

COMPARATIVE CONCEPTS AND METHODOLOGY
USED IN THE STUDY OF THE FAMILY
IN FRANCE AND IN THE UNITED STATES

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COMPARATIVE CONCEPTS AND METHODOLOGY
USED IN THE STUDY OF THE FAMILY
IN FRANCE AND IN THE UNITED STATES

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
PART I INTRODUCTION		
I	SOCIOLOGY AS A SCIENCE	2
II	RESEARCH ON THE FAMILY	7
	Definitions of the family	8
PART II CONCEPTS		
III	CONCEPTS IN SCIENCE	14
IV	CONCEPTS IN SOCIOLOGY	17
V	CONCEPTS USED IN THE STUDY OF THE FAMILY .	22
VI	CONCEPTS USED IN TEXTBOOKS ON THE FAMILY .	33
PART III METHODOLOGY		
VII	CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILY STUDIES	42
	Classification as to method	42
	Classification as to subject matter .	43
VIII	METHODS AND TECHNIQUES USED IN THE STUDY OF THE FAMILY	46
	Statistics	46
	The Case-Study Method	52
	The life-history technique	54
	La methode monographique: la Nomenclature	57

	Literary evidence	59
	The Historical Method	59
	The Ecological Method	61
	The Experimental Technique	62
	Therapy	62
	The Survey	63
	Summary	64
IX	APPROACHES TO FAMILY RESEARCH	65
	The Biological Approach	65
	Growth of population studies	73
	The Anthropological Approach	74
	The Economic Approach	80
	Studies of family living	82
	The Legal Approach	84
	The Sociological Approach	85
	The Psycho-analytic Approach	92
	The Social Work Approach	93
	Review	99
X	NORMATIVE EVALUATIONS OF THE FAMILY AND FAMILY REORGANIZATION	100
XI	THE STUDY OF THE FAMILY IN FRANCE	112
	French sociology in general	112
	La sociologie domestique en France	115
	The French family in custom and law	132
	Conclusion	136

XII	TRENDS IN THE STUDY OF THE FAMILY IN THE UNITED STATES	138
	Trends in textbook subject matter . . .	138
	Trends in periodical articles and in college classes in the study of the family	142
XXII	CONCLUSION	144

PART IV
BIBLIOGRAPHY

	Introduction to the Bibliography . . .	150
	Bibliography	151

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE		PAGE
I	Eubank's List of Concepts Used in American Sociology	19
II	List of Concepts Used in the Study of the Family	22
III	Concepts Used in the Study of the Family in France	30
IV	Comparison of Concepts Appearing in the Tables of Contents of Twelve Text-Books on the Family	34
V	Content Comparison of Pre-War and Post-War Texts	138
VI	Content of Recent Texts	140

PART I

The faint-hearted cry to us that everything is coming to an end. It is not so; on the contrary, everything is about to be renewed. From the most distant stone age, the history of humanity has only been a long series of regenerations. Far from mourning when the world seems to be entering a period of fresh life, let us rather rejoice and say again with Lucretius--

'Cedit enim rerum novitate extrusa vetustas
Semper et ex aliis aliud reparare necesse est.'

--Letourneau The Evolution of Marriage, p. 360

CHAPTER I

SOCIOLOGY AS A SCIENCE

When Auguste Comte in his Cours de Philosophie Positive (1830-1842) outlined a place for sociology in his hierarchy of the sciences, the development of the new discipline as an independent science was greatly inhibited. It was established as a synthetic "science of society." No sociological concepts or methods for investigating social facts existed. The new science was completely at the mercy of the older disciplines. Comprehensive generalizations were drawn from these other scientific fields; concrete social data were used only to illustrate and support them. This tendency is still quite prevalent in sociology today, although it is no longer dominant. There is no longer the same emphasis on seeking the key to the knowledge of social facts in the biological basis of human nature or in the geographical basis of society.

However, an equally lasting result of this early weakness was to exaggerate the influence of the ideographers, the ideologists and the reformers on sociology. At the present time, sociology as a nomothetic body of knowledge is woefully inadequate. Sociologists are beginning to realize some of the blind alleys their science has entered, and are analyzing their position and procedures with more

care.¹ Florian Znaniecki has given some of the most devastating criticisms of certain trends in the field and at the same time has provided a most comprehensive and thorough plan for reconstruction in sociology. Certain passages in his book, The Method of Sociology, are well worth quoting verbatim, although it should be remembered that many of the same views and criticisms have been made by other sociologists, including Park, Burgess, Thomas, and MacIver. Znaniecki says, for example:

The starting point of all sociological research must be the firm and clear realization that sociology is an independent empirical science. This means that the only ultimate foundation of sociological theory is empirical social data. No sociological theory can be based upon conclusions drawn from non-sociological theories, nor can any but social data serve to establish sociological truths.²

Ideographic or historical knowledge and nomothetic or generalizing knowledge differ merely in the degree of emphasis they put upon the two essential and complementary directions of scientific research. Historical knowledge, to be valid, must be controlled by classificatory and nomothetic

¹Messieurs Hesse and Gleyze in their manual on Notions de sociologie, 1935, point out that: "Les sciences sociales, comme toutes les sciences, ont été longtemps et restent trop souvent encore des disciplines idéologiques. Trop de théories, trop de doctrines, d'idées, de vues ingénieuses, mais fragiles. Trop d'analyses portant sur des idées, trop d'abstractions. Il est plus facile donc plus tentant, de parler de la famille, de l'Etat, de la religion, de la valeur ou de la peine, que de décrire des faits s'y rapportant." p. vii

²The Method of Sociology, 1934, p. 218

knowledge, while the latter is obviously dependent on historical data. In scientific research, "we find a movement from concrete reality to abstract concepts and from abstract concepts back to concrete reality-- a ceaseless pulsation which keeps science alive and forging ahead."³

In discussing sociology as a normative science, Znaniecki suggests that since the Middle Ages, we have ceased to conceive of natural processes as going on within the world of values. We no longer think of earthquakes or of epidemics as punishment for men's sins. Yet the parallel error in cultural interpretation is still frequent.⁴ As a co-author with W.I. Thomas, he says:

In theory, a sociology using norms as its basis deprives itself of the possibility of understanding and controlling any important facts of social evolution. Indeed, every social process of real importance always includes a change of the norms themselves, not alone of the activity embraced by the norms... The assumption that a certain norm is valid and that whatever does not comply with it is abnormal finds itself absolutely helpless when it suddenly realizes that this norm has lost all social significance and that some other norm has appeared in its place.⁵

In reference to whether or not sociology should be a "practical" science, Thomas and Znaniecki say: "The example of physical science and material technique should have shown long ago that only a scientific investigation, which

³ Ibid, p. 25

⁴ Ibid, p. 174

⁵ The Polish Peasant, 1918, p. 10

is quite free from any dependence on practice, can become practically useful in its applications." ⁶ All practical considerations must be excluded if the results are to be valid, although this does not mean that subjects of practical interest should not be studied.

'Practical' people are continually forgetting the lesson that quick results are seldom satisfactory, and that the purposes of practical control of cultural reality would be best served by a science entirely independent of these purposes, a science which followed exclusively the two leads of a deep intellectual curiosity about particular data and an insatiable philosophic tendency to use acquired knowledge for the acquisition of new knowledge. ⁷

At the present time, sociology is undergoing an important change. Sociologists are gathering direct, independent, empirical data in a vast monographic literature with a distrust of generalization. "In this crisis, it needs all the light which methodological studies and discussions can throw on its present and future." ⁸

Sociology as we have already pointed out, is only beginning to learn how to make proper use of its material, which is being agglomerated at a tremendous rate. While many older sociologists on a slender foundation of fact built imposing speculative constructions, which crumbled down before they were finished, we are heaping up mountains of raw stuff and barely manage to raise on top of them small and unsightly shreds of timid theory. We dignify this procedure by ascribing it to scientific

⁶ Ibid, p. 7

⁷ Znanięcki, Op. cit., p. 236

⁸ Ibid, p. vi

circumspection, whereas in most cases it is nothing but plain incapacity to do any better.⁹

At this time, one of the greatest scholarly services that could be rendered to sociology would be a critical and selective survey of published materials and of sociographic studies based upon unpublished materials. Such a study ought to be made from the point of view of the actual worth of the material or sociographic study for the purposes of sociology as a special, theoretic, analytic, and generalizing science, not from that of historical and anthropological knowledge of mankind, nor yet from that of social practice.¹⁰

This particular study will not approach the description quoted above, although, in a measure, it will attempt to analyze materials and method used in the study of the family from that angle.

⁹Ibid, p. 154

¹⁰Ibid, p. 209

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH ON THE FAMILY

In recent years the study of the family has attracted wide attention and led to the publication of numerous books. So complicated a subject naturally admits of a variety of treatment. History and anthropology, sociology and economics, biology and psychology must all contribute, if we are to achieve adequate understanding of the family. The result is a growing mass of information. It ranges in reliability from objective, but limited studies, employing approved methods of research, to one-sided interpretations of special pleaders. Such a situation is bewildering to students whose interest lies in the realities of family life and who need, above all, to be given understanding of the present significance of the family to the individual and society. There is, therefore, a definite need for books whose purpose is to provide orientation and perspective, books whose chief endeavour is to develop a broad philosophy of the family.'

In speaking more of the phase of marital adjustment, Burgess says in the Introduction of Harriet Mowrer's book:

It is only natural that certain students of the family have discovered the central maladjustment in marriage to lie in the physical and physiological aspects of sex; that some have been concerned with the unconscious motivations influencing familial behaviour; that others have emphasized economic factors; and that still others have stressed the interaction of temperamental and personal traits of the adjustment of individuals in marriage. Each of these points of view has made its own distinctive contribution to the study of the family.²

To analyze the different approaches to family study from the standpoint of their importance and contribution to

¹Sait New Horizons for the Family, 1938, p. v

²Personality Adjustment and Domestic Discord, p. xxx

a scientific knowledge of the family would be a very valuable task. The magnitude of such a work forbids any but the sketchiest treatment in this study.

Burgess lists the objectives of family research under three headings:

(1) To obtain a clear and accurate description and analysis of the family in diverse ecological and cultural settings, (2) to chart and to account for the changes and trends in the family taking place in space and in time, and (3) to identify, to isolate, and to correlate the basic variable factors in the behaviour of the family considered both as a unit of interaction personalities and as a social institution.³

Mowrer brings out a different aspect in his book on the family:

The ultimate object of scientific study of the family is, of course, the prediction of what will happen in family relations under a given set of conditions and circumstances. Prediction of what will happen under a given set of conditions leads to control of what happens by changing the conditions in such a way as to modify the results, if these are undesirable, or making sure that the set of conditions is such as to bring about the desired results.⁴

Definitions of the Family

The term family has been defined in various ways, stressing different attributes, depending upon the point of view of the observer, and his particular interest. The word "family" has been taken over into European languages from

³ Bernard, LL The Fields and Methods of Sociology, 1934, p. 440

⁴ The Family, 1932, p. 280

Roman law, where it designated the community of producers and consumers which formed the largely self-sufficing household, and which included slaves and servants as well as those related by blood or marriage. However, Cunningham recognizes five common definitions of the family.⁵ One is, of course, the natural or biological family, consisting of parents and children. The U.S. Bureau of the Census defines the term so as to include boarders, servants, and all others living in the same household, whether related or not. Then there is the natural social family, as it is sometimes called, which includes related persons, foster and step children and parents, and real parents, living under the same roof. Parten extends this definition to include households organized by unrelated persons living together.⁶ Cunningham would modify this last definition by requiring that there be older and younger persons, with the older caring for and guiding the younger. Parten's New Haven study gives interesting data as to the relative proportion of these different associations.

<u>Make Up of the Family</u>	<u>Percentage in New Haven Survey</u>
husband and wife	15.2
husband, wife and relatives	7.6
husband, wife and children	41.4
husband, wife, children and relatives	15.3

⁵ Family Behaviour, 1937, pp. 22-4

⁶ Mildred Parten "A Statistical Analysis of the Modern Family," Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. Soc. Sci., March 1932

man and children	.7
man, children and relatives	1.1
woman and children	2.3
woman, children and relatives	3.0
man or woman and relatives	7.7
man or woman alone or unrelated persons	5.5

The natural biological family seems to have made up the greatest percentage of the families studied in New Haven by Parten. However, studies in large cities have shown striking variations in family composition characterizing various local areas, the percentage of "normal families with children" in Chicago ranging from over 70% in outlying residential communities to less than 10% in the Loop and the "homeless man" area adjoining.⁷

Jennings gives an interesting definition of the family. "The family is a small group of individuals that share in a common stock of genes, furnished by the two parents; and also that share a common environment, of which the members of the family themselves are the most potent factors."⁸ Of course, this predominantly biological definition is perfectly useless for a study of food consumption or family living, although it may have its uses for eugenic studies. Dr. Faith Williams, Chief of the Cost of Living Division of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor,

⁷"Family Composition Study-- Chicago", unpublished, by E.W. Burgess and Ruth P. Koshuk

⁸Herbert S. Jennings in Rich Family Life Today, 1928 p. 18

defines the family as it is used in the studies published by her division:

In these studies the concept "economic family" has been used. An economic family is defined as two or more persons living together and sharing their economic resources. In most cases, the members of an economic family are related by ties of blood, marriage, or adoption, but in some cases an unrelated member was found to share income and family living. Persons related by blood, marriage, or adoption, were not treated as members of the economic family if they lived as boarders and kept their funds separate from family funds, unless they gave a complete record of their incomes and expenditures. Persons who were members of the economic family for an entire year were not necessarily members of the household for the year. A member supported by the family in school, college or hospital for part of the year, a member working away from home part of the year, sharing his income with the family for that period and able to report all his expenses for that period, would be treated as a member of the economic family but not of the household for the entire year.⁹

Thomas and Znaniecki make different distinctions in their study of the Polish peasant.

The Polish peasant family, in the primary and larger sense of the word, is a social group including all the blood and law-relatives up to a certain variable limit--usually the fourth degree! The family in the narrower sense, including only the married pair with their children, may be termed the 'marriage group.' These two conceptions, family group and marriage group, are indispensable to an understanding of the familial life.¹⁰

Marriage and the family are thus defined differently according to the approach which uses them. However, many definitions, even in scientific literature, are more interesting for their play on words, than for their practical or

⁹ Personal letter, January 28, 1939

¹⁰ Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 87

operational use, such as: "Biologically, marriage is the arrangement which affords sanctioned catharsis to psychic desire and physical tamescence-- the necessary preliminaries to sexual union and conjugation." "

In ascertaining the present state of research on the family, we must first analyze the concepts used, for it is in the concepts that the approach is betrayed, and it is in the concepts that the scientific, the pseudo-scientific, or the non-scientific nature of the research is disclosed.

"Ballard, L.V. Social Institutions, 1936, p. 69

PART II
CONCEPTS

CHAPTER III

CONCEPTS IN SCIENCE

"Perception without conception is blind; conception without perception is empty."¹ This is an observation on the process of conceptualization in general, whether scientific or popular. Kant further outlined two steps in the development of a science. The first step is the appearance of percepts or a consciousness of the existence of the questioned phenonema; the second is the appearance of concepts or of generalized thought. Eubank² wishes to add a third step to the above, that of the organization of concepts into a definite logical system, a schematics whereby the several parts appear as segments of a united and congruous whole, a "frame of reference" upon which its general theory may be constructed. "We venture the conclusion that until a body of knowledge has implicitly, if not explicitly, passed into this third stage of development it is not rightly entitled to the name of science."³

The self-consciousness of any field of study perhaps becomes most apparent in its vocabulary, the phraseology

¹Blumer "Science Without Concepts," Am. Jl. Soc., 36: 526, p. 531

²Eubank The Concepts of Sociology. 1932 p. 33

³Loc. cit.

which it uses in dealing with its materials, Many things besides the materials of the subject itself are unconsciously revealed in its speech. There one may discover the company it keeps, and the areas of thought which it shares with its closest of kin. The origins of its terms reveal its obligations and indebtednesses. The distinctiveness, precision, and clarity of its language reveal its degree of maturity and the extent to which it is entitled to be called a science.⁴

Looking at the concept more from the view of the functions that it performs in science, Blumer says:

As I see it, the concept more specifically considered serves three functions: (1) it introduces a new orientation or point of view; (2) it serves as a tool, or as a means of transacting business with one's environment; (3) it makes possible deductive reasoning and so the anticipation of new experience.⁵

"Perception without conception is blind..." Yet science is dependent upon perception. It is also dependent upon an adequate body of stable and standardized concepts. However, knowledge is not gained through the mere elaboration of the concept as was attempted in medieval scholasticism. Concepts are not valid unless they present utility. They are working instruments and should not become fetishes and substitutes for knowledge. By using them critically in this light, scientists may perhaps avoid being mere "book-keepers of facts" or "spinners of metaphysics."⁶

Eubank proposes four tests for a true scientific concept:

⁴Eubank Ibid. pp. 16-7
⁵Blumer Op. cit. p. 526
⁶Ibid., p. 533

1. Is it perfectly general, that is, always employed in the same sense wherever used?
2. Is it reasonably precise? Does it convey an unambiguous and clear-cut meaning?
3. Does it finally contain only one cardinal idea?
4. Is it fundamental to its particular field, that is, essential to complete interpretation?

A failure in any one of these tests weakens its validity as a scientific concept.

⁷Eubank Ibid. p. 31

CHAPTER IV

CONCEPTS IN SOCIOLOGY

There is little worth-while achievement in research which is merely confirmation of judgments thousands of years old or pretentious elaborations of subjective preconceptions. Read Bain believes that sociology's development has been inhibited because of three things:

1. The idea that sociology is a normative science instead of a descriptive one; 'help society.'

2. We need a frankly behaviouristic sociology, a natural science, instead of one which measures or attempts to measure attitudes, wishes, ideals and subjective phenonema.

3. The inaccuracy, indefiniteness, and anarchistic confusion of our concepts. This condition is largely the result of the subjectivistic bias just noted. We cannot do valid scientific research until we know what we are talking about. At present all too many sociological terms mean all things to all men, both lay and professional. We have few agreed-upon units, few universal standards of measurement, practically no constants, no universally accepted conclusions, no very accurate prevision, and hence no science.'

Blumer voices approximately the same note when he says: "I suspect that the milling and halting condition of our own science does not come directly from the inadequacy of our techniques, as almost everyone contends, but from the inadequacy of our point of view."² House³ and Eubank⁴ are of

¹Read Bain "An Attitude on Attitude Research," Am. Jl. Soc., 32: 941-2

²Blumer Op. cit., p. 528

³House "Social relations and Social Interaction,"

the same opinion.

In sociology, the process of conceptualization has not advanced as it has in the older sciences. It is important that a precise and scientific vocabulary be established and perfected by the "consensus of the sociological guild."⁵

Sociology has three general sources for its concepts. Borrowed words from other sciences constitute a large proportion of its concepts. Sometimes these words are used with the same meaning; often only a vague analogy is attempted. A second source of concepts is found in words in popular use. Then, many concepts are invented.

Eubank's monumental work, The Concepts of Sociology, is the only comprehensive treatment of the subject. He has tabulated over fourteen-hundred concepts⁶ used in American sociology. In his book, however, he has included only three-hundred and thirty-two,⁷ which represents the reductions made by many present leading sociologists.

Am. Jl. Soc., 31: 620.

⁴Eubank Op. cit., p. 35

⁵House Op. cit., p. 620

⁶Eubank "The Concepts of Sociology," Social Forces, 5: 386-400, March, 1927

⁷Table I "Eubank's List of Concepts Used in American Sociology."

