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McGRAW-HILL HOME ECONOMICS SERIES

ANNIE LOUISE MACLEOD, PH.D., CONSULTING EDITOR

# FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

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ANNIE LOUISE MACLEOD, PH. D., *Consulting Editor*

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# FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

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FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

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THE MAPLE PRESS COMPANY, YORK, PA.

TO PRESIDENT RAYMOND WALTERS

BECAUSE OF WHOSE INSPIRATION

THIS BOOK WAS WRITTEN

# PREFACE

For a psychologist to write a book about family relationships is no longer news since the publication of Terman's excellent book in this field.

This volume, like Terman's, is based on case studies. Our studies have been collected since 1925 at the consultation center conducted in the Department of Child Care and Training at the University of Cincinnati.

The total number of cases who have brought their problems to the center is 4,206. In general the couples were relatively well adjusted. The problems which they brought in were minor problems of discipline, quarrels of a not too serious nature between the parents and between the parents and their children, and general complaints about the unsatisfactoriness of marriage and family life under modern conditions, complaints about in-laws and requests for advice about changing personality characteristics which had become too wearing. Only a few cases were serious enough to require advice from the court referee. Many were actually problems of educational adjustment.

The records of these cases were kept in private files, never in the files at the University, and the individuals who consulted the center could rely on not having their cases used for a period of two years after they consulted the staff. Agency cases were rare. Cases from average and from superior and very superior

social status groups outweigh those of below average families. The group is therefore selected, inasmuch as the lower end of the distribution curve is seldom represented. No attempt is made to present the results statistically. The conclusions drawn are in relation to causative factors and general trends.

The form used in gathering data is the one in common use in mental hygiene clinics. It is reproduced in the Appendix.

This volume is intended for use by college students interested in the study of home and family life from a psychological point of view. It should be of particular interest to students of home economics.

The author wishes to thank Dr. Emerson North and the staff of the Central Clinic of Cincinnati for material furnished on some of the cases included and for permission to reproduce the form printed in the appendix. She wishes to express her gratitude to Miss Marion Breck for reading this manuscript, to Dr. Lewis M. Terman, Dr. E. B. Reuter, Dr. Ray E. Baber, Dr. Ernest Groves, and to Meade Minnigerode, for permission to quote from their materials; and to Chapman & Grimes, Harper & Brothers, the J. B. Lippincott Company, the Liveright Publishing Corporation, The Macmillan Company, G. P. Putnam's Sons, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Charles Scribner's Sons, and the Frederick A. Stokes Company for permission to use the quotations included in this volume.

ADA HART ARLITT.

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI,
*June*, 1941.

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# FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

## CHAPTER I

### GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

It is impossible to discuss family relationships without placing these relationships in the social background in which they occur, since no family functions of and by itself. All families are the result of reactions of individuals to each other and reactions of these individuals to the community, both individually and as a family group. The family is not passing away; it is merely going somewhere other than the places where it has been in earlier civilizations. At no time in the history of the world has the family been static. It has always been in the process of change, and the probabilities are that it always will be.

There are a number of social changes which account for the form which modern marriage is taking. Where all of the children of a family grew up among people who had known their immediate and even remote ancestors, they felt strongly the force of social pressure and could do nothing which conflicted with the mores of the group without bringing upon themselves some of those punishments which society is so well constituted to inflict. A person who deviated from the set pattern of behavior was called "queer" if he deviated in some directions, and "sinful" if he deviated

in others. He could not buy a cow or drive to town or visit a neighbor without being the subject of conversation among his neighbors.

External pressure forced the family into a closely united group who, though they might criticize each other within the family, nevertheless in the main fought together for each member of the family if he was overly criticized or punished too severely by the social group. The only way to break from this closely unified organization was to go away to a place far distant from that in which one was born and reared.

Urban living removes this pressure entirely. Neighbors do not know each other; in fact one may live in an apartment building for many years without knowing the names of or being in any way acquainted with the people who live in adjacent apartments. Individual responsibility to the family group is nonexistent except where it touches the man and wife and their children. Tradition plays little part in dominating what one does or does not do.

Such a situation makes for a highly individualistic type of living. As long as one does not deviate too widely from accepted patterns, that is, as long as nothing is done to make oneself overly conspicuous one is safe. The outstanding members of the group still feel the force of social pressure, but the less outstanding ones have all the advantages and disadvantages of anonymity. Not only is there the anonymity secured by living undistinguished among a group of equally undistinguished individuals, but there is a definite tendency to move from town to town and from section to section in the same city and not to carry

one's friends with one. Any social pressure which might have been exerted by the community in which one lived for a long period is taken away by the fact that owning one's home and bringing up one's children in the same spot are relatively unusual in urban situations. Children who have attended four or five schools during grammar grades are far from rare. In many cities over one-half of the population has changed in a single generation.

A family may live by their own codes unless they come in conflict with the law, and they may break the law often and not be penalized since no one saw them, or, if they were seen, few would report the crime for fear of becoming involved in some way with the law or being caused trouble in some way. The anonymity that protects the offender is also a protection to those who in a small community would be the first to report the offense. The same factor is responsible in part for the lack of respect for law in present-day communities.

It also has changed the form which the family has taken, for marriage may now be contracted with the idea in mind that if it is not satisfactory it can be terminated, no matter what effect this may have on the children born to the couple. Marriage may now be said to be successful only when it provides sufficient compensations to both individuals to make them wish to remain together throughout life. It used to be called successful when parents stayed together, reared their children, paid their debts, contributed to the community, and were open to criticism only in such an amount as to make them mildly interesting to their friends and neighbors. The effects of this change in

goals for marriage will be discussed in later chapters. It is obvious that as long as there is no pressure other than the desire to be together, because this provides a happier and more successful life adjustment than either would have apart, family living is motivated by forces quite different from social pressure and a deep-rooted desire to do one's duty to the family and to society as a member of that family.

A still further change is found in the small number of children per couple. When parents had twelve, thirteen, or even fifteen children, the parents saw only one-fifteenth or one-twelfth of what they see now that they have one child. Small variations in behavior attract attention and are followed by corrections. This has complicated the problem of discipline. It has also caused a difference in the mental attitude of the parents themselves. It is probable, in accordance with the law of averages, that children today show no more peculiarities in behavior than they did in previous generations. Although stimulations to undesirable activities have increased, there are a compensating number of outlets for activity of a desirable type. Not only is this a factor affecting family adjustment, but there is a further one caused by the same decrease in family size. In a family of twelve to fifteen if one was unsuccessful, the parents might still consider themselves as adequate for their score would be above ninety, a passing score in any college or school.

If one of two children does not turn out well, the parent is open to criticism, since they have been only 50 per cent successful. If there is only one child and it is unadjusted the family may be said to have failed

entirely in its most important function, namely, rearing desirable citizens to carry on the best traditions of American life.

Parents are hardly to be blamed for the mental disturbances which undesirable activities produce. Children are taken to psychological and psychiatric clinics today for activities which would have caused no trouble in families in colonial days.

Couples who have no sense of responsibility merely refuse to face the entire problem and let their child grow as he wishes, blaming all his faults on the community or on "original sin." Parents who take their tasks seriously are apt to be overwhelmed by the seriousness of their task. The relations between them are often placed under a severe strain.

Parents facing the problems of the adolescents in the family are under even worse handicaps, for society has not thought through what it owes to the adolescent and what the adolescent owes to society. A careful study of novels previous to 1890 shows no discussion of adolescents as problem cases. Apparently there was no such thing as an adolescent problem, although there were adolescents who merited group censure.

It has been left to our time to deal with individuals between the ages of fourteen and twenty-five as if they were children. Benjamin Franklin started his business career at the age of fourteen. Many eighteen-year-old boys and most sixteen-year-old girls were married and caring for families. Commentators agree that the age of the great heroine of romance, Juliet, whom we undoubtedly react to as at least twenty-seven, could have been no more than fourteen. It is a well-known fact that as late as 1880 women who

were unmarried at the age of nineteen were regarded as confirmed spinsters.

Parents have not faced the fact that at an age which they term childhood the so-called children are on the point of reaching or have already reached manhood and womanhood. There is a constant fluctuation of parent attitude from one of treating the adolescent as a child who cannot think for himself to one of demanding of him the acceptance of full responsibility as an adult. He is checked when he least expects it and allowed freedom when he has made up his mind that freedom is not for him. The family, the school, the church, and the community all appear to be equally puzzled. The effect of this on family adjustments is to produce countless tensions where few should be necessary.* It is a problem which our civilization has so far failed to realize, much less to meet.

The changing age of the population has affected not only the family itself but its offspring reaching the normal age of courtship and marriage. In 1850, 52.5 per cent† of the population was under twenty years of age, that is, nineteen years of age or less. This meant that when a couple married there were a large number of individuals who started life at the same economic level. The proportion has now dropped to 38.8 and will in 1980 drop to 27.6.

Couples who enter into marriage at twenty today may expect to have 61.2 per cent of the population older than themselves. The older the group the more

* This will be discussed more fully when husband-wife and parent-child relationships are treated in later chapters.

† These figures are from the *Statistical Bulletin* of The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of 1934. Reprinted by permission.

apt it is to have reached a fairly high income and therefore to have many comforts and even luxuries. The young couple starting out is competing with this standard, where in 1850 they did not need to compete with this since they had many other couples of the same income level and age starting with them. What seemed an adequate income for marriage to all classes in 1850 now seems much smaller, even if the decrease in the value of the dollar is taken into account. In many instances the couple are unwilling to face life without the means which they see enjoyed by the older people with whom they are surrounded.

Parents themselves, influenced by the standards set by an older group, do not wish their children to endure the hardships which a generation ago would have seemed natural. This may be expected to increase until 1980 when young couples starting out will compete with 72 per cent of the population their age and older.

The mental attitudes of an older population are entirely different from those of a young one. Where a young population seeks adventure, an old population desires complete security. So far has this influenced the thinking of young people that in our research on freshmen college students we found that sixty-seven out of seventy-four ask for economic security as the first prerequisite to marriage, while affection and emotional security take a place far down on the list.

Motion pictures have influenced both the attitudes toward falling in love and the standards in regard to marriage. In many motion pictures the couple meet under the most adventurous and exciting circumstances; their cars collide, she is rescued from drowning

or from under the wheels of a taxicab, he bends to pick up a letter she has dropped, and in bumping heads they begin acquaintance.

Cottrell and Burgess* and Terman† all point out that one factor in predicting marriage success is that both come from the same background and that they have known each other for a relatively long period. This would be far too unexciting for a motion picture. As a matter of fact if the couple actually met in the bizarre and unconventional ways predicted by motion pictures what would follow would not be romance but riot, at least on the part of the families of one or both. The families would be correct in refusing to accept social procedures as hit or miss as the above, but youth is influenced by them.

The standard of living set by motion pictures is far too high. If the young couple does not start out wealthy, at some convenient period during the picture they inherit wealth, find a mine or an oil well, or invent something without which the public cannot afford to do.

Few marriages have this to look forward to. The typical annual income in the United States is twelve hundred dollars, and no accident of fate or operation of the law of chance is apt to change this.

If the income of most families in the movies is calculated by the simple method of writing down the cost of rent, servant hire, food, taxes, insurance, and car upkeep, the incomes will be found to be between

* Burgess, E. W., and L. S. Cottrell, "Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage," Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1939.

† Terman, Lewis M., "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness," McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1938.

fifteen thousand and one hundred and fifty thousand. A glance at the distribution of incomes in the United States will show at once that few families can expect to approximate even the lowest of these incomes.

Such pictures provide an escape from reality; they do not face actual living conditions. Anyone who believes that married life will be as pictured is doomed to disappointment. These facts should be made clear in discussing family life with high-school and college students.

A final distortion of actual conditions is found in the fact that all couples and their children in motion pictures face each day with the certainty that something exciting will happen. If as many exciting events occurred in the life of the average family all of its members would be exhausted.

Family life if it is efficient reaches a level which provides satisfaction to all of its members most of the time and high points of excitement and pressure occasionally. There are also periods of disappointment and distress. A family who had too many periods of excitement and pressure or distress and disappointment could not settle down to the business of living.

As a final element of the background upon which courtship and marriage should be projected there is the long period of education necessary if a career in a profession is to be carried on by either the man or the woman before and during marriage.

For most professions the training period is so long as to make it impossible for marriage to take place before the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth year. There are many factors which make it advisable to have

marriage occur before that time, such as the length of the childbearing period and the ease of adjustment in early life as contrasted with later.

Groves* points out that while "two can't live more cheaply than one, two can always live as cheaply as two." The family which has been supporting its son and daughter in college while they receive their professional training may equally well support them in college married. The first year of married life may prove a distraction from work, but it is far less distracting then falling in love and being separated from the loved object.

Though the couple may need a period of adjustment, this will have no more ups and downs than the engagement period, especially if they are separated from each other. Letters may be disturbing. Reports of dates with others than the fiancé may produce violent jealousy. There is the excitement of looking forward to another meeting and the distress of parting together with the misunderstandings which are a part of all engagements. A man and woman intensely in love are not to be depended upon for intense and concentrated work, though either may achieve that goal through self-discipline.

Subsidizing of young marriages is nothing new in the history of the world. When the United States was an agricultural civilization the man and woman who married could expect to settle down upon the farm with the family or to be given a section of the farm for themselves. The bride provided linen and house furnishings and sometimes the house, the

* GROVES, E. R., "Courtship and Marriage," *Mental Hygiene*, 18: 26–39, January, 1934.

groom's family the land and seed. The couple was therefore subsidized completely, since the means of livelihood were given to them.

Parents who have economic security sufficient to enable them to subsidize their children in the first years of married life need not feel that they are hampering them, provided the subsidy does not reduce the couple to the status of dependent members of the family or set a standard which the young couple can never expect to reach, unless they inherit money.

Trends in politics which must be faced by youth in 1941 are quite different from those faced earlier, inasmuch as the undue proportion of men and women forty years of age or older has resulted in political pressure to supply security to old age. Politicians who looked to youth for its support in preceding generations have now turned toward older men and women, and this trend will increase until the population reaches its expected limit. Young families must face the fact that they are in competition with an older group who may exact from them contributions in the form of taxes for the support of old age which preceding generations have never had to meet.

Even literature has been colored by the change in the age of the population. Previous to 1900 novels ended as the couple reached the altar. The stories and novels today are far more apt to begin with the couple married and having one or more children. They may even begin with the couple in middle or later middle age. While this has its advantages inasmuch as it diminishes emphasis on a type of romance which few couples ever experience, it also has its effect on the general reactions of youth to married life.

Few people realize how much our civilization has changed since they were growing up. The standards and even proverbs which were right before 1910 no longer operate as guides to behavior. To take just one proverb:

> Early to bed and early to rise,
> Makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise.

If one goes to bed early one misses all of the good radio programs. If one gets up early no one else is up, not even the milkman who now in some cities delivers milk at approximately ten o'clock. Few families had radios in 1920, and fewer still had cars before 1910. Transportation in craft lighter than air was still in an experimental stage in 1905, and telephones were only for business houses and the well to do. The rate of travel was so slow that a man eighty miles away from the scene of a crime two hours before it was committed was acquitted as having an acceptable alibi. All of the adults now past thirty-five were growing up in a world quite different from the present one. To illustrate, if a couple returned late at night in 1910 their excuse was that the horse had gone lame; if a couple returns late in 1940 their excuse is that a tire has gone flat. Human behavior has changed little, but the group mores for the generation now growing up are as different as are the car and the horse.

Few if any families have thought through the implications of the changes brought about by inventions such as the radio and automobile. Before they can deal adequately with the generation which they are now facing, the changes will not only have to be

faced but will have to be met by a new set of behavior patterns. In a civilization such as ours thought is essential to the management of family. In the development of the mores acts have always preceded thought. The human race has always been willing to act without thinking, rarely been willing to think before acting. The result is a trial-and-error method of attack on new problems. The behavior pattern must therefore change.

**Modern Courtship Customs.**—In most civilizations in which there is the free choice of a mate by either the boy or the girl, arrangements are made for spending some time together, usually referred to as "dating," preceding marriage. The dating may take all forms ranging from the custom of bundling found in certain areas during colonial times to the present method of meeting at home, on the street corner, or the more modern custom of being met by previous agreement in the lobby of a hotel. For all parents the custom of bundling should provide a background against which to place more recent types of dating, since there is nothing in the normal reaction of modern youth to each other which has caused as much excitement among churches and other institutions which set standards for human behavior as did the custom of bundling after it had been in force a number of years. It must be noted that it had been going on for a number of years before anyone reacted adversely to it. In the settlements along the Connecticut Valley and on Cape Cod where the cost of heating and lighting were prohibitive, the young man was permitted to share the bed with the girl whom he was courting. The suitor and his fiancée remained fully dressed but

were covered so as not to experience the cold and the absence of a sufficient number of candles. Bundling beds were actually made in which there was a partition between the suitor and the girl. It must be remembered that many colonial homes had only a single room, and therefore the entire family was present as chaperons. It must also be kept in mind that at no time did this custom spread beyond the poorer classes. It was an adjustment of an immemorial custom to a civilization full of hardships and deprivations. This custom continued in some sections until after the Revolutionary War.

**The Blind Date.**—The steady increase in freedom in social customs has led to many more ways of meeting people of the opposite sex. The more freely one circulates during the early adolescent and the mating period the better, inasmuch as this brings both members of a pair seeking mates in contact with many more individuals. They are surer that the one upon whom the final choice falls is actually the one they would have chosen.

All social customs which lead to meeting more people of the opposite sex under socially approved conditions may be said to be good. The blind date is one of the newly evolved customs. This term is applied to the date on which a girl and a man well known to each other secure a partner for the friend of either one. For example, the man known to one girl informs her that he is bringing a friend for whom she should secure one of her friends. The couple may intend to go dancing or to the movies or merely to sit at home and talk, although this last might be considered unusual. The two couples may play bridge or

engage in some other game of interest at the time, such as mah-jongg.

A definition of the blind date is given here because of the tendency for terms once applied to one situation to acquire in time another quite different in its significance. The blind date may or may not be a successful way of meeting new and interesting people. It is sometimes used by girls to enhance their own beauty, wit, or charm. In this case the friend makes them shine in one or more fields because of her dullness, lack of wit, or lack of skill. The writer has sometimes observed this in use as a permanent technique. Neither the girls invited nor the men they are invited to meet ever seem aware of what is going on. Since courtship at any level involves competition of an intense nature, this may be said to be a permissible custom. As a matter of fact, the competition involved in courtship may be as deadly from the biological point of view as is actual war, inasmuch as the girl who is married has offspring which perpetuates her family and its characteristics, and the girl who fails to marry is eliminated in one generation since she leaves no offspring.

**Other Methods of Dating.**—The much more usual custom is for the man or the girl to make the dating arrangements. In this case, it is merely an agreement between two people to meet at a certain time and place. The modern American custom also permits the father to make dates for his daughter by bringing home business acquaintances. This is often a successful method of finding mates for one's offspring. On the other hand the mother may initiate the dating process by inviting to her home men whom she con-

siders eligible, for some form of entertainment such as dancing or Sunday night suppers. The school, the college, the sorority, and the fraternity recognize opportunities for dating as one of their responsibilities, often a major one. In early adolescence this type of dating should be group in nature, that is, a number of young couples should be invited. This not only aids in later social adjustment; it also widens the field of choice for all of the individuals involved. Group dating is advisable beyond early adolescence where individuals are not settled in their choice of life mates. It also provides change even during the engagement period and is advisable from that point of view.

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## CHAPTER II

## COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE

### OBSTACLES TO SUCCESSFUL COURTSHIP

Baber* points out four obstacles to the successful choice of a mate. (1) The idea that there is only one person one could possibly marry; (2) the idea that falling in love is a sudden and violent process; (3) narrowing the field of selection too early; (4) undue emphasis on one characteristic. Of these the last two are self-explanatory. The first of these, the belief that there is for each person only one possible mate, is found early in the history of the race. Ideas of this sort occur as early as Plato. In his "Republic" he points out that the organization of each individual is such that he will find somewhere a person who is the complement of himself. It seems to be, as are some ideas, a part of the thinking of civilized man. Its origin is lost somewhere in prehistoric social organization. It is definitely incorrect. For every man and for every girl there are probably dozens of potential mates, any one of whom would be able to make a good marriage partner provided most of the other conditions for a happy marriage were also present.

Rare indeed is the individual who has not fallen in love more than once. The writer has traced a number of cases where the statement was made that the individual had fallen in love with his life mate in the

* Baber, Ray E., "Marriage and the Family," McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1939.

grammar grades and had never again "looked at anyone else." In no single instance was this true. Friends were only too willing to point out the times in which the men who felt themselves to have been always faithful to a single person had "rushed" two or more other girls, and the women had been dated steadily by at least two men other than the final choice.

In a few instances the friends went so far as to say that the person had "nearly married someone else." When this was brought to the attention of the person who had previously boasted he had loved only once, he said that this had "never amounted to anything."

It is fortunate that early love affairs are forgotten so promptly, since, if they were remembered too clearly, they might interfere with later marital adjustments. The image of the individual with whom one is now in love covers completely that of individuals for whom one has previously felt all levels of deep affection. When the image of a previous affection remains clear the marital adjustment is poor, or, if the couple have not reached marriage, the engagement period is strained and the marriage intentions of both peter out.

The second stumbling block which Baber mentions is the belief that falling in love follows the pattern indicated by the terminology above. The young man or girl who believes the process to be sudden and violent has the wrong idea as to the whole process of becoming adjusted to a life mate. Only in rare cases does affection come suddenly upon one or both of the individuals who wish to become engaged. Usually it is a process of very slow growth. Weeks, months, or even years may pass before one selects out of the group of individuals with whom one is coming in

contact a person who appears to be more interesting and more generally attractive than any other member of the opposite sex. Even then the attraction may be a passing one, and a few disappointments serve to make it disappear. Immediate attractions which arouse an intense flare of emotion are rarely lasting in duration. Groves, Ogburn, Burgess, and Terman all point out that marriages based on a few hours or a few days acquaintance rarely last.

Falling in love is therefore a misuse of a term, but, like many other colloquialisms, it has become almost the only one descriptive of the affectional state of individuals who are about to become or are engaged.

The emotional intensity of one or both members of a couple may vary widely. It ranges all the way from a general feeling of security when the individual is present and a feeling of loss when the individual is not there, to an emotion so intense that, if the couple are out with others, they treat each other as if the relation were one of rather cool friendship. Any action indicative of the true relation may result in so strong a display of emotion as to be an embarrassment to both the couple and the others present.

Rare indeed is the couple whose emotion is on this high level of intensity who are not referred to by their friends as being somewhat cool or as "not really in love because they seem so little interested in each other." Apparently the degree to which one shows emotion in public is inversely proportional to its actual intensity. The more significant the emotion, the less is it made a matter for general discussion or display.

Only the couple themselves can judge when the degree of emotion is satisfying to them. Difficulty

arises when one member of a couple expects an intense response from the other while the other member actually resents such an intense display of emotion. It is well for them to find this out before marriage, since if it is present in the period of courtship, it will almost certainly be present after marriage.

Occasionally the man or the girl may have to decide between two possible life mates. The popular statement under these conditions is, "If you are not in love enough to be sure you had better not marry." But this may or may not be true. The technique which the writer usually employs is to have the uncertain man or girl list the assets of both possible life partners.* If the assets are nearly even, the popular point of view is the correct one. We much more frequently find that, when the list is made, one has come out far ahead of the other. In most instances it is probable that there was no real indecision. The individual was merely holding up the image of the other possible life mate in order to avoid facing the fact that he or she really had to accept the responsibilities involved in a permanent life adjustment. Many individuals dislike facing this situation. In fact many men will deliberately date a number of other girls after they have fallen in love in order to run away from a situation in which they may be "tied down." Girls may behave in a similar fashion. Sometimes the attraction has been so strong that the man or girl returns to the person with whom he has originally fallen in love. In other cases this technique is successful in delaying marriage. It may be so

*See also Strain, Frances Bruce, "Love at the Threshold," J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1939.

successful that marriage never takes place. One hears the statement made that the person has had any number of people in love with him, but he has never found anyone to suit him or anyone who came up to his high standards. Such behavior is, in its essence, an escape from accepting the obligations which maturity demands.

We would add a long list of the obstacles to successful courtship to those pointed out by Baber. Chief among these is failure to mature emotionally. Attitudes toward petting, the extent, the place, and time thereof are in part indicative of emotional maturity.

**Petting.**—Psychologists, psychiatrists, and sociologists frequently discuss the question of petting* without coming to any definite conclusions. The question has been discussed by the writer with 100 men and women of college age. They came to very definite conclusions. They stated that much depended upon the attitude of the couple. All were agreed that there should be no physical demonstrations of any sort unless the individuals felt themselves to be seriously attracted to each other. General kissing,

* Since this term carries different connotations in different sections of the United States, it may be well to define what is meant by it here. We use the term to refer to displays of affection which do not cause strong emotional reactions. Those which cause strong emotional reactions should be reserved for the later stages of courtship, if they are indeed permissible before marriage has taken place. Adolescents themselves have defined three levels of petting. The first they say is permissible, the second questionable but permissible perhaps in the later stages of courtship, and the third impossible between people of high standards. Since this is their own phrasing of the elements involved in displays of affection between people of the opposite sex, it may be well to adhere to it.

they said, was bad taste as well as bad hygiene. It might easily produce reactions against petting of all types in later years when the boys and girls were really in love.

As to the place for petting, they were equally agreed that all demonstrations of affection between people who were in love should be private. No emotion could be serious if it were displayed where everyone could look at it. Many went so far as to say that such displays in public were a form of exhibitionism. All felt that a certain amount of petting was necessary in early high-school years to break down some of the inhibitions they had had in regard to people of the opposite sex. This is probably the correct point of view.

Certain it is that all individuals in early adolescence play kissing games. It makes little difference how far adults go in their attempt to prevent these games; they nevertheless occur. It is probably true that the only degree to which these can be controlled is in the direction which they take, namely, whether the kissing games are played by the sons and daughters of the parents' friends or whether they are played among a more general group such as girl and boy clubs. Hygienic considerations, if no others, should prevent their being played by children whose parents do not know each other.

If no petting has gone on previous to courtship, the chances are all that courtship will not be carried on successfully. It may progress more slowly than it should, or the individuals may feel so strongly against petting of any kind that they stop making engagements with each other.

Groves points out the fact that there are definite dangers in over petting, and this would seem to have validity. All strong stimulation tends to produce results less and less clearly perceived the longer it continues. This holds true for the petting situation. It is a well-known fact that one may become unconscious of the noise from a boiler factory if one lives next door to it. We have all had the experience of reacting adversely to strong stimulations only to find that later they produce no reaction of any kind.

Unsuccessful experiences with petting may condition the individual permanently against marriage. All emotions may be conditioned and unconditioned, attached and detached, from the situation to which they originally belonged, and love is no exception to this general rule. Self-disgust after an experience of petting may well condition the individual against further experience. Shock may have a similar effect.

There can be little question about the effect of intercourse before marriage, inasmuch as every recent study of happiness after marriage has indicated a difference in the happiness of couples where neither husband nor wife has had premarital experience and those who have. Terman's study shows marked differences between the two groups; Hamilton's shows even wider differences. This point will also be discussed in a later chapter on marital relations, but so uniform have been the results of various experiments in regard to this question that discussion of it in two places should not go amiss.

**Failure to Mature Emotionally.**—The emotion love passes through a series of well-defined stages before it reaches the level essential to the selection of a mate

and the establishment of a home. From birth to approximately six months of age the infant is completely concentrated upon himself. Sensory stimulation is high, but the interpretation thereof is low. He fails to recognize clearly any one individual as apart from other individuals until almost the end of the third month. The nature of his neurological and physiological organization is such that such sensations and perceptions as he has are concentrated on himself as the center of the world. His emotional responses are aroused by petting, stroking, and the general feeling of comfort which follows having his wants administered to. Psychiatrists have called this the autoerotic stage of development, or, more recently, the narcistic stage, after Narcissus, who fell in love with his own image. As the child begins to react to individuals outside of himself he singles out from the mass of impressions received the person from whom comes the maximum amount of comfort, stroking, and petting. This is usually his mother but may be anyone who provides the necessary stimulation, as witness the children who are devoted to their nurses and refuse to leave the nurse for the parent. Transfer of the love interest from himself to the person associated with comfort, stroking, and petting is termed the stage of mother interest. This does not mean in any sense that the infant cares for his mother and no longer cares for himself, but that his chief emotional outlet is in connection with the maternal parent.

In the next stage of his development he seeks emotional response from and reacts strongly to the male parent. This is followed at eleven or twelve years of age by devotion to the gang in general, later by devo-

tion to someone of the same sex. Only when an individual has passed successfully through all of these stages is he ready for adequate adjustments to the opposite sex.

It is possible to find individuals in all stages of emotional development. If the daily environment which surrounds the child is concentrated on himself, and if he does not receive sufficient stimulation to make it necessary for him to recognize and react to others, he remains in the stage of self-fixation. It is then impossible for him to fall in love permanently with anyone but himself. Literature is full of illustrations of individuals in this unhappy state of arrested emotional development. Mr. Barrett in "The Barretts of Wimpole Street" gives a clear picture of an individual with infantile emotional satisfactions who demands attention as does the infant himself. Like the infant, he desires always to be the center of attention and resents the subtraction of even one from the number of his group of admirers. He has the infant's self-absorption and general selfishness, as well as the infantile desire to hurt psychologically and even physically. He seeks everything for himself and gives up nothing, much as the two year old in the presence of other two year olds gathers his toys around him and refuses to share, although he himself is not playing with them. Mature emotional adjustment requires that the individual seeks response from one person and gives this in return. The narcist is incapable of such behavior. If he marries, his family is subservient entirely to his needs and desires. Frequently such individuals do not mate since they can find no one willing to give the type of absorbed emotion and

unthinking devotion provided by a worshipful parent. Such self-absorption may reach pathological dimensions. It is often found in individuals who never reach the stage of feeling the need of treatment but who are never able to make a completely satisfying life adjustment either in courtship or marriage.

Mother fixations are found more frequently than any other types of emotional inadequacies. This stage has a longer duration than any which precede or follow it to the time at which maturity is reached. Most psychiatrists agree in assigning a stretch of approximately five and one-half years in girls and seven and one-half years in boys to this stage in emotional development.

The individual who is fixated on his mother gets his chief emotional satisfaction and response from her. When he meets other women they are compared with his ideal and accepted or discarded as they pass or do not pass the test of similarity to his parent.

Girls on the other hand compare the emotional response which they receive from their mothers with that received from all others. Since the emotional response to the life mate is entirely different in character, it may be wholly unsatisfactory or it may not be satisfactory as a permanent substitute. The girl may enter into courtship practices but break off the engagement at the approach of marriage. If it is only partially satisfactory the girl may be willing to marry only if the emotion is supplemented by that received from her mother.

Frequently such cases refuse to leave home even when they are about to set up a family of their own. The girl may stipulate before marriage that she and

her husband are to live with her mother, or the boy may stipulate either that the mother is to live with them or that they are to live with her.

If such arrangements are the result of economic pressure they can often be worked out in a highly satisfactory manner. Where they are the result of emotional demands and needs between the mother and son or between the mother and daughter, the chances of a happy marital adjustment are slim. Such cases as the following are illustrative of the tension produced where the engagement period is entered or marriage is achieved before the individual is mature enough to accept it.

*X* is twenty-seven and until he met the girl to whom he is now engaged he showed little interest in anyone except his mother. He frequently referred to his mother as his best girl, and she frequently referred to herself as "my boy's only sweetheart." Since social approval is attached to love for one's mother few people recognized the extent to which the affection had gone. *X* finally fell in love, but he told his fiancée that he could see her only three times a week, since the other four evenings belonged to his mother. She too felt that he was an example of a good son and did not object to this arrangement. *X* made an income of three thousand dollars a year, and his mother also had an independent income. When the marriage plans were being made he told his fiancée that a house would have to be secured that had a large, sunny front room for his mother. He made no other specifications except that her room was to have a private bath and every modern gadget. Since no account of the future wife's comfort was taken in the description of the requirements for a house to be their permanent home, she finally questioned him and, for the first time, realized the extent to which his emotions were involved with his mother. She stipulated that his mother should have a separate home, at which point he broke the engagement and never returned.

Case *Y* reached the stage of marriage without his wife's realizing the difficulty which lay in the path of a good marital adjustment.

After marriage she found that breakfast had to be served at six-thirty in order that her husband could have an hour with his mother on his way to work. Dinner had to be postponed until seven-thirty to allow for a two-hour visit on his way from work. The time left to be together was cut materially. In order to get sufficient sleep the husband had to go to bed early. In this case the marriage ceremony was merely a preface to divorce.

Case *Z*. A girl of good educational and social background reached the age of twenty-five without becoming seriously attached. Her first stipulation after her engagement was that her future husband should agree to live at home with her mother and father. Conversation revealed the fact that the girl had attended three colleges, but each time had left because she became homesick. Realizing the extent to which her emotions were directed toward her home and away from him the young man stipulated that *Z* go away for a trip around the world while her mother remained at home. Two years were necessary before *Z* developed sufficient freedom from home habits to plan for the trip. When she returned she married but insisted that her husband accept a position a thousand miles away from the town in which she had been reared. Freedom from the mother fixation and the home habits had been acquired at such cost that she wished to make certain that the attachment would never develop again.

These cases may be multiplied by hundreds. Where they occur in such obvious forms the emotionally free member of the couple may well be advised to terminate the engagement, unless there seems to be no doubt that the other partner can become emotionally mature before marriage. It is useless to hope that marriage will produce the mature development necessary for happiness.

Too much emphasis has been placed on the curative aspects of the institution of marriage. It is psychologically sound to assume that individuals who marry bring to that marriage exactly what they have during the engagement period. Since personality is the

result of all of the habits which have been formed to date, together with the general physical and mental make-up of the individual, it is absurd to assume that a ceremony, no matter how important, will produce marked changes. Usually both partners in the engagement have been at great pains to make the best possible impression. After marriage it can be assumed that they will do and be what they were previous to the wedding and that those characteristics which were being suppressed to a minimum will now appear at their usual strength, that is, at the strength that they evidenced previous to the time at which the couple fell in love.

Father fixations may also appear as obstacles, although these are relatively rare as compared with those of the previous type. Father identification may be present in the boy, and his failure to adjust may be due to his failure to be the kind of man his father wishes him to be. Such cases always have a sense of inferiority if they fail to be like the individual who approximates their ideal of manliness.

The girl may have a strong father fixation so that she cannot adjust permanently to any man, or it may be strong enough to color her reactions so that she considers falling in love only if the man is the age of her father or has the same mannerisms or appearance, just as a boy may not be able to fall in love with anyone who does not approximate his mother in general appearance, habits, and the like. These cases appear to be still in the stage of puppy love but this is not the case. They are thought to be so because they may be engaged many times but as the wedding date approaches they sever the engagement. If they were

as mature emotionally as individuals in the state of puppy love they might grow up after marriage. If they are still fixated on either parent there is little chance that they may mature after marriage though an occasional case has been helped to mature by a wise life mate.

