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FAMILY AND SELF-FORMATION: A QUALITATIVE
ANALYSIS DRAWING FROM THE CRITICAL THEORY
OF JURGEN HABERMAS
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FAMILY AND SELF-FORMATION: A QUALITATIVE
ANALYSIS DRAWING FROM THE CRITICAL THEORY
OF JURGEN HABERMAS

By

Margaret Elizabeth Watters

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ABSTRACT

FAMILY AND SELF-FORMATION: A QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS DRAWING FROM THE CRITICAL THEORY OF JURGEN HABERMAS

By

Margaret Elizabeth Watters

An understanding of the meaning of family activities to family members is important to professionals who work with families. Professional practice depends upon how the family's role is conceptualized and the adequacy of the conceptualization is important to the effectiveness of such practice. In this study the critical theory of Jurgen Habermas was the basis for reflecting upon the nature of the family activities of an Australian working-class family, focusing on the self-formation of family members.

The purpose of the study was to contribute firstly to the understanding of self-formation in the family and secondly to the knowledge base of home economics and the development of the professional home economist in Australia.

Aspects of Habermas' theory which influenced the study were his critique of positivism; his theory of knowledge; his systems of action; his emphasis on self-formation; his critique of ideology; and his beliefs in the complementarity

of theory and practice, and the need for an historical approach to the understanding of phenomena.

Specifically, Habermas' theory provided a conceptual framework alternative to positivism. Further, the theory generated questions related to understanding social reality and identified the importance of language analysis for achieving such understanding. The systems of action identified by Habermas were technical (instrumental), practical (symbolic), and critical (reflective).

The hermeneutic method involving a dialectic between theory and data was used. The theory and data interacted to generate a typology which became the basis for interpreting a family's activities.

A Melbourne working-class family was chosen to be the source of data. The description of the family included its location in an historical sense through an account of the major social, political and economic events of the twentieth century in Australia. Data on family activities were collected through participant-observation and reflected upon to identify themes relevant to the self-formation of family members.

Practical and technical systems of action were identified in the family but technical action predominated. The apparent substitution of technical for practical action suggested that the family is dominated by technocratic ideology obscuring reality and producing depoliticization. In

these respects the family's systems of action and distortions of reality paralleled those which Habermas identified in society. There was no coherent ideology that tied into a systematic world-view.

The study demonstrated that Habermas' way of looking at society is useful for understanding the nature of a family's activities. Furthermore, unless problems of families are seen in their socio-historical perspective professional practice with families is abstract and it fails to address the real issues of families and their everyday lives.

The study is of particular importance to home economics, a field of study which defines itself in terms of family. If home economists view themselves as enablers and facilitators for families they need to incorporate interpretive knowledge and critical theory with the predominant empirical-analytic knowledge in home economics. In this way it becomes possible to understand societal processes and the way these are reflected in families and in the tendencies of families to perpetuate the societal processes in the self-formation of their members.

Recommendations for future research include the use of Habermas' theory to study families' relationships with other social institutions. Such research could be directed toward expanding knowledge of working-class families, or toward expanding knowledge on families, generally, by

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focusing on another family type. Finally, the question of how home economics will have to change to incorporate the kind of knowledge generated by studies such as this one should be addressed.

DEDICATION

to my parents,
Dorothy and Andrew Watters
and my aunt,
Edith Watters

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CHAPTER 1

THE PROBLEM

How does family relate to society? How are we to understand how the family is carrying out its function in society? How does family life affect the self-formation of its members? The answers to the above questions are crucial for professionals who work with families. Professional practice depends upon how the family's role is conceptualized and the adequacy of the conceptualization is important to the effectiveness of such practice. In this study the researcher used the critical theory of Jurgen Habermas, the German philosopher, as a basis for reflecting upon the nature of the family activities of an Australian working-class family, focusing on the self-formation of family members.

Need for the Study

The family's role in society has become confused as traditional tasks have been taken over by other institutions.¹ There is a suggestion that parents do not know how

¹The expansion of education, welfare, social work, and hospitals has reduced family's responsibilities to its members (Zaretsky, 1973).

to raise children and fail in this task. Conway believes that

a cohesive, secure, creative civilization depends partly on how effectively the child incorporates and refurbishes the memories of race and community. (1978, p. 23)

He fears that this tradition is not being learned, that is, that the self-formation of children in families is inadequate. Critics of the family (for example, Conway, 1978; Laing, 1969; Lasch, 1977; Poster, 1978; Rapp, Ross, & Bridenthal, 1979) range from those who blame it for its failure to those who pity it for its impotence to those who see it as pathological for what it can and does do to some of its members. Nevertheless, there is a sense that the family still should play an important part in people's lives. Drawing from Conway again:

The family as the basic triad of relationship is so ancient and humanly indispensable that its themes and symbols not only run through the art, religion and folklore of all civilizations [but] also remain the yardstick by which all faithful, responsible relationships still tend to be judged. (1978, pp. 34-35)

Much of contemporary literature seems to focus on the dilemmas facing family as the expressions of the larger historical setting. That is, families appear to be uncertain and unstable just as society is uncertain and unstable.

Certainly, the western world is experiencing a period of rapid social change. The advances in technology have changed the needs of employers and contributed to high unemployment rates, inflation resists control, international

mistrust and tension are at high levels, and the fear of fossil fuel depletion is contributing to general uneasiness. Rapid social change calls into question roles and functions of the major social institutions such as the education system, the legal system, and the family. How may family be looked at and understood? Various theoretical approaches have been proposed.

A way of looking at society which might provide a tool for understanding family activities has been offered by Jurgen Habermas. Habermas' theory was chosen as the basis for this study for two reasons, the first of which relates to methodology. In critiquing positivism Habermas avoided being anti-scientific. His theory provides an alternative to positivist methods which are confined to analyzing existing patterns. The humanistic framework allows a qualitative analysis by seeking understanding of what is being said and confronting peoples' interpretation of events in the historical context in which actions are located. This method allows the generation of alternatives to reproduction of the status quo and might make a substantive contribution by identifying such alternatives in a rational way.

Secondly Habermas has offered a framework for understanding the dynamic historical process in a way that gives meaning to the present research. His theory provided a guide to the questions appropriate to ask and also the ways in which answers might be sought.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to contribute firstly to the understanding of self-formation in the family and secondly to the knowledge base of home economics and the development of the professional home economist in Australia.

Objectives of the Research

1. To evaluate Habermas' theory related to systems of action as a basis for reflecting upon family activities, using theoretical materials and empirical data from a case-study, dialectically, with the ultimate aim of understanding self-formation in a family.
2. To identify the implications for one profession, Home Economics, in Australia.

The writer followed the example of Brown and Paolucci (1978) who sought understanding of the field of home economics through philosophical analysis of the field using Habermas' theory. The following mission, proposed for home economics, provided a basis for the study:

to enable families, both as individual units and generally as a social institution, to build and maintain systems of action which lead (1) to maturing in individual self-formation and (2) to enlightened cooperative participation in the critique and formulation of social goals and means for accomplishing them. (Brown & Paolucci, 1978, p. 23)

The mission statement guided the research in two ways: in its focus on self-formation, and in its use of Habermas' theory as a tool of analysis.

Basic Assumptions of the Study

1. The mission statement in the Brown-Paolucci paper has relevance for Australian home economics.
2. Habermas' analysis of late capitalist society applies to Australia.
3. Data collected were representative of the family.

Limitations of the Study

1. The obscurity of Habermas' theory makes it necessary to accept as given a number of issues that bear on his philosophical model. No attempt is made to assess the theory philosophically.
2. The researcher depended on English translations as the source of Habermas' theory.

Concepts Central to the Study

1. Family
2. Family activities
3. Self-formation
4. Social class
5. Home economics

Family

The way to conceptualize the basic features of family "remains an unsettled and highly controversial question among social scientists generally" (Peterson, 1978).

The various ways of defining family depend upon the experience, needs, and ends of the definer.

One way of defining the family focuses on the structure of the group. A family is composed of a heterosexual couple, legally-bound, and their biological or legally adopted children. Allen (1979) describes this as the "legal family." Such a definition excludes many similar groups who perceive themselves as families: for example, a two-generation group comprising one adult and children, or a childless couple.

