USE OF THESES

A S P E C T S   O F   A U S T R A L I A N
F A M I L Y   S T R U C T U R E:
A   F I E L D   S T U D Y   O F   A   S A M P L E
O F   U R B A N   F A M I L I E S.

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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Harold J. Fallding,

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A C K N O W L E D G E M E N T S

The work reported in this thesis was carried out
by myself entirely. Acknowledgements, however, are due
to a number of people, for their assistance in different
ways. The thesis was written under the supervision of
the late Professor S. F. Nadel, and was close to complet-
ion at the time of his death in February, 1956. The
following people read and criticised parts of the draft
thesis: Mr. B. Cheek, Mr. J. MacDonald, Dr. J. Martin,
Dr. J. Perkins, and my wife. My wife also did the
lettering in Appendix D. Mrs. A. Guenot typed the body
of the thesis, and Miss J. Woodger Appendices A and B.
My wife and Miss H. Turner assisted me to check the final
typing. I have also to acknowledge, of course, the
co-operation of all of the families who took part in the
study.

<div align="right">Harold J. Fallding.</div>

C O N T E N T S

P R E C I S.

The aim of the study is to give a specifically
sociological account of a sample of 38 Sydney families, the
sample being made up of 18 tradesmen's families and 20 pro-
fessional workers'; thereby contributing sociological data
to the growing fund of knowledge on Australian families.

I say the data are distinctively sociological, because
I understand sociology to have its own subject matter which
sets it apart from neighbouring disciplines, such as psych-
ology, demography and political science. I accept as its
field that which Durkheim defined for it, viz. behaviour
governed by rule or principled behaviour. The roles that
articulate into social structures and the values that guide
individuals toward their chosen satisfactions are the two
main orders of data in this field, and the description of
families is made mainly in terms of them. To this are added
certain assumptions about motivation, and the members of the
families are taken to be motivated in their strivings by
needs for security, freedom and a sense of identity.

The study is not a survey, by which I mean that I
was not aiming to make accurate estimates from a sample of
the incidence of any traits in the wider population. On

the other hand, it is not narrowly focussed on a particular problem or hypothesis, but it aims to identify the important sociological factors about the families and, if possible, to develop some hypotheses about the connections between them. However, as it is inevitable that some wider application of the findings should be possible, and in order to check on the level of confidence with which any hypothesis can be entertained, care was taken in selecting the families to avoid bias and some simple tests of statistical significance are made. Such tests have to be abandoned, though, in the more complex part of the analysis, which deals with clusterings of many factors in small numbers of cases.

I collected the material by visiting the families at home, each one being visited for at least four full evenings, and I had dinner with a number of them. During these visits I had group interviews with the assembled family as well as individual interviews with all of the members. Comparable data were sought for all families by following a schedule, although much of it was not sought by questioning but non-directively, by allowing informal discussion to wander where it would. I was able to supplement information collected in this way by a certain amount of direct observation of the ways members reacted to one another.

I aimed to obtain a fairly comprehensive picture of the activities of all members, both within the home and

outside of it, a thing which could only be done at the cost of some detail, of course. The analysis of the material in the thesis falls into two main parts as a result. The external relations of the families are dealt with first of all. This section covers such matters as the class position of the families, their history of mobility and the probable mobility of the children, their way of regarding their position in the class structure, the attitude of responsibility they adopt toward the general society, and the values they elect to follow within it; and it notices the consensus or divergence of the individual family members in respect to these things. This part also deals with the participation of the family's members in the larger society, noticing particularly to what extent their external involvements are primary or secondary in nature. The next part of the thesis covers the internal relations of the family. It gives an account of the family roles as they are differentiated by age and sex, of the cohesiveness of the families, and of the ways in which members of different families sought to satisfy their needs for security, freedom and a sense of identity.

An attempt is made to employ a modest degree of rigour in the method of analysis. The method had to be one appropriate to the "shot-gun" approach of having no initial hypothesis to test. The data are therefore reported

comparatively by typing the families in various dimensions:
class mobility types, whether the type of general orientation
was out-going or withdrawing, whether the form of control was
patriarchal or by partnership - these are a few examples. Then
from clusters of types in these separate dimensions three
family master-types are identified, although not *every* factor
identified earlier is absorbed into them. The chapter dev-
oted to these master-types brings the thesis to its climax,
and gathers up strands from the earlier chapters by itemizing
whichever factors identified earlier are distinguishing of
each. The three types represent different states of family
cohesion. The case described as the adaptation type of family
is one in which the parents seek for markedly different kinds
of satisfaction, and the family is characterized by the
measures which they take to adapt to one another in the face
of their admitted difference. The case described as the
identification type of family is one where the parents seek
the same kind of satisfaction, largely centred in the family
itself. The case described as the false-identification type
is one where the parents are divided or confused in their
aims and the family is characterized by the steps taken to
suppress the admission of differences, for the sake of a
spurious ease of operation in the family's corporate life.
From the empirical findings certain other factors seem to
adhere to each of the types. But as the cases are too few

to be tested for statistical significance, their coherence is assumed largely on the basis of an insightful sense of fitness. They are also elaborated beyond the point of empirical typology to that of ideal typology for the sake of visibility. The master-types are therefore to be regarded as being entirely hypothetical.

Finally, the findings are related to the literature on the modern family, and particularly to the notion that the family is shifting from an institutional to a companionship basis. Then the thesis closes with an appraisal of the study itself.

PART I.

AIM, METHOD AND THEORY.

Chapter I

THE AIM

Perhaps nothing is more important for a proper appreciation of the study to be reported in this thesis than a clear understanding of its aim. Anyone who ventures to report social facts runs a risk of drawing the critics' fire for not achieving what he never intended, for each person has his own idea about what is important in accounting for human behaviour. I will try to make as plain as I can, therefore, the limits of the research I undertook.

The first point which it is necessary to make is that it was not a survey. There is a popular expectation that a social fact will be something which is true of a population. This arises from what might be called, without prejudice, the elementary view of society, the notion that society is a sum of repeated units; so that no fact is considered social unless it says something about the aggregate or a distribution across it. Such facts are valuable and take much labour to secure, but if they are specifically social at all it is not because they refer to populations but because they give the incidence in a population of something which, by implication at least,

refers to a structure. For the sophisticated view of
society, of course, is that it is an organized endeavour
or structure in which each individual fulfils a different-
iated part or role. Social facts describe the properties
of these relationship structures, and are equally <u>social</u>
whether they refer to one case or many. The fact that a
certain soldier died for his country is no less social,
for instance, than the fact that a certain proportion of
the population volunteered for the armed forces. It was
facts of the former kind which I was <u>primarily</u> aiming to
discover in this study. I was seeking to find out some-
thing about the structural properties of a small number of
families to which I was able to gain access in the city
of Sydney, Australia, rather than to report on the incidence
in the population of particular family characteristics.

Secondly, I was aiming to give an account of these
families which would be specifically sociological. I
would accept as the field of sociology that which Durkheim
(1938, pp.1 to 13) defined for it, viz. behaviour governed
by rule, or principled behaviour. The stiffening which
makes permanent roles out of human performances comes from
the feeling people have that they ought to behave in that
way. Also their roles are means to ends which they believe
they ought to pursue. Ends which are concrete achievements

of joint activity, such as the provision of food and
shelter, may be called "functions" of the structure; ends
which secure desired states of satisfaction for the indi-
vidual may be called "values" of the actors. It is ends
and means such as these which are the elements of social
structure, so that sociological facts in their purest form
concern the ends of action (whether these ends be of the
order of values or of functions) and the roles played by
those who, through their association, seek to give effect
to them. To make the account complete I believe that we
have to add certain psychological assumptions about the
nature of the actors, particularly about their motivation.
This can be taken into sociology without it turning into
psychology. Any science builds into its flooring something
of the science which deals with phenomena at the order of
abstraction which is preparatory to its own. As psychology
makes assumptions about the physiological nature of its
subjects, and physiology makes assumptions about the
chemical nature of its material, each without merging into
the science over which it builds, sociology may and must
use some psychological concepts without reducing to
psychology.

However, I strove not to let my wish for a sociological
treatment lead me into what I consider to be the rather

needless bedevilment of attempting to distinguish individual
from group characteristics, with the object of confining
sociological enquiry to the latter. This is shown to be
largely an unreal problem, I think, if we remember the
more sophisticated definition of society which was given
earlier. The individual, regarded as a role bearer, is a
social phenomenon, and so is any characteristic or activity
of his which is regarded from the point of view of its
involvement in social structure. If individuals are ab-
stracted from society there is, of course, nothing left,
so it is paralyzing to exclude anything from sociological
study because it is a property of individuals. Whether
individual characteristics are relevant or irrelevant to
sociological inquiry depends entirely on how they are
regarded. Most of my data, of course, would concern the
behaviour of individuals.[1]

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[1]
The whole complex of roles which the individual bears
can be designated his social personality, or simply his
person, as Radcliffe-Brown states (1952, pp.193 and 194).
However, Radcliffe-Brown's dismissal of the "individual"
from society altogether because it is conceptually dis-
tinguishable from the "person", and his assignment of it
to physiology and psychology, is only verbal; and, besides,
it is false. After all, physiology and psychology don't
study individuals either, but bodies and minds. "The
individual" is an abstraction which can be conveniently used
by all three disciplines to designate the unity that
possesses, simultaneously, body, mind and social personality.

A critical property of principled behaviour, and
one which makes empirical sociological study difficult
because of unwieldiness, is that it is molar. For principle
implies weighted preferences between alternatives, and
alternatives imply a total field of selection in which
they lie. To explain principled behaviour, therefore, one
needs to hold the universe of the actor in view. An
anthropologist is better able to do this because he can
study the whole of a simple society. A sociologist cannot
study the whole society, but he must at least hold the
totality of the universe of his subjects in mind. He is
entirely free to take a particular problem and focus his
study on a small segment of the social process, e.g. on
the family, but he must at least view it in broad context.
I had therefore to study the family within the society as
well as the members within the family if I hoped to
contribute specifically sociological data to the growing
fund of knowledge on Australian families.[1] As a result,
the body of the thesis falls into two main divisions,

[1]
Borrie (1948, pp.87 to 98, and 1953, pp.23 to 43) has
presented demographic data on Australian families, as well
as some sociological impressions. Oeser, Emery, Hammond,
and their collaborators (1954), have included a psycho-
logical treatment of some aspects of Australian families
in their studies on social structure and personality.

concerned respectively with the families' external and internal relations. The very definition of the family was made problematical by its having these two aspects. For that reason, defining it precisely was something which I preferred to leave till the end of the investigation, taking as my working definition the minimum requirement of parents and their offspring living together, and seeking to gain a fairly comprehensive picture of the activities of them all, both within the home and outside of it.

This broad approach entailed its own severe limitations, of course, for whatever was gained in comprehensiveness was won by loss of detail. While it would have been possible, as well as absorbingly interesting, to design a piece of work on the family which was narrowly focussed, say on some problems of personal relations or the effects of crises,[1] I considered that something much more general would be more appropriately attempted in this early phase of Australian sociology. For the sake of gaining a rounded view I had therefore to discipline myself against allowing

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[1] As has been done by Koos (1946), for example, in his study of 109 cases of financial or personal trouble experienced by families in a New York tenement; and by Hill (1949) in his study on the effects on 135 families of war separation and reunion; and by Cavan and Ranck (1938) in their study of the effects of the depression on 100 Chicago families.

particular problems which just loomed into view becoming
problems in their own right. There were few things which
I could afford to explore exhaustively in the time which
I was able to spend with any family. Development, for
instance, was only sketchily filled in, so that the pictures
of the families which I obtained are largely static. As
it is, I cannot claim, either, that the study does anything
more than remotely approach the comprehensiveness for
which I aimed. Sexual matters were not dealt with, because
of the special competence and confidence their treatment
requires. The careful study of children would also have
required much more time than I could give to it. Partly
because of this, but also because the broader sociological
factors with which I was concerned are more influenced
by the parents, I gave the parents most of the interviewing
time, and the greater part of the analysis will be given
to them also. There are a number of stages in the develop-
ment of children and these could not be differentiated
in the analysis. I was only able to consider family members
at three broad age phases - the adult, the adolescent, and
the child from about the time of commencing school up to
adolescence. Very young children and infants are not
considered in the analysis at all. They make a special
study and, besides, there were too few cases of children

at this age in the sample for me to gather much information
about them.

With these limitations acknowledged, what I was aiming
to do was, first of all, to identify what the sociological
factors in the internal and external relations of families
are - a purely descriptive aim. After this I aimed, by
taking a number of families and comparing them (I was able
to compare thirty-eight in all) to discover what were the
main dimensions in which they were alike or varied, and
so group them under types along each dimension. This is
purely and simply classification. I expected to bring the
examination of the material to a focus with this typological
analysis, and to report the material in terms of it. For
it is not feasible to report descriptive data for thirty-
eight cases separately. That was done in the case studies
themselves, one of which is reproduced in Appendix B for
the sake of illustration. What I have called the first
aim, the descriptive aim, will, so far as the reporting is
concerned, be swallowed up in the second, comparative aim.

In stating that one of the aims was to work out typo-
logies and that the material would be reported in those
terms, mention of two further limitations of the study
should be made. It is plain that my typologies can make
no pretence of being exhaustive. For they can only cover
such types of family as I chanced upon in a small number.

As I shall show when discussing the selection of the
families, I tried to minimize this limitation by choosing
families which were diverse, but the limitation remains.
It is in order, however, to make a typology from any set
of data so long as there is enough variety within it to do
so, and discovering differences in a small number is a
way of sharpening vision for observations on a wider scale,
when these can finally be made. Secondly, describing
data through the medium of types means that they have al-
ready passed through a filter of abstraction. It is always
a problem to know how to strike a balance between concrete
description and generalization in reporting observations,
but the balance is already turned in the direction of
abstraction when the aim is typological. For this reason
it is inevitable that some of the data should appear to be
rather drained of blood. This development cannot be escaped
when a discipline strives to be scientific, since sciences
move increasingly towards concern with purely formal
relations, expressible in their ultimate rarefaction as
mathematical equations. It is unrealistic to take a definite
step in this direction and expect to retain the concreteness
of direct description at the same time. The impossibility
of having both advantages could be vividly demonstrated
if we compared an account of modern American society given

by Margaret Mead (1943), with one given by Robert Merton
(1949, pp.125-149). Merton's account, just because it
seeks to be scientific, is quite deficient in the colour
and feeling of Mead's. Of the two styles of presentation,
that of this thesis will lie closer to Merton's. Perhaps
it should be mentioned here, also, that having a classi-
ficatory aim has exposed me quite inordinately to the
temptation of perpetrating neologisms, the besetting sin
of the student, since there were so many things to be
differentiated. I have tried to meet this by using common
sense designations as much as possible.

If I had only been able to fulfil this second aim,
simply to type families in their important dimensions, I
should have considered my labours well rewarded. But I
hopefully entertained besides a third aim - to discover,
if I could, what sort of things went together. I had no
hypotheses in mind about connections between factors when
I commenced the study: some suggested themselves while the
research was proceeding. But the scope for testing any
of these hypotheses was very limited, due to the fact, of
course, that the number of cases in which the factors of
interest occurred were prone to be fewer than the total .
number of cases in the sample, and often a good many fewer.
This simply means that anything which began in my mind

as a hypothesis remained still hypothetical when the
analysis was over. But such insights are the pinnacle of
scientific endeavour, and they may well be true whether or
not means are immediately at hand to prove them. If any
such insights were to come out of the investigation I
should have regarded them as its most important results
by far. In particular, if, after the analysis of the
separate factors, it was found that certain clusterings
of factors were recurring with some constancy the identi-
fication of family master types would be possible. Al-
though it was not expected that every factor identified
could be absorbed into such a typology, if a number of
the more important factors could be, that would afford a
distinctly sociological classification of families as
families, in addition to the simpler classifications by
separate factors. But, because the invariance of the
connections in the clusterings would be hypothetical such
master types would themselves be entirely hypothetical.
It should be emphasized from the beginning that I did not
expect more than this, and that I conceived the study to
be entirely exploratory. Scientifically speaking, my aim
was a modest one.

If I say that typological analysis is simply classi-
fication along particular dimensions in which variation

occurs, I am obliged to add some comment on the fact that
in sociology actual cases only ever approximate more or
less to the type. This means that sociological dimensions
are themselves composite, binding together like strands in
a cord subordinate dimensions in which variation can occur
with a limited independence, so that any type is really
a cluster of factors. The master types to which I have
referred only illustrate what is just as true of the simple
types when they are looked at closely. The perfect type
is the case in which all factors of a defined cluster are
present. There are two ways of deciding what factors make
a perfect type in sociology, but they need not be exclusive
of one another. Clusters of factors can be discovered
empirically and the combination which actually occurs most
frequently can be made the perfect type. This is a statis-
tical type, and it can be used for the description of other
phenomena besides aim-directed behaviour. The other type,
the ideal type of Max Weber (1949, pp.90 to 112), is only
applicable to the description of aim-directed behaviour.
It enumerates the elements of a perfectly coherent system
of behaviour by stating what practices are rationally en-
tailed by a particular end under certain conditions. Thus
Weber (Gerth and Mills, 1947, pp.196 to 244) catalogues,
for example, all that is essential for bureaucracy - the

ordering of officials in a definite hierarchy, the definition
by rule of their jurisdictional areas, a large staff of
clerks to deal with records, and so on - and so defines
it as an ideal type. Weber holds that the rationality of
this ideal type is purely arbitrary, and justifies it only
on the grounds of its having heuristic value in throwing
irrational behaviour into relief. I would not agree that
it has this arbitrariness, nor that its use could be justi-
fied if it had. But I would hold that it is justifiable
to use it for four reasons: because rationality is a
requirement of successful aim-directed action,[1] because aim-
directed action consequently shows a tendency to rationality,
because particular cases can be compared by the degree to
which they approach perfect rationality, and because, most
important of all, particular cases can be classified together
under one type provided they are complexes of behaviour
which hold the same end in view, and the best way to give
a summary description of them is to describe the ideal
case in which the end is successfully realized, the ideal
type. If any statistical type reveals items of behaviour
which are parts of an organization of activity towards an
end, and if we are interested in it because of its aim-

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[1] I mean by rationality no more than the fitness of
means to ends.

directedness (which we are in sociology), we may build an ideal type with the help of it by making inferences about what activities the end entails under the circumstances, and discounting the residue of inconsistency in the statistical type. Both the simple and master types to be identified in this study will be ideal types, arrived at by building on statistical types in this way.

Finally, although I have insisted that the research was not primarily designed as a survey, it was inevitable that some limited application of the findings to a wider population should be possible. Also, it was desirable to gain some impression of how homogeneous each family was with other families of the society in certain respects, e.g. in the values they held. In order to make the most out of the opportunity, therefore, and in order to know with what confidence any hypothesis could be entertained, care was taken over the selection of the families, and statistical tests of significance will always be applied when pronouncing on the meaning of distributions or on connections between isolated pairs of variables. It is only at the level of the clustering of factors into master types that statistical cautions will be abandoned. The safeguards taken to ensure the greatest possible reliability for the findings will be set out in the course of the next chapter.

As for the validity of my raw data, there must be some margin of error in them. "As far as I could judge," ought to be appended to every assertion of fact in the thesis, although I strove for impartiality of judgment to the limit of my ability. My observations could not be highly refined. They were not highly standardized, either, as they might have been if I had made the same response from each person mean precisely the same thing, as is done in objective tests. This method did not suit the nature of the data I was collecting and, furthermore, I doubt whether the objectivity achieved by it is not sometimes illusory, since it is a method which may only register formal likenesses. It suited my purpose better to come close to the material with every sense awake, and take in everything I could, depending for objectivity on seeing myself with the transparency I strove for in seeing others.

My view about bias is that it is a matter over which social scientists can be too touchy when it is seen in themselves and too incensed when they detect it in others. It is ineradicable and no fault, and if it were to be eradicated the observer might well lose his sympathetic understanding of the importance to his subjects of the biases in their own lives, and that would impair his powers considerably. Provided one is conscious of it, it is not

a thing to be regretted for it sharpens vision, and if
people having different biases see different things that
does not necessarily cast doubt on the reality of what
each one sees, but may simply mean that each is equipped
by his bias to see some things especially clearly. The
worker who is researching into principled behaviour, more
than anyone else probably, cannot help the fact that he
approves some of the things he sees more than other things.
He can only be charged with "bias", in the blameworthy
sense of the word, if he is not sufficiently conscious of
the way his judgment is falling on the things he says to
be able to separate it out, and refrain, before a scientific
audience, from speaking his judgment also.[1]

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[1]
    The general tenor of the discussion on the values of
the anthropologist (Tax, 1953, pp.332-341), which followed
papers read by Bidney and Northrop at the International
Symposium on Anthropology, is in agreement with this position.
The statement with which Redfield brought the discussion to
its conclusion is particularly in sympathy: "We do not
want an anthropologist so balanced that his neutrality
sterilizes him for observing, but we want a balanced body
of world anthropologists." (p.341)

Chapter II

SELECTING THE SAMPLE

1. The Requirements for Selection

Although I have said that I hoped to embrace much
variety within the sample of families, it is desirable in
any sample that it be as uniform as possible for certain
of the things not being studied. It was therefore
necessary to determine what variables might be kept constant.

One thing which will obviously influence a family's
way of life is the occupational status of the breadwinner.
My dilemma seemed to be that I would fail to gain know-
ledge about the nature of the influence of this altogether,
either because I would have to eliminate its effect by
taking a sample uniform for it, or allow it to mix its
influence anonymously with other variables by taking a
sample more or less random for it. This dilemma was re-
solved by deciding to divide the sample into two strata,
in each of which occupational status would be uniform. I
therefore chose two groups, in one of which all the bread-
winners were skilled tradesmen, and in the other of which
all were professional workers.

These two occupational groups were more or less arbitrarily decided upon, but they were preferred to others for definite reasons. One was that they could be expected to include people who were of fairly high general intelligence, and who would be well enough informed to understand what I was attempting to do. I believe that nothing is gained in a study of this kind by being distant or secretive with the subjects. I expected to tell them all I could about my aim and method, and I expected that their co-operation would be greater according as their capacity to understand these things was greater. This was an expectation which I think was amply justified by my experience.

It should be mentioned at this point, however, that I probably underestimated the difficulty which most of the trades people seemed to have in understanding what I was about, and I think this difficulty may explain why the number of tradesmen's families which declined to participate was twice as great as the number of professionals' families which did so. Tradesmen's families were definitely harder to enlist in the study than professionals'. On the other hand, it can be pointed out that once their confidence and entry into their homes were gained, they were definitely less reserved. Speaking generally, as a class of persons,

they took themselves much more for granted, and were much
less anxious about measuring up to other people's notions
of propriety, and were therefore less prone to inhibit
their spontaneous reactions by anticipations about the
approval or disapproval which they might excite.

Another reason for choosing these two occupational
groups was that it seemed likely that their separate ways
of life, though distinct, might be sufficiently alike to
make a comparison of them more interesting. With the
general prosperity which has continued fairly evenly since
the depression of the early thirties lifted, with the
increasing solidarity and bargaining power of tradesmen's
unions and increasing wages for workers, and with free
secondary education for their children and so many social
services available to them; and with, at the same time,
the heavier taxation imposed on the higher incomes of
professionals, there seems to have been some economic
convergence, at any rate, of the tradesmen with the profes-
sionals, who had traditionally been more widely separated
from them. In view of this fact, and in view also of the
fact that the class structure of Australian society seems
generally to be a matter of great equivocation, it seemed
that it would be interesting to discover what actual social
and cultural community existed between the two groups, and
how each regarded its place in the total society.

The definitions of professional and tradesman which
I used for making the selection were fairly conventional,
common sense ones, and I was not concerned with the sort
of refinements that occupational associations or official
examiners might quibble over in deciding anyone's profes-
sional or trade status. One main distinction I used was
that a professional has done tertiary training separate
from his work, while the tradesman's training has been
very largely through his work, although not entirely. But
that I did not follow this distinction slavishly will be
evident from the fact that I included a professional photo-
grapher among the professionals, where I believe he belonged,
although in Australia he could do no independent training.
This was largely justified by the other main distinction
I made, that a professional's work requires predominantly
intellectual, aesthetic and personality abilities, while
the tradesman's work, though using these, requires pre-
dominantly manipulative abilities. I did not lean so heavily
on the other fairly conventional distinction that the
professional's work is less routine, and allows more scope
for individual initiative, because this is a distinction
which some professional roles seem to be losing.

A second factor which influences the character of a
family's life is the stage of its history. A family's

character changes radically when children are first born into it, and again when their period of extreme dependence has passed and they can be packed off to school, and again when, in adolescence and young adulthood, they are both dependent and independent, and again when they are largely independent and have left home. It seemed best to try to keep families of the sample within one of the stages, and, although it was not in fact possible to do so entirely, I aimed for families where at least one child had entered the adolescent stage. In the sample of thirty-eight families which I finally obtained, the number of families in which the oldest child was fourteen or over was thirty-one. Of these, seventeen were professionals' families and fourteen were tradesmen's. No oldest child was under nine.

I decided on this stage, not only because the problems of adolescents' adjustment to their families are interesting and crucial, but because I wanted to look at families whose members had been living together long enough for their ways to be established. Also, there was another uniformity which could be achieved by taking families at the same stage - they would have lived through much the same period of the nation's history, the social changes to which they would have been subject as families would be similar. Thus all of the parents had experienced the de-

pression after leaving school and did not marry until the economy had made some recovery. Only one marriage occurred before 1933 (it was in 1931). Also, only seven marriages occurred after the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939, and these took place very early in the war with the exception of two (which occurred in 1943 and 1944). This means that most of the families lived through the whole of the war as family units, and all of them lived through a part of it.

Also, for the sake of preserving uniformity in historical factors immigrant families were excluded. All of the families were what might be called old-Australian, in the sense that they have all lived in Australia since the marriage of the parents, although a few of them have made trips abroad, one staying for as long as three years in New Zealand. 84% of the parents were themselves Australian-born, and of those that were not only one was born outside of Great Britain and the Dominions, and he was a Swede who immigrated during childhood. Seven of the twelve parents who were not born in Australia came in their own childhood, and four of the others lived here for at least six years before they were married. Only one case occurred in which both parents were born outside of Australia. Both of these were born in Scotland, and both lived in Australia for twelve years before their marriage.

Another factor affecting family life, of course, is the size of the family. With such an aim as I had in mind it seemed that I would learn most from families in which there was at least a fair degree of interaction. I therefore excluded childless marriages and families where there was only one child. These families present unique problems which I thought might be better left aside. As two- and three-child families have become very popular in Sydney, and as . Borrie (1948, Ch.7) has shown that the average size of the Australian family is about midway between these, I decided to make two children the lower limit for any family included in the study. But as I wished, if I might, to observe some of the effects of variation in the number of children I did not set any upper limit.

Table IIa shows the number of families in the sample having each number of children.

Number of children	Number of tradesmen's families	Number of professionals' families	Total Number of families
2	10	3	13
3	4	8	12
4	2	5	7
5	2	3	5
6	0	1	1
Total number of families	18	20	38

Table IIa

Within the sample taken the average number of children for a professional family was 3.5, which was greater than the average for a tradesman's family, which was 2.8. This reverses what one might expect from   Borrie's figures for differential occupation (1948, p.117), and indicates a bias in the sample for the factor of size in relation to the father's occupation.

The number of children in all the families I saw totalled 121. If we add the 76 parents, 197 persons were covered by the study, and if we subtract the only case of a child who was under four (a baby of two who could scarcely talk), 196 individuals remain with all of whom I had both group and private interviews.

Another uniformity which necessity imposed on the study should be mentioned. As I wished to interview every member of every family, I could only accept families in which every member was living at home at the time the study was being made. In some families, prior to the study, children had been away at school or a parent had been away for some reason, but at the time of the study, all members of all the families were living at home.

2. The Size of the Sample

Having decided on the requirements of families for the sample, the next step was to determine the number in

the sample. However, this was less a matter of free choice than a determination imposed upon me by the limits of time.

John Madge (1953, p.213) pokes fun at some quaint popular notions about how big a sample should be. Two ideas that he pillories are that it ought to include about 5% of the population, or that it ought to be about 2,000. He reminds us that there is no rule of thumb about the size of a sample. The rules apply rather to the level of accuracy which any sample will yield us in making extrapolations from it. And it is, perhaps, well to remember that no sample ever gives anything but more or less probable information about things outside of it. Because, as has been said, the aim was to describe and classify and, if possible, to develop hypotheses about connections, the degree of probability demanded was not comparable with what would be required if the aim were to establish proof. One was therefore more disposed to consider it worth while to engage in a study which would, of necessity, have to limit its data to a small sample. Moreover, small samples have their own statistics to deal with the unreliability inherent in them. And finally, there is much to be said for taking as few cases as necessary when sampling rather than taking as many as possible, for the reliability of larger samples is not significantly greater unless they are many times

greater. A person working alone for a limited period on a problem of the type undertaken could not hope to use a very large sample.

After a pilot study of ten families, I reckoned that, if I included these ten by going back to them for more information, which I did, I could cover about forty families in the time available to me. As the sample was to be stratified by two occupational groups, whose total populations were not known, I aimed to take twenty families in each group. I have finished up with twenty in the professionals' group and only eighteen in the tradesmen's; and the reason for this is simply that arrangements on which I was counting with two families toward the end of the time fell through. It was then already too late to start looking for more, and I had to be content. Nothing of real importance has been lost through this, however; it only means a loss of symmetry.

Of more importance than sample size is the method of obtaining the sample, of course. Ideally, it should be random. But this was plainly impossible. First of all, it was not possible to identify that population of families which met all the requirements which have been set out, and from which the sample would be extracted. But even had it been identified and a random sample made, the families chosen would still have the option of participating or not.

Should some refuse, and some almost certainly would, the sample, after all one's fantastic labours, would lose randomness. It is therefore only sensible to be more realistic.

It seemed that the most one could do to minimize bias, once the uniformities of the sample were defined, was to open up a variety of sources for obtaining cases, and to keep a watch on cases as they accumulated, to see that they were diverse in respect to certain things in which they were not required to be uniform. I therefore tried to secure variation in political and religious represent- ation in the sample, in the actual profession or trade followed by the breadwinner, in residential area, and in the number of children. In order to show the precautions I have taken to minimize bias in this way I give a brief account now of the way I went about obtaining the families.

3. Enlisting Co-operation

The task of obtaining a sample of families which met the requirements and were willing to co-operate without reservation was a major one in itself. It took a great deal of time, and the route by which any particular one was reached was often quite labyrinthine. I needed a continuous supply of families for the whole fifteen months

of the field work, so that I had to be tapping sources all the time, making arrangements with new families as I was completing the investigation of others. I wanted to start with any family fairly soon after it had agreed to take part, while interest was aroused, so that I had to try to keep the work of making contacts just one pace ahead of the actual visiting. It was very hard to synchronize these two things, and time was sometimes lost through my being unable to do so.

Some families recommended to me were not followed up, because, on the face of it, they were so like families already included that, if I had accepted them, I would have forfeited a chance of making the sample more varied. Thus, for the sake of including representatives of other professions, I could not make use of a number of recommended medical practitioners and solicitors; and at the time when I was trying to secure representation from Roman Catholic families I passed over some Protestants recommended to me. It should also be realized, in connection with the matter of recommendations, that most people who recommended a family to me did not know how fully the family met the requirements of the sample. Most recommendations, therefore, could only be of probably suitable families, I myself being left to determine their suitability as well as their willingness to participate.

I began by two approaches. I told many of my Sydney friends and relatives what I was doing, and asked whether they could make any recommendations; and I approached the Labour Council of N.S.W., asking for introductions, either to families or people whom they thought might be interested to help me. The Labour Council of N.S.W. (which is the State Branch of the Australasian Council of Trade Unions) left me in the hands of their research officer, who contacted officials of a number of skilled unions, and these, in turn, made recommendations of certain families. Through one of these recommendations I came into touch with a person who became a key contact man. He introduced me to an influential member of the Hospital Employees' Association, who, in turn, recommended other families, and who, at my request, introduced me to two Roman Catholic unionists. These then recommended further families. The contact man also introduced me to an influential member of the Boilermakers' Union, who made recommendations, and to an officer of the Railway Workers' Union, who asked me to write a paragraph for the union paper, requesting co-operation in the research.

I then had the idea that the same paragraph might be printed in the church denominational papers, and sent it to the editors of the Anglican, Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregationalist and Baptist papers, and of the Catholic

Weekly. All of the Protestant papers acknowledged it and printed it; the Catholic Weekly did not acknowledge it, and whether it was ever printed I do not know. As a result of the paragraph in the Congregationalist paper, the Convenor of the Public Questions Committee of the Congregational denomination asked to meet me, and personally recommended a family. I then approached the Catholic Welfare Bureau, which is sponsored by the Legion of Catholic Women, and the director of this organization circularized a number of parish priests and arranged for me to meet two parish priests in industrial suburbs, as well as the secretary of the senior division of the Newman Society, with a view to securing recommendations.

I approached the secretaries of the Law Institute, the British Medical Association, the Radio Employees' Institute and the Musicians' Union, and an officer of the Teachers' Federation, with the object of securing introductions to members of the professions protected by them. The Teachers' Federation suggested that I approach individual headmasters, and I later did this in one case. The secretary of the B.M.A. preferred not to make direct introductions himself, but referred me to an interested medical practitioner who recommended families.

Professor Elkin gave me permission to appeal to the two Anthropology classes at the University of Sydney. The secretary of the New Education Fellowship expressed interest in my work and recommended several families. I also contacted two out of several families recommended to me by the assistant secretary of the Workers' Educational Association. I approached the Family Welfare Bureau in Sydney (whose function is to help families in all kinds of difficulties), and also the Child Guidance Clinic at "Yasmar", which deals with delinquent boys, and I asked if I might have permission to make a search of their files for suitable families. This permission was given and, after searching through several hundred files, I collected a mere half-dozen from each place, which, from the information recorded there, seemed as though they might meet the requirements of the sample. The Bureau and Clinic, of course, decided that it would be unwise to approach some of these, but wrote to the others asking for their co-operation.

Finally, the one kind of source for contacts which yielded more families for the study than any other kind was personal recommendation from families which had themselves already taken part in the study. Twelve of the thirty-eight families were secured in this way. There, again, I aimed for variety, by preferring families which

were described to be different in some major respect from the family making the recommendation.

The sources which were opened up varied tremendously in their fruitfulness, and some were not fruitful at all. Table IIb sets out the number of families of each occupational type which were obtained by any channel which proved fruitful.

Channel of approach	Number of tradesmen's families	Number of professionals' families	Total number of families
Leader of the father's occupational association	8	3	11
Member of research worker's own family	2	1	3
Roman Catholic trade Unionist	3	0	3
Paragraph in three separate denominational papers	0	3	3
Anthropology Class	0	2	2
An interested but un-suitable family	0	1	1
Family Welfare Bureau	1	0	1
New Education Fellowship	1	0	1
Convenor of Public Questions Committee of Congregational Denomi-nation	0	1	1
Families already con-tacted in the above ways	3	9	12

Table IIb

Fourteen different suburban districts were represented by the tradesmen's families, and fifteen by the professionals'. The occupational, religious, and political variety embraced within the sample is shown in Tables IIc, IId, and IIe,

respectively. (The political and religious views of the individual parents are used here.)

Profession of father	Number of cases	Trade of father	Number of cases
Accountant	2	Boiler-maker	1
Economist	1	Cabinet-maker	1
Engineer	3	Carpenter	2
General practitioner of medicine	3	Fitter and turner	6
Medical specialist	1	Linotype operator	1
Industrial chemist	2	Male nurse	1
Minister of religion	1	Painter	3
Pharmacist	1	Panel-beater	1
Photographer	1	Pattern-maker	1
Radio educationist	1	Tailor	1
Research scientist	1		
Solicitor	3		

Table IIc

Religious position	Number of tradesman parents	Number of professional parents
Baha 'i religion	1	-
Baptist	-	2
Church of England	5	6
Methodist	2	2
Plymouth Brethren	2	-
Presbyterian	4	12
Quaker	2	-
Roman Catholic	12	4
Seventh Day Adventist	2	-
Indefinite, pro-religious	2	1
Positive, anti-religious	4	7
Indifferent, non-religious	-	6

Table IId

Political position	Number of tradesman parents	Number of professional parents
Pro-Labour Party	27	11
Pro-Liberal Party	3	20
Pro-Communist Party	1	-
Definitely non-party	5	5
Non-party but mainly pro-Liberal	-	4

Table IIe

Of the families recommended to me as <u>probably</u> meeting the requirements of the sample, there were about twenty representing various professions, and a special list of solicitors of about the same number, which I did not follow up. I followed up every recommendation to the families of tradesmen, and still finished with two less than the number I hoped for. I was able to identify fifty-nine families altogether which met my requirements, and of these thirty-eight agreed to take part in the study and twenty-one declined; seven of those declining being professionals' families and fourteen being tradesmen's. When one considers all the claims on the time and attention of city dwellers, and all the reservations which people must feel about accepting a stranger into their home to examine their family, the proportion of refusals does not seem surprising. It was only by gracious invitation that I was able to obtain the data for this study at all, and I am more grateful than I can say to those who gave me so much of their time and hospitality.

Of the twenty-one families who declined, five expressed sincere disappointment over the fact that circumstances, which they described, made it impossible for them to take part; and three others gave convincing explanations of their inability to participate, although not expressing regret.

Finally, it is necessary in this discussion of the
sample to anticipate a possible objection. It might in
all fairness be asked why I preferred to take families in
this scattered fashion from different suburbs, rather than
from one neighbourhood. Those who would favour a neigh-
bourhood study would do so, presumably, because in this
way more knowledge could be gained about the external
relations of the family. But in a large urban community
like Sydney, neighbourhood relations tend to be tenuous
and insignificant, and the real community setting, such
as it is, of any family, is the whole city. I suspected
that this would be so before embarking on the study, and
my findings have supplied overwhelming evidence that it is
the case. When the aim of an urban study is to study
families (and not neighbourhoods specifically) the advan-
tages of selecting families in one neighbourhood are,
therefore, to a large extent, illusory.

4. The Wider Application of the Findings

It remains to identify what are the unavoidable biases
of the sample, and estimate what qualified application
can be made from it to other families. The point has now
been made that the sample is not extracted from Sydney's
population at large, but from a very definite segment of

it which is bounded by the required uniformities. If the
findings are to be applied with precision to any wider
population it can only be to families of this kind. Also,
it is a fact that the sample is weighted in the direction
of good quality families (using that term for the moment
without anything more than its common sense meaning), pre-
sumably because the families who would be most disposed to
co-operation in the research were those who least felt
that they had anything to hide or be ashamed of. There are,
however, sufficient poorer quality families in the sample
to allow comparisons to be made.

But there is the question of whether the voluntary
participation principle is even more specifically restric-
tive than this? Does the mere fact of voluntary partici-
pation distinguish these families in quite definite ways
from others who have declined, or who might have declined
to take part had they been approached? Are they more open,
to respond to the approaches of a stranger as they have?
Are they more hospitable, or even sacrificing, to give so
much time and attention? Are they more socially responsible?
It is hard to know how to answer any of these questions,
but some guidance might be obtained by noticing the attitude
which people showed to the research.

It would be a mistake to think that everyone who took
part was enthusiastic from the word go - although there

was not one family in the sample whose members did not become genuinely and unanimously enthusiastic about it before it was over. This was probably due to some cathartic effect of gaining distance on oneself and the family, through having to talk and think about them. But at first it was not generally so. There was often some member, if not several, who had some reticence, caution, distrust, amusement, resentment, irritation, or self-consciousness about the whole thing. I would say that, whatever may have been their motives for inviting me into their houses, in at least six families in each occupational category there was considerable resistance to overcome. This is roughly a third of the cases. On the other hand, in ten cases (six professionals' families and four tradesmen's) I was welcomed with quite embarrassing devotion. I identified several distinct reasons for this positive interest in the research. Two of the professional families placed a high ideological value on sociology, a third had a business interest in it, and the fourth an academic interest. One had a family tree which it thought would be of sociological interest. One acknowledged a need for help in personal problems, and apparently thought I might be able to give it. This was embarrassing, because I have no qualification to do this, nor did I ever depict myself in that role. Among

the four tradesmen's families with a high positive interest
there was also one which welcomed me, believing that I
might give this kind of help, although this family placed
a high ideological value on sociology besides, as did two
of the others. The fourth felt constrained by a strong
religious responsibility to assist social science.

