. But with the professionals it is much more a matter of choice. And here two types of attitude to secondary schooling obtain. There are those who believe that state schooling is superior to private schooling, but only in the first class high schools, and if their children qualify for entrance to these schools they are very willing to have them go there. But schooling in other state schools is judged inferior - it is believed that the discipline is poor, the teaching indifferent, and that personnel attracted into the profession includes too many frustrated radicals with chips on their shoulders. Rather than have their children attend these schools they send them to private schools. And it is also believed that they will be compensated there for lesser ability by identification with the corporate life of the school and its many-sided activities, for it is thought that private schools have more to offer in these respects than state schools. This attitude occurs predominantly, although not exclusively, among those parents who have themselves attended state schools, although it is certainly not the case that all who have attended state schools adopt it. However, of that proportion of professional families who send their children to state schools, the parents of all except two were themselves educated in

state schools. In these two cases, where parents educated in private schools are sending their children to state schools, one or both parents have developed left-wing political views as well as independent educational philosophies. They express dissatisfaction with an insidious, because unconscious, class snobbery which, they believe, the private schools induce, and an exasperating, because uncritical, assumption they instil that right-wing politics are right.

The other attitude taken by professionals who send their children to private secondary schools is one which is held by all those who themselves attended private schools (with the exception of the two mentioned above), but also by one half of those who themselves attended state schools. In the minds of these parents there is no doubt about the preferability of the private schools. These believe that only the private schools give a thorough initiation into the manners and attitudes of their class: "private schools can give them a little more - especially girls." They provide a basis for lasting confraternization within the class, and enlist one's children in membership with "the dominant section of the community, the people running the country." Also, "whether you like it or not" private school education "cuts a lot of ice with some people",

"there are some firms in the city which will only employ G.P.S. boys". Education there, it is believed, is on a broader basis than in the state schools, sport plays a bigger part, and trains for citizenship through team membership. Much emphasis is placed on the ethical aspect of the schooling. "They give an ethical code", "there is more attention to character building and better personality development", "a keener sense of children's needs in these regards." In striking contrast to the supporters of the Roman Catholic schools, who value the specifically religious core of the education in their church schools, most at any rate of the supporters of the non-Roman Catholic private schools did not extend their appreciation of ethical content to religious content. Mostly they were indifferent to it, and some were cynical about it. One parent said, "The specifically religious element is innocuous because it's so badly done, it inoculates them. Our daughter has refused to go to church and Sunday school ever since she went to the school."

We can only obtain some indication of the actual amount of schooling given to children in the two groups by considering the cases of those who have already left school. Eleven professionals' children had left school, and all had completed the Leaving Certificate, eight of

them continuing to university. Ten tradesmen's children had left school, and only one of these had completed the Leaving Certificate.[xx] One had left school before the Intermediate Examination, one shortly after and the remainder at the Intermediate Examination itself. Three sons had attended pre-apprenticeship training courses during the twelve months following. One daughter had attended business college.

If we make a summary comparison of the schooling of the two generations - parents and children - this is what emerges. All of the tradesmen's children are attending the same type of school as their parents, they go either to state schools or Roman Catholic private schools. In 60% of the professionals' families the children are attending the same type of school as their parents - Roman Catholic, private schools or state schools. The remaining eight professionals' families are the only families in the whole thirty eight in which the children are attending different types of school from those which their parents attended. In two of these the parents attended private schools but the children attend state schools. In these cases one or both parents hold left-wing political views and have independent educational ideas. In the remaining six families children of parents who attended state schools

are attending private schools. All of these are families in which one or both parents have graded up socially, some of them a considerable distance.

We can now turn our attention to a comparison of the occupations, or expected occupations, of the two generations within the families. The sample was so chosen that few of the families included children who were already at work, but a trend is discernible even amongst these. Of the eighteen children of professionals' families who were over the official school leaving age of 15, three were in employment, i.e. 17%. These three belonged to families which were of the lower middle class group, the lowest paid of the professionals. Of the twelve children of tradesmen's families in the same category ten were in employment, i.e. 83%.[xx]

Of the three professionals' children who were employed, a daughter was marking time in a white-collar position, while considering the possibility of university enrolment; a son was engaged in white-collar work from which he expected to grade into a managerial position and ultimately into politics; and a second son was under professional articles. Of the ten children of tradesmen who were employed, one only, a daughter, held a white-collar position. Two other daughters were being trained in machining and dressmaking and the seven sons were all apprenticed to trades.

But what of the expected occupations of the remaining children? Eight children from five professionals' families were attending university, but none from tradesmen's families. Four of these were daughters, four sons. Two daughters were enrolled in Arts, one in Science and one in Economics. The parents and the daughters themselves all expected that they would enter professions. The sons were enrolled in Medicine, Engineering, Economics and Arts. Again the parents and the sons expected that they would enter professions.

Although there was no case in the sample of a child of a tradesman attending university, the daughter of one was attending a teachers' training college in preparation for primary school teaching. Her case is interesting in a similar way to that of a son shortly to be mentioned, because she had proven ability in languages, and had the opportunity to enrol in the Faculty of Arts on a Department of Education scholarship. But, although her parents strongly urged this course of action on her, and were bitterly disappointed when she rejected it, she declined to enter university lest it should lead her away from her accustomed social milieu. She was a member of a highly active locality group of late adolescents, with whom she spent much time in dancing, tennis, swimming, and other informal activities, and she feared to be alienated from them.

For the children who had not yet left school the parents entertained differing aspirations. One of the most noticeable differences between the two groups was that in two thirds of the tradesmen's families there was a definite hope and determination on the part of the parents that their children should do better in life than they had done themselves, while this attitude was found in only one quarter of the professionals' families.[X] The professionals' families in which it did occur were those where the parents had graded up considerably without being able to settle comfortably into their new position, and others where the parents had not graded up at all and experienced definite disappointment in being unable to do so. In a few of these cases where parents had themselves graded up, the distance to which they expected to project their children was quite fantastic. One case was supplied by two parents who were intent on promoting their children to the highest ranks of society. But the father himself was uncomfortable about the improvement which he had made. He said, "I couldn't look the Jack Smith of 1932 in the face if I went up too far: I have some strong prejudices underneath somewhere." There was a sense of guilt about removing oneself from the station in life to which one had been born, from which the promotion of one's children was exempt.

The things which distinguish those parents of tradesmen's families who are more ambitious for their children from those who are less ambitious are similar. The more ambitious had themselves graded up without being able to settle in the position they had attained, or were disappointed at having remained stationary. The same sort of guilt about self-promotion, entirely unaccompanied by any such feeling over the promotion of children, was found among these parents also. The parents of one family, in the course of discussion, wondered whether their main fault hadn't been that they had lacked ambition - or, rather, enough conviction to sustain it. Their periodic loss of it seemed to have been due to a guilty sense that if they set their ambitions for themselves beyond a certain point they would be "unfaithful" of "disloyal" to their origins. But they didn't feel any inhibitions against promoting their children - in fact they felt compelled by "the Joneses" to do so.

In both groups there was the other section of parents who would be content to see their children consolidate the social ground which they had inherited - usually by filling the same grade of occupation. The professional parents who had been born of professionals, for instance, tended to think of themselves as mediators of a tradition which

they could pass on to their children with easy sufficiency and without strain. One mother said, "Well, we expect that our children will follow professions, since that is their heritage." Their efforts focussed more on finding the right type of work than on advancement, and the idea of preparing the children to give service was strongly emphasized by several. Similarly the less ambitious group of trades people comprised the two families which had graded into the middle class and three of the families who had risen to the upper lower position and were consolidating there. The parents in these families were able to fill the station in life to which they had attained comfortably and competently, and saw nothing ahead of them which they would like better. They were highly satisfied in their work and family, and had absorbing outside interests.

Quite generally, there tended to be higher proportional attention given to children's advancement, in comparison with the parents' advancement, in the families of tradesmen than in the families of professionals. This, however, is probably largely due to the fact that tradesmen can expect less advancement in their own jobs than professionals, and so it is less a matter of interest within their families.

At the same time, as a sort of counter-balance to this, it was observed that the professionals' homes provided

in themselves much richer raw materials for the children in the way of information about professions, and the affairs of the world generally, and the attitudes to strike for coping with them. Speaking generally, the professionals' children were more alert and confident, had a sense of familiarity with the ropes, and knew the nature of the seas they would be launched upon. It was almost inevitable that many of the children of the tradesmen's families should respond with uneasiness to their parents' directions to future horizons which they themselves had never moved in.

Those tradesmen and their wives who were ambitious for their children took pride in the fact that they were able to give them more than they had had themselves, but did not usually feel that they could be equally ambitious for every child in the family. There was a definite tendency to concentrate on the sons, and sometimes on a younger child in preference to an older, apparently expecting that this would be more economically workable.

The jobs into which girls would ultimately move were seldom clearly defined, but it seemed to be generally hoped that during the interval between leaving school and marriage they would either fill "office" and secretarial jobs or engage in crafts like dressmaking and millinery. Where an exceptionally gifted girl seemed to justify thinking in

terms of a profession, it was usually thought she would be a teacher.

The boy whose ability was only ordinary or to whom the family felt unable to give prolonged support, was generally expected to enter a trade. As for the others the target of the parents' aspirations for them tended to be indeterminate more often than it was determinate. They would say they wanted a certain one to "go right through", or to "wear a white collar", or something similar. When pressed to conceptualize their aspiration it usually proved to be a profession, if anything. The realistic concern of most of the parents, however, was limited to "keeping the way ahead open" for their children, which meant keeping them at school until they did the Leaving Certificate and secured matriculation status. Practically all of them aimed to keep all of their children of both sexes at school until the Leaving Certificate. It was interesting to notice, though, how many of the parents were having difficulty in persuading the children of the desirability of such a course, the children (the girls especially) preferring to leave school earlier and take up work more like that of certain friends and neighbours than that of which their parents were only able to speak in so unfamiliar a way. The fact, already stated, that out of the ten children of tradesmen's families

who had left school only one had completed the Leaving Certificate, might be indicative of how likely the parents are to succeed in this contest with the children.

The case of a son in one of the tradesmen's families is interesting. He was exceptionally intelligent and had won entrance to a first class high school, but had refused to continue there because he was sensitive of contrast betweek himself and others whose families were economically better off. Although his parents wanted him to qualify for entrance to the Faculty of Engineering, he "stubbornly refused", went instead to the junior technical school his brother was attending, and left as soon as he was old enough to enter a trade.

The professionals generally expected that provided they had the ability all of their children would matriculate and have professional training, whatever their sex, although there were a few larger families where it was thought that a good secondary education at a private school would suffice for the girls - unless they gave evidence of exceptional ability and expressed a wish to go on. In some it was believed desirable to select a profession for a daughter which could be usefully applied to family life when she finally came to marry, such as medicine or teaching. It was also found in some cases that the possibility of a

daughter marrying a man in the same profession was contemplated.

Unlike so many of the children of the tradesmen, those of the professionals, almost without exception, embraced their parents' educational and occupational aspirations for them. If they did not agree with a particular occupation proposed by a parent they seldom quarrelled with their wish that the child should attain to the professional grade of occupations; and, as for that, most parents were extremely liberal in allowing their children freedom of choice in respect to actual work. This means that with the professionals the shared aspirations of parents and children can be taken as a fairly reliable guide to the future occupational grading of the children, whereas, with the tradesmen the parents' aspirations could be quite misleading, unless they are considered in conjunction with the opposition to them from the children and with what was found to be the actual case with those who had left school.

Before comparing the actual or probable occupations of the children with those of their parents, it is necessary to say something about the occupational training of the mothers and the positions held by them before marriage.

Seven (or 35%) of the mothers in professionals' families were university graduates, but no mothers in the

tradesmen's families.[x] Five mothers of professionals' families had taken courses at business college, and four of tradesmen's; two of professionals' had trained for nursing, and one of tradesmen's. Nursing and business courses are the only forms of training which are common to both groups. Besides this, one professional's wife trained for primary school teaching and one taught music part-time; three tradesmen's wives trained for tailoring or dressmaking and one for show-card writing. There were four professionals' wives and nine tradesmen's wives who had not received any occupational training at all.[••]

Few of these women experienced much occupational stability during their time of employment, on account of the depression, and some had to accept work which was considerably different from that for which they were trained. All of the tradesmen's wives worked before marriage. Three of the professionals' wives did not obtain employment, but one of these taught music part-time. Office work and nursing were the only occupations filled with much the same incidence by wives from both groups. Machining was more typically followed by tradesmen's wives, but one professional's wife had been a machinist. Other types of work for tradesmen's wives were dressmaking or tailoring, domestic help, factory work, selling, and lettering; and

for professionals', teaching mainly, and in one case, scientific research.

Among the most noticeable differences that emerge from these facts are the higher proportion of tradesmen's wives who have had no occupational training, and the fact that a third of the professionals' wives, by virtue of holding university degrees, enjoy a vocational status like that of their husbands. These differences mean that, as a group, the professionals' wives were less accustomed by training and experience to think of themselves in roles which might be typed as "assistance roles" and "drudgery roles".

If we take education and occupation together, both for the parents and children, and compare the two generations in these respects, we reach the following conclusions.

The children of the tradesmen will attend the same type of schools as their parents - state schools or Roman Catholic schools - but will remain at school a few years longer. But the vast majority will leave before the Leaving Certificate. More of them than from amongst the children of their parents' families of origin may cross the barrier between lower class and middle class, probably into white-collar jobs or those of independently employed tradesmen. But the difficulty with which independently employed

tradesmen are maintaining themselves suggests that this second route may not remain open long. A scattered few will become professionals, but probably at the cost of severe confusion about identity, which will prevent them stabilizing in the middle class, and probably cause them to concentrate on promoting their own children still further. The foreboding of this will prevent many attempting the ascent for whom it would be otherwise quite possible. Most of the boys will follow trades like their fathers, but the girls, generally speaking, will get a better deal than their mothers. Few, if any, will do domestic or factory work, and most of them will work in offices or at crafts until they marry.

As for the children of the professionals, more of them will attend private schools than among the children of their parents' families, many of them will have more education than the parents, especially the girls in comparison with their mothers, and it will be exceptional if any one of them does not complete the Leaving Certificate. Most of them, whatever their sex, will have full-time tertiary professional training, and will enter professions, and in this many of the professionals' daughters will fare better than their mothers. The sons will remain in their professions permanently, but most of the daughters will

only do so temporarily until marriage. Whether they will use their professional training again later in marriage is a question which is not usually explored. Some of them think in terms of taking up professions which can be applied to a family role, some think in terms of finding husbands in the same profession.

All of this suggests that while for the new generation the general position of families of both occupational grades will be improved, and especially the position of the female members, the distance between the two grades and the difficulty of moving between them will not, perhaps, be appreciably lessened.

Conclusion

We have arranged the families by their social class position, and have compared the social status of the parents with that of their own parents in order to estimate their social mobility. We have considered the aspirations which the parents in various social class positions and having various histories of mobility have entertained for their children. These aspirations have also been regarded in the light of the expectations and aspirations of the children themselves and of some actual occupational fulfilments, in order to make an estimate of the possible occupational

position of the next generation. The educational experiences of the children and their expected occupational positions were finally viewed together and compared with those of their parents to gain a rough index of the possible social mobility within the next generation.

