

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES IN
SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

**FAMILY AND
MARRIAGE**



Chief Editor: K. ISHWARAN

Editor: JOHN MOGEY

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IN
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CHIEF EDITOR
K. ISHWARAN

VOLUME I
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EDITED BY
JOHN MOGEY



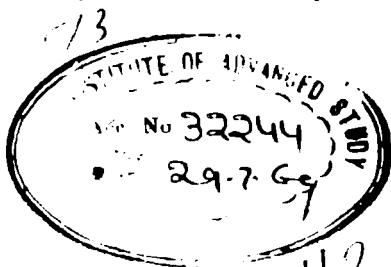
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Preface

K. ISHWARAN

Karnatak University, India

ONE of the oldest among human institutions, the family, is also the most resilient. Through the centuries it has assumed many different forms, and each form has been valiantly defended as the right one, if not the most suitable one. From one part of the world to another, we still find diverse forms of the family. But, however different the forms may be, its essential functions are the same, or its functions through the differing cultures are tending to be the same, due to certain world-wide processes like industrialisation and urbanisation. Whatever the form of the family to-day, whether we study it in one region or another, it is found to be virile still and this in spite of the fears of many for its future. The fears regarding its future are not unlike the fears that may arise for any social institution in the process of change. Actually and understandably, the family has survived many changes in the past and continues to fulfil its essential functions despite the fact that various social agencies are competing with it.

Theoretically speaking, one could consider the family in its structure and dynamics as a system by itself, or in its wider ramifications with society and culture via socialisation and personality formation. A controversy has been raging as to the universality of the family. Which family? Even the elementary family cannot be easily said to be universal, if we bear in mind the case of fraternal polyandry in Tibet or elsewhere. If some type of family living, if some marriage form is universal, that is yet to be defined and its extensions and involvements yet to be worked out. An important area of family research, namely, the cyclical development of different types of families, is largely neglected. No satisfactory theory has yet been found to explain the impact of industrialisation and urbanisation on the family and its articulation with society. The swing towards lower age at marriage in the Western societies and the opposite trend in the East are yet to be adequately comprehended theoretically, with flashbacks to the past centuries. One may reasonably expect that comparative cross-cultural studies can take us nearer the goal of universally valid theory formation, if indeed such universal theory formulation in social sciences is not a fond hope!

The articles presented here, that were published in a special number of the *International Journal of Comparative Sociology* (Vol. III. No. 1) are focussed on family and marriage in our changing civilization. Our attention is called to

different forms of the family and the institutional network of marital relations, and each form or network is confronted with the challenges of a changing civilization. Above all, there is evidence of family adaptation, and this has come about in different ways. The articles, in their details, deal with aspects of marriage and family life, mate selection, group relationships etc. As is evidenced in these writings, the styles of mating may change but mating itself does not cease; we see a great variety of spouse relations, but the spouse does not disappear; family functions may be changing, but the essential ones continue to survive.

The articles are refreshing in one important respect: they emphasize the productiveness of various new methods in family research, or in some cases improvements on older methods. And the effort in bringing these articles together points to the important contribution that the comparative approach could make to the laying down of a sound theoretical foundation in similar studies. It should be pointed out here that comparative research requires that workers in different countries study the same problems in the same way. If Sociology or Social Anthropology is to accumulate knowledge that is free from cultural ethnocentricity, much replication of research studies is essential. The present work gives encouraging evidence that comparative studies have much to contribute both to family sociology and to the parent discipline. More precise studies will be possible in future years, as international exchange of researchers and students is developed. Difficulties arise when interview schedules are translated into a new language and applied in a different culture. The conduct of research by the same person in several countries or cultures is one way to overcome these problems. Until there is a greater consensus on theories, instruments and problems within the profession of social anthropology- and sociology, this will probably be the most effective way to conduct comparative research. Yet communication through a book of activities of social researchers in many parts of the world has an important part to play in the creation of climates of academic opinion favourable to cross-cultural studies. Such global comparative studies add an element of comprehensiveness to our understanding of diverse cultures. While this publication in this new series, sponsored by the Department of Social Anthropology, Karnatak University, contributes to co-operative cross-cultural research, it is intended that in later publications similar studies on other aspects of human society will be presented. In this respect, I feel, that this publication on family and marriage and the ensuing publications will be rendering a service to the understanding of human society in particular and to social science in general.

Our thanks are due to Dr. John M. Mogyey of Vanderbilt University, U.S.A., who has kindly undertaken the task of editing these articles and also to the contributors. To Dr. D. C. Pavate, the Vice-Chancellor of Karnatak University, we are specially indebted for his valuable guidance and patronage in bringing out these publications.

Finally, my sincere thanks are due to Dr. F. C. Wiedner, Director, E. J. Brill and Co., the well-known international publishing house, Leiden, Holland. His interest in this series is most encouraging and gratifying.

Introduction

THE FAMILY IN ITS SOCIAL SETTING

JOHN MOGEY

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THIS book presents a series of research papers about interchanges between different family systems and the societies in which they exist. At this point I give a brief introduction to sociological research on the family in order that the specific contribution of each paper will become available to the widest possible audience.

Interpretations of family life from the standpoint of religion, ethics, and moral law dominated the literature before 1800. Much of this was polemic, decrying change and calling for a return to older, better ways when children obeyed their parents, wives their husbands, and kinsmen supported each other. An early addition to this type of literature came with the industrialisation of England, France, and Germany. The growth of towns, factories and commerce led to a displacement of families from their traditional communities and immigration in industrialising regions cut traditional leaders off from information about families in their areas. Studies of poverty, housing conditions and social degradation began to document the actual living conditions of such families.¹ From this developed a new literature of social reform adding to but not displacing the earlier polemic type.

It the latter part of the nineteenth century all embracing theories of society were constructed and the literature of missionaries, travellers, folklorists and historians was searched for illustrations to support these hypothetical schemes. One such theory postulated an historical sequence from a primeval horde with sexual promiscuity, through group marriage, and polygamy to the monogamous unions of Western Europe as the highest point in human evolution. The distribution of authority within the family was supposed to have evolved from a social group dominated by the mother, to one dominated by the father and, as

¹ Booth, Charles, *Life and labour of the people in London*, 17 vols, London, Macmillan, 1889-1903; Eden, Sir F. M., *The state of the poor*, 3 vols, London, 1797; LePlay, F., *Les ouvriers européens* 1st ed. 1 vol. in folio, Paris, Imprimerie royale, 1855; see also MogeY, John, The contribution of Frédéric LePlay to family research, in: *Marriage and Family Living* 1955, 17 (4), 310-315; Riehl, W. H., *Die Naturgeschichte des Volkes als Grundlage einer deutschen Sozialpolitik*, 1855; quoted from König, R., Family and Authority, the German Father in 1955, in: *Sociological Review* 1957, 5 (1) 107-127; Rountree, B. S., *Poverty: a study of town life*, London, Macmillan, 1901.

an end product of the evolutionary process, to a co-operative group with equal authority resting in each parent. Such hypothetical histories are now outmoded and no longer interest serious workers.¹

The modern approach to the study of the family in its social setting does not involve the abandonment of theory for fact collecting: rather, it calls for the construction of theories that can be tested. As a revulsion to the grandiose theories of the era before 1915, family researchers turned, in the years between the two great wars, to studying families as if they were independent social groups, living lives isolated from the rest of the social process. They approached family interaction from the standpoint of the personalities of those involved, concentrating on processes such as adjustment to marital responsibilities, or marital and parental satisfactions, and attempted to measure the extent of such states of mind. Following measurement of degrees of adjustment, they sought those factors in the life histories of those involved which were most closely related to satisfaction or dissatisfaction, adjustment or maladjustment. Studies along these lines added enormously to our detailed knowledge of the variability of human experience in family living and produced several important explanations of considerable practical value to marriage counselling, social work, and the helping professions generally.²

The emergence of a new approach to family study does not mean that older types of study are completely abandoned. The study of family budgets, continues. Attempts to study family purchases as evidences of decision making which reflects the power structure of the family continue to make valuable contributions both to economics and sociology.³

The Family and Society

Social anthropologists during the twentieth century brought back from their field expeditions more and more detailed accounts of small societies. In these studies many varieties of family groups have been described in considerable depth. The work of Durkheim, van Gennep, Radcliffe-Brown, and Malinowski⁴ leads directly to the modern theorists of family structure such as Lévi-Strauss,

- 1 Briffault, R., *The Mothers*, 2 vols, New York, Macmillan, 1931; Morgan, Lewis, *Ancient Society*, New York, Henry Holt, 1878; Murdock, G. P., *Social Structure*, New York, Macmillan, 1949; Westermarck, E., *The history of human marriage*, 2 vols, New York, Macmillan, 1911.
- 2 Burgess, E. W. and L. S. Gottrell, *Predicting success or failure in marriage*, New York, Prentice-Hall, 1939; Terman, Lewis M. and others, *Psychological factors in human happiness*, New York, McGraw Hill, 1938.
- 3 de Bie, Pierre, *Budgets familiaux en Belgique; 1957-58. Modes de vie dans trois milieux socio-professionnels*, Louvain, Nauwelaerts; Paris, Beatrice-Nauwelaerts, 1960; Hill, Reuben, "Patterns of decision - making and the accumulation of family assets," in: Nelson Foote ed., *Household Decision - Making*, New York, New York Univ. Press, 1961.
- 4 Durkheim, Emile, *The elementary forms of religious life* (1912), Glencoe, Ill., Free Press, 1953; Malinowski, B., *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, London, Routledge, 1922; Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., *Social Organisation*, New York, Knopf, 1932; van Gennep, A., *The rites of passage* (1908), London, Routledge, 1960.

Leach, Needham and Murdock.¹ Sociologists interested in the family have begun to use this source material to enrich their own studies.²

One result of this cross-fertilization is that theories about the functioning of a society as a social system now agree that the family is always a sub-system of the society. Because of this agreement the study of the family in its social setting becomes a central focus in a modern sociology of the family. Social system theories, for there are several variants, begin with the premise that a society is a set of rules which govern the interdependence, or interaction, of the parts of the system. The parts are not necessarily individuals, they may be positions or collections of positions. Such collections are social groups in another terminology, or perhaps social institutions. There never has been a case where a society consisted of one large family, Marriage mates must come from different families. Rules against the marriage of outsiders, of exogamy or endogamy in an older word usage, create the boundaries within which marriages should occur, that is to say they create communities or societies.³

The social system approach underlies the first four papers in this volume. By directing attention to the function of particular activities, it compels attention both to behaviour and to the social purposes served by such behavior. In turn, this leads the field worker to scrutinize carefully terms used to describe social groups. Such careful delimitation of exact behavioral and normative content is particularly important in family sociology. An analysis of the literature on 250 distinct and separate human societies by Murdock led to the proposition that every society has as a sub-system a social group which he called the "nuclear family". Such a group is always peopled by a man, a woman and their offspring: within it there are clearly defined rights, obligations and prohibitions concerning sexual activity, reproduction, economic co-operation and education or socialization. These are the distinctive functions served by the interdependence of the positions in the nuclear family. More complex units may arise through combinations of nuclear families: combinations of families in the same generation would be polygynous or polyandrous families; combinations across the generations would be extended, or joint families.⁴

Dr. Madan, in our first paper, tackles the term *joint family* from the standpoint of comparative usage. The tools used in his analysis are the rights and obligations attributed to the holders of positions in the *joint* or *extended family* by different authors. From his discussion of the way these terms are defined and used several

- 1 Leach, E. R., The structural implications of matrilineal cross-cousin marriage, in: *J. Royal Anthropol. Inst.* 1951, 81, 23-56; Lévi-Strauss, Claude, *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté*, Paris, Presses Univ. de France, 1949; Murdock, G. P., 1949, *op. cit.*: Needham, R., *Structure and sentiment*, Chicago, Univ. Press, 1962.
- 2 Homans, G. C. and D. M. Schneider, *Marriage, authority and final causes*, New York, Free Press, 1956; Parsons, T. and R. F. Bales, *Family, socialization and interaction process*, New York, Free Press, 1955.
- 3 Bredemeier, H. C. and R. M. Stephenson, *The analysis of social systems*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1962; Parsons, T., *The Social System*, New York, Free Press, 1952.
- 4 Murdock, G. P., 1949, *op. cit.*; Murdock, G. P., editor, *The social structure of South-East Asia*, Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1962.

structurally separate functions have been confused in much of the literature. He shows that families have to be distinguished from households or domestic groups, that property ownership, inheritance, and succession to authority in the family may have to be considered separately and that ceremonial obligations may survive major changes in the distribution of other rights and duties.

Dr. Madan refers in passing to a south Indian Nayar family structure, called a *tarwad* or *taravad*. In this society, the domestic residence group includes women who are sisters to each other, their offspring and their brothers. The Nayar family reduced the rights of the husband very considerably. Marriage took place in childhood, so that a husband's sexual privileges could not be exercised fully. Further, after three days of co-residence with his wife, the husband left the residence and thereafter had no more sexual rights than any other eligible man. His wife could take in "visiting husbands" as she wished and her children were always regarded as legitimate members of the *tarwad*. Her only other obligation to her legitimate husband was, together with her children, to observe death pollution when he died. It is difficult among the Nayars to discover a functioning social group that could be called a nuclear family; that is a coresidential group with sexual, economic and educational functions. In fairness to Murdock, reliable data on marriage and family among the Nayar appeared for the first time three years after his book was published.¹

Dr. Nakane's paper deals with the ways in which the Nayar *tarwad* alters its social functions. From its disintegration there emerge neolocal nuclear families. It may be that if the nuclear family is not now a universal social unit, there is a tendency for it to emerge as a universal social group in the modern world. This tendency is supported by other studies of social change in families and societies around the world.

Both these papers show how essential it is to distinguish clearly the rights and obligations attached to family positions that carry the same name. They also indicate that the rules for the recruitment to the position differ from the rules about the position itself.

The discussion of the interpenetration of family roles with role-sets in parallel social groups is continued in subsequent papers. Dr. Mitchell, taking his own field data from the Yao of Southern Rhodesia, shows how a distinction between uxorial (husband-wife) and genitricial (father-mother) rights enables us to deal comparatively with many distinct family types. His account of the rights and duties attributed to each position in the extended family is a model of clarity. The western form of the nuclear family with its congruence of these rights in a single pair of individuals, is, therefore, a complex bundle of relations and must be used with care in comparative sociology. Dr. Jayawardena also indicates the obligation of each role in his study of Indian families in British Guiana. His conclusion that the economic structure, as indexed by job allocation and amount of income, together with the allocation of housing explain the prevalence of the nuclear family, supports Dr. Dennis' arguments. On the other hand, he also finds that subcultural norms, whether Creole or Indian-Guianan, and upward

1 See footnotes to the paper by Dr. Chie Nakane.

mobility in the class structure both influence his generalisations. Dr. Willems also finds that social class and urban and rural residence are factors with power to explain variations in family forms in Portugal.

All these papers point to the necessity, already mentioned, to clarify the concept of the nuclear family. Such a revision will have to allow researchers to identify clearly the problems associated with marital, parental and sibling roles so that we can segregate the rights and duties appropriate to each. In comparative studies, the influence of occupation, housing, social class, and adherence to sub-cultural norms, should be held constant. Otherwise the variability in these roles from society to society around the world will defeat the analysis. The nuclear family may not be universal but it is widespread and, as our papers show, there is a tendency for it to appear as a result of recent changes in the society of India, Rhodesia and British Guiana. Whether the same social processes are at work in this emergence in all these societies is a question for which we have no answer at the moment. Theories about the emergence of the nuclear family in Europe always stress the effects of urbanisation and industrialisation. It may be that mobility is the root cause. Our contributions on the European family deal with these issues. Dr. Dennis reviews English studies and finds that in the course of this century the goals sought in the marital relationship have changed. He suggests that the causes of these changes are to be found in parallel social changes such as greater specialisation in industry and the mounting growth of large urban centers. The growing concentration of the search for love and affection on the marital relation is shown to have important consequences for family stability. Dr. Willems, too finds urbanisation an effective explanation in his report on the Portuguese family.

This group of six papers clarifies many of the terms, gives in outline the principal variables, and sets out clearly some of the major issues that require exploration in our field. With them as a guide, research projects to delimit exactly the composition of residential, domestic, corporate, family groups in almost any society may be set up. They stress the need to go behind the local language and work out the rights and obligations associated with familial English words; husband, father, uncle; wife, mother, aunt; son, daughter, brother, sister, nephew, niece, cousin; in the society under examination.

Given that, as mentioned earlier in this paper, a family must choose mates for its members from those available in other families, three ways of setting up a new family are possible. Firstly, the society may lay down rules which everyone must obey; such prescriptive marriage regulations are common in societies where the productive unit is not the single household but a group of kinsfolk, called a lineage. Examples of societies with lineages in this volume will be found in the first three papers. A second solution to the social problems of mate selection is to leave the choice open to the preferences of the adults; in practice, this normally means the parents arrange mates for their children. Child marriage is one device used to prevent interference in this choice by the individuals involved; other devices include chaperonage and residential segregation.¹

1 Goode, W. J., The theoretical importance of love, in: *Amer. Sociological Review*, 1960, 25, 483-496.

The third solution is to leave the choice of mate to the young people themselves, subject only to minimal control by societal rules and parental guidance. Prescriptive marriage rules can lead to social structures of considerable complexity but once the rules are known the pattern of "choices" made at marriage are understood completely. Preference or open marriage systems depend on individual decisions made at different times, in differing circumstances by individual subject to vastly differing social pressures. The discovery of patterns or regularities in them must rest upon a statistical analysis which includes many variables. Two papers, by Karlsson and by Jacobsohn and Matheny, attempt in distinctive ways to introduce a sense of order into the study of open, or preferential, marriage systems. The magnitude of the task is shown by the extent of the bibliography: the exclusion of papers on this topic written outside the U.S.A. should be noticed. To include the world literature on this topic and discuss it adequately would require a whole volume to itself.

For many societies, the stability of the family as a domestic group, or as a locus of inheritance, is not a major problem. Societies with lineages or joint families are rarely pre-occupied with family instability. Wherever the nuclear family is an isolated social unit, or more technically a neolocal corporate group, the continuity of each individual family may become problematic. The norms of the society may emphasize stability, or fidelity, for the marital pair. We know too little of the social structural limits which lead to one emphasis rather than the other, or even if these are truly opposites. A paper on the variability of the norms about marital fidelity in three western societies gives an elegant way to approach this delicate problem: it also, through its recognition of cultural homogeneity and heterogeneity, introduces a way towards research into problems of social cohesion or integration.

Our final paper again deals with internal family functioning. The theoretical background here is interaction theory, rather than structure-function theory: the two theories have links at various levels but the essential difference for the moment is that interaction considers behavior as its raw material while the structure functional approach considers primary the norms which provide motivations for the behavior.¹ In place of socially defined and sanctioned rights and duties, the approach of this paper considers the support given by one family member to another and the power exercised within the family as problematic. Measures of the extent of support and power are given for equivalent families in three societies and the techniques are shown to be reliable. As a method for the study of how families do in fact distribute to their members the support and power they generate as social systems, this technique may have considerable future utility in family research.

No short collection of papers can deal comprehensively with all the sociological issues covered in the title *Family and Marriage*. This volume hopes to stimulate the reader, to show that family sociology has much to contribute towards the general scientific understanding of how societies actually function, and to arouse interests that can only be satisfied by further reading, and by the conduct of properly designed research.

The joint family: a terminological clarification

T. N. MADAN

University of Lucknow, India

One of the difficulties that the reader of the literature of anthropology has to face is the fact that the same word is used in different meanings by different writers, and many anthropological terms are sometimes used ambiguously or without precise definition. RADCLIFFE-BROWN¹

THE joint family" is a term widely used by social anthropologists. Students of the Hindu kinship system are particularly familiar with it for such a family has long been regarded as the core of this system.² It is, therefore, rather surprising that there should be divergence concerning the connotation of the term.

An over-zealous concern with definitions, particularly at the beginning of an inquiry, may hinder rather than further research. But a *persistent* lack of interest in such a fundamental problem as the exact meaning of what one is inquiring about will also defeat the ends of research. It is well to remind ourselves, in the words of Kantor, that "Scientific definitions are constructs developed for the purpose of isolating and locating a domain of work. They serve to clarify the character of scientific enterprises..."³

- 1 A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Method in Social Anthropology*, Chicago, 1958, p. 166.
- 2 Irawati Karvé writes: "Three things are absolutely necessary for the understanding of any cultural phenomenon in India. These are the configuration of the linguistic regions, the institution of caste and the family organization. Each of these three together give meaning and supply basis to all other aspects of Indian culture" (*Kinship Organization in India*, Poona, 1953, p. 1).
K. M. Panikkar observes: "The unit of Hindu society is not the individual but the *joint family*" (*Hindu Society at Cross Roads*, Bombay, 1961, p. 43).
- 3 J. R. Kantor, *The Logic of Modern Science*, New York, 1953, p. 30.
Several writers have in recent years engaged themselves in the clarification of some basic notions employed in social anthropological research. Mention may be made of Franz Steinner, *Taboo*, London, 1956; E. R. Leach, "What should we mean by Caste?" in E. R. Leach (ed), *Aspects of Caste in South India, Ceylon and North-West Pakistan*, Cambridge, 1960; J. D. Freeman, "On the Concept of Kindred" in *Jour. of the Royal Anthropol. Institute*, Vol. 91, Part 2, 1961; and T. N. Madan, "Is the Brahmanic *Gotra* a Grouping of Kin?" in *South-western Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 18, No. 1, 1962.

The purpose of this essay is to make suggestions toward the clarification of the terminological muddle which at present obscures the notion of "the joint family". We will first examine some of the current usages and then proceed to suggest the limits of meaning that may be imposed upon the term. It may be mentioned here that I first became conscious of this problem in the course of analysis of my data on the family system of the Hindus of rural Kashmir.¹

I

Lowie² and Piddington³ use the joint family and the extended family synonymously to denote a property-owning corporation constituted of two or more nuclear families. Lowie regards it as a single household. Piddington mentions locality as its basis but does not stipulate a single "house community" as does Lowie.

Beals and Hoijer distinguish between, what they call, the simple or the extended primary family on the one hand and the joint family on the other. The latter is defined as consisting of "two or more primary families linked either through the paternal or maternal lines, that is, through parent-child or sibling (brother-sister) relationships. Common residence almost always occurs, accompanied usually by various shared economic and social obligations."⁴ The broad agreement between the views of Lowie, Piddington, and Beals and Hoijer is obvious.

Murdock defines the extended family as consisting "of two or more nuclear families affiliated through an extension of the parent-child relationship..., i.e., by joining the nuclear family of a married adult to that of his parents".⁵ He distinguishes the joint family from the extended family by employing the former for only such "households" as are constituted of "two or more brothers and their wives" and include "only two generations" and lack "temporal continuity". To emphasize this limitation he adds the qualifying prefix "fraternal" to the term.⁶ Although Murdock calls the joint family a household, i.e. a residential-

1 This analysis was originally carried out at the Australian National University, in 1958, when I was engaged in writing my doctoral dissertation (*Family and Kinship: A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir*, 1959, typed copy in the ANU Library). I am deeply grateful to Dr. J. D. Freeman, who was my supervisor, for many stimulating discussions and much helpful advice on this problem. Acknowledgment is also made of a three-year scholarship awarded me by the ANU which enabled me to undertake fieldwork in Kashmir and subsequent analysis of the data collected.

2 R. H. Lowie, *Social Organization*, London, 1950, pp. 138 and 217.

3 R. Piddington, *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, Vol. One, Edinburgh, 1952, pp. 148-149.

4 Ralph L. Beals and Harry Hoijer, *An Introduction to Anthropology*, New York, 1959, pp. 441-442.

5 G. P. Murdock, *Social Structure*, New York, 1949, p. 2.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 33. John J. Honigsmann follows Murdock to the letter: "The term 'joint family' is often used when an extended family is indicated. The label is applied more specifically to a relatively rare, composite family consisting of two or more brothers with their wives and offspring. This group dissolves with the death of the males,..." (*The World of Man*, New York, 1959, p. 385).

cum-economic unit, he does not specify that it is a corporation. His usage is somewhat different from those mentioned above.

The definition given in *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (London, 1954) reads as follows: "A group may be described as a *joint family* when two or more lineally related kinsfolk of the same sex, their spouses and offspring, occupy a single homestead and are jointly subject to the same authority or single head. The term *extended family* should be used for the dispersed form corresponding to a joint family" (p. 72).

In this definition we find the emphasis upon size (larger than a nuclear family), joint living (in a single homestead), and the presence of a single authority. The distinction between the *joint* and *extended* types of family is merely in terms of the factor of dispersal.

All these usages raise two major difficulties. First, is it correct to think of the joint or extended family as nuclear families joined together? And, second, with what justification may we equate the family with the household, for although a family is always a household, yet a household is not always a family? We will discuss both these points later in this essay.

II

Linton¹ employs the term joint family in a special sense. Describing the social divisions of the Tanala tribe, he writes: "The growth of a joint family begins with a conjugal group... When the sons marry, they bring their wives home, building new houses for themselves close to their father's dwelling. The daughters marry out of the family, but since all marriages are normally contracted within the village the separation is more apparent than real... They (the daughters) continue to cooperate with their original family groups to a considerable degree."² Linton adds: "The members of a Tanala joint family do not hold property in common except the town lot which is the symbol of the family's corporate existence." The father is succeeded by the eldest son as the head of the family and his position *vis-a-vis* his brother is strengthened by the fact that a man leaves the bulk of his estate to his eldest son.

Linton concludes his description of the Tanala joint family by pointing out that similar units exist in other, notably Indian and Chinese, societies. That the Hindu joint family is markedly different from the Tanala family will be obvious to all Indianists.

1 Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, New York, 1936, pp. 189-196.

2 The inclusion of married daughters in their natal family is suggested by Barnes also. He writes: "The association of a married couple with their young children is called a nuclear, or parental, family and it is frequently a discrete residential and economic unit, with its own property... The elementary, or simple, family is the unit consisting of a man and his wife and all their children, whether young or old, living at home or outside it, married or unmarried" (J. A. Barnes, "Kinship" in *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 13, 1955, p. 404). This distinction is of great heuristic advantage particularly in analyzing the familial

Fortes¹ also employs the term joint family, to describe the domestic family among the Tallensi. The Tale joint family is usually composed of two or more, agnates, who are members of the same minimal lineage, together with their wives and children. It is an economic and jural unit forming a single household. Fortes's usage, unlike Murdock's, is more inclusive and does not observe the latter's distinction between extended and joint families. But the Tale joint family is not a corporation. "The products of individual industry and enterprise belong to the individual, subject to the nominal over-right of any one who has authority over him or her, in particular, of the head of the family."²

Srinivas calls the Coorg *okka* "patrilineal, and patrilocal joint family", which, he writes, "is also a co-residential, commensal and property-owning group."³ His usage is identical with that of Fortes when it is noted that, "At any given moment of time the *okka* is made up of a group of agnatically related males descended from a common ancestor, and their wives and children."⁴

Radcliffe-Brown seems to be of the view that for a group to be called joint family the essential requirement is that it must be a familial group and a coparcenary. He takes exception to the fact that the Nayar *taravad* is regarded by many writers as an instance of the joint family. He observes: "It (*taravad*) is spoken of in Hindu law as a "joint family", since the property is jointly owned by the group as a corporate unity; but this is not a family in the ordinary sense, since it includes women and their daughters and sons and brothers, but not their husbands."⁵ In his Foreword to Srinivas's book on the Coorgs, Radcliffe-Brown refers to "the *okka* or patrilineal joint family",⁶ implying thereby that he accepts the former's usage. It may be noted here that through the *okka* is not a coparcenary nowadays, it was nearly so in the past.⁷

Coming to the Hindu joint family, in general, the most precise descriptions I know of are those given by Mandelbaum⁸, Karve⁹ and Bailey¹⁰. Mandelbaum writes: "The classic form of the family in India is that of the joint family." It consists "of a number of married couples and their children who live together in the same household. All the men are related by blood, as a man and his sons or grandsons, or a set of brothers and their wives, unmarried daughters, and

structure in a rural community, like that of the Brahmans of Kashmir, in which extended families are often dispersed, and coparceners in some cases live away from home and village.

- 1 Meyer Fortes, *The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi*, London, 1949, pp. 63 ff.
- 2 *Ibid.*, p. 102.
- 3 M. N. Srinivas, *Religion and Society among the Coorgs of South India*, London, 1952, p. 249.
- 4 *Ibid.*, p. 158.
- 5 A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "Introduction" in A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Daryll Forde (eds.), *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, London, 1950, p. 73.
- 6 *Op. cit.*, p. vi.
- 7 See Srinivas, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 53 *et passim*.
- 8 David G. Mandelbaum, "The Hindu Family" in R. N. Anshen (ed), *The Family: Its Functions and Destiny*, New York, 1949.
- 9 *Op. cit.*
- 10 F. G. Bailey, "The Joint Family in India: A Framework for Discussion" in *The Economic Weekly*, Vol. XII, No. 8, 1960.

perhaps the widow of a deceased kinsman. At marriage a girl leaves her ancestral family and becomes part of the joint family of her husband." Mandelbaum adds: "A very important feature of this social unit is that all property is held in common."¹

Karvé's precise definition runs as follows: "A joint family is a group of people who generally live under one roof, who eat food cooked at one hearth, who hold property in common and who participate in common family worship and are related to each other as some particular type of kindred."²

Two features of the Hindu joint family, being among several mentioned by Mandelbaum and Karvé, are singled out, and very rightly so, by Bailey for emphasis. He writes that, in order to give "a minimal definition of a joint family", "we have to say how people are recruited into a group, and what they do together, when we call that group a "joint-family".³ He proceeds to mention the following points as sufficient for a definition:

1. Men become members, of joint families, by the fact of birth. ("The core of the joint family, in a patrilineal system of descent, is the males of the lineage.") Women are born or married into a joint family. Those women who are born into it marry out of it.
2. From the two types of recruitment follow distinctive rights indicative of distinct jural status. The men are coparceners with rights of ownership and the women dependents with only the rights of maintenance.
3. Joint ownership exists among the men with regard to the family estate. They constitute a coparcenary and are, therefore, of co-ordinate status.
4. The joint family is internally divided into nuclear families.

Bailey specifically denies that living under one roof, eating from the same hearth, or practising common rituals are necessary for us to regard a group as a joint family. "On the other hand, we cannot apply the term 'joint-family' and still less the term 'coparcenary' to those who have no common property."⁴

So far as the emphasis upon joint ownership is concerned, it is legitimate, for, as I will endeavour to show below, the "joint-ness" of the joint family hinges upon it. But Bailey is vague on two points: (1) If coparcenary rights exist between a man and his unmarried sons, is that nuclear family a joint family or not? If not, why not? (2) Why is the joint family to be conceived of as a group divided into nuclear families only? Is there a reason as to why smaller joint families cannot exist within larger ones? An attempt will be made to face these questions in section IV below.

There is one more point I would like to make: Bailey uses the term descent with reference to the male members of the joint family. Now, descent refers always to the membership of some *enduring* group in which the members always keep in mind the identity of the ancestor. The Hindu joint family *qua* joint

1 *Op. cit.*, p. 93.

2 *Op. cit.*, p. 10

3 *Op. cit.*, p. 347.

4 *Ibid.*

family is not an enduring group. Successive partitions reach a stage when distantly related cousins have no jointly owned property. What binds them then are the ties of kinship, sentiment, and ritual, and moral obligation.

So far as concern with the identity of the ancestor, typical in descent groups like the clan and the lineage, is concerned, it is generally absent in the joint family. I would, therefore, prefer to speak of *ties of agnation* than of *unilineal descent* with reference to the joint family.

Since the term joint family was popularized (and probably coined) by jurists, we may now briefly note the views of two eminent authorities in the field of Hindu law. Writes Mayne: "The joint and undivided family is the normal condition of Hindu society. An undivided Hindu family is ordinarily joint not only in estate but also in food and worship. The presumption therefore is that the members of a Hindu family are living in a state of union unless the contrary is established. The strength of the presumption necessarily varies in every case. The presumption of union is stronger in the case of brothers than in the case of cousins, and the further you go from the founder of the family, the presumption becomes weaker and weaker."¹

Kane writes: "A joint family consists of all males lineally descended from a common male ancestor and includes their wives and unmarried daughters".² He further notes that the Hindu coparcenary is much narrower group than the joint family, of which it is a part, and "comprises only those males who take by birth an interest in the joint or coparcenary property."³

Mayne writes of the joint family as the coparcenary unit, but Kané distinguishes between the two. The distinction made by Kané would have been more clear and useful if he had employed the term extended family in place of joint family, and reserved the latter for the coparcenary unit. More about this later.

IV

Two criteria seem to be in the minds of most writers when they write of the joint family. These are: first, the existence of a familial group larger than the nuclear family, and second, the existence of some property relations, if not joint, coparcenary rights, between all the members, or at least some of them. It seems that the major reason for confusion concerning the connotation of the term joint family arises from the failure on the part of the concerned scholars to recognize that there is no necessary connexion between the existence of a familial group larger than the nuclear family and the existence of coparcenary rights and obligations among its members. Joint rights may exist between father and an

1 J. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law and Usage*, 12th ed. by N. C. Aiyar, Madras, 1953, p. 323.

2 P. V. Kané, *History of the Dharmasastra: Ancient, Mediaeval Religious and Civil Law*, Poona, 1946, p. 590.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 591.

only son in a nuclear family. According to the *Mitakshara* law also, all inherited property is joint property, and a coparcenary consisting of a father and his son exists with respect to ancestral property inherited from four ascendant generations, counting from the son.¹ The acid test of the existence of the coparcenary rights of a member is his jural right to claim partition. Partitions between a man and his unmarried son(s) are rare but not non-existent. I recorded several such cases among the Brahmans of Kashmir among whom division of the estate takes place on the *per stirpes* basis.² Majumdar³ and Dube⁴ also have recorded partitions between fathers and sons from North and South India respectively.

Further, the fact that the existence of some property and other economic relations is inevitable among the members of an extended family is no warrant for the presumption of a joint, coparcenary estate or rights.

V

A great deal of confusion and uncertainty can be avoided if the terms joint family and extended family are not used synonymously. The joint family should be used with the ownership of joint property rights (and obligations) as the sole referent. Any particular type of composition of a familial group should not be regarded as an essential criterion for it to be called the joint family. This fits in well with the etymological meaning of the word "joint". According to the Oxford English Dictionary, "joint" means "belonging to, two or more persons etc. in conjunction, as joint action, opinion, estate." To call a group "joint", because of some compositional feature of it, does some violence to the word "joint". If the usage suggested here is accepted, joint families would then usually, though not always, be joint households.⁵

The distinction between the family and the household should be made clearly; Fortes has argued cogently in favour of it.⁶ The notion of partition, or division, also is put in its appropriate place if it is duly emphasized that what

1 See Kané, *op. cit.*, p. 591, Mayne, *op. cit.*, pp. 328 ff. and The Hindu Succession Act of 1956, Article 6. It may here be noted that the *Mitakshara* law is applicable to Hindus all over India except in Bengal where the *Dayabagha* law prevails.

2 See T. N. Madan, *Family and Kinship: A Study of the Pandits of Rural Kashmir* (in press), chap. VII.

3 D. N. Majumdar, *Caste and Communication in an Indian Village*, Bombay, 1958.

4 S. C. Dube, *Indian Village*, London, 1955.

5 A. C. Mayer writes about Malwa in his *Caste and Kinship in Central India*, London, 1960: "Here one must distinguish the joint household from the joint family. The latter is a corporate property group of patrikin, not necessarily a discrete living unit" (p. 182). He further informs us that "it was exceptional to find joint families existing after the joint household had divided" (p. 242). Among the Brahmans of rural Kashmir partition occurs invariably between brothers but the process may not be completed for another one or two generations. Coparcenary rights in walnut trees, granaries and, sometimes, land may exist between first (rarely second) cousins.

6 Meyer Fortes, "Introduction" in Jack Goody (ed), *The Developmental Cycle of Domestic Groups*, Cambridge, 1958.

breaks up is the household, or a wider allodial unit, and what is partitioned is the joint estate. Partition of the estate and division in the household does lead to a diminution in the frequency and intensity of interpersonal relations between the members of an erstwhile domestic group. But the bonds of kinship are immutable. Even after brothers separate and set up separate households, among the Brahmans of Kashmir, they must continue to perform the *shraadh* (bi-annual ritual offering of food to ancestors) jointly. If they have an unmarried sister, the responsibility for getting her married is shared by all irrespective of with which brother she is living. If a widowed mother chooses to live with a younger son, it is still the kinship obligation of her eldest son to perform the funeral rites and cremate her when she dies. In brief, when partition occurs, joint living ceases and the daily round of interpersonal relationship is vitally affected; it may be almost completely discontinued. But ties of kinship cannot be severed.

The application of the word "joint" to the family has been rightly objected to on another ground by Lévi-Strauss.¹ He points out how erroneous it is to think of joint families as being made up of smaller (nuclear) families which are joined together, as it were, into a larger grouping. It would seem that the right word to designate a large family, unilocal or dispersed, which has grown large in size and genealogically ramified is the "extended family." Lévi-Strauss objects to this term also; he instead suggests the adoption of the term "restricted family" for the nuclear family to emphasize that the so-called extended family is not made up of smaller units. The objection to the adoption of the term extended family is rather unconvincing for the very good reason that it literally suggests "comprehensiveness" and "the wider range" (see O.E.D.) of a fully-grown family with several generations in it. It may not be denied that an extended family may through deaths, marriages and partitions become depleted and "restricted" in composition. But it is equally true that a nuclear family may develop into, an extended family, and the process is a temporal one.

Single households may consist of segments of extended families, and may be nuclear families, or themselves extended in composition. The extended-family household may be divided into two types, viz., "patrilineal extended" and "fraternal extended". The former consists of a man, his wife, and unmarried daughters (if any), and an *only* son, his wife and children. The latter of a man, his wife, unmarried daughters (if any) and *two or more* sons, their wives and children; or, alternatively, of two or more brothers, their wives and children. The patrilineal extended-family household is not horizontally extended in the middle generation, the fraternal extended-family household is. The distinction is important for the following reason: the structural peculiarity of the former is that there will be no partition in the middle (the son's) generation; in the latter the probability of such a partition is high. The phases of the developmental cycle are thus different in the two cases.

1 C. Lévi-Strauss, "The Family" in H. L. Shapiro (ed.), *Man, Culture and Society*, New York, 1956.

Postscript

Since this essay was written three articles have appeared in *The Economic Weekly*, which are of direct relevance to the foregoing discussion.

Cohn¹ takes his cue from Karvé's definition (he calls it "standard definition"), quoted above, to argue that cultural as well as structural criteria need to be adopted for obtaining an understanding of the joint family and the changes which it is subject to. He contrasts the extended family with the nuclear, in terms of Murdock's definitions, and then sub-divides the former into un-stable and stable sub-types; "... the stable ones are those which are often called *joint*. Extended families, which are the cultural ideal among Hindus in north India, develop in response to specific conditions, among which are a tradition of living jointly, an economic base to support a joint family, sufficient role differentiation within the family, clear lines of authority among the generations, the need for a labour pool, and longevity of members of the family."²

One of the qualities of the joint family is generally said to be "stability". This Durkheimian interest in stability seems to be a product of the synchronic viewpoint. If households are studied diachronically, over several generations, as I did in the case of the Pandits, it becomes clear that partition is the invariable concomitant of, and as much of a tradition as is joint living. The joint family is, undoubtedly, a cultural ideal; but what must not be lost sight of is: In what structural situations is it so? As we move from the parent-child (father-son) to the sibling (brother-brother), to the cousin relationships, the ideal of joint living becomes gradually weaker as a cultural compulsive, and personal interest and the interests of those who are closer (as against the interests of those who are remoter) kin gain ascendance. Moreover, Cohn, also fails to take note of the father-son coparcenary unit within the Hindu nuclear family.

Savitri Shahani³ adopts the structural factor as the primary condition of the joint family, but lets in joint property by the back-door, as it were. This is clear from the following statement: "Where the property has not been divided, there is a marked tendency for the joint family to hold together."⁴ Considering the important, though secondary, "role" she assigns to property, this statement is tautologous.