The remaining sixteen had no marked resistance to the
research nor any special interest. And this distribution
of three distinct types of attitude to the research within
the sample does suggest that the sort of selection which
voluntary participation has exercised in regard to family
type might not be highly specific after all.

One of the thorniest problems connected with the
wider application of the data concerns interpretation of
distributions of specific factors within the whole sample
or amongst the two occupational groups, or any other sub-
populations, for that matter. Can it be assumed, to take
an example, that the greater political support for labour
amongst the trades people of the sample indicates a similar
leaning towards labour amongst all trades people? If the
sample had been randomly selected one could have assumed
this to be so, provided, of course, that the difference
in the distribution for the two groups satisfied the test
for statistical significance. But when the sample has

been deliberately picked to include variety, can the same
assumption be made?

I have chosen to meet this situation in a manner which
might be called negative. First of all, when I say that
I aimed to make the cases diverse in respect to things in
which they were not required to be uniform, I do not mean
any artificial diversity. I did not aim to secure re-
presentation from every shade of religious opinion, for
example. I simply meant that I had some such thought as
this: I must include some Roman Catholics as well as some
Protestants. I did not deliberately aim either to balance
the numbers or secure a representation which would corres-
pond to the incidence of each in the population. Secondly,
it was only in regard to the few, stated, simple, overt
factors (size, politics, religious denomination, residential
area and occupation) that this diversity was engineered;
and, except for some factors related to politics, the actual
incidence of these factors was never made the matter of
analysis. Thirdly, I applied a certain rule to meet this
admitted defect in the data, wherever I could. It was a
rule which seemed restrained, but not so over-cautious as
to suppress differences between the two occupational (or
other) groups which the data might be throwing up. It was
that I would take a statistically significant sample

incidence of any factor as a measure of its incidence in
the parent population, and any statistically significant
difference in the distribution of a factor between two
groups (calculating as if the sample were randomly selected)
as being an objectively determined difference, unless I
had definite reason to suspect that these measurements might
be a function of the sampling. This was a crude rule, and
admittedly not perfectly satisfactory, but it was one by
adhering to which practice could be made consistent and
explicit.[1]

Although I allowed myself to generalize from any simple
distribution or difference between distributions in sub-
samples as insight led me (and by insight I simply mean a
sense of fitness with other known factors), wherever it
was possible and important to do so I applied tests of
statistical significance as a check. As the generalizations
made throughout the thesis are being regarded as entirely
hypothetical I have considered that probability levels of
up to 15% are worth commenting on; although, of the seventy[2]

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[1]
    Hagood and Price (1952, p.335) are two authors who
encourage one to believe it is not worthless to apply tests
of significance to non-random samples, provided biases have
been guarded against.
[2]
    Fisher (1955) is one statistician who considers the
arbitrary rejection of findings at confidence levels coarser
than 1% or 5% absurd, and recommends that whatever confidence
level obtains be simply stated.

or so tests used only ten are significant at a confidence
level coarser than 5%, and only four of those ten are
significant at a confidence level coarser than 10%. The
mention of numbers in the thesis sometimes simply makes a
part of reporting what was found and no significance is
attached to it. Wherever statistical significance does
attach to it this is indicated by conventional signs, and
Appendix C will explain what test was used to obtain the
significance level in every case. Snedecor's (1946, p.226)
convention will be used of indicating $\cdot 01 > P$ by two
asterisks (^{XX}) and $\cdot 05 > P > \cdot 01$ by one asterisk (^{X}); and
in addition $\cdot 1 > P > \cdot 05$ will be indicated by two dots ($\cdot\cdot$)
and $\cdot 15 > P > \cdot 1$ by one dot ($\cdot$).

Finally, one further word can be said about over-
caution. I have stated that the findings of this study
cannot be applied with precision to any save families of
the kind on which it was undertaken. But it is not always
requisite to apply findings with precision, particularly
if they are themselves of a hypothetical kind. There is
some imperfection in all knowledge, but scepticism because
of it finds a special opportunity in social science, where
the field is vast, complex and uncontrollable. However,
while admitting the healthiness of perpetual scepticism,
I would lay stress rather on the positive nature of knowledge.

Some knowledge is better than none, and it is best to structure an ambiguous field with visible contours, however hypothetical they may be. Because society so greatly transcends the private perspective which any individual can command, it is an ambiguous field to us all, and the sociologist's task is still largely that of setting up bold profiles which will bring it more sharply into view. In the absence of cause for believing otherwise, then, there is no reason why some things found true of the families of this sample should not be supposed true of families much more generally.

Chapter III

THE METHOD

1. The First Approach

I should have preferred my first contact with every
family to take the form of a personal visit, during which,
in the presence of all members, I could explain what I
wanted to do. Then I would leave them to consider the
proposal for several days before contacting them again.
But considerations of time and convenience made this im-
possible in all except five cases.

Those five were all tradesmen's families. Of the
remaining thirteen tradesmen's families, eight were first
contacted by calling on the father at his place of work,
two by telephoning the father there, and three by tele-
phoning the mother at home. Of the professionals' families,
fourteen were contacted by telephoning the mother at home,
in two other cases both mother and father were at home
when I rang and I spoke to both, in one case I visited the
father at his place of work, and in three cases the mothers
contacted me by telephone in response to the paragraph
printed in the church papers.

At this first contact I explained to whichever
person or persons I was in touch with that I would need at
least four full evenings with the family. Proceeding some-
times by informal discussion, and sometimes through a list
of questions, I would be seeking information about the
activities of family members - what they all did, both at
home and away from home; about the things which interested
them most; and about their ideas, attitudes, opinions and
beliefs. I would also want to know something about the
history of the parents, but only in its broader aspects,
such as where they had lived, the kind of schooling they
had had, and the type of work they had done; and would
ask for some slight information about the family's economic
arrangements. I gave them the opportunity to question me.
I explained the nature of the research project, and that
it was to embrace families in two occupational groups.
I guaranteed that any information given would be held in
confidence, and never published except in a form which
preserved their anonymity.

I explained that I was working as a student under
the supervision of the Australian National University. At
my request, Professor Nadel had given me a reference,
stating that I was a bona fide student, but I did not ever
use this. No-one seemed to doubt the honesty of my claim.

After this first contact I gave each family the opportunity to discuss the proposition among themselves for several days, and then got in touch with them again.

2. The Interviewing

Of the thirty-eight families into whose homes I was invited, twenty-two were visited four times, two five times, twelve six times, and two seven times. Twenty-one invited me to the evening meal as a regular thing during the visits, and three others invited me to at least one meal. All of them treated me to supper.

The method of gaining the material for the study, then, was one which might be classified as interviewing, but it included more because it entailed some social inter-course with the family, and because it afforded opportunity for direct observation of their personal reactions to one another. In most of the families all of the members were together for a part, and usually the longer part, of each visit, but there was some time during the course of the visits in which I also saw each person alone. I also had the opportunity to observe a few activities, such as putting the children to bed, washing up after the meal, doing home-work, working at hobbies, and so on. I read bed-time stories to some of the children or perhaps played with their trains or meccano sets.

It is possible to discuss rapport in sociological interviewing as if it were a shrewd art of getting everyone to tell you everything you want to know. For myself, I can say I did not think it good or needful to try any clever ruses. More importance seems to me to attach to quite general personal qualities than to techniques, and I strove rather for these; although I did not achieve much competence in them. Genuine simplicity, sincerity, humility, approachability, unfeigned concern for people and delight in them, these seemed to be the things which inspired people to reveal themselves. There was one principle, however, in which I consciously strove to discipline myself. It was that the subject must be sincerely given absolute discretion as to whether or not he will give any piece of information, and it must be made plain to him that he has this discretion. I noticed that if this was not done, rapport which had already been won could be instantly lost, and information, which otherwise might well be given, could be withheld.

There was one fairly common idea about interviewing which I found I could only accept with strong qualification, the idea that the interviewer must reserve his own judgments. Zweig (1948, pp.1 & 2), for instance, is one of the research workers who have stressed this. In so far as holders of

this view mean that the interviewer must be permissive, and
not shocked, surprised or personally critical, I am in
agreement with them. But in so far as they mean to imply
that an interviewer should not express values, beliefs or
judgments of his own, or that the good social scientist is
a person too superlatively sophisticated to have convictions
of his own, I couldn't disagree more. It is certain that
we define ourselves to others by expressing ourselves, and
there would seem to be a great deal of evidence from
social science itself to show that a person is acceptable
and approachable largely in so far as he is defined.[1]
Nothing is more likely to make prolonged rapport impossible
than for the interviewer to sit before his subject like a
great cipher, smooth but empty. I was prepared to give
information about myself, and to give my own views, beliefs
and judgments, not obtrusively, but certainly when they
were invited, and I believe that doing this was indispensable

[1]
One thinks, particularly, of prejudice studies which
indicate that certain minorities are unacceptable, e.g.
Jews or other immigrants, largely because the objective
character of the individuals comprising them is not well
known. Such findings are reported, for instance, by
Duncan (1933, pp.500-503), Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook (1952,
p.369), and Oeser and Hammond, editors (1954, Ch.8). One
might also refer to the practice by which primitives
accommodate themselves to anthropologists by assigning
them to familiar kinship positions.

to rapport. Dr. Jean Craig makes the same point in her
unpublished thesis on the "Assimilation of European Immi-
grants" (1954). She writes:

> "Amongst the immigrants whom I came to know well,
> I found that it was constantly necessary to
> indicate my own judgment on important issues, and
> indeed the relationship would have become impossibly
> artificial from my own point of view had I not done
> so." (p.21)

Besides this, it seems to me there are many advantages in
being defined as different from another. A great deal that
I know about the subjects of the research I learned by
argument with them, and through expressing disagreement.

The plunge was made by having whatever member of the
family seemed to be the most communicative give an account
of his or her normal day in the presence of the assembled
family. Everyone was invited to interrupt with comment
or contradiction. I wrote continuously, recording the
comments as well as the account. I also interrupted with
comment and questions myself, in order to help fill out
the significance to the person of the activities he related.
It was usually not long before everyone had plenty to say,
and mother or father had to start putting some one or other
in his place. After the normal day we covered variations
in the days, and then the weekend, and Public Holidays,
and the annual holidays. In the course of time, this was
done for every member of the family.

In doing this I was following the first section of the interview schedule, by which I sought to obtain comparable information from each of the families. The whole schedule is reproduced in Appendix A, to which the reader is referred, and there is no need to detail further items from it. From accounts of routines and external activities, given in group interviews, the bare bones of each person's role skeleton were assembled. Other sessions, with the parents jointly and each member separately, were designed to clothe them with flesh.

At some time during the visits, both parents, and whatever children were of senior school age or above, were asked to work through the Allport-Vernon Study of Values. At the last visit I also left, usually with the father, a copy of the "Family Economy" form, which I prepared for the study. This could be forwarded on to me through the post, and I pointed out that it was an optional rider to the study, and that no family was obliged to fill it in because they had been generous enough to give the other information. Some filled it in in my presence, others forwarded it on. There were only five in each occupational group who did not complete it at all.

It will be apparent, then, that the way in which I gained material for the analysis was by report from the

person concerned, and indirectly from his family members,
each of whom, in a sense, was made an informant concerning
the others; and I had direct observation of interaction
between them. The vast majority of things they reported
to me and which are basic to my analysis lay quite outside
of my own observation. Is the method <u>valid</u> then? Was I
told the truth?

In reply to this question I can only say that I
relied on the presence of others to be a check on the
things that each one told me about his more public activi-
ties. To see others around adopt their customary atti-
tudes to one's own activities, when these are mentioned,
constrains a person to be faithful to his own. Protests
came quickly if a person distorted his outside or family
roles. The disingenuousness of the children was partic-
ularly important in betraying any artificiality which
might have been assumed for the occasion of my visits, and
it had the function of putting everyone at ease fairly
quickly. I also checked what each one told me about his
personal feelings with my own observations and with what
others told me about him. I relied on my disinterestedness
and unwillingness to judge to disarm the pretender. In
some cases I had not the confidence of every member till
the second or even third visit, but once I had, I believe

each person was almost as honest with me as he was capable of being with himself. If he had practised distortion in the meantime, and it had passed unchallenged, I then saw it for what it was; and it provided me with some information about his values and aspirations, anyway. The great advantage of personal interviews, especially if they are renewed after intervals of time, is that one can return to any point and probe further, if one is not satisfied. The interviewer can question till he is sure that the subject has accepted the precise challenge of his question, so that evasion is minimized. He can also express surprise and doubt, and ask to be convinced of anything which seems to him unlikely.

Chapter IV

BASIC THEORETICAL ASSUMPTIONS

1. Three Orders of Facts

As an observer's facts are constituted by his theo-
retical categories as much as by experience, it is desir-
able to have some acquaintance with the lens through which
his world is seen. I therefore give brief definitions
now of the basic theoretical concepts which were used to
order my observations, and state the theoretical connections
which are presumed to exist between them. This theoretical
scheme was not elaborated to the point of its present
refinement before I embarked on the study, but developed
with it. I have forced a certain completeness on it
finally for the sake of having a framework for analysis of
the data. It should be understood that it is all assumption
and has no command over the material except what it can
earn by lending it some intelligible simplicity; and it
will itself be under testing by the analysis.

I postulate this framework extremely conscious of
the conventional element in knowledge. Whether one adopts
one concept or another, one theory or another, one method
or another, is a matter of convention. Not all conventions

of thought are equally useful, but to discriminate between
their usefulness requires both prolonged theoretical dis-
cussion and a wide application of them to various empirical
data. The former cannot be undertaken in a report of an
empirical study, while the study is itself only one instance
of the latter. I am conscious, then, of having at this
point to arbitrarily barricade off many avenues which would
lead back to discussion of unsettled theoretical questions,
by simply adopting a position. One is more compromised
by this necessity in a young science than in those longer
established. The alternative is to omit altogether the
treatment of matters whose theoretical state is controversial,
but I believe that course is unwise. First of all, it
could make empirical research superficial and trivial, and,
secondly, it is a course which fails to appreciate that
the clearing of theoretical confusions is assisted by
bringing empirical data into juxtaposition with them. Four
matters whose treatment in the thesis will illustrate how
I have had to strike a position without being able to
justify it exhaustively are social class, values, the
primary group and the self. But the same expedient con-
ventionalism is found throughout the whole theoretical
framework. It is hoped that the merit of its defect will
be simplicity.

It seemed that what was needed of a theoretical
framework for the analysis of social behaviour was that it
should posit some hypothetical connections between three
orders of events: individual need, individual aim (or choice,
goal, purpose or value), and social structure. Needs
motivate behaviour involuntarily, so that the individual
is in disequilibrium until they are satisfied. Aims (or
values) guide voluntary behaviour in order that needs may
be satisfied under a variety of conditions, or their satis-
faction postponed, if need be, until the occasion is
opportune; and thus they give the individual motivation
(in a secondary sense) for controlling both the environment
and his own reactions. Aims (or values) are products of
conscious reflection. They are grounded in judgments about
what one's own needs are and about the capacity of the
environment to meet them. If an individual errs in these
judgments the very fulfilment of his aims (or values) will
leave his needs unsatisfied. In order to be satisfied he
must guide his action by realistic choices. Finally, social
structure, by which I mean the organization of roles in a
joint endeavour, is a major part (if not the main part)
of the environment within which the individual's needs are
met. As roles imply an acceptance of sanction and restraint
and not merely a division of tasks, social structure, just

like needs and values, has its sentient existence within
the individual and he has to deal with it there. But it
is external or environmental to him in that it does not
arise out of his own constitution, like his needs, nor out
of his volition, like his values, but out of the collective
life in which he is immersed. So, although it lies within
him, it is felt as a thrust from without which bears
authority in it - a point which Durkheim (1933, pp. 70 to
85) expounded with such great mastery. Because of this,
certain of the individual's values will express his judg-
ments about what he takes to be his needs and the fitness
to them of the constraint placed on him by his location
in a social structure. Both the attainment of his values
and, consequently, the satisfaction of his needs, will
therefore depend in part on his strivings in relation to
groups and society.

Although I can offer no very exact analysis of the
data of this study in terms of the relationships existing
between these three orders, it will appear, I think, that
I continually found myself observing and analysing at the
three levels. They supplied the primary categories of my
thinking, and I believe that the significant problems of
a dynamic sociology are those concerned with the fitness
to one another of individual needs, individuals' values and
social structure.

2. The Needs of Individuals

The needs which motivate individuals can be considered at different levels of the individual's personality organization. Like Murphy (1947, pp.105-124), one can classify motive patterns into the visceral, activity and sensory drives and the emergency responses, thus modulating through degrees in conscious awareness. Or, like Nadel (1951, pp.333-354) one can consider the generic action potentials, such as the seeking of pleasure and avoidance of displeasure, which pervade all kinds of striving. But of greater usefulness for comparing individuals in their social setting are those needs bearing on personality organization; such as the needs for personal response and long-term security which Linton (1945, pp.5 to 11)[1] has postulated, the need for an individual security system postulated by Kardiner (1939, pp.83 to 89), the need for ego-identity assumed by Erikson (1950, pp.207 to 218, 227 and 228), the need for ego-involvement in membership or reference groups accepted by Sherif and Cantril (1947, pp.113 to 115), or the need for an unfolding of powers, or

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[1]
The third need which Linton postulated, a need for novelty of experience, seems to lie nearer the generic action potentials however. Linton appears to have adapted these needs from those postulated by Thomas (1951, pp.111 to 144).

for a conscience to recall one to oneself, postulated by
Fromm (1949, p.45, and pp.141 to 172). These have greater
usefulness in comparing one individual with another because
one can describe in fairly specific terms the habitual
strivings through which each seeks to satisfy them. For
this reason I adopt for this thesis three needs on this
higher level of personality organization, each of which
has affinities with the needs postulated by one or more of
the second group of writers above. I will assume that the
necessity of organizing their behaviour in the face of
their own complexity and that of their natural and social
environments, produces needs in individuals for security,
freedom and an identity.

By security I mean a defined and stable place in a
system whose expected effective operation gives an indi-
vidual confidence that the provision of any or a number of
desired satisfactions is guaranteed; for example, the
provision of food, comfort, relaxation, artistic expression,
sexual consummation, personal appreciation, and so on. His
security stems from two sources: from his confidence in the
effectiveness of the system, and from his confidence that his
position within it is defined and fixed. This need arises
because an individual's exertion in isolation is seldom, if
ever, sufficient to secure the satisfactions he desires,

so that he finds himself overwhelmingly dependent on
support.[1]   By freedom I mean both liberation from the
determining power of natural and social forces (i.e. self-
determination) and the opportunity to exert initiative and
control.   These two abilities can be subsumed under one
concept because they are psychologically similar, for they
both contribute to an individual's being unobstructed in
influencing the objects of his field (which includes himself)
to change.   Basically, this need arises out of the fact
that the banking up of tensions demands relief in ex-
pression, understanding that word in a sense wide enough
to include such various self-originating activities as
impulse-expression, acts of decision and creativeness.

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[1]
    Gillin's argument (Kluckhohn and Murray, 1948, p.172)
that security from such "external props" is not indispensable
and that it can be replaced by security from "inner re-
sources" such as adaptability, capacity to analyze new
situations, a sense of the relativity of norms and a
knowledge of what is needed for personal and social in-
tegration, is stated rather too wishfully to be convincing.
I am inclined to think that these "inner resources" are
themselves the fruits of a security derived from "external
props", and that an individual can only adjust to the
relativity of systems <u>with any feeling of security</u> if he
gains perspective on them by a secure anchorage in a more
comprehensive system. As for the requirements for personal
and social integration - what if they should include a need
for "external props"? To know of such a need in the total
absence of means to supply it would not conduce to well-
being.

Finally, by identity I mean a conception of who one is.
The individual needs to be at least relatively unified in
order to be recognizable to himself. This is a need which
arises from having to maintain some inner consistency in
order to be able to act effectively in a variety of
situations and over time.

3. Social Structure

The connection which I am presuming to exist between
these individual needs and social structure is that certain
properties of social structure provide possibilities for
supplying them. Concrete social structures are one, although
not the only kind of system in which individuals can seek
secure anchorage. There are more abstract systems, such
as religious systems or naturalist or historicist systems,
and the part which these play in an individual's experience
should be considered alongside the part played by groups.
And one can, indeed, deal with them by the same analytical
methods, for these abstract systems operate quite analogously
with social structures, in that they picture some social
or quasi-social universe in which the individual takes a
role. Thus, for example, the Christian takes such roles
as the child or servant of God; the Marxist takes the role
of a precursor of the inevitable unfolding of history, and

so on. Both abstract systems such as these and concrete social structures supply <u>frames of reference</u> in which the individual can locate and securely anchor himself.

Chapman and Volkman (1939, pp.225-238) and Hyman (1942) used the concept of the frame of reference to assist in the explanation of individual behaviour. Sherif and Cantril (1947) have described as the "reference group" the particular case in which the frame of reference is a group. Sherif has written (1953, p.215) that, "The concept of reference group can be advantageously used to denote groups to which the individual relates or aspires to relate himself as a part"; and stated in the same essay (p.214) that "reference groups might just as well be called anchoring groups". The gist of the theory of which Sherif is a main proponent is that as an individual comes to have a psychologically functioning membership[1] in any formal, in-

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[1]
    I am indebted to Newcomb (Rohrer and Sherif, 1951, p.48) for this neat way of expressing the fact that a reference group can be one in which an individual actually has membership or one in which he has no membership at all, although thinking of himself as if he had and defining himself with that group as his frame of reference. Of course, I am thinking here only of the way in which Sherif and Newcomb use this term. It has been used by various workers in their own independent ways, much to the confusion of us all. Elizabeth Bott (1954, p.264) has recently given a summary of its variants.

formal or symbolic group by accepting its aims, norms, values or attitudes, he finds an anchorage there. This finding anchorage by involvement in a group will convey a large part of what I mean by finding security through a place in a system. But I would add something.

Relating oneself as a part to any system or group means to assume a role in it, the role giving one a defined, fixed and legitimate place. A role sets bounds to the initiative which one may and need assert, and guarantees support in all matters bearing on the purpose of the system or group which lie outside the area of one's personal exertion. In this way assuming a role can confer security.

But accompanying every role is status. As Linton (1945, pp.76 and 77) has pointed out, role and status are quite inseparable. If role defines the task which the group imposes, status defines the position of influence from which it is executed. Status can perhaps be best thought of from the three aspects of right, rank and recognition. The right which comes to a person with his role is a certain freedom from determination by others together with a defined area of initiative in running the enterprise. It is a limited freedom because it is ranked in relation to the freedom allowed to others, the exercise

of each subordinate's initiative, for example, being
dependent to some degree on the discretionary initiative
of a super-ordinate. Also, one is recognized by other
participants in the system to have this rank and right.
He receives deference (or prestige) accordingly, and by
this deference the exercise of his initiative is facilitated.
In such ways as these the status attaching to an individual's
role can help to satisfy his need for freedom.

Finally, his role gives the individual a definition
of himself in relation to a frame of reference so that
he gains a sense of identity from it. This self-conception
in terms of a role is what I shall call identity, or
person, or, alternatively again, following the sense used
by George Mead (1937, pp.135-144), a self. Also following
Mead, I shall distinguish between the elementary selves
(or identities) and the complete self (or identity) of
an individual. His elementary selves are those different
identities which he has in different groups; his complete
self (if he achieves one) is the organization of these
elementary selves into some sort of unity. It is one
problem of this thesis to examine the place which the
subjects of the study gave to the family in their strivings
to achieve a complete self.

The above will indicate sketchily how ego-involvement
in a frame of reference (of which concrete social structures
make one class) may simultaneously satisfy an individual's
needs for security, freedom and identity. But this is a
very idealized statement of the case. One of these needs
may be met at the expense of the others, so that an
individual remains dissatisfied and restless. For example,
an occupation which an individual values because of its
security, may deprive him of the opportunity to exercise
initiative in the way he desires, or it may compromise him
by fixing an identity on him which is not agreeable to him.
He is presented not merely with the problem of satisfying
the three needs but of satisfying them jointly. Much
entering of groups and relinquishment of memberships, and
many changes in group structure can be explained by the
linkage between these needs. · Also, the way of seeking to
satisfy these needs by taking a role in a system is by
no means uncomplicated with alternatives. In seeking a
sense of identity, for example, one may identify with the
character ascribed or with the actual exertions made.
Thus there can be a positional identity and an experiential
one, and they may converge or diverge. Another possibility
is for an individual to extend his identification beyond
his own role by also identifying vicariously with the

roles and positions of others in the structure, until his identity is enriched by approaching the comprehensiveness of the system itself. In employing this theoretical framework all such possibilities as these had to be kept in mind.

4. Values

The term "values" can be used in a broad sense which simply means "things valued". But that is to define the term so broadly that it loses point, and it would, in fact, confuse the whole subject. It is better to restrict the term in the way Nadel (1953, p.270) has suggested, to refer not to ends of practical or specific utility, but to the more autonomous worth-whileness which is believed to reside in certain classes of objects, and which consequently gives rise to principles which rule over behaviour. For the purpose of this thesis values will be defined as generalized ends, or principles, which guide behaviour towards uniformity in a variety of situations with the object of repeating a particular self-sufficient satisfaction. While it is admittedly seldom easy to decide what satisfactions are self-sufficient and what are instrumental, a meaningful comparison of the values of different individuals or groups is impossible unless we attempt to

do so. <u>For it is precisely in this that a difference of</u>
<u>values lies</u>. In the case of different families, for
example, we will find that while they "value" many of the
same things, e.g. money, food, knowledge and entertainment,
they differ simply because they "place a value" on any one
of them which is different from the value placed on it by
others. Questions of <u>what value</u> is placed upon a thing
are the important questions in the study of values, and
not simply questions of what things are valued. That
requires that all desired things be somehow viewed together
and the weight given to each estimated. Vernon and Allport
(1931, pp.232 to 248) worked out the Study of Values which
they based on Spranger's types (1928) with that fact in
mind.

One can gain some idea of what stands highest to a
person in a scale of self-sufficiency from his preferences
in choice situations where, though a number of things are
directly available, some limitation dictates that fewer
than all can be availed of. It is on the individual's
responses to hypothetical situations like these that the
first part of the Allport-Vernon Study (Appendix A) is
based. But not all value preferences are of the type in
which to have B one must forgo A. There are other situ-
ations (and possibly more of them) in which to have either

A or B one must have both, one being a means without which
the other is unattainable. These are those situations in
which the charge is sometimes brought against a person
that he is "making too much" of a thing, when what his
critic thinks should be a means is made an end in itself;
but it is never imagined that he can do without it. The
question of value then becomes which of the two the person
will regard as a means and which he will regard as more
self-sufficient. Questions concerning which of several
things is "the most important" are roughly equivalent to
this, and the second part of the Allport-Vernon Study uses
questions of that kind. We cannot answer these questions
by trying to find out which of two or more things a person
is willing to forgo, because to forgo one may entail losing
all. The fact that so many value preferences are of this
type warns us against working out any simple "objective"
measures of values which conceive of human values by
analogy with the economic conception of value, that is in
terms of the use of limited resources. Such tests would
be likely to assume, for instance, that a person values
more what he forgoes more time, money or pleasure for.
But differentials in these respects are determined more by
contingencies of circumstance than by values. If a person
spent most of his day at work it need not mean that he

valued work most, it may be that work was purely instru-
mental to the satisfaction of earning money, while money
may have been purely instrumental to other satisfactions.
If he spent more money and time on food than books it need
not mean that he valued food more than literature. The
philosophy of the popular song that "the best things in
life are free" implies a belief that the best things in
life do not require that other things be exchanged for them
but that other things should be so ordered as to facilitate
their attainment, or at least not impede it.

This ordering of ends into a hierarchy means that
a person will desire not only one thing, but everything
which he believes its attainment depends upon; but it is
still entirely realistic to say that he values only one
thing, if he permits himself to desire only whatever other
things he believes are necessary for it, making many ends
instrumental to one autonomous end. There is all the
difference in the world between two persons who desire the
same things, if an end which is instrumental to one is
self-sufficient to another. Values, as they will be treated
here, are such organizing ends, organizing precisely
because they make many other satisfactions and actions
subordinate to them; and they are more realistically iden-
tified by noticing certain consistencies in behaviour

achieved through effort, and the correspondence with these
of principles which the person confesses to follow, than
by any economic balance sheet of how much he gives for
the various things he gains. Self-sufficient ends or
values are what a person desires most of, not what he pays
most for. One could even define them as what one desires
without limit - a point which was recently made by Riecken
and Homans (Lindzey, 1954, p.786). Because values, as
defined, have this nature - satisfactions pursued without
limit and never subordinated to others - to entertain
more than one is to invite almost certain conflict. A
sovereign end to which no limits are set is so comprehen-
sive in what it claims in its service that any other end
with the same status is likely to be a deadly enemy; and
this, presumably, is the force of the proverb that no man
can serve two masters. For this reason the study of
values leads directly to the study of conflict.

It should, perhaps, be emphasized, however, that
because values are being identified as self-sufficient ends
consciously pursued, and because following more than one
such satisfaction may invite conflict, it does not at all
mean that the pursuit of any one type of satisfaction will
exclude the possibility of enjoying satisfactions of other
kinds, incidentally and unsought. Thus the pursuit of

altruism, for example, frequently brings egoistic satis-
factions gratuitously; a fact often formulated in the
principle that to save one's life one must lose it. The
idea expressed by this maxim is that self-enhancement is
best secured when not sought as self-sufficient. The
suggestion is that if things are rightly ordered all will
be gain and nothing lost at all. But this incidental
realization of different kinds of satisfaction is quite
different from deliberately pursuing each of them as a
self-sufficient end.

I have said that the autonomous satisfactions which
I am calling values are generalized. This is an empirical
generality, not one which an observer imposes for the
sake of ordering his observations. People themselves
develop a general conception of the type of satisfaction
they seek, and look for it from a variety of objects and
in a variety of situations; and it is only because they
do this that we are entitled to say they have values at
all. This is what Nadel (1953, p.270) had in mind when
he limited the term value to the worth-whileness which is
believed to reside in classes of objects. Cantril and
Allport (1933, pp.259-273) demonstrated that such generalized
tendencies do exist. Murphy (1947, pp.272-279) has written
of values as canalizations with a conditioning through

which the goal object is connected with a symbol, so that
the expectation of satisfaction is relatively detached
from particular, concrete situations. Using an analogy of
the neural network, but implying more even than an
analogical connection with it, Northrop (Tax, 1953, p.330)
has asserted that value is simply a conceptual system,
thus conveying that it is a way of making categories out
of the types of satisfaction that life offers. It is
precisely because people have this habit of generalizing
their desires that it is important to identify values in
the study of behaviour, because they summarize so much.

But, obviously, if the satisfactions actors desired
were generalized to the ultimate limit they would all
become the same thing, they would all reduce to satis-
faction. People are not in the habit of stopping at this
ultimate reduction of their desires, however, although
many frequently assert simply that they seek "happiness",
and impute the same motive to others. The narrower question
people put to themselves is whether this or that general
mode of behaviour will bring happiness, so that their
values become modalities at a level of generalization which
might be called penultimate. The problem for an empirical
classification of values is to identify what these pen-
ultimate modalities are which people judge to be intrinsi-
cally satisfying.

Some recent statements by anthropologists about the empirical classification of values are mainly valuable as historical reviews, but they tend to be admissions of bankruptcy so far as positive direction for empirical study goes. I refer to the paper read by Bidney at the International Symposium on Anthropology (1953, pp.682-699) and the discussion which followed it (Tax, 1953, pp.332-341), and the Marrett Lecture given by Firth in 1953 (1953, pp.146-153). Bidney's paper was more concerned with removing the obstacle which cultural relativism has put in the way of developing universal norms for society, than with the question of the empirical study of people's values. The ensuing discussion did recognize that both questions were pressing, and maintained a distinction between them, but did not offer guidance for empirical study. Firth, in his paper, identified "value elements", viz. technological, economic, aesthetic, normative and ritual, but he acknowledged that they are of different orders. This type of classification comes from thinking of values in the sense of things valued, and can only be expected to introduce different orders. Firth comes nearer to the conception of value which I am adopting when, towards the end of the paper, although without making connection with the classification of value elements proposed earlier, he

refers to the fact that what is agreeable or disagreeable
to have in close association, what he calls "companionship
value" or "sharing value", sometimes becomes the issue of
greatest importance in making a value choice. This has
some affinity with what I will call "membership" values
in the classification attempted below.

Some help towards a classification of values comes
from another direction. Prompted less by an immediate
need to classify empirical data than to explore the logical
possibilities which are inherent in what we know about
behaviour from general experience, Parsons (1952, pp.24-67)
has identified five alternatives which one may have to
face when striking a value orientation. One of these
alternatives, that of deciding between the welfare of one's
own person and that of one's group, has some correspondence
with a certain difference in empirical values which I
observed, and which makes the major division in the classi-
fication of values which I propose as a result of my
observations in this study.

The self-sufficient ends which were followed by the
subjects of the research seemed to fall into two main
categories according to whether the subjects were habitually
aiming to find satisfaction by being involved within a
frame of reference more inclusive than themselves or to

find satisfaction by some form of direct self-enhancement.
The satisfaction sought through the former of these modes
appeared to be the exhilaration of being released from
restricted and, perhaps, inhibiting self-consciousness,
through fixing attention and devotion on a wider system -
the thrill of "losing oneself" or "transcending oneself"
which is often called "spiritual". Patriotic and religious
experience are examples of such spiritual values, and
cognate with them are all those principles which enjoin
altruism, service, loyalty, truth, reasonableness, sacrifice
and forgiveness, and all the associated behaviour by which
one's own position and the position of others within a
system is strengthened, and maintained in spite of strains.
Satisfactions and principles of this kind I classify as
spiritual values. The satisfaction sought through the
second mode was some heightened self-awareness, as distinct
from self-abandonment, to be realized by attaching some-
thing to one's self, either to extend it, as in accumulating
property, or to concentrate it, as in cultivating a passion
for music. Aims of this kind I call egoistic values.

Spiritual values subdivided further into two cate-
gories according to whether one aimed to stand in member-
ship relation with as many things and people in one's field
of experience as possible (at least excluding none by choice),

or whether one definitely aimed to be included by excluding, barring certain others from the system in which one found one's own anchorage, and even perhaps opposing them. The former I call membership values, and the latter partisanship. Choosing the former is to value reconcilement, choosing the latter is to value a cause. Egoistic values divided in a similar fashion, according to whether they were comprehensive or exclusive. The comprehensive values are those which seek to expand the ego by attaching a variety of things to it as acquirements, whether it be purely sensory gratifications, such as are to be derived from food and drink, or such things as intellectual or athletic achievement, or property and wealth. This is the manner of valuing which values things as possessions, and I call it self-expansion. The exclusive kind of egoistic value aims to concentrate the ego by selecting one thing in which to be absorbed completely, such as a profession, hobby or sport, deliberately excluding other claims from consideration. It is the mode of valuing which values things as passions.

All of these four types of value are real in the sense that satisfaction is sought in real experience; in actual involvement in the case of the spiritual values and in actual achievement in the case of egoistic values.

But residual to these four types of real value is a fifth type which values things as <u>appearances</u>. Unsure of the possibility of attaining real satisfaction in any of the four modes, the individual seeks the satisfaction of appearing to have done so. Thus, for instance, he will studiously assume conventions of respectability or appearances of conviviality or ability, or display badges of financial, moral, intellectual, artistic, manual, physical or other kinds of achievement, by virtue of which he hopes to justify himself to himself and to others. Thus we have pretence, hypocrisy, ostentation and vanity: samples of a category of values which has long been recognized in sociology. Veblen (1908, pp.22-101) identified it as "ostentation"; more recently Eisenstadt   (1951)   has called it "symbolic value". When thinking of these as making up a moiety of values which stands in opposition to all of the real values, I call them face values; thinking of them simply as one of the five types of value I call them self-justification.

By dividing values into these five types or classes I am, of course, adding an observer's conceptual genera-lization to the already existing generalization of aims of the subjects. To speak of values is to refer to generalized aims, but to speak of types of value is to go further and

refer to a generalization about generalized aims. But some
values were, in themselves, more generalized than others.
Thus partisanship and self-concentration values tended to
be more specific by their very natures than self-expansion
and membership values. But, abstract though they are,
these types seem to give recognition to the differences
which are significant in regard to value. They define
what value is placed upon things and not simply   what
things are valued. They take account of the nature of a
person's interest in things, and do not commit the error
of lumping people together simply because they are interested
in the same thing, without having regard for the type of
satisfaction they expect from it. That was something
which proved to be particularly important in this study,
especially in relation to certain objects of valuation
such as recreation, art, culture, truth and religion. All
of these could be valued from an aspect of sharing and
communication, leading to intensified membership, in which
case they constituted membership values; but they could
just as easily be regarded as forms of sheer self-expression
or self-improvement, when they would constitute self-
expansion values; or as distinctions to be worn, then
constituting self-justification values. To fail to notice
distinctions of this kind, I believe, is to fail to grapple

realistically with the question of values. For this reason, although the Allport-Vernon Study of Values was used for collecting data, I did not accept the Spranger classification of values on which it is based. The Study helped me to identify what were a person's interests, but from that point I had to ask what was the nature of the satisfaction he was seeking in electing to follow them.

I would also mention that Becker's (1950, pp.3-92) dichotomy of sacred and secular values, which has actually been applied to the study of the family (Becker and Hill, editors, 1948), was not used here for a similar reason. "Sacred" and "secular" scarcely apply to the kind of generalized ends which I was looking for. They seem to refer rather to questions of the conservation of values than to types of value. A sacred mode of behaviour is one which is cautious about allowing new means to be substituted for achieving old but still desired ends, because the ends are so highly valued that untried means appear to threaten the certainty of procuring them. Secular behaviour, on the other hand, is ready to question the precise appropriateness of persisting means for achieving the same satisfactions in new circumstances, and is willing to learn about new means. The dilemma about following a sacred or secular mode of behaviour appears to be resolvable

by having the ability to distinguish means from ends and
to appreciate that the same ends can be achieved by
variable means; that is, by taking a middle course. This
requires a fair degree of sophistication; in fact, it
probably makes up a large part of what we mean by sophis-
tication in the more complimentary sense of the word. In
the absence of that sophistication two unrealistic courses
may be taken, and it is these which mark the extreme poles
of the dichotomy: the extreme sacred reaction is to
categorically deny variability to the means because one
is overwhelmed by the sense of a threat to the end in a
different means; and the extreme secular reaction denies
fixity to the end because one is overwhelmed by the present
lack of fitness between an end and the persisting means.
All of these are important distinctions to make, but they
bear more on the matters I discuss under "responsibility
attitudes" in Chapter VI than on self-sufficient values.
Any of the five types of value I have identified might be
stultified by sacred taboos, or be in jeopardy through
secular doubt, or be made reasonably certain of procurement
through a middle course of adaptation of means, all accord-
ing to the sophistication of the persons concerned.

These value types relate to needs and social structure
in a fairly obvious manner. The spiritual values serve

to guide individuals into involvements for the satisfaction of their needs. The egoistic and face values guide them into other courses, but may still make use of social structures. Self-concentration gratifications, for example, may be derived from an occupational role, and face values may depend on the imitation of status characteristics. Each type of value in itself indicates a certain disposition to association or dissociation. In addition to this, whether one shares values with others or follows values which differ from theirs will facilitate or impede association with them.

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 <u>a quite generalized</u>

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 extra-ordinary 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 oppor-
tunity 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 practi-
tioners. 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 insur-
ance 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 profes-
sionals, every family holding policies. They were larger
policies than those held by tradesmen, were held less dis-
criminate 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 profes-
sionals to save instead by investment and insurance. As
might be expected of course, more than half of the profes-
sionals 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 profes-
sionals were prepared to be expansive about their commit-
ments, 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 abso-
lute 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 in-
justice 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

[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 posi-
tion 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.[1]
But I think I am justified in assuming that this is so.

When the scores were obtained for all of the families
three definite modes were found to occur within each occu-
pational 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 some-
what 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 struc-
ture. 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 ex-
plored. 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 trades-

men'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 re-

presented.