Both men and girls may be very unhappy and may attempt by every means to break away from fixations which they feel to be hampering. They may alternate between violent liking and equally violent dislike for the person to whom they are engaged. At the same time they may alternate between hate of and devotion to the parent.*

One or both individuals may be in the gang stage of emotional development, in which case they will never be satisfied to be alone but must always be in a group. If both partners are in this stage they may meet, love, and marry always surrounded by a crowd and may never be able to adjust alone after marriage. Individuals of this type have their homes full of company or are themselves always away from home where crowds are to be found. Having children is considered an undue burden, since it keeps at least one of the partners home and may interfere with the activities of both. Such individuals appear constantly in the columns of the columnists.

Individuals who must be always in the crowd may never find mates who are also in this stage of development, but may yet fall in love. If this is with a mature individual, the engagement period is one of

* A further discussion of emotional maturity will appear in the chapter on Husband and Wife Relationships, but all this needs to be taken into account as influencing courtship behavior.

constant tension since one member of the pair wishes to stay at home with the usual desire for seclusion of the engaged, while the other wishes to be always in a group. One or the other must make a complete readjustment if they are to carry through to marriage.

Homosexual attachments, that is, attachments to individuals of the same sex, may also stand in the way of courtship and marriage. This is entirely normal for the period following the gang stage and should be recognized as such. "Crushes" of a more or less severe type may be experienced on people of the same sex either near or far enough away to be seen only on the movie screen. Where the adjustment to people of the opposite sex is made unpleasant, that is, where the first approaches are unsuccessful, the individual may fall back into the stage of homosexual attachments and may never again leave it. Such individuals may make attempts at courtship, but this lasts for only brief periods. Psychiatric help may be needed to help the individual to pass into the stage of heterosexual adjustment.

Puppy love appears to follow in the natural course of emotional growth. This is preceded by a brief period during which the reaction of the sexes to each other can be termed "roughhouse." Girls capture the caps of boys or walk down the school corridor hanging onto the backs of their collars or their coattails. The boys respond in like manner, tripping up, pulling hair, and even pretending to slap or bite. One or the other partner in this stage may even demolish furniture or break china in the rough play which precedes first attempts at real courtship. They are never quiet and thoughtful while together. One finds very few adults

in this stage, but many never proceed beyond the stage of puppy love.

An examination of behavior at adolescence will show that it is a period during which individuals fall in and out of love with great rapidity. The picture frame which is on the dresser today will contain one picture, while three weeks later another has taken its place. Occasionally one finds a frame containing four pictures one on top of the other. The change has been so rapid that time has not been taken to remove one picture before another has been put in its place. Individuals in this stage approach courtship with great intensity which cools with a rapidity proportional to the intensity with which it begins.

Case *A* became engaged to a girl with every promise of making him a good wife. Fortunately, he talked fairly freely about previous engagements, and she found out that he had been engaged three times in the past year. Although he appeared to be very much in love with her she refused to go ahead with the marriage until a full year had elapsed, since she wished to be certain that he had now matured sufficiently to choose a life mate.

Behavior of this sort is a necessary phase of emotional growth, but to marry while in it is to court disaster, since by their very nature the attachments formed are impermanent.

It is an interesting phenomenon that those passing through this stage of development repeat with each individual with whom they fall in love exactly the same pattern of behavior. They send the same flowers at the same intervals, give the same kinds of presents, and seek the same entertainments. One may predict from the beginning of the engagement the characteristics of its onset, when the climax will

probably be reached, and what the behavior will be as the emotion cools. Individuals who marry at the stage of puppy love are soon out of love again, but this phase will also be discussed in connection with adjustments after marriage.

Just before girls and boys become men and women capable of falling in love with their life mates they fall in love with individuals of approximately the age of their parents. The boy will become emotionally attached to a woman as old as or perhaps even older than his mother, whereas the girl may fall in love with a man approximately the age of her father or even older. This is the final stage in emotional maturity before marriage should be undertaken, so there are a number of individuals who do not progress beyond this point until after marriage. There are many instances of marriages based on this level which last until the younger of the couple reaches the thirties, at which time he (or she) falls in love with a person of an age to attract him when he was in his early twenties. Such people have now passed beyond the stage of falling in love with individuals older than themselves and are ready to choose life mates from among those of their own age group or younger.

Case *B*. A man of twenty-two fell in love with a woman of thirty-five and married within six weeks from the time of meeting her. The marriage appeared to be a happy one for the first ten years, after which he fell in love with a girl of twenty-two and the first marriage was broken up.

Many individuals find mates much older than themselves when they themselves are unusually mature socially, mentally, and emotionally. If this is the case the marriage will be permanent, since it is based on an

actual equality in maturity, no matter what the disparity in chronological age.

Should there be doubt about such a marriage, the only test is the test of time. If the couple waits for a full year or more and tries during that time a separation of several months and the affection still remains at the same level or reaches a higher one, the marriage has a good chance for success and will be a lasting one if other conditions for successful marriage have been met.

**Poor Integration of the Sex Drive and the Emotion Love.**—The sex drive passes through three definite phases before the individual develops the secondary sex characters and becomes physiologically mature enough to mate and to conceive children. The emotion love also passes through a series of well-defined stages as previously described. Before the individual can fall in love the sex drive and the emotion love must integrate.

No baby is in love with his mother or his teacher, although the Freudians would have us believe that this is the case. Anyone who can remember the emotion felt when an apple was presented to the teacher and the emotion which he experienced during his first puppy love affair will have no doubt about the difference between these emotional states.

The individual falls in love, and it may be with anyone including himself, at adolescence and not before although he may experience the emotion without its sex compcnents in early infancy. He may experience the sex drive without its emotional components in early childhood. Where there has been too much sex experience previous to adolescence, or

where there are fixations at early levels, it is entirely possible that the sex drive and the emotion love will fail to become unified.

Many adolescents will give evidence of the fact that integration does take place and that, when it does, there may be shock connected with it. It always comes as a surprise, since there has been previous to this time no coordinating set of sensations and mental and emotional patterns. If there is no integration, the individual never really falls in love. The sex drive may and frequently does function to an abnormal extent, but not in connection with a loved object. On the contrary, individuals may seek more and more sex experience while they become less and less capable of marriage. If they marry it is in response to an overwhelming stimulation of the sex drive which is exceedingly transient.

Since only the mature individual is capable of permanent satisfactions in marriage, a couple in one of whom the sex drive is still not integrated faces the probability of a broken marriage and the certainty of unfaithfulness. Pathological sex cases often belong in this same group and are definitely unfit subjects for marriage.

**Economic Conditions.**—In rural communities a couple in the process of courtship may find a number of activities in which they can engage, none of which calls for a great financial outlay. This is not the case in urban communities. The young man has always to consider the financial outlay involved before he asks for a date. To go on a date one must have car-fare, entertainment fees must be paid to most places of amusement, and food or some other form of refresh-

ment must be bought. A single date may exhaust his entire financial reserve. Two types of adjustments have been made to this by couples in cities. In the one case, if the girl has sufficient money and the boy is restricted in financial expenditure, she provides the funds necessary. Hers is the car that calls to take him to dances. He is entertained frequently in her home, and the parents provide theater tickets or other types of entrance fees to places of amusement. They may give the daughter for Christmas or birthday a folio of tickets to a motion picture house or skating rink. The boy feels no need for financial outlay except occasionally when he repays obligations. This is a legitimate adjustment to a situation brought about by urban living.

A second type of adjustment is one in which both share expenses equally. Since each would pay the same amount if they went separately, neither feels undue financial strain when they go together, and they have the additional advantage of companionship. Both types of adjustment have been in existence over a long period, though society has not yet faced them as necessary adjustments to changed types of living and often attempts to cover up the fact that they exist. The girl gives the man her entrance fee before they reach the ticket window or hands him the ticket which she has purchased earlier or slips the money into his hand under the restaurant table. Unless a higher standard is set for entertainment by either of these practices than can be maintained after marriage without assistance from the parents of both or without forcing the girl to work outside of her home, these adjustments are legitimate. If they force the couple

to obtain money in a way disturbing to one or both of them, they may be the basis of much tension, so much that the marriage may actually break up.

**Other Obstacles to Courtship.**—One may point to many other obstacles which may hinder the process of courtship, as, for example, dissenting relatives or foreign-born parents whose standards are such as to bar the girl from steady contact with many people, particularly men of marriageable age, and most important of all, segregation of youth during the mating period in preparatory schools or colleges limited to one sex. Unless provision is made during attendance at these colleges for a large number of social contacts between the sexes, one must face the fact that a long stay at these institutions provides a major obstacle.

It must always be remembered that adjustments to the opposite sex involve much effort and are frequently followed by the pain of hurt feelings or actual affronts to pride. A great many contacts are necessary in order to provide a normal balance between successes and failures. Occasionally a few individuals of each sex are universally successful in their contacts, but most individuals meet with a proportion of successes and a smaller proportion of unsuccessful experiences. Their feelings are hurt. They are bored. The girl is taken to an entertainment by one man who sees someone else he likes better, and she must come home alone or in the company of someone whom she does not like as well as the first escort. Girls are sometimes fairly popular and occasionally, for no apparent reason, are much less so; while men may sometimes feel at their best and at other times worry over social blunders or *faux pas* of a serious sort that make them feel that

they do not wish to encounter the same person or group again. In a word, their contacts are made up of good and bad adjustments with pleasant and unpleasant results. Unless the results are predominantly pleasant the individual tends to withdraw from the situation in which the unpleasant ones occur. Many individuals retire and make few if any friends of the opposite sex or immediately fall back upon the gang because they are insecure and unhappy unless they are with it. Society provides so few shock absorbers in the way of techniques in adjusting to the opposite sex that much practice is required in order to develop them. This practice is almost always wholly absent in the case of students attending preparatory schools and colleges devoted to one sex. Only occasionally does one find individuals with a natural aptitude for making conquests. These need no training, much as a great artist may paint a picture without lessons.

**Family Attitudes.**—In the twentieth century a new type of parent seems to have developed, namely, one who wishes to keep the growing adolescent in a stage of infantile dependence. Both father and mother refuse to acknowledge that the girl or boy is now a grown individual who must make his own contacts outside the family and who will sooner or later leave the family entirely. The natural adjustment of mature men is to leave the family in which they have grown up to such an extent that they turn the making of family contacts over to their wives. If the family in a city is removed from the parents, the husband lets his wife write all of the letters to his, the husband's, mother. This is the adjustment to be expected and indeed hoped for.

Perhaps the parents realize the degree to which separation will occur between them and their offspring and therefore fight the possibility of marriage. Whatever the cause, there are all too many instances of fathers' refusing to let their daughters date freely with men. They may make so many restrictions that the daughter is thrown entirely out of her social group. She must be home by nine o'clock when everyone else in the group starts dancing at that hour. She may not drive her car after dark, nor may she go with any group but must be taken in the family car. This last is permissible in individuals under eighteen but acts as a detriment to free association of boys and girls over that age.

The father may be cross to or even insult any men who come in. This attitude may have one of two effects. It may either throw the daughters into early marriage or make it impossible for them to secure mates.

The mother may take a similar attitude toward her son. She may make life so miserable for him whenever he meets someone to whom he is attracted that, in the interests of peace, he refuses to make further dates.

The family may point out all of the faults in the girl or boy whom their children find interesting or may tease viciously so that all interest in the opposite sex is destroyed. Some parents use methods directly opposite to those described. They bribe the boy or girl to stay in the home instead of setting up a separate establishment. The father may give his daughter so many presents that no suitor can possibly match him in generosity.

He may go further and state that as soon as his daughter marries she must give up all of the presents which he has given her and may expect to receive no more help or interest of any kind. In many cases this means going from an exceedingly high standard of living to one which furnishes the bare necessities. Modern individuals may not be willing to face so drastic a change.

The boy may be placed in a similar position. He may receive so much affection and attention and so many presents from both his mother and his father or from one of them that he may not be willing to face a life in which neither affection nor the financial position can possibly reach that which he is already enjoying.

One sometimes sees whole families who have been bribed into bachelorhood or spinsterhood. It is fortunate that one of the strongest stimulations to love is objection to the object of one's affections. This may operate with so strong a force as to make the adult held beyond the normal period by family ties break over and marry, but the adjustment of such individuals after marriage usually leaves much to be desired.

Frequently the family bases its objections to losing its child or children on relatively legitimate grounds, but the result is nonetheless devastating. The family may object to certain racial combinations or religious beliefs. If this interferes with marriage on the part of their children they have achieved a result far more serious and more far reaching in its effects than the marriage of their children to persons with the characteristics to which they objected.

Objections are legitimate only when they are to an absence of fundamental character qualities or health or to the presence of personal characteristics which will make an adjustment in marriage practically impossible.

One of the writer's cases reported that her father had taken away the keys of her car because she went to a dance with a young man of a different religion. In another case a girl was locked in her room on the third floor of the house. It was impossible for her to escape from the room without arousing all of the neighbors.

Occasionally one finds that the mother actually dislikes and deliberately interferes with the daughter's popularity in order to reflect upon the daughter's attractiveness. This attitude is based on jealousy between mother and daughter. The mother has perhaps been popular and does not wish her daughter to equal her, or she may not have been popular and does not wish to be excelled by another woman, even her daughter or, we may say, especially her daughter.

It used to be the custom to overlook all such cases of dislike between mother and children, but such cases are common enough, and any psychiatrist, psychologist, or sociologist can point to a number of them within the range of his acquaintances. It is not only the too possessive parents who hope to prevent the natural adjustments of their children to courtship and marriage. The list may include parents with any sort of resistance to the normal marital adjustments of their offspring. Such parents constitute the most serious of all handicaps to their children since they bar them from normal mature development.

**Unhealthy Mental Sets or Attitudes.**—First among the list of these should be placed the idea that sex is sinful and that anyone who shows any interest in sex or has any drives in the direction of sex is per se abnormal or peculiar at best, and at worst is possessed of original sin. The fact that sex is universal and that without it nothing, not even one's garden, could exist has been accepted by modern youth except where its parents have deliberately or unconsciously stood in the way of its acceptance.

Many men and women have been trained by their parents and their grandparents to believe that the child's first sex questions are signs of dangerous trends. They therefore put off answering them by stupid devices or answer them with such a strong display of emotion that the two and one-half or three year old is already conditioned against a normal attitude. This conditioning is heightened by the refusal to discuss new babies, pregnancy, or any of the conditions surrounding conception and birth. Only a few modern parents have gone to the other extreme and poured so much information into their children that they react against sex or develop an attitude somewhat similar to that of the child who, reviewing a book about penguins, said, "This book tells me more about penguins than I want to know."

Girls conditioned badly may react against all boys and refuse to have dates, or, if they have them, they feel miserable during the entire time that they are out. They are full of conflicts, and may wear themselves out in the struggle to interpret normal drives in such a way as to fit them into their life pattern.

Boys may approach girls with the attitude that all girls are angelic and untouchable. If this is the mental set which has been developed in them by stupid instruction, it will be impossible for them to engage in the amount of petting necessary if they are to become mature. Equally unfortunate is it if the boy has the same attitude toward sex that we have described in the girl, namely, that it is connected with one's "lower nature." Both men and girls with this attitude must marry an individual of much lower social status if they marry at all, since they associate sex with something that is lowering. One sees all too frequently instances of marriages of this type, or of sex associations made between boys with girls and girls with boys who are far below them in every respect. Were parents aware of the result of such preconditioning, they would shortly develop a healthier attitude toward sex.

**Infant Conditioning.**—Still another cause of education in early infancy is due to the employment of nurses of a far lower social order than the family or of a race quite different from that of the family. Since all love responses are developed in connection with feeding and the general physical care the child receives, to turn him over to individuals of this type in the first six years of life is to set the pattern in the direction of these individuals. The adult so conditioned has numerous feelings of inferiority and can find the solution for these only when he or she marries completely out of the class to which he belongs. Such elopements may make headlines in the newspapers and may cause the family, friends, and relatives to react against the girl or boy who has contracted a marriage so much

outside of the group, but the pattern for this has been set up long before and could have been avoided by proper infant and early childhood conditioning.

**Other Obstacles to Marriage.**—There are obstacles to marriage which are, in no sense, the result of either the couple's behavior or the behavior of their parents but are to be blamed solely on social conditions. Of these the disproportionate number of men and girls in the population and the present change in the age of the population may be mentioned. In a number of cities the proportion of men to girls may vary from as much as 28,000 to 30,000. In one city the total difference between the sexes was 28,250, the women being the more numerous by that amount. Though these figures include the number of women beyond the marriageable age whose husbands have died and some older women who are confirmed spinsters, this imbalance of population will make it impossible for some of the girls to find mates under the accepted system of monogamous marriage.

The World War of 1914–1918 produced a marked disparity in number between the sexes inasmuch as large numbers of men were killed or maimed beyond the possibility of marriage. The horizons of men who left their own areas and went to other areas of this country or to foreign countries were widened, and their choices therefore fell within a far larger group than they would otherwise have had. Men who married out of the social group to which they had belonged lessened by just this much the chances of marriage of women in the home area. Wherever these conditions exist competition becomes exceedingly keen, but in spite of all that can be done there will still be a num-

ber of women who do not marry. On the other hand where there are a larger number of men than girls there remains little if any possibility that any of the girls will stay unmarried, and a number of men may find it impossible to find mates.

If it is socially desirable that all the members of a group should be married, then it might be necessary to shift the population in such a way that an equal number of men and women occurred in each area.

If this is impossible because there are in any one country fewer men than women or the reverse, then a shift of population from country to country might have to be arranged.

TABLE I.*—MEDIAN AGES OF BRIDES AND GROOMS CONTRACTING FIRST MARRIAGES, ACCORDING TO SPECIFIED AGES OF THE CONSORT, NEW YORK STATE EXCLUSIVE OF NEW YORK CITY, 1929–1931

| Age of groom | Median age of bride | Difference in median age of bride from age of groom |
|---|---|---|
| 16 | 16.9 | −0.9 |
| 21 | 19.9 | 1.1 |
| 25 | 22.3 | 2.7 |
| 30 | 24.9 | 5.1 |
| 35 | 27.8 | 7.2 |
| 40 | 31.9 | 8.1 |

* *Statistical Bulletin*, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, Vol. 18, May, 1937, No. 5. Quoted by permission.

As may be seen from Table I as girls increase in age they have fewer chances to marry. Men at twenty-one tend to marry girls within one year of their age. As the men increase in age they tend to marry women younger than they are by increasing

amounts. The young girl, therefore, has more than twice as much chance to marry as the one approaching or over thirty. One modern trend appears to have taken care of this to some extent, namely, the tendency of women to become established in their careers and then marry men eight to twelve years younger. Many such marriages have been exceedingly successful. They may or may not be anything but evidences of failure to mature discussed earlier in this chapter.

A true disparity between the number of men and women taken together with the mores which made marriage necessary would mean a return to forms of marriage other than monogamy. If there were more men than women, polyandry might become the acceptable form. If there were more women than men, polygamy might take the place of monogamy. Our mores are so fixed in regard to monogamous marriage that the possibility of either of these changes is slight. Prostitution probably takes the place of both polyandrous and polygamous types in modern society, though it can hardly be called a socially acceptable substitute.

**Separation.**—The popular view is that absence makes the heart grow fonder. The psychologist realizes that this is true but questions to whom that fondness will be attached. Couples who must be separated during the engagement period will do well to remember that their separation must not be too long. They will also do well to remember that the associations between two people who are separated must always be pleasant. Scolding letters, written criticism, and all other forms of administering punishment by mail should be avoided. On the other hand,

all forms of reviving past experiences which have been unusually pleasant should be used. The young man who sent his fiancée perfume associated with their most pleasant excursion was psychologically sound as well as thoughtful. Couples may break up when one has been punished by mail or in telephone conversations while they are away from each other. The one who has been so punished either refuses to come home or marries someone else, not because he has become seriously attracted by another but because this will enable him to avoid returning to a relation which has now become unpleasant. In a word, he is willing to take any means to protect himself from returning for further punishment.

Sometimes all that happens during the separation is that memories of one or the other dim, and therefore more adequate stimulation is needed to arouse them. On the other hand, one sometimes sees memories so strongly colored that a meeting with the person is a disappointment. One's memories are far more pleasant than the actual associations were when they occurred, since one has remembered their pleasant aspects and forgotten their unpleasant ones. It is a well-known psychological fact that unpleasant circumstances are relegated to the subconscious mind at a relatively rapid rate. Pleasant ones tend to remain. If this is the case with a couple who have been separated one meeting may be enough to set each on the road to another attachment.

If either one of a couple senses that the other is feeling less intensely, there may be some attempt to revive the pleasant memories previously associated with the engagement. This is usually insufficient to

hold an emotion diminishing in force. Individuals who would have married and gone on to found families may now break up and in time forget that they have ever had any affectional reactions toward each other. There are a few instances in which a separation may be valuable, but these are cases in which the engagement has been too prolonged, and each is now failing to provide a strong emotional stimulation for the other. A brief period of absence, say two or three weeks or even a month, may be profitable. When the couple meet again separation has added a certain element of novelty to their previous relation, and they may fall in love again. If absence results in a still further lessening of emotion, it can still be said to be a successful method since the couple will then be sure that marriage would have been a mistake.

Either separated or in the same community there appears to be only one successful method to bring back affection if it has wavered, and that is to offer the alternative of complete separation or going through with marriage at once. If there is still some affection left, the individual will probably not be willing to lose the person to whom he has been engaged, and the fear of loss may operate to facilitate marriage. If the alternative of a broken engagement is accepted nothing has been lost, since this would have been the end result in any event.

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## CHAPTER III

## PREPARATION FOR MARRIAGE

Provided the individual has matured and there are no further obstacles to overcome, the mate may be selected and the final stages of courtship, namely, planning for marriage be reached. There are certain definite questions which the engaged couples should discuss before setting the date and making plans for the wedding.

The first on the list should be a discussion of finances.* Probably the best way to attack this

* Folsom, J. K. (editor), "Plan for Marriage," Harper & Brothers, New York, 1938, pp. 96–97.

Folsom in his "Plan for Marriage" lists the following:

"Prospective partners need especially to know each other's attitudes regarding the number and timing of children, their management and discipline, the role of the wife as homemaker or worker outside the home, and regarding housing, accumulation of possessions, money, travel, extramarital friendships, the role of sex in life, the duty of the family toward the community and its institutions. Each needs to know what the other is likely to do under emotional strain. Will he resort to drink, illness, quest of excitement, or will he retreat into a world of fancy? When hurt, will she "freeze up" for a long while toward the person who hurt her, or will she develop a rage which can be easily softened into love and reconciliation? She needs to know what he is apt to drop out of his life when he becomes busy and preoccupied; what pleasures he will most likely retain under these circumstances. She needs to know what is his pattern of work. Is it normal for him to become preoccupied for long periods with his work, punctuated by intense "sprees" which she may share with him by proper timing of her activities; or does he thrive best on a little work, a little play, a little love, each day with regularity? He needs to

problem is to choose the time when there is a discussion of the finances involved in dating. Few individuals have a sufficient supply of money to go out as often as they would like or to plan for excursions involving too much expense. Early in the engagement period this question will probably come up, and a dating budget may be made out which includes entertainment at home or of some other couples in their home, and all of the other ways in which time together will have to be spent. While this budget is being discussed, the permanent budget for the family may be brought up.

In the first place there should be a discussion of whether or not the man expects his fiancée to continue working or have some other means of supporting herself. If he does, some distribution of his budget and hers should be discussed, inasmuch as immediately after marriage this discussion will be necessary. Such points as how much she is to contribute to the rent of the apartment, to food, to entertainment, and to saving can be discussed much more freely before marriage than after. Even though the couple may feel some slight embarrassment, it is far better to have it out of the way before it becomes the basis for actual quarrels and feelings of unfairness.

The number of hours which the girl is to work should be planned for, inasmuch as carrying most jobs and having a family are incompatible. If the

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know whether she likes to save money cumulatively, or to save merely so as to keep a little ahead of the game, or is comfortable to be always a little in debt. Each needs to know whether the other really wants to be told everything, or whether he would rather remain ignorant of possibly unpleasant facts which do not affect him in practice."

girl is not to work, it is even more necessary to have questions of money settled in advance of marriage. The attitude on the part of some men that do not wish the girl to "bother about money" is far from being a protection to her.

She should know whether or not there is to be an allowance given to her to cover all of the household expenses, or whether or not she is to carry a portion while other expenditures are to be carried by her husband. They should have decided whether or not this allowance is to be increased when financial arrangements improve.

The girl should know her husband's attitude toward entertainment and how much of the budget he expects to spend in this way. She should know how far his professional advancement depends on the amount and kind of entertaining which they will have to undertake both because of the money involved and because of the training which she will need in order to meet the requirements which are set. It is as ridiculous for her not to know what will be required of her after marriage as it would be for her to take a position without knowledge of the requirements or any training to meet them.

She should know the distribution of the money, as, for example, whether or not it will be given to her in a lump sum at the beginning of the month, or by the week, or whether it will be necessary for her to make some sort of balance between amounts to be charged and paid for later and amounts which may be used for cash purchases. She should know whether she may save any money that is left without being accused of cheating or of being unfair.

The couple should have discussed freely and have decided upon the things which each considers important enough to take a prior position on the list of expenditures. It is well to make out a budget which includes everything for which money may be spent, and then to discuss freely which parts of the budget may have to be slighted and which may even have to be eliminated entirely.

The following minimum budget for owning a car may lead to eliminating a car from their calculations for at least a year, perhaps longer. The figures are for a car driven three years, traded in the fourth.

BUDGET FOR A CAR

| | |
|---|---|
| Purchase price including state tax and freight | $885.00 |
| Price at trade in the fourth year | $285.00 |

CAR BUDGET PER YEAR

| | |
|---|---|
| Annual deterioration | $200.00 |
| Gas, if driven ten thousand miles | 160.00 |
| Repairs, small first year, but including tires, battery, lubrication, etc., second and third years | 60.00 |
| Insurance | 30.00 |
| License | 10.00 |
| Garage if necessary | 60.00 |
| Total cost per year | $520.00 |

The cost as the table shows is relatively small the first year except for depreciation which is higher. It increases steadily with each year the car is held except for depreciation and insurance which diminish. The couple will have to wash the car themselves. The budget will be increased materially if there are any accidents, still more if the car is an expensive one since annual deterioration will be much higher proportionally. There is no way to make these figures

smaller unless some member of the family is a skilled mechanic.

The budget should be made out in the light of gifts from the family of one or both, inasmuch as such gifts may wreck the budget entirely. The present of an expensive car will not help the couple to make better financial adjustments, since the gas, oil, and repairs on such a car may cost ten to twenty-five dollars more a month than the couple have planned to meet. Expensive jewelry, expensive furniture, or a relatively expensive house may set the couple on their way toward serious financial embarrassment instead of helping to give them a start.

If a house is bought a minimum reserve of five hundred dollars is necessary for repairs and replacements if the house is in good condition, more if its condition is at all doubtful.

The following is a budget for a young couple where both are earning money. The living standard is not

BUDGET I

Married couple—No children, but hope to have them someday

| | Per Month |
|---|---|
| Salary of wife | $ 75.00 |
| Salary of husband | 125.00 |
| Total | $200.00 |
| Apartment | $ 50.00 |
| Light | 2.50 |
| Gas | 0.75 |
| Telephone | 3.50 |
| Food | 30.00 |
| Entertaining | 10.00 |
| Cleaning woman | 13.50 |
| Installments on furniture | 25.00 |
| Clothes | 35.00 |
| Carfare and lunches | 25.00 |
| Savings (insurance) | 10.00 |
| Total | $205.25 |

unusually high. A glance at only when they show that the couple have left off a large number of things that will have to be taken care of if they are not to end each month in debt.

Even an overdraft of five dollars and twenty-five cents is not permissible. It is obvious that the couple have failed to include money for incidentals or for emergencies such as illness. No children have been allowed for and no allowance has been made for the time when the wife must leave work to rear a family.

A second budget worked out by a young couple is presented below. It is also interesting because of the omissions. These are actual budgets presented by couples who thought they had taken care of all expenses when these were set up.

BUDGET II

Man has salary of $3,000.00
Wife has no income

| | Per Month |
|---|---|
| Rent applied on purchase of house | $ 75.00 |
| Clothes | 60.00 |
| Recreation | 10.00 |
| Food | 30.00 |
| Cleaning | 14.50 |
| Entertaining | 6.00 |
| Savings | 30.00 |
| Incidentals | 10.00 |
| Total | $235.50 |

The budget looks adequate, but the couple have not included the upkeep of their car, depreciation on their eight thousand dollar home, heating, annual repair bill, money to be spent on their garden and bill for water. These will add at a minimum:

| | Per Year |
|---|---|
| Car | $ 520.00 |
| Heat | 220.00 |
| Repairs | 120.00 |
| Depreciation | 160.00 |
| Approximate interest on money invested in equity on house | 80.00 |
| Garden upkeep, seeds, fertilizer | 24.00 |
| Taxes and insurance | 300.00 |
| Total | $1424.00 |

This couple is living far beyond its means. Over one hundred dollars a month should have been added to the original budget. Actually the amount should be more since all figures were minimum.

In one case the couple was so far out in their calculations as thirty-five dollars per month, since this was the overhead necessary to keep up the house which had been given to them. Only when the house was sold and the couple moved into an apartment within their means were they able to do away with family tension and to have the children for whom they had originally planned.

In another case the bride's parents supplied the services of a maid but forgot that the maid had to have food and that cooking done by an employee might be far more expensive than the same cooking done by the bride, who, in this case, was trained to prepare food. The arrangement cost three hundred dollars in addition to the amount for which the bride had planned.

In still another case the bride's parents gave her a string of pearls valued at eighteen thousand dollars, while the groom's parents presented the family with a complete silver service including plates, flat silver,

tea and coffee sets. The insurance on these gifts alone amounted to five hundred dollars; so the young couple was forced to put a strain of over forty dollars a month on the budget or to store the gifts, which would have offended both families, or to leave them uninsured, a financial risk which few couples would dare to take.

All of these points should be discussed fully before marriage when they can be thought through without the emotional strain which would accompany them if there were no discussion until financial affairs reached one of the many crises which are sure to arise.

Both should know how far each is obligated to support relatives, especially if one or more relatives have to make their homes with the young couple. The older idea that an extra person made little difference in the budget is no longer tenable, since fifteen dollars per month for food will have to be allowed if the couple lives in a city where living costs are high, less if they live in a farming community.

Any debts which either has to pay after marriage should go into the budget, and the source from which the payment must come should be determined. If debts have to be paid they must come from food, clothing, rent, recreation, or some other section of the budget, and the couple must face the fact that they will be deprived to just the extent to which debts have to be met.

If professional obligations are a part of the budget these too should be indicated. Memberships in scientific societies, subscriptions to professional magazines, and attendance at meetings will all have to be taken into account.

The second point which should be discussed is the couple's attitude toward having children. It is too late after the marriage has taken place for one of them to discover that the other is not interested in children and does not wish them.

Case *B* married a woman ten years his senior. As a spoiled only child he had no desire to have any competitors. He had realized from watching the families of his friends that children distract the wife's attention to some extent from the husband. Because his wife was so many years older than himself, he had gone on the supposition that she was too old to want to be bothered with a young family. Unfortunately one of the main reasons for his wife's marriage was to have children. The tension between them on this point grew so severe that the couple separated after an eight years' struggle on the wife's part to make her husband change his mind. From her point of view they might almost as well have stayed together because by this time she was too old to have children. She then married a man somewhat older than herself, and her problem was partially solved by the adoption of three children. The situation would never have arisen had sufficient care been taken in planning this marriage.

Occasionally there is a religious question involved in addition to personal desires on the part of one or the other member of the family. In this case failure to have children presents a moral as well as a personal problem.

Not only the number of children which the couple plan to have should be discussed, but also the spacing of these children. If the wife wishes to have three within a period of from three to five years, her husband must be prepared to accept both the added responsibility and the financial strain which this will entail. Inasmuch as each child in a modern civilization costs a definite amount to have and to rear, both parents

must be prepared to make the personal sacrifices necessary since the money must come from the food, housing, clothing, or recreation which the parents enjoyed prior to the birth of the child. Only when the income increases rapidly are these sacrifices unnecessary. The satisfactions which having children gives will be discussed later, but the necessity for a discussion of these points comes not after the couple are married, but as a preparation for a marriage which will have just one less hurdle to surmount.

**Differences in Religious Beliefs.**—There should be a full and free discussion of all questions in regard to differences in religion. The couple should decide which church they are to attend together, or whether they prefer each to attend the church to which they belonged before marriage. They should discuss the religion to which their children are to adhere and come to an agreement which will make later argument over this point unnecessary. Since this is a topic surrounded by strong emotion, to such an extent that few individuals dare to bring it up as a part of a dinner conversation, even among intimate friends, it is best to let the emotion drain before rather than after marriage.

It may well be that the couple should postpone marriage or perhaps not marry at all, since religious differences may prove to be too severe a hazard to surmount.

There are certain denominations to which the couple can belong without severe conflict. On the other hand, there are those whose doctrines are in complete opposition at important points. The couple should realize that these points can never be brought together

and should either agree not to discuss them after marriage to the point of emotional tension, or agree each to accept the other's viewpoint and not to try to disturb it in any way.

Differences in family customs and backgrounds, if not discussed, should at least be well known to each of the couple. Where the man and woman have been reared in entirely different environments, each may refuse to accept the other's. They may compete as to the relative merits of each environment, or they may use environmental differences to taunt and disturb each other.

Case *G* came from a western town in which the social customs of the eastern seaboard appeared inconsequential and silly, or even downright evil. Table service, greeting friends, all entertainment of friends in his home and their entertainment of him in theirs were irritating. He felt inhibited and deeply annoyed. The girl to whom he was engaged, on the other hand, reacted against what she called the crudeness of his early environment. Neither discussed these matters since both felt that they could be "ironed out" after marriage. They believed in the common fallacy that marriage produced marked changes in the individuals that contracted it. We are well aware that the irritating qualities of individuals which seem difficult to bear before marriage become even more so after, but *G* did not realize this. Even during the honeymoon the couple were in constant conflict and at the end of a year they agreed to return each to the environment which they preferred, since neither could accept the environment of the other.

A couple, each of whom comes from a different environment, can use their differences to make a much more interesting marriage. As a matter of fact, each contributes more to the marriage when there are differences than when they are nearly alike.

It must be kept in mind that one of the points brought out in the studies of Burgess and Cottrell and

Terman was that similarity in environment helped to make a marriage successful.

Some devices must be developed to act as shock absorbers between different habit patterns. Nothing is so resisted by the human mind as individuals who differ from the group to which one is accustomed. Any individual who exhibits different habit patterns is apt to be isolated or even persecuted by the social group from whom he differs unless he can so cover up his differences as to make them acceptable or so integrate these differences with the group pattern that the group adopts them. This is a point of departure for married couples. Much thought and a long period of careful adjustment will be necessary, and there will be many crises, sometimes severe ones, before differences between the couple have been integrated into a new pattern which makes use of the best contribution of both. Neither can nor should expect to force the other into a mold which is not acceptable.