In sum, the data give the following picture of the influence of the Australian open-class society on these city families. There is marked educational, occupational and class status conservatism between generations of the family. This can be attributed to the fact that within the family parents mediate their own experience to their children through their attitudes. Parents who wish to take advantage of the open-class system and aim to project their children beyond their own major class meet with only rare success, because they are unable to give the child a concrete perception of the identity he will assume. Children, sensing in these aspirations of their parents a threat to their identity and to the roots which give them life, tend mostly to reject them. The maximum improvement which most are willing to embrace is consolidation in the upper limit of the class of their family of origin, and in the case of the lower class this allows some intrusion into the lower middle class, which is to them, after all, only the upper limit of the "working class". Those parents who

desire social mobility for their children are those who have experienced a fair degree of mobility themselves, without being able to settle in their new position, and consequently lack a distinct sense of identity; or those who have not moved up but feel dissatisfaction with their position through self-comparison with others, and consequently also have a weakened sense of identity. This weakened identity reaches a point where a person feels guilty for what he has lost and is fearful about the possibility of losing more, but he still retains the desire for improvement. He resolves the conflict by distributing each inner claim to a separate person. He seeks the improvement in a child with whom he identifies himself vicariously, and preserves for himself whatever real identity is left to him.

Chapter VI

SELF-INCLUSION IN THE SOCIETY

1. The Definition of the Situation

Just as our society ascribes a place to each person *qua* family member, each individual locates himself in the society by the position of his family. Family members tend, as a result, to be fairly homogeneous in the perspective which they develop on the social system which includes them.[1] Husbands and wives may choose one another because of affinities of this kind, and closer convergence occurs after marriage through mutual adaptation. Parents influence their children, consciously and unconsciously, to assume an outlook similar to their own. In some cases there are divergences between members, but there is usually one orientation which dominates. In this chapter, when reference is made to self-inclusion within the society, what is meant is the outlook which is either uniformly held in the family, or held by both parents, or, if they diverge, by the more

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[1] When I speak now of the general society or the wider society I mean Australia, the political unit of which the subjects of the research conceive themselves to be members.

influential one. Special consideration will be given towards the end of the chapter to the cases of family divergence. These cases make a type apart, however, for in the sample the most common type was that in which there was uniformity.

Most of the data of this chapter are perceptions or attitudes held by the subjects of the research. But this does not mean that it is "subjective", in opposition, say, to the "objectivity" of the data of the previous chapter. The subjective states of people constitute objective data for sociology, since it is what people believe their situation to be which motivates their activity, rather than their real situation. It is therefore often a more important determinant of behaviour. This fact has been reiterated by those writers who were concerned to sink definitive foundations for sociology and social anthropology. Max Weber (Parsons, 1949, pp.579-639), for example, gave prominence to the subjective states of individuals in emphasizing the place of <u>verstehen</u> in interpreting behaviour. Thomas (Thomas, W.I., and Thomas, D.S., 1932, p.572) made much the same point in his well-known theorem: "If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences." Nadel (1951, pp.32 and 33) made the existence of subjective states integral with his definition of the subject matter

of social anthropology. And Parsons (1937, pp. 26 and 46) says that our study of action is made from a "subjective" point of view, in the sense that the frame of reference from which we have first to regard it is the point of view of the actor. These writers unanimously warn against the stultification which will result from every attempt to study behaviour from the external view. The picture of the social position of the families set out in the last chapter must be supplemented, therefore, with data on how those positions are regarded. The data that will be considered are: the views which the families take of their position in the class system, the attitudes of responsibility they strike toward the general society, and the self-sufficient values by which they choose to guide their behaviour within it.

2. Class Self-inclusion

The commonest feature of the views and attitudes which people held concerning the social system and their place in it, were the confusion, ambivalence, reluctance, discomfort and euphemism which accompanied the expression of them. There were very few people who were at ease about these matters. This can be attributed, perhaps, both to the instability of social positions which open class society

fosters, and to the discrepancy between the equalitarian ideal of our ethos, and the harsher facts of our life.

Among the professionals, there were three main types of self-inclusion in the society, to one of which each case approximated. In one of these, people saw themselves in a two-class society, in which the "upper class" was absorbed into their own "middle class" - "there are only two classes, middle and lower, the so-called 'upper' are really a part of the middle," it was said. Only two families in the sample adopted this view: one of these owned a considerable amount of property (more than any other in the sample), and the other entertained stronger aspirations for social improvement than any in the sample. This type will be referred to as upper-stratum self-inclusion.

A second view was to give a more or less nominal recognition to the existence of the stereotyped three-class society, but to refuse any class designation for oneself, because of sympathetic identification with members of all classes. There were three families who adopted this position, and one parent of a fourth family. These people made a genuine déclassé intelligentsia. They were all independent thinkers who looked forward to a convergence between the existing classes through economic and educational reforms.

In the third and commonest view" it was not very important whether society was depicted as three-class or two-class, because it was always believed to function in effect as a two-class structure. But it was the opposite view to the upper-stratum self-inclusion. Those who held it absorbed all below middle class into the middle, and saw themselves distinctly cut off from the upper class above them. The parents in one of these families claimed that "middle class" included "all the rest of us", and several of these families welcomed the fact that recent material prosperity had caused a great levelling out. The father of one family saw the exclusive group at the top as comprising "graziers and large business owners, marked off by their wealth and their capacity to throw an extravagant party". Below these, "all the rest do as well as we can for ourselves, and mingle with most other people", it was added. But a vertical barrier was perceived to exist within this lower division which prevents it being homogeneous, a barrier created by cultural differences. The mother of this same family went on to say, "I feel that I ought to have a lot more to do with slum people, and ordinary people that you meet in the train, but as soon as they open their mouths to speak you realize you haven't got a single idea in common with them; their entire outlook

is different from your own, and it couldn't be changed in a single generation."

The above comments highlight the two principles by which the people in this largest group of the professionals believe classes to be differentiated. Wealth is the primary thing, but this is more important in distinguishing between grades at the top of the social ladder. But manners, speech and cultivation are also important, although secondary, and they are more important in distinguishing between grades at the lower end. Thus for most of the professionals the division between middle and lower classes is not nearly as distinct as the division between middle and upper - and the upper class to many of them is remote and its way of life hard to imagine.

But this tendency to abolish all divisions below the very wealthy is not altogether disinterested. For it is associated with a habit of confining the horizon of one's attention very largely to the stratum of which one is a member, thus creating the comfortable illusion that, except for the thin crust, the whole of society is pretty homogeneous with oneself. This attitude might therefore be described as middle class imperialism. According to it the middle class is not made to stand out from the rest of society as a distinct stratum with a distinctive way of life, but it

is represented as the legitimate type for the whole society. It is available to all, and its present members will willingly help to invest humble initiates with its insignia.

This style of life some are still themselves learning, but others, longer in the tradition, are finished exponents. It exhibits a poise and assurance in the face of all social contacts, which depends on the inner knowledge that one's place in comparison with others is securely established. The type is moderate, serious, purposive, dedicated to self-improvement, respecting property, avoiding waste and ostentation, and careful not to allow the less fortunate to feel their inferiority. It despises snobbery, which is imputed to "the hangers-on to the upper class". Those who have acquired the character well show, on social occasions, a very apparent thoughtfulness for others' needs and feelings, and an alertness in discerning them, extending consideration with a graciousness which seems entirely natural. They are never personal, and always maintain distance, not out of pride but out of respect, and from fearing to presume. They tend to make occasions for formal intercourse, and are at pains to learn the etiquette of conventional situations. They observe and enact status differences, rather than being disposed to relax or obscure them, and have a respect for office independent of the person.

But, in the middle class imperialists, this preservation of differences only applies to grades within their homogeneous world, for their very readiness to have everyone behave like themselves and duplicate their type amounts to an unwillingness to adjust to real social difference. It bolsters those who practise it in their persuasion that they are exponents of the normal, proper and nicest type, and that all the nicer people they meet by chance must be middle class really.

For some, it seems to have a further function also, for the attitude is strongest in those upper middle and middle middle class parents whose families of origin were located either in the lower middle class and had only a precarious footing there, or in the lower class. It is as if they feel that if they ignore the present difference in the classes, they can ignore the discontinuity in their own history, and so believe themselves <u>always</u> to have carried within them or in their heredity those requisites of class which, they say, cannot be acquired, but which only tradition and breeding can supply.

For this is one of the most equivocal aspects of the class attitudes of the middle class families of the sample. While most families had made efforts toward economic self-improvement, and, in some cases, had improved

their class position thereby, and while they expected others to do the same, and while, also, it was acknowledged that wealth was the one major criterion for distinguishing between classes, wealth as a basis for class distinction was generally despised, and so was the practice of class self-improvement. "True social class comes from background and breeding which is hard to define," it was claimed. Others veered in the other direction in claiming that the proper basis of class distinction was neither wealth nor birth, but worth - worth being understood to mean a person's achievement and service.

There was even more variety among the tradesmen's families than among the professionals' in respect to class self-inclusion, but the families again aligned themselves with types, the types this time being four in number. It was noticed that in the delineation of the classes of society a "lower class" was on no occasion referred to. Working class was never called lower class, because of the stigma that might imply, and also because it was never taken to reach the lowest social level, there being a poorer class below. Trades people referred variously to the stratum in which they included themselves as that of the working class, the working man, the workers, artisans, the intelligent workers, ordinary people - and three families described themselves as middle class.

The tradesmen and their wives were seen to be facing a dilemma over whether to succumb to what has been depicted as middle class imperialism, or whether to remain loyal to their distinctive class identification. Three families, as was said, described themselves outright as middle class, and six others applied "working class" to themselves with a dignified, near middle class connotation, and quite without consciousness of distinctiveness in the face of other classes. The self-inclusion of this group, which was the largest group, will therefore be referred to as near middle class.

A second, smaller group of three families were proud to assert their distinctive working class identification, without consciousness of opposition to other classes. These can be referred to as distinctive working class. Two others made a third type, which will be called aggressive working class. These asserted their distinctive working class identification, but also aggressively set themselves in opposition to the other classes. They were marked by strong class solidarity, as might be expected.

The fourth group adopted an attitude analogous to middle class imperialism, which must be called working class imperialism. It was a determination to treat everyone as being like themselves, "to stand on your own feet and look the whole world in the face", "to dip your lid to no-one",

"to be every man's equal and treat everyone the same". While these, like the third group, showed a degree of class solidarity, they were marked even more by independence. Their intention seemed to be to shake society down to one level by atomizing it, and by demonstrating that within the limits of the working class all human needs and aspirations could be adequately satisfied. They canvassed working class forms of organization for sport, culture and religion as the ideal forms, beyond which it was unnecessary to go.

The type which they believe is to be emulated is always informal, "good mates", closely personal and abolishing distance, never standing on ceremony, dispensing with the encumbrances and deceitfulness of etiquette, and being, instead, helpful, decent, loyal and "fair dinkum". It is practical, adaptable, extroverted and sporting. It is oversuspicious of pretence in every kind of behaviour that is unfamiliar, and is particularly uneasy about feeling and reflectiveness. It respects individuals for their quality and not their office, and is secretly scornful and cynical of authority.

In many ways this will seem to make an opposite to the type of the middle class imperialists. Particularly are the two types opposed in what they consider to be the signs of good-will and rudeness, and this opposition makes

it extremely difficult for anyone to strike any position intermediate to them or interact across them. Although only the imperialists were active propagators of the types, people using all the forms of class self-inclusion which have been identified assimilated fairly closely to one type or other; although, perhaps, there were evidences of strains in the near middle class type, due to some vacillation between the two.

The middle class type is one which, in its deference to existing forms and offices, would facilitate the adjustments of people who identify their interests with an established social structure; that of the working class, in its directness and adaptability, is for people who expect to accommodate themselves to changes which, they hope, may make their satisfactions more nearly equal with those of others.

Now that the class self-inclusion types have been identified, and before developing the connections between them and the other aspects of self-inclusion in the society, it is necessary to cast our minds back, and relate them to the social class and social mobility types which were identified in the preceding chapter. Tables VIa and VIb show these relationships.

	Upper middle class				Middle middle class				Lower middle class			
2 upper stratum families	2				0				0			
		2										
14½ middle class imperialist families	5				5				4½			
	2	3					4	1				4½
3½ déclassé intelligentsia families	1				1				1½			
		1					1					1½
	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D

Table VIa

A, B, C and D represent the mobility types.
A = movement through a major class barrier;
B = movement to the ceiling of the class of origin;
C = movement within the class of origin, but not to the ceiling; and
D = no appreciable upward movement.

Note. In this and subsequent tables "½" represents divergence of parents.

	Lower middle class				Upper lower class				Middle lower class			
9 middle or near middle class families	2				7							
	2					5		2				
3 distinctive working class families					3							
						2		1				
2 aggressive working class families					2							
						1		1				
4 working class imperialist families					2				2			
						1		1				2
	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D	A	B	C	D

Table VIb

A, B, C and D represent the same mobility types as in table VIa.

The tables show that the upper stratum families belong to those in the highest class who had experienced considerable mobility, and that representatives of all three class types are found in both the middle class imperialist and déclassé intelligentsia families, but that neither of the two families which had passed through a major class division, and whose experiences might therefore have been expected to dispose them to wider sympathies, were déclassé. On the contrary they were emphatically middle class imperialist. Those of the tradesmen who included themselves as middle class or near middle class were most of those who in fact were round about that position. The three varieties of working class self-inclusion included most of those who had not experienced mobility.

3. Social Responsibility

The legitimacy which people believe to belong to a system, and to their position within it, is more important for an understanding of their self-inclusion than the bald position which they take. It was noticed what a great range of evaluation was implied by the different parents in defining their social position. Some regarded themselves as occupying a position legitimized by a respected and influential body of opinion, others as occupying a

place by sheer necessity of nature. An attempt was made to deal with these factors in terms of social responsibility.

The very possibility of questioning the legitimacy of one's own social system presupposes a fair degree of political sophistication in a society. It rests on a habit of thought which accepts that societies are subject to manipulation, so that it is not in vain to question whether the status quo is ideal or not. Such is the ethos of our culture that practically everyone has some strongly developed conception of the possibility of ideal society, although what it constitutes may be dimly apprehended. This conception stands in the background of his experience of actual society, and makes the person aware of a discrepancy between the actual and ideal. In such a society we can only deal realistically with the question of responsibility if we deal with it in relation to this felt discrepancy.[1]

For the moment, differences in the conception of the ideal society between one person and another need not

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[1] Mannheim (1936, pp.173-190) has developed his two concepts of ideology and utopia out of this sense of discrepancy between real and desirable existence. Ideology is the coloured perception of one's real situation, distorted by the feeling that it would be desirable to have it otherwise; utopia is the conception of the ideal situation, conceived with a full knowledge of the fact that one's existing situation must be changed if it is to be achieved.

engage our attention. It is enough that four major types were discernible in the attitudes which people adopted to accommodate to their particular realization that a discrepancy existed, and each of these attitudes was expressive of a decision about responsibility.[1] The data which were given special weight in judging which of the attitudes was present were the following: the family's political affiliation (and activity if any), the attachment of the members' aspirations to an expectation of change or stability in the society, the attitude taken to the father's occupation when regarded as a contribution to the general society, and the parents' engagement in community service activities. In conjunction with these things I considered judgments which the members volunteered on themselves and others; for instance, judgments on personal success and failure and comparative good-fortune, on strikers, royalty, immigrants, other classes, the government, the service obtainable from "trades people", the international situation, comparison of the present with the past state of our society, and so on. Unfortunately for my

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[1] This typology of attitudes has affinities with that which Margaret Mead (1949, pp.258-260) evolved to treat American attitudes to social idealism.

method, none of these factors have a simple, direct relation to the generalized attitude of responsibility which I thought could be discerned when I viewed them together and made a composite judgment. I have therefore to present the material by stating what the attitudes were, and then stating in what different ways these factors entered into their composition.