It is with Nicolas's view that I find myself in maximum, though not complete agreement. He distinguishes between "the extended family, characterized by co-residence or the use of certain kinds of family kinship terms outside the family, and the joint family, characterized by joint property arrangements between members of two nuclear families."⁵ He proceeds to distinguish between "two

1 Bernard S. Cohn, "Chamar Family in a North Indian Village: A Structural Contingent" in *The Economic Weekly*, Bombay, Vol. XIII, Nos. 27-28-29, 1961.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 1051.

3 Savitri Shahani, "The Joint Family: A Case Study" in *The Economic Weekly*, Vol. XII, No. 49, 1961.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 1828.

5 Ralph W. Nicolas, "Economics of Family Types in Two West Bengal Villages" in *The Economic Weekly*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 27-28-29, 1961, p. 1057.

kinds of *joint families*, one in which property is held jointly among a *father and his married sons*, and another in which property is held jointly among *brothers whose father is dead*.”¹ I find Nicolas’s observations regarding partition based upon data collected in Bengal, fully in consonance with my own conclusions derived from fieldwork among the Pandits of Kashmir. I will cite only one of his statements: “If a joint family between a father and his married sons rarely divides, a joint family among brothers rarely survives.”² The agreement between Nicolas’s and my data, drawn from two different cultural regions, warrants a re-definition of the basic criteria of the Hindu joint family. The present essay is offered as a contribution in this direction.³

1 *Ibid.*

2 *Ibid.*, p. 1058.

3 Some of the points discussed in this paper have been raised by me in a Short Note, entitled “The Hindu Joint Family”, in *Man*, LXII, 1962.

The Nayar Family in a Disintegrating Matrilineal System¹

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Introduction

IN this short essay, I will present one case of the disintegration of a Nayar *tarwad* (matrilineal joint family), based on the materials collected by myself.

The general institutional system of a traditional Nayar *tarwad* is already well known, and has been much discussed recently by anthropologists, including K. Gough.² Here I state it briefly as a preface to the main discussion. A traditional Nayar *tarwad* was a property group consisting of a matrilineal lineage exclusively, headed and represented by the senior male member, called *karanavan*. Normally the members of a *tarwad* formed a distinguishable domestic unit. Spouses of the members of a *tarwad* resided in the *tarwad* where they were born, and a husband visited his wife at her *tarwad* at night and returned early morning.³ The father had no duty or obligation on his own children, instead, the *karanavan* was the legal guardian of the offspring of the female members of the *tarwad*.

The Nayars are one of the Hindu upper castes in Kerala, next to the Nambudri Brahman, and traditionally the majority of the Nayars had been land holders or managers, not cultivators. On such a social and economic base, the function of the *tarwad* had been maintained. Various factors have led to the disintegration of the *tarwad* system, the major cause of which, I think, was the economic changes accompanied by modernization since the beginning of the

1 This essay is one of the outcomes of my field work on matrilineal systems in India (1955-56) carried out by the generous grant of the Elin Wagner Foundation in Sweden, to which my profound acknowledgement goes. Also I am very thankful for the help of Dr. John Moge.

2 E. Kathleen Gough: "Changing kinship usages in the setting of political and economic change among the Nayars of Malabar," *J. R. Anthropol. Inst.* 82, pp. 71-87; "A comparison of incest prohibitions and the rules of exogamy in three matrilineal groups of the Marabal," *International Archives of Ethnography*, Vol. XLVI, Part I, 1952, pp. 82-105.

3 The *karanavan* was an exception: he could take his wife and children in his *tarwad*. In North Malabar, not only the *karanavan*, but also other male members used to take their wives and children to their *tarwad*. However, these wives, including children, had to leave their husband's *tarwad*, as soon as their husband died.

19th century. In this connection, I was much interested in studying court records and various documents, including *the Nayar Regulation II, 1925, Travancore*, and *the Malabar Marumakkathayam Act of 1933*, which legally marked the end of the functional Nayar *tarwad* system. Actual partition of an individual *tarwad* occurred earlier, or later, than these acts.¹ However the present discussion is concerned mainly with the internal situation of the *tarwad* as it disintegrated, the discussion of external factors and causes of the disintegration of the *tarwad* are omitted.

The process of the disintegration of the *tarwad* can be summarized in terms of the essential elements which constitute the functional body of a *tarwad*:

- A. members of a matrilineal lineage exclusively
- B. co-residential (domestic) unit
- C. property owning unit
- D. headed by the *karanavan*
- E. Ceremonial unit.

In the disintegration of the *tarwad*, the group loses these elements gradually. The element which is lost first seems to be B. A population which exceeds the limit of the accommodation of a *tarwad* building, results in residential separation of small segments of a matrilineal group who have the same grandmother, or grand-grandmother, called *tawari*. Such a group, residing in a separate household, in the course of time tends to develop as a temporal economic unit. Though the ancestral property is held in common by all members of the *tarwad* together, the residential sub-group would become a semi-independent productive and consumption unit: the income would not be pooled into the *tarwad* but consumed by the members of each group. Hence the function of the *karanavan* as the head of the *tarwad*, the property group, becomes incomplete.

At the same time, when the residential unit becomes smaller, it would give chances for the inclusion of spouses and the element A would be shaken. The cohabitation of wife and husband leads to the inclusion of nonmatrilineal members in a matrilineal residential group. These factors bring on economic and psychological confusion in the duties and obligations of a *tarwad* member. Thus, by the destruction of elements A, B, and C, the status of the *karanavan* becomes ambiguous. There occur various disputes between the *karanavan* and other members on the rights of the *tarwad* property.

This situation is enhanced by the fact that an increase of members who have an independent income without depending on the *tarwad* property, form an independent household with his wife and children. This situation makes it difficult to maintain the *tarwad* as a property unit, and also infringes the function of the *karanavan*. In fact the actual contribution of the father who was not the legal guardian of his children is significant in the failure of the role of the *karanavan* for the matrilineal members. Thus at last a *tarwad* has no alternative

1 A report of my study on these legal documents, including materials given in this paper, was published in Japanese: "On the disintegration of the Nayar *tarwad*," *Memoirs of the Institute for Oriental Culture*, University of Tokyo, Vol. 14, pp. 1-131, 1958.

except to cease to function, and to divide the *tarwad* property among individual members. Theoretically the loss of the elements *A*, *B*, *C* and *D* marks the end of the *tarwad* institution. Nevertheless, the *tarwad* is still conceptualized as a distinctive social and ceremonial group by the element *E*, in spite of the loss of all other elements.

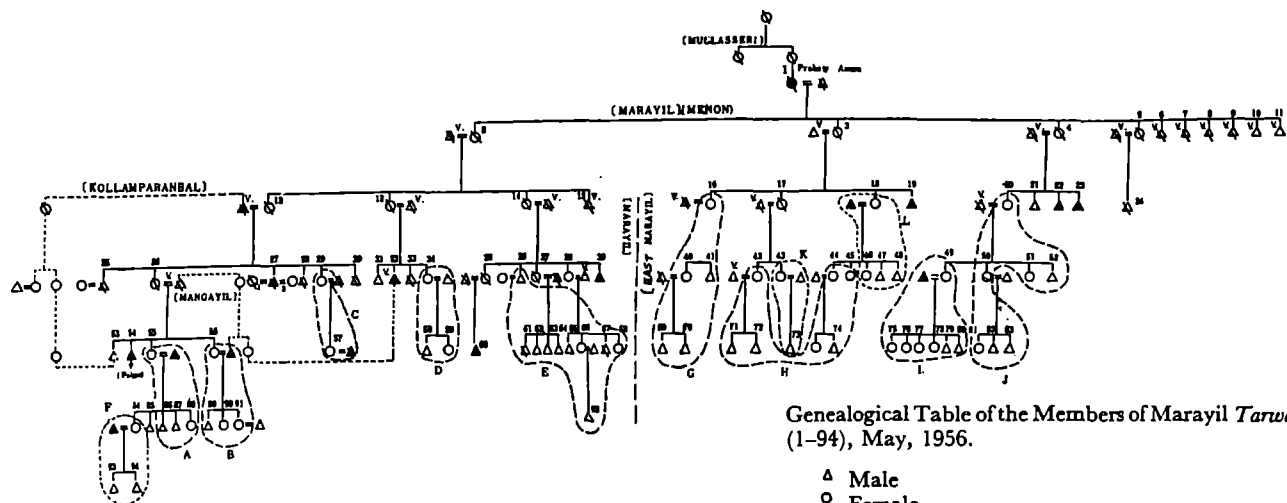
In 1956 (March-June) when I studied the Nayar, most of the *tarwad* in Kerala had already ceased to exist as a functional body. In a large building named *tarwad* where once lived more than fifty members of a matrilineal family, I found only a few members: such as an old mother and her daughter with her husband and children. The members of each *tarwad* were dispersed, forming independent small households each with a spouse and children, having already partitioned the *tarwad* property. Many of the older generation who are aged fifty and the head (father) of the household consisting of an elementary family, were born in a *tarwad*, and had experiences of the *tarwad* life. They are the people who lived through the dramatic stage of the disintegration of the *tarwad*. Their life history itself reflects the great changes in the Nayar matrilineal system.

It is extremely interesting to study through these living members the process, by which the members of a *tarwad* organized on a strict matrilineal principle, without allowing cohabitation of husband and wife, gradually reorganized into many individual elementary families in the course of half a century. The disintegration of the Nayar system as a whole took about two centuries but it seems that the actual disintegration of an individual *tarwad* is about half a century. The following discussion deals with how individual members acted at various stages of the disintegration of the *tarwad*; and what the changes of the matrilineal system actually mean to those individuals who are involved; and what are the consequences of the disintegration of the *tarwad*.

Marayil Tarwad

The *tarwad* which I have chosen for study is named Marayil, and one of the Nayar *tarwad* in Ernaklum, Cochin. This *tarwad* had many advantages for my purposes. The majority of the members of the *tarwad*, who now form many different households, still reside near each other, within the thirty minutes walk. The number of the descendants of the foundress of the *tarwad* amounts to 94 altogether in May 1956, ranging through seven generations. Many *tarwad* were much bigger in numbers, and deeper in generations, than this. Another advantage is that it represents a *tarwad* of a typical upper middle class among the Nayar caste in this area: present occupations of these members are government officials, advocates, teachers, etc. They have very friendly relationships with many other Nayars in this area, and are thought of as respectable people. The husbands, at every generation, are all Nayars, without a single case of a marriage with a Nambudri Brahman, as is common among the upper class Nayar in this area, nor with a Irawa, the caste below the Nayar.

Marayil *tarwad* was founded around 1830. The first partition by which the



Genealogical Table of the Members of Marayil Tarwad (1-94), May, 1956.

- △ Male
- Female
- △/○ Dead
- Hⁿ Husbands who practised a visiting marriage
- ▲ Husband who established his own household with his wife and children
- Independent household; households of F, K and L are not in Ernaklam.

tarwad split into two residential groups (Marayil and East Marayil), occurred in 1898, and the final partition of the property by individual members was in 1944.

In May 1956 the living members of the *tarwad* were grouped into ten different households (A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, and J of the Diagram); the male members who are not included in these groups formed each household with wife and children. The relationships of these households show that the degree of familiarity is paralleled with the genealogical distance as well as geographical distance. According to my own observations, the following different stages of the matrilineal group consciousness were noticeable.

First, the strong coherence of matrilineal members, appear in the groups consisting of the members of A, B, and C, and that of D and E. The members of each group meet almost every day; their daily life gives an impression as if they were still carrying on the *tarwad* life. For example, when one household is visited by a guest, others are usually called to join the talking, and often enjoy tea and meals together. In fact, the households of each group are direct neighbours of each other.

Secondly, the group whose members have the same grand-grandmother (consisting of A-B-C and D-C together) is distinguished by the amount of contact of its members with each other, against other members. They meet at least two or three times a week. The third level of group consciousness appears in the group consisting of all descendants of the foundress, including both Marayil and East Marayil. If necessary, they visit each other; if they pass near a house of the group, they are ready to visit. The manner of speaking is a bit more formal than that of first and second groups. However this is distinguished as the ceremonial unit. Though they lost the function of the property group (Mudal Sambantham), they maintain strongly the function of the ceremonial group (Pula Sambantham); funerals, marriages and seasonal festivities are carried out by these members altogether. For this corporate unit, 32 (refer to the number of the Diagram) is acting as the head. This is indeed the last function which is left for the members of Marayil *tarwad*; it is the matrilineal lineage with the same history; all members clearly can trace their genealogical relations with each other.

Further than this range, there is no group consciousness, but these members of Marayil *tarwad* observe exogamy from those members of Mullasseri, another *tarwad*, from which Marayil had sprung. Though they cannot trace exact genealogical relationships, by the observation of exogamy, Mullasseri members are considered as matrilineal distant kin, sociologically different from other Nayars.

Disintegrating Process of Marayil Tarwad

Based on the information of the present members the Marayil was founded by Prabaty Amma (I). The process of the foundation of this *tarwad* is as follows:

The story goes back to the early 19th century. Prabaty Amma who came to visit a temple in Ernakkum, met a young Nayar man. Soon after they were fallen in love, and married. The name of this young man was Narayana Panikkar, who was a district officer in Palgat, and later became the *karanavan* of his *tarwad*. By the right of the *karanavan*, he took his wife to his *tarwad*.

Thirty years after their marriage, Narayana Panikkar died. According to the law of the Nayar, his wife and children had to leave from his *tarwad* at the moment of his death. Prabaty Amma accompanied with her children left his *tarwad*, but she did not return to her natal *tarwad*, Mullasserri. Instead, she decided to reside in the house which had been built by her husband for her as a gift. She named this *tarwad* Marayil, thus she and her children became independent from Mullasserri *tarwad*. It was said in this time, her mother's *tarwad*, Mullasserri, was so full with her matrilineal kin, hence she preferred to reside in this new house with her sons and daughters. This house is at present occupied by E. group. At the establishment of this new *tarwad*, I think, she must have had some land, or managing rights in farming land, given by her natal *tarwad* or by her husband as a gift, but I failed to discover the economic basis on which this *tarwad* life had been carried on.

Thus established, the new *tarwad* grew bigger in the course of time. In 1898, the increase of its members led to the first residential partition into two groups, as already stated. It was twenty years after the marriage of the granddaughter of Prabaty Amma, 12 and her daughter 29 who was born in 1888, was ten years old, and 39 is said to have been born in this *tarwad* around this year. From these data, it can be assumed that all members from 1 to 39 of Marayil *tarwad* lived in this *tarwad* building together. The situation of the members of this old *tarwad* before the partition in 1898 is as follows.

Married members of this *tarwad* mostly practiced "visiting marriage" (see Diagram, the majority of male members were visiting husbands). Seventeen out of twenty-three cases of marriages in the second and the third generations, took a visiting form. Five cases who did not practice "visiting marriage" were younger ones of the third generation, whose ages are almost equal to those of the older members of the fourth generation. In the fourth generation, the cases of the visiting marriages decreased to four out of nineteen cases. These facts reveal that the residential pattern became more neolocal than duolocal during the fourth generation: by this time many had already established independent households in which they lived with their wife and children, having an independent income. These members are shown by ▲ in the Diagram.

A more careful examination of this Diagram, reveals that this tendency had already started in the third generation, as appeared in the case of the husband of 12, Nando Pillai. He had used to visit his wife for twenty years after his marriage. He was a brilliant and successful man who had an important post in the palace of the Cochin Maharaja, which allowed him to accumulate considerable wealth. He made a new *tarwad* building for his sisters as their *karanavan*, and again in 1898 he built a new beautiful *tarwad* with a big garden, where he himself lived with his wife and children, thus making his wife independent from her *tarwad*. This house is at present occupied by the C group.

Then Marayil *tarwad* already suffering from over population, stimulated by this event, split into two groups: one was the *tawari* of eldest daughter of Prabaty Amma, another was that of the second and third daughters. The latter

group was named "East Marayil," while the former retained the original name "Marayil." The property was not entirely divided, but managed independently. The group of East Marayil shifted their residence to one mile east of the original one.

After the first partition, in the new Marayil group where I concentrated my study, the *karanavan* was at this time 15. Among the members of this group, 12 and her sons and daughters had a separate residence built by her husband, Nando Pillai, and supported by him without help from her *tarwad*. It seems to have been already customary in this period among those Nayars who had a considerable individual income, to establish an independent household for their elementary families, as in the case of Nando Pillai. By these men a new type of family came into being alongside the matrilineal joint family.

Nevertheless, it was to take a long time for the establishment of such an elementary family with a neolocal residence pattern among the majority of the Nayars. As the next generation of this case shows, in spite of the paternal activities of Nando Pillai, the family retained its matrilineal pattern. His eldest daughter did not leave the house, and her husband practiced the traditional visiting marriage; the second daughter 29 returned to this house after her husband, who was the *karanavan* of another *tarwad*, died. However, his sons left his house each establishing an independent house where they lived with their wives. As a result, the first and second daughters, with their children, occupied this house, which produced a very similar pattern to a traditional *tarwad*, except for the absence of married out male members.

Through this picture, we can see that the role of the husband/father lies in the establishment of a new segment of a matrilineal group, rather than in the establishing of a nonmatrilineal system. The basic framework of the Nayar system was still matrilineal in this stage. As the result, a *tarwad* or Nayar household was often occupied by some married female members and their children, though the total number of the matrilineal members decreased rapidly by marrying-out members.

The fact that husbands of 26 and 38 did practice visiting marriage might give an impression that they were very old fashioned in their time, but it is really the outcome of the residential situation in the transitional stage: for some of the female members, it was natural to remain in the vacant *tarwad*; and a husband might not have enough economic resources to establish a new house for his wife and children, or might be occupied by the work of his own *tarwad*.

Such a stage also introduced uxori-local marriage which was new to the Nayar. A husband, instead of building a new house for his wife and children, used the vacant wife's *tarwad* or wife's house built by her father, and he supported his family largely by his own income, as in the cases of 25, 34 and 53. Therefore, even in such uxori-local cases, paternal authority was well developed. When the *tarwad* was in full function, the Nayar never practiced uxori-local residence, though there were cases of viri-local residence. Uxori-local residence in this case is irrelevant to the matrilineal system: it came into the picture because of the disintegration of the matrilineal system. It should be treated as a different problem from the uxori-local residential patterns of other matrilineal systems.

The increase in the establishment of paternal elementary families gradually split the *tarwad* into pieces, lessening the function of the *tarwad*. This Marayil *tarwad* finally divided its property between individual members in 1944, as did many *tarwad* in this period. This was forty-seven years since the first partition in 1898, and this period saw the disintegration of this *tarwad*.

The members of the fourth and fifth generations in the Diagram make up the transitional period: they had the *karanavan* as the head of the *tarwad* and at the same time they played a role of the husband/father as in a patrilineal family. Their duties and obligations were transitional from those of the *karanavan* to those of the father. Though by law then the *karanavan* was the legal guardian of the members of a *tarwad*, actually the father who lived with his children was already *de facto* guardian of his children. These individuals were pulled in their obligations and duties between their matrilineal kin and their wives and children. In fact they differentiated their roles according to the economic and residential circumstances in which they were involved, though the degree of differentiation differed from individual to individual.

When the fifth generation were in their youth, the *karanavan* of the *tarwad* was 15. According to the Nayar rule the duty of the fostering and educating these members should be performed by 15. However, in actuality among these members, those who had been given a higher education by the *karanavan* were sons of 13 and 14 (31, 32, 33, 36 and 39), while that of the sons of 12 (25, 27, 28 and 30) was given by their father. The latter's case is indeed the result of the father's economic ability and his affection towards his children whom he lived with. Yet this father, on the other hand, made also a considerable economic contribution to the members of his own *tarwad* as the *karanavan*. Thus such a man played the two roles of father and *karanavan* at the same time.

Such behaviour and contributions created ambivalent psychological inclinations among his descendants through his wife as well as through his sisters. For example, the descendants of 12 who live now partly on property left by 12's husband, tend to complain that their grandfather's sisters' daughters who live in the house built by 12's husband, are enjoying property left by their grandfather. They said that "they are enjoying our grandfather's property," a situation reasonable from the point of view of the working of the matrilineal system, since "our grandfather" is "their maternal uncle." Here we see an interesting fact that they think in terms of the father (grandfather): "the father (grandfather) is of ours." At the same time, they have a tendency to expect and depend on the economic help from 32 and 27, who are their matrilineal kin. In fact 57 after the death of her father, was economically helped by 32 and (27), which she took for granted. Among these members at the transitional stage, a confusion of rights and obligations is obvious.

In such an unstable situation involving ambivalent elements, what gave them a certain satisfaction or solution was cross-cousin marriage. The marriage of 53, whose wife is his classificatory cross-cousin brought satisfaction to both matrilineal groups (Marayil and Kallamparanbal), because by this marriage both parties would have a chance to enjoy, and exercise rights on, the property

left by 12's husband for the kingroups of both his wife and his sisters, since both inclined to demand rights on the property left by him to the other party. The marriage of 56 also involved a similar situation for both members of Marayil and Mangayil in order to enjoy the economic activity of 32.

Traditionally the Nayar tended to marry among particular *tarwad* (not necessarily two), between which friendly relationships, expressed in terms of *enanger*, had been established. Hence many marriages fall into the category of the cross-cousin marriage. However, the above cited cases were obviously meant to solve the ambivalent economic situation arising from the disintegrating stage of the *tarwad* system; and so it was explained to me. The present younger generation strongly avoid cross-cousin marriage, as they think it is not good biologically. However, whether they dislike it or not, after the disintegration of the *tarwad* system the cross-cousin marriage itself is losing its social and economic function.

Matrilineal Elements in the Present Nayar Family

In spite of the final partition of the *tarwad* property, and the establishment of elementary family households which made the *tarwad* functionless, the ideology of the *tarwad* (matrilineal system) still persists in various aspects of the life of the present Nayar.

In the new system, in theory, the husband established an independent house for himself and his wife, freed from both his *tarwad* and her *tarwad*, but it is interesting to observe that the house built by the husband is found near to his wife's *tarwad*, unless his job forced him to leave their birth place. The picture is that of a set of households whose wives are sisters, grouped in a certain area. For instance the husbands of 55 and 66 built their houses very near to that of the C group, which was built by the father of 29: these three households are very close to each other, across narrow lanes and a garden. The behaviour of these members was described on page 21.

This might give an impression that women tend to attach to their matrilineal members more than men do. However, men also have very close attachments to their sisters, and are always ready to give moral and economic help to them, in spite of living at a greater distance from them. It was the traditional custom to marry a member of a *tarwad* situated in the same local area, since this was certainly convenient for visiting marriage, and also owing to the inter *tarwad* political relationships. Hence husbands and their sisters easily can visit each other, even after residential separation. Such frequent visits among the members of the matrilineal group maintain great familiarity among them. So far as my own observation goes, a man who has considerable income helps his poorer sisters almost in a same way as he does his wife and children. They themselves say they have often trouble about which they should care for more, wife or sister. They told me, that today they were well aware that they should do their best for their wife and children with whom they live, but they also could not help loving and caring for their sisters and sisters' children very much.

This psychological pull towards matrilineal kin also applies to the wives. When they decide an important matter they always ask their maternal uncle's advice, as well as that of their husband. Even the younger generation have great affection for, and a tendency to depend on, the mother's brothers almost in the same way they do their father. Particularly, if the father dies, it is the mother's brother who actually takes the responsibility. (See the case of 57.

I think the function of matrilineal elements found in these relations is largely supported by the fact that matrilineal members reside near each other, where they can meet almost every day. Indeed the factors which are vital to the destruction of matrilineal coherence are created by those members who established their life with their wife and children in places geographically distant from the land of the Nayar, Kerala, such as New Delhi, Bombay or Calcutta, for example the members of F, K and L in Diagram. In earlier phases of a marriage, a man who has to reside very far away because of his job, usually leaves his wife in her mother's house (as the cases of 91, 44 and 50), but when his job becomes permanent and he has children, usually he takes his wife and children to his new place. In the course of time, these members tend to have less and less contact with their matrilineal kin at home, which naturally leads to social and economic distance from the latter.

Thus the dispersion of members in terms of geographical distance affects to the actual function of the matrilineal group. In fact I found that the style of talking about the members of F, K and L sounds considerably different from that used for the members who reside in the same locality. If geographical distance is within Kerala, it is a quite different matter from the case of outside Kerala: for example, a member of a matrilineal group in Ernakulum, resides at Trivandrum. In such a case, wife certainly comes back to her mother's house for child birth, and the members come together at important ceremonial occasions of the matrilineal group. Within Kerala, the land of Nayar, such activities are taken for granted in the society.

A great geographical dispersion of the members results in the decrease of the functional members of the matrilineal group centred on the *tarwad*, but on the other hand, this local matrilineal group would increase its size by peripheral members of non-matrilineal descendants: children of the matrilineal male members including their wives. These children stand very close to their father's matrilineal kin, with whom their father keeps frequent contact. The children feel the matrilineal kin of their father equally important to that of the mother. When all matrilineal members lived in a *tarwad*, the children were aware of the *tarwad* members of their non-resident-father, recognizing them as an important affinal group (*tarwad*). But I think the degree of familiarity towards these members greatly differs from that towards the matrilineal kin of the father with whom they live. Today the actual importance of the father who is the authority in the household, brings *his* matrilineal kin much closer to his children.

It is very interesting, I found, that in all households, the fathers of which were the members of Marayil *tarwad*, an enlarged picture of Prabaty Amma, the foundress of the *tarwad*, was placed at the centre of the guest room. Their

children regard this picture of Prabaty Amma as that of their ancestress through their father. It appears from this symbol, combined with the frequent visits of their father's sisters and their children, that the father's matrilineal kin are conceptualized as if they were that of the mother. This tendency is greater in the case of the wife and children of 32, which I think largely derives from the fact that 32 is playing the role of the central figure of the Pula Sambantham of his matrilineal group, and that his wife is a member of Mangayil *tarwad*, which is one of the important and close affinal matrilineal groups to Marayil members: the mother's brother and brother of 32's wife also married with members of Marayil 26 and 56.

In spite of the inclination of these children towards their father's matrilineal group, and paternal authority being well established, they still maintain the surname of the male members of their mother's matrilineal group.¹ In Trivandrum the Nayar said to me it depended on the individual free choice whether one should take the father's surname or the mother's brother's: in fact, I found some of them taking their father's surname. However, among the Nayar in Ernaklum, all they are taking mother's brothers' surname and they are proud to do so.

The greater approach of the children to their father's matrilineal group seems to me largely due to their father's important status in his matrilineal group, the members of which live very near to him, combined with his distinguished economic activities, which make him maintain closer contact with his matrilineal kin. For example, if 32 was not the central figure in his matrilineal group, and poor, and on the other hand his wife had a very wealthy uncle to help her now and then, his wife and children might have more attachment to their mother's matrilineal kin, rather than to the father's.

In such a transitional stage, including the earlier stage of the disintegration of the *tarwad* as already discussed, a man has two orientations, to his matrilineal group and to his elementary family. And a man stands balanced between the two groups, differentiating his role according to the circumstances in which he is involved. In this situation to decide a man's behaviour the given law seems less effective than the actual situation in which an individual is involved. 36 who married and once resided in his wife's *tarwad*, later returned to his own *tarwad*, taking the role of a *karanavan* of his old *tarwad*. He said that he felt his need as a guardian for his sister's children, as there was no grown up male member in this *tarwad* building; but he did not mind leaving his wife and grown-up daughters and sons behind. This case should be compared with the case of Nando Pillai who lived his later life with his wife and children, though he was the legal guardian (*karanavan*) of his *tarwad*.

1 Among Nayars, traditionally the surname is used for only male members of a *tarwad*, while female members are called by her maiden name, adding the term "Amma" instead of the surname, after their initiation ceremony. All male members of a *tarwad* share the same surname: for example, the surname of Marayil members is Menon. However, since the same surname is used by many *tarwad* among the Nayars, it does not necessarily indicate common descent lines.

The observed ambivalent attitudes found in Nayar men during and after the disintegration of the *tarwad* system is very similar to that of many matrilineal peoples, where the system allows the cohabitation of husband and wife. There it is a characteristic feature that a man is placed in an ambivalent situation between the obligations and duties towards his own matrilineal kin and towards his wife and children. From this angle, the present Nayar still live in the matrilineal atmosphere. It is very interesting to speculate where Nayar system will go. How long does it take the Nayar to become free from a matrilineal ideology, the shadow of the *tarwad* life? Many of the present Nayar population have experiences of the *tarwad* life, so the real change might be expected in the next generation. However, even then, it seems to me it would not shift to a patrilineal system, though it could possibly take the patrilineal system with a kind of bilateral arrangement. Whatever it may be, I think the future of the Nayar family and kinship system presents one of the most interesting examples for its study of the effects of historical and economic changes on a kinship system; and how far this kinship ideology can persist.

Marriage, Matriliney and Social Structure among the Yao of Southern Nyasaland¹

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MARRIAGE among the Yao, as in other societies, is an institution which serves many social ends. From a sociological point of view we may see it as a formal device through which social relationships involving specific rights and responsibilities are set up between the spouses themselves; between the social groups from which the spouses come; and between these people and the children born of the marriage. Marriage apportions these rights and responsibilities in all societies so that they are openly stated and subject to both the informal social control of public opinion and the formal control of the legal system. In this paper I wish to examine the type of rights and responsibilities involved in marriage in a matrilineal society and how these rights and duties are formally recognized.

Matriliney, Patriliney and Paternity

It is a truism to say that in all societies descent is traced through both parents. What is implied by stating that a society is matrilineal or patrilineal is that different kinds of relationships are customarily established with kinsmen through one of the parents as against those through the other. In the same way, descent in a bilateral society customarily establishes relationships of the same sort with kinsmen through both parents.

As a rule in unilineal systems the socially significant relationships established by descent are those of an economic and political nature. This means that in a patrilineal system a child is aligned for political action with, and acquires land and other economic rights through his father and his patrilineal kinsmen. In a matrilineal system a child acquires these rights through his mother and her matrilineal kinsfolk. This does not imply that no rights are established through

¹ I acknowledge here the stimulus I have had from discussing this paper with Dr. J. van Velsen and Mr. A. Sommerfelt of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

the mother in a patrilineal society and the father in a matrilineal society. These rights do exist but they are not of the same kind as those through the parent of direct descent. A child in a patrilineal society has a jural right to assistance and support from his patrilineal kinsmen but may only obtain assistance and support from his mother's kinsmen as an act of grace on their part. Similarly in a matrilineal society a child has claims by right to assistance and support from his matrilineal kinsmen but may obtain assistance from his father's people as an act of grace on their part. This implies that marriage in both patrilineal and matrilineal societies serves to determine what sort of rights and responsibilities are apportioned to different types of kinsmen.

The problem of descent in matrilineal systems however, is somewhat different from that in patrilineal societies. The central problem in patrilineal descent is the uncertainty of paternity and hence the necessity of institutional devices which unequivocally establish who the pater of the child is. This derives from the necessity of determining the vitally important economic and political rights and responsibilities between the child and his father's people. Marriage is the device which achieves this. In matrilineal peoples however, the problem of paternity takes on a different complexion. While there may sometimes be doubt as to who a child's father is, there is seldom any uncertainty about its mother. Since the most important rights and responsibilities are established through the mother there appears to be no need for institutional devices to apportion them. From this point of view the child's paternity appears to be irrelevant. Yet even in matrilineal societies marriage is an important institution and paternity is formally established through it. Even amongst the Nayars of Malabar who have long been cited as an example of a people with extreme matrilineity among whom marriage barely exists, the paternity of children is clearly established. (Gough 1959).

We must look at marriage therefore as a formal device through which certain rights and responsibilities between defined categories of persons are publicly stated and subject therefore to control both by public opinion and the courts of law.

Uxorial and Genetricial Rights¹

Analytically we may distinguish between several different categories of person involved in marriage relationships, and between several different categories of rights and responsibilities set up between these people. We may distinguish the relationship set up by marriage between the spouses from those set up between their kinsmen. Marriage brings the kinsmen of the spouses into affinal relationships so that they must adopt specific patterns of behaviour towards one another. A mother-in-law among the Yao, for example, is entitled

1 I owe this distinction to Bohannan (1949) and have developed it in Mitchell 1961a and 1961b.

to certain services from her son-in-law and he in turn to respect from her. Siblings-in-law, on the other hand, joke with one another. The entire group of people related to each of the spouses is thus brought into relationships with the other and they expect specific patterns of behaviour from them.

More extensive rights and responsibilities are involved in the relationship between the spouses. These may be separated into two broad categories or clusters. The first, which we may call uxorial rights, refers to the personal rights and duties of the spouses to each other. The other cluster of rights refers to the rights which an individual spouse, or the group to which he belongs, may possess or acquire over the wife as a bearer of children.

An important uxorial right is the sexual obligation of each spouse to the other. From the wife's point of view this is usually expressed as the exclusive access to her by her husband. From the husband's point of view this usually implies the obligation to beget children in his wife. But sexual rights are only part of uxorial rights as a whole. Usually a husband must also support his wife economically, provide her with shelter and protect her from harm. Likewise the wife must perform a series of domestic duties for her husband: she must cook for him, draw water for him, mend his clothes and care for him when he is ill. By the very nature of uxorial rights they are personal and individual: it is very unusual to find these rights held in common by a group of women or a group of men. They are essentially a feature of the dyadic element in the conjugal relationship.

Genetricial rights are the rights over the children which issue from the marriage and usually serve to fix the children's membership to specific kinship groups. The kinsmen of the spouses as well as the spouses themselves are implicated in these rights and being of political significance they are frequently corporately held. It seems, however, that in some societies some rights over the children of his wife may be acquired by a husband in his personal capacity. An example of such a people is the matrilineal Bemba of Northern Rhodesia (Richards 1940; Mitchell 1961a). In strongly patrilineal peoples rules of incest and exogamy demand that the males of any particular group must formally acquire the child-bearing capacities of women from other groups in order to perpetuate their lineage (Gluckman 1950). This implies that there must be a legal arrangement whereby the reproductive capacity of a woman is transferred to her husband's group. The uxorial rights over the woman will be held by a man individually but the genetricial rights will be held by his lineage as a whole. The implication of this is that whoever a woman's sexual partner may be at a particular moment, the jural relationships of her children to their pater's kinsmen are clearly defined. The levirate, for this point of view, is a mechanism whereby uxorial rights on the death of a husband pass to his younger brother (or in certain circumstances to a son by another wife) while the rights of the husband's group to the woman's issue remain unaltered. "Ghost marriage" in which a woman bears children to her deceased husband's name is a similar device. The custom whereby a woman may marry herself a "wife" and "beget" children to her brother's lineage is a neat example of the clear separation of the

two clusters of rights. (Evans-Pritchard 1945). The lineage of the female "husband" acquires the genetricial rights in the wife, while the uxorial rights in her may be split between herself insofar as domestic services are concerned, and a lover insofar as sexual services are concerned.

The formal acquisition of these rights is usually marked by the transfer of bride-wealth from the husband's group to the wife's, and different parts of the bride-wealth may confer different rights. Thus among the Zulu one of the payments, *mfuko* or "snuff-box", conferred uxorial rights so that claims against an adulterer became valid only after this payment was made. Subsequent payments in the form of *lobolo* cattle fixed the rights and obligations of the children in the father's group (Barnes 1951: 5ff). The genetricial rights were thus transferred by this payment so that until it had been made the rights to the children remained with their mother's people. The Zulu adage: "Cattle beget children," reflects this arrangement. (Gluckman 1950:184).

Amongst matrilineal peoples, the children are aligned with their mother and her brother rather than with their father. This means that the genetricial rights in a woman are held in perpetuity by her male matrilineal kinsmen as a group. Whoever her husband happens to be, her children have primary rights in, and responsibilities towards their mother's matrilineal kinsmen. The relationships between spouses, however, contain elements which are similar to those in patrilineal societies in that they have roughly the same duties vis-a-vis one another.

In a matrilineal society, therefore, the marriage transaction primarily establishes uxorial rights between the spouses but the marriage has nevertheless clear structural implications. This may be seen in the marriage arrangements of the matrilineal Yao of Southern Nyasaland.

The Social Structure of the Yao of Southern Nyasaland

The peoples distributed between the parallels 9° S and 17° S across Africa from the Atlantic to the Indian Oceans are by and large matrilineal. They fall into three of the four major ethnographic categories of Bantu peoples. Matrilineal descent however, is only one aspect of their social structure for there are considerable variations in social structure among them.

The Yao, one of these matrilineal peoples, are part of the East African Bantu peoples and extend from Southern Tanganyika through the northern part of Portuguese East Africa in Nyasaland.¹ In southern Nyasaland they are organized into chieftaincies ranging in size from 8,000 to 45,000 people, and live in villages ranging from 8 to about 50 huts, the majority comprising about 15 huts housing

1 I lived for some twenty-four months among the Yao in Southern Nyasaland between September 1946 and September 1949. My observations are drawn from this experience. Reports on other aspects of Yao social structure have already been published. See Mitchell 1949a; 1949b; 1951; 1952; 1956.

in all 50 to 60 individuals. The social core of the simplest village is a group of women all of whom are able to trace their descent matrilineally from a single ancestress two or three generations removed from the present adult generation in the village. The husbands of these women in general have left their own matrilineal villages to marry into the villages of their wives. The daughters of these women, when they marry, will bring other men into the village while their sons will marry out into other villages. The men of the matrilineal group therefore are in general dispersed while the women form the core of a localized group.

Matrilineal descent, however, does not imply matriarchy: it is the men in Yao society who wield authority and are the leaders. But they wield authority over and are the leaders of their sisters and their sisters' children rather than their wives and own children. The social nucleus within the matrilineal descent group, therefore, is a group of uterine sisters standing in special relationship to one of their brothers – usually the oldest. This brother, called *asyene mbumba*, literally the “owner of the women” but which I translate as “warden of the sorority-group”, is responsible for the welfare of his sisters and by extension all their children, who, of course, are also members of his matrilineal descent group. Consequently the brother-sister relationship is hedged with taboos and restrictions for it is the vital foundation on which Yao social structure is built.

There is necessarily a conflict between the duties of the wardens of some sorority-groups and their duties as husbands. Custom decrees that men should normally live in their wives' villages, but if they do so it is not easy for them to attend to the affairs of their sisters. Wardens of sorority-groups therefore tend to go against custom and bring their wives to live with them in their own matrilineal villages. While I struck several small villages in which the leader was an old woman who was the founding ancestress of a matrilineal grand-family, most larger villages were led by men. This man – the village headman – was usually the son of the founding ancestress of a smaller village, who had come to the village at his mother's request, when by natural growth, it had become too complicated for the old woman to manage. In the older and more mature villages the headman had inherited the title of the first headman matrilineally through four or five generations.

More mature villages differ from the simpler “matrilocal grand-family” type of village by an internal complexity which arises out of two distinct processes. The first relates to the growth of “stranger” matrilineages in the village through the wives of village headman who live in their husband's villages. The headman's children who are brought up in his village belong not to his but to his wife's matrilineal descent group. If the marriage endures the children will reach maturity in their father's village. The sons will marry out as usual while the daughters will bring their husbands into the village. In time these daughters will constitute a second and subsidiary matrilineal descent group in the village which will be patrilaterally linked to the original matrilineal core through the village headman. This group will stand perpetually in the relationship of “children” to the village headman since by positional succession

each new village headman succeeds to the position and responsibilities, including those of kinship, of his predecessor.¹

The second process of internal differentiation in the Yao village is due to segmentation. Each daughter of the original founding ancestress of a village is a point of potential fission of the matrilineal descent group. Each group of uterine sisters under the control of their brother sees itself as a unit against the daughters of their mother's sisters who are similarly organized. In time several of these sibling-groups may arise in a matrilineage, each of which is under the control of a "brother". Each group of sisters, however, are themselves descended from a woman who was herself a member of a sorority-group under the control of her brother. Each sorority-group therefore, is contained theoretically within a larger group at the level of its parental generation. A man's sorority-group thus is simultaneously part of the sorority-group of his mother's brother and incorporates in turn the sorority-groups of his sisters' sons. This differentiation into sorority-groups at different generational levels gives rise to the internal segmentation characteristic of lineage systems. At the apex of the whole system linking together all inferior sorority-groups and foreign patrilaterally linked groups stands the village headman who through positional succession automatically moves into the structural position of the first village headman. Beneath him are arranged the matrilineal descent groups differentiated in proportion to their historical depth.