When the writer reads of couples who have been married for forty years without a single quarrel, the reaction is not "how wonderful," but "how deadly dull." One or the other person has become so dominated that there are no differences in personality, attitudes, or habits between the two. One of the couple has sacrificed completely the contribution which he might make to the marriage in favor of reaching a level in which there are neither high spots nor periods of tension. The psychological term for this complete approximation of one person to another is identification. One or the other has become so identified with the mate that he is no longer an individual in his own right.

Couples should face these facts and should also work out in advance techniques which will make each crisis result in a better understanding rather than in a division between what should be two parts of an efficiently functioning organization.

A device which has been suggested to the writer by a number of successfully married couples is to discuss until tension becomes too strong and then to stop the discussion and each write the way he feels and the reasons for feeling this way. This procedure clears the thinking of both and also keeps them from going on after emotion has taken the place of thinking.

If the engaged couple cannot discuss differences without becoming too strongly involved emotionally and reaching the stage in which each cites his grievances against the other, they must face the fact that their relation in marriage may not be a happy one. They may be competing against each other instead of working together, or they may not be in love. They may have refused to face this fact consciously, but quarreled instead to free themselves from a relation no longer adequate. Grievances which are reiterated may leave so strong a hurt that adjustment becomes more and more difficult. No affection remains long in the face of constant hurt, since pain arouses fear and fear inhibits love. Only the pathological individual desires to experience pain in connection with affection. Psychologists would consider it platitudinous to state that pain always produces withdrawal reactions.

Unpleasant associations may so far outweigh the pleasant ones that the couple originally in love may become distasteful to each other, and, instead of

looking forward to a meeting, each feels relief at the absence of the other. They are in the position of a child who has been punished too often and who does not wish to see the person from whom the punishment has come, since more punishment may follow. Love is an emotion which is easily detached. This must always be kept in mind.

Folsom points out in his "Plan for Marriage" the fact that engaged couples should know each other well enough to decide whether they should tell each other everything or not. We question this, inasmuch as we feel strongly that no individuals should be aware of everything about each other. Nothing is less interesting than the person about whom one knows everything, about whom there is nothing left to learn. This should not be advised since it is good neither in its psychological implications nor in actual practice.

Each should know, though not discuss, the emotional balance of the other. This is pointed out by Folsom. Each needs to know whether the other is moody, whether he has to fear temper tantrums, sulking, sullen spells, or an actual desire for retribution in response to hurt feelings. This will influence materially the adjustment after marriage. If temper tantrums are frequent, it must be realized that an individual must be dealt with who is no more mature than a preschool child. He may have to be brought up or accepted as he is, no matter how difficult it is to accept such obvious immaturity.

The couple need to know each other's hobbies and interests and the part that these play in daily living. If an individual has been so absorbed in a hobby or in

work as to forget engagements previous to marriage, this will occur to an even greater extent after marriage.

Habits of work are an important factor in marital adjustments. One may sometimes expect to see the person whom one has married only in the late evening and on occasional evenings at other times. On the other hand, there are individuals whom one may expect to have to adjust to during the day as well as in the evening.

### ATTITUDES ASSOCIATED WITH ENGAGEMENTS

After the engagement has taken place there are usually three kinds of concomitants which one can expect to be present: (1) an urge to complete confession, (2) a desire to sacrifice oneself to the loved object, (3) an unusual possessiveness. All three of these attitudes should be considered carefully.

The urge to confession frequently results in a complete clearing of the mind of each of the couples of all previous experience with members of the opposite sex. This has the effect of making each feel "free" and happy, but it should not be allowed to have full play. There are many considerations which may make it wise not to confess everything. If one gives names and dates for each experience, individuals whom one has talked about assume an undue importance in the minds of each. The couple have a number of images which they would probably prefer to forget. So strong may these become that after marriage they result in maladjustments in the sex life. Moreover, the individuals who were involved should be protected. In telling of such occurrences the teller

always puts himself in the most favorable light, frequently better than he deserves, while the partner is placed in a far less favorable light than he or she merits. The confession is, therefore, doubly unfair. It is of course essential to tell anything which, if known, would prevent marriage. No one should enter marriage knowing anything which would have made the other partner hesitate or refuse to go on with the marriage if he had been told.

The second attitude also needs to be studied carefully. It is unwise to give up what one knows one must take back after the marriage has been consummated.

Case *A* promised his future wife that the children should belong to a religious group to which he was fundamentally opposed. When the children were born, he refused to keep his promise with even one of them. This resulted not only in conflict but in loss of faith in his honesty and general standards.

Case *C* promised a number of things which if carried out would have made her married life very inhibited. She promised never to lunch with anyone of the opposite sex. She agreed to tell her future husband if she had the most casual contact with men whom she had known before her marriage even in the homes of her friends or over the telephone. Since no one, no matter how isolated, can help coming in contact with people of the opposite sex, she merely broke her promise. Had she explained the reasons for breaking it there might have been no difficulty, but since she never again mentioned the matter he felt she was adhering to the statement made before marriage. When he found she was not keeping her promise, he viewed her casual contacts as something far more serious, and the marriage broke up.

It is useless to think that no one regards seriously promises made while in love, for the person to whom they are made believes that they will be kept and has

a right to believe in the honesty of the person whom he is to marry.

The third attitude produces equally serious consequences. Strain* cites a case of a young couple each of whom gave the other a list of people with whom they could not dance. One couple on our list not only gave each other a list of people with whom they were not to dance, but also a list of people to whom each was to speak but with whom they were not to hold long conversations. If the couple were so fearful of each other's faithfulness during the engagement they can hardly be expected to have faith after marriage.

Possessiveness often goes to the extent of wishing to know everything that has happened to the person to whom one is engaged including behavior in infancy. Women especially insist on seeing pictures of their fiancés from infancy on. Much embarrassment may be produced by this desire, since few adults wish to contemplate seriously either their appearance or their attitudes when their pictures were taken in the first year of life. If these are shown freely no trouble will result, but they should not be demanded.

Parents have a right to have and to hold as their property the early life of the children whom they have reared though the children themselves must be set free as early as possible.

Both the girl and her fiancé should be left free as far as possible inasmuch as freedom will be essential after marriage. A couple that have to account to each other for each place they have been, everyone whom they have seen, and each minute of the day

* STRAIN, FRANCES BRUCE, "Love at the Threshold," D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., New York, 1939.

will be constantly irritated and inhibited. No one should be placed in this unfortunate position.

Adults will remember the feelings they had as adolescents when they had to account to their parents for their time and when these parents called up the homes where the adolescents were supposed to be in order to see if they were being told the truth. They should keep in mind the irritation they felt at that time, inasmuch as it will be no less if this happens in married life.

No affection can be held unless the individuals feel free to give it. On the other hand, a certain amount of the feeling that one is possessed by someone else is relatively good, especially after marriage. No one wishes to feel so free that the loved object does not care where they are or what they are doing and feels no jealousy no matter what the situation.

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## CHAPTER IV

## ADVANTAGES OF FAMILY LIFE

With the family under fire, both men and women may wish to consider carefully whether the advantages of family living outweigh those of life of a more individual type.

First among the advantages may be cited the fact that if both the husband and wife are working they can actually receive more from their incomes living together than they can if they attempt to keep up a home or an apartment singly. The following budgets for living expenses, taken from actual experience, prove the truth of this contention.

BUDGET I

| | |
|---|---|
| Salary for man—$200.00 | |
| Rent for apartment | $ 44.50 |
| Light and cooking | 4.29 |
| Cleaning woman | 12.00 |
| Telephone | 3.25 |
| Food | 25.00 |
| Entertaining at home | 12.00 |
| Recreation | 40.00 |
| Total | $141.04 |

BUDGET II

| | |
|---|---|
| Woman's salary—$125.00 | |
| Rent | $30.00 |
| Telephone | 3.25 |
| Occasional cleaning | 4.00 |
| Light and cooking | 4.39 |
| Food and entertaining | 25.00 |
| Recreation | 15.00 |
| Total | $81.64 |

BUDGET III

| After marriage | |
|---|---|
| Combined income—$325.00 | |
| Apartment | $ 44.50 |
| Light and cooking | 4.29 |
| Cleaning woman | 12.00 |
| Telephone | 3.25 |
| Food | 45.00 |
| Recreation | 20.00 |
| Total | $129.04 |

It can easily be seen that both have more money to spend than they had before. The girl has improved her status because she can now employ a cleaning woman regularly instead of occasionally. The food bill is only slightly in advance of what it was before. They can both now entertain at home. Recreation has diminished considerably since they do not need to spend money in order to get companionship. They may save an appreciable amount and still have all of the comforts they had previous to marriage.

When the woman leaves her job in order to have children the whole economic picture will change, but in the meantime savings should have accumulated so that they have more security than they had previous to marriage. It is probably from some such combination budget as this that the idea that two can live more cheaply than one originated. Two cannot live more cheaply than one, but two together can live more cheaply than two can if they live apart, since overhead such as rent, light, and heat are the same for both.

There are other advantages. A married man holds his position in times of depression when single ones are let go. If there is a choice between two men for a good position and they are equal in merit, the married

man is nearly always given preference. The fact that he has a wife and that she is efficient may mean a chance for promotion to an executive position, whereas, if he had been unmarried, the position would have been given to some other man whose wife could undertake the entertaining and make the necessary contacts.

If his wife stays at home and does not contribute to the earning power of the family in actual dollars, she nevertheless contributes a great deal of money. So efficient are some wives in a good social status group that if they went out to work they would have to receive a salary of at least $2,400. If they had less the home would be operated at an actual loss since their services would be worth the full amount.

Wives can buy more economically than anyone whom they can employ to buy for them; they can cook better food and cook it for less. If they make the family clothes, all of the costs of labor are eliminated. If they take care of their children, not only is the cost of a maid eliminated from the budget, but the children can be reared far better. The actual money value of a trained person who stays at home and administers the house, as a good executive would administer his business, is therefore high.

In some professions a man must be married if he is to get ahead. Physicians, school administrators, and business executives, especially those who handle money, are not apt to progress far unless they have wives, and having children is an added advantage.

Groves* cites a number of psychological factors also present in marriage. Married men are said to be

* Groves, E. R., "Social Problems of the Family," J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1927.

more ambitious. They are also credited with being steadier on the job. The psychological advantages to the men themselves form a long list. The judgment of two intelligent people is apt to be better than the judgment of only one. If business can be talked over freely with a person of equal intelligence who has one's interest at heart, the chance of a good decision is much greater. Just being able to talk over puzzling situations, even if one does not get advice, makes the issues clearer and one's thinking more constructive. One is apt to think through the puzzling problems as one talks over business affairs. Considered judgment takes the place of snap judgment. Only from one's wife or husband can one get a sincere and frank answer. A man can get the point of view of a woman, and she similarly can get the point of view of a man. The list is impressive, but we must add to it further points of importance.

From the point of view of the woman marriage is additional economic security, since she has two salaries instead of her own as her sole support. In case she leaves her position she can still count on going back to it if her husband loses his position, provided she keeps up with her field. There were countless instances of this last in the period from 1929 to 1938.

The married woman has a wider group in which to circulate since most affairs are for couples. Her friends if she were unmarried would have to find an "extra man" for her, and this is often difficult to do. There is a cliquishness about married groups which makes them bar from their number those who are unmarried. The terms younger married set and older married set carry their own connotations.

During the period previous to marriage, that is, from eighteen to the wedding day, the woman is always in competition with other women for popularity among men. No one has ever conducted a research which had as its result the statement that women do not wish to be married. On the contrary, the majority probably are willing to acknowledge that marriage is their ultimate goal. Only a few consciously choose a career, and these may be explained on the basis of failure to adapt, or a too rapid rate of maturity.*

There is always the competition for the attention of the stag line at dances. There may be worry for fear one will not be asked to important events which require an invitation from an escort. The dance, usually considered a highly pleasurable affair, is far from a pleasure for many women, since the most popular girls get all of the desirable partners while the less popular ones take what is left or may actually have to sit out a part of the affair. All worries of the type cited above pass away at marriage, for there would no longer be competition of the intense type present in the courtship period. There is always competition to some degree.

The possibility of economic security at the present time is slight. Up to 1910 anyone who had a good

* The stage of interest in the community and in business to the exclusion of interest in the life mate and children is usually reached somewhere between forty and fifty, but occasionally individuals become too deeply interested in their work for the community or their careers between twenty and thirty. If this occurs marriage usually does not take place and the individual remains absorbed in the activities of his business or of the community to the exclusion of all other emotional interests.

trade was certain of being able to support himself and his family to the end of his days, for there was always work open for him. Under present conditions no job is safe except a few government positions where lifetime tenure is assured.

From 1929 to 1932 people of all ranks lost their positions. Vice-presidents of banks, executive heads of businesses, managers of departments lost their positions when their concerns merged. In a canteen in Florida there worked a man on relief who had had a seat on the New York Stock Exchange six months before. Seats on the stock exchange were selling at that time for $250,000.

The possibility of inflation such as that which wiped out the value of money in Germany is always present. Men and women who had saved for an annuity under the old system of coinage found that all that they had saved could not pay for the postage stamp for the return of their policies. A whole sheet of stamps was necessary to take a letter from one section of the country to another, and change from the purchase of a newspaper was given from a clothes basket of thousand-mark notes.

On a recent trip to the Orient the writer found seventeen Chinese dollars could be bought for one American dollar, though the highest exchange rate ten years before had been three for one. Italian money sold in Egypt forty-two lire for one American dollar, though in Italy exchange was pegged at nineteen to one. The Japanese yen was sold in Shanghai at thirteen and one-half to one dollar, though in Japan they were pegged at four to one dollar. The effect of this on wealth no matter how acquired is easy to see.

One hundred and seventy thousand Chinese dollars would amount to ten thousand American dollars in their purchase value.*

Since wealth cannot be counted upon and jobs have little or no security, economic security is impossible, but emotional security may be obtained. The home is the one place which can offer it. It is probably one of the most significant values offered in marriage. If there is within the home no emotional security both partners in any marriage will tend to look for it elsewhere.

Emotional security is destroyed if either individual loses confidence in the other. A number of cases have reported the following as causes of loss of confidence in the partner: (1) Failure to keep confidences, that is, telling to others what had been told to them as a secret, (2) no admiration for achievements which deserve them, (3) constant criticism (adverse), (4) discussion of faults with outsiders, (5) using later as a club faults or omissions confessed in an expansive mood, (6) telling the truth but in such a way as to destroy all of one's confidence in oneself, (7) not to be believed and not to be able to believe that the other is truthful, and (8) failure to receive emotional response.

As to the first, more men than women report that what they have said has been reported to a miscellaneous group of persons. However, we have had a number of cases in which the groom has reported the bride's confidences to his mother or to some other relative. Where she could expect protection most she received it least. Failure to keep confidences ranges all the way from telling of small surprises in advance

* In April, 1940.

and spoiling them, to talking to friends about business secrets of great importance.

Often the couple compete instead of working together as two parts of one organization. In this case, instead of accepting each other's successes as contributions to the distinction of the family as a whole, they belittle each other's successes if they feel these to be superior to their own. Praise from one's superior is rare. In many cases it will never occur, and appreciation is shown only insofar as there is a raise in rank or an increase in salary. Appreciation from one's family is necessary. Few individuals can work well unless they feel appreciated.

Every destructive criticism aimed at an individual that has made a success destroys his confidence and has a profound effect on his sense of security. Nowhere is this effect quite so profound as when the criticism comes from his family. Many men and some women expect to find complete sympathy and appreciation when they come home defeated or frustrated in their outside contacts. This is the place at which an understanding life partner can build up again the security which outside contacts have destroyed. If this appreciation is not forthcoming from the life partner, it is apt to be sought elsewhere.

When it comes to the matter of constant criticism few individuals can survive in an atmosphere in which it exists. Children remain away from home if they are to be constantly criticized. Men and women avoid each other. A person who has to face entering home to the accompaniment of nagging which stresses his weakest points is apt to remain away from home or delay the homecoming as long as possible.

We are well aware of the fact that children will not finish one task if they feel that a much more unpleasant one is to follow as soon as the first is completed. Yet we have failed to realize that few people will enter a disagreeable situation when they can remain in a more pleasant one. Those who do, tune out on their surroundings much as one tunes out an undesirable radio program and therefore does not have to listen to it.

The desire to have the truth but to have this presented in the most tactful manner is relatively universal. In this connection it may be well to remember an old story that comes from Asia.

The great king had had a bad dream and he sent for all of his astrologers and wise men to interpret it. One after another they told him the same thing. "Most unfortunate art thou," they said, "of all the kings of the earth, for all of thy descendants shall die before thee." As each one gave his interpretation he was sent to the dungeon to prepare for decapitation. Finally there came to the court the last wise man and to him the king told his dream. Said the wise man, "Most fortunate art thou of all of the kings of the earth for thou shalt outlive all of thy descendants." And the king gave him a purple robe and a golden ring.

There are few better illustrations of the truth presented untactfully and tactfully. Almost anything can be told to the life partner provided it is presented in such a way as to be accepted.

Another item on the list is the ability to believe the word of the person to whom one is married and to be accepted as truthful by that person. It goes without saying that dependability in the person to whom one is married is essential to one's security. One may accept as amusing the wild stories told by

one's neighbor, but such stories are far from amusing if they come from the person with whom one has to live.

It is equally disturbing to find that the truth of what one says is not accepted. In most outside contacts there are always individuals to whom it is essential to prove any facts presented. This is necessary in business, but to have to do this in the home environment places an undue strain both mentally and emotionally, and the strain is felt by both partners.

No security is possible if either one of the couple doubts the dependability of the other. We should add to the list above dependability in keeping engagements, in paying bills, and in keeping promises, but this will be discussed further in the chapter on Husband and Wife Relationships.

Security is destroyed if the parents and the children cannot count on each other for an adequate emotional response or for a relatively uniform one. If the life partner is met sometimes with sullenness, sometimes with coldness, and the rest of the time with enthusiasm he never knows on what to count. The same thing is true if the children receive unequal emotional response from their parents. To be sometimes petted and spoiled and sometimes punished without reason or with very little cause is far worse for emotional stability than to be treated with uniform severity or uniform spoiling.

The family is the one place which can today furnish security. Probably one of its prime functions is providing emotional security to all of its members.

From the point of view of society there is no question about the fact that marriage has advantages.

There is no group so poor in organization that marriage mores do not in some way or other regularize the sex relations of the individuals within the tribe. As long as men and women have no codes for sex behavior competition by women for men and men for women must go on. Such competition always causes emotional disturbances and may be, as we have pointed out, more deadly in its effects than war. There would be in our civilization no possibility of emotional adjustment without highly regularized sex behavior; neither would there be any security for any of the individuals involved, the man, the woman, or their common offspring.

Marriage ensures the conservation of property and the perpetuation of property rights. In civilizations where there is a very loosely regularized marriage relation property is apt to be held by the tribe in common, though occasionally it is held by large family groups, also in common. Few individuals would work to amass and protect property if it were not to be theirs and their children's.

From the point of view of the protection of children and the care of the pregnant mother and the mother with infants, marriage is essential. Howitt, speaking of the Kurnai in South Australia,* states that the man has to provide for his family with the assistance of his wife. She shares his responsibility for their support and fights for their protection.

Thomas† states:

* Howitt, A. W., "The Native Tribes of Southeast Australia," The Macmillan Company, London, 1904, pp. 173–294.

† Thomas, William I., "Source Book for Social Origins," Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press, Boston, 1909, p. 454.

The Koyukuns believe that a youth who marries before he has killed a deer will have no children. The aborigines of Pennsylvania considered it a shame for a boy to think of a wife before having given some proof of his manhood. Among the wild Indians of British Guiana, says Mr. Im Thurn, before a man is allowed to choose a wife he must prove that he can do a man's work and is able to support himself and his family. Among the Dyaks of Borneo, the Nagas of Upper Assam, and the Alfura of Ceram, no one can marry unless he has in his possession a certain number of heads.

In the Encounter Bay Tribe paternal care is considered so essential that the mother puts her child to death if the father dies before the child is born. A Burmese woman has grounds for divorce if her husband is not able to support her properly. These instances may be multiplied indefinitely.

Many tribes demand that a youth shall prove his ability to support a wife and family before he is permitted to marry. Our own marriage and divorce laws indicate the dependence on the father for support and protection which may be placed by a woman and her children.

It is obvious that both in primitive society and in modern ones the family is acknowledged as the best agency for the protection of women and children.

The family is from the point of view of society an important center of education. Recent research has proved social contentions to this effect to be true, since it is a platitude to state that the most important years of a child's life are the period from birth to the sixth year. Not only is this true, but children are in the home more than they are in school during school years and in the home long after school is completed unless they go on to college and professional training.

As an economic unit the family is the most successful one which has so far been developed though its importance in production is diminishing rapidly with the change in the manufacture of goods and the services which have been taken over by outside agencies. As a unit of consumption it is by far the most important in our economy.

Society places emphasis on the family as the determiner for social position, but this function is also diminishing at a rapid rate. The family determines the social position of its children only in childhood and early youth. After that the social position of the individual tends largely to be the result of his own contribution to society including the amassing of money.

It is probable the children can develop a higher degree of security in the family situation than they could under any other possible social organization, so the development of secure and adjusted personalities in children should be added to the list of advantages of marriage to society. The psychological values of marriage are probably far in excess of any of the values which society as a whole places upon this situation.

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## CHAPTER V

## PREDICTING SUCCESS IN MARRIAGE

One factor in predicting success in marriage which most researches have so far not discussed is the part played by the changed status of women. This change has occurred within a single generation. The magnitude of this shift can be seen from the excerpts which appear here. The following myth of the creation of woman expresses all too clearly the regard in which she has been held.*

In the beginning, when Twashtri came to the creation of woman, he found that he had exhausted his materials in the making of man, and that no solid elements were left. In this dilemma, after profound meditation, he did as follows: He took the rotundity of the moon, and the curves of creepers, and the clinging of tendrils, and the trembling of grass, and the slenderness of the reed, and the bloom of flowers, and the lightness of leaves, and the tapering of the elephant's trunk and the glances of deer, and the clustering of rows of bees, and the joyous gaiety of sunbeams, and the weeping of clouds, and the fickleness of the winds, and the timidity of the hare, and the vanity of the peacock, and the softness of the parrot's bosom, and the hardness of adamant, and the sweetness of honey, and the cruelty of the tiger, and the warm glow of fire, and the coldness of snow, and the chattering of jays, and the cooing of the kokila, and the hypocrisy of the crane, and the fidelity of the chakrawaka, and compounding all these together, he made woman and gave her to man. But after one week, man came to him and said: Lord, this creature that you

* Crawley, Ernest, "The Mystic Rose," Liveright Publishing Corporation, New York, 1927.

have given me makes my life miserable. She chatters incessantly and teases me beyond endurance, never leaving me alone; and she requires incessant attention, and takes all my time up, and cries about nothing, and is always idle; and so I have come to give her back again, as I cannot live with her. So Twashtri said: Very well; and he took her back. Then after another week, man came again to him and said: Lord, I find that my life is very lonely, since I gave you back that creature. I remember how she used to dance and sing to me, and look at me out of the corner of her eye, and play with me, and cling to me; and her laughter was music, and she was beautiful to look at, and soft to touch; so give her back to me again. So Twashtri said: Very well; and gave her back again. Then after only three days, man came back to him again and said: Lord, I know not how it is; but after all I have come to the conclusion that she is more of a trouble than a pleasure to me; so please take her back again. But Twashtri said: Out on you! Be off! I will have no more of this. You must manage how you can. Then man said: But I cannot live with her. And Twashtri replied: Neither could you live without her. And he turned his back on man, and went on with his work. Then man said: What is to be done? for I cannot live either with her or without her.

It is not necessary, however, to resort to myth. In A.D. 160 Tertulian, a leader and a highly intellectual man, stated the following:*

Woman, thou shouldst always be dressed in mourning and in rags, and shouldst not offer to the eyes anything but a penitent drowned in tears and thus shouldst thou pay ransom for thy fault in bringing the human race to ruin! Woman, thou art the gate by which the demon enters! It was thou who corruptedst him whom Satan did not dare to attack in face (man). It is on thy account that Jesus Christ died.

In A.D. 840 the Council of Bishops who met to vote upon the question of whether or not women had souls

* REUTER, EDWARD BYRON, and JESSIE RIDGWAY RUNNER: "The Family," McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1931, p. 95.

were so evenly divided in their opinions that women won their souls by a majority of one vote.

The church fathers in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries believed women to be the devil's means of presenting temptation to man, while at the same time they emphasized the divinity of the Virgin. This latter doctrine of the church resulted in the exalted idea of womanhood characteristic of chivalry. In the end chivalry put women "on a pedestal." An attitude of this type which sets womankind apart from the ordinary behavior of humanity is as dangerous in its implications as was the earlier one.

The mores in regard to women which were handed down at the end of the nineteenth century and which influence so tremendously the position of women in the United States were based on a combination of these two opposing views.

Woman was a thing apart, set up on a pedestal to be worshipped, to arouse all of the chivalry in men, but at the same time she was considered intellectually so inferior and socially so inadequate that man had to make her decisions for her and take over her responsibilities in all legal matters. Her property became the property of her husband on marriage. In many states she could hold nothing for herself, nor could she make any contracts which were binding without the signature of her husband. In at least one state she had no rights over her own children until the beginning of the twentieth century.

It is hard for the generation now growing up to realize that their mothers were reared in a society in which women who wished to vote were considered peculiar and might even be persecuted. The suf-

fragettes in England and such women as Susan B. Anthony, Anna Howard Shaw, and Carrie Chapman Catt were frequently insulted. Some of the leading English women were jailed because they wished for equal voting rights with their husbands and their male relatives. It was said on good authority that women would lose their charm, would become unsexed, and might even lose their minds if permitted to think, talk, and act freely on political matters.

A good illustration of this general attitude is found in the story of a conversation between a man of high intelligence and broad viewpoint and an equally intelligent wife. "I think, Sam," she said, but he interrupted her immediately. "My dear," he said, "you do not need to think; I'll do your thinking for you." This was said in the kindest and most generous way. He merely wished to save her a strain which she might not be capable of enduring.

The attitude in regard to woman's intellectual inferiority has continued to the present time as the following quotation from Hankins* shows.

> It would seem that the growth of the female requires that a larger proportion of the energies available, from the approach of puberty onward, be drawn off for the elaboration of a larger and more complex set of reproductive structures. There results a slowing down of brain increase. Were woman to have not only a monopoly of childbearing and nursing, but also complete equality with man in the higher powers of the brain, poor man would cut a sorry figure in social life. As might have been expected, however, nature has made their functions more or less complementary.

* HANKINS, FRANK H.: "An Introduction to the Study of Society," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1935, p. 596. Reprinted by permission.

Researches by both men and women have brought out incontrovertible evidence that women are equal to men in everything but the kind of physical strength involved in hand-to-hand combat. Since there are innumerable machine-made devices to overcome this handicap there should be no inequality on that score in the present generation.

The psychological background, however, with nineteen hundred and forty years and more of regarding women as inferior both physically and intellectually has affected the marriage relation. Men must show themselves to be head of their households in spite of the fact that the women they marry are almost certain to be their equals and may be their superiors. Men must appear to be, if they are not actually, the heads of their households. This is not due to a difference in innate equipment between men and women but to the stages through which children's emotional development passes.

Psychiatrists and many psychologists agree that the emotion love starts with interest in oneself, progresses from this through interest in the mother or some other woman who takes the mother's place in the physical care of the child, and then reaches at approximately six years in girls and eight years in boys the stage of father interest. If the father cuts a sorry figure as compared with the mother, affection will not transfer as it normally should. Boys may develop a resistance to all marriage because of the situation in which marriage has placed their fathers. Girls may refuse marriage because of lack of respect for men. However, this does not account for men's attitude today. That has its roots in our past.

Such researches as we have on marriage choices of men indicate that though they wish to marry women of intelligence they also wish to be sure that the women are less intelligent than they are.

An element of competition heretofore absent is always present in modern marriage unless a great deal of care is taken to be sure that the couple are not in opposition to each other. Should both partners be in professional life, and the woman exceed her husband in public recognition or in income received or in the number of clients or in all three, the possibility of a happy adjustment is exceedingly slight. Where they are in opposing fields or in fields widely different the conditions remain the same.

Case *J*, a businessman of mediocre ability, married a musician of better than average ability. Her picture appeared constantly in the newspaper. When her income exceeded his she was careful to refuse paying engagements until it fell below the income which he was making, but he was still unsatisfied because of the public recognition which she received. Every time her picture appeared in the newspaper he referred to her in a most scathing tone as "my distinguished wife who has not time for the family but who has it for the public." Though his training in music was elementary he insisted on instructing her in public. Because he felt belittled at home he belittled her whenever they went among friends.

Case *L*, a young businessman, was a graduate of a good college and had received the honorary key in his professional group. His wife was also a graduate of a good college, but having time to spare she entered the graduate school for further work. As a research student of unusual ability she received honorary keys in two fields with considerable public acclaim, but had to withdraw from graduate work. Her husband became so emotionally disturbed because her academic record was higher than his own that in order to diminish the tension between them she had to let her work go.

Case *J* probably provides the most interesting of all of the illustrations. In this case both were outstanding but the wife was more spectacularly so than her husband. When three invitations reached the husband, all addressed to Mr. and Mrs. Jane Thomas, the couple separated.*

Any attitude which has been built up by the mores of a group over a period of more than two thousand years has been accepted completely. When proof to the contrary is suddenly presented the situation becomes too disturbing to face. The inertia of the human mind is such that it is willing to do a great many things rather than to rethink a situation or face the fact that a change in ideas is essential. This is the case with the increasing recognition of the equality of women with men.

Dr. Avery† has stated in a public speech that the realization that women are the equals of men in all but the strength needed for hand-to-hand combat is as revolutionary in its aspects as was the first discovery of man that sex is related to birth and that men were as responsible for the production of offspring as were their wives.‡

All marriage situations must be built upon the fact that inferiorities will inevitably follow competition between men and women and that those inferiorities will be common to both. When couples attack each other in public, there is almost always a background

* The names used in these cases are all fictitious.

† Dean Avery, Colorado State College, Fort Collins, Colorado.

‡ "Primitive peoples often see no direct connection between sexual intercourse and the birth of offspring, and attribute pregnancy to eating certain foods, passing certain haunted spots, or being impregnated by the moon or an animal spirit. The Maori of New Zealand

of inferiority which they have felt in the home situation. No marriage which has a large element of conflict and competition can expect to be a happy one.

There may be a long period during which feminine success will cause difficulty in the marriage relationship, but society has in time become accustomed to even the most drastic changes. The probabilities are that some sort of cooperative family will be worked out in which both partners can enjoy each other's successes without each feeling that he must match and exceed every success of his partner.

Fortunately we have a number of excellent studies for predicting success in marriage. Burgess and Cottrell* were the first to undertake an intensive study of the factors which, when taken together, could be used to predict happiness after marriage. Terman's later study was based in part on the scale used by Burgess and Cottrell.

The methods used by Burgess and Cottrell were interviews, a variation of the case study method, and questionnaires. All users of the questionnaire method are open to many of the same criticisms, but the questionnaires in this instance were constructed with unusual scientific accuracy.

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have a saying that 'the moon is the real husband of all women,' as well as the cause of menstruation . . . The women of Sumatra who do not wish to conceive are careful not to eat a particular kind of cocoanut, while Greenland women avoid a certain fish. Kwakiutl Indian girls prevent pregnancy by refraining from chewing the gum of the white pine." (GOODSELL, WILLYSTINE, "A History of Marriage and the Family," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1934, pp. 39–40.) Reprinted by permission.

* BURGESS, E. W., and L. S. COTTRELL, "Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage," Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1939, pp. 47–49.

Five points* were chosen as indicative of happiness in marriage. These points were all based on assumptions, not research.

1. It was assumed that one important indication of adjustment in marriage is essential agreement between husband and wife upon matters that might be made critical issues in the relationship. Couples who testify to agreement in such things as handling finances, dealing with in-laws, friends, demonstration of affection, and so on, are much more likely, in general, to be well adjusted in their marriages than couples who decidedly disagree on one or more of such items.

2. It was assumed that a substantial number of common interests and joint activities was a favorable indication of adjustment, and that where such common interests and activities were lacking or where there was wide divergence, the likelihood of good adjustment was much less.

3. It was assumed that the more frequent the overt demonstrations of affection and mutual confidences, the greater would be the probability of a well-adjusted marriage.

4. It was assumed that couples whose marriages were poorly adjusted would register a larger number of complaints about their marriages than would those who were well adjusted.

5. It was further assumed that husbands and wives who were poorly adjusted would report, more often than well-adjusted couples, feelings of being lonely, miserable, irritable, and would be troubled by some particular useless thought and lacking in self-confidence.

Eleven points† were chosen as measures of the extent of agreements and disagreements between husband and wife. "(1) Handling family finances, (2) recreation, (3) religion, (4) demonstration of affection, (5) friends, (6) intimate relations, (7) caring for the baby, (8) table manners, (9) conventionality, (10)

* *Ibid.*, pp. 47–48.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 48–49.

philosophy of life, and (11) ways of dealing with in-laws."

The authors come to certain general conclusions in regard to marital happiness. The extent of disagreement and agreement is seen in Table II.*

TABLE II.—THE CORRELATION BETWEEN RATINGS OF MARITAL HAPPINESS AND EXTENT OF AGREEMENTS AND DISAGREEMENTS

| Items of agreement and disagreement | Correlations of ratings of marital happiness with extent of agreement | |
|---|---|---|
| | Coefficient of contingency (*C*) | Tetrachoric coefficient of correlation (*r*) |
| Handling finances | .504 | .69 |
| Recreation | .477 | .65 |
| Religious matters | .281 | .38 |
| Demonstrating affection | .451 | .65 |
| Friends | .469 | .60 |
| Intimate relations | .503 | .61 |
| Caring for baby | .409 | .40 |
| Table manners | .215 | .33 |
| Matters of conventionality | .433 | .51 |
| Philosophy of life | .478 | .62 |
| Dealing with in-laws | .456 | .66 |
| Manner of settling disagreements | .452 | .70 |

It must be remembered that these points were chosen empirically, but the results are significant.

The authors come to the following general conclusions: (1) The happiness of the parents in marriage correlates highly with the happiness in marriage of their children; (2) absence of conflict between the parents and children and a close affectional relation

* *Ibid.*, p. 50.

of the child to its parents is positively correlated with later behavior in marriage; (3) the degree of social adjustment of the individual is a significant factor in marriage adjustment; (4) the economic factor *is not significant;* (5) sexual adjustment is a result of the "psycho-genetic development and cultural conditioning of attitudes toward sex." They give a final interpretation which we quote: "Contrary to prevailing opinion, American wives make the large adjustment in marriage." The study is so significant that it should be read in detail.