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 provisionally 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 some 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 grad-

ings. 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 trades-
man'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 deter-
mined 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 inde-
pendent 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 predo-
minantly 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 ex-
pect 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 school-
ing in other state schools is judged inferior - it is
believed that the discipline is poor, the teaching indiffer-
ent, 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 pre-
dominantly, 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 profes-
sional 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 philo-
sophies. 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 member-
ship. 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 reli-
gious 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 remain-
der 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 atten-
ding 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 gene-
rations 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 trades-
men'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 dis-
appointed 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 trades-
men 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 res-
pond 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 bet-
week 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 con-
siderably 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 genera- tions 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 Leav- ing 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 trades- men. 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 exper-
iences 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. Child-
ren, 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 consi-
dered 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 be-
haviour 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 extra-
vagant 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 _always_ 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 bet-
ween 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 them-
selves 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 over-suspicious 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 adjust-
ments of people who identify their interests with an estab-
lished 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 them-
selves 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 dis-
crepancy between the actual and ideal. In such a society
we can only deal realistically with the question of res-
ponsibility 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 govern-
ment, 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 rela-
tion 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 diffe-
rence 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 coinci-
dence with it, was the expectation of change or stability
in the society.[1] Considering families now and not indivi-
dual 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 antici-
pation 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 improv-
ing 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 revolu-
tion; 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 indif-
ferent 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 responsibi-
lity 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 indepen-
dent. 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.

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[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 depen-

dence 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 con-
servatives 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 con-
servative, 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 con-
secration 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 satis-
faction. 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 profes-
sional 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 - theore-

tical 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 dis-
cerning, 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 direc-
tions - towards a Fabian kind of Socialism, and new educa-
tion; 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 utopia-
nism 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-concentra-
tion; 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 prefe-
rence 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]); expres-
sions 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 trades-men's families pursuing this value	% of profes-sionals' fa-milies pursu-ing this value	% of all families pursuing this value	
Real,spi-ritual 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 member-
ship 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 indivi-
dual, 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 ego-)istic)values:
	Total for division A	10	9	19	)trades, 11,)profes-)sional, 12,)total, 23.
	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 emula-
tion - 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, unworldli-
ness 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 res-
ponsibility 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 suffi-
ciently 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 them-
selves.

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 res-
ponsibility 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 conse-
quently 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 exhiliaration 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 characte-
ristics 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 conse-
quence 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, ego-
istic or face values, which are easier of access in isola-
tion. 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 associa-

tion. 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. With-

out 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

/& Page

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 functio-

nally 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 rela-
tions, 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 distin-
guished. 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 kind.
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 obligatory association. But,
while they will be thus designated, it must continually be
recalled in what limited and polar sense they are being

called <u>obligatory</u>. 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 <u>voluntary association.</u> 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 arrange-
ments 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
return, 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 culti-
vated 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 visibi-
lity 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 dis-
cussion 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 inten-
tionally 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 unpreten-
tious 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 in a community of like-minded people, makes
a marked contrast with the abortive efforts of another
family to achieve primary relations through neighbourhood
in a community of people diversely-minded. 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 neigh-
bours. 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 some-
thing 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 neigh-bourhood 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 deve-
lopment 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 per-
functory 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 involve-
ment 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 ex-
perienced 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, adoles-
cents 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, capaci-
ties 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 care for some person, or to be made feel that they are not cared for.

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 their family 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 move-

ments 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 trades-
men. 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 fre-
quently included coaching, in tennis, swimming or riding.
Spontaneous neighbourhood games, with ad hoc rules, were
more frequent amongst tradesmen's children. It was notice-
able 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 accom-
panied 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 res-
tricted 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' Educa-
tional 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 educa-
tion 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 move-
ments 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 profes-
sional 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 profes-
sionals 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 know-
ledge, 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 profes-
sionals, 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 pro-
gressive 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 agree-
able 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 obliga-
tory 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 manufac-
ture, 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,

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 adjust-
ment" 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 socia-
bility, 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. Socia-
bility took first place in two families only, both profes-
sionals![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 some-thing 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 <u>definition</u>

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 <u>underlies</u> 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,
<u>and not allow that they are part of the family</u>. 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 <u>can</u> 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 them-

selves 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 activi-
ties 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 associa-

tion, 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. Recrea-

tion, 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. Some-
times 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 un-
restricted expansion to which the self-employed were aban-
doning 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 pro-
portion of adolescents, the part they play is always sub-
ordinate 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 with-
draw their support because of its not meeting their need.
Is it possible that increasing instability, both of indi-
viduals 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?

PART III.

INTERNAL RELATIONS OF

THE FAMILIES.

those affected took towards it. If, in describing roles,

I refer sometimes to a practice and sometimes to a belief

in the fitness of a practice, it will be for economy of

reporting. It should be understood that I have regarded

nothing as role-behaviour which has not exhibited both of

these elements and a certain correspondence between them.[1]

Also, in describing a role it is uneconomical to refer

every time to the reciprocal performances it entails for

others; as when a parent's command entails a child's

compliance, for instance. Reciprocal roles will usually

be taken to be summarized in a role which implies them

both, except where each merits special mention.

Because role differentiation is fundamental to the

nature of the group, and is, indeed, what we mean by group

structure,[2] its place in a description of families is

cardinal. The account of it is therefore undertaken now,

at the centre of the thesis. It follows and will summarize

relevant matter from the preceding part, which dealt with

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[1]

Parsons (1952) makes much of the fact that role expec-
tations are saturated with standards, as, for example, in
his definition of role on pp.38 and 39. Homans (1951, p.124)
even reduces the role to a particular kind of norm.

[2]

See Parsons (1952, p.114).

the way families function in their external relations; and
it stands before the chapters which are concerned with
the families' internal life.

Because a role is a performance discharged on behalf
of a group, a particular role is only defined if we under-
stand what social boundary contains it. The roles dealt
with in the present chapter are those which have the whole
family for their perimeter. In the previous chapter the
convention was adopted of describing as "family functions"
those activities which family members discharged amongst
themselves alone. This was done in order to separate these
activities from those which could only be accomplished
through association with people outside. That enabled
us to see what are the functions which remain to the city
family to perform within itself. But now it is necessary
again to consider family activities in their fullest exten-
sion, for the ends to which family roles are the means, are
all of those things for which family members depend on
one another or are in some way implicated with one another,
irrespective of whether their achievement requires additional
co-operation from outsiders.

The ends which have to be realized in order to main-
tain the family in itself and in the society fall into
four major divisions. Two of these divisions are concerned

with maintaining the family in itself. The first embraces the productive activities which secure the family's physical and material welfare. Earning an income, working to maintain the household or to produce food and clothing, and efforts devoted to the care of the person are examples of the sort of things which fill this division. The second division comprises activities which are concerned with managing and controlling the family as such, and securing its effective and continued operation.[1] The remaining two divisions are concerned with the family's external obligations. One is the group of external liaison operations, such as making public, business, legal or financial representation for the family, or keeping in touch with relatives and friends. The other covers the supervisory and training activities by which children are socialized; for it should be remembered that, though much latitude may be allowed the family as to what style it shall rear its children in,

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[1] The existence of this division of activities is evidence that the family, on its microcosmic dimension, exhibits a distinctive machinery of controls which is apart from the self-regulation that is secured by various agencies; for instance, by the normativeness or the reciprocity of role expectations, to which I have referred. Nadel (1953, p.266) has emphasized the importance of this separate machinery in societies, and has (1951, p.136) adapted the term regulative (from Becker-Weise) to refer to the institutions whose function is to effect control.

that they shall be reared is a public requirement, and the society claims them for itself. Notwithstanding all the voluntary aspects of parenthood and all its intrinsic satisfaction, parents are in a sense the keepers of wards. Children are destined to be independent adults with family responsibilities of their own, and their parents are required to make them socially agreeable for the time being, foster their development, and fit them to move out. In the following account, the roles of family members will be described according to which tasks are allocated to them from each of the four divisions of activity: production, family management and control, external liaison and socialization.

Finally, in addition to these four divisions of activity concerned with the family, there are other activities which families reserve as the personal right of each role-bearer. For families operate as if taking account of the fact that some personal space is due to each member. Personal space will also be included then, in this account of roles.

Depending on the nature of the group, of whose structure they are the units, roles may be ephemeral or permanent, single or complex. Because the family is an enduring group, family roles tend to be permanent, repetitive performances.

And at the same time, a complex of specific performances accrues to each member, due to the fact that he plays diverse parts. This is a feature which roles only develop in groups which are many-sided, or which somehow contrive to make the roles which their members play elsewhere relevant to themselves. These are both properties which are found in the family particularly, as was pointed out in the last chapter.

When this role-accretion takes place, one performance is usually adopted by which the whole complex is named. For instance, the terms "father" and "mother", "son" and "daughter", in their originality, refer simply to biological parenthood or issue. The terms can be used in relation to other animal species as well as humans, and they are applied figuratively to ideas, movements, and so on. But, in regard to the human family, common speech has made the terms shorthand for the complex of social functions which has accrued to the biological function. "Father", it may be, comes to include the discrete roles of breadwinner, admonisher of the children, lover of the mother, business executor for the family, economic manager, and adviser in the ways of the world. I will proceed by comparing the subsidiary roles which families assembled into the cardinal roles of father and mother, son and daughter. Also, as

the roles assigned to son and daughter alter with age,
these will be considered at the two stages of childhood
and adolescence.[1]

2. Production

In the sample, the father was always the income-earner
for the family. Families attached their expectation of
continuing welfare to the hope that the father would con-
tinue in employment. To secure this regular income was
regarded as quite exclusively his responsibility, and in
cases where the mothers did part-time work, their contri-
bution to income was regarded as additional, and was never
required. Adolescents who were in employment were required
to support themselves by paying board, or, if their earnings
were small, to make some contribution towards it. School
children of tradesmen who did part-time work kept their
earnings for themselves, and divided them between savings

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[1]
Although adolescence is known to commence at different
ages for the two sexes and for different individuals, the
convention was adopted of classifying as adolescents,
children of fourteen and over. Fourteen tradesmen's families
included adolescents, seven of these including sons and
eight including daughters at that stage; seventeen profes-
sionals' families included adolescents, eight of these
including sons and eleven including daughters. Fifteen
tradesmen's families included pre-adolescent children, eleven
including sons and ten including daughters at that stage;
nineteen professionals' families included pre-adolescent
children, sixteen including sons and thirteen including
daughters.

and pocket-money for spending. In three professionals'
and two tradesmen's families, where the father's practice
or business was attached to the home, the mothers were
recognized to be making an indirect contribution towards
income through giving assistance. Although the sample
included no families in which the mother was working full-
time at the time of the study, several wives in both occu-
pational groups had done so earlier in married life to
help establish the family financially. The attitude taken
to the practice of wives working was fairly uniform. It
was that there was "nothing wrong with it", that adversity
could render it necessary, and that, if there were no
children to consider, it could be a financial benefit. But,
while ever there were children still at school or of pre-
school age, it was believed to be the mother's place to
be at home with them. No wives considered that accepting
employment would mean loss of social status for the family.

Mothers made clothing for themselves, their daughters
and younger sons, occasionally made shirts or pyjamas for
the father, and darned, repaired and altered old clothing;
and it was only a few (professionals' wives) who felt
altogether free from pressure to assist economically in
this sort of way. Mothers also made curtains, cushions,
covers and similar effects for decorating the home. They

prepared the meals, baked cakes and pastry. Sometimes
they produced vegetables in the garden, but gardening was
more often allocated to the father; and the growing of
vegetables was made his responsibility, even if the culti-
vation of flowers was left to the mother. Families who
kept fowls divided the care of them amongst members, mothers
or children often feeding them and the father cleaning
their yards. Most of the tradesmen, but only a few of the
professional men, made useful equipment for the home. They
built furniture, constructed cupboards, laid paths, designed
gadgets, and so on; and two were building week-end cottages.
A large proportion in both occupational groups did some
part of the mending of the shoes of family members.

The services needed to maintain the household divide
into those inside the home and those which are more external.
The former lay predominantly in the mothers' field, the
latter in the father's. Mothers did nearly all of the
repetitive cleaning, and the washing and ironing, and the
shopping to stock the home with provisions. Tradesmen's
wives had no outside assistance in these tasks, but nearly
one half of the professionals' wives had part-time assis-
tants to help them.[xx] None had full-time or resident house-
maids, although several recalled a time when they had done
so. They said that they preferred not to do so any longer,

not only because assistance was hard to secure, but because
it was expensive and the standard of work was not worth
the money.

While these internal household tasks fell predominantly
to the mother, all of the tradesmen, but only half of the
professionals,[xx] made a deliberate point of giving their
wives some form of petty assistance. They would wash or
wipe the dishes, stir the porridge, make morning or evening
cups of tea, and so on. These tasks were never extensive,
but were undertaken as a gesture towards "lightening mother's
load", and were felt to be especially called for in the
evenings. It was essentially mother's load that was being
shouldered, however, and the fathers did not think of the
tasks as belonging properly to them. The professionals who
gave no assistance of this kind to their wives were extremely
busy, and were mainly the husbands of those wives who were
making use of outside help.

Four fathers in each occupational group departed from
this conventional pattern of token help, by taking, as
their due obligation, a larger share of the internal house-
hold maintenance; although the bulk still fell to the mother.
These men did some of the heavier work, such as scrubbing,
sweeping, polishing and strenuous washing; occasionally some
uncomfortable task, such as hot cooking; or external work,
such as shopping or weekly marketing.

External household maintenance was regarded as the
father's work. Such matters as repairing and painting the
house, keeping the grounds tidy, chopping wood, cleaning
and overhauling the car, were the man's work. A third of
the professionals, however, had to excuse themselves from
most of these tasks, either because of incompetence or
over-busyness, and engaged tradesmen to do them. Two profes-
sional families which owned large grounds engaged regular
part-time help to keep them in order.

Personal care was understood to be the mother's res-
ponsibility. It was hers to see that all members were fed
and clothed properly, that they kept healthy and were
generally comfortable, or received medical attention if
sick. Most mothers were expected to know when anyone was
in need of new clothing and either do the buying or super-
vise it. A few fathers accepted responsibility for keeping
themselves equipped with clothing, but most of them depended
on their wives either to buy it for them, or, if they were
willing to make their own choice, to inform them of the
appropriateness of the time. Personal care was needed
most for very young and very dependent children, who applied
to their mothers for it continuously; but the older children
and the father were certainly not less confirmed in their
expectation that the mother would make their lives comfortable.

A few fathers in both occupational groups relieved the
mother of some of the personal care of the dependent children,
particularly in the evenings, perhaps by bathing them and
putting them to bed.

Some adolescents in both occupational groups were
assigned regular tasks, but there were nine (out of fourteen)
tradesmen's families and four (out of seventeen) profes-
sionals' families in which adolescents gave either only
very occasional help or almost none at all. In no case
was the work required heavy, and all of them were excused
from greater responsibilities because of the claim made on
their time by study or daily occupation. The core of the
duties which fell to an adolescent consisted of looking
after himself and his own part of the house, such as making
his own bed, tidying his own room, preparing his own break-
fast. Beyond this, any regular work on behalf of the
family was usually confined to petty help, such as taking
a turn at laying the table for meals or washing the dishes.
Some daughters made clothing for themselves and did occasional
cooking, washing, ironing and cleaning in association with
their mothers; some sons assisted their fathers in their
external tasks of keeping the lawns, cleaning the car, and
so on. Families with four or more children depended on
their adolescents for more extensive services, such as doing

part of the heavy cleaning or house repairs, and their
duties often included some care, control and supervision
of the younger children.

It was predominantly sons who made up that group of
adolescents who were without regular household tasks. These
were inclined to disdain such responsibilities, leaving
them for their mothers and sisters - or fathers. There was
a feeling in these families that young men should be free
from domestic obligations to their families in a way quite
unshared by their sisters.

In a similar manner most children were allotted regular
small tasks to do, but again there were families (six of
fifteen tradesmen's and three of nineteen professionals)
in which there were children who did only the most sporadic
tasks, and who had no sense at all of being depended upon
by the family for help. The tasks mostly undertaken by
children were small things to help mother or father, such
as sweeping up the mown grass, tidying a room, stirring
a cake mixture, or small things connected with their own
personal care or part of the house, like cleaning shoes
or making beds.

3. Family Management and Control

The families were fairly uniform in the way the pro-
ductive tasks were allocated, except for the minor variations

noted; but they were less uniform in matters of family management. In twelve of eighteen tradesmen's families the fathers could be said to be in effective control; in three the mothers were in effective control, and in the remaining three something like a partnership in management was found. In nine of the twenty professionals' families the fathers were in effective control, in one the mother was in effective control, and in ten there was partnership. The overall picture is one of patriarchy being challenged by a pattern of partnership.[1] But this surface classification masks the variety of forms which control or partnership took, and it is necessary to examine these to understand what factors could be responsible for either condition. Especially does it mask the fact that certain forms of control were much weaker than others in the normative element, which, I have said, is part of the constitution of roles. This tendency in some cases for control activities to evade the restraints of family sanction will be discussed at greater length in the next chapter.

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[1] This picture is much the same as that which Hill (1947, p.129) draws for America. He says, "If there is any modal type of family in America, it is the semipatriarchal form in which a dominant husband 'brings in the bacon' and a submissive woman plays a traditional wife and mother role." And he adds (p.130), "The so-called 'companionship' family appears to have much in common with the beautiful ideal of the 'Brotherhood of Man' as a millenial goal."

In fourteen of the twenty-one families in which patriarchy was found (eight tradesmen's and six professionals') there was no element of forced domination. In these families the fathers exercised control by a principle of legitimate authority with which their wives were in accord. By legitimate control I mean control exercised by the consent of those concerned, and done on principle, there being believed to be reasons in which the practice is grounded.[1] The wives believed that the father was the rightful head of the family and ascribed that rank to him. Most of them were well satisfied with the arrangement. They said things seemed more natural and proper that way, that they felt greater confidence, that the family had a stable basis, and that the father exercised his right with discretion and only after consultation, and in fact, left a large area of initiative to them.

The usual practice was to leave the current organization of the household activities and the supervision of the children almost entirely to the mother. The father reserved the initiative in allocating the overall finances, but

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[1]
In distinguishing in this way between control which is legitimate and that which is not I am making the same distinction as the one made by Lasswell and Kaplan (1952, pp.133 to 141) between authority and naked power.

apportioned a certain amount to the mother for household expenses, and of this she had full control. The father also expected to initiate major changes, or to be consulted for a final decision in any changes his wife might be contemplating. Many of these projected changes were those which would affect the use of material and financial resources; such questions, for example, as the purchase of expensive clothing, new carpets or furniture or labour-saving devices, or a car. Major decisions affecting the children, such as the school they should attend, the clubs they should join, the holidays they should have, the company they should keep, the time they should be home, whether they should have bicycles or watches, and so on, were also the father's to make, either in agreement with his wife, or, if their views differed, in ascendancy over her.

Generally speaking, the wives were free from interference, and felt at the same time that they had someone to whom they could appeal to take responsibility for major decisions. Final authority for the father on the family's boundary, requiring decisive intervention at the turning points, coupled with final authority for the mother in domestic organization and child supervision, along a fairly closed boundary within it, and calling for continuous small decisions and adaptations, seems to have given sufficient satisfaction to both partners to make this arrangement stable.

Legitimate patriarchy was believed to have a number
of grounds. Families varied in which of these they
emphasized, but the one most commonly accepted was a belief
that authority was a right that went with the acceptance
of responsibility for earning the income. "After all,
he earns the money," it was said in justification of the
father's primacy. And most of the income earners did, in
fact, find the family's financial dependence upon them an
ultimate resource for power, whether or not the patriarchal
form of control was used. Indeed, where it was not used
the power was the more valued, being something which en-
hanced the father's competitive position. In a way oddly
suggestive of the move by which the British House of Commons
assumed the real power of government,[1] the fathers retained
the budget. There were only six fathers (two professionals
and four tradesmen) who did not exercise the right to
allocate their incomes according to their own judgment,
allotting the mother a fixed portion to spend at her own
discretion on the household.[xx] A number invited their wives'
participation in this budgeting, although keeping the
leadership for themselves; but amongst the tradesmen there
was a tendency to be more autocratic, and several clung

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[1] Mackenzie (1950, pp.147- 166) describes how this was done.

Chapter VIII

ROLE DIFFERENTIATION BY AGE AND SEX

1. The Concept of Role

It is common knowledge that the nature of society is largely constituted by a division of tasks between members, and the fact has been vividly in the awareness of modern sociology since Durkheim's "The Division of Labour in Society" appeared at the turn of the present century. This division of tasks is effected by giving a performance to each individual which will contribute to some end of the group, and be reciprocal with tasks given to others. Such a performance, imposed by the expectation of a group, supplies the simplest definition of a role, as was pointed out in Chapter IV. The role, as was also said there, develops a normative aspect, for the expectation is not simply an anticipation that a certain task will be done, but an implication that it ought to be.

In attempting to identify the roles taken by family members, I looked for performances which were accompanied by a regulative expectation. This would either be expressed verbally or verbally implied, or it would be implied in the way an activity was performed or in the attitude which

tenaciously to a certain power over their wives
derived from keeping them ignorant of the actual amount of
their earnings. The two professionals excepted above offered
their wives entire equality with themselves in the determi-
nation of the budget. The four excepted tradesmen surren-
dered the right of budgeting to their wives completely,
handing over their unopened pay envelopes. Two did so as
a gesture of respect and confidence, and two because of a
confessed incompetence in handling money.

The other grounds for legitimate patriarchy regarded
the father's authority as a responsibility entailed in the
natural advantages which men enjoyed over women. It was
thought to be against nature and a matter for shame if
opportunity was not made for the father to use his advantages
for the family's benefit; and in three cases it was believed
as well that it would be an infringement of the divine law
which made the father the family head. It was further
accepted that, because of these natural advantages, the
society had made the father responsible for the family's
conduct and welfare.

The natural advantages imputed to men were not usually
catalogued with precision; and some people thought it
proper to allude to them darkly, as things known instincti-
vely and not in need of justification. But, if such hints

are interpreted in conjunction with the more explicit

statements that were made, four kinds of male advantage

seem to have been acknowledged by parents of both sexes.

The first is freedom from the periodic physiological restric-

tions imposed on women by menstruation, pregnancy and

lactation, and from any social dependence they entail. The

second is a greater capacity for muscular exertion. The

third is a psychological capacity for emotional control,

which is believed to equip men to make a more objective

assessment of situations, to endow them with a sense of

limits which women (more hysterically disposed) need to

have supplied, and to make them more decisive than women,

whose labile feelings cause them to vacillate. And the

fourth advantage (which, if the third is real, might be

supposed to be a consequence of it) is the man's capacity

to deal with and find access to a wider field of experience,

and a greater resulting competence in the affairs of the

world.[1]

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[1]
    When men were asserted to have such natural advantages
by the subjects of the research, nice scientific questions
were not meant to be either raised or settled concerning
their genesis: whether they were inherited, or acquired,
for example, in response to the roles conventionally assigned
to men. They were simply taken for the traits which both
qualify and oblige the fathers of families to assume authority.

Further, because, by sex, men are believed to have
this seniority over women, it is thought to be wrong for
a man to forfeit his advantages by matching with a woman
who is either older or better educated than himself, and
who, therefore, may have counter advantages. This age and
education relationship were norms that were nearly univer-
sally acknowledged by the parents of the sample, whatever
the form of family government. And the actual ages of
husbands were greater than those of their wives in all save
the cases of one tradesman and three professionals.[xx] Refe-
rence to Chapter V (pp.110 & 111) will also show that, as a
group, wives were not better educated than their husbands.
(A small number of tradesmen's wives, however, had had
slightly more schooling than their husbands.)

Parents who followed legitimate patriarchy believed
themselves to be in line with the most standard and tradi-
tional arrangement. They did not feel it needed any defence
as a method of family government, although they knew that
it was being challenged by an arrangement more like partner-
ship. Some of the professional people who preferred it
to partnership thought of partnership as a doctrinaire
fancy; some trades people took it for an indication of
weakness in the man, in letting the family, and his wife
in particular, slip out of his control.

The division of functions for family control was a
central differential by which other activities and traits
became appropriate to man or wife. The father relinquished
the management of the household and supervision of the
children to the mother largely because he was choiceless,
being so much outside of the home discharging his own res-
ponsibilities. It was for him to do battle with the world
and for his wife to stand beside him as a helper. The
mother's obligation, therefore, was to be a home-maker,
while it was the father's to supply the family with its
bearings and steer its course through political, economic
and social perplexities. Fathers felt an obligation to
acquaint themselves with a knowledge of affairs for the
family's sake no less than mothers felt an obligation to
make a home. Fathers were depended upon to advise in the
ways of the world and to inform the family of its position
in society. I have said (Chapter VI, p. 184) that family
members adopted the same class self-inclusion as one an-
other in all families except one. They did so largely
because they depended on the father to define the situation
for them.[1] Fathers' social responsibility attitudes were

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[1]
    Some wives' views about social class were much more
highly elaborated than their husbands', showing that it was
a matter which they had thought about more. But if they
were disposed to diverge from their husbands in their theories,
they tended to feel they had to defend them, and in fact
were inclined to strike their husbands' attitudes at the same
time, as if that were the "official" family position in the
face of which they were helpless.

also copied, and their politics were usually assumed. I
have said (Chapter VI, p. 184) that in all save six families,
husbands and wives agreed in their social responsibility
attitude. In most of those where there was uniformity the
father assumed leadership. Where there was difference, in
all except one case, the father's attitude dominated the
family, the mothers considering it both prudent and proper
to "keep their thoughts to themselves" whenever an attitude
was being brought to focus in decision. I have also said
that parents had divergent political convictions in only
four families (Chapter VI, p.184). Where they concorded
it was the fathers who were politically informed and exer-
cised leadership, excepting only in the case of three
professionals' families.[xx] In these the spouses could be
said to have achieved agreement with one another through
fairly independent thinking.

The mother, in her turn, was left to organize the
family. She was expected to keep an eye on the activities
of every member and co-ordinate them, to inform each of
the other's needs, to define the family situation (as the
father defined the public situation) and preserve under-
standing. A father was often not very well informed of
the state of internal affairs and had to be "told the whole
story" if the mother had to appeal to his adjudication in
a disputed matter.

A striking concomitant of the division of internal and external authority between the father and mother was the different expectation placed on them to be adaptable within the home. It was definitely expected, by both partners, that mothers would be more adaptable. Fathers were less obliged to make personal adaptation to other members, and were more conditioned to being accommodated to than to fitting in. This is what some mothers alluded to when, in a peevish mood, they alleged that all men were spoiled. Generally, though, in families which practised legitimate patriarchy at any rate, this difference was kept within limits and was not a cause of discontent. A number of mothers positively embraced the obligation to be a "stand-in" or "back-stop", or the one who "could be put out most easily". They believed that families could not do without a specialist in absorbing inconvenience, and saw that role to be rightly theirs. The rationale which parents of both sexes indicated for this was the greater commitment of the father to rigid external expectations, which allowed him less scope for an adaptation of plans, and the greater strain suffered by him in external adaptation, which diminished his psychological tolerance for further frustration at home. "He has enough to put up with outside," it was said.

Also, because the father was required to grapple with
the harsher, coarser and even, it may be, seamier side of
life, it remained to the mother in her more protected
position, to be the guardian for the family of finer things:
religion, morality, culture and manners. This did not
necessarily mean that the father neglected these matters
in his own person, but simply that the mother had the
greater responsibility for directing them so far as the
family was concerned. Also, because of his preoccupation
with principles and issues, the father could not take a
great deal of interest in personalities. That too was
required from the mother. And, because his orientation was
broad and public, the father could not spare patience for
details or ornamentation; but these were left to the mother's
painstaking care. Besides, it was believed that women had
a natural superiority over men in refinement, intuition
and carefulness for detail, which equipped them for these
special tasks. Thus partners following this form of family
control believed themselves to be respecting and utilizing
the specific natural superiority with which each sex had
been endowed, in such a way as to increase their dependence
on one another.

The allocation of rights of control, supervision or
direction which I have outlined above, makes a kind of ideal

type of legitimate patriarchy, to which any family only approximated of course. Families using other methods of control incorporated some of the same features and excluded others. Also, they were aware that the style they had adopted was a departure from the more traditional form; although those adopting partnership believed theirs to be the most popular form at present. For these reasons the description of other forms will be facilitated if they are presented largely through comparison with legitimate patriarchy.

In the remaining seven families (four tradesmen's and three professionals') in which the fathers exerted effective control, they did not do so legitimately in the sense defined. Theirs was an assertive patriarchy. It is interesting that in six of these cases, the wives believed that the final control of the family should be vested in the father. Their complaint was simply that their husbands exercised it arbitrarily and oppressively. The seventh wife believed that the proper form of family control was partnership. It is also interesting that one of these fathers, blind to the fact that he was practising assertive patriarchy, rejected any principle of patriarchy outright in favour of partnership; although his wife favoured legitimate patriarchy and desired him to follow it.

Three elements common to these cases made the fathers'
control assertive. There was little or no consultation with
their wives in taking decisions; even though, in many larger
matters, their wives were willing to believe that the
father's opinion should have greater weight and finality.
These fathers simply took the decisions independently and
informed their wives of them; and they were remarkable for
their capacity to "turn a deaf ear", to seem preoccupied,
or to make a masculine virtue of silence and withdrawal,
when their wives tried to open discussion. Secondly, there
was an exaggeration to the point of egoism of that right
of the father to be less adaptable in the home, to which I
have already referred. The mothers, and even the children,
complained that these fathers were intolerable and detestable
in their selfish expectation that, when they were in it,
the home should revolve around themselves. It was said that
they never expected that they should have to fit in with
anyone else in the slightest degree. And, thirdly, there
was no legitimized division of areas of final initiative.
The effect of this in five families (the three professionals'
and two tradesmen's) was arbitrary and unpredictable inter-
ference by the father in those areas of activity which the
mother believed should be given to her, specifically matters
of household management and supervision of the children.

The effect in the other families (both tradesmen's) was
evasion by the fathers of certain decisions which the mother
believed the father should take; particularly decisions
about expenditure on furniture and household equipment,
repair of the property and the more serious misdemeanours
of the children. Thus they coerced their wives to take these
matters on themselves by their own default.

These developments which made patriarchy assertive were
abuses to which legitimate patriarchy was open. I have
said that all of those who adopted legitimate patriarchy
found it satisfactory; but they recognized how it could be
distorted, and some had had experience of one or both parties
transgressing legitimate bounds, such as the father being
too dogmatic or the mother too jealously possessive of her
own domain. Two mothers particularly (both tradesmen's
wives) expressed extreme frustration at having no appeal
against certain measures which their husbands imposed: in
implementing methods of child discipline which were unaccept-
able to the mothers, and in one case, in curtailing the
mother's outside activities. But, apparently, neither these
nor any other parents who adopted legitimate patriarchy,
found the incidental strains and abuses cause for calling
it in question. Their guarantee for its workability was a
confidence in one another's intention to abide by the limits
in principle.

In two of the families (both tradesmen's) in which
mothers were in effective control, their control was assertive.
Even in these the fathers decided the ultimate disposition
of the money. But beyond that, practically all of the
major decisions which have been described above as falling
to the father in legitimate patriarchy, fell to the mother.
The fathers and mothers alike were embarrassed to admit
this, as though they believed it not normal and it was plain
that in both cases neither partner was satisfied with the
arrangement. The fathers had their rationale to explain
it and the mothers their explanation to excuse it, and
they were much the same in both families. The fathers be-
lieved that in every family there is domination, either of
an overt or covert kind, and that it is a matter of chance
which parent will dominate, according to which one turns
out to have the more dominating personality. In this way
they both explained their wives' ascendency over them. The
wives, on the other hand, said that "hen-pecked husbands"
had only themselves to blame for refusing to accept respon-
siblity, because those who accepted responsibility took
authority with it. They complained that their husbands
were exasperatingly evasive whenever they tried to involve
them in discussion about the home, the children or the future,
with the object of leading to joint decision, and that every-
thing was left to them.

One can be excused from undertaking to adjudicate this debate, especially as the data are not conclusive. One can simply put on record that where assertive matriarchy was found, there was a combination of mother dominance with incompetence and evasion of responsibility on the part of the father. As far as I was able to judge, this defect of the fathers did appear to be a personality matter: in the one case a compulsive over-dependence, and in the other, a cyclic moodiness. But whether these defects were aggravated or even largely produced by the difficulty of reaching agreement with unyielding women, and whether the wives' intransigence developed to cope with their partners' waywardness, are open questions.

It remains to deal with the form of control which I have designated partnership, as well as two cases of control by the mother which were not assertive, and so have not been dealt with under that heading. As these were developments within partnership they will be treated in the course of discussion of that form of control.

Partnership was legitimate, being based on consent and principle. I have said that legitimate patriarchy was believed to be a privilege attaching to the father's acceptance of responsibility for earning the income, and a responsibility attaching to his possession of some natural

advantages. Partnership differed from it because it regarded
these things differently; but it differed from patriarchy
only very slightly in the actual allocation of responsibili-
ties. I have also said that those who practised partner-
ship believed themselves to be departing from the traditional
form of family government, but believed they were in keeping
with the most popular present form. Most of them assumed
it to have a greater vogue than this study suggests. One
father, for instance, said categorically of the manner of
family control described above as legitimate patriarchy:
"Families just don't live like that these days."

The basic reason for adopting partnership was a strong
feeling for equality. To most of these people the very
notions of authority, superordination and subordination were
repugnant. Secondly, there was generally a feeling of being
in the stream of the reform movement which gives recognition
to the equality of women with men, and seeks to liberate
women from subordination to men. Within the family, this
took the form of a reaction to those abuses which are possible
to patriarchy, and there was a tendency always to think of
patriarchy after the assertive stereotype. Assertive patri-
archy and partnership appeared to most of those who chose
partnership to be the only alternatives; there was little
conception of what male authority based on consent and

principle could mean. Thirdly, biological or psychological knowledge, or some personal experience, disposed these people to question the supposed natural differences between the sexes, which make part of the rationale of legitimate patriarchy. If they did not question the general truth of these differences, they at least questioned their truth for all cases, and they were more willing than others to admit individual variability. They believed that not all individuals find the socially approved sex types equally congenial.

What remained, as the basis for the distribution of control between husband and wife, when the above three influences had worn upon the patriarchal type, was <u>actual competence</u>. Each partner, it was believed, should assume the right of direction in any matter in which he or she had the greater competence. It was believed that if an equalitarian arrangement were followed in principle, with plenty of open discussion about <u>everything</u>, agreement would either be reached, or the person less competent to judge would appreciate the greater competence of the other and defer to it.

In practice the conscious attempt to apply partnership in family control produced some different results. In six families (two tradesmen's and four professionals'), which is about one half of the cases, the arrangement had achieved a stability with which both partners were thoroughly satisfied. Two factors distinguished the relationship between the parents

in these families. First, all of them were very conscious
of like-mindedness with their spouses, and were confident
that in most matters the independent decisions of their
partners would be entirely acceptable to them. From what
one was able to reconstruct of the personal development of
these spouses, this harmony of thought seems to have been
present from before marriage itself. In particular, not
merely did they show a broad religious and political affinity,
but all of them had very clearly elaborated political views
and precise religious or anti-religious views, in which they
were in agreement with one another, and on the basis of
which they had largely been attracted. Presumably, this
pre-existing agreement has played some part in the achieve-
ment of their present consensus. Secondly, these spouses
had a very marked sense of dependence on one another. Each
was conscious that a demarcated area of prerogative had been
assigned to him or her, and that other matters could be left
to the other partner. "That's left to me," or "that's some-
thing I leave to my wife (or husband) of course", were
statements of a kind very often made. But apart from the
fact that some of the fathers were amongst those who under-
took a greater share of internal household activities, and
the fact that a couple of them took a slightly larger part
than other fathers in issuing directives to the children,

the areas which fell to the partners were scarcely different
at all from those given to them under legitimate patriarchy.
The mother's role, as there, was to supervise domestic
organization and the children; the father's to earn the
income, determine the budget and be consulted about major
changes relating to the household and children. The belief
that, on the occasion of a major disagreement, final decision
did not revert automatically to the father, but to the
person most competent to decide, came to mean no more in
practice than each partner being thought most competent in
his or her area of prerogative. And, as all but one of
the fathers retained either leadership or exclusive right
in determining the budget, they still preserved a final
mandate. All of this means that the only important real
difference between stable partnership and legitimate patri-
archy was the dismissal from the former of the idea of
authority, and the insistence that the difference of roles
could give neither partner prior nominal status. In addition
to this, in minor disagreements, arising from differences
of taste or personal preference, it was observed that these
parents made a greater conscious attempt than some others
to achieve a balance, by allowing each person to have his
or her own way as often as the other.

In none of the remaining nine families which sought
to implement partnership did the parents exhibit the combi-
nation of precise consensus and mutual dependence which
was found in the families just described, and only two of
them showed a comparable stability. Five variations were
found.

In the two stable families (one of which was from each
occupational group), the equalitarian principle of right
by competence had led to de facto control by the mothers,
due simply to the fact that the mothers had such a combi-
nation of qualities (personal stability, intelligence and
capacity for organization) that they were able to assume
much more responsibility than their husbands. In the process
of assuming responsibility they assumed authority, and their
right to it was not questioned. These mothers took many
of the decisions taken by the father in legitimate patriarchy.
Thus we find a form of matriarchy developing within legiti-
mate partnership, which is different from both matriarchy
by assertion and matriarchy by principle, which might be
described as permitted matriarchy.

In one of the families characterized by unstable partner-
ship (a professional's family) there was continuous bicker-
ing and quarrelling between the parents, and any disagree-
ment, however trivial, precipitated a crisis. Both partners

were over-sensitive of a threat to their interests and dignity whenever a disagreement appeared to be developing. They were then more concerned to stake their claims and save their faces than to reach agreement. Each questioned whether the other was assuming a due proportion of responsibility, and whether the advantage was not falling too often to the other partner. Each at the same time felt that he or she had done more than a fair share, even helping in the province proper to the other partner, but without receiving appreciation for it. Each felt that he or she had put up with a lot more than the other.

In another family (also a professional's family), the competition was more soberly calculated, and was not without magnanimity in allowing the other partner concessions, such as the right of one to spend occasional week-ends away from home with the children, or the right of the other to engage in much voluntary work. But the dominating idea was for each to be allowed as much of his or her own way as possible, by not outraging the other one's sense of justice.

Four further families (three professionals' and one tradesman's) which adopted partnership, were subject to strain, due to the fact that one parent or the other continually sought to dominate. They did this because they were more or less helplessly dominating, even though they approved

the practice of equal partnership in principle. Two of the parents frankly recognized their propensity to do this. One mother said, "They always have to keep an eye on me, I'm a bit domineering." In two of the cases, the children and father consistently resisted the mothers' domination. In another, whenever disagreement occurred, the mother consistently gave in to the over-riding father, "for the sake of preserving peace"; but she did so confident that her greater competence and self-control left her a certain command over her husband and children. In the final case, whenever disagreement occurred, the father withdrew, not considering it worth-while to pursue it. He judged that, in view of the fact that he had more external satisfaction to turn to in his work and in systematic study, he could afford to do with fewer satisfactions than his wife in the management of the family.

This last reaction of a father to domination was similar to the reaction which another father exhibited to disagreement with his wife. His family is the last of the families which, being committed to partnership, proved unstable. The disagreement between the mother and father was acute, particularly in regard to what were the correct ways to organize the household and to discipline the children; but it was unaccompanied by any desire for dominance. Here again, the

father withdrew, because he claimed that he could find more
than enough satisfaction in his work, and could afford to
leave the family to the mother. He retained the right to
budget the income, however, and exercised it rather auto-
cratically, in compensation for what he had forfeited. Both
parents of this family were deeply discontented. They
obsessively expressed the view that the thing indispensable
for happy family life was that the parents should achieve
agreement about what they desired from life.

I have said that this second group of families which
practised partnership lacked the conscious consensus as well
as the clearly marked areas of separate control for mother
and father which were seen in the first group. Actually,
the core of responsibilities which fell to the separate
parents was not dissimilar from what fell to each in the
first group, and, therefore, was not dissimilar either from
the arrangement in patriarchy, although the division of
functions was less definite and less established by habit.
Departures were simply in the direction of mothers expecting
a greater right of intervention in determining the budget and
in deciding household and discipline policies, and fathers
expecting a greater right of intervention in the day-to-day
organization of the household and supervision of the children.
Thus, not only did the lesser consensus of the parents in

this group of families make the reaching of agreements a
greater problem than in the other families adopting partner-
ship, the fact that there was a greater area in which both
partners could intervene meant that there were more matters
which depended upon agreement being reached, the parents not
being prepared to delegate the determination of them to one
individual. Thus the sheer task of reaching agreement became
a problem of several-fold greater magnitude. Might it be
that the various reactions to this situation (habitual
quarrelling, permitted matriarchy, dominance and withdrawal)
were defences against an intolerable burden of accommodation?