The Yao political process hinges ultimately on these processes of differentiation and growth in the village. Economic differentiation amongst the Yao is slight: there is little difference in standard of living between a chief and a commoner. Prestige rests instead on a man's ability to command a following. The step from common villager to village headman – the lowest rung in the ladder of rank – can only be taken if a man is able to assemble sufficient adherents around himself to justify his setting up an independent village. To do this, of course, he must attract followers away from some other person who is currently their leader. In terms of the structure of Yao society this means that a man must either wrest the control of his adult sisters away from his mother's brother in the parental generation, or from a brother in his own generation. While overtly the matrilineal descent group is bound together by sentiments of common origin it is simultaneously riven with jealousies and oppositions which run directly counter to this ideology.

Once a man has managed to secure control of his sorority-group his most direct means of building up a following is through the fecundity of his sisters and their daughters. It is true that he may be able to attract to his village a wide range of kinsfolk of one sort or another, but to do this he must compete successfully against some other village headman. Since the bond between uterine brothers and sisters is so strong he is most assured of building up his village by the child-bearing of his sisters.

1 This process and the implication of "positional succession" among the Yao are more fully described in Mitchell 1956: 181 ff.

It is in this way that marriage is related directly to the social structure and political system of the Yao tribal life. In abstract terms the political process at the village level among the Yao is primarily a struggle of men in matrilineal descent groups to capture for themselves the genetricial rights over the women of their group. By the rules of incest and exogamy the genetricial powers of the woman can only be realized through the cooperation of a man from some other matrilineal group and this cooperation is secured through marriage.

Yao Marriage¹

A marriage, therefore, in Yao society sets up different relationships between the various persons and groups involved. At the same time each of the spouses does not by marriage cease to be a member of his own matrilineal descent group. Two matrilineal descent groups are therefore also brought into relationships through the marriage. Each of these descent groups is primarily concerned with the welfare of its own member. But they are implicated in the marriage in different ways. In the first place in over two-thirds of the marriages the man lives in his wife's village. In these marriages therefore the man's group is concerned with the welfare of one of its members who is living among strangers. His day-to-day care is left in the hands of the woman's group and they are implicated only when he is seriously ill or he feels that his rights have been denied.

The woman's group similarly is interested in the welfare of its member and in protecting her rights. But in the majority of marriages she is living in her matrilineal village and is in constant contact with her kinsfolk. The woman's group have an additional interest in the marriage since it is through it that the woman becomes productive and contributes to the growth of the matrilineage. In other words both parties are involved in protecting the uxorial rights of their members and in upholding their responsibilities, but only the woman's group is concerned with the genetricial rights in the woman.

Frequently in other Bantu societies these rights and responsibilities are assumed when the marriage payments are made and the marriage is formally contracted. One of the striking features of Yao marriage, however, is that the relationship between the two matrilineal groups involved is set up without the exchange of any bride-wealth or the performance of labour service by the young man. The marriage instead is legalized entirely by the public acknowledgement of the fact by representatives of each group formally appointed for this purpose and acting afterwards as its agents.²

1 Stannus (1922) has published some data referring to conditions some forty years ago. I hope to publish a full ethnographic account of modern Yao marriage as a *Rhodes-Livingstone Paper* in the near future.

2 The absence of marriage payments cannot be attributed to the lack of material wealth. Like the Bemba and many other Central African peoples the Yao have no cattle. But the amount of cash they have available is shown by the large amount which changes hands in the form of compensation when marriages end. No cash payments, however, are made when marriages are contracted.

The husband's marriage representatives or sureties are referred to collectively as "those of the man" (*wakucilume*) and the wife's as "those of the woman" (*wakucikongwe*). These sureties stand in a particular relationship to the spouses. The senior surety, known as "the sleeping log" (*mkokowogona*) is ideally a mother's brother of the spouse. Often he is the village headman in a small village or a lineage head in one of the more complex villages. His role is to serve as mentor and counsellor to his junior kinsmen in matters arising in the marriage. His title conjures up the picture of his sitting inert at the door of his hut while his younger kinsmen bring their difficulties and troubles to him. The more active role in marriage affairs is taken by a younger man known as the "beater down of dew" (*mkupamame*). This man, who is ideally a uterine brother of the spouse, derives his epithet from the image of his beating down the dew from the grass early in the morning as he is on his way to handle difficulties which have arisen in the marriage in which he is responsible.

These marriage sureties come into the picture as soon as the couple decide to marry. They meet formally early in the negotiations and decide on a day on which the man may ceremonially come to eat his first meal with his wife's sureties and so start living "officially" in the village. After this the marriage sureties play an intimate part in the affairs of the couple. All serious domestic disputes are brought before them; they consult diviners about the illnesses of the children; they must meet formally if the wife moves to live in her husband's village; and they must be present at court cases arising out of the marriage. Finally when the marriage ends by divorce or the death of one of the spouses they must meet to terminate the marriage or to participate in the final mourning ceremonies which achieves the same purpose.

This formalization of marriage is encouraged by Yao beliefs concerning the mystical danger of sexual activity. This is based on the belief that sexually inactive people, particularly the very old or the very young, will contract a dread disease called *ndaka* if they come into contact with sexually active people. When new sexual activity is introduced into the village the sexually inactive must be protected with medicines against *ndaka*. A couple who do not regularize their relationships by arranging for their sureties to meet are likely to be named by a diviner as being responsible for the deaths of the young children and old people in the village.

These beliefs reinforce more pragmatic pressures to regularize the relationships between a couple. From a man's point of view the meeting of the marriage sureties establishes the legality of the marriage. This means that after the sureties have met and the man has been formally welcomed into the village his uxorial rights are secure. His claim for compensation should some other man commit adultery with his wife, are then safeguarded, for the first point which the court will raise in such a case is whether the marriage sureties had met. A marriage without sureties, Yao elders told me, was merely friendship, and an action for compensation because of adultery under these circumstances was sure to fail in court.

From the woman's point of view there are both mystical and pragmatic

difficulties in her position if the arrangement with the sureties is delayed. The mystical dangers she is exposed to arise partly out of the belief that promiscuous sexual intercourse may result in prolonged and difficult parturition and partly out of the knowledge that if her child falls ill she may find it difficult to get her husband's people to cooperate in the divination of the cause of the illness. Effective divination of a child's illness requires the cooperation of both its mother's and its father's people, and if the marriage is not properly established there will be difficulties over the divination.

From a pragmatic point of view, part of the rights a woman acquires through marriage is the right to support. This means that her husband is obliged to cultivate her fields with her. It also means that the man accepts some responsibility for the support of his children. The only pressure she can bring to bear on a defaulting husband in this respect is through his kinsmen. Her correct approach to them is through her marriage surety who is able to approach her husband's surety who in turn is able to prevail upon him to accept his responsibilities. A person can bring sanctions to bear on his spouse most effectively through his or her marriage sureties and until the marriage has been formally acknowledged by both sets of kinsmen the spouses are in a weak position if a dispute concerning their rights in marriage should arise.

The mark of a legal marriage, thus, is its formal recognition by specifically appointed representatives of the woman's matrilineal descent group and of the husband's. The formal sharing of the meal by the new husband and a representative of the wife's group has the effect of publicly announcing the arrival of a new husband in the village. The approach between the two parties is highly formalized and specific rituals and ceremonies serve to ensure that the marriage relationship between the husband and his wife is publicly known and therefore defensible in the tribal courts.

The Rights of the Parties Concerned

These rituals and formal procedures fix the rights and responsibilities of the parties involved in the marriage. On the wife are laid the duties of sexual and domestic service towards her husband. On the husband are laid the duties of support of his wife through the cultivation of her garden and the provision of certain household requisites. On the two sets of marriage sureties are laid the responsibilities for harmonious relationships within the marriage, and to see that each spouse honours his obligations towards the other. If marriages do not run as smoothly as they ought to, the marriage sureties are often put to some discomfort in trying to persuade, cajole and browbeat their kinsmen into more acceptable behaviour. If they fail and the marriage breaks up the sureties will have to meet formally to undo the marriage bond, and the woman's sureties may find themselves faced with a heavy claim for compensation.

The counterparts of these various obligations are a number of rights which each of the parties in the marriage acquires. The husband's rights are the sexual

and domestic services of his wife. These rights are conceived of as a whole. In Yao courts, charges of "adultery" are sometimes laid by an aggrieved husband against his wife when the only evidence he has is that his wife cooked food for some other man. Adultery in this sense is any transgression of the husband's uxorial rights and his rights to his wife's cooking go with his rights of sexual access to her.

The wife has a right to economic support and protection from her husband. But she has also a clear right to children from him. The bearing of children, a matter of intense personal and social significance to Yao women, is emphasized in many rituals. Much of the formal instruction in the girls' initiation ceremonies (*ciputu*) which girls undergo between the ages of about ten and fourteen years of age is concerned with their future role as mothers. They are taught to look forward to sexual intercourse and to the child-bearing which follows it. The girls' passage from maidenhood to motherhood is marked by an important ritual of passage called *litiwo*. When a girl becomes aware of foetal quickening in her first pregnancy the women of the neighbourhood hold a ceremony in which her change of status is celebrated. Sterility on the other hand is looked upon as a great tragedy and is so frequently the topic of divination that it is represented among the symbolic objects in the diviner's gourd as a piece of dried bamboo root.

The Yao woman's right to children from her husband is a deeply personal matter and from this point of view may be looked upon as part of uxorial rights. This point of view was very clearly stated by a woman who was suing in court for a divorce because of the prolonged absence of her husband as a labour migrant in a distant town. She said: "I married him a long time ago and I was merely living without children... Eventually I had an affair with another man. I do not deny it: I have this child - without that lover I should never have had it." Another woman in similar circumstances complained: "I am living like an animal but I have no fur to cover me as an animal has [i.e. she has no clothes which her husband ought to have supplied her with]. Today the marriage is finished. I shall not wait for one man. He is married there [in Salisbury] and copulating. I want to bear children and my opportunities of doing so are being lost."

But the woman's child-bearing is of wider consequence than her personal satisfaction. The children she bears perpetuate the lineage group to which she belongs and this is of immediate interest to her brothers involved in the struggle for power. The satisfaction of the woman's uxorial rights are at the same time a realisation of her brothers' generitricial rights in her. The woman's sureties therefore are interested in more than the relationship between the spouses: it is through the marriage that the numerical increase of their matrilineal descent group is primarily achieved.

In contrast to many patrilineal societies, and as we may expect in a matrilineal society, virginity is not considered a virtue among girls in Yao society (Read 1938; Gluckman 1950:181). In fact Yao girls formerly were ritually deflowered by a youth after their initiation ceremonies. This formal act was

called *kwasa mauta*¹ and the youth was paid a fee for doing it. On the other hand virility is emphasized in a number of beliefs and superstitions about sexual activities and in various rituals in the circumcision ceremonies. The virility of the husband is of immediate concern to both the wife and her marriage sureties but for different reasons. From the wife's point of view it is through it that she can have children legally and without fear of mystical retributions. From the point of view of the sureties it is by the children he begets that the lineage group increases. If children do not appear reasonably soon after marriage both the wife and her sureties begin to be worried. Sooner or later this leads to gossip and then to the open broaching of the subject. At this stage the man's sureties are brought in and if the infertility cannot be laid on either of the spouses directly the sureties will consult a diviner. It is no longer an affair between the couple alone but now involves their descent groups as well.

Ending the Marriage

The impotence of the man, in fact, is the only formal ground on which a woman may sue for divorce in the tribal courts. She may lodge many other complaints – that he does not provide food for her, that he does not care for the children and so on – but these points are usually raised when the woman is trying to justify her adultery. As in other matrilineal peoples divorce among the Yao is frequent and easy (Gluckman, 1950; Mitchell 1961a; 1961b)². By far most divorces follow an action by an aggrieved husband against an adulterer. An adulterer is considered to be a thief and the action usually hinges around the husband's claim for compensation for the loss of rights by the aggrieved husband. The wife is asked whether she wishes to stay married to her present husband. If she says she does, compensation of the order of £ 2 or £ 3 will be awarded to him. If, however, she decides to marry her paramour then the aggrieved husband may receive a higher compensation of the order of about £ 4 or £ 5. The court in addition fines the adulterer an amount of about 10s 0d and frequently also fines the woman concerned a like amount which her sureties usually pay.

A woman may also sue for divorce on the grounds of desertion but her argument hinges mainly on her right to children. This sort of case arises particularly where a man has gone off to a distant labour centre and has not returned or been heard of for a long time. Labour migrants are expected to support their wives by paying the taxes in the village and by sending home clothes and

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- 1 i.e. "putting aside the oil". It refers to the ending of the *ciputu* ceremony and the change of status from that of a girl to a marriageable young woman. The girls decorate themselves with oil during their initiation ceremonies.
 - 2 It is difficult to produce a truly comparative measure of marriage stability among tribal peoples. I have presented some data in Mitchell 1961b. Some idea is given by the probability that a marriage will end by divorce within a given period. For a Yao sample these were 38 chances in 100 that the marriage will be dissolved by divorce within ten years and 71 chances in 100 that it will be dissolved by divorce in twenty years.

money. But a husband's duties are wider than this: he is supposed to provide his wife with children. The court is likely therefore to be sympathetic with a plea for divorce from a woman whose husband has been away for four or five years, even if he has been sending money and clothes to her. The more usual course is for the woman to take a lover. In this event the husband's marriage sureties will sue her lover for compensation on behalf of their absent kinsman and formally divorce his wife on his behalf. But where a lover is not involved the court may sanction a divorce so that the woman may remarry and satisfy her natural desire for children.

The compensation claimed is not the equivalent of the return of bride-wealth since none was paid in the first instance. It is rather compensation for the loss of rights which the husband has suffered. If his exclusive rights of sexual access to his wife have been flouted he is entitled to a certain amount of compensation, but if he loses his entire rights to another man he is entitled to more. I have never heard of a husband's people having to compensate the woman's people for the loss of rights, for example, when a husband is impotent. On the contrary when the woman's people end the marriage by "chasing the man from the marriage" even if the man is impotent, he will sue for and obtain compensation of the same order as he would have obtained had he been displaced by another man.

The court awards compensation to the aggrieved husband but does not itself end the marriage. This is done by a meeting of the sureties in which the man's people give a small amount known as *liwale* (about 2s 6d or 5s 0d) to the woman's people. The man's group make the payment even if the husband has been chased from the marriage. They make it after the compensation has been awarded to them by the court and it implies that the man's group now renounces all uxorial rights in the woman and that she is free to remarry.

The ritual of "cutting the ropes" after the death of a spouse¹ serves the same purpose. Some months after the death of a spouse the relict must have ritual intercourse with a stranger referred to as a "hyaena".² The deceased spouse's people must arrange this and pay for the "hyaena's" services. This act releases the widow from her obligations to her husband's kinsmen and frees her to remarry if she so wishes.

Formality and Structural Relationships in Yao Marriage

Each step in the marriage relationship as it comes into being, as it falters, or as it breaks up, therefore, is marked by formal meetings of the representatives of the two matrilineal descent groups, or by rituals in which they must participate. The formality of Yao marriage contrasts strongly with the informality of the

- 1 *kutula ngonji*. The phrase comes from the plaited ropes which widows wore around their waists as part of the mourning rites during the period of continence which followed the deaths of the husbands.
- 2 So called because he removes the pollution associated with death. He is paid a fee of about 6s 0d for this service.

sambandham relationships among the strongly matrilineal Nayar (Gough 1959). In patrilineal societies, the formality of marriage procedures is partly related to the legal transfer of the woman's reproductive capacities from one group to another. Gluckman, for example, contrasts the formal wedding ceremonies among the strongly patrilineal Zulu amongst whom genitricial rights are transferred, with the informality of the ceremonies amongst the bilateral Lozi among whom they are not and who consequently regard marriage as "the play of children." (Gluckman 1950:190). Among the Yao genitricial rights in a woman are never transferred and the transaction of a marriage does not involve them. Yet this formality of procedure characterizes Yao marriage.

Part of this formality relates to the establishment of paternity. The Yao theory of reproduction recognizes that the father plays an essential role in conception. Also beliefs concerning parturition involve the confession of adultery if childbirth is prolonged or difficult, thus assuring that the genitor of each child is normally acknowledged. This acknowledgement imposes certain responsibilities on the father and corresponding rights of the child towards him.¹

But the root of the formality of Yao marriage seems to lie in the strong attachment of each of the spouses to his own matrilineal descent group. In most Yao marriages one of the spouses lives with a stranger group and is placed in their care. The formal marriage negotiations ensure that an avenue exists through which the two groups may cooperate to ensure the mutual welfare of the spouses. In general the marriage bond by uniting two people does not isolate them from their kinsmen. Rather the marriage links two kinship groups through them. The spouses remain essentially members of their matrilineal descent groups and depend heavily on their matrilineal kinsmen to uphold and protect their rights arising from the marriage.

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¹ I hope to analyse paternity among the Yao more fully in the paper referred to in the footnote 1 on page 35.

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Family Organisation in Plantations in British Guiana

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THE subject of this paper is the influence of economic and cultural factors on family structure in two plantations in British Guiana. The two plantations, Blairmont and Port Mourant, are situated in the county of Berbice.¹ The populations of the two plantations, 2564 and 9272 respectively, are predominantly descendants of immigrants from India who were indentured as labourers during the period 1838–1917. In Blairmont 402 out of 451 domestic groups², and in Port Mourant 1090 out of about 1150, are Indian. The rest are

Table 1
Classification of Domestic Groups by Kinship Structure and Age of Head
Blairmont – Male Heads

<i>Age Groups :</i>		<i>21–30</i>	<i>31–40</i>	<i>41–50</i>	<i>51–60</i>	<i>Over 60</i>	<i>Totals</i>
	No.	54	89	65	18	8	234
Nuclear Family	%age	71.1	84.8	70.7	40.9	40.0	69.4
Extended Family	No.	—	1	13	10	4	28
	%age	—	0.9	14.1	22.7	20.0	8.3
Nuclear Family & Parents and/or Siblings	No.	14	11	2	—	—	27
	%age	18.4	10.5	2.2	—	—	8.0
Nuclear Family & Other Kin	No.	2	2	5	6	—	15
	%age	2.6	1.9	5.4	13.7	—	4.5
Other Types	No.	6	2	7	10	8	33
	%age	7.9	1.9	7.6	22.7	40.0	9.8
Totals	No.	76	105	92	44	20	337
	%age	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

- 1 Fieldwork was carried out in Blairmont between Sept. 1956 and Oct. 1957, and in Port Mourant between Feb. and July 1958. The statistics presented here were obtained through a survey which, in Blairmont, aimed at a 100% coverage, but succeeded in covering 379 of the Indian domestic groups; the remaining 23 consist of incomplete schedules, those who were absent during much of my stay and two refusals. The statistics for Port Mourant are based on a sample of 205 domestic groups. For a variety of reasons I found it impracticable to obtain a random sample. I interviewed those whom I met in the course of my fieldwork, and solicited interviews with their friends, neighbours and relatives. In this paper I isolate for discussion topics which have been more broadly treated in the following papers: Smith & Jayawardena 1958, Smith & Jayawardena 1959, and Jayawardena 1960.
- 2 A domestic group consists of persons who reside in the same house; the head of this group is the tenant or owner of the house. I use this term when I am not concerned whether the group constitutes a family or a household.

Negro. Three quarters of the adult males of each plantation are unskilled labourers; they are the main subject of this study. The rest consist of skilled labourers, drivers (foremen) and clerks. Most residents are plantation employees but whereas, in Blairmont, there are 54 or 2.1 % non-employees and dependents, they number 1573 or 17 % in Port Mourant. Houses are largely management-owned in Blairmont (332 out of 443), but in Port Mourant management owns only 182 out of about 1147. In both plantations house-sites are owned by management.

The kinship institutions of plantation Indians may be analysed in terms of their roles as Indians who form both local communities as well as a nation-wide ethnic group, and emphasise their cultural distinctiveness vis a vis other ethnic groups¹ in some social contexts. However, their roles in the productive organisation of the plantation are equally important. In an earlier publication², the kinship institutions of plantation Indians were compared with those of Indians in the rice-growing villages, and discussed mainly in terms of the position of Indians in Guianese society. Here I examine aspects which were not central to the previous paper: the relation of kinship institutions to the social system of the plantation. Yet, since descent is the main principle of recruitment to the Indian group, processes and values operative within it provide the framework within which kinship institutions of plantation labourers function. A comprehensive analysis of the family among plantation labourers requires a correct weighting of both economic and cultural factors. In so far as the present analysis concentrates on economic factors, it is necessarily partial and should be regarded as complementary to the earlier one.

Historical Background

Most of the immigrants came from the depressed eastern districts of the United Provinces; the rest were mainly from Bihar and Madras. About five sixths were Hindus and about a sixth were Muslims. In their home society the joint family may have been the cultural ideal. Yet, as Dube³ and Mandelbaum⁴ point out, since the joint family presupposes a property basis, it is an ideal attained largely by the wealthier farmers and higher castes. So, the nuclear family may have been a very prevalent form among the strata from which most immigrants derived.

In the 19th Century there was a severe shortage of women in the plantations which influenced family life until well after the abolition of the indenture system. Competition for women was great despite attempts to control it by making "harbouring another's wife" a seriously punished crime. Isolated

1 Such as Negroes, Whites, Chinese, etc.

2 Smith & Jayawardena 1959.

3 Dube 1955.

4 Mandelbaum 1948.

instances of polyandrous arrangements have been reported. The general pattern, however, was one in which the conjugal tie was extremely brittle, and a unit of mother and children passed from the household of one male to that of another.

Plantation managers were expected to provide free housing and medical care, a responsibility associated with complete authority to decide the composition of each domestic unit. The labourers were housed in barracks divided into one-bedroom apartments. Two or three single men shared one; married men received an apartment to themselves. The health regulations of the Immigration Ordinance, which the manager was required to enforce, limited the size of domestic groups.

Every resident had a right to work when it was available. Residents required permission to accommodate relatives and friends from outside the plantation, and constables appointed by management were vigilant in this respect. However, when work and a house were available, managers permitted residents to bring in affines and matrilateral kin. The manager was usually informed when a resident brought in a wife from outside.

Plantation regulations were enforced at a manager's "court".¹ Residents too were expected to bring their inter-personal as well as associational disputes to this court, and not to summon each other to the magistrate's court without the manager's permission. The manager had extensive powers to back his decisions: he could transfer residents to houses in any part of the plantation, restrict them to certain areas or evict them altogether; he could order restitution of property and impose such punishments as fines and suspension from work.

Many cases brought to the court concerned disputes between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law who belonged to the same domestic group². The manager urged them to be considerate to each other. But if this was of no avail, he transferred the son and wife to a separate house. If none were available he ordered the building of a separate kitchen or fireplace. The manager's court became the resort of sons' wives who objected not only to excessive bad treatment but also to the customary degree of subordination to the husband's mother. Some managers disapproved of the incorporation of sons' wives into the domestic group because it was a fertile source of disputes. Others compromised with Indian custom³ by finding the married son a house in the same neighbourhood.

Many disputes occurred between husband and wife concerning ill-treatment, infidelity, thriftlessness and drunkenness. In these cases the manager attempted to preserve the marriage with homilies about proper conjugal behaviour, and by threatening the offender with sanctions.

In some cases, when husband or wife, or both, insisted on separating, and no advice or solutions of particular grievances were of any avail, the manager

1 Notes of cases were kept and my comments are derived from records for the period 1930-42. Records for earlier years had been destroyed.

2 For an example of such a dispute see Jayawardena 1960, pp. 85-6.

3 By "Indian custom" and "Indian culture" I refer to those ways of life regarded as a part of their distinctive heritage by the Indians of British Guiana. These are not necessarily the same as the culture of Indians of India.

arranged for a separation and an equitable division of household effects and savings. However, he was seldom ethically neutral, and punished behaviour he disapproved with eviction. His norms and values became the standards of the labourers themselves. His own sense of "fair" treatment of women and the rights of a wife challenged the traditional dominance of a husband over his wife. Similarly, in disputes between a son's wife and her husband's parents, the tenor of his decisions was to establish the early independence of married sons.

The post-war period saw a radical change in management policy toward extra-industrial matters. The paternalistic administration became more impersonal and bureaucratic. The manager's court is seldom held, and is then relegated to a relatively junior official who has neither the prestige nor the long association with the plantation on which the paternalistic authority of his predecessors was based.

Family Structure

The normal type of domestic group for the rearing, socialisation, and status ascription of children is the nuclear family. The family is based on marriage and unmarried mothers are rare. The conjugal relation and the father-son bond are the key relations in the structure of the family.

The dominance of male over female is a cardinal tenet of Indian culture as seen by Guianese Indians. The father is supposed to be a respected and authoritarian figure. Both the mother (his wife) and the children are, ideally, subordinate to him. His pre-eminence is expressed in several domestic activities and routines such as eating arrangements, preferences in diet, the timing and nature of leisure activities, etc. Generally, behaviour in the house tends to be subservient to his convenience. These are expressions of his superior right to control all activities of his wife and children. Ideally, he is the sole arbiter of right and wrong conduct in the family and the sole intermediary between the family and the wider society.

The young child is looked after by its mother and, in its early years, the father has little to do with it. Mother and child form a sub-group which the father enters only gradually. As a boy grows up he comes under his father's direct tutelage. He is gradually taught "ricefield work" and when the boy is old enough to do so, at about the age of sixteen, it is usually his father who approaches a driver or an overseer and arranges for his employment. In filling vacancies management gives priority to sons of resident employees. Daughters remain in the care of their mothers until they get married, learning to cook, sew and keep house. The specialisation of tasks between the sexes begins early, differentiating fathers and sons from mothers and daughters. Males come to be regarded as protectors and step easily into dominant roles.

The father-child relation is supposed to be one of restraint. It is not very marked in the father-daughter relation for the father enters his daughter's life decisively only at her marriage. The father-son relation is one of frequent

association. Sons are expected to be deferential to their fathers and avoid expression of familiarity. The restraint is explained as necessary to "avoid contention" and consequent challenges to paternal authority. It is recognised as likely because of their close cooperation in household activities, as well as because clashes of interest and loyalties can easily arise since the son, as a male, participates in extra-family activities more than other dependents. Again, an adult son becomes an alternative protector of the family. Complaints about each other's performance in these roles, and competition for control of the females, provides the background for conflict between fathers and sons.

The mother leaves all major decisions concerning discipline to the father. Her relation with the children is one of greater familiarity, although more authority is exercised within the mother-daughter relation. The mother-son relation is a complex mixture of parental authority, maternal care and feminine subservience. The closeness of the mother-son tie is underlined in folk tales, and many men remember their mothers with a great deal of affection, whereas they are more diffident and non-committal about their fathers. The brittle conjugal tie during the indenture period and the mother's custody of the children on separation may have had much to do with this.

The relation between brothers is one of cooperation and loyalty. Much depends on the age difference between them, for an elder brother may adopt a paternal attitude towards a brother several years younger, especially if, on the father's death, the former becomes the head of the family. On marriage, when one or both leave the parental home to establish their own, the frequency of interaction between them diminishes sharply. The younger brothers may still listen to the advice of the elder with respect, and, in some cases, after the father's death, may occasionally refer to their eldest brother as the "head of the family." But this means little in practice. The brother-sister tie is seldom one of close association. An early specialisation in household tasks leads them along different paths. The subordination of female to male strongly influences the relation, and brothers inherit from their fathers the role of protector of their sisters.

The father provides the main link between children and the community. He arranges for their education and, when this is terminated, employment for his sons and spouses for his children. He finances their marriages and, in the case of daughters, remains a protector to whom they can turn in quarrels with husbands and parents-in-law.

The child belongs to the religion of the father, even if the mother belongs to a different faith. It is ascribed the father's caste regardless of that of the mother. In the majority of cases fathers do not have property, except household effects, to leave their children. Normally husband and wife inherit from each other. In Blairmont, most marriages are not legally valid but management recognises the wife of the deceased as the successor to his rights to a house, though not necessarily the same house. If the eldest son is an earning adult the house may be allocated to him. He then becomes head of the family and assumes control of whatever property there is. The marriage expenses of unmarried children and support of the widowed mother are regarded as first charges on the property.

When a will is made, equal division between all children is said to be the norm. In practice, daughters receive little, for their marriage expenses and dowry, if any, are set off against their share. Most labourers improve their economic circumstances, if at all, late in their middle age, by investing savings in cattle and ricefields outside the plantation. By this age most daughters have married and left home, whereas the unpaid labour of adult sons is a prerequisite in the accumulation of this wealth. It is therefore felt that sons who stayed at home and helped deserve a greater share.

Nuclear family roles among Indian labourers are differentiated, as in any family, by generation, age and sex. Its distinctive feature is that sex is almost as important as generation in the allocation of authority and responsibility. It gives the father a marked pre-eminence which is shared to a lesser degree by the son/brother. The wife/mother occupies a composite role, being a subservient wife, an authority wielding parent and, toward her adult son, to some extent a subordinate female. The aspect of the role she chooses to stress depends much on his age and status in the family. There is plenty of slack here for the play of personalities. She exercises authority over her daughters and, when they leave on marriage, over her son's wife if she belongs to the same domestic group. Relative age is important in conferring authority but is usually overridden by differences of sex. Within the same sex the elder has some influence over the younger even after their family of orientation is dissolved. Yet it is influence which varies with personalities and circumstances, and authority only when the elder is head of the domestic group.

Religion legitimises the normal family patterns. Several Hindu rituals emphasise the norms of the key conjugal and father-son ties. *Pati brata dharm* (the doctrine of the wife's selfless devotion to her husband) is one of the central doctrines of Hinduism (*Sanatan Dharm*) as preached in British Guiana. It is the subject of a lengthy sermon by the officiating priest at the end of any marriage ceremony. Although *sraddh* rites are no longer practised, several other ceremonies emphasise filial piety. The religious text of the Guianese Hindus, the *Ramayan*, has little theological content. The epic deals mainly with a set of idealised family relations: the unquestioning obedience which Ram gave his father, Dasrat, and received from his wife, Sita, and younger brother, Lakshman. The dramatic interest of the epic to listeners at devotional readings lies in the unswerving conformity to the *dharm* on the part of the main characters despite every reasonable provocation to act otherwise.

Household Organisation

The norms of family life outlined above represent an ideal pattern which is realised to an appreciable extent. Several factors affect the degree of approximation to the norms. Since many of these are of an economic nature, it is necessary to examine the organisation of the family as a household, for this is the strategic field in which most family roles are enacted and where the degree of achievement of family norms can be assessed.

Table II

Classification of Domestic Groups by Kinship Structure and Age of Head
Port Mourant - Male Heads

<i>Age Groups:</i>		<i>21-30</i>	<i>31-40</i>	<i>41-50</i>	<i>51-60</i>	<i>Over 60</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Nuclear Family	No.	18	44	33	13	—	108
	%age	72.0	75.9	60.0	38.2	—	59.3
Extended Family	No.	—	1	15	16	5	37
	%age	—	1.7	27.3	47.1	50.0	20.3
Nuclear Family & Parents and/or Siblings	No.	5	8	3	3	1	20
	%age	20.0	13.8	5.5	8.8	10.0	11.0
Nuclear Family & Other Kin	No.	1	2	2	—	—	5
	%age	4.0	3.4	3.6	—	—	2.8
Other Types	No.	1	3	2	2	4	12
	%age	4.0	5.2	3.6	5.9	40.0	6.6
Totals	No.	25	58	55	34	10	182
	%age	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

The identification of the household unit raises several difficulties. In Blairmont, 28 domestic groups are extended families and 5 others consist of a three-generation group headed by a female; in Port Mourant these types number 37 and 15 respectively. In these groups the sharing or separation of resources is a matter of degree. In some cases, although the married son (or daughter) has a separate kitchen and buys much of his own food separately, he nevertheless shares the same house and furniture; he may use the same stock of rice, firewood, lighting fuel and water as his parents. In the season of unemployment, food for the whole group may be produced in one kitchen. Some items of expenditure, such as clothing, radios, pressure lanterns and sewing machines may be purchased jointly. This may also apply to the education of children and unmarried siblings. Where the separation of resources is signified only by a separate fireplace the identification of the household is even more problematic. The fission of the group into two households becomes clear only when the group itself splits into two domestic groups. Consequently, in my use of the term household, the element of sharing resources varies from complete sharing through all lesser degrees to the point when a separate domestic group is formed.

The head of the household is normally a male, and where the household is composed of a nuclear family there are no exceptions to this rule. In Blairmont there are 42 (11.1%) domestic groups with female household heads, and in Port Mourant 23 (11.3%). In all these cases the females have succeeded deceased husbands or are separated from their husbands. In Blairmont they usually cede this position to the son when he grows up, but in Port Mourant this happens less frequently.

The main duty of the household head is to provide for the household. He is usually the main wage-earner and, although other members of the household may also earn, he claims ultimate control over the total income of the group. However, his wife handles much of the actual expenditure; she buys the food and

other requirements and, if the household is in financial difficulties, she can obtain credit at the shop for a fortnight or a month. But she does so in his name and with his consent. He expects to be informed of the state of his credit and handles major expenses such as religious ceremonies, and the purchase of radios, sewing machines, etc.

The head is expected to hand over his weekly pay envelope to his wife, retaining a small sum for personal expenses with her consent. On Saturday afternoons, however, several housewives hover anxiously outside the pay-office to rescue the next week's livelihood from the rum shop. Yet it is generally agreed that the head should concede priority to household needs over his personal requirements. The wages of secondary earners should be handed over to the head. The extent to which this is done depends on their age and status. The housewife's wages usually go into the household fund. An unmarried dependent

Table III
Classification of Domestic Groups by Kinship Structure and Age of Head
Blairmont - Female Heads

<i>Age Groups :</i>		<i>21-30</i>	<i>31-40</i>	<i>41-50</i>	<i>51-60</i>	<i>Over 60</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Female Head & Children	No.	1	3	6	3	2	15
	%age	25.0	75.0	54.5	37.5	13.3	35.7
Female Head, Children & Children's Spouses	No.	—	1	2	2	—	5
	%age	—	25.0	18.2	25.0	—	11.9
Female Head & Parents and/or Siblings	No.	2	—	1	—	—	3
	%age	50.0	—	9.1	—	—	7.1
Female Head & Other Kin	No.	—	—	1	1	—	2
	%age	—	—	9.1	12.5	—	4.8
Other Types	No.	1	—	1	2	13	17
	%age	25.0	—	9.1	25.0	86.7	40.5
Totals	No.	4	4	11	8	15	42
	%age	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

contributes most of his wages which are "returned" to him when the household pays for and organises his wedding. A married son with a separate kitchen retains most of his wages.

There is a division of labour in which women and older girls cook and look after the house and children. The domestic chores of men are confined to odd jobs, chopping firewood and occasionally drawing water. Ideally, women should be confined to the household, administering to the domestic comforts of its members. While the household group is mainly a unit of consumption, in some respects it is a productive unit as well. Management gives all labourers who work a certain proportion of days half an acre of riceland; a few labourers rent rice-lands in the villages. Rice cultivation depends almost entirely on the labour of the household group under the direction of the head.

The head represents the household in the local community. He pays subscriptions to the local Hindu or Muslim "Church" association and participates in its activities on behalf of the household. Invitations to weddings and

other ceremonies are issued to him, and any such ceremonies organised by the household are held in his name. He is responsible for the behaviour of members of his household, and complaints on this score are addressed to him.

The foregoing account does not apply to single-member households nor, wholly, to female-headed households. In these latter, some of the activities of the male head may be carried out by an adult son, such as those tasks involving heavy labour or those representative roles in activities from which women are excluded, such as religious associations. Female heads with young children go out to work, but those with earning sons do not usually do so. It is my impression that the greatest degree of separation of household resources occur in such domestic groups. Separate kitchens for married sons appear to be less frequent where there is a male head.

A female's authority as a head is never so pervasive as that of a male. Although her authority is buttressed by her status as mother, it is circumscribed by the son's position as the senior male of the family. Yet she may compensate for this lack if he is dependent on her economically. In Port Mourant, where this type of domestic group is more common than in Blairmont (see Table IV)

Table IV
Classification of Domestic Groups by Kinship Structure and Age of Head
Port Mourant - Female Heads

<i>Age Groups:</i>		<i>21-30</i>	<i>31-40</i>	<i>41-50</i>	<i>51-60</i>	<i>Over 60</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Female Head	No.	1	2	2	—	—	5
& Children	%age	100.0	66.7	40.0	—	—	21.7
Female Head, Children & Children's Spouses	No.	—	1	3	9	2	15
	%age	—	33.3	60.0	90.0	50.0	65.2
Female Head & Parents and/or Siblings	No.	—	—	—	—	—	—
	%age	—	—	—	—	—	—
Female Head & Other Kin	No.	—	—	—	—	—	—
	%age	—	—	—	—	—	—
Other Types	No.	—	—	—	1	2	3
	%age	—	—	—	10.0	50.0	13.1
Totals	No.	1	3	5	10	4	23
	%age	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

there is an acute housing shortage. Married sons have often to depend on their mothers for accommodation, but under normal circumstances, an only adult son can gradually establish an ascendancy over her and become the de facto head. Where there are several, the eldest may occasionally achieve this position, but more often each enjoys a large measure of autonomy, a feature to be associated with a greater degree of separation of household resources.

Family and Household

The preceding account shows that family roles are closely interrelated with and reinforced by household roles. The authority of the household head

buttresses that of the father. His role as protector is closely associated with his role as provider. The obedience of children is in a large measure secured by their status as household dependents. Even when non-nuclear family kin are incorporated into the household, especially unmarried siblings of the head or his wife, the role of household head is so closely associated with that of the father, that he regards himself and is regarded by them as such. Sex differences in family structure are reinforced by the division of labour in the household. The household roles of women are regarded as most appropriately confined to domestic chores while those of men are breadwinning and representing the group. This gives men a control of the domestic group, and places them in a position to make strategic decisions that affect the group both as a household and as a family.

Because of this close interrelation between the two systems of relations, factors which affect one affect the other. A normally functioning household ensures stable and normal family relations. Economic factors which directly affect the household indirectly influence the family.

About three-fourths of the household heads of each plantation are seasonally employed unskilled labourers. Between the two grinding seasons each year they may be unemployed for two or three months. Even during the grinding season work is occasionally scarce. Although at the peak periods each year the head usually earns an adequate wage, his income fluctuates sharply throughout the year, placing him in the lowest income group in the colony. Further, the income of an unskilled labourer declines as he gets older. The most lucrative work is cutting cane which, since it is very strenuous, is restricted to the young and strong. The vast majority of cane cutters are in the 21-35 age group and few are over 40. Middle-aged men, those in the 41-60 age group, work as shovel and fork men. The older men of this group, as well as those over 60, if they are fortunate, may obtain one of the limited number of jobs as watchmen and "rangers"¹. Others work as weeders, manurers, grasscutters and at other miscellaneous types of work. Adolescents share these jobs or find work as "mule-boys" transporting cane to the factory. The following table presents the average wages of a sample of male employees in Blairmont.

	<i>Average Wage Per Annum In West Indian Dollars²</i>
Clerks	1083.96
Drivers	1036.56
<i>Skilled Labourers</i>	
Mechanics, Electricians, etc.	951.20
Tractor and Dragline Operators	873.86
<i>Unskilled Labourers</i>	
Cane Cutters	694.46
Watchmen and Rangers	537.70
Cane Transport	464.00
Fork and Shovelmen	388.96
Weeders, manurers, grass-cutters, etc.	374.30

1 Watchmen of the canefields and canals.

2 One West Indian dollar is equivalent to 4s/2d sterling, U.S. \$ 0.60.

Thus a middle-aged man finds his wages reduced to half of what he earned as a young man; if he is doing well as a watchman, his wages are reduced by about a quarter. These trends do not apply to a few unskilled labourers who have invested savings in houses, ricefields and cattle. Clerks, drivers and skilled labourers are regularly employed and their wages increase with experience or remain constant at a maximum.

The three factors of a low income, decreasing wages and a fluctuating income change the normal pattern of household relations. They make a modification of roles and an adjustment of expectations within the family inevitable. One of the main lines along which this occurs is through a modification of the position of the wife/mother in the household and the family.