Terman's research is based on case studies and questionnaires as was the foregoing. His criteria for predicting happiness are as follows.*

1. Superior happiness of parents.
2. Childhood happiness.
3. Lack of conflict with mother.
4. Home discipline that was firm, not harsh.
5. Strong attachment to mother.
6. Strong attachment to father.
7. Lack of conflict with father.
8. Parental frankness about matters of sex.
9. Infrequency and mildness of childhood punishment.
10. Premarital attitude toward sex that was free from disgust or aversion.

In spite of the fact that psychiatrists have dwelt at great length on sex factors in marital happiness Terman† says the following:

. . . yielding little or no correlation with happiness are both reported and preferred frequency of intercourse, estimated

* TERMAN, LEWIS M., "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness," McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1938, p. 372.

† *Ibid.*, p. 373.

duration of intercourse, husband's ability to control ejaculation, methods of contraception used, distrust of contraceptives, fear of pregnancy, degree of pain experienced by wife at the first intercourse, wife's history of sex shock, rhythm in wife's sexual desire, ability of wife to experience multiple orgasms, and failure of the husband to be as dominant as the wife would like him to be in initiating or demanding intercourse.

The sex techniques that many writers regard as the primary key to happy marriage may be worth cultivating for their immediate sensual returns, but they exert no appreciable effect upon happiness scores.

Baber* summarizes the results of these two studies as follows:

The couples with highest marriage adjustment were most numerous among:

1. Those having no difference in family background. (The proportion was nearly twice as great as for those with backgrounds greatly different.)
2. Those who had the most education—both husbands and wives.
3. Those who most frequently attended church, both before and after marriage.
4. Those who attended the same church. (The proportion was 2½ times as high as for those attending different churches.)
5. Those—both husbands and wives—who still went to Sunday school between the ages 19–25 or are still going. (The proportion was nearly twice as high as for those who dropped out early or never went.)
6. Those of which each partner had many friends of the same sex and a few—but not too many—of the opposite sex.
7. Those having three or more (rather than fewer) memberships in organizations.
8. Those having six or more (rather than fewer) present interests.

* BABER, RAY E., "Marriage and the Family," McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1939, pp. 197–198.

9. Those having the most interests in common. (The proportion was more than three times as great as for those couples having the most different interests.)

10. Those—either husband or wife—not previously married. (The proportion was two-thirds higher than when either husband or wife had been divorced.)

11. Those whose childhood was spent in the country, rather than in the city.

12. Those whose parents were very happy in their marriage.

13. Those whose attachment for their parents was strong.

14. Those whose marriage was favored by both parents on both sides. (When the father on either side opposed the marriage, it lowered its adjustment level more than when the mother on either side opposed it. When both the husband's parents opposed it, it lowered the adjustment more than when both the wife's parents opposed it.)

15. Those having a long acquaintance—10 years or more—before marriage. (The proportion was more than twice as high as for those knowing each other less than six months. Conversely, those knowing each other less than six months had the largest proportion in the "very low" adjustment group, nine times as large as the proportion of those who had known each other 10 years or longer.)

16. Those who had a courtship of three to four years. (Only 3.6 per cent of those with this long a courtship were in the "very low" adjustment group.)

17. Those who were engaged from two to three years. (Only 2.6 per cent of those with this long an engagement were in the "very low" adjustment group.)

Research of this type is of the greatest importance, since heretofore we have depended largely on reminiscences and unchecked reports of couples whose happiness was sometimes doubtful, for example those on the verge of divorce or remaining together only for the care of their children.

It may be interesting to cite here some results of researches on what American youth wishes from

TABLE III.—WHAT QUALITIES 68 COLLEGE GIRLS EXPECT IN A HUSBAND, 1937

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Love | 52 | Own home | 4 |
| Love and desire for children | 50 | Good mixer | 4 |
| Security | 49 | Self-respect | 4 |
| Companionship | 48 | Good taste | 4 |
| Ambition | 45 | Thrifty | 3 |
| Intelligence | 43 | Broadminded | 3 |
| Understanding | 35 | Good sport | 3 |
| Religious belief | 34 | Patience | 3 |
| Consideration | 34 | Respect for parents, family, and others | 3 |
| Good health | 32 | Neatness | 3 |
| Pleasing personality | 32 | Cleanliness | 3 |
| Sense of responsibility | 29 | Desire to travel | 3 |
| Common interests | 28 | Sincerity | 3 |
| Sense of humor | 28 | Control of temper | 3 |
| Faithfulness | 27 | Trust | 3 |
| Clean, neat, and pleasing appearance | 26 | Cooperation in facing difficulties | 3 |
| Good looks | 24 | College degree | 3 |
| Good disposition | 22 | Like to go places and have a good time | 3 |
| Good manners | 17 | Takes wife places she wants to go | 3 |
| Respect | 15 | Someone who loves wife more than she loves him | 2 |
| Respect for wife | 15 | No dependents | 2 |
| Good character | 14 | Generosity | 2 |
| Good family | 13 | Outside interests | 2 |
| Likes home and family life | 10 | Emotional stability | 2 |
| Honesty | 10 | Brings out good qualities in wife | 2 |
| Truthful | 10 | Someone taller than wife | 2 |
| Doesn't drink | 9 | Admiration | 2 |
| Loyalty | 9 | Tact | 2 |
| Dependable | 8 | Must love people | 2 |
| Ability to make friends | 8 | Appreciative | 2 |
| Mind of own (not a "yes" man) | 8 | Attractive | 2 |
| Thoughtful | 7 | Unselfish | 2 |
| Can face difficulties | 6 | Determination | 2 |
| Good conversationalist | 6 | | |
| Interesting | 6 | | |
| Good education | 5 | | |
| Love of sports | 5 | | |

marriage. The writer has made two studies of freshmen girls in the University of Cincinnati. The first study was made in 1937, the second study in 1940. The students were asked to write the ten things which the man whom they married must have or be. No names appeared on the sheets, since it was felt that the students would be freer to state their real objectives and desires if there were no record that might later be held against them.

They were merely asked to write their ages and then to make the list. The students were separated by an empty seat between them in order to prevent copying.

Table III shows the results obtained in 1937.

The following received a single vote: indulgent, doesn't smoke, liked by other people, gentleness, clean language, perseverance, similar habits of living, personal pride, common sense, settled, well read on current problems, must have and live up to Christian faith, enthusiastic about life, tall—about six feet, religious (not too much), not afraid to work, one who likes to share his troubles, more intelligent and dependable than wife (but not to know it), appreciates home but enjoys going out, adaptability, in or slightly above own class, pride in husband, sound judgment, willing to sacrifice and accept sacrifice, congenial in a group, superiority, pleasure loving, enjoys recreation, not tied to mother's apron string, knowledge of religion, help raise the children, know how to manage the house, able to make people feel at ease, pep and vitality, interest in community, good reputation, attentive, belief in one God, loving, not jealous, good father, more intelligent than wife, someone to help

wife face difficulties, self-confident, respectability, contentment, goals for which to strive together, protection, common qualities, appreciative of fine things, stability, honorable, devotion, clean cut, lovable, progressive, good English, good dancer, tall and well built, likes to do things on the spur of the moment, serious when needed, right to bring up children in own way when it comes to religion.

The group tested in 1940 show considerable difference from that studied in 1937. They did not know that they were to be asked to make the list inasmuch as three years had intervened between the making of the first list and the second list. The results are shown in Table IV.

The following received a single vote: like plays, poise, Republican, romantic, affectionate, goes out with people not his wife, reasonable, older by four years, emotionally stable, good future, gives me broad outlook, individuality, charitable nature, happiness and harmony, must face facts, content with simple things, same race, age within eight years, only man I've loved, capable, does not swear, wide interests, curly hair, sexual harmony, like my family, car, support me in the manner I'm used to, self-respect, independent, well dressed, agreeable about religion, sex relations and money, does not have money as an idol, is not extravagant, does not smoke, athletic, hospitable, not selfish, experience in all walks of life, lives within his means.

It is interesting to note that while the group in 1937 asks for love first and desire for children second, the group in 1940 asks for financial security and protection first, ambition second, intelligence third, and

TABLE IV.—WHAT QUALITIES 68 COLLEGE GIRLS EXPECT IN A HUSBAND, 1940

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Security and protection (financial) | 48 | Thoughtful | 6 |
| Ambition | 40 | Money | 6 |
| Intelligence | 33 | Sense of responsibility | 5 |
| Love for children | 30 | Truthful | 5 |
| Love for me | 30 | Masterful | 5 |
| Education | 27 | Like music | 5 |
| Able to get along with people | 24 | Does not gamble | 5 |
| Honest | 23 | Appreciative | 5 |
| Sense of humor | 23 | Courage | 5 |
| Good looks | 23 | Lovable | 4 |
| Good background | 21 | Likes fun | 4 |
| Good manners | 20 | Good temper | 4 |
| Good personality | 19 | Practical | 4 |
| Common interests | 19 | Good sport | 4 |
| Likes family life | 17 | Higher intellectually | 3 |
| Neat | 17 | Not jealous | 3 |
| Good character | 16 | Good habits | 3 |
| Dependable | 16 | Well dressed | 3 |
| Consideration | 16 | Religious | 3 |
| Same religion | 15 | Generous | 3 |
| Sincerity | 13 | Good heredity | 3 |
| Good disposition | 13 | Friendly relatives | 2 |
| Broadminded | 12 | Love must last | 2 |
| Understanding | 12 | Needs me | 2 |
| Companionable | 12 | Friendly | 2 |
| Cleanliness | 12 | Sentimental | 2 |
| Temperate | 12 | Makes life more interesting | 2 |
| Good standing in community | 11 | Clean minded | 2 |
| Faithful | 10 | Interesting | 2 |
| Tall | 10 | Brown eyes and tall | 2 |
| High ideals | 9 | Tactful | 2 |
| Kindness | 8 | Fair play | 2 |
| Loyalty | 8 | Strong | 2 |
| Good health | 8 | Cheerful | 2 |
| Helpful | 8 | Technique | 2 |
| Cooperative | 7 | Not dominating | 2 |
| Respect for women | 6 | Does not drink | 2 |

places love for children and love for his wife fourth and fifth. Moreover less than half of the group asks for these qualities though their importance for marital adjustment should be obvious. Apparently the qualities which would make for success in business and for success socially are the ones which receive the heaviest weight in 1940, whereas those that make for better adjustment by the husband and wife were selected by the group in 1937.

It is probable that the present insecurity throughout most of the nations of the world has influenced these students in their demand for financial security and protection from their life mates. One of the things that marriage can never provide is the certainty of financial protection, a fact which we have pointed fully in Chap. IV.

The demand for faithfulness among the group in 1937 is high in comparison to the group studied in 1940. Only ten, approximately one-seventh of the group, ask for faithfulness, whereas twenty-seven, or almost one-half, ask for faithfulness in 1937. If these are the characteristics which individuals feel their future husbands must have, the absence of them may be a dominant factor in the success or failure of the marriage. If the men whom these girls marry lack the qualities for which the girls are asking, there may be some difficulty in marriage adjustments, though indications of the absence or presence of many of these qualities, indications which can be perceived clearly enough before marriage, the probability of faithfulness, for example, can be determined roughly by the behavior of the individual.

A knowledge of the degree of faithfulness before marriage will give a rough picture of the faithfulness to be expected afterward if Terman's* study is to be taken at its face value. Of the eighty-seven husbands in Terman's study who had had no premarital sex experience only 9.2 per cent wished for extramarital sex experience "frequently" or "very frequently." On the other hand, 21.7† per cent of those who had had sex experience previous to marriage wished for extramarital sex experience.

The difference in the proportion is significant, but it is also significant to note that roughly one in ten of the group who might be said to be superior in sex relations with their wives still wished for sex experience outside of the marital relation. Whatever the statistical result, there can be little doubt that the expectation of unfaithfulness may produce it. Those who did not ask for faithfulness are probably in a less strategic position to secure it than did those that made it a prerequisite.

There are a number of statistical studies showing the extent to which faithfulness can be predicted, but there are qualities of personality which would indicate that faithfulness would be hard to secure. If either the man or the woman has had a history of facile friendships, that is, friendships easily gained and lost over a long period of years; if there appears to be a desire for physical contact with a number of individuals to whom one is not engaged; if there have been a number of engagements immediately preceding the present engagement, the chance of securing faithfulness is less

* TERMAN, LEWIS M., *ibid.*

† *Ibid.*, p. 340.

than if the individuals possessed the opposite of the behavior patterns just described.

Case *L* came to the writer to complain of his fiancée because she was "insanely jealous." He felt that she could be cured and that she should have trained herself out of this jealousy before marriage. He described his behavior as follows: "When I stand by a girl of course I put my arm around her. I see no harm in holding hands, even if it is not with my fiancée. When I take other girls out I always kiss them good night, if they permit it. I see no reason why my behavior should arouse so much excitement."

It is obvious from a study of his own report that *L* was not to be depended upon in the marital relation. Even during the courtship period he was seeking affectional responses from others. If he was not to be depended upon during the courtship period, he could hardly be expected to be depended upon after marriage. The same thing would be said if it had been his fiancée, not he, who reported her behavior in the same terms.

Case *B* reported that his work was suffering because of constant quarrels between himself and his fiancée. They each made dates with others of the opposite sex. He reported that he felt they should not be too sure of each other since security might take the "zest" from marriage. If the engagement was spent in spells of jealousy followed by periods of making up, the chance that either would be happy after marriage was slight unless both changed their adolescent emotional attitudes.

A certain amount of insecurity before marriage may add to the intensity of the engagement period, but this cannot be said to be true after marriage. As will be seen in the discussion of tension points after mar-

riage there is little question that insecurity is predictive of unhappiness.*

Psychiatric studies of marriage have indicated that one factor plays a dominating role, that is, the intention to stay married. The difference between the previous generations and our own in this regard is well illustrated by an anecdote reported by a happily married woman. She asked her grandmother why the grandmother's wedding ring was so thick and heavy, while her own was a thin band of platinum. "But mine was intended to last a lifetime," said the grandmother. This difference in attitude is definite and significant.

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* It is interesting to note that what parents desire for their children is not the same as what children desire for themselves.

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## CHAPTER VI

## SOME BIOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

One of our leading authorities has said, "If you wish to be great, it is necessary to choose your great grandfather." This statement, while it sounds far fetched, is nevertheless biologically sound. If there are certain qualities which one feels to be essential in one's offspring, except where these are qualities of personality, then it is necessary to marry with these qualities in mind. If it is essential to a couple's happiness that they have a fair-haired blue-eyed child and in addition that this fair hair be curly, then the heredity must be such as to predetermine a child of this type. Individuals with certain physical characters do not just happen. They are the result of a biological process which can within rough limits be predicted. The extent to which characteristics can be predicted and the responsibility of each of the married pair in the production of these and other characteristics should be known in advance of the marriage. A knowledge of elementary biology will prevent many tense situations which might otherwise develop.

In order to have the facts before us, let us study for a brief period the whole mechanism of fertilization. Before fertilization can take place, a process termed the reduction division must be carried through. This reduction process provides that each of the cells which are about to unite has within its nucleus only half of

the total number of chromosomes present in the cells of the male and female who are about to mate. In the human this number is twenty-four pairs, or forty-eight chromosomes in all.

Within the nucleus of each cell, whether it be from the reproductive organs or from any other section of the body, there are a number of particles which take certain stains easily. The first step in getting the cell ready for fertilization is the migration of these particles to form a single chain which looks like a chain of beads. The chain then breaks into lengths which we call chromosomes. The chromosomes line up in the center of the cell in pairs. The centrosome splits and half migrates to each side of the cell. The cell begins to divide down the mid-line leaving twenty-four chromosomes in each half.

If this reduction division did not take place, the parent cells would have forty-eight chromosomes, the child's cells ninety-six, and its offspring's cells one hundred and ninety-two. A situation of this sort would be impossible. The creature produced by such a multiplicity of chromosomes might be either sub- or superhuman. It would certainly not resemble its ancestors.

The chromosomes which come from the male cell will also be twenty-four in number since exactly the same process takes place in the male cells as the one described above. There is, however, a difference between the male and female germ cells. The female germ cells contain X chromosomes only, so that the female is capable of producing only females. Half of the male germ cells contain X chromosomes capable of producing only female births. The other half con-

tain Y chromosomes. A union of a Y chromosome male germ cell with an X chromosome female germ cell produces male offspring. The responsibility, therefore, for the production of male offspring is with the paternal ancestor. The maternal germ cells are so constituted that only female births can result from them.

The genes within the chromosomes will be paired exactly if the ovum is fertilized by a sperm containing an X chromosome. The Y chromosome is very small in comparison with the X and does not contain the same number of genes.

If the female carries a taint such as hemophilia, then genes carrying this abnormality will be matched by normal genes provided the male cell contains the X chromosome. The daughters of this woman will not be hemophiliacs. Her sons, the result of a fertilization carrying the Y chromosome, will be hemophiliacs since the normal gene which would suppress this taint is not present. This same relation holds true for color blindness and for certain other abnormalities carried by the female line but appearing only in the sons.

At any conception there should be an equal chance that the baby will be a boy or a girl. Actually, however, there appear to be more boys conceived than there are girls, but the viability of boy infants is less great. There are a number of so-called "false alarms," which are probably male conceptions. A greater number of miscarriages have been proved to be male births.

After birth the male is less able to survive than the female. There are 106 male births to 100 female. The proportion of males and females in the population at adolescence is approximately equal.

We shall discuss the effect of the X and Y chromosomes which come from the male line later.

Only a single ovum or egg will prepare itself for fertilization at each mating. The number of male cells which take part in the process is between 200,000,000 and 500,000,000. Only one of these fertilizes the female germ cell.

During the reduction process only twelve pairs will appear in each of the two cells which are to unite. The twelve maternal pairs may contain no chromosomal content from the mother's father. They may contain only what the mother has inherited from her maternal parents. On the other hand, this same process may be true or may be reversed in the male germ cell which is to fertilize the ovum. Two children from the same family may thus be not at all related in their chromosomal content since one contains the genes inherited from the father's father and the mother's mother and the other the genes inherited from the mother's father and the father's mother.

First cousins may have a higher percentage of chromosomal content in common than a sister and a brother or two sisters. This may be true in fraternal twins but is not true of course in identical twins whose chromosomal content is the same.

The possible combinations of hereditary factors which the chromosomes can make with twenty-four pairs involved is 16,777,216, each different from the other. The individual who is produced, therefore, has only one in 16,777,216[1] chances of being the kind of person he is. Nothing is more miraculous than the

[1] Stated in terms of a single reduction division. The chances are less than one in 3,000,000,000 if one considers both germ cells.

production of a single individual from the combinations and permutations possible among the chromosomes involved.

The possibility of variation among the children in a single family is infinite. Once the cell has become fertilized, has grown the tendrils with which it attaches itself to the placenta, it splits again and again to form the complete individual. The parts are so specific that if a section is taken out of a lower animal such as the starfish and implanted in a different part, the organ into which that part would have developed now develops in a new place. Arm buds can be made to develop in central portions and so on.

Next to the miracle of the selection of one individual to develop rather than any other from the millions of possibilities comes the miracle of growth of an entire individual with all his physical and mental characteristics from an egg barely visible to the human eye. These characteristics both physical and mental are carried by the genes. Certain characteristics contained in the genes are called recessive and others dominant. No one has ever seen a gene, but they are supposed to work in somewhat the same way that the enzymes do, that is, to activate the whole mass. If the genes carry a dominant and a recessive, the dominant represses the recessive. It works to produce the characteristic which it carries while the characteristic carried by the recessive does not develop, much as a stronger plant in competition with a weaker one will grow and completely suppress the less strong one.

If both carry the dominant, not only will the dominant characteristic develop in them but it will appear in all of their children. If both carry the recessive,

the same condition holds, for not only will the children develop in line with the recessive gene but they will transmit it *in toto* to their children. If, however, there is a combination of dominant and recessive, the pattern followed will be much the same as if two persons each tossed a penny.

If two individuals each tossed a penny a number of times the relation between the heads and the tails would in the long run be as follows: two heads-tails, one with two heads and one with both tails. In other words a heads-tails relation would occur twice as often as a toss which resulted in two heads or a loss in which both coins fell with tails upwards. This arrangement would hold only if the toss were made a sufficient number of times. If there were on the coins only heads, then all the tosses would be heads. This would be of course true for tails if the coins contained only tails.

Even the most superficial examination shows that this behavior conforms to that predicted by the Mendelian law. If an individual carrying a dominant gene mates with one carrying a recessive, the first generation shows nothing but dominant-recessives. The next generation, however, in which there are two possible characteristics to transmit, if it also mates with a dominant-recessive combination, will have children who, if the conceptions reach maturity, would occur in this relation: one recessive, one dominant, and two dominant-recessive, an exactly similar arrangement to the one in which we have thrown coins, one with two heads, two with a heads-tails combination, and one with two tails.

We have already said that if the individual carried only dominant traits the children would show the dominant and if the individual carried only recessive their children would show only the recessive.

Where there is a dominant and a recessive character, the dominant functions and the recessive is suppressed. Let us take, for example, the shape of the nose. The high bridge is carried by a dominant gene, the low bridge by a recessive. The dominant gene continues to work much as a sculptor does until the bridge of the nose is built as high as the character which it carries.

On the other hand, the gene for an extreme mesorrhine shape of nostril dominates that for extreme leptorrhine. Kinky hair dominates curly, while curly dominates wavy, and wavy dominates straight hair, a rather fortunate arrangement since curly hair is preferred by the Caucasian races.

This means in predicting the appearance of a child that when a woman with a leptorrhine type of nose marries a man with an extreme mesorrhine, the children will tend to have the broad type of nostril. On the other hand, if a man with the high-bridged prominent nose marries a woman with a medium bridge in a short nose, the high bridge will tend to appear in the children.

If both are a combination of dominant and recessive characters, the laws of chance would predict the occurrence of straight versus curly hair in the following fashion: one straight, two wavy, and one curly, if each cell were fertilized.

Very often individuals are a combination of dominant and recessive characters, and the prediction of

the appearance of their children is therefore extremely difficult.

Hazel-eyed people with red curly hair may have children in any possible combination from blue eyed straight haired to curly haired and brown eyed.

If every female germ cell were fertilized, as is the case in the lower animals, the exact proportion of each of these combinations would be predictable. This, however, is not the case. Only a very few of the female germ cells are ever fertilized.

There are certain combinations which can be predicted in terms of the sex of the individuals involved since certain characters are sex linked. Hemophilia, baldness, color blindness are only a few of these sex-linked characters. The last two appear in males but rarely in females. The first appears only in males.

There has been a good deal of speculation as to the reason for the appearance of certain characteristics in males carried through the mother's line and the nonappearance of these in the females, while at the same time these females carry the taint. It has already been said that a study of the X chromosome as contrasted with the Y, the chromosome which produces males, indicates clearly the reason for this biological phenomenon.

The Y chromosome is exceedingly small in proportion to the X chromosome. It carries a very small number of genes, and therefore it lacks duplicates of many of the genes which are found in the X chromosome, which produces females. Where two genes occur one may inhibit the operation of the other and this is definitely the case in the X chromosomes. The females, all of whom are the result of X fertilizations,

carry the taint, but it is repressed by the additional gene which appears in the X chromosome from the male. The Y chromosome, on the other hand, carries the taint but has no gene to suppress it. All of the Y or male fertilizations, therefore, show the taint, while all of the X or female fertilizations carry it and transmit it but do not show it themselves. It is of course a platitude to repeat here that the male germ cells on reduction show 50 per cent carrying the X or female chromosome and 50 per cent carrying the Y or male chromosome.

Sex is determined not at birth or during intrauterine life but at the moment of conception. The male carries both X and Y chromosomes, and the number of female versus male fertilizations is dependent upon which reaches the ovum and succeeds in penetrating the wall. It is not, therefore, the fault of the wife when there are no sons but of the husband since he alone supplies the Y chromosomes which will make the baby a boy.*

Even the pattern of baldness is inherited. If the husband's father and his brothers show baldness before thirty-five, the wife may expect her husband to show it also and in exactly the same pattern. This may be transmitted to his sons but not to his daughters.

It is of the utmost importance to study the heredity of one's fiancée in regard to feeble-mindedness and a number of diseases. If there is feeble-mindedness in the stock, if this feeble-mindedness is hereditary and

* MORGAN, T. H., "Scientific Basis of Evolution," W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., New York, 1932.

MORGAN, T. H., "The Theory of the Gene," Yale University Press, New Haven, 1928.

not environmental, for example, deficiency of the thyroid such as occurs in the middle west, then the chance of its appearing in the children is relatively great. So is the chance for the inheritance of certain rare cancers and tumors or childhood rheumatism or diabetes, cerebral sclerosis, and epilepsy. Where these occur in the stock of either, it is well to consult a biologist or a geneticist. Some may be repressed in proper matings. Others may not.

The possibility of doubling the chance of the appearance of these abnormalities in the marriage of first cousins is the basis for the laws against first-cousin marriages found in many states in the United States of America. If cousins have no morbid heredity, matings between them may produce finer children than would come from matings between either cousin and a stock outside.

It has been proved clearly through experiments on rats and through the study of heredity in such places as Iceland, Sweden, and Norway that matings between good strains produce better strains. Stocks do not "run out" through intermarriage unless they possess genes which predispose to morbid heredity. Where these are present, intermarriages may make the stock grow continually worse, since each marriage may double the number of genes carrying morbid heredity.

It is useless to blame either partner in a marriage if certain undesirable characteristics appear in the children, since many of these could have been predicted from the heredity itself.

There is still some question as to the degree to which heredity is responsible for all levels of intelligence since the work of Freeman, Newman, Stoddard,

Wellman, and others indicates the bare possibility that environment may have a great deal of effect on the level of intelligence which the child has at maturity. However, to marry into a stock which has shown a number of dull and feeble-minded individuals is to take a chance which few people would be willing to take.

If one wishes genius in one's children the best way to achieve it is to marry into families which have produced a number of geniuses. All the evidence which we have today indicates that genius tends to occur in strains in which genius has already occurred more than once.

If one wishes one's children to be great musicians it is well to marry into families which have produced great musicians. The chance of having children who will show genius is increased when two individuals from strains which have produced genius marry, but this marriage will not necessarily produce genius. The persons who marry may have no trace of the chromosomal content present in the ancestor whom it is hoped that the children will resemble. The odds against having received even one chromosome from any given ancestor if he be a Revolutionary War hero are 4 to 3. If he lived at the time of John Bunyan, 10 to 1, at the time of Mary, Queen of Scots, 85 to 1, at the time of Columbus, 680 to 1.*

If there has been intermarriage between the strains, the possibility of inheritance from any respective

* ARLITT, ADA HART, "Psychology of Infancy and Early Childhood," McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1930, Chap. II.
SCHEINFELD, ABRAM, "You and Heredity," p. 358, Frederich A. Stokes Company, New York, 1939. Reprinted by permission.

ancestor can be calculated in terms of the dominant-recessive relation described at the beginning of this chapter. Such qualities, however, as general health and characteristics of personality appear to be largely the result of environment.

If the child develops undesirable characteristics of personality or if his health is bad, this may or may not be the result of the genes carrying morbid heredity previously described. The parents can perhaps be blamed.

If the tension between husband and wife is due to the fact that their children show temper tantrums, the fault is largely their own. No matter how difficult the training is such behavior can be eliminated if the environment is adequate.

By this is not meant that all children are equally easy to train. Tendencies toward emotional instability or stability are hereditary and probably occur in the population in accordance with the normal distribution curve previously described. If both parents have come from stocks in which emotional instability has occurred, their children will be far more difficult to train than are children coming from stocks of high emotional stability. So-called nervousness and many other unstable physiological and personal characteristics are roughly predetermined by heredity, but it cannot be said too definitely that these unstable characteristics may be eliminated by proper training and an environment which takes account of them until they are eliminated.

There are a number of studies on identical twins which indicate that certain tendencies to personality are hereditary. In the case of schizophrenia for example there are close resemblances between the

symptoms which each develops. If one develops schizophrenia the second tends to.*

The work of Newman, Freeman, and Holzinger† indicates some slight resemblances in personality development between identical twins who have been reared far apart.

The results of these studies, however, do not invalidate the statements which have been made in the previous paragraph. The responsibility, therefore, is, for personality disturbances and certainly for maladjustments such as fears and temper tantrums, directly the parents.

It is not to be placed on one parent alone, however. If unstable characteristics are to be eliminated, the best efforts of both parents will be required, and neither can blame the other if unstable traits are not eliminated.

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† NEWMAN, H. H., F. N. FREEMAN, and K. J. HOLZINGER, "Twins: A Study of Heredity and Environment," University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1937.

‡ A fairly complete bibliography on the relative effects of nature and nurture has been included here for the benefit of those who wish to go further into this topic.

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## CHAPTER VII

## HUSBAND AND WIFE RELATIONSHIPS

In all early forms of marriage, polygamy, polyandry, and our own monogamic patriarchal types, the most important factor in producing success was probably the economic one. Men and women drew up marriage contracts based on the amount which each could contribute to the financial security of the family. A wife might be chosen not for looks but because she was a good worker and strong or because she came from a family which could be counted upon to have a large number of children.

She might enter the marriage relation herself on the basis of the household equipment or cash which the man whom she was to marry could provide.

In very few civilizations was marriage a matter of free choice except among those members of each society who had reached so low a level as to make their behavior inconsequential to the group as a whole. In feudal times, the lord of the manor arranged the marriages for those whom he held as partial slaves or serfs to the land.* He might arrange a mating between those who would produce the strongest and the largest number of children.

* Men and women serfs might be sold along with the land much as one sells the house when one sells the lot on which it is situated. In some countries men and women were held in actual slavery.

In a civilization in which polygamy was the common form of marriage, the woman might be bought either for what she could contribute in terms of work or for what she could add in terms of prestige. If a man were rich, the possession of a number of beautiful wives who did not have to work might add to his prestige in much the same manner as the possession of an art gallery or art treasures does today.

Economic considerations are still paramount in many countries. Any country in which the size of the dower is consulted before any suggestion of marriage occurs, such as in France, is still using the economic motive to guide marriage choices though the form of the marriage is monogamous.

In colonial times the choice of a mate on the basis of the amount of money which he or she possessed occurred frequently. The papers carried congratulatory notices to men who had been successful in marrying women with large estates or large sums of money.

In all such cases, where the economic motive takes precedence and where the money is lost if the marriage is broken up, other considerations are not of paramount importance except insofar as they concern the bride's ability to produce heirs to the estate.

**The Newer Type of Family.**—In our own civilization, where the primary and often the sole motive is the fact that the couple have fallen in love with each other, psychological factors take precedence over economic ones unless the couple are at the starvation level. Since this is the case, a full discussion of the psychological factors which produce good and poor marital adjustments is of the utmost

importance as a preparation for success in marriage and as an aid to overcoming any marriage difficulties which are causing undue tension.

The family relationship is the only one which affords adequate emotional security under modern conditions. Each individual has to have a place in which he sees himself in the pattern which he wishes to attain. There is for every individual a picture of himself and his surroundings which is almost wholly satisfying. Only in family life can this picture be realized.

In families where there is constant friction the picture, instead of being built up and filled in by living in the family group, is torn down. Security decreases and the individual may be at the end of a period of marriage far more inadequate than he was when he entered the marital relation. This is, as Frank* points out, particularly true of the wife, since the change brought about by the removal of a large number of functions from the family has left her without her particular function well defined. Frank* also points out that married life will reach its fullest development only when women are willing to see in family living the outlet for all their training and problems which only a high intelligence and wisdom will solve.

Both men and women need to realize that there are a great number of opportunities, responsibilities, and satisfactions outside of the job relation. These come only from family life. If there is a lack on the part of either in the realization of all of the elements involved, the family may actually disintegrate. Bur-

* FRANK, L. K., "Family Living in Our Schools," Chap. I, D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., New York, 1941.

gess* and others have pointed out that during the depression the "integrated" families clung together in spite of all of the hardships which a depression presents. Those which were not integrated went to pieces under the additional pressure brought on by the depression.

A very slight difference in emotional adjustment may prove a serious matter in the modern family geared to psychological rather than to economic satisfaction. If the husband comes home ill or tired and his wife is well enough and free enough from fatigue to realize the difference in his needs and to cushion all of the minor shocks of family living until he has recovered his health or is rested, both will gain much from the experience. If, on the other hand, the wife is also tired or ill and instead of cushioning the shocks adds to them, quarrels may break out which are so intense that they leave a trail of after-affects. Reacting against the discomfort or the illness or fatigue, each individual may find in the other an outlet for his undesirable emotions. They may say and do things which under normal conditions neither would be guilty of. Where this occurs both feel a loss of confidence inasmuch as neither has given the other, in a time of emotional crises, the security and support which each needs.

Since American mores place the larger part of or all of the responsibility for marriage success on the wife, it is obvious that she must take the larger share in meeting emotional crises. She must know when to recognize these and must be willing to have within

* BURGESS, E. W., and L. S. COTTRELL, "Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage," Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1939.

herself sufficient resources and sufficient control to meet the needs of the members of her family.

Every homemaker must have a period during which she can think things through or just be quiet and draw on her own inner spiritual resources. She will need a place of her own to which she can retreat for spiritual reinforcement.

If she is emotionally an infant, she will never learn to suppress her own emotional immaturities and to supplement them in such a way that the rest of the family may find in her the support which they need.

Emotional immaturity has its most serious effects in just these emotional crises. The mature individual thinks first of the others who are emotionally disturbed. The immature one thinks first, last, and all the time only of himself. If a mature individual has married an immature one, the responsibility falls on him, and he must accept it since emotional immaturity has been his choice in a life partner. On the other hand, it not only is to his advantage but it is actually his responsibility to see that the life mate faces her lack of maturity and at least attempts to grow up.

Crises are not the time for this education, however. It must go on in periods where the immature individual is sufficiently free emotionally to cooperate in the educational process. No individual has a right to remain permanently immature since neither life partner should have to take the shock of all crises for a whole lifetime. Psychiatrists have pointed out many times the fact that the major cause of marital maladjustments and of behavior problems in children is lack of maturity on the part of the parents. If

they can meet emotional crises adequately, this has its effect not only on the marital relationship itself but on all the aspects of parent-child relations.

Two individuals emotionally mature should give to each other the fullest realization of all of the best aspects of the personalities of each. The marriage relationship which has this aspect and in addition gives complete satisfaction in the love relationship has reached the highest level of the new type of marriage based on psychological needs.

**Research in Family Relationships.**—Terman's* emphasis on grievances reported by husbands and wives in terms both of the severity and the number of their occurrences is particularly pertinent in this connection. Table V shows the rank order in terms of seriousness of thirty-five grievances.

These tables are significant and should be studied carefully, but perhaps more pertinent than either is the list of the grievances most serious for the husband's happiness and the wife's. This list for the husband† is, in the order of seriousness, "Wife's nagging, lack of affection, selfishness or inconsiderateness, complaining, interfering with his hobbies, slovenliness of appearance, quick temper, interfering with his discipline of children, conceit, insincerity, too easily hurt feelings, criticizing, narrow-mindedness, neglect of the children, poor housekeeping, argumentativeness, annoying habits and mannerisms, untruthfulness,

* TERMAN, LEWIS M., "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness," McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1938.