An alternative definition emphasizes the functions of the group labelled "family." Family is the group of persons which reproduces itself, protects and socializes the young, is the approved setting for sexual expression between adults, and is an economic unit. In Allen's framework this is the "functional model" (1979). Several of the activities identified may take place outside of family, and again, there are groups in society who perceive themselves as families but are excluded by this definition because they do not meet all the criteria.

An attempt to define family in terms of composition, functions, and social-psychological relationships was offered by Bivens, Newkirk, Paolucci, Riggs, St. Marie, and Vaughn (1975).

Family . . . [is] a unit of intimate, transacting, and interdependent persons who share some values, goals, resources, responsibility for decisions, and have commitment to one another over time.

This last way of defining family encompasses the range of family types and at the same time is broad and abstract. It allows one to differentiate between the basic economic

unit, a subset which may be defined as "a group of people bound by common work efforts from which common consumption derives" (Allen, 1979) and the larger group of people, including relatives who are not part of the immediate economic group but are nevertheless "family."

The present study focuses on the subset identified by Allen. This subset comprises a household with strong ties and emotional, physical and economic interdependence.

Family Activities

In this study the term "family activities" includes aspects of production and consumption, involving activity of technical and/or practical nature, and resulting in an economic and/or social product. Furthermore, these activities are carried out by family members within the household.

Household production was defined by Reid in 1934 as

those unpaid activities which are carried on, by and for the members, which activities might be replaced by market goods, or paid services, if circumstances such as income, market conditions and personal inclinations permit the service being delegated to someone outside the household group. (p. 11)

However, the range of activities allowed by Reid's definition as household production excludes any service which could not be bought. Furthermore, it does not allow for looking at household activities from the point of view of household consumption. The distinction between production and consumption depends upon the perspective taken. For example, construction of clothing can be viewed as both production in its transformation of materials (thus investing

them with a use-value for later on) and consumption of those materials. In limiting household production to activities which might be replaced by paid services, Reid has focused on the technical or instrumental² activities within the household with their economic product, thus neglecting the practical activities with their social product.

The social dimension of household activities is referred to by Dubnoff. He made a distinction between household production and market production. Normally, household production is rewarded primarily by "love" or "sense of duty done" (1979), whereas market production is rewarded by money.

Beutler and Owen (1980) offered a refinement of Dubnoff's theory in proposing a "home production activity model." They incorporated the "social and psychological dimensions of the household that preclude exclusive attention to its economic functions." They differentiated household production from aspects of home production in which the particular³ persons involved were crucial for a satisfactory

²The distinction between technical (instrumental) activity and practical activity is central to Habermas' analysis of systems of action and will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Simply, technical activity is activity that is merely expedient and efficient (in contrast to practical activity following judgment incorporating normative motivations of the actor).

³When the participation of a particular person in an activity is crucial to a satisfactory outcome, the activity takes on a "particularistic" dimension. By contrast, when the person involved is unidentified or the identity of the

outcome. An example of the latter is "playing ball with a child in an effort to maintain a relationship and to help the child to develop co-ordination." Thus Beutler and Owen's "home production" has inseparable social and economic products. In practice, in either household production or home production a social product results from location within a set of intimate social relations. Therefore, Beutler and Owen's distinction is problematic.

The central social product of family activities--the self-formation of family members--is the focus of the present study. A discussion of self-formation follows.

Self-formation

Self-formation refers to the life-spanning creation of the unique person. Self-formation is a social product of an individual's interactions with the physical, social, and cultural circumstances of his or her environment. Relations with other persons are of major importance because "no one can construct an identity independently of the identifications that others make of him" (Habermas, 1976/1979, p. 107). The "self" is both an acting, initiating subject as well as a reacting, responding object in the process, that is, self-formation is a dialectic between the individual and the external factors of his or her environment.

person is not important, the activity takes on a "universalistic" dimension. Particularism is associated with social products and universalism with economic products.

Hegel (in Weiss, 1974), describes self-formation as dependent upon self-consciousness as the result of an individual's labor (the transformation of nature by that individual) in a social setting. In other words, self-formation is the understanding by a person of his or her own capacities through labor and the integration of the self as agent (subject) and self as product (object).

As persons with whom the individual has most and earliest interaction (Leichter, 1977), the family constitutes the most important influence in his or her self-formation. In both product and process, the forming of the self influences the way the self will subsequently grow.

Self-formation is related to four other concepts which are often used interchangeably because of the overlap and complementarity of their meanings. The four concepts are: human development, socialization, enculturation, and education.⁴

Human development refers to "increasing size and complexity of structure and function" (Smart & Smart, 1972, p. 662). Socialization is the individual's learning to "fit" into his or her society and an introduction to a shared tradition mediated by family (Habermas, 1970/1980). In other words, socialization is the learning of social roles. Enculturation refers to the process of acquiring the cultural

⁴Paolucci (1978) used the concept "education" to subsume aspects of the other three concepts as befitted the emphasis of her paper.

traditions of a society (Theodorson & Theodorson, 1969, p. 131). In this respect it is synonymous with socialization, the difference being one of disciplinary preference only. Education is a part of socialization/enculturation but is often distinguished from them because it usually represents the formally structured part of an individual's learning in contrast to the informal, unstructured, and frequently unconscious dimensions of the other two processes.

Elements of all four of the above processes are present in self-formation as the concept is used in this study. Self-formation is the central social product of family activities.

Social Class

The concept of "social class" is often used to explain differences in society. Marx (1867/1967) claimed that a capitalist society was composed of two groups (classes). One group has control of the means of production (the bourgeoisie) and the other sells its labor-power for use in the production process (the proletariat). This analysis is inadequate in late capitalist society, however, due to the development of the bureaucratic public service component of society.

This component does not fit easily into the Marxist proletariat because of the range of sub-groups within it. Sub-groups are as widely separated as, for example,

"white-collar" clerks and "blue-collar" assembly-line workers. The two groups have difficulty perceiving themselves as members of the same social class because wide differences in occupation, education and income levels exist among them. The three factors of occupation, education and income levels are closely linked, with the result that income level alone is frequently a major index of level of living.

A key, although subtle, distinction between those who, in spite of lacking control of the means of production, perceive themselves as "above" working-class (that is, "middle-class") and the "working-class" in Australia lies in the type of remuneration. A middle-class worker's remuneration is generally expressed as an annual salary, while the working-class person is paid weekly wages which may be supplemented by overtime earnings. Other defining characteristics of the working-class are subjective. People may define themselves as "working-class" as a challenge to those whom they believe or fear are their "betters." In addition, many working-class people, most of whom are employed in physical labor, have a sense of diminished expectations of quality of life--a peculiar mind-set (Wild, 1978).

In this study, the focus is on a subset of the working-class delineated by income level.

Home Economics

Ellen H. Richards and her co-founders of home economics in the United States defined the subject as

the study of the laws, conditions, principles and ideals which are concerned on the one hand with man's immediate physical environment and on the other with his nature as a social being, and is the study specifically of the relation between these two factors. (Lake Placid, 1889-1908, p. 70)

In the three-quarters of a century since this seminal statement, various interpretations of the general definition, appropriate to contextual variables such as technological and social changes, have guided professionals in their practice of home economics. One key statement was published in 1959. The American Home Economics Association, in its New Directions declared that:

Home Economics synthesizes knowledge drawn from its own research, from the physical, biological and social sciences and applies this knowledge to improving the lives of families and individuals. (A.H.E.A., 1959, p. 4)

The above statement defines what home economics is, primarily by what home economists do, and in this way is an interpretation of the Richards definition. New Directions II was published in 1975 as part of the continuing self-examination. It stated explicitly that the family ecosystem was the core of home economics, representing a reinforcement of the centrality of "family" as the focus of home economics. Furthermore,

Home Economics is the study of the reciprocal relations of family to its natural and man made environments, the effects of these singly or in unison as they shape the internal functioning of families, and the interplays

between the family and other social institutions and the physical environment. (Bivens et al., 1975)

In 1978 the American Home Economics Association commissioned Brown and Paolucci to clarify the definition of home economics. Their philosophical analysis of the field of study from its origin, using the critical theory of Habermas as a model, led them to take the position that home economics is a practical⁵ science concerned with the persistent problems of home and family. Their mission statement (see page 4) reflects a shift in the interpretation of professional practice from the 1959 emphasis on what home economists do to strengthen families to a view of home economists as facilitators of families gaining control of their own lives.

The recognition and acceptance of home economics in Australia has been hampered by the confusion in terminology, and the absence of wide-spread acceptance of the term "home economics" as it is used internationally.