A conspicuous feature of the management and direction
of the families studied was the exclusion from them of
children and adolescents in most of the cases. Only in
seven families[xx] (four tradesmen's and three professionals')
were sons and daughters admitted to the parents' confidence
concerning matters of policy, the parents giving the reasons
for their decisions and inviting the expression of the
children's wishes. And only in two[xx] (both professionals')
were family conferences held and adolescents allowed to
exert influence in deciding such family matters as the
ordering of household routine, which members should take

holidays and for how long, how members should be disciplined, and how much money the family should save.[1]

4. External Liaison

I have already shown how their control roles required the father and mother to have supervision of the more public and personal matters respectively. They also had certain specific tasks to perform in the public and personal fields.

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[1] The types of husband-wife relationship which were identified in Melbourne in a study reported by Oeser and Hammond, editors (1954, pp.164 to 179, and 244 to 248) are of a different order from the control types which I have identified in this chapter, and so cannot be compared with them. It would be misleading, for instance, to take their terms, autocratic and syncratic as equivalents of patriarchy (whether legitimate or assertive) and partnership. Their method has not allowed them to have regard for the parts which principle, consent and delegation play in constituting control relationships. Consequently, they have not been able to give due acknowledgment to the fact that antecedent decisions determine the meaning of current decisions. For example, they describe as autonomic any occurrence in which only one partner (say the husband) both decides on an action and carries it out, and they have not inquired whether he does so because his wife has agreed that he shall take decisions of that kind on behalf of them both. This means that what they have classified as autonomic behaviour will make up a large part of all of the types which I have identified since it can indicate mutual dependence as much as independence. Secondly, these workers have not based their types on a consideration of specifically control activities, as I have sought to do, but on the ratio of the simple arithmetical sums of the different decision-action combinations in all areas of family activity (pp.136 and 137). It is hard to understand what diffuse items of objective reality such ratios represent, but it is not to be expected that they would yield the sort of control types which I have been dealing with.

Fathers were required to discharge financial, business
and legal matters for the family. They paid bills, consulted
landlords, bankers and solicitors, arranged for insurance
policies, bought shares and so on. This was regarded as a
norm in both occupational groups, although there was depar-
ture from it amongst as many as one half of the tradesmen's
families. Where departure was made, however, and the mother
took over these functions, there was a feeling that it was
an irregularity arising from necessity, which was in need
of excuse or explanation. The reasons given by those
tradesmen whose wives performed these tasks were the realistic
ones that their wives had more free time in business hours
than they had themselves, and it was said of some of the
wives that they were more capable managers or (of a couple)
that they were better educated and therefore better quali-
fied for that sort of thing. There was only one professional's
family in which the fathers did not assume practically the
sole responsibility for these tasks, and there they were
shared by the parents. The higher incidence amongst them
of the assumption of these tasks may also be partly explained
by the fact that their own occupations give them more
experience of the type of transaction needed than the trades-
men's do. Some specific tasks of a related kind which
certain fathers in both groups undertook were to see that

family members were not charged extortionate prices for professional or trade services, and to see that their children received fair treatment and reward in their full-time or part-time employment.

On the other hand, it was the mother who had to keep up personal associations, whether with relatives or friends, and whether the relatives were on her own side of the family or the father's. As has been said, the rationale for this assignment to the mother of the care of personal relationships was related to the facts that the father was preoccupied in more public responsibilities, and that the mother was believed to have a natural gift of intuition which enabled her to be more insightful in dealings with people.

The mother's assumption of these responsibilities meant that she had to arrange for visits, either way, with relatives or friends, to make the necessary preparations, such as doing special cooking, and to do most of the entertaining. Mothers supervised some of their husbands' sociability activities as well as their own and joint activities, especially those of their husbands' engagements which affected the family's public standing. They kept an eye on what invitations were received for instance, saw that none were treated carelessly, and saw that they were duly reciprocated. It

also usually fell to the mothers to maintain most of the correspondence with relatives, friends and acquaintances. Some wives claimed that their husbands would be owned by neither friends nor relatives if it hadn't been for their own regular correspondence on their husbands' behalf.

Children and adolescents were encouraged by their parents, but by mothers particularly, to make friends of their own and, in most cases, to invite them home. Perhaps they would be allowed to invite them to a party. There were few parents who felt they could be careless of supervision over the friendships which their children formed, and a number had had to intervene at some stage to discourage a child from associating with an "undesirable" companion. They felt that inviting friends home was the best way of screening them, as well as being a way of consolidating the friendships.

The extent to which children and adolescents were expected to associate with adults who were guests of their parents was arrestingly different for the two occupational groups. Tradesmen's children were seldom expected to do much of this, unless inclination led them to. But professionals' children, except for those who were very young and would be restless, were usually expected to spend some time with the guests, to greet them and converse with them, and perhaps help to offer food and drinks to them.

5. <u>Socialization of the Children</u>

The families of the sample were much the same in the areas they allotted to each parent for the socialization of the children, but they varied in their methods for doing it. I will deal first, then, with the allocation of areas of activity; and afterwards with the precise definition of the parental roles.

As the mother was at home much more constantly than the father, whose work took him out of the family circle for the greater part of the active day except at week-ends, time and place dictated that the mother should play the leading part in the socialization of the children. I have said that the mother was mainly concerned with the personal care and supervision of the children. But her close contact with them for these reasons was almost continuously accompanied by a socializing purpose, as she trained them to care for themselves, and as she trained them in skills, manners and good behaviour. Thus it was predominantly the mothers in all families who gave the children their detailed directions and their moral instruction. In most families the fathers were content to leave these matters to the mothers except in situations when they were alone with the children and direction became inescapable. Six professionals and three tradesmen, however, voluntarily undertook a larger

share of the direction and moral instruction of the children
during their time at home; and two further tradesmen actually
rivalled their wives in this sphere, due to each of them
holding a special theory about child-training. This closer
association of the mother with the children in the process
of their training probably accounts for the fact referred
to earlier (Chapter VI, p. 184) that, where the parents'
responsibility attitudes or values diverged, the children
adopted those of the mother, except in some of the cases
where the father had a greater share than was usual in their
direction.

But, although fathers were largely exempt, because of
absence, from issuing the routine directions, they were
required when at home to support the mothers, to uphold
their rulings if a child questioned or resisted them, and
to share with the mothers the admonition and punishment of
offenders. Most mothers liked to feel they had someone to
whom they could appeal for an expression of stronger dis-
approval or the exertion of more severe punishment in the
event of serious misdemeanours or repeated commissions of
the same offence. In all of the families the fathers
accepted the role of supporting the mother in the discipline
of the children, and most of them accepted as well the
part of the stronger and sterner arm of the family law, and

became the parent whose intervention the children feared
most. This was so whether their intervention took the form
of physical punishment, non-physical punishment or merely
verbal reproof.

Parents of both sexes gave several reasons to justify
this arrangement. One was that the mother needed some
relief from the constancy of correction. Another was that
the mother in question simply could not cope emotionally
either with severe punishment or admonition; she tended
to lose control or become hysterical and was more upset
by the whole situation than the children themselves. A
third reason was that it was desirable to balance the amount
of frustration and unpleasantness which the children suffered
at the hands of each parent. Otherwise, with the mother
executing the routine punishments and corrections, the
father would take an undeserved appearance of benevolence
in the children's eyes and become more popular with them
in comparison with the mother.

Now for the more variable features of the parental
roles. Just as there were traditional and more experimental
forms of family government, so there were traditional and
experimental methods for the rearing of children. But even
though such differences were apparent, all of the parents
felt that they were in a new era so far as this question

was concerned. They were all self-conscious about their approach to their children, believing that children were under a new dispensation, and that the treatment now considered appropriate to them was very different even from that which they had experienced themselves one generation previously. It was according to which features of this new approach the families elected to adopt and which they left aside that differences between them had taken shape.

There were four main elements to be distinguished in the ideal type of the new approach to children. The first was the belief that one needed to equip oneself with knowledge in order to deal with children effectively. Merely to imitate others, or to repeat the methods of rearing one had experienced in childhood, as had been done in the traditional approach, would not suffice. There was a need to know something about the psychology of children, and their different stages of development, and to observe and respect their individual differences. The second element was a belief that parents should be companions to their children, and not the remote authorities they had been in earlier generations. They should associate intimately with the children and show as much equality with them as possible; specifically, they should let the children see that the things which they are doing both at home and away from home

are noticed, they should give the children help in achieving whatever goals they choose for themselves, they should be careful to demonstrate affection for them, and they should make occasion to amuse and entertain them. The third and fourth elements had to do with a different conception from the traditional one, of what one was aiming to produce as a socialized child. While it was thought that the traditional aim had been to produce an obedient child, the modern aim was to produce a self-regulating child. Children, it was believed, would be socialized, not by suppression of their inclinations, but by expression of them in social situations which, they would learn to realize, set the limits for them. Also, while it was thought the traditional aim had been to produce a child prepared for duty, the newer aim was to produce a child with every potentiality developed.

It was in the professionals' families much more than in the tradesmen's that parents were psychologically informed about children.[xx] There were only two amongst the forty professional parents who had not discussed, read or theorized about child development, and who had not observed their own children to discover their individual characteristics and needs. About one half of the parents of the tradesmen's families had done the same, but the remainder were fairly ignorant of the needs and natures of children. In most of

the cases where parents exhibited this psychological
ignorance, they did so together with their spouses, but
three fathers (one tradesman and two professionals) exhibited
ignorance in association with very thorough knowledge on
the part of their wives. These men had deliberately remained
ignorant, believing that it was not "the man's concern"
to seek instruction in these matters.

There were thirteen families (six tradesmen's and seven
professionals') in which the parents had so consciously
formulated and applied theories of child development that
they themselves regarded their methods of training as
experimental.·· The fact that only two of these were
families which adopted legitimate patriarchy suggests that
conservative husband-wife relations may be associated with
more conservative parent-child relations.[x] Except for two
cases, in different ways these parents were seeking to avoid
for their children certain deprivations or personality
defects which they believed themselves to have been burdened
with, sometimes as a result of mistaken training. The
particular aspect of personality which they hoped to foster,
or the deprivation they hoped to obviate, depended on the
particular thing from which they were reacting. In nine
families where one or both parents had suffered severe
repressive discipline and what seemed to them arbitrary

restriction of thought or behaviour, the dominating idea
was to give the children ample freedom of expression, and
rights of self-determination and self-development. These
parents gave their children few directives and little direct
punishment. In two cases the theory of child training was
very fully developed. In one of these it was believed
that through discussion the children would learn that the
family itself (and not the parents) was the source of
authority, and that they would curb their inclinations out
of respect for it. In another, it was thought that the
child should suffer no resistance to his will except when
he came up against someone else who desired something different;
then it became a trial of strength, and it was desirable
sometimes to deliberately give in to the child so that he
would not feel impotent. This latter theory was applied
by a father who was fervently attached to the belief that
his method of rearing would eradicate guilt, and consequently
"the neuroses from which 90 per cent of modern people suffer."

Parents in several of these families confessed to
finding their theories inadequate, and were returning to
traditional methods. A number of the children complained
about the state into which the methods had brought either
themselves or their siblings. One daughter of fourteen said,
"I absolutely must be organized and no-one will organize me

here." A son of another family, aged eighteen, said, "Dad
won't control us. I'd rather have a father who'd take more
control. I'd like to see more organization in the running
of the family itself; there's no organization here at all:
we kids get too free a run. The set up I'd like is where
you could more or less look up to your parents, and not see
them degraded by the children. The father ought to be the
dominant person in the household, and the children, and the
mother too, ought to obey him."

In one of these families which emphasized great freedom
of expression, and in two others whose experimentalism was
reactionary, the parents had aimed to rear the children
"by love", meaning by that the avoidance of direction and
punishment, and dependence for direction and correction on
example and the evidence of hurt suffered by the parents as
a consequence of the children's misbehaviour. Both parents
of two of these families and one parent of the third expressed
disillusionment about the method, and confessed to returning
to more conventional methods of punishment and the issue of
direct instruction. All of the children expressed dissatis-
faction, indicating a wish to have been moulded more firmly,
or showing strain at having been subject to an excessive
burden of moral responsibility.

The two cases in which experimental child training did
not take a reactionary form were that of one family whose
parents believed themselves to have been over-corrective
with one child earlier and were seeking ways to redress this,
and that of another family in which one physically defective
child had strongly focussed the mother's attention on the
general need to have regard for children's individuality.

The ideal of parents as the companions of the children
had been adopted by all of the families. In three (two
tradesmen's and one professional's), it had developed into
over-familiarity, the children being constantly disrespectful
and presumptuous towards their parents. In three tradesmen's
families and four professionals' on the other hand, the
parents sought to preserve respect for themselves by balancing
intimacy with occasional distance. They did this mainly by
placing certain of their decisions beyond appeal, in order
to convey to the children that there was more in the scope
of their understanding than the children could appreciate.
In about one half the families of each occupational group
the parents implemented companionship by striving to give
the children equal rights with themselves, by considering
their wishes and plans.[1] The other half of the families

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[1]
    This respect for what a child himself wanted stopped
short of the child's being encouraged to take a total view of
the family and assist, according to the capacity his age
allowed, in making responsible decisions which would affect
the whole family.

did not consider equal rights necessary, and, while main-
taining companionship and showing the children consideration,
they strongly impressed on the children their subordinate
importance to the parents.

Taking notice of the children and their activities and
demonstrating affection towards them were things which both
parents of the greater number of families consciously strove
for. But there was one tradesman's family and three profes-
sionals' where both parents excused themselves on the grounds
that they were undemonstrative and unemotional "by nature",
and so unable to fulfil that aspect of the role. In four
other families (two from each occupational group) the
father relinquished this function to the mother almost entirely;
the professionals largely unwillingly and because of the
demands of their professions on their time; and the trades-
men largely voluntarily, believing their role to be princi-
pally that of provider for the children, while it was for
the mother to "be closer" to the children, and show them
personal interest and love. The one matter excepted for
these fathers was taking an interest in the children's school-
ing. For that was a matter in which all parents of the
sample showed intense interest, particularly from the aspects
of the child's academic or sporting progress, and his
adjustment to class-mates and teachers. All parents offered

rewards for school achievement, and parents of both sexes interested themselves in choosing schools for the children and in seeing that the children kept up some sort of creditable performance there. Both parents encouraged children of both sexes to think about their future careers and communicated their own aspirations to them. A marked difference was found in the two occupational groups in the role played by the parents in storing the children's minds with general encyclopaedic information, as distinct from knowledge of personal and practical matters. It is the sort of difference which might be expected, however, in view of the different educational standing of the parents of the two groups. In nearly all of the professionals' families, informal education of this kind was something which both parents undertook continually. Amongst the tradesmen's families it was much more commonly regarded as the father's qualification to be able to answer questions, and mothers were regularly depended upon to do so in less than one half of the families. "That's something you had better ask your father," tradesmen's wives would say, almost reflexly.

The parents of one half of the families of each occupational group conceived it to be part of their parental role as a companion to give the children help in their own activities. Thus they assisted in building cubby-houses,

made equipment for games, helped with hobbies or assisted in sports, or put themselves at the children's service in other ways. The remainder did practically nothing of this kind, some because of extreme busyness, but most of them because they did not conceive such assistance to belong to the parental role.

It remains to consider the measures taken by parents to ensure that the products of their moulding would be self-regulating and developed children. All of the parents believed that children should develop freely and be allowed a certain amount of their own way and expression. They firmly rejected what they took to be the older view that children should be suppressed. But at the same time, with the exception of most of those whose child-training methods were distinctly experimental, the parents were cautious about extreme departures from traditional methods either of directing children or correction.

Some of the parents were extremely careful to see that the children were not hemmed in with restrictions, and that they had opportunity to make choices of their own. They were encouraged, for example, to decide for themselves when they would do certain things, what food they would prefer, what clothes they would wear, what form they would prefer their own recreation to take. Parents saw that the children

were amply supplied with opportunities to express themselves;
in play, in art, and conversationally in discussion. And
a number of them were careful not to be too insistent on
exact or prompt compliance with orders, especially if the
children were very young. In doing these things they were
applying principles which might be described as non-direction,
expression and permission. But, at the same time most of
them strove to balance these with direction, control and
authority. They told children plainly, firmly and repeatedly
what they must do, and punished disobedience. They gave
them to understand that there were limits to their freedom
of expression, especially when in company. They plainly
showed that they themselves were in authority, and were
responsible for directing the family, and would curtail
the activities of any individual if they considered it
necessary for the general good.

Corrections were enforced by punishment, but there was
no attempt to motivate good behaviour by rewards in any
except three tradesmen's and one professional's family; and
even there it was admitted guiltily as if regarded as wrong,
and only resorted to where it was extremely difficult to
secure obedience, such as getting a child to leave for
school on time in the morning. Children were quite fre-
quently rewarded for specific tasks, such as mowing a lawn

or cleaning windows, but not for behaving well. Most parents
aimed to minimize punishment, and tried to suit it to the
child's stage of development and individual temperament.
Physical punishment was mainly for small children or for
boys up to adolescence, and was used by parents of both
sexes in both occupational groups. The deprivation of some
pleasure, or severe scolding, were the commonest forms of
punishment, and were used in both occupational categories
for children of all ages. Exclusion from the family's
company was employed in only a couple of families in each
occupational group. The practice of making amends for
the wrong done, such as repairing damage, was an idea which
some of the professional parents tried to implement, but
it required too much thought and time for any of them to
do so consistently.

Finally, the assignment of responsibility to children
as a factor in their development to maturity was conspicu-
ously neglected as a principle of training, except in the
case of a few of the larger families. But there was instead
a strong belief that the children should develop their
physical and mental capacities to the fullest extent. For
this reason, parents excused children from work in the
home, and encouraged them to study, achieve sporting prowess,
and develop artistic skills. Although the families had

relinquished formal education to the schools, the parents
dwelt continuously on the children's school achievement,
so that for children and adolescents success in school (or
college or university) became a dominating obligation, and
it seemed to a number as well to be the only measure by
which they would be ranked or be acceptable - even at home.
The parents also encouraged the children to join clubs
which were appropriate to their ages, in order to learn to
mix with other children and have expressive activities.
While both parents interested themselves in these aspects
of their children's lives, it was the mothers almost
exclusively who had to supervise the children's participation
in school and their various groups, and see that they were
regular, on time, had the requisite equipment, and so on.

6. Personal Space

Families expected that their members would follow
their own inclinations in certain spheres, and guarded the
opportunity for them to do so. There were a number of
parts to this freedom. It included the members' right to
enjoy sport, entertainment and sociability appropriate to
their age and sex, and to pursue individual interests and
support movements, as well as their right to simply relax,
and, in some cases, to have privacy. It would be wrong to

suppose that these were activities in which family members
necessarily asserted themselves against the family by
divesting themselves of their family roles and responsibili-
ties; for, although that sometimes happened, most commonly
these activities were engaged in with the family's sanction
and knowledge and were limited by its necessities, even
though some of them brought a temporary release from the
family's presence. We would gain a more correct picture
if we realized that family members enjoyed their islands of
personal space less by conquest than by the family's mandate.
Such activities were written into the roles of father and
mother, son and daughter, by the expectations of the group
not less than the activities already described.

However, these were matters in which a family could
scarcely be as uniform with others as it could be in matters
concerning production and control, for example; simply
because members elected to use in different ways the free-
dom granted to them. There was uniformity in the fact that
much the same kinds of liberty were believed to be due to
the bearers of a particular family role, but each family
had to settle for itself what actual activities on the part
of any member would be acceptable to it. There were some
families where the freedom which an individual felt in need
of exceeded what the family was willing to allow. Then

there was a struggle to settle the boundary of legitimate freedom. In a few cases the struggle was settled by deciding to tolerate a large degree of autonomy for members, to put up with it and make the best of it. In others the struggle was scarcely settled at all. It was only in these latter families, where the precise extension of anyone's free-space was in dispute, that members enjoyed a part of their free space by assertion against the family. Thus in some families there was independence by assertion, just as in some there was control by assertion. But these are developments which will be considered together in the course of the next chapter.

All parents had freedom to engage in sport if they chose, except that a small number claimed that commitments to the family made it too inconvenient to make the effort. Some did not wish to take part. Of those who did take part, much the greater proportion did so separately from their spouses. All parents were free to enjoy such entertainment as cinema, theatre, concerts, dancing, and so on, but they were expected to take the greater proportion of it in company with their spouses or children. Mothers were free to take a trip to town or to a friend's place. Fathers who did not themselves choose against it were free to spend some time drinking in hotel bars, usually before coming in to the evening meal, although their wives insisted on a norm

of moderation. Parents were free to take part, according

to their wish, in such educational groups and parents'

movements as were referred to in Chapter VII (pp 221 to 232), and,

the parents of professionals' families particularly, in

the progressive movements and beneficial organizations also

referred to there, and in the alumni groups of their old

schools; and in all of these they took part separately from

one another much more often than they took part together.

Parents were free to engage in political and religious

activities if they chose, although there was one case in

which a father's freedom to engage in political activities

had been denied him because his wife was not in agreement

with his politics.

Within the home parents were free to relax: glancing

through the newspaper or a magazine, listening to the radio

or records, playing cards, reading a book, gardening,

working at a hobby - the wives sewing, perhaps, and the

husbands at work in their workshops. Many wives made

opportunity for relaxation in the course of their working

day, so that they could be at the command of other members

at the week-end. Fathers and some school children engaged

in sport at week-ends, and fathers who did not do so looked

for an extended period of relaxation. Fairly generally,

it was expected that fathers would take their relaxation

in longer stretches than their wives. They were thought to be more in need of a "complete break" at week-ends especially.

Children and adolescents enjoyed freedom to take part in sporting clubs and neighbourhood games, and to seek entertainment, particularly in the cinema; but all within whatever limits parents prescribed. They were, for the most part, free to engage in religious activities, although some differences were found with respect to this. Most parents who were themselves religious expected their children to follow their own religious activities as a model and to adopt the denomination and religious style they themselves favoured. Those parents who were not religious were generally tolerant of any kind of religious interest which their children showed. They hoped it would not last and believed that freedom to ventilate the interest was the best way to exhaust it. Within the home children and adolescents could count on a great deal of free time for playing games and following hobbies.

7. Fixity of Roles

A certain difference was noticeable in the fact that some families held the outlines of their roles rigidly fixed and, indeed, sought to make differences conspicuous, while

others allowed roles elasticity and kept differences subdued.
I refer, particularly, to the sexual differentiation, the
roles given to males and females. What I discuss now as
fixity of role differentiation is a different thing from
definition or lack of definition in role demarcation. The
roles can be quite clearly defined as belonging to husband
or wife, for example, but if there is not very great fixity,
one will take the other's role occasionally without self-
consciousness, but nevertheless quite without confusion,
still realizing that it is the other person's part one is
now playing.

I have said that those who adopted partnership as the
principle of family management were more disposed to recognize
that individual variations made conventional roles less
congenial to some people than others, and that this type of
family management was more prevalent amongst professional
families. This may be connected with the facts that in
professional families sexual differences were not highlighted,
that only in six did husband and wife think it a matter of
honour to confine themselves to their own sphere,' and only
in two of these did the husband feel it necessary to
conspicuously exhibit masculinity,[xx] in a way shortly to be
described.

In all other professional families, while the areas
of responsibility for husband and wife might be distinctly
drawn, the division was regarded as a conventional arrange-
ment for economy and efficiency, and it was felt that one
simply had to leave certain things to one's partner. There
was not much feeling that the things left to the person of
the other sex were improper to one's own sex, and that it
was a shame to be found doing them. So husbands and wives
had little compunction about trespassing on one another's
roles, if disposition, interest or need led them to do so.
There seemed to be little sex-role anxiety, little compul-
sion to assume an appearance which was not deeply rooted
in inclination, simply for the sake of seeming a regular
man or woman.

On the other hand among trades people there was a
tendency to invest the sexual division of functions with a
symbolic or diacritical aspect, beyond that of real useful-
ness; although it was husbands rather than wives who did this.
Not merely did these men leave certain activities to their
wives, but in two thirds of the cases they felt it necessary
as well to conspicuously demonstrate masculinity. This
demonstration (and it was the same in the case of the two
professionals referred to earlier) took the form of completely
dissociating oneself from those matters allocated to the

mother, of affecting ignorance of them, lack of interest
in them, inability to understand them, or even contempt for
them. Thus these fathers affected incompetence, forgetful-
ness or ignorance about matters of domestic organization,
contempt for detail and exactness, forced casualness, in-
sensitiveness to personality, and awkwardness about religion,
culture and manners, as marks of authentic masculinity.

On the other hand, there were six professionals' and
three tradesmen's families in which the role adherence of
husbands and wives was very elastic. These parents stressed
the fact that they were not the type of people who felt that
one kind of work was definitely the woman's work and one
kind the man's; although their statements that they were
willing to "take over" the other's jobs, or to "help" the
other, convey the fact, for which there was additional evi-
dence, that they observed a quite clear demarcation of the
ownership of tasks. However, the fathers' own roles tended
to include more than token domestic help and more than the
customary small amount of child direction.

Amongst adolescents and children, concern to make
sexual roles fixed by symbolic elaboration was more universal,
and was about equally prevalent in both occupational groups.
Nearly all parents also felt some concern to see that their
sons and daughters developed traits appropriate to their sex,

although a few of the adolescents themselves found the type
uncongenial and almost impossible to accept.

Smaller boys were "boys" largely in so far as they
found restraint irksome and resisted it, and were boisterous,
violent and even cruel, and unmethodical and roving. They
strove for physical prowess and muscular control, and they
repressed sensibility. With quite precocious vehemence
some of them exceeded adult males in exhibiting many of the
signs of symbolic masculinity catalogued above. This was
especially so amongst the sons of tradesmen, presumably on
account of imitation of the models supplied by their fathers.

Adolescent males strove for extroversion, clean-cut
decisiveness and straight-forwardness and a hard repression
of feeling. They were scornful of enthusiasm and demonstra-
tiveness, some of them ridiculing these traits in girls and
women; and the more generous in feeling having to adopt some
inverted trick for the admission of sentiment, such as
joking, teasing or flattery. They were deliberately un-
sympathetic to others and did not invite sympathy for them-
selves, having an easy adaptability to inconvenience. They
took knocks lightly and appeared tough and independent.
Given the chance they would be bossy in a sadistic style,
especially over younger brothers. While profoundly uneasy
about girls and unfamiliar with their mentality, they assumed
a swagger of being successful with them.

Small girls were encouraged in modesty, and were supposed to be less boisterous or noisy than boys. Generally speaking, they were under closer supervision, and so they were more restricted in what they could do and where they could go. They were considered very feminine if they exhibited marked fondness for dress, ornamentation and self-display.

An expectation to be socially decorous fell upon adolescent girls much more heavily than on boys of like age. A large part of their femininity was believed to consist in their social competence. They needed to be able to entertain and behave graciously as guests, to bear themselves with poise and be consistently and continuously careful of manners, even the most occasional lapse in an unguarded moment being thought "most unladylike." They were expected to be dress-conscious, and to study physical and personal charm. While modest, and never forward, they were expected to be taking an interest in boys. Perhaps their most essential femininity was thought to lie in the preservation of their natural refinement and sensibility, by the avoidance of coarseness.

Conclusion

We have examined how the family itself imposes expectations on its members according to the position they occupy within it because of their generation, age and sex. It

assigns them performances which divide roughly into those
having to do with production, control, external liaison,
socialization and personal space. The subsidiary roles from
these different areas of activity are brought together into
the cardinal roles of father, mother, son and daughter, each
person having diverse tasks to perform.

Some of these tasks the members discharge simply by
co-operation amongst themselves, for some they separate to
co-operate with other people. But the family makes all of
the tasks relevant to itself, in such a way that they are
part of the person's family role. It may not be immediately
apparent how certain external roles are made relevant to the
family, but they are so because family members impose the
expectation that the person shall engage in them, and this
is done either because they feel that the person owes it to
the family or because the family owes it to the person to
see that he does so. While it is usually clear that activi-
ties sanctioned in the first way are attached to the family,
the connection which activities sanctioned in the second
way have with the family is often not so plain; but they
are just as much performed under the constraint of family
expectations. Thus the father's external activity in his
occupation is something which is due to the family from the
father, and it is not hard to see the connection of this

with the family. The child's attendance at school, on the other hand, may appear to be something quite external to the family. But this detachment is illusory. The child is at school and, it may be, works hard there because his parents believe that an education is due to the child from the family, and because they send him and expect him to do well. He is at school because of the nature of parental and filial roles, and is fulfilling part of his filial role there. Similarly, sport and entertainment are undertaken by family members because it is believed to be due to them from the family. Other members may put themselves out to see that a mother has a day at golf, she pays her expenses from family funds, the children encourage her to keep up her practice and her husband questions her about her performance at the end of each day's play. Children are sent to the cinema because the parents wish to see them enjoy themselves, perhaps, and are willing to give them the price of admission.

In a similar way it could be shown how all the external engagements referred to in this chapter are made relevant to the family for one of the two reasons - whether the activity be the father's efforts to earn an income, to equip himself with a knowledge of politics, the economic situation and international affairs, to assimilate himself to some

class type, to strike some workable attitude of social
responsibility, to engage in business, financial and legal
transactions, or to make opportunities for sport and enter-
tainment; or the mother's continual shopping excursions and
going out to visit friends and relatives, entertaining adult
guests or friends of the children, or recreation; or the
children's and adolescents' school or university activities,
their clubs and neighbourhood gangs, their personal friend-
ships, and their leisure pursuits. These activities belong
to the family by a very forcible restraint; not simply
because they are engaged in by individuals who are at the
same time members of the family, nor because they are known
about by all members of the family, but because they are
believed to be due either to the family or its members, and
are consequently carried out within the leash-hold of the
family's expectations.

The fact that all the internal activities of family
members are made relevant to the family for the same reasons
is equally important, but because it is more self-evident it
does not need labouring. And, as I have shown, various
activities from both internal and external spheres are selected
for each person and bound together into the cardinal role
of father, mother, son or daughter. I choose to call these
roles cardinal not to indicate that they are the most

attractive or absorbing to the individual who bears them,
but because they are hinges which cause the other roles
which the individual carries to turn upon them, by making
his subsidiary roles relevant or even necessary to themselves -
while the reverse connection does not apply. Thus there is
a sense in which a father is an engineer, a golfer, a dis-
ciplinarian, a dahlia expert and a church deacon on account
of being a father; but there is no sense in which he is a
father on account of being any of those things. It is an
individual's own perception of his cardinal role which I will
now call his whole identity. For I am presuming that it
is a cardinal role which, because it organizes all an indi-
vidual's separate parts into one, gives him some sense of
unity, to which he attaches the first personal pronouns.[1]

Of all the individuals in the sample studied, except
perhaps one parent and a small proportion of adolescents, one
would feel confident in saying that their family roles were
their cardinal roles, and that they regarded themselves as
mothers, fathers, sons or daughters fundamentally. It was
their part in the family which gave order and unity to their

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[1]
It will be apparent that by cardinal role I mean some-
thing more complex than that fusion of roles in which the
bearing of one role becomes the qualification for bearing
another, e.g. when only a bachelor may be a priest.

whole lives; and there was no part which they played in any other form of social organization which came anywhere near the family role in including other roles within itself. This suggests that the family may play a unique part in securing personality organization. It is widely recognized that individuals who are deprived of family life (orphans, rejected children, unmarried men and women, widows and divorcees, for example) have special problems of adjustment. It would be interesting to inquire in what social contexts they seek for cardinal roles and what success they achieve in finding them; and whether, in fact, cardinal roles do exist anywhere outside of the family. Also, it would be interesting to explore further the cases of those adolescents who cannot accept their family roles and so cannot make them their cardinal roles. These adolescents will tend to have more than one centre of organization (one in a peer group, say, as well as one established earlier in the family) and so be divided in themselves.

Precisely because the family role is a cardinal role, the ushering of children through adolescence into parenthood is difficult. They need to be led within their families of origin to the point where they can commence to be independent husbands and wives, and subsequently fathers and mothers. Even after that they need to retain some footing in the

families from which they have sprung, as the data on kinship
relationships show. This means that their family roles must
constantly change by small increments in the direction of
decreasing dependence and subordination and increasing
responsibility and authority. If an individual's cardinal
role is to have continuity, and if it is to be undivided,
what seems to be necessary is that it should be constantly
modified until the individual is ready to slip from the
bosom of one family into that of another, and still retain
some place in the first. The small amount of responsibility
and almost negligible amount of authority given to adoles-
cents in most of the families studied suggests that this
condition is not being met in most of the cases, and not
only in those where the adolescents' family roles have become
definitely unacceptable to them. But the discussion of this
must be postponed.

When I say that the family role was the cardinal role
of nearly all individuals in the study, I do not mean at
all to convey that all members of all families did in fact
comprehend every activity without exception in their family
role, for that is not implied. I am writing rather of the
structural possibility within the family role, which the
comparison of a number of cases helps to make plain. Families
varied greatly in the degree to which the entirety of their

members' activities was stored into family roles or eluded
that regularization by being autonomous; and, indeed, this
appeared to be the most striking sociological difference
between them. That difference is the basis for the typology
of families undertaken in the following chapter. I have
already intimated that this evasion of regulation occurred
in family control and personal space, and the typology makes
use of that fact.

The obligatory character of expectations suggests that
it is not a matter of indifference what subsidiary tasks
are attached to each cardinal role which the family carries.
One may be tempted to think, particularly in view of the
variation between the role differentiation of similar groups,
that division of functions is a matter of convention simply,
and leave it at that. But it is not impertinent to inquire
why certain tasks are attached to the bearers of others. I
have said that the subjects of the research themselves
believed in the appropriateness of some tasks, because they
made use of presumed biological or psychological capacities
of the individuals to whom they were given. Are any major
principles discernible by an observer, by which tasks with
common elements have been clustered in the same cardinal
role?

The answer to such a question could be voluminous, but it is only appropriate to make a few points briefly. First of all, it was interesting to notice how uniform most families were in the main lines of demarcation of sex and age roles, and that differences were much less striking than likeness. The differences noted were mainly of a kind in which certain activities, customarily undertaken, were undertaken to a less or greater degree than usual. Where there were more extreme divergences, as in the assertive relationships between husband and wife, the accompanying dissatisfaction was partly expressed in the fact that at least one partner felt that the "proper" arrangement was not being observed, the conception of what was proper being based on an idea of what was customary.

This likeness is interesting because it exists in conjunction with differences, already demonstrated, in social class, responsibility attitudes, values, and outward or inward orientation, as well as differences even in which principle of family control was consciously followed. This suggests that there is something fairly standard about family roles for the society, which is independent of the influence of those other matters in which families are permitted to vary, perhaps radically, from one another. If that is so it may be because there is a value for adjustment

in conforming to the conventional pattern, which families
who believed themselves to be deviating from type needed
more than they knew. It may also be because the roles have
certain principles of consistency which make it economical
to adopt them in toto if one adopts them in part, due to the
presence of common elements in the different tasks. For
instance, given the fact that the father's ability to pursue
constant work is greater than the mother's, on account of
the mother's handicap in pregnancy and lactation, the family
will be disposed to depend on him to earn the income. It
has tended to add to this any tasks which depend on experience
in associating more widely outside of the home, except those
connected with maintaining the quality of personal relations,
in which the mother is more adept. The mother, having to
bear and care for infants, and not going out to work, will
be assigned the tasks of continuing to care for the growing
children, and supervise and train them. There has been a
tendency to add to this all domestic tasks, except the
heavier ones demanding a man's muscular exertion; and to add,
as well, tasks requiring an understanding of personalities.
One scarcely needs to inquire into the scientific truth of
the grounds for role differentiation which the subjects
advance (although those are complex matters which should be
inquired into) in order to discern a degree of rationality

in the parental roles, in the sense that tasks requiring the
same capacities, experience, mobility, knowledge and skills
are clustered in the same cardinal role. Given the human
fact of the protracted dependence of children, and the modern
fact of urban, industrial society in which occupations are
highly specialized and generally carried out away from the
home, the arrangement seems highly adaptive.

It remains to say a word about the way in which family
roles are related to one another. One of the things which
forces itself on an observer of families, is that a family
faces a unique problem because it maintains great intimacy
in the presence of great differences - the difference of
age between the generations and of sex between the parents
and siblings, and all the differences of reaction, temperament,
experience, categories of thought, knowledge and need which
those differences imply. If these differences are to be
respected and not suppressed for the sake of a spurious ease
of operation, some provision has to be made to bridge
distance; since it cannot be abolished, however much conver-
gence may be achieved in matters in which it is possible for
individuals of different sex or age to agree. It would seem
from this study that self-assumed authority is the only means
by which to regulate relations between older, experienced and
responsible parents and children who have not yet learned

responsibility and are yet unable to appreciate the need for
it. This is always true, even though the need for authority
lessens with the maturity of the child. It is significant
that in all except a few families, the parents felt a need
to impress upon the children that it was they who were in
control, however companionable they may have been in the
process; and that most of those who practised methods of
discipline which lacked the element of authority confessed
them ineffective. Similarly it would appear that _delegated
authority_ is needed to bridge the distance between the sexes.
A delegation of final authority to one parent was found in
a number of families, and in all except the most unstable
families there was at least a delegation of spheres of
authority to each parent. Thus we find that relationships
are steeped in authority in the group which is the most
intimate in human experience, because of unremovable distance.

In view of this fact it is particularly important that
we appreciate the distinction between authority and autocracy,
and realize that when observers distinguish, for example,
between autocratic and democratic family "atmospheres", as
Lewin (1948, pp.84 to 102) has done, democratic should not
be construed as implying an absence of authority. It refers
rather to the fact of differences and the need for measures
to see that differences receive consideration, such as by

mutual consultation. The present data suggest that authority itself arises out of the same necessity, so that a firm authority structure may itself be indispensable to a democratic family.

Chapter IX

FAMILY TYPES

1. Three Types of Family

In the previous chapter I stated that families differed
from one another in the extent to which the whole of their
members' activities was made relevant to the family by
being written into their cardinal roles, or evaded regula-
tion by being autonomous. I also pointed out how actions
concerned with family control and personal space varied in
these ways. The behaviour of the parents in these domains
showed three typical developments. To each of these deve-
lopments other factors appeared to be closely connected, so
that three family master-types could be identified, by
using for an index the combination of a certain type of
control and a certain use of personal space. These types
can be described as ideal models, to which, of course, any
real family only approximated. All families of the sample
could be classified by the type to which they approximated
most nearly, but any actual family might contain some factors
which were more characteristic of other types. The boldness
with which the types can be drawn will be partly due to the
fact that they are fictional. But when factors are depicted

as hanging together it is only because they have been found
to do so. Appendix D summarizes the simple types by which
the families have been classified so far. Appendix E gives
the classification of the families as master-types, and
shows the clustering of factors on which the ideal models
have been built.

The indices of the family types will be given first,
in order that their likeness and difference may be sharply
drawn. After this a fuller, illustrative account will be
attempted, and in the course of it the factors which cluster
together to constitute each type will be itemized. Some of
these factors are concerned with family roles or external
relations which have been discussed earlier. Some are
concerned with the personal relations between the family
members, discussion of which is introduced now for the first
time.

The first type of family can be called the adaptation
type, because in it the relationship between husband and
wife is characterized by a marked difference in the satis-
factions which they seek, and by measures which they take
to adapt to one another in the face of the difference, which
is frankly admitted. Principally, the difference is dealt
with by granting a certain charter of independence to each.
The parents scarcely think in terms of legitimate personal

space at all, but claim instead a large area of personal
independence, for which they do not wish to be particularly
responsible to the family; and this is acquiesced to by one's
partner on the more or less contractual basis of receiving
equal consideration. In this situation, with the parents
separately turning away from the family, principle in family
control is neglected. Control activities shrink to expedient
intervention for the sake of keeping things going. It
becomes a matter of indifference which partner exercises the
control, and it is usually left to that one whose personality
makes him most given to organizing. As family control only
affects activities which are pretty well residual to the
parents' more satisfying activities outside, it is seldom
frustrating, even though it might be assertive due to one
partner's feeling he [1] has to do something in the absence of
any settled arrangement. Thus independence replacing legi-
timate personal space, combined with control in the form of
expedient intervention (perhaps with an assertive character)
provides a ready index for recognizing the adaptation type
of family.