The first attitude I have called conservative. This attitude was a determination, quite generally, to make the best out of things as they are, without paying attention to discrepancy; an uncritical satisfaction with one's ascribed status and with the system, accompanied by a self-interested responsibility to maintain the status quo. In short, it was a strong identification with the power of things as they are. In the second attitude, which I have called liberal, the person similarly identified with the status quo, but in doing so accepted responsibility for what he perceived to be its imperfections, and showed evidence of concern for the improvement of the social system by doing what he could to better it. Such a person sustained in himself the tension between the real and ideal, acknowledging that both were part of him, and sought relief from the tension in efforts to change the external world so that the two things might come closer. A third attitude which was observed, and

which I have called utopian, makes, in a sense, an opposite to the conservative attitude. For, whereas the conservative attitude repressed identification with the ideal, because it was painful to acknowledge a discrepancy with the real, the utopian attitude repressed identification with the real because it was painful to acknowledge any discrepancy with the ideal. It flatly rejected the imperfect, real state of affairs because of a compulsion to identify with the ideal. Consequently it acknowledged no responsibility to the real, but only to autonomous action which, it believed, was directed to the pure ideal. Finally, there was a fourth attitude, which I have called distrait, and this makes a kind of opposite to the liberal attitude. For, whereas the liberal attitude identified with both real and ideal, the distrait attitude would identify with neither. The distrait person had some feeling for both the real and ideal and was well aware of the distance between them, but repressed identification with the difference and the tension. Offended by admitted imperfections, he sought distraction from them. He was an escapist, and evaded personal involvement and responsibility as far as he could.

Although no attitude existed unalloyed in anyone, and the degree to which it was sharply defined varied, all of

the parents of the families could be typed according to the attitude which they struck toward the general society. The following table shows the distribution of the attitudes among the parents of the two occupational types. (In six families the parents' attitudes were not uniform, so for the table the attitudes of individual parents were used.)

Type of Attitude	Tradesman parents	Professional parents
	%	%
Conservative	28	45
Liberal	33.5	30
Utopian	22	17.5
Distrait	16.5	7.5

Table VIc

All attitudes are found in both groups. The attitude with the highest incidence among the professional parents is the conservative, among the tradesman parents it is the liberal. For each group liberal or conservative then takes second place. For both groups conservative and liberal taken together form the predominant attitudes. As the sample was small, the only difference which may be dwelt upon is the fact that the conservative attitude is found in just under one half of the professionals, but in just over one quarter of the trades people.

The responsibility attitude seemed a more real index of a family's public orientation than mere political affi-

liation, since people make the same political affiliation for different reasons, and important differences are thus masked by it. But the ways in which the holders of the different attitudes sought to give effect to them included political means, so that politics (interpreted) was one of the main factors by which responsibility attitudes could be diagnosed. Five political positions were found to exist among the subjects of the research: pro-Labour Party, pro-Liberal Party, non-party but mainly favouring the Liberal Party, definitely non-party, and pro-Communist. While 50% of the professionals firmly supported the Liberal Party, only 8.3% of the trades people did so;[xx] and while 66% of the trades people firmly supported the Labour Party, only 22.5% of the professionals did.[x] Those professionals whose class self-inclusion was upper stratum and middle class imperialist inclined very strongly to the Liberal Party, while the déclassé intelligentsia were Labour Party supporters or definitely non-party. The trades people were mainly pro-Labour Party <u>for every type of class self-inclusion</u>. Near middle class self-inclusion had not produced pro-Liberal Party politics. The only case of pro-Communism in the sample was found in a parent whose class self-inclusion was aggressive working class.

Another factor assisting in the diagnosis of the attitude to the general society, which was associated with political affiliation, but which lacked any precise coincidence with it, was the expectation of change or stability in the society.[1] Considering families now and not individual parents (and deferring the treatment of the one case where the parents diverged in such a way that the position of neither one could be considered dominant), differences can be seen in the occupational groups for this factor. Five tradesman families looked for stability, eleven looked for change, and two were indifferent to the direction of the society's development. Eleven of the professionals' families looked for stability, eight looked for change, and in one the parents were divided. The different incidence of an expectation of stability in the two groups has a certain degree of significance.** The connections between the responsibility type, class self-inclusion type, and the expectation of change entertained by the families were examined.

The data showed that among the tradesmen change was expected by representatives of all class self-inclusion

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[1] I mean by expectation in this context the positive anticipation of a state of affairs on which a person judges the achievement of his aspirations to depend.

types, and that expectation of stability was confined to middle or near middle class types. Among the professionals change was expected by the déclassé intelligentsia and some middle class imperialists, while the remainder expected stability.

Of the five tradesman families which looked for stability, three were conservative and two distrait. The conservatives expected stability to be secured mainly by political policies of minimum interference, which they thought to assist either by Labour Party support or by exercising non-party discrimination. The two distrait families, unlike the others of their self-inclusion types, all of whom looked for change to improve their condition, looked for stability in society because their distrait attitude caused them to regard change as troublesome, and a threat to their habits of non-responsibility. These habits were expressed in one case in an easy-going life of drinking, gambling, sporting, reading, and conviviality with kinsfolk, and in the other in a life of intense self-absorption in the family, and particularly in the children. Both of these families gave their political support to the Labour Party, as the guardian of their safe entrenchments.

The eleven tradesman families which looked for change included two conservative, three utopian, and all of those

which were liberal. The two conservative families among these looked for change (instead of for stability, as might be expected from holders of this attitude) because they were agreeably adjusted to what they believed to be a society continually changing in the direction of an improving standard of living for workers. They supported the Labour Movement, through whose efforts mainly they believed this change to be promoted, but they were not active in it. The utopians anticipated change in different ways: one through a new world religion, which would entail social reorganization; one in the form of violent class revolution; one through the pressure of the Labour Movement and Labour Party legislation. All of the six liberal families expected gradual change through the pressure of the Labour Movement and legislation of the Labour Party, both of which they strongly supported, although only in two of them were members very active in the trade unions and the Party.

The tradesman families that were indifferent alike to stability and change were utopian and distrait. The former was individualist, strongly convinced of an extreme form of religious non-conformity, concerned mainly with ideal principles, and strongly anti-party in its political attitude. The parents of this family attached their expectations only to personal exertion. The distrait family anticipated

only progressive degeneration from society, but expected to be immune from the effects of it, due to a religious belief in a prophesied deliverance. This family was abstracted out of responsibility to existing society by highly systematized beliefs about society's corruption and imminent end; and, apart from daily work, in which an effort was made to give service to individuals as a form of "practical Christianity", the family's time was spent, partly in the study of religion, but overwhelmingly in pure recreation. It is interesting that the parents of this family regarded it as an inconsistency in themselves (and I think it was one which was due to a persisting identification with their families of origin) that, while most people of their religion rejected politics, they themselves valued their Liberal Party vote.

Thus in the tradesman families it was only some of those who adopted either the conservative or distrait attitudes who looked for society to continue unchanged. The remainder, save two, looked for change, whether from a conservative, liberal or utopian orientation. Two families, utopian and distrait, were indifferent to the direction of the society's development. The political alignment of those desiring stability was pro-Labour Party or non-party. Those who expected change favoured the Labour

Party, except for one pro-Liberal Party parent in a family whose political support was divided. Those who were indifferent to change and stability were non-party and pro-Liberal Party.

Turning now to the professional families, we find that the eleven families which looked for stability comprised eight conservative, two liberal and one distrait. The eight conservative families expected to see stability secured through Liberal Party governments. In four, support of the Party was very strong, rising to vehemence in one case. The father of that family expressed himself in these terms, "You might most accurately describe my political position as anti-Labour - in short, I'm interested in dividends, and not in wages." In the distrait family the parents were emphatically non-party and contemptuous of politics generally. They had renounced social responsibility and occupied themselves as exclusively as possible with their books, music and crafts, and looked for stability to preserve their withdrawal undisturbed. It appears to require some explanation why two families diagnosed to be liberal in attitude (and, in fact, supporting the Labour Party) should look for stability in society rather than change, since desire for change would seem to be part of the definition of the liberal attitude, and since all other

liberal families, in both occupational categories, did desire it. It was due in both cases to a certain inconsistency in the parents' attitudes, imposed upon them by the necessity of reconciling, on the one hand, their past identification with less fortunate classes, and the liberal thought of undergraduate days, and, on the other, the present necessity of securing professional success in practices which were only beginning to get under way.

Eight of the professional families, five liberal and three utopian, looked for change, and there were four methods by which they expected to see social reform effected.[1] Seven parents looked for reform through the activities of the Labour Movement, both in the unions and in politics; eight looked for it through legislative reforms simply, and whether these were initiated by the Liberal or Labour Party was not very important to them; seven looked for it through a national religious awakening, and six through a new conception of education.

Finally, there was one professional family in which the attitudes of the two parents were different and independent. One was distinctly conservative and the other utopian. They looked for stability and change respectively, the former to be effected through the Liberal Party and the latter through the combined influence of the Labour Movement and educational reform.

[1] Some parents looked for reform through more than one of the methods.

Among the professionals' families, then, those which looked for stability were all of the conservatives, two liberals, the expansion of whose fathers' professions depended on it, and the distrait family, who wished to continue unruffled. Those which looked for change were most of the liberals and all of the utopians. The political support of those desiring stability went predominantly to the Liberal Party, a very small number favoured Labour, and a few favoured either party, according to the measures proposed, but were out of sympathy with the party mentality. Of those who desired change, about one half hoped to see it effected through the Labour Movement, and gave their political support to the Labour Party; one supported the Liberal Party consistently, and the remainder were of the non-party mentality, although their votes went mainly to the Liberal Party.

Some further light on the social responsibility of the two occupational groups was obtained from the attitudes of the fathers to their work, and from the voluntary service activities undertaken by both parents.

The professional workers all showed evidence of a strong sense of responsibility in their occupations. This was alike for men holding all four of the general social responsibility attitudes. Even those who were utopian and

distrait in their general outlook (and perhaps these more than others) were glad of a clearly structured occupational role in which they could, somehow, be of service to people as such, without feeling that they were upholding that social system which, in principle, they rejected. They used the definition of their own occupational roles to abstract themselves out of society, rather than to organize them in. Some of those who were liberal invested their work with a reforming character, believing, that by advancing knowledge, say, or by filling strategic positions, they were influencing change. Those who were conservative were able to identify themselves in their work, more than in anything else, with all the power of the status quo, and believed that they were guardians of the society's structure.

Most of the tradesmen were not unaware of the dependence of society on their services, but few of them had the same imaginative conception of their work as the professionals. In comparison with the professionals most of the tradesmen thought of their work much more in the aspect of its being a contribution to their family's welfare, than in terms of its contribution to society. There were, however, two distinct types. Three utopian, two distrait, and two liberal fathers adopted an attitude to their work which was not found amongst the professionals,[xx] which it would be quite wrong

to call irresponsible, but which would be best described as an attitude of limited responsibility. They had little conception or concern about the contribution of their work to the wider society, but had in discharging it a strong sense of responsibility only to themselves and their families. On the other side were the remainder, which included all those who were conservative, most of those who were liberal, one utopian and one distrait. These had an extremely high sense of social responsibility in their work. In the conservatives this was perhaps to be expected. Among the liberals, it was found in those who were so identified with and informed about the Labour Movement, as to believe that the existing society represented, to a considerable degree at least, their own interests, and that there were effective means for increasing that representation. The utopian and distrait tradesmen, like their professional counterparts, were glad to find a defined occupational role in which they could render service to individuals without seeming, to themselves at least, to uphold the social system.

But it was in the voluntary activities of the two occupational groups that the differences were most apparent. In all except two of the professionals' families (one conservative, one liberal) one or both of the parents gave voluntary service in religious, cultural, educational,

professional or sporting organizations, and these activities frequently engaged practically the whole of their non-working time. Among the conservative, these organizations were of the kind that assisted social stability, such as the District Nurses Association, or the Old Boys' Union of a school, or the bowling club, or the church, rather than of the kind which promoted social change. The liberals and utopians took part in some similar organizations, but weighted their participation towards more idealistic movements, such as the New Education Fellowship, or the Prison Reform League.

But voluntary responsibility was not nearly so common nor so demanding among the parents of the tradesmen's families, for in only one half of them did one or both of the parents undertake such work at all.[x] And this work was heavily channelled into organizations which would promote the welfare of the next generation, and that of their own children in particular. Church work was one common form of service, but it is interesting that a number of those who undertook this did so with the express intention of advancing the religious, moral and recreational welfare of their own children. As well as this service of the next generation, two cases were found (both liberal) of families where parents were spending much time in voluntary effort

on behalf of their class, through the Labour Movement. Beyond these two forms, however, there was little voluntary service.

The trades people, then, have tended to identify their interests with their own class or with the next generation rather than with the existing social system, and their sense of social responsibility has developed in those directions accordingly.

4. The Determinants of Social Responsibility

Since all of the responsibility attitudes occur in both groups, and since, as was shown in the previous chapter, the two groups tend to occupy different class positions, one is led to the conclusion that class position alone cannot be determining for responsibility to the general society; and one asks whether the same attitude might result from different causes, or whether, again, there are like influences operating, independent of class?

The conservative in both groups were disposed not to question the legitimacy of the system. One reason for not doing so, which was common, was the combination of prosperity (by one's own standards) with a firm religious persuasion. Among the conservative trades people this combination occurred in all cases. It occurred with only two thirds of the conservative professionals, however.

The remaining third were without religious persuasion, and in their cases the expectation that the existing system would guarantee their prosperity seems to have been the whole reason for not calling it in question.

Religious belief seems to have exercised its effectiveness in lending some legitimacy to the social system in two ways. Their religious systems enabled people to place both their own social roles and the social system in more inclusive frames of reference. This gave them a certain universality and relativity at the same time. On the one hand, they saw themselves bound to all ranks of society by obligations of service; and, on the other, they saw it to be a matter largely beyond any individual's control as to who was up and who was down, and largely a matter of one's place in history, as to which social evils human sinfulness would require one to embrace.

It was not true, however, that religion, or the combination of religion and prosperity, necessarily disposed to a conservative attitude. Both of these conditions obtained for the holders of other attitudes, and some who rejected the legitimacy of the social system did so on religious grounds.