The low income sends wives out to work. Women find employment as weeders and at a miscellany of other unskilled occupations¹. They are irregular

Table V

*Classification of Domestic Groups by Kinship Structure and Occupational Status of Head
Blairmont - Male Heads*

Occupations		Privately Employed	Clerks	Drivers	Skilled Labourers	Unskilled Labourers	Totals
Nuclear Family	No.	2	12	15	44	161	234
	%age	50.0	75.0	71.4	77.2	67.4	69.4
Extended Family	No.	—	1	3	—	24	28
	%age	—	6.2	14.2	—	10.0	8.3
Nuclear Family & Parents and/or Siblings	No.	1	—	1	8	17	27
	%age	25.0	—	4.6	14.0	7.1	8.0
Nuclear Family & Other Kin	No.	—	1	1	2	11	15
	%age	—	6.2	4.6	3.5	4.6	4.5
Other Types	No.	1	2	1	3	26	33
	%age	25.0	12.5	4.6	5.3	10.9	9.8
Totals	No.	4	16	21	57	239	337
	%age	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

workers for their attendance is punctuated by pregnancies, illness of children and other contingencies. Consequently, although the wives of most unskilled labourers have worked at one time or another, in any given year only some of them do so. In Blairmont, 112 or 34.5% of the 324 wives of household heads worked in 1956, and in Port Mourant, 51 or 29.8% out of 171.

The household head's authority as provider is diminished to the extent that he shares the bread-winning role with his wife. Her subordination in the family structure is alleviated by her ability to support herself and children if circumstances compel her to do so. Separation after a dispute is a frequent occurrence in marriages of unskilled labourers². During this period which is

1 There are two women drivers in Blairmont, one married to a skilled labourer, and the other separated and head of her own household.

2 Jayawardena 1960.

Table VI

*Classification of Domestic Groups by Kinship Structure and Occupational Status of Head
Port Mourant - Male Heads*

<i>Occupations</i>		<i>Privately Employed</i>	<i>Clerks</i>	<i>Drivers</i>	<i>Skilled Labourers</i>	<i>Unskilled Labourers</i>	<i>Totals</i>
Nuclear Family	No.	17	—	1	6	84	108
	%age	51.5	—	50.0	66.7	61.3	59.3
Extended Family	No.	12	—	—	2	23	37
	%age	36.4	—	—	22.2	16.8	20.3
Nuclear Family & Parents and/or Siblings	No.	4	—	1	1	14	20
	%age	12.1	—	50.0	11.1	10.2	11.0
Nuclear Family & Other Kin	No.	—	—	—	—	5	5
	%age	—	—	—	—	3.7	2.8
Other Types	No.	—	1	—	—	11	12
	%age	—	100.0	—	—	8.0	6.6
Totals	No.	33	1	2	9	137	182
	%age	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

usually terminated by a reunion or a second marriage, the wife works and manages without a husband until the crisis is solved to her satisfaction.

In Tables VII and VIII I have classified the currently working wives according to their ages and the occupational status of their husbands. In Blairmont 102 or 91.1% were wives of unskilled labourers and in Port Mourant 46 or 90.2%. Their age distribution can be explained in terms of their histories as mothers. In Blairmont, in the youngest group, only 3.7% are working. This proportion rises to 29.8% in the succeeding group, reaches a peak of 47.4% in the 31-40 group, and declines sharply in the 51-60 group; there are none over

Table VII

*Employed Wives of Household Heads Classified by Age and Husband's Occupational Status
Blairmont 1956*

<i>Occupations:</i>	<i>Privately Employed</i>	<i>Clerks</i>	<i>Drivers</i>	<i>Skilled Labourers</i>	<i>Unskilled Labourers</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Total in Age Group</i>
<i>Ages</i>							
11-20	—	—	—	—	1	1	27
						3.7	100.0
21-30	—	—	1	2	36	39	131
						29.8	100.0
31-40	—	—	2	3	40	45	95
						47.4	100.0
41-50	—	—	2	—	21	23	53
						43.4	100.0
51-60	—	—	—	—	4	4	15
						26.7	100.0
Over 60	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Totals	—	—	5	5	102	112	324
						34.5	100.0

Table VIII

*Employed Wives of Household Heads Classified by Age and Husband's Occupational Status
Port Mourant 1957*

<i>Occupations :</i>	<i>Privately Employed</i>	<i>Clerks</i>	<i>Drivers</i>	<i>Skilled Labourers</i>	<i>Unskilled Labourers</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Total in Age Group</i>
<i>Ages</i>							
11-20	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
21-30	—	—	—	—	9	9	49
						18.4	100.0
31-40	3	—	—	1	22	26	67
						38.8	100.0
41-50	1	—	—	—	11	12	34
						35.3	100.0
51-60	—	—	—	—	4	4	16
						25.0	100.0
Over 60	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Totals	4	—	—	1	46	51	171
						29.8	100.0

60. The proportions in Port Mourant are similar. It can be inferred that newly married wives and young mothers do not usually work.

Nevertheless, a comparison of the ages of working wives with those of their husbands suggests another explanation. The following table compares the proportion of working wives in each age group with the ages of their husbands.

<i>Age Group of Wives</i>	<i>Proportion Working</i>		<i>Probable Age Group of Husbands</i>	<i>Average Age of Husbands</i>	
	<i>Blairmont</i>	<i>Pt. Mourant</i>		<i>Blairmont</i>	<i>Pt. Mourant</i>
11-20	3.7	—	16-25	29.0	—
21-30	29.8	18.4	26-35	34.0	34.8
31-40	47.4	38.8	36-45	43.8	40.4
41-50	43.4	35.3	46-55	52.1	50.9
51-60	26.7	25.0	56-65	62.0	60.0
over 60	—	—	over 65	—	—

The figures suggest that, while wives work because their husbands' incomes are low, the tendency is most marked when the latter's wages begin to decline after the age of 36. They gradually cease to do so when sons start to earn, enabling them to revert their undivided attention to family and household, which at this stage may be augmented by children's spouses and grandchildren.

Seasonal unemployment and fluctuating income also enhance the influence of the wife. All an unemployed man can do is to fish in the canals and flooded fields; this is a precarious source of income. Female weeders are employed more regularly throughout the year. It is not uncommon to see husbands stay at home, cook the meals and mind the children while the wife is away at work. Females can huckster vegetables, chillies, fruit and eggs since this occupation is, with a few exceptions, assigned to women. Furthermore, in the lean season, the entire

household depends on the wife's ability as a housekeeper. During the grinding season the amount that is saved for difficult times depends on her skill in planning the budget. Managed with expert frugality, two or three dollars may enable a medium-sized family to subsist for a week. Women scour the bush, picking edible leaves and fruits to supplement the diet.

In contrast, a labourer's standing among his fellows depends a great deal on his liberality: on lavish expenditure on weddings, and drinking and "sporting" with friends¹. The father as head and representative of the household feels the pressure to spend conspicuously much more strongly than his wife who, since her roles are circumscribed by family and household, is more concerned with making ends meet. Her role as mainstay of the household compels her to curb his drinking and spending and persuade him to subordinate his concern with his prestige to the requirements of the household as a viable economic unit. A wife's challenges to her husband's authority in household affairs is one of the major causes of conjugal instability². In these marital disputes the wife often receives the support of her sons because of her closer emotional bonds with them. It appears too, that earning sons give their wages directly to their mother. This may be a matter of expedience but its effect is to enhance her power in the household, the conjugal relation and the family.

In Blaimont and Port Mourant only 6.5% and 6.9% respectively of all broken marriages were disrupted after 15 years. During this period most husbands learn to adapt their theoretical supremacy to the actual power of their wives. In a successful adjustment the father's supremacy is not openly questioned. But in practice he abandons many of his prerogatives and is restrained in his exercise of authority. Both his dependence on his wife and his attachment to his children dispose him to abide by a compromise arrangement.

Changes in the pattern of household relations affect the tenor of father-son relations too. Filial obedience is easily obtained as long as sons are dependent on the father. But when they start to earn they reach a stage of potential economic independence, and the sanctions backing the father's authority are greatly diminished. An earning son, as a dependent with little standing in the local community, is not as subject to the pressure of conspicuous spending as his father³. Yet adherence to the cultural norms produces a habit of filial obedience. Indian culture provides the authority for fathers to arrange marriages, maintain conformity to traditional practices and claim for themselves a degree of latitude to deviate from traditional expectations. But where there is a strong motivation in sons toward alternative courses of action, there are few sanctions to enforce compliance.

1 For a discussion of this topic see Smith & Jayawardena 1958 and 1959; a more detailed discussion will appear in Jayawardena, *Conflict and Solidarity in a Guianese Plantation*, L.S.E. Monographs (in Press).

2 Jayawardena 1960.

3 Although he will, in time. In one instance a man who was recounting to me his father's shortcomings as a household head was interrupted by his wife who exclaimed, "You no better than you father!"

Variations in Family Structure

In Tables I-IV I have classified the domestic groups of both plantations according to their kinship structure and the age and sex of the head. In addition to nuclear families and extended¹ families I have distinguished two composite types: "Nuclear Family plus Parents and/or Siblings" and "Nuclear Family plus Other Kin". The first type usually consists of nuclear families which have included a widowed parent and unmarried siblings of the head. The second type usually consists of affines: wife's widowed parents, her unmarried siblings or her children by a previous marriage. "Other Types" is a residual category consisting of single adults, married couples without children, and cases of grandparents and grandchildren. The classification of female-headed domestic groups corresponds to these types.

In Blairmont, Table I, out of 337 domestic groups with male heads, 234 or 69.4% consist of nuclear families. The remaining types represent developments in the nuclear family caused by the passage of time or adaptations to meet contingencies in closely related nuclear families. An examination of the growth of extended families illustrates this process.

In Indian culture the extended family is a more highly valued alternative to the nuclear family. On marriage, a son and his wife are expected to reside in his father's home. This rule is generally followed but the length of residence varies with several factors. Ideally, all or most married sons should live with the father until his death, but this ideal is never attained in plantations in British Guiana where the period of the married son's residence varies from a few months to about five years.

A major factor militating against the persistence of the extended family is the acceptance by Indians of the nuclear family norm of Guianese society. In Blairmont, shortly after their marriage, most men approach management for accommodation. The nuclear family bias of management housing policy should also be remembered. Although management has relaxed its control in the last decade and there are no restrictions in this respect in the new settlements of labourer-owned houses, there are no indications that the proportion of extended families is increasing.

However, some factors favour the formation of extended families. One is the relatively early age of marriage and the fact that parents arrange many marriages. The young man who has no steady or sufficiently paid job, and the young couple who are unfamiliar with each other may find that incorporation in the parental family and household solves many initial difficulties. The traditional kinship system with its definition of ego's relation to his elder brother's wife (*baugi*) and his younger brother's wife (*chotki*) helps in the incorporation of sons' wives.²

1 These extended families are generally of the "stem" family type, i.e. they usually contain only one of the married sons. This type accounts for almost all the extended families in Blairmont and about half of those in Port Mourant.

2 The content of these relations - joking with *baugi* and avoidance of *chotki* are maintained

Further, to be head of an extended family carries considerable prestige as indicative of a man of substance and character. Consequently many fathers seek to retain their married sons. The son's income is an additional incentive. But at this point the interests of the son and his wife diverge from his father's. The son is not recognised as a full and responsible adult in the local community unless he controls his own family and is master of his household. Certainly, his wife, who is likely to come into conflict with his parents, encourages him to assert his independence. In addition, he usually earns his livelihood independently and soon may earn more. After a few years there is little economic consideration for continued subordination to his father.

Thus within a few years of his marriage, a married son forms his own domestic group. In Blairmont, while 18 (33.3%) of the married men under 25 have done so, in the 26-30 age group they comprise 58 (93.5%). The relations of the new domestic group with the parental one are close. But although members of the father's family may continue to participate in the upbringing of the son's children, their participation decreases very rapidly and is exercised as a matter of courtesy rather than of customary right.

After the extended family phase, when all the children have left, the old couple may live by themselves or bring up some of their grandchildren. It is considered proper to give such parents a child to save their home from being "dull". Daughters embarking on a second marriage may give parents the children of the first. More frequently, one of the parents, usually the father, dies before all the children are married. The widow and unmarried children may then become the dependents of an earning son. According to Table I about a fifth of the domestic group heads in the 21-30 age group support parents and/or siblings, and about a tenth of those in the 31-40 age group. These composite families resemble nuclear families. The parent abdicates his or her position of authority over the son who has succeeded to the headship. The fathers are senile and have retired from work. Mothers, as long as they are active, participate in the upbringing of children as a "second mother" and share household duties with the head's wife. Unmarried siblings being mainly children and adolescents, the head acts as a father in disciplining them, and seeing them through school and into marriage or a job. On the other hand his wife's maternal role is limited, because not only in most cases is their mother alive, but the customary relation with an elder brother's wife restricts her exercise of authority.

In the other composite category, families which are composed of parents and siblings of the wife are very similar to the type just described. The families which include children of the wife by a previous marriage are almost identical with nuclear families. A man supports his children by an ex-wife until she marries again. Thereafter his successor takes over and objects to his predecessor's support or visits as undermining his position as husband and head of the family.

The distribution of proportions of various types of domestic group in

Table I outlines clearly the history of the nuclear family. In the 21-30 age group 71.1% are nuclear families while another 18.4% are composite families of the first type. 7.9% "Other Types" represent bachelors and couples who have just married. These last two categories fall to 10.5% and 1.9% in the succeeding age group, increasing the proportion of nuclear families to 84.8%. In the 41-50 group the first composite type drops still further to 2.2% as parents die and adult siblings leave. But the percentage of nuclear families falls too as that of extended families rises to 14.1%, and death and separation increases the proportion of "Other Types" to 7.6%. In the succeeding age group this trend is still more marked, extended families and "Other Types" rising to 22.7%, and nuclear families decreasing to 40.9%. From this point the proportion of extended families begins to fall, that of nuclear families remains steady, while that of "Other Types" rises still higher to 40.0% as the number of widowers and old couples, who may or may not have obtained grandchildren in lieu of children, increases. The variations in family structure at any given time represent successive phases or by-products of the process by which one nuclear family gives rise to two or more identical structures.

On the death or desertion of her husband, a wife may join the family of a married child or marry again, thus forming one of the two composite types. But she may also decide to head her own domestic group if she is reluctant to marry again or the number of children deters suitors. Out of 42 such groups in Blairmont, 15 (35.7%) consist of mothers and children. Unless the woman marries again these groups develop into three generation units, a type which constitutes 11.9%. The relative longevity of women explains the high percentage of "Other Types" which is composed mainly of widows living alone.

A comparison of the Port Mourant statistics (Tables II and IV) presents illustrative contrasts¹. The differences between the composite types and "Other Types" are slight. The main differences lie in the proportions of nuclear families and extended families which in Port Mourant are 59.3% and 20.3% respectively. The difference can be explained partly by a severe housing shortage in Port Mourant. Unlike Blairmont, where settlements of labourer-owned houses were started only in the 1950's, in Port Mourant such settlements date from the turn of the century and contain more than four-fifths of the houses. In Blairmont, a young married man who wishes to acquire his own house asks management for one. In Port Mourant management can help only a few. This is associated with a higher rate of emigration from Blairmont².

West Coast Berbice, the district in which Blairmont is situated, is a depressed region, whereas Port Mourant is set in one of the most prosperous areas in British Guiana. Consequently, in Blairmont, those who are dissatisfied with the

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- 1 It is possible that some of the differences may be due to a bias in the Port Mourant sample. However, I have made inquiries on the main points of dissimilarity and feel satisfied that they represent actual differences.
 - 2 See Smith & Jayawardena 1959 for a comparison of the two plantations in this respect. A general description of West Coast Berbice is also found in Smith 1956.

plantation leave the district for, with the exception of rice and provision farming, there is no alternative to plantation labour. Farming itself is a limited alternative because land is scarce and poor drainage and irrigation keep productivity low. In any case management does not give houses to non-employees unless they are too old to work or are widows of employees. In contrast, Port Mourant is surrounded by rich rice-producing villages. Many plantation residents are full-time farmers or are employed in secondary industries. Since management does not own three quarters of the houses the majority of residents have been free to seek whole or part-time employment elsewhere. The pressure to emigrate has therefore been much less, creating a severe housing shortage. This partly explains why married sons have remained in their parental home, establishing their partial autonomy as household heads by building their own kitchens. In one instance there were six married sons and a row of six kitchens in the yard. Three or four kitchens are common. In Blairmont, on the other hand, there are no instances of separate kitchens though occasionally there is a separate fireplace.

An examination of the distribution of domestic group types as correlated with the occupational status of the heads (Tables V & VI) suggests other conditions conducive to the formation of extended families. In the following analysis I regard the percentages for the total sample as the standard or expected proportions against which the degree of variation in each group can be estimated.

In Blairmont the proportion of nuclear families among clerks (75.0%) is higher, and that of extended families (6.2%) is lower than the corresponding proportions for the total sample (69.4% and 8.3% respectively). Drivers show a higher proportion of nuclear families (71.4%) as well as a higher proportion of extended families (14.2%). Among skilled labourers there are no extended families, a high proportion of nuclear families (77.2%) and of nuclear families plus parents and/or siblings (14.0%). Unskilled labourers show a lower proportion of nuclear families (67.4%) and a higher proportion of extended families (10.0%).

This distribution can be partly explained by the proposition that if a man is relatively prosperous he will tend to retain his married sons. Thus there is a high proportion of extended families among drivers. Similarly, many of the unskilled labourers who have succeeded in establishing extended families have acquired ricelands in the villages or work at a subsidiary trade such as shop-keeping, tailoring, etc. In many of these families married sons work for their fathers. The income of this type of labourer is comparable to that of a clerk or a driver.

On the other hand, clerks and skilled labourers, who are wealthier than unskilled labourers show low proportions of extended families. As far as clerks are concerned this can be explained in terms of their greater "creolisation", i.e. by the degree to which they have renounced traditional customs and adopted Guianese variants of European cultural patterns. In British Guiana the traditional customs of the immigrants are disparaged by other ethnic groups and

by higher status Indians as "coolie culture". Upwardly mobile persons adopt either creole patterns or a modernised variant of Indian culture purified of its "superstition" and "barbarism"¹. Drivers are all promoted unskilled labourers and like them they have had little formal education. They do not feel out of sympathy with "coolie culture" unlike clerks who have had 6-10 years schooling during which they have acquired creole attitudes and values. The ideal of an extended family does not attract them.

This may be true of skilled labourers too, but here another consideration is important. It is only recently that Indians have begun to enter skilled grades which have hitherto been mainly filled by Negroes. Thus most Indian skilled labourers are young men who have not yet reached the age when they can establish extended families. A relatively high proportion of families including parents and siblings, which is a characteristic of younger age groups, is accordingly found among skilled labourers.

The difference between the two plantations can be explained by the presence in the Port Mourant sample of 33 privately employed persons. Of these three are tradesmen and the rest are full-time farmers. Among them the proportion of nuclear families is low (51.5%) while that of extended families is high (36.4%). Although some of the married sons in this category work occasionally for the plantation, most of them work for their fathers. The large number of extended families in this group partly accounts for its higher proportion in the Port Mourant sample. The differences in these respects between the unskilled labourers in the two plantations are less than the corresponding differences between the total samples. The difference of 10.1% in the proportions of nuclear families is 6.1% as between unskilled labourers, and the difference of 12.0% in the proportions of extended families is 6.8%.

Before the Port Mourant factory was closed down in 1955, it was operated very largely with Indian skilled labourers. The mechanics in the small workshop maintained at present are on an average considerably older than those in Blairmont. It is therefore interesting to note that the proportion of extended families among them is much higher than in Blairmont. Yet, since there are only 9 skilled labourers in the Port Mourant sample it is unwise to draw any conclusions.

Wider Kin Groups

The nuclear family is not as isolated a kinship unit as it is in, say, urban communities. It is not unusual to find that members of wider Kin groups participate in family activities.

1 This is mainly a post-war phenomenon which was partly inspired by a new-found pride in an independent India. Its main centres of diffusion are the Arya Samaj and Ahmediya movements, the tours of missionaries and "cultural ambassadors" from India, the Indian programme on Radio Demerara, and charity concerts and bazaars organised by the wives of business men and professionals. See Smith & Jayawardena 1959 for a more detailed account.

The extreme instability of marriage during the indenture period has resulted in considerable uncertainty about the names and connections of parents, especially fathers. Further, many persons use several names and some names are common to several persons. Yet, piecing together the reliable information it is possible to divide 340 out of the 402 domestic groups into 51 groups of kin ranging in size from two to sixty-nine domestic groups. Fuller information will probably show that the smaller groups are in fact parts of larger ones. Only twenty-nine domestic groups had no kin in the plantation. In the Port Mourant sample there were fourteen such groups.

In Blairmont, there is a distinct and stated preference for obtaining spouses from outside the plantation, usually from other plantations in Berbice. Since marriage is usually virilocal one would expect local kin groups to be largely patrilineal. However, this is not the case; some females marry local men, others leave their husbands, return home and marry again. In many instances sisters' husbands and children have been helped to find work and a home in the plantation. The conjugal instability of the indenture period has resulted in many being related to each other through a common mother. Thus domestic groups are interlocked by affinal and matrilineal as well as patrilineal ties. The lateral extension of kin ties explains how, despite the fact that genealogies seldom extend beyond two or three generations, some local kin groups can consist of as many as fifty or sixty domestic groups.

The kin group represents a potential field from which persons are recruited for cooperation and intimate social intercourse in daily life and domestic ceremonies. This smaller group may contain mainly patrilineal kin, but it may equally well consist of kin related through wife, mother and sister, consanguineally or affinally. Individuals from this group are frequently co-opted ad hoc to perform family roles.

These groups of closer co-operation are seldom composed solely of kin, and may occasionally be composed entirely of friends. Friendship is couched in a kinship idiom. Yet, whether friendship is formalised or not, its importance as a basis for the recruitment of persons for close cooperation in family activities needs to be emphasised.

Conclusion

The analysis shows that the normal family is nuclear in structure and that other types revealed by a synchronic classification are phases or by-products of the development of the nuclear family. The nuclear family is not an isolated unit but is intimately linked with a wider group recruited mainly on the basis of kinship. This group may, in a variety of situations, cooperate in family activities, performing "social insurance" functions in times of crisis.

The normative pattern of nuclear family roles is deeply influenced by

economic factors. A man's "life chances" as an unskilled labourer determine his fate as a household head, and this in turn affects his status in the family. As a plantation employee he has little control over the sources of household income, unlike most rice-farmers in the villages¹. He starts his career as sole provider of the household but soon comes to share this crucial role with his wife and sons who not only earn their wages independently of him but may earn more than he. These factors do not affect clerks, drivers and skilled labourers.

Changes in the pattern of household relations result in deviations and adjustments in family roles. The main changes occur in the key relations of the normative structure: the husband-wife and father-son bonds. The increasing importance and power of the household head's wife modifies her status in the family structure, curtailing the dominance of the husband/father. In fact, the continuance of the household as a viable economic unit may depend on the wife assuming rights not allocated to her in the normative system. The father-son bond too is modified in the direction of a greater autonomy for the son and a more circumspect exercise of authority by the father. However, it appears that changes in this relation are less extensive than in the conjugal tie.

What I have outlined are mainly tendencies which individual families may exhibit to different degrees. It is possible to indicate two extreme points between which most families can be ranged. Some, especially those with a stable household economy, well under the control of the head, approach the norm of a nuclear family in which the supremacy of the husband/father is nearly realised. When the latter is in an extremely favourable position, he may succeed in maintaining an extended family for a considerable period.

At the other extreme are families which, organisationally though not structurally, resemble the matrifocal Negro family in the Caribbean described by Smith and others¹. All these writers relate the emergence of the female as a power in the household to the inability of the male to be an efficient provider. To the extent that these conditions are also true of Indian plantation labourers, a similar tendency is present. Mintz² and Padilla³ have indicated similar trends in families in Puerto Rican sugar plantations.

Yet, this tendency, at least at present, does not re-define family roles to the extent that one can describe them as matrifocal in structure. The brake on this process is the contrary pull of Indian cultural values and the impossibility of rejecting them completely while remaining at the same time a member of the Indian group. Different definitions of the wife's role constitute one of the most important badges of distinction between Indians and Negroes⁴. Adherence to certain kinship institutions is at the heart of being "Indian" and places definite limits on the extent of deviations. Unskilled labourers abide by the traditional culture to a greater extent than clerks, although the process of creolisation is

1 Smith 1956, 1957a; Henriques 1953; Cumper 1958, 1961; Clarke 1957; Solien 1960; Greenfield 1961.

2 Mintz 1956. 3 Padilla 1956.

4 Jayawardena 1960.

increasingly affecting all strata of the Indian population. One may add to these considerations the fact that husbands, wives and sons are socialised in the cultural norms and therefore will be inhibited from following the empirically most justifiable course of action. Hinduism, if not Islam, is closely bound up with traditional kinship institutions.

Economic and cultural influences flow in opposite directions, placing the modal type of family at a point between the extremes. In the "typical" family the power of the husband/father is less than what the norms prescribe, and more than what one expects from purely economic considerations. His position as undisputed and sole head is not openly questioned but in actual practice he acts in consultation with his wife and elder sons. While he maintains an overall supremacy, he bows down to strong opposition. Yet, the degree of instability in the conjugal relation and of, largely suppressed, father-son antagonism, suggests that it is not easy to strike this balance.

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On Portuguese Family Structure

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THIS paper (1) is an attempt to examine certain relationships between family structure and social class in contemporary Portuguese society. We are primarily concerned with two structural variables, namely the locus of authority in the family and its structural range beyond the limits of the nuclear or conjugal core unit. In other words, the questions we propose to raise are these: who is subordinate to whom, and what consanguine, affinal and ceremonial relatives of a given individual are actually tied to him by reciprocal obligations and privileges.

Our basic hypothesis that these two structural variables are functions of social class, is predicated upon the Brazilian model of the historical, patri-potestal, extended family which is regarded as integral part of the Portuguese heritage. Here authority is concentrated and vested in the oldest male who exercises considerable control over his unmarried and married children, their wives and children. An elaborate set of rules places very definite restrictions on female behavior outside the narrow circle of family and kin group, and limits contact between persons of different sex not closely related to one another, to carefully defined and rigidly controlled situations. Thus the sexes are segregated early, the women secluded and female behavior restricted by rather complex canons of chaperonage. The rules of kinship solidarity extend to a variable number of collateral relatives of any particular family head, especially to the families of his siblings and their linear descendents' families. These groups include baptismal godparents, and if such ritual relationships happen to coincide with consanguine or affinal ones they tend to reinforce these beyond the ordinary degree of kinship solidarity.

The closest approximation to this model is found only in the traditional family structure of the landed upper class of Brazilian society. Gilberto Freyre has shown that Brazilian "rural patriarchy" already changed under the

1 The field work upon which the present paper is based, was carried out during the months of June, July and August, 1954. It was made possible by grants from the Social Science Research Council and the Institute of Research and Training in the Social Sciences of Vanderbilt University. The field trip was preceded by a careful survey of Portuguese ethnographic literature.

impact of nineteenth century urbanization. (Freyre, 1936). It has since undergone further changes of the kind that may be expected in a society which is rapidly becoming industrialized. The family of the working class, both rural and urban, is not, and probably never was, either patripostal or extended. It lacks the centripetal power of the latifundium with its associate political incentives for concerted action on the part of the kinship group. In contrast with the upper and middle class family, the lower class family is loosely integrated and relatively unstable. Norms concerning sex, courtship, marriage, child rearing, economic obligations and care for the old and invalid are rather vaguely defined and subject to local and individual variations. (Willems, 1952:65-78; 1953)

The Family of the Portuguese Bourgeoisie

The descriptive model of the traditional Brazilian family applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Portuguese upper class family. Like its Brazilian counterpart it is patripostal, even in contemporary urban society which is still predominantly preindustrial. What Moigénie had to say about the "women of Lisbon" did no justice at all to the lower classes, or to the peasantry, as we shall see, but it was certainly meant to include all strata of Portuguese bourgeoisie.

Formerly – half a century ago – the women of Lisbon exhibited some characteristics of Circassian harem inmates. They never descended from their carriages, not even to buy a scarf or a soft drink. They concealed and veiled themselves.

It was prohibited to look around and smile. Social disgrace hung over a lady who caught a cold during a drive. She had to refrain from sneezing in order not to be regarded as uncouth. Dancing parties were parades of statues and conversations parades of monosyllables.

Whenever they knew how to read, they were unable to go beyond the prayer book. When they could cook, they were only permitted to make sweets. A lady who sang either fell into complete disrepute, or was at least regarded as *comical*, which was a grave insult at that time. It was morally bad for a woman to attend a theatrical performance outside her private box, where she was expected to sit haughtily and silent in Olympian stiffness. (Moigénie, 1924:246)

Nowadays, the great granddaughters of Moigénie's grand ladies go to high school and college as a matter of course. There are women lawyers and women doctors, saleswomen and female clerks, and grade school is predominantly taught by women. Yet in the early thirties, provincial capitals like Beja, still exhibited some of Moorish traits depicted by Moigénie. Upper class women were almost never seen in the streets and stores. Strangely enough, they appeared not even in church. Purchases were mediated by servants who carried samples of merchandise home, where the lady of the house did her picking. Courtship was restricted to few occasions, such as public feasts, trade fairs, hunting parties, and family picnics. Had the lovers reached an understanding their contacts were not allowed to go beyond the verbal stage wherein the lover talked from the sidewalk to the girl who stood at a window of the first floor. Only engaged

couples were allowed in the fiancée's home, naturally always in the presence of elder relatives. Furthermore, mating was highly assortative or homogamous: the local "elites" were not only class-conscious, but also likely to repudiate strangers from other provinces or regions as potential family members.

Doubtlessly, both married and unmarried women are now seen in the streets, and the relations between the sexes are less restricted but otherwise Beja of 1954 is still very much like Beja of 1930. Women never appear in cafés where men spend most of their leisure time. Even in downtown Lisbon, the patrons of the numerous cafés are almost all men. The changes which have taken place in the middle and upper class family, appear to be, as in Brazil, rather peripheral. The patripotestal traditions are still intact; hymenolatry and the "virginity complex", associated with well defined double standards of sex morals and family honor, are virtually indistinguishable from analogous phenomena in Brazil.

Although the neolocal, conjugal family undoubtedly prevails over any form of joint household, Ego is usually part of an extensive and closely knit group of kinsfolk. Two examples taken from the upper class of Porto, a city of 258,000 inhabitants (in 1940) may illustrate the structural intricacies of such kin groups.

Case 1

Ego, his wife and children, we well as his married sister, her husband and children joined their parental household thus conforming to the wishes of the father.

As in some other cases, Ego's family feels more closely attached to the maternal than to the paternal line. There are a number of ritual celebrations such as birthdays, Christmas, Epiphany, New Year, which bring Ego's family together with his maternal grandmother, her siblings and their spouses and offspring. The *ceia de Natal* (Christmas supper), the most elaborate and solidarity-reinforcing event of the annual cycle, assembles the living and deceased members of the group. After the living have retired to bed, the table is rearranged, food and wine are served and the lights left burning for the dead who are thus invited to have their share.

Each summer the whole kin group meets on the beach or in some resort town for a period of vacation. Economic assistance and promotion of business interests are of course major objectives of the group. In-group marriages are common, and sometimes they are arranged to assuage the financial worries of a hard-pressed branch of the group. As a matter of fact, the numerous gatherings and celebrations are looked upon as suitable opportunities for courtship under the subtle and astute influence of older relatives. Five in-group marriages occurred, and all participants were still alive in 1954. (1) Ego himself married a daughter of his maternal grandmother's brother. (2) Ego's sister married a brother of his maternal grandmother's brother's wife. The three other marriages took place between (3) a son of Ego's maternal grandmother's brother, and a daughter of Ego's maternal grandmother's brother's wife's sister; (4) another son of Ego's maternal grandmother's brother's and one of the two daughters, of Ego's maternal grandmother's brother; (5) another daughter of Ego's maternal grandmother's (second) brother, and a son of Ego's maternal grandmother's first brother's wife's sister.

In addition to being in-group or even consanguine marriages, three of these unions reveal a tendency toward what might be called *cumulative connubial association* of otherwise unrelated families. Marriages 2, 3, and 5 took place between one of Ego's maternal relatives and persons whose families had already been attached to Ego's family by a previous marriage. The principle inherent in these marriages may tentatively be formulated as *particularized homogamous mating*. Case 2 illustrates this aspect even more pointedly.

Case 2

In contrast with the first case its consanguine marriages are bilaterally oriented. Three such marriages took place:

1. Ego (female) married one of her father's half-brothers.
2. Ego's brother married a daughter of one of his mother's three sisters.
3. The daughter of one of Ego's father's half-brothers married a son born to the previous couple.

For many years Ego's family of orientation shared the residence of a family of the same (upper middle-class) level. In the course of time relationships between the two families became intimate enough to constitute a mutually desirable mating circle for their younger members. As a matter of fact, four members of Ego's family married into family B.

1. Ego's sister married a son of Armando's (head of B) brother.
2. A daughter of one of Ego's father's five brothers married one of Armando's sons.
3. A daughter of another of Ego's father's brothers married Armando's second son.
4. One of Ego's mother's sister's son married the daughter of Armando's wife's sister.

Furthermore, a son born to family number 4 married a daughter of Armando's wife's sister's son.

Particularized homogamous mating, of which some other instances could be observed, rests upon the tendency toward selective restriction of a given mating circle, not merely to the same social class but to a limited number of families or kinship groups which, on the basis of reciprocal *confiança* (trust), have engaged in social intercourse. It seems noteworthy that, at least in the upper strata of Porto, such mating circles counteract, to a certain extent, the secludedness of their female members who are allowed considerable leeway in their domestic contacts with both related and unrelated male members of the circle. The effectiveness of these mating circles is guaranteed as long as the "social life" of their members is centered around the interrelated kinship aggregates.

There is little doubt that Portuguese society, except in the lower classes, is still family-ridden, and nowhere is familism more conspicuous than among the upper urban strata of the provinces. Two main factors seem to act as integrative forces in the Portuguese family structure:

1. Economic pursuits and prospects tend to develop within kinship aggregates.
2. Secludedness of the women limits mating to the confines of domestic meeting grounds.

There is evidence that in the past family and kinship heavily encroached on political institutions. Until far into the nineteenth century the local political power structure frequently gravitated around rival kinship groups. (Descamp, 1935: 39-43) To the extent that the national government was able to tighten political controls, the power of these kinship aggregates tended to fade away. Eventually the establishment of a totalitarian regime eliminated parties and political feuds on the local level. At the present time scarcely any vestige of political familism can be discovered.

The Peasant and Proletarian Family

The structural differences between the family of the bourgeoisie and the working class are reflected by a complete absence of seclusion of the lower class women. Heavy male emigration, a relatively high natural increase rate (about 1.p.c. between 1940 and 1950), combined with an extremely low income per capita, have forced the women, both married and unmarried, to become breadwinners to an extent which is hardly paralleled by any other European country except perhaps Spain. In the Portuguese working class there is hardly any menial job which is not habitually performed by women. In and around the central market of Lisbon women dominate the streets and stalls as carriers, sellers and buyers of produce. All imaginable kinds of wares are peddled by women in the streets of Lisbon and Porto. Even female stevedores may be seen unloading fishing vessels in the port of Lisbon. Writing in 1935, Descamps noted that "it is the woman who administers, pays taxes, discharges her obligations to the civil registrar, and solves litigations with neighbors." (Descamps, 1935:273)

A similar situation prevails in Portuguese rural society. Below the level of the upper class of absentee owners whose way of life is hardly different from that of the urban bourgeoisie, two strata may be distinguished, a middle class of small landowners and a landless proletariat, but the shrinking size of many holdings makes it virtually impossible to draw a sharp line of demarcation between these two classes.

The small landowner participates in the traditional subsistence economy and to a varying degree in a market economy. He belongs to a local political structure, the village community, and he lives in what some anthropologists have called a "semi-autonomous folk culture." (Fallers, 1961: 108 ff) In other words, he is a peasant and his family is the Portuguese peasant family.

As among the urban workers, sexual division of labor as an institutional arrangement appears to be limited to the household. Outside the household there are few menial occupations or tasks which are not habitually performed by men *and* women, both married and unmarried. Not only do the women participate in practically all kinds of work related to agriculture, they also cut wood, take care of the cattle and build houses. In Beira Baixa, for example, engaged girls are expected to help their fiancés building the traditional stone house which is going to be their home.

Under such conditions the life of the peasant woman can hardly be more secluded than that of the male members of the household. Chaperonage can only be provided to the extent that women move and work in teams. Yet frequently the work groups include men, a fact which facilitates contact and intimacy to an extent which would constitute a grave violation of the sex mores of the bourgeoisie. Indeed, in rural areas courtship is traditionally tied in with certain phases and varieties of work. In most rural areas of Portugal, courtship usually begins with the *derrigo*, a phase of secret rendez-vous during which the lovers become acquainted with each other. Should they decide on marriage, the swain appears henceforward at the door of the girl's home. In the eyes of the families

and the village, the lovers, who are now *conversados*, have indicated the seriousness of their intentions. To complete the courtship cycle, the young man secures the unpaid services of a go-between who negotiates an agreement with the girl's family. Once a final understanding has been achieved, the lovers are *prometidos* (engaged) and the fiancé is admitted to the girl's home. Economic conditions are such that two, three or more years may elapse between *derrigo* and marriage.

Premarital sexual intercourse seems to be a rather common occurrence in rural Portugal. Although frowned upon by the church and public opinion, its practice is probably rooted in ancient folk customs.¹ If the girl becomes pregnant, marriage is apt to ensue very soon, certainly before the birth of the child. It is generally felt, however, that the presence of an illegitimate child does not preclude marriage with somebody else, especially if a substantial dowry is to be expected. Likewise, a dowry or even personal qualities are held to be acceptable compensations for the loss of virginity. In fact, it has been flatly denied that at least in the Alentejo province peasants attribute any value at all to virginity. (Gonçalves, 1922:57) Whatever regional variations there may be regarding the valuation of virginity, they certainly do not suggest any attempt to emulate the sex mores of the upper classes.

Further support for our hypothesis concerning class-conditioned variants in the family structure was found in the very definite matripotestal slant of the Portuguese peasant family. In the ethnographic literature there are references to the "matriarchate of the Minho," (Descamps, 1935: 84; 191-92; 273; 459-60) but little about other provinces. The assumption is that a continuous emigration of lower class males over a period of at least a hundred years has had marked effects upon the status of the female members of the family. In fact, some supporting evidence is to be found in descriptive studies of the nineteenth century. (Macedo, 1974:261) Yet even in provinces which played a minor role in the history of emigration, matripotestal tendencies have been recorded. In the Alentejo, for example, one of the southernmost provinces housewives are clearly in charge of budgetary planning and financial expenditures. (Picão, 1947:135) In some regions such as Trás-os-Montes, which Poinard considered as the bulwark of Portuguese patriarchalism (Poinard, 1910), the situation is somewhat different, although the patriarchal idyl¹ is marred by certain matrilineal and matriolocal tendencies. The matripotestal slant of the Alentejo peasant family is further emphasized by matrilineal accretions to the nuclear family unit. It is almost invariably the wife who determines which invalid, old or poor relatives are to be accepted as permanent members of the household. And she refuses to put up with anybody except members of her own family of orientation. The husband has no choice in the matter, mainly because he, as well as his relatives, realize that dependence on charity would be preferable to

1 Since the early sixteenth century the *Constituições Episcopais* of the Roman Catholic Church insisted on prohibiting sexual intercourse among engaged persons. Apparently the church has never been able to eradicate this practice. At the present time, premarital intercourse seems to be most common where church control has been traditionally weak.

their joining his household. (Picão, 1947:136-37) Likewise, a childless couple will adopt a youngster from the wife's family of orientation, preferably one of her sister's children.

Many of our interviewees felt that the matripotestal trend in the contemporary peasant family is to be regarded as a comparatively recent development. One author attributes the "decay of paternal authority" to seasonal migrations in which numerous family heads have been forced to take part for economic reasons. (Craveiro, 1949:142) The assertion that the matripotestal trend is recent, at least in southern Portugal, is also supported by the fact that it has not yet affected the status of widows who, by communal consent, are not allowed to remarry. The idea that a widow should spend the rest of her life in perpetual mourning, as well as the underlying emotions expressed by ribald folk stanzas¹ strongly suggest patriarchal origin. It would seem that, if more time had elapsed, matripotestal influences would have modified the status of widows as they actually did in northern Portugal. The custom of insulting a remarrying widow with a cacophonous mock serenade during nine consecutive nights following the marriage ceremony, certainly indicates communal disapproval, yet in the north widows do remarry in spite of such inconveniences. Of course, this aspect calls for further inquiry.