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[1]
Where I refer to either one of the two partners of a
marriage, the sex being indifferent, I will simply use the
pronoun "he" for the sake of avoiding clumsiness, although
it should be understood that "he (or she)" is the sense.

The second type of family makes a polar opposite to this. It can be called the identification type, because in it husband and wife seek the same satisfactions and believe that they will be realized through the quality of the family's life and not through independent activity, so their separate interests are identified with the family. Both of them willingly accept the limits of sanctioned personal space, for all of which they acknowledge full responsibility to the family, and in some cases all but the smallest amount of it is voluntarily surrendered. Parents in this type of family are not without differences, but they are not differences in the satisfactions sought, as is the case in the adaptation type. They are irremovable differences, such as those due to sex, experience, temperament, judgment and knowledge. These differences are acknowledged willingly, but they are dealt with by a delegation of areas of authority and not by independence from the family. Each partner is given the scope his individuality demands by being placed in final charge of an area of the family's life and not by being independent of it. This means that control is legitimate and strongly marked by delegated authority. The index of the identification type of family, then, is the combination of a spontaneous acceptance of the limits of legitimate personal space (which is, perhaps, even voluntarily

curtailed) and legitimate control marked by delegated
authority.

Intermediate between these two is a third type which
is probably best designated false identification because of
the way in which any admission of differences into the
parents' relationship is suppressed for the sake of a spurious
ease in regulating the family's corporate life. The partners
tie their personal interests to the family, but either each
one's interests are confused and conflicting or each lacks
confidence that the other partner is aiming for the same
kind of satisfaction. The result is a form of control which
is suppressive, and, very probably, assertive. This entails
much personal frustration and the partners are deeply dis-
satisfied, because, having tied their personal interests to
family life, they sustain a high expectation of satisfaction
from it, only to be constantly disappointed. In consequence,
they both experience a pressure to move out of the family
circle and so press for the legitimization of a greater
amount of personal space. They do not ask for independence,
as do the partners in the adaptation type, because of their
deep sense of involvement in the family. At the same time,
in order to be sure that the family does not suffer through
lack of support from the other partner, each keeps a jealous
watch to see that the other's personal space is restricted.

The upshot is that the boundaries of the partners' legitimate personal space are perpetually in dispute. The index of this type of family is a combination of repressive control and constant pressure towards more personal space.

It will be seen that these types reduce basically to three ways of dealing with difference between the partners. The adaptation type grants an area of independence outside the family, the identification type grants an area of authority within the family so that external independence is unnecessary, and the false identification type attempts to prevent differences from appearing, and both independence and authority are repugnant to it. However, the nature of the differences which the three stratagems attempt to deal with are not altogether the same. The difference which the adaptation type tries to cope with is a basic difference of aim. The identification type, on the other hand, is only found where a basic community of aim is presupposed, and the differences it attempts to deal with are those irremovable differences of sex, experience, temperament, taste, judgment, and so on. The false identification type tends to find both kinds of difference embarrassing and takes repressive measures against both, without discriminating much between them.

In assigning the families of the sample to the type which they approached most closely, the distribution of types was similar in the two occupational groups. Table IXa gives the incidence of the three types in the two groups.[1]

Family Type	Number of tradesmen's families	Number of professionals' families	Total number of families
Adaptation type	2	2	4
False Identification type	5	6	11
Identification type	11	12	23
Total number of families	18	20	38

Table IXa

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[1]
In the introduction (Chapter II, p. 41) I stated that no distribution of factors would be made the subject of analysis if there was any reason for supposing it to be a function of the sampling. There is some reason to suppose that the distribution of these types could reflect a differential degree of interest in a research project on the family. Members of identification type families would, perhaps, be more interested in family research than those of false identification type, and these in turn might be more interested than those of adaptation type families. It is unlikely that the distribution reflects this differential interest simply, but it has possibly been affected by it in part. For these reasons no use is made of the sample incidence of the types. I simply compare their character.

2. The Adaptation Type of Family

In this type of family the parents' values were patently divergent. They may have shared some values, but the allocation of their time and the interests with which they were preoccupied showed that the things they valued most led them apart. They may even have followed the same type of value, for instance partisanship or egoistic values, but these values are by their nature divisive unless those holding them are committed to precisely the same concrete end. In these families membership was either not valued at all, or only weakly valued in competition with other values, except that in one case it was pursued in a very rigidly restricted area which was exclusive of the family itself.

In one of the four families approximating to this type the mother valued membership, but only expected to realize it in her own family of origin. Her life still revolved around the home of her own parents, with whom she spent a great deal of time and to whom she gave a great deal of service. Her husband, on the other hand, minimized his contact with these in-laws, and sought his main satisfaction in egoistic leisure activities. He spent most of his non-working time following sport, reading, drinking in various hotels, studying form guides and backing race-horses. This

man had married in his late thirties and had been unwilling
to modify his former manner of life. He expected to continue
unchanged and permitted his wife to do the same. In another
of these families both parents were strongly committed to
partisanship values: the father to the Labour Movement, the
mother to feminism, coupled with a utopian interest in
socialism. The father's non-working time was engaged in
activity in support of the Labour Movement, in reading poli-
tical literature or in drinking in hotels. The mother
enjoyed a similar reprieve from too great a family commit-
ment, and passed time in diverting part-time occupations,
in women's movements, and in reading political and feminist
books and fiction. In a third family the mother was occupied
with activities for the Labour Movement, in the study of
Fabian socialism, feminism, and political and economic
problems, and in promoting educational movements. She was
so steeped in one of these movements as to describe it as
her "way of life". These activities took her away from
home a great deal during the day and evening, and for a
number of week-ends and longer periods throughout the year.
Her husband was in possession of a comparable independence,
spending his time in photographic and scientific societies,
in cultivating an appreciation of music, in fishing and
boat-building. Finally, in the fourth family of this kind

the father's non-working time was intensively devoted to
classical studies in language and literature, and to music.
These studies were pursued within the home and sometimes
within the circle of the assembled family, but the father's
continual withdrawal to a world with which his wife and
children were completely out of contact meant that his
independence was no less real than that of the other fathers
mentioned above. His wife, similarly, enjoyed a certain
independence, though perhaps less willingly than that of
the other mothers mentioned here, as she was considerably
more absorbed in her children. She strove for a cultural
distinction of her own in reading modern literature, in a
theatre movement and in giving support to the kindergarten
movement.

It will be evident that these families all belonged to
the kind which has been described as positively out-going,
for it was the attraction of the parents' external, inde-
pendent activities which weakened the importance of the
family to them. In their external activities members of
this type of family tended to seek voluntary association
rather than primary relations. As would be expected, what
primary relationships were cultivated were cultivated apart
from the family circle. None of these families evinced good-
neighbourly relations. There was a propensity for members

of this type of family to adopt utopian or distrait res-
ponsibility attitudes.

Their external activities were regarded by the actors
themselves, as well as by other members of their families,
in a way quite peculiar to this family type. They were
thought of as being independently one's own, an opportunity
to slip out of the influence or supervision of the family
and responsibility to it, and to act, to a large degree at
least, without the knowledge or concern of the others.
Because their expectation of satisfaction was mainly attached
to independent activities such as these, and because ample
opportunity was allowed for them, the parents were generally
reasonably well contented with one another and the family.
The satisfactions of children and home were regarded as
more or less added satisfactions which strongly independent
individuals, having other satisfactions to draw upon, might
contract together to supply, by contributing either an
income or domestic service.

These parents were all conscientious in discharging
their part of the contract, especially in those more public
aspects which others would notice, and they were even dis-
posed to drawing their relatives' and friends' attention
to the fact. Wives would point out, for instance, that
they always prepared the meals on time or that they had

done everything possible for the children's health and education, husbands that they had always brought in the money and that no member of the family had ever been in want or trouble. But the contract was fulfilled in the spirit of contract; family roles were clipped to a bare minimum, and there was no effort, such as was observed in some other families, to abound in service towards the other partner. Each was expected to do as much for himself as possible. If the contractual dependence was felt to be a tie, partners comforted themselves with the cold economic thought that they got something in return for what they gave. Of the functions that I have called fringe functions, these families freely surrendered recreation and religion (if they valued religion at all) to the external society, not caring to make any provision for these things amongst themselves. Family members rarely spent holidays together, for instance. As for production, the third fringe function, although there were only four cases within the sample of this type, a clear difference appeared between them in respect to it. In two of them productive activities were severely curtailed to the barest minimum, neither parent having time to spare from external engagements "to do anything about the place" at all. In the remaining two, quite a large amount was done directly by both parents towards

maintaining the house and keeping the family fed and clothed, as this material help for one another was understood to make a definite part of the contract.

Under these contractual conditions, taking decisions for the whole family became an irksome responsibility. In the two tradesmen's families of this type control was "left to chance", in the two professionals' families there was a faint-hearted assent to the partnership principle. But what happened in fact in all four families was that management took shape more under the influence of personality factors than under the influence of principle. In the tradesmen's families assertive patriarchy and assertive matriarchy had developed, the father and mother in the respective cases being the less accommodating partners, and quicker to sum up a situation and express themselves about it. The partnerships of the professionals' families were unstable. In one the mother was compulsively dominating and more or less took charge. The family tended to act on her directions where they seemed convenient organizing measures, but ignored them otherwise. In the other family the parents competed to see how much overall family responsibility could be foisted on the other one.

Control measures were weak in the element of principle in the false identification type of family, just as in the

adaptation type, but there was a difference. Unprincipled
control in the adaptation type of family did not entail the
personal frustration which it brought in its train in the
other type. This is because it was not suppressive, although
arbitrary. For control measures were usually taken with
regard to a tacit agreement on maximum independence for each
partner, and they were impersonal, directed against the
situation rather than the person. Thus, for example, an
assertive mother in an adaptation type of family would decide
that no breakfast would be served on Sundays - and everyone
could adjust themselves to the fact as they chose. An
assertive father would decide that the children might be
excused from punishment, but the mother was free to deal
with them as she saw fit.

Relationships between parents and children in these
families took on something of the same character of distant,
calculating adaptation as obtained in the relationship
between the parents. There was, for instance, a marked
tendency towards segregation of the generations. The
children and adolescents did not have a great deal of
association with their parents, and the parents did not
believe that the children should be allowed to make too
great a claim upon them. The children spent much time in
their own part of the house, perhaps having their meals

separately from the parents and perhaps having their own
radio sets. They were encouraged to live a life of their
own, and both parents and children in these families some-
times confessed to being unable to enter into the mind of
the other generation. It was in families of this type (as
well as in some of the false identification type) that
parents were prone to excuse themselves from showing affec-
tion towards their children, on the grounds that they were
not emotional by nature.

On the other hand, in spite of this ungenerous with-
holding of attention or affection from the children, these
parents were prone to claim affection _from_ them and strove
to outmanoeuvre one another to win it. This could take the
form of concentrating indulgence on one child while neglec-
ting another, indulgence not meaning lavish affection, but
excusing a child from punishment, being lax about correction
or the insistence on standards which would be to the child's
ultimate benefit, or favouring the child unduly with gifts
and privileges. The consequence in the children's attitude
to their parents was a shrewd watchfulness, as they waited
to see which way the wind would blow; whether the parent's
approach would be determined by affection-seeking or the
avoidance of bother. They would respond with compliance
or disobedience, according to which they thought would best

further their own interests and put the parent more in their power. The consequence in the children's relations to one another was jealousy, quarrelsomeness, lack of consideration and selfishness, and rivalry for achievement, approval and attention.

It was in these families, as well as in certain families of the false identification type, that the parents' methods of child-rearing were radically experimental. In these families also, where there were adolescents, they were in revolt against their parents' values, specifically opposing some non-membership value of the parents by a membership value of their own, as was pointed out earlier (Chapter VI, p. 186). The adolescents of these families were also inclined to make their peer groups of greater importance to them than the family.

3. The Identification Type of Family

In this type of family the parents were unanimous in their values, seeking much the same satisfactions from life, and expecting to find them very largely through the medium of the family itself. Membership values were highly prized in all of them; and all the families with pure membership value were of this type. Face values, except in two of the less typical cases, were not only absent but strongly renounced.

The parents had the feeling that their own interests could be so surrendered to the family that if the family itself flourished their own greatest good would be secured. The good life appeared to them to crystallize in family life, in the sense that all that was worth living for could be practised concretely there. They regarded the responsibility of the parental roles as the indispensable requirement for completing character and personality. Besides this, the constant companionship of one another and the children, the charm and grace of childhood and the awakening of adolescence were intrinsically satisfying. These parents looked for a stable, orderly, sociable existence which their own industry and thrift would insure, with a gradually improving standard of living to be secured through the father's improvement in his trade or profession. They desired some leisure, to be spent mainly in moderate and simple pleasures which could be shared by the family, and this, perhaps, made it desirable to own a car, so that the family could move around as a unit; and they desired comfort and grace in the home.

A premium was placed on certain personal qualities which were believed to be necessary for preserving this kind of family atmosphere. "Naturalness" was placed very high, and all family members were expected to be unpretentious

and open. If anyone got "uppish" he was made a joke of
till he desisted, and if it looked like developing into a
habit he could be pilloried mercilessly. No one was
allowed to think that private endeavour and personal achieve-
ment could take prior place to the quality of personal re-
lations, and that was what anyone who took himself too
seriously was believed to be in danger of doing. Members
were made to see that they should be genuinely considerate
and unselfish, which meant being able to drop one's task at
any time to help another person in his. One had to learn
to be fair, kindly, sympathetic, tactful, courteous and
interested in everyone else. A number of the parents in
families of this type had consciously formulated the principle
that life was only satisfying if lived for someone else,
and said that in the family one always had one's partner
and children to live for. Most of the parents were convinced
that membership values such as these were only to be realized
by struggling against egoistic alternatives, and they strongly
disciplined themselves and the children and challenged one
another with that fact in mind.

For the greater number of families classified with this
type, these personal qualities were required not only for
preserving a high standard of family life but for facili-
tating the realization of membership in wider contexts still.

Thus, through the external activities of its members, the family could be included in something larger than itself, just as its members were included in the family. Members of the most typical of these families exhibited a strong sense of public responsibility and decency, and a desire to do good to others where they could. Knowledge, culture and religion were gravely respected, and usually cultivated. Of the twenty-three families approximating to this type the parents of one were opposed to religion. Those of fifteen were actively involved in church life, and the parents of the remaining seven appreciated the value of religion for personal and social life, and sent their children to church or Sunday school. Experiences of music, literature and drama, and a knowledge of science and current affairs were shared by the members of a considerable proportion of these families. Again, the membership value of these things was stressed. They were to be regarded as experiences which assisted to locate one realistically in the world, in history and in society. In the face of the things they communicated one was expected to be humble and companionable, and not puffed up with the pride of having scored fine acquisitions. Parents were constantly trying to adjust their children's attitudes to these things, especially when sometimes their school experiences had caused them to value such things

egoistically. (Although, where this had occurred, the
children and the schools were hardly alone to blame, for
the parents themselves had encouraged the children to regard
their school activities from the aspect of success. By
doing this while placing a membership value on the same
things at home, they were imposing ambivalent expectations
on the children.)

I hope it will begin to be apparent what I mean when
I say that in this type of family the parents identified
their personal interests with those of the family. It is
not mystical, but means simply that the satisfactions they
desired seemed to be largely derivable from the quality of
family life itself, so that was a primary end to which they
committed themselves; and any independently derivable satis-
factions, such as those to be found in one's occupation or
friendships, for example, were incidental to the family's
welfare and had in some way to be made relevant to it.

This should not be taken to mean, however, that the
members of these families did not enjoy personal space. It
does mean that whatever personal space they did enjoy was
entirely legitimate, having the sanction of the family
behind it and the interest of the family in it. Some members
of these families enjoyed a large amount of personal space
indeed, giving service, for example, in many voluntary

associations, and keeping up a number of friendships. On
the other hand, the parents of some of the families had
voluntarily surrendered practically all of their personal
space to "doing things for the family", and experienced
no sense of constriction through having done so. They
would say, "Well, I don't suppose I do ever have a minute
to myself, but I never notice it. I certainly don't mind,
because I've made the family my life." This means that a
family of this type could show one of two quite distinct
external orientations. It was either positively out-going
under the constraining influence of external goals (as
opposed to the negative out-going due to internal pressures,
which was found in families of the false identification type),
or it was withdrawing, its members moving out of the family
very little. It was only in the identification type of
family that this withdrawal occurred.

It will be remembered that it was difficult to find
any factor in the families' external relations which appeared
to have a constant connection with family withdrawal.
(Chapter VIII, p. 242). The fact that it was only found
in the identification type of family, where personal satis-
faction with the family is high, suggests that it may have
resulted from a readiness to relinquish external relations
if they proved difficult for any reason at all, on account

of the certainty of finding satisfaction at home. There
is some evidence that this had occurred. A mother of one
of the families, for instance, stated that she had given
up any active participation in the women's groups at the
church, because there was always squabbling and competition
for dominance within them. Fathers said that it had been
difficult to "make headway" in lodges, occupational associa-
tions and parents' associations, so that their membership
in these things had become nominal. Others claimed that
what you did for other people was too often not appreciated,
much as you liked doing it for them. Some said that being
involved in external activities had been too demanding on
their time or too distracting to allow them to take the
interest in their families which they had wished. Others
found their external activities becoming distasteful when
they assumed a partisan character. For example, it was said,
"We don't mind going up to the church, but when they start
saying they're better than the others, that's the end of
it all, as far as we're concerned." The intensified asso-
ciation of family members with one another on account of
their turning inwards to the family itself had produced an
exceptionally close family atmosphere. Members were greatly
interested in one another's personalities and reactions,
quickly noticed and commented on changes in anyone's outlook

or attitudes, and parents were highly occupied with the
children's development. They were absorbed together in
the building, decorating, renovating or furnishing of the
home, in fitting it up with appliances, in the garden or
car, and seized every opportunity to take recreation together.
One father's comment expounds this style of life tersely,
although its momentary ruefulness does not do justice to
his more habitual complacency. "Some people would say we
are too close. If one of us is miserable we are all mise-
rable. No one can be happy about his own task for worrying
about what the other one is doing."

If the impression which I have gained of these families
is correct, they appear to be "withdrawing" families in
an almost exact sense of the word, in that they have drawn
back from an outward orientation which they were once deve-
loping; and their members could, perhaps, be described as
too close. The sense of public responsibility, which I have
said, was characteristic of the most typical families of
this kind, was weakening in them, but that it had once
been alive was evident in persisting sentiments and interests
which were no longer matched in activities. Thus, for
instance, it was in these families that the parents, while
appreciating the value of religion, and sending the children
to church or Sunday school, were not themselves church

attenders. Membership inclusion in the family being assured
to them, and membership involvement outside of it being
difficult to realize, they were content to make the family
itself all-sufficient. While I have classed together under
the identification type all families whose parents surren-
dered their personal interests to the family, I have not
meant to imply that in placing the family before themselves
they necessarily placed the family first of all. For the
type includes two major sub-types: those where the family
was made self-sufficient, and those where an effort was made
to include the family in wider frames of reference still.
The membership valued by withdrawing families was in process
of turning into partisanship[1] in a manner analogous to the
transformation by which the membership of patriotism turns
into the partisanship of jingoistic nationalism, by neglect-
ing wider obligations. Besides, in only one of the seven
families of this kind was there any effort to follow member-
ship values singly. In all but that one, membership was in
competition with comfort and leisure and the accumulation
of material securities. The gracious way of life and im-
proving standard of living which were incidental to good

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[1]
    Their values were still patently enough membership, how-
ever, to classify them as membership values in Chapter VI,
for they lacked the oppositional sentiment that goes with
partisanship.

personal relations in other families of the type, had become
ends in themselves in these. The result was an extreme family
self-absorption which resulted in a restricted, rather
parochial outlook, of which family members were usually
themselves aware, and sometimes a bit ashamed. Some said,
"We only live for ourselves, really; I suppose some people
would say we were selfish." Others said, "We get quite out
of touch with what's going on in the world in this house:
but does it matter when we knock so much fun out of life
amongst ourselves?" When I say it was perhaps true that
the members of these families were too close, I refer to
their exaggerated preoccupation with one another rather than
to any suppressive element in their relationships, such as
will shortly be described in the false-identification type
of family.

The withdrawing family represented the identification
type of family matured, so to speak, to the point of over-
ripeness; and by this stultification it lost some of the
features which were distinctive of the identification type
in its external relations. But it served to show that this
type of family, in the course of its development, has to
face a dilemma. Having placed the family before themselves,
the parents have further to decide whether anything comes
before the family, and whether it is in turn to be included

in something greater, or is to be sufficient in itself.
Those who chose the former alternative, by being positively
out-going, included all save one of those families which
followed pure membership values, as well as some others
who valued membership highly, although in conjunction with
other values.[1]

In their external activities members of families of the
identification type engaged in voluntary association and
primary relations with about equal incidence. They cultivated
their friendships within the family circle, seeking to make
their friends "friends of the family". Only a small pro-
portion of these families evinced good neighbourly relations,
and in this, considered as a group, they were scarcely
dissimilar from the other types. Out-going families of this
type were quite predominantly conservative or liberal in
their responsibility attitudes, but three of the seven with-
drawing families were utopian or distrait.

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[1]
Homans (1951, pp.108 and 109) cites from Chester Barnard,
"The Functions of the Executive", Cambridge, Mass., Harvard
University Press, 1938, p.40, to suggest that the internal
system of a group may be elaborated in such a way as to
jeopardize the efficiency of its external system in effecting
a dynamic adaptation to its environment. The withdrawing
family may be approaching such a condition. For instance,
its loss of touch with affairs impairs its ability to prepare
its children to deal with them.

Whether they had few or many external activities,
members of these families regarded them very differently
from the way members of the adaptation type regarded theirs.
Instead of thinking of them as an opportunity for escape,
these people thought of external activities as being arms
of the family, something in which one represented the others,
of which the others were well informed, and to which one
knew they gave support. This applied to obligatory external
activities undertaken as part of one's family role as well
as to personal space. Parents of these families took great
pride and interest in the school life of their children,
for example, and the children, similarly, took pride in
their father's occupation. In the same way, both parents
and the children were informed and expansive about one an-
other's friends and voluntary and sporting activities. In
their separate roles they identified with one another
vicariously.

The reason for this attitude to external activities
being found in this type of family but not in the others
appears to have been threefold. It lay partly in the nature
of the ends which were being pursued outside of the family,
partly in the unanimity with which those ends were supported,
and partly in the tacit understanding that no such activities
would be engaged in if they entailed any suggestion of
neglect of the family's prior needs.

For the most part it was membership values which were being pursued outside, family members aiming to give service to the community by assuming public responsibility or furthering religion or culture, or aiming to develop friend-ships, or through sociability, to secure the family's stand-ing in the community's good-will. Provided these activities were not detrimental to the achievement of similar values in the closer domain of the home (where charity was emphatically believed to begin) family members felt they could entirely support them, because they were cognate with the values they were accustomed to practising in the family, and because through such activities on the part of any member the family's membership inclusion was extended beyond itself. The only important ends other than membership which were followed outside of the family by parents of families of this type were certain partisanship values of political or religious denominational allegiance, in which the parents were in firm agreement. I have said (Chapter VIII, p. 280) that in all those families where control by stable partnership was found there was precise agreement between the parents in their political and religious beliefs, and all families of that group were included in this type.

In a family of the identification type, if any member's outside activities, such as his sport or evening class or

work or religion, were assuming an egoistic value, that member was charged with "making too much" of the thing, and he would be challenged to remember what it was for, and to demonstrate the worth of it by some improved quality in his family relationships.

Parents of these families were well contented with one another and the family, but for different reasons from those causing the parents of the adaptation type of family to be satisfied. Their expectation of satisfaction from the family itself was high; and, indeed, as I have stressed, it was largely in the family that their hopes of satisfaction reposed. They were satisfied because their expectations of the family were realized to a high degree.

In these families roles were clearly demarcated and long established by habit. Members, and parents particularly, were not in doubt about the type of thing the family depended on each of them for, and most of them took pleasure in measuring up to the expectation and even, for a surprise at times, exceeding it. Thus a mother would do some special cooking, a father go in the car to meet a child after an evening function, or a child give some additional help in the house. This clear demarcation of areas of responsibility led to a strong sense of organic dependence on one another. It was interesting that it was mainly in families of this

type that the father's role included more than token domestic
help or more than the usual small amount of child direction.
And it was only in families of this type that elasticity
of role adherence occurred, the parents being willing to
take over one another's tasks quite without compunction if
it seemed indicated. It was predominantly in these families
that the fringe functions were maintained to any degree.
Recreation was a thing the members reserved as much as they
could for themselves, striving to be together, if at all
possible, for outings and holidays. Parents were enthusiastic
over their productive activities, continuously "making
things" for the home and family. In a small number of
cases domestic religious practices were observed.

Family management was mainly a matter of giving each
parent "a say", and avoiding undue intrusion on the area of
authority which belonged to one's partner. All except one
of the twenty-three families which approximated to this type
were controlled by legitimate patriarchy or stable partner-
ship, and I have already pointed out (Chapter VIII, p.280   )
that in both of these forms of control clearly marked areas
of authority were delegated to the mother and father, each
being given the prerogative not only to act separately but
to take final decisions in a certain field. A marked feature
of the relationship between these parents, and it contrasted

with what existed in the false identification type of family, was that the parents were not over-dependent on reaching detailed agreements, nor were they over-concerned about doing so. There was a certain robustness in the relationship which seemed to take it for granted that precise agreement in details could rarely be expected between persons of different sex and experience, and that, for a considerable part of life, it was not supremely important. Presumably because of their fundamental and very pervasive agreement in values, aims and interests of a distinctly family kind, they felt free to admit differences on other levels. It was the function of the delegation of authority to regulate interaction in the presence of these differences by allowing each partner to submit to the judgment of the other in turn.

At the same time, delegated authority afforded a stable structure within which to achieve convergence or agreement by consultation, wherever it was felt to be possible and important. But in many matters it was thought sufficient to make a divergence plain rather than persist in flogging out agreement. Once it was public knowledge how everyone concerned felt about a matter, all were confident that the person with whom the decision rested would not act without showing some consideration to their wishes, along with whatever consideration was due to other factors. For example,

in one family the eldest son had appealed to his father
to buy him a car; the mother agreed to him having it, but
the father opposed it. There was no expectation that agree-
ment would be reached by prolonging discussion of the matter,
but mother and son were satisfied that their point of view,
having been made known, would not be ignored in the father's
weighing of the matter. We would gain a wrong impression
if we thought that consultation necessarily meant decision
by agreement which was alternative to the exercise of
authority. Just as often it was employed to make authority
benevolent in matters where no one expected that agreement
would be reached, and which it was thought wiser not to
worry with protracted discussion that might only serve to
widen the breach.

Relationships between parents and children in this type
of family were marked by sympathy and understanding, loyalty,
affection, interest and mutual respect, which contrasted
with the distant relationship in families of the adaptation
type. The parents' approach was marked by a principled
sense of responsibility to the child. They regarded the
child with an objective distance, which was a different
thing from the careless distance shown by the parents of
the adaptation type of family. At the same time the warmth
of their affection was a different thing from the suffocating

closeness which parents of the adaptation type of family
were prone to cultivate for their own gratification. As
the children's affections were not being exploited for the
parents' own gratification, the children were rarely indulged,
favoured or rejected. Their parents conscientiously strove
to be fair and impartial, and watched themselves if they
felt any greater attraction to one child because of his
likeableness or because of temperamental affinity with him.
They were not inhibited, through fear of losing favour with
the child, from consistently applying in an impersonal way
the standards of behaviour which they believed were needed
for the child's own good. On the other hand they did not
coercively constrain compliance, except with very young
children. They hoped to see the child develop his own
conscience and judgment, and they gave opportunity for this
by allowing the children's inclinations to diverge from
their own in the same manner as their own frequently diverged
from one another's. Thus they strove to respect their
children's moral autonomy. A fact which may be connected
with this is that in nearly all the professionals' families
approximating to this type (although it was not so in the
tradesmen's) the parents had no aspiration to project their
children to a higher social rank.

These children's attitude to their parents was one of
pride and confidence in them, respect, affection and loyalty
towards them, and a fair amount of consideration for their
wishes and compliance with their directions. The relation-
ship between siblings was friendly, generous, co-operative
and considerate. There were, of course, departures from the
pattern in the way of quarrelling and selfishness, but
these things had not the habitual hold they had over children
in the adaptation type of family.

Only in four of the twenty-three families approximating
to this type were definitely experimental methods of child-
training adopted. Only in two of the twenty-one in which
there were adolescents was there revolt against the parents'
values. It took the form, in both cases, of adolescent
sons reacting to their parents' hard-headed business interests
by a genuine membership engrossment in literature. In most
of the twenty-one cases adolescents regarded their peer
groups as being of about equal importance with their families,
and in five they were regarded as of less importance.

4. The False Identification Type of Family

It is difficult to delineate this third type in a way
which sets it apart from the other two, because it has
certain elements in common with each of them, and yet it
is distinct. Perhaps its position in relation to the other

types is best depicted as a state of indecision between them. Having both adaptation or identification as possible developments, it is arrested from developing into either. It cannot develop into the identification type because either one or both partners cannot decide what place the family, and perhaps membership values generally, are to take in relation to their other interests. They are thus unable to wholly identify their personal satisfaction with the family's welfare, although they do maintain a high expectation of some kind of satisfaction from family life. On the other hand, it cannot develop into the adaptation type because the partners will not allow the intrusion into their relationship of the critical differences of interest which would, very probably, manifest themselves, if they were faithful to their deeper promptings. These are suppressed because it is realized that if they are admitted the expectation of satisfaction from family life itself would have to be forfeited. This is a crude way of putting the matter and, because it is stated in hypothetical terms of what might be, it is not very sensible; but it helps to show that the false identification type of family is essentially one which is impaled on a dilemma. For this reason, personal dissatisfaction, and personal or inter-personal conflict and tension abound in it, and are amongst its distinguishing characteristics.

The conflict of aims in these families need not be focussed as a conflict <u>between</u> the partners. The same state of affairs can eventuate if there is a conflict within one or both partners, and the partners may possibly share the same conflict. There was even a suggestion in some cases that it was on the basis of their <u>shared conflict</u> that the partners felt affinity and had been attracted to one another. In comparison with the more ordinary, pedestrian people with whom they saw themselves surrounded, they felt themselves to be two of a type who could take a broader view of things and manage to eat their cake and have it. They also found in one another the special sympathy which they felt in need of to keep their conflict sheltered from being challenged, as would have occurred had they associated too freely with people otherwise minded. One of these couples, for instance, strongly adhered to membership values in religious and church activity and were also strongly attached to egoistic values in the accumulation of property and in sport, and they had desired as well, as if it were something written into the inevitable course of events for two people so like-minded in all matters, to marry and acquire a family. Another couple followed membership values in religion and the church but exploited a strongly egoistic value in their religious activities as well, and found in marrying one

another a welcome refuge from being severely misunderstood.
A third couple desired to pass an aesthetic style of existence,
living rather lawlessly but graciously, enjoying literature,
drama and photography, being sentimentally humanitarian and
politically radical, and pictured a home as the decorative
setting for their diversions. A fourth couple desired
wealth, success and much stimulating sociability, and a
family to give them standing. In all these and similar
cases family life was only faintly, and always ambiguously,
invested with membership value, and its real importance in
relation to other interests was almost deliberately left
unclarified. Because the family was instrumental to other
satisfactions a certain quality was expected from it. But
whether it was instrumental to this end or that had never
been allowed to become clear.

So far as one was able to reconstruct the development
of the relationship between some of the partners in this
type of family, the conflict originally shared by them was
becoming the conflict between them, due to the fact that
each was partially resolving the conflict by giving greater
weight to one alternative, while it was the opposite alter-
native that was being settled on by the partner. This, of
course, is a particularly easy development between two
people in close association, because the first person can

project onto the second the hostility which is due to himself for being in a state of contradiction, if he fixes on the partner the alternative which he finds most difficult to justify in himself. The second person, similarly, welcomes the opportunity to have someone other than himself to blame, and is therefore disposed to champion the other alternative, even though, originally, it may have been forced upon him by his partner, and not particularly preferred at all.

Thus in the third example above the confusion of aims resolved itself in the following way. The mother, to her husband's complete surprise, for the sake of having some simplified identity, reverted to an earlier religious position which she had held before marriage, although it was now much moderated and did not include church affiliation, selecting for expression in this way her humanitarianism and desire for gracious living. The desire for gracious living entailed social ambition to improve the family's class status. The father, on the other hand, elected to concentrate on political radicalism. This entailed atheism and opposition to social ambition, both of which caused acute disagreement with his wife. These matters became the subject of many heated, obsessional debates, but these were only epiphenomenal to the real conflict, which was the question of into which of these directions the corporate life of the

family should be turned. It was characteristic of the false identification of this family, and of all families of its type, that the real conflict was never recognised as such, however. It was only alluded to under the guise of the much less threatening, abstract topics, argument about which was bravely declared to be something of a game, and even an evidence of intellectual tolerance.

Not always in the false identification type of family had the internal conflict become transformed into a fixed external one, however. But where this had not occurred, each partner would, on occasions, project one part of his conflict on the other partner and attack the partner for it; and perhaps they would change sides at different times. And there were other reasons why the relations between the partners involved conflicts. A person who was himself in conflict vacillated, and the attitudes he would strike could not be predicted. Thus in the second of the above families neither partner could be sure when the other would regard religion from its membership aspect and so, possibly, be led to surrender personal claims in its name, or when he would regard it egoistically and make claims upon the family because of it. Internal conflict also could lead to a person imposing conflicting expectations on a partner. Thus a wife who had strong aspirations for social improvement

would reproach her husband, on the one hand, for not earning
enough money; and on the other hand, because her concern
for the state of the family caused her to feel that he did
not spend enough time at home, she reproached him for not
doing anything with his life except work.

It will begin to appear that in this type of family the
evaluation given to the family itself is distinctly different
from that given to it in either of the other types. While
in the adaptation type it is something added, to enjoy which
two partners fulfil a contract, and in the identification
type it is something compelling to which two partners sur-
render all personal claims, in the false identification type
it is something instrumental, which is believed to be entirely
necessary for the fullest realization of other personal
satisfactions. However, its instrumental status is equivocal,
because there is no single end decided on by both parents,
which the family is to serve. Besides being instrumental,
then, it is also something to be captured, and each parent
wants to have the family on side. Not sure of himself or
not sure of his partner, because of the confusion of aims,
each feels that the imperative thing is to have the family
entirely one's own way. But there were more ways of doing
this than by simple, overt dominance.

This point leads directly to the matter of family control. I have said that an open acknowledgement of differences was not allowed to intrude into the family's life. I should say rather that every desperate effort was made to hold it back, for it was usually impossible to keep it out completely. These efforts took an infinite number of forms, from unconscious intonations of the voice implying that only agreement with an expressed opinion would be acceptable, to compromising situations, faits accompli, threats and insults and shaming; and the whole of a family's life could be saturated with these stratagems. Thus it came about that in these families where the parents' fundamental aims were divided and confused there was a premium on detailed agreements, an urgent anxiety to force likeness, or a feeling of betrayal if one's partner diverged, which contrasted with the latitude parents permitted one another in the identification type, where there was a broad community of aim centred in the family itself. But, although these stratagems were everywhere, it was in the mechanisms of control that they were most concentrated and visible. Of the eleven families approximating to this type seven were found to have what I have described as assertive forms of control, involving interference by one partner in matters which the other believed were not properly his, or evasion

of matters which were believed to be his by right. The
remaining four exhibited what I have described as unstable
forms of partnership, marked by compulsive quarrelsomeness,
competitiveness, withdrawal or dominance. But patriarchy
or partnership counted almost nothing, for, whatever the
principle assented to, allegiance became nominal. In all
these families the method of family control was the same.
The common feature of them all was the suppression of dif-
ferences of attitude, opinion, or any difference in plans,
for the sake of achieving a spurious ease of operation in
the corporate life of a group whose two most influential
members diverged or were confused about their fundamental
aims. It was control which would commonly be called sup-
pressive, coercive or autocratic - provided we do not take
that to mean something which is necessarily overt, or
necessarily all one-sided.

A way of uncovering the common element in these power
stratagems is to notice the nature of the communication
between the partners. These partners were singularly in-
accessible to modification by one another - and yet at the
same time they felt a greater compulsion to persuade their
partners of the exact rightness of their point of view than
partners in either of the other types of family. Whenever
communication was opened, it was instantly assumed that
one's position had to be defended and one's opponent repulsed.

There was no real expectation that mutual persuasion could affect a convergence of views, and coercion became the object of communication. In those families which had come under assertive control it was customary for the same partner to resolve the deadlock by fiat. Some of those families which assented to a principle of partnership were less one-sided, but they were not less coercive. For instance, consultation and discussion occurred frequently, but they could be quite exacerbating experiences. They merely served to convince both partners of the inevitability of someone's acting coercively (and, perhaps, of someone's "putting up with it") if they were "to get anywhere".

It should be realized that the coercive suppression which was practised in families of this type did not only take the form of one partner suppressing some inclination in the other. Just as frequently, and perhaps at the same time, one would repress some inclination of his own which would appear to be on the way to becoming too difficult to deal with if it were admitted. Also there was a practice of mutual consenting to repression, which carried something of the sanction of taboo. There were parents who were most emphatically agreed about what emotionally disturbing disagreements would not be traversed. By silence, perhaps, one partner would give the other to understand that, so far

as he or she was concerned, a certain problem or practice
had no existence and would never be alluded to, or, if un-
guardedly raised, only its most superficial aspects would
be commented on, until it could be gently dropped. Thus,
for example, in one family, if either partner was so un-
fortunate as to mention the bad school behaviour of one of
the children, which appeared to have resulted from lack of
unanimity in the child-training practices of the parents,
and which in turn resulted from disagreement over whether
the family should serve the end of better social standing
or the educational cultivation of its members, some well-
considered remarks would be made about the relative merits
of the different schools from which the child had successively
been expelled, until both partners could make their escape
with dignity.

Rarely did communication by these parents invite a
free reaction from the person addressed. Communication
carried with it a presupposition of agreement, and there
was a tendency for this to be generalized in these parents'
communications with their children and even, it appeared,
with outsiders. This was, perhaps, the most economical and
surreptitious of all their means of coercion. Remarks were
seldom of the kind which conveyed the fact that what was
said was the opinion of the speaker, who would be interested

to compare the other person's reaction. Instead they were
of the kind which implied that the other person must surely
see things the same way - if, at all, he be a person with
taste, judgment, maturity, humanity or kindness, or some such
merit. By emphasis, inflection or other subtlety the person
indicated the presupposition which set limits to the sort
of response that would be acceptable to him, and thus de-
prived his partner of his freedom of response. The crudest
examples of such presuppositional communication are questions
of the kind, "Have you stopped beating your wife yet?" An
actual example was a remark, charmingly delivered, "Mother's
coming for dinner on Thursday, John", the stress on Thursday
being all that was needed to imply that the only possible
doubt which John might legitimately entertain about mother's
coming (or even about mother herself) was on what day she
would come. Similar communications about mother, habitually
repeated, gave John to understand that there was only one
possible attitude or view about his mother-in-law which
would be acceptable - that of his wife.

These are cold-war tactics and are doubly wounding,
because they leave the person who has suffered violence
without excuse for retaliation, there being no declared state
of war. He is not only deprived of freedom but of redress
also. To take action is to appear to be an unprovoked

aggressor and most people's self-respecting sentiments
inhibited them from being so unflatteringly compromised.
Sometimes, however, the tension became intolerable, and
they behaved in ways which they were ashamed of. Much
apparently uncaused irritability and spitefulness in this
type of family arose from tensions such as these. It only
worsened the vicious circle that they were indignantly
condemned as reprehensible by that partner who, on the
most searching exposure of the facts, could be shown to
have given cause for them. And life could be made well
nigh insufferable for a victim if the partner's friends
and relatives joined the attack, on the basis of their
superficial, outside assessment of the situation. There
was one husband, whose wife was given to this presuppositional
kind of communication, who took great pleasure in subduing
her spirit by derating her domestic achievements. He gave
her to understand that no job of dusting or polishing or
cleaning was up to standard, although, in fact, it was
perfectly satisfactory. It was, of course, displaced
aggression on his part, for the particular matter on which
he vented it was not directly connected with the matter in
which he himself suffered restriction. That matter was the
question of class aspiration, he being given by his wife
to understand that, although it would never be discussed,

no attitude to the question of social advancement would be
acceptable in him, except the ambitious attitude of his
wife. Her relatives despised him for his treatment of so
capable a wife.