The liberals among the tradesmen had developed their concern for a more ideal society from their own experiences

of frustration, hardship, injustice and struggle. All of these parents had experienced some economic restriction in childhood, had undergone the poverty, uncertainty and humiliation of the depression before marriage, and had finally established homes and families only by sheer consecration to the task. They kept their feet in the real world at the same time, because, as has been said already of some of them, they believed that Australian society, as it exists, represents the working man's interest to some degree. Some of these families were religious - the Roman Catholics were conspicuously represented in this type - but others were not. Those who were not religious were the more active in the Labour Movement.

The liberals among the professionals identified with the real society because of the assurance it gave of satisfaction. Their concern for ideal society could be attributed in most cases to past social injustice experienced by one or both parents in the "working class" families in which they originated. In two of these cases religious principle reinforced this concern. In the remaining liberal professional families the concern for ideal society was directly attributable to religious principle.

The utopian parents among the tradesmen had rejected real society because their experience of it had been

intolerable. Poverty, suffering, social injustice, being placed continually at a disadvantage, public incompetence, corruption, petty officialdom, and the like, were more than they could be reconciled to. Only four such tradesmen's families were found in the sample, and it is interesting to notice the variety of ideals to which they attached themselves in turning away from the real society - theoretical Communism, Quakerism, the Baha 'i religion, and an exaggerated form of independent, working class imperialism. It is also interesting that the four fathers of these families were opposed to industrialization, and were attempting to maintain independent family businesses, all in the face of overwhelming discouragement, not because it was lucrative but on principle. It was very noticeable how the members of these families inclined to individualism, by which I mean that they preferred themselves to be regarded and preferred to regard other people, in all situations, whether appropriate or not, as isolated units rather than as persons bearing roles which integrated their activities into a social system. Formality and office were an embarrassment to them, and were severely devalued as threatening to the spirit in things. The exercise of authority, as well as compliance to it, was something from which they shrank.

The same inclination to individualism was apparent in the professional utopians, but the reasons for their attitude were markedly different from the reasons for the same attitude among the trades people. Personal experience of frustration could only be regarded as a major determining factor in one of the seven parents who exhibited the attitude. With two others it played a part, but scarcely a major one. These parents comprised all of the déclassé intelligentsia, and for the most part their rejection of identification with the real society is attributable to the restlessness of their intelligence. Sensitive and discerning, and able to stand aside and survey a situation, they were so aware of the inconsistencies of the real society, and of injustice to others if not to themselves, that they could not identify with it without sacrificing integrity, and were led to reject it in principle. Unlike the other utopians, who gave their allegiance to various ideals, these turned theirs uniformly in the same directions - towards a Fabian kind of Socialism, and new education; some of them, as has been shown, actively identifying with the Labour Movement. Except in the case of one family, they were non-religious or anti-religious, having rejected religion on critical grounds, as they had rejected society. The religious family, however, was reinforced in its utopianism by its religious position.

The reasons for the distrait attitude varied between the two groups, but there were very few cases from which to make comparisons. It will be remembered that it occurred in three of the tradesmen's families, being expressed, in the first, in intense family self-absorption; in the second, in alternation between absorption in a highly systematized religion and distraction in recreation; and in the third, in the whole gamut of divertissements, drinking, gambling, sport, conviviality with kin, and the reading of newspapers and fiction. In all three of these cases the attitude can be attributed to the harsh experience already described for the liberals and utopians of this occupational group, coupled with personality immaturity or instability in one or both parents. In the only case of the distrait attitude occurring among the professionals, the parents had begun their married life in a distinctly utopian mood, with "very high ideals", but, due to them had met serious opposition which had required the father to change his type of work, had broken the continuity of his career, and entailed a complete reorganization of the family. As a result the family had renounced social responsibility, having been once bitten was twice shy, and was occupying itself with culture and crafts. It is interesting that activities so diverse as those above should be functionally identical

in respect to the attitude of social responsibility which they express.

5. Values

It will be recalled from the introduction that a classification of values into five types is being adopted. These are, first, the four real values: the two forms of spiritual value, membership and partisanship; and the two forms of egoistic value, self-expansion and self-concentration; and, secondly, the false, face value of appearances, designated self-justification. While it was admittedly not always easy to decide whether anything was being valued as self-sufficient or as a means, I attempted to do so by weighing the following data: the trends in the composite picture of the family's activities; expressions of preference when there was competition between ends (using, as well as spontaneous remarks and answers to questions, the responses to the Allport-Vernon Study of Values[1]); expressions of satisfaction and dissatisfaction; the things which valuing sentiment dwelt upon most; and answers by the parents to questions about what standards of life and what sense of values they would hope to see their children develop.

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[1] A copy of this Study appears in Appendix A.

In Chapter IV (p. 68) I have said that the index of a value would be a correspondence between consistent efforts to achieve a certain type of satisfaction and the verbalization of principles of behaviour. These data were used to find indices of that kind.

It can be added that in securing these data "lip-service" was related to the genuine service of a value, in two ways. First of all, lip-service could indicate genuine service to various specific self-justification values, expressing a felt desire to acquire an appearance of something, say, culture, wealth, morality. In this case it was usually expressed with a certain seriousness, and was accompanied by some effort to acquire the desired face. On the other hand, it could indicate deference to the interviewer's or some other person's supposed expectation, on whose acceptance the person felt dependent. The lip-service was then the whole tribute which the person made to the value; it was a deceit, making the person appear to have something which he was not genuinely concerned to acquire even the appearance of. This was quite specifically an indication of that form of self-justification which pretends to membership. Thus, while lip-service was not taken on its face value, it was not disregarded, but interpreted.

The treatment of values is introduced into the discussion of the families' external relations, because values will either be shared with others in the community or will not, and will therefore influence the way in which the family includes itself there. Also, the classification of values being adopted, into spiritual and egoistic, is of such a kind as to indicate dispositions to association or dissociation on the part of family members. The influence of values on the internal life of the families will not be treated until Part III of the thesis.

As not all of the families could be typed by single value types, some following more than one value, it seemed that the best way to present the comparative data was to set out the percentage of families in which each type of value was pursued, without regard to whether it was pursued alone or in competition with other values, and, after that, to set out the various combinations of value (and types of conflict) which existed, and the number of families in which each combination was found. Table VId gives the first part of this information, table VIe the second part. If any influential person within the family held a value, the convention is adopted of first regarding it as a family characteristic, a value of the family, and its effect in producing uniformity with like values or conflict with

unlike values will not be treated until the subject of family divergence is raised.[1]

	Value type	% of tradesmen's families pursuing this value	% of professionals' families pursuing this value	% of all families pursuing this value
Real, spiritual values	Membership	89%[xx]	80%[x]	84%
	Partisanship	39%	None[xx]	18%[xx]
Real, egoistic values	Self-expansion	50%	65%	58%
	Self-concentration	11%[xx]	55%	34%[xx]
Face values	Self-justification	28%[••]	35%	32%

Table VId

The tables show that the spiritual values of membership were the most generally prized values.[xx] They occurred with a high incidence in both occupational groups, there being only two tradesmen's families and four professionals' in which they were not of some importance. This type of value took the form, most fundamentally and in every case,

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[1] I think this is entirely justifiable. The family being a state of organization of persons, any one person's values will exert a pull on its joint activity. After all, the "individual" is no less a state of organization, and may hold values which are dissociated from or in conflict with others, but we nevertheless designate them properties of the individual, and don't feel we have to call them properties of his parts.

of placing a high valuation on family life itself. "We are very much family people", "we love the family", "I find more in the home than outside of it", "the family comes first", "the family is the most precious thing you've got" - these and similar expressions were very common, and were accompanied by evidences of effort and concern to preserve the quality of family relations. One quarter of these families, however, did not feel that membership could be pursued beyond the confines of the family itself.

Those who did seek to be included as members in broader frames of reference than the family, did so, very predominantly, in religion and the church. In the sample 61% of the trades people sought real membership inclusion through religion, and 45% of the professionals. It is interesting that all of these trades people practised their religion in association with a church, while one third of the professionals were seeking to practise it independently, having rejected either their own particular church, or churches generally, on critical grounds.

Next in importance after religion, for membership inclusion wider than the family, was patriotic loyalty to the nation. As a real value 45% of the professionals followed it, and 22% of the trades people. The professionals sought to realize it mainly through their work and community

service activities, and the trades people through decency, dignity, respect for order, and compliance with public regulations.

A number of cases occurred amongst families of both occupational groups in which culture and science assumed genuine membership functions. These people valued beauty and truth as revelations into human nature and the world, gaining from them a concern for humanity, and poise in the universe. Isolated cases occurred among the trades people in which real membership was sought in sport, in work relations and in neighbourliness.

The tables further show that, after membership values, the egoistic self-expansion values took second place among the self-sufficient ends of both occupational groups.[xx] These took the form most commonly, and with a roughly equal incidence among the two occupational groups, of cultural self-cultivation, usually through literature and music; and of leisure, in attending films and theatre or dances, listening to radio, driving, picnicking, holidaying, and in sport. With some in both groups it took the form of a conscious pursuit of "gracious living", which usually meant comfort and grace in the appointments of the home, good food and liquor, and an unhurried pace of activity. In only four families, all professionals, did it take the form of the acquisition of property, investment and money.

The egoistic values of self-concentration were found in higher incidence among the professionals,[xx] and mainly there among the fathers, with whom it took the form of exaggerated, exclusive involvement in their professions; but in a few other cases in this group it variously took the form of exclusive absorption in money, sport, a voluntary social activity, and a hobby closely allied with the father's occupation. The only two instances of it among the trades people occurred in the case of two of the self-employed fathers, with whom also it took the form of exclusive absorption in work.

The type of real value with fewest adherents was partisanship,[xx] and it was striking that it was without any followers among the professionals.[xx] Even the most radical or most convinced of the professionals did not value their aims from this aspect. But among the trades people partisanship took third place, filling the rank which self-concentration filled for the professionals. There may even be a suggestion in this that the satisfaction of a cause may take the place for the trades people of the professionals' satisfaction in a passion. Partisanship was valued in seven families. It took the form of promoting the Labour Movement in three cases, and of denominational campaigning in four.

Some of the families in both occupational groups showed some desire for face values. But their form was rather different in the two groups. Among the trades people it expressed itself in simulation of membership, one seeking to appear more involved with the family, class, neighbourhood, friends, church or religion, more a "good fellow", than one actually was. Among the professionals it was mainly a simulation of self-expansion, seeking to exhibit insignia of conspicuous professional success, cultural distinction, social position or wealth.

	Initials of value types	Number of trades families	Number of professional families	Total number families	Distribution of real values
GROUP 1: Families with single (real) value	M	3	4	7	Spiritual values only: trades, 6, professional, 4 total, 10.
GROUP 2: Families with plural values	M+P	3	0	3	
Division A: All real values	M+P+SE	3	0	3	
	M+ SE	3	5	8	
	M+ SE+SC	0	2	2	
	M+ SC	1	2	3	Spiritual and egoistic values: trades, 11, professional, 12, total, 23.
	Total for division A	10	9	19	
	Total for all real	13	13	26	
Division B: Some real & some face values	M+ SE+ SJ	2	0	2	
	M+ SE+SC+SJ	0	3	3	
Sub-division X: including membership	M+ SJ	1	0	1	
	Total for sub-division X	3	3	6	
	Total families with membership	16	16	32	
Sub-division Y: excluding membership	P+SE+ SJ	1	0	1	
	SE+SC+SJ	0	3	3	Egoistic values only trades, 1, professional, 4, total, 5.
	SC+SJ	1	1	2	
	Total for sub-division Y	2	4	6	
	Total for division B	5	7	12	
	Total for group 2	15	16	31	

Table VIe

Table VIe shows the combinations of values which the families of the sample exhibited, and the extended horizontals on the left of the table indicate the groupings of these combinations which supplied four value types.

The first value type was that in which the family was single in its purpose, and as this was only found to occur where the value concerned was membership, it can be called the pure membership type. The other families were plural in their values. From these one type separated off whose values were all real and included membership, another type whose values were partly real and partly face and included membership, and another whose values were partly real and partly face but excluded membership. These can be called plural real, with membership; plural mixed, with membership; and plural mixed, without membership, respectively.

Table VIf shows the incidence of these types in the two occupational groups.

	Trades families	Professional families	Total families
Pure membership	3	4	7
Plural real, with membership	10	9	19
Plural mixed, with membership	3	3	6
Plural mixed, without membership	2	4	6

x

Table VIf

This table shows that all value types are found in both occupational groups, but the numbers are too close to draw contrasts between the groups. But, when both groups are considered together, it will be seen that while only seven families followed pure membership values, twenty-five followed membership in association with other values,[xx] and, while twenty-six followed entirely real values only twelve followed a mixture of real and face values.[x] This suggests that, for the culture, it may be considered better form to mix egoistic and spiritual values, to have a foot in both worlds so to speak, than to have them purely spiritual; and also better to preserve one's values real, and eschew face values. One should be genuine, but not too spiritual.

Yet, although the sample included more cases of value conflict than value purity, there were only four families in the thirty-eight which were not, very evidently, practising some form of deliberate and considered self-restriction, with the object of securing a degree of consistency and developing to a maximum the values they espoused.[xx] This unworldliness, as it might be called, was undertaken in the service of a variety of values, and people were prepared to suffer reproach, deprivation and inconvenience for the sake of things as diverse as religion, family, art, learning, science or politics. In particular, those who espoused

real values set themselves against ostentation and emulation - although some were less successful in the struggle than they might have wished. Generally speaking, the sentiments expressed by family members in both occupational groups showed that face values were eschewed, in opposition to real values, far more vehemently than egoistic values, in opposition to spiritual, and a mixture of egoistic and spiritual values did not invite serious censure.

At the same time, it was precisely this mixture of values which those who chose purely membership values found themselves obliged to eschew, so that, for them, unworldliness consisted in setting one's face against the prevailing climate of the culture. As a result, relations with the wider society presented these families with a problem of adaptation, which was of greater magnitude than that which other families experienced in their efforts to secure consistency. One family met the situation by withdrawing wholly into itself, seeking all of its satisfaction within the boundary of the family, and maintaining only such relations with the external society as survival required (a distrait family). None of the others withdrew, but they all focussed their external activities in their churches. In two (conservative and liberal), these activities were concentrated there almost exclusively. The other four sought

to give service to society in so far as its ends were consistent with their own. Three (conservative and liberal) engaged in voluntary work outside of the church, for medical and educational services, and one (utopian) for social, economic and educational reforms.

An enhanced importance was assumed by the family itself for these people, as it became at once a refuge from the world's impurity, a fellowship to build its members up in their single faith, and an armoury to equip them for attack upon duplicity without. The children, especially, were under ceaseless instruction, learning discrimination between the family's values and those to be encountered as temptation in society at large.

Finally, before the discussion of the families' values is closed, it should be mentioned that the relationships which values exhibited to the types of social responsibility were explored, but no sufficient evidence appeared of connections between them. So far as the present small sample study goes, there is no evidence that the values which a family cherishes will be specifically and directly determining on how its members conceive their responsibility to the general society. If, on the face of it, this seems surprising, it may only be because the verbal juxtaposition of "attitude" and "value" leads one to expect a connection.