† TERMAN, LEWIS M., "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness," McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1938, pp. 101–102.

TABLE V.*—SEX DIFFERENCES IN THE SERIOUSNESS OF THIRTY-FIVE GRIEVANCES

| Rank Order for Husbands | | Rank Order for Wives | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Not affectionate | 1 | Selfish and inconsiderate | 1 |
| Selfish and inconsiderate | 2 | Untruthful | 2 |
| Complains too much | 3 | Argumentative | 3 |
| Quick tempered | 4 | Complains too much | 4 |
| Conceited | 5 | Not affectionate | 5 |
| Insincere | 6 | Nervous or impatient | 6 |
| Criticizes me | 7 | Insincere | 7 |
| Narrow-minded | 8 | Management of income | 8 |
| Argumentative | 9 | Criticizes me | 9 |
| Untruthful | 10 | Not faithful | 10 |
| Spoils children | 11 | Lazy | 11 |
| Management of income | 12 | In-laws | 12 |
| In-laws | 13 | Influenced by others | 13 |
| Insufficient income | 14 | Narrow-minded | 14 |
| Nervous and emotional | 15 | Insufficient income | 15 |
| Influenced by others | 16 | Interested in other women | 16 |
| Jealous | 17 | Amusement and recreation | 17 |
| Lazy | 18 | Quick tempered | 18 |
| Amusement and recreation | 19 | Attitude toward drinking | 19 |
| Too talkative | 20 | Intellectual interests | 20 |
| Choice of friends | 21 | Respect for conventions | 21 |
| Interested in other men | 22 | Conceited | 22 |
| Lack of freedom | 23 | Choice of friends | 23 |
| Respect for conventions | 24 | Spoils children | 24 |
| Intellectual interests | 25 | Lack of freedom | 25 |
| Attitude toward drinking | 26 | Too talkative | 26 |
| Not faithful | 27 | Religious beliefs | 27 |
| Religious beliefs | 28 | Jealous | 28 |
| Education | 29 | Swears | 29 |
| Swears | 30 | Drinks | 30 |
| Tastes in food | 31 | Educations | 31 |
| Wife older | 32 | Husband older | 32 |
| Smokes | 33 | Tastes in food | 33 |
| Drinks | 34 | Smokes | 34 |
| Younger | 35 | Younger | 35 |

* TERMAN, LEWIS M., "Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness," McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1938, p. 105.

interference with his business, and spoiling the children."

For the wife the list is as follows:* "Husband's selfishness or inconsiderateness, lack of success in business, untruthfulness, complaining, failure to show his affection for her, unwillingness to talk things over, harshness with the children, touchiness, lack of interest in the children, lack of interest in the home, lack of (general) affectionateness, rudeness, lack of ambition, nervousness or impatience, criticizing, poor management of income, narrow-mindedness, unfaithfulness, laziness, boredom when she talks to him about her everyday life."

**Some Factors Affecting Marital Adjustment.**—First in the list for husbands is the wife's nagging. In the chapter on Preparation for Marriage the fact that constant criticism interfered materially with an individual's security was discussed at length. It has also been pointed out that constant criticism makes for unpleasant associations with one's home. This factor has been reported a number of times in our cases as interfering with marital adjustment. It is interesting to see it placed first in a list as important as Terman's.†

Constant criticism apparently affects the love relation to such a degree that the emotion may disappear entirely and irritation and dislike take its place.

It is interesting to note that next on the list is lack of affection. Among our own cases, this would take first rank. If one can give full credence to the reports of husbands who feel their marriages are not wholly a

* *Ibid.*, p. 102.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 101.

success, a large portion of them expect more in terms of an affectional relation than they actually receive. Many report that while they receive an almost overwhelming amount of affection during the first six to eight months of married life, this diminishes rapidly. A number report that after the birth of the first baby they had to take second place. A few report that they were "almost pushed out of the house."

One young husband in discussing the fact that he felt himself no longer necessary said that he did not wonder that first children develop behavior problems on the birth of the second child. He felt that young husbands should develop behavior problems on the birth of the first baby. He stated that the things which his wife had appreciated in him most such as ability to laugh and crack jokes she now repressed because "they might disturb the baby."

Reports of this sort have come to us not once but a number of times. Out of thirty-eight questions which came from the men in a mixed group of men and women taking an evening course on marriage relations (most of them unmarried) eighteen referred to the question of what would happen to them after the children were born. Two went so far as to say that they thought they would wait ten years or more because they wanted to have first place for at least that time. All of the popular sayings, such as, "man's love is of man's life a thing apart, 'Tis woman's whole existence" and the like apparently give a wrong impression as to masculine need of affectional response.

It is apparently true that among some couples affectional response cannot be at the high degree of intensity which it approached during the courtship

period and the first year of marriage, but it is obvious that the place which it is now receiving is not enough. There are many couples who find that their affection for each other increases to beyond what either had thought possible before marriage. These are the couples who have achieved an affectional relation satisfactory at all points. Marriage based on psychological needs and satisfactions probably reaches its highest significance among couples of this latter type. Such marriages do not just happen. They are usually the result of knowledge and wisdom on the part of both marriage partners together with a willingness on the part of both to work together to achieve this end.

It is highly probable that the affectional relation if it has been developed to its highest point will not only be more satisfying than anything outside of the home but will protect the individual from interest in others. It is a well-known phenomenon when the girl or man becomes engaged that interest in all other individuals except of the purely intellectual sort is eliminated completely. If one may believe the testimony of engaged girls, no matter how attractive the men whom they meet, these are of no importance as compared with the man to whom they have become engaged. In fact they may be very much bored by a person whom, previous to the engagement, they found interesting and even exciting.

Affection for one individual apparently drains off in most mature men and women all of the emotion love in the direction of the individual to whom one is engaged and married. If that affectional release continues at its best, the married couple will probably feel the same lack of interest in others of the opposite

sex throughout life. It is highly probable that only when the affectional relation is unsatisfactory do the emotional satisfactions of the home seem less vivid than those which may be derived from outside contacts.

The fact that selfishness and lack of consideration take third place among husbands and first among wives is also indicative. We have already called attention to the fact that Terman points out the relative unimportance of certain sex adjustments. His list and our cases would both bear out his conclusions.* The fact that both find too much argument and too much complaining upsetting is important in this connection.

We have been accustomed to feel that conceit was a masculine characteristic. However, it is not the women who put that complaint at the top of the list but the men. It occurs tenth on the list for husbands but does not appear in the first twenty causes of complaint listed by wives.

Some of Terman's† categories can also be subsumed under the same heading. Narrow-mindedness, argumentation, criticism, and too many complaints may all be different aspects of the same mental and emotional lack.

The list as Terman presents it should certainly be a part of the knowledge of both men and women entering the marriage relation.

It is interesting in connection with this list to refer back to the qualities which college girls desire

* It should be kept in mind in connection with our cases that maladjustments in the field of sex rarely come to consult our center. These go to the Social Hygiene Association.

† *Ibid.*, p. 105.

in a husband. Love comes first on one list and fifth on the other. Apparently girls approaching marriage expect affectional response.

Our cases frequently report inability to agree upon the use of money as a major cause of marriage tension. The lack of agreement falls into the following categories: (1) Calling attention frequently to one's own possessions as contrasted with those of the partner. For example, "*I* bought this house" or *I* bought this car and *you* must take care of it." Where the woman has a higher financial rating than the man this appears to be particularly galling. (2) Using money without the knowledge of the other partner and concealing the purpose for which it is used. (3) Extravagance. (4) Failure to provide for emergencies.

Case *G*; a woman of thirty, married a man of thirty-five with much less financial standing than her own. It was obvious from the profession that he had entered that his salary could never approximate her income which was approximately ten thousand a year even during the depression period. When the census taker called, in the hearing of her husband she said "No, my husband is not the bread winner. I pay for everything that amounts to anything." On the income tax return she insisted on being the head of the family. A crisis was reached when she told him that since she provided the house and most of the income, he was expected to do the housework on the maid's day off.

Needless to say her attitude toward the financial status of the family was a wrong one on which to base a lasting marriage. It is understood in business partnerships that each contributes what is expected of him and that thereafter the partners do not remind each other of their particular lacks financial or otherwise. Marriage may be considered an economic partnership. Once an arrangement is entered into,

and this should be clear before marriage, as has already been pointed out, further reference to the contribution of one as against the contribution of the other should be eliminated.

Only among preschool children of approximately two years of age does one hear constantly the phrase, "This is mine. You can't touch it." Marriage partners are expected to be mentally and emotionally beyond this period, and, while each should have his own property which cannot be borrowed without the consent of the other, common property should be shared without quarrels and without pointing out which member of the partnership contributed it. Our cases report that the constant statement, "This is my car. You had no right to get a scratch on the fender" or "This is my garden. You had no right to pick a flower on your way to work," is always irritating no matter how frequently it occurs. In fact they report that its occurrence has a cumulative effect. The more often it occurs the higher the tension produced.

The statement has been made that certain property should belong exclusively to each partner, and this is equally important in avoiding tension. In families which have two cars, for the wife to come down and find that hers has been taken because it happens to be an open one and the day is pleasant is apt to produce as serious difficulty as the removal of money from her purse without her knowledge and consent. The reverse is of course true.

Few things cause more difficulty among the children of the family than never to know who has the use of property which they prize. In fact this situation

underlies many serious behavior problems. It is equally serious in its effect upon marriage partners.

Common possessions can and should be held in common and their use governed by the same consideration and courtesy with which one treats the members of the family in other respects. Property, especially highly prized individual property, should be governed solely by the prejudices and preferences of its owner unless such property is essential to the welfare of the family as a whole. It would of course be absurd to apply this to the house or to the single car intended for use by a large family.

The use of money by one partner in such a way as to conceal what has been done with it is on our list as a serious cause of difficulty. Three cases will make the point clear.

Case *B* was given a large allowance by her husband for the purchase of clothes. He felt that it was essential for her to be well dressed for the welfare of his business. She accepted the money with this understanding, but she felt the need of having a private fund in a savings bank, so without discussing the matter further she used one-third of the money for clothes and saved the other two-thirds. This procedure was kept up for five years. At the end of this time, her husband discovered it by accident. While he was in the bank, the teller asked him to take her savings bank book to his wife. On being taxed with having a source of income unknown to him, the fact that she had saved part of the money which he had given to her for another use came out. During the quarrel which followed her husband told her that she was no better than a thief.

Case *C*, the mother of two children, wished them to have an education in a private school. Their father felt that public schools were "good enough for them" and in addition he felt that their contacts with a large number of children were advisable as contrasted with associating only with the smaller number. The

wife sent the children to private schools telling her husband that they had won a scholarship and secured the money by having the dressmaker, the grocer, and other businessmen from whom she bought supplies send in bills larger than she actually owed and return to her the difference between the correct amount and the amount which her husband paid. This continued for two years before a chance meeting with the principal of the private school brought out the fact that the children were not only entered but that tuition was paid.

It might be advanced with reason that the father should have had more contact with the children and should, therefore, have known that they were in a private school for which tuition had to be paid. However, many businessmen have complete faith that when an argument is settled their wives will abide by it. In this case, the father's faith was not justified.

Case *D* told his wife the amount of his income but not correctly. He saved out for his own use for club fees and entertaining more than one thousand dollars a year. His club bills were sent to his office so that until a mistake was made by a new cashier his wife was unaware of the fact that while she ran the food budget with the utmost economy and spent hours to save a few cents, her husband was what she called "throwing away" a sum which would have made all of the economy unnecessary and would have provided a good savings account in addition.

Very few people are in complete accord as to just what constitutes wise expenditure and what constitutes extravagance bad enough to merit some form of check or reproof. However, couples can arrive at some sort of gentlemen's agreement in regard to the extent to which each can indulge his preference.

It would probably be well to agree that a few things which each calls extravagances in the other should be considered permissible unless they make it impossible

to adjust the budget. No one can spend wisely at all times. In fact, there is need for an occasional release if one has been on too restricted a budget. This release should not be allowed to play havoc with the family budget as a whole.

Only in submarginal families is there no room for indulgence. Even in these one finds all too frequent spending sprees. When a client of a social agency was given three dollars to buy supplies for herself and four children she promptly took the whole family to a motion picture with a ten-cent entrance fee. When reproved for spending one-sixth of the food budget on pleasure she replied, "But everybody must do crazy things once in a while."

Release from habitual pressure of all kinds is an essential element in human behavior. Such spending is only one instance of this release.

There are many examples of extravagance which do not come under this head.

Case *L* and his wife were married on an income of twenty dollars a week which by close figuring barely covered their joint expenditures. On occasion he would use part of the rent money to buy flowers and candy for his wife. Far from considering this a proof of his continued devotion, she objected on the ground that they had no room for candy or flowers in their budget and would have to wait until he made an increased amount. When he continued to bring candy and flowers, she took a position though she had agreed to let him be the only earner in the family.

The actual solution for a problem such as this leaves room for much interesting speculation. How far the extravagance could be completely curbed without repressing the husband's desire to express his affection for his wife is an open question. It must always be

considered that the fact that she met his attempts to make up to her for his small earning capacity with scolding may well leave many unpleasant memories. His entire response to her may be conditioned by them. Only the individual with a masochistic trend continues to feel love for a person from whom he receives frequent pain.

It must be kept in mind that pain in the normal individual causes withdrawal reactions. It must also be remembered that pain, and its accompanying emotion fear, operate to inhibit the possibility of the emotion, love, coming into play. If love "driveth out fear" it may equally be said that fear and pain drive out love.

If there is great friction between couples on the basis of the extravagances of one or the extravagances of both the whole question will have to be talked out freely without emotion and without recrimination and a general policy evolved which takes into consideration the individual differences of both and the limitations imposed by a budget.

Number four on our list, failure to provide for emergencies, brings up the whole question of savings versus going into debt. In the chapter on Preparation for Marriage we discussed at length the distribution of money in typical budgets as compared with actual budgets of couples who had met difficulties in adjusting their financial arrangements. Where each of the couple has a widely different attitude in regard to going into debt versus living within the budget and saving money there will be constant friction until one or the other gives up his point of view or until some compromise between savings and debt is effected.

Case *G* married on an income of two hundred a month. This should have been adequate not only to cover their expenditures but to provide a margin in case of illness or some other emergency. The wife, however, wished to impress her friends with the beauty of her home and its furnishings. She agreed to marry only when the first payment was made upon the home, and she and her prospective husband had agreed to buy a large part of its furnishings on the installment plan. The budget for the couple is as follows.

MONTHLY EXPENDITURES

| | |
|---|---|
| Monthly payments on house | $ 56.50 |
| Payments on furniture | 48.00 |
| His insurance | 15.00 |
| Insurance on house | 6.00 |
| Food | 30.00 |
| Heat, gas, and light | 20.00 |
| Telephone | 3.25 |
| Carfare and lunches for husband | 15.00 |
| Total | $194.75 |

It can easily be seen that in order to impress her friends with her home the bride has left no money for entertaining them. No money is allowed for adequate clothing for the husband. This clothing he must have if he is to progress in his business. No money is allowed for savings and none for overhead expenses. The couple's budget is so cramped for at least two years that no repairs can be made on the house. Even a small plumber's bill can be met only if the couple go without adequate food. The bride is satisfied with the arrangement, but her husband, who has until now always lived within his income and saved a small amount, feels constantly the pressure of a cramped budget.

Moreover, he is in constant fear of loss of his position and of illness. If either of these occurs, the

couple will lose the house and its furnishings, since there is no leeway to meet emergencies of any kind. The irritation and even suffering which this young man is experiencing may or may not have a serious effect on later marital adjustment. The probabilities are all that it will have a lasting influence.

**Some Psychological Aspects of Adjustment.**—Home life must be associated with pleasurable results. Associations which are painful must be so few that they are completely lost in the great mass of pleasant ones. If this is not the case, the man or the woman or both may be thoroughly conditioned against marriage and home life. The marriage may break up and neither be willing again to enter into an arrangement which has been associated with so much unpleasantness.

Case *H* had an experience similar to that of the case cited above, but his worry was so severe that the marriage broke at the end of eighteen months. Five years have elapsed. During this time his interest has been in business. He has achieved great success. He spends some time with his brother and his brother's wife and is interested in their children. So sure is he that he will never marry that he has guaranteed the education of his brother's three boys through preparatory school, high school, and professional training. He is polite to all women but interested in none.

There is apparently on the part of both men and women a desire for faithfulness in the other partner. We have found it in our cases as a determining factor in divorce. On Terman's* list it occurs as twenty-seventh in rank order for husbands and tenth in rank order for wives. It seems to be not so important for husbands as having meals on time. These conclusions are questionable in the light of other findings.

* *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

Burgess and Cottrell* cite cases in which unfaithfulness added to the stability of a marriage. There is no doubt that this may occur, but the probability is that such cases are exceedingly rare. It is also doubtful if the other partner in these marriages knew of the unfaithfulness.

As has already been stated, one of the characteristics of mature emotional development is the capacity to give enduring affection which lasts throughout life. Where such affection is present, the individual appears to be completely uninterested in people of the opposite sex other than the marriage partner. This is undoubtedly the highest type of marital adjustment.

There is nothing new about unfaithfulness in the marriage relation, but only within a relatively short period in our civilization and during a brief period in the history of Rome has complete faithfulness occurred in a large group of representative individuals.

Lewin† states that every man is attracted to every woman, particularly to good-looking ones, and that every woman is attracted to every man, particularly good-looking ones. This is undoubtedly true in the precourtship period and may be partially true after marriage, but individuals of a high degree of emotional maturity will be, as has been pointed out, interested only intellectually.

If we trace closely the history of marriage, it appears that we have been tending toward marriage of a type entirely different from all of those which have preceded this era, a marriage based on a single standard, this

* *Ibid.*

† LEWIN, KURT, Chap. IV, "Modern Marriages," Moses Jung (editor), F. S. Crofts & Co., New York, 1940.

standard, lifetime affection. The higher rate of divorce is one indication of the fact that individuals are not having this need met. The emphasis on the need for more affection than they are now getting and more continuously expressed affection is obvious in recent researches.

A number of the points on Terman's* list have not so far been treated. Some are so important that they should not be passed over by a mere reference to Terman's list. Lack of truthfulness occurs on both lists as a cause of difficulty. There is little question that dishonesty on the part of one or both may strain the marriage to the breaking point. In a relation as close as that of husband and wife full trust is essential. To feel the insecurity which comes with dishonesty is to associate the loved individual with a category which one would not tolerate in close friends and might question even in acquaintances.

While it is true that truth is only a relative matter and that a person who told the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth would find himself without friends, it is also true that in all important matters honesty should be expected.

Case *L*, a man of thirty, married a woman of twenty who had been one of the seasons most popular debutantes. He expected her to mature at once in the marriage relation and to become as upright and honest as he was. His probity was so well known that it was said of him that he could borrow from the bank on his word alone and without additional security. The stories which his wife told him were rarely important though they were told to cover up what she knew he would regard as faults. Each time he found that she had been untruthful she promised never to tell an untruth to him again. His faith in her total pattern of

* *Op. cit.*, p. 105.

behavior became completely undermined since she could not improve and he could not trust her until truth became habitual with her.

Cases of this type may be multiplied indefinitely. Much as children lose faith in a parent whom they find evasive and lacking in respect for fact, so either husband or wife lose faith in the marriage partner.

Terman* points out that a glance at his list of points, each serious to many of the persons reporting, shows a significant difference in the attitudes in 1939 and in preceding generations. Many of those conditions associated with a happy marriage in the Victorian era are now relatively unimportant. On the other hand, many of those which were important then are important still.

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## CHAPTER VIII

## PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIPS

**Advantages of Having Children.**—Many sociologists, particularly Groves,* Goodsell,† and Hart,‡ have pointed out the social and economic advantages of having children, but so important is this problem to modern marriage that it is well to restate all of the advantages listed by these and other authors in the light of present social changes.

From the economic standpoint children, though an appreciable expense and sometimes a severe drain on the family budget, are nevertheless the only old age insurance in the modern world which can be counted upon to any degree. Inflation is an ever-present danger. Where this occurs all savings whether in life insurance or investments may be wiped out, a fact which has been pointed out in previous chapters. Depressions present a threat against old age security of every kind.

* Groves, E. R., "The American Family," J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1934.

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Groves, E. R., and L. M. Brooks, "Readings in the Family," J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1934.

† Goodsell, Willystine, "A History of Marriage and the Family," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1935.

‡ Hart, Hornell, and Ella B. Hart, "Personality and the Family," D. C. Heath & Company, Boston, 1935.

Government provisions are adequate for the family of low economic level but cannot supply the comforts which a family used to all of the necessities and many of the luxuries would need in old age. A number of children, well trained and able to secure and hold good positions, presents a far more stable form of old age insurance than any heretofore invented even by governments.

It may be pointed out that children sometimes do not feel the necessity of supporting their parents, and this is a most pertinent observation, but if the parents have given the children sufficient reason for devotion as well as the physical care which all parents are supposed to provide this problem does not need to come up.

That this is a problem characteristic only of our present civilization is also true. In previous eras grandparents, elderly parents, and elderly relatives with any degree of kinship might count on support because they themselves were a distinct economic advantage to the family. Where there were a number of children a person in advanced old age could still be counted upon to take some care of them. Housework, garden work, cooking, mending, making the various objects and supplies essential to the family welfare were all a part of the contribution which old age might make to youth and middle age.

Modern types of living have obliterated this contribution entirely. In a four-room apartment there is nothing which older relatives can do. On the contrary they present a problem in housing difficult to meet, for a man, his wife, and two children occupy to overflowing a modern four-room apartment.

Finding any room for elderly relatives is difficult. The modern knowledge of hygiene makes parents resist having older people sleep with children, and rightly. Actual sleeping room is, therefore, difficult to provide since the living rooms must be turned into bedrooms, or some other arrangement which cramps the family's activity and detracts materially from their comfort must be devised if older people are to be taken care of. Only if there were a relatively universal return to the type of housing presented by the six-to eight-room house surrounded by grounds could older people again return to their status as economic contributors.

Old age pensions in many states have solved this problem in part, since the older person living with the young married couple contributes to their financial security. They may rent a larger apartment, purchase a larger house, or make some other better financial arrangement because the pension adds materially to their income. In states where the pension is small, the drain on the family resources is greater than the income to be expected.

This point of view sounds highly materialistic, but it is the point of view of many young couples starting out with an already limited budget and the slight sense of financial security presented by the present rate of economic change.

The position of such relatives will be discussed later, but it is brought out here in order to show that the possibilities of support through becoming a part of the household of one's married children have now diminished. The possibility of such children contributing to one's support outside the home is still

there and may be enforced legally. Children, therefore, in spite of all the arguments which may be advanced to the contrary, are the best guarantee of support in old age so far developed.

Other advantages may be pointed out which are greater than the first. Children are a never-ending source of interest. To quote one highly trained professional woman who is the mother of four, "Having children is like having a ringside seat at the greatest show on earth." One has only to note the attitude of visitors to nursery schools or the interest shown by passers-by when an attractive baby comes into a room or into a store to see the universal interest in all young children. No matter how monotonous one's daily work or how repetitious or routine the task of keeping a house may seem, the children are an ever-present relief from possible monotony.

The affectional return which one may expect presents one of the highest forms of human satisfaction. This factor cannot be overestimated. Where there are no children all sorts of substitutes are resorted to to take their place from treating animals as if they were human infants to the more socially useful adoption which brings the individual in contact with children or contributes to their support and comfort. Witness the adoption of special groups such as crippled or otherwise handicapped children by service groups.

From the economic point of view again a man with children is far more likely to be given a position if he is in competition with a single man who is equally good. He will be held in his position in times of depression when single men will lose their jobs.

Children present a bond with men who also have children. It is only necessary to listen to the conversations of any group of men from low-grade jobs to highly trained professionals to see that one important subject of their conversation is the activities of their children. So strong is this bond that a man may actually receive promotion on the basis of the mutual interest which he and his employer have in the behavior of the children or in the fact that they attend the same school and are a part of the same activities.

From the point of view of society the family with children receives a respect which the married couple without children can never hope to acquire. Governments give recognition to large families and if the family is large enough one may expect a letter or a visit from the President of the United States. The exploits of one's children are a source of pride when they are high grade and of interest under any condition.

To say that children form a bond between husband and wife which may not be there if there are no children is of course a platitude. When there are children in the family long-time plans for family living can be made, usually impossible when a man and wife form the whole of the family group.

The sum of the advantages of having children outweighs by so much the financial disadvantages that it is necessary here only to mention the latter in passing. With each child the parents must forego some of the luxuries or even some of the necessities which were theirs previous to the child's birth. One dollar will cover just so much. If one-fourth of it must be spent for the care and rearing of children that quarter must be taken from the recreation and

clothes, the housing, or the food of the parents themselves.

It is this that makes young couples hesitate to have children until they feel financially secure. Just as putting off the age of marriage makes marriage more difficult with each increasing year so having children as a part of the family becomes increasingly difficult as the parents become older. This fact should be kept in mind by all married couples who plan to defer having children until they are thirty years of age or older.

**The Changed Family Attitude.**—Parents who rear children today have far more obligations and a far more difficult task than parents had in any era previous to our own. All forms of the family to date have depended upon a single head as the final authority whether they were monogamous, polyandrous, or polygamous types. One could always, therefore, count on a dictatorship of sorts. Living under a dictatorship is a relatively easy affair, since only one person has to grow up and assume the obligations and responsibilities of maturity, and he has a compensating feeling of power which is again one of the most satisfying of all human experiences.

In most family organizations the father is the absolute head, and he is followed in this position either by the son whom he chooses to reign in his stead as in a polygamous family or by the oldest son in most forms of patriarchal arrangement.

In a democratic family, which is the type of organization in the United States, every individual has a voice and vote in the formation of family policies. To develop each child to the point to which he is

mature enough to desire further maturity and to accept his responsibilities and obligations is a far more difficult task than to train one person to rule and all of the others to obey.

The father is no longer the dictator nor has this position been assumed by the mother. The best type of modern family works as democratic forms of government do. To administer a democracy requires a long period of training and both knowledge and wisdom, but such a form of familial organization produces many more satisfactions. As one economist has pointed out, "A dictatorship is like a well-run ship, perfectly organized and very efficient but bound sooner or later to strike a leak and sink. A democracy is like a great log raft. You can't sink the thing but your feet are always wet."

This is as true of the democratic family as it is of democratic forms of government. Under a democracy there are a great number of regulations and laws which must be obeyed. A democracy does not mean complete freedom. It means obedience to law, but those laws are made by individuals who obey them. This, too, holds true of the democratic family. It is not a question of *not* teaching children to obey, for no one is less free than the individual who observes no rules. It does mean teaching children to obey when they understand what is required of them.

When they are mature enough it means making them a part of the governing body where their activity is concerned. The child under school age obeys rules made for him by people mature enough to decide upon them where these rules are necessary. On the other hand he is given a free choice with its consequent

mistakes where he is capable of making a decision and of running his own affairs.

The child may decide what clothes he wears provided the choice is made between equally suitable ones. He decides with complete freedom what toys he will play with provided these have been wisely selected for him by his parents and others able to choose. He decides where he will play within limits, and also, within limits, he decides his reactions to his fellow playmates.

When he makes the mistake of striking another child, the child will strike back. When he stamps on his toy it will break, and the toy will be taken away and lost to him. In a word, he will make his own decisions within the limits of his emotional and mental maturity and will abide by his mistakes.

The part of the parents in an organization of this sort is to make his decisions for him when the mistakes would be too serious for him to bear and to set up situations for him wherever possible where he may choose without too disastrous consequences if he does make errors.

A parent-child relationship of this type requires far more training, knowledge, and wisdom than one in which the child is told what to do and what not to do, is spanked when he refuses to obey, and forgotten or disregarded as long as things run smoothly.

No better illustration of this latter type of discipline can be found than in certain of the older proverbs such as, "Children should be seen and not heard." No better proof of the change in children of today as contrasted with children of previous eras can be found than the illustrations on magazine covers and the accompanying stories about children. The earlier

ones pictured girls with long curls sitting sedately, perfectly dressed and beautifully mannered on stiff, high-backed chairs. Today's illustrations show children dressed in a way which will allow complete freedom to play and with none of the decorum or perfect manners shown in the earlier pictures.

The effect of this difference in attitude and treatment has been on the whole excellent. It is highly probable that there will be many fewer distorted personalities and that there will be many more individuals mature enough to accept the obligations placed upon them by a democratic form of government.

**New Responsibilities for Parents.**—Parents must meet each level of the child's development with a different type of parenthood. In an autocratic type of family the parent needed to be only one kind of person from the birth of the child until the child left the home as a married woman or as a man going out to seek his fortune in some place far distant from his home.

In 1790, 95 per cent of the population lived on farms. In 1940 approximately 25 per cent still remained on the farm.* This farm type of living produced the patriarchal family of which we speak.

Today's parent, living for the most part in cities or small towns, has to change with the child's growth. In dealing with a very young infant he must watch over it and check it whenever it would come to harm, since the baby wants everything that comes within the reach of his experience.† When the outcome of his

* Taken from census reports.

† FRANK, LAWRENCE K., "The Fundamental Needs of the Child," *Mental Hygiene*, 22: 353–379, July, 1938.

actions is pleasurable he repeats the action again and again until each either becomes intensely unpleasant or reaches the stage of a habitual part of his behavior pattern. What the parent allows to become satisfactory, the child repeats. What the parent follows by checks or punishment of one sort or another, the child eliminates. This places wholly on the parent's shoulders the responsibility of the habits of thought and action with which a child reaches school. If he is stubborn, has temper tantrums, is full of fears, has no desire to learn, and has an inadequate affectional life, this is the result of the checks and lack of checks which have been placed upon his conduct.

If he reaches school with a well-balanced personality, an interest in learning, and a desire to overcome all obstacles, if he meets new situations with courage and old ones with adequate habit patterns, this too is the result of the training which his parents have given him in the preschool period. The so-called "conscience of man" is developed by the age of five on the basis of those attitudes and activities which have been called wrong and punished and those attitudes and activities which have been called right and rewarded. The reward alone is sufficient to make the child think of them as right, the punishment alone sufficient to make him think of them as wrong.

In a word, he takes on the pattern for desirable citizenship and develops all of those inner checks on conduct which will function for the most part throughout life from his parents and in the first five years.

There is some slight evidence that the actual development of his intelligence is impeded or accelerated by the degree to which he is stimulated during

this preschool period. That overstimulation produces nervousness and understimulation an infinite variety of bad habits is unquestioned by most psychiatrists and psychologists.

The interest of the parent in the child has been tremendously increased by a realization of this necessity to meet his intellectual as well as his physical needs. A parent gave the following illustrations of the new attitude toward child development: The baby, age four and one-half, was playing with his blocks. He had just begun to learn to count. There were on the floor four blocks, and he started to build a tower. Said he, "But I need twice this many blocks. How much would four more make?" His mother said, "Eight." He said, "Then four is just half what I want. Four is just half of eight."

Needless to say, the child had an intelligence quotient of 160 since this is unusually precocious behavior for a child of this age. The realization of the mother of this step in his growth, that is, the fundamental knowledge of number relations is the important part of this illustration. "If," said she, "teachers would watch children's minds grow in this way, teaching would be much more interesting." What she really meant was that her maternal relationship to the child had become much fuller and more significant.

The parent of a child in the first years of school life has to take a still different attitude, that is, to watch the child develop while at the same time he is given more and more responsibility for his own activities and his own life. So far should this responsibility be turned over to him that by the age of twelve

he should be able to buy his own clothes with reasonable intelligence with help only on the major items such as overcoat and suits, handle his own money affairs without too many mistakes, earn a certain amount of money, have and carry on a definite number of home responsibilities which he as a member of the family contributes to the worth-whileness of family life. He should be able to choose his friends with reasonable discretion, though he, like most other members of the human race, will have at least one undesirable and unworthy friend. He should have a sense of fair play, a respect for truth, a willingness to obey reasonable commands, and a respect for law.

He should have the ability to see relationships and the applications of what he has learned in new situations within his scope of interests. He should have acquired a deep religious sense and a respect for spiritual values which will not actually show in his behavior for at least three years to come. He should have adequate sex knowledge and the protection which checks on sex experimentation provide. He should have the capacity to select, from among a large number of possible opportunities presented, things which he feels to be significant instead of picking first one and then the other and dropping each without adequate exploration or attention.

The parent is to this child a fellow learner and an individual who provides the opportunities for all of these developmental levels which have just been presented.

The parent of the adolescent is again a different individual, for he needs to be a companion who still

points out the law, explains and interprets it, and who still enforces the law when this is necessary.

Many things persist in social organizations for which there is no further use, but when an element in social organization not only persists but increases in duration, that is, takes a longer part of the life span, it can be said that its importance is increasing.

Children used to remain in their homes under the care of parents until they were fourteen or fifteen years of age. The girls left to marry, the boys to make careers if their parents possessed an insufficient amount of property to set them up in business or to share farm lands with them. The modern parent has the child under his jurisdiction at least until the eighteenth year of life and sometimes into the twenties while a professional training is being acquired.

The role of the parent is therefore not less but greater. Adolescents have parents still functioning in the parental role in order to protect them from dangers which would not have existed in colonial days. It is the function of the parent to make the choice where his child would be damaged irreparably if a wrong choice were made. The parent, however, should need to make these checks only occasionally since the adolescent should be so trained that he can make his own decisions in almost all of the life situations into which he will be thrown.

Parent-child relationships of the sort described are both more valuable and more interesting to the parent than those offered by any family situation or organization heretofore developed.

One of the duties of modern parents is to see that children become emotionally mature. This requires

careful planning, for, although there is the urge to progress in age, there is also a great effort which must be made if higher levels of intelligence and maturity are to be reached.

At two years of age a child will begin to show interest in other children, and at three so great is this demand for companionship that, if a child has no one to play with other than grown people, he will often run away to find adequate companionship. Radio broadcasts and police calls indicate the number of times that three year olds run away from home, are not able to return, and must be looked for.

This urge for companionship is an expression of the child's desire to spread his affection beyond the home environment and is the first attempt to break away from too great devotion to his mother.

Placing the child in nursery school may aid in freeing him from too strong home ties. If a nursery school is not available, he should be allowed to have companions of his own age no matter how great the effort necessary to secure this.

The next attempt to break away from too strong devotion to his mother comes at kindergarten age or when the child enters the first grade. At this time for a period of several weeks he becomes devoted to his teacher and will quote his teacher to his mother to the latter's distress. If she accepts this as a phase indicative of the child's growth and does not fight with him about it the affection will return to her, but not for very long. At approximately six years of age in girls and eight in boys the love interest transfers to the child's father. This does not mean that the child no longer loves his mother, but that the father becomes

the dominant influence in his emotional life. If the father refuses to accept this affection because he is too busy or thinks that the children are his wife's business, or if all punishment is relegated to him, or if the mother fights to keep the child's affection and bribes him to love her rather than his father, this transfer of affection will not take place, and a second blocking in development has occurred. This block may also take place if the mother belittles the father, makes fun of him, or speaks constantly of his inadequacies.