The term is a corporate one and in usage includes such aspects as family living, food, nutrition, management, clothing, textiles, fashion, and institution management. Domestic Science, Domestic Arts, Homecraft, Home Arts, Home Management, Housecraft, Home Economics, Needlework, and Textiles and Design are all terms used for part or total courses within the subject area Home Economics. (Hopper, 1972)

Initially, Australia sought direction and leadership for its home economics from Britain although its development

⁵"Practical" refers to the type of problem-solving action taken after normative judgment.

there was "haphazard and not unified" (Hopper, 1972). Recently the United States' influence has been much stronger. In Victoria, Australia, the conceptualization of home economics has borrowed heavily from the American statements. In 1972 a proposed course in home economics for Grade 12 level defined home economics as "the field of study concerned with strengthening family life" (V.U.S.E.B., 1972). A redraft of the document substituted the following:

Home Economics can be seen as a synoptic study which integrates subject matter from disciplines such as sociological, biological, and physical sciences. (V.U.S.E.B., 1975)

The shift evident here is a de-emphasis on the "family" focus.

Some of the ambivalence among home economists in Victoria is illustrated by the fact that Rusden State College, the main tertiary institution for study of home economics in Victoria, defines the field of study and describes its practice in terms of the family as follows:

Home Economics is a field of study concerned with the problems that people encounter in their everyday lives--the problems of eating, clothing, sheltering themselves and finding and developing satisfying human relationships. Since most people encounter and solve these problems of daily living within the context of the family, home economics defines itself in terms of the family. Professional home economists aim to assist families to optimize their quality of life by applying knowledge, gained from research and experience, to responsible decision making in the use of resources to meet everyday needs. (1980)

This last statement is what is meant by "home economics" throughout the remainder of this study.

Procedural Steps and Methods

The English translations of a selection of Jurgen Habermas' works were consulted. These works were supplemented by reviewing the materials of a number of writers about the critical theory of Habermas, and the materials of several other scholars who used his theoretical framework to explore and interpret various phenomena. In examining Habermas' theory the focus was on his writings relative to systems of action and their relationship to knowledge. A framework was tentatively proposed in anticipation of its interactive use with family case-study data to characterize the nature of family activities (Chapter 2).

A review of Australian historical writings was undertaken to place the family to be studied in the context of the late twentieth century Australian society, thus avoiding an ahistorical conception of family. The family concept is too broad to characterize a specific family, so the scope of the study was confined to "working-class" families. The advice of two specialists in Australian history was sought on appropriate sources to consult for the compilation of a summary of major historical, social, and economic events of the twentieth century in Australia. Further materials were identified as the review proceeded. The guiding question during the search was "What elements shaped the 1980's working-class environment in Melbourne, Australia?" The historical summary provided the context for the present study (Chapter 3).

For the purposes of the study any "historically-concrete" family would have been appropriate, given that a computer search⁶ of the literature failed to identify any previous study in the area which might have suggested specific lines to pursue. A working-class family was chosen.

The precise definition of "working-class" families, or any other subset of a society, is a contentious theoretical issue so a subset of society which has official definition was chosen as the focus of this study. The group of low-income families who are eligible for public housing was the working-class subset selected.

The ethnographic method was selected for the collection of case-study data. The data on one working-class family were to be used interactively with the tentatively proposed framework based on the theory. The object was to achieve a more complete model for characterizing the nature of the family in relation to the self-formation of its members. The reasons for the choice of the ethnographic method and for limiting the data collection to one family are outlined below.

The study was of an exploratory nature and therefore required a flexible, adaptive method of data collection.

⁶Descriptors used were housework/household activities/working-class families. Systems searched were AUSINET and ERIC. The topic was also searched in the Australian Public Affairs Information Service, Bibliography of Urban Studies in Australia, and Union list of higher degree theses in Australian libraries.

The object in collecting the data was to be able to reflect upon them, with Habermas' theory in mind, in the attempt to interpret and understand the meaning of the phenomena observed. The advantage of such an unstructured method is that the researcher can "assume as little as possible, include as much information as can be managed and maintain the integrity of peoples' life experiences" (Piotrkowski, 1979, p. 289). This method differs from the positivist method which develops hypotheses about relationships between variables and then operationalizes them so that the hypotheses may be tested empirically. A weakness of such a positivist approach is that existing theory may not match the actual experience of the group under consideration: all that can be achieved is an answer as to whether or not some delineated piece of behavior in a context defined by the researcher does or does not support already-held ideas (Agar, 1980, p. 76).

The imposition of a previously selected classificatory structure increases the risk of overlooking important points. This imposition is of particular concern in the area of family research due to the limitations already existing, such as the lack of well-developed theory restricting the scope of positivist research, and the many complex relationships existing in families. The ethnographic method was chosen for the present study as likely to be more fruitful for contributing to existing theory.

In the ethnographic method, data collection and analysis are concurrent rather than separate parts of the research (Agar, 1980, p. 9). Thus the interaction made possible is consistent with the dialectic thinking of critical theory.

Research using only one subject produces information of a different type from, but complementary to, that derived from many subjects. Research of this type can make substantial contributions to the study of behavior (Dukes, 1965). Hess and Handel argued that:

The detailed examination of cases suggests lines of thought, urges re-examination of contemporary theory, reveals areas of behavior in which our knowledge is sparse and stimulates hypotheses that may be tested in other research formats. Case analysis serves another function, perhaps more important: it translates abstractions into the concrete components of actual lives. . . . Case study and analysis serve to remind us that our subject is human action and feeling. (1959, p. v)

Furthermore, the opportunities for flexibility and spontaneity in observing and questioning were maximized in the present study by limiting it to one "case" since this eliminated the need to standardize across observers or to match subjects. Another advantage of confining the observations to one "case" was the flexibility for collecting data over time in a variety of situations.

The researcher began the case-study observations with general ideas shaped by her own experience of "family" and her reading of the literature about family forms and functions, and with Habermas' language cues (see p. 50,

chapter 2) in mind. The intention during the observations was to record as much as possible of what was going on among the family members when the researcher was with them. The records were based on notes taken while with the family and through recall immediately after the observation period. The actual words spoken by the family members were recorded as far as possible. The major objective was to examine the possibilities of using the tentative framework to achieve understandings of the family's activities. The intention was to allow the model to emerge from the interaction of the tentative framework and the data.

In addition to the family's belonging to the "working-class" and meeting the eligibility criterion for occupancy of the Victorian Housing Commission's property⁷ the researcher decided that the family should consist of at least two generations including at least one school-aged child. This family composition was most appropriate to the researcher's interest in the self-formation function of families.

An application was made to the Michigan State University's Committee on Research involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS), for approval to undertake the case-study along the lines outlined. Approval was granted July 1, 1980 (see Appendix).

⁷The Victorian Housing Commission is the public housing authority. Eligibility for occupancy is a maximum weekly income. In the 1977-78 report this was stated as \$174 per week.

Referrals were sought and narrowed to the Turner and Evans⁸ families. Both were contacted. Mrs. Turner indicated that her family would be willing to become involved in the project but as it was vacation time it would be at least three weeks before their family would be together again. Mrs. Turner referred the researcher to friends of hers whom she believed would be willing to participate. The researcher did not take up either offer because the Evans family met the selection criteria more closely in terms of their eligibility for and occupancy of public housing and their closer location to the researcher.

Initially the Evans family was contacted by telephone and an appointment was made for the researcher to meet the family as a group. During the first meeting the nature of the project was explained and the researcher's role and expectations outlined. The rights of participants were explained to the family: (1) the right to withdraw from the project at any time, (2) the protection of their anonymity by the use of fictitious names when the researcher wrote or spoke of them outside, (3) the right to ask the researcher to leave at any time, (4) the right to refuse the researcher entry to their home, (5) the researcher's obligation to set up appointments before visiting the family for observation sessions, and (6) the family's right of access to the results

⁸Unless otherwise indicated all names and place-names connected with the case-study are fictitious as part of the researcher's effort to protect the anonymity of the families.

of the research. The family agreed to participate, at which point each of the family members read the "Consent Form" and signed, indicating their agreement. Two of the children were unable to sign their names but, with the parents' approval, an older sibling entered their names on the form.