Matripotestal tendencies have also encroached upon the family of Trás-os-Montes, the most isolated and conservative of all Portuguese provinces. Among the lower strata of the Mofreira region married couples are sometimes unable to establish a neolocal household, nor is a joint household with either family of orientation deemed economically feasible. Each spouse instead remains in the parental household which continues to receive the benefits of his or her economic cooperation. The husband spends the nights with his wife in her parental home, and the days with his own family of orientation. If children are born, it is the mother's family that assumes responsibility for their upbringing. Aside from occasional visits to the father's home, the children are under the authority of their mother and her family. However, as soon as death vacates one of the parental homes, husband, wife and children establish a common household. I suggest that this structural arrangement be designated *bipartite* or *ambilocal* family.

Portuguese villages are traditionally endogamous, and the fine which in some regions the young villagers jokingly collect from outmarrying individuals, may be interpreted as a survival of stricter sanctions. Indeed there are recorded cases of mutually hostile villages whose inhabitants forcefully prevent people from inter-marrying (Descamps, 1935:17). In the relatively rare instances of exogamous marriages the rule of residence is strictly matrilocal (Dias, 1953:137).

In the Minho province, inheritance of names and property frequently follows matrilineal rules. Descamps found that "the women constitute the most stable part of the population. There are also numerous cases where the female line prevails so far as names and inheritance are concerned. Nowadays, official

1 The emotions are sexual jealousy and contempt for whom has been "used" by a predecessor.

records require family names, yet in the current language of the people only first names are known. One does not say "José, filho de Pedro", but, "José, filho de Maria", or simply "o José de Maria". If he marries Luisa, he becomes "o José de Luisa". And the latter becomes a "Luisa do José de Maria". (Descamps, 1935:70).

In northern Portugal, a son sometimes inherits his father's name, while a daughter is named after her mother. As a rule, the name of the *casa* (house) including all movable and immovable property, prevails over individual names. Thus, when the *casa* is inherited by a daughter, her husband not only moves into the *casa* but takes her name as well. (Dias, 1953:134)

A further matripotestal element may be seen in the status of the widow in communal structures of the Minho. She inherits the position which the husband held as a full-fledged member of the local *junta* or assembly of voters. (Dias, 1948:56) Such rights, however, are denied to widows in communities with similar structures in Trás-os-Montes. (Dias, 1953:145)

Another aspect of the Portuguese peasant family concerns the structural arrangements which are related to population pressure and the relative scarcity of land. How does the peasant family react to this problem?

It ought to be borne in mind that in the culture under scrutiny, as probably in most peasant cultures, landownership represents a focal value. Not only is it economically relevant, it is, to put it plainly, the thing that makes life worth living, above and beyond the economic security it may provide. Even emigration to foreign countries has been conceived of as a device to retain or to recuperate, under increasingly difficult economic conditions, the status attached to landownership in the native community. This is illustrated by the number of returning migrants, usually called "Brazilians" who invest their savings in a prestige-carrying *quinta*, a kind of farm owned by the rural gentry.

It is not surprising at all, therefore, that most aspects of the family structure are subordinate to the question of how to keep or expand the family property. As the land is divided upon the death of its owner, many of the inheriting children receive less than necessary to make a living. At any rate, whether the inherited property is too small or barely large enough to raise a family, the owner will make every conceivable effort to buy additional land. If this can be accomplished by keeping unmarried sons and daughters on the farm, the expansion of the family land, with its inherent rewards in terms of prestige and status improvement, is then recognized as the supreme goal which is to be pursued to the detriment of individual goals. As this can be achieved only by keeping consumption at the level of the barest minimum, extreme frugality must be accepted as a way of life. As soon as a small fund has been accumulated, it is immediately invested in the purchase of additional land.¹ Ultimately, the concerted effort

1 This tendency counteracts, to a limited extent, the excessive fragmentation of rural holdings which are customarily distributed among outmarrying children. Even so, a law was enacted to prevent the division of holdings inferior to one hectare. (Affonso, 1944:165-66)

of the family will of course revert into the benefit of the inheriting children. Their contributions in terms of labor are thus not one-sided obligations, but based upon expectations of delayed reciprocity.

Frequently the parental holdings or their rate of increase are too small to anticipate a distribution commensurable with the initial minimal needs of a neolocal household. In such cases, a young man is allowed to accept wage earning part-time jobs. He may obtain some additional cash by raising sheep on the family pastures. If he is a hard worker he may be able to accumulate a few thousand *escudos* which will help him establish a household of his own. In most cases, this turns out to be a time-consuming process, and late marriage is the rule rather than the exception among peasants. (Teixeira, 1940:3-7)

Marriage usually involves some distribution of parental property. Daughters receive a dowry whose value is measured in *lençoes* (bed sheets), although the dowry is by no means to be considered as a *conditio sine qua non*. If no surplus land is available for a marrying son, he may be given some animals or agricultural machinery. Many newly established households receive weekly contributions in flour, vegetables and meat from either spouse's family or orientation.

Whenever the number of unmarried children exceeds the labor demand of a household, some of them are allowed to accept jobs in distant places. They are expected to save money and to return to the village sooner or later. The numerous servantry which is found in middle and upper class urban homes is largely recruited from peasant families. These girls regularly contribute a considerable part of their wages to the parental household. Their loyalty to family and village is reflected by the observance of homogamous rules of courtship which limit suitable choices to spatially circumscribed mating circles. Most of these girls, as well as the majority of the men, are unable to conceive of marriage as divorced from family and community.

In some parts of the North, especially in the Minho, the eldest son is expected to take over the economic responsibilities of the deceased father.

Sometimes, local customs prevent the division of family holdings, as in certain parts of the Minho and Trás-os-Montes. Only one son, usually the eldest, is allowed to marry. To keep the family small, the father tends to postpone such a decision as long as possible. The marrying son inherits the parental property undivided, yet he is expected to assume responsibility for his unmarried siblings who come to share the privileges and duties of his household. There is no evidence that such a household ever becomes a *de facto* fraternal polyandry. As the unmarried male members of the family may obtain sexual gratification within the village celibacy is not felt to be an intolerable burden.¹

1 In most villages some sort of prostitution is accepted as an "inevitable evil". The village whore may be a young girl who has been deserted by her seducer, or a widowed or deserted woman without a family to lean upon. In sharp contrast with Brazil, a girl who engages in a number of informal affairs for the sake of material gain, may eventually find a husband if she is discreet enough not to incur the ostracism of her family. At any rate, "women who do a favor", as people call notorious village whores, resort to prostitution to supplement their meager income which is derived from some respectable occupation.

It is expected that all valid members of such a joint family work for the common household, but usually the unmarried males are allowed to fatten a few sheep on the family pastures and to keep the profit obtained from the sale of these animals.

While the occurrence of this kind of joint family is restricted to a few regions, the *famille-souche*, as described by Le Play, is found all over Portugal. Both types are sanctioned by special provisions of the Civil Code which explicitly recognizes the *Sociedade Familiar*.¹ According to its stipulations, the *Sociedade* comprehends the

"use of and the income from the property of its members, and the products of their labor and industry, and the possessions which the members own individually." (Article 1284)

Furthermore, the code defines the economic responsibilities which the *Sociedade* assumes toward its individual members. (Article 1285) The fact that the law recognizes a *tacit* constitution of the *Sociedade Familiar* after a year of spontaneous sharing of residence and food, income and expenditure, gains and losses, indicates that its legal structure was merely superposed upon an already existing social institution.²

In many villages of the Minho and Trás-os-Montes the fraternal joint household was formerly the only existing family type. Since World War I there has been an increasing number of men who prefer marriage and economic insecurity to celibacy and the security of a joint household. Although they would legally be entitled to a share of the parental estate, *if* they requested dissolution of the *Sociedade Familiar*, no such case could be discovered. In one community of Trás-os-Montes, Dias found fourteen neolocal families living precariously on inferior tracts of land which hitherto had not been cultivated at all. Economic insecurity as well as the fact that the heads of these families are not entitled to membership in the communal council indicate that the breach of the traditional family structure has had stratifying effects on a formerly non-stratified community. (Dias, 1953:136-37)

Increasing population pressure and scarcity of arable land make it impossible for a large proportion of peasants to earn a living merely by cultivating their own holdings or to keep their unmarried children on the farm. As indicated already many are forced to seek, at least temporarily, employment in nearby cities or towns. Since industry offers few opportunities, domestic services, agricultural wage earning and emigration appear to be the most frequently chosen solution of a problem of mounting gravity. Many small landowners leave their farms for several months every year to work for large landholders, mainly in the southern part of Portugal. In the meanwhile their own farms are worked by their wives and younger children. As they grow up, they may take the place

1 Article 1281 of the Civil Code stipulates that "a family association is one which may be organized among siblings, or among parents and major children."

2 Similar recognition was given to the *Compania Familiar Galega*, the extended rural family of the Spanish province of Galicia whose culture closely resembles that of Portugal. (Lezón, 1903:29-30)

of their father. Among the seasonal migrants there are numerous groups of unmarried women who, under the leadership of a *manageira*, hire themselves out to harvest the wheat and rice crops of the southern latifundia. The *manageira* is a middle-aged woman, often a widow, who is expected to maintain at least a semblance of respectability. Needless to say the conditions under which seasonal migrants work and live are miserable even by local standards. Seasonal migration has probably contributed to a gradual weakening of the patripostestal traditions of the peasant family in Portugal.

Finally a very large proportion of people of peasant stock are landless rural laborers. According to the national census of 1953, 388, 633 or 49.1 percent of all heads of agricultural families of Portugal were found to be in that category. Most of these rural laborers live in villages associated with or located on latifundia. Upon studying such a village in the Alentejo province, Descamps wrote that "people seldom marry. Two young people may establish a household; sometimes they separate and sometimes they live together all their life. When there are two or three children, the parents may decide on a civil marriage." (Descamps, 1935:213) Our own survey of Canhestros, another Alentejo village, confirmed Descamps observations. The range of permissible alternatives concerning courtship and marriage is wide and loosely defined. Church control is almost non-existent. Canhestros with its 700 inhabitants, has neither church nor priest, and most marriages are of the common-law type. Frequently, a young couple does not even bother about securing parental assent to establishing a household, an attitude that would scarcely be conceivable among landowning peasants. The extended family is conspicuously absent, and complaints about insufficient care for the old and invalid members of the family are common. All inhabitants of Canhestros are rural laborers who earn cash wages on the surrounding latifundia. They are not given any land to cultivate, as they would in Latin America under similar conditions.

The question as to whether or not the family of the lower rural classes of Portugal is to be classified as peasant family, is not easy to answer. The people are certainly of peasant stock, their way of life is very similar to that of peasants, but they are neither landowners nor engaged in subsistence farming, although their occupation is exclusively concerned with agriculture. Politically and economically, they are completely dependent upon the latifundia owners of the region. A considerable degree of anomic relationships found within the family seems to be incompatible with the structure of the genuine peasant family. Future attempts towards classification should probably be preceded by more intensive research. This suggestion applies to the migratory as well as to the sedentary portion of the rural laborers of Portugal.

Ceremonial Kinship

The institution of the *compadrio* (co-parenthood) constitutes a triangular relationship between the baptismal godparents and godchild on the one hand,

and between the biological parents and the co-parents on the other. *Compadre* and *comadre* are, according to Catholic church norms, "spiritual parents" of the godchild.¹ Theirs is the responsibility to see that the godchild is brought up as a good Catholic, but the mores go beyond such spiritual relationship and impose economic responsibilities in the case of a premature death of either or both biological parents. Marriages between baptismal godparents and godchild are prohibited by church law and custom. In some parts of Portugal (in Trás-os-Montes for example) people believe that a child born out of an incestuous relationship between godparent and godchild becomes a werewolf. (Vasconcellos, 1882:264) Marriages or sexual intercourse between godparents and biological parents are likewise regarded as incestuous, and any offspring of such a union will be a werewolf unless this fate is prevented by the ritual burning of the first shirt worn by such a child. (Vasconcellos, 1882:264)

The prohibition of carnal relationships between co-parents and biological parents does not imply avoidance. Much on the contrary, friendship, mutual trust and cooperation are regarded as desirable traits of ceremonial kinship ties. Within such a group the male members are addressed as *compadres*, the female members as *comadres*. Co-parents may belong to the same social class or to a superordinate class. In the former case either previously existing friendship or blood relationships determine the choice of the godparents. However, if these belong to a superordinate class, the biological father is apt to be an actual or potential employee of the godfather, and the relationship tends to be of the patronal kind.

Whether relatives or not, godparents are supposed to be at least one generation removed from the godchild. The choice of an older brother or somebody else belonging to the generation of the godchild is frowned upon as "lack of respect". In fact, the parish priests refuse to accept godparents whose age precludes effective fulfillment of responsibilities toward the godchild.

A further prerequisite for the choice of suitable godparents is the absence of love relationships between them, for this would mean a violation of incest rules. Nor should the choice of the godmother fall upon a pregnant woman because this would spell "bad luck" for the unborn child, while the fate of the godchild would not be affected by the state of pregnancy. (Braga, 1924:38)

The sacredness of ceremonial kinship ties has been pointed out many times. It would seem that, particularly in the more isolated provinces, the *compadrio* almost supersedes consanguine relationship. Descamps noted that "the ties between two *compadres* are more sacred than those relating two brothers to each other. In fact, it happens that two brothers quarrel and go on quarreling all their life, but the friendship between two *compadres* is indissoluble. The only way to reconcile two quarreling brothers is to make them *compadres*. It is a true *artificial kinship* superseding blood relationships." (Descamps, 1935:192-193) The *compadrio* may thus perform the additional function of straightening out brittle family relationships. With the exception of the grandparents, relatives

1 Only the institution of the *baptismal compadrio* has been considered in the present paper.

who become godparents are addressed as *padrinhos e madrinhas* by their godchildren.

The relationship between godparents and godchildren are ritualized by the *pedido de bênção* (literally: request for blessing) and the *foliar*. Among the peasantry at least, whenever a godchild meets a godparent he greets him with a ceremonial "*bênção, padrinho*", and the godparent answers: "*Deus te abençoe.*" (God bless you). Formerly, the *foliar* was a kind of bread, which the *afilhado* offered to his *padrinho* on Easter Sunday, but nowadays it may be any gift, which is promptly repaid by a return gift. This ceremonial exchange of gifts apparently serves the function of reconfirming mutual responsibilities. In northern Portugal the day following the marriage ceremony, bridegroom and bride take the *fatia* (usually a *pão-de-ló* or sponge cake) to their *padrinhos'* houses. This act marks the formal termination of the responsibilities which baptismal *padrinhos* assume towards their godchildren. However, a "good" *padrinho* never ceases to aid his *afilhados* in difficult situations.

In return for any past or future benefit which an *afilhado* receives from his *padrinho*, he is expected to recognize and respect his authority as a potential father, but he has no responsibilities towards his godparents if these become old, sick or invalid. When a *padrinho* dies, his *afilhados* carry the coffin to the grave. There is an official mourning period which may extend up to six months during which the women wear black dresses and the men a black ribbon on their lapels.

Godparents are expected to be generous. A generous *padrinho* offers clothes, money and sometimes jewelry to his godchildren. It is not unusual for a good *padrinho* to contribute towards the education and marriage of his *afilhado*. And he may help him to find a job if he is in a position to do so. The emoluments connected with the baptism of a child are the responsibility of his *padrinho*, but among the peasants of the Minho the father of the child repays the generosity of his *compadre* with a gift whose value is equal to such ceremonial expenditures.

In emergency situations, especially when an unbaptized child is dying, a saint may be chosen as *padrinho*, if nobody else is available. One cannot let a child die without supernatural protection, for *quem não tem padrinho morre mouro* (The one who has no godfather dies as a Moor).

The obligations imposed by the *compadrio* are not always taken as seriously as the foregoing description seems to imply. Above all, there are regional differences affecting the expectations which people attach to the choice of a godparent. Alentejo province seems to be the *terra de compadres* par excellence where obligations are apt to be discharged in conformity with traditional norms. This probably applies to the more isolated regions in general, but among the owners of minifundia, as well as the migrant and the landless rural proletarians little, if anything, may be expected from a *compadrio* relationship, unless it cuts across class lines. Even so, a big landowner is likely to have scores of godchildren among his laborers, and the example of Cianhestros seems to indicate that the institution is hardly more than a gesture of condescendence on the part of the *latifundiários*. Many of our peasant interviewees stressed the importance of the *compadrio*, but at the same time they complained about an increasing

tendency to ignore the responsibilities inherent in the compadrio relationship. In the cities, the compadre de *ocasião* seems to prevail, i.e. one chooses baptismal godparents merely to fulfill a church requirement, but a *padrinho* is no longer expected to fulfill the obligations of a substitute father.

Conclusions

The Portuguese upper class has retained, in spite of peripheral changes, its patripotestal and extended character. Sometimes it is a joint family in the residential sense of the term, for a married son with his wife and children may continue to live in his parents' household. However, most households are neolocal, but related families tend to form a closely knit unit which appears functionally adapted to urban life, mainly by promoting the business interests of its members and by providing financial aid to younger or unsuccessful members of the group. The attractiveness of these services is enhanced by the limited opportunities of an essentially pre-industrial setting. Consanguine marriages are common, and connubial associations between unrelated kingroups are reinforced by repeated inter-marriages of their members. Within rigidly drawn class lines mating circles are established which offer opportunities for social intercourse, and thus counteract the traditional secludedness of the women.

The sex mores of the peasantry and the proletariat are different, and in some respects diametrically opposed to those of the urban middle and upper classes. Full participation of the women in breadwinning activities preclude the sort of male dominance which is still the prevailing pattern in Portuguese bourgeoisie. The matripotestal slant of the peasant family in some regions seems to be due to seasonal migrations or emigration to foreign lands of numerous family heads and unmarried sons. The value attributed to land ownership above and beyond its economic significance tends to delay marriage of adult children who prefer to work for the parental household in order to increase their share of inherited land. Whenever the family holding is too small to absorb domestic labor, unmarried sons and daughters are allowed, at least temporarily, to hire themselves out on wage-earning jobs. However, they are expected to remain loyal to family and village, and to aid the parental household by turning over part of their wages.

Two types of the joint family were observed in Portugal. One is the *famille-souche*, or stem family, and the other may be called fraternal family in which unmarried sons live together with the nuclear family of the brother who inherits the family holding undivided. While the former type prevails in all parts of rural Portugal, the latter is restricted to certain regions of the north. Both types are recognized by the legal institution of the *Sociedade Familiar*. In contrast to the tightly integrated peasant family, the family of the rural and urban proletariat is loosely structured and relatively unstable, with a strong tendency towards anomic.

While ceremonial kinship ties are weak or non-existent in other classes,

they have retained considerable vitality among the peasantry. Surrounded by prohibitions and magical beliefs, they still perform the functions of expanding the family circle and of reinforcing existing kinship ties whenever ceremonial kinship coincides with biological or affinal kin relationships.

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Secondary Group Relationships and the Pre-eminence of the Family

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THE family in Britain has been neglected as an object of sociological study. Research since World War II has concentrated on education, industrial sociology, social class, crime, urban life and race relations.

The most important work on the family has been of five main sorts. The fall in the number of children parents were willing to bear aroused fears of a population decline detrimental to national power and influence. Adjustments which unavoidable changes in the age balance of the population would require needed to be investigated. Fears were expressed also that the larger families being produced by the less well educated and the economically less successful meant recruitment from "the sub-men". Interest in these matters resulted in a Royal Commission to investigate trends in fertility, their causes and consequences. Its findings, together with the policies it thought the State should implement, were reported in 1949.

A second type of study has been undertaken under the stimulus of anthropology. Young and Willmott explored the extent to which extended kinship networks analogous to those found in primitive societies still persist in modern society¹. Firth, himself a renowned anthropologist, has conducted similar investigations². It is perhaps precisely because there are so few ramifications within a kinship network and into other spheres of society that sociologists have avoided the study of the family. Each nuclear family is a discrete entity maintaining only the most tenuous links with other nuclear families; there is not a kinship structure which resembles the complex and subtle structure of specialized and integrated factories, offices and markets in the economic domain.

A third type of study has been undertaken by social psychologists. Again, the focus of interest has been somewhat different from that of sociology. Spinley, for example, tried to identify the personality types which emerged from different types of English family experience.³ Goldberg attempted to show the connection

1 Michael Young and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1957.

2 Raymond Firth, *Two Studies of Kinship in London*, London: Athlone, 1956.

3 Barbara M. Spinley, *The Deprived and the Privileged*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1953.

between the behaviour of the mother and the proneness of her children to certain somatic disorders¹. Chesser secured the cooperation of general practitioners to investigate various aspects of the married life of English women².

Other work has stemmed from research workers with a background in social work. Such is Kerr's study of some Liverpool families³. Finally, there have been a few workers with an identifiable leaning towards sociological analysis. Examples are Mogeys's studies in Oxford⁴, Bott's study of some London families⁵, and Gorer's nationwide study⁶.

Research results nevertheless permit some cautious suggestions to be put forward. One relationship only, that between the husband and wife, will be examined. The relationships between the siblings, the mother and father, the mother and children and the father and children will be left entirely to one side. This is partly an arbitrary sharpening of focus on one phase of a complex phenomenon. Partly, too, the choice is made because spousehood as compared with parenthood takes a larger portion of the life span of the individual than in the past. The average number of children in the completed English family was six in 1871, five in 1881, four in the eighteen nineties, three in 1911, and two in 1931. Current trends show an increase in the size of the family, but the contrast with the earlier figures remains striking. What is more, family planning has made child bearing and child rearing the task of the first few years of marriage, leaving the benefits of modern longevity to the unencumbered spouses⁷.

I

One hundred years ago divorce was almost unknown in England. In the latter part of the nineteenth century and in the early years of the twentieth the number of new petitions for divorce rose to a quinquennial rate of 5,000. World War I multiplied these figures by three. They had more than doubled again by the time of World War II. During the war they doubled again. In the succeeding five years they doubled yet again, to the annual rate which still obtains⁸. The

1 Elsa Mathilde Goldberg, *Family Influences and Psycho-somatic Illness*, London: Tavistock, 1958.

2 Eustace Chesser, *Marital and Family Relationships of English Women*, London: Hutchinson, 1956.

3 Madeline Kerr, *The People of Ship Street*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958.

4 John M. Mogeys, *Family and Neighbourhood*, Oxford: University Press, 1956.

5 Elizabeth Bott, *Family and Social Network*, London: Tavistock, 1957.

6 Geoffrey Gorer, *Exploring English Character*, London: Cresset, 1955.

7 In 1958 the legitimate maternity rate for women married once only was, for England and Wales, .308 for marriages of under one year duration, .279 in marriages of 1 year and under 2 years, .245 for those of 2 years and under 3, .227 for marriages of 3 years and under 4, and .207 for marriages of 4 years and under 5. Marriages of longer duration yield far fewer maternities. *Registrar General's Statistical Review of England and Wales for the Year 1958*, London: H.M.S.O., 1960, Part III, Table 23.

8 The following are the figures (in thousands) of new petitions filed: 1876-1880 2; 1911-1915 5; 1916-1920 15; 1936-1940 38; 1941-1945 80; 1946-1950 195; 1951-1955 161. *Ibid.*, Part II, Table 0.

ratio of new marriages to divorces, 1,150:1 in 1871, by the nineteen fifties had become 10:1: in spite of the deficiencies of this statistic, the change is tremendous.

These facts can be taken as evidence of mounting difficulties in marriage. Whether they are also evidence of a diminution in the importance of marriage, it will be the purpose of this article to discuss.

Certainly, changes in the law as well as contemporaneous crises in marriage during and following the great wars account for spectacular increases in the rates of new petitions filed. Before 1857 divorce was possible only by the cumbersome and expensive procedure of a Private Act of Parliament. The Matrimonial Causes Act of that year introduced judicial divorce on the grounds of adultery by the woman or the aggravated adultery of the man. This procedure was unchanged until 1923, by which time new petitions were being filed at the rate of 3,000 a year. The 1923 Act placed men and women on an equal footing; divorce was permitted on the grounds of the simple adultery of either husband or wife. This raised the annual rate to about 5,000 in the early nineteen thirties. The Herbert Act of 1937 extended the grounds of divorce to cases of wilful desertion, cruelty and incurable insanity. This measure, combined with the disruptive effects of the war, raised the annual rate in the period 1941-1945 to 16,000. From 1948 divorce hearings were decentralized. People of limited means could now be heard in the High Court locally. This measure, combined with the war's aftermath, raised the rate to 39,000 new petitions a year. It is therefore possible to argue that the rising figures are at least in part a revelation of existing unsatisfactory marriages, rather than evidence that year by year marriages were becoming more unsatisfactory.

Nor is it known to what extent *de iure* rates of new petitions filed exceed the rates of desertion, the poor man's *de facto* divorce.

The divorce rate has fallen in recent years. It reached its peak in 1947, when 49,000 new petitions were filed. In 1951 the number had fallen to 38,000, and by 1958 it had fallen to 26,000. The number of decrees made absolute reached its peak in 1947 (60,000), and by 1958 the number of decrees made absolute had fallen to 23,000.

Furthermore, marriage itself is becoming more popular. The type to which the relationship is tending indicates that while its function may be altering, it is not becoming less significant in the lives of the spouses.

II

In the ten years 1851-1860 the marriage rate for men was 59 per 1000 unmarried males aged 15 and over, and the marriage rate for women was 52. Down to 1930 the marriage rates for both sexes declined steadily, except for exceptional times, as during the Great War. By 1930 the rate for men was 54 and for women 41. Since then the trend has been reversed, and in the period 1951-1955 the rates for men and women were 68 and 51 respectively¹.

1 *Ibid.*, Table C.

The age of marriage has shown a similar trend. Down to the nineteen thirties marriage was being postponed; after the nineteen thirties couples began to marry earlier again. At the beginning of the century bachelors were marrying when they were 27; by 1921-1925 the average age had increased to 27 years 6 months. In the period 1951-1955 it had declined to a little over 26 years 6 months. The mean age in 1958 was under 26. Spinsters were marrying when they were somewhat younger than 25 years 6 months at the beginning of the century. There was a rise to somewhat over 25 years 6 months in the early nineteen twenties. In the early nineteen fifties the average age had dropped to a little over 24, and in 1958 it had fallen to 23 years 6 months¹.

Sixteen men under the age of 20 were married for every 1000 bachelors in the period 1901-1905. The equivalent figure for the period 1951-1955 was 31, and in 1958 the figure was 56. For women the figures rise from 81 to 186 to 250². The 1949 Report of the Royal Commission on Population shows that the proportion of people who had been, or were married in the cohort 45-54 had increased from 85.7 per cent in 1931 to 87 per cent in 1947.

More marriages are being abandoned. But more people are marrying, and they are marrying at an earlier age.

This phenomenon can be explained partly in terms of the erosion of barriers to marriage. Better control of disease in early childhood and better nutrition throughout life may have reversed the human growth tide, so that girls may now reach sexual maturity more quickly. From the point of view of the marriage rate the distribution of the sexes has improved. The marriage rate tends to be highest when there is a slight excess of nubile males. More boys are being saved in early childhood. Wars have not wrought such havoc with the population of young men as during the age of imperialism and in World War I. Better wages and improved opportunities for the wife to work mean that young people are early able to fulfil the breadwinning obligations of the conjugal role. The knowledge that legal release from an unfortunate marriage is possible perhaps encourages some people to marry who would otherwise be more hesitant. The all-but universal spread of contraception means that couples can undertake the duties and pleasures of marriage without willy-nilly becoming parents also.

These facts help to account for earlier marriages, given the desire to marry. They do not account for the desire itself, and they certainly fail to answer any of the questions raised by the apparent decline in the propensity to marry and its succeeding rise. It is possible that an inspection of the current functions of marriage may shed some light on these problems, and also permit an assessment of the significance and permanence of these trends.

1 *Ibid.*, Table L.

2 *Ibid.*, Table K.

III

Husbands and wives form an economic unit. They collaborate in earning a living and in providing the comforts of home on the basis of the earnings.

Getting a living in the outside world is the task generally allocated to the husband. He is less frequently prevented from working than is the women. She is periodically disqualified because of pregnancy, childbirth and nursing. Contraception and bottle feeding have altered this situation.

There is no doubt that wives in Britain are sharing more in the business of breadwinning. The Census figures show a steady increase in the number of women working. The number of women employees in England and Wales rose from 3.3 million in 1901 to 6.3 million in 1951. Within this total increase married women have outpaced single women very considerably. Their numbers rose in the same period from 800,000 to 2.5 million. In 1931 12 per cent of all married women were at work. In 1951 22 per cent were at work. The statistics compiled by the Ministry of Labour are gathered on a different basis, but they confirm the evidence of the Census and bring it up to date. The Ministry of Labour figures show 6.9 million women working in 1950. Of these 2.9 million were married, 41 per cent of the female labour force. In 1959 there were 7.6 million women working. Of these 4 million were married, 52 per cent of the female labour force¹.

At the same time it appears that making the home a comfortable place devolves more on the man. He is expected to take responsibility for, and take an interest in running the house, planning, buying, housekeeping. Moge, for example, found labour was "strongly" divided between men and women in the old central district of Oxford known as St. Ebbes. While this characterization applied to 65 per cent of the St. Ebbes's families, it applied to only 20 per cent of the families in Barton, a housing estate on the outskirts of the city. The difference was not just a consequence of the younger age of the married couples at Barton. The spouses of the same age and stage of family building were different in the two areas, and Barton is the place where adjustments to contemporary conditions are being made, outside of the culture of family and locality which still protects St. Ebbes².

If the role of the wife was in fact becoming indistinct from that of the husband it would be surprising if the relationship became more solidary. When either the husband or wife can enjoy the comforts of home and earn a living by exertions which do not necessarily require a lifelong attachment to this special category of person, "the spouse", the bond between them is likely to be to that extent slackened.

Parsons accounts for the increased solidarity of modern marriages in spite of this apparent homogenization of the roles by denying that a trend to homogeneity exists. These tendencies, he argues, far from diminishing the differences

1 Central Statistical Office, *Annual Abstract of Statistics*, London: H.M.S.O., 1960, Table 134.

2 *op. cit.*, pp. 58, 62 and 63.

between the part played in marriage by the husband and wife, actually express a more refined division of labour. In the first place there is no question of symmetry in the contribution to breadwinning. In the second place the jobs women do are characteristically quite different from those of men; they are "women's jobs" such as receptionists and almoners¹. Durkheim states the point in an extreme form. "The further we look into the past, the smaller becomes the difference between men and women. ... Today, among cultivated people, the woman leads a completely different existence from that of the man. One might say that the two great functions of the psychic life are thus dissociated, that one of the sexes takes care of the affective functions and the other of intellectual functions"².

Parsons explicitly limits his analysis to families of well-to-do professional workers. Durkheim states that his observations apply to "cultivated people". The contention that the trend to interchangability of duties is apparent rather than real may indeed apply to these groups. It is difficult to see how it applies to the jobs of the bulk of the married women in Britain. The two functions of getting a living and making a home seem to be carried out by the two partners dividing labour in a supplementary rather than a complementary fashion, that is, in a way less creative of solidarity. Yet marriage increases in popularity, and marriage takes place at an earlier age.

How can this be explained? It is suggested that solidarity has increased in spite of increased interchangability because the facets of the role involved in this trend are those which are in any case decreasing in importance in the marital relationship. The division of labour in these areas has been redesigned in order to make it serve the ends of marriage which have become the real basis of its power in modern society.

Smaller, planned families, shorter hours of work, improved equipment in the home, all make careful organization and efficiency in the material side of family life less important. A job need not jeopardize the home³. Housework can take on the character of play, and the economic services it can render become of less moment than the effect it produces in reinforcing a solidarity which depends on other sources.

The division of labour in the sexual act is clearly of a complementary kind. "What gives this relationship its peculiar character, and what causes its particular energy, is not the resemblance but the difference in nature which it unites. Precisely because men and women are different, they seek one another passionately"⁴. Marriages may now place more emphasis, as compared with the above tasks, on satisfying sexual relations with the spouse. The sexual division of labour, evidenced especially by a preoccupation with feminine

- 1 Talcott Parsons, "The American Family", *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*, New York: The Free Press, Glencoe, 1955.
- 2 Emile Durkheim, *The Division of Labour in Society*, trans. George Simpson, New York: The Free Press, Glencoe, 1947, pp. 56, 57 and 60.
- 3 T. Ferguson and J. Cunnison, *The Young Wage-earner*, Oxford: O.U.P., 1951.
- 4 Durkheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 56, 57.

attractiveness with strong erotic undertones, is undeniably a source of connubial solidarity.

While it has some explanatory power, however, it can scarcely account for the increasing attraction of the marriage bond. A man needs a woman if he is to enjoy sexual intercourse, but the woman need not be his wife. The multitude of contacts with persons of the other sex away from home and neighbourhood, in leisure time and at work, afford, under modern conditions, extensive opportunities for extramarital sexual experience. Variations in the rate of illegitimate births may be used as an index of changes in the volume of extramarital (specifically premarital) sexual intercourse. The figures show that the family has been losing its place as the chosen relationship within which sexual intercourse should be permitted. The rate of extramaritally conceived maternities per 1000 unmarried women (standardized for age), when 1938 is taken as 100, rose to 138 in 1952, 141 in 1953, 144 in 1954, 147 in 1955, 163 in 1956, 171 in 1957 and 178 in 1958. In the twenty years 1938–1958 the figures for the younger age groups doubled, for those in the older age groups they much more than doubled¹.

IV

The need which can be satisfied outside the family with *increasing* difficulty only is the need to participate in a relationship where people are perceived and valued as whole persons.

In urban industrial society it is necessary to collaborate with one set of people in order to earn a living, with another to worship, with a third set to be educated, with a fourth for amusement, with a fifth in seeing to the affairs of the neighbourhood, and so on. Minute differentiation of function is the secret of productivity. But the one thing which this type of organization of roles cannot “produce” are the values of what Toennies called “mutual furtherance and affirmation”. In the elaboration of modern social institutions, marriage has become the only place in which the individual can demand and expect esteem and love. Adults have no one on whom they have a right to lean for this sort of support at all comparable to their right to lean on their spouse. The marriage relation, to a far greater extent than in systems where communal type solidarities exist between fellow-workmen, neighbours, and extended kin categories, is in a strategic position in this respect.

In contributing to one another love, dignity and emotional support in spite of failures in specific roles or particular tasks, the spouses are fundamentally alike. Yet this is a special case of cooperation where likeness of contribution nevertheless produces great interdependence. This is so for two reasons. Unlike, say, housework, where the task *could* be carried out by a single person, and more than one person does it for reasons of convenience, sociability essentially requires the interplay of feelings for its fruition. The man and woman give each

¹ Registrar General's Statistical Review for 1958, Part III, Table 22, p. 32.

other something they could not provide for themselves. Unlike, say, sexual intercourse, which is possible in casual liaisons, companionship needs time and conditions suited to the emergence of primary-type ties, and these conditions do not flourish outside the family. James Thurber's *One is a Wanderer* well describes the futility in the big city of the search for companionship outside of the family setting. Not only is it practically difficult to find communal satisfactions in modern society. The norms do not allow men and women not married to one another to indulge in tender companionate relationships. Any friendship between males tends to be stigmatized by attributing to it a homosexual basis. These rules are functional. They prevent obligations arising in communal type relationships from contaminating complex and fractionalized utilitarian relationships in the economy and in society at large.

The changing grounds of recruitment to the role of spouse support this interpretation. Sentiments turn increasingly towards the notion of romantic love as not just preferable but as the inevitable and only valid basis for marriage. Values emphasise personal response to the exclusion of economic advancement or social standing. A second tendency has been the increased obscurity of standards of choice where these are not connected with the romantic motif. "In all the conversation about courtship there appears to be a lack of any definite criteria for liking or disliking... expectations which are vague and diffuse are more easily met and adjustment between husband and wife... may therefore be less difficult than in cases where both partners know exactly what they want"¹.

The divorce figures themselves support this interpretation. Primary relations which are sought for themselves, as contrasted with those which emerge as the by-product of other cooperative activities, are difficult to sustain. The well documented and much discussed "loss of functions" of the family has reduced the possible volume of by-product primary group satisfactions. It is not surprising therefore that the divorce figures should have reached their present level. When people marry under the influence of romantic love, as Bertrand Russell has said, "each imagines the other to be possessed of more than mortal perfections and conceives that marriage is going to be one long dream of bliss. ... In America, where the romantic view of marriage has been taken more seriously than anywhere else, and where law and custom alike are based on the dreams of spinsters, the result has been an extreme prevalence of divorce and an extreme rarity of happy marriages"². In so far as companionship, a close, durable, intimate and unique relationship with one member of the opposite sex becomes the prime necessity in marriage, a failure in this respect becomes sufficient to lead to its abandonment. But it is significant that divorced people nevertheless remarry at about the rate at which bachelors and spinsters marry. They are discontented with a particular spouse. They cannot do without marriage if their primary social needs are to be met.

The spouse relationship, as has been indicated, is reorganized around this

1 Moge, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

2 Bertrand Russell, *Marriage and Morals*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1929, p. 63.

new balance of functions. Getting a living and making a comfortable and beautiful home are subordinated to companionship. Raising a family is also assessed within this context. The highest court in the land pronounced that the chief aim of marriage is not the procreation of children, but precisely this, the companionship of the parties which arises from the marriage¹.

Such changes in the balance of functions might be expected to lead to changes also in the distribution of authority in the family.

John Locke could state with the utmost confidence, as a truth requiring no further comment, that "the husband and wife, though they have but one common concern, yet having different understandings, will unavoidably have different wills too. It therefore being necessary that the last determination should be placed somewhere, it naturally falls to the man's share as abler and stronger"². This mode of settling differences is appropriate to a relationship where instrumental efficiency is important. It is not appropriate where the expressive goal of affection is paramount. What is more, the sanctions in the authority relationship become more difficult to apply as the subordinate comes to possess the powerful counter-sanction of the withdrawal of affection.

The British research referred to in the introduction is unanimous in depicting a movement towards greater equality between the spouses. The wife comes to have more say in all phases of family life.

These changes have been reflected in changes in the law. Marriage, John Stuart Mill wrote, was "the only bondage known to our law". He added, "There remain no legal slaves except the mistress of every household". The end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth saw the transformation of the legal rights of the married woman. After 1870 the husband was no longer automatically the owner of his wife's earnings. After 1882 he was no longer automatically the owner of her property. After 1886 he was no longer able to determine the guardianship of his children even after his death and even against the wishes of his wife. After 1925 the mother's wishes were in practice given priority in the courts. In 1891 he lost the right to lock his wife up. "One fine morning last month", the *Nineteenth Century Magazine* commented, "Marriage in England was suddenly abolished". In 1925 the doctrine was abandoned that if a wife committed a crime in the presence of her husband it was to be presumed that she had been coerced by him. In 1935 the married woman was granted full powers to enter into contracts in her own right – and her torts became her own. In 1949, the husband lost the right to decide by himself where the family home should be. In all directions the law has changed its view of marriage from that of the oneness of the husband and wife with the husband as the authoritarian head ("unity under coverture") to an equipollent "unity in partnership".

1 Baxter v. Baxter, *Times Law Reports*, Vol. 64, 1948, p. 8.

2 John Locke, *Two Treatises of Civil Government*, London: Everyman Edition, 1924, p. 146.

V

The rate at which families move towards this pattern of marriage varies by region, occupational group, religious affiliation, and personality type. Spinley examined the interpersonal relationships of families in a slum district in London, and found minimal emotional solidarity¹. Dennis, Slaughter and Henriques examined marriages in a mining community, and found great solidarity among the men, and solidarity among the women, but relatively little commitment to the spouse relationship in so far as it involved demands for companionship². All families, however, appear to be re-forming in the general pattern.

In the early twentieth century it was feared that marriage was weakening. The age at marriage was rising, divorce rates were rising, and functions were being taken over by specialized agencies outside the family. Consequently, writers like Müller-Lyer, while trying to do justice to the positive achievements of modern marriage, were also pessimistic. They were highly conscious of what Müller-Lyer termed "the seamy side", and were even concerned about the possibility of "agamy", the gradual disappearance of marriage as developments rendered it redundant³.