TABLE I⁸EUBANK'S LIST OF CONCEPTS
USED IN AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY

acceleration	caste	construction
accomodation	category	contact
acculturation	causation	contagion
achievement	centralization	continutaion
acquiescence	centre, culture	contract
action	centrism	contraction
adaptation	change	control
adhesion	choice	convention
adjustment	circulation	convergence
aggregation	civilization	cooperation
alliance	class	coordination
alter	co-action	correlation
amalgamation	coercion	correspondance
anonymity	collectivism	creative movement
anticipation	combination	crisis
antipathy	communication	crowd
approach	community	culture
approval	compensation	current
area	competition	custom
artifact	complex	
ascendancy	compliance	decadence
assimilation	composition	definition of the
association	compromise	situation
attention	compulsion	democracy
attitude	conation	derivation
attraction	concurrnece	desire
authority	conduct	deterioration
avoidance	conflict	determination
	conformity	difference
balance	congregation	diffusion
base, culture	consciousness	discontinuation
behaviour	consensus	discourse, universe
binding	consolidation	of
biohom	constitution	discussion
borrowing	constraint	dissociation

⁸Eubank The Concepts of Sociology. pp. 39-43

TABLE I (continued)

distance	incorporation	out-group
distribution	individual	
domination	inertia	parallelism
drift	in-group	parasite
drive	innovation	participation
dynamics	instinct	pathology
	institution	pattern
ecology	integration	periodicity
ego	interaction	perpetuation
element	intercommunication	person
elimination	interest	personality
empathy	intermindedness	persuasion
endarchy	interpenetration	plane
energy	interstimulation	plasticity
environment	intimacy	pluralism
equalification	intra-action	plurel
equilibrium	invention	polarization
escape	isolation	population
esprit-de corps		position
estrangement	lag	positivism
evasion	lapse	predisposition
evolution	larithmics	prejudice
expansion	law	pressure
experience, new	learning process	prestige
exploitation	liberation	process
expression	like-mindedness	product
	likeness	progress
fashion	limitation	project
feeling	loosening	protocracy
filiation		public
folkway	maladjustment	purpose
force	margin, culture	
function	masses: mass	race
fusion	mentifact	radiation
	mind	rapport
genesis	mobility	reaction
genetics	modification	reality
gradation	morale	reciprocity
gregariousness	mores	recognition
group	motivation	reconstruction
growth	motility	region
	movement	rehabilitation
habit	mutation	relation
heredity		reorganization
heritage	negativism	repetition
human being	nucleus	representation
human nature	nurture	repulsion
	object	resemblance
ideal	opinion	residue
identification	opposition	resources

TABLE I (continued)

response	socius	tendency
restlessness	solidarity	tension
restraint	stability	they-group
retardation	standard	thought
revocation	statics	thrust
rivalry	status	thwart
	stimulation	toleration
security	stranger	tradition
segregation	stratification	trait
selection	structure	transformation
self	struggle	transition
self-consciousness	subject	transmission
sentiment	subjugation	type
simulation	sublimation	
singularism	submission	uniformity
situation	suggestion	unity
social	superordination	unrest
sociality	supplementation	utility
socialization	suppression	
sociation	surplus	value
societalization	survival	variable
societology	symbiosis	volition
society	symbol	
sociocracy	sympathy	want
sociogeny	synergy	ways
sociologism	synthesis	we-group
sociology		will
sociometry	taboo	wish
sociosphere	telesis	withdrawal

The very extent of such a list as this is confusing; but it is indicative of an underlying confusion that is still more significant. It reveals strikingly how far the sociologists are from agreement upon the very terminology itself. The youth of this subject is nowhere more clearly shown than in the indefiniteness and lack of uniformity of its vocabulary. Different writers use the same term in different senses. Conversely, the same idea is labelled differently by different writers. A number of terms listed in the above catalog do not have general acceptance at all, but are used only by a single writer. Many of the terms overlap. Some, broad and general, include as subdivisions several more specialized or limited terms.¹

¹Eubank, Ibid. p. 43

CHAPTER V

CONCEPTS USED
IN THE STUDY OF THE FAMILY

This confusion in concepts is nowhere so apparent as in the field of family study, where the close contact with terms of popular usage plays such an important part. In addition, the wide range of approaches prevalent in family study does not facilitate integration.

Eubank seems to have completely neglected the field of family study. Concepts which are vitally important to this field he omits entirely. It is hoped that the list presented in Table II will be helpful in filling this void. However, it must be noted that the same tendencies he has noted are even more widespread in the study of the family.

TABLE II

LIST OF CONCEPTS USED
IN THE STUDY OF THE FAMILY

ABILITY	adjustment	aim-inhibition
aborigines	admiration	alcoholism
abortion	adolescence	alienation
accomodation	adoption	alimony
acquiescence	adultery	allopathetic
acquired charac-	aesthetics	altruism
action (istics	affection	amalgamation
activity	agreement	ambition
adaptability	agnation	ambivalency
adaptation	agoraphobia	amnesia
adequacy	aim	amusement

TABLE II (continued)

anagamy	blame, social	coitus
animism	body	collective; attitude,
annulment	bonds, family	expenditure
antagonizers	bourgeois	collectivism
antipathy	breeding-in	collusion
anxiety	broken family	combination
appetite	broken home	common-human attitude
approach	budgetfamily	communication
aptitude	bundling	community
area		companionate
arrested family	career	companionship
artifact	caresses	compensation
artificiality	case work	competition
asceticism	caste	complex
asexuality	castration	conception
aspect	cauality	conciliation
assimilation	cause	concubinage
assistance	caution	conditioned reflex
association	celibacy	conditioned response
assortative mating	ceremonial	conditioning
atmosphere	change: social	conditions, social
attitude	character	conduct
attraction	characteristics	conflict: progressive,
attractiveness	chastity	acute, vovert, overt
authority	child	habitual
autoerotism	childhood	conformity
automatic	child-rearing	congeniality
autonomy	chivalry	connection
autoplactic	choice	consanguineous family
aversion	circulation	conscience
avoidance	circumcision	consciousness
avunculate	civilization	consecutive
	civism	conservation of the
backwardness	clandestine rela-	family
balance	tionship	constellation
bargaining	clash	consumer
barrenness	class: -system	contact
barrier	-consciousness	contagion
basis	-distinction	continence
beauty	-group	contraception
behaviour	-hierarchy	contract
behaviourism	-solidarity	contrast
bereavement	classification	control, social
betrothal	claustrophobia	convention
pipolar	code	conventional family
birth control	coercion	conversion
birthrate	cognition	cooperation
bitterness	cohabitation	cooperative family

TABLE II (continued)

coquetry	disgust	estrangement
correlation	disintegration	ethics
cost of living	disinterestedness	etiology
counselling, family	disorganization	eugenics
courtesan	disorientation	euphoria
courtship	displacement	euthenic
couvade	display	event
covert	disposition	evolution
crisis, family	disillusionment	exogamy
cruelty	disrupted family	experience: new
cult: of the child,	dissociation	experimentation
of the family	dissolution, family	exploitation
cultural lag	distribution	expression
culture	disunion	extroversion
curiosity	division of labor	
current	divorce	faciliation
custom	docility	failure
cycle	domesticity	faithfulness
	domination	falling in love
dating	double standard	familial solidarity
daydream	dowry	familism
decadence	drives	family: living
decline	duplication	farm family
defect	duty	fascination
defective, biolog-	dynamics	fashion
ical	dysgenics	fatherhood
definition of the	early marriage	fecundity
situation	ecology	feeble-mindedness
definition, social	ectogenesis	feeling
degree	education	fellowship
delinquency	effects, social	feminism
dementia praecox	ego	fertility
dependency	egocentric	filiation
dependent children	ego fiction	filio-centric family
depopulation	egoisme a deux	fixation
depression	Electra complex	flexibility
desertion	element	flirtation
desire	elopement	fluctuation
despair	emancipated family	folie a deux
determinism	embarrassment	folkway
development	emotion	force: social
difference	endogamy	foresight
differentiation	energy	form
diffusion	energy reserve	formation: of love,
direction, social	engagement	of personality
disappointment	environment	foster home
discipline	equalitarian family	freedom
discord: domestic	esprit de corps	friction

TABLE II (continued)

frigidity	identification	intimacy
frustration	identity	interrelationship
function	ideology	intra-uterine life
functionalism	illegitimacy	introversion
fusion	illicit	invention
future	ikage: mother, social	involvement
generalization	imitation	isolation
genesis	immaturity	it
gesture	immorality	justice
goal	impotence	justification
good-sport	impulse	kinship
gossip	incest	lack
gratitude	income	late marriage
gregariousness	incompatibility	law
group: marriage	incompatible family	learning process
member, survival	individual: differ- ences	legitimacy
growth	individualism	leisure
guidance	individuism	level
gynocracy	industrialism	levirate
habit	inertia	liberty
happiness	infanticide	libido
harmony	infatuation	license
heredity	inferiority complex	life-attitude
heritage	infertility	likeness
hetaerism	infidelity	limitation
heterogeneity	inheritance	linear progress
heterosexuality	inhibition	linkage
home	initiative	livelihood
homemaking	innate tendencies	longevity
homogeneity	insight	love: at first
homosexuality	instability	sight, cardiac res- piratory, dermal,
honeymoon	instinct	filial, fondness,
horde	institution	maternal, pater- nal
hospitality	insurance, social	love object
hostility	integration	loyalty
household	integrity	luxury
housing	intelligence	machinery
housekeeping	interaction	maintenance
human being	interdependence	maladjustment
human nature	interest	marginal utility
humanity	interference	marriage: by capture, by purchase; clinic, market
hypnosis	intermarriage	
	intermingling	
	intermixture	
id	interpenetration	
idealism	interrelationship	
idealization		

TABLE II (continued)

masochism	nearness	perpetuation
mass: masses	necessity	person
matchmaker	needs	personality
mate-finding	neglect	phantasy
materialism	neighbourhood	philosophy
material world	neurotic trait	plasticity
maternal family	nominalism	play
maternity	non-support	pleasure
matriarchate	normal	plurality
matrimony	norms, marriage	polyandry
matrix of society	nurture	polygamy
matter	nutrition	polygyny
maturity		population
maximum	object	position psychology
meaning	objectivity	positivism
mechanisms	obligation	posterity
member	obsession	potentiality
memory	Oedipus complex	poverty
mental health	only child	power
mesaillance	opinion: public,	prediction
migration	social	prejudice
minimum	optimism	preliterate
mind	oral love	pre-marital prepar-
miscegenation	order	ation, education
mobility	organism, social	premium
mode	organization	pressure
modernization	orientation	prestige
modesty	origin	primary group
modification	original nature	primitive
moiety	overt	primogeniture
monogamy	over-determination	priority
moral code		privilege
morality	parental tie	problem
more	parenthood	process
mores: love	parent substitute	procreation
motherhood	participation	product
motivation	paternal family	progress
motive	paternity	prohibition
motive patterns	pathos	projection
movement	pathological	promiscuity
myth	patriarchal family	propagation
	patriotism	property
nagging	pattern: life,	proposal
natural: selection	situation	propinquity
narcissism	perception	prostitution

TABLE II (continued)

psychometric	resentment	situation
psycho-analysis	resources	sociability
psycho-social	response	social: hygiene
psychology	responsability	mold, self, work
puberty	restraint	social guarantee
public: aid	retaliation	socially handicapped
punishment	retardation	society
purity	reversal	socio-analysis
purpose	rhythm	sociology
	right	solidarity: family,
qualification of	rift	marriage
mate	ritual	sophistication
quality	role	sororate
	romantic complex	spinster
race	root	spiritual
race suicide		stability
racial group	sadism	stage
radical	sanction	standard of living
rapport	satisfaction	standardization
rationalization	savings	standing
reaction	shceme, social	stem family
readjustment	science	sterility
realism	secondary group	sterilization
reality	security	stimulation
rebellion	segregation	stratification
reciprocation	self: assertion	status
recognition, social	feeling, preser-	sterility
reconciliation	vation, reliance	stimulation
reconstruction,	self-imperative	structure
family	sensualization	struggle
recreation	sentiment	style
reflex	separation	sub-culture
reform	service	sub-group
regression	sex: appetite, con-	subjugation
regulation, social	flict, education,	sublimation
rehabilitation	impulse, inter-	submission
reintegration	course, modesty,	subordination
remarriage	morality, preser-	substitute
relations	vation	suburbanization
reorganization	sexual: selection,	successful family
representation	precocity	suffering
repression	sibling	suggestion
reproduction	significance:	super-ego
repulsion	social	supernatural
research	sin	superordination
resemblance	single standard	super-organic

TABLE II (continued)

super-personality	transference	variation
super-sensitiveness	transient	vicarious enjoyment
superstition	transition	cice
supplements, home	transmission	vicinity
suppression	trauma	vicious circle
symbol	treatment	virginity
symbol conditioning	trends	virtue
sympathy	trial marriage	volition
family system	turmoil	vulnerability
	type	
taboo		want
technique	unadaptability	ways
telesis	unconscious	wealth
temperament	unhappiness	we-group
tendency	uniformity	welfare
tension	unintegrated family	will
therapy	union	wish
thrill seeking	unity	withdrawal
tolerance	unstable family	woman, position of
toleration	urbanization	worship
tradition	utility	
training		youth
trait: hereditary	values	

This formidable list of eight hundred and sixteen concepts used in the study of the family, drawn from over four hundred and fifty textbooks, articles, and research studies, does not attempt to exhaust the field, although there are probably not many that are omitted. As can be seen, it contains terms borrowed from every discipline, from philosophy to physics. Words in popular usage are conspicuous. More important, the word symbols themselves are not given the same meaning by all writers. Again, many words are used by only one author. This lack of agreement is borne out more clearly in a comparison that will be made

later. The above list serves to illustrate the ambiguity and the confusion prevalent.

It would be an extremely interesting task to apply Eubank's four criteria¹ to the above eight hundred and sixteen concepts. Such a procedure would certainly result in a drastic reduction of the number, besides condensing them according to a unified viewpoint. Even so, the fourth criterion is open to some subjective valuation, and it is doubtful that any two sociologists could achieve complete agreement on many proposed concepts. It may be more in accordance with modern procedure to demand that each concept justify itself in actual practice by a demonstration of its utility, to submit itself to the pragmatic test. However, in any light, sociologists must become more concept-conscious. Terminology is an indispensable adjunct of any method and must remain the foundation of any technique.

Concepts Used in the Study of the Family in France:

In examining the concepts used in la sociologie domestique, the same number of sources was not available. Still, in as much as a good sample of each school² was read, the list of concepts presented in Table III may be judged fairly representative. The concepts are left in the original

¹See page 16

²For the significance of the French schools, see page 112

French; single word translations, necessary for placing them in alphabetical order, would not be an adequate rendition. These concepts show an even greater percentage of words drawn from other fields, especially from juridic and legal sources. The absence of any definite sociological terminology is even more conspicuous.

TABLE III

CONCEPTS USED IN THE
STUDY OF THE FAMILY IN FRANCE

action	barrière	contrat: conjugal,
adolescent	biens	marriage
adultère	bigamie	constitution
affaiblissement du	bonheur	convention
lien familial	bouleversement	coquetterie
affection	bourgeoisie	corps social
agnation	budget familial	coutume
agrégat	but	crise
alcoôlisme		culte: du foyer, du
ambilien	caractère	milieu, du moi
amoralisme	cause	culture: intellectu-
amour: conjugal,	célibat	elle, morale
familial, filial,	cellule	déchéance
fraternel, libre,	changements sociaux	défense sociale
licencieux, mat-	chasteté	densité de la famille
ernel, paternel,	clan	désagrégation
-propre	classe	descendants
anomique	cogation	désintégration
anthropocentrique	cohabitation	développement psy-
anthropomorphique	collatéraux	chique
antinomique	collectivité	devoir: domestique,
appétit	communauté	social
appui	communautaire	difficulté
armature de la	condition: domes-	dimorphisme
famille	tique, nouvelle	discipline: familiale
ascendants	consanguinité	sociale
assistance	conscience collec-	dispersion
autorité	tive	dissolution
avenir	consentement mutuelle	divorce

TABLE III (continued)

dogme	hérédité	moralité
dot	héritage	morphologie
droit	hiérarchie domes- tique	moyens
éducation	honnêteté	natalité
effets	hygiène sociale	nature
égalitarisme		nécessité: sociale
égalité	idée	
égoïsme	illégitime	obéissance
élan vital	immoralité	obligation
élément	inceste	ordre: moral, natu- rel, politique
émancipation	indépendance	orgueil
endogamie	individualisme	origine
enfant	individuel	
époux	infécondité	
érotisme	instinct	pain quotidien
esprit-de-famille	institution: domes- tique, familiale,	particulariste
éthico-religieux	sociale	passé
évolution	intelligence	patriarcat
exogamie	intérêts: pécuniaires	perpétuation de l'espèce
	isolement	phase
facilité		phénomène
fait social		philosophie
famille: instable, stable, souche	jalousie	polygamie
fécondité	justice	positivisme
féminisme	liberté: de l'indi- vidu	postcommunautaire
fétichisme	libido	postpatriarcal
filiation: pater- nelle, utérine	lien: conjugal, familial	pouvoir
fonction	lieu	préjugé
fondement: psycho- sociologique	loi	présent
formation	lutte	principes
forme		procréation
fortifier le lien familial	malthusianisme	promiscuité
foyer	mariage	propriété
	matriarcat	pudeur
	maturité	puissance: maternelle paternelle, publique
genre: humain	ménage	rapport
grande famille	milieu	réforme: sociale
groupe: familial, social	mode: d'existence, supérieure	relations
habitat	mœurs	religion
harmonie	monogamie	représentation collective
	morale	repression

TABLE III (continued)

reserrer le lien familial	sociologie: domes- tique	totémisme
rite	solidarité: domes- tique, familiale, sociale	tradition
rôle		traditionnelle
santé collective	soucie de l'opinion	transformation
scepticisme	statut consulaire	travail quotidien
sélection natu- relle	statut organique	type
semi-particu- lariste	succès	unité
sensibilité	succession	usufruit
sentiment: fami- lial	superstition	valeur
situation	symbolisme	variété
société	système	vie
	tabou	vie familiale
	tendance	volonté
	territoire	

CHAPTER VI

CONCEPTS USED
IN TEXTBOOKS ON THE FAMILY

Using a slightly different technique of presenting the data, Table IV represents a similar tabulation of twelve textbooks on the family to the one which Eubank makes of eight textbooks in general sociology. For the purpose of this comparison, the twelve texts were restricted to the decade from 1928 to 1938. They are listed in order of the date of publication.

- Groves, E.R. and Ogburn, W.F., American Marriage and Family Relationships, 1928
 Goodsell, W., Problems of the Family, 1928
 Reed, Ruth, The Modern Family, 1929
 Schmiedeler, E., An Introductory Study of the Family, 1930
 Elmer, M.C., Family Adjustment and Social Change, 1932
 Mowrer, E.R., The Family, 1932
 Groves, The American Family, 1934
 Folsom, J.K., The Family, 1934
 Nimkoff, M.F., The Family, 1934
 Hart, H.N., Personality and the Family, 1935
 Sait, U.M., New Horizons for the Family, 1938
 Waller, W., The Family, 1938

The procedure was to list the concepts appearing in the table of contents of each of the above texts. Table IV is a composite of all the concepts appearing in all the texts followed by the abbreviation of the name of the author who used it. The first letter in the author's name is used, with the exception of Schmiedeler and Goodsell, where Sch and X are used respectively.