The tensions generated in all these ways, through
attempting to control the family by suppressing differences,
sought their outlet in restless efforts to extend the
boundaries of personal space. These parents were obsessed
with a need to "get out", "get away", and "have a complete
break" from the family. Their pressed mentality differed
plainly from both the relaxed exercise of independence seen
in parents of the adaptation type of family, and the un-
thinking acceptance of restriction seen in the parents of
the identification type. But this need for more personal
space was viciously aggravated, due to the fact that each
partner kept a close watch on the other to see that he did
not neglect the family for the sake of personal satisfaction.
Thus the boundaries of the members' legitimate personal

space were perpetually in dispute, a thing which only
occurred in families of this type.[1]

A common pattern was for the father to escape into
his work, using over-busyness as an excuse for being away
from the home; while the mother escaped into some sport,
perhaps golf, and might engage in this as often as three
days a week. Fathers also might spend time in sport or in
hotels, or withdraw into their workshops. Some mothers
were prone to a compulsion to go to town and "buy something
new", irrespective of whether or not it was needed, just
for the sheer "let down" of it. They would let anything
go in the home and change their routine for a chance to
get out to a tea-party or a charity function. Some confessed

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[1]
    The isolation of these family types lends support to
Lewin's hypothesis that "an insufficient space of free
movement leads to tension" (1948, p.93), and at the same time
helps to set limits to it. In the adaptation and identifica-
tion types of family respectively the parents find their
space of free movement in external activities and their
domains of authority within the family, and tension is low,
while in the false-identification type opportunity for free
movement in both these ways is deficient, and tension is
high. But it is also possible to think of the matter other-
wise, noticing how the need for space of free movement varies.
The need is higher in the false-identification type of family,
where tension exists due to the attempt to pursue conflict-
ing values in a state of association, and it is lower in
the identification type of family (some parents forgoing
it almost entirely in any form save their authority rights,
without any sense of constriction), where like values are
being pursued.

themselves completely unable to screw themselves down to
a systematic programme of housework any longer. One mother
developed a habit of elusiveness, going away from home
for short strolls with the children or into neighbours'
houses, without informing her husband of her movements.
Parents of both sexes in some of the families, and even
some of the adolescents, felt a need to spend hours "just
sitting" in the home and doing nothing. For taking any of
these liberties one had to put up with a certain amount of
reviling, and one usually felt guilty about it anyway, but
felt helplessly driven.

While some of these parents went out of the family for
other reasons, under the positive attraction of external
loyalties, the phenomenon I have just been describing is
what I referred to earlier (Chapter VIII, p. 241) as
negative out-going. In all families of this type this
pressure to move out in order to seek relief from intolerable
family tensions was present, whether it was additional to
more positive external activities or existed apart from
them. And it was only in families of this type that any
marked negative out-going was found. In these external
activities family members might seek either voluntary asso-
ciations or primary relations; and, as might be expected,
any friendships made were cultivated quite apart from the

family circle. The parents of a few of the families evinced good-neighbourly relations, having been driven to seek from their neighbours the satisfactions denied them in the home. Amongst professionals' families of this group social responsibility attitudes were mainly conservative or liberal, while there was a tendency to utopianism amongst the tradesmen's families.

As the parents in these families continued to expect satisfaction from the family in spite of the deterioration in their relations they were liable to be profoundly discontented. Their discontent with one another expressed itself most commonly as rejection. One blamed the other for the unsatisfactory state of affairs and for having frustrated his expectations, and consequently refused to support the partner's endeavours or give emotional satisfaction. At the same time, since it was impossible to evade association with the partner, the partner was used instrumentally for one's own ends. One husband, for instance, constantly tried to coerce his wife to give assistance in his business, which was attached to the home. One of the commonest things which these parents alluded to in confiding their disappointment was their sense of loneliness in their own homes. Presumably this had something to do with their persistent hankering for detailed agreements and their

persistent failure to reach them. They did not have the
trick for keeping companionable in the face of differences,
which parents of identification-type families employed,
of genuinely submitting and being agreeable, though not
agreeing. To do that was something which they felt involved
too great a sacrifice of integrity.

In these families roles were not clearly demarcated,
so that interference and evasion were common. It was not
agreed what tasks belonged to whom, or one felt that he
could not trust the other to do a particular thing and
took a hand himself, or it was felt that one needed the
assurance of the partner's support and so had to compel
him to come into everything, or it was felt that agreement
never would be reached so that for the sake of "getting on
with it" it was better for one of the two to withdraw. For
these and similar reasons the members of these families failed
to develop the sense of organic dependence on one another
which had grown up in the identification type. The fringe
functions were generally relinquished, although a few
families retained some religious activities. It is already
plain that very little recreation was taken together, and
holidays together were either positively avoided or anti-
cipated without relish. In a large proportion of these
families productive activities tended to a minimum. It was

one way some of the parents had of expressing their dis-
appointment in the family to punish it by not "doing any-
thing" for the home or members.

Relationships between parents and children showed
similar characteristics to those described for the adapta-
tion type of family. But the competition between parents
was more for the children's loyalty than for the personal
gratification of having their affection; it was a power
over their wills which the parents sought. Both wanted the
children on side for the sake of running the family the
preferred way. To do this they used mainly the presupposi-
tional type of communication I have described, exploiting
to the full the suggestibility of children. Even into
their sons' and daughters' adolescence parents ruled over
them by the innuendo that there was no alternative in the
world to attitudes and beliefs which they themselves held,
and which every good child would adopt. By this practice
they stifled the children's moral autonomy. As both parents
vied in this sort of behaviour, the children of any family
might be divided amongst themselves, due to the fact that
one group of them had coalesced with one parent and one
group with the other. More commonly, the dominating parent
succeeded in capturing the loyalty of all the children, and
the children then took over that parent's attitude to the

other one. This could mean that the children rejected one parent through clinging to the other. In the particular case where a child rejected a parent of the same sex through clinging to a parent of opposite sex it was noticed that the child inclined to feeling that there was something repugnant about the roles or symbolic characteristics of its own sex.[1] Any rejected parent might reciprocate by rejecting a child, but might, on the other hand, redouble his efforts to win the child's affection. Possibly connected with this practice of rejection is the fact that in some of these families, as in some of the adaptation type, parents excused themselves from demonstrating affection for their children on the plea that they were unemotional by nature.

Disciplinary measures taken by a parent were weak, carrying little conviction. Correction of a child was delivered as if the parent were having to rebuke something in himself first, and so only served to betray the parent's conflicts. Experimental methods of child-training were common in this type of family, as in the adaptation type. In most of the families of this type where there were adolescents, they were in revolt against some value of their

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[1] This may indicate the source of one type of homosexual propensity.

parents. Their revolt was more difficult and caused them
more guilt than the revolt of adolescents in adaptation-
type families, presumably because under the hypnosis, as it
were, of a parent's stifling influence, they had involun-
tarily internalized earlier many of the things which they
now voluntarily opposed. If adolescent revolt was mild or
lacking one felt that it was only postponed. Sudden temper,
irritation and intolerance of his father or mother indicated
that there was something of the adolescent's father or
mother internalized in him which he rejected, and into the
power of which he angrily realized he had been given. For
some adolescents of these families peer groups were of
greater importance than the family, for some they were of
about the same importance, and for some they were of less
importance. One felt that these positions indicated three
stages of liberation from the internal oppression.

Conclusion

The chapter preceding this illustrated how the family
confers on its members a role which is cardinal in that it
is one which takes their activities in other groups into
itself. I suggested that such a role would play an important
part in personality organization and that it might be rare
to find groups other than the family which could confer

roles of that kind on their members. This chapter has shown that some families were better able than others to give a cardinal character to their members' roles.

In the chapter on external relations I took continuity and many-sidedness as the distinguishing features of the primary group. The quality of many-sidedness, in families at any rate, can now be further refined. The special importance of many-sidedness in families lies not simply in the fact that several or a number of disconnected aspects of the individual's life can be included in his role there, but that there is a possibility of absorbing all his activities into his family role, thus providing him with an opportunity to connect them and organize them into a unity, and so achieve some unified feeling and perception about who he is. One feels that it is some such property as this which Cooley had in mind in making a firm distinction between primary groups and groups of other kinds. But whether that property should be made the sine qua non of primary groups, or whether those having it make a primary group of a special kind, would be a matter to be decided by conventional definition. It is important, however, to understand that this study suggests that the "primariness" of families lies largely in this property. And the types identified in this chapter are significant because they

throw into relief differences in the "primariness" of families - or, one might almost say, the "familiness" of families. Thus, at one extreme, there were families where the parents included practically all of their activities within the family role, in the sense that they were expected of them by the family, and other members identified with them vicariously. At the other extreme there were those families in which the parents agreed to exempt each other from responsibility to the family for a definite section of their lives, so that certain of their activities were not written into their family roles at all, being discharged quite independently of expectations from the family, and without other members identifying vicariously with them at all. Control activities in these families were desultory and meagre, and were also external to role expectations. Intermediate between the two were families which strove for the former kind of life, but which lacked what appear to be the necessary conditions of having parents who were agreed in their fundamental aims and in a belief about the place of the family in securing them. In these, roles were ill-defined, there was dispute about what outside activities members' roles should include, and the actions taken to control the family were themselves arbitrary, being exercised without family sanction. We can say, then, that the

identification type of family was strongly primary; the adaptation type was scarcely primary at all and had little pretension of being; and the false identification type strove for a primary quality, but without success.

This difference seemed to be the most important sociological difference between the families. In a sense it was the sociological difference between them. Durkheim (1938, pp.1 to 13) defined the province of sociology by arguing that it was the regularity of facts which made them social, meaning by this that social facts were events which took place under the constraining influence of human principle, not merely that they were recurring events which could be summarized in natural laws like the facts of all sciences. However, in case his formula should lead us to exclude from sociology any events which escape regularization, such as the anomic behaviour which Durkheim himself described (1949), it might be better to say that social facts are those which, because they take place between people, pose a problem of regulation, so that the crucial sociological question is whether regulation is achieved, or the degree to which it is achieved. The full account of sociological facts states this, as well as describing the pure content of the regularized behaviour; and it does not leave unregularized behaviour aside as merely residual. Regularization of

individual behaviour is a desideratum because it effects
solidarity or cohesion in the life of groups. Differences
in the degree to which it is present, then, mean differences
in degree of cohesion; so that asking questions concerning
regulation or cohesion are simply alternative ways of
presenting the crucial sociological problem.

The three types of family which I have identified differ
from one another because they differ in the degree to which
regularity is achieved in the relations between their members.
In the identification type it is achieved to a high degree.
In the adaptation type it is achieved only in a limited
area because parents recognise that the conditions for
achieving it on a wider basis are lacking. In the false
identification type regularization is attempted on a wider
basis than the conditions existing will allow, and conse-
quently it is not achieved with any degree of stability at
all. Comparison of the three types of families, then, brings
some faint light to bear on the immense problem of social
cohesion. Especially does it help to ease some of the knots
in the question of what is the order of the likenesses which
are needed, and what the order of the differences which can
be permitted, for conditions of cohesion to exist.

First of all, as has already been pointed out, there
are certain differences in families which are irremovable,

arising out of differences in sex and age, individual tempe-
rament and experience. Since these differences cannot be
removed they need to be respected and provided for, and the
interaction between persons differentiated by them needs to
be regulated. This was done in the identification type of
family by legitimizing authority; that is to say by a
general acceptance that members shall submit to one another
in certain defined provinces of the family's life, since
precise agreement cannot be expected. Thus there is a
division of control; albeit granted on the condition that
persons will exercise authority benevolently by allowing
free discussion, inviting consultation and showing conside-
ration for those who express wishes and judgments which are
opposed to their own. This suggests that the differences
which are permissable to cohesion may include such irremovable
differences as the persons involved are willing to acknow-
ledge as irremovable, and on the basis of which they are
willing to take turns in holding their own judgments in
abeyance, out of deference to the authority granted to an-
other. Groups equipped with agreement about the division of
legitimate authority have a firm structure which cushions
other disagreements about opinion, procedure, practice and
taste, so that these do not become critical; there is a high
tolerance for them, which contrasts strikingly with the

anxious preoccupation with detailed agreements found in families which lack it.

But this division of authority and tolerance of disagreements are grounded in a fundamental confidence, shared by the members, that they are aiming for the same type of satisfaction as one another and that their co-operation as a group is necessary to its realization, that only by distributing certain tasks amongst them can it be achieved. Where members were divided in themselves or between themselves regarding the satisfaction for which they were aiming, so that the place of the family in reaching it was equivocal, neither a division of authority nor tolerance of disagreement was found.

All this suggests that the likenesses which are necessary for cohesion are:

   (i)   an agreement of aim;

  (ii)   an agreement about the necessity of the group for
         achieving the aim;

 (iii)   an agreement about the rational division of
         tasks which will secure it;

  (iv)   an agreement about what differences in the members
         of the group are irremovable;

   (v)   an agreement on an allocation of tasks which suits
         the members' different capacities and is acceptable
         to them; and

(vi) an agreement about the allocation of areas of

authority arising out of the acknowledged, irre-

movable differences, and purposing to regulate

the interaction of individuals who are differen-

tiated by them.

The differences which are allowable in the presence of

these agreements are those which I have called irremovable,

and which are recognized as such. They include:

(i) differences of reaction, taste, knowledge, ex-

perience, understanding, habit, judgment, opinion

and proposed plans; and

(ii) the differences in personal capacity which are

utilized in assigning specialized tasks to each

member.

A divergence of aims is not permissable within the

family arena if a family is to remain cohesive. The aims

must be excluded from the family and pursued by the members

apart from one another in other groups, leaving the group

in which they have common membership restricted in its

function and limited in the degree of allegiance which it

can claim from them. This is what the adaptation type of

family does, as it narrows the family towards co-operation

for simple economic and biological purposes. The factors

involved in cohesion in these families are the same agreement

in aim and/same belief in the necessity of a division of tasks
for achieving it, as are present in the identification type
of family. The aim is less comprehensive, however, and
because it requires only a partial allegiance from the members,
many of the irremovable differences can be kept out of the
group altogether and allowed free expression elsewhere, so
that the provision of an authority structure to regulate
these differences can be largely ignored. Those irremovable
differences which are allowed to enter into this type of
family (such as a father's income-earning capacity and a
mother's child-bearing capacity) are mainly those which can
be utilized in the division of tasks. The false identifi-
cation type of family strives for cohesion in the presence
of divergent aims and can only achieve it coercively, by
suppressing the admission of both the divergent aims and the
differences which cannot be removed.

These findings suggest that Durkheim's (1949) two
principles of social cohesion, mechanical solidarity based
on likenesses in belief and sentiment, and organic solidarity
based on a division of functions and the dependence it
entails, are not alternative but complementary conditions
for cohesion; so that at all stages of social development
both may be necessary. The essential thing seems to be
a shared aim and a belief in the necessity of a certain

division of tasks for realizing it, and that implies <u>both</u>
the likeness of the first principle and the differentiation
of the second. And it is, in fact, hard to imagine any
society, however primitive, in which the social bond is not
partly due to the dependence entailed in a division of tasks,
while the possibility of anomic conditions developing in
highly differentiated societies suggests that a division of
tasks can create no bond unless it is accompanied by certain
shared beliefs and sentiments about the end of the enterprise
and the place of each one in it.[1]

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[1]
   A number of authors continue to believe that likeness of
belief and sentiment, or consensus, is the <u>sine qua non</u> of
"social organization" in any kind of group or society. Finch
(1952, p.473, note), in one place, refers us to some of these.
He writes, "That the breakdown of consensus is the essence of
social disorganization is indicated by E.B. Reuter (with
supporting quotations from E.T. Hiller, W.I. Thomas and
F. Znaniecki), and Kimball Young in: "Handbook of Sociology",
New York, Dryden, 1941, pp.112-113; and by Mabel Elliott in
H.P. Fairchild (ed.), "Dictionary of Sociology", New York,
Philosophical Library, 1944, pp.280-281. Mowrer's use of
the term seems to be based principally upon this conception:
"Family disorganization represents the ... process in which
the family complex breaks up and the ambitions and ideals
of the individual members of the family become differentiated...
Family disorganization is the loss of common aims and of
harmonious organization of effort in the family... " (E.R.Mowrer
"Family Disorganization" (2nd ed.), Chicago, University of
Chicago Press, 1939, pp.4, 34-35.) A somewhat similar view
is expressed in: Margaret Redfield, "The American Family:
Consensus and Freedom", American Journal of Sociology,
52 (1946), 175-83."

Chapter X

FAMILY TYPES AND INDIVIDUAL NEEDS

1. The Evidences of Need Satisfaction

The observations made and data collected in this study were too gross to afford a precise measure of need satisfaction. But, persisting in the belief that some knowledge is better than none, and that the impossibility of perfect knowledge should not inhibit us from learning what we can, I will examine the material for whatever hints and suggestions it contains. Behavioural data, such as those already recorded, are all we have to go by, but these are not negligible since they reveal much striving which would appear to be prompted by the needs for security, freedom and identity which were postulated in Chapter IV.

Since these are needs which persist we cannot assume that the evidence of their being satisfied is that striving has ceased. Rather, I take the evidence for satisfaction of these needs to be the fact that striving is continuing in the same direction without frustration, and that the person acts as though conscious of a sense of identity, and a feeling of security and freedom. The evidence of consciousness of identity I take to be an individual's

acting consistently and in character, as if controlling

his behaviour to conform to a defined conception of himself.

Evidence for a feeling of security I take to be the con-

fidence that one can count on support from external sources,

so that the individual is not in a state of tension because

anxiously preoccupied with thoughts of keeping the external

situation in his own command, or of measuring up to its

demands or of escaping from it altogether.[1]   Evidence of

freedom I take to be the sense of satisfaction in doing

things, and an absence of feelings of inability, constriction

or irksome restraint and compensatory behaviour which is

assertive or retaliatory.

2.   The Needs of Parents

The parents of adaptation type families found a limited

security in the family itself, in that they confidently

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[1]
    Examples would be lack of social ease, fretting over
humiliation, avoidance of unpleasantness, shrinking from
making a complaint or admitting an undetected fault, being
over-apologetic about discovered fault, intolerance of
criticism, painful self-consciousness, lack of concentration,
perseverence or committal, derogatory self-estimation,
avoidance of public prominence, and so on. These are
similar to the behavioural indices of insecurity used by
Maslow (1945   ) in his Security-Insecurity Test,
and also to indices of anxiety used in a test which Halmos
(1952, p.95) has published in a study of social isolation.

expected it to supply them with certain specific satisfactions, and their position within it was defined and fixed. Through association with others outside the family they gained further securities, and a tendency to enter voluntary association in preference to primary relations indicates that these securities were of a specific kind. A disposition to adopt utopian or distrait responsibility attitudes to the total society shows, further, a general unreadiness to be involved in real society with any total commitment. These people were marginal, obtaining various specific securities from various sources without being able to lose themselves in any many-sided group which could be expected to supply them with many satisfactions. Their need for freedom was mainly gratified apart from the family. In their external activities they were preoccupied with achievement or influence, striving eagerly for status and wanting, particularly, to be leaders in the voluntary associations which they entered.

These parents tended to have a number of fairly discrete elementary selves, one for each of the groups in which they appeared, and would adopt at different times attitudes and opinions which belonged to one or the other. Consequently they did not give evidence of a great deal of consistency. If any role was cardinal in organizing their behaviour it

was their family role in all but one case, but, as I have
stressed (Chapter IX, p.337) their family roles were not
strongly cardinal, and it was activities which were separate
from them that were the most compelling. Thus, although
their method of satisfying their needs for security and
freedom through a number of partial involvements brought
reasonable satisfaction, it left the problem of achieving
an identity unsolved. Consequently, these people looked
for a unified identity less from the comprehensiveness of a
cardinal role than from the dominance of a subsidiary one.
Their values were mainly partisanship or self-concentration
values and, guided by these constricting values, they sought
to be unified more by narrowing than by organization. They
relied on the singleness of the causes or passions to which
they surrendered themselves to give them a sense of identity,
more than on anything else. This left them with certain
residual selves; and the symbolic values, which they also
followed, served for "keeping up appearances" in those
other contexts in which they had interests invested but
in which they desired not to be too much involved.

In identification type families parents found a com-
prehensive security in the family itself, losing themselves
in this many-sided group which they relied upon to supply
them with their main satisfactions; and their clearly

defined roles made their positions in the structure sure.
Also, they entered primary relations as much as voluntary
association, and this, together with their tendency to
adopt conservative or liberal responsibility attitudes to
the larger society, suggests that they may have had a fairly
general readiness to identify with actual groups with a
total commitment. They appear, in a quite general way, to
have been involved rather than marginal individuals. In
their case, the need for freedom was largely satisfied by
exercising initiative in the area of authority permitted
by the family. Outside of the family their voluntary
activities were mainly modest roles in which they could
give some form of service. These activities were not
marked by status striving, although some of these parents
were popularly chosen to make leaders of a certain type,
apparently on account of a combination of competence and
freedom from self-seeking. Thus, according to the amount
of responsibility they were willing to accept, extra initia-
tive fell to them.

The sense of identity of these parents was derived
basically from their strongly cardinal family roles. They
showed a high degree of consistency from one time to another,
and it appeared, from what evidence could be gathered, that
in all contexts they reacted fundamentally as the father

or mother of their family. But their sense of identity
was richer than that. For it was not according to their
distinctive part in the family that they thought and acted,
but rather as if they were the family itself. By the
vicarious identification with other members, which was a
distinguishing feature of this type of family, each person
became the whole organized structure, by sympathetically
taking the position of the others. His own identity became
something like a drama and his own overt behaviour was a
reaction to the others in himself. Thus, not only was the
identity of parents in these families unified through being
cardinal in the sense defined, i.e. through their roles in
other groups being made relevant to this one, but it was
unified through a second factor, in that the whole system
of which this cardinal role was a part was taken into them-
selves: they internalized the organization of the family.[1]

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[1]
George Mead (1937, p.144) has said that this reflection
in the individual of the completeness of the social process is
the basis of the organization and unification of the complete
self. I would grant that it is a part but not all of what
takes place, for I think that I have added something in the
idea that a cardinal role is necessary as well, wherever the
social process is differentiated into many groups over which
the individual distributes himself. Mead has also recognized
(1937, p.297) the special quality both of group life and
individual identity which arises from what I have called
"vicarious identification". He describes it as the "religious
attitude", and contrasts it with the "economic attitude", by
which an individual is related to another only for the sake
of obtaining something which the other does not want, and
by which he always stands out from the other in some opposed
or independent identity.

While this development of a global identity depended,

in the first instance, on a marked division of labour and

authority, so that vis-a-vis the other each was distinctive,

fathers and mothers in these families approached the condi-

tion of having identical identities. Many differences could

therefore be allowed, since each one's identity included

the other. This fact may explain, for example, the accep-

tability and legitimization of status difference between

the partners which occurred in a number of these cases. It

will be remembered that in legitimate patriarchy the father

was ranked above the mother, and all families with that

form of control were of this type. It was rare for any of

these mothers to feel habitual constriction or resentment

because of having a subordinate place. Presumably this is

because if one person includes both roles, it is no depri-

vation to allow prior place to one role, since it does not

mean yielding prior place to a second person.[1] The fact

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[1]
    This function of sympathy or vicarious identification
in making status differences tolerable is something which
some psychologists have failed to appreciate, e.g. Faris
(Sherif and Wilson, 1953, p.174). Faris even suggests that
status differences in primary groups place a strain on the
sympathetic basis of relations; but my observations suggest
that a reverse influence may obtain, and that a sympathetic
basis to relations can be the condition which makes status
differences agreeable.

of identical identity can also be used to explain the
occurrence of exchange of roles in these families.

It seems that the possibility of this sort of global
identity emerging rested on the comprehensive security
which these parents found in the family. And this, in turn,
rested on their shared conviction that they were striving
together to achieve the same membership values there. There
were signs that some of these parents were willing to suffer
inwardly rather than lose, or allow another to lose, position
and support in the bosom of the family; because they under-
stood love, marriage and family mainly in terms of a task
of embracing others in membership. This gave them oppor-
tunity for personal development; for if, in spite of fault,
one could be held in membership, catharsis could proceed.
They could count on the support and permission which are
its first conditions.[1] The members of these families were

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[1]
Parsons (1952, pp.297-320) has given support and per-
mission, along with non-reciprocation of distorted expecta-
tions and the inducement of sanctions for acceptable be-
haviour, as the essential elements of psychotherapy. It
was noticeable that certain families of the other types
failed to supply these conditions because the faults of
one or several members had become an offence to the others,
and were no longer patiently borne or lovingly endured.
The demand of husband or wife or child that another member
should be free from a fault, which he was powerless to
control, was the source of the worst kind of family un-
happiness which I witnessed.

not remarkable for their freedom from fault. Some were
eccentric, trying, a disturbance or a nuisance, or very
psychologically ignorant, and some had to be handled with
humour and tact; but they were remarkable for their attitude
to fault, in not being offended by it and in making allow-
ance for it through studied forbearance and consideration.
Because they conceived of happiness in terms of abandonment
and self-forgetfulness in securely rooted membership, they
were unwilling that anyone's personal faults should threaten
it. Presumably, the spontaneity, which also distinguished
them, was due to their release from inhibiting self-conscious-
ness through fastening their attention on the frame of
reference which included them. This spontaneity was a
resource for satisfying the need for freedom which was not
available in families of the other types. It contributed
to the ability these parents showed for satisfying their
security, freedom and identity needs simultaneously.

In families of the false identification type one or
both parents showed marked evidences of insecurity. The
family was the main frame of reference in which they hoped
to anchor themselves, but they were in doubt about the way
in which its life related to their personal aims, and doubted
whether it could be bent in the direction they preferred.
Furthermore, their anchorage within the family was not firmly

fixed by a clearly differentiated role. In a similar manner
their relationships external to the family largely took the
form of a search for anchorages, but, whether they were
primary relations or voluntary association, they tended
to be unstable. Some of these external relations were
complicated by the parents' seeking relief there from family
tensions, and that, presumably, would be likely to introduce
some element which would be foreign to a group's aims and
make their position in it precarious. If the evidence
suggests a generalized marginality in parents of the adap-
tation type of family, and a generalized capacity for in-
volvement in parents of the identification type, it could
be said that parents of families of the false identification
type showed a generalized unsuccessful seeking after invol-
vement.

It has been stressed how much these parents suffered
from a sense of constriction. Within the family their areas
of legitimate initiative were poorly defined, and their
control activities lacked regulation. Outside of the family
few of them had sufficient control over social relations
to gain a sense of achievement through continuous activity
in them. They were so much under pressure for "let-down"
that it was hard to apply themselves to the effective par-
ticipation in groups which would afford the satisfaction

of exercising initiative responsibly. The assertiveness
and coerciveness of their relationships with others in the
family can be regarded as compensatory. But while it may
have been compensatory for one partner to get his own way
with the other it only aggravated the other's sense of
constriction, of course, and was bitterly resented. It
was in families of this type that status differences were
unsettling. Wives who were the victims of assertive
patriarchy, for example, harboured a number of rankling
grievances.

Parents of these families were subject to such fluctua-
tions of attitude and point of view that they were often
an annoyance to one another because of their extreme in-
consistency. It was said of some of them, either by their
partners or themselves, that their main problem in life
was to know themselves. One can infer from these evidences
a poor sense of identity. Their values were mainly self-
expansion, self-concentration and symbolic, and, guided by
these, they restlessly sought a sense of consistency by
investing their identity in the permanence of what they
possessed, by narrowing themselves in single passions or
by wearing a distinctive appearance. One of the main devices
for gaining a feeling of identity, which is related to
symbolic values, was preoccupation with their ideal of

themselves and a tendency to take this for the real self -
although even their ideal of themselves might vary from
time to time. They were given to instructing others in
"what sort of person" they were, and expected to be treated
accordingly, even though it might have little resemblance
to what one found them to be. Their coercive tendencies
were associated with this, for it added to their sense of
identity, as it did to their sense of security and freedom,
to impose the same character on a partner or child as they
conceived to be ideal for themselves. Thus they stood at
an opposite pole from the parents of the identification
type of family who gained an expansive identity by identi-
fying vicariously with all that was different in the other
members of the family. By contrast, these parents strove
to fix their own identity by making others conform to
their own ideal selves. By this false identification they
gained a false security, and the coercive action through
which they achieved it amounted to false freedom.

3. The Needs of Children and Adolescents

The most striking feature about the need satisfaction
of the children and adolescents studied was the fact that
their sense of security rested in the expectation that the
family would supply satisfactions for them fairly inde-

pendently of co-operation from themselves, while the main satisfactions to be secured outside of the family (chiefly at school) were to be won by their own efforts, fairly independently of co-operation from others. Thus neither the family nor the external society provided any system in which they could achieve an anchorage of such a kind that their sense of security was associated with a freedom derived from personal exertion in association with others. And their sense of identity, such as it was, was likewise dual. They had a family identity in a very dependent, diffuse role, coupled with a school identity in an achievement role. For most of them the family role was weakly structured and had little concrete content. It was defined more in terms of what could be expected to be done for them than in terms of what regular tasks were expected of them. Their school role was defined mainly in terms of what they could do for themselves in study and, perhaps, sport and leadership. They were expected to be able "to adjust" to teachers and other children, to be sure, but the class-room situation was such that this carried scarcely any implication of working with them.

The two sources of security on which children depended, unconnected by any bridge of social organization they were aware of, and supplying securities in very different ways,

continued to divide their world and identity right through
adolescence. Save in very exceptional cases, there was
no provision, as the children passed into adolescence,
to ensure that the security given them in the family should
be increasingly based on co-operation from themselves, either
by their producing for the family or taking some responsible
part in its control. On the contrary, most of them were
excused from this precisely because the demands for achieve-
ment in their external roles, either at school or in their
occupational training, had now become more exacting. The
result was that development towards adult stature within
the family was slight. Even well into adolescence sons
and daughters defined themselves, on the one hand, as depen-
dent, not on co-operation but bounty; and, on the other,
as independent and thrown very much on their own resources
to "make the grade" in a competitive world. The sources
of security were continually seen to be not any firmly
structured system in which they enjoyed a place - but,
separately, their parents and themselves. They placed an
exaggerated expectation on their parents for perfect emo-
tional and material provision, and had an exaggerated idea
of how much depended on themselves when separated from
their parents. The status attaching to the dependence role
was slight, so that the only important freedom children
gained in the family was the fictional kind that came with

play and recreational activities. If they failed to dis-
tinguish themselves above their fellows at school, they
gained little status outside of the family. This pattern
makes the theme on which the situations in the different
types of family were only variations.

In families of the adaptation type the position was
extreme. The lack of an expectation to assist in definite
tasks, the lack of direction and firm control, and the
lack of close association with their parents who, by
continually expressing attitudes towards the children,
would have given them some precise self-conception, all
left the children without any structural location in the
family, so that they were both insecure and confused about
their identity. They showed insecurity in a marked inabi-
lity to concentrate or persevere, and their defective sense
of identity became evident in much impulsive and random
behaviour. Exemption from direction, of which they enjoyed
so much, was not construed by them as freedom. It became
a burden which confused and wearied them. Furthermore,
their almost entire lack of any structural anchorage in the
family left them even more dependent than some other
children on an anchorage in the providence of all-sufficient
parents, only to find their need denied them, if it was
their fate to suffer rejection, or exploited to their

spoiling if they were indulged. In the former case their
insecurity was severe, in the latter case what security
was enjoyed (and it would probably be fitful) only served
to magnify the child's feeling of dependence on an all-
sufficient adult. It is understandable that, at adolescence,
these children should revolt against their parents' values,
and quickly escape into peer groups, seeking to find security
and status by losing themselves in membership there.

In families of the identification type the general
position was mitigated, but because the child's role took
him so much outside of the family it was impossible to
escape the basic cleavage, so that mitigation made for
ambivalence and contradiction. I have already pointed out
(Chapter IX, p. 346), for instance, how the contradictory
value placed on the pursuit of knowledge and culture in
these families imposed an ambivalent expectation on the
children. However, because they received plain directives
and were under firm control, because they were in fairly
constant association with their parents, whose definite and
objective attitudes towards them assisted them in self-
definition, and because of their vicarious identification
with other family members, these children had some struc-
tural anchorage in the family, even though some of them
had few responsibilities. Their resulting sense of identity

was made evident in a capacity for control superior to
that shown by children in families of the other types.
But they carried, as well, a residual identity from their
external achievement roles, and showed by their vacillation
over giving time to the family that they found this difficult
to integrate with the identity that went with their position
of security at home. The freedom needs of these children
were satisfied to a certain degree because of their parents
preserving objectivity in their attitudes towards them, so
that their dependence was not exploited to deprive them
of moral autonomy, and they exercised many choices of their
own. They did not reject their parents' values when they
came to adolescence, but sought the added security of being
involved with their peers in much the same way as they were
accustomed to being involved in membership with their
families.

In families of the false identification type children
lacked a structural position in the family, just as
children of the adaptation type of family did, because they
were without responsibilities and definite control and
direction. Consequently, like these other children, they
developed a distorted expectation of sufficiency in their
parents. This made them vulnerable, because, unlike what
happened with children of the adaptation type of family,

their parents associated with them closely. The association
was excessively close, for the attitudes which the parents
took to the children and from which the children accepted
their sense of identity did not express an objective appre-
ciation of the child's nature. It was their own wishes
and their own ideal selves which the parents impressed on
the children by the attitudes which they took to them. This
gave the children a sense of identity and security through
coalescence with a parent. But both the identity and
security were false, and were enjoyed at the expense of real
freedom. Children who became conscious of this in adolescence
rejected their false identity and security, provided the
feelings of guilt entailed in acting against one's earliest
identity were not so intolerable as to inhibit strivings
for emancipation altogether. They rejected the parental
values in which their earlier identity had been grounded
and sought to find real security and develop an independent
conscience through membership involvement with peers.

PART IV.

CONCLUSION.

Chapter XI

CONCLUSION

1. Discussion of the Findings

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

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

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

involvement they prized, and sought to practise in the
family at least.[1]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[1]
   Zimmerman's "Family and Civilization", 1947, embodies
a critique of most of this literature.

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

happiness and independence of the individual are placed

first. The evolutionists believe this change is good because

it is "democratic", the traditionalists believe it bad

because it shows an unwillingness to embrace moral constraint,

a feature which has marked "the anti-institutional line of

reasoning dominating western society for some time past."

(Zimmerman, 1947, p.703). Burgess and Locke (1953, pp.311

and 312) express the opposition between the two types in the

following way:

> "The unity of the large-patriarchal family was based
> on tradition, the mores, community pressure, law,
> elaborate ritual and ceremony, authority, super-
> ordination and subordination of family members, definite
> roles especially in the division of labour, and rigid
> discipline. Most of these factors making for family
> integration are absent or at a minimum in the modern
> urban American family. Unity in the companionship
> family develops and is maintained in mutual affection,
> emotional interdependence, sympathetic understanding,
> temperamental compatibility, consensus on family
> objectives and values, family events, celebrations
> and ceremonies, and interdependence of family roles.
> Social pressure of the community, particularly that
> of relatives, friends and neighbours, still exerts
> an influence, although one that is diminishing.
>
> In a society in transition from an agricultural to
> an urban civilization characterized by heterogeneity
> and cultural conflicts, there is not the same uni-
> formity in family integration as found in a homogeneous
> society."

If I interpret Zimmerman's concept of familism

correctly, it appears to contain six chief elements:

(1) a large number of children in the family; (2) close

solidarity with kinsfolk and neighbourhood, with a result-

ing acknowledgment of the right of kin and community to

prescribe what constitutes proper family conduct; (3) the

transmission between generations of a traditional definition

of family roles and a traditional conception of one's place

in society; (4) strong ties of dependence between family

members because of the family's multiform functions (in-

cluding the maintenance of its own property, the family

estate); (5) the acceptance by members of control by the

family and authority within it; and (6) a high conscious

valuation placed upon family unity and family life. Opposite

this Zimmerman places the atomistic family of the modern

city in which these elements are thought to be lacking,

and in which the members are mainly bent upon egoistic

satisfactions.[1]

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

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

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

and isolation.[1] They not only hold that the structural

features which lent it cohesion are no longer possible,

but believe they are no longer necessary; for they believe

that sexual attraction and the appreciation of companion-

ship are enough to ensure the continuing cohesion of a

family,[2] and that an experimental style of family life will

best enable family members to adapt to their complex

environment and find out in what ways the family can bring

them most personal happiness.

While the indices by which the participants in this

debate claim to detect family change are mainly such ob-

jective evidences of instability as the high rates of

desertion, divorce, delinquency, adultery and homosexuality,

one feels that their debate has been conducted too far

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[1]
    The information which we have on the rural family in
the two countries of Ireland (Arensberg and Kimball, 1940)
and Sweden (Myrdal, 1941) suggests that it is too sweeping
a conclusion to take familism for a function of rural
conditions. In both of these countries farm holdings which
are too small for sub-division among sons seem to have
given cause for an avoidance of family responsibility,
although in different ways. Among the Irish it has resulted
in prolonged or permanent bachelorhood, amongst the Swedes
in a high incidence of pre-marital sexual relations and
illegitimacy.

[2]
    His belief in the sufficiency of these factors for a
family basis causes Folsom (1940) to describe this form as
the "reproductive-emotional family".

removed from the empirical study of contemporary family

structure for it to be very profitable.[1]   When placed

against a background of field research, the alternatives

which they present appear too dramatically exaggerated.[2]

One is prompted, first of all, to ask how far the six main

elements of familism have disappeared? And, a more im-

portant question, one would also ask to what extent those

elements are tied together? Does the loss of one entail

the loss of others? Has the practice of thinking of

familism as a cluster of elements, without empirical inquiry

into the constancy of the association between them, led to

error in thinking that the loss of any entails the loss of

all? Zimmerman believes, for instance, that having a large

number of children in the families of a society is the whole

basis of familism, and that the other elements flow from

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[1]
    They have, of course, conducted much research.
Zimmerman's (1947) historical and literary research has been
vast. Burgess (Burgess and Cottrell, 1938), on the other
hand, has conducted research into certain factors affecting
adjustment between marriage partners. But one feels that
research more specifically concerned with defining family
structure, to which this study is a contribution, would
be better designed for testing many of the assertions these
writers make.

[2]
    This view of the debate is one which is taken, for
example, by Hill (1947) and Margaret Redfield (1946).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[1]
    Young (1954) has shown how important kinship relation-
ships were for a sample of families in East London.

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

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

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[1]
The outstanding recent example of this kind of deve-
lopment in regard to the family was the experimentation
which took place in Russia following the revolution.
Schlesinger (1949) has edited documentation on the course
of events there. Under the influence of feminist thought
regarding the emancipation of women and general social
equality, the family code of 1926 made divorce available
on demand from either party, recognized de-facto marriages
and legalized abortion. Opportunities for women to partici-
pate in production, agriculture, industry and the professions,
were thrown open, and they were encouraged to think of their
status in terms of this participation rather than as mothers
and wives. But from 1936 on, with the need to stabilize
the new society after the reconstruction had been effected,
and not without connection with the growing danger of war
and population needs, the state began to encourage women
to seek status in the roles of mother and housewife. The
decrees of 1936 embodied this new ideal. Then, in the
legislation of 1944, de facto marriage was deprived of its
legal recognition and divorce was made difficult.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

is less effective in its tasks, less a family.[1] For this
reason it involved no straining of meaning to speak in the
thesis of a _family's_ class position, politics, values, and
so on, and to regard internal divergences as marginal cases.
Such properties are real properties of families, for families
have a reality of their own above the aggregation of indivi-
duals, by virtue of their organization for the tasks which
have been defined, and by virtue of the pervasive consensus
on which the efficient performance of those organized acti-
vities rests.

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

---

[1]
    Though the fact is as slippery as quicksilver, something
quantitative in the very constitution of the family forces
itself upon us. It is the distance between its members and
itself, which is measured by the extent of their departure
from consensus. A family can only be thought of as something
which is more or less a family. I believe that this is a
critical feature about all groups whose structure is des-
cribed in terms of principled behaviour, which will have
to be recognized more than at present, if a more realistic
and useful sociology is to emerge. I think it is likely
that the next stage in the development of sociological method,
after the phase of establishing it as a science is exhausted,
will be to establish its distinctiveness amongst sciences
by demonstrating that it belongs to the class of sciences
whose subject matter is itself normative - that what is
observed is always more or less what is capable of being.
Medicine and personality psychology are other disciplines
in the same class.