From the point of view of the family as a total system certain tendencies are indeed detrimental to its efficiency. As an agency of socialization it is impaired when the chief adults abandon their connection. Even here, however, it must be borne in mind that in many cases divorce does not involve families with children. In England and Wales about one third of divorced couples are childless. Another third have one child. One in five have two children, one in ten have three children, and three in a hundred have four children. Marriages based on companionship, with little else which involves essential and urgent cooperation, are more fragile than marriages the solidarity of which is bolstered by requirements of livelihood, child rearing and neighbourhood respectability. If *One is a Wanderer* penetrates to the heart of the predicament of the unattached individual in modern society, Thurber's *The Breaking-up of the Winships* is an equally powerful portrayal of a brittle companionate marriage.

Nevertheless, the continued and growing popularity of marriage signifies its success in meeting social needs. There was an incipient decline in marriage in Britain. This accompanied the rise of modern industrial and commercial social organization, with its large numbers of minutely specialized participants and its differentiated social institutions. The decline and recovery of marriage can be visualized as the result of a race. Marriage was weakened as it progressively lost functions to more efficient specialized agencies. But in these specialized agencies the individual experienced a diminution of the emotional content of relationships. For a time marriage weakened more quickly. But it emerged in

1 *op. cit.*

2 Norman Dennis, Cliff Slaughter and Fernando Henriques, *Coal is Our Life*, London: Eyre and Spottiswood, 1956.

3 F. Müller-Lyer, *The Family*, trans. Stella Browne, London: Allen & Unwin, 1930.

the subtle and multifarious culture-making processes that marriage to a growing extent provided the only haven of communality in an associational world. Marriage was therefore rejuvenated and has been able to reach its present pre-eminence in Britain as the only producer of direct and immediate loyalty, commitment, and personal security.

On Mate Selection

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AS long as the institution of marriage exists the selection of mates is an important aspect of the institution. The mechanisms developed for the selection of mates vary widely from society to society. In this paper we will examine some of the factors that may influence the development of mate selection mechanisms.

The actual decisions when it comes to mate selection as a rule are made by two classes of people: (a) the future spouses themselves, or one of them; (b) their parents or larger kinship group. Any mate selection mechanism has to be set up so as to keep the decision makers reasonably happy. In case the spouses are not among the decision makers, they also have to be kept reasonably content. The results of the selection mechanism must meet these criteria which are relatively easy to observe. But a mate selection system also has effects for other groups and for the society as a whole, and these effects may not be so easily observable. A powerful group in the society can thus be interested in influencing the selection mechanism because of its general effects on society even though the group members are not personally affected by any individual mate choices.

At any time it would thus seem that changes in the mate selection system could be brought about by the motivations of persons in these three groups. Young people that are about to make their choice of a mate are primarily interested in being able to choose the mate so that their individual marriage be as advantageous as possible. The same is true of those kinspeople that influence a particular mate choice.

Those who are considering the whole society are not interested in the outcomes for the individual spouses so much as in the outcomes on the societal level. This does not preclude that the aggregated outcome in individual cases is one of the results of the selection system for the society. Let us try to look at the possible effects of a mate selection mechanism to the members of each one of these three groups.

The effects that are important to the future spouses, i.e. to the young people ready to marry, are those pertaining to their coming individual marriage. They are interested in making such a choice that their particular marriage becomes as satisfactory as possible. The marital satisfaction may be derived from many different aspects of the marriage; which aspects are emphasized will depend upon the culture.

In some cultures the happiness of the spouses is stressed, in others the place

of the married couple in the status hierarchy of the society. The economic assets of a prospective mate may be important in some cases, and kinship relations important in others. All these different motives probably appear in any given society, but there are differences in emphasis upon them. Accordingly, romantic love, personal and character attributes, wealth, social status, and kin will be differently emphasized as mate choice criteria.

But in all cultures the young people will want the choice mechanism so set up that the choices result in the best mates according to the criteria prevalent in their culture. They will usually feel more competent than any other group to make the correct choice. The young ones will thus require that they themselves be allowed to make the choice in order to make sure that it is the best possible according to their own criteria.

The parents and, in some cultures, other relatives are also interested in the outcome of particular mate choices. Partly they feel that they are more competent than the young ones themselves to choose the mate and also feel they have the responsibility to make the right choice for them, partly they use other criteria for a good spouse than the young people.

It is true of most cultures, maybe all, that the parents stress more wealth, status, and kinship, the young ones love and personal attributes more. This difference in criteria may depend on two different conditions. One is that they regard different things important for the satisfaction of the spouses with their marriage. They thus have the same goal as the young ones, a satisfactory marriage for them, but they believe that other attributes of the spouses will bring about greater satisfaction.

The other condition for the difference in criteria is that the parents have other goals for the marriage than the satisfaction of the spouses. They want something for themselves in addition, be it wealth, status, or something else. If this motive is preponderant the parents often will want to conclude the marriage as soon as possible.

The effects of a mate selection system for society in general can be classified as biological and social. The biological results, of course, are related to the effects of excessive inbreeding, on the one hand and the effects of the mixture of heterogeneous biological groups on the other. Both extremes are often regarded as undesirable.

In the study of biological effects, geneticists have used the concept of isolate, first developed by Wahlund¹. The population is considered to be subdivided into smaller parts, isolates, with little or no contact between the isolates and completely random mating within them. If the model is correct, the isolate size can be estimated from the observed frequencies of marriages between relatives of a given kind, say first cousins, and the knowledge of the number of first cousins an individual has on the average². Some interesting studies using the concept

1 S. Wahlund, *Zusammensetzung von Populationen und Korrelationserscheinungen vom Standpunkt der Vererbungslehre aus beleuchtet*, *Hereditas*, 11, 1928.

2 G. Dahlberg, *Mathematical Methods for Population Genetics*, Basle: Karger, 1947.

of isolate have been made recently, e.g. by Cavalli-Sforza¹, who found that the estimated isolate size varied according to the kind of relatives used in the computations. On the whole it would seem, however, that the geneticists are beginning to rely more heavily on the concept of assortative mating, which is closely parallel to the sociological studies of the different probabilities to marry according to distance, geographical and social, and similarity and dissimilarity in attributes in general. The theoretical assumptions behind this concept seem much more realistic.

The family and kinship system is a central part of a society's social structure. The mate selection mechanism of a society thus is closely related to the functioning and maintenance of its total social structure. It affects the social mobility of the society. It determines the ways families can be connected through intermarriage.

The importance of the mate selection system is closely related to the importance of the kinship system in the social structure. Some societies place less emphasis on kinship than others. But even in the least kinship minded society there are some important parts of the structure affected by marriage. There is always some kind of lineage system and some kind of inheritance rules that are dependent on marriage.

When it comes to social structure the ruling groups of a society have a wide variety to choose from, and it is extremely difficult to determine the reasons behind their choices. Often we have to be content with stating the values they evidently are or have been acting on.

An interesting thing about the various mate selection systems is how conservative they often are. In order to make the people comply with the rules the influentials have to connect them to strong values, religious, moral, and legal, which means that they are deeply embedded in the personalities of the members of the society and to a corresponding degree difficult to change.

If we assume that the things enumerated above are the motives behind mate selection mechanisms it should be possible to draw some conclusions about the motives from the characteristics of a specific selection mechanism. Let us first make some general remarks.

The number of mates chosen depends upon the marriage type, of course, and we should not enter into the reasons for the different marriage types here. But it should be remarked that if more than one mate is to be chosen this opens an opportunity to choose them according to different criteria and thus make each decision easier. One may be chosen for personality reasons and one for status reasons; one may be chosen by the parents and one by the spouse; and this holds both for polygyny and polyandry.

The set of persons influencing the choice of a mate probably depends primarily on the set of influentials in general in the society and the relative values of individualism versus group membership. In a society where the older

1 L. L. Cavalli-Sforza, Some Data on the Genetic Structure of Human Populations, *Proceedings of the Xth International Congress of Genetics*, I, 1959.

people in general have the power, chances are that they will also influence the selection of mates for the young ones, whether it is the parents or some head of the extended family that has the most decisive influence, whereas in a society where old and young have the same amount of influence the young will pick their own mates.

Also, in a society where the values tend to put the group, the family and kin, the community, the society first and individual satisfaction second, parents and elders will tend to have a decisive influence on the choice of a mate, whereas in an individualistic society where it is every individual for himself he will also make his own choice of a spouse. In addition, the vested interests of the parents – and the family in general – may prompt them to try to influence the mate selection of their children so as to gain some advantage from their marriage, status or economic gain or whatever it might be. We thus have a pressure working on the parents even in the most individualistic societies to try to influence the mate choice of their children.

To the extent that the choice is made by the prospective spouses themselves, we may ask which one of them has the greatest influence on the choice. It would seem that the influence follows almost exclusively the general influence pattern in the society. In a patriarchal society the man has the greatest influence, in a matriarchal society the woman, and in an equalitarian society they tend to have about equal influence.

The time of the choice of mate is closely related to who the decision makers are. If the parents make the choice it can be made much earlier than if the future spouses themselves make it. The conditions for infant betrothal and child marriage are that the parents are the ones that select the spouse and that the selection is made without reference to personal attributes of the prospective spouse such as looks or personality traits. This can either be because little weight is given to the personal satisfaction of the spouses in their marriage or because it is believed that such attributes are of relatively little importance to the satisfaction of the spouses.

The central part of any mate selection mechanism is what choices are open to the young people in the society, i.e. for each young person in a specific category the set of possible mates and the set of persons impossible as mates. All sorts of variations of these sets occur between societies and between different categories within a society. Some taboos are fairly general, e.g. the incest taboo; others are very special, e.g. the prohibition of marriages between Negroes and Whites in certain states of the U.S.A.

It is interesting to speculate over the problem of how some of these taboos have originated. Were the incest taboo and other endogamy taboos created for biological reasons in order to prevent biological deterioration of the population, or were they created to prevent the social complications that would arise if inter-marriage and sexual relations would be permitted within the nuclear family? Were they ever planned consciously at all, and if so by whom?

Otherwise, there is not much that can be said about the sets of possible mates in general. Let us instead look at a specific mate selection mechanism, the one

prevalent in Sweden, with which I am fairly well acquainted, and see what kind of motivations that may have produced this system and keep it going.

In the Swedish system the formal rule is that the choice is completely up to the prospective spouses, equally to both of them, (the Swedish marriage is monogamous, of course), and without any restrictions except for the incest taboo and a lower age limit. The choice criterium is supposed to be that the future spouses are "in love" with each other.

This system holds only in principle, however, in the sense that there are no formal rules prescribing any further restrictions. In reality there are many restrictions operating. This is evidenced by the results of a great many investigations showing that the spouses in a marriage tend to be similar in many respects. If these respects refer to conditions before the marriage the findings evidently point to restrictions in the mate selection, discriminating those that are different. The choice of a mate that is very different according to some attribute is not impossible, but the probability of the choice decreases as the difference increases. And this must be caused by forces restricting the free choice of mates. Some of the more important attributes that thus restrict mate selection are: geographic distance between the residences of the mates, social status of their parents, social status of the mates themselves, occupation of the parents, occupation of the mates, income and wealth of parents and mates, education, religion, ethnic origin, (minority groups: gypsies, lapps, refugee groups), political attitude, etc.

Some examples of data substantiating these tendencies may be mentioned. The geographical distance has been studied by Beckman¹. He found that both partners were from the same region in varying proportions, usually above 40 per cent of all marriages and in several cases above 70 per cent. The regions were fairly large, however, and there was a tendency to a larger percentage of marriages within the region in the larger regions. In an intensive study of one single parish he found that the frequency of marriages where both partners are from the same village varies between 30 and 40 per cent. When the parish was subdivided into four subregions it was found that 78 per cent of the marriages were between spouses both from the subregion, as against 45 per cent within the region if the distance were of no importance.

Wächter² studied the simultaneous effect of occupational status and education. His material was all the girls in Stockholm going to school in the fifth grade in 1936. They were followed up to 1950, and data about them when they were about 25 years old were collected. The results we are concerned with here are seen in Table 1. The three occupational classes are the wage earners: III, higher civil servants, professionals, and managers of larger private enterprises: I, and all the rest in II. "Realexamen" equals graduation from the 9th-10th grade.

1 L. Beckman, The Frequency of Regional Inter-marriage in North Sweden, *Acta Genetica et Statistica Medica*, 9, 1959; L. Beckman, Breeding Patterns of a North Swedish Parish, *Hereditas*, 47, 1961.

2 M. Wächter, *Flickornas ståndscirkulation i en storstad*, unpublished thesis, Stockholm, 1953.

Table 1

Relationship between wife's father's status and wife's education to husband's status

Status group of father	Education of wife	Percentage of husbands in status group			
		I	II	III	Total
I	"Realexamen" or more	56	40	5	63
II	"Realexamen" or more	36	47	17	133
III	"Realexamen" or more	10	66	23	137
I	Less than "realexamen"	25	50	25	12
II	Less than "realexamen"	11	48	41	189
III	Less than "realexamen"	3	36	61	506
Total		134	458	448	1040

The importance of religion is evidenced by a study of about 350 Uppsala University students in 1958. Not only spouses but also steady dates and engagement partners were involved. The students were asked (referring to the time of contact with the partner): Did you belong to a religious organization? and Did he (she) belong to a religious organization? It turned out that the same answer was given for both partners in 90 per cent of the cases as against 76 per cent if religious involvement were of no importance.¹

Sweden is an equalitarian and individualistic society in the sense that there are comparatively small differences between different categories of people in the society and that the satisfaction of the individual is the primary goal of the society. The so-called welfare society is concentrated on the welfare of the individual citizens. It is thus natural to leave the choice of a mate to the future spouses themselves and to give both the same influence on the choice.

Furthermore, Sweden is a dynamic society in the middle of a rapid industrial and social development. In such a society the older people have no special advantage because of their age. If any age group is favored it would be the younger age brackets who supposedly have more information about the most recent innovations. And we have already said that the young want to make their own decisions and not be hampered by any restrictions in their attempts to make the best possible mate selection.

Another factor is that leaders in Swedish society are on the whole in favor of social mobility. They have no special interest in trying to prevent it by means of restricting the possibilities to choose a mate.

The insistence on "love" as the sole choice criterium is difficult to explain. It seems to be general at least in the western type of culture. It has a long tradition among literary and intellectual leaders as the preferred criterium for the choice of a spouse. Maybe it has been accidentally associated with the

1 G. Karlsson, "Mate Selection and Marital Satisfaction", paper read at the IV International Sociological Association congress, (Stresa, 1959).

liberation of the mate choice, so that a free choice has come to mean a choice because of love. Or maybe it is natural that the choice when it becomes free is made according to the physical and emotional attraction that is called love.

How do we then account for the limitations to this system of mate selection so free in principle? One explanation is that the object of love is so defined that people tend to love only those that are similar to themselves in certain respects. Another is that the young ones do not rely on love only in making their choice. They also take into account preferences according to other attributes and on the whole similar mates are preferred.

These are two attempts to account for the limitations of the choices by the selective preferences of the future mates. But there is another factor that has much the same effect: differential interaction frequency. In order to be selected by you a prospective mate must be a member of the set of persons that you know. And you know people only from groups that you interact with relatively frequently. We know that in the Swedish society interaction is much more frequent within categories with the same attribute, in the various respects that were mentioned above, than between such categories. Since the interaction frequency and the selective preferences work in the same direction it is difficult to know which factor is responsible for the observed homogamy tendencies, or if both are active, how much relative importance they each have.

Finally, we should not forget the influence of parents. It is true that in principle they have no influence, but parents feel responsible for their children and they do not like a choice of marriage partner that means a loss in status, wealth, income, etc. for their child or a choice of a mate from a group that is very different, ethnically, religiously, etc. There is nothing to persuade the parents that they cannot make better judgements because of their longer experience and because they are not blinded by emotion. And they know of ways of influencing their children without resorting to actual force. Often they interfere already on the interaction frequency level by trying to prevent their children from meeting non-desirable mate prospects.

This is a rough sketch of how the Swedish system works, supported by a variety of forces in the culture, sometimes working in the same direction, sometimes counteracting each other. We have considered this system as an example of how the mate selection mechanism in a society is a part of its social structure and depends upon other parts of this structure. Behind the whole structure lies the motives of the people in the society, who in turn are influenced by the social structure. Also the differential power and influence of different categories of persons is part of the social structure and important for the development of other parts of the structure. This way of looking at the mate selection system as part of a social structure and as a result of the motives of the different groups interested and with varying degrees of influence is offered as a possible way towards building a theory about mate selection.

Mate Selection in Open Marriage Systems

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YEAR after year, review articles attest to the mounting body of empirical research concerned with the discovery of regularities in the pairing of the sexes for purposes of holy matrimony: Anderson (1), Anderson (2), Bhagwat (20), Dager (56), Ehrman (63-67), Harris (99), Hill (102), Moser (184), Mogyey (183), Nimkoff (193), Popenoe (199), Stroup (227), Zetterberg (250). As a result two categories have emerged which are best visualised as ideal types. One is the *closed marriage system*¹, in which the criteria for the choice of amate are minutely specified. Here, mate selection is governed by impersonal norms, prescriptive and proscriptive, the element of choice is minimized, and the system predetermines whom every occupant of every position is to marry, relative to some kinship structure beyond that of the nuclear family². The other ideal type is the *open marriage system* where, with the exception of the incest taboo, there exist normative *proscriptions*, and no *prescriptions* whatever concerning the choice of a mate.

To all intents and purposes, "closed" and "prescriptive" marriage systems are identical, in that both emphasise normative and structural determinants in marital choice. "Preferential" systems specify desirable as against less acceptable but permitted choices, so that both, prescriptive and preferential marriage systems, circumscribe the field of eligibles, one in terms of absolute directives, the other by means of a hierarchy of social valuation. Accordingly, preference patterns may operate within the overall framework of a prescriptive system (152), for both depend upon pervasive impersonal constraints, albeit of different intensity and application. In "open" marriage systems, on the other hand, the choice of a mate becomes a matter of personal, not societal "preference." It is

1 The terms "open" and "closed" marriage systems are derived from Johnson. (121:160-163)

2 The term *nuclear family* is here used in the sense of "a solidary relationship between mother and child lasting over a period of years and transcending physical care in its significance, involving a special relationship between the mother and one or more persons (usually male) outside her own descent group which provides the child with referential status in the larger kinship and social systems." Adapted from Gough (94:90) and Parsons (197:102)

with the study of these individuals and their preferences, together with the forces that impel them, that we are here concerned.

Because of their stable and relatively homogeneous social organisation, as well as the high degree of normative consensus characteristic of *closed marriage* systems, it has become possible of late to produce a body of theoretical propositions in this area which form a chain whose links cumulatively relate *socialisation to role acquisition*, role performance to *family structure*, familial relationships to *kinship patterns*, and kinship patterns to the *social system* as a whole. To illustrate:

1. The nuclear family is universal and represents, in every instance, but a segmentary social system, i.e. a sub-system of society. (166; 187; 197; 221; 222; 249)
2. In order to maintain and perpetuate its legitimatisation-function, the family is structured to safeguard its classificatory role-system, by means of the incest taboo. (197)
3. In order to maintain and perpetuate its socialisation-function, the family allocates and inculcates (a) expressive roles concerned with intra-familial cohesion, and (b) instrumental roles which relate also to the larger social system. (249)
4. The allocation of expressive and instrumental roles within the family tends to be sex-linked. (249)
5. The incest taboo functions as a universal exogamous prescription, thereby projecting the individual beyond his family of orientation toward another kinship group and into the social system as a whole. (197)
6. The size and nature of the kinship group (e.g. conjugal or consanguine) tends to affect the method of selecting a marriage partner. (45; 118)
7. A relationship exists between the linearity of a kinship system and its patterns of marital choice. The latter, in turn, affect the nature and cohesion of the overall social structure. (19; 112; 152; 153; 157; 158; 187; 189; 208)
8. A given marriage system may be regarded as a system of exchange between groups, and tends to take place in the same social universe in which the other types of exchange occur, e.g. trade, gifts, hospitality, etc. (121: 160; 158)
9. The operation of a system of mate selection may be self-modifying i.e. its typical patterns may change, or the entire system may shift from a closed to an open one. (121: 162-163; 158)
10. Closed systems of mate selection presuppose societies with minimal status differentiation, relatively low vertical social mobility, and little social or technological change. (121: 160)

It is thus obvious that a respectable body of theory is in the making, firmly based upon empirical evidence, and of unquestionable relevance for a unified science of human social organisation. Unfortunately, the same optimistic conclusion cannot be drawn when it comes to the study of open marriage systems.

The nuclear family is the one universal, conceptual primitive common to

both open and closed marriage systems. Where closed marriage systems utilize processes derived largely from their structure, open marriage systems must rely on elusive regularities in individual behaviour based on normative precepts which may or may not have been fully internalised, but which, in any event, tend to be limiting and inconsistent with the ideal-typical premise of free choice. It is precisely this conjunction of a multitude of variables which renders the formulation of articulated propositions concerning mate selection in open marriage systems so difficult.

The fact the greater portion of research in free-choice mate selection has been conducted in the U.S.A. leads us to refer almost exclusively to American data, sources and conditions. We need, therefore, to make a distinction between mate selection on one hand, and dating and courtship on the other. For the purposes of this paper, *mate selection* will be defined as the *culmination* of a process by which marriage partners are conjoined. As such, it differs from *dating*, a custom almost indigenous to the U.S.A., which consists of the relatively informal, desultory pairing of the sexes for purposes of recreation and entertainment. (38) Dating may or may not lead to *courtship*, i.e. goal directed behaviour in cumulative stages of mutual commitment, conducive to mate selection.

A considerable number of studies is available in the areas of dating and courtship (22; 54; 55; 93; 95; 138; 139; 218), and while there has been a clear distinction between the two, (8; 88; 159), of late this distinction is beginning to disappear. Casual dating has been linked to formal engagement by means of a continuum in terms of increasing responsibility, involvement and social pressures¹. An important stage, short of engagement, is that of *going steady*, defined as a temporary relationship between dating partners involving mutual monopoly, reciprocal role obligations and peer-group recognition (101; 177: 103-107). Going steady need not involve courtship. Furthermore, it appears that dating itself now starts at an earlier age, and increasingly assumes the characteristics of going steady and even courtship. (23; 49; 69; 160; 242) In this paper, however, we are concerned with dating and courtship only to the extent that they shed light upon mate selection proper.

Referents of Mate Selection

A review of the literature yielded the following major referents, which will be listed in order, starting with those associated with the individual participants in mate selection and culminating with the social structure.

1. *The actors*. These include (a) the potential *mates* themselves, (b) the *parents* of the couple (121: 168)² whose wishes, ambitions and antipathies serve

1 cf. here Willard Waller's "summatory process." (240)

2 Whether or not interaction takes place at the conscious or unconscious level need not concern us at this stage of the analysis which deals exclusively with the endproduct of behaviour.

as subtle, (and sometimes not so subtle) social controls upon their offspring's actions (9; 38; 123; 142; 228). However, powerful countervailing pressures often diminish or neutralise parental influence (143; 156; 243), for example (c) *peer-groups* which, especially during the teens and early twenties, supply pervasive reference group orientations (54).

2. Beyond the overt behaviour of the actors, forces embodied in the *social structure* tend to affect marital choice, even in an open marriage system. Among these are the vestiges of (a) a *kinship structure* (110; 198) and (b) *social institutions* especially in the areas of law, economics and religion.

3. The *norms and sanctions* which reflect the expectations of the culture and set limits, both formal and informal to deviant behaviour, whether internalised by the actors, or externally carried and implemented by the social structure, tend to exert a pervasive influence in the formation of endogamous and exogamous patterns of selection.

4. Finally, the *process*, i.e. the customs, procedures, rituals and interaction patterns which typically mark the progress from initial acquaintance to the final ceremony, (38; 138; 139; 240) tends to denote courtship rather than mate selection, and therefore is outside the concern of this paper. One approach to the problem of mate selection which attempts to utilise the process frame of reference at a sophisticated conceptual level will be discussed below. (24; 25)

Functions of Mate Selection

It is not self-evident that a culture-complex whose distinctive feature is the exaltation of individual decision making (which in turn rests on the premise of free will), will exhibit regularities relative to the operation of the social system as a whole. Indeed, a perusal of the literature leads to the impression that a body of theory about mate selection in open marriage systems simply is not available. This may either be due to the absence of sociological relevance, or to the fact that the appropriate questions have not, as yet, been asked.

One promising conceptual framework, the structural-functional, has in the past been applied advantageously to closed marriage systems. This was largely possible, we suspect, because closed marriage systems are relatively stable and homogeneous. Thus they provide a convenient empirical matrix from which functional relationships can be deduced. The same is not true of open marriage systems with their heterogeneous and often mutually contradictory sub-systems, their susceptibility to rapid socio-cultural change, their tolerance of individualistic divergences in behaviour, their normative ambiguity and their concomitant de-emphasis of structural orthodoxy and constraints. Accordingly, in order to generate viable theoretical propositions concerning the relationship of marital choice to the social order, the structural-functional approach must be reversed: the absence of unitary social organisation in a country like the United States requires that we attempt to derive structure from function.

1. The Dyad

The formation of an engaged pair dyad (10) affects the participants both as individuals and as members of society. The acquisition of new values and roles is ameliorative for the pair, in that previous roles, learned in preparation for marriage, are now brought into focus and integrated into dyadic patterns. This serves to reduce "role strain" (86) and renders the satisfaction of ego-needs a matter of mutual concern. Identification with and commitment to the dyadic entity emerges and in turn, affects and is reflected by, the reactions of others toward the pair. Kinship ties with the families of orientation are modified in anticipation of the establishment of a new family of procreation. Old friends are discarded and new ones acquired, as reference groups change with changing occupational and status goals. Anticipatory socialisation may further alienate one or both partners from their old kin and peer-groups, thus increasing their dependency upon the reciprocal rewards (192) of their interaction, and the continuity of the dyad. Finally, various social and economic pressures make the selection of a mate after a certain age both prestigious and profitable. (38; 136; 167; 177; 216; 240)

2. The Kinship Structure

Depending upon class and sub-culture, economic and genealogical considerations may come into play, and, in some cases, even political and dynastic ambitions. (45) New roles must be learned by parents and siblings both toward the departing offspring and as the family of orientation contracts, toward each other.¹ In open marriage systems, the very maintenance of harmonious inter-generational kinship relations depends on factors ranging from personal acceptance to religious, ethnic, and class preferences. (123; 132; 136; 149; 177; 198; 228)

3. The Peer Group

Where social norms are pluralistic, protean and often ambiguous, peer and reference groups² tend to exert a powerful influence upon individuals, frequently in open competition with kinship and institutional controls. At the same time, peer-groups are, themselves, highly sensitive to behaviour which the culture expects to be individualistic, such as mate selection. However, the choice of a mate by one of their members may diminish their influence by depleting their

1 For a discussion of the concept of the *family life cycle*, incl. a selected bibliography, see (129:321-334).

2 For a discussion of *reference groups*, incl. a selected bibliography, cf. Muzafer Sherif, "Reference Groups in Human Relations" in L. A. Coser, and B. Rosenberg, eds., *Sociological Theory*, New York: Macmillan, 1957.

rosters. This dysfunctional aspect of mate selection is especially pronounced if peer- and reference-groups do not coincide and the espousal of one requires disengagement from the other. Conversely, a peer-group may expand, if it is structured to function as a quasi-kinship system related to class, occupational or religious institutions as well as to age-levels. (149; 177)

4. The Social System

In an open marriage system social controls tend to be informal and to originate, typically, with "significant" persons and groups. Nevertheless, mate selection has numerous consequences for the social system as a whole. The behaviour of two individuals who have been socialized in separate environments is integrated and focused into a common task. Thus, the recruitment of dyads for system maintenance is accomplished, and at the same time, the referential status of the couple and their offspring is assured.

In terms of social organisation, to the extent that class-lines lose their permeability, kinship controls over mate selection will be increasingly pronounced as we approach the upper reaches of the stratification system. "The upper strata have much more at stake in the maintenance of the social structure and thus are more strongly motivated to control the courtship and marriage decisions of their young. Correspondingly, their young have much more to lose than lower strata youth, so that upper strata elders can wield more power" (85: 46-47). Thus, informal endogamous and exogamous practices function as boundary-maintaining mechanisms for the overall system and its numerous sub-systems, in the face of built-in forces conducive to dysequilibrium and change.

Conversely, the dynamic tendencies inherent in open marriage systems discourage identification with larger structures and contribute to alienation from societal values and goals. Again, the often idiosyncratic and haphazard criteria employed in the selection of a mate tend to render marriages vulnerable to external and internal stress. The resulting predisposition to instability and dissolution introduces additional schismogenic forces into the social system. (187; 197; 198; 217: 6)

Determinants

Up to this point, we have attempted to clarify the *concept* of mate selection, to specify its *referents*, and some of its major *functions*. When we come to consider the *determinants* of mate selection, empirical research may help us to isolate the relevant dimensions along which regularities in marital choice can be discerned. Our search of the literature yielded seven major determinants of mate selection.

1. Demographic and Ecological Factors

a. As in any culture, *age* is the most obvious and salient factor in mate selection. The continuing interest in this area, furthermore, has resulted in the identification of emerging trends. (43; 47; 82) Between 1890 and 1950, for example, the median age at first marriage for men has declined from 26 to 23, and for women from 22 to 20 (80). Recent figures indicate, that American men marry mostly between the ages of 21 and 22, American women between the ages of 18 and 19. Of all first marriages, 60% occur within a four to five year period, and about 75% fall within an eight year period. (80: 182)

b. *Sex ratio*, the proportion of marriageable males per 100 marriageable females, determines, of course, the maximum number of possible marriages. It goes without saying that such factors as spatial mobility and migration mitigate the relative importance of the sex ratio for mate selection. (136: 39)

c. Probably the most thoroughly researched variable in mate selection is that of residential *propinquity*. A cumulative body of evidence has been amassed showing that, spatial proximity is one of the most reliable predictors of mate selection. As Bossard pointed out so poetically "Cupid may have wings, but apparently they are not adapted for long flights." (27: 222) Of late Clarke has pointed out that "locality may tend not only to select, but also to *produce* persons who are similar in attitude, behaviour patterns, and probably other characteristics" (48: 22), and Kerckhoff (133) has listed educational, occupational and income levels, age, population-density, and the utilisation of travel and communication as further qualifying variables. *Functional association* (47: 272) and *differential interaction frequencies* (123), rather than the mere fact of physical agglomeration, therefore, appear to be emerging as crucial dimensions. (4; 40; 57; 131; 169; 172)

Another recent development has been the attempt to determine the size of *isolates*, i.e. the "group of intermarrying people" (158: 534) by computing the frequency of cross-cousin marriages in all *départements* of France. The techniques employed promise to cast new light upon mate selection in complex modern societies, and to make possible their comparison on a quantitative basis with those of non-literate cultures.¹

2. Legal and Statutory Factors

In spite of the ideology of free choice, there exists a number of legal and statutory *proscriptions* designed to prevent certain marriages. For example, varying degrees of kinship and affinity are defined as incest, and marriage between individuals within their limits is prohibited. (193: 426) "Immature" persons below a certain age cannot marry so that age becomes a condition for the exercise of the prerogatives of free choice. (132) Epilepsy, syphilis, alcoholism, homosexuality, and insanity may become legal barriers to marriage

1 cf. J. Sutter and L. Tabah, "Les Notions d'isolat et de population minimum," *Population*, 6 (1951), 481-489, Claude Lévi-Strauss, (158: 534-535), and Thomas L. Hart (100).

(200), as may miscegenation, the union between members of different races. It should be emphasised, however, that there are considerable differences between the proscriptive laws of the various States, as the Federal government has no jurisdiction in matters of this kind. (42; 43; 47; 193)

3. Socio-Economic Factors

Beyond the legal codes of the States, pressures toward endogamy operate with reference to social class, religion, ethnicity, race, education and occupation. When these barriers are disregarded, *cacogamy* occurs, i.e. the guilty couple incurs various degrees of social disapproval. (179) Kuhn has ranked such exogamous marriages "in order of decreasing cacogamy as follows: (1) interracial marriage, (2) internationality; interclass and interfaith marriages; (3) inter-educational-group marriage; (4) inter-regional marriage." (150; 263) Whatever the validity of this rank-order a great deal of other information, well documented by numerous studies, is available:

a. *Social Class*. The literature tends to corroborate the hypothesis of class-endogamy, albeit in direct proportion to class-level. Furthermore, there is a tendency for men to marry below their social status, and for women to marry up. (39; 48; 61; 63; 110; 111; 240)

b. *Religion*. According to Hollingshead, "Next to race, religion is the most decisive factor... with respect to nuptiality" (110; 622). However, there are differences between the three major religious groups in this country, with Jews least likely to marry outside of their faith, Protestants most likely to do so, and Catholics somewhere in between (8; 39; 132; 234).

c. *Ethnicity and Race*. Even where legal barriers are absent, racial intermarriage is quite infrequent (8; 83), although care must be taken to distinguish Negro-white marriages from those involving other racial combinations. Ethnic endogamy has been shown to vary so that successive generations tend to select their mates increasingly from groups other than their own. (110) At the same time, ethnicity remains a variable of considerable predictive power.¹ (39; 150; 177; 216)

d. *Education*. Educational homogamy is the rule, although males tend to marry females of slightly lower educational attainment. (39; 44; 80; 81; 110; 136) Interestingly enough people of roughly equal intelligence (I.Q.) marry each other and, if they differ, it is the males who marry down. (11; 122; 203; 219)

e. *Occupation*. A number of studies indicates that the occupational background of husbands and wives tends to coincide (113; 199), as do the occupations of the couples' fathers, (46). We might conjecture that the choice on the part of the female occurred on the basis of her anticipations about the husband's potential, reinforced by his father's example. In a somewhat different context,

¹ Freeman has studied a special case of interethnic mate selection in Hawaii, from which he derived a number of provocative hypotheses concerning the relationship between ethnic exogamy, psychic homogamy, and the reference group behaviour of deviants. (77)

Mogey has attempted to account for the *fact* of mate selection (as contrasted to the type of mate chosen) by suggesting that marriages occur often in response to the impersonality of the occupational setting¹. (182)

4. *Social Conditions*

Broad, impersonal socio-cultural events, such as wars, business cycles, political crises, epidemics and natural catastrophes, will have a profound influence upon mate selection. This is known to be true of the marriage rate and the age at marriage. Beyond this, little is known. Hypotheses might be proposed, for example, concerning the relationship between, say, business cycles and cocogamy, or war and propinquity. (79; 136; 233)

5. *Marital Status*

The majority of mate selection studies deals with first marriages. However, it must be remembered, that the divorced and widowed, too, have to choose a mate if they wish to re-marry, and that the pertinent instrumental variables might differ appreciably. Age, for instance, tends greatly to restrict the field of eligibles for the widowed, although not so much for divorcees, as does the number of children for both. Widows tend to marry widowers, and divorcees other divorcees, so that an entirely new determinant for homogamy is introduced. In addition, a previous marriage may be assumed to affect their needs, motives, and role expectations. (17; 18; 30; 80; 84; 159; 177; 217)

Mate selection patterns leading to common-law marriages are known to be related to socio-economic status, race, and region (132; 193), but no attempt has been made to isolate variables which might differentiate this type of marital choice from more conventional ones. Further, the effects of a previous common-law marriage upon the selection of subsequent mates remains to be investigated.

6. *Significant Others*

In an open marriage system, effective social controls are exerted by specific persons and groups. Personal autonomy is part of the value system, and is not only permitted but expected. It follows that, ideally, there should be positive correlations between autonomy in mate selection and maturity (or age). Some of the more important of these significant others are parents, peer-groups, and culture heroes.

a. *Parents.* Parents together with others, act as agents of society by teaching familial roles and expectations, (167) and later by encouraging participation in heterosexual activities. The degree and kind of such influence differs with socio-economic status and with the sex of both parents and children. (9) Pressures

1 For the effects of occupational "depersonalisation" on romantic love, cf. Winch, (246: 379); for occupational frustration, cf. R. K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie: Revisions and Extensions," in Ruth Anshen, ed. *The Family: Its Function and Destiny*, New York: Harper, 1949.

may be direct, ranging from appeals to loyalties and threats to the organisation of parties and outings, (228), or indirect, in the form of subtle cues expressing attitudes and values. The latter are considered the more effective (9), especially if the parents represent important role-models for their children.

Furthermore, parents tend to inculcate their children with expectations concerning marriage which they will bring to the mate selection situation (117), and the definition of that situation itself will largely be a function of parental teachings. (148)

In a negative way, parents influence mate selection by provoking escape or rebellion (159), by projecting their own needs upon their children (9; 245), or by clashing with competing significant others. (38; 156)

More recent studies seem to indicate that the direct influence of parents upon mate selection is declining (143), especially in the college situation (243).

b. Peer Groups. In the United States, individualism, rapid social change and a truncated kinship system combine to alienate children from their family of orientation as they grow older. Informal groups arise which gradually generate system values and constraints that are binding for their members, who, with the approach of puberty, become increasingly preoccupied with problems of the appropriate heterosexual contacts. (232)

In addition peer groups define the field of eligibles, often in contra-vention of parental norms¹, confer prestige, enhance desirability-by-association, and provide feedback in terms of approval or disapproval concerning the acceptability of a given choice. (38; 240)

Furthermore, once such a dyad is started its continuance is enhanced by the application of subtle pressures by peers whenever interpersonal stresses threaten to separate the pair. In the process, peer groups guide their members through the years of emancipation from parental tutelage until they are ready to accept occupational and familial obligations. (54; 101)

Age-graded peer groups come into being at adolescence and disintegrate when their members cross into adulthood. It is not surprising, therefore, that recent studies indicate marked changes in the mores, criteria and practices of marital choice over the years (22; 23; 220). Paradoxically, conventional societal values manage to infiltrate adolescent peer groups from the mass media of communication. (177)

c. Mass Media and Culture Heroes. There is some evidence that patterns of mate selection often reflect the ideals and stereotypes, and the culture heroes of the mass media, although intervening variables, such as class membership, religious affiliation, intelligence and emotional maturity probably have a more decisive impact. (38; 69; 177; 178; 246)

1 cf. also Bernard C. Rosen, "Conflicting Group Membership: A Study of Parent-Peer Group Cross-Pressures," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (1955), 155-161.

7. Personal Attributes

In contrast to other determinants of mate selection, such as racial, cultural and demographic factors, which imply social categories, personal attributes are thought to comprise those qualities that by virtue of their *unique* combination, serve to distinguish a given human being from all others and over which the individual is believed to have a measure of control. Personal attributes may be sub-divided into physical and behavioural traits.

a. Physical Traits: Homogamy has been established relative to current standards of beauty, including such details as hair and eye colour, height, weight, general "vitality" and perhaps even "body-types." (18; 38; 122; 127; 140; 141; 146; 174; 200; 203; 213) Conversely, individuals with physical defects, such as deafness, seem to be attracted to each other as do other socially isolated types. (99; 193) Finally, it is conceivable that less visible traits, including virginity and fertility, may play a part in mate selection, depending upon sub-cultural values. (132)

b. Behavioural Traits: Physical homogamy, except perhaps in the case of defective and handicapped individuals, is probably "incidental to racial and socio-economic endogamy," (193: 415) Behavioural traits, on the other hand, as Strauss pointed out, assume far greater salience than physical characteristics (224), which is not surprising in view of the emphasis placed upon interpersonal accommodation in marriage. The studies in this area for which homogamy has been established subsume four distinct aspects or levels of behaviour.

At a superficial level of interaction, *social competence* and *sophistication*¹ provide the initial stimulus for heterosexual attraction, but the evidence seems to indicate that, once contact is established, other criteria are successively invoked which have a more direct bearing upon the actual choice of a mate. (22; 36; 38; 47; 132; 151; 174; 175; 204; 220; 240)

As the "winnowing process" (43) goes on, common *interests* and *values* are discovered which further strengthen the relationship. (177: 127) One crucial factor seems to be the couple's *familistic* orientation, i.e. their commitment to familial values and roles. (5; 6; 7; 14; 15; 16; 17; 77) This in turn, is related to a common philosophy of life based on fundamental convictions and beliefs, more pervasive and lasting than simple likes and dislikes. (38; 39; 47; 132; 141; 203; 210; 211; 214)

When it comes to *attitudes*, the evidence for homogamy is impressive. This is of particular interest since it is known that many of the social roles learned in the family of orientation are carried over into the family of procreation (117). But in a pluralistic, rapidly changing society, social roles tend to be unstable, ambiguous and often mutually contradictory. Furthermore, the utility of a given role for a specific institutional setting is never quite assured. This is especially

1 An endless number of traits is mentioned in this connection including manners, poise, disposition, sincerity, "personality," and a long list of specific habits, such as drinking, smoking, and leisure-time preferences. (39)

true of the Western family whose loss of functions has rendered many familial roles obsolete. (144) Thus, *unique* rather than *cultural* roles¹ characterize heterosexual relationships and reflect the pre-eminence of personal over social considerations. In consequence, "personality rather than role qualities have become crucial to marital choice" (37; 177: 139).