TABLE IV

COMPARISON OF CONCEPTS
 APPEARING IN THE TABLES OF CONTENTS
 OF TWELVE TEXTBOOKS ON THE FAMILY

accord	M
adjustment	R, S, G, H, F, W
arrested family	G
assortative mating	W
attitude	S, W
authority	S
bargaining	W
basis	F (subcultural), S (biological), R (instinctive)
behaviour	G, H
bereavement	W
bonds, family	Sch
broken home	E, Sch; G (broken family)
career	X
cause	F
change	F, E, S, N, M, W, GO, H
collective expenditure	S
companionate	S, R
conditions, social	S, GO, G, X
conditions, economic	S, GO
conflict	W
conservation of the family	G
control, social	E
cooperative, family	S
counselling, family	H
courtship	G, W
crisis, family	M
culture	F
dependent children	X
desertion	R, G
development	G, N (family): M (personality)
direction social	R
discipline	S
dsicord	M (domestic): GO (family)
disintegration	Sch, M
disorganization	S, R, N, M, F, W
dissolution, family	R
dynamics	H

TABLE IV (continued)

effects, social	F
eugenics	G, H
evolution	S, R, X
experience, family	G
experimentation	R
force	F, E
form	W, R
formation	W, F
freedom	S; X (in love)
frustration	F
function	S, R, N
future	F, X
group	GO
habit	W
home	Sch
homemaking	S
housekeeping	S
human nature	M
humanity	S
illegitimacy	X, R
immorality	F
incompatible family	G
individualism	X
industrialism	X
influence of city life	GO
instability	X
institution	S, M
insurance, social	S
integration	Sch
interaction	F, W, M, H
interrelationship	S
leisure	S, Sch
love	F, W; Sch (perversions)
marriage	S, E, GO, H, F, R, N, X
mass	F
mate-finding	F, H
mechanisms	M
morality	W
mores, love	F
motive patterns	W

TABLE IV (continued)

needs	F
norms, marriage	GO
organism, social	Sch
organization	M, S
origin	N
parenthood	H, R, S, W, E
pattern	S, F, W
personality	W, H, M, F, G
pre-marital preparation	Sch
problems	X, F, G, H
process	W, F
promiscuity, sexual	H
prostitution	S, R, X
psycho-social	N
public-aid	X
qualifications of mate	Sch
racial groups	GO
reacting	X
readjustment	F
recognition, social	R
reconstruction, family	GO
reform	S
regulation, social	E
reintegration	Sch
relation	GO, M (family); F (parent-child); H (husband-wife); S (sex)
reorganization	N
reproduction	F
role	F, GO
satisfaction	F
scheme, social	R
sentiment	W
sex	GO, S
significance, social	GO, G
social	S
social self	W
socially handicapped	E, S
solidarity, marriage	W
standard of living	E, S
status	S, GO, Sch

TABLE IV (continued)

structure	N
successful family	GO
suffering	X
system, family	F
tension, family	S, Sch
treatment	GO, M, X
trends	F, S
unstable family	S
urbanization	M
values	S, W
welfare	S
woman movement	X

An analysis of the above table shows at once the remarkable lack of agreement among the several authors. Not one concept appears in more than eight of the twelve texts. Just two terms are common to eight: change, and marriage. Two terms are found in six: adjustment and disorganization. Three, Parenthood, personality, and relation appear in five lists. Social conditions, interaction, and problems appear in four tables of contents. Just nine concepts are found in even three lists: basis, development, evolution, function, love, pattern, prostitution, status and treatment. Twenty-nine concepts are common to two tables of contents: attitude, behaviour, broken home, companionate, economic conditions, courtship, desertion, discord, disintegration, eugenics, force, form, formation, freedom, future, illegitimacy, institution, leisure, mate-finding, organization, process,

role, sex, social significance, socially handicapped, standard of living, family tension, trends, and values.

This is substantially the same result that Eubank found. He compared only eight textbooks, however, but there was not one term common to eight. Only one, society, was found in seven, and but two were found common to six. Fifty-five percent of the concepts were found only in one table of contents.

In Table IV, 128 terms are listed, eighty without duplication, or sixty-eight percent. Of course, it must be remembered that in the textual content of the books the same discrepancy would not be apparent. Still it is reasonably certain that in the table of content headings the author will single out those terms for emphasis which he himself considers to be the most important.

An interesting comparison which Eubank neglected to make is the relative consistency of the various authors. In this comparison, the results should be regarded as highly relative, since a slight difference in style may make for a considerable difference in apparent agreement. An author like Sait, or Folsom, will tend to include many more details in the table of contents than will some others. However, in a measure, this is balanced by the inclusion of a great deal more detail in the text itself, for the table of contents, besides representing the author's emphasis, may be regarded

as a fair index of the material contained in the text itself.

1. Sait's table of contents contained 26 duplicated concepts a total of 60 times.
2. Folsom's 18 duplicated concepts 51 times.
3. Waller's 15 duplicated concepts 47 times.
4. Reeds 13 duplicated concepts 38 times.
5. Mowrer's 12 concepts 38 times.
6. Hart's 11 concepts 40 times.
7. Groves' 11 concepts 26 times.
8. Groves and Ogburn's 10 concepts 26 times.
9. Goodsell's 10 concepts 29 times.
10. Elmer's 7 concepts 22 times.
11. Schmiedeler's 6 concepts 8 times.
12. Nimkoff's 5 concepts 23 times.

To classify the above texts according to the number of duplications would result in a slightly different configuration.

- | | | |
|-----------|-------------|----------------------|
| 1. Sait | 5. Reed | 9. Groves and Ogburn |
| 2. Folsom | 6. Mowrer | 10. Nimkoff |
| 3. Waller | 7. Goodsell | 11. Elmer |
| 4. Hart | 8. Groves | 12. Schmiedeler |

Eubank's observation on the state of the concept in sociology is exceedingly apt:

There can be no doubt that beneath the divergence of terminology a thought kinship exists that is close and real. Sociologists have been talking about the same things for years, but their common ideation has all too often been hidden by the diversity of their language. A major task of contemporary Sociology is to discover the essential unity of thought which underlies the superficial disunity of terms. For in spite of the differing terminologies, and in spite of the varying degrees of emphasis, there *is* [italics in the original] a fundamental unity of thought. Had this not been true it would long since have died a natural and inconspicuous death.²

¹Eubank The Concepts of Sociology, p. 46

²Ibid, p. 49

However, this divergence in terms can only be understood when the different approaches and attitudes of different sociologists are studied. This analysis of the concept has given a picture of the state of the sociological study of the family. More complete understanding awaits the analysis of method.

PART III
METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER VII

CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILY STUDIES

A survey of the classifications of other authors soon reveals that there is little definite agreement, and that each classification amounts to little more than a rating of other studies in reference to the classifier's own. A rapid sketch of several examples will bear this out.

Classification as to method:

Znaniecki sees but two methods, enumerative induction and analytic induction. This exposition is very valuable in understanding some approaches, but it is not helpful in regard to others. Burgess notes a division between those who use statistics and those who use the case study. W.I. Thomas divides the approaches to child study, which is an aspect of family study, into five methods: the psychometric, personality testing, the psychiatric, the psychological-morphological, and the sociological.¹

Reuter and Runner have a very wide basis for their classification of family studies.² They see six general

¹The Child in America, 1928

²The Family, 1931, pp. 44-72

divisions: the biological, the historical, the impressionistic, the socio-political, the scientific, and the sociological.

Odum and Jocher³ would classify research under the headings of types of approach, types of method, and types of procedure.

Classification as to subject matter:

Mowrer believes that family research may be divided into two divisions, the study of family organization and the study of family disorganization.⁴ His textbook on the family puts this division into practice. He has also provided another classification in this book, subdividing approaches under the historical, the anthropological and the sociological. In an article in The Family, he further subdivides studies in domestic discord into studies in divorce and studies in desertion.⁵

Goodsell⁶ classifies under the following headings and subheadings: Organization (a) family form or pattern, (b)

³An Introduction to Social Research, 1929

⁴The Family, p. 6

⁵"The Study of Family Disorganization," 8: 83-7

⁶Willystine Goodsell in The Fields and Methods of Sociology, L.L. Bernard, editor

housing, (c) family substitutes, (d) birth rate, (e) role of economic security; Disorganization (f) discord and disintegration, (g) as a unit of interacting personalities.

Park and Burgess⁷ have suggested the following division: (1) studies of location in space and time, (2) traditions and ceremonials, (3) economic aspects, (4) organization and control, and (5) behaviour.

Carle C. Zimmerman⁸ suggests a classification: studies of family living, studies of family evolution, studies of family function, studies of the companionate, and studies of the social work aspects of the family.

Lichtenberger⁹ sees a division into the reactionary, the conservative and the radical. Mowrer has also noted this division.¹⁰ Waller, in his textbook on the family, sees this aspect of reform as comprising two viewpoints, that which seeks adjustment within the mores, and that which seeks a change of the mores.

Bertrand Russell, while he does not go so far as to state a classification, at least implies one:"

There are at the present day two influential schools of thought, one of which derives everything from an

⁷An Introduction to the Science of Sociology, 1921, Chapter on the family.

⁸and Frampton The Family and Society, 1935

⁹Divorce, A Study in Social Interpretation, 1931, pp. 419-59

¹⁰Op. cit., p. 31

"Marriage and Morals, 1929, p. 9

economic source, while the other derives everything from a family or sexual source, the former school that of Marx, the latter that of Freud.

While some of the above classifications are successful in completely delimiting the field of family study, none of them is adequate, in the sense that none is successful in isolating and presenting the different factors which underlie the various approaches. This study will do no more than suggest a division which seems best suited for the practical purpose of analysis.

The first factors to be discussed will be the general methods and particular techniques of gathering, analyzing and presenting the data. No method or technique is foolproof. Its scientific use depends upon a rather rigid circumspection. Some of the logical merits and established uses of the various methods and techniques will be discussed in detail. Following this will be a chapter reviewing the several approaches to the field of family study such as the anthropological, the biological, the sociological, and the historical. The effects of certain normative evaluations on family research will be taken up in a separate chapter. A comparison of French and American studies of the family will then be made, followed by a consideration of the trends in family research.

CHAPTER VIII

METHODS AND TECHNIQUES
USED IN THE STUDY OF THE FAMILY

Just what are the differences between the various methods and techniques: the statistical, the case-study, the historical, and the ecological; the life-history, the questionnaire, the interview, the survey, and therapy? Certainly, in the recent past, the controversy between the "statistical method" and the "case-study method" has seemed to dwarf the importance of all the others. But, after all, statistics is nothing more than a method of analysis which may be applied to facts gained through interviews, experiments, surveys or case-studies. The question, then, seems to be whether or not and under what conditions social facts gathered through these other agencies may be adequately presented statistically. Properly considered, the technique of quantitative analysis can only be discussed in relation to the technique of gathering the data. Yet since the subject has been so highly controversial and since it provides the most intriguing entrance to the subject, the statistical method will be considered first.

I. Statistics

As F.A. Ross points out,¹ at present there are three

schools in regard to the application of statistics to sociology. One holds that we have passed through the philosophic stage and that studies should be exclusively quantitative now. Another believes that the essential social facts cannot be stated quantitatively. Then there are the middle-grounders who recognize statistics as a useful technique with certain limitations.

The case for statistics has been brilliantly proclaimed by Giddings. He believes that statistics has become and will continue to be the "chiefly important method of sociology,"² and that it will bring societal knowledge up to the standard of precision in any natural science. One of the leading sociological statisticians of the country, Professor Ogburn, further expounds the case for statistics:³

Statistics, despite its excellent scientific ranking as a method, has had so far only limited use in sociology. Sociology has relied in the past on various other methods. Nearly all, however, may be said to point toward statistics as an ideal.

There are, of course, criticisms of the use of statistics in sociology. These criticisms are usually of a rather trivial nature and are frequently made by individuals who are quite ignorant of statistical methods. Very few persons question the fundamental position of statistics in the theory of knowledge, and few doubt its high scientific validity.

Certainly statisticians are engaged in adding exact knowledge to the existing stock...

² "Concepts and Methods of Sociology," Am. Jl. Soc., Volume 10: 161-76

³ Ogburn and Goldenweiser The Social Sciences and Their Interrelations, 1927, pp. 380, 388, 391

In these few statements, Ogburn takes a rather dogmatic stand on this "fundamental position of statistics in the theory of knowledge." In many other statements, he is not quite so outspoken. The "trivial" criticisms of statistics are not as trivial as they might seem, and while it is true that they are principally concerned with the faults of the data rather than in the application of the statistical technique, there is at least one leading sociologist who questions the validity of the technique.⁴

Professor Ellwood has a rather high regard for statistics, yet he also notices certain failings: "While we need better statistical measurement of social movements, we need more philosophical and historical insight in interpreting them."⁵

Sidney and Beatrice Webb believe that the basic defect in the application of statistics to social institutions is the impossibility of arriving at water-tight definitions of classes or units; the definitions are not uniformly understood by the fact gatherers, forgotten by those who reproduce them, and misunderstood by the readers.⁶

⁴ Znaniecki points out that even with the use of partial correlation, not more than three or four factors can be studied together.

⁵ Methods in Sociology, 1933, p. 113

⁶ Methods of Social Study, 1932, p. 205

Lundberg says that "we cannot at present study statistically certain phases of social behaviour because we lack instruments of objective observation, including lack of standardized units and terminology."⁷

Park notes that the difficulty is that the technique is applied to social phenomena as if the social sciences did not exist, and that the result is a mere compendium of common sense facts.⁸ Mowrer and Nimkoff are of approximately the same opinion. Thus it seems that one main difficulty in the application of statistics to sociology lies in the indefiniteness of sociological concepts. Professor Charles Lalo⁹ suggest the same deficiency.

The result of the present state of affairs in regard to family research has been admirably summarized by Mowrer:

For some time to come it is likely that the methods of case-study, particularly case-analysis, will be most profitably used in family research. In time, however, statistical methods will undoubtedly play a more important role in analysis, providing as they do a higher degree of abstraction. In this complementary role, statistical methods will provide necessary techniques for correlating the results of case-study with the number system. Accordingly, units growing out of case-study will take the place of those of common sense which have previously made a farce of the accuracies of statistical analysis.¹⁰

⁷ Social Research, 1929, p. 169

⁸ in Gee Research in the Social Sciences, 1929

⁹ Eléments de sociologie, 1930, p. 260: "Il est visible que la statistique ne fait connaître que le comportement [italics in the original] des individus, c'est-à-dire leurs actes apparents et extérieures; il reste à interpréter ces résultats par une observation psychologique du contenu réel de la conscience de chaque individu. Les

This abstraction carried out by relating a class to the number system so that each member possesses the property in question in additive units logically follows classification and the development of concepts. Thus ~~far~~, sociologists have been content to use the concepts of common sense, and much of what passes for sociology is just glorified common-sense unit relationship, even when quantitative.

In respect to measurement, Parsons adds a new viewpoint:

I do not wish to depreciate the value of measurement wherever it is possible, but I do wish to point out two things: First, the importance of facts is relative to the way in which they can be fitted into analytical schemes; measurements are fundamental to physics, because many of its variables are such that the only facts which make sense as their values are numerical data. But numerical data are far less scientifically important until they can be so fitted into analytical categories. I venture to say this is true of the vast majority of such data in the social fields.

... measurement as such is not logically essential to science, however desirable. Measurement is a special case of a broader category, classification. It is logically essential that the values of a variable should be reducible to a determinate classification. But the classification they admit of may be far more complex than the single order of magnitude which measurement requires."

statistiques bien interrogées suggèrent souvent ces interprétations, mais ne les donnent pas par elles-mêmes."

¹⁰The Family, p. 306

"Talcott Parsons "The Role of Theory in Social Research," Am. Soc. Rev., 3: 13-20

As Chaddock also notes, the piling up of quantitative cases is not necessarily conclusive, and the estimating of the mathematical error and precise forms of equations and coefficients merely gives a false impression of accuracy.¹²

The statistical method is only one way of attacking problems. Best results are usually obtained when it is used in conjunction with other methods. Statistical inference and prediction depend for validity upon a sufficiently wide basis of experience. There is a grave danger that progress in statistical technique of analysis and description will outstrip the perfecting of methods for obtaining more complete and reliable original data.¹³

W.I. Thomas has provided an admirable summary of the place of statistics in sociology at present, and furnishes an introduction to the case-study method.

We are of the opinion that verification, through statistics, is an important process in most of the fields of the study of human behaviour. Relationships can be indicated, various processes may be evaluated, if the data are in a form where statistical methods may legitimately be applied, and if the interrelations keep within the limitation of the assumptions on which the methods were based. Probably the greatest distrust of statistics has come through the unwise manipulation of data that are often made, through the expression in terms of great precision of results obtained when complicated formulae are applied to very inexact data, and through the totally erroneous assumption on the part of many statisticians that the statistical results tell all that can be told about the subject.

What is needed is continual and detailed study of case-histories and life-histories of young delinquents along with the available statistical studies, to be used as a basis for the inferences drawn. And these inferences in turn must be continually subjected to further statistical analysis as it becomes possible to transmute more factors into quantitative form. Statistics becomes, then, the continuous process of verification. As it be-

¹²Robert E. Chaddock in Gee *Op. cit.*, p. 126

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 147

comes possible to transmute more and more data into quantitative form and apply statistical methods, our inferences will become more probable and will have a sounder basis. But the statistical results must always be interpreted in the configuration of the as-yet unmeasured factors and the hypotheses emerging from the study of cases must, whenever possible, be verified statistically.¹⁴

II. The Case-Study Method

The method of case-study, then, cannot be sharply differentiated from that of the statistical except in regard to the emphasis it may place on conclusions drawn from an intensive analysis of a few cases rather than a statistical study of a few factors amenable to this treatment. Thus the interview and the questionnaire, while they are both tools of individual case studies, may also be turned into statistical techniques. In actual practice, however, the questionnaire has been developed to provide data which will be directly and easily amenable to statistical treatment, while the interview has been subjected principally to case-study treatment. This desire for simple answers immediately ready for quantitative treatment has hindered the development of the questionnaire as a sociological technique. It is the simplest and most expensive way of getting quantitative results. Interest in the validity has, however, never

¹⁴The Child in America, 1927, pp. 570-1

been considered as much as this aspect of practicality. Znaniecki points out, on the other hand, that in the questionnaire, there is no such disturbing factor as the presence of the interviewer.¹⁵

The application of social work to an experimental situation, as is found in therapy, is also a type of case treatment, although its assumptions tend to place it more in that division of technique called experiment. The life-history technique is a case-study aid par excellence.

The reliability of an interview may in general be judged by (a) the type of interview situation in which the data is obtained, (b) the internal consistency of the data, and (c) objective tests of crucial points.¹⁶

Another great source of case-study material is found in the files of social agencies. The exact value of this material is doubtful. Mary Richmond says that these case records have no value as data unless those who made them were given an opportunity to do original thinking and were capable of it.¹⁷ Virginia P. Robinson further doubts the value of these case studies in social work, since the factor of economic maladjustment plays too great a part. Records of family life are needed from fairly well-adjusted individuals where there is not too strong a treatment situation.¹⁸

¹⁵The Method of Sociology, p. 190

¹⁶Burgess in Bernard Op. cit.,

Stouffer and Lazarsfield in their book, Research Memorandum on the Family in the Depression, have a very complete and admirable discussion of some of the logical and practical exigencies of the case-study method.²⁰ They are of the opinion that "rigorous [*italics in the original*] treatment of case history materials implies dependence on statistics..."¹⁹

The life-history technique:

Thomas and Znaniecki, with their epoch-making "Methodological Note" in the first volume of the Polish Peasant,²¹

¹⁷ Ibid., quoting Richmond Proc. Nat. Con. Soc. Wk., 1918, p. 693

¹⁸ "Case Studies of the Family for Research Purposes," The Family, 6: 298-300

¹⁹ Loc. cit., pp. 195-6

²⁰ Op. cit., pp. 187-201

²¹ Op. cit., pp. 5-8: "The study of human personalities, both as factors and as products of social evolution, serves first of all the same purpose as the study of any other social data-- the determination of social laws. A personality is always a constitutive element of some social group; the values with which it has to deal are, were and will be common to many personalities, some of them common to all mankind, and the attitudes which it exhibits are also shared by many other individuals. And even if the values as viewed by a given individual and the attitudes assumed by this individual present peculiarities distinguishing them to some extent from values given to and attitudes assumed by all other individuals, we can ignore these peculiarities for the purposes of scientific generalization, just as the natural scientist ignores the peculiarities which make each physical thing or happening in a sense unique.. In analyzing the experiences and attitudes of an individual we always reach data and elementary facts which are not exclusively limited to this individual's personality but can be treated as mere instances of more or less general classes of data or facts, and can

were the first to enunciate the sociological values of the life history. Its scientific value and practical limitations are equally recognized by them. Park remarks that it

thus be used for the determination of laws of sociological becoming. Whether we draw our materials for sociological analysis from detailed life-records of concrete individuals or from the observation of mass phenomena, the problems of sociological analysis are the same. But even when we are searching for abstract laws life-records of concrete personalities have a marked superiority over any other kind of materials. We are safe in saying that personal life-records, as complete as possible, constitute the perfect type of sociological material, and that if social science has to use other materials at all it is only because of the practical difficulty of obtaining at the moment a sufficient number of such records to cover the totality of sociological problems, and the enormous amount of work demanded for an adequate analysis of all the personal materials necessary to characterize the life of a social group. If we are forced to use mass-phenomena as material, or any kind of happenings taken without regard to the life-histories of the individuals who participate in them, it is a defect, not an advantage, of our present sociological method.