In all, the researcher spent slightly over 40 hours in the Evans home and made 15 phone-calls during September and October, 1980. The lengths of time of the 10 visits varied from 15 minutes to a maximum of seven and a half hours and covered early morning to late night. The scheduling of the visits was flexible. The inclusion of a visit on a school holiday, however, was deliberate. In general, the guiding principle was integrating the convenience of the Evans family and the researcher's schedule. Twice Mrs. Evans telephoned the researcher to ask her to postpone a proposed visit to a different day, and once, when the researcher had telephoned to confirm an arrangement, Mrs. Evans asked her to delay her proposed arrival for two and a half hours. In the first two cases the postponement was requested because of illness; a vague reason was given for the third postponement.

At the Evans home the researcher spent most of her time with the Evans family seated in the family lounge-room.⁹ The research had a phenomenological orientation. The researcher's role was that of a participant-observer.

⁹Living room.

The data were gathered through what Piotrkowski (1979) described as "unstructured interviewing and observations of people as they live" (p. 189). The interactionist dimension of the research was the involvement of the family in reading and commenting upon the description of them as written by the researcher. The observations tended to focus on Mrs. Evans for two reasons: her being at home became an unconscious criterion of what was a convenient time to visit and it was apparent quite early that the majority of family interactions involved her.

The observational record was based on the researcher's notes taken while in the house and on recall immediately after leaving the home. At times it seemed inappropriate to write notes during a conversation involving the researcher for fear that rapport would be lost. The notebook and pen, however, were always visible to remind the family of the reason for the researcher's presence. Occasionally the observational notes were read by the children who were overtly curious about what the researcher was writing.

The unstructured nature of the observation periods was maintained almost without exception. In general, when autobiographical material was offered, (for example, Mr. Evans' account of his life from age four to the present) it was following a simple question by the researcher pursuing a comment from an earlier meeting, that is, "How old were you when you left Eaglehawk?" Occasional follow-up questions were interspersed but they were directly related to the

previous discussion and were usually only questions of clarification. The actual words used by the family members were recorded as far as possible because the linguistic symbols used were a major concern of the study for their importance in Habermas' theory. The description of the case-study family and the discussion of the relationship between Habermas' theory and the case-study data are in Chapter 4.

Finally, the conclusions of the study were drawn, implications were identified and lines for future research were recommended (Chapter 5).

Summary

In this chapter the need for the study, the purpose of the study, and the objectives of the research have been presented. The assumptions underlying the research and the limitations of the study have been identified, concepts central to the study analyzed, and the procedural steps and methods summarized. Chapter 2 focuses on the critical theory of Jurgen Habermas related to systems of action and concludes with the generation of a tentative framework for reflection on the meaning of family activities related to the self-formation of family members.

CHAPTER 2

HABERMAS' THEORY OF SYSTEMS OF ACTION AND THE FAMILY SYSTEM

The first part of this chapter contains a discussion of Habermas' theory related to systems of action. Three examples of the use of Habermas' theoretical model for exploration and interpretation of phenomena follow. Third, the relevance of Habermas' theory to the family system is established. Finally, a tentative framework to guide the collection of case-study data is generated.

Background

Bernstein (1978) described Jurgen Habermas (1929--), the West German philosopher and social theorist, as the most prominent and controversial thinker to emerge from the Institute for Social Research, Frankfurt (p. xvii).

Habermas is critical of positivism. He rejects the positivist claim that the methods of the natural sciences ("empirical-analytical" sciences) is the only legitimate way of understanding social action, but does not reject the empirical-analytical sciences per se. Both hermeneutical (interpretive) and empirical-analytical sciences "represent

legitimate modes of investigation . . . but they focus on different realms of . . . reality" (Bleicher, 1980, p. 158). In this respect the two modes are complementary but not the same.

[Habermas'] central criticism of positivist philosophy is that it is unable to account for the epistemological status of its own claims. [It is a principle of many logical positivists that] all statements are either empirical (synthetic), a priori (analytic), or meaningless. . . . This principle conforms to neither of the two "meaningful" types of statements allowed by it. It thus has the paradoxical character of being meaningless if true (Keat & Urry, 1975, p. 224).

Positivism is inadequate in two respects: (1) it fails as philosophy in that it disallows reflection on the nature of rationality, and (2) it disregards symbolic interaction and the possibility of a dialectic of the critique of ideology in society thus failing to offer appropriate procedures for social study. Habermas' view is that "the truth of social rules depends not on testable laboratory processes, but on the promotion of mutual understanding of obligations and expectations" (Keane, 1975).

Cognitive Interests

Habermas' cognitive interests (or the knowledge-constitutive interests) are basic to the system he developed. They "shape and determine what counts as the objects and types of knowledge: they determine the categories relevant to what we take to be knowledge as well as the procedures for discovering and warranting knowledge claims" (Bernstein, 1978, p. 192). Bernstein's elaboration does not remove the

ambiguity of Habermas' conceptualization of knowledge interests but it is adequate for the purposes of this study.

Each cognitive interest stands in relation to an abstract expression (characteristic objects and types of knowledge) and a concrete expression (specific mode of action). Between the two expressions is a mutual reinforcement. The relationship between the three elements can be represented diagrammatically (Figure 1).

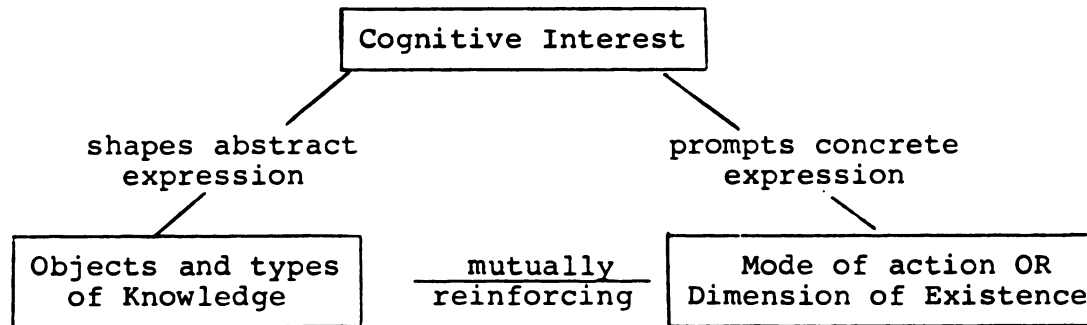


Figure 1. Relationship between Cognitive Interest, Type of Knowledge and Mode of Action.

Habermas based his system of knowledge on three cognitive interests: the technical, the practical, and the emancipatory.

Technical interest had its roots in the Greek techne, "the skillful production of artifacts and expert mastery of objectified tasks" (Habermas, 1963/1973, p. 42). The objects and types of knowledge shaped by the technical interest are the empirical and analytic sciences, and the mode of action prompted was identified by Habermas as work.

By work, or purposive-rational action I understand instrumental action or rational choice or their

conjunction. Instrumental work is governed by technical rules based on empirical knowledge. In every case they imply conditional predictions about observable events, physical or social. These predictions can prove correct or incorrect. The conduct of rational choice is governed by strategies based on analytic knowledge. They imply deductions from preference rules (value systems) and decision procedures: these propositions are either correctly or incorrectly deduced. Purposive-rational action realizes defined goals under given conditions. But while instrumental action organizes means that are appropriate or inappropriate according to criteria of an effective control of reality, strategic action depends only upon the correct evaluation of possible alternative choices, which results from calculation supplemented by values and maxims. (Habermas, 1968/1970, pp. 91-92)

Figure 2 illustrates the relationship of the technical interest and its abstract and concrete expressions.

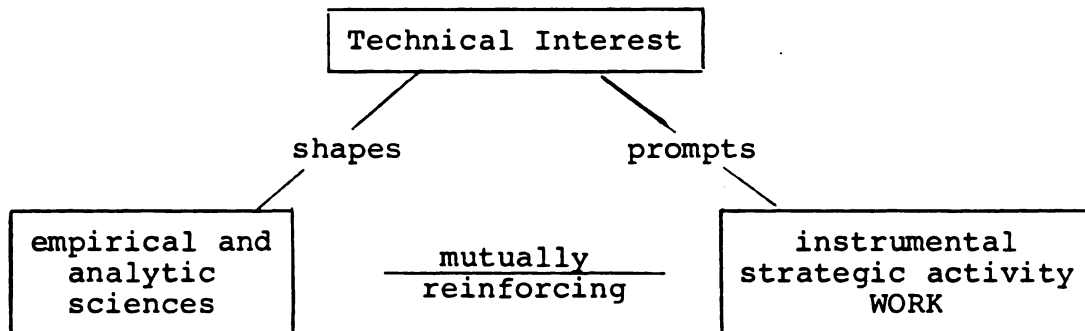


Figure 2. Relationship between Interest, Type of Knowledge and Mode of Action (Technical).