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

the cluster, were found in small families of two or three

children as well as in larger families.[1]

As for the view of the second school of thought, that

the family can find a basis for unity in factors other than

structural ones - in sexual attraction, affection, appre-

ciation of companionship and the pursuit of personal

happiness;[2] it is not supported by the present data, which

demonstrate that cohesion depends on regularization. The

vague emotional interchange which progressionists recommend

in place of structure lacks the constancy and permanence

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[1]
    Inspection of Appendix E will show that of the twenty-three families approximating to the identification type seven had two children, six three, six four, three five, and one six; i.e. more than half had fewer than four children.

[2]
    I can only deal with the "companionship" family by regarding its pure type, the "reproductive-emotional" family. It is possible by verbal subterfuge to lend this type of family certain characteristics assumed to be distinguishing of the institutional family, which is asserted to be alternative to it. I think Burgess and Locke do this, for instance, in the quotation I have cited. They say, for example, that unity in the companionship family depends, inter alia, on consensus in family objectives and values, not recognizing that this may be the basis for the authority and discipline which they say distinguishes the institutional type. They also say that the institutional family has definite roles, especially in the division of labour, but that the companionship type (as if to distinguish it) has interdependence of family roles.

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

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

structural properties, by subordinating the direct pursuit

of personal satisfaction to concern for family order.[1]

But it was in their inability to produce happy

youngsters by satisfying the needs of children that the

adaptation and false-identification families revealed most

plainly the weakness inherent in their structural defi-

ciency. For instance, the random impulsiveness of the

children in the adaptation type of family was very reminis-

cent of the type of behaviour which has been described in

a more developed form in delinquent children.[2] The oppressed

mentality of children in the false-identification family,

which accustomed them to dealing with differences between

themselves and others by evasions rather than by resolving

or bridging them, is reminiscent of the trends which I

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[1]
    Zimmerman (1947, p.57) charges some defenders of the
companionship principle with being blind to this fact: "In
other works of this school there appears also the under-
lying assumption that family life is based upon a conscious
happiness, sometimes called 'adjustment' to avoid the alleged
evaluativeness of conscious happiness. They find incon-
ceivable a well-considered plan where man and woman, parent
and child fight out the battles of life together, with
happiness depending upon the ultimate success of this mutual
venture, rather than on day-by-day emotional states. It is
a return to the straight pleasure-pain psychology which
assumes that life exists and is justified entirely on the
instantaneous conscious level."
[2]
    By Stott (1950, p.71) for example.

think can be discerned in the characteristics some authors
impute to neurosis.[1]   Multiple centres of personality orga-

nization (one in the family, such as it was, and one in

the peer group) which adolescents of these types of family

were prone to develop, are also characteristic of some

cases of moral disorder.[2]   And finally, children in these

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[1]
    Horney (1945) describes compulsions to compliance,
isolation or aggression as typifying neurotic behaviour.
Fromm (1949) describes similar compulsions to "symbiosis"
(meaning by that a suffocatingly close relationship similar
to compliance), withdrawal and aggression. The common
feature about these various manifestations is an anxiety
in the presence of difference, which promptly abolishes the
distance, either by siding with the object, withdrawing out
of its field or attempting to destroy or incapacitate it.
[2]
    I refer to the Jekyll-Hyde development which comes to
light from time to time when the diverse "sides" of a person
are discovered, perhaps in the case of a public figure whose
indiscretion reveals a world of secret activities whose
disclosure creates a public scandal. This can be presumed
to be due to the fact that impulses not acknowledged in
one social context are driven to seek acceptance in another.
A searching analysis of the genesis of this sort of inner
cleavage is given in Alan Paton's novel, "Too Late the
Phalarope" (Jonathan Cape, London, 1953). This kind of
behaviour shows some analogy with the dissociation described
in some psychoses; for example, those described by Bowlby
(1940, pp.95 to 103). There seems to be a difference between
the moral and mental disorders, however; for, although more
liberal thought regards moral disorder as an illness it
does not impute to it the total irresponsibility which it
concedes to insanity. The difference is possibly that the
audience sought by the unacknowledged impulses in mental
disorder is in phantasy, thus leading to systematic with-
drawal and an ultimate inability to cope with reality; while,
in the case of moral disorder, the audience sought is actual,
so that the person is responsibly involved in two worlds,
which, though they are kept separate, are both real. It
seems not unlikely, however, that the causes for both kinds
of disorder are much the same.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. Appraisal of the Study

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

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

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

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

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

_____

[1]
    Zimmerman wrote in 1947, "There is greater disparity
between the actual, documented, historical truth and the
theories taught in the family sociology courses, than exists
in any other scientific field." (1947, p.810).

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

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[1]
An example of this can be seen in the Hawthorne
Experiment (Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1940) in which the
inquiry turned from the effect on production of conditions
and wage incentives to the effect of interpersonal relations
at work and personal situations outside of work.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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A P P E N D I X   A

SCHEDULE OF INFORMATION SOUGHT

Part I.   In Group Interview with the Whole Family.

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

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

   (1) with kin;

   (2) with neighbours;

   (3) with friends -
        (a) in special, intimate friendship,
        (b) in general friendship;

   (4) with religious groups;

   (5) with recreational groups;

   (6) with social groups, lodges, etc.;

   (7) with cultural and educational groups;

   (8) with political groups;

   (9) with occupational groups;

   (10) with other kinds of group;

   (11) communication by correspondence and telephone;

   (12) external activities more or less independent
        of groups.

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

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

Part II.   In Joint Interview with Both Parents.

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

     (1)   the training, discipline, and schooling of the
           children, and their occupational (and perhaps
           other) aspirations for them;

     (2)   the prospects of father's continuance in his
           job or change of it, and his occupational
           aspirations;   the attitude to the possibility
           of mother's going out to work;

     (3)   arrangements about household management and
           maintenance, viz.
           (a)   the allocation and control of money,
           (b)   saving,
           (c)   borrowing,
           (d)   insurance,
           (e)   keeping the garden,

   (f) keeping the property in repair,
   (g) furnishing and decorating the home,
   (h) heavy and light cleaning, washing,
     ironing, cooking, buying clothing,
     mending, altering and making clothing;

(4) joining clubs, lodges and societies;

(5) visiting relatives and friends, and inviting
   visitors home;

(6) participating in sport;

(7) attending concerts, theatre, pictures, dances;

(8) spending spare time in the family circle -
   going for drives, picnics and other outings,
   and relaxing with the children.

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

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

  (1) date of marriage;

  (2) circumstances of parents' meeting;

  (3) ages of parents;

  (4) sex and ages of children;

  (5 - 18, for each parent)

  (5) place of birth, and places of residence since;

  (6) place of education;

  (7) type of education;

  (8) termination of education;

  (9) occupational training;

 (10) places and types of employment until marriage;

 (11) position among own siblings;

 (12) marital status of own living siblings and parents;

 (13) places of residence of own living siblings and parents;

 (14) occupation of own living siblings and parents;

(15)   memories concerning own family of origin,
in regard to
(a) prosperity,
(b) strictness or laxity of discipline,
(c) happiness,
(d) religious practice,
(e) whether own parents sought positions
of public responsibility,
(f) degree of sociability of own parents;

(16) own philosophical, political and religious
development up till the time of marriage,
and due to what influences;

(17) own philosophical, political and religious
development since marriage, and for what
reasons;

(18) number of generations during which own
ancestors have lived in Australia, and their
countries of origin;

(19) geographic mobility of the family since
marriage, and the reasons for it;

(20) occupational mobility (of any working members)
since marriage, and the reasons for it;

(21) the parents' estimate of their own economic
improvement or deterioration since marriage,
and the reasons for it.

Record currently.

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

(1) the goals which they had set for themselves as
     a family, and have now realized;

(2) the goals which are still ahead of them;

(3) the standards of conduct and value which they
     aimed to induce in the children;

(4) whether the allegation that Australians are
     becoming materialistic is true, and, if so,
     serious?;

(5) whether keeping-up-with-the-Joneses is a strong
     motive in the lives of people in their neighbour-
     hood, and, if so, how it affects their family?;

(6) what view is taken of the whole question of
     social class and class consciousness in Sydney
     and Australia, and what class-ranking they would
     give their own family?;

(7) what view is taken of the great influx of New
     Australians since the war?;

(8) whether they were interested in the Royal Visit,
     and what view is taken of the monarchy?;

(9) what view is taken of relations with the Common-
     wealth and America?;

(10) whether Communism is believed to be a serious
     internal threat to Australia?;

(11) other topics which the subjects seem disposed
     to dwell on.

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

<u>Part III. In Private Interview with Individuals.</u>

A: <u>Parents, and Children of or above Senior School Age</u>

Obtain information about <u>personal relations within the family, and each person's attitude to and satisfaction with the family and the roles of the members,</u> by asking the following direct questions:

(1) Would you say that any of the children (of this family) do the things which are expected of them around the home more effeciently or more willingly than the others?

(2) Do you think too much is expected of anyone in the home (yourself included)?

(3) Do you think too little is expected to anyone - that anyone gets off too lightly?

(4) Do you ever find yourself thinking that someone else in the family leads a more interesting life outside of the home than you do?

(5) Do you find it interesting to learn what the others do outside of the family? Do they talk about it very much?

(6) How would you describe the main traits of
personality and character of each member of the
family? Suppose you were writing a character
sketch, for instance, or explaining them to
someone who did not know them, what would you
say were the main faults and qualities of each?

(7) Are there any members of the family whom, quite
apart from their merits and defects, you find
naturally more likable than the others? with
whom you get on more easily?

(8) Are there any whom you find it hard to get on
with? What do you think are the reasons?

(9) Do you think any member of the family is
irritating to any other member? For what
reason?

(10) Do you think there is any serious jealousy or
resentment in the family?

(11) Do you feel that you have sufficient freedom in
the home? Do you feel too tied down? I suppose
there are two parts to freedom (initiative and
independence) and I mean both. Do you feel that
you have enough say in the way things are run?
Do you feel you have enough time of your own to
follow your own interests?

(12) Are there any big changes which you have always
wanted to make in the home without being able
to do so?

(13) Is there anything which you have wanted to do
very much which your husband (or the others) was
opposed to you doing?

(14) Do you ever find yourself wishing that your
family was like some other family you know of?
In what particular ways?

(15) On what factors do you think a continuing,
successful marriage and family depend?

(16) What do you think is the proper arrangement about authority in the family? Should there be a final boss? Whom do you think it should be? Is this the arrangement which you follow?

(17) Would you say that your wife and you (or both your parents) are equally ambitious. Would you say that your ambitions lie in the same directions?

(18) Would you say that your wife and you (or both your parents) have the same interests? What particular interests would you have in common, and in what interests would you differ?

(19) Would you say that anyone in the family was a complaining type of person?

(20) What are the particular things about your home and family that you feel you can be modestly proud about?

(21) Is there anything about your home and family that embarrasses you?

(22) Have you had to discourage any good friends because your wife (husband, parents) didn't like them?

(23) (Children only) Have you, at this stage of your life, done much thinking about politics or religion? How like or unlike your parents' views do you think your own will become?

(24) (Children only) What work do you hope to do later on?

B: Children Below Senior School Age.

(25) What do you want to be when you grow up?

(26) Are there any grown up people you know whom you would like to be like when you grow up?

(27) What sort of thing do you like doing most around the home?

(28) Is there anything that you have to do around the home that you don't like doing?

(29) If you could have your wish, what would you like most in all the world?

(30) Would you change anything about the family if you were the boss, instead of mother and father?

(31) What do you like most about mother and father? Do you like either one better?

(32) What do you like most about (each) brother and sister? Do you like any one better?

(33) Do you think that any of the children are spoilt? Who spoils them?

C: All Children

(34) What are some of the things you have done that have been displeasing to your parents? Which one punished you? What form did the punishment take?

(35) Can you remember some of the things you have done that were pleasing to your parents? How did you know they were pleased.

Record currently.

Part IV. Individual Tests.

The Allport-Vernon Study of Values will be

administered to each parent and each child of

senior school age or above.   (page A).

Part V. Written Response.

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

STUDY OF VALUES

REVISED EDITION

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

Part I

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

If you agree with alternative (a) and disagree with (b), write 3 in the first box and 0 in the second box, thus

If you agree with (b); disagree with (a), write

If you have a slight preference for (a) over (b), write

If you have a slight preference for (b) over (a), write

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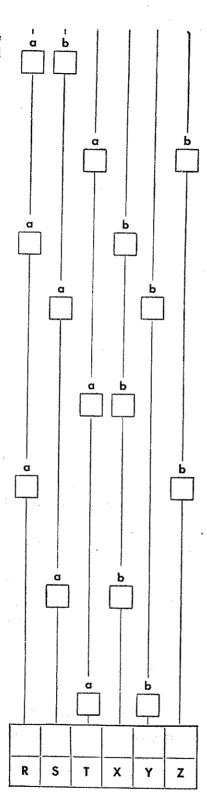
The Allport-Vernon Study of Values.

1. The main object of scientific research should be the discovery of truth rather than its practical applications. (a) Yes; (b) No.

2. Taking the Bible as a whole, one should regard it from the point of view of its beautiful mythology and literary style rather than as a spiritual revelation. (a) Yes; (b) No.

3. Which of the following men do you think snould be judged as contributing more to the progress of mankind? (a) Aristotle; (b) Abraham Lincoln.

4. Assuming that you have sufficient ability, would you prefer to be: (a) a banker; (b) a politician?

5. Do you think it is justifiable for great artists, such as Beethoven, Wagner and Byron to be selfish and negligent of the feelings of others? (a) Yes; (b) No.

6. Which of the following branches of study do you expect ultimately will prove more important for mankind? (a) mathematics; (b) theology.

7. Which would you consider the more important function of modern leaders? (a) to bring about the accomplishment of practical goals; (b) to encourage followers to take a greater interest in the rights of others.

8. When witnessing a gorgeous ceremony (ecclesiastical or academic, induction into office, etc.), are you more impressed: (a) by the colour and pageantry of the occasion itself; (b) by the influence and strength of the group?
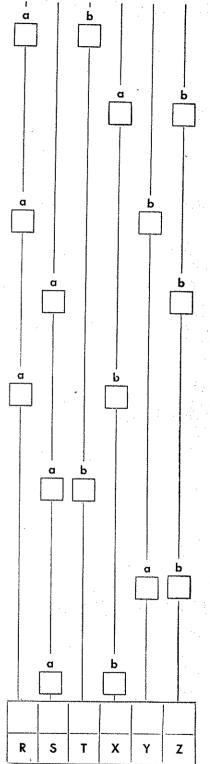
Total

R	S	T	X	Y	Z

9. Which of these character traits do you consider the more desirable? (a) high ideals and reverence; (b) unselfishness and sympathy.

10. If you were a university professor and had the necessary ability, would you prefer to teach: (a) poetry; (b) chemistry and physics?

11. If you should see the following news items with headlines of equal size in your morning paper, which would you read more attentively? (a) PROTESTANT LEADERS TO CONSULT ON RECONCILIATION; (b) GREAT IMPROVEMENTS IN MARKET CONDITIONS.

12. Under circumstances similar to those of Question 11? (a) SUPREME COURT RENDERS DECISION; (b) NEW SCIENTIFIC THEORY ANNOUNCED.

13. When you visit a cathedral are you more impressed by a pervading sense of reverence and worship than by the architectural features and stained glass? (a) Yes; (b) No.

14. Assuming that you have sufficient leisure time, would you prefer to use it: (a) developing your mastery of a favourite skill; (b) doing volunteer social or public service work?

15. At an exposition, do you chiefly like to go to the buildings where you can see: (a) new manufactured products; (b) scientific (e.g., chemical) apparatus?

16. If you had the opportunity, and if nothing of the kind existed in the community where you live, would you prefer to found: (a) a debating society or forum; (b) a classical orchestra?
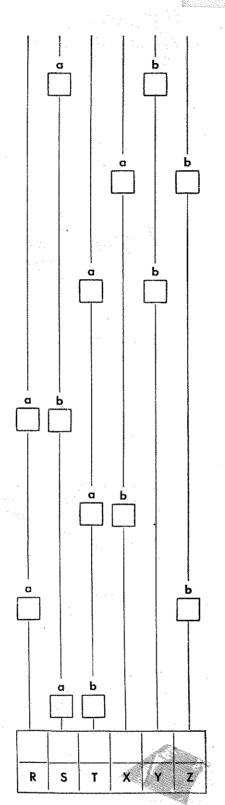
Total

R	S	T	X	Y	Z

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Total

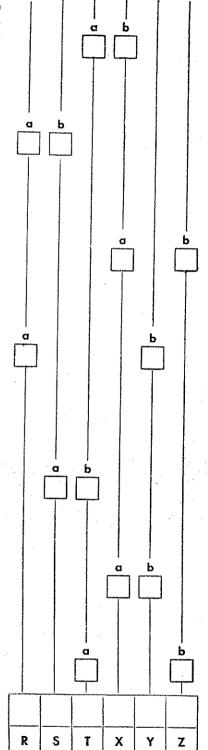| R	S	T	X	Y	Z

Page 4

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

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

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

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

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

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

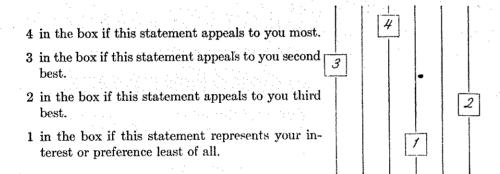**30.** Would you consider it more important for your child to secure training in: (a) religion; (b) athletics?

Total

R	S	T	X	Y	Z

Page 5

The Allport-Vernon Study of Values.

Part II

DIRECTIONS: Each of the following situations or questions is followed by four possible attitudes or answers. Arrange these answers in the order of your personal preference by writing, in the appropriate box at the right, a score of 4, 3, 2, or 1. To the statement you prefer most give 4, to the statement that is second most attractive 3, and so on.
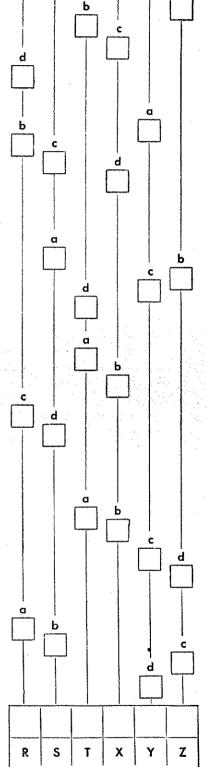
Example: If this were a question and the following statements were alternative choices you would place:

4 in the box if this statement appeals to you most.

3 in the box if this statement appeals to you second best.

2 in the box if this statement appeals to you third best.

1 in the box if this statement represents your interest or preference least of all.

You may think of answers which would be preferable from your point of view to any of those listed. It is necessary, however, that you make your selection from the alternatives presented, and arrange all four in order of their desirability, guessing when your preferences are not distinct. If you find it really impossible to state your preference, you may omit the question. Be sure not to assign more than *one* 4, *one* 3, etc., for each question.

1. Do you think that a good government should aim chiefly at — (*Remember to give your first choice 4, etc.*)
   a. more aid for the poor, sick and old
   b. the development of manufacturing and trade
   c. introducing highest ethical principles into its policies and diplomacy
   d. establishing a position of prestige and respect among nations

2. In your opinion, can a man who works in business all the week best spend Sunday in —
   a. trying to educate himself by reading serious books
   b. trying to win at golf, or racing
   c. going to an orchestral concert
   d. hearing a really good sermon

3. If you could influence the educational policies of the public schools of some city, would you undertake —
   a. to promote the study and participation in music and fine arts
   b. to stimulate the study of social problems
   c. to provide additional laboratory facilities
   d. to increase the practical value of courses

4. Do you prefer a friend (of your own sex) who —
   a. is efficient, industrious and of a practical turn of mind
   b. is seriously interested in thinking out his attitude toward life as a whole
   c. possesses qualities of leadership and organizing ability
   d. shows artistic and emotional sensitivity

5. If you lived in a small town and had more than enough income for your needs, would you prefer to —
   a. apply it productively to assist commercial and industrial development
   b. help to advance the activities of local religious groups
   c. give it for the development of scientific research in your locality
   d. give it to The Family Welfare Society

6. When you go to the theatre, do you, as a rule, enjoy most —
   a. plays that treat the lives of great men
   b. ballet or similar imaginative performances
   c. plays that have a theme of human suffering and love
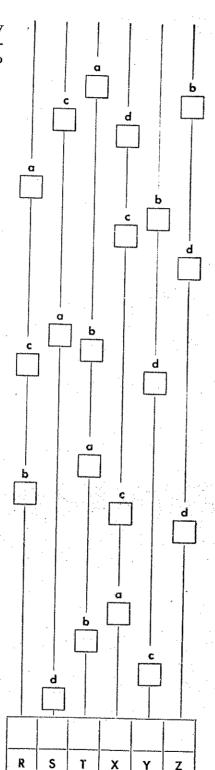   d. problem plays that argue consistently for some point of view

Total

R	S	T	X	Y	Z

The Allport-Vernon Study of Values.

7. Assuming that you are a man with the necessary ability, and that the salary for each of the following occupations is the same, would you prefer to be a —
   a. mathematician
   b. sales manager
   c. clergyman
   d. politician

8. If you had sufficient leisure and money, would you prefer to —
   a. make a collection of fine sculptures or paintings
   b. establish a centre for the care and training of the feeble-minded
   c. aim at becoming a Member of Parliament
   d. establish a business or financial enterprise of your own

9. At an evening discussion with intimate friends of your own sex, are you more interested when you talk about —
   a. the meaning of life
   b. developments in science
   c. literature
   d. socialism and social amelioration

10. Which of the following would you prefer to do during part of your next summer vacation (if your ability and other conditions would permit) —
    a. write and publish an original biological essay or article
    b. stay in some secluded part of the country where you can appreciate fine scenery
    c. enter a local tennis or other athletic tournament
    d. get experience in some new line of business

11. Do great exploits and adventures of discovery such as Columbus's, Magellan's, Byrd's and Amundsen's seem to you significant because —
    a. they represent conquests by man over the difficult forces of nature
    b. they add to our knowledge of geography, meteorology, oceanography, etc.
    c. they weld human interests and international feelings throughout the world
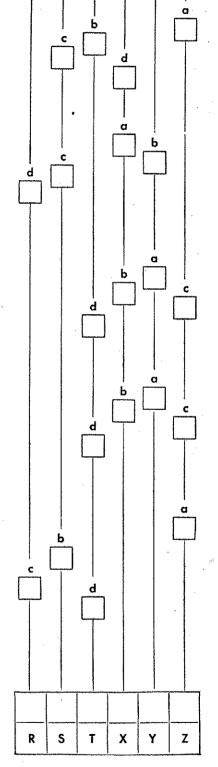   d. they contribute each in a small way to an ultimate understanding of the universe

Total

R	S	T	X	Y	Z

12. Should one guide one's conduct according to, or develop one's chief loyalties toward —
    a. one's religious faith
    b. ideals of beauty
    c. one's occupational organization and associates
    d. ideals of charity

13. To what extent do the following famous persons interest you —
    a. Florence Nightingale
    b. Napoleon
    c. Henry Ford
    d. Galileo

14. In choosing a wife would you prefer a woman who — (*Women answer the alternative form below*)
    a. can achieve social prestige, commanding admiration from others
    b. likes to help people
    c. is fundamentally spiritual in her attitudes toward life
    d. is gifted along artistic lines

    (*For women*) Would you prefer a husband who —
    a. is successful in his profession, commanding admiration from others
    b. likes to help people
    c. is fundamentally spiritual in his attitudes toward life
    d. is gifted along artistic lines

15. Viewing Leonardo da Vinci's picture, "The Last Supper," would you tend to think of it —
    a. as expressing the highest spiritual aspirations and emotions
    b. as one of the most priceless and irreplaceable pictures ever painted
    c. in relation to Leonardo's versatility and its place in history
    d. the quintessence of harmony and design

Total

R	S	T	X	Y	Z

The Allport-Vernon Study of Values.

PROFILE OF VALUES

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

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

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

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

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

The Allport-Vernon Study of Values.

SCORE SHEET FOR THE STUDY OF VALUES

DIRECTIONS:

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

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

   Part I. 1½ for each alternative. The sum of the scores for (a) and (b) must always equal 3.

   Part II. 2½ for each alternative. The sum of the scores for the four alternatives under each question must always equal 10.

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

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

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

Page 11

The Allport-Vernon Study of Values.

APPENDIX B

CASE STUDY OF A FAMILY

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

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

I. General Family Characteristics.

1. Duration of marriage. M and F have been married for fifteen years.

2. Age and sex of members. M and F are 37 and 40 respectively, and have two children: a boy aged fourteen (1S), and a girl aged eight (1D).

3. Place of residence and home ownership. They live at Bondi, in a rented home.

4. F's occupation and place of work. F is a linotype operator, working on the press of a Sydney newspaper in its city premises. He also holds a part-time job as a teacher of linotyping to correspondence students of the Sydney Technical College.

5. Description of home. The home is a small, semi-detached, single-fronted cottage on a small strip of land. It has three bedrooms leading off a

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

6.   Technical appliances in the home.   Gas stove
and refrigerator.

7.   Assets and income.   The family's only assets are
the household furniture, which was worth £500 at
1939 values, and a small savings bank account (of
undeclared amount).   F earns £1,000/year (less
tax) from his two jobs.   1S earns £50/year from
a delivery job with a nearby chemist.   Child
endowment brings in £39/year.

8.   Employed help.   The family employs no help.

9.   Residential history since marriage.   The family
has lived in Bondi ever since marriage.   They
first of all lived in a one-bedroom top flat, but
moved to their present residence when the first
child had begun to grow up a bit, to obtain a
place with a back yard.

10.   Occupational history of parent(s) since marriage.
F has done the same type of work as a linotype
operator continuously since marriage, although in
three different places of employment.   He changed
employment on both occasions for improvement of
status and income, and for trade experience.   He
has been in his present job for thirteen and a half
years.   M has not taken employment outside of the
home since marriage.

11.   Economic improvement or deterioration since
marriage - crises, peaks and depressions.   Since
marriage the economic position of the family has
always been reasonably satisfactory.   From 1939
till August 1942 they were just able to make ends
meet, because they were paying off furniture at
that time.   For three and a half years after that,
when F was in the Air Force, there was a bit of a
drop.   In this period they just managed, but were

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

II.   Father's History.

12.   Number of generations for which F's ancestors have
lived in Australia, and their countries of origin.
FF's parents migrated from England; FM's great
grand-parents migrated from Ireland.

13.   F's position in family of origin.   F was the elder
of two children in his family of origin, having a
younger sister.

14.   F's memories of his family of origin, concerning
prosperity, happiness, discipline, religious practice,
public activity of own parents, and their sociability.
FF was never unemployed, so F's family always
enjoyed the benefits of a working man's living.
F's childhood was never unhappy, although the disci-
pline was fairly strict ("much stricter than the
routine discipline of to-day").   FM was described
as "a very bigoted, church-going Catholic", his F
as "non-church-going C. of E."   In youth the two
children attended the Roman Catholic church, but when
F got older and began to think for himself he gave it
up; although his Sr is still a church-goer.   His
parents did not seek to exert influence within the
community at all.   They gave social evenings in the
home regularly - "the kind of thing which you never
see now".

15.   F's residential history up till the time of
marriage.   F was born at Canterbury, Sydney, and
moved at the age of two to Bondi, for the sake of
his M's health, and has lived there ever since -
although in seven different places up till the time
of his marriage.   This was due to the restlessness

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

16. <u>F's place and type of education, and standard reached</u>. F attended Bondi Superior Public School for his primary education, and Randwick Intermediate High for his secondary schooling up to the Intermediate, which he took at the age of sixteen. His secondary course was a commercial course.

17. <u>F's occupational history up till marriage</u>. F worked as a compositor in only one place of employment up till the time of his marriage, and for some time after.

18. <u>F's religious and political development up till the time of marriage</u>. F had become indifferent to religion by the time of marriage and had no definite attitude. Prior to the war (which also means prior to marriage) he had also no definite political views of his own. He had simply taken over his parents' political sympathies for the Labour Party, and was satisfied that "their line of thinking was satisfactory for his station in life".

19. <u>F's religious and political development since marriage</u>. Since marriage there has been no change in F's religious indifference. There has been a considerable maturation in his political views, however. From watching "the muddledom and insincere efforts of those who waged the war", he decided to do something about it. He was implicated in the organization of some strikes in the Air Force, and that experience, together with a host of social injustices with which he felt himself surrounded, have caused him to engage in politics actively ever since.

20. <u>Marital status, occupation and place of residence of all members of F's family of origin</u>. F's only sibling, a Sr, is married to a white-collar worker who has just obtained a job as Private Secretary to

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

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

III. Mother's History.

22. Number of generations for which M's ancestors have
lived in Australia, and their countries of origin.
MFM migrated from England; MFF from Scotland.

23. M's position in family of origin. M was the
second youngest of a family of five children.

24. M's memories of her family of origin, concerning
prosperity, happiness, discipline, religious prac-
tice, public activity of own parents and their
sociability. M's family always enjoyed reasonable
working-class prosperity. They didn't "have to go
begging, although they certainly never had too much
of anything". They had plenty of wealthy relations,
but MM was too proud to accept help from them. From
the time the two brothers went to work until the
depression they had quite prosperous times. They
had always a comfortable home, but during the de-
pression had to tighten up considerably. M remem-
bers her childhood as a very happy one. The
discipline was very strict and was exercised almost
exclusively by MM - MF being too occupied with his
club and racing pigeons to be concerned. Her parents
were not religious. MM made them go to C. of E.
Sunday School - "but we didn't have religion like
some I've seen". Her parents themselves were not

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

25. <u>M's residential history up till the time of marriage.</u>
M was born at Leichhardt. Her family lived in four
different places in the first twelve years of her
life. They had left the first because her F died,
the second because it was too big, the third because
it was too expensive for a widow to pay the upkeep
of. They moved to a fifth house in Bondi to better
themselves, "more or less to have a better life", by
living near the sea. They moved again in the de-
pression because they could not afford to pay the
rent. Then they broke up home, and M went to live
for one year with a Sr in Bondi. Then they decided
they were not happy separated, and so got a cottage
going again during the depression. Then MM married
again and they went to live in another place in
Bondi which was nearer to the beach. Then in mid-
1938 MM and MstepF went to the country. M didn't
want to go to the country, so she and her Sr boarded
in Bondi. It was while boarding there that M was
married.

26. <u>M's place and type of education, and standard
reached.</u> M gained her primary schooling at Orange
Grove School, Leichhardt, and her secondary school-
ing at a Domestic Science Public School in Bondi,
which she left at the age of fourteen and a half.

27. <u>M's occupational history up till marriage.</u> After
leaving school M "went in for hosiery and embroidery
and mending - that was about the only sort of work
you could get then". She worked in two places up
till the time of marriage, doing the same type of
work.

28. <u>M's religious and political development up till
the time of marriage</u>. M has never at any time had
any defined attitudes to religion or politics.
She had inherited from her parents a nominal C. of E.
position, and had taken over her parents' Labour
politics without thought.

29. <u>M's religious and political development since
marriage</u>. M regards herself as nominally C. of E.,
and the children are C. of E. She is not anti-
religious, although never church-going, and has
seen some terrible things done in the name of
religion - "often the more religious people are
the more vicious they are". M is of a different
religion from F, who is a nominal Roman Catholic,
but they have never had any arguments about either
one of them changing their religion.

30. <u>Marital status, occupation and place of residence
of all members of M's family of origin</u>. The eldest
child of M's family of origin is a Sr who is now
married to a duco-sprayer living in Bondi. The
next, a Br, is married, is a qualified accountant
and production manager for Neon Signs, and also
lives in Bondi. The next child, another married
Br, is an electrical installations and maintenance
engineer, and lives at Leichhardt. Her younger Sr
lives at North Sydney and is married to a cordial
foreman working for Mynor (he <u>was</u> a motor mechanic).
M's own F, who died during her childhood, was an
interior decorator. Her stepF was a telegraphist,
and is now a postmaster at Richmond.

IV. <u>Father's Activities Within Family Circle</u>.

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

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

32. Personal care. F's personal care activities do
not extend beyond care for himself.

33. Household and family management. The management
of the family and household is left entirely to M.

34. Child control and supervision. F plays little
part in the supervision of the children's activities,
nor in the discipline of them, except where his
intervention is actively invited by M. He is the
"strong arm of the law", and, at M's request, will
strap or "roar at" the children for offences whose
commission he has not witnessed. In this way F
shares with M the responsibility of instilling
rules of behaviour.

35. Recreational activities within the family circle.
F's recreational activities within the family
circle include listening to the radio some evenings
with all members assembled ("The Dam Busters", and
Isador Goodman), going about 1/month to the pictures
with the family when the children press him, on a
wet day (when off work) going to town with M and,
perhaps, to a morning session of the pictures, going
for a walk with one or more members of the family
to Rose Bay or to the beach on Sundays, going on
outings with the children.

36. Other opportunities for face-to-face interaction
within the family. F has breakfast with the
family; kisses everyone good-bye in the mornings;
has tea with the family (save the three nights/
month when he stays in town); takes 1D across the
road in the mornings on his day off work; spends
time in the others' presence in the evening marking
Technical College papers, or at week-ends listening

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

37.   Quality of face-to-face interaction.   F is effusive
and demonstrative.   He lavishes affection freely
on all the family, and readily communicates his
mind to them.   He is very open with them all.   He
is disposed to be self-congratulatory, and expects
a certain adulation from the others: in turn, he
flatters them, especially M and 1D.   His demonstra-
tion of anger towards them is sudden, violent and
soon over.   He is impatient and sarcastic with 1S
because of his backwardness in school work, but he
does try to help him.

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

V.   Father's Activities Outside the Family Circle.

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

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

40. Occupation. F earns the family's entire income, except for £50/year earned by 1S by giving part-time assistance to the local chemist. In his full-time occupation F is one of seven "time-operators" in a composing room, where he is under the supervision of an overseer and two deputy over-seers. He gives no directives, and is at the end of the downward chain of communications. His work is type-setting completely: setting headings, introductions and advertising matter. He works 40 hours/week over five shifts, never has Saturday off, but one week-day by rotation. He has three quarters of an hour for lunch, and a "smoko" break (with tea or soft-drink) in the afternoon. F has lunch in the firm's cafeteria with the same three work-mates each day: after spending the first twenty minutes there he will spend the rest of the time playing cards or watching a card game. There will be six or seven penny rummy schools in operation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

F has no religious activities of any kind. He
has stood by with 1S and 1D and listened to a
children's Sunday School in the park on some
Sundays, and finds this interesting.

43. Recreation. F could, but does not, belong to any
of the returned servicemen's clubs - only because
he believes that if you can't be in a thing
properly it is better not to bother about it at
all. Although he plays golf a great deal, and
mainly with work-mates, he doesn't belong to a
golf-club, because he can't make use of the member-
ship, as he is working at week-ends. Prior to
working on the newspaper - which occupies all of
his Saturdays - he used to be interested in a
number of sports: baseball, tennis, cricket, foot-
ball. He played competition football each season
and belonged to the local club. Four or five
hours of nearly every day off F will be at golf,
playing either with one of his work-mates or a
casual player picked up at Moore Park. Very
occasionally on his day off he will watch a match,
e.g. football. One Sunday a month F plays what
he calls "social golf", and would be away from home
from 8 a.m. till 9 p.m. These outings would take
a bus load to Wallachia, Camden or Wentworth Falls,
and are organized by a social golf club at F's
place of work.

44. Cultural and educational activities. F has
attended evening courses in Economics I and Ad-
vanced Economics with the W.E.A. Next year he
plans to attend a wood-work class at the local
Evening College.

45. Social clubs, lodges, and other similar associations.
F doesn't believe in lodges or secret societies.
He belongs to no clubs (e.g. R.S.L.), because time
is a limiting factor.

46. Contact with kin (for whole family). M's relatives
are more in contact with the family than F's. MM
and MstepF, who live at Richmond, are seen in week-
end visits (made both ways), about once every three

weeks.   This contact with kin involves some
exchange of services, e.g. occasionally F helps
MstepF turn the soil.   Once/week M meets MM in
the city for a day, and helps her do her shopping.
Also MBr, who lives in the same street, is seen
quite regularly.   They visit one another's homes
and meet on the bus.   They work in together.
If there is sickness in one family the other M
will do the shopping, cook the tea, etc.   They
water one another's gardens and mind the animals
in the holidays.   The M's do shopping together,
walk out together, go to the pictures together.
Till very recently FM lived only a quarter of a
mile away, and would come in for about half an
hour six nights a week.   Now she is living in a
small apartment at Petersham, and they are just be-
ginning to establish a pattern of regular visits.
F used to do such odd jobs for her as would nor-
mally be done by the man about the house, e.g.
repairs, lawns, etc.   F's married Sr at Hearne
Bay is also seen about six times/year.   This
family will almost always take the initiative in
making visits.   It has become a regular practice
over the years for "everyone" to visit this family
on Christmas eve, and on this occasion anything up
to twenty relatives are present - nieces, uncles,
MM and MstepF.   Relationships with relatives are
friendly, warm and open.   M and F say, "It's open
house here - casual and unorganized.   The house
might be full some nights.   People aren't asked:
they simply drop in."

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

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

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

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

overseas correspondents only about once in six months.

50. <u>Allport-Vernon Study of Values</u>.   F's scores on the Allport-Vernon Study of Values were as follows: Economic, outstandingly high; political, high; social, average;   theoretical, average;   religious, low;   aesthetic, outstandingly low.

51. <u>Personal traits observed</u>.   F is expansive, conversational, convivial.   Much of his conversation and thinking runs in the direction of exposing and expostulating against social injustices.   He is indignant against anything of this kind, e.g. against his treatment by the Fair Rents Court (he had to pay added rent for improvements six months before they were made, and he knows friends who have had to pay added rent for improvements which they themselves have made.)   He is intelligent, active, progressive, stable, purposive and integrated.

VI.   <u>Father's Perception of Self and Situation</u>.

52. <u>The main emphases of F's self-perception</u>.   F thinks of himself primarily as a promoter of the welfare of the working class, and an exponent, in his family role of F, of what the working class in Australia can offer.

53. <u>Perception of the universe</u>.   F accepts the orthodox Christian views of God and man, and in a faint way places himself in this scheme of things.   But he has no personal interest in the ultimate background of individual and social life, and eternal matters count little.   He is respectful towards religion, and shows a certain interest and enthusiasm for the Open Air Campaigners' park Sunday School, but it is because of its moral influence on children that he appreciates it.   With M he pays tribute also to the liveliness of the local Anglican minister, and to his efforts to keep the young people interested in the church.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

56. <u>Family's perception of F</u>.   F is loved and respected
by the whole family, but slightly feared in some
ways by 1S.   He is seen by the children as being
generous toward them, affectionate, and predomin-
antly friendly.   M regards him as being highly
reliable (apparently in contrast with the instability
which she has noticed in other husbands), as being
popular with men and women alike, a good mixer and
leader, ambitious and progressive - for all of
which things she is very proud of him.   She says
he is quick-tempered, but at the same time soft-
hearted and affectionate.   She says that he and 1S
rub one another up the wrong way, only because they
are terribly alike.   The family is satisfied that
F discharges his role as a F well.   He does more
even than is expected of him, and is very helpful
about the place.   M considers herself fortunate
in such a husband.   The children appreciate the
interest he takes in them and the trouble he goes
to for them.   1D admires him tremendously and
thinks that both of his jobs - printer and teacher
- are very glamorous.

VII. <u>Mother's Activities Within Family Circle</u>.

57. <u>Household maintenance</u>.   The maintenance of the
household falls almost entirely to M, who has it
well under control.   She is very thorough and
methodical, working fairly consistently to a weekly
routine.   She says that she never asks the chil-
dren to do any household maintenance work unless
she is pressed for time, and then 1D may do some
small thing like setting the table.   She says that
there is nothing about housework that she does not
like, and derives a real sense of fulfilment and
satisfaction from it - also, a pleasing sense of
having given service and satisfaction.   She pre-
pares all the meals and does all the cooking and
cleaning, washing and ironing, and does not like to
have to let it go.   F says MF says she wears the
house out with the vacuum cleaner, carpet sweeper
and broom.   She gives the house a thorough do
through once each week.   She knits and machines,

makes clothing for herself and 1D, and alters clothing for F and 1S. She does a lot of mending and darning. She shops locally every second day and goes to town occasionally, and on Fridays goes to the Junction to do the week-end shopping.