The third stage is reached when children begin to desire group contacts. At seven, while the child is devoted to his father, there is interest in a single companion or chum. At nine this spreads and the child will form a club of three people, all officers of the organization. The club remains as part of the child's interest from this time on. The club becomes the gang and the gang the sorority or fraternity.

Refusal to let the child play normally with other children, too much emphasis on his inadequacies, dressing him differently from the others, or setting up behavior patterns which make him ridiculous, all serve to keep him out of the gang and to maintain the stage of father fixation beyond the normal period. Acceptance of the gang as a part of the child's life, making the gang feel at home in one's house and on one's grounds are aids to emotional maturing.

There are only two other stages which the family must help the child through, the stage of puppy love in which he falls in and out of love with extraordinary rapidity and fixations on individuals of his own sex which usually precede puppy love affairs. No great

amount of effort needs to be put forth to aid the average child to leave the stage of fixation on members of his own sex; it is only necessary to ensure popularity with the opposite sex as soon as interest in them is shown. Simple entertainments, allowing them to mess up the kitchen with candy parties, or the living room with dancing to the radio or phonograph, or feeding them are all necessary. Once the contacts with the opposite sex are assured successfully, the child passes rapidly into the period of falling in love. While he is having puppy love affairs of the mild sort, he may also fall in love with someone of his mother's generation while his sister falls in love with someone of her father's generation. These affairs are not to be taken seriously. They become serious only when parents force an issue that should never be brought up. The same may be said for puppy love affairs.

Once the life mate has been chosen and the marital adjustment made, the parent plays little part. He or she has only to withdraw from the young couple so that they will not continue to depend too much on their parents.

A full description of the difficulties which arise when the child has not reached emotional maturity is found in the chapter on Preparation for Marriage.

Probably it has not been necessary for parents consciously to plan to develop emotional maturity in their children until this era. Where families had eight to twelve children, the arrival of each new child forced those older out of the baby stage and into a more mature one. By the time the last child had arrived all of the older children had usually reached a high level of emotional maturity. Only the youngest

one was left in an emotionally immature stage, or at most the two youngest ones. These often showed all too clearly throughout life the spoiling which made them continue to be emotionally infantile.

**Parent Attitudes Carried Over from the Patriarchal Period.**—There are many parent attitudes which have been carried over from the earlier forms of family organization and which act as a definite deterrent to the development of the fully democratic family organization. The first of these is the desire to express through one's children all of the satisfactions which one felt deprived of as one grew up. If the parent wished to attend a private school, his child may be forced to attend one, while the child's own preference is for a large public school for its many contacts or for some other equally good reason. If the parent wished to become a violinist, the child may be forced to take violin lessons. There are a great number of illustrations of this trend.

In a dictatorship an individual may be forced into whatever pattern is most satisfying to the dictator or fits in best with his plans. In a democratic form of organization the individual will be allowed to develop in line with his own interests and his individual capacities.

Again it must be pointed out that all children should learn to obey laws. Obedience to the rules or regulations of the family is essential if the individual is to obey the laws and ordinances of his state, city, and nation. Democracy is not possible unless there is the respect for and obedience to law. The individual's best protection is his willingness to obey constituted authority when this represents the will of the majority.

If two individuals start out in cars from their respective homes a few blocks apart and each drives as he wishes, even if there are no other cars on the street, the two are likely to collide. Neither of them has freedom unless he obeys the traffic regulations. If both obey the traffic laws both are free to reach their separate destinations. If neither obeys or even if one disobeys, neither is free to reach the destination for which he set out.

A second attitude is the unwillingness on the part of parents to allow children to mature. When there were in families twelve or thirteen children the baby was pushed out of his position as an infant by the infant that followed him soon enough to enable him to grow naturally. He might even be pushed out too early and because he had an insufficient period in a babyhood which dominated the household might for the rest of his life compete with anyone ahead of him or behind him.

Where there are few children in the family, each may be kept in the period of babyhood too long. This is especially true of the last child or the only child. The most significant contribution which a parent, especially a mother, may make to society is the care of children, so it is no wonder that long beyond the time when the child should be caring for himself maternal care may continue. We have many instances of children unable to dress and undress themselves when they enter the first grade at the age of six or seven.

We have hundreds of individuals waited on as if they were infants when they are in the high school and college period. Such an attitude develops not

citizens for a democracy but infants who will need first to be taken care of by their parents and next to be taken care of by some political dictator who will also tell them what to do and what not to do and may promise them the satisfactions which their parents have for so long supplied.

A final attitude which has been carried over from the patriarchal system is the desire to dominate a child in the choice of his friends, in the use of money, and finally in the choice of the marriage partner. It only needs to be said that the parental training and domination should diminish rapidly until at between sixteen and seventeen the individual is competent to run his own life and between nineteen and twenty-one to choose his marriage partner rightly. Individuals who reach college age without the ability to run their lives with a fair degree of wisdom are the result of inadequate training.

The fact that the status of discipline is still in the transition stage is indicated by the position which failure to discipline the children properly holds in the list of grievances of husband against wife and wife against husband.

In order to determine some of the major reasons for conflict between parents and children, we first asked the parents what difficulties they found most disturbing. Occasional disobedience heads the list. Next in order come untidiness, impertinence, and talking back. None of these seems a particularly serious fault, but all of them are disturbing in a democratic family.

Sixty-six students were asked to write the fifteen things which disturbed or upset them most in their

home lives. They were not required to put their names on their papers. The number of items on the list handed in by these students is 142. The only items which occur in the lists of ten or more students are the following. These are listed in the order of frequency with which they occur.

| | |
|---|---|
| Too many instructions | 59 |
| Nagging | 35 |
| Being asked too many questions about what they had done, where they had been, etc | 23 |
| Criticism | 20 |
| Quarrels with the family | 16 |
| Being interrupted when playing piano, studying, talking | 11 |
| Being treated sometimes as a child and sometimes as an adult | 10 |
| Being interfered with, that is, having mail opened, telephone conversations listened to, etc | 10 |
| Quarrels between the parents | 10 |
| Mother talking on and on when a little silence would be good | 10 |

It is easy to see from the above list the points at which conflicts are appearing in different college groups, since approximately two-thirds of the students report being disturbed by having to listen to too many instructions. With the exception of the two items on quarreling, one of which takes a high place on the list, most of the items have to do with interference with personal rights and liberties.

No such list could possibly have come from children under the old patriarchal type of family living, since being interfered with, ordered about, interrupted, and controlled were all a part of the everyday life of the children until they were married. Occasionally literature gives the best possible example of a family type.

"The Barretts of Wimpole Street" is such a book. The dependence of all of the children after they became adults on their father, the necessity for pleasing him, his absolute control over their life and occupations are all characteristic of the patriarchal family.

While there were examples of excellent administrators under this system, the abuses which it brought about can easily be seen. The amount of power which the patriarchal system gives to one person is too great for anyone but an unusual individual to wield wisely. It is as serious in its effects on the head of the patriarchal family as it is on the individuals who grow up under it.

The democratic family, on the other hand, is still on trial. If the individuals which it produces are not better in health, personality, and general efficiency than those produced under the patriarchal system, then the democratic family will pass away. So much is required of every adult who rears children under this system that few may be willing to undertake the training and to accept the responsibilities which it exacts.

Conflicts in philosophies of discipline between the members of families have produced many behavior problems. Few psychiatrists have failed to recognize the divided authority which comes as the result of these conflicts as one of the major causes of mental and social maladjustments. When the child could count on obeying without question any order that came from the head of the house, he had a very definite security which may not be present today. It is not unusual to find a child who asks permission first from one member of the family and then if it is not granted goes in turn to each of the other members until he

finds someone who will give the desired permission. It is not unusual to find children who deliberately set their parents against each other in order to secure coveted treats. Much of the time of a large number of intelligent families is given over to the discussion of what their child shall not do or the rightness or wrongness of something which the child has already done. This is serious in its effect on young children. It is the major cause of parents' difficulties with their adolescent children.

In the primitive society, where there is a "right" way to do everything and that right way is drilled into every child, the respect of youth for adults is secured without argument. So variable are standards today that, as has been pointed out in Chap. I, rarely do we see, even within the same family group, agreement on all of the points governing the behavior of children from twelve to eighteen years of age.

While this has its effect in making family life more interesting, it is nevertheless serious in its results. Adolescents and young adults are rapidly losing the respect for law characteristic of settled communities in previous eras. This is probably the direct outgrowth of the lack of unanimity among adults as to standards for the behavior of childhood and youth.

On the affectional side the democratic family has much to offer. There is little question that the affection which the child feels for the person whom he regards as a cooperating individual who always has his welfare at heart is a much higher type than the affection given as a duty and as part of the family requirement characteristic of the earlier type of family organization. In these it was usually an organization

of the children against the adults except where one child was more spoiled than were the others in which case he sided with parents and was the person who reported the misdeeds of the other young members of the family to the adults.

Children today feel themselves far more a part of the total family group. The affection which they give is not in response to favors or privileges but is the result of the human relation between parents and child. Far less hypocrisy is present and much more assurance of continuance of affection not only throughout childhood but through later life. Such affection is offered not because the individual is still a dependent member of the family even after marriage but because of the long associations built up by living together as a dependable member of a cooperating group. These satisfactions will probably increase as the democratic family becomes more stable.

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## CHAPTER IX

## THE CHILDREN WITHIN THE FAMILY

Before the matter of the relation between the children themselves is discussed it is well to examine further the relation of the modern child to his parents. Society has agreed upon a list of obligations which parents owe to their children more or less as follows:

Protection during infancy especially from all undue exposure and from accidents which are preventable.

Physical care including health care.

Training in the fundamental habits of feeding, sleeping, resting, dressing, and toilet procedure.

The development of a sound mental hygiene.

Preparation for entrance into school.

Providing cooperation between the home and the school and reacting intelligently upon reports brought home by the child.*

Training in the use of money.

Providing comrades when an interest in other children develops.

Providing toys and occupations which will arouse the child's interest and result in increasing his knowledge in all the fields proper to his age and level of mental development.

Training in citizenship from infancy to maturity.

At school age these duties widen to take in the following:

* FRANK, LAWRENCE K., "The Fundamental Needs of the Child," *Mental Hygiene*, 22: 353–379, July, 1938.

Aid in making school adjustments.*

Providing clothing suitable for school.

Companionship at the end of the school day. This means that their mother should be home whenever possible when her children return from school and should have free time to listen to their questions and their confidences when they are ready to give them.

Providing a place to play where friends can be brought.

Giving home responsibilities which will make the child feel important to the family.

Giving a respect for law and training in obedience to all reasonable commands. This should have begun with birth but should be firmly developed during early school age.

Giving help in the educational processes† only where failure would result if this help is not given. Referring the child back to his teacher for additional instruction instead of confusing the learning processes by giving help quite different from that which the school would provide.

Developing judgment and the ability to control one's action with the use of reason.

Developing emotional control.

Training in ways to get along with people.‡

Continuing the development of sound mental hygiene particularly training the child to face facts and to do away with the use of escape mechanisms.

* "Family Living and Our Schools," Chaps. I, IV, and V.

† "School Practices Which Seem Effective for Improving Home and Family Living," typed report by Hortense Hurst, cited in "Family Living and Our Schools," p. 166.

‡ FRANK, LAWRENCE K., "The Fundamental Needs of the Child," *Mental Hygiene*, 22: 353–379, July, 1938.

Continuing training in religion particularly in the line of developing the child's concepts of beauty and spiritual values.

Of this list some need further explanation.

**Relation of the Parent to the Adolescent.**—The parent of the adolescent has additional duties.

Providing companionship while at the same time he withdraws from too close supervision of his child's activities and his child's friends.

Keeping the child's confidences under all possible conditions.

Providing a place where the adolescent may entertain his friends.

Providing adequate recreation facilities at home and in the community.

Giving training in techniques for meeting people and in techniques which differentiate the well-bred person from the person without social training.

Giving an example of good marital relationships.

Placing the adolescent in a position to meet his life mate and to marry sometime in the twenties.

**Physical Care.***—One of the most important functions of parents in relation to their children and their children's relation to other members of their group is preparing the child to assume his duties in the family as he passes through convalescence into health.

It is a mere platitude to say that parents should take care of their children during illness, since every parent expects to do this as a part of his parental responsibility. The other part of this statement is, however, not so often thought of.

* ARLITT, ADA HART, "The Child from One to Twelve," McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1931.

When children are ill they are given every care.* In fact they are reduced to the status of babyhood. They are the center of attention. They may call whenever they are bored and be amused by any member of the family not too busy at important tasks.

Immediately after the child is up and moving about the house, all of this care is withdrawn and he must function as an entirely independent citizen. This causes a much too severe shock to many children, and they react against it by developing still further symptoms or by developing other behavior which calls for the same care and attention that they have received during illness.

It is a difficult task to develop in them sufficient energy and initiative to take over their lives again as healthy cooperative members of the family group.

Parents themselves often nullify the child's efforts to come back to the position which he occupied previous to illness. They have been frightened by high fever or other symptoms, and they continually remind the child that he has been very ill and that he must be careful while at the same time they expect him to develop normally.

There appears to be only one way or at least one successful method of returning the child to his status as a healthy member of the family. That is to note each improvement in his physical condition and with each to add to his duties so that by the time he is able to run around freely, to play, and to attend school he has taken on all of the responsibilities and activities which ceased with the onset of the disease.

* ARLITT, ADA HART, "Psychology of Infancy and Early Childhood," McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., New York, 1930.

Hospitalized children often return to their homes with all of their good habits broken down. Good toilet habits are lost, and they are back in the infantile stage in regard to lack of control of bowels and bladder. They expect to be fed and dressed as if they were twelve months of age or younger. This condition is due to failure on the part of the hospital to follow the procedure which has been suggested for parents, namely, to add to the duties of the child in proportion to his progress toward normal health.

When it comes to the assumption of rights and privileges which actually belong to other members of the family but which have been yielded to him because he was not well, the child may claim these as rights while the other children in the family become more and more disgusted with him and with their parents for failure to play fair.

There are countless instances from the preceding generation of individuals not really ill whom their families have spoiled to such an extent that they are never able to become healthy or to live as anything but semi-invalids.

This may have been permissible in a generation not conversant with psychological principles, but it is not to be permitted in a generation which is not only conversant with sound psychological principles but also with adequate means for putting them into effect.

**Training in the Use of Money.***—It has been fairly well agreed upon by psychologists that training in the use of money should begin when the child enters school.

* ARLITT, *op. cit.*

GRUENBERG, SIDONIE, and BENJAMIN C. GRUENBERG, "Parents, Children and Money," The Viking Press, Inc., New York, 1933.

By the time the child is twelve years old he should have had an allowance for seven years and should know the value of money.

His allowance should begin when he first enters school, and he should keep a budget. This budget will be a box divided into four compartments with the right number of pennies or nickels in each, one for school expenses, one for church, one for spending and one for saving. This allowance should be added to until at twelve years of age the child is buying the less expensive articles of clothing for himself and the more expensive ones with the help of his parents.

One of the most difficult adjustments to make in the process of training in the use of money is to show the child his share in the family budget without at the same time frightening him about the use of money. During the past depression a number of children were made afraid to use their share of the family budget and in a few cases actually refused to eat sufficient food. They were worried for fear they were costing too much. Children should be made to feel a responsibility for the correct use of money, but they should never be made afraid that they will lack it.

The second difficult point arises when an allowance has been given and the child expects to receive the results of careful planning and saving and then must forego it if he is to be an adequately functioning member of the family.

A ten year old had planned with her mother to get a winter coat every other year. Through her tenth year she wore her old coat, which was a little too small for her and was becoming steadily more shabby.

When the time came to purchase the second coat the family found that the sister's teeth had to be straightened. This is a process which cannot be too long deferred, so the child was told the circumstances and asked to choose whether she would have a coat or contribute her money toward having her sister's teeth straightened. Needless to say she chose the latter, but the amount of strain involved was great.

In all family situations crises of this sort may occur since even the most careful and adequate administrator cannot make one dollar actually do the work of two. If the dollar has to be spent for straightening teeth or for doctor's bills or for repairs to the car, the money cannot be spent on the children's clothes or for some promised treat. As a member of a family one has to be aware of what has happened and to make a choice which means depriving oneself so that the family as a whole may receive benefit or so that a single member of the family may be better prepared to meet life, adolescence, and adulthood.

It would be far wiser for the family as a whole if with the beginning of adolescence the total amount of money to be spent was talked over with the children and a reasonable budget worked out for them and for the family which took account not only of their expenses but also of those expenses which may be termed overhead expenses. This would not only make the child see that he was receiving a fair amount but would also prepare him to administer a budget in later life and to understand "where money goes." It need hardly be emphasized here that the channels through which money leaves the family purse are

incomprehensible to many adults. This explains in part unwise installment buying, borrowing with too high interest, and the like.

**Training for Citizenship from Infancy to Maturity.**[1]—From birth on, the child gets his ideas of an orderly or a disorganized world. If his schedule is absolutely regular as to his bath and food, he will begin to understand that things occur in a scheduled fashion. If, on the other hand, he is bathed at any time his family wishes to show him off, if he is fed whenever the mood strikes his parents—or, worse still, whenever he cries—he has a feeling of general discomfort and instability. It is a recognized fact that one of the qualities of a good citizen is a respect for law and order. This then begins at birth. The same regular schedules should guide the life of the child until he leaves the nursery and enters school.

If he is to feel protected he must know that he can count on his parents; so, in addition to having a regular schedule, he must feel that his parents will not make him an outlet for their emotional upsets. He must know that they will greet him and take care of him with deep affection.

A second quality which most persons agree is necessary for good citizenship is a sense of responsibility for the care of the property of the city, county, state, and nation. This is learned in early childhood, in that little community, the family. From the time that the child begins to play with toys he can be taught to put one toy or one set of toys away before he takes out another. He can be given toys that are

[1] A portion of this section is reprinted from an article by the author which appeared in the *National Parent Teacher Magazine*.

so solid and well built that they will last through even the hardest use.

He can be given material which he can take apart and put together again, to stimulate his desire to make things according to his own ideas. Broken toys tend to set up a habit of breaking material carelessly. If a child has nothing that he can take apart and put together again, he will tend to break up even the most solid of toys or take to pieces clocks, watches, or any other objects which are left within his reach.

He needs, too, the training in independence and initiative which materials that help him to construct new combinations will give him. On the matter of toys a whole book could be written. Their importance should not be underestimated.

A good citizen is capable of taking care of himself and of running his own concerns. For unless he can take care of himself he cannot vote intelligently about matters of government which involve not only his life but the lives of all the other citizens in a democratic country. Training him to take care of himself is a long-time program which begins when the child first wishes to dress and undress himself. Though the first attempts are poor he should be allowed to button and unbutton as much of his clothing as he can handle. The buttons should be large and the buttonholes even larger so that they will go over the buttons easily. As soon as he becomes tired he should be helped, but only enough to enable him to finish what he has begun. If the time comes when he is bored with dressing or undressing, an occasional aid in the way of a device can be introduced. The writer entered a nursery school one morning to hear the children say, "We put

the chickens in the coop," only to find that "the chickens" were the buttons and "the coops" the buttonholes on the clothes. They had made a game of what might have been a chore. It always takes longer for them to dress themselves while they are learning all of the many processes involved than it does for a parent to dress them; but if they do not learn to take care of themselves early, their mother may take care of them while they are growing up, their teachers while they are in school, and their wives or husbands when they are married. Since they cannot take care of their own affairs they are hardly free citizens able to vote about important matters.

Cooperation, working together with people, is a quality which today's citizen needs constantly. So even in the nursery, certainly not later than two and a half years of age, the baby should begin to play with people of his own age. The adults in any given family give a child one type of association with people, but they cannot substitute for playmates of his own age. He cannot have the same "give and take" relation. A story will illustrate this better than a long discussion. Not so long ago in a nursery school a two and a half year old came up and punched a four year old who had been in the nursery two years. Instead of hitting back the four year old said, "I'd knock you down but you are littler, so I'll just tell you. Big nursery school boys don't slap each other; they ask for a turn and say 'Thanks' when they get it." Then the older child walked away. He had understood what many older people fail completely to comprehend, that what a small boy needs is not to be knocked down but to be informed.

A child who has had citizenship training before the age of five enters school with good all-around social

development. He likes people; he has learned tolerance and cooperation; he has learned to look carefully before he becomes angry. He has learned to meet failure by studying to see what has caused his difficulty, instead of crying or making silly excuses or blaming other people. This last is again an excellent asset for citizens to have.

Some parents fail to train their children in the ideals of good sportsmanship, to be good losers—or even to be good winners. But all of these are qualities that make for good citizenship.

We can now add one more quality for which the child should have been trained before he enters school, and that is obedience to reasonable commands. There are some parents even today who feel their children should obey immediately no matter who gives the command or how unreasonable it is. This is the psychology that underlies dictatorship, for if the child grew up to obey everyone without thinking whether it was wise to do so he would have lost all the initiative and independence that make for good citizenship in a democracy.

In addition to all of the above, training in respect for property rights must go on from birth to maturity.

The young child feels that anything he finds belongs to him. This attitude may persist throughout life if training does not take place. He must have property that is his own which no one else touches. There must also be property which the family shares. For the property which is shared he must wait his turn. Over that which is his he must have absolute control.

There are too many instances of individuals who have strong opinions as to property rights when the property involved is their own and none when it

belongs to someone else. Yet nothing creates so much tension between the children in the family as to fail to respect their rights.

During periods of depression even clothes have to be shared, but most articles of clothing should be individual and not the property of the family. Two girls who must share a single evening dress may learn tolerance and respect for property through this sharing, but two girls who have nothing which belongs to them alone have neither tolerance nor respect for property.

In many communities everything is shared including husbands and wives. But as soon as civilization reaches a relatively high level property is set apart and governed by rules or laws enforced either by the head of the tribe or in more complicated civilizations by law through its courts and its police.

The idea of property belonging to the community may carry over into the care of property which belongs to all of the citizens in a city. This takes place on entering school. From this time on the school property belongs to the child as well as to the taxpayers. The streets through which he walks, the parks in which he plays, are all, equally, examples of property shared. They are also examples of property which must be respected because other people have part ownership in it.

If he picks the flowers he deprives other owners with equal rights of the pleasures which they might have had. It cannot be emphasized too fully that the basis for this respect for property owned by all the citizens in a city or state is laid in the child's contact with other children and with his parents within the family group.

**Training in Facing Facts.**—Throughout the pre-school period* and later at school entrance young children dislike facing failure. They prefer to make excuses based on someone's or something's fault or to escape into a daydream world—as, for example, the child who could not face the fact that an older child could always take things he wished away from him and sat and thought, "When I am big I will tear off his ears and stamp on his feet." Another, when his blocks constantly fell over because they were not built with the largest ones on the bottom, said, "That wind will blow these over." Wherever these are used it is the parent's duty to call the child's attention to the true state of affairs. In the first instance the parent should have said, "No you will have to get up and fight him now and fight hard. Those things won't happen. You have to make things happen yourself." In the second instance the reason for the blocks falling should be called to the child's attention, as, for example, "No it was not the wind. The blocks fell because you put the little ones at the bottom and the big ones at the top."

This procedure will have to be carried on constantly and without emotion. It is of course necessary that the parents themselves face facts equally clearly. Sound mental hygiene involves facing every situation in which failure has occurred and either finding the way to make oneself a success or acknowledging to oneself that there are things which one cannot do and going into a field in which success is possible. Repression of the actual facts of the situation always produces

* ARLITT, A. H., "Psychology of Infancy and Early Childhood."

conflict. Continued repression may make this conflict the most important part of the mental make-up and in time may produce mental disease.

Paranoia in some of its forms is a direct result of escape mechanisms of the projection type. The same may be said of dementia praecox in relation to other forms of escape mechanisms.

Sound mental hygiene involves training the child in techniques with which to be successful in at least one thing if it is not possible to train him to be successful in many. The more fields in which he achieves success the less need will he have for the development of escape mechanisms and for the parents' aid in overcoming them.

**Training in Religion and Concepts of Beauty.***—Children's reaction to spiritual values depends largely not on inherited traits but on the attitude of their parents. A parent was asked by her ten-year-old son to take him to the art museum to see an exhibition of new pictures. "I am too busy," she said, "but here is ten cents for you to go to the movies." Unquestionably this boy will feel that bridge is much more important than anything that the art museum has to offer. Also he has a wrong concept of his mother's relation to him, since her bridge game was more important to her than his education.

Parents who take their children on excursions during the early school period and enjoy with them wild flowers—to be looked at but not picked—and the beauty of views and of colors in the landscapes and who have at the same time a true sense of the spiritual

* FRANK, LAWRENCE, "The Family as a Cultural Agent," *Living*, vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 10–19, February, 1940.

values involved are carrying on one type of education which will remain with their children always. Direct verbal instruction has little or no value. Education must be carried on by the sharing of attitudes and experiences. The parent who takes his child to church while he himself is experiencing deep religious feeling is giving his child the best possible introduction to religious life.

**Developing Judgment and the Ability to Control One's Actions with the Use of Reason.**—The young infant, when his habit patterns are inadequate to meet new situations, bursts into activity of a highly diffused type. Every muscle is innervated, including the vocal cords. When one of these activities results in success, that is, adequate adjustment to the new situation, this tends to be repeated. If it is always successful, it will in time become the child's habitual method of dealing with the situation whether or not it is wise and in this case even socially desirable.

Too much effort is involved and the learning process covers too long a period to make this a successful type of adjustment. Moreover, the process is analyzed only with difficulty after the learning has occurred and therefore cannot be generalized in full. Finally, the habit pattern, while it results in the adjustment to the situation, may actually be harmful to the child as for example the temper tantrum which may appear whenever frustration occurs because the first one produced desirable results.

As soon as possible reason should be substituted for the type of learning described above, called by most psychologists sensorimotor or trial-and-error learning. A rational approach may be substituted in part or

whole in almost every learning situation except where the habit is a motor one.

When the child takes his cart to the door and tries to make it pass through when he has it in a position which makes passage impossible, the situation should be explained to him briefly in this fashion, "When the ends of the cart are beyond the door like this [illustrating], it won't go through until you turn it around." If this needs further explanation one may actually turn the cart.

Whenever reasoning of this sort can be substituted for the push, pull, bang, and knock type of adjustment it should be done. This holds as true for social adjustments as it does for handling materials.

One says, "But if you hit other people for no reason they will always hit you back" or "If you bite the chances are you will be bitten in return." One says, "A big nursery school boy does not hit another boy when he wants to ride the bicycle. He asks for a turn."

Many parents confuse their children by giving a lecture whenever a crisis occurs. A few simple words which explain the situation, the fewer the better, will clear the child's reactions. Long talks merely add to his confusion and throw him back on the trial-and-error type of response, which should pass as rapidly as possible. The best adjusted individuals are those who pause to reason out the implications of each situation before they act.

No preparation for family living and for adjustment to the social group is more important than is teaching the child a rational approach, and few are so frequently neglected.

**Developing Emotional Control.**—Emotional control so essential for family living is not an asset with which children are born. On the contrary it is the result of long and systematic training. If a child during the first six months of his life cries just to get attention and receives no reward, he soon learns that the temper tantrum is a useless social procedure. If his social environment rewards him when he is controlled and he receives no reward or even punishment when he lacks control, he soon learns that lack of inhibitions in the field of emotions either produces no result or an unpleasant one.

If in addition he may count on the stability of his family life, uniform treatment, uniform rules and regulations, punishments which follow undesirable acts, and pleasant results which follow desirable ones, he will be aided materially in developing emotional control.

Not all children learn emotional control with the same ease. Some are born with nervous systems so constituted that emotional control hardly needs to be acquired, while others are born with nervous systems so unstable that emotional control must be learned through a period of years and with the aid of all the other members of the family. There are all degrees of ease or difficulty in control from that easily acquired to that acquired slowly and continued only with constant effort.

Parents who are rude and cross to each other and the children constitute a stimulus to lack of control so potent that it is difficult under these conditions to bring their children to mature emotional levels. It is sometimes true that families believe that home is the

place where they can release all the bad behavior which society would not tolerate. The family should not tolerate this either.

Individuals who feel that they must release bad behavior should do this when alone. If they have no room of their own, they will have to seek solitude outdoors. There is no excuse for treating members of the family with any less courtesy than would be tolerated by friends or acquaintances.

Children who have not been reared to show courtesy and respect for each other often find it difficult to adjust to conditions in business offices and educational institutions. They have released so often emotions which should have long since been under control that though they have brief periods during which they are affable and easy to get along with there are many occasions when they have emotional outbursts disturbing to everyone with whom they come in contact.

Other individuals of a slightly different type but equally uncontrolled do not have emotional explosions either at home or when they are among friends or acquaintances. Instead they sulk or pout or give way to tears for no apparent reason. This latter type of individual claims to be "sensitive," but he is found to be sensitive only where he himself is concerned. He does not object to disturbing his family or whole groups of other individuals by sullenness, sulking, crying, and the like.

It may almost be laid down as a psychological truism that individuals who claim to be highly sensitive are always infantile emotionally. They have learned to take from society as much as they can get but to give as little as possible in return. They have

also learned to resent any situation in which they do not get everything they wish and to make society pay for it insofar as they are able.

The patriarchal system allowed the head of the family to indulge in such conduct. It also allowed his favorite child or his youngest child the same type of conduct. The democratic family cannot tolerate it.

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## CHAPTER X

## THE RELATION OF CHILD TO CHILD

**The Position of the Child as Determining His Behavior.**—Adler has given us a number of points to consider in relation to the position of the child in the family.

The first born because of the fact that he has dominated the family for at least a year develops definite characteristics in relation to the children that come after. In the first place he may become jealous if he has not been prepared fully for the coming of the second child. If a few weeks or even a month before the second child is born he has been told about the baby and made to feel that the child is partly his, and, if the child after it comes adds to the sum of his experiences and deprives him of very few privileges, the chances of jealousy's occurring are slight.

It must be remembered, however, that because of his age he must keep this position as the head of the group of children. If the second child happens to be a girl while the first one is a boy, conflict may develop unless this situation is handled very carefully. Society expects boys to exceed girls at all points. Girls mature more rapidly than do boys, and it is highly probable that if only one year elapses between the births of the two, the girl will exceed the boy until late adolescence. This is particularly true in school subjects. The so-called "feeling of inferiority" may

develop in the older brother. With increasing age will come increasing jealousy, and the end result may be a definite resistance to women in general and his sister in particular.

In most normal families, if the fact that the girl does better than the boy is not stressed by the parents, the conflict resolves itself at adolescence through constant quarreling. The boy and girl are rarely together in the same room without conflict. They may even go so far as to say they hope never to see each other again.

When both mature and are married these quarrels may have drained off all irritation. The man and the woman may become strong friends.

If two children are born within a year of each other it is not to be expected that the two will get along together at any age since being the second child in the family when the second child has come too soon after the first produces in itself elements of conflict. The first child has had too short a period of babyhood and too short a period of domination over the home and particularly over the mother's time and energy. He must compete with anyone whom he feels is responsible for this loss.

If a third child is born within a period of less than two years after the second, this child is also ripe for conflict. He must constantly compete with the person ahead who is in a dominant position and with the person who has come and pushed him too soon out of babyhood and into early childhood. Occasionally this takes the form of the two younger children's resolving their differences and competing with the older one, but more often it may take the form of

the two older ones' obviating their difficulties and "ganging up" on the younger child.

So far may this be true that the younger child may never be allowed an adequate amount of success. The usual child's game of "last one in the car is a 'so and so'" results in his always being called names because he never gets into the car first. When the other children are "It" in games they may hunt until he is found, but when he is "It" they may simply go off and leave him with his hands over his eyes counting to a hundred and may not come back. They may even go so far as to start the first part of the game and while he is hiding go off and leave him without notifying him that the game is over. He may hide with no one to look for him. In a word in all play relationships he may suffer while they enjoy the game. The development of inferiority under these conditions is to be expected. A sense of inferiority always results in behavior problems of some type.

Occasionally parents are partial to one child at the expense of the others. The results of this may show throughout the lifetime of all of the children. The spoiled child preferred by his parents may remain a spoiled child throughout his entire life. Because the rest of the world does not spoil him he may develop resistances and resentments of the serious type. He may actually develop mental disease to escape from a world which does not spoil him as his parents have.

If there can be anything worse for the development of personality than constant repression which comes from parents who do not love their children, it is the spoiling which stems from the parents who love their children too well. No matter what the preference of

the parent, and it is human to prefer one child above the others, the children should be treated with absolute fairness. This is hard for many parents. They cannot exercise the self-control necessary to treat their children fairly without pain and resentment. It is, however, one of the duties which society imposes on all parents to the same extent that it imposes it on judges on the bench.

No one is quicker to resent unfair treatment than children under the age of fifteen. The whole problem of discipline may become an impossible one because a sense of unfairness has developed. The attitude that people in authority are unfair may extend to all individuals, and anyone under whom the child works may be resented both while he is a child and after he matures.

A general feeling of solidarity of the family against the world is essential. The children may and do quarrel among themselves, but if any one of them is faced with criticism or a fight from someone outside the family the other children stand by him. They may criticize each other, but equally they resent criticism of each other by outsiders.

Not only do families band together when they are attacked from the outside, but all of the children may gather around one of the group who has failed and build up his confidence in himself again. They may work to do away with his feeling of inferiority as would a trained psychologist though the techniques which they use are unconscious.

If the children in the group attack a member of the family who is feeling inadequate their training has been wrong, since they have been allowed to remain

in the sadistic stage of their development. All adolescents tend to be sadistic for a period of a year and sometimes slightly more. They tease to the point of pain, find out what hurts the feelings of the younger children and repeat these things again and again until they cry, harass them when they are busy and the like.

If there are adolescent children and younger ones in the family this behavior can be expected, but it should be checked whenever it occurs in order that the sadistic trend does not become a part of the adolescent's behavior pattern. Nothing is more uncomfortable for a family group than an individual who verbally tortures the other members. Except for this passing phase in the development of youth, outright quarrels and mild teasing should be all that can be expected of them in their checks on each other's behavior.

Teasing not carried too far is a form of play, and it is also an important part of the hardening process through which everyone has to go in order to develop resistance to attacks from individuals outside of the family.

It is characteristic of the home behavior pattern that individuals who can be easily upset are a stimulus to the social group to upset them as frequently as possible. Contact with other children within the family develops a tougher personality, if we use this term in the sense of stronger and more resistant. The only child, who does not go through this hardening process, is often oversensitive and not able to take his own part when he meets his peers.

There is a normal family adjustment between children, but it is unreasonable to expect that they will always play together pleasantly and love each

other from dawn to dawn. On the contrary their relationship consists of a series of quarrels followed by periods in which they make up. They like each other sometimes, and at other times they dislike each other intensely. In a family of five two may like each other far more than they like the other three. It is even possible that one or more of them may dislike, throughout life, a sister or brother. This is entirely natural, since it has been pointed out that in spite of the fact that they are brothers and sisters they may be very slightly related insofar as chromosomal content is concerned.