Indeed it is clear that even for the characterization of single social data-- attitudes and values-- personal life-records give us the most exact approach. An attitude is manifested in an isolated act is always subject to misinterpretation, but this danger diminishes in the very measure of our ability to connect this act with the past acts of the same individual. A social institution can be fully understood only if we do not limit ourselves to the abstract study of its formal organization, but analyze the way in which it appears in the personal experiences of various members of the group and follow the influence which it has upon their lives. And the superiority of life-records over every other kind of material for the purposes of sociological analysis appears with particular force when we pass from the characterization of single data to the determination of facts, for there is no safer and more efficient way of finding among the innumerable antecedents of a social happening the real causes of this happening than to analyze the past of the individuals through whose agency this happening occurred. The development of sociological investigation during the past fifteen or twenty years, particularly the growing

is through life histories that certain aspects are illuminated which we can know only indirectly through the use of statistics.²²

The place of the life history is also recognized by Burgess:²³

The life-history method is in its infancy. Attempts

"emphasis, which under the pressure of practical needs, is being put upon special and actual empirical problems as opposed to the general speculations of the preceding period, leads to the growing realization that we must collect more complete sociological documents than we possess. And the more complete a sociological document becomes, the more it approaches a full personal life-record. The ultimate aim of social science, like that of every other science, is to reconcile the highest possible exactness and generality in its theoretic conclusions with the greatest possible concreteness of the object-matter upon which these conclusions bear. Or, in other words, to use as few general laws as possible for the explanation of as much concrete social life as possible. And since concrete social life is concrete only when taken together with the individual life which underlies social happenings, since the personal element is a constitutive factor of every social occurrence, social science cannot remain on the surface of social becoming, where certain schools wish to have it float, but must reach the actual human experiences and attitudes which constitute the full, live, and active social reality beneath the formal organization of social institutions, or behind the statistically tabulated mass-phenomena which taken in themselves are nothing but symptoms of unknown causal processes and can serve only as provisional ground for sociological hypothesis."

²²article in Gee Research in the Social Sciences, 1929

²³in Reuter and Runner The Family, 1931, p. 150

doubtless will be made to standardize the technique of securing and interpreting them. It is to be hoped, however, that this method will not become so formalized and the interpretation of cases so abstract that the unique value of the personal document will be lost. For in the life-history is revealed, as in no other way, the inner life of the person, his moral struggles, his successes, and failures in securing control of his destiny in a world too often at variance with his hopes and ideals.

Dollard has made the most successful attempt to standardize the life-history technique. He defines the life-history method as the attempt to define the growth of a person in a cultural milieu and to make theoretical sense of it, with some systematic viewpoint. He sets up seven criteria for the life-history:

I. The subject must be viewed as a specimen in a cultural series.

II. The organic motors of action ascribed must be socially relevant.

III. The peculiar role of the family group in transmitting the culture must be recognized.

IV. The specific method of elaboration of organic materials into social behaviour must be shown.

V. The continuous related character of experience from childhood through adulthood must be stressed.

VI. The 'social situation' must be carefully and continuously specified as a factor.

VII. The life-history material itself must be organized and conceptualized.²⁴

La méthode monographique: la Nomenclature:

Starting from Le Play's hypothesis that the Place, or the geographic spot, was the principal determinant of all

²⁴Criteria for the Life-History, 1935, p. 8

social development, this method ends up with being a glorified case-study. Every aspect of social life is inquired into, but all in relation to the family. The family is taken as the unit of society. The technique for gathering data as instigated by Le Play, consisted in personal family case-studies pursued with incredible minuteness. Social work has in Le Play its spiritual father. Burgess and Pauline Young credit him with introducing the case-study method to social science.²⁵ A recent disciple describes the method:

Une seule voie nous est ouverte pour l'étude sociologique, la voie de l'enquête personnelle et orale, par interrogations et conversations verbales, interrogations et conversations poursuivies avec finesse, tact et persévérance, jusqu'à ce que, par les réponses obtenues, nous soyons en état de pénétrer en cette intimité psychique qui est, nous le savons, la source même de la vie sociale toute entière.

Aucune recette ne peut remplacer la parole, avec son accompagnement naturel du geste, du regard, du ton, et des mille petits riens, auxquels sans doute on n'a donné ce nom parce que justement ils valent beaucoup.²⁵

Bureau's list of questions or topics to be investigated in each family differs slightly from that of Le Play. The influence of Durkheim seems to be evident, however. Yet the interrelatedness of Place, Work and Family is still dominant. If the emphasis had not been so much on the family case-study, a great many divisions of the Nomenclature might have resembled certain parts of the Lynds' Middletown.

²⁵ Paul Bureau Introduction à la méthode sociologique 1926, pp. 160-1

²⁶ Pauline V. Young Scientific Social Surveys and Re-

The Nomenclature will be discussed in more detail in the chapter on the study of the family in France.

Literary evidence:

The uses to which literary works may be put have been well-remarked by Znaniecki:

Literary evidence can be utilized only as auxiliary evidence, but in this character it may indeed be useful. The scientist has no right to accept the artist's presentation as an inductive basis for any generalization in the same way as cases observed by himself or by another scientist, but he may use the presentation as a help in his own induction. The fact is that in the social field the artist, particularly the dramatist and the novelist, has often played the part of a pioneer who opens up new domains for observation.²⁷

Modern literature has certainly provided some of the keenest observations of family life. While the material is not verified or organized for scientific use, by judicious consideration along the lines Professor Znaniecki has suggested, a fertile source of hypotheses will be found.

III. The Historical Method

This method is generally not concerned with the determination of the accuracy of any single fact, but rather to determine social processes. All social institutions grow out of the past as well as being modified by other current institutions. Elnett has made a rather novel contribution to historical techniques. After analyzing the historical

search, 1939, p. 227; citing Burgess "Statistics and Case Studies as Methods of Sociological Research," Sociology

background of family life in Russia, she includes a lengthy chapter on Russian proverbs. She says:

All real popular proverbs are distinguished by a vivid phraseology and a direct view of things which are inherent to primitive people. In this form they constitute a necessity in the life of a people, arouse general sympathy and approval and become popular. The newer the proverbs, the less characteristic they are of the entire people. Modern proverbs are rather stiff anachronisms, because the people as a whole have outlived the period of proverbs.²⁸

While the scientific method may be used in order to determine the validity of a single fact, history when it pretends to be more than an artistic presentation of facts must interpret them according to some viewpoint or hypothesis. The Marxian dialectic is an attempt at truly scientific history; the attempt to test the hypothesis that economic factors are the basis of all historical change. Of course, when scientific interests are forsaken in the desire to prove the validity of Communism, fallacies accumulate.

Evolution bears the earmarks of a scientific hypothesis. It could be proved or disproved by the accumulation of evidence. However, in as much as there seems to have been a conscious ethnocentric desire to prove evolution, the result has been the development of the comparative method,

and Social Research, 12: 14

²⁷ Op. cit., p. 196

²⁸ Mrs. Elaine Elnett Historic Origin and Social Development of Family Life in Russia, 1926, p. 135

one of the more flagrant examples of the fallacies of enumerative induction.. Goldenweiser and Durkheim have both noted these obvious fallacies. As a scientific hypothesis, evolution, when scientifically examined, has served the very useful purpose of demonstrating that there has been no such thing, that is to say evolution conceived as a succession of stages.

IV. The Ecological Method

The ecological method is a comparatively new and yet a rapidly developing method in sociology. It is essentially a sociological method, but one which recognizes that social forms have a spacial distribution. The University of Chicago has devoted much emphasis to this method and studies of the family utilizing this approach seem to have been limited to students of this school.

E.R. Mowrer has made a number of studies in which he attempts to correlate different aspects of the family with spatial areas and to determine the principles of these relationships. His main interest seems to have been in the relationship of divorce to areas of mobility.

E. Franklin Frazier in his study, The Negro Family in Chicago, has also examined the spacial distribution of social forms relative to his problem.

V. The Experimental Technique

In sociology, rigidly-controlled experiments are not commonly set up for scientific purposes. Experimental situations, however, are often brought about. That is, one factor is radically changed, while the others remain relatively constant. But the scientific usefulness of the questioned phenomena is always incidental. A new marriage or divorce law, for example, provides a rough type of experimental situation. Social experiments, such as the polygamous Mormon family and the Oneida community type of group marriage, also create experimental situations. Such "experiments" as these, however, have provided practically no scientific information. Havelock Ellis does mention the prevalence of coitus retracts in the Oneida community in his Studies of the Psychology of Sex, but his limited theoretical treatment of this experiment in marriage form is symbolic of our lack of material.

Therapy:

Harriet Mowrer, working as the Domestic Discord Consultant at the Jewish Social Service Bureau at Chicago, has elaborated therapy into a scientific technique:

In the situation of therapy, it is possible for the scientist to take his theories and reformulate them into procedures of control. If this control is successful, this fact itself confirms the validity of the theory.

Otherwise there can be only conjecture and faith.²⁹

This approach seems to be the nearest available approximation to experimental control. In order to get the facts on which to base the treatment, Mrs. Mowrer has developed the interview to a very fine point. This particular aspect will be discussed in a later chapter.

VI. The Survey

The classic surveys of contemporary sociology are, of course, Middletown, and Middletown in Transition. As Clark Wissler sees them, they represent "a pioneer attempt to deal with a sample American community after the manner of social anthropology."³⁰ "The aim of the field investigation recorded... was to study synchronously the interwoven trends that are the life of a small American city."³¹ Interviews, questionnaires, documents, newspapers, statistical compilations, et cetera, were all used.

Another very interesting survey, perhaps more important from the standpoint of the study of the family, is Kulp's Country Life in South China. This is a similar survey of a society, but a society which is dominated by familism.

²⁹ Personality Adjustment and Domestic Discord, p. 3

³⁰ Middletown, 1929, p. vi

³¹ Ibid., p. 3

Margaret Mead's Coming of Age in Samoa would probably not be classified as a survey, but it seems to have as many things in common with a survey as with anything else. First of all, it was made by an outside observer, who upon entering the group which she intended to study, was forced to examine all the aspects of that society, besides the particular problem she wished to stress. The survey was of one small locality with six hundred people; her particular problem was sixty-eight girls aged from nine to twenty years. She used no interpreter, as Kulp did because he possessed a trained sociologist who happened to be a member of that village, and she made no interviews. The material was not handled statistically, although she did make use of a very rough control group, for the purpose of observation, furnished by the pastor's boarding school for girls.

VII. Summary

Briefly, it is essential to take a purely eclectic view in regard to methodology in sociology and in family study. As Znaniecki says, "a methodologically perfect sociological study would utilize all varieties of sources."³² Any method which will achieve valid results should be welcomed, rather than an insistence upon an exclusive technique.

³² Op. cit., p. 209

CHAPTER IX

APPROACHES TO FAMILY RESEARCH

The study of the family as a social institution has never received as much attention as many other aspects of family life. The social aspects of family life have various counterparts, such as the biologic aspects and the economic aspects. Due to the entrenched prestige of the older disciplines, even sociology has been unable to study empirically the social aspects apart from other considerations, except for comparatively recent developments such as that instigated by Burgess where the family is studied as a "unity of interacting personalities." However, it is important to review the various contributions of these different approaches.

I. The Biological Approach

Reputable biologists have avoided the study of the social aspects of family life. Many of the less reputable however, have not hesitated to rush in. The result is that some of the most worthless books in scientific literature are found in this particular division.

Biological "needs" cannot be studied by biological methods alone, when it comes to human society, because they never represent a biological need as such, but rather a

social need. They are transformed into wishes and desires which can only be interpreted as social values. Bertrand Russell remarks:

The only act in this whole realm which can be called instinctive in the strict psychological sense is the act of sucking in infancy. I do not know how it may be with savages, but civilized people have to learn how to perform the sexual act. It is not uncommon for doctors to be asked by married couples of some years' standing for advice as to how to get children, and to find on examination that the couples have not known how to perform intercourse.'

The biological approach becomes transformed almost without exception into a normative approach. Biology in social science represents ethnocentrism glorified. Contemporary social values often become, according to this way of thinking, permanent biological necessities.

Since social success is prima facie evidence, to these pseudo-biologists, of biological success, biological ability is then assumed to be the cause of social ability. This fundamental logical fallacy of assuming what one sets out to prove is characteristic of most biological studies of the family. Therefore, the corollary, that those who socially unsuccessful are unfitted biologically, is also easy for the uncritical to assume.

The eugenics movement can therefore be classed as a conservative movement, in spite of the fact that it seeks a

'Marriage and Morals, 1929, p. 19

radical abridgement of the hitherto assumed principle of the individual's right to propagate, since it accepts present social values as immutable and seeks to secure their conservation by the sterilization of non-conforming individuals.

In eugenic studies, the family must necessarily be taken as the reproductive unit. Dugdale's study of the Jukes² is the classic example of this method. He traces an inheritance pyramid beginning with Ada's illegitimate child Alexander as the base. The hypothetical question would seem to be whether or not Alexander was bad because he had bad blood or for some wholly different reason. Dugdale commits the customary fundamental error of assuming what he sets out to prove, namely that Alexander was bad because he had bad blood. The same data might have been used to prove any other such assumed hypothesis. Moreover, other fallacies prove to be especially damaging to the biological hypothesis. The sample was both small and bad. There was a possibility of some 50,000 ancestors, yet only 1,300 were traced. A reverse pyramid might have given extremely confusing results as to just whose blood one was tracing. The study also showed a profound ignorance of the facts of life, in as much as in every marriage, fifty percent of the chromosomes must come from other strains.

² R.I. Dugdale The Jukes, 1914

Dugdale's attempt to study family constellation shows an equal ignorance of biological theory. His statistics showed a strong tendency for the first child to be honest, the criminal coming next, while the last child was generally a pauper. Now the Mendelian laws of inheritance postulate that there are dominant and recessive characteristics and definite ratios in which they may be expected to appear. Of course these ratios appear only in adequate samples and have absolutely no relation to birth order. Besides, how can a chromosome tell which child will be the last, in order to endow it with a particular recessive characteristic? Or for that matter, any child? As my old Professor Adolph Tomars used to say, "The only things these studies prove is that the men who made them were damn fools... and also that anything that is fallacious will become popular!"

At the present time, Paul Popenoe is the most prolific exploiter of the biological fallacy. His method of reasoning is that man is an animal, mating and reproduction are animal functions, therefore biology must have the first and last word regarding marriage and the family. His books and writings take "man as it finds him, and tries to make clear how he can fit himself into the American civilization of the twentieth century in such a way as to provide for his own greatest satisfaction and the progressive evolution of

the race."³ In his opinion, "the importance of heredity and eugenics is coming to be recognized as rarely before, and great progress is to be expected in this direction."⁴

Biological facts are seen as the basis of everything. He goes even further in a typical book, Modern Marriage: A Handbook, where he cites fourteen reasons why early marriages are desirable. The social and medical reasons he gives are extremely doubtful where they are not obviously false. Yet it is in tune with his assumption that the only important things in life are biological facts. Therefore, one may suppose, the more there are of them, the better. Popenoe would make a fetish of being, as James Branch Cabell puts it in Straws and Prayerbooks, content to be a mere transmitter of semen in life's inexplicable purpose. Physicians believe that procreation is performed best by women between the ages of twenty and forty; still with good care, as Ruth Reed remarks, the modern girl could probably produce continuously between the ages of fifteen and forty-five if conditions warranted this frenzied procreation.

E.R. Groves is an equally prolific member of this biological school. However, it seems that in his two latest

³ Modern Marriage, 1926, p. vi

⁴ The Conservation of the Family, 1926, p. 252

books, The American Family, and the American Woman, he tones down his biological bias. His earlier works can be classed with Popenoe's; the last two are content to state the prime importance of biological facts, and then to neglect them. The one exception is in regard to eugenics. Here is a typical thought:

The leaders of eugenics advocate the spreading of information so that many victims of bad heredity will voluntarily abstain from parenthood.⁵

An example of the fact that a scientist can fall directly from one fallacy into another is furnished by the work of the eminent geographer, Ellsworth Huntington, who says in his book, The Builders of America:

One of the authors is primarily a student of environment. He believes, for example, that the distribution of civilization over the earth's surface, both now and in the past, depends upon climate and other geographic conditions even more than race or any other factor. Nevertheless, the work of biologists during the last quarter of a century has convinced him of the supreme importance of heredity in producing mental diversity, not only among individuals, but among the different groups of people who may or may not be diverse in race. Such differences, it appears, may for a time completely obscure the differences arising from purely environmental causes.⁶

Furthermore, Huntington believes that when feeble-minded parents produce a normal child it is undoubtedly due

⁵The American Family, p. 364

⁶Co-author with Leon F. Whitney, 1927, p. 55

to illegitimacy. He believes Lincoln was a mutation. Like most others with his beliefs, he feels great concern over differential fertility. Successful people, that is to say, those with good heredity, are the true "Builders." The true responsibility of every true Builder is "the sacred trust of handing forward to posterity the heritage which has been placed in his care."⁷

Lorimer and Osborn also express grave fears over the consequences of differential fertility.⁸ Forsaking their scientific study of population dynamics, they make entirely unwarranted prognostications on the future of America. On the basis of three studies which consisted in giving intelligence tests to children with wide parental backgrounds, they observed that intelligence and small families were closely associated. Therefore they concluded that intelligence was inherited in the genes, and small families were the result of conscious desire. Therefore they concluded that this situation was bad.

The non-normative viewpoint of differential fertility is well-expressed by Warren S. Thompson:

Any given stage of civilization or any special group may put a premium on personal qualities which are highly prejudicial to the welfare of the great body of the

⁷ Ibid, p. 55

⁸ Dynamics of Population, 1934, pp. 343-7

people. If these personal qualities are such that they lead to the dying out of a large part of the classes who are in control of society at a given time, this process may be all to the good from the standpoint of mass welfare.⁹

It seems to me that the upper classes feel unconsciously that, perhaps, our present social order is not worth preserving, and, not knowing how or being unwilling to alter it radically so that there will be a place in it for family and children, they supinely await extinction.¹⁰

As Bertrand Russell remarks, the supposition that virtue is proportional to income, and that the inheritance of poverty is a biological and not a legal phenomenon, would imply that if we could induce the rich to breed instead of the poor, everybody would be rich.¹¹ Such rash sterilization laws as that of Idaho "would have justified the sterilization of Socrates, Plato, Julius Caesar, and St. Paul."¹² Russell is of the opinion that in order to insure sex purity, all men should be castrated with the exception of ministers of religion. He adds the amusing footnote, "Since reading Elmer Gantry I have begun to feel that even this exception is perhaps not quite wise."¹³

⁹Social Forces, September, 1928, quoted in Elmer Family Adjustment and Social Change, pp. 126-7

¹⁰quoted in Reuter and Runner Readings.. p. 575

¹¹Russell Op. cit., p. 202

¹²Ibid, p. 204

¹³Ibid, pp. 74-5

The biological viewpoint is based upon the assumption that progress is the result of accidental hereditary improvement. It proposes the abandonment of individual wishes in marriage relations in favor of producing a "sound stock."¹⁴

Biological studies, since they provide this apparently scientific justification of existing social values, are concentrated in what might be called the normative approach. They are not valuable in studying the family as a living institution, although the studies themselves may be used in a survey of specific attitudes toward specific values.

Growth of population studies may be considered legitimate biological research. Lorimer and Osborn's Dynamics of Population, and Robert R. Kuczynski's The Measurement of Population Growth are outstanding in this field. However, such studies must be strictly restricted to a factual presentation of data and rates of such population factors as fertility and mortality. Kuczynski does this commendably. Normative evaluations cannot be substantiated. Lorimer and Osborn fall deeply into this error. Their conclusions on population trends are heavily weighted with personal opinion, which in turn smacks of the biological approach condemned above

¹⁴E. Mowrer The Family, p. 10

II. The Anthropological Approach

The anthropological study of the family, while it has provided a multitude of facts, has not been conspicuously productive of sociological theory. It began in the second half of the nineteenth century, and seems to have been consistently hampered by a rather limited conceptual field. Interest was centered in the search for "social origins." There was no attempt to see primitive life as a whole, or to dissociate it from the supposed evolutionary scheme. Perhaps this has been due to the influence of the biological law of evolution. Anthropological facts were at first merely marshalled in support of this theory on the assumption that since it had been proved in biology, there was no need to prove it again in sociology, but merely to illustrate it.