We ordinarily expect a glove-fitting between attitudes and values, and regard them as two ways of looking at one thing. A person's attitude to something is how he values it. But this only applies where the attitude we have in mind is one specifically directed toward the object defined as the value. The object toward which the social responsibility attitudes were directed was the total society, but the objects defined as values could be some form of self-inclusion in membership or partisanship, or some ego expansion or concentration, or some external face. The pursuit of any of these values allows a variety of attitudes to be taken to the existing society according to the place it is seen to take in furthering or impeding the achievement of them. If utopian, liberal, conservative and distrait responsibility attitudes were all found amongst those who valued pure membership, it was because holding the same value allowed the alternative of seeking to realize it through a completely new social order, an improved one, the existing one, or apart from it altogether. Similarly, if the same range of attitudes existed in those who lacked membership values altogether, it was because they judged differently about the way their egoistic values would be furthered by the existing society. There would be no point in seeking to demonstrate connections between values and attitudes which

are their precise subjective counterparts, but I thought it would be worth-while to look for connections between values of the kind I have been dealing with and social responsibility attitudes, precisely because they are not paired in that way. Failure to find any connection may indicate that there are too many intervening factors between the two orders for any simple determination to exist, and the analysis of their relation would require the study of these factors; on the other hand it may only mean that the sample was too small to detect connections.

7. Family Divergence

In the present chapter, divergence among the families' members in regard to the factors which have been treated has been ignored, wherever one influence has been sufficiently dominant to supply a more or less uncomplicated external front. This seemed to be the proper way to cope with the phenomenon when dealing with the families in their external relations. It is not intended to leave the question of family divergence unconsidered, but it is of interest mainly because of its effect on the internal relations of the family, and so will not be taken up fully until the next part of the thesis. It should be asked here, however, in what precise aspects of external orientation family divergence

was found, with what incidence, and whether it occurred between parents and children or between the parents themselves.

There was a proportion of 60% of the families which showed no real divergence in any of the factors. All of the thirty eight families, save one, were uniform in the type of class self-inclusion which their members adopted.[xx] All excepting that same one were uniform in their expectation of social change or stability.[xx] Six cases occurred in which the parents expressed different social responsibility attitudes;[xx] but in all save the same exceptional family, the difference took such a form that one attitude (always the father's) dominated the family's orientation. The children in all families were firmly stamped with the responsibility attitudes of their parents, or with that of either one of them where the parents diverged. The attitude of the mother was taken in four out of the six cases, and where that of the father was taken, the father had assumed a larger place than was usual in the training of the children. Children supporting the mother did not prevent the father's attitude from dominating, however. In only four families did the parents diverge with conviction in their political allegiance.[xx] In only two did the parents adopt a different religious position.[xx]

However, it was in diverging values, rather than in divergences like the above, that family divergence assumed seriousness. Differences of the above kind were lightly worn, but always, where divergence of values had developed, family members showed disappointment, frustration, resentment, and even shame, as though they felt saddled with a burden which they thought foreign to the nature of the family.

The parents of six tradesmen's families and those of five professionals were strongly opposed in the satisfactions they valued. With the professionals the severest opposition was between adherents of real values (family, religion, friends, work) and face values (conspicuous success, cultural distinction, influential contacts, social limelight). With the trades people the opposition was between membership or partisanship (interest in family and church or politics) and self-concentration or self-expansion (interest in literature, art and gracious living, absorption in leisure or work). Each parent of all of the above pairs had deliberately withdrawn support from the other in so far as his (or her) partner pursued satisfactions for which he (or she) shared no liking.[1] The effect on the children

[1] Divergence of values between parents was not the only source of dissatisfaction between them: there were other cases of dissatisfaction in which parents shared the same conflicting values. But this whole matter is dealt with in Chapter IX.

was similar to the effect of divergence in parental responsibility attitudes. They followed their mothers' values, except in one case where the father had intervened to an unusual degree in the training of the children.

Apart from this divergence from the values of one parent, by aligning with the other, there were cases in which children diverged from their parents independently, usually from a value shared between the parents. This occurred in two tradesmen's families (out of fourteen having adolescents) and seven professionals' (out of seventeen).[x] In all of these cases adolescents opposed their own membership values to some non-membership value of their parents, and felt dissatisfied with, betrayed by, or contemptuous of, their parents' carelessness about membership. A father's exaggerated involvement in his work with neglect of his family, parents' engrossment in politics, books, culture, property, money, practical matters, or business affairs - all these provoked value reactions toward membership. In three of the families, while the parents themselves were non-religious, the children sought a direct refuge in religion. In three others, with the parents inclining to philistinism, the children plunged into art and literature with authentic membership involvement. In two more, where family relations were extremely unsatisfactory and caused

the children shame, the children sought for intense peer-group involvements away from the home. In the final case the child so rejected his parents' values and so dwelt upon his own ideal alternative, as to be seriously maladjusted, isolated, and in danger of succumbing to phantasy.

A curious aspect of this value revolt of adolescents was that it occurred in conjunction with the direct inheritance of the parents' responsibility attitudes, to which I have already referred. For these attitudes seemed much more deeply implanted than the values which children took over from their parents. They had an inertia which made it almost impossible to throw them off by conscious revolt, and an autonomy which allowed them to operate on a different level from the more plastic attitudes which changed with changing values. From what could be observed of them, they seemed to be attitudes which were extremely generalized and were transferrable to almost any happening within the person's social horizon - the behaviour of neighbours, minorities, classes, governments and nations drew similarly stereotyped responses of ignoring fault for the sake of benefiting from the power in the thing, of sympathetically placing oneself with the fault to lessen it, or of indignant rejection or scandalized cynicism because of it. Also, it was noticed that these attitudes appeared to be inculcated

more by what the children were given to understand was to be taken for granted and placed beyond question than by verbalized principles. This meant that adolescents in revolt carried into their pursuit of different values basic dispositions similar to their parents', so that sometimes they seemed more like their parents than their parents were themselves, even in opposing them. This was a fact which some of the parents themselves remarked upon. A very religious daughter of non-religious parents, for example, carried into her religious activities the same utopian attitude which her parents expressed in political action; a son who violently rejected his father's self-concentration in business, adopted the same utopian independence which his father expressed in it, in his own membership-seeking with peers (it was not an appropriate attitude, and consequently he was not very successful); an artistic daughter of philistine parents who was outraged by her parents' self-expansion in business affairs, property and sport, carried the conservatism which they expressed in these contexts into her cautious distrust and avoidance of "bohemianism".

This kind of adolescent revolt, it should be noted, occurred in less than one third of the thirty one families of the sample in which there were adolescent children.[x] The larger proportion were content to embrace their parents' values, as they had embraced their responsibility attitudes.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have tried to examine the way in which the families included themselves in the larger society. Three main factors called for attention. First, we classified the ways in which families included themselves in the class status system. Secondly, we distinguished the different decisions about responsibility which were taken in order to accommodate to the discrepancy, of which all were aware, between existing and ideal society. We compared the expression of these basic attitudes in an expectation of social stability or change, and noticed the political and other avenues through which it was thought the expectations would be effected. We compared the expression of these attitudes in work and voluntary activities. We also tried to identify their determinants. Thirdly, we observed the different types of self-sufficient satisfaction which members of the families valued, and observed how consistency or conflict of values within a family facilitated or complicated its adaptation to the wider society. And, finally, we inquired into the incidence with which families were uniform or divided for all these factors.

The following picture emerges. Most generally, family members were uniform amongst themselves for all factors.

The family, then, can be regarded as determining upon its members, and upon its children in particular, for the way in which they place themselves in the class status system, the attitude of responsibility which they adopt towards the general society, and the values which they choose to follow as intrinsically satisfying. Divergences in the two former matters are rare. It is especially apparent that children are indelibly and inescapably stamped with the social responsibility attitude of one or both parents, and express them even when they oppose their parents, if this occurs. Divergences in values are less rare, and are always both disturbing and seriously regarded. Where adolescents diverge in values from their parents the cleavage takes the form of an adolescent revolt for genuine membership, against a non-membership value of the parents. In their revolt, the adolescents apparently seek the spiritual exhilaration of losing themselves in some greater inclusion, whether by religion, art, literature, grouping with peers - or in phantasy.

As for their self-inclusion in the full society, all families are to a certain degree dislocated from the whole, and feel this to be so. There is no confident sense of embracing a defined, unquestioned membership in relation to the whole structure. Some approach such a condition,

but it is much more a wish than a fulfilment, and the majority is far removed from it. This is mainly made evident in widespread uneasiness about the class structure and differences in class status.

This dislocation from unity is due to a lack of identification of interests, which expresses itself in four distinct responsibility attitudes. All attitudes are found in both occupational groups, sometimes for similar and sometimes for different reasons; but the higher incidence of conservative attitudes among the professionals, the greater prevalence among them of an expectation of social stability, their heavier support for the Liberal Party, their greater sense of responsibility to maintain the existing order through their work and voluntary service, and their assimilation to a type which facilitates adjustment to a stable structure - all these show that, predominantly, they identify their interests with the existing condition of society, whereas the tradesmen show by differing characteristics that they identify their interests with a changed and future state.

The painfulness of admitting this divergence of interests and the consequent social dislocation leads most commonly to attempts to obscure them; for example, by pretending that society is largely homogeneous with the

type to which one assimilates oneself. Thus one's peace is made with those who are different by a kind of pseudo-identification, since realistic adaptation would be at once too demanding on one's resources, and too condemning of one's conscience. For, with very few exceptions, in both occupational groups the value of membership is acknowledged. Finding this, their chief desire, impossible of achievement in the wider society, these families make a fictional peace on their external frontiers, by a distorted perception of the class situation.

They are driven, at the same time, to seek to realize membership in some more restricted sphere, and as a consequence they concentrate on the family itself. Some strive to extend membership beyond the family, but, on the social dimension, it extends almost exclusively to the church, with a few attenuated and sometimes fugitive patriotic involvements, or connections in sport, at work, or in the neighbourhood. The pursuit of membership carries families into the supra-social dimension, predominantly in religion, but also, in some cases, into culture and knowledge.

Much isolated in a society divided in its interests, most surrender to the temptation to follow partisan, egoistic or face values, which are easier of access in isolation. But face values at least are eschewed, and the norm

for society becomes a mixture of spiritual and egoistic values. This simply means that those who are determined to realize membership in its purity, are subject all the more to strain in social adaptation. As a result their families assume a further enhanced value, in becoming a spiritual cell.

Chapter VII

PARTICIPATION IN THE SOCIETY

1. The Conception of Primary and Secondary Relations

In one respect, a family in a city is a focal point of sociological illumination, because of the way primary and secondary relations intersect in it. For the family is the prototype of the primary group, and the city, in which it is set, makes a prototype of secondary association. The urban family, therefore, is a rewarding place to examine, by a method of contrast as it were, the two main principles of social life. This chapter will examine the participation of the families in the external society, noticing, in particular, to what extent it takes a primary or secondary character. The primary nature of the families' inner life will be explored in Part III of the thesis.

The two principles of social life have been widely recognized, of course, but under a variety of names. Without failing to acknowledge the distinctions between them, one can claim to see a broad affinity between the pairs of opposites which have been identified as mechanical and organic solidarity by Durkheim (Durkheim, 1949), imitation and rationality by Tarde (Tarde, 1903), Gemeinschaft and

Gesellschaft by Toennies (McIver, 1950), community and /& Page
association by McIver (McIver, 1950), and primary and
secondary relations by those following Cooley (Cooley, 1916).

But, while this wide recognition has been given to the phenomena, it is surprising that the concepts have not received more careful definition. I found the concept of primary group, in particular, to be lacking in refinement, when I took it up to handle the present material. Face-to-face interaction is the property which is most commonly predicated of the primary group (or relationship), but there has been a tendency to make it a sufficient property. If this is done primary relations include things as functionally diverse as families, cocktail parties, holiday acquaintanceships, committee meetings, seminars, faithful friendships, official interviews, church services, joint industrial consultations, greetings of strangers, and yarning with the barber. But the differences between these things are relevant at least as often as their superficial likeness of face-to-face interaction.

Cooley (1916, pp.24 and 25) gave the family as the prototype of the primary group, giving play groups of children and congeniality groups of adults for other instances. But many play and congeniality group relationships are too fugitive by far to have the general character which Cooley

ascribes to the primary group when he writes about it in general terms, so that we have to pick our way amongst them. For, outside of the family, there are few relationships indeed (especially in a modern city) of which it may be said, as Cooley said of the primary group:

> "... one's very self, for many purposes at least, is the common life and purpose of the group. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is a 'we'; it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which 'we' is the natural expression. One lives in the feeling of the whole and finds the chief aims of his will in that feeling." (Cooley, 1916, p.23. My italics.)

If we think of the self as being distinguished essentially by continuity and the organization of diverse parts, a group in which the very identity of the members can be invested will be one which is enduring and many-sided. For the purposes of this study, then, the term primary will be applied only to groups or relations having these two properties.

This leaves us with a large number of more ephemeral, superficial and single-sided face-to-face relations - such as the cocktail party, discussion group and skiing expedition - which, in so far as they are personal, I will call sociability relations, and will strictly distinguish from primary relations. Of course, I acknowledge that such groups sometimes act as what might be called threshold groups,

in ushering their members into the enduring intimacy of a primary relationship. But this is simply a possibility in them, and one which they share with all secondary relations, anyway. Thus two work-mates, or two regular attenders at the morning tea parties of some hostess, may become confidential friends, or two members of a youth club may marry and have a family; but it is the ensuing friendships and family which are the primary relations. Whether a group is classified as primary, sociability or secondary, therefore, will depend entirely on how it functions for a participant at the moment that it comes under scrutiny.

Sociability groups are personal, in that they involve sympathy and response and give recognition to individuality, but they lack the developmental personal functions of primary groups altogether. Their difference from primary groups is perhaps most evident in their characteristic of discretion, in that they conscientiously avoid exploration of difficult confidences or past history, for the sake of preserving the responsiveness of the moment. But the strength of the primary group is its competence to face and deal with those basic matters.

Finally, I will mean by secondary relations those in which the total personality is held in abeyance as it were, the individual being regarded as no more than a specialized

agent who contributes to a particular end. It will be seen that this is the role relationship purely and simply, and that it is what we are identifying when we bring social structure into visibility. It is society, when this is set opposite to community. It has been inevitable, of course, that the elaboration of social functions entailed by urban settlement should have increased the claim which this type of relationship makes on daily life.