The roots of practical interest were in the Greek praxis--action directed to achieving an order of virtuous conduct emanating from prudent understanding and reflecting goodness and justice (McCarthy, 1979). The objects and types of knowledge to which the practical interest gives rise are the historical and hermeneutic (interpretive)

sciences, and the mode of action elicited is the symbolic interaction. According to Habermas, interaction

is governed by binding consensual norms, which define reciprocal expectations about behavior and which must be understood and recognized by at least two acting subjects. Social norms are enforced through sanctions. Their meaning is objectified in ordinary language communication. . . . (T)he validity of social norms is grounded only in the intersubjectivity of the mutual understanding of intentions and secured by the general recognition of obligations. (Habermas, 1968/1970, p. 92)

He went on to say that "we can distinguish between social systems according to whether purposive-rational action or interaction predominates." In other words, which of the human activities, work in a mechanistic sense, or interaction communicating meaning related to social norms, predominates? Figure 3 illustrates the relationship of the practical interest and its abstract and concrete expressions.

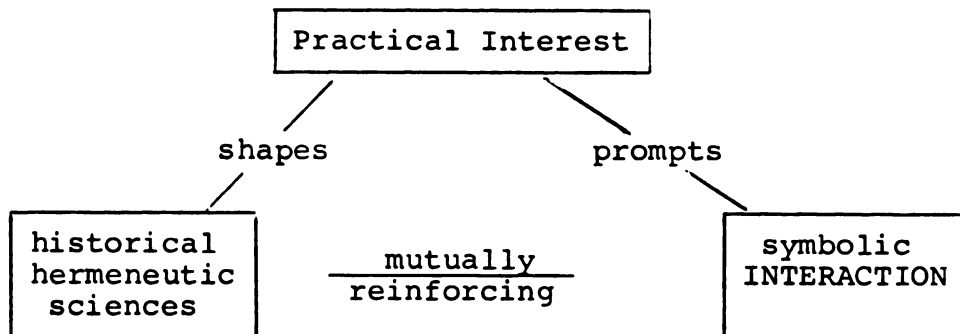


Figure 3. Relationship between Interest, Type of Knowledge and Mode of Action (Practical).

The two interests described above are linked. They have their anthropological status in common, and they are complementary. Their respective modes of action, work and interaction were described by Habermas

as fundamental conditions of cultural existence (McCarthy, 1978, p. 93). Work and interaction are the means by which persons "consciously objectify their world in the double sense that it is simultaneously constituted and disclosed to them" (Keane, 1975).

The third cognitive interest, the emancipatory interest, leads to another kind of knowledge but is derived from the conjunction of technical and practical interest. Critical reflection examines whether the existing system of social relations justified by the reigning ideology is most appropriate to existing technical capacities. In other words, critical reflection confronts ideology with social reality. "Through self-reflection a subject becomes aware of the unconscious pre-suppositions of completed acts" (Habermas, 1970/1980) which is the key to recognition of domination. The emancipatory interest is represented in Figure 4. The form of knowledge associated with the emancipatory interest is critical theory.

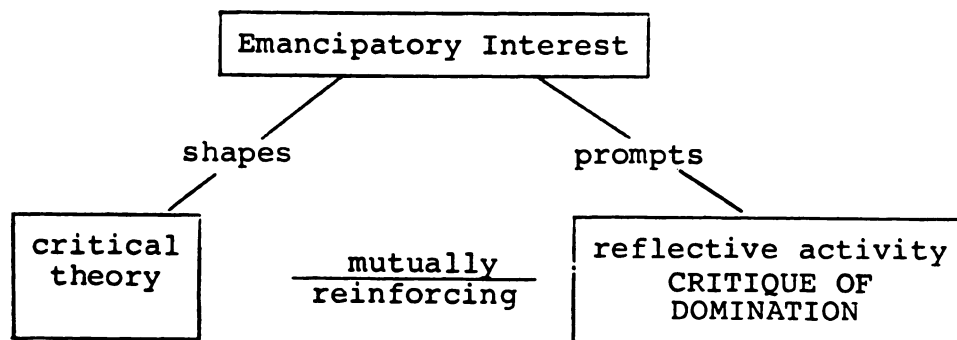


Figure 4. Relationship between Interest, Type of Knowledge and Mode of Action (Emancipatory).

Rationality

Habermas began the development of his model of rationality with a discussion of the concept as used by Weber. Weber used rationality as a descriptive term to encompass the "form of capitalist economic activity, bourgeois private law, and bureaucratic authority" (Habermas, 1968/1970, p. 81). Later, Marcuse identified the inevitable outcome of employing that type of rationalization as being a "specific form of unacknowledged political domination" (Habermas, 1968/1970, p. 82). Concentration on "the correct choice among strategies, the appropriate application of technologies and the efficient establishment of systems (with presupposed aims in given situations)" (loc. cit. emphasis in the original) without opportunity to reflect upon the ends sought, leads to political control.

Such domination by technocracy, meaning that all problems are perceived as technical problems to be solved by instrumental means or appropriate strategies, reflects depoliticization. Under these circumstances technical progress is necessary for maintenance of the social system which in turn determines social interests. Each link in the chain is dependent on the others and is a reinforcement of the relationship. The interrelationships are represented in Figure 5.

Technical interest appears to have become the only basis for rationality in society. This belief in technocracy, related to positivism, is actually a technocratic

theory of knowledge. The concentration on empirical knowledge involving predictions about observable events has the effect of reducing people to objects of the material environment. Therefore understanding of human capacities is obscured.

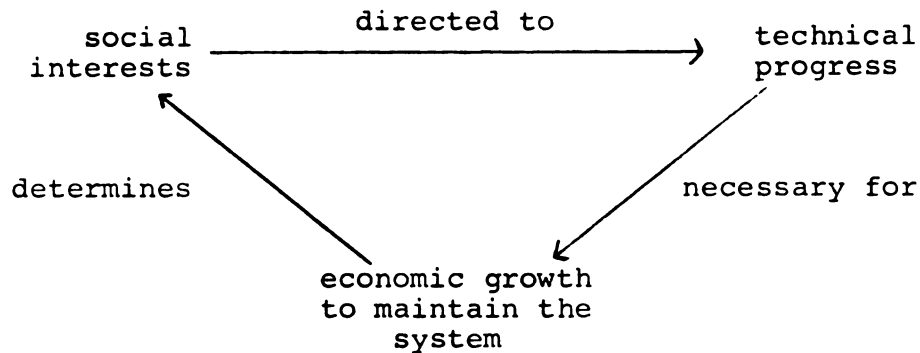


Figure 5. The Technical-Economic-Social Cycle.

But rationality (meaning in obedience to, or consistent with, reason) is not confined to technical activity. Weber limited the scope of rational activity by omitting the normative dimension. Actions judged as irrational when measured against technical criteria may be intelligible and reasoned when related to the appropriate form of rationality (Bernstein, 1978, p. 67). The question of "How ought it to be?" or the moral principle as the criterion for rationality is complementary to the questions of "What gives the best return?" (maximizing criterion) and "Which is the most efficient way?" (expediting criterion) characteristic of economic/technical rationality.

Legitimation Crisis

Habermas views technical domination as a symbol of the crisis in contemporary society. He says there is implicit in the concept of crisis the "idea of an objective force which deprives a subject of some portion of the sovereign independence he normally possesses." The definition and solution of the crisis depends upon the individual's awareness of and participation in it. It follows that "the solution of the crisis brings liberation for the subject caught up in it" (Habermas, 1973/1975, p. 1).

In contrast to Marx, who defined social crisis in economic terms, Habermas views it as a cultural crisis of legitimation and domination by technocracy. He feels that the legitimation crisis is manifest in the questioning of the state's definition of itself. The state appears to be faced with problems in relation to its own competence to administer and in its ability to maintain the loyalty of the electorate.