To insist that each of the children love all the others is not reasonable since affection cannot be forced. To insist that they show courtesy to each other is another matter, and this the parent may insist upon with reason.

The best way to secure an excellent relationship between children is to have this relationship exist between the parents themselves. But even this will not ensure that each of the children will love every other member of the family.

The family is the place in which to teach cooperation. This can be taught through sharing property, through saving together to buy something desired by the family as a whole or working together toward a common end, or through individual sacrifice in order that some other member of the group may profit and thus might be able to benefit the whole family group.

**Sharing Property.**—We have discussed the fact that money should be shared among the members of the family fairly. The same applies to property. Each child may have things which belong definitely to him.

There are a number of points however at which he can learn what is meant by sharing.

The girls of the family may each have an evening dress, but there may be only one coat that goes with the evening clothes. Planning for the use of this coat teaches all of the principles of fair play.

In some families the budget is so cramped that only a single evening dress is possible for the mother and two or three grown daughters. Here again cooperation in keeping this dress in order and in planning for its use can be taught.

An interesting illustration of this is the attitude of a mother and her younger daughter when they met the older daughter in the evening wearing the family evening clothes. Said the younger girl to her mother, "Let's tell Elaine to pick up our evening dress so the edge won't get dusty."

The family car is an excellent place for working out a cooperative type of behavior. It is natural for every member of the family to want the use of this excellent means of transportation and to resent the fact that they cannot have it.

If a high-school boy or girl is asked about when the parents should have the car he or she usually replies, "When we don't want it." If they are allowed to go upon the basis of this attitude excellent opportunities for education have been neglected. Here is a place for the use of the family council to work out a plan whereby each may have a fair share of the car provided he pays for the oil and gas out of his own allowance or portion of the family budget.

There are all too many instances of individuals who have learned to have respect for their own property

while at the same time they lack respect for that of others. A strong sense of property rights may be likened to a one-way street. It only goes in one direction, that of the owner toward his own property. Unfortunately for the persistence of democratic ideals this type of behavior has been increasing at a high rate.

**Saving Together to Buy Something Desired by the Family and Working Together toward a Common End.**—When a new home is to be bought or a new car to be planned for, it is well to have every member of the family contribute in some way to the purchase. Children may save for some furniture for the house or for some equipment for the car, while the parents with their larger share of the family income save for the home or the car. Children who have cooperated in the purchase of any object have more respect for it and have much more desire to keep it in good shape.

A small boy who was allowed to save for a portion of the finish of the car, since he wished to choose the color, was heard to say to his friend, who was leaning against it as many children do, "Look out you're scratching my paint." A dozen cautions about things that damage the finish of a car would have been relatively ineffective as compared with the fact that he himself had contributed to its purchase and had a strong feeling of ownership.

Having things which one can share with the rest of the family develops a desire for service which it is hard to develop in any other way. A ten year old who grew pansies and then made of them a corsage for his older sister to wear to a dance learned not only to share but to experience the satisfaction that comes

from generosity with one's possessions and of adding to the pleasure of someone else.

**Individual Sacrifice for the Welfare of the Family.**—Two adolescents, a boy and a girl, reached the age of entering college at the same time although there was a year's difference in their age. There was money enough to send only one of them through college if both worked, one of them at college at a part-time job and the other at a full-time job. Working out various ways of meeting this problem taught both many of the principles which underlie good family adjustment which they could apply in full to their own married lives.

**The Adopted Child.**—Recently their appears to be an increasing tendency in the United States to adopt children, though this has long been a custom in other countries.* It is not unusual to find own children and adopted children in the same family. This often produces difficulty between the children themselves, between the parents, and between the parents and the children. It is not unusual to find the father of the family hyper-critical in his relations with the adopted child and tending to blame him for the difficulties of his own children. It is occasionally not the father who takes this attitude but the mother.

The children themselves may unite against the adopted child and deliberately make his or her life difficult or even unbearable. It sometimes happens

* DOOLITTLE, JUSTUS, "Social Life of the Chinese," Low and Marston, London, 1868.

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that in adolescence this is intensified to such a degree that it is necessary to send the adopted child away to school or to visit relatives in order to ease the tension.

Difficulties do not always arise, however, and they need not arise. There are many records of families of two own children and one or more adopted children who have adjusted to their parents and to each other in the best type of family relationship from early childhood to maturity.

Case *B* and his wife had no children for four years. They then adopted a boy three years of age. The following year they had a son of their own and three years later a daughter. While *B* was harder on his adopted child than on his own children until the adopted boy reached the age of twelve he appeared to be fond of him. As soon as the traits characteristic of adolescence developed, however, the father became annoyed with his adopted son, scolded him constantly, threatened to thrash him for very little reason, complained of childish peccadillos and in every way made the boy's life miserable. When the boy's grades were not high he was punished severely. He was kept from association with his friends.

The boy developed a tendency to lie and steal as compensation for rough treatment at home. He lied both at home and to his companions to get the center of the stage and stole money to buy presents for his friends.

The picture is a classic one. *B* refused to change his behavior in relation to the boy because he claimed that harsh discipline was needed to make a man of him. The case was finally solved only when the boy was sent to his mother's sister who had no sons of her own and treated him with every consideration. At the end of a year all behavior problems had disappeared, and the boy was adjusting normally.

This is only one of the number of cases of similar behavior on the part of foster parents.

The position of the adopted child, if there are no own children in the family, presents few if any diffi-

culties provided that the attitude of the parents is a wholesome one. If, when a child asks where it came from, it is told, "Other children are born into families and their fathers and mothers have to take them but I chose you out of all the children that I saw because I liked you best," the child feels an added security. This statement may be varied provided it is phrased in such a way as to give the child the same amount of certainty that he belongs to the family because they wanted him.

If there is an attempt to cover up the fact that the child is adopted, it will fail for there is always someone who is aware of the fact that he is adopted and will circulate it until it comes to his ears. The fact that it has been concealed from him indicates to him that it is something of which the parents are not proud. Many behavior problems date from the discovery by the child of the fact that he is adopted. Though he may never inform his parents that he has this knowledge, the effect upon him is seen in his refusal to conform to the pattern of the family which has adopted him. Often he will find out the situations which will disturb his adopted family most and will then deliberately create them.

It appears to be particularly disastrous if the child finds as he enters early adolescence that he is adopted. It is a common practice among adolescent children to imagine themselves adopted and then to become seriously disturbed by the idea. There appears to be a deep need to belong to a family group at this time. If this pretense that one is adopted is not a game but suddenly becomes reality, the child may disintegrate

emotionally and even mentally to escape a situation too hard for him to face.

Adoption* can be suggested or even urged on childless couples who are anxious to have children, but it should always be made clear that no deception of the child about his origin should ever be practiced.

Adoptive parents often look for peculiarities in children the records of whose parents they know. Traits and peculiarities of behavior are not inherited to the degree to which we originally thought. Such traits as a child inherits from unsuccessfully adjusted parents may be eradicated by education and training. There may be and there usually is no evidence that these traits are present or even potentially present if the environment of the child is not such as to cultivate them.

The adoption of one or more children† may be a successful method of increasing a family which is not large enough to meet the parents' desires or of having a group of children growing up in the family where there would otherwise be none. If properly taken care of, adopted children are usually an asset.

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## CHAPTER XI

## THE POSITION OF RELATIVES

The position of relatives in the present family organization is a peculiar one. In all earlier organizations each member of the family whether married or not married made a definite contribution to family welfare and to the economic security of the group as a whole.

This is not the case with the modern family unless the relative has money which can be contributed to the group. Since the change from farm to urban living, money has taken the place of services. Now a few individuals produce a major portion of the goods, and these must be purchased with cash. Only in farm communities does trading take the place of money. A farmer can still exchange eggs, butter, and other products for flour, coffee, dry goods, and other necessities.

Money therefore becomes a significant factor in the position of relatives. Where services can be given by these relatives anyone with any degree of kinship might claim a home with a family who owned property. Where services cannot be rendered no one may claim a home except the parents of the married couple or their dependent children, and even this has occasionally to be legally enforced.

This puts the responsibility for making a contribution squarely up to the relatives; but at the same

time, because they do make a contribution and a definite one, they feel entitled to interfere much more with the married pair and their children.

When the maiden aunt came to visit as she did any family in which there was illness and in which an extra hand was needed, she did this under the direction of the head of the house or someone to whom he had delegated the required authority. She was frequently pushed from the center of the group and was thanked little if at all for the services which she contributed.

Such relatives today do not visit on sufferance but come because they contribute money or services without which the family would have to forego some of its luxuries or even some of its necessities. They, therefore, feel a well-established right to interfere at will in the affairs of the married couple and to discipline their children. They feel that they have a right to question the way in which these children are treated and to interfere in the discipline. They claim the right to instruct the married pair and even to take a high hand with them. If this relative be a mother of one or the other of the married pair, she may claim her rights and privileges to such an extent that the married pair have few left which they may call their own.

This situation has given rise to a new type of discipline in homes in which there are one or more relatives, namely, divided authority. We have already pointed out the seriousness of this situation, but an even more serious one is often present. Before the children the relatives question the intelligence of the children's parents. They feel at liberty to belittle them. They may even talk about the parents' childish misdeeds

or his personal inadequacies to the children. They side with them against the parents. By bribery they may hold away from the children's parents the affection which should go to them. The whole household may center around them.

Any of these situations is bad for the children but even worse for the parents in their relations with the children and in their relations with each other. It makes the children question the wisdom of their parents and even look upon their parents as ridiculous figures. Parents so belittled in the eyes of their children are apt to take out their irritation on each other. Where one member of the married pair sides with the relative and against the other member, the possibility of a normal adjustment between the couple is slight.

Case *JX* and his wife had three children who had adjusted excellently to themselves and to their parents. The grandmother and the wife's sister moved in ostensibly to help out with the rent, but in reality because they had not sufficient income to live alone. Both had thought the children's mother a person of very little intelligence and had constantly corrected and reproved her until she married. In spite of the fact that the mother had controlled the children excellently and was making a good home for them and their father, the childhood attitude of the two older women carried over. They told the children stories of their mother's stupidity and the difficulties she had had in learning school subjects. At table they made jokes about the mother's manners. The three children aged eleven, nine, and six began to question their mother's intelligence and within a year were completely out of control.

Nothing is worse for a child than to lose respect for his parents. Authorities in religious education have already indicated that the child gets his first ideas of

the fatherhood of God from the treatment which his parents give him in early infancy. He does not realize that these parents may make serious mistakes until he finds them questioned by others or until he reaches adolescence and begins to question them himself. He obeys them because he respects them. When this respect is destroyed there is no further reason for giving obedience, nor is there any reason for respecting parents who are being made fun of. If the father in the case cited above was so stupid as not to realize that his wife was inadequate to the extent that her elderly relatives pictured it, then in the eyes of the children he too must be lacking in intelligence and judgment.

The behavior of these relatives may be multiplied by many hundreds since it occurs all too frequently.

An older relative with no normal outlet for affection may spoil either the wife or the husband. The spoiled individual relaxes into an infantile relation. So far may this be true that an individual who has been on the verge of developing complete emotional maturity may now become a child himself and expect his wife to treat him as his mother or his maiden aunt treated him, namely, as a spoiled child of whom little is expected but an undue amount of coddling or an overdisplay of superficial affection.

It is possible too that the elderly relative may relapse into immature emotional states. If this is true or she becomes a constant drain on the emotions of both or again seeks the affection of only one at the expense of the other.

Case *M*. Mrs. *M* had been completely spoiled by her husband and her son before the son married. The son was sufficiently

mature however to break away from family ties and set up a home of his own. He and his wife had adjusted successfully until the death of his mother's husband.

The death of her husband left Mrs. *M* without companionship so she insisted upon moving in with her son and his wife. Mrs. *M* was highly intelligent but quite unaware of her emotional state. She chose the points in which his wife was weakest to point out to her son. These were played up in such a fashion as to make the son sympathize wholly with his mother and criticize his wife. This technique was employed until the husband saw so many faults in his wife that his affection for her began to diminish. As is frequent in such cases the wife felt resentment first against her mother-in-law, then against her husband. This resentment made her behave less intelligently than she would have otherwise.

The case came to the writer's attention when the husband and wife came to the consultation center separately each to complain of the other. In such situations only one solution is possible since the mother-in-law is usually too old to change and too unwilling to face reality to accept the facts indicated by her behavior. Either a place must be found for the mother-in-law where she cannot interfere with the life of the couple, or this marriage will disintegrate.

The emotional ties which bind the husband to his mother are so strong that it is doubtful whether he will face the situation and carry it through to a proper conclusion. The wife is left facing a dilemma about which she can do nothing since if she corrects the faults about which the mother-in-law complains other causes for complaint would be found.

So great is the possibility of interference in the normal life adjustments between husband and wife that most couples would prefer to endure any hardship rather than to take into their homes the mother or father or any of the elderly relatives of either.

Only in this generation could such an article as "I Put My Father in an Old Man's Home"* appear in

* *The Readers Digest*, 1939.

a popular magazine, but the reasoning back of the decision which led to removing the father from the home and putting him where he could no longer deprive the family of its friends and set them against each other was entirely adequate and could be justified to most thinking people.

When there is more than one relative in the house the situation becomes even more complicated. The two relatives may "gang up" on the father and mother of the children and thus help to diminish the respect which the children have for their parents. Or one relative may spoil one of the children while the other relative singles out another, and each may protect unduly his favorite and may quarrel with the parents about him. This produces not only the divided authority referred to earlier but the actual development of warring elements in the household where there should be integration. The family may in fact become disintegrated, since each individual is for himself and one other person and against all the rest.

Constant quarrels break down the general family morale and set the children against each other. The ordinary quarrels of children pass rapidly. They are merely a means of adjusting children to each other. If the opponents are backed by older people in their grievances their feelings become more intense, and quarrels last longer and have a more severe after-effect. It is not unusual to see families in which each individual is simply another element of conflict. No two can be together without quarreling, since the conflict over relatives and the children is apt to make quarrels between husband and wife a habit also.

In one such group it was the custom to write disagreeable notes and leave them at the place at table of the person whom they wished to upset. In another the children's blackboard was used as a means of carrying unpleasant messages. The whole contribution which family life may make to the individual is lost when such disintegration takes place. The home is the one place in which one may now find security. There is no security offered in a home in which conflict dominates personal contact. Children from such a home are very apt to leave it at the earliest possible moment and not to return to it until they are grown up enough to fight for themselves. In some instances they have deliberately moved to distant cities never to return even for visits.

This pattern also tends to make them repudiate family life and themselves refuse marriage for fear that their home life may approximate the life of the home which they have left.

Relatives may actually be an asset if they conform to certain of the qualifications required by modern home living. In the first place they may offer services which would have to be paid for at a relatively high rate. An older relative may remain at home with the children while the mother works and may give these children a more devoted and more adequate care than their mother could possibly provide.

All of the housework may be turned over to this older relative while the mother devotes herself to the care and rearing of her children or to a part-time job or both. Where such services are offered, the position of the relative is improved. In fact, the loss of such a relative may handicap the family materially.

It is highly probable that the future family will meet the situation produced by the introduction of relatives into modern living by working out a set of family relationships which will enable them to provide support while at the same time they do away with interference which relatives bring into an otherwise normal type of family living. At the present moment the situation with regard to relatives is a serious one both from the point of view of the family and of the relatives.

Relationships are so poorly worked out that even such a device as the family council does not work well enough to do away with friction. Such family councils involve the gathering of the older members of the family in the absence of the children to thrash out through argument and discussion their mutual differences. These are not called at regular intervals such as every Thursday or the second Thursday in the month but occur whenever there appears to be a high degree of tension between the adult members of the group.

To take part in such a council, which involves hearing oneself criticized and facing this criticism with an open mind, requires a degree of emotional maturity which many women of the older generation do not possess. Such councils when called are apt to result in hurt feelings. Many things are said which are not forgotten and which form the basis for later quarrels. In fact if any member of this group is emotionally immature, he may list all the grievances brought out in the family council and make it a point to "get even" with each member who has been responsible for hurting him.

The skill which members of the family show in getting even is based on the fact that all of them are aware of the weaknesses and inadequacies of each. They make use of this knowledge deliberately to hurt and upset each other.

This behavior is particularly disturbing when there are adolescents in the house. It is the nature of adolescents to compete with other people. In fact they must compete with older people and win occasionally if they are to become strong enough to found their own homes. The girl competes particularly with her mother, the boy especially with his father. There is then always tension when there are adolescents in the home. When a relative deliberately backs the adolescent by handing over to him her knowledge of the weaknesses of the person whom the adolescent is fighting, the child is given an unfair advantage. This leads to his winning more frequently than he should. It also leads to his throwing away all authority stemming from the parent for whom he loses respect.

To summarize the problems which arise when there are relatives to be included in the household, it may be said that unless these contribute materially to the financial welfare of the home or unless they contribute services which are essential they tend to be a detriment rather than an asset. Their inclusion in the household provides happiness neither for them nor for the other members. On the other hand, if they supply financial aid and services or even services of value and if they understand the assets and liabilities which they present to family living, the presence of relatives may be beneficial.

Many people have memories of time spent with grandparents or with maiden aunts without which their lives would be much poorer. Many remember the time spent with such older relatives as the happiest time of their lives. In fact it is not unusual to find in the reminiscences of older people as many instances of pleasure received from association with older relatives as there are of those received from the parents themselves. The whole problem resolves itself into the type of individual that the relative happens to be and his willingness to face the problems which his inclusion in the household produce.

A relative who has worked out a definite philosophy which makes it possible for the couple to live their lives and to keep the proper parental relation to their children should be an asset to family life. He or she may have wide interests outside the home and should bring in not only money but outside interests, new points of view, and the wisdom that comes from much experience.

Relatives of this type have not developed at quite the rate that the family has changed, but this is entirely natural. In all social changes there is always a lag at some point, and it was to be expected that this lag would occur in the reorganization of the attitudes and activities of relatives in the home in relation to a head of a house much younger than they are.

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## CHAPTER XII

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES WHICH INFLUENCE FAMILY DEVELOPMENT

A brief survey of the social changes which have come about through economic developments shows some of the most important factors to be:

1. The tendency of women to leave the family group in order to add to the family income and society's acceptance of the fact that women have a right to leave family responsibilities for another job which seems to them to be more suited to their social needs.

2. Limiting the number of children because of parental desire to give each child every advantage and because of the fact that a large family interferes with employment of the mother outside of the home, or for other reasons.

3. Outside influences which come directly into the home such as radio, newspapers, and magazines.

4. The assumption of home and family responsibilities by Federal, state, and local governmental agencies.

5. Standard-setting agencies for the moment not under the control of the home, such as motion pictures.

6. The speed of transportation, which has brought in world politics as an influence in local family groups.

**7. Discovery of individual differences as a factor in social behavior.**

**The Tendency of Women to Seek Work outside the Home.**—In 1870 only 14.7 percent of women in the United States had entered industry, the trades, or the professions. In 1920 this percentage increased to 24.* The total number has now increased to ten and a half million. It may be expected to remain at that point or to increase further.†

At the same time that women have been leaving the home because of economic and social needs, those women who have remained have lost many of the functions and characteristics of the wife and mother of 1900.‡

The average city woman, according to Kneeland, spends 66 hours and 48 minutes per week in homemaking duties, while the average farm woman spends 63 hours and 32 minutes, but it is difficult to see how this time could be put in. The preparation of meals with gas and electricity is a short-time process, for even if the food must be cooked for a long period it can be put on the stove or in the oven and left there while other household duties are carried on or while the homemaker rests. It is probable then that this time is somewhat exaggerated except in homes where there are very young children.

* LINDQUIST, RUTH, "The Family in the Present Social Order," University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1931, pp. 19–20.

† "Why Women Work," *Public Affairs Pamphlet* 17, Public Affairs Committee, New York, 1940.

‡ OGBURN, WILLIAM F., and CLARK TIBBITS, "The Family and Its Functions," Chap. XIII from "Recent Social Trends in the United States," Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, 1933, Vol. I, pp. 669–674.

One baby under a year old will occupy a large part of the 63 hours and 32 minutes.* Three under three years of age may be expected to take much more time than the above. When there are adolescent children, however, or a single child, the homemaker's time has been cut to approximately 43 or 44 hours a week. This is not a full-time job.†

Where the family lives in an apartment or house with every convenience and the apartment is four rooms or less, it is impossible to understand how a woman may put in full time. The skillful homemaker should be able to do the work of this apartment, including cooking, washing, mending, and cleaning in a 40-hour week or less.

Because of this, any number of so-called frills have been invented by homemakers not sufficiently busy with actual work. The countless millions of dinner and luncheon forks and the plates used in service are a good illustration of material added merely to occupy time which would otherwise be too free. Only in a century with too much leisure could three plates be required to serve one half of one small melon or a glass of tomato juice.

The number of bridge clubs whose members make a serious business of playing the game by rapidly changing rules and conventions and the large attendance at downtown motion picture houses during the afternoon are another indication of the amount of leisure enjoyed by a large proportion of women and

* REID, MARGARET, "Economics of Household Production," John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1934.

† NELSON, JANET FOWLER, "Marriages Are Not Made in Heaven," The Woman's Press, New York, 1939.

some men. On the other hand there are indications that women who have large families of children are fully occupied.

A study of "Who's Who in America"* indicates that women who appear in this volume are apt to have one child only. One woman in the volume has eleven children. A number of cases have none. Whether this actually means that it is difficult to reach the eminence required by "Who's Who" when one has children or whether eminent women do not tend to have them for some other reason has yet to be explained. However, the facts are relatively clear.

The effect on the children of their being left at home without the companionship of their mother is hard to determine. If the mother has a position in a school system and her children are of school age, she may yet give them the companionship they need, for they may have luncheon at school and need her only when they return as she does at about half past three in the afternoon.

She deprives her family of services† worth a great deal of money, and it costs her a great deal more to live if she takes a position outside the home. Her clothing budget is increased materially; her expenses for carfare and lunches are no small item of the family budget, and she must pay for service in the home which is efficient enough to keep the home going well.‡ In

* COPE, PERSIS M., "The Women of Who's Who," A statistical study, *Social Forces*, 7: 212–223, December, 1928.

† PETERSON, AGNES L., "What the Wage Earning Women Contributes to Family Support," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 143: 85–93, May, 1929.

‡ KYRK, HAZEL, "Economic Problems of the Family," Harper & Brothers, New York, 1933.

most cities of any size this means an allowance of at least fifty dollars a month for service. While there may be a few individuals who are adequate to all the tasks of running a home economically and well these constitute but a small percentage of the workers who are employed in home making in the mother's stead. Few are trained to shop both skillfully and economically, few have a long-time view of the family's needs, and few will waste as little in food, light, heat, gas, and so on.

The following table based on estimates of thirty-five teachers with incomes from $1,800.00 to $2,500.00 a year is significant.

TABLE VI.—AVERAGE COST PER YEAR OF WORKING OUTSIDE THE HOME AS ESTIMATED BY THIRTY-FIVE TEACHERS*

| | At home | Working |
|---|---|---|
| Clothes | $107 | $325 |
| Transportation | 24 | 200 |
| Taxes | 10 | 190 |
| Professional expenses | 10 | 30 |
| Lunches, etc., away from home | 5 | 80 |
| Miscellaneous, such as entertaining | .... | 22 |
| Total | $146 | $847 |
| | | 146 |
| Difference | .... | $701 |

* For additional information see "How Professional Women Spend Their Money," published by the Bureau of Home Economics, United States Department of Agriculture, 1938.

In spite of the fact that all these figures are estimated and not based on books kept over a long period they conform rather closely to the figures in the publication of the Bureau of Home Economics. A careful study will show that it costs these women

approximately seven hundred dollars a year to work outside of their homes. This does not include hiring additional help which in many cases was necessary.

The cost of these items, therefore, must be added to the budget for hiring outside assistance and the total subtracted from the income which the woman of the family brings in, in order to determine her real earning power.

We have often heard professional women complain that they "don't know where the money went." These individuals have probably not calculated the cost of working away from home in proportion to the salaries they receive.

It is doubtful whether most families have indulged in this mathematical exercise. It will frequently be found that, far from adding to the family income, the mother's activities outside the home really lessen it.*

On the other hand, there are women who are not fitted to be homemakers and who make their best contribution when they turn the running of their homes over to women more competent than they and supplement the family budget in order to employ such women.

If housekeeping constitutes a chore which is poorly done and reacted to with a feeling of inadequacy and failure, then the best contribution that can be made is to supply the money to employ someone who is efficient enough to run a home properly.

If women attempt to carry the double burden of working and running their homes, a part of their

* For an excellent account of this situation presented in fiction see "If I Have Four Apples" by Josephine Lawrence, Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, 1935.

essential contribution as homemakers must be left out. Time cannot be taken away from business, for there the competition is keen and the workman who does not keep up to the mark has no chance to survive. It must therefore be taken from the home and the children. Sometimes it means that the home is less well kept, meals are sketchy and poorly served, and the family lives in a general state of confusion. The untidy habits which this develops in the children may be a factor in interfering with their own married lives when they become adult. It will certainly interfere with general adjustment to life and work.

Equally serious in its effect is the employment of persons who produce a sterile home environment for the children. The home is too clean, and no toys are allowed to be out where the child can reach them easily. He is constantly cautioned to keep clean. He is not allowed to play freely with toys for fear that these may be broken. On the health side he is kept away from all outside contacts and therefore does not develop a natural immunity to disease. His life is so scheduled that he has no opportunity for the development of a sense of responsibility and initiative. It would be difficult to measure the disadvantages of either extreme as compared with the other since both affect personality adversely.

Women who have worked all day at a high tension are apt to be exhausted when they reach home. They are therefore unable to react calmly to small irritations which, if they were rested, would have no effect whatever. To an already tired individual they are unbearable.

Irritability, general strain, undue criticism of other members of the family, or a feeling of being put upon or martyred may, and often does, develop. The parent may feel that she sacrifices time and individual development in order to contribute an added amount to the support of her children. She may be able to buy a home and add a car to the family's pleasures because she, as well as her husband, contributes money to the household ménage. All of the added pleasure from the car and the added stability of a home clear of debt are not to be weighed in the balance against a homemaker rested, poised, and ready to meet all of the minor crises and major emergencies which arise in homemaking.

The parent who receives her children on their return from school fairly well rested can see clearly the points at which the children need assistance and aid in building up their personalities. She can strengthen their weak points and help them to make the strong elements of their personalities more effective. In a word she can act as does a good executive in an organization, making of each individual who works with her a better adjusted and more well rounded and efficiently functioning entity.

The individual who rushes home from work late in the day has neither time nor energy left for personality development. On the contrary the only personality which is apt to be of interest to her is her own. The home, instead of being a center to which all the members of the family come for security and rest and for renewal after the too strong pressure of life outside of the home, becomes a center of tension and disturbance. Nothing could be a poorer substitute for

a modern home well run and ministering to all of the psychological needs of the individuals who comprise it than a household of this type.

The woman who stays at home and runs efficiently the type of family living which the United States in this century can provide has far more rewards and can feel that she is doing a larger creative job than the woman whose activities are given over to the mere production of goods or giving of services of a non-creative type.

There are many professional women, however, whose contribution to the world is sufficiently great to compensate for the loss of their services in individual homes. Great scientists of all types come under this heading as do creative artists of first rank. Below the best in art and in the professions there are a great group of individuals who would actually be more efficient and have a larger number of satisfactions if they remained at home.

Occasionally a profession is so geared that it can be used to supplement home activity. Nursery-school directors who can run play groups within their homes for their own children and the children of their neighbors are making a greater contribution than if they were not trained to run such groups. Their children are better off because of the number of outside contacts which they have. A single child or two children brought up away from outside contacts until school age will have, as has already been pointed out, less opportunity to mature emotionally than do children who are included in a group before the age of three.

Physicians who do part-time work and research workers who can arrange to be away from home only

during the hours when the children are in school may also achieve a balance between outside work and adequate homemaking.

In the case of a small group of women, whom we have already described as inadequate to become homemakers because of lack of interest or training or personality deficiencies, assistance which permits them to do their work outside of their homes is not only desirable but essential.

It is far better for some children to have the competent supervision and care of trained women who know something about the principles of child development and training than it is for them to be reared in the "hit-or-miss" fashion practiced by some untrained parents. Mother love is not a substitute for adequate training and intelligence, a fact which this generation has learned to its cost. It is only necessary to refer to the number of nervously inadequate and emotionally immature individuals to make this point clear.

If there are no children, the marriage may be called an arrested one.* There are many such families in modern life. They are either unable or unwilling to have children; therefore they plan to live much as they would if they were single except that they have the additional companionship of the married pair together with the emotional satisfactions which accompany marriage. In this situation as in the case of the woman with a family, the economic pressure may become so serious that it is necessary for the woman

* GROVES, E. R., "American Marriage," J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1934.

GROVES, E. R., and L. M. BROOKS, "Readings in the Family," J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1934.

to undertake partially or wholly her own support even though she is married.

All costs have risen, particularly food costs. Rent has never gone back to the level of 1900. While women do not get paid as well as men, the men's salaries have often fallen because women could be secured to do the same work as well as or better than men for less money.

A man secretary was sure to be found in the office of every businessman in the nineties, since for a woman to be so employed stamped her as being "fast" or "queer." In few business offices today is this position held by a man. Women appear to make far better secretaries. Men in clerical positions therefore tend to be paid less and their wives' income may be needed to supplement the family budget.

This may sometimes act as a potent factor in family discord. A man and woman both employed by the same firm may be paid unequally, the woman getting the larger income as the more efficient member of the firm. Few men are able to face this situation with equanimity.

If she gives up her position, the family will have to lower their standard of living materially. They may not wish to face the type of housing and food and clothing which would be theirs if she stayed at home, while at the same time they may quarrel continually because the husband feels inadequate and inferior. He may compromise by losing his self-respect and agreeing to be supported in part by his wife. On the other hand, if he has sufficient ability he may be stimulated to reach a position which he might not otherwise have reached. This may become a factor

in controlling the birth rate, and, if one believes case histories, it does so operate.

Women in business have the advantage, however, over women who stay at home in that they have material of interest to discuss with their husbands, and they also appear to take more trouble to keep up mentally and physically.

**Divorce as a Part of Modern Society.**—We have already pointed out in earlier chapters the fact that the marriage relationship is one which requires both training and the desire to be successful. The whole aim and end of family living has changed. The satisfactions which are now expected from marriage are psychological far more than economic.* Where the psychological satisfactions are not present divorce tends to occur.

Many causes are cited when divorces are applied for. In states where cruelty is a cause for divorce this may be cited. The cruelty may be mental. In cases where desertion is a cause this may be used. The whole status of divorce laws in the United States is peculiar. No two states permit exactly the same grounds for divorce. In some states divorces may be obtained easily, and relatively simple factors appear to produce them. In other states only unfaithfulness may be cited. In others there may be two or three legitimate grounds.

With this in view it is impossible to give a correct picture of the real reasons why people separate, sometimes after years of marriage. Psychiatrists have blamed the increasing divorce rate on emotional immaturity and failure of the sex life of the couple. Sociolo-

* See Chap. XIV.

gists have blamed this increase on these and on other causes. In fact there appear to be as many causes cited for the breaking up of marriages as there are possible situations which might cause their disintegration.

Where housing conditions are bad and economic instability is high, the family tends to disintegrate and the divorce rate is also high. It is possible then that both external forces and internal conditions operate upon the modern family to make it appear increasingly unstable.

Instead of treating each of these in this volume we have chosen to stress the factors which produce lasting and satisfactory marital relations. This has been done in the chapter on Predicting Success in Marriage.

Certain it is that unless the marriage is satisfying psychologically, whatever may be the cause of the dissatisfaction, the marriage will tend to disintegrate. There is nothing new about this situation. It has occurred in other times to an even more alarming extent. Groves and Brooks* cite notations on gravestones found in Rome indicating that it was far more prevalent in the later days of Rome than in any period in the United States.

Wherever social pressure is not brought to bear upon the family to force it to remain together, it will be stable in proportion to the amount that it contributes to the life and happiness of the married pair.

**Limiting the Number of Children in the Family.**—The decrease in the size of families which has taken

* Groves, E. R., and L. M. Brooks, "Readings in the Family," J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1934.

place since 1900 is one of the most interesting social phenomena of modern times. Birth control is not new to the human race. On the contrary primitive peoples practice birth control and infanticide whenever the sources of food are inadequate. Their methods, while frequently painful, are for the most part fairly effective.

If one looks at a pictorial representation of the percentage of increase from 1800 to the decade between 1930 and 1940 one is startled by the immense disparity.* Between 1800 and 1860 the increase in the population was 34.5 per cent. Between 1930 and 1940 the increase was 7.2 per cent. A proportionate increase in the population from 1930 to 1940 would have produced 142,000,000 American citizens to be included in the last census. As a matter of fact the actual count was 131,000,000. Statisticians have been predicting this decrease, so it was not a surprise to them, but the general public regards it as not only a surprise but a shock.

The effect of this decrease in expected population has been wide. The schools have fewer pupils entering every year and this will in time make teaching an overcrowded profession.

In March, 1939, New York City registered its highest number of high-school students, 257,498. In October, 1940, this number had been decreased by 3,000. The picture in the elementary schools is even more startling, since 150,000 pupils have been lost between 1930 and 1940. If this ratio of decrease continues in preschool and elementary school children,

* "What the New Census Means," *Public Affairs Pamphlet* 56, Public Affairs Committee, Inc., New York, 1940.

businessmen who make toys and clothing for children and fill similar needs will find themselves overexpanded unless they take account of the change in the constitution of the population and reorganize their businesses to supply new needs. All professionally trained people who work with very young children will be affected in the same way as are teachers and businessmen.

The building industry will be affected by the fact that new schools will not need to be built unless old ones are destroyed or become too antiquated to be used. Unless the idea of a home for every family is sold to the public, fewer homes will be needed. This will have its effect on land values.

It is not necessary to go further into the effects of the change in the constitution of the population. There are three contributing factors to this change in the population: (1) The decrease in the actual number of births; (2) the extension of life expectancy; (3) the restricted quota of immigration which kept our stock supplied with stocks having a high degree of fertility.

Any of these may change and the population ratio appear to increase, but unless they change to a marked degree the population trend will continue in the direction which it is taking today.

**Psychological Effects of Small Families.**—The effect of smaller families on individual children has already been discussed, but it should be pointed out again that the fewer the children the more difficult parent-child relationships become. The number of crises increases in reverse relation to the number of children. This weakness has been complicated by the desire of

parents to have each child perfect, by the fact that each parent wants the few children whom he has to have all of the advantages which a large family of twelve might possibly enjoy, and by the fact that parents feel their social position depends upon the behavior of one or two children.

There is also the tendency of parents to see in each child all of the faults which they could have seen in twelve if they have one child, or in six if they have two. This makes parents correct children far more frequently than they have at any other time in the history of the world and makes them expect much more from them.