Sociologically speaking, however, personality consists of the sum-total of roles (167), and any inadequacies or inconsistencies in role learning will have their effect upon behaviour, expectations and interpersonal accord both before and after marriage. (38; 116; 137; 141; 198; 203)

Modern mates expect to form a dyad whose members have been consciously fitted to order. And once the field of eligibles has been circumscribed by socio-cultural determinants, there remain those most personal and unique criteria, *personality* and *temperament* upon which to base one's final decision. Both homogamy and heterogamy have been found, depending upon the units of observation. Homogamy has been established in relation to self-confidence, insight, empathy, emotional stability, and numerous other personality traits. (33; 38; 39; 127; 128; 203) In a remarkable longitudinal study covering twenty years, and starting with engaged couples, Kelly (126) found no evidence that opposites attract. The evidence for heterogamy is not quite as clear-cut, largely because it is derived from studies concerned with the less conscious aspects of behaviour, such as Jung's psychological types (90; 92), Kretschmer's personality traits (146) and Szondi's latent recessive genes. (229) There is some indication, based chiefly on clinical data, that neurotic personalities tend to marry each other. Because the term "neurotic" subsumes a large number of different behavioural malfunctions, both homogamy and heterogamy have been observed within it, depending upon the nature of the disorder. (68; 70; 115; 148; 173; 180; 181; 201; 215; 226; 247)

Kerckhoff and Davis recognised "filtering factors" in mate selection in that socio-economic variables were prevalent early in the relationship, consensus on values somewhat later until, with increasing permanence, need complementarity became the dominant factor. (134) Schellenberg compared natural couples with artificial couples matched on the basis of similar social characteristics and found that, while "a substantial part of the homogamy in personal values can be explained on the basis of social background factors" (210: 161), a substantial amount of homogamy remained unexplained in this manner. This seems to lend further credence to the proposition that whereas cultural determinants circumscribe the field of eligibles, it is the congruence of personalities that motivates the final decision, possibly by means of "unconscious collusion." (60)

c. *The Theory of Complementary Needs*

In addition to homogamy and heterogamy, a third possibility has attracted the attention of social scientists: that of complementarity. Freud had observed

1 According to Cottrell, unique roles refers to "particular self-other patterns" in contrast to cultural roles, "a modal pattern expected in a given cultural and sub-cultural group." (51)

in his practice that narcissistic and anaclitic persons tended to marry each other.¹ In 1942, Ohman formulated a hypothesis stating that "we fall in love with those whom we need to complete ourselves emotionally." (194: 15) Later, Gray suggested that mate selection did not just occur on the basis of likes and opposites, but rather in relation to "complementary factors and as a result of unconscious attraction." (91)

By 1952, Winch had formulated a theory of complementary needs, incorporating "the findings of sociologists with respect to homogamous selection and the ideas of psychoanalysts with respect to complementary neuroses (a form of heterogamy)" (245:11): with the central hypothesis that "when marriage takes place on the basis of love, (245: 119), the need-pattern of each spouse will be *complementary* rather than similar to the need-pattern the other spouse (245: 96)". He then proceeded to test this hypothesis and a trend toward complementarity in mate selection emerged for nurturant-receptive, and dominant-submissive need constellations. (244; 245:119, 110, 297)

Since the theory of complementary need was first proposed, it has, unlike many other sociological theories, been widely tested although none of the experimental-designs has been exactly comparable to the original. To-date, two of these studies have supported the general theory (134; 171), while five have failed to do so (31; 76; 119; 145; 212).

Martinson derived specific hypotheses concerning ego-deficiency as a factor in marriage from the theory and tested them with positive results. (170; 171). Ktsanes (147) and, later, Roos (205) performed multiple factor analysis upon the 44 variables and found four and six factors or dimensions respectively. This was interpreted as partial evidence for need complementarity. (245: 130) This theory has been criticised on the following grounds:

The original study generalises from a married sample in spite of considerable evidence that the personalities and interaction patterns of the partners tend to become modified after marriage. (12; 33:41; 50; 52; 59; 74; 95; 104; 114; 141; 181; 201; 238; 240)

The sample resembles the "married" category in Martinson's studies (170; 171), and probably contains therefore "a disproportionate number of persons with ego deficiency, hence tending to over-represent complementarity if, as seems likely, marriages with a significant neurotic component are especially apt to involve complementarity." (25:235)

The findings of the theory came predominantly from "global or molar or clinical or projective or holistic analysis." (245:110)

It is doubtful that the need interviews tapped the subconscious motivation, or even needs of the subjects. (32; 201)

On balance it is fair to say that the Theory of Complementary Needs does not appear to be "adequately grounded empirically" as yet. (212: 231)²

d. The Freudian Contribution

It remained for the psycho-analysts to explore the *historic-interactional*

1 Sigmund Freud, "On Narcissism: An Introduction," *Collected Papers*, vol. IV London: Hogarth, 1925. For a complete listing of precursors c.f. also (244; 245: 7-8; 246; 397; 407)

2 For a complete listing of appropriate references bearing on the theory of complementary needs, cf. (245).

determinants of marital choice. By 1921, Flügel had published his classic volume on the psycho-analytic study of the family (72). In it, he placed considerable emphasis upon the significance for personality formation of the relationships between parents and children. Courtship, mate selection and marriage were seen to be conditioned by early inter-personal experiences.

The hypotheses put forward by Flügel and other psycho-analysts stimulated research, and mate selection came to be regarded in terms of the matching not so much of individuals, as of their psycho-genetic history. Because personality formation was viewed as an interactive process, the nature and history of that interaction would have to be understood if the outcome was to be adequately appraised or predicted. Of the many dynamic patterns that were described, two have a particular bearing upon mate selection, the *displacement series* and the *projection of the ego-ideal*.

In the context of mate selection, displacement refers to a developmental process by which infantile emotional attachments to parents and siblings gradually come to be diverted to persons of increasing social distance from the familial circle. With approaching adulthood, the love objects selected, while physically and socially remote from the family of orientation, tend to bear a resemblance to the original childhood prototypes, and to evoke similar emotional reactions. In other words, the familial drama is reenacted in the selection of a mate. (72)

Strauss, in his study of the relationship between parental images and marital choice, found significant resemblances between parents and mates, predominantly for personality and temperament, and to a lesser degree for physical appearance and opinions. (225) Beyond this study, the evidence is largely clinical. (148)

One of the products of socialisation in childhood is the generation of an ego ideal, i.e. a synthesis of the physical, mental and moral aspirations of the child, derived largely from the demands, opinions and examples of significant others or *ego models*. (71) Because the ego-ideal represents perfection, it is unattainable. The child's inevitable realisation of his inadequacies gives rise to profound feelings of insecurity and frustration, which can be alleviated only by close primary relationships. As, with the onset of maturity, the displacement series runs its course, the selection of a mate becomes the means for the acquisition of a permanent source of reassurance in the person of the love-object. The latter may take the form of an *ideal mate*, the embodiment of perfection in the fulfillment of ego's emotional needs. By definition, the *ideal mate* does not and cannot exist, although a lover may invest his love-object with those characteristics which he covets. In other words, he projects part of his ego-ideal upon a potential mate, who is perceived in various combinations, and it was found that all of these factors are closely interrelated. (8; 100; 110; 125; 131; 234; 237)

c. Finally, age at marriage was shown to be a major variant in connection with education (43; 182), occupation (35; 43; 93; 182), social class (29), as well as with a combination of ethnicity, religion, and propinquity. (155) One major concept which emerged was the *mating gradient*, which refers to the

tendency of males to marry down with regards to age, social class, education, intelligence, maturity and general ability. (47; 63; 80; 82; 110)

1. *Structure-Function*

For reasons discussed above, the structural-functional approach has not shown itself overly useful for the study of mate selection in open marriage systems, although certain aspects of the work on age and sex roles (144; 196), cultural norms (179) and the interdependence between family structure and the social system (197; 198; 249) have some relevance. Goode (85) has published a cross-cultural analysis of the function of love, pertinent for both open and closed marriage systems. Lévi-Strauss asserts that the concept of the isolate "enables one to break down a modern complex society into smaller units" and makes it possible to combine the approaches of the "social anthropologist and the structural demographer." (185: 535)

3. *Small Groups*

To the extent that a mate selection dyad is a small group, its formation and dissolution, its emerging norms, interplay of personalities, reward patterns and boundary maintaining mechanisms should resemble those of other small groups, and thus be amenable to the same kinds of analysis. (10; 42; 58; 73; 87; 96; 164; 165; 213; 248)

4. *Role Theory and Social Interaction*

In view of the central position of the role-concept in sociology there is considerable information concerning familial roles (249), roles played during courtship and engagement (34; 51) role expectations and role conflict before and after marriage (96; 116; 167; 144; 167; 186; 206) but little concerning the part of social roles in the actual selection of one endowed with all those qualities which ego lacks. (13; 71; 107; 108) In the words of Reik: "Our love is the unconscious advertisement of how we wish to be loved. It is a demonstration by proxy" (202: 181). With increasing maturity, the ego-ideal becomes more realistic and begins to resemble the ego. To the extent that this occurs, mate selection can occur on the basis of the partner's actual rather than projected traits. (246: 424-433)¹

Strauss found that the personality traits of the ideal mate played a more important role in the selection of the real mate than did the physical aspects of the ideal.² He also discovered that ideal mate images figure most prominently in the initial stages of mate selection but are later discarded in favour of more realistic criteria. (224)³

- 1 For three complementary male and female types, cf. Bonaparte (26).
cf. also A. R. Mangus, "Relationships Between the Young Woman's Conception of Her
- 2 Intimate Associates and of Her Ideal Husband," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 7 (1936), 403-420.
- 3 It should be noted that the "Projection of the Ego Ideal" is one of the main conceptual sources for the Theory of Complementary Needs. (245: 81)

Towards Conceptual Synthesis

Despite a wealth of information at hand concerning the determinants of mate selection, the field continues to suffer, as mentioned previously, from two major shortcomings: its findings are, with some notable exceptions, not cumulative, nor do they coalesce into a unitary theoretical framework. It has been suggested that this may reflect the insulation of mate selection practices from the overall social structure, so peculiar to open marriage systems. But the real problem may well turn out to be the co-ordination of various schools of thought.¹ To this end, a major project is under way at the University of Minnesota. (103) Adapting their approach to the more restricted scope of this paper, we would like to conclude by listing some of the major conceptual foci in the field of mate selection.

1. Simple Convergence

Studies of homogamy or *assortative* mating, as well as heterogamy, combining several independent variables, were made hoping that in this manner a greater portion of the variance be accounted for.

a. Propinquity was related to numerous variables with the results indicated earlier in this paper. (99; 123; 142; 172; 182)

b. Religion, race, ethnicity and social class were studied. Only Kuhn has addressed himself to the problem of complementary roles as distinct from isolated traits (150) (cf. also 3; 53; 86; 116; 185; 188; 190; 209).

Many sociologists consider social interaction the basic sociological datum, but here, too, little research is available which bears directly on mate selection. What there is shows that mutual accuracy of perception tends to increase with the duration of the relationship. (168; 186) Furthermore, it was found that conformity to the other's expectations is productive of psychic satisfactions and thus serves to perpetuate the dyad.

5. Perception and Affect

There is evidence that perception of self determines cathexis as well as sociometric choice patterns. To the extent that perceptions are accurate, congruent and mutual, empathy is enhanced. The pertinence of this approach to the selection of mates and the formation and maintenance of engagement dyads is obvious, especially since the emphasis is on the dynamics of the relationship. Heider's *Balance Theory*² and Newcomb's *Theory of Interpersonal Attraction* (191; 192) represent the beginnings of a synthesis between social process, symbolic

1 For an example of sociological parochialism in this connection, cf. Kernodde (135).

2 cf. Fritz Heider, *The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations*, New York: Wiley, 1958. The basic statement of balance theory is that if A is favourable to X, then his perception of B's attitude toward X, and of A's own attitude toward B should both be favourable, or both be unfavourable, or they should move in the direction of such a balance.

interaction and sociometry. As such, they should go a long way toward placing the study of mate selection into a broader, theoretically more fruitful, context. (21; 52; 58; 105; 118; 141; 162; 163; 164; 165; 176; 178; 186; 211; 223; 230; 231; 235; 239)

6. *Interaction Process Analysis*

Along the same lines, Bolton constructed a conceptual framework explicitly for the study of mate selection. Waller's "summatory process" (240), Cavan's "winnowing process," (43) Kerckhoff's "filtering factors" (134), all are capable of being operationalised and incorporated into Bolton's analytic scheme, as are Dicks' "unconscious collusion" (60), Heider's "balance" and Newcomb's "interpersonal attraction" (191; 192). Mate selection thus is seen as a "problematic process", i.e. as "an end product of a sequence of interactions characterised by advances and retreats along the paths of available alternatives." (25; 236)

Combining process sociology with symbolic interactionism, Bolton employed three modes of process analysis which, in combination, determine the sequence and course of a relationship: *episodes of interaction, forms of interaction, and turning points*. This procedure yielded five distinct types of developmental interaction processes, suggesting the possibility of multiple explanations for mate selection.

Interaction process analysis, because it emphasises a relationship rather than the behaviour of two individuals, can encompass numerous variables which hitherto had to be studied in isolation. (24; 25; 75; 97; 139; 141; 176; 191; 192; 235)

There is thus every indication that the recent endeavours at synthesis and innovation, together with improved channels of communication between the social sciences, will produce a theory of mate selection in open marriage systems.

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A Cross-Cultural Comparison of Attitudes Toward Marital Infidelity

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THIS is one in a series of articles¹ comparing sexual intimacy within and across three modern western societies. The societies involved are: Denmark, with its relatively liberal or permissive sex norms; Midwestern United States, with its somewhat typical or average sex culture for the country of which it is a part; and Intermountain United States, with its rather conservative or restrictive sex norms due to Mormon influence.²

Some generalizations from the earlier reports, which are relevant to our cross-cultural emphasis, are as follows: Every statistical measure that was used showed the Danish culture to be the most permissive and the Intermountain culture the most restrictive regarding premarital intimacy, with the Midwestern culture in between though generally closer to the Intermountain than to the Danish. With respect to *attitudes*, Danish respondents more frequently approved of premarital coitus, approved of earlier starts in relation to marriage of each level of intimacy (necking, petting, and coitus), thought in terms of a more rapid progression from the beginning of intimacy in necking to its completion in coitus, and favored a longer period of coital activity prior to marriage. With respect to *behavior*, many more persons in the Danish sample actually engaged in premarital coitus and the incidences of both illegitimacy, and premarital

1 Previous publications include: Christensen, "Value Variables in Pregnancy Timing: Some Intercultural Comparisons," in Nels Anderson, editor, *Studies of the Family*, Göttingen, Germany: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1958, Vol. 3, pp. 29-45; Christensen, "Cultural Relativism and Premarital Sex Norms," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 25, No. 1, February, 1960, pp. 31-39; Christensen, "Selected Aspects of Child Spacing in Denmark," *Acta Sociologica*, Vol. 4, No. 2, about August, 1959, pp. 35-45; Christensen and George R. Carpenter, "Timing Patterns in Premarital Sexual Intimacy: An Attitudinal Report on Three Modern Western Societies," *Marriage and Family Living*, Vol. 24, No. 1, February, 1962, pp. 30-35; Christensen and George R. Carpenter, "Value-Behavior Discrepancies Regarding Premarital Coitus in Three Western Cultures," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 27, No. 1, February, 1962, pp. 66-74.

The contrasting sex norms of these three cultures are described in the previous articles just cited. For the sake of anonymity, the three samples will be referred to throughout this paper simply as "Danish," "Midwestern," and "Intermountain."

pregnancy followed by marriage, were substantially higher there. With respect to *effects or consequences*, premarital coitus among respondents in the Danish sample was more likely to occur because of desire and to have pleasant feelings associated with it, accompanied by a lower level of guilt; in addition, Danish respondents who were involved in a premarital pregnancy were less likely to hurry up the wedding or to terminate their marriage by divorce. In all of these things¹, Denmark stood off by itself, so to speak; the great gap was between it and the two American cultures – which were quite similar to each other, though with the Intermountain almost always showing up as the most restrictive.

Thus, there is a certain amount of evidence that the more permissive the culture regarding premarital sexual intimacy, the higher will be the actual occurrence of such intimacy but the lower will be any negative effects deriving therefrom. And, conversely, the more restrictive the culture, the lower will be the actual occurrence but the higher will be the negative effects. Apparently negative consequences are more likely when behavior is out of line with the surrounding value system.

Problem and Procedure

Whereas the earlier publications discussed above have dealt with certain attitudes, behaviors, and consequences of *premarital* sexual intimacy, this report is to focus solely upon *attitudes* regarding *marital* infidelity, or, in other words, adultery. As will be explained below, data limitations will prevent us from dealing with either behavior or the consequences of behavior here. Nevertheless, the same three cultures will be examined and the cross-cultural theme will be maintained. Furthermore, by describing attitudes toward marital infidelity, we hope further to complete the overall picture in our three cultures of patterns of sexual intimacy outside of marriage, and by this indirection to add to an understanding of the roles of married mates.

Related Literature. Generally speaking, societies regard premarital intimacy as much less of a problem than they do marital infidelity, for while the former does not usually involve deception and may in some cases actually prepare for marriage, the latter usually does involve deception and hence makes a mockery of the marriage contract. Virtually all societies recognize this difference. Murdock, for example, working from the Human Relations Area Files at Yale University, reports that non-incestuous premarital relations are permitted by about 70 percent of the 158 societies for which information on this point is available. But regarding adulterous relations he says:

Taboos on adultery are extremely widespread, though sometimes more honored in the breach than in the observance. They appear in 120 of the 148 societies in our sample for which data are available. In 4 of the remaining 28, adultery is socially disapproved

1 Except that divorce comparisons were between the Danish and Midwestern only, since data were lacking for the Intermountain.

though not strictly forbidden; it is conditionally permitted in 19 and freely allowed in 5. It should be pointed out, however, that these figures apply only to sex relations with an unrelated or distantly related person. A substantial majority of all societies ... permit extramarital relations with certain affinal relatives¹.

In reviewing the legal side of sex offenses within the United States, Ploscowe makes the point that adultery is much more widely prohibited among the states, and the penalties are much more severe, than is true for fornication (premarital coitus)².

Kinsey and associates included this topic within their study of American sexual behavior. Important among their conclusions are the following: Historically and cross-culturally considered, extra-marital intercourse has more often been a matter for regulation than has intercourse before marriage, and has been more heavily prohibited for the female than for the male. In the American culture, approximately half of the males as compared with slightly more than one-fourth of the females, have sexual intercourse with someone other than the married partner at some time while they are married. Incidence rates for females who have engaged in extra-marital intercourse become higher with advancing age; are higher in the present than with earlier generations; are higher with the religiously inactive than the religiously active; and are higher for those who had previously experienced premarital coitus than for those who had not. (Some of these relationships may be presumed to hold for the male also, though apparently all of them were not tested.) Extra-marital intercourse is believed to have contributed to a substantial number of the divorces which had occurred among the subjects of this study; furthermore, "the males rated their wives' extra-marital activities as prime factors in their divorces twice as often as the wives made such evaluations of their husbands' activities."³

Two more recent studies will be briefly cited here for whatever light they may throw on the subject at hand. One took place in England and the other in France. Both of these were conducted via the questionnaire method and dealt with attitudes, whereas the Kinsey research used the interview approach and focused upon behavior. (1) Chesser, in a rather extensive survey of the family attitudes of over 6,000 English women, included a few questions on extra-marital sexual intercourse. He found that most of his female subjects claimed never to have had a desire for extra-marital intercourse; but that the proportion experiencing such a desire was highest with wives who got the least sexual satisfaction from their husbands and were least happy in their marriages; and that one-third or more of the married women believed that *most* men would

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- 1 George Peter Murdock, *Social Structure* (New York: Macmillan, 1949), p. 265.
 - 2 Morris Ploscowe, "Sex Offenses: The American Legal Context," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 25, No. 2, Spring 1960, p. 219.
 - 3 Alfred C. Kinsey *et al.*, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*. (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948), Chapter 19, "Extra-Marital Intercourse," pp. 583-594; *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*. (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953), Chapter 10, "Extra-Marital Coitus," p. 409-445. Quotation from the latter volume, p. 436.

like to have extra-marital intercourse even though they were happily married.¹ (2) In an extensive survey of the sex attitudes of French women, the French Institute of Public Opinion reported the following on the subject of adultery: Almost half of those interviewed believed that "nearly all men" or "many men" deceive their wives in this way, whereas only about one-fifth of them believed that "many women" deceive their husbands; belief in adultery as common was found to be greater for urban than rural, single than married, and, of the single, greater for the older and experienced respondents; majority belief was that adultery is equally serious for both sexes, but of those who had contrary views 32 percent believed it to be more serious when committed by the wife as against only 3 percent when committed by the husband; half of the respondents believed that it is excusable for a man to have a short and casual affair with another woman, but the more serious affair was not excused since this implies a loss of love and confidence and a breakdown of the marital relationship.²

Research Design. It should be evident from the above that, though each of the studies cited throws important light upon the culture of its focus, they do not "add up" cross-culturally. This is because each has its own frame of reference and method of investigation; since questions are posed in different ways, there is difficulty in seeing how the answers to one compare with those of another. In order to avoid this difficulty we sought, in our research, to apply the same concepts and procedures in a consistent manner to the several cultures studied.

Cultural relativism was our central concern. We were interested in knowing to what extent the value norms of a given culture affect its behavior patterns and also affect the consequences of this behavior. Sexual intimacy was chosen as the substantive area to be investigated, since it was believed that the strong views and feelings which people have concerning sex would cause intercultural differences to stand out. Denmark, Midwestern United States, and "Mormon Country" of Intermountain United States were selected as the populations for cross-cultural investigation, primarily because this offered a convenient testing range for our problem - extending from rather permissive sex norms at the one end to relatively restrictive sex norms at the other end.

The three cultures were then studied by means of both the "record linkage" method and a questionnaire survey; however, only the latter of these is used in the present paper. Three universities were selected, one from each of the cultures, and during the Spring of 1958 students in certain of the classes were invited to fill out questionnaires and to hand them in without signature.³ Almost one-

1 Eustace Chesser, *The Sexual, Marital and Family Relationships of the English Woman* (Watford: Hutchinson's Medical Publications Limited, 1956), pp. 441-2; 451-2; 516-9.

2 French Institute of Public Opinion, *Patterns of Sex and Love: A Study of the French Woman and Her Morals* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1961), "Adultery," pp. 179-194.

3 The author conducted this survey in Denmark while there on a Fulbright Research Fellowship during 1957-58. He was assisted on the American side by George R. Carpenter. Carpenter helped with the building of the questionnaire and administered it in the two American universities. His work was compiled into a Ph. D. dissertation filed at Purdue University in June, 1960.

hundred percent returns were received and the numbers of incomplete or inconsistent returns which later had to be discarded were small.

It is recognized, of course, that these university samples are not entirely representative of the broad cultures of which they are a part, since they were not drawn randomly to reflect cross-sections of the populations. It is believed, however, that they represent similar segments of the respective populations and that they therefore may be safely used for purposes of cross-cultural comparison.¹ Though cross-sectional samples would have been preferable, they would have been more difficult to work with in an intimate study of this kind. Since the investigators were laboring under rather severe limitations in time and resources, and since cross-cultural research at best presents some unusual difficulties, it was decided to stay with university students where cooperation could be most expected.

But in settling for these kinds of samples, we limited ourselves in the kinds of data that could be obtained. Since relatively few university students are married, there was virtually no opportunity to obtain data on adulterous practices. Therefore, when we report on marital infidelity, as is to be done below, it is necessary that we confine ourselves to beliefs or attitudes concerning such behavior – rather than the behavior itself.

In building the questionnaire, every effort was made to avoid ambiguity and to insure identical meanings in each of the populations. Professional persons familiar with each of the cultures were consulted and several pretests were run on both sides of the Atlantic, with revisions made on the basis of each experience. Danish translations were used for both the pretests and the final administration of the questionnaire in that culture. As a final check, the near-ready Danish questionnaire was translated back into English, by a person not previously connected with the study, and then compared with the near-ready English questionnaire for discrepancies.

Marital infidelity, or adultery, which is the subject of this paper, has been approached by means of one set of questions in the larger questionnaire just described. Readers desiring information on other aspects of the study should consult the sources listed in the first footnote.

Intra-Cultural Comparisons

Tables 1 and 2 present the basic data with which we are concerned. The plan is to comment first upon the phenomenon as such, as seen separately within each of the cultures; and then, in the following section, to focus upon the cross-cultural comparisons.

1 On the other hand, these samples may not be *strictly* comparable, since a smaller and more selective proportion of the population attends a university in Denmark, as compared with the United States. The age and sex composition of all three samples are roughly equivalent, except for a slightly higher proportion in the upper ages in the Danish sample.

Students were asked, "Under which of the following circumstances would you approve of coitus (sexual intercourse) before marriage?" and then the same for "sexual infidelity after marriage?" In both instances answer categories started out with "Never under any circumstances," followed by a number of specified circumstances for which approval could be checked. Table 1 gives data for this first category concerning both premarital coitus and marital infidelity. Table 2 gives data for the alternate approval categories concerning just marital infidelity.

Table 1
Percentages Disapproving Nonmarital Coitus under any Circumstance for both Premarital and Postwedding Situations by Sex and Culture

Classification	Danish Sample (<i>N</i> = 149M, 86F)	Midwestern Sample (<i>N</i> = 213M, 142F)	Intermountain Sample (<i>N</i> = 94M, 74F)
<i>I. Premarital Coital Experience</i>			
A. Disapprove for Females Only ¹			
(1) Males	1.3	10.8	6.4
(2) Females	5.8	16.9	18.9
B. Disapprove for Both Sexes			
(3) Males	4.7	25.8	55.3
(4) Females	11.6	48.6	70.3
<i>II. Postwedding Infidelity</i>			
C. Disapprove for Females Only ¹			
(5) Males	2.0	7.5	3.2
(6) Females	3.5	5.6	16.2
D. Disapprove for Both Sexes			
(7) Males	37.6	61.0	73.4
(8) Females	41.9	71.8	78.4

Single versus Double Standard. First to be noted is the rather strong picture of a *single standard* of sexual morality, in contrast to the double standard. From Table 1 it can be seen that, when sex outside of marriage was disapproved, it was generally disapproved for *both* males and females rather than for the latter only.² This was true in the answers of both males and females, in all three cultures, and for both premarital and marital categories (A compared with B,

- 1 Indicates a double standard of morality wherein greater sexual freedom is permitted males than females. Merely 6 and 12 persons disapproved "for males only" in the respective premarital and postwedding categories; since these numbers are so small, they are eliminated from the table and ignored in the analysis.
- 2 As stated in the above footnote, disapproval for males only was almost non-existent and hence, for practical purposes, can be disregarded.

and C compared with D). All intra-cultural differences, with sex categories combined, were found to be statistically significant.¹

The double standard finds less acceptance when applied to adultery than when applied to premarital coitus (C compared with A). With the exception of Danish males, this relationship was suggested for both sexes in all three cultures. Intra-cultural differences, with sex categories combined, were found to be statistically significant in the Midwestern sample but not in the Danish or Intermountain samples.

Level of Commitment. Another major observation is that disapproval of adulterous relationships increases, and approval decreases, with each advance in level of involvement and/or commitment. From Table 1 we see that across-the-board disapproval is considerably higher when marital infidelity is being considered than when premarital coitus is being considered (D compared with B). This was true for both sexes and within all three cultures. All three intra-cultural differences, with sex categories combined, were found to be statistically significant. From Table 2 we see that approval of marital infidelity is highest when it is viewed as a temporary expedient during periods of absence from spouse (Stage I), that approval rates go down when the element of love between the offending party and the paramour is added (Stage II), and that they go down even farther when the paramour is also a married person (Stage III). With a few minor exceptions, these differences can be seen to hold true for both males

Table 2
Percentages² Approving Sexual Infidelity during Marriage under Specified Circumstances by Sex and Culture

<i>Classification</i>	<i>Danish Sample (N = 122M, 69F)</i>	<i>Midwestern Sample (N = 163M, 114F)</i>	<i>Intermountain Sample (N = 73M, 62F)</i>
I. If he or she feels the need for sexual release (with prostitutes or others) during periods of long absence from spouse.			
(1) Males	41.0	12.3	5.5
(2) Females	36.2	5.3	—
II. If he or she has fallen in love with an unmarried person.			
(3) Males	32.8	8.6	1.4
(4) Females	34.8	1.8	—
III. If he or she has fallen in love with another married person.			
(5) Males	27.0	6.7	1.4
(6) Females	29.0	1.8	1.6

1 Unless otherwise noted, significance tests throughout this paper are based upon Chi-Square analyses, with the 5 percent level of confidence used as the minimum acceptable standard.

2 Percentages were derived by using total cases that were answered and were free from ambiguity and contradiction as the denominator (given at top of column headings), and the number approving for both men and women as the numerator.

and females and within all three of the cultures. But here, intra-cultural differences, with sex categories combined, were not significant. They, nevertheless, approached significance in both the Danish (.07 level) and the Midwestern (.08 level) but not in the Intermountain.

To recapitulate, our data show approval of non-marital coitus to be highest when both parties to the act are unmarried (Table 1), lower when one is unmarried and there is no love or permanence involved (Table 2-I), still lower when one is unmarried but there is love between them (Table 2-II), and lowest of all when there is love between them and both are married to other persons (Table 2-III). Though there are minor exceptions to this within some of the sub-categories and though certain of the tests do not reach statistical significance by rigorous standards, the general consistency in direction of difference, plus the fact that most of the tests at least approach significance, tend to give confidence in the generalization. There is the strong suggestion of a negative relationship between the degree of involvement in the affair and/or commitment to another marriage on the one hand, and the willingness of respondents to approve adulterous experiences on the other hand.

In contrast to the point just made, Christensen and Carpentier earlier reported a positive relationship between approval of *premarital* coitus and level of involvement and/or commitment between the persons.¹ The explanation, however, seems obvious: prior to the wedding, each advance in involvement and/or commitment seems to justify greater intimacy since marriage may be the assumed end; whereas after the wedding, involvement with *another* person is likely to work against the marriage – and where two married persons are involved, two marriages might be broken up.

Male-Female Differences. The well accepted fact that females tend to be more conservative than males regarding non-marital sex is supported by the data of this study. In all but one of the twelve comparisons of Table 1 (C in the Midwestern sample), females showed proportionately greater disapproval than did males; and in all but three of the nine comparisons of Table 2 (II in the Danish sample and III in the Danish and Intermountain samples), females showed proportionately lesser approval than did males. Table 3 indicates that only nine of the twenty-one tests between male and female responses showed statistical significance. Nevertheless, since three others approached significance, as will be seen from Table 3, and since there was general consistency in direction of difference as explained a few sentences above, there is a suggestion of support for the conclusion of greater female conservativeness.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that proportionately more females than males adhere to the double standard of sexual morality (A and C of Table 1), even though this standard discriminates against their own sex. Two of the six

1 Christensen and Carpenter, *loc. cit.*; see the article on timing patterns. Approval of pre-marital coitus was shown to be lowest where the persons were dating randomly and casually, next where they were in love and going steady, and highest where they were in love and formally engaged to be married.

Table 3
Significance Levels Between Male and Female Responses¹

<i>Comparisons</i>	<i>Danish Sample</i>	<i>Midwestern Sample</i>	<i>Intermountain Sample</i>
<i>From Table 1</i>			
Lines 1 & 2 compared	(.06)	(.10)	.02
Lines 3 & 4 compared	.05	.01	.01
Lines 5 & 6 compared	—	—	.01
Lines 7 & 8 compared	—	.05	—
<i>From Table 2</i>			
Lines 1 & 2 compared	—	.05	(.07)
Lines 3 & 4 compared	—	.02	—
Lines 5 & 6 compared	—	.05	—

comparisons in this regard are statistically significant and two others approach significance (Table 3). It may also be noted from Tables 1 and 3 that male-female differences regarding the double standard are greater for premarital than for marital behavior; when adultery is being considered, both sexes converge on the single standard.

Other Variables. There was an attempt to determine how ten additional factors are related to the phenomenon under study. These factors, together with significance levels for differences among the internal breakdowns, with sex categories combined, are shown in Table 4. No consistent directions of difference were found for *age*, *education*, or *residence*; except in the Danish sample, where disapproval showed greatest for farm residence (significant) and highest educational level (approached significance). As for *social class*, more of the upper than lower class respondents disapproved (significant in the Midwestern sample only). Similarly for *church attendance* and for *parental happiness*; the tendency was for the most frequent church attenders to give the greatest disapproval (significant in the Danish and Midwestern samples), and for those with the most happy parents to give the greatest disapproval of adultery (significant in the Danish sample). *Source of sex education* showed little consistency, except for a slight tendency for those whose chief source was other than "friends" to disapprove more (significance approached in the Midwestern sample). In regard to *courtship status*, it was those who were engaged or going steady who, in all three samples, showed greatest disapproval of adultery (significant in the Danish and Midwestern samples). Similarly, in all three samples, it was those who were most *satisfied* with their present status who most frequently disapproved of adultery (significant in the Danish and Intermountain samples and significance approached in the Midwestern sample). Finally, the non-permissive, as measured by a special *attitude scale*, were the ones who gave greatest disapproval of

¹ Based upon Chi-Square tests. Significance levels for 5 percent and above are shown. (Levels between 10 and 5 percent are shown also but are set off with parentheses.)

Table 4
Significance Levels among Responses in Various Factor Breakdowns¹

<i>Factors²</i>	<i>Danish Sample</i>	<i>Midwestern Sample</i>	<i>Intermountain Sample</i>
Age	—	—	—
Education	(.09)	—	—
Residence	.05	—	—
Social Class	—	.01	—
Church Attendance	.01	.01	—
Parents' Happiness	.01	—	—
Source of Sex Education	—	(.08)	—
Courtship Status	.05	.02	—
Courtship Satisfaction	.02	(.07)	.01
Permissiveness Scale	.01	.01	—

adultery. This was true in all three samples, though the difference was significant in only the Danish and Midwestern.³

Despite some irregularities in direction of difference, and the lack of statistical significance in many of the differences, there is evidence in Table 4 to suggest that disapproval of adultery is frequently associated with such factors as: residence on a farm, advanced educational training, high social status, frequent church attendance, happiness of the parental home, sex education derived from sources other than friends, a going steady or engaged relationship between the sexes, satisfaction over one's level of interaction with the opposite sex, and a restrictive attitude toward sexual matters generally. However, as will be stressed below, these tentatively suggested relationships do not apply equally across the three cultures studied.

- 1 Based upon Chi-Square tests. Significance levels for 5 percent and above are shown. (Levels between 10 and 5 percent are shown also but are set off with parentheses.)
- 2 For all tests reported here, only cases with unambiguous answers to disapproval of adultery "under any circumstances" were used. Factor breakdowns were as follows: age - 20 or under, 21-23, 24-29; education - 1st year college, 2nd or 3rd year, 4th year or higher; residence - farm, city under 10,000, city with 10,000 or more; social class - working class and lower middle class combined, upper middle and upper class combined; church attendance - less than once a month, once a month or more; parents' happiness - very happy in marriage, other categories combined; source of sex education - family members, friends, reading or schooling; courtship status - random or casual dates, going steady or engaged, married; satisfaction with courtship status - very satisfied, other categories combined; and permissiveness scale - 0-5 (non-permissive), 6-10 (permissive).
- 3 Construction of the Intimacy Permissive Scale is explained in Christensen and Carpenter, *loc. cit.*; see the article on value-behavior discrepancies. None of the items used in the scale are the same as those reported in the present paper; yet, a correlation between the two, whereby the least permissive according to the scale give greatest disapproval of adultery, is entirely in line with expectation.

Inter-Cultural Comparisons

Though cross-cultural analysis is the central concern of this paper, the reader already will have surmised the general picture in this regard, and hence a brief pointing up of findings is all that should be necessary here.

Overall Attitude Pattern. The most consistent and significant differences found in our entire study were those extending across the three cultures. A re-examination of Tables 1 and 2 will make quite clear that the Danish respondents were always the most permissive and the Intermountain respondents generally¹ the most restrictive in attitudes regarding adultery. All inter-cultural differences from these two tables, with sex categories combined, were found to be statistically significant.²

More specifically, it can be said from the data presented that Danish college students, as compared with American college students, hold significantly closer to the single standard of sexual morality³ and are more liberal or permissive regarding both premarital coital experience and marital sexual infidelity – in general and under each of the circumstances specified.

It may also be observed from Tables 1 and 2 that, though the Midwestern answers are generally intermediate, they are usually closer to the Intermountain than to the Danish.

Homogeneity of Attitude. Though the Danish and Intermountain are at opposite ends of our permissiveness-restrictiveness continuum, they both seem to be characterized by cultures that are relatively homogeneous. In regard to religion, for example, nine-tenths of the Danish population belonged to some church denomination which is Lutheran in tradition; the Intermountain population has the largest proportion belonging to a single church (about three-fourths is Mormon) of any other region in the United States; whereas the Midwestern population is more distributed among various church and non-member groups, without any one having a clear majority.⁴

When the focus was brought down to attitudes regarding premarital sexual intimacy the picture was generally the same; that is, the Danish showed up as

1 The only exception is where Midwestern males show up as being more accepting of a double standard of morality than Intermountain males (A of Table 1).

2 Furthermore, significance was at the .01 level in six of the tests and at the .05 level in only one (C of Table 1).

3 Additional evidence of greater adherence to the single standard in Denmark was provided by another part of the questionnaire. Ninety-four percent of the Danish respondents, as compared with 71 and 80 percent respectively of Midwestern and Intermountain respondents, agreed with the statement: "Society should be no more critical of an unmarried woman's sexual behavior than of an unmarried man's sexual behavior; the same standard should apply to both."

4 Though both the Danish and Intermountain are homogeneous in regards to religion, the sexual permissiveness of the former may be due partly to the purely nominal nature of much of the church membership there, with little individual participation; and the sexual restrictiveness of the latter may be due partly to the vigorous program of the Mormon church, which involves considerable lay participation.

homogeneously permissive, the Midwestern as heterogeneously moderate, and the Intermountain as homogeneously restrictive. In one test, average deviations of individual scores from mean scores on an Intimacy Permissiveness Scale were calculated for each sex in each of the three cultures. These average deviations for males and females respectively, were 1.29 and 1.83 for the Danish, 2.13 and 1.93 for the Midwestern, and 1.63 and 1.38 for the Intermountain – showing the first and last named to have the most homogeneous attitudes, and especially the males of the former and the females of the latter.¹ In another test, mean Intimacy Permissiveness Scores were compared between males and females within each of the cultures. Intersex differences were found to be lowest in the Danish, next lowest in the Intermountain, and highest in the Midwestern. Furthermore, it was only in the Midwestern that the male-female differences showed up as being statistically significant.²

What about attitudes regarding marital infidelity? Here too there is the strong suggestion of intersex homogeneity in both the Danish and Intermountain and of intersex heterogeneity in the Midwestern. This may be loosely observed in Tables 1 and 2 and it becomes even clearer in Table 3. There (when the first two lines are omitted so as to compare for attitudes toward adultery only), it will be noted that none of the intersex differences were statistically significant in the Danish sample, only one was significant at the five percent level or above in the Intermountain sample, but four of the five differences were significant in the Midwestern sample.

But, when Table 4 is examined for cross-cultural differences in homogeneity regarding other factors almost the reverse of this picture is obtained. Whereas the Danish sample showed fewer significant male-female differences (Table 3), it now shows a larger number of significant differences for these ten additional factors – six, compared with four for the Midwestern and only one for the Intermountain. Apparently, sexual permissiveness, as it exists in Denmark, tends to level male and female attitudes regarding adultery while at the same time failing

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- 1 See George R. Carpenter, "Cross-Cultural Values as a Factor in Premarital Intimacy," Ph. D. dissertation, Purdue University, 1960, p. 96.
 - 2 Christensen and Carpenter, *loc. cit.*; see the article on value-behavior discrepancies, especially Table 1.