As politics becomes administration, public attachment to that process is dependent upon successful governmental action which however is plagued by permanent fiscal crisis. In cases of failure the penalty is withdrawal of legitimation and little or no administrative production of meaning. (Keane, 1975)

Loss of confidence in the integrity and competence of many political leaders has led to many serious questions about political alternatives. According to Habermas, democracy is not being fully realized in western capitalist nations. Marx' prediction about a working-class movement

has not been fulfilled. People are incapable of effecting change because their views of reality are distorted and they are unable to understand their own situations. They are depoliticized. They are unable to participate in matters of a practical (political) nature affecting their own lives, either individually or collectively.

A symptom of the domination by technical rationality characteristic of modernization is that practical has become indistinguishable from technical. A practical action has come to mean expedient or maximizing rather than morally justified, that is, consistent with truth, justice and rightness.

Traditional society has been directed by the socio-cultural life-world's cohesive uniting values. For example, monarchies are remnants of this type of legitimation of behavior. The British Royal Family has power by birth. While the control by royalty has been eroded by the assumption of power by parliament and the conversion of the former empire to a commonwealth of nations (both as results of the challenge of modernization) the British system is much more tied to traditional principles than is, for example, the system in the United States.

The contest between technical and normative rationality was illustrated tragically in Iran in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The reaction of the religious leaders to the modernization of the Islamic state was to forcibly reinstate the socio-cultural life-world as the source of

authority. The monarchy was discredited through its acceptance of technocracy but, according to Habermas, the traditional legitimizing codes, once dismantled and with their mystique removed, cannot be rebuilt although alternatives may be sought (Habermas, 1968/1970, p. 102).

Overcoming Technical Domination

Understanding social reality depends upon using appropriate criteria of rationality. The tendency, in modern society, toward the universal adoption of technical criteria as the basis of rationality was described by Habermas as penetration by technical rationality into all aspects of human life. He cites as examples of technical rationality conditions of: (1) repressiveness and intolerance of ambivalence in the face of role conflict; (2) rigidity in everyday interactions; (3) behavioral control and inflexible application of norms inaccessible to reflection; and (4) an achievement ideology (Habermas, 1968/ 1970, pp. 119-122).

The way of overcoming technical domination is by taking into account values, cultural traditions, and religious beliefs, and reinstituting communicative action governed by consensual norms. Language is essential for self-consciousness, self-understanding, self-formation and liberation of the senses because "language always expresses the conditions of social life" (Keane, 1975). Only through communicative action can humans act as reflective subjects participating in their own behavioral control by way of an organized

system of signs and symbols. It is only as ideologies are examined, reflected upon and people engage in discourse that ideologies can be unmasked and prevented from obscuring reality. In short, overcoming of technical domination depends upon practical action and critique of ideology.

Complementarity of Technical and Practical Action

Habermas has been criticized for concentrating upon the opposing nature of the two concepts, technical action and practical action, which are intimately related, but as polar points on a continuum. Certainly one cannot be reduced to the other but there is a continuity between them. The identification of work as the activity associated with technical rationality does not mean a complete lack of meaning content. In the extreme, work is visible, obvious, easily measurable, and product-oriented. At the other extreme, interaction is complex with subtle meaning content and may incorporate several levels of meaning which have to be uncovered, layer by layer, to be understood. Interaction is also situational and particularistic. Questions of rationality which correspond with the extremes of the continuum are, at the technical/strategic extreme, those of efficiency, expedience, economy, maximization; and, at the practical extreme, those of normative and moral principle related to the socio-cultural life-world of norms, sanctions, myth and religion.

The previous discussion is not directed toward discrediting the technical bases of rationality per se but is an attempt to restore the balance of complementarity between technical and practical action, and to emphasize the importance of using appropriate criteria to judge rationality. Nor does the writer mean to imply mutual exclusiveness. The interrelation can be illustrated by the inseparability of observation (technical) and interpretation (practical judgment). Observation is value-laden in the choice of framework used and the information recorded. The complementarity of theory and practice can be misunderstood also. The distortion of the relationship between theory and practice so that one assumes greater importance than the other, or that they appear to be separate entities, is misleading. To divorce theory and practice is to deny the dialectical, reciprocal relationship. Theory derives from practice and practice guides and expands theory. Habermas rejected the illusion of a world conceived as a universe of facts independent of the knower (McCarthy, 1978, p. 59). He also criticized the ahistorical nature of attempts to explain social action, arguing that these attempts neglect the socio-cultural matrices in which individuals are located. Actions of individuals cannot be understood unless viewed in the context in which they occur.

Technical Ideology

An ideology is a set of beliefs which, if inappropriate, can lead to distortion of reality and false consciousness. Technical ideology obscures the real nature of problems so that all problems, whether technical or practical, are dealt with as if they are technical. Habermas claimed that the domination of cultural institutions by means-ends rationality, that is technical rationality, has widened to include "even the family" (1968/1970, p. 98). If the family is a microcosm of society it will reproduce its social roles and perpetuate a specific society because "household activities cannot be analyzed as separate from the socioeconomic relations of the society in which they are embedded" (Rapp, et al., 1979).

Relationship of Habermas' Theory to Family Activities

Habermas acknowledged the importance of kinship structures in conjunction with socially organized labor as the specific way through which social roles are reproduced. "The kinship structure which controls both the integration of the external and internal nature [that is, self-formation] is basic" (1975). The fruitfulness of his model which has been outlined so far in general terms depends upon its translation into specifics.

Translation into a specific framework is contributed to by the following related pieces of work--a view of rationality drawing on the work of Diesing (1975) in relation to decision making, Honsinger's use of that interpretation as

a tool of analysis (1980), and Piotrkowski's conceptualization of the interface between household work and the family's emotional sub-system (1979). A discussion of the above contributing ideas follows.

Perspectives on Rationality

In 1979 the writer developed a view of rationality as having both technical and normative dimensions. The model was an alternative but related framework to the Habermas model and it was derived in part from Diesing's discussion (1975). He identified five types of decision making--social, economic, technical, political, and legal. Only the first three are dealt with here because the last two can be subsumed, in this writer's opinion, within the first three depending on the specific content of the decision situation. A further collapsing of Diesing's economic and technical categories can be justified.

By social decision making, Diesing meant the integrating, goal-setting process related to personalities and social relations. This process is characterized by the absence of given ends, lack of definite means, or way of evaluating (Diesing, 1958). Social decision making requires that the participants address relatively unique situations and explore the possibilities inherent in each with views to uncovering conflict as well as conflict-maintaining factors, looking for strain-reducing support in the future, and preparing for future stresses. The focus is on the participants and their interactions.

In contrast, economic decision making with its goal of maximization, and technical decision making with its goal of efficiency, are strictly means-ends actions (and in this respect, indistinguishable). This undifferentiated economic-technical concept corresponds closely with Habermas' "purposive-rational" action, while social decision making provides the counter notion akin to Habermas' "interaction." Habermas went further in relating the types of action to an ultimate basis of rationality. He proposed that the final arbiter of rationality for technical action was "science and technology" while the "socio-cultural life-world of myth, custom and tradition" was the source of rationality for practical action. Practical rationality lies in intersubjectivity of understanding achieved without force, or the domain of consensual action with undistorted communication (Habermas, 1976/1979, p. 120).

The two bases of rationality, "science and technology" and "the socio-cultural life-world," proposed by Habermas can be subsumed in the ancient philosophical expression for the ultimate, intrinsically valued goal of humans--the summum bonum, literally the highest good to which humans can aspire. The role of the summum bonum is as motivation of, or rationale for, action a priori, and as justification of action a posteriori. In this way it is both self-shaping and self-reinforcing.

Habermas is saying that science and technology have become the summum bonum in western, industrialized

society, replacing the socio-cultural life-world which was previously the ultimate source of rationality for human action.

Humans have had a variety of perceptions of the summum bonum. Aristotle's humanistic view held that the highest good for humans was happiness (in Johnson, 1978, p. 65). The Stoics' notion of the highest human good was independence and self-control, because insofar as a person is dependent upon another, he or she is enslaved by that other (Epictetus in Johnson, 1978, p. 105). In contrast, the early Hedonists held to a maximizing dictum. Their ultimate goal was pleasure and the absence of pain (Epicurus in Johnson, 1978, p. 97). Hedonism gave rise to utilitarianism in the late eighteenth century. Utilitarianism is a doctrine based upon the belief that the rightness or wrongness of actions is determined by the goodness or badness of their consequences. Jeremy Bentham, the nineteenth century British philosopher, claimed that acts must justify themselves through their utility--that is, through their contribution to "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" (Johnson, 1978, p. 250). He also believed that all pleasures are qualitatively the same, the only difference between them being those of quantity. Bentham developed a hedonistic calculus: a device for assessing what action one should take in the attempt to achieve and aggregate pleasure (in Johnson, 1978, p. 259). John Dewey's ideal was growth--to him the only moral end (1939, p. 40). More recently John Rawls

has proposed an ideal of distributive justice for the ultimate goal of humans (1971). Yet another example of the summum bonum in our society is Christian perfection.