Two kinds of secondary relationship need to be distinguished. The first involves those roles which are imposed by the necessity of one's own and the society's survival. In our society these are principally the occupational roles of adults, whether for production or defence, and the schooling roles of children. One has, it may well be, some choice as to whether he will take on this role or that, and even whether he will take one or several, but he is not free to decide whether he will embrace a role of the <u>kind.</u> He is not free, either, to determine very much about whom he will associate with or under what conditions. In this sense, although in this sense only, such roles are not voluntary but obligatory, and the structures into which they articulate can be called <u>obligatory association</u>. But, while they will be thus designated, it must continually be recalled in what limited and polar sense they are being

called obligatory. It is in order to set them opposite the other kind of secondary relationship, which a person voluntarily enters to further a purpose that he individually elects to follow, as in joining a Masonic Lodge or a Parents' and Friends' Association. These relationships will be called voluntary association. In this chapter the participation of the families in the society will be dealt with in terms of the four kinds of relationship: primary and sociability relations, and voluntary and obligatory association.

2. Primary Relations

The primary relations of parents, adolescents and children will be dealt with in turn. The most striking fact about those of the parents was that, in almost all cases, they were intensely focussed upon kinsfolk.[xx] It can be said that, to these people who had themselves formed families, relatives were far more close than the friends of choice. This was so, notwithstanding that, verbally, these relatives sometimes suffered devaluation in comparison with friends, and some were regarded as diabolically difficult. They were cherished more, helped more, more depended upon, seen more, and spoken of more than friends - and usually much more.

Contacts with relatives, however, seldom carried much intensity beyond those with members of the parents' families of origin and their siblings' families. But it was common to visit these fairly frequently, holiday with them or exchange children for holidays, particularly if they lived in the country, exchange gifts and letters, and give or receive assistance in the maintenance of the home and family in times of crisis, such as sickness and childbirth. It was generally considered better for relatives not to become over-dependent on one another for material support, and better to help maintain aged parents in their own separate dwellings, if they needed such help, than to take them into one's own home. Three families of the sample had widowed grandmothers living with them, and one had both grandparents and the mother's brother, but these arrangements were never considered ideal. A number of parents gave a considerable amount of time to household cleaning or household repairs for their own aged parents, to securing medical attention for them, conducting their business affairs, or providing them with opportunities for recreation, or means of transport. The families of parents' siblings who were less prosperous were generously treated.

Mutual help formed the solid core of relations between relatives, and it was not an irksome duty, except in three

cases.[xx] There was positive pleasure in being bound to close relatives in this way, and contacts were accompanied by marked sociability, in spite of some conventional joking. But the contacts of parents with their own kin were not only important for help or sociability. They fulfilled the essentially primary function of confirming the parents in their identity. So many of the parents had a sense of <u>return,</u> and implied that the years of marriage had caused their own families of origin to become important to them again, while their voluntary friendships, once seeming much the more important, had waned. They were going back to find their selves again, after eclipse under the changing masques of many secondary roles, by finding them in the attitudes shown by those who knew them best and had associated with them longest.

Although both parents were usually implicated in this intimacy with kinsfolk, fathers showed less dependence on it than mothers, and some actually affected indifference. "I see them at funerals," was one father's terse commentary on all the family's relations. It was almost universally left to the mother of the family to hold and foster kin relationships on both sides.[xx] But it was noticeable that, very predominantly in the sample, it was the mother's family of origin which was closer to the family, and cultivated more.[xx]

The parents of only four families, two in each occupational category, gave preference to chosen friends over kin for primary relations, although not one of them was altogether without effective kinship ties.[xx] In only one of these families, however, did the friendship relations stabilize. Those of the others might be called seeking relationships. The parents in these families, having severed feeling relationships with the primary group which conferred their identity upon them, were hardly able to find themselves in any other. On the other hand, a considerable number of those who found their main present primary involvement amongst their own kin were able to give a second place to stable friendships. But, although some of these friendships were unshakeably established, they usually intruded very little into the parents' lives now. Most commonly, parents had very little time to cultivate friends, but some claimed that if they only saw a certain friend at long intervals they could "take up where they left off". In many cases these were old friendships which harked back to the days before marriage, to work, university or school. They seldom involved the mutual help that went with kinship, and opportunities for sociability were sporadic, but they shared with kinship the essentially primary function of confirming the continuity of identity. Indeed, because

these "old-friend" relationships were so shorn of other functions, this primary quality stood out with more visibility there than in any other relationship. There were also parents in families of both occupational groups (those of three professionals and eight tradesmen) who were, at the time of the study, seeking to embed themselves in primary relationships with recent friends. The sites where these friendships were developing will be mentioned in the discussion of the threshold use of sociability relations. None of them had achieved anything like the stability of old friendships, and several seemed to be extremely precarious.

It was again noticeable how it was very predominantly mothers who kept up friendships, the fathers having less time for them, and apparently less need. Statements like the following were frequently made by fathers: "I have no one I'd call a special friend, you don't seem to have the need for friends when you have a family." Some fathers were embarrassed to contemplate the very possibility of intimate friendship outside of family and kin.

Neighbourhood played an almost negligible part for most of the families in supplying primary relations.[1] The

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[1] By neighbourhood in this discussion I mean living nearby, and not simply directly next-door.

parents of only one family in the sample found their principal primary relations in friendships made through neighbourhood.[xx] This was the family mentioned above as the only case in which, kin relations being subordinated, friendships stabilized as the basic primary relations. It is perhaps significant that they were neighbourhood friendships. This family is interesting because it contrasts with all of the others. It was a professional family in a unique middle class suburb on the rural fringe of the city. The present settlers there make the first generation of inhabitants, and, having migrated to the area from similar motives, are remarkably like-minded. The mother of the family said, "My theory is that people who have come out here have done so for two reasons: because they like the bush, and because they intend to make a thorough job of rearing a family, and consider this to be an extremely good environment in which to do it. If you come here intentionally for these reasons you are, most likely, a fairly earnest person, and so you get a grouping of like-minded people." This diagnosis of the situation seems to be largely true. A further factor in securing the homogeneity is that the outlook of the settlers has become known, and like-minded people have been attracted to join them. Some of the elements of this common mentality are described in

the mother's further comment: "I think in this area there are more people congenial to me than in any other part of Sydney we could live in. Possibly because we have not depended on relatives ourselves we became more dependent on these friends than we ever realized. They are unpretentious people, not very ambitious, a bit earnest, not very social, keen on books and ideas, gardens and bush." One expression of this congeniality was in the institution which has become known as Baker's Holiday, in which for fifteen years now, and quite without any formal effort to propel it, people have collected each month in various homes by rotation, to discuss anything under the sun.

This spontaneous generation of primary relations through neighbourhood <u>in a community of like-minded people</u>, makes a marked contrast with the abortive efforts of another family to achieve primary relations through neighbourhood <u>in a community of people diversely-minded</u>. The family was one of those described above as being involved in seeking relations. The situation was a much newer suburb on another sector of the rural fringe of the city, with a population composed predominantly of the families of manual and white-collar workers. A number had moved out from the more closely settled areas of the city, or were recently-married children of parents still resident there. The

parents of the family under discussion were seeking to establish primary relations for themselves and others by the foundation of a community centre. This project had met with a considerable amount of success. Impressive property and equipment had been secured, and a diverse programme of activities for children and adults was under way. But the parents of this family, themselves the pioneers of the project, were disillusioned, bitter and very lonely. There was jealous rivalry for influence, position and recognition within the movement, and the perpetual strain of "coping with personalities", as they called it, became intolerable. Members of the family scarcely referred to a neighbour without making reference to angular and objectionable characteristics, and to the fact that they had learned to be wary of too intimate a relation with this one or that.[1]

I have described these two individual cases because of the light I believe they throw on principles involved in the neighbourhood relations of the majority of the families studied, from the pattern of which they were, of course, extreme deviations.

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[1] This shows some similarity to the acute consciousness of differences which Jaco and Belknap (1953) have described as existing on the urban fringe.

For the neighbourhood relationship which prevailed was one which can be described as polite curtailment. It existed in thirty of the thirty-eight families.[xx] Contact was restricted to friendly greeting and petty help, like borrowing a ladder or a back number of a magazine, helping to lift a load, or keeping an eye on the children. But, always, accompanying sentiments of this kind were expressed: "I always believe in having friends away from where you live", "they're nice enough people but I don't believe in having too much to do with them", "we say good-day but would never go near one-another's homes - except perhaps for a drink at Christmas". And a good many had tales to tell of a history of venturesome relations, followed by strain, drawing back and subsequent caution. The family which pioneered the community centre provides a kind of exaggerated caricature of this, the more usual, experience.

On the other hand, there were eight families in the sample who frequently exchanged visits with their neighbours. They moved amongst them with pleasure and little friction, allowing themselves to become intimately involved. Seven of these differed from the exceptional case described earlier in that they did not give the first place in primary relations to neighbours, for this place was filled by kin, but they resembled it in definitely establishing primary involvements. To a considerable degree their

identity was invested in their neighbourhoods: they were known by their neighbours with something of the same fulness as they were known to kinsfolk.

Two of these were tradesmen's families, and five professionals'. There were representatives amongst them of all five class levels which have been identified, and they lived in localities ranging in character from closely settled industrial areas to spacious middle class suburbs. There were some who had made no appreciable upward class movement, and others who had risen to the ceiling of their own class of origin. Some had lived all of their married lives in one suburb, some had been very geographically mobile. There were represented among them all types of social responsibility, excepting the distrait attitude. But they were alike in that all adhered strongly to real values, and deplored pretentiousness. They were strongly self-accepting and generously accepting of others. But while this may be presumed to be a factor in their making intimate neighbourhood relations, it was a quality they shared with others who didn't. The distinguishing factors seemed rather to be a strong prohibition on pretentiousness throughout the whole neighbourhood, and a rough equivalence in the economic status of neighbours. Thus there was something of the same neighbourhood homogeneity as was found

in the illustrating case above. All of these people, as a result, had a more distinct sense of the identity of their neighbourhood than others. And the combination of class homogeneity and unpretentiousness came to be known as part of a locality's identity, even to people outside of it, and some had deliberately migrated to it because of their appreciation of this fact. If these people had experienced considerable class mobility before arriving it did not matter, for it was part of the prevailing value realism to value people for what you now found them to be.

That these were the distinguishing factors seems to be supported by the further fact that none of the suburbs exhibiting neighbourliness was very new, nor had it been settled quickly, but had been settled slowly enough and for long enough to allow assimilation to a type to occur; and also by the fact that the four cases in which neighbourhood relations were most sharply and deliberately curtailed, were those where professionals, from some accidental circumstance, were living in residential areas of considerably lower class status.

One can suppose, then, that the most prevalent neighbourhood relationship, that of polite curtailment, is due to lack of assurance that one is sufficiently like one's neighbours. But there are two elements in this anxiety.

Because an open-class society allows a variety of attitudes to class position and mobility to come into existence, one is never sure that neighbours see these things in the same way, and a person may not be sure of his own attitude, as data from the last chapter suggest. So a person doubts whether he will be acceptable to his neighbours. Secondly, too much association between people having different aims leads to their making a convenience of one another. There were plenty of complaints that neighbours, whose "business" was not of the kind one cared about oneself, were too ready to presume, impose or make a nuisance of themselves, if they were given encouragement: using the telephone, making a habit of borrowing, wasting too much of one's time in telling their troubles, and so on. Thus where aims and attitudes are not assimilated to a type, doubt about acceptability and fear of over-familiarity lead to polite curtailment in the effort to regulate interaction.

We have finally to give separate attention to the primary involvements of adolescents and children. It is interesting that to each of the three main stages of development which are represented in the families - child, adolescent and adult - there corresponded a different sphere in which individuals would seek their extra-family primary relations. While adults sought them amongst kin, adolescents sought them amongst friends, and children amongst neighbours.

The kinsfolk who were important for children and adolescents were mainly adult members of their parents' own families of origin - uncles, aunts and grandparents. Their identity was usually much more firmly invested in relationships with these relatives, than in relations with cousins who were nearer their own age. Although parents tried to foster relationships with cousins they were perfunctory for most of the children. Contacts were usually too infrequent for close ties to develop, and there was often an element of ill-disguised rivalry.

Children chose their playmates at school, at church, in clubs such as Boy Scouts, Girl Guides and Police Citizens Boys' Clubs, and in the neighbourhood, but they seemed most commonly to concentrate on those whom they could play with in several places. If there were none whom they saw in several places, most children would concentrate on those whom they met in the neighbourhood, but in some cases the neighbourhood offered no friends of the same age group. They played at one another's homes, or in nearby parks or streets. This occurred in both occupational groups and is particularly interesting because it took place side by side with the practice of polite curtailment of relations with neighbours on the part of the parents. In fact, the very association between the children was given as an

additional reason for the parents' avoiding it. They said, "We don't want to be drawn into the children's squabbles." It was as if, in order to allow their children free range in a sphere of primary relations indispensable to them, the parents refrained from entering it.

Adolescents chose their friends from a wider field than children, and voluntary friendships became intensely important to them. This association with peers was entered into for the sake of establishing an adult identity, marked particularly by independent initiative. If we can take the adolescents' conversational preoccupations and the use of their spare time as indices, the families can be grouped into three classes according to the importance adolescents gave to these peer group relations in comparison with family relations. There were thirty-one such families (fourteen tradesmen's and seventeen professionals') but only in five (two tradesmen's and three professionals') did peer involvement become so important as to take precedence over the family. There were six families (three tradesmen's and three professionals') where peer groups were definitely less important than family relations, and in the remainder they could be said to be of roughly equal importance.[xx]

Adolescents who placed peer-group involvements above their families were some, but not all, of those who were

in value revolt, a phenomenon referred to in the preceding chapter. They threw themselves into peer groups to realize membership values, either purely within the group, or partly in the group and partly in its religious, artistic or scientific aims, doing this as a kind of protest against some non-membership value of their parents, with which they rejected identification. The five families with adolescents whose peer groups were less important to them than family were all distinguished by the fact that, more than in any of the other families, a great deal of initiative was permitted to the adolescents in determining their own place, the parents being more than willing to concede them adult respect, status and responsibility. The adolescents themselves all derived positive satisfaction from school, university or work, and their parents showed great interest in their outside activities. It may also be significant that all of these families had four or more children. All of these adolescents were whole-heartedly embracing their parents' beliefs and values. The most usual pattern was for peer groups and the family to seem of equal importance, and it was not usual for strain or competition to be experienced between the claims of the two. Nearly all of the parents in families where this pattern occurred were very careful to take an interest in and encourage the peer groups

of the adolescents. The parents tried to link the family with them, either by persuading the children to conduct some part of their peer-group life within the home, or by going out themselves to assist in it occasionally.

There was a striking difference between the two occupational categories in regard to the form of the peer groups.[xx] More than half of the twenty-one adolescents whose fathers were tradesmen joined in spontaneous, unorganised neighbourhood groups, the remainder finding their peer involvements through association with organized groups, and none depended chiefly on individual friendship. Most of the twenty-nine adolescents of professionals' families found their peer involvements in organized groups; three depended chiefly on individual friendships, and only two joined spontaneous groups. The spontaneous neighbourhood groups formed amongst adolescents of tradesmen's families had as their leading interests motor-cycling, model aeroplane making, yarn-spinning, tennis, dancing, hiking, swimming and football. The intense solidarity of these groups was shown in the frequency and regularity with which they met and the enthusiasm with which they and their members were spoken of. Of the two spontaneous groups entered by adolescents of professionals' families, only one was a neighbourhood group. It was a rather deliberately

engineered group, and had to be frequently flogged into revival by raising money for some charity, or taking an expedition to the Zoo or Museum. The other, non-neighbourhood group was composed of university students interested in developing "the scientific outlook", as they called it. The organized groups in both occupational categories were predominantly church groups, with sport associations next in order. Associations sponsored within the school or university were important for the adolescent children of professionals, but not for those of tradesmen.