However, anthropological studies have had two revolutionary effects on the field of family study:

- (1) It developed an unemotional attitude toward family customs and practices which could be turned back upon the modern family with penetrating results, and
- (2) it led to speculation about the origin of the family and its evolution and therefore to the conception of the family and its relations as a human affair rather than a divine arrangement.¹⁵

Some of the most interesting and conflicting theories in the field of the family have had to do with the origins

¹⁵Ibid, p. 30

and the development of the family form. It was originally supposed that the earliest marriage form was a stage of universal promiscuity. As Letourneau put it:

The method of evolution requires us to begin our inquiry with the lowest form of sexual association, and there is none lower, morally and intellectually, than promiscuity.¹⁶

Yet Letourneau, after examining the facts, was unable to say that there had ever been any such state. He concluded that man, by reason of his superior intelligence, is less rigorously subject to general laws.

Westermarck's classic, The History of Human Marriage, effectively attacked the promiscuity theory. In its stead he suggested the practically universal prevalence of monogamy, marshalled facts, and developed Darwin's biological argument that jealousy would tend to limit the marriage form to monogamy.

Briffault's recent book, The Mothers, is a modern revival of the early search for origins, and attempts a rather caustic refutation of many of the theories proposed by Westermarck. Briffault would substitute a theory of the maternal origin of marriage and the family for that which supposes biological nature to favor universal monogamy. In this respect, it is a direct outgrowth of Bachofen's Das

¹⁶The Evolution of Marriage, 1897, p. 37

Mutterrecht, 1861, which held that kinship traced in the female line preceded that of males. However, Bachofen emphasized the moral ground for this precedence, while Briffault sees the reason for this condition in the economic and material nature of society.

In respect to Briffault's refutation of Westermarck, Havelock Ellis points out that Briffault, in many cases, attacks what was never affirmed in order to triumph.¹⁷ However, at least one American sociologist, V.F. Calverton, has immediately hopped aboard this new anthropological bandwagon, remarking in regard to Westermarck: "Why should a man's doctrine become so widely accepted when his evidences were so flimsy and fallacious?"¹⁸ Calverton, apparently, sees in Westermarck's theory of monogamy the work of contemporary mores which were unconsciously at work producing it, a type of "wish fulfillment." Westermarck very aptly disposes of this idea.¹⁹ Indeed, it is hard to see the meaning of Calverton's suggestion, since the contemporary monogamic institution could have been exalted as well

¹⁷Views and Reviews, London, 1932; quoted in Westermarck, Three Essays on Sex and Marriage, 1934, p. 168

¹⁸Westermarck Ibid, pp. 331-5, quoting Calverton from Am. Jl. Soc. 36: 696-702, "The Compulsive Basis of Social Thought."

¹⁹Ibid, p. 334

by the supposition of a previous lower state of promiscuity as by any eternal condition of monogamy. Westermarck points out, further, that much of Briffault's criticism, especially in regard to the data on monogamous relations among apes, was antedated and corrected by five years in the revised edition of The History of Human Marriage.²⁰

There seems to be considerable doubt as to the validity of much of Briffault's data as opposed to Westermarck's. However, Goodsell sums up the situation:

However true these criticisms may be, they do not dispose of the ineluctable facts pointed out by Lowie that monogamy must have been the general rule in practice, because the numerical ratio of the sexes is nearly equal; and, further, that the custom of matrilocal residence in many tribes, together with the prevalence of a high bride price, would tend rigidly to limit polygyny.²¹

Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg have concluded that it is impossible to account for any type of family form by reference to economic influence alone,²² in spite of Briffault's theory.

In America, the emphasis upon the totemic clan as the origin of the family group is almost completely missing.

²⁰Ibid. pp. 331-5

²¹A History of Marriage and the Family, 1934, p. 9; quoting Lowie Primitive Society, pp. 40-2

²²The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples, p. 152; cited in Groves The American Family, p. 26

Following the lead of Durkheim, French anthropologists, practically unanimously, see the origins of the family in the totemic group. This viewpoint will be discussed in a later chapter. Lowie has criticized Durkheim's concept of totemism in both his Primitive Society, and in The History of Ethnological Theory.

As Letourneau observed many years ago, "in what concerns the evolution of marriage and the family, there is no absolute law."²³ In regard to matrilineal and patrilineal descent, Ralph Linton follows this up:²⁴

It also seems certain that matrilineal and patrilineal descent do not represent successive stages in the course of an inevitable evolution of social institutions. While a number of groups are known to have shifted from the female to the male line, there are clear indications that some other groups, certain tribes in British Columbia for example, have shifted in the opposite direction. We can only conclude that the selection of a particular descent line by a particular group has been due to historic causes which were probably highly complex and never the same in any two cases.

Margaret Mead further remarks that a stress upon the husband-wife, or conjugal relationship results in a very simple kinship structure which lacks the continuity of other descent groups. It is paradoxically found among very

²³Letourneau Op. cit., p. 316

²⁴The Study of Man, 1936, p. 168

simple peoples, such as the Indians of interior Canada, and also in modern industrial society.²⁵

In respect to certain anthropological tendencies, Miss Mead says:

All of these attempts to reconstruct the earlier forms of organization of the family remain at best only elaborate hypotheses. Contemporary refutations of these hypotheses rest upon criticisms of the evolutionary position with its arbitrary postulation of stages and upon a methodological refusal to admit the discussion of a question upon which there is not and cannot be any valid evidence.²⁶

Ralph Linton, in his recent book, The Study of Man, gives a very good account of anthropological knowledge relating to marriage and the family in the chapters under those headings. However, as Burgess notes:

The study of preliterate peoples has been shifting its emphasis from an attempt to reconstruct evolution to a description and analysis of social organization. Nevertheless, it may be added that even the available concrete descriptions of family organization portray its external forms and not its inner life. The materials for a social psychology of the preliterate family remains to be gathered.²⁷

In this last respect, the work of Margaret Mead has been noteworthy.

²⁵ "The Primitive Family" in The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, p. 67

²⁶ Ibid., p. 65

²⁷ Am. Jl. Soc., 32: 104-15

III. The Economic Approach

The economic aspects of family study seem to subdivide themselves under two headings: the effect of economic conditions on family relationships, and studies of family living treating the family as a consumption unit.

The interest in the effect of economic conditions on family relationships received a great stimulus during the recent depression, although studies have not been confined to this period. Social work has always been intimately interested in it, even though its emphasis has been on the practical aspect. Paul H. Douglas' book, Wages and the Family, is a good example of this viewpoint. More from the standpoint of pure sociology, Dorothy Thomas wrote Social Aspects of the Business Cycle. She found marriage rates positively correlated with the business cycle, as were birth rates, although they were proportionally decreasing, probably with the advance of birth control. Illegitimacy was negatively correlated.²⁸

In respect to the recent depression, Burgess says:

Social scientists, it may be asserted, missed a unique opportunity during the past ten years for increasing our knowledge of the functioning of social institutions as affected by marked fluctuations of the business cycle.²⁹

²⁸Hubert R. Kemp, pp. 566-81 in Rice Methods in Social Science, 1931

²⁹Introduction to Cavan and Ranck The Family and the Depression, 1938, p. xii

Clague made a rather limited study of family resources which were used in a time of unemployment.³⁰ The most complete works on the last depression are the two books by Cavan and Ranck,³¹ and by Stouffer and Lazarsfield.³² Cavan and Ranck summarize the works published early in the depression:

Certain books and articles, especially those published during the earlier part of the depression, have assumed that there would be extreme personal disorganization, indicated by increased crime, insanity, and suicides, and a greatly increased amount of family disintegration. More dispassionate investigations have failed to support fully these early predictions of disaster.³³

The Family in the Depression differed from most of the other studies made at the time, in that the one hundred families studied were not indigent families on relief. In order to get the necessary predepression material, however, it was necessary to go to some social agency. The Institute

³⁰ Ten Thousand Out of Work, 1933

³¹ The Family and the Depression, 1938

³² Research Memorandum on the Family and the Depression, 1937

³³ Op. cit., pp. 1-2; such as: Lillian Brandt An Impressionistic View of the Winter of 1930-1 in N.Y.C.; Marian Elderton Case Studies of Unemployment; Pauline V. Young "The New Poor," Sociology and Social Research, 17: 234-42, and "The Human Cost of Unemployment," Sociology and Social Research, 17: 361-9; Rosemary Reynolds "They Have Neither Money Nor Work," The Family, 13: 35-9

for Juvenile Research in Chicago, a non-relief agency, provided a source for subjects with this material. The method used was a kind of case analysis of family processes.

Stouffer and Lazarsfield study approximately the same thing: family relationships, patterns and processes during the depression. However, their study is not an independent one, but rather a collection of material and references on these different aspects, with suggestions for further urgently needed research.

Studies of family living:

Zimmerman divides studies of family living into three categories: (1) analyses of the utility of various articles consumed by a group of families, (2) analyses of well-being, or living standards, based largely upon quantities of different types of goods consumed, and (3) analyses of the interrelationships between consumption and social organization.³⁴

According to this classification, only the third type would properly come into the field of sociology. The mere fact that the family provides the customary unit of consumption does not necessarily mean that it is studied as a social institution.

³⁴The Family and Society, 1935, pp. 51-2

Engel, a statistical student of Le Play, may be put in the second category above. His laws relative to food consumption and work have been expanded by the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics under the guidance of Carroll D. Wright, and later by Streightoff, Chapin and Ogburn.

Le Play, of course, is the classical exploiter of the concept of the family budget. Aside from his other theories, he believed that an analysis of the workingman's budget provided the best index to the life of any society. His work may be better seen in the discussion of French sociologists in a later chapter. Halbwachs is another French sociologist who has played with the concept of the family budget, although his viewpoint has been quite different.

Faith Williams and Carle C. Zimmerman have published a very complete analysis of studies of family living.³⁵ Besides a theoretical treatment, they include an annotated bibliography of 1,487 studies of family living from 52 different countries. It is a splended source for all such material. They summarize studies of family living:

Many of the students of family living whose work has been analyzed have evaluated the consumption of the groups they studied simply by means of data on annual expenditures. Some students have gone further and have

³⁵ Studies of Family Living in the United States and Other Countries: An Analysis of Material and Method, 1935

secured data on the quantity of goods and services purchased, and of goods produced at home for family use. Others have added to information about goods and services currently received, data on savings from current income during the period of the study, and on past accumulations in money, in investments, and in durable consumptive goods. Some students have included data on food consumption and on housing which make it possible to evaluate with a good deal of certainty the adequacy of these aspects of family living. A few studies have secured measurements of the physical health of the group and have related these data to those on consumption. Some investigators have gone still further and have attempted to describe the satisfactions and dissatisfactions experienced at a given level of living; and some, under the influence of Frédéric Le Play and his school, have attempted to ethical evaluation of the consumption of the group concerned.³⁶

IV. The Legal Approach

In actual practice, the legal approach seems to approximate very closely the historical approach discussed previously. At least the historical draws very much of its material from the history of laws, since they are the best remaining source for an understanding of the ancient and medieval family.

Our modern legal complexity also demands that we have books showing the different divorce laws and marriage laws of the several states. They are important, not only from the standpoint of the lawyer, but from the need of the

³⁶ Ibid, p. 4

social worker, and, as some of the introductions cryptically assert, for those who may sometime need litigation. An example of this type is Geoffrey May's Marriage Laws and Decisions in the United States. Theodore Apstein's book, The Parting of the Ways attempts a much wider, if briefer, application, even devoting much emphasis to litigation over occurrences during the courting period.

Leon C. Marshall and Geoffrey May's The Divorce Court is an innovation in this field. Instead of studying the law books or the decisions, they study the proceedings. They were interested in the court records, but even more so in the people who made them.

V. The Sociological Approach

Burgess points out that The Polish Peasant by W.I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki was actually the first study of the family as a living social institution, and not as a legal one.³⁷ Yet Mowrer remarks in his recent book on The Family that as "yet there is no study of the contemporary American family which shows as great an appreciation and understanding of the nature of family organization as does The Polish Peasant."³⁸ Certainly, in spite of Burgess' own

³⁷Article on family study in Reuter and Runner Readings

³⁸Loc. cit., p. 302

definition of the family as a "unity of interacting personalities,"³⁷ the study of the family as a form for social interaction has not received its due attention.

However, The Polish Peasant is a great deal more than just a study of units of interacting personalities. It is a study of attitudes and values of a concrete group, pictured in relation to the complete social life as a whole. The techniques employed, while seemingly lengthy, are perhaps the best possible ones to achieve this knowledge. One volume contains the complete life history of a Polish immigrant. Over 15,000 personal letters were examined in order to picture the Polish group as they lived in the old country. Newspapers, the records of social agencies, systematic presentations of other writers, all contribute to an exhaustive picture of the Pole in America and the Pole in changing conditions in Europe. Symbolic of the approach, are some of the conclusions which the authors draw. They found the real cause of all phenomena of family disorganization in the influence of certain new values, that is new for the subject, such as new vanity values, new types of economic organization, new forms of sexual appeal. Communities which held up the family as a group tended to check this trend toward individualization for recognition.

³⁷John Dollard would add "each with a history." "Needed Viewpoints in Family Research," Social Forces, 14:109-13

The individual manifestations were due to the subject's attitudes and to social conditions. Where there were no obstacles in the family to individualization, the trend was expressed normally in a mere loss of family interest; where obstacles were set up, anti-social behaviour was manifested. It was impossible to revive the original family psychology after it was once disintegrated, after the we-feeling, the primary attitude was lost.

The family as a unity of interacting personalities seems on its way to becoming a dominant concept in family study. Burgess himself never attempted a thorough exposition of the family according to his definition. He did no more than forecast the field. Mowrer has probably done more than any other author to popularize this concept, although in his own textbook, he seems to stress, at least in his chapter divisions, the form and organization of the family. There is practically no modern writer on the family today who does not give at least some space to the family viewed in this light.

Willard Waller, in his recent text, The Family: A Dynamic Interpretation, has written perhaps the most complete exposition of the family as a unit of interaction. Following MacIver's division of family processes into four stages: courtship, the first year of marriage, parenthood, and the stage of the empty nest, Waller added a fifth stage

to precede the first, life in the parental family. However, material on the stage of the empty nest being practically non-existent, Waller was forced to omit it. He also included a section on family disorganization.

Family research from this social standpoint must necessarily adopt, among its assumptions, a theory of human nature. Mowrer suggests an admirable one:

This theory conceives of human nature as developing out of social interaction. The individual is born with a complex of predispositions-- reflexes, instincts, random movements, capacities-- all of which are either highly modifiable or can be reorganized into a large range of patterns. There are, of course, limits to the modifiability of these elements of original human nature, but the limitations of social contacts ordinarily obscures these limits so that they can remain hypothetical in character. Cultural patterns and human interaction modify original nature almost from the moment of birth, and while some account needs to be taken of the hereditary character of the individual, much more attention than has frequently been customary needs to be given to the influence of cultural practices and the role of the individual in the group.⁴⁰

Stated a little differently, Mowrer says that man "becomes human in these associations by having his original impulses defined for him by the culture of his group."⁴¹

Speaking of interaction, Mowrer states:

The introduction of the idea of interaction into the study of the family is, perhaps, one of the most revolutionary accomplishments of the past century in this field, just as it is in sociology in general. The

⁴⁰ The Family, 1932, p. 305

⁴¹ Ibid, p. 41

interaction principle furnishes the basic conception necessary for a mechanistic description and explanation of social phenomena just as it does for physical phenomena. It provides the logical principle necessary for the understanding of the behaviour of physical objects, of animals, and of man. Interaction is thus basic in all attempts to find law and order in the apparent chaos of physical changes and social events.⁴²

Helen Bosanquet's The Family provided the germ of this idea of interaction, although she remarked only the unity and likeness patterns. Conflict, as well as identification and accommodation patterns, is now stressed. In fact patterns of disorganization are studied a great deal more than are those of organization, due perhaps to the influence of social work, and the pressure of tensions in daily living.

Mowrer also attempts a correlation between family patterns and city areas in Chicago. Mobility between these areas was also studied in relation to family disorganization. Members of the Chicago school of sociology consider this ecological aspect to have a good deal of importance. Frazier, in his study of the Negro family,⁴³ also plots a number of his findings on a map of Chicago. However, this does not class these studies in the geographical school, since the particular geographical importance of an area is

⁴² Ibid, p. 84

⁴³ The Negro Family in Chicago, 1932

not considered as such, except as it represents a practical division in spatial area of social values and social situations. The social divisions, such as class, which lie behind these apparent geographical divisions should be remembered.

Margaret B. McFarland has made a very interesting study of one aspect of family interaction, i.e. sibling relationships.⁴⁴ She observed in their home environment, twenty-two sister pairs of pre-school children, ranging in age from one to seven years. Each pair were observed five times, and the time spent in certain activities, such as cooperative activity, sharing, physical conflict, submission, helping, sympathy, etcetera, was timed with a stop watch in thirty second intervals. For the last two observation periods with each pair of children, experimental situations were attempted, with the introduction of standardized toy equipment, which would necessitate some definite form of interaction.

Sibling relationships, parent-child relationships, and conjugal relationships are receiving more and more attention in familial literature. Recently, Burgess and Cottrell have developed a kind of instrument for the prediction of success in marriage.⁴⁵ Their study was carried on

⁴⁴Relationships Between Young Sisters as Revealed in Their Overt Responses, 1938

⁴⁵"The Prediction of Adjustment in Marriage," Am. Soc. Rev., 1: 737-51

by distributing eight-page printed schedules which sought to gather information on the previous backgrounds of the married partners and also on the state of their married life. On the basis of their correlations, they found, among other things, that the higher the educational score at the time of marriage, the higher was the degree of marital adjustment, although the educational achievement of the wife seemed more important than that of the husband.

"Joiners" also seemed to be better bets, at least for husbands.⁴⁶

In respect to the "functional" approach to the study of the family, it should be noted that any such telic conception of a purpose is not valid in sociology. Most sociologists do speak of "family functions." The family does satisfy certain fundamental needs, but here a rationalization is all too easy, into their connotation as conscious direction to preconceived ends. Such ends are fictitious. Mowrer stresses the notion of interdependency rather than of function.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ "The Prediction of Adjustment in Marriage," Am. Soc. Rev., 1: 737-51; Book now in press.

⁴⁷ The Family, pp. 49-56

VI. The Psycho-analytic Approach

Psycho-analytic literature on the family has been concentrated in the field of sexual relations, with much attention to complexes growing out of the alleged repression of instinctive drives, following perhaps the lead of Freud.

Flugel's The Psycho-analytic Study of the Family,⁴⁸ for example, seeks to explain conflict and accord in the ambivalency of certain primitive impulses. Leta S. Hollingworth sponsors the theory of greater male variability.⁴⁹ The Journal of Abnormal Psychology and the American Journal of Psychiatry are full of examples of this type of psychiatric approach.

However, there has never been a complete neglect of the social factors. Psycho-analysis seems to be following a definite trend in seeking more and more the explanation of mental disorder in social rather than in biological phenomena, due, in part at least, to the accumulating results of the many behaviour clinics for children.

Abraham Myerson classifies housewives into types, and points out contributing factors in the environment.⁵⁰ Smith and Cabot⁵¹ see the influence of social conventions.

⁴⁸International Psycho-analytic Press, New York, 1921

⁴⁹"Social Devices for Impelling Women to Bear and Rear Children," Am. Jl. Soc., 22: 19-29

⁵⁰The Nervous Housewife, 1920; reviewed in Burgess "Topical Summaries of Current Literature," Am. Jl. Soc., 32: 104-15

Of course, Havelock Ellis is quite fully aware of the social factors.⁵¹ John Dollard's Criteria for the Life History also has a social psycho-analytic view.

VII. The Social Work Approach

Social work has traditionally used the family as its unit of treatment. Although, in social reform, the scope is much broader, the emphasis has always been on the individual family "case", and most of the material used in attempts at reform has been gathered from family case work. Of these case studies, Znaniecki says:

This whole development is rather unfortunate for sociology, however useful for social practice. For the clinical case and the social work case yield material prepared and organized for practical purposes, but entirely unprepared for scientific use.⁵³

However, it is a question whether or not these practical purposes could not become coincident with their need for scientific use in sociology. Yet Znaniecki points out an interesting fact, that the individual represents a convergence of a number of closed systems, both natural and cultural, and that the practical study of an individual would preclude any isolation of a closed cultural system

⁵¹ "A Study in Sexual Morality," Jl. Soc. Hyg., 2: 527-37; reviewed in Reuter and Runner, Op. cit.