Utilitarianism is of particular importance to the present study because in its demand for accountability, emphasis on measurement, and reduction of quality to quantity, it represents Habermas' idea of technical rationality. It ignores the normative dimensions implicit in practical rationality, of goodness and badness, rightness and wrongness being associated with principles of justice, fairness, human dignity, self-formation and autonomy.

A model drawing on Diesing's explanation and incorporating the concept of the summum bonum was devised by this writer (1979). See Figure 6. Honsinger used the model as a tool for categorizing goal statements in relation to programs for gifted children in Michigan, 1971-1979 (1980).

Honsinger argued that

a basic lack of normative goal agreement among educators causes what appear to be failures in economic and technical decisions. [The latter], if made without concern for normative and ultimate goals, appear more likely to fail or be short-lived.

What Honsinger is saying, when translated into Habermas' terms, is that technical action needs to be preceded by practical action; that is, that the ultimate criterion of rationality should be principles relating to the socio-cultural life-world rather than short-term technological maximization. Only 11% of the school districts in Honsinger's study articulated an ultimate goal. Thus the

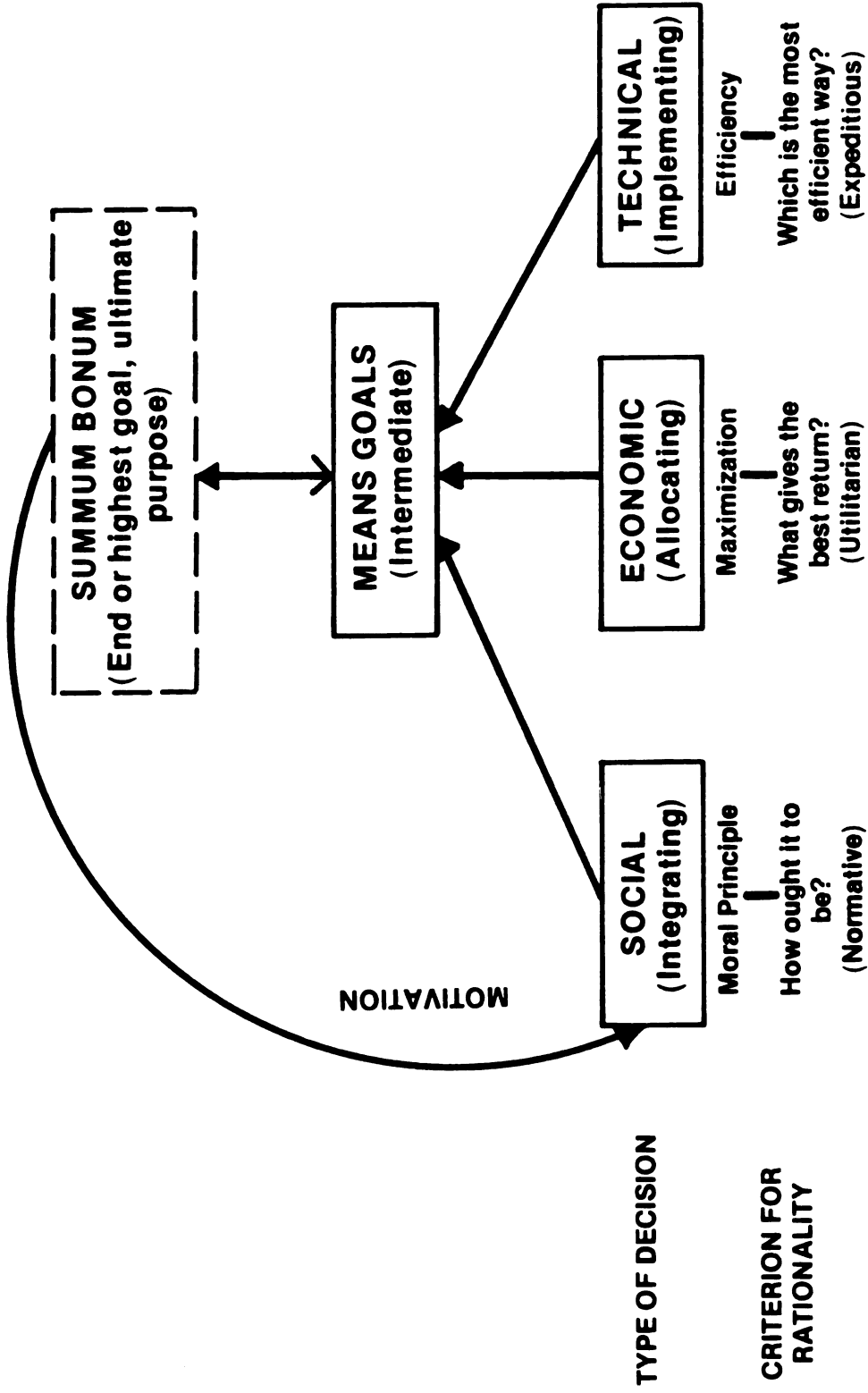


Figure 6. Rationality and Social Decision Making

majority of goal statements were found to be related to technical means-ends, short-term goals. This finding supports Habermas' contention that technical action is predominant in social institutions (in this case the social institution of education).

Habermas' means of categorizing action as technical or practical remains central to the present study. The insights drawn from Diesing, from the early philosophers, from Honsinger and from previous work by this writer are used to explore the theory's possibilities. In addition the work of Piotrkowski (1979) represents a major contribution to the present conceptual analysis.

Piotrkowski examined the relationships between work and the family system. She equated work with an individual's job or what he or she did for a living. But besides market or paid labor, she included household work. The common factor was the production and service orientation of the two undertakings (p. 243). The observations regarding the relationship between household work and the emotional subsystem of the family are of particular relevance to the present study. A major difficulty in Piotrkowski's study was to distinguish between household work and the emotional life of a family because of their overlap both in space and time. She described this as the "fusion of working and loving" (Piotrkowski, 1979. p. 271). In separating the two kinds of activities, conceptually at least, she has drawn a similar distinction to Habermas. Her "loving" corresponds

closely to his "interaction." Included in the activities Piotrkowski identified as housework was child care. She labeled this work as a major source of job stress, partly because it is an "important demanding job with few guidelines and little opportunity for evaluating one's performance" (p. 279). The absence of specifications takes child care out of the realm of technical action and into the realm of practical action, but the household worker has been so effectively socialized into the production and service orientation that the technical domination prevails. Some of the stress associated with work in the home lies in the inability to reconcile the conflicting demands of working and loving. Further confusion arises when an attempt is made to measure the value, in technical terms, of such qualitative dimensions of life as "loving." Success in finding appropriate quantitative measures in human relations is success in structuring human relations as relations of technical control rather than based on complementarity, reciprocity, and mutual recognition (McCarthy, p. 29).

Effective socialization of children might be described as reorienting them away from their innate world-view to the production and service orientation of a work organization (Piotrkowski, 1979, p. 243). Success in this direction would be threatening to the survival of societal individuals, in Habermas' view. Social organization, not necessarily of social individuals, reflects the view of reality apprehended.

The view dominated by the technical interest produces a form of life bound to work (McCarthy, p. 68). Self-formation toward reproduction of social roles in a society or socialization into a particular social organization will reflect the extent to which technical or practical rationality prevails. Practical rationality's influence will be characterized by the existence of a reliable intersubjectivity of understanding, the key to which is the availability of ordinary language as a means of communication.

Examples of Application of Habermas' Theory

The possibilities of gaining new insights through the application of Habermas' theory are illustrated in Gregory's Ideology, Science and Human Geography (1978), Balbus' "Politics of Sport" (1975), and Pinar's "Notes on the Curriculum" (1978). A summary of these applications of Habermas' theory to a specific area of interest follows.