In this same publication it was noted that, though intersex homogeneity regarding *attitude* was high for both Danish and Intermountain, when *behavior* was being considered only the Danish showed intersex homogeneity while the Intermountain showed the largest intersex *heterogeneity* of the three samples. Thus – though in all three cultures relatively more males than females (1) engaged in premarital coitus, (2) were promiscuous in their coital contacts, (3) experienced pleasant feeling the day following first coitus, and (4) behaved in accordance with their value systems when they engaged in premarital coitus – intersex *differences* in all of these things were found to be lowest in the Danish and highest in the Intermountain. Apparently sexual restrictiveness tends to converge male and female attitudes (in common with sexual permissiveness) but to diverge male and female behavior (in contrast with sexual permissiveness, which converges the behavior also).

All of this pertains to *premarital* sex, where data are available for both attitudes and behavior. Since the present article is limited to attitudes alone, this matter cannot be pursued further here.

to level out many other differences within the sub-cultures; and, on the other hand, sexual restrictiveness, as it exists in the Mormon culture of Intermountain United States, seemingly tends to level most factors, including to some extent the male-female factor.

Conclusions

By means of questionnaire data from three university samples, we have been able to make both intra- and inter-cultural comparisons on attitudes toward marital infidelity. The three cultures under investigation were: sexually permissive Denmark; Midwestern United States with its somewhat typical or average sex norms; and sexually restrictive "Mormon Country" in the Intermountain region of the United States.

Major *intra-cultural* tendencies observed were: an overwhelming acceptance of the single standard of sexual morality, especially as applied to adultery; a decrease in approval of extra-marital sexual relationships with each advance in assumed level of involvement and/or commitment; and the suggestion of an association of disapproval concerning adultery with such factors as being a female, residing on a farm, being well advanced in college studies, having high social status, attending church frequently, having parents who are happily married, obtaining most of one's sex education from sources other than friends, carrying on either a going steady or engaged relationship with the opposite sex, being satisfied with one's level of interaction with the opposite sex, and having restrictive attitudes toward sexual matters generally. It must be remembered, however, that the suggested associations of these last named ten factors with attitude toward adultery have not been fully established, since only some of the differences tested out as being statistically significant (see Tables 3 and 4).

Major *inter-cultural* observations were: a universal tendency for Danish respondents to be the most liberal or permissive of the three in their attitudes toward sex; a tendency for Intermountain respondents to be the most conservative or restrictive in their sex attitudes, with Midwestern respondents in between but closer to the Intermountain than to the Danish; a greater tendency for Danish respondents to adhere to the single standard of sexual morality than for those in the other two cultures, with the Intermountain being second in this respect; a greater intersex homogeneity in attitude in the two extreme cultures, Danish and Intermountain (Table 3); and a paralleling homogeneity regarding other sub-cultural factors in the Intermountain, contrasted with the greatest heterogeneity regarding these factors in the Danish (Table 4).

Apparently, the extremes of permissiveness (Denmark) and restrictiveness (Intermountain) *both* lead to a convergence of male and female attitudes regarding adultery – the former by freeing the female and the latter by restricting the male. Thus male-female heterogeneity in this regard is found to be greatest where the attitudes are most moderate (Midwestern).

But why is the most restrictive culture (Intermountain) also extremely

homogeneous regarding additional factors, while the most permissive culture (Danish) shifts to the other extreme of heterogeneity? Though tentative, the following explanation seems plausible: In a sexually restrictive culture, such as the Mormon of the Intermountain region of the United States, morality tends to be rigidly fixed; things are regarded as either black or white, good or bad; in judging an act, little allowance is made for conditions or circumstances; hence a thing that is considered wrong, is wrong – period! This results in a narrow range of tolerance and discourages deviation and the development of sub-cultures. On the other hand, in a sexually permissive culture, such as the Danish of Scandinavia, morality is more flexible and hence more variable. Since the range of tolerance is greater in such a culture, it can be expected that sub-cultures will play a greater role.¹

Nevertheless, at this stage in our theory building, these explanations are largely speculations. Their verification must await further cross-cultural research.

1 At some future time, the author hopes to further pursue this lead concerning a possible relationship between cultural permissiveness-restrictiveness on the one hand and normative heterogeneity-homogeneity on the other hand; and, in turn, to relate what is found to the respective behavioral systems under study so as to get closer to an understanding of what makes for cultural cohesion.

A highly suggestive analysis along these lines may be found in Ephraim H. Mizruchi and Robert Perrucci, "Norm Qualities and Differential Effects of Deviant Behavior: An Exploratory Analysis," scheduled for publication in a forthcoming issue of the *American Sociological Review*. These authors hold that the strain which follows deviant behavior is primarily the result of the quality of the normative order – essentially, whether this order is prescriptive or proscriptive (with the latter being productive of the greatest disorganization). This formulation may prove to be a reinforcing complement to our own previously reported theory regarding "value-behavior discrepancies."

Support and Power Structure in Sinhalese, Tamil, and Burgher Student Families¹

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IT is becoming increasingly clear from both theoretical and empirical analyses of the family that two of the most central, if not *the* most central axes for differentiating families from each other are represented by the relative amount of affective or personal *support* which members provide for each other and the relative *power* position of the members of the family group. There are cogent theoretical grounds, and even some empirical evidence, which indicates that a knowledge of the support and power structure of the family is essential for an understanding of almost all aspects of family functioning including, for example, familial effectiveness in socialization and control of behavior, and in maintaining the allegiance of members to the family group².

If the critical importance of these two dimensions of family interaction is granted, then it follows that progress in family research requires the existence of adequate techniques for their measurement. In point of fact, a great many

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- 1 This paper forms a part of a program of research on the measurement of family interaction. Various phases of the program have been conducted with the aid of funds provided by the Department of Child Development and Family Relationships, Cornell University; National Institute of Mental Health project M-5147(A), and School of Home Economics, University of Minnesota project 2027.
 - 2 See T. Parson and R. F. Bales, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955; P. G. Herbst, "Family Living-Patterns of Interaction," in O. A. Oser and F. B. Hammond, *Social Structure and Personality in a City*, London: Rutledge and Kegan Paul, 1954, Chapter 12; R. O. Blood and D. M. Wolf, *Husbands and Wives: The Dynamics of Married Living*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960; R. Hill, J. M. Stycos and K. W. Back, *The Family and Population Control*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958; A. L. Baldwin, "Socialization and the Parent-Child Relationship," *Child Development*, 19 (1948), 127-136; U. Bronfenbrenner, "A Theoretical Model for the Analysis of Parent-Child Relationships in a Social Context," in *Parental Attitudes and Child Behavior*, Springfield, Illinois: C. C. Thomas, 1962, pp. 90-109 and M. A. Straus, "Conjugal Power Structure and Adolescent Personality," *Marriage and Family Living*, 24 (1962), 17-25; and U. G. Eva, "Convergences in the Analysis of the Structure of Interpersonal Behavior," *Psychological Review*, 68 (1961), 341-353.

such techniques exist. Of the approximately two hundred techniques for measuring a family property which have been covered in a review of family measurement methodology, a very large proportion deal with some aspect of the family support or power relationships.¹ The range of instrumentation available to the family researcher is, however, much smaller than these numbers suggest. First, most of these instruments are designed to tap the parent-child interactional network and relatively few, the spousal patterns. Of greater importance is the fact that many of the instruments reviewed are "evaluative" rather than "descriptive". That is, they are implicitly or explicitly organized along a continuum representing, at least in part, the investigator's judgement of what constitutes a "good" family pattern as compared to a "bad" pattern. Thus, for example, most of the measures dealing with the power variable are conceptualized as being indicators of a "traditional" vs. a "developmental", "permissive", or "companionate" type relationship. In a number of cases, everything which is judged to be good for the child is counted as an indication of a "developmental" type of parent-child relationship, whereas everything which is judged to be bad for the child is classified as "traditional," even though the former may imply a high degree of control of the child's actions by the parents and the latter a low amount of control. Thus the apparent profusion of techniques for measuring these two crucial aspects of family structure becomes a tantalizing mirage which disappears as the researcher thirstily reaches out for them.

This paper reports on the development of a system for scoring Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) protocols, or other written materials, for the *power* of nuclear family members in relation to each other, and for the patterns of *affective support* between family members. The paper outlines the scoring system² and presents the findings which resulted from the application of these procedures to the TAT protocols of a group of University of Ceylon students. No formal hypotheses are tested in this paper. Rather, the primary purpose is to illustrate a method which is believed to be suited to comparative study of the family, in

- 1 M. A. Straus, *Family Measurement Abstracts, Preliminary series Part I*, Minneapolis: Minnesota Family Study Center, 1962.
- 2 A more detailed exposition of the scoring procedure is given in M. A. Straus and S. Cytrynbaum, *A Scoring Manual for Intrafamilial Power and Affective Support*, Minneapolis: Minnesota Family Study Center, 1961 (Ditto). Although this technique was primarily designed for scoring Thematic Apperception Test protocols the procedures may be applied to other written materials, for example, to determine historical trends in family power relationships by scoring representative fiction, newspaper reports, or magazine articles. For examples of this type of trend analysis, see S. M. Dornbusch and L. C. Hickman, "Other-Directedness in Consumer-Goods Advertising: A Test of Riesman's Historical Theory," *Social Forces*, 38 (1959), pp. 99-102; Martha Wolfenstein, "The Emergence of Fun Morality," *Journal of Social Issues*, 7 (1951), pp. 15-25; and M. A. Straus and L. J. Houghton, "Achievement, Affiliation, and Cooperation Values as Clues to Trends in American Rural Society, 1924-1958," *Rural Sociology*, 25 (1960), pp. 394-403.

It also seems likely that with relatively slight modification this scoring procedure can also be used to score actually observed family power and support interaction, particularly since most of the sources drawn upon to develop this system were methods of scoring observed interaction.

the hope that the technique will be suggestive to other scholars in the field of comparative sociology.¹

Sample

The subjects are 103 Sinhalese-Buddhist, 36 Tamil-Hindu, and 12 Burgher-Protestant students entering the University in 1950. Omitted are the data for the 61 Christian students of Sinhalese or Tamil ethnic origin. The restriction of the analysis to these 151 cases seemed desirable in order to enable comparison between distinct ethnic-religious-linguistic groups.²

The TAT was administered to groups of ten to twelve students by projecting the cards with an opaque projector. The testing was carried out as a part of the medical examination required of each student after he is admitted to the University. Because of the high level of fluency in English of this population³ it was possible to carry out all testing in English. Each student was given a booklet of nine legal sized pages, one for each of the nine TAT cards administered (numbers 1, 2, 3BN, 4, 5, 10, 13MF, 14 and 15). Five minutes was allowed for each story. The standard TAT instructions were employed.⁴

Scoring Procedure

It is fundamental to an understanding of this technique to realize that the definitions and scoring procedures are focused on the *interactional* aspects of power and support rather than the *motivational* aspects, as in the work of Veroff.⁵ Thus

- 1 In this connection it should be noted that a rich collection of comparative materials is now available to all interested scholars. This is the series edited by Bert Kaplan, *Primary Records in Culture and Personality*, Madison, Wisconsin: The Microcard Foundation. Three volumes have been published to date, including a number of sets of TAT protocols.
- 2 Further detail on the sampling procedures and characteristics of the sample may be found in, M. A. Straus, "Mental Ability and Cultural Needs: A Psycho-Cultural Interpretation of the Intelligence Test Performance of Ceylon University Entrants," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (1951), pp. 371-375; "Family Characteristics and Occupational Choice of University Entrants as Clues to the Social Structure of Ceylon," *The University of Ceylon Review*, 9 (1951), pp. 125-136; and "Subcultural Variation in Ceylonese Mental Ability: A Study in National Character," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 39 (1954), pp. 129-141.
- 3 Evidence of this proficiency is given in the references cited in the above footnote.
- 4 The complete set of protocols are available on microcard in the *Primary Records in Culture Personality Series*, (Bert Kaplan, editor), vol. 2, Madison, Wisconsin: The Microcard Foundation, 1957. A detailed description of the testing procedures is included in the introduction to this series.
- 5 For a theoretical explication of power as an interactional concept, see Richard M. Emerson, "Power-Dependence Relations," *American Sociological Review*, 27 (1962), pp. 31-41. For motivational aspects of power, see Joseph Veroff, "Development and Validation of a Projective Measure of Power Motivation," in J. W. Atkinson, *Motives in Fantasy, Action, and Society*, New York, Van Nostrand, 1958, pp. 105-116.

the definition of power which this procedure is designed to operationalize is "An act or statement which indicates an attempt on the part of a family member to control, initiate, change, or modify the behavior or motivation of another member of the same nuclear family." Similarly, the definition of *affective support* is "An act or statement which indicates an attempt on the part of the originating actor to establish, maintain, or restore as an end in itself a positive relationship between himself and another member of his nuclear family."

In this system the protocols are scored literally and non-evaluatively. No attempt is made to interpret the content in terms of desirable or undesirable patterns of interaction; or in terms of distorting motivational systems such as reaction formation. Thus, for purposes of *scoring* it is assumed that the subject recounts stories directly reflecting experience in his own nuclear family or other families known to him. However, in *interpreting* the descriptive statistics which result from the application of this scoring system, or in using the scores as independent or dependent variables in further analysis, any set of assumptions or interpretations judged of heuristic value may be applied.

Frequency of Family Interaction Projections

At the time the subjects of this study were tested the present mode of analyzing the TAT protocols was not envisioned. Fortunately, however, Murray's original selection of the stimulus pictures was made with the object of representing each of the actors in the family system. As those who have used the TAT know, Murray's selection was eminently successful in providing stimuli which evoke familial content. For the present sample this is clearly shown in the lower right corner of Table 1. Altogether the 151 subjects told stories depicting 1,839 nuclear family interactions, or an average of 12.2 per protocol. If other aspects

Table 1
Frequency of Intrafamilial Power and Support Interactions, by Ethnic Group

	Power	Support	Total
<i>Sinhalese (N = 103)</i>			
Number of Interactions	395	828	1223
Mean Interactions per Subject	3.8	8.0	11.9
<i>Tamil (N = 36)</i>			
Number of Interactions	115	341	456
Mean Interactions per Subject	3.2	9.5	12.7
<i>Burgher (N = 12)</i>			
Number of Interactions	41	119	160
Mean Interactions per Subject	3.4	9.9	13.3
<i>Total (N = 151)</i>			
Number of Interactions	551	1288	1839
Mean Interactions per Subject	3.7	8.5	12.2

Table 2

Frequency of Intrafamilial Power and Support Interaction, by Stimulus Card

TAT Card	Per Cent of Total Interactions					
	Power			Support		
	Sinhalese	Tamil	Burgher	Sinhalese	Tamil	Burgher
1	17	23	37	3	5	2
2	9	10	17	6	7	8
3BM	18	5	12	14	17	19
4	20	28	12	11	12	19
5	14	11	7	7	9	8
10	10	10	7	27	19	23
13MF	8	3	2	24	20	19
14	4	7	5	3	5	—
15	1	3	—	4	6	3
N	395	115	41	828	341	119

of family interaction besides power and support had been scored, this figure would undoubtedly be higher.

The figures for the average number of power interactions per protocol given in the first column of Table 1 suggest that the power structure of the nuclear family is more salient for the Sinhalese than for the Burgher and especially the Tamil students. On the other hand, affective support is depicted least frequently in the Sinhalese student protocols and most frequently in those of the Burgher's. In fact, the ratio of support to power interactions is approximately 3:1 for the Burgher and Tamil students as compared to approximately 2:1 for the Sinhalese.

These findings take on meaning in the light of previous theoretical and empirical analyses of Cylonese society. In particular it has been argued that the "loose structuring" of the Sinhalese segment of this society results on the one hand in a preoccupation with power relationships, and on the other hand in a wariness of, and even avoidance of, close interpersonal relations.¹

In summary, then, the findings shown in Tables 1 and 2 indicate that the procedures followed in this study have been successful in eliciting and scoring interactions describing the emotional support and power structure of the nuclear family in sufficient volume to be quantitatively analyzed.

1 See Bryce Ryan and M. A. Straus, "The Intergration of Sinhalese Society," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, 22 (1954), pp. 179-227; M. A. Straus, "Childhood Experience in Emotional Security in the Context of Sinhalese Social Organization," *Social Forces*, 33 (1954), pp. 152-160; M. A. Straus and J. H. Straus, "Personal Insecurity in Sinhalese Social Structure: Rorschach Evidence for Primary School Children," *Eastern Anthropologist*, 10 (1957), pp. 97-111; Bryce Ryan, *Sinhalese Village*, Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1958; Bryce Ryan, "The Sinhalese Family System," *Eastern Anthropologist*, 6 (1953), pp. 143-163; E. R. Leach, *Pul Eliya, A Village in Ceylon: A Study of Land Tenure and Kinship*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961.

Actors and Role Systems

It will be recalled from the description of the scoring system that each interaction was classified according to the actor originating the interaction, and according to the actor to whom this interaction is directed. The distribution of originating and recipient actors is shown in Table 3.

For power interactions the wife-mother is clearly the most frequent *originator* followed by the husband, or by stories in which parental figures are described without specification of sex. Given the inherent power structure of the nuclear

Table 3
Originating and Recipient Actors in Power and Support Interactions

	Per Cent of Interactions ¹					
	Power			Support		
	Sinhalese	Tamil	Burgher	Sinhalese	Tamil	Burgher
<i>Originating Actor</i>						
Husband-Father	20	20	12	33	36	41
Wife-Mother	50	48	49	42	41	34
Parent(s)	19	23	22	3	3	3
Son	6	6	10	13	14	13
Daughter	5	4	7	8	4	8
<i>Recipient Actor</i>						
Husband-Father	27	28	20	33	35	32
Wife-Mother	12	6	5	36	39	34
Parent(s)	3	3	5	2	1	3
Son	36	43	46	18	18	14
Daughter	19	19	20	8	6	15
Child	3	2	5	3	4	2

family it is not surprising that individuals occupying the status of child do not often originate power interactions. Differences between ethnic groups are not marked except that the husband-father is much less frequently the originator of power interactions in the Burgher student stories. The difference is made up by the Burgher children more frequently originating such interaction than is the case in the Sinhalese and Tamil protocols.

To a limited extent, the reverse of these differences are found for actors originating support actions. Here the Burgher husband-fathers are more frequently seen as the source of affective support than is the case in stories of Sinhalese and Tamil students. On the other hand, the Burgher wife-mother figure is less frequently depicted as an originator of support interactions. The

1 The base for each of the 12 columns of percentages correspond to those given in the last row of Table 2.

figures for originating actor, then, suggest that the wife-mother status is the one most frequently perceived as asserting power, probably because it is the mother who has the day to day responsibility for control of children's behavior; whereas for support both husband and wife are perceived as about equal. Persons occupying the status of child least often exert power and also least often support, although to a greater extent than power.

The *recipient actor* half of Table 3 shows that the actors toward whom power interactions are most frequently directed are, as might be expected, children. However, contrary to expectation, the husband-father is the second most frequent type of recipient actor. Also, contrary to expectations is the finding

Table 4
Role System Loci of Power and Support Interactions

<i>Role System</i>	<i>Per Cent of Interactions</i>					
	<i>Power</i>			<i>Support</i>		
	<i>Sinhalese</i>	<i>Tamil</i>	<i>Burgher</i>	<i>Sinhalese</i>	<i>Tamil</i>	<i>Burgher</i>
Husband to Wife	7	4	—	22	23	25
Wife to Husband	25	26	20	27	28	25
Parent(s) to Son	36	40	46	18	19	11
Parent(s) to Daughter	19	19	22	9	9	14
Child to Parent(s)	13	11	12	24	21	25
Number of Interactions	395	115	41	828	341	119

that children are less frequently the recipient actors in support interactions than are individuals occupying the status of spouse or parent. This is because (as shown in Table 4) about half of all support interaction occurring in these stories involve a spousal relation, and another 25% a child to parent action.

Ethnic group differences in recipient actor are not large. However, it is noteworthy that children in Burgher stories are more frequently recipients of power interactions. Adding the "son," "daughter," and "child" categories shows that 71% of power interactions were directed toward children in the Burgher family stories, compared to 64% for the Tamil and 58% for the Sinhalese. Thus, the status of child as described in the Burgher stories, is more frequently seen as *both* originating and receiving power, suggesting a less role differentiated type of power structure for the Burghers than is true in the family interaction described by Sinhalese and Tamil subjects.

Power Relationships

The procedures employed in this study permit analysis of intra-familial power on the basis of four qualitative variables ("Control initiating role," "Control sanctions," "Authority recognition," and "Compliance"), and three

quantitative variables ("Saliency," "Impact," and "Effectiveness"). The analysis will proceed by first comparing all power interactions and then be made more specific by focusing on the spousal role. That is, the three ethnic groups will be compared in respect to power relationships when the originating and recipient actors are husband and wife.¹

Control Initiating Role. This categorization is scored from the way in which the originating actor communicates his wishes to the recipient. It assumes that the control initiating communication reflects the reciprocal authority expectations of both the originating and recipient actor. Furthermore, the categories are arranged in order of increasing legitimacy or acceptance of the originating actor's right to exercise control. Thus, the first category, "Coercive" is coded when the control attempts indicated that some form of sanction will be applied to enforce the originator's will in the situation in which the recipient does not accept the legitimacy of his control. A "Permissive" Control Initiating Role is scored when the originating communication implies or assumes that the originating actor has only partial or qualified rights to control the behavior of the recipient. In this group are control attempts presented as suggestions or those accompanied by reasoning, pleading, or explanations to justify the behavior requested of the recipient. Finally, interactions are coded as "Authoritative" in Control Initiating Role if it is implicit in the originating communication that the recipient actor will follow the originator's directions without qualification and as a matter of course; for example, a TAT story in which the wife tells the family, "It is time to eat dinner," and everyone then sits down to dinner. The term authoritative is used here because the communication assumes the legitimacy of the originating actor's power.

For all interactions scored (Total column of Table 5), it is clear that there is hardly any difference in the relative frequency with which these three types of control initiating roles are depicted by the Sinhalese and the Burgher students. However, in stories of Tamil students, a larger proportion of the interactions are classified as Authoritative, i.e. interactions initiated in a way which assumes the legitimacy of the originating actor's power. This suggests a greater stability or institutionalization of power relationship in the Tamil family system, as compared to the Buddhist or Burgher system.²

Unfortunately, the second column of Table 5, which lists husband to wife interactions (i.e. those in which the originating actor is husband and the recipient actor wife), cannot be meaningfully interpreted because there are too few events on which to make reliable comparisons. Only four such interactions were described by Tamil students and none by Burgher students.

The interactions in which the wife is the originating actor and the husband the recipient actor (W to H column of Table 5), suggest that when the wife is

1 Analyses of the parental and child role interactions have been carried out and will be presented in a separate paper.

2 See M. A. Straus, "Childhood Experience and Emotional Security in the Context of Sinhalese Social Organization," *op. cit.*

Table 5
Per Cent Distribution of Power Variables

	Total			H to W			W to H		
	Sinh.	Tamil	Burg.	Sinh.	Tamil	Burg.	Sinh.	Tamil	Burg.
<i>Control Initiating Role</i>									
Coercive	44	28	42	39	100	—	42	23	37
Permissive	19	18	17	18	—	—	44	57	26
Authoritative	36	54	39	39	—	—	13	20	37
Not Classifiable	1	—	2	4	—	—	1	—	—
<i>Control Sanctions</i>									
Environmental Manip.	6	7	5	7	—	—	17	27	25
Punishment, Physical	11	8	7	21	50	—	2	—	—
Punishment, Social & Psych.	5	4	5	—	25	—	5	7	25
Threat	6	7	2	11	25	—	1	3	—
Scolding, Nagging	10	3	10	7	—	—	4	—	—
Reward, Material	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Reward, Social & Psych.	9	9	5	—	—	—	17	27	—
Objective Consequences	6	2	5	—	—	—	15	3	13
Established Authority	35	52	39	39	—	—	14	20	37
Not Classifiable	14	8	22	—	—	—	23	13	—
<i>Authority Recognition</i>									
Non-recognition	34	28	27	25	—	—	44	33	37
Partial or reluctant	9	4	12	4	—	—	11	3	—
Complete	46	57	56	43	75	—	34	57	63
Not Classifiable	11	11	5	28	25	—	11	7	—
<i>Compliance</i>									
Non-compliance	35	27	27	25	—	—	47	30	38
Partial	4	2	7	—	—	—	4	7	—
Full	50	60	61	46	75	—	38	56	62
Not Classifiable	11	11	5	29	25	—	11	7	—
Number of Interactions	395	115	41	28	4	—	98	30	8

seeking to control the behavior of the husband, Coercive control is used the most frequently by the Sinhalese wives and Authoritative control least often. Burgher wives are clearly the group having the highest frequency of reciprocally recognized right to control the actions of the husband (i.e. interactions coded Authoritative). Since the Burgher family is structured on the European model and since the European family structure has institutionalized a relatively high degree of equality in spousal power relationships, these findings seem reasonable.

*Control sanctions*¹. The data presented for control sanctions in the total column of Table 5 are interesting first in the complete absence of the use of material

1 Detailed explanations or definitions of each type of control sanction listed in Table 5 cannot be given here: see M. A. Straus and S. Cytrynbaum, "A Scoring Manual..." *op. cit.*

reward as a means of control by any of the ethnic groups in the study. Second, the Tamil stories least often fail to specify a type of control sanction and, relative to the Sinhalese and Burghers, the type of sanction described by Tamils is more frequently the implicit Established Authority relation between originating actor and recipient and least frequently Scolding or nagging.

For the wife to husband power interactions the Sinhalese stories frequently are unclear in respect to the type of Control Sanction, as is also true for the Control Initiating Role variable. The data for wife to husband Control Sanction again indicates that the Sinhalese wives have the lowest frequency of Authority, and the Burgher wives the highest. The Sinhalese and Tamil wives rarely use social or psychological punishment (for example, withholding affection or arousing guilt feelings) as a means of control, as compared to the relatively frequent use of this technique by wives in Burgher stories. However, this comparison is based on only eight interactions for the group of 12 Burgher subjects.

Authority Recognition. Table 5 shows a slight tendency for the Sinhalese to have a larger proportion of power interactions characterized by non-recognition of the right of the originating actor to control the behavior of the recipient actor than is the case in either the Tamil or Burgher protocols. The Tamil stories show more of a tendency to an "all or none" pattern, whereas the interactions depicted by the Burghers somewhat more frequently indicate partial recognition.

For the Wife to Husband interactions, the Burgher husbands most frequently give complete recognition to the wife's right to exercise the control attempted in the interaction coded for this relationship. The Tamil husbands do so somewhat less frequently, and the Sinhalese husbands much less frequently. This finding, in a sense, is the counterpart of the figures given for Control Initiating Role and Control Sanctions. It will be recalled that the data for these variables showed that the Sinhalese wives less frequently initiated interaction with the *expectation* of institutionalized compliance.

Compliance. The three categories for scoring Compliance are the role performance counterparts of the three categories for Authority Recognition presented above. They reveal an almost identical pattern. That is for all power interactions depicted by the Sinhalese, only half result in compliance with the initiator's intent as compared to 60% for the Tamils and 61% for the Burghers. For those power interactions depicting wife to husband relationships, only 38% result in full compliance in the stories told by the Sinhalese as compared to 56% for the Tamils and 62% for the Burghers.

Power scores. As noted earlier three scores are used to summarize quantitatively the pattern of power interaction depicted in the stories. These are shown in Table 6.

The Saliency score assumes that the more frequent the interaction the more important it is for the subject. Looking first at the total column we find that power is most salient for the Sinhalese, followed by the Burghers, and least salient for the Tamils. This relationship is slightly altered for husband to wife and wife to husband interactions. For both of these specific role systems, power is, as before, most salient for the Sinhalese, but they are followed by the Tamils;

Table 6
Mean Power Scores

	<i>Total</i>			<i>H to W</i>			<i>W to H</i>		
	<i>Sinh.</i>	<i>Tamil</i>	<i>Burg.</i>	<i>Sinh.</i>	<i>Tamil</i>	<i>Burg.</i>	<i>Sinh.</i>	<i>Tamil</i>	<i>Burg.</i>
Saliency	3.83	3.19	3.42	.27	.11	.00	.95	.83	.67
Impact	3.97	3.89	4.43	.34	.17	—	.83	1.11	.83
Effectiveness %	63	72	70	69	99	—	49	63	66
Number of subjects	103	36	12	103	36	12	103	36	12

and power in respect to spousal interaction is least salient for the Burghers.

The Impact score is the number of power interactions initiated multiplied by the degree of compliance secured for each interaction.¹ It is a kind of weighted saliency score and is shown in Table 6 because it is an intermediary step needed to calculate the Effectiveness score.

The Effectiveness score shown in Table 6 is the percentage that each subject's Impact score is of the maximum possible Impact which his interactions could have if all were successful. Thus, an Effectiveness score of 100% would indicate that all interactions initiated resulted in full compliance by the recipient actor.

By this time the reader will not be surprised to note that although power is most salient for the Sinhalese the attempts depicted by Sinhalese to wield intrafamiliar power have the least effectiveness. Specifically, on the basis of the findings already presented, as well as theoretical predictions based on the loose structure theory,² we would predict that the average effectiveness of power interactions in the Sinhalese stories should be lower than for the Tamil and Burgher families. This in fact is what is shown in Table 6, although the differences in the total column are not large. For husband to wife interactions the differences between Sinhalese and Tamil protocols are sizable. However, these figures are given in Table 6 (as in the other tables) simply for completeness, since the twelve Burgher subjects depicted no interactions for the husband to wife role system and the 36 Tamil subjects only 4. Consequently, although the difference between Sinhalese and Tamil subjects is sizable it is highly unreliable and, of course, no comparison with the Burgher group is possible. For wife to husband interactions the Effectiveness figures are completely consistent with both the prior data and theoretical predictions; namely that the average effectiveness scores are highest for the Burghers, slightly lower for the Tamil group and sharply lower for the Sinhalese.

A final point to be noted from the Effectiveness data in Table 6 is that the scores for wife to husband interaction are consistently lower than is the case where it is the husband who is exercising power, and that this difference is most

¹ The weights used in this scoring are 0 for noncompliance, 1 for partial compliance, and 2 for full compliance.

² See Bryce Ryan and M. A. Straus *op. cit.*

marked for the Tamil protocols. These findings are, of course, consistent with the almost universally greater power of the husband,¹ and with the more rigidly hierarchical organization of the Tamil as compared to the Sinhalese family previously noted. Again, we interpret these findings as providing support for the scoring assumptions and procedures which were followed, and as supporting their utility in comparative family study.

Support Relationships

It will be recalled from Table 1 that there are more than twice as many support interactions in these protocols than power interactions. This permits a more complete set of comparisons between ethnic groups than was possible for power. On the other hand, although the last row of Table 7 shows that there are never less than 27 support interactions per ethnic group and role system, these are derived from the protocols of only twelve Burgher students and must, therefore, be interpreted with caution.

Support Initiating Direction. The total column of Table 7 for Support Initiating Direction makes it clear that the overwhelming majority of the support interactions depicted in these stories begin by one actor seeking to provide support for another, rather than depicting someone seeking support. This holds about equally for all three ethnic groups.

Interactions in which the husband provides support for the wife (H to W in Table 7) were also rarely initiated by the wife seeking the support. However, Burger wives are depicted as more frequently initiating such interaction by seeking support. Similarly, wife to husband interactions were almost always begun by the wife seeking to provide the support depicted in the interaction, especially in the protocols of Tamil students. For the Tamils, even when the interaction is one in which the wife provides support for the husband, it almost never involves the husband *seeking* the support depicted. The fact that this is true for the Tamils to a greater extent than the other two ethnic groups may be interpreted as consistent with the theory that the norms of patriarchal family structure are more consistently followed in the Tamil family than is the case for the two groups with which they are here compared.

Intended Support Role. Although provision was made in the coding scheme to record six different supportive roles, nine out of ten of the support interactions depicted a diffuse condition of love between originator and recipient, rather than one of the more limited types of support roles listed in Table 7. There are also no ethnic differences of sufficient size to be worth comment.

Instrumental Mode of Support. Coded under this classification are the means employed to provide support. Table 7 shows that for all ethnic groups, over half

1 See in this connection Morris Zelditch, Jr., "Role Differentiation in the Nuclear Family," in Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*, Glencoe Ill.: The Free Press, 1955, Chapter 6.

Table 7
Per Cent Distribution of Support Variables

	<i>Total</i>			<i>H to W</i>			<i>W to H</i>		
	<i>Sinh.</i>	<i>Tamil</i>	<i>Burg.</i>	<i>Sinh.</i>	<i>Tamil</i>	<i>Burg.</i>	<i>Sinh.</i>	<i>Tamil</i>	<i>Burg.</i>
<i>Support Initiating Dir.</i>									
Provide Support	86	86	85	84	84	79	85	92	87
Seek Support	14	14	15	16	16	21	15	8	13
<i>Intended Support Role</i>									
Affiliative Companionship	1	2	3	—	2	3	2	2	3
Indulgence	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Intercession	—	1	1	—	1	3	—	2	—
Nurturance	5	4	8	5	5	6	9	4	3
Protectiveness	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
Teach. & Cog. Orientation	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Love, NEC	89	89	88	94	92	88	84	89	93
Reestablish Love, NEC	1	1	—	1	—	—	4	3	—
Not Classifiable	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
<i>Inst. Mode of Support</i>									
Physical	16	11	23	15	15	21	14	14	37
Terms of Endearment	1	—	1	2	—	3	1	1	—
Laudatory Statements	1	—	1	1	—	3	1	—	—
Verbal Encouragement	4	4	5	3	2	3	6	5	3
Gifts, Goods, Services	15	15	8	10	7	6	8	11	7
Advise, Inform, Direct	2	2	—	1	—	—	—	1	—
Not Classifiable	61	68	62	68	76	64	70	68	53
<i>Acceptance of Support</i>									
Explicit rejection	2	1	3	1	—	3	4	3	10
Ignoring	1	1	2	—	1	—	4	—	3
Passive or Partial Accept.	1	1	1	—	1	3	—	3	—
Acceptance	81	82	76	80	79	79	81	89	74
Not Classifiable	15	15	18	19	19	15	11	5	13
<i>Reciprocity of Support</i>									
Not Possible-R dead etc.	12	13	18	18	15	17	8	3	10
No Reciprocity	3	2	3	1	1	3	6	3	7
Partial	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Complete	57	57	59	67	70	62	62	67	66
Not Classifiable	28	28	20	14	14	18	24	27	17
Number of Interactions	828	341	119	203	87	27	221	92	30

of the interactions described could not be classified in terms of a specific modality of support. For all interactions (the total column of Table 7), ethnic group differences are negligible. However, husband to wife and wife to husband support interactions depicted by Burgher students are more frequently specific as to the mode of support than is true for the other ethnic groups. Primarily, this

is reflected in the greater frequency with which the support interactions depicted by Burgher students are physical in nature, i.e., hugging, kissing, holding hands, the affective component of sexual intercourse, petting, caressing, etc. This difference is, of course, consistent with the normative restrictions in Sinhalese and Tamil Society on public display of affection between husband and wife.

Acceptance of Support. The percentages given in Table 7 show that about eight out of ten support interactions initiated were depicted in a way indicating that the recipient actor accepted the support. The remaining 20 percent are accounted for mostly by interactions which could not be classified. Ethnic differences are minor. These findings are contrary to the theoretically based expectation that the Sinhalese would show a larger proportion of rejected support interactions than the other ethnic groups.

Reciprocity of Support. This classification records the degree to which the recipient actor reciprocates the originating actor's support. Both the loose structure theory and field observations of Sinhalese families¹ leads to the prediction that the Sinhalese protocols would more frequently describe unreciprocated support attempts than would be true of the other two ethnic groups under study. Table 7 provides hardly any support for this prediction. It is, in fact, only in the wife to husband interactions that the Sinhalese have a smaller proportion of completely reciprocated interactions than do the other ethnic groups, and even here the difference is small.

Support Scores. Average scores for the three ethnic groups on the quantitative measures of support are shown in Table 8. Interpersonal support among family members is shown by the average *Saliency* scores to be least frequently depicted

Table 8
Mean Support Scores

	Total			H to W			W to H		
	Sinh.	Tamil	Burg.	Sinh.	Tamil	Burg.	Sinh.	Tamil	Burg.
Saliency	8.04	9.47	9.92	1.79	2.22	2.50	2.15	2.61	2.50
Impact	20.44	23.42	23.10	4.97	6.00	6.25	5.91	7.41	6.00
Effectiveness	97	98	94	95	91	85	92	93	85
Number of Subjects	103	36	12	103	36	12	103	36	12

by the Sinhalese and most frequently depicted by the Burghers, except for wife to husband interactions where the otherwise mid-rank Tamil group slightly exceeds the Burghers.

The support *Impact* score is the number of support interactions initiated, multiplied by a value representing the extent to which the recipient accepted

1 See the references cited in footnote 10.

the support offered.¹ For support interactions, the Impact scores tend to follow the same rank ordering among ethnic groups as do the Saliency scores, indicating that the attempts at support depicted by each of the three ethnic groups, tend to be accepted by the recipient actors to about the same degree. This consistency between Saliency and Impact is in contrast to the tendency toward an inverse relationship found for power interactions.

The tendency for almost all support interactions to be accepted by the intended recipient is further reflected in the small differences between *Effectiveness* scores for the three ethnic groups. The Burgher Effectiveness percentage is slightly lower than that for the Sinhalese and Tamils, indicating that a larger proportion of the support interactions depicted by Burgher students resulted in a rejection by the recipient actor of the support offered. Whatever the meaning of the findings for Effectiveness, it is clear that they do not support the theoretical prediction that it would be the Sinhalese who have the lowest proportion of reciprocated support interactions.

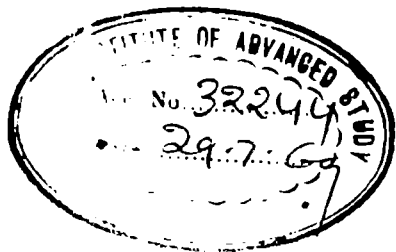
Summary and Conclusions

This paper outlines a procedure for determining the support and power structure of the nuclear family as depicted in Thematic Apperception Test protocols, and other written or actually observed protocols of family interaction. The procedure outlined was applied to the protocols of one-hundred and three Sinhalese, thirty-six Tamil, and twelve Burgher students who constitute a fifty percent interval sample of students of these ethnic groups entering the University of Ceylon in 1950.

Conclusions. (1) The procedures followed have been successful in eliciting and scoring interactions describing the emotional support and power structure of the nuclear family in at least sufficient volume to be quantitatively analyzed. (2) The findings for *power* relationships are generally congruent with descriptions of the family structure of the three ethnic groups derived from previous field observations and with theoretical extrapolations derived from the relative degree of "closeness" or "looseness" of societal integration characterizing these three sectors of Ceylonese society. (3) The findings for *support* relationships are sometimes congruent with and sometimes contrary to similarly based predictions. (4) The substantive findings concerning family organization depicted by Sinhalese, Tamil and Burgher students reveal little which is new. In fact, since the primary purpose of this paper is methodological, namely to illustrate a mode of analysis and to determine if the results obtained thereby are congruent with what is already known, "new" findings would have rendered more difficult even what limited judgement can be made concerning the validity of the procedures

1 The weights used in this scoring are zero for explicit rejection, one for ignoring, two for passive or partial acceptance, and three for acceptance.

followed. (5) Over-all, it would seem that these results at least establish the general feasibility for comparative family study of the technique outlined, especially in view of the ready availability in the *Primary Records In Culture and Personality* series¹ of TAT protocols representing a number of societies. On the other hand, the validity and utility for production of new knowledge of this technique has by no means been established in this paper. This is a task of considerable complexity and inherent difficulty, as Lindzey's recent review² has shown, but toward which investigations now in progress are directed.³



1 Bert Kaplan, *op. cit.*

2 See Gardner Lindzey, *Projective Techniques and Cross Cultural Research*, New York: Appleton Century Crofts, 1961.

3 For example, a study of the relationship between family support and power structure as independent variables, and achievement motivation and actual academic achievement as dependent variables; and a study comparing TAT derived power and support interaction scores with actually observed family interaction, and with descriptions of family support and power structure based on the familiar self-report type questionnaire data.



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