From the above it will be seen that parents, adolescents and children, in so far as they moved outside the family for primary relations, moved into different social regions - towards kin, friends and neighbours respectively, with the adolescents of tradesmen's families, like the children, still inclining to make their friendships in neighbourhood peer groups. The family itself was the only primary group any of them entered by which they were all known equally. The parents depended on kin to affirm the continuity of their identity with the past, the children and adolescents depended on peers to try new capacities with them, particularly, in the case of adolescents, capacities for adult exertion. Once that function was fulfilled a primary relation might well be sloughed off. Only the

family served for all of them to relate their present selves to past and future continuously.

3. Sociability Relations

Some sociability functions attach to all of the primary relations which have been described, and, indeed, the primary group seemed to most of the people to be the fitting context for sociability. But I will consider now those relations having sociability for their sole or main content. The separation of sociability as a specialized, one-sided, face-to-face activity virtually transforms it into a secondary relationship, and this is probably an urban development very largely. We have recognized that a sociability group may act as a threshold for opening up primary relations but that, in so far as it aims to preserve its strict character, it tends to impose a barrier against them. Its nature is therefore ambiguous, and it was interesting to notice how sociability relations were sometimes used with the one intention, and sometimes with the other.

Sociability, rather like social class, was a matter about which there was uneasiness, perhaps because of its ambiguous nature. Many people did not know for sure what place to give to it. There were a few families in both

occupational groups who left it unconsidered. Because their primary involvements or voluntary associations were very absorbing it seemed irrelevant. There were four families (all professional) who explicitly opposed and rejected sociability, deeming it artificial and affected.[xx] They were much engaged in purposive activities, and would say, "We're not interested in social life, we've got too many more important things to do." But in most of the families (thirty of the thirty-eight) the parents entered into sociability relations; although, seemingly, for several different reasons.

The trades people doing so divided into two roughly equal groups. One comprised those who used sociability for seeking genuine friendships; that is, as thresholds to primary relations. This was what these trades people considered to be the proper nature of sociability. Husbands and wives sought these friendships, jointly, in a bush-walking club, in an immigrant national association, in a community centre, and in the social life of churches; and, jointly or severally, in tennis clubs; and husbands sought them separately amongst drinking companions and amongst workmates. The second group partook of sociability purely for what might be called sympathy and response, or mutual recognition; that is, if we leave aside any impersonal

purpose the associated activities may have carried besides. These relations were enjoyed in situations similar to the above, with the addition, for wives, of meetings of Red Cross and the Happiness Club (a charitable organization), and, for husbands, of the Masonic Lodge.

The parents of only three professionals' families used sociability relations to pursue friendships.[xx] This was as little thought by professionals to be the true function of sociability, as it was thought by many trades people to be proper to it. It was in a sailing club, a community centre and educational discussion groups, that these husbands and wives jointly sought for friendship; they sought it jointly or severally in tennis clubs; the wives sought it separately in the mothers' meeting attached to the local kindergarten; and the husbands sought it separately amongst work associates and drinking companions. The larger group, who enjoyed sociability for mutual recognition, found it in situations similar to the above; and in addition, jointly, amongst the parents of children attending the same kindergarten or school as their own children, amongst the families of the husbands' professional associates, in the social life of churches, and, in one case, in a coterie of intellectuals which the family had collected around itself; and they enjoyed sociability severally in the ex-students'

associations of their old schools, in bowls clubs and golf clubs.

Of three of these families it was, perhaps, not entirely true to say that they entered sociability relations for mutual recognition purely, although they certainly did not use them as thresholds to primary relations. They were used as well for another function, for which yet two more professionals' families used them exclusively, but for which no trades people employed them at all - a function of status striving. Such is the ambiguity of sociability, and such the brittleness of its personalism, that it can be easily turned to this end. These people gave parties and went to them, played golf, bowls and bridge, and worked in charity organizations, largely or solely to meet more influential people and make themselves known to a wider gallery. While husbands and wives did some of these things jointly, it took the form much more frequently of wives separately striving for conspicuous social participation, hoping by their sheer ubiquity to enlarge the family's status; as it were, multiplying what status the husband had won through professional success, by bringing it before many eyes. A number of the professionals who did not use sociability for this purpose acknowledged and deprecated this possibility within it.

In sociability relations, then, husbands and wives are drawn out of the family and, to an extent, away from one another. They may not be sure of what place to give these relations, but the necessity for them apparently arises from a need for personal recognition, and most people feel a very strong obligation to engage in them. In fact, to refuse an invitation, or to be denied an opportunity to participate in sociability, or to fail to reciprocate, are defaultings over which there can be much heart-burning and shame. People fear to give the impression that they don't <u>care</u> for some person, or to be made feel that they are not <u>cared for</u>.

Husbands and wives can engage in sociability for quite individual satisfaction, but they also seek it out of responsibility to one another and the family. They not only desire to feel that they are cared for separately, but that <u>their family</u> stands secure in public opinion and sentiment. For many trades people the opinion and sentiments which count are those of people who are close to them and like them. Hence their disposition to make sociability more personal. Professionals want their families' place secured in a wider, more inclusive, and perhaps more influential opinion. This necessitates participation with people of diverse beliefs and values, so that too great

intimacy has to be avoided. Those who deliberately use sociability for status striving are, in a way, only caricaturing its more normal function. One may presume that they invoke censure because they lack a sense of limits.

As the studied separation of sociability from primary functions only occurs with adult sophistication, children and adolescents enjoyed sociability chiefly as an aspect of all their primary relations. If they were allowed to invite children to parties or go to other parties it was usually friends or cousins seen in other contexts that they mixed with. However, there was a conspicuous departure from this pattern amongst some of the adolescents (principally daughters) of professionals' families. Some of these had quite a heavy round of social engagements, going to frequent parties, often with acquaintances with whom they were not particularly intimate.

4. Voluntary Association

Some aspects of the voluntary activities of the parents were covered in connection with social responsibility. That ground will not be retraced, but I will try to map out now the purposes for which these city families entered into voluntary association. In its boldest outline the map is very simple.

Parents, adolescents and children alike associated voluntarily with others for religious, recreational and educational ends. In addition, parents associated for political action, to support progressive movements, to give service in maintaining beneficial institutions, such as schools and hospitals, to further the interests of members of the husband's trade or profession, and (with what can be expected to be a lessening incidence) to secure the amenities of social clubs and the benefits of lodges. These can be taken to be the areas of optional, purposive activity in the society, which lie between the necessitous association for work and compulsory schooling on the one hand, and the personal spheres of primary and sociability relations, on the other.

Religion and recreation (together with certain productive activities mainly connected with food and clothing, which will be mentioned later) make up, as it were, the disputed territory on the borderland of these city families. In most other major matters the families are uniform in what activities they undertake themselves and what they relinquish to external institutions; but in religious, recreational, and these productive activities, a great deal of option is exercised in regard to how much will be retained or relinquished.

There were some differences between the sexes, age levels and occupational categories, in respect to these forms of voluntary association.

In both occupational groups church association was, with parents, mainly for worship and work, with adolescents, for fellowship (taking a primary character with them which it rarely approached with parents), and, with children, for instruction and training. Slightly fewer husbands than wives associated with churches, but the commonest condition was for both parents to associate, where one associated at all. Not all parents who worshipped in churches also worked in them, and more wives than husbands accompanied their worship with work. Church work took the form of maintaining the church itself, raising money for it or giving service in it, and raising money or giving service for outside charities. The charity work of trades people was confined almost entirely within their churches, but that of the professionals was divided between the church and independent organizations. Adolescents sought religious fellowship in religious movements apart from the churches as well as within them, in such movements as the Inter School Christian Fellowship, the Student Christian Movement, and the Christian Youth Fellowship. These movements seemed to have an attraction all their own, usually

much stronger than that of the churches. While most families were content to surrender religious functions to outside associations altogether, five tradesmen's families and three professionals' (Roman Catholics and Protestants were represented in both groups) deliberately retained some religious functions in the form of family worship or religious instruction of the young.

Recreation was found both in sport and entertainment. The proportion of parents of professionals' families who engaged in sport was greater (more than one half of each sex) than the proportion of trades parents who did so (less than one quarter of each sex),[xx] and the professionals devoted more time to it than the trades people. In the case of women this was directly related to the larger amount of leisure time that professionals' wives were able to command, but professional men had less leisure than tradesmen. Many of the professionals looked for an active leisure time to relieve them from the stressful responsibility of their work, and to compensate for its sedentary nature. Tradesmen who expressed a need for some "let down" from the strain or monotony of work, sought it more typically in the passive entertainment of films or radio, prolonged newspaper browsing, and hotel drinking. A number of the tradesmen recalled days of vigorous sporting activity

before marriage, in local cricket, football or baseball teams or cycling clubs, for example, but claimed that the growing family had been too demanding to allow time or money to learn the skills of the sports more suited to middle age. Part of the newspaper browsing of these people was given to following sports which they no longer played, but few of them went more than very occasionally to watch a match. Tradesmen and their wives who did engage in sport mostly played tennis at a local club. Professionals and their wives also played tennis, sometimes with a club and sometimes on a home court, and a considerable number belonged to golf and sailing clubs. A few parents from both occupational groups went occasionally to the races. Sometimes husbands and wives engaged in these sports together, but most frequently they did so apart.

In both occupational groups the proportion of adolescents who engaged in sport was high, although the children of professionals, generally speaking, made it a matter of greater application. The parents of a number of them had arranged for coaching in tennis, for example, and those who were at private schools were more determined to excel in sports than most of those who were at state schools. In addition to their school sporting teams a fair proportion in both groups belonged to outside tennis, swimming or

softball clubs, and riding schools. A number of adolescents in professionals' families engaged in sailing, a sport which was unknown to the children of the tradesmen. Several tradesmen's children, but no professionals' children within the sample, belonged to rifle clubs.

Children under adolescent age in both occupational groups found most of their organized sport at school. Organized sport apart from school was more prevalent amongst professionals' children than tradesmen's, and again frequently included coaching, in tennis, swimming or riding. Spontaneous neighbourhood games, with ad hoc rules, were more frequent amongst tradesmen's children. It was noticeable with all the children, as well as the adolescents, how strong an emphasis fell on achievement in sport, rather than on participation, and those whose achievement was only mediocre felt discouraged about taking part at all. This is probably traceable to the fact that a self-expansion rather than a membership value is given to sport in both types of school.

It was rare for siblings, whether adolescent or younger, to engage in sport together, largely because clubs and teams recruit members of similar age and the same sex. Parents, as we have seen, also most frequently played apart. Sport, then, takes the members out of the family circle, separating them both by age and sex.

Entertainment outside of the home was a thing for which many parents found they had little time available. Regular entertainment was more common amongst the parents of tradesmen's families than those of professionals', and usually took the form of weekly visits to the cinema. The parents usually went together, leaving the children to go to matinees at other times, but sometimes children accompanied their parents. Tradesmen and their wives also attended occasional local dances together. Some went to church and school concerts, and these occasions were usually made family affairs.

The cinema was the commonest form of entertainment for professionals and their wives, likewise, and they too went sometimes with the children; as they did, as well, to church and school concerts. A large proportion also attended orchestral concerts and live theatre, and it was common for one parent to go to these accompanied by adolescent children. Some parents attended occasional balls together.

Apart from school and church concerts, the outside entertainment available to children was practically restricted to the cinema, and some made fairly frequent use of it, although more tradesmen's children did so than professionals'. It was common to go to the cinema with siblings or neighbouring children. Adolescents went most often with friends.

Altogether, the commonest social form for entertainment taken outside of the home was that of being anonymous, passive units in an audience. At the same time it was frequently an occasion for family interaction, because some or all of the family went together. In this way, if they chose, families were able to turn these external attractions very largely into family occasions.

As has been said, recreation was one of the matters which families surrendered to external society in varying degrees. There were few that did not retain some within the family, and some jealously reserved most of it. Sharing audience experiences was one way of making recreation a family affair. Listening together to radio sessions was another, and a more common way. This was practised more frequently amongst trades people, who were more often at home and in the one room together than professional people. Other opportunities were found in playing parlour games, conversing, picnicking at the beach or in the bush, and in taking annual holidays together as a family.

Educational activities for which parents associated with others were of two kinds. In both occupational groups there were those who met to learn about practical arts and crafts, such as lampshade and French-flower making, millinery, carpentry - public speaking. It was chiefly

wives who took such courses, and they were mainly taken at evening schools, although some professionals' wives took part in private groups. Altogether, however, there were very few parents who took courses of this kind. A larger number, with a more equal sex ratio, took courses of a theoretical kind, sponsored by the Workers' Educational Association, New Education Fellowship or University Tutorial Classes, in subjects such as economics, psychology, literature, art, or philosophy. One or both parents in a quarter of the professionals' families attended this kind of course, some together and some separately, but the proportion among the tradesmen's families was considerably lower.

Amongst adolescents, voluntary association for education was for learning specific skills and knowledge on the one hand, and for general socialization on the other. Specific skills were learned by daughters mainly, and there was some difference between the type of skills learned in the two occupational groups. Cultural acquirements, such as playing a musical instrument, singing, dancing, drama, art and sculpture, received more attention among the professionals' children; while practical acquirements, such as dressmaking, cake-decorating, basket-work and home-decoration took prior place with the tradesmen's children -

although cultural acquirements, music and dancing particularly, were not neglected. Adolescents associated voluntarily to gain knowledge by joining clubs and societies connected with the senior school or university, but this form of association was practically restricted to the children of professionals. As with sport, it was noticeable how strong an emphasis fell on conspicuous and competitive achievement in these activities. General socialization was furthered for some adolescents by membership in groups like Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, Y.M.C.A., and local clubs. In these, by contrast, membership was stressed, in opposition to self-expansion. Some of the younger children in both categories learned such skills as playing a musical instrument, singing or dancing, and belonged to such socializing groups as Wolf Cubs, Brownies, Junior Red Cross, and Police Citizens Boys' Clubs.

It is apparent, then, that voluntary association for educational purposes tends mainly to engage family members in separate activities.

Professional parents associated to give support to progressive movements, like the Marriage Guidance Council, Prison Reform Council, National Trust, Children's Library Movement, Theatre for Playwrights, the Australian Association for the United Nations, and so on. It was the wives

mainly who took part in these things. Husbands and wives, severally, joined the alumni of their old schools and colleges, chiefly to give financial aid. They also, severally, accepted honorary positions on the governing bodies of hospitals, kindergartens, schools, colleges, youth movements and public charities. The husbands sometimes gave professional services in these connections.

There was nothing among the trades people to parallel these forms of association (except that two parents supported progressive movements), but they did share with the professional people the practice of joining parents' movements which gave support to the schools, kindergartens, clubs or churches which their own children attended.