Children themselves learn much less about social contacts. They are also deprived of practical experience within their homes in those techniques of getting along with people so essential to the establishment of good social relationships.

If they develop self-consciousness as a behavior pattern or if they become too self-centered, they are already preparing to develop symptoms of nervous diseases in later life. If they are spoiled because of the fact that there is no one else with whom they must divide attention, they may become narcissistic in their trends and remain fixated at an infantile emotional level.

On the other hand, they may fail to develop self-control, an essential preface to a healthy adolescence. Although we have some research indicating that the only child is not seriously handicapped and may even have unusual advantages, we have also a number of case studies indicating that an only child may be seriously handicapped.

If for no other reason than the fact that he is the sole hope which his parents have of attaining biological immortality, they may become too worried about his health and his minor accidents and the like, and he may become hypochondriacal.

If there are few children, the parents must make every effort to see that these have sufficient social contacts to counteract the traits which may develop in isolation from other children. Nursery schools, play groups, and other types of educational organizations which provide group contacts have apparently grown up in response to the needs of children in small families.

Educators have all called attention to the fact that the best progressive schools provide in their group work and in their educational equipment types of experiences which the healthy normal child growing up with a group of other children in the country would have naturally.

The training which parents today receive to enable them to compensate for certain of the checks provided naturally by membership in a large family is another attempt of society to provide for a need which social changes have produced.

**Disparity in the Birth Rate.**—The birth control movement in the United States has operated to produce a disparity between the number of children produced at different social levels. Roughly speaking the higher the social and educational status of the family the smaller is the average number of children per family group.*

* HANKINS, FRANK H., "An Introduction to the Study of Society,"

EXCESS OF BIRTHS OVER DEATHS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES PER THOUSAND OF THE POPULATION
Averages for five-year periods

| Years | Australia | Austria | Belgium | Bulgaria | Denmark | France | Germany |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1890–1894 | 19.7 | 9.0 | 8.7 | 9.7 | 11.4 | 0.1 | 12.5 |
| 1895–1899 | 15.4 | 11.4 | 11.1 | 15.9 | 13.7 | 1.3 | 14.8 |
| 1900–1904 | 14.6 | 12.1 | 10.7 | 17.7 | 14.0 | 1.4 | 14.5 |
| 1905–1909 | 15.7 | 10.8 | 9.0 | 19.0 | 14.3 | 0.6 | 14.0 |
| 1910–1914 | 17.1 | 10.5 | 7.6 | 18.6 | 13.5 | 0.4 | 12.5 |

| Years | Hungary | Italy | Norway | Rumania | Russia | Spain | Sweden | United Kingdom |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1890–1894 | 9.0 | 10.5 | 13.0 | 9.0 | 12.1 | 3.8 | 10.6 | 10.7 |
| 1895–1899 | 11.4 | 11.1 | 14.8 | 12.9 | 16.6 | 5.7 | 11.2 | 11.1 |
| 1900–1904 | 11.9 | 10.4 | 14.4 | 14.0 | 17.7 | 8.3 | 10.7 | 11.1 |
| 1905–1909 | 10.9 | 10.9 | 12.5 | 14.2 | 16.1 | 9.2 | 11.0 | 11.1 |
| 1910–1914 | 12.8 | 12.8 | 12.2 | 17.4 | .... | 8.9 | 9.8 | 10.0 |

This decrease in the birth rate has taken place not only in the United States but apparently throughout the world as figures available in 1924 and 1925 show. The decrease in the number of children per family is due to a number of causes. Ill health has been cited by Goodsell as one important one. The psychological considerations are however more important from our point of view.

The woman who had twelve children was not competent to keep in close touch with social changes or

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The Macmillan Company, New York, 1935.

GOODSELL, WILLYSTINE, "Problems of the Family," D. Appleton Century Company, Inc., New York, 1935, pp. 268–271.

in fact to do anything more than run her household and rear her children provided that she had sufficient help to remain alive to do so. The freeing of women to circulate socially, to occupy positions, and to train for the professions has resulted in the development of new needs which she feels so strongly that she is willing to overlook the social approval which surrounds the mother of an enormous family in order to have other satisfactions.

Society has a tendency to protect itself from overpopulation as against expecting nature through plagues, famines, and wars to wipe out the additional children born who would otherwise suffer starvation and the other ills common to an overpopulated civilization. In this case, however, it appears to be going too far in its tendency to restrict the number of births, since it is 38 per cent short of maintaining the population at the level of 1938.

It is doubtful whether the psychological satisfactions received from freedom to make contacts and to enter the professions are adequate return for the satisfaction of having a family large enough to ensure that the family name will not die out and that the characteristics of personality and intelligence possessed by the higher social and educational group will not diminish to such an extent that they are lost, completely overwhelmed by the increasing population from the lower levels of society.

It is hardly necessary to point out here that all psychological researches conducted on the intelligence levels of social status groups have indicated clearly that there is a very high correlation between high intelligence and high social and economic status.

The intelligence quotients of the lower social status groups have been variously estimated as between 80 and 90 on standard intelligence tests. If, then, there is a tendency to produce three children from the lower social status groups and less than two from the higher, the higher social status groups will not even continue to exist in the same proportion of the population as they are today. On the contrary figures indicate that low intelligences are increasing at two and a half to three times the rate of the high ones. The effect of this on the general level of intelligence of the population hardly needs to be pointed out.

The average intelligence of North Europeans is higher than ours by six points. It is only necessary for the population of the United States to continue to reproduce as it is at present for three generations to be so far below North European intelligence as to make conquest a simple matter.

Other things being equal, twenty-six points in intelligence is more or less the same anywhere on the scale. One hundred is average. Seventy-four is low or even border line. Twenty-six points is the approximate difference between the intelligence of our lower social status groups and the average intelligence of North Europeans. It is not necessary to go further in pointing out the importance of larger families in the group with the highest intelligence levels.

Other nations have faced the same problem, notably Rome in the days of the Empire. It is to be hoped that our civilization will become conscious of its problems before even a half of a generation has

passed, since a single generation may be too long to wait.

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## CHAPTER XIII

## SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES WHICH INFLUENCE FAMILY DEVELOPMENT (*Continued*)

**The Effect of Radio on Family Development.**—The effect of the radio, newspapers, and magazines on human behavior appears so great as to be incalculable. Radio sets the English which Americans use. It sets standards for clothing, governs buying habits making them buy one thing rather than another, sets the pattern for the appliances which they have in their homes. It decides roughly how much of any type of clothing they shall have and when they shall wear it, determines their reading, the music to which they listen and to which they dance and the dances which they choose. In fact the hours during which the public is influenced by radio programs are as many as the stations are broadcasting and the public is awake to listen to them.

Young children listening in to news of world events are influenced in one way or another. They learn to dislike one type of person and like other types, to behave like the Lone Ranger or some other character in radio fiction.

The changes which take place in the games they play are illustrated in the following incident. Four years ago the writer was stopped at the entrance to her home by two boys, one three and a half and the other five years old, with wooden pistols in their hands. "Hold up your hands," they said. "Play-

ing policeman?" they were asked. "No, gangsters, *gangsters*—who wants to be a policeman?" they responded. Almost the same incident occurred within the past week but with a different outcome. When two small boys with pistols in their hands, different boys this time, were asked, "Playing gangster?" they responded, "No, F.B.I. man—who wants to be a gangster?"

The parallel between their activity four years ago and the effect the radio and motion-picture programs produced recently does not need to be pointed out.

So dominant has radio* become in American living that to discontinue the use of the radio for six months would be actually to deprive children of an important part of their education. On the other hand, to allow it free play within the home without checking in any way the type of programs which enter would be just as detrimental.

As a matter of fact "Schools of the Air" and other similar educational programs have probably had as important a part in the education of a number of children as have had the day schools which they attend from eight-thirty in the morning until three in the afternoon. Attention, with interest, has always been a far more effective method of learning than attention given, often against the child's will, to statically presented school subjects. The radio is a highly dramatic method of presentation. Material is presented through the ear, a medium which in early childhood at least is usually better for the reception of education.

* Goodykoontz, Bess, *et al.*, "Family Living and Our Schools," D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., New York, 1940, p. 164.

Radio presents short topics, better calculated to keep the interest at a high level, especially in childhood. Radio executives and production managers are aware that if interest lags the station will be changed by the listener. They therefore present any educational material no matter by whom prepared, in its most interesting form. Some of the methods used by broadcasters would make an excellent subject of study for the average classroom teacher.

There are many advantages, however, to be found in the grind which is necessary to acquire some school subjects, since life itself presents many situations in which grinding against one's desires is an essential part of production. It is also true that there is much material so poorly presented that it will not be acquired even when the individual works at a high degree of intensity. Then too there are many subjects which are not worth the amount of energy and effort which the child must put forth if he is to acquire facility in them. It is this latter group to which radio methods might well be applied.

It would seem well to emphasize the necessity for effort against one's wishes, since the attention which psychologists have been accustomed to call "voluntary" is acquired only with long practice. Many adults find themselves in the position of being unable to attend to routine because they have not received the necessary training.

**Some Aspects of Motion Pictures in Relation to Family Development.**—Forman* has pointed out

* FORMAN, H. J., "Our Movie Made Children," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1935. See other records of the Committee on Educational Research of the Payne Foundation.

the tremendous effect of attendance at motion pictures on child behavior. The degree of strain present when individuals under twelve years of age attend motion pictures is evidenced in their behavior for at least one week after they have attended and in some cases for an entire month.

The effect on family life of the standards set by motion pictures has already been described in Chap. II, but it is well to emphasize again that what the adolescent wears, the words he uses, the books he reads, the social attitudes which he adopts, are largely the result of attendance at motion pictures and of listening to radio. The latter is often the more effective.

If the standards set by motion pictures were those of the pioneer times or those essential to the development of character, no objection would be raised, but frequently this is not the case.

Organizations such as the Federation of Women's Clubs and educational groups such as the National Congress of Parents and Teachers have committees which check on the production of motion pictures which would lower standards too far.

The effect of the pressure of these organizations on motion-picture production is probably one factor in the change from the early type of motion picture in which the "vampire" appeared so frequently to the modern type in which the "vampire" appears rarely if at all.

The artificial leading woman has disappeared and her place has been taken by individuals who purport to typify the average American, even if they are somewhat better looking and better dressed. In fact with the exception of a few individuals who are

always spoken of as beautifully behaved and beautifully mannered off the screen but who on the screen lead rather lurid lives, both plays and actresses attempt to approximate normal healthy living.*

They still set an economic standard which is completely out of reach of the average family in the United States. The lives they lead are pictured as far more exciting than anything which can be lived by the average married pair or by the average adolescent or young child, but they are attempting to eliminate some of the least desirable elements of early motion pictures.

Attendance at motion pictures may be a serious matter from a psychological point of view, however, inasmuch as these provide an escape from reality which is too easily secured. Persons who enter a motion-picture house and lose themselves in the play may achieve a welcome release from trouble. If this is indulged in occasionally it can do no harm, but if it is indulged in too frequently it makes the possibility of adjustment to real life more difficult with each additional attendance.

When it comes to the effect of attendance at motion pictures on the recreational life of adults and youth even more serious consequences may be involved. To watch is to lose all desire for active participation and all incentive for producing results through one's own ingenuity and effort. This may become an habitual pattern, and both adults and children may need to be constantly amused.

There are all too many instances of adults and adolescents who have no resources within themselves

* See Chap. II.

because these have never been developed but who must be entertained by something outside of themselves.

It might be well for the general programs of towns and cities if adults developed in themselves and their children healthy outdoor recreational activities as substitutes for too much attendance at motion pictures. It would probably cost approximately the same amount to employ a well-trained educational director and to find spaces in cities where playgrounds or play centers might be developed as it does to have whole neighborhoods of children shut within the walls of motion picture houses weekday afternoons and Saturdays.

It is doubtful whether any child under ten should ever attend motion pictures. Children under fourteen should almost certainly be restricted to the film classics such as David Copperfield" and such films as the better cartoons of Walt Disney. Only after fourteen and possibly not until sixteen should attendance at motion pictures as much as once a week be a part of a child's behavior pattern. If for no other reason the effect on his health should be considered. Eyestrain may well result from three- or four-hour motion-picture performances. Outdoor exercise is certainly to be preferred to confinement indoors for long periods in a sitting posture.

**Magazines and Newspapers as Influencing Family Development.**—The tendency of the general public to acquire a knowledge of contemporary events from the newspapers is a healthy one. In a democracy every citizen should be conversant with general trends in government. He should keep in touch with day-by-day changes in policy and in expenditures.

Since it is his vote which is responsible for the conduct and the programs of the nation, no day should pass without his knowing the way in which his vote is being used.

While presentations of lurid events are of no value at any time and are often detrimental, the general news of the city, state, and country is of value. A knowledge of human behavior is essential to citizens in a democratic country. In no place does one see presented such a clear picture of human vagaries as in the news.

Discoveries of science are highly desirable material to have enter the home. Even advertising if it opens up newer needs of a legitimate sort has its significance as a part of human living. Newspapers therefore are a valuable part of family living. Their least desirable elements are far outweighed by the desirable ones which they bring into the family pattern.

Magazines appear to fall into three classes: (1) those which provide escape from reality, (2) those which provide education, and (3) highly detrimental material which should never be allowed circulation. The first two play a part in American life for which it would be hard to find a substitute. The last should be eliminated, and if the efforts of organizations are successful these will disappear from the newsstands and the magazine sellers' stalls.

The first class, those for escape, often provide pictures which no ordinary family can ever approximate, but at the same time the person who reads them is aware that these things could never happen to him and in fact may even be willing to accept with pleasure

the fact that they never will. Stories do not seem to have such a significant effect on human behavior as do motion pictures. The individual who reads them to such an extent that he loses his contact with reality is adversely affected, but few individuals seem to use this as a means of complete escape.

If the higher type of magazines can be brought into the home and school and if adolescents and young children read them to such an extent as to develop a habit of reading, the effect is good. They take the place of the long book which only a few well-educated people ever read in the generations preceding this one.

**Assumption of Home and Family Responsibilities by Federal, State, and Local Governmental Agencies.**—The twentieth century has seen a movement toward taking out of the home a large majority of its functions. First went the production of goods, next a large part of the care and rearing of children, and now a part of the support of families particularly the older members of the family group. Education is wholly a governmental function except for those selected few who attend private schools. Recreation is largely governmental. Training in the trades and in industrial relations has been taken over by the schools. Vocational training of every sort is given and supported by the state and Federal government with contributions from local educational agencies. Training in homemaking both on the job and as a preface to marriage and family life is being supported by Federal funds. Unless the family evolves in such a way as to desire to take back from the government a number of these functions, this trend may continue.

There is some indication that the government itself is encouraging women to return to factories as a part of the defense program, since women can do certain types of work better than can men. Under these conditions the government will have to provide nursery schools to take care of the children of these women. This includes general health care and feeding in addition to nursery education. It is highly probable that the government may take over the care of children from their eighteenth month through college, providing all day care in the early years and payment of tuition fees and encouragement of higher education at college levels.

Governmental acceptance of family responsibilities has grown like a snowball. It is to be hoped that some checks may develop which will slow this tendency before the government has taken away all but a few minor functions. What this trend will produce as a change in family life is yet to be determined. That the family pattern will change in response to the assumption of family functions by governmental agencies cannot be questioned.

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## CHAPTER XIV

## TRENDS IN FAMILY ORGANIZATION

Since every change in social organization is reflected in the behavior of people for many generations after it has occurred and since there appears to be a certain tendency for social processes to repeat themselves it is well to take up here briefly the changes through which the family has passed.

There has been much discussion as to whether sex relations were on the group basis in the earliest families to be developed. The major portion of the evidence appears to be to the contrary. Apparently Neanderthal* man lived in single family groups in the caves of Europe. From skeletal remains it would appear that the group consisted of the older members of the family, probably the parents of the young man, his wife, and their children. The remains of Peking† man found in 1929 indicate the same type of family living.

The presence of family life among the higher apes has been demonstrated by a number of writers. In this case the union is not monogamous but consists of an older male with two or more females usually of different ages. Family life among birds is too well known to need description here. Monogamous mar-

* Cole, Fay Cooper: "The Nature of the World and of Man," H. H. Newman (editor), University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1926 and 1927, pp. 349–366.

† For a simple account, see Fay Cooper Cole, *op. cit.*

riage does occur, but so do all other forms of marriage relations.

It is highly probable that some form of marriage has existed in all human organizations. It is also probable that in most forms of marriage the father has been the head and the protector of the family. Westermarck* points out that is is highly probable that marriage was inherited from some apelike ancestor, and this is undoubtedly true. Some regularization of sex relations and some method of protecting offspring must always have been present if the race survived.

Probably the earliest form of marriage was a group type. The Australian type of group marriage is an illustration of this. In the Urabunna tribe each woman has a husband who has a preferential right to her. She is in the relation of Nupa to him. In addition to this he has several women who are Piraungaru. This latter term means that they are wives to whom he has access under certain conditions, or accessory wives. Every woman is a special Nupa to one particular man and others to whom she is in the relation of Piraungaru. There is no such thing as a wife to whom a man is in the position of complete ownership.

The only men and women who do not stand in the husband and wife relation to each other are those who are of different generations. All the women of the older generation are forbidden to him as are the men of the older generation to her. Westermarck† states

* WESTERMARCK, EDVARD, "A History of Human Marriage," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1901, pp. 9–24, 39–50.

† *Op. cit.*

that this is the earliest form of marriage and that there are types in transition from this to the monogamous type. Few modern authors view this an anything but an individual type of marriage relationship developed by a few tribes.

A marriage relationship of this type does not yield anything of the psychological satisfactions which are found in modern marriage. It is purely a sex relationship. There are few of the emphases on the traditions and the hereditary rights and privileges which the modern family can hand on to its children. There is none of the affectional content present between a married pair.

Lifelong companionship cannot be expected or hoped for nor can long-time planning for the family and its needs be expected. Not only are these absent, but the parent-child relationship itself must suffer in comparison with that under monogamy. The satisfactions which the parents derive from their children are poor and few in number as compared with those in modern marriage.

The relation of the children to the parents has none of the elements of mutual dependence and mutual education so characteristic of the single family type of living. Organizations of this sort can survive only when the period of infancy is short and the children become independent functioning individuals before the age of twelve. In fact it can almost be said that such a type of marriage could not survive if the children were not relatively mature by the age of eight. It is interesting to note that this type has survived only in remote areas where living conditions are relatively simple and where the mental level is presumably low.

Whenever highly organized civilizations tend to return to such relatively uncontrolled emotional channels the success of the experiment lasts a brief period. The Greenwich Village experiment is an illustration of this sort. The places of those individuals who believed in a living pattern which they termed "free love," have been taken by solidly established monogamous families, and the area in which they have lived has forgotten that the experiment ever existed.

A second relatively primitive form of family organization is found in groups now practicing polyandry. In unions of this sort a single woman is the wife of a number of men. The most common type of polyandrous marriage is one in which one woman is the wife of all the brothers, each becoming her husband as he reaches maturity.

This type of marriage grows up in environments in which finding food through hunting or through growing flocks and herds is relatively difficult. The work of more than one man is necessary if food is to be found for a woman and her children. Usually in these environments one or more of the husbands must be away from home on the chase or following the grass line. A woman and her children would be unprotected if there were not some man in charge of her tent while the other husbands were away. This form of marriage usually exists where the country is wild and unsettled where property would be taken away from its original owners if someone sufficiently powerful to protect it were not left in charge.

Among the natives of Mongolia polyandry is relatively common. An example of a different type

of polyandry is that practiced by the Todas.* Here the polyandry is often of the nonfraternal type. The arrangement for taking care of the children is therefore somewhat different from that among the natives of Mongolia.

When a woman becomes pregnant and the husbands are not own brothers, they arrange between themselves which shall present the child with the bow and arrow. The husband who presents the bow and arrow is from that time forward considered the father of the child.

If no arrangement is made, then the children belong automatically to the first husband. Sometimes a slightly different arrangement is made. The first two or three children become automatically the property of the first husband, while the second two or three become automatically the property of the second husband. In cases of separation the husband takes his children with him and leaves behind those whom he has not adopted.

Female infanticide is practiced by the Todas. The resulting shortage of females has made the practice of polyandry necessary. Spencer and Gillen† point out that polyandry is passing slowly.

Another type of marriage that is found among many peoples is the polygamous type. This is common in many civilized countries today. One does not need to go to primitive tribes to find one's illustrations. In India and in Turkey up to the First World War and

* SPENCER, BALDWIN, and GILLEN, F. J. "Native Tribes of Central Australia," The Macmillan Company, London, 1938, pp. 61–65, 91–111.

† *Op. cit.*

among the Moslems in various countries polygamy is the usual arrangement.

The difficulties in the way of happy family life and good social organization presented by polygamy are relatively obvious. In the first place since the tendency is to have an equal number of males and females at the marriageable age, if one man has a number of wives other men of the tribe must remain unmarried. This results in depriving them of family life in proportion as the richer and more powerful men have two or more wives.

The lot of the head of a polygamous family and his children presents many difficulties. In the first place there is apt to be a constant struggle between the wives for preference for themselves and their children. In most countries in which polygamy occurs neither the wives nor the children hesitate to commit murder if this furthers their plans. The life of the favorite wife and her child are therefore constantly in danger.

The life of the head of the house is not safe if there are sons old enough to inherit, for any one of these who becomes popular or who is unusually intelligent may rebel against the head of the house openly or may have him killed through some indirect means. The injection of plague germs into one was demonstrated recently.

In a second instance two half brothers equally popular with their father used various means each to do away with the other. The one achieved success by turning his hunting dogs loose while the other was in the garden.

Biblical references to sons who have rebelled and the sharp practices which took place between two

children when one was favored over the other are too numerous to mention. The revolt of Absalom and the trickery practiced by Jacob on Esau and Esau's father are only two of a number of illustrations which may be found by the most casual reader of the Bible. Apparently from the beginning this form of marriage was fraught with danger both to the children and to their parents.

When it comes to the psychological satisfactions provided by a polygamous marriage these are not nearly so numerous or so lasting as those provided by the modern type. The modern pair may give each other mutual affection and protection. They may have constant companionship which will increase with the increasing years of marriage. They may build for their mutual futures and the futures of their children. They may stimulate each other mentally and aid mutually in each other's work. A marriage of this sort will constantly build toward a better and deeper relationship. All of these values are lost in a marriage where favor must be sought for or even bought and where contention and flattery take the place of mutual growth.

It is interesting to note that never when civilization has reached a high level economically and socially has this type of marriage persisted. It probably evolved on two bases: economic needs, and the wife as an indication of social prestige.

In a number of primitive tribes and in some fairly highly organized civilizations the number of wives which a man may purchase and support indicates his wealth and social standing. In fact the counselors of a king may order him to add to his household

since the number of his wives has fallen below that usually ascribed to kings. In one African tribe 150 wives is the number allotted for each king, and this allotment must be reached before he is considered adequate to assume his full duties.

The purchase of a very beautiful wife in Mohammedan countries, since this necessitates a great outlay of money, may add materially to a man's prestige and the envy which his neighbors accord to him. Such an arrangement is even harder on the children than the usual form of polygamous marriage since the children of a wife who has cost a great deal may assume superiority over those children whose mothers have cost smaller sums.

In civilizations which have not acquired a cushion of culture between them and nature such as life in the provinces of India and the like, more than one wife may be necessary in order to do the work of the family and to help each other rear their children. The first wife welcomes the assistance provided by a second or even a third woman in the household, and the three working together can divide the labor in such a way that no one of them is overburdened, whereas a single woman would be overworked to the point of illness or even death.

It is a well-known fact that it took an average of three wives to rear the children in a colonial family. The first was practically condemned to death by the fact that she was the first wife and would have all of the work of bearing and rearing the children plus the constant physical labor involved in producing every type of goods necessary to carry on life. All of the weaving and candlemaking as well as all of the

baking, sewing, cleaning, washing, and scrubbing fell to her lot. The second wife might also die young, since the young children of the first wife were not yet old enough to give sufficient help. The third wife, married after these children had reached a sufficient degree of maturity to help her with the work, would almost certainly live as long as if not outlive her husband.*

The Mormon people starting off to found a state in the wilderness may have responded to an inner drive based on self-preservation when they evolved polygamy as the form of marriage best suited to their type of life.

With the addition of each increment of wealth and culture polygamy has a lessened degree of vitality until it finally passes out of the cultural pattern. This has occurred recently in Turkey.

The monogamous family appears to be the type which grows up automatically when a high level of wealth and culture has been reached.

The monogamous family has passed through many variations in its form. The one with which we are most familiar is the patriarchal type. This form of family life dominated our culture from the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers until the period succeeding the First World War.

In this type of family organization the father is the absolute head. All of the members of the family are subservient to him, even older women if they happen to be part of his household. He is the sole owner of the property excepting so far as he chooses

* GOODSELL, WILLYSTINE, "A History of Marriage and the Family," The Macmillan Company, New York, 1935.

to share it with his eldest son or with some other member of the family. A few quotations from the literature of the nineteenth century will serve to make this point clear.

"Home is the palace of the husband and the father. He is the monarch of that little empire, wearing a crown that is the gift of Heaven, swaying a sceptre put into his hands by the Father of all, acknowledging no superior, fearing no rival, and dreading no usurper." This is set forth by the Reverend J. N. Danforth in the "Token of Friendship, or Home, the Centre of the Affections," published at Boston in 1844.

The following verse from the same volume also illustrates the patriarchal attitude:

> The father gives his kind command,
> The mother joins, approves;
> And children all attentive stand,
> Then each, obedient moves.*

The effect of the patriarchal family system can be said to be good only insofar as it concerns the conservation of property. When it comes to the development of personality the effects are almost all bad.

Only one member of the family can be expected to grow up, and that is the head of the family. All of the others are kept in the position of dependent children. The head of the family was expected to grow up, but he did not have to do so. On the contrary since his was the sole wealth and power within the family group he could behave as he saw fit. He could administer physical punishment even to his

*Cited by E. R. Groves and L. M. Brooks in "Readings in the Family," J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia, 1934, from "Fabulous Forties, 1840–1850" by Meade Minnigerode, G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, reprinted by permission of the author.

wife. There is still on the statute books in some countries a statement that a wife may not be beaten with a stick thicker in diameter than one inch. There are proverbs also to illustrate this power as for example, "A woman a dog and a chestnut tree, the more you beat them the better they be."

Instead of mature individuals at the head of the family one frequently found persons who were psychologically infantile. The literature of the period is full of such individuals, and modern literature which depicts them offers many good illustrations. Mr. Barrett, in "The Barretts of Wimpole Street," shows clearly the effect of too much power on him and on the whole family group. He exemplifies perfectly all of those characteristics which we expect to find in the emotionally immature.

"Fortitude," Horace Walpole's study of the patriarchal family, illustrates quite well the effect of too much power on a personality not able to live up to it.

Not only did the heads of families have too much power, but in using it they were not guided by the wisdom which one would expect from them. There was usually a favorite child who was spoiled as completely as was his parent. It might be either one of the daughters or one of the sons, but the effect was equally bad in either case.

Such individuals exhibited all of the behavior characteristic of the spoiled child today. They might actually wreck the lives of two generations by their behavior, their children's, and their children's children's. On the other hand, those individuals who felt unfairly treated, as many of them undoubtedly were, and who refused to curry favor by techniques best

suited to the personality of their parents sometimes became very successful men and women but at other times became the so-called "black sheep" of the family.

Such statements as "the skeleton in the family closet" grew up in connection with these "black sheep." Almost every family could be counted on to have one of them, and many families had more.

Few individuals under the patriarchal system including the head of the family developed in a well-rounded fashion. Such all-around development is possible only in a democratic group.

Marriages contracted under the patriarchal system had every chance of lasting permanently, since the property of the woman who married became her husband's in practically every state in the union. Not only was this true, but even the clothes she wore and her children were also her husband's property. To seek for a divorce under these conditions was almost literally impossible, since the wife went away without her children and without money. On the other hand, the head of the family might do anything he chose and still retain his position of power and his wealth.

There could be no such satisfactions from family living under the patriarchal system as there are in the modern type of family where two individuals, intellectually and socially equal, agree to cooperate in building their lives together and in founding their family. On the other hand, the very fact that the economic motive is no longer present presupposes that if the psychological satisfactions are not present the marriage will break up.

The family has come on a long road from the cave man in Peking to modern times. In all of that period it has never been a static institution but always one in the process of change. The fact that it has now for the first time in history reached the stage of being a democratic unit in a democratic form of government indicates its tremendous viability. The chance of the family ever passing out as an institution is exceedingly slight.* The chance of its ever becoming a static institution is equally slight.

So far as one can see the picture of the future of the family, it is tending toward the type of union which will produce the maximum number of satisfactions for both parents and their mutual children. Insofar as it provides these satisfactions, it will be permanent. Insofar as it fails to meet the needs of the individuals who contract it, it will tend to break up.

The state has taken upon itself more and more of the care of its children. It now provides health care, education, support, recreation, job placement, and financial security. It will take over even more functions if the family refuses to accept them. It will give up its functions in proportion that the family demands that they be returned to it.

The chances are that the family in 2040 will be as different from the family today as was the family in 1840 from that in 1940 but society need have no fear. As these changes come about they will appear in response to the needs of individuals and such crises

* Individuals without interest in family life are apt to be wiped out in a single generation since they usually do not marry and produce children.

and disturbances as occur will be met by the training which the youth of 2040 will receive.

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# APPENDIX

## OUTLINE FOR SOCIAL HISTORY* FOR CENTRAL CLINIC

1. Identifying information.
   Name. Address.
   Color. Sex. Date (verified) and place of birth. Religion. Marital state.
   School. Grade.
   Occupation. Employer.
   Name and age of father, mother, brothers, and sisters.
   If married, name of spouse and children.
2. Outstanding problem presented by the individual which makes it seem wise to refer him to the Mental Hygiene Clinic. It is not intended that the entire conduct history be given here, but a brief statement of the present difficulty.
3. Referred—Name of agency and worker. Date of reference.
4. Source of information.
   List of informants, names and addresses, their relation to patient.
   Also any agency records from which information was secured, giving dates and extent of contact.
5. Family history.
   *a.* Paternal and maternal relatives (grandparents, uncles, and aunts).
      Concerning the above, give education, occupation, health, behavior, dominant personality traits. If living the names and addresses whenever possible. If dead, age at death and cause. Specify if history is negative for insanity and epilepsy. If not, give details of psychosis, age at onset, diagnosis, etc. Of special significance are any instances of mental defect, alcholism, fainting spells, convulsions, venereal disease, paralytic shocks, court records, nomadism, criminalism, hypersexualism, nervousness.

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*b* Father and mother.

Name, birthplace, number of years in United States, number of years in state, address. Health, if living, or cause and age at death. Education. Work record. Habits and behavior. Dominant personality traits. Attitude toward family responsibilities and toward discipline. Recreation and education of children.

*c.* Brothers and sisters.

Give names and ages in order including all stillbirths and miscarriages. For all children dead give age at death, and cause. For all living children give age, grade in school, physical condition, occupation, personality, behavior. Note particularly convulsions, fainting spells, nervousness (how shown), chorea, school retardation, delinquent traits.

*d.* Stepparents, etc.

Give same as for father and mother.

6. Home and home conditions.

Describe in chronological order the different circumstances in which the individual has lived. In the case of a child, give the type of neighborhood, people in the home, general financial situation, cleanliness, language spoken, type of discipline. Of special significance is the home atmosphere, past as well as present, amount of time family spends together, harmony, parental attitude and control, recreation in home, companions in home. In all cases note any institutional life, type of institution, reason for placement and for removal, and dates. In the case of an adult, note the general home conditions during childhood, describe the present home situation both from the physical and mental standpoint.

7. Personal history.

*a.* Development and health: Any unusual conditions of pregnancy such as illnesses, extreme nervousness, fainting spells, injuries or shocks of mother, attempted abortion, etc. Circumstances of birth, normal or instrumental, injuries or deformities. Breast or bottle fed. Nutritional difficulties. Convulsions. Age of dentition, walking, and talking. Record all illnesses, giving age when contracted, complications and aftereffects of the more serious diseases such as diphtheria, scarlet fever, meningitis, etc. Note operations and injuries, age when they occurred and type. Also specify if patient is subject to headaches, running ears, fatiguability. If Wassermann has been made give date and result. Include whenever possible content of clinic, hospital, or physician's records.

*b.* Habits: State whether any of the following or similar habits have been observed in the patient—nail biting, thumb sucking, temper tantrums, stuttering, fears or terrors, nightmares, restless sleep, enuresis (day or night), masturbation, sex experience, irregularity of sleeping or eating, lack of personal cleanliness.

*c.* School: In the case of a child give age of entering school, grade attained, grades repeated or skipped, regularity of attendance, changes in schools and reason. As full a report as possible from the school regarding the child's special abilities and disabilities, quality of work, attitude toward school discipline and routine, behavior in classroom and on school grounds, personality. In the case of an adult the grade attained, type of school, reason for leaving, general attitude toward school.

*d.* Work: All positions held, including after-school and vacation employment. Approximate length of time in each position. Reasons for leaving or being discharged, kind of work, wages. State if effort was made to secure new jobs. Attitude toward work and employers, whether liked by employer and other employees.

Interests and recreation: Is leisure time spent at home? How occupied? Clubs, games, movies, reading, religion, hobbies, gambling, poolrooms, amusement parks. Note any special abilities, mechanical, domestic, academic, musical, artistic, athletic, etc.

Companions: Age and character of associates, older or younger, names of special chums, with age, character, influence on patient, and relation to any conduct difficulties. Member of gang. Character of associations with opposite sex. Inquire carefully whether there were any older men or boys with whom sex experiences or bad talk occurred.

Conduct: All varieties of socially disturbing behavior should be given in detail. Lying, running away, staying out late or all night, truancy, begging, fighting, violence, destructiveness, cruelties, gambling, stealing, profane or obscene language or writing, sex delinquencies of all sorts. Give age of first occurrence, whether alone or with companions.

What disciplinary measures have been taken and what was the reaction. Give dates of all court appearances with reason and the action taken by the court.

Personality traits: Give an account of dominant traits, illustrated by incidents. Note especially changes in personality. Give attitude toward parents, brothers, and sisters, if affec-

tionate or indifferent, generous or selfish, helpful or idle. Aggressive or reserved, irritable, sly, untruthful, frank, confiding, fearful, suspicious, daydreaming, over or underactive, etc. School reaction, ambitious or anxious to leave as soon as possible, interested or indifferent. Social reaction, honest, cooperative, egotistic, leader or suggestible, gregarious or desiring to be alone.

Marital history: Duration of acquaintance before marriage. Age at time of marriage. State if with parental consent or forced to escape unpleasant home situation. Date of marriage and full name, age, education, health, occupation, personality traits of husband or wife. If spouse is dead, age at death and cause. If there have been several marital ventures, give dates of marriages and why and how dissolved. Names and ages of children with outstanding facts concerning their physical and mental habits.

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