58. <u>Personal care</u>. M wakes F and 1S in the mornings, plaits 1D's hair, chases 1S around in the morning till he catches his bus, as he finds it hard to get off to school in the mornings, etc. She has the general supervision of the self-care of both children.

59. <u>Household and family management</u>. M is keen and enthusiastic about the management of the home, which is left to her entirely. She has a sense of vocation in this role.

60. <u>Child control and supervision</u>. This falls to M entirely, except when she chooses to invite F's intervention.

61. <u>Recreational activities within the family circle</u>. M's recreational activities within the family orbit include visits to the local pictures with F and/or the children on some week-day evenings, listening to the radio in the presence of the family in the evenings, taking the children (with F) for a swim on Sundays, going over with F and 1D to join 1S in his outings with friends at Watson's Bay, or strolling out with the family in the evenings. She goes to dances and balls with F, and when F goes interstate for executive meetings she goes with him and makes a holiday out of it. She plays shuttle-cock with the children.

62. <u>Other opportunities for face-to-face interaction within the family</u>. M has other opportunities for face-to-face interaction with the family in having breakfast and tea with them, in the casual and frequent appeals made to her by the children throughout the day, reading the paper in their presence on Sundays, and spending a fortnight's holiday with them each year.

63. <u>Quality of face-to-face interaction</u>. M is extremely affectionate, and appreciative and understanding towards F and both children. She is contented, level, and enthusiastic, and infects the others with her confidence. There is a very open exchange of communication between her and the rest of the family.

64. <u>Leisure activities taken within the family circle unregulated by expectations from other members</u>. Activities within the family orbit which are unregulated by the expectations of others are having morning tea alone, listening to a lot of radio serials (all that are on 2UW between 8.30 and 11.30) most mornings while doing work, browsing in the sun on the verandah for a short time after lunch in the cooler weather (perhaps knitting), doing some reading in the evenings or in bed before retiring (M describes this as a bad habit, because she can get too interested and do nothing else) - but she doesn't read a lot.

VIII. <u>Mother's Activities Outside the Family Circle</u>.

65. <u>General character and emphasis of outside activities</u>. Outside the family M's regular activities are concentrated amongst her kin. Her relationships with relatives entail a high degree of mutual service and sociability. She fulfils no public roles.

66. <u>Occupation</u>. M engages in no external occupational activities.

67. <u>Occupational associations</u>. Nil.

68. <u>Political, religious and moral associations</u>. Nil.

69. <u>Recreation</u>. M belongs to no recreational groups. Her most regular form of recreation outside the home is attending the cinema. This she does most often with family members, but sometimes with her M or Sr-in-law. She goes with F to a few balls throughout the year, but not to anything regularly.

70. <u>Cultural and educational activities</u>. Nil.

71. <u>Social clubs, lodges and other similar organizations</u>. Nil.

72. <u>Contact with kin</u> (see also item 46). M regards relatives as supplying her main friendships, she has a Sr and Sr-in-law of about her own age, and is closely attached to these.

73. <u>Contact with neighbours</u> (see item 47).

74. <u>Personal friendships</u>. M has only one important friend, apart from relatives, with whom she worked before marriage, and who was her bridesmaid. This friend visits the family for tea once every fort-night, and spends the evening chatting. She takes a great interest and shows affection for the chil-dren, having none of her own.

75. <u>Personal correspondence</u>. M has no regular corres-pondence at all. There is a lady who was very nice to them when they were children, and M writes to her every Christmas.

76. <u>Allport-Vernon Study of Values</u>. M's scores on the Allport-Vernon Study of Values were as follows: social, outstandingly high; theoretical, economic, aesthetic and political, average; religious, low.

77. <u>Personal traits observed</u>. M is placid, contented, well-integrated, self-respecting, well-adjusted, sensible.

IX. <u>Mother's Perception of Self and Situation</u>.

78. <u>The main emphases of M's self-perception</u>. M sees herself primarily in the role of M within the family, in which role she is highly satisfied.

79. <u>Perception of the universe</u>. M faintly fits her-self into the Christian view of God and the universe,

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

80. Perception of Australian society (see also item 54).
M limits the horizon of her perception in regard
to the larger society, and is content with her
working-class role.

81. M's perception of her family role. Within the
family M sees herself with satisfaction in the
roles of home manager, carer for and trainer of
the children, a source of affection for F and
children. She would never consider going out to
work unless compelled to do so by dire economic
circumstances. That position has never been
reached and the possibility has never been dis-
cussed. M is very proud of the home, likes to
keep it clean and attractive, and has a refurnish-
ing plan under way for the lounge and hall. She
is very economical and has an eye for a bargain;
F says she is an economist's dream. She takes
pride in these achievements. She says she pleases
herself entirely in her arrangements.

82. Family's perception of M. M is loved and respected
by the whole family. F congratulates her for her
good home management and economy and efficiency.
He says she takes an interest in everyone, and
always gives herself last priority. The children
appreciate the interest which she takes in them -
particularly in taking them out.

X. Children's Activities Within Family Circle. (1S, 14
years; 1D, 8 years).

83. Household maintenance. 1S has no regular tasks
for household maintenance. He may help F in the

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

1D contributes to household maintenance by washing up in the mornings, going a few short messages each afternoon, setting the table sometimes in the morning if M is in a hurry - or for tea, accompanying M to shopping on Saturday morning, and going for the bread on Sunday morning.

84. Personal care. 1S and 1D assume practically all of their own personal care responsibilities - under M's direction and supervision.

85. Household and family management. Nil.

86. Child control and supervision. Nil.

87. Educational and training activities. 1S does about half an hour's homework each evening, with a longer session, occasionally, on woodwork or science.

1D has only a small list of words to learn each evening for homework.

88. Recreational. 1S and 1D listen to the radio in the presence of the whole family on Sunday nights, go with one another to the cinema on Saturdays, swim together. The family will walk out together, picnic together and holiday together. The children will go with M to shows in the city during vacations.

89. Other opportunities for face-to-face interaction within the family. 1S and 1D have breakfast with the family and week-end meals. 1S is usually in late for tea on week-days and the others have eaten. 1S and 1D appeal to M a great deal throughout the day. They also play a great deal together. They sit in the same room as M and F in the evening to carry out their separate activities.

90. <u>Quality of face-to-face interaction</u>. 1S is
friendly toward all the family but is over-
dependent on approval. He is matter-of-fact,
and is embarrassed about expressing feeling.
He is abashed by F's sarcasm and impatience about
his backwardness at school, but bears it shyly and
patiently. He is slightly withdrawn - and doesn't
talk spontaneously very much - he has to be pumped
to talk about what he has done outside the family.
He is respectful towards his parents, and even a
little afraid of F - of losing F's approval or
exciting his anger. He is affectionate towards
his Sr, but finds her very irritating at times,
because she teases quite deliberately - when he's
doing his hair, or when he's in the bathroom she'll
push the door open, or when his mates are around
she will hang around too. When she goes beyond a
certain stage he "does his block" with her.

1D is very open, expressive, communicative and
affectionate; respectful and obedient to parents
and fond of them; affectionate to 1S, but also
teasing.

91. <u>Leisure activities taken within the family circle,
unregulated by expectations from other members</u>.
1S looks through the newspapers each evening, will
read an interesting book, or browse over the papers
on Sundays.

1D plays tirelessly.

XI. <u>Children's Activities Outside the Family Circle</u>.

92. <u>General Character and emphasis of outside activities</u>.
Outside the family 1S is mainly oriented towards
his school, a play group of neighbouring boys, his
delivery job with the chemist, and his association
with the church.

1D is mainly taken up with school, school-friends
and neighbourhood friends (including boys who are
friends of 1S), and with relatives.

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

1D has no income-earning activities.

94. <u>Occupational associations</u>. Nil.

95. <u>Political, religious and moral associations</u>. No
political.

1S shows a genuine interest in his religious acti-
vities - a sensitiveness, respectfulness, serious-
ness and warmth is evident in his response to them.
He indicates that he has received personal appreci-
ation in church association. He has attended Sun-
day School (C. of E.) up to and including the Bible
Class. He is missing out this year, but will go
again next year in the mornings because he is to be
confirmed next year. Once each month in the evenings
he goes to Fellowship at church, and then to the
church service following. He used to be an enthusi-
astic member of C.E.B.S. - "until it fell apart:
when the older ones more or less commandeered the
place".

1D goes to Sunday School (C. of E.) each Sunday
morning. She enjoys the company of the children,
and is attached to the teacher.

96. <u>Recreation</u>. 1S's recreational activities are
taken mainly with boys in the neighbourhood. On
Friday nights, fairly regularly, he will go to the
pictures with one of his mates. On Sundays he will
play football or swim nearly all day with six of
them - and will meet others from the district; for
example, he knows all the boys down at the surf club.
Sometimes he goes to Rose Bay or Watson's Bay with
some of them for fishing - or to the Zoo, or some
similar place. These outings are just arranged

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

1D plays with the neighbouring children on the
front footpath each afternoon after school, goes
to the pictures some Saturday afternoons with the
girl next-door, swims and plays with friends of 1S.

97. <u>Cultural and educational activities.</u> 1S is in 2B
at Cleveland Street High School. He does a course
which includes, besides general subjects, woodwork
and technical drawing. There is no subject which
he likes in particular, but he is pretty indiffer-
ent to French and positively dislikes music theory.
His performance in all subjects is poor to average.
He enjoys sports but is not very competent in any.
He follows athletics in winter and swimming in
summer.

1D is in 3B at Bondi Girls' School, where she is
a monitress. She takes the general primary course,
and is very keen on all subjects. Sport consists
of games of various kinds, about all of which she
is enthusiastic, although she has not much competence
on account of being small for her age.

98. <u>Clubs, lodges, etc.</u> Nil.

99. <u>Contact with kin</u> (see also item 46). 1S and 1D
are both particularly enthusiastic about visits to
the grandparents at Richmond, and will frequently
stay there during the holidays. 1D goes to the
pictures sometimes with her cousin who lives down
the street. Sometimes on Sundays she will visit
the aunt who lives in the street - just by herself.
She will also visit other aunts with her M.

100. <u>Contact with neighbours</u> (see also item 47). Two
immediate neighbours have boys of about the same
age as 1S, who are his special mates, and there are
four others in close vicinity.

1D also mixes with these boys, and will go swimming or to the pictures with them. There are also three families in the neighbourhood with girls of about her own age, with whom she is friendly, and with whom she plays a great deal. There is also a small boy of three, a neighbour, whom she will sometimes mind.

101. Personal friendships. 1S regards as his special friends three boys in the neighbourhood with whom he has grown up. This friendship has remained firm even though they have been dispersed by attending different secondary schools.

1D's main friendships are with three girls of her own age whom she has met at school. They live in the district, and she will bring them home or visit their places in the afternoon after school.

102. Correspondence. Nil.

103. Personal traits observed. 1S is passive, slow, sensitive, withdrawn, respectful, a little anxious about masculinity.

1D is active, confident, self-contained, expressive, energetic, affectionate, communicative, respectful, contented, secure.

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

104. The main emphases of self-perception. 1S thinks of himself as a school-boy who is having a bit of a struggle with his school-work, and who, consequently, can't be of much account to anyone - except M and his peers. He sees himself seeking ease from the tensions and failures associated with school by absorption in a life of activity among his neighbourhood mates; as improving his value by maturing in religious understanding and status; as being effective and practical in holding down a part-time job. He has, as yet, no definite ideas about what he will do after leaving school.

1D thinks of herself mainly by position within
the family, and as accepted, liked and effective
at school, Sunday School and with her friends.
She expects to be included in and accepted by
1S's peer-group, but they deny her this right.
She hopes to work in an office when she grows up,
although she is not yet sure of this.

105. Perception of family role. Within the family 1S
views himself as a dependent member, and expects
to be allowed much time for recreation and school
studies, and time to do work from which he can
accumulate personal savings. He expects to have
to show consideration to others in the family in
a crisis, e.g. when M was ill he did a lot of
things about the house, and for her personally.
He expects to be called upon to do things in the
home only when a special need arises for him to
give extra assistance.

1D sees herself as occupying a place of some impor-
tance within the family, particularly by virtue
of the attention and appreciation which M and F
lavish on her, and F specially. She sees herself
in a definitely dependent role and expects to have
much time for play, although she expects also to
help in the family in some small minor tasks regu-
larly (e.g. washing up each morning, messages each
evening), and in other irregular tasks besides.

106. Family's perception of children. 1S is seen by
the family as being neither particularly efficient
nor willing in the work he is given at home (which
is very little), and depends on the special emotional
appeal of a crisis, e.g. M's illness, to goad him
into giving service. Then he is both considerate
and kind. He is seen by his parents as "a bit of
a dreamer, always miles away". He is lacking in
initiative, but will try if you push him. However,
you always have to lead him and show him the way.
He is kind-hearted and sensitive and easily upset.
He feels that people don't like him, and won't be
satisfied until it is very forcibly demonstrated
that they do. He is quiet, doesn't talk much about

his outside activities, and has to be probed.
He is popular amongst his friends. He is good
to take out - compliant and dignified. 1D
likes him a great deal because he plays with
her and takes her places.

1D is seen by the family has having boundless
energy and enthusiasm: an Indian rubber ball.
She always wants to be doing something, and works
hard and plays hard. She is both efficient and
willing in the tasks she is given: she does
everything graciously. She communicates freely
and openly. 1S likes her a great deal, except
that she is a nuisance with her teasing and her
hanging around when his friends are there.

XIII.   Parental Practice and Aspiration.

107.   Principles of discipline. The parents vary the
method of punishment which they adopt, the vari-
ation arising mainly from a "try-something-different"
policy, when a former method of punishment has
failed. F declares, for example, that they don't
believe in using the strap, but they plainly do so
on certain occasions, and the method of punishment
most commonly reported by the children is being
slapped or strapped. Other punishments are
deprivations, e.g. being forbidden to go to the
cinema. Isolation has also been practised, e.g.
when 1S was locked out of the house because of his
continually coming home late. Both M and F will
actually hit either of the children, but only F
will strap 1S. F also does a larger share of the
"roaring on" than M, because of his greater gift
for moralising. Offences can be cumulative. 1S
says that if he gets into too many rows through the
week he's not allowed to go out at week-ends.

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

M and F think they have made a mistake with 1S in keeping him on a level with themselves. They have treated him too much as an adult, and he has come to think of himself as being of the same age as themselves and speaks to them more or less in the same manner as they speak to one another. They are now trying to break this.

F uses a tone of threat towards 1S (with a trace even of sadism?), which 1S plainly fears, as though this is appropriate for a boy and will make a man of him; but he is effusively indulgent and congratulatory to 1D, as though her sex earned her this differential treatment. M is firm but kindly towards both children.

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

108. Specific direction and supervision.
(a) Homework. The parents have never had to give deliberate directions to the children to apply themselves to their homework: they simply go and do it.
(b) Listening to radio. The family only listens to the radio in moderation, in the parents' opinion, and the children's wishes in this regard have never had to be curtailed.
(c) Reading, particularly comics. F rigidly forbids the children to bring comics into the house from Mondays to Fridays inclusive. At week-ends it is all right.
(d) Formation of friendships. The parents have actually taken a hand in supervising the formation of certain friendships by 1S. There are a few lads in the neighbourhood whom they don't encourage him to associate with. They simply tell him that a certain person is not a good companion, and point out the pitfalls that he could get into through being in the wrong company.
(e) Pocket money. F gives 6d./week to each child, explaining to 1D that it is actual

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

109. <u>Standards of conduct.</u> The parents want to see
the children grow up to be respectable and good:
honesty (in the widest understanding of the term),
kindness and good manners, are the most important
things to be aimed for. They want them to go to
church while young to obtain a religious and moral
training which will stand by them later on.

110. <u>Schooling proposed for the children.</u> The schooling
which they will give the children depends on the
children's ability and interest, the parents say.
They take it for granted that they will attend a
state school for all of their education. 1S is at
Cleveland Street High School, and whether they will
keep him at school till fifth year depends on the
standard which he has to show at the third year.
After her primary course they hope that 1D will go
to Dover Heights High School. M thinks that this
is easily the best of the high schools in the area.
Both parents have a great deal of factual knowledge
about the various schools, their standards and
courses.

111. <u>Occupational aspirations</u>. The parents' aspirations
for the children are fluid, as they consider that
a great deal will depend on their own choices on
arriving at the age of discretion, and on the
abilities which they have yet to demonstrate. If
1S's ability is not sufficient to take him beyond
the Intermediate, they expect that he will go into
some trade of his own choosing, but he is not
showing any particular inclinations at the moment.
He has, alternatively, some other ideas: he may
become a primary school teacher, a carpentry teacher,
or a Naval Officer Cadet at the Flinders Naval Base.

M and F don't know what to hope for for 1D. She
herself thinks she would like to go into an office,
but M thinks that she is far too young yet to know
her own mind in the matter. She is doing so well
at school that M thinks she may well become a
teacher.

XIV. Perception of Some Family Factors.

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

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

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

113. <u>View of the requirements of a successful family.</u>
The parents believe that family life requires a
great deal of give and take, and that very often
personal desires have to be surrendered to the
family good.   Without this their family would
not be where it is.   M thinks it is very important
to see that each person pleases himself to a
certain extent, particularly the children.   She
feels it encumbent upon her to try to keep every-
one happy, particularly in giving the children
the amount of their own way which they need,
without over-indulging them.

114. <u>View of the proper balance of emphasis between
generations.</u>   Parents place a value on themselves
because of their maturity and service to the com-
munity.   They are recoiling from the "mistake" of
giving 1S roughly equal importance with themselves.
They organize the family much more about their own
ends than the children's.   But some of the chil-
dren's wishes are acceded to, particularly those
in regard to recreation, and their educational
advantage is jealously watched.

115. <u>View of the authority arrangements existing between
husband and wife.</u>   M is given a free hand to run
the home and supervise the children, only inviting
F's intervention when she desires it.   She calls
him in for disciplinary action against the children,
or for consultation when she expects to run into
heavy expense or institute some unusual procedure.
F gives M all except £2 of his weekly wage.   He
keeps this amount for fares, lunches, smokes,
family entertainment, sport, etc.   From the
remainder M allocates for household expenses and
regular saving.

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

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

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

XV.   <u>Attitude to Research</u>.

117.   <u>Cooperation</u>.   The family were unreservedly co-
operative from the start, and showed little
reticence in communicating confidences.

118.   <u>Special interest</u>.   M and F inclined to the
belief that sociological research would be of
ultimate benefit to the working people.

A P P E N D I X   C

TESTS OF STATISTICAL SIGNIFICANCE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[1] Where more than one test is referred to on one page, the order of listing here corresponds to the order of the tests on the page.

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

APPENDIX D

SUMMARY OF TYPES

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

I.S.C. & CLASS	PROFESSIONALS'				TRADESMEN'S	
1 Upper middle 2 Middle middle 3 Lower middle 4 Upper lower 5 Middle lower	11,15,18,22,23,24,27,32	12,21,25,28,20,29	5,7,8,13,14,26	33,38	1,3,4,6,9,10,16,17,19,30,31,35,36,37	2,34
	8/20	6/20	6/20	2/18	14/18	2/18

SOCIAL MOBILITY							
1 Through major barrier 2 To ceiling of class of origin 3 To below ceiling of class of origin 4 No upward movement	15,27	18,22,23,24,11,32	12,20,21,25,29	5,7,8,13,14,26,28	33,38	6,10,16,17,30,31,36,37	1,2,3,4,9,19,34,35
	2/20	6/20	5/20	7/20	2/18	8/18	8/18

ASPIRATION FOR CHILDREN			
1 Beyond family of origin 2 Equal with family of origin	7,13,15,27,32	5,8,11,12,14,18,20,21,22,23,24,25,26,28,29	1,2,3,4,6,9,19,31,34,35,36,37	10,16,17,30,33,38
	5/20	15/20	12/18	6/18

SOCIALLY MOBILE PARENTS' ADJUSTMENT				
1 Settled 2 Unsettled	11,18,22,23,24	15,27,32	10,16,17,30,33,36,38	6,31,37
	5/8	3/8	7/10	3/10

SOCIALLY IMMOBILE PARENTS' ADJUSTMENT				
1 Disappointed 2 Content	7,13	5,8,14,26,28	1,2,9,19,34,35	3,4
	2/7	5/7	6/8	2/8

CLASS SELF-INCLUSION					
1 U. stratum 5 Distinctive W. 2 M. imperialist 6 Aggressive W.	23,32	5,7,8,13,1½,15,18,20,21,22,24,25,27,28,29	11,12,1½,26	3,33,38; 4,6,16,19,36,37	10,30,35	1,31	2,9,17,34

APPENDIX D (continued) — PROFESSIONALS' / TRADESMEN'S

PARENTS' MAIN NON-OBLIGATORY CONTACT

	PROFESSIONALS'			TRADESMEN'S	
1. Primary relations	5,20,21,24,26	7,8,11,12,13,14,15,18,22,23,28,29,32	25,27,32	1,2,3,4,16,17,19,30,34,35	6,9,10,31,33,36,37,38
2. Voluntary association	5/20	12½/20	2½/20	10/18	8/18
3. Sociability					

ADOLESCENTS' RANKING OF FAMILY & PEER GROUP

	PROFESSIONALS'			TRADESMEN'S		
1. Peer group first	14,23,32	5,7,8,13,15,20,21,22,24,25,26,27,28,29	11,12,18	9,31	1,2,3,4,10,16,17,19,30,34,35,37,38	6,33,36
2. Peer group & family equal	3/20	14/20	3/20	2/18	13/18	3/18
3. Peer group last						

EXTERNAL ORIENTATION

	PROFESSIONALS'				TRADESMEN'S			
1. Withdrawing	5,12,24	7,11,13,14,15,18,21,22,28,29	20,25,27,32	8,23,26	4,19,30,35	2,6,10,16,17,31,36,38	1,34	3,9,33,37
2. Positive out-going	3/20	10/20	4/20	3/20	4/18	8/18	2/18	4/18
3. Negative out-going								
4. Positive & negative out-going								

FRINGE FUNCTIONS: RECREATION and/or RELIGION

	PROFESSIONALS'		TRADESMEN'S	
1. Retained beyond minimum	5,7,8,11,12,15,18,21,22,23,24,25,26,28,29	13,14,20,27,32	3,4,6,10,16,17,19,30,33,35,36,37,38	1,2,9,31,34
2. Reduced to minimum	15/20	5/20	13/18	5/18

FRINGE FUNCTIONS: PRODUCTION

	PROFESSIONALS'		TRADESMEN'S	
1. Retained beyond minimum	5,7,8,11,12,13,15,18,21,22,24,25,26,28,29	14,20,23,27,32	2,4,6,10,16,17,30,33,34,35,36,38	1,3,9,19,31,37
2. Reduced to minimum	15/20	5/20	12/18	6/18

CONTROL TYPE

L. Patriarchy / S. Partnership
A. Patriarchy / U. Partnership
A. Matriarchy
P. Matriarchy

	PROFESSIONALS'					TRADESMEN'S				
1.	5,11,15,22,24,28	20,25,32	26	12,18,21,29	7,8,13,14,23,27	4,6,10,16,17,35,36,37	2,3,9,34	1,31	19	30,38
2.	6/20	3/20	1/20	4/20	6/20	8/18	4/18	2/18	1/18	2/18

BUDGET DETERMINATION

	PROFESSIONALS'			TRADESMEN'S	
1. F. and M. equality	12,23	5,7,8,11,13,14,15,18,20,21,22,24,25,26,27,28,29,32	10,16,19,37	1,2,3,4,6,9, 17,30,31,33,34,35,36,38	
2. Surrendered to M.	2/20	18/20	4/18	14/18	
3. F. leadership or independence					

DOMESTIC HELP BY FATHERS

	PROFESSIONALS'		TRADESMEN'S	
	8,21,26,24	5,7,11,12,13,14,15,18,20,22,23,24,25,27,28,32	10,16,19,30	1,2,3,4,6,9,17,31,33,34,35,36,37,38

...division group families by the master-types to which they approximate. The numbers in the squa[res]
...se use... in the key to the types in Appendix D, and show a cluster of characteristics t...
...present... by that number has been assumed to be characteristic of the master-type. Where th...
is generally characteristic of the master-type, but, when found, occurs within it exclusively on...

Value type (between parents)	attitude	Class self-inclusion	Aspiration for children	Social mobility	Number of children in family	PROFESSIONALS'	TRADESMEN'S	Number of children in family	Social mobility	Aspiration for children	Class self-inclusion	Responsibility attitude	Value type	Value divergence between parents	Value divergence between generations	Parents' preferred contact for primary relations	Neighbour relations	Parents' main non-obligatory contact
3 (3or4)	4 (or4)	2	1	4	3	13	2	2	4	1	7	4 (3or4)	3 (3or4)	1		2	3	1
4		3/	2	4	2	14	31	2	2	1	6	2	4	1	1	2	3	2
2	2	2	2	4	3	8	1	2	4	1	6	3	2	1		2	3	1
4	2	2	2	3	3	20	3	4	4	1	4	1	2	1		2	3	
2	1	1	2	2	3	23	9	3	4	1	4	3	4	1	1	1	3	2
3	1	2	2	3	2	25	33	4	1	2	4	3	3			1	2	2
4	2	2	1	1	5	27	34	2	4	1	7	3	2	1		2	1	1
4	1	1	1	2	3	32												
2 (1,2or3)	2	2	2	4	3	5	4	3	4	1	4	1	3 (1,2or3)			2	3	1
2	1	2	1	4	4	7	6	2	2	1	4	1	2			2	3	2
1	3	3	2	2	6	11	10	3	2	2	5	2	1			2	3	1
2	3	3	2	3	4	12	16	2	2	2	4	1	2			2	3	1
3	1	2	1	1	2	15	17	2	2	2	7	2	2			2	3	1
1	2	2	2	2	4	18	19	2	4	1	7	4	2			2	3	1
2	2	2	2	3	5	21	30	2	2	2	5	1	2			2	1	1
2	1	2	2	2	3	22	35	3	4	1	5	4	1			2	3	1
2	1	2	2	2	3	24	36	4	2	1	4	2	1			2	3	2
2	3	3	2	4	4	26	37	2	2	1	4	2	2			2	3	2
2	1	2	2	4	4	28	38	5	1	2	4	2	2			2	3	2
1	3	2	2	3	5	29												

Adolescents' ranking of family and peer group.

External orientation.

Fringe functions: recreation &/or religion.

Fringe functions: production.

Control type

Domestic help by fathers.

Fathers' part in child direction & instruction.

Unemotional parents.

Elastic role adherence.

Experimental child training.

Admission of children & adolescents to family control.

APPENDIX F

A NOTE ON THE RELIABILITY OF THE METHOD

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I aimed at a target at this middle level because I share the desire which some writers now express, for a sociology which will hold theory and research together. Merton has said that this object will be furthered if inquiry is guided by theories of the middle range.[1] Larrabee is another person who has commented on the divorce between the theoretical and empirical members of the sociological house, and he is careful to lay half the blame upon the offences of the latter member.[2] If anyone has felt acute dissatisfaction over the state of affairs which these authors describe, he will be sensitized to the detection of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The upshot of this is that the really serious and

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

1   The four methods are described in a monograph by Loevinger
    Loevinger, Jane, "A Systematic Approach to the Constructic
    and Evaluation of Tests of Ability". In Psychological
    Monographs, Vol. 61, no. 4, 1947.

2   Jordan, R. C., "An Experimental Study of the Reliability
    Coefficient". In Journal of Educational Psychology,
    Vol. 26, 1935, pp. 416-426.

3   Goodenough, Florence L., "A Critical Note on the Use of
    the Term "Reliability" in Mental Measurement". In Journal
    of Educational Psychology, Vol. 27, 1936, pp. 173-178.

4   Loevinger, Jane, ibid.

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

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

1 Goodenough states: "What we should do, I think, is to
   relegate the use of the term 'reliability' to the limbo
   of outworn concepts and express our results in terms of
   the actual procedure used." (Goodenough, Florence L.,
   ibid., p.177). Loevinger echoes her view: "The statist-
   ical formulas utilizing reliability coefficients are base
   on assumptions at best so inaccessible, at worst so con-
   trary to clinical experience, that the attempt to find a
   substitute for the notion of reliability, based on
   assumptions closer to the real situation in testing,
   appears well justified." (Loevinger, Jane, ibid., p.10).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

SOCIAL MOBILITY OF FIRST GENERATION

(i)   Types defined: p.107.
(ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: p.107.
      Comparison of the occupations, prosperity, places
      of residence and social participation of parents
      with those of their own parents.
(iii) Classification of this family: Moving to ceiling of
      class of origin, from case study items no. 9, 10,
      11, 14, 15, 16, 18, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 41 and 4
      From the families of a paper-ruler in the printing
      industry and an interior-decorator, respectively,
      F and M have moved into the family of a qualified
      lino-type operator. In their families of origin
      they enjoyed the benefits of a working man's living.
      They "didn't have to go begging", but certainly
      never had too much of anything. Since marriage F
      has changed his job twice to improve his status
      and income, but has not changed from the actual
      trade in which he was trained. The family has
      changed from its former place of residence, but
      has not moved from the one suburb. After paying
      off the furniture, and recovering from the set-
      back of being on Air Force pay, the family has
      become established by a steady increase in income
      and savings and in its standard of living. Whereas
      their own parents were not interested in accepting
      positions of responsibility in the community, F is
      extremely active and holds a number of responsible
      positions in the labour movement.

ASPIRATION FOR CHILDREN

(i)   Types defined: pp. 120-121.
(ii) Behavioural Data for classifying cases: pp. 120-121.
      Parents' expressed wishes.
(iii) Classification of this family: Equal with family of
      origin, from case study items no. 97, 104, 110 and 1
      The parents' aspirations for the children are fluid,
      for what they finally do will partly depend on what
      ability they demonstrate. So far, 1S has demonstrat
      very little ability, and it seems very unlikely that
      he will continue at school beyond the Intermediate
      Examination. In that eventuality the parents expect
      that he will enter some trade of his own choosing.
      1D, at the age of eight, is too young for anyone to
      entertain serious aspirations for her.

CLASS SELF-INCLUSION

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

from case study items no. 38, 39, 41-44, 54, 80 and 1⌉
The parents, and F particularly, grant no legitimac⌉
to class distinctions and treat all people alike,
i.e. as "workers". They believe that all that is
valuable, whether material or cultural, can be
realized within the working class. F's wide
associational life extends exclusively to movements
for working-class betterment, and sporting, social
and cultural groups comprised of workers.

RESPONSIBILITY ATTITUDE

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

VALUES

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

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

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

VALUE DIVERGENCE BETWEEN PARENTS

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

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

VALUE DIVERGENCE BETWEEN GENERATIONS OF THE FAMILY

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

PREFERRED CONTACT FOR PRIMARY RELATIONS

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

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

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

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

ADOLESCENTS' RANKING OF FAMILY AND PEER GROUP
(i)   Types defined: p. 212.
(ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: p. 212.
      Adolescents' conversational preoccupations and
      use of spare time.
(iii) Classification of this family: <u>Family and peer
      group ranked equal</u>, from items 61, 88, 96, 100 and 101
      1S spends a great deal of recreation in company with
      the family, and also a great deal with peers. The
      two are linked together by all his neighbourhood
      friends being encouraged to come to the house, and
      by the family sometimes joining the peers on Sundays
      in certain of their recreational activities.

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

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

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

(iii) Classification of this family: <u>Retained</u>, from items
31, 55-57, 81 and 82.
M finds a great deal of the intrinsic satisfaction
of her role in the preparation of food for the
family, in making clothing, and in decorating and
fitting up the home. F gives himself enthusiasticall;
to the gardens and lawns, and does more even than is
expected of him by doing helpful jobs about the place

FAMILY CONTROL
(i)   Types defined: pp. 262-266, 273-285.
(ii)   Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp. 263-266,
273-285.
Whether the division of responsibility for decision-
making is by agreement and consent (and according to
a certain principle), or by assertion.
(iii) Classification of this family: <u>Legitimate patriarchy</u>,
from items 33, 55-57, 59, 78, 81, 82, 115.
F determines the budget, and is the undisputed final
judge in questions relating to discipline, heavy
expense and radical changes in the family's way of
life. M is allowed complete control of the house-
hold and routine family activities, and "pleases
herself entirely in her arrangements". Both parents
have a sense of personal worth and satisfaction in
discharging the responsibilities allotted to them,
and each is highly satisfied with the partner's
performance.

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

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

F's PART IN CHILD-DIRECTION

(i)   Types defined: pp. 291-292.

(ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp. 291-292.
Whether the F's part in the direction and instruction
of the children exceeded such intervention as M
invited and what was made inescapable by the
situation of being left alone with them, and whether
it rivalled the part played by the M.

(iii) Classification of this family: Minimum participation
by F, from item 34.
F has no regular supervision of the children and
gives no directives of any routine kind. He will,
when invited by M, play the role of "the strong
arm of the law".

DEMONSTRATION OF AFFECTION FOR CHILDREN

(i)   Types defined: p. 300.

(ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: p. 300.
Whether the parents consciously strove to show
affection for the children or excused themselves
from doing so.

(iii) Classification of this family: Parents demonstrate
affection, from items 35-37, 55, 56, 61-63, 81, 82, 107
Both parents make a point of spending a lot of time
with the children and are extremely open and
expressive with them. Even though F's attitude to
1S is sometimes sarcastic and sometimes slightly
sadistic, it is also kindly, and never distant,
indifferent or rejecting.

ELASTIC ROLE ADHERENCE

(i)   Types defined: p. 312.

(ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: p. 312.
Whether or not the parents rigidly confined them-
selves to their own tasks, or frequently took over
and helped with one another's duties.

(iii) Classification of this family: Elastic role adherence
not shown, from items 31-34, 55-57, 60, 78, 81, 82,
and 112 (third paragraph).
Inside matters are left to the M and outside matters
to the F almost in their entirety. Each parent
takes pride in being able to meet the requirements
of his or her role unaided.

EXPERIMENTAL CHILD TRAINING

(i)   Types defined: p. 296.

(ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: p. 296.
Whether or not parents are applying consciously
formulated theories of child development.

(iii) Classification of this family: Not employing experi-
mental child training, from items 107-109 and 114.

Parents emphasize the subordination of the
children to themselves, assert authority and
exercise punishment, and seek to have them trained
in the traditional moral and religious virtues.
Unnoticed, they had kept 1S more or less on a level
with themselves, and consider this to have been a
mistake, and are breaking him from it.

ADMISSION OF CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS TO FAMILY CONTROL

(i)   Types defined: p. 286.
(ii)   Behavioural data for classifying cases: p. 286.
      Whether or not the children are admitted to the
      parents' confidence concerning matters of policy,
      and whether or not the children are invited to
      take part in family conference.
(iii) Classification of this family: Exclusion of children
      from family control, from items 33, 59, 85, 105, 106,
      108, 113 and 114.
      Although it is a principle of M's management of the
      family that each person should please himself to a
      certain extent, this liberty does not extend to the
      parents' inviting the children's opinions on their
      decisions, or inviting the children to participate
      in decisions on matters affecting the whole househol
      1S had been allowed to fall into the habit of doing
      these things, and is now being checked.

MASTER TYPE

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

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

PARENT-CHILD RELATIONS

(i) Types defined: pp. 340-341, 358 and 378.
(ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp. 340-341,
358 and 378.
Whether the parents' approach to the children was
marked by warmth, coupled with objective distance
and a principled sense of responsibility; or by
careless distance, combined with exploitation of
the child's affections; or by a suffocating
closeness which deprived the child of emotional
and moral autonomy, seeking a power over his will.
(iii) Classification of this family: Warmth, objective
distance and a principled sense of responsibility,
from items as given above for Demonstration of
Affection for Children, and also items 90, 109,
110 and 113.
The parents show warmth towards and interest in
the children, both of which are appreciated by
the children and reciprocated. M is careful to
see that the children are free to please themselves
to a certain extent. The parents do not refrain
from punishing the children from fear of losing
favour with them. By this, and in their supervision
of and interest in their school and church activitie
they show a responsible concern for the personality
and moral development of the children.

INTER-SIBLING RELATIONS

(i) Types defined: pp. 342 and 360.
(ii) Behavioural data for classifying cases: pp. 342
and 360.
Whether, habitually, the relations are marked,
predominantly, by jealousy, quarrelsomeness,
selfishness and rivalry, in the one case, or by
friendliness, generosity, co-operation and
consideration, in the other.
(iii) Classification of this family: Predominantly
friendly, from items 89, 90 and 106.
The children play together a great deal and are
extremely fond of one another. 1D's teasing,
however, and also her tendency to attach herself
to her Br in his peer groups, are a source of
irritation to 1S.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

another in a fairly pervasive and constant way. Thus the

two constructions which they place on the criteria become,

in effect, "equivalent forms". For this reason, it seems

better to regard the procedure as having the logical

properties of that method of testing for reliability.

As Loevinger[1] has trenchantly pointed out, and both

Spearman[2] and Kelley[3] have admitted, this method

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

And, as I think Loevinger has shown convincingly, this

is circular, and calls for the abandonment of the practice.

And, with Loevinger, one wonders how, after their admission

of subterfuge, Spearman and Kelley can proceed to commend it

It seems that it is only by his designation of the tests as

"similar", or "as excellent" or "equally trustworthy",

rather than as "equally reliable", that Kelley is able to

ward off a full realization of the absurdity. But trust-

worthiness is reliability purely and simply, and it is

similarity and excellence in this respect which he implies.[5]

1   Loevinger, Jane, ibid.
2   Spearman, C. "Correlation Calculated from Faulty Data".
    In British Journal of Psychology, Vol.3, 1909-1910, pp.271-
3   Kelley, T.L. "The Reliability Coefficient". In
    Psychometrika, Vol. 7, 1942, pp. 75-83.
4   Loevinger, Jane, ibid., pp. 9-10.
5   If it should be said that it is "equal validity" that is
    meant here, I would not strongly object, unless it is als
    implied that that means that "equal reliability" is not
    meant. For the two things are not as separable as that.
    Simply because we are able to give them separate definitic
    saying validity is this and reliability is that, we shoul

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

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

In short, two tests must be judged to be equally reliable

before they can be used to estimate the reliability of one

of them! In the case of having two judges, what this means

is that, initially, the interpretations put on the criteria

by both of them must be assumed to be equally reliable.

But it is absurd to say that anyone proceeding in a task,

the object of which is to establish the degree of reliability

of one judge's understanding of certain criteria, will be

able to know, in the course of the task, that a second

judge's understanding is of exactly equivalent reliability

with the first's. If we know these two values we do not

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(Ctd. from p. 535)
   not suppose that they do not inter-penetrate. For a
   measure to be valid it must be free from both systematic
   errors and the random errors which affect reliability.
   Validity, therefore, presupposes reliability, and a
   measure cannot be valid if it is not also reliable.

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

need to make the test to find out one of them, and if we do not know them we cannot make the test.[1]

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

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

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

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

As the perceptions of some men in any particular

sphere are much sounder than those of others, and as the

history of science shows that the advancement of knowledge

has largely depended on this inequality of perception

between one person and another, I find myself unable to

admit agreements of this kind as a <u>third</u> ground of the

acceptability of scientific work. While it is the final

end of science to make knowledge public, it would seem

self-defeating to exclude knowledge from consideration if

it could not first be shown to be public by earning agree-

ment from others. Conceived as a test of admissibility,

then, the practice of having additional judges seems to

me premature, and it could be detrimental to the growth

of knowledge if made mandatory.[1]

It does seem that the practice of having additional

judges has a certain interest if it is not conceived as

a test. It can serve as an illustration of what occurs

1 Zander quotes from the report on a series of studies on
observer reliability which were made by Thomas, Loomis
and Arrington. These authors reached the conclusion
that "reliability cannot be determined by one simple
measure of agreement between two equally trained
observers." This report was not available to me, so
that I was not able to explore the grounds on which the
conclusion rested, but, in view of the considerations I
have presented, I do not find the conclusion which these
workers reached surprising.
  (Zander, A. "Systematic Observation of Small Face-to-
Face Groups." Chapter 15 of "Research Methods in Social
Relations, with Especial Reference to Prejudice", by
Jahoda, M., Deutsch, M., and Cook, S.W., editors.
Dryden Press, N.Y., 1951, p. 531. Zander quotes there
from Thomas, D.S., Loomis, A.M., and Arrington, R.E.,
"Observational Studies of Social Behaviour", Vol. 1,
Social Behaviour Patterns, Yale University Institute of
Human Relations.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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