The tradesmen joined trade unions, and the professionals joined professional associations, although few in either occupational group were actively engaged in these. Some of the professionals also joined separate associations concerned with the subject in which they had special knowledge, as distinct from its professional application. The Royal Economic Society would be an example.

A few fathers in both occupational categories belonged to the Masonic Lodge. They did so, they said, because they believed in its principles, and appreciated the mutual help which membership entailed. Several professional parents,

but no tradesman parents, belonged to social clubs. They all restricted their use of the clubs to taking a meal or rest there occasionally. A few tradesmen, but no professionals, belonged to benefit lodges, but association was quite nominal. Club members and lodge members alike were gradually losing interest. For the most part parents took part in clubs and lodges separately.

Only a few parents in each occupational category were sufficiently involved in politics to have actually joined a political party,[xx] and about half of these had long since ceased to attend meetings. A parent who attended political meetings rarely attended with his (or her) spouse.

Most of these activities, then, draw the parents out of the family circle, and away from one another. The segment of the professional peoples' time claimed by progressive movements and beneficial organizations partly explains why the professional people tend to have less time together as a family than trades people; although the greater demands made by the father's occupation are also contributory.

Apart from some external recreational activities, the organizations for religion and some of those for children's education and socialization were the only purposive groups outside of the family in which family members of differing

age and sex associated together. The association here was seldom of the face-to-face kind, but each played a separate role in furthering a common end.

5. Obligatory Association

Much has been said in earlier chapters concerning occupations and schooling, all of which has indicated what sort of obligatory association family members were drawn into for these purposes. In particular, it has been noticed that the fathers in both groups fell into the two categories of employed and self-employed workers, and that children had both state and private schools available to them, tradesmen's children going only to the former, and some professionals' children going to each. It is necessary now to comment on some other aspects of obligatory association.

First of all, the fact should be registered that all families were under necessity to produce either goods or services in order to survive at a standard of living agreeable to them. The father in all families was the principal breadwinner, and in all cases engaged in specialized work to earn money as a means of exchange for securing the family's needs. Practically all of the fathers were intensely satisfied in the specialized work which they had elected to do, whether it was a trade or profession. Only two tradesmen found their work unsatisfying because it seemed

dull or monotonous, and a third man (who was extremely intelligent) found an otherwise interesting job unsatisfying because his abilities were not stretched to capacity in doing it. One professional was discontented, although only mildly so. This was a general practitioner of medicine whom circumstances had prevented from specializing, but who had recently created an enterprising partnership for general practice in which he was beginning to find satisfaction.

The impersonal context in which their work was set caused nearly all of the fathers to regard their work as primarily instrumental to their own private ends; although, as has been described, some of them had, secondarily, a strong sense of public responsibility in it. The idea of "improving oneself", "doing a bit better for oneself", and similar notions, were expressed by most. Work was a means of gaining promotion and getting ahead, and was invested with much the same instrumental character as the money which it earned. There was little, if any, sense of membership in work relations, and the dominating motive, except for one or two, was success.[xx]

In no case in the sample did the father engage in work to produce the family's major needs directly. This is a commonplace feature of urban family life, of course, but it

is worth dwelling on because of the great range of obligatory association it brings in its train as the members of the family associate with others to secure their multiform needs. Thus it comes about that the structure of external society is expected to yield much beyond what is directly procured from it through participation. It is impossible to itemise all that is expected from it in this way, but it can include such things as food production and manufacture, production of clothing material and the manufacture of clothes, production of materials for building, furniture, labour-saving devices, books and other media of culture, money for borrowing, facilities for saving and insurance, transport services, power and sewage services, health and other professional services, trade services, and so on. All such things are obtained by the ability to buy them, and association with people to secure them is almost purely commercial - the most impersonal of secondary relations. Quite a large part of the daily life of these city-dwellers was engaged by this type of relationship - although it fell predominantly upon the mothers.

One result of obligatory association, whether of the kind which involved participation or of the purely commercial kind, was the emergence of what might be called a managing mentality in family members, and in parents particularly,

of course. This has gone with the multiplication of managing functions for the family, as productive and executive functions have been relinquished to the external society. These managing functions took a large place in the lives of the families studied, and any statement of the urban family's functions would be wrong which failed to recognize the fact that, for functions relinquished to other social institutions, there is a corresponding mechanism developed within the family to regulate exchanges with them, or to supervise the parts played in them by family members. All the buying activities undertaken by families supply the most obvious instances. But instances can be given of others: the elaborate arrangements made to facilitate the father's pursuit of his occupation; the conduct of legal and financial arrangements; the arrangements for placing the children in schools and equipping them for their roles there; securing constant medical attention for the children; securing training for them in artistic and sporting skills; the regulation to a degree at least, of the books, radio programmes, friendships, religious instruction, and other formative influences which bear on the children - and so on.

Thus the city family becomes a complex economic unit, with a premium on efficiency. The managing mentality which

develops in the performance of its tasks has two sides to it: one is a competence in dealing with the outside world impersonally, if not shrewdly, and the other a competence in handling one's current resources economically. In both occupational groups, competence in the former matter was usually regarded as a more essentially masculine characteristic, and expected of the father, while competence in the latter was expected mainly of the mother.

Many mothers found their responsibility burdensome, especially those managing on tradesman's wages, and it was a cause of chronic anxiety for one half of them to "make ends meet", as they expressed it. The pressure towards "having enough to manage on" produced various reactions. There were some families, in both occupational categories, who strove to retain as many productive functions as they could. They produced vegetables, or eggs, or even honey, did most of the baking, and manufactured most of the women's and children's clothing. Some tradesmen and manually gifted professionals were able to make furniture, and fittings and gadgets for domestic use. Another possibility was to augment the father's income with money earned by the mother or a child in part-time work, although these practices were not found in professional families - except for vacation jobs of the children who were attending university,

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and in the case of one family where the father's illness made it necessary for the mother and children to accept part-time work. In four tradesmen's families the wives engaged in part-time work. In three, children below school leaving age earned money - selling sweets at a cinema, delivering orders for a chemist, and delivering wood. Money earned by anyone in part-time work was always considered to be his to dispose of, but the possession of it swelled the family's resources.

Three employee tradesmen, but no professionals, accepted additional part-time jobs to augment their regular incomes. The self-employed in both groups had open to them the possibility of increasing income by accepting more work, and most of them accepted a great deal more than they felt they could manage without strain. Some professionals complained that their practices were snow-balling out of control, and were demanding excessive time and work from them, although bringing in handsome returns. A few said they would appreciate more leisure and less money, but none were taking steps to reverse the expansive trend.

Before concluding these comments on obligatory association a point should be made in regard to the children's schooling. Participation in school was accompanied for nearly all of them by the same striving for success and

distinction as was noticed in their sport and artistic training. It is known that many teachers are out of sympathy with this and try to instil membership values, aiming to subordinate success motives to identification with the school, but, generally speaking, these efforts seem to have met with little result. While "social adjustment" at school was also thought important for children, it meant being able to "fit in" with others rather than work with them continuously in joint activities, and it possibly even included the idea of fitting in well enough with the system to be distinguished as "a leader". May one presume that the method of classroom organization in schools is too impersonal to allow membership values to be realized there? If this is the reason, it would appear that the impulse to succeed may be related to a large amount of participation in secondary relations - for it is particularly provoked by the impersonal situations of school and work. Thus family members in cities are prone to be subject to two contrary impulsions - toward membership within the home and success without.

6. External Orientations

If one left aside obligatory association, it was possible, by noticing the time and attention they gave to

each, to distinguish families which turned towards sociability, primary involvements or voluntary association mainly. A relatively high incidence among the professionals of the practice of giving first place to voluntary association (it occurred in about two-thirds of the cases) suggests that this might be the most typical form of participation for that occupational category. Primary relations and voluntary association were given first place by the trades people with much the same incidence as one another. Sociability took first place in two families only, both professionals![xx]

Families also differed in the degree to which they turned outwards at all. It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the preoccupations of some families lay almost entirely outside of them, in the external roles which their members carried in the society. This out-going tendency contrasted markedly with a tendency seen in other families towards withdrawal. Withdrawing families took part in obligatory association to be sure, but beyond that pruned their participation closely, while the centre of their activity, attention and interest was emphatically within the home. Quite obviously, no family would be purely one thing or the other, but families made two types according to which disposition they inclined towards most.

Out-going and withdrawing families were found in both occupational groups, but out-going families were much the more numerous in both. Fewer than one quarter of the families in each occupational group could be called withdrawing.[xx] Out-going occurred under the influence of either of two distinct impulsions. It could be a positive out-going due to constraining external involvements, or a negative out-going, so to speak, attributable to the fact that family members had difficulty in making personal adjustment or reaching personal agreement, and so were driven to seek expression, status, relief, or some other satisfaction outside of the family circle. In both occupational groups there were families whose out-going was due almost entirely to one of the two factors, but there were others in which both played a part.

Withdrawal was found in association with all responsibility attitudes, which seemed surprising. As I have said, certain recreational, religious and productive functions were the functions which made a kind of unsettled territory on the families' external borders. One might also wonder whether withdrawing families were not more prone than out-going families to retain these functions, but this was not found to be the case. A tendency to definitely retain a large part of these functions for the

family was found amongst some families of both types, and withdrawing families held no monopoly. In fact, these families were so various, not only in these respects but in others, that it was a problem to know what factor was responsible for the withdrawal which was common to them. But this is a question best discussed in the next part of the thesis.

Conclusion

We have considered the primary relations outside the family itself in which family members were involved, noticing the relative importance given to kinsfolk, neighbours and chosen friends. We have also considered the sociability relations, and the voluntary and obligatory association entered into by family members. We thus discovered something about which functions family members commonly sought to realize amongst themselves alone, which they relinquished to the external society, and which they divided with it. We have also noticed the way in which families varied in their general external orientation.

This chapter has served to show how the daily lives of the families' members ramify in many directions into the wider society. It will have lent concretness to the assertion, made in the introduction, that the very definition

of a family is problematical. The data make plain how inadequate it is to think of the family as a group amongst other groups which, by simple addition, make up society. For the family is a group which underlies other groups, rather than one which stands beside them and is separable from them. It is wrong, for example, to say that a man's activities at work or a child's activities at school are purely part of the economic or educational system, or to say, on the other hand, that they are "individual" activities, and not allow that they are part of the family. For father and child appear in these places as executants of family roles, and, if it were otherwise, they would not behave there in the way they do. This absent identification, as it might be called, almost always occurs in family members' obligatory association, and it may occur in voluntary association and the sociability and primary relations as well. "The family" is not what people do under one roof, but what they do because they constitute such a unit - and that can be everything they do. This does not mean, of course, that one intends to dissolve all boundaries or blur relevant distinctions, and say that society comprises families only. It simply means that the boundaries of the family overlap those of "the school", "the economic system", and so on, and that certain activities considered to be

part of those other spheres of social organization are necessarily a part of the family also. It means that the family is the basic unit of society in a quite literal sense, in that it lies beneath other forms of social organization, and the part which individuals play in these other structures is as much a function of their position in a family as it is a function of their position in the external structure itself, so that there is a fusion of roles. It will be argued in the next part of the thesis that a family is a group sui generis in what it does for its members: it can be claimed here that it is a group sui generis in what it does for society, in that it furnishes recruits to public roles with a family reason for being allocated where they are.

At the same time it is important to distinguish those activities which a family's members discharge amongst themselves alone, from those which they discharge in collaboration with people outside,[1] and I have adopted the convention of

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[1] This distinction is the same as the distinction which Nadel (1951, pp.157 and 179) has drawn between syncretic and symbiotic behaviour. It has some similarity with Homans' distinction (1951, pp.90 and 109) between the internal and external systems of groups, but is not exactly equivalent. Homans' internal system does not comprise all the activities which the members of a group discharge amongst themselves alone, but only that division of these which are additional to the activities they engage in to deal with the environment (which activities make up the external system). Some activities of this latter class the members may well engage in without co-operation from outsiders, e.g. the production of certain articles of food and clothing, and so will make part of the external system.

calling the former family functions. I have particularly drawn attention to that class of family functions which deals with the situation presented by the fact that family members, to complete their family roles, have to associate with people outside. These I called managing functions. They were illustrated in connection with obligatory association, in which connection they occur most commonly; but, where absent identification exists, they can also be found in connection with other forms of external social participation. Economic functions are a particular class of managing functions which deserve separate nomination because of their importance. The only other major functions which, without exception, assumed an important place in the activities of the families of the sample, were the primary functions connected with the development of the self, which are to receive treatment later, and the sexual and reproductive functions, with which this thesis does not deal. Recreation, religion and production (specifically some connected with food, clothing and furniture and household appliances) made what I have identified as fringe functions, in that families varied greatly in the degree to which they willingly relinquished or deliberately retained them.

Thus we have the curious development of the urban family, which has to perform primary, sexual and reproductive

functions all in the course of being an efficient economic and managing unit, and while it is busily sending its members out into a world largely made up of impersonal roles. Sometimes the members of a family have some sort of loose association with one another in these outside activities (as in church life, or where parents' groups give support to children's schools or other children's organizations, or very occasionally in sport), but the commonest pattern by far is for members to be drawn apart by their external engagements. In these external, single-sided, secondary, impersonal encounters, of which work and school are the most habitual, a competitive, success mentality is born, which is alien to the membership which most people strive to practise in the family. Thus, the intersection of primary and secondary relations in city families, which was alluded to at the beginning of the chapter, conduces to a certain frustration and sense of unwilling self-contradiction. The fact, mentioned in the previous chapter, that some people feel that they cannot pursue membership values much beyond the family itself is probably connected with this. Evidences of this self-contradiction also appear in the sense of shame people showed when comparing themselves with others less fortunate, or in admitting to almost total ignorance about the condition and needs

of most of their neighbours and work associates, or in referring to someone "just as good" over whom they, or someone else, had gained promotion; and also in the unrestricted expansion to which the self-employed were abandoning themselves while they believed that they ought to be keeping more time for leisure and the family. Beside these evidences, there were many expressed sentiments to the effect that "the way we live now is all wrong", "no-one cares twopence about the other fellow", "we're sending ourselves crazy chasing rainbows", and "we work like mad and don't know what it's all for." The contradiction is made all the more acute by the fact that the greater number of families are out-going. They believe, on the one hand, that the engaging tasks of life lie outside the family's confines, but, on the other, many find that life's most satisfying end of membership is only concretely realizable to any great degree within its narrow limits.

Outside the family itself there is only a very thin layer of relationships which assist the family in its primary functions, and, except in the case of a small proportion of adolescents, the part they play is always subordinate to that played by the family. There is no social surround to the family in which its members are known with the same completeness as the family knows them, no external

community. The family, then, has scant assistance in the task of conferring a complete identity on each of its members. Not only must it do this task practically alone, it must do it extremely well if each individual is to remain firmly himself in so great a variety of impersonal roles and encounters. The task is so exacting that the family could fail in it, or it could itself fail, as its members withdraw their support because of its not meeting their need. Is it possible that increasing instability, both of individuals and families, may be attributable to the fact that what is asked of modern urban families is so infinitely exacting? Are the requirements so high that only the best survive?