⁵² Studies in the Psychology of Sex, 1929, 3rd ed.; Little Essays on Love and Virtue, 1922, 1934 ed.; etcetera.

⁵³ The Method of Sociology, p. 247

necessary to sociology.

While social reform assumes that there is social maladjustment, individual case treatment ordinarily assumes some personal maladjustment. Social therapy, which seeks to change individual attitudes, takes the same view. However, in an increasing number of cases, individual treatment is resorted to, not because it is assumed that the whole fault lies with the individual, but because it is realized that human nature is modifiable, and that in spite of the social causes of maladjustment, attention to the individual, besides giving him cash disbursements, may help. Social workers are not generally encouraged or allowed to tinker with society. Still their influence on public policy, through their professional organizations and unions, is becoming more important.

Since the cases carried at social agencies represent families living rather close to the subsistence level, it is to be expected that any occurrence which tends to break the family income will be the biggest factor in causing the family to make relief application, whether it be unemployment or family disorganization. Family case workers have always been vitally interested in these problems. Studies of the effect of unemployment of family life have already been treated in the section on the economic approach. It remains to discuss family disorganization.

As Waller points out,⁵⁴ bereavement is a much greater cause of family disorganization than is divorce. Eighty-three of every two hundred married persons lose their mate through death, while only thirty-four lose their mate through divorce. Waller devotes more space to the particular problem of bereavement than does any other textbook writer on the subject of the family, although he seems to have taken his cue from Thomas D. Eliot.⁵⁵ Divorce and desertion have customarily received more attention, probably because they present a moral as well as a practical aspect. Besides the economic disorganization furnished by the death or desertion of the breadwinner, there is the problem of personal maladjustment of the remaining partner.

Park wishes to view family disorganization from a much broader standpoint.⁵⁶ Since the family, to him, is the bearer of tradition, if the parents' traditions, plans and hopes are not carried over by the children, family disorganization exists. This opinion is substantially the same as Le Play's and Zimmerman's. It must be recognized that

⁵⁴The Family, p. 489

⁵⁵"The Bereaved Family," Annals Amer. Acad. Pol. and Soc. Sci., 160: 184-90; "The Adjustment Behaviour of Bereaved Families, A New Field of Research," Social Forces, 8: 543-549; "A Step Toward the Social Psychology of Bereavement," Jl. Abn. Soc. Psych., 27: 380-90; "Bereavement as a Problem for Family Research and Technique," The Family, Vol. 11, No. 4, pp. 114-5

⁵⁶Robert R. Park in Research in the Social Sciences, 1929, Wilson Gee, editor, p. 48

the patriarchal and the "souche" family do transmit their traditions practically intact. A gap in transmission of tradition may be evidence of the passing of this type of family, though not of the family itself.

Certainly the most interesting approach to the problem of family disorganization is furnished us by the work of Mrs. Harriet Mowrer. The basic standpoint of her work has already been discussed in the chapter on method; here it will be taken up in more detail.

The basis for her treatment was a knowledge of the social-psychological patterns in the domestic discord situation. Mechanical standardization of procedure was not valuable, since there was a need for meeting the vocabulary and mental framework of the patient. Sex was not treated as in abstraction; an organic unity between all the factors in the situation was assumed. This dynamic case analysis was used to give direction to the treatment process.

Both husband and wife were interviewed separately. The interviews took place in the office by appointment. Although there was no standardization, the general framework of the interview pattern was kept in mind. Rapport with the subject was, of course, essential. Tentative hypotheses were constantly forming and being proved or disproved by further questions. The interview was more elaborate with the second person, since there was more suggestive material to investigate. She found it important to

let the patient ramble, although not so much as to cause her to lose control of the situation. This rambling sequence was often important. Wherever possible she sought to revive early pleasant memories of the subject. Essentially, she sought to induce a more objective attitude on the part of the patient rather than to modify overt behaviour. However, the patient must accept her interpretation in order for the treatment to be successful.

The problem of the social therapist is to bring about a reorganization of personality: reinterpret individual experiences, redefine situations, reinterpret the life process. The early, primary attitudes are the ones with which the treatment process is concerned; they represent the impediments to marriage. "Fundamentally, treatment becomes a process of changing through socio-psychic therapy those attitudes constituting the basic conflict pattern. In some cases this means a reorganization of personality. In somer cases it involves facilitating the process of adjustment, which goes on unaided in some cases but is delayed or impeded in others."⁵⁷

Mrs. Mowrer believes that this new development will be of great help in the study of domestic discord. Now the scientist will be able to offer his professional services, and thereby gain a larger mass of case material.

⁵⁷Personality Adjustment and Domestic Discord, p. 6

Mrs Mowrer, through her intensive treatment, produced complete or partial adjustment in fifty-one out of fifty-three cases where there was no separation at first contact. She regarded this as highly satisfactory. However, Willard Waller does not wish to accept her results at their face value.

Without attempting to discredit Mrs. Mowrer's results in the least, one may doubt whether she has a transmissible technique, and whether, if she has, this technique can be employed in other groups.⁵⁸

She worked under the most favorable conditions with a group in which the sentiment of family solidarity is very strong, and she excluded a group of eight cases which were divorced or separated at the time of first contact, but still her results are amazing.⁵⁹

Mrs. Mowrer's findings raise the question of the possibility of effecting reconciliations and readjustments in a large number of discordant marriages, but they certainly do not settle it.⁶⁰

The possibility of family difficulties recurring, the possibility of an undue amount of neurotic behaviour in the reconciled mates remains to be tested. However, the clinic idea is worthy of extension, although at present, it is likely to be expensive and effective only in a small number of cases. The lack of a competent personnel and financial support are handicaps; further development awaits the advance of social science.

⁵⁸ The Family, p. 600

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 565

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 566

The "cult of the child" is essentially a twentieth century phenomenon. Child welfare is also a twentieth century movement, and has been given much of its emphasis by social work. Child problems are given first importance. As Jessie Taft remarks, "the home has lost its halo." "We have perhaps given the halo to the child. In the interest of the child, new social institutions supplementing the home are being developed. The nursery school movement is notable in this respect.

VIII. Review

It is evident from this discussion that only that approach which treats the family as it exists-- a social, living institution, a unity of interacting personalities,-- can give us any information on the family as a social, living institution. Other approaches are valuable in providing a necessary orientation, but can not serve to build up the sociological study of the family.

"The Home Has Lost Its Halo," Survey Graphic, 12: 286-7; quoted in Groves and Brooks Readings in the Family.

CHAPTER X

NORMATIVE EVALUATIONS OF THE
FAMILY AND FAMILY REORGANIZATION

Many authors in this field step outside their role as scientists, and add subjective evaluations of the family, with their personal recommendations for its control. For practical purposes, we may join with Mowrer in regarding all those attempts to give new life to old forms as conservative, while the assumption that the old forms are inadequate for functioning in modern life and that there is little or nothing of value in the old arrangements, may be defined as radical.¹

The conservative approach to family study is well phrased by Groves. "Society is becoming sensitive to its family failures, which is the first step in the readjustment that will give back to the family its former importance."² Groves' main thesis seems to be that all good qualities are derived from family association. Like Popehoe, he believes that young folks should marry at once, since "a little hardship cements affection."³ His Book Wholesome Marriage, is a real adventure into the Voice of Experience field. Among other things he does not advise

¹The Family, p. 6

²American Marriage and Family Relationships, p. 121

³Wholesome Marriage, 1927, p. 61

marriage "with those who dabble with alcoholic drinks."⁴ Camping trips are good for honeymoon couples. "Wholesome marriage wears well and often brings its richest gifts when husband and wife are growing old together."⁵ Those who do not fit themselves to marriage are probably immature.

Monogamy is the ideal. "It is the kind of family that is most stable because it leads to concentration of authority among simple peoples and a convergence of affection in the love union characteristic of modern culture."⁶ Butterfield praises the rural family for its higher moral plane, and for developing a high sense of individuality.⁷

Schmiedeler believes that there can never be an adequate substitute for the family and that the less help it receives from other institutions, except the Church, the better. His editor, John A. Lapp, suggests the fact that the family has always existed is proof of its everlasting character as a Divine Plan for the propagation and protection of the human race.

Hart, by his very terminology, classes himself with the conservatives. "How to build one's code of sex behaviour"⁸ is a heading in his text on the family. He says

⁴Ibid., p. 65

⁵Ibid., p. 233

⁶Groves The American Family, p. 29

⁷"Rural Life and the Family," Proc. Am. Soc. Soc., Volume 3, 1908; reprinted in Schmiedeler Readings in the Family

⁸Personality and the Family, p. 93

nothing really definite about the code, beyond the hope for "a new dynamic which will give us power to win through to the rich life of love at its best."⁹ We must make our sex impulses creative.

Thwing¹⁰ also prescribes a number of recipes for happy families. In his opinion, the Ten Commandments are very good too. But as Waller points out:

Various 'educational' programs have been devised in order to promote better family life. Many such programs are definitely harmful, since their effect is merely to strengthen the existing mores and to accentuate the conflicts of persons unable to live within the mores. The very names of such agencies for the 'conservation of family life' reflect their character."

The conservatives see little or no importance in individual values. They think of the family as possessing super-organic sensory qualities. It is only through the family that people can feel these higher emotional states, and therefore the things which an individual can enjoy outside of the family are relatively valueless. They all speak slightingly of the individualistic pleasure-philosophy which leads to a dislike for having children. Zimmerman phrases this particular viewpoint excellently:

The companionate hypothesis may be criticized on the basis of the assumption that it may be impossible for an institution to be something which it is not. If individualistic satisfaction is the complete goal of

⁹ Ibid., p. 93

¹⁰ C.F. Thwing and F.B. Carrie The Family: An Historical and Social Study, 1913; reviewed in Mowrer Op. cit., pp. 6-8

"Op. cit., pp. 600-1

society, there is no use in tying the individual to institutions or in evaluating institutions as units. The individual must become the unit of all social thinking. If we adapt the family to the individual, we no longer have the institution... Either there is a family with institutional values as well as individual values, or society is a loosely formed aggregate of individuals, changing and structureless.¹²

Zimmerman's proposed dilemma is not very conclusive. It would seem highly possible for a very desirable alternative to exist which is not covered in either of his two categories. A modern disciple of Le Play, Zimmerman has adopted the same thesis of family research and is also of the opinion that none but a strongly authoritarian, patriarchal family can provide for the continued happy existence of mankind. Zimmerman and Frampton favor what they call "long-time values,"¹³ and are entirely opposed to theories which "represent a feeling that the family exists for the individual rather than for society."¹⁴

Groves calls the companionate an "arrested type." "In short, the companionate is a willful attempt to keep marriage on the level of pleasure and expediency by cutting off its normal passage into parenthood."¹⁵ The companionate naturally stresses "the physical aspects of the relationship."¹⁶

¹² Zimmerman and Frampton Family and Society, 1935, p.44

¹³ Ibid., p. 41

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 43

¹⁵ Op. cit., p. 235

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 236

It is hard for anyone without his bias to see how reproduction is any less "physical" than is companionship, and if so, what is wrong with being "physical", especially considering that he, himself, assumes that the biological facts of life are the most important. In order to impress the truth of his viewpoint upon his readers, he cites the case of the X's who were married while they were still in college and refrained from having children while they were working until ten years after their marriage. Then the X's discovered that they couldn't have them, and they regretted their earlier course. Finally they had one child, however, "and with that abnormally small family they had to be content."⁷

As has already been noted, the biological approach provides an oft-used apparently scientific rationalization of existing values. When the biological approach is not employed in toto, certain parts of it may appear as pegs upon which to hang bits of conservatism. Hints as to the permanence of human nature fall into this class, such as when Bess Cunningham affirms that "students of human nature" know that no other social agency can be substituted for the family when it comes to the nurture of individual personalities.¹⁸

⁷Ibid., p. 232

¹⁸Family Behaviour; A Study of Human Relations, p. 18

Turning now to those students of the field who envisage and recommend a certain degree of controlled change, we find that Ruth Reed, in her text, The Modern Family, has proposed a number of radical modifications in family form:

Public opinion recognizes as 'normal', however, no form of living other than that based upon the segregation in a common residence of individuals of varying ages united by ties of kinship, who take their food together at stated hours of the day, and who in all of the relationships of life behave toward each other in a manner strictly regulated by custom and convention.¹⁹

The very fact that so many people refuse to accept the present form of marriage and enter into a course of action so attended by risks for themselves reveals the urgent need for the recognition of other forms. The truth is that there has never been a time when the Christian form of marriage has been universally accepted, and the fact that variations have persisted in the face of such severe penalties argues for the necessity of recognizing more than one form.²⁰

One of Dr. Reed's indictments of the home is that it is not a socializing force. Consciousness of class, of religious, political and sectional differences, and of other disruptive tendencies are greatly intensified in home relations. Close home supervision brings to maturity individuals whose opinions on all social questions are so fixed that they remain impervious to all ideas out of harmony with those of their parents. Most of the behaviour learned in the home must be unlearned for the broader associations.

¹⁹ The Modern Family, 1929, p. 45

²⁰ Ibid., p. 27

Many men like sexual relations without marriage, while many women want children without marriage. They are all forced to marry, at present, without being suited for it. The solution lies in the recognition of new family forms. "Responsible parenthood" should be our principal aim. She suggests the adoption of a Mother's License in place of the Marriage License.²¹ Adopting a primitive idea, she sees no reason why permanent cohabitation of the sexes should be normal, why there should not be separate communities of men and women, especially at the age of adolescence.

Besides being in favor of the communalizing of such home duties as cooking, sewing, and laundering, she believes that there should be more state participation in the problems of family life. "Nor should the family circle be used as the dumping ground for the unsolved problems of the modern methods of economic production." The burden of old age and of industrial accident should be borne by industry. "Customs and legal enactments with regard to family responsibilities should be so modified as to make impossible the use of family bonds as a pretext for placing responsibility where responsibility cannot be assumed."²²

²¹ Ibid., p. 44

²² Ibid., p. 46

The concept of the companionate, first introduced by Melvin M. Knight,²³ and later widely publicized by Judge Ben B. Lindsey, represents nothing really new beyond the culmination of both the birth control and the feminist movements. However, as Judge Lindsey points out,²⁴ the companionate tends to be restricted in practice to the upper classes, since birth control information is still largely withheld from the lower classes, and they cannot manage divorce collusion with the help of expensive lawyers.

Following the lead of Bertrand Russell, G.E. Newsom sketches the two main principles of a new moral code:²⁵

1. Nothing should be allowed to interfere with the freedom of sex life. If the ideals of family life stand in the way of this freedom, the family must be mended or ended.

2. The ideal of sexual freedom is in harmony with the progress of modern science and civilization.

However, as Dr. Reed says:

To recapitulate, the family in its present form may be said to serve but inadequately the affectional needs of those who have entered into the relationship; it does not begin to function for large groups of people until their greatest need for its services is past; it fails altogether to meet the needs of a large group of persons who do not enter the marriage relationship, and who therefore do not function at all in the service of rearing and bearing children. Nevertheless, the monogamic family furnishes security of affectional bonds

²³ "The Companionate and the Family," Jl. Soc. Hyg., 10: 261-2; reviewed in Groves Readings in the Family
²⁴ and Evans The Companionate Marriage, 1927, Preface
²⁵ The New Morality, 1933, p. 9

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²³ "The Companionate and the Family," Jl. Soc. Hyg., 10: 261-2; reviewed in Groves Readings in the Family and Evans The Companionate Marriage, 1927, Preface

²⁴ The New Morality, 1933, p. 9

for certain persons whose temperaments are well-suited to the conditions which it imposes; and the 'home' as at present organized provides for large numbers of middle class persons a place of withdrawal and for the reassembly of the scattered elements of personality, in a manner more effective than is provided through any other form of social relationship now existing.²⁶

Science favors neither the radical nor the conservative viewpoint. Science has nothing to do with evaluation, although it may support or challenge the assumed facts upon which either view rests. Social scientists, as scientists, are limited to describing the changes and trends which are under way. Only as persons and citizens may they express their own values. Other peoples' values are to them data.

The interpretation of evidence by certain approaches:

The varied uses to which the same evidence can be put depending upon the normative prejudice of the author, is well illustrated by the classic example of Lecky. To Lecky, the long continued existence of the family proved its necessity as a divine institution. Yet he was puzzled by the equally ancient lineage of prostitution. He sought the explanation for that in the belief that it was an evil necessary for the support of good.²⁷

²⁶Op. cit., pp. 34-5

²⁷A History of European Morals, 1905, pp. 284-399

The examination of evidence is not a well developed procedure in those aspects of family study which are infused with prejudice. For example, Ogburn finds that there are fewer paupers among the married. He therefore concludes that the state of being unmarried is an undesirable social condition.²⁸ His evidence cannot be regarded as supporting this conclusion at all. No relation of cause or effect is shown. It is much more possible that undesirable social conditions are not favorable to marriage. Neither does his data regarding the postponement of marriage among the professional classes fit this conclusion.

The statistical method seems to offer easy, tempting pitfalls along this line. Ogburn says further: "The presence of children tends to hold the family together, for only a small percentage of couples divorced report having children."²⁹ However, this "small percentage" is forty-three percent. Dublin goes a little further. "Undoubtedly the presence of children holds the family together."³⁰ This example is a good illustration of how a statistical table which shows absolutely nothing of the family process can be construed as conclusive evidence regarding it. As Mowrer points out,

²⁸ "Factors Affecting the Marital Condition of the Population," Pub. Am. Soc. Soc., 18: 47-59; reviewed in Reuter and Runner Op. cit., p. 192

²⁹ "Eleven Questions Concerning American Marriages," Social Forces, 6: 5-12; reviewed in Reuter and Runner, Ibid., p. 181

³⁰ Reuter and Runner Ibid., p. 181

there seems to be a large number of children in desertion cases, and a small number of children in divorce cases. Children, then, have nothing to do with family disorganization.³¹ Marshall and May suggest:

When the presence of children is checked against the duration of marriage, it becomes far less clear than popular discussion has it that 'childless marriages cause divorce'. The heavy proportion of childless marriages in divorce-actions may have a simple explanation in a tendency of divorces to fall in the early years of marriage, before children have, in natural course, arrived.³²

Ogburn's and Dublin's figures, then, cannot be regarded as evidence that children hold a married couple together. They suggest mainly that divorce takes place among the groups of higher economic status where the birth rate is low, and that divorce takes place during the early years of marriage. The factor of childlessness is not indicative of divorce causation, but rather of birth control, and can not be measured by a comparison with the total population, but only by a control group drawn from that economic class which secures the majority of the divorces.

Dr. Reed believes that a good many of our fallacious notions regarding divorce arise from our legal organization which does not recognize divorce from mutual consent, but only as the result of injury. This conventional attitude toward the relationships of married people leads us to believe that divorce is harmful to the child, when in reality

³¹ Op. cit., p. 156

³² The Divorce Court, 1932, p. 13

it is probably helpful.

A rather extreme view of divorce is presented by Edgar Schmiedeler.³³ "What God hath joined together, let no man put asunder." He does not wish to permit divorce, because that would open the flood-gates of sin, and soon people would be committing adultery just in order to get a divorce. He cites a case to illustrate this principle. Divorce would be a Wedge, "the modern pastime which is rending society asunder."³⁴ Mankind is innately selfish and will do irreparable harm to itself without the Church's restraining influence.³⁵

It is important, when examining the conclusions drawn from any kind of evidence, to remember that unconscious prejudices may have been at work in shaping the conclusions. The rules regarding conclusive evidence are not well defined, and no proposition is so well supported by evidence that other evidence may not increase or decrease its probability.³⁶ Hasty evaluations are doubly possible when encouraged by subjective values, and when the line is blurred between subjective and objective thinking.

³³ An Introductory Study of the Family, 1930, p. 309

³⁴ Ibid., p. 307

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 307-9

³⁶ Cohen and Nagel Logic and Scientific Method, 1934
p. 394

CHAPTER XI

THE STUDY OF THE FAMILY IN FRANCE

French sociology in general:

In any discussion of French sociology, one begins with Auguste Comte, not only because he was the first to broach the subject, but because the most important school of sociology today in France, that of Emile Durkheim, is a direct development of Comte's ideas. However, the famed father of sociology in turn cannot be understood without reference to Saint-Simon. Comte certainly derived the wide conceptions of his hierarchy of the sciences, and consequently of the place of sociology, from his work as Saint-Simon's secretary.

French sociology has never been without the broad philosophic base adopted by Comte. The development of research methods and techniques has never been pushed far in France. As Barnes and Becker point out, the use of statistics, with the exception of Halbwachs' two studies,^{1,2} is rare. "At the same time, no one can deny the fact that French sociologists have a good appetite for empirical data, and that assimilation is thorough; the 'raw empiricism' so often

¹ La classe ouvrière et les niveaux de vie, 1913

² L'évolution des besoins dans les classes ouvrières,

characteristic of American sociology is refreshingly absent."³

This lack of well-developed research technique is accompanied by a tendency to group into schools. Just why this discipleship is so predominant in France is hard to understand. Perhaps the lack of research technique places undue emphasis upon the philosophic bases of different approaches, thereby encouraging this grouping. In America, the emphasis has been upon the practical aspects of sociology rather than on its philosophical implications. M. Roman sees a historical reason for this.⁴

At least French sociologists can only be understood through a classification on the basis of these different schools. Professor Georges Davy⁵ has indicated some very clear divisions, although it must be remembered that he himself belongs to the Durkheim school. However, the fact that he devotes most space to the Durkheim school is not entirely explained by this fact. The Durkheim school

³ Social Thought from Lore to Science, 1938, p. 866

⁴ Frederick William Roman La place de la sociologie dans l'éducation aux Etats-Unis, 1923, p. 3: "Les puritains avaient horreur des amusements frivoles et de tout ce qui était purement décoratif et sans utilité. Aujourd'hui, toutes les idées doivent être pratiques, c'est-à-dire contribuer à réformer le monde, à rendre la vie plus agréable; la conséquence naturelle des forces matérielles et spirituelles qui ont exercé leur action depuis deux siècles."

⁵ Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, 1931, pp. 1-6

monopolizes French sociology today, at least in the Universities. At the University of Paris, as Eubank remarks: "All doctoral theses in the field must be written with Fauconnet,⁶ Bouglé, Halbwachs, Mauss, or Blondel (or, before his death, with Simiand). Since these men are definitely of the Durkheim school of thought, there seems to be an assurance of continuation for the present of this approach to the virtual exclusion of others in sociological instruction in France."⁷

The first school is, of course, that of Durkheim. Its importance has been so great that it is often called the French school of sociology, l'Ecole Française de Sociologie. Following its leader, it has championed the concrete and specific reality of society and of the conscience collective.

The second important school is that begun by Le Play and carried on at present by Paul Bureau. The third is that of Espinas, developing directly from Herbert Spencer, but which has evolved and contributed to la sociologie durkheimienne. The fourth school is that of Gabriel Tarde, which, however, did not believe in the existence of a separate science of sociology and represents a revolt of individualism against the concept of sociology.

⁶Professor Fauconnet has recently died.

⁷"Sociological Instruction in France," Am. Jl. Soc.,

Unfortunately, when it comes to the study of the family, many of the basic differences of the various schools tend to disappear. Yet the state of research on the family in France seems to offer no other basis for a classification.

La sociologie domestique en France:

De Bonald, one of the precursors of sociology, influenced both Auguste Comte and Le Play. He proved deductively that the family was the origin of all human existence, at least to his own satisfaction: because the human kind is continued by families, and if one were to suppose humanity as being reduced to one family, that family could serve to recommence it. His conception of the family, however, was very rigid. The family, to him, consisted of three persons, father, mother and child. Monogamy was the only natural marriage form.

Auguste Comte eulogized the family highly. He believed domestic life was the best mold to achieve a well-socialized person. Professor Bouglé, of the University of

¹Démonstration philosophique du principe constitutif de la société, 1830, p. 91; reviewed in Bouglé et Raffault Éléments de sociologie, 1938, pp. 81-4

²Système de politique positive, Tome II, 1912, pp. 183-7; in Bouglé et Raffault, Op. cit., pp. 119-21:

L'efficacité morale de la vie domestique consiste à former la seule transition naturelle qui puisse habituellement nous dégager de la pure personnalité pour nous élever graduellement jusqu'à la vraie sociabilité. p. 119

Paris, a leading member of the Durkheim school, agrees strongly with him.¹⁰

Durkheim himself, the great master of positive sociology, handled the family very gingerly. As his disciple, Professor Bouglé says:

Durkheim lui-même, en tout cas, aurait volontiers accepté l'idée que le lien familial est quelque chose de saint, de sacré, auquel il ne faut toucher qu'avec les plus grandes précautions."

Thus the Durkheim school of sociology seems to have retained the pro-family tradition of Comte. While Durkheim was able to handle the sacred concepts of religion with scientific immunity, he systematically avoided the problems of the current French family. He regarded the family bond as precious and sacred. The family was a "school of respect." All that concerned family life was dominated by a high sense of duty. Like Comte, he believed that family life offers one of the best means for socializing the individual.¹²

However, in a later book,¹³ Durkheim seems to have changed his stand slightly. He believes that the school

¹⁰C. Bouglé in Les problèmes de la famille et le féminisme, 1930, p. 90:

Comme Auguste Comte l'a montré mieux que personne, les habitudes qui se contractent au foyer restent des plus précieuses pour la vie sociale toute entière.

¹¹Ibid., p. 82

¹²L'Année sociologique, 1896-7, pp. 59-60; in Bouglé et Raffault, Op. cit., p. 118

¹³L'éducation morale cited in Les grandes tendances de la pédagogie contemporaine, 1938, by Albert Millot, pp. 163-9

must play an essential part in the development of the life of an individual. The family is not sufficient to take part in social life. Family education must be supplemented by the school. M. Millot, of course, takes exception to this.¹⁴ However, this later stand of Durkheim's seems never to have been well developed.

Durkheim's research, in regard to the family, was confined almost exclusively to the study of the primitive family-- to be more precise, the Australian family.

Australian totemism is often regarded as the keystone of Durkheim's sociology. Durkheim himself disputed this.¹⁵ Totemism itself was of only secondary importance. He wished only to picture a simple society, i.e. totemism, in action. But while his explanation of the origins of religion does not necessarily depend upon the priority of totemism as a social system, in his theories on the origin and the nature of the family, he does regard Australian totemism as the beginning, with the corresponding difficulties.

Durkheim's theory of totemism has become the dominant one in French anthropology generally. In totemism, the family is a group which is founded upon the principle of a common totem. Cohabitation, common blood, are not, then, necessary for the family. These facts are insistently

¹⁴Ibid., pp. 167-9

¹⁵C. Bouglé Bilan de la sociologie française contemporaine, 1938, p. 46

pointed out in all French textbooks on sociology which treat the family. Material on other aspects of the family is scanty or completely lacking. The family was regarded as a semi-religious association, its basis being in common attitudes, beliefs, and values. Durkheim saw no instinctive basis for the family. The family, for him, rested entirely upon a system of social beliefs. His approach was essentially sociological in this respect, and in spite of his and his followers' normative evaluations, the social nature of the family was clearly seen.

Marriage does not explain the family. Totemism explains exogamy, parenthood and the family.¹⁶ This inter-relationship between social forms is one of the consistent contributions which Durkheim has made to sociology. For Durkheim, the reason behind the existence of a social fact was to be found in other social facts.

The work of Espinas does not represent anything radically different from that of Durkheim, although Espinas, under the influence of Spencer, considered the biological basis of society to be very important. He recognizes the principle of interaction between the several individuals who form the social bond of the family.¹⁷

¹⁶ L'année sociologique, 1896-7; in Bouglé et Raffault Op. cit., pp. 87-91

¹⁷ Sociétés Animales; reviewed in Davy Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, pp. 26-102

Durkheim's emphasis upon the anthropological aspect of the family has constituted one of the greatest influences upon la sociologie domestique. His tacit acceptance of the moral values of the present French family has also left its mark. Les problèmes de la famille et le féminisme, a book of lectures published in 1930, containing the thoughts of a number of the most important sociologists in France, is indicative of the prevalent attitude. Belot, Parodi, Bouglé, Richard and Guy-Grand are all content to accept the family only as a moral problem, not as an object for sociological study. When the approach is not anthropological, or ethical, then the angle chosen for study seems to be the historico-legal.

The conservative approach to the study of the family seems to be dominant. Both Louis Delzons⁸ and G.-L. Duprat,⁹ who have written standard works on the family, affirm that any maladjustment is due to poor individual orientation rather than to any deficiency in the family form. They also uphold the French legal, traditional family, where the husband must protect and the wife and children must obey.

⁸ La famille française et son évolution, 1913

⁹ Le lien familial, 1924:

Les prostituées ont complètement rompu le lien familial si elles l'ont jamais connu; les filles sans pudeur s'écartent du foyer qu'elles déshonorent et où la sollicitude, la vigilance, l'affection des parents, n'ont pas su les retenir. p. 137

Of course, both Duprat and Delzons are strongly against divorce. Delzons would absolutely forbid it, for reasons similar to those given by Schmiedeler. Modesty would be greatly weakened by divorce. It would not be "right" for a woman to hold "no secrets for two living men [*italics in the original*]." ²⁰ Divorce would give impetus to indiscriminate love affairs. Duprat is of the opinion that individuals should be made to carry the chains they had knowingly assumed, but that if there were no children, and if both showed such a positive repugnance for the other that it would be impossible to continue living together, then divorce, after such proof, would be permitted. ²¹

M. Paul Lapie, a collaborator of Durkheim, while he employs exclusively the anthropo-ethico-juristic approach, is almost radical in some of his suggestions. He is in sympathy with the principle of authority in family life, in keeping with tradition, but he will not admit that the

²⁰Delzons *Op. cit.*, p. 64

²¹Duprat *Op. cit.*, pp. 248-9:

L'individu doit porter les chaînes qu'il a rivées en connaissance de cause; quand le sentiment et l'intérêt matériel n'ont plus rien à voir dans la vie conjugale, le devoir subsiste et la raison commande: les époux doivent rester unis pour remplir en commun toutes les obligations communes... Le divorce pourrait être prononcé qu'après des efforts sincères (et non de vaines formalités judiciaires) pour l'éviter, et seulement dans le cas où les époux seraient sans enfants et manifestaient librement l'un et l'autre d'une irrémédiable répugnance pour l'existence en commun, chacun étant assuré de pouvoir mener décentement, plus décentement qu'au-paravant, une vie indépendante.

husband is always the best person to assert it, or even that it is necessary in all cases. In general, however, the woman is inferior to the husband, either because of age or of education. These are social causes and not biological ones, and the proportion of superior women is increasing.¹²

Professor Lalo, himself a professor of ethics, criticizes the above tendencies. The attempts of moralists to create a theory of ideal family life results only in an idealization of the modern European family.¹³

The work of Frédéric Le Play has already been mentioned several times in this study. In America, his influence has been greatest in the Harvard school of sociology. Professor Pitirim Sorokin has furnished the most enthusiastic introduction to the man:

The name of Frédéric Le Play deserves to be put among the few names of the most prominent masters of social science. He and his pupils have created a really scientific method of the study and analysis of social phenomena; they elaborated one of the best systems of social science; and, finally, they formulated several important sociological generalizations. In all these contributions Le Play and his continuators have displayed a conspicuous scientific insight, a brilliant talent for scientific analysis and synthesis, and an originality of thought. As a result, they compose a real school in sociology with very definite methods and principles.

Although Le Play has now been dead almost half a century his influence does not show any symptoms of

¹² La femme dans la famille, 1908, pp. 219-22

¹³ Charles Lalo Éléments de sociologie, 1930, p. 270

weakening or decay. It is still very vital and is likely to continue so.²⁴

However, a recent guidebook to contemporary French sociology mentions the name of Le Play but once, and that to make a very disparaging comparison with the work of Professor Halbwachs of the University of Paris.²⁵ Professor Georges Davy describes the "really scientific method" of Le Play by calling it a religious and moral doctrine of reform and of social paternalism which is far from having the success and influence its author expected.²⁶ Speaking of Le Play's school, Robert Marjolin says:

Among the representatives of Catholic sociology, let us mention first L'Ecole de la Science Sociale, in whose doctrine is found traditional Christian themes alongside of extremely simple statements on environment and work.²⁷

Certainly, the stirring assertions of Professor Sorokin cannot be accepted at their face value. It is quite possible that the same social preconceptions which led Le Play to form his method and theory of social reform also encouraged Sorokin and the Harvard school to adopt it.

²⁴ Contemporary Sociological Theories, 1928, pp. 63-6

²⁵ Bouglé Biân de la sociologie française contemporaine, 1938, p. 150

²⁶ Sociologues d'hier et d'aujourd'hui, p. 6

²⁷ "French Sociology-- Comte and Durkheim," Am. Jl. Soc., 42: 693-704

Le Play's formative years were spent during the hectic time in France at the close of the Second Empire when the Paris mob controlled the capital. The extreme social disorganization made a great impression on him, and in all probability, acted upon his conservative nature to produce his method and theory of social reform.

He was neither a sociologist nor a philosopher, but a professor of mining-engineering. After developing his method of analysis, he used to spend his vacations in the field working at his hobby.²⁸ The Le Play "method" represents a curious mixture of principles. Barnes and Becker class him among the environmentalist school,²⁹ as does Sorokin. The classic formula of the Le Play school is Place, Work, and Folk (Family). This would seem to indicate that they held that everything had its origin in the geographic basis of society. The "Milieu" was considered of prime importance. The geographic configuration of the Norwegian fjord, for example, was believed to have created the economic, familial, and political constitution of the Anglo-Saxon societies.³⁰ Yet the geography, according to the Le Playists, exerts an influence not only on the

²⁸ Benjamin R. Andrews Economics of the Household, 1933, pp. 90-1

²⁹ Op. cit., p. 816

³⁰ Paul Bureau Introduction à la méthode sociologique, 1926, p. 117

personality, as Buckle assumed,³¹ but also on the economic opportunities. This is a type of economic materialism, in some respects similar to Marxism.³² But by tying up the economic aspects with the geography alone, they lose the benefit of the principle of the dialectic. As Bouglé points out,³³ it is impossible to explain a social situation with reference to geography alone; recourse must be had to historical and cultural factors. Le Play also attempted his classification of family types on the basis of geography. Le Play's materialism can be also seen in his saying that "all the acts which constitute the life of a workingman's family result more or less directly in an income or an outlay." Therefore a complete analysis of income and expenditure means a complete knowledge of that family.³⁴

Le Play assumed the family to be the simple and universal model of all society, containing all of its essential characteristics, and that the family budget reflected the entire life, organization and functions of the family.³⁵

³¹ The History of Civilization in England, 1892

³² Bureau Op. cit., p. 117:

C'est ici le matérialisme historique des Marxistes qui reparait sous la forme, plus pittoresque et peut-être plus suggestive, d'un matérialisme géographique.

³³ Op. cit., pp. 67-73

³⁴ Les ouvriers européens, 2nd ed, Vol I, pp. 224-8; quoted in Zimmerman "The Family Budget as a Tool for Socio-

However, La Nomenclature de la Science Sociale, the Le Play method as modified by Henri de Tourville, Demolins, de Rousiers, Pinot and others, cannot be construed as offering the most efficient technique of getting this information on the family. The essentials, as expressed by Sorokin,³⁶ are as follows:

1. Place of the family
2. Work or labor of the family
3. Property of the family
4. Movable property
5. Salary and wages
6. Savings
7. Family type and analysis
8. Standard of living
9. Phases of family existence
10. Patronage
11. Commerce
12. Intellectual culture
13. Religion
14. Neighbourhood
15. Corporations
16. The parish
17. Unions of the parish
18. The city
19. Provincial divisions
20. The province
21. The state
22. The expansion of society
23. Foreign societies
24. History of the society
25. Rank of the society (in reference to future)

logical Analysis," Am. Jl. Soc., 33: 903

³⁵Contemporary Sociological Theories, pp. 66-8

³⁶Ibid., pp. 70-2

The very existence of this Nomenclature assumes that the geographic and the materialistic hypotheses of the Le Play school are insufficient for the study of society. However, this criticism does not damage the validity of the Nomenclature itself, apart from these hypotheses, although it hardly corresponds to Sorokin's estimation of it as being as complete and logical as a botanical classification of plants.³⁷ The painstaking, minute analysis of specific families made by Le Play according to the above criteria are admirable examples of thorough, first-hand observation of social facts. But Le Play, lacking both an open mind and a knowledge of subjective social values, was not fitted to draw valid conclusions from these observations. "Le Play, Catholic and extreme conservative, defended all the typically conservative institutions: religion, parental authority, nationalism, and hereditary social classes."³⁸

Le Play thought he observed three distinct family types, the patriarchal, the unstable, and the "souche" family. The patriarchal family is found in the Orient and in Central Europe, its traditions are strong, exact obedience

³⁷ Ibid., p. 73

³⁸ Barnes and Becker Op. cit., p. 817

is required, and the individual tends to meld with the past. The unstable family is found in the new industrial laboring class of the Occident; it disappears with the death of the parents, the children tend to leave home; the government assumes many family responsibilities. The word pauperism was invented to describe phenomena caused by this type of family. Then finally there is the stem family or the famille souche. This is a compound of the principles of the above two, combining authority with individuality. The stem family is complex and prosperous. The children may leave, and still return to share in the inheritance, although making allowances for the heir who remains at home.³⁹ Bosanquet remarks that the main reason for the apparent integration is the fear of being disinherited.⁴⁰

The classification of Le Play was not an analysis based upon the study of the socio-psychological family processes observed, but represents rather a transference of his subjective values. His technique of social research was not used to study family patterns, but rather to accumulate cases based upon his preconceived ideas of social reform. In spite of the advantages of his method of study,

³⁹Le Play La réforme sociale en France, 1878, Tome II, pp. 6-13; in Bouglé et Raffault Op. cit., pp. 131-5

⁴⁰Bosanquet, Helen The Family, 1906

his results are no more valid than are the presumed norms he intended to establish. And there are many who question the value of the stem family. Russell sees in the steady decline of patriarchalism the story of modern civilization.⁴¹ As MacIver remarks:

The contrast between the patriarchal and the modern family is not simply or mainly a contrast between stability and instability. It is also a contrast between a more coercive and a freer union. It is not a contrast between a type of family which presents no social problems and one which presents many. It is a contrast of different ideals, different advantages and disadvantages.⁴²

Le Play's curious mixture of approaches: geographic, economic, sociological and normative, has confused even Zimmerman, who, after exhaustively defending his approach and method, concludes:

If by using this method Le Play discovered something not ordinarily observed about the underlying characteristics of a particular society, he should be credited with this.⁴³

This confusion apparently extends even to Le Play's most basic ideas, since he gives two different sets in two different discussions of Le Play's Method.⁴⁴ His particular contribution to the study of the family, besides

⁴¹ Marriage and Morals, 1929, pp. 27-8

⁴² Society; Its Structure and Changes, 1933, p. 140

⁴³ Williams and Zimmerman Studies of Family Living in the United States and Other Countries, p. 68

⁴⁴ Family and Society, pp. 48-50, and in Williams and Zimmerman Op. cit.

that of influencing other men like Engel, who in turn developed their own technique, lies in his conception of the principle of direct observation, instead of arm-chair thinking, and his attempt at classification of social attitudes and patterns. His failure to use the method objectively does not diminish his importance as one of the fathers of social research.

One of Le Play's most influential followers in France is Professor Paul Bureau of the Law School of the University of Paris. He has proposed La Méthode Monographique as a new elaboration of the Nomenclature.⁴⁵ The method of collecting the data still remains the same, and the conservative prejudices are still retained. For example, Bureau believes that marital harmony is much better assured where divorce is unobtainable or practically non-existent. He also says that systematic birth control has contributed to the housing problem, since he assumes that the reason for bad housing is that there are so few people to be housed.⁴⁶

⁴⁵Introduction à la méthode sociologique:

To take the place of Place, Work and Folk, Bureau proposes a new "trinity" which, in its last heading, would seem to show the influence of Durkheim. "Le Lieu, le Travail et la Représentation de la Vie." (p. 143)

Following this grand division would come four other divisions, 2. Les Institutions auxiliaires du Travail, 3. La vie domestique de la famille, 4. Les groupements auxiliaires de la vie professionnelle et de la vie familiale, 5. Les groupements de la vie publique.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 63-4

The concept of family function, that is to say of an "End" or But which the family must perform, is rampant in the Le Play school. The fallacy of this viewpoint has been discussed previously. Phillipe Champault gives a good example of this approach.⁴⁷

Le Play and his school have constantly complained of the law of the Revolution and the Code Napoléon which prescribed that a certain heritage should go to each child with only a small portion being reserved for the will. They attribute the falling birthrate to this law, but as Delzons points out,⁴⁸ the falling birth rate occurred almost one hundred years after the law was inaugurated, and took place not only in France, but in Great Britain and other European countries.

Professor Halbwachs of the University of Paris, a disciple of Durkheim, has made an analysis of the working-man's budget according to the approach of Le Play, but utilizing the statistical method with which Engel arrived at his laws of consumption. His material was not first hand, but was gathered from the files of the German Official Investigation of Budgets made in 1907-8, and from the German

⁴⁷ "Les Types Familiaux," in *La Science Sociale*, December, 1910

⁴⁸ Op. cit., p. 256

Metal Worker's Union.⁴⁹ From these, he was able to analyze several hundred family budgets which were kept daily from one end of the year to the other.⁵⁰ Then from the data of another official German study made in 1927-8, he was able to check his previous results and to note trends.⁵¹ Such a statistical study is far more valuable in the study of family budgets than are the picturesque details furnished by Le Play, according to Bouglé.⁵²

Halbwachs explains tendencies in budgetary expenses through an analysis of common values and "collective representations." He found, for example, a need for correction in one of Engel's laws. The worker on a rising income did not tend to spend the same proportion of his wages on rent. The increase tended to go for food. Halbwachs concluded that the lodging need was not well developed in the worker, that the nature of his work may act as a desocializing in-

⁴⁹Bouglé Op. cit., p. 150

⁵⁰La classe ouvrière et les nouveaux de vie, 1913

⁵¹L'évolution des besions dans les classes ouvrières, 1933

⁵²Bouglé Op. cit., pp. 150-1:

Mieux que les monographies chères à Le Play, qui nous font pénétrer dans le détail pittoresque de la vie de quelques familles, ces confrontations de statistiques, en nous permettant d'établir des moyennes, nous aident à comprendre comment les membres d'un certain groupe hiérarchisent leurs dépenses. Et c'est peut-être le plus sur moyen de saisir la réalité intime des classes.

fluence, fixing his attention on food rather than on living accomodations.⁵³

He observed a constant movement toward a higher standard of living in the last fifty years. Less money was spent for necessities. When reductions were necessary, they were made in those things ordinarily considered as necessities. Luxuries once gained tended to be preserved.⁵⁴ As Halbwachs expresses it, it is opinion and example which fixes the idea of necessity, and it is expressive of ingrained habits and the degree of progress of the moment.⁵⁵

The French family in custom and law:

The French nation has been historically subject to two great legal influences. One of these, of course, was Rome with her written law. The law of Rome was supreme in Southern France, where a rather strong patriarchal family existed, and where the dowry system both protected and

⁵³ Ibid., p. 153

⁵⁴ Zimmerman and Frampton Op. cit., pp. 63-4

⁵⁵ L'évolution des besoins dans les classes ouvrières, p. 128; quoted in Bouglé Ibid., pp. 156-7:

A chaque époque, remarque justement M. Halbwachs, c'est dans la pensée et l'opinion des groupes ouriers, c'est dans l'opinion et l'exemple que se fixe l'idée du nécessaire et qu'on le conçoit d'après les habitudes acquises et les progrès réalisés jusqu'à ce moment.

isolated women. Central and northern France remained under the germanic influence with no written body of law, custom reigning supreme. It maintained a conjugal family with an economic union of the married partners, la régime de la communauté des biens. However, both systems reacted on one another, and while the marital authority of the husband was recognized in the South, the North, through the medium of the lettre de cachet, still held control over the offspring even though he might be of age.

The Revolutionists, inspired by the writings of Rousseau, believed they could change custom by passing laws. For a period, there was established complete freedom of marriage and divorce, and illegitimate children, les enfants naturels, were recognized by law as on an even footing with legitimate children. However, Bonaparte upon his return from Egypt, formulated the Code Napoléon, recognizing the persistence of former customs. His desire of founding a firm dynasty was not compatible with experimenting in new social forms. The bourgeois class, which had risen to power, was equally desirous of consolidating and consecrating their gains.⁵⁶ The Code Napoléon therefore represents

⁵⁶ Louis Delzons Op. cit., pp. 4-5:

Révolutionnaires par le profit qu'ils ont tiré de la Révolution, bourgeois par le désir qu'ils ont de le garder, ils figurent tous, à ce début du XIXe siècle,

a definite reaction against many of the ideals which had inspired the Revolution. The legal state of the unmarried mother and of the illegitimate child was made even worse than it had been before the Revolution. Divorce, however, was maintained. Delzons says:

Here, the concession to the revolutionary spirit was assuredly more serious and more contrary to general opinion. Bonaparte, it seems, took the initiative and is responsible for the decision. However, experiences since 1791 had been regrettable, and public sentiment seemed frankly hostile. Therefore it appears that the First Consul may not have reasoned this question with his customary clarity, and that he may even have obeyed sentimental promptings: his general contempt of women and the personal memories enduring from his own unhappy affairs.⁵⁷

At the present time, the French family represents quite a different type of institution from the American. French marriage, family and courtship mores are much more institutionalized. Modes of behaviour are more rigid. The

à cette aurore du régime nouveau, une force prête à se discipliner si l'on veut bien se servir d'elle. Ce qu'ils appellent de tous leurs vœux, c'est la formule qui les défendra de toute réclamation, c'est le statut des biens qui consacrerá leurs droits.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 6: Il est habituel que la classe dirigeante d'un pays, lorsqu'elle souhaite une réforme, la voie promptement s'accomplir. Il est aussi fréquent que la réforme, trop hâtive, soit incomplète et maladroite. C'est un phénomène historique de premier ordre que les vœux de la bourgeoisie aient alors aboutit à un ensemble de lois excellentes et durables.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 22 (translation)

glorification of individual fancy in haphazard patterns of romantic love plays no part in French marriage. The French attitude exalts love for its own sake. French girls are incurably romantic. But romantic love is not regarded as possessing any significance in respect to marriage.

Free intermingling of the sexes as it exists in this country, is unknown in France. Chaperonage is important, and suitors are entertained in the home. The family is always in complete control of the social life of the children, or at least of that of the girls. A girl's marriage chances are determined by the size of her dowry rather than by any sexual or social charm. A young man's opportunity is measured by his status and promise. Economic security and appropriate social backgrounds of the prospective mates are recognized as the most important requirements of successful marriage. Such considerations insure the dominant position of the couple's respective families in cementing the marriage bond. Birth control is widespread and rigidly practiced in the interest of the economic well-being of the family members.

France remains the only major nation in the world today which has not given women the vote. Yet the status of women is not low. Professor Charles Sestre opines that men are opposed to giving the vote to women for they fear

the priests would then have too much influence.⁵⁷ The women, at least, seem satisfied. There is no pronounced feminist movement. Laws in respect to woman's business incapacities present more important disadvantages, but social practices remove them. Woman is supreme in the home, and since such care is taken in courthhip and after in insuring a most comfortable and adequate foundation, the home is generally a very important place to be supreme in. The wife is the veritable prêtresse du foyer.

Being a guest at a French family luncheon is quite equivalent to receiving an invitation from an exclusive luncheon club in many other parts of the world. Invitations to a home are scarcely more obtainable. In practice, the home is sanctified by making it inviolable by the causal acquaintance or dinner-guest so common in America.

Conclusion:

The family is a much more solidly integrated institution in France, not only because it rests so firmly in the mores, but because careful attention to changing economic conditions seems to have assured its survival. It is not really surprising, then, to find a decided lack of objective studies of family relationships in French sociology.

⁵⁸Authority of Professor Kerr, University of Utah

Even Durkheim's Ecole Française de Sociologie, "proprement dite," did not attempt a study of the existing French family. Le Play used his method of research only to support his theory of social values. In relation to the history of French family study, Paul Honigsheim says:

Three fundamental tendencies can be recognized:

- 1) With the exception of the Saint-Simonists sociology approves marriage and condemns free sexual unions.
- 2) With the exception of Fourier, prevailing opinion considers woman's worth and activity inseparable from the home.
- 3) From Proudhon down to Le Play the integrity of the family is held a prerequisite of real political freedom.⁵⁹

Durkheim once wrote:

Déterminer la part qui revient à la France dans les progrès qu'a faits la sociologie pendant le XIXe siècle, c'est faire en grande partie l'histoire de cette science, car c'est chez nous et au cours de ce siècle qu'elle a pris naissance, et elle est restée une science essentiellement française.⁶⁰

Such a statement is certainly far from true today.

As Barnes and Becker remark, "French sociology has brilliantly consolidated the ground once gained by its daring raiders, true enough, but too little is being done in the way of original theorizing, and discipleship is rampant."⁶¹

As seen from the inside, one of the disciples rather cryptically remarks:

Sociology in the last thirty years in France has at least probably had the merit of furnishing substantial food for reflection to philosophers.⁶²

⁵⁹ Autorität und Familie, 1936, "The Treatment of Family Authority in the History of French Thought," p. 932

⁶⁰ Revue Bleue, 1900, p. 609; quoted in Davy Op. cit., p. 2

⁶¹ Op. cit., p. 867

⁶² Bouglé in White The New Social Science, 1930, p. 83

CHAPTER XII

TRENDS IN THE STUDY OF THE FAMILY
IN THE UNITED STATESTrends in textbook subject matter:

Hornell Hart has published the only study of this trend. He took five textbooks published between 1886 and 1915, analyzed and classified them according to subject matter and compared them to eight texts published between 1926 and 1931. His classification and computation was as follows:

TABLE V'

CONTENT COMPARISON
OF PRE-WAR AND POST-WAR TEXTS

Subject	Percentage in	Pre-War	Post-War
Primitive family life		15.3	3.1
History of family to 1600		22.5	2.7
History of family since 1600		8.5	3.0
Biologic aspects: eugenics, health		3.8	8.1
Social work aspects: desertion, etc.		0.2	6.1
Research and statistics		0.7	4.4
Economic aspects		4.2	9.8
Status of women		5.5	5.9
Birth control and abortion		0.8	2.1
Sex ethics, prostitution		8.4	9.0
Divorce		9.0	5.7
Courtship, early and the companionate		1.7	5.5
Husband and wife relations		1.4	2.7
Parent-child relations, education		5.6	10.9
Social psychology of the family		0.2	7.6
Social theory		5.7	6.4
Religion		6.5	7.0

'Personality and the Family, 1935, pp. v-vi

Professor Hart brings out the general trend much better when he combines several of the categories into four broad groupings:

Primitive and historical family	46.3	8.8
Social work, economic aspects and research	5.1	20.3
Personality relationships	8.9	28.5
Other headings	39.7	42.4

There is a considerable possible margin of error when one attempts to make a similar classification of other texts according to the above categories. There is always a large part of the material which suggests classification under several of his headings, and still other material which would be fitted under Professor Hart's categories with difficulty. However, the above problem has been attempted, and the fact that the results show essential agreement, both with the trends noted by Professor Hart, and with the trends illustrated in this manuscript, bears out the general consistency.

For the purpose of this comparison, the following seven textbooks on the family were chosen, all of them published between 1932 and 1938, including Professor Hart's own book:

Folsom, J.K. The Family, 1934
 Groves, E.R. The American Family, 1934
 Hart, Hornell Personality and the Family, 1935
 Mowrer, Ernest The Family, 1932
 Ninkoff, Meyer, The Family, 1934
 Sait, Una M. New Horizons for the Family, 1938
 Waller, Willard The Family, 1938

The average percentage of space given to the different aspects of the family as formulated by Hart was as follows:

TABLE VI

CONTENT OF RECENT TEXTS

Primitive family life	4.3
History of the family to 1600	3.4
History of the family since 1600	4.5
Biological aspects	5.0
Social work aspects	12.5
Research	5.1
Economic aspects	4.0
Status of women	3.6
Sex ethics	5.0
Divorce	5.8
Courtship	6.8
Husband and wife relations	5.9
Parent-children relations	6.8
Social psychology	13.1
Social theory	9.0
Religion	.1
Unclassified	5.1

Classed in the more condensed division proposed by

Hart:

Primitive and historical family	12.2
Social work, economic aspects and research	21.6
Personality relationships	32.6
Other headings	33.6

In general, we may say that there has been an apparent slight revival of interest in the primitive and historical family in the texts examined here. However, there is considerable difference in the emphasis placed by different authors. For example, Mowrer, Waller and Hart devote less than 1.5 % of their total space to the primitive and historical family. Folsom devotes most space to the primitive family, but not in

order to examine social origins. His interest is to compare dynamic family relationships existing in the Trobriand Islands with those patterns in the modern American family. It is Mrs. Sait's book which weights the balance toward an increased emphasis on the historical family. Without her material, the percentage amount of space devoted to a study of the historical family would drop considerable. After Mrs. Sait, Groves devotes most space to the primitive and historical family.

The greatest single increase in any item is that of social work. Whether or not it was inspired by the depression, the various authors, practically without exception, join in more than doubling its percentage space over that in the texts compared by Hart.

The division of personality relationships also continued its increase until in the texts examined, it occupied almost a third of the total space. It seems that it will continue to be the most important division of the field. The space devoted to social psychology and to social theory also was notably increased. The biological aspects suffered a considerable decrease, while the space devoted to religion practically disappeared. Divorce had the same continued emphasis.

Trends in periodical articles and in college classes in the study of the family:

For the purposes of this comparison, Professor Hart examined the titles in the Reader's Guide, in Poole's Index, and in the International Index, on the family. He selected the years 1892-1904, 1905-1914, and 1929-1932.

He found that 26% of the first year group were on the subject of the primitive family or the history of the family up to the year 1600. The second year group contained only 7% while the third year group had but 2% of their material on the family in this particular division. This represents of course, a rapid and constant decrease.

In respect to the socio-psychological aspects, the first year group devoted 14%, the second 13%, the third 38% to this division of the family. The articles on sex ethics and on prostitution fluctuated widely. The first group had 7%, the second 32% and the third just 8% on this subject. Material on the eugenics and biological aspects were gathered only on the first and third year groups; they contained 18% and 6% respectively.

This procedure involves a number of defects, in that it may not be possible from the title of the article itself to determine just what division of the family it is all about. Often the title itself may be quite misleading as to its actual viewpoint. Of course, the alternative course of actually consulting the periodicals treating of the

subject of the family is precluded by the very magnitude of the task. Professor Hart's estimation probably represents the best analysis of the subject.²

Hart's method of analyzing the content of courses in the family offered in forty-one colleges and universities is open to approximately the same objection. His analysis is only valid to the extent that the catalogue descriptions approached the actual degree of emphasis reached in the respective classes. He found that the attention devoted to the primitive family was at least three times as much as that space devoted to the primitive family in the post-war texts; the attention given to the ancient and medieval family was at least twice as great as that of the post-war texts. There was a striking neglect of the personal relations of the different family members; research was also neglected. Professor Hart therefore concludes that the average class on the family represented a marked cultural lag behind the state of the literature on the subject.²

²Personality and the Family, pp. vi-viii

CHAPTER XIII

CONCLUSION

The family, representing as it does the convergence of a number of frames of reference or of relatively closed scientific systems, both natural and cultural, has been subjected to extensive research from these varied points of view. These viewpoints are not, however, mutually exclusive, with the resultant deleterious effect upon the consistency of the various frames of reference and conceptual fields. The family is often viewed as being a grandiose instrument coextensively serving a number of functions: offering a means for transmitting physical heredity, for transmitting social values, attitudes and traditions, as a unit for economic consumption, as a unity of interacting personalities, a means to companionship, and as an instrument for propagating the race. Although these different aspects may not exist alone in actual practice, for the purposes of scientific research, it is important that they are separable. The most valuable pieces of research on the family have been those which have attempted this delimitation.

The inadequacy of sociological concepts has been studied and discussed at some length. The difficulty of reaching an adequate and consistent delimitation of classes and processes and attributes of classes and processes has been one of the main factors hindering the use of statistics

and quantification in sociology. A field of study cannot be measured until it is rendered measurable by conceptual divisions. The case-study method with its various techniques seems to be the most efficient means of achieving this needed clarification, and therefore the most valuable method of this present stage of sociological research. However, an eclectic attitude toward research methods and techniques is the only one possible. A method can only be regarded in the light of its resultant contribution to knowledge.

The forces of social control have been especially successful in inhibiting the study of the family. Even when studies are declared to be scientific, without any ostensible interest in upholding any special set of norms or values, the unconscious prejudice of the researcher may be allowed full sway. It has been noted that the biological approach and the statistical method have often offered apparently scientific justification for these normative assumptions: the biological because it suggests permanent biological sanction for what are essentially transitory social values, and the statistical because it is open to the worst faults of induction and because it has been unable to arrive at water-tight definitions of classes.

French sociologists have generally assumed a frankly

normative viewpoint on the family. The family has been treated with much more respect than any other social institution, not excepting the Church. The French intellectual class seems to have been profoundly influenced by the traditions of their own family life and consider it to be the principal condition of France's comfortable stability, as it probably is. However harmful this may be from the standpoint of the development of a science of sociology, the French thinker has not assumed this scientific development to be an end in itself.

The trend of the various approaches to family study in the United States seems to be toward an increasing recognition of the family as a living, social institution. The anthropological study of preliterate society has lost its emphasis upon the origins of social forms and has become instead a source of material on specific functioning societies, differing from our own, certainly, but not pictured against the supposed background of an absolute time element. Even the legal approach to family study is reflecting this change. Legal practices as distinguished from legal procedures are being studied. Litigation becomes a more dynamic process, an equation solved not by means of law and procedure, but with reference to individuals, attitudes and current practice.

The family defined as a unit of interacting personalities is assuming increasing importance in family study. While this viewpoint in its most extreme form may represent a reaction against the broad sociological interpretation as typified by The Polish Peasant, its principal expounders have never given undue importance to the individual personality as existing apart from a social milieu. Far from precipitating a controversy similar to that of Durkheim and Tarde in France, this definition has been treated broadly as symbolizing present interest in social dynamics, expressed in interaction, as opposed to social statics.

The family defined, in effect, as a unit of consumers, has been the object of detailed study in the last few years. Although first conceived by Le Play, this economic aspect of the family has never received the concerted study now employed upon it by the Bureau of Labor Statistic's Cost of Living Division directed by Dr. Faith Williams of the U.S. Department of Labor, and other research workers. Also, the depression stimulated research on the broad social effects of such major disturbances in the economic cycle.

Popular and personal interest in problems of family disorganization has been responsible for the growth of the marriage clinic in recent years. As exemplified by the work of Mrs. Mowrer, the clinic can become a vital tool for sociological analysis. The lack of human guinea pigs has

always been one of the difficulties of sociology. In the clinic they offer themselves, although the extent to which they can be manipulated is very limited and is dependent in large part upon the skill of the scientist. This new development may be regarded as a comparative innovation in sociological technique, although its importance in solving problems of family disorganization may be doubtful. The lack of a trained personnel equipped with adequate funds and knowledge precludes its wide acceptance at the moment.

The important steps taken in family study in the last decade seems to assure an ever-increasing knowledge of fact and method. Sociology, in America at least, has passed the threshold of scientific study of the family as a living and changing institution.

PART IV
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Introduction to the Bibliography

In order to make this bibliography as useful as possible to students, the references have been divided according to the divisions used in this manuscript. Following the section entitled "Methodology", the various studies of the family may be found classified according to this scheme.

This bibliography is by no means complete, although in an effort to enhance its value, many books and periodicals are included which could not be consulted for the purpose of this study. These works, which are marked with an asterisk (*), either are not in the University of Utah library, or were otherwise unavailable to the author. The inclusion of a book or article in this bibliography is not necessarily evidence of its value or importance, but rather of its relative position in regard to family studies in general.

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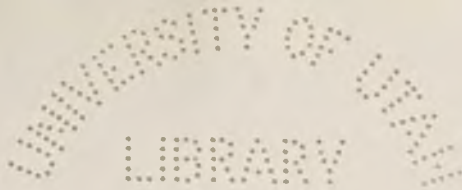
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