Gregory begins his examination of geography as a discipline with a critique of positivism. The positivist approach to knowledge is linked to Habermas' technical interest and is strongly bound to empiricism, characterized by laws from which inductions are drawn. But the only way in which geographical statements can be given the status of laws is through identification of the relevant theory and the accompanying willingness to regard geographical phenomena as if they were subject to universal laws even when the evidence is clearly to the contrary (p. 31). Thus did

theory become separated from practice in geography. However, while the positivist paradigm was inadequate in many respects, so also were the historical-hermeneutic sciences of limited applicability. Critical science is the dialectical conjunction of the two. The resultant theory, by initiating self-reflection, becomes practical (p. 160). The degree to which the empirical-analytic and historical-hermeneutic forms of science can be brought into conjunction determine how successfully the processes of self-reflection are initiated (p. 160).

The implications of this approach to geography can be illustrated by the involvement of people from the community which the research findings were to serve. The project was the "educational redistricting of the City of Detroit" (p. 162). The people who would be most directly affected by the restructuring became advocate geographers in a reciprocal partnership. The scheme outlined by the group was the one adopted in preference to the eight proposals advanced by the Board of Education of which four were shown by the group to be illegal (p. 162). Activity of this nature treads a fine line between technical and emancipatory action. The risk is that in problematizing a situation, the goal is set, toward which participants are bent in an instrumental way, which in turn is domination again. Diesing's system with its goal-less social decisions contrasted with the means-end technical/economic decisions is supported. Just as serious as a way of compromising critical science

is to see an issue as less than a totality (p. 163). To reconcile theory and practice the solution for geographers, Gregory concludes, is to bring the theories directing geography into open encounter with the practices sustaining the discipline (p. 167).

According to Balbus (1975) highly organized professional sport illustrates the strategic, means-ends character of "purposive-rationality." To apply the language associated with such instrumental behavior to political discourse and have that language widely accepted is "the internalization of a technocratic legitimating ideology." The effect produced is the transformation of "the political problem of moral choice into the technical problem of strategic choice" says Balbus (1975). The frequent use of the sports metaphor to describe and analyze political events is seen by Balbus as a replacement of traditional political norms by technocracy. At a time when organized sport has achieved an important economic role in America, the use of sports language in relation to politics gives an ascendancy to the ideology of science and technology.

Pinar (1978) used Habermas' theory of knowledge-constitutive interests to highlight the confusion between the technical and the practical in relation to educational curricula. He identified three perspectives on curriculum development: the traditional, the conceptual-empirical, and the re-conceptual. Traditionalists distinguish themselves by service to teachers in an ahistorical and atheoretical

setting. Such instrumental behavior fits Habermas' description of purposive-rational or technical action. Dissatisfaction with technical action led to a curriculum reform movement which saw the creation of useful knowledge through rigorous social science research as the only appropriate goal for curriculum scholars. The effect was to drive practice and theory even further apart. It is the reconceptualists, in Pinar's terms, who become involved in emancipatory action through the dialectical process of integrating practice and theory. This activity reduces curriculum knowledge and the improvement of practice through the application of theory, important as they are to the advancement of the field, to a state of ambiguity and uncertainty. It is impossible to know absolutely that genuine self-reflection has occurred or that enlightenment has been achieved. The ongoing process guides theory development and formulation of strategic action--ultimately technical action--but it is situated in the context of non-ideological discourse.

Tentative Framework for Characterizing Family
Activities and How They Relate to Self-
formation of Family Members

Since for Habermas language is the specific medium for understanding the socio-cultural stage of evolution, it becomes the key to identifying the type of rationality being used. It is therefore appropriate to single out explicit speech actions from other forms of communicative action.

Mere observation can be misleading if the underlying assumptions on which the exchange is based are not understood.

Such assumptions relate to the "intersubjective mutuality of reciprocal understanding, shared knowledge, mutual trust, and accord with one another" (Habermas, 1976/1979, p. 3).

If Habermas is justified in his claim that technical rationality has widened to include the family, it will be influencing family functions including the self-formation of family members. The domination by technical rationality can be identified in the language exchanges among family members.

The empirical data for this study consisted of the language exchanges among family members associated with:

- power relations;
- control;
- money;
- free time;
- human and material resources;
- fairness, justice, matters of principles;
- quality and quantity;
- production and consumption;
- rewards and punishments;
- division of labor.

In the researcher's reflection on the language exchanges consideration was given to:

- (1) consistency of goals;

- (2) place of family activities in relation to material necessity;
- (3) correspondence between what was said and what was done;
- (4) matters which might have been talked about but were avoided;
- (5) the use of technical language in discussion of practical/normative matters.

The review of the major political, social and economic events of the twentieth century in Australia, which follows in the next chapter, will give historical concreteness to the case-study family.

CHAPTER 3

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

Part of the description of working-class families lies in an account of historical elements which have shaped their environment and them because of the dialectical relationship between people and their environment. The guiding question for this chapter was: "What elements shaped the working-class environment in Melbourne, Australia in the 1980s?"

The chapter is divided into two parts. One part is a summary of the general history. The events to be discussed provide horizontal divisions of the time-span under consideration. The issues to be developed have been perceived as longitudinal foci. The other part is a brief history of working-class families and a short analysis of their present social environment.

General Historical Perspective

The events chosen as the foci of the discussion did not all have sharply defined beginnings or ends. They represent identifiable epochs which, arranged chronologically, serve as a framework for examining the historical origins of the present.

They are valid for two reasons: history scholars make wide use of such a model; and amateur historians (those who lived through many of the years encompassed, without formal and systematic interpretation in an academic sense) generally agree on their importance. The information incorporated in the discussion which follows is from secondary sources. Some original documents were consulted, for example, Professor Manning Clark's Sources of Australian History¹ (1957). Nevertheless the material has been screened because the particular sources were chosen and arranged by the editor and thus the original has been mediated for the reader. Crowley's (1974) anthology is screened twice, firstly in the selection of the authors who are represented in the book and then by the authors themselves. Mediation may consist of selection, interpretation or emphasis on specific inter-relationships. This mediation does not suggest misrepresentation but should be understood as coming from the different perspectives people take and from ambiguity of truth and reality. The use of subjective material is appropriate to the nature of the present study. The emphasis on subjective

¹The writer's confidence in Professor Clark is based in part on the esteem in which he was held by his fellows as illustrated by the following statement by Turner, a noted historian. "Manning Clark is the most exciting and provocative of contemporary historians. His doubt and his iconoclasm have challenged the easy optimism which has made up so much of the Australian Dream. His insistence that, while man's material environment may improve, the quality of each man's life exists within himself, demands that those who dream do so from new perspectives and in new ways" (Turner, 1968, p. 348).

meanings attached to the events by the actors and reactors themselves are of major concern throughout the research. The actual effects are no more important than their perceived effects. For example, it is widely believed that the Australian Labor Party was begun after the 1890 Maritime strike because the workers realized that the strike was expensive and ineffective as an agent of reform. In fact, unions had sponsored their own parliamentary candidates as early as 1859 (McQueen, 1976, pp. 222-223). It is important not to reject a widely held belief, even if it is not grounded in "fact" because of its potency in influencing behavior and affecting the meanings attached to phenomena.

Historical Events

Federation

The decision by the six separate colonies to unite as the Commonwealth of Australia from January 1, 1901, was essentially pragmatic and reflective of the British utilitarian philosophy of the early nineteenth century (Conway, 1971, p. 17). Intense rivalry existed between the states, and they also harbored fears of being disadvantaged under federalism and a Federal Government. The smaller colonies of South Australia and Tasmania feared that they would lose their identity alongside the more populous, wealthy colonies of New South Wales and Victoria. A compromise in representation was reached in the decision to form an upper house (the Senate) with six senators from each state. The Senate's

powers were circumscribed so that the House of Representatives, with its membership matched to population distribution, was the governing body (de Garis, 1974). Nevertheless, the establishment of a total of fourteen houses of parliament for a population which at that time was one-tenth the size of Britain's was one of the first major steps toward what is described in the late twentieth century as a highly bureaucratized country.

Other jealousies relating to tariffs, disputes over borders and rivers lost importance in comparison with what were seen as greater threats. The colonists were afraid of being invaded by an aggressor but were equally anxious to control immigration. The idea of maintaining a "white" Australia was economically motivated in the belief that Asian workers might be preferred for wage-labor because they would be satisfied with lower wages. The better trading opportunities promised by federation were seen by some as advantageous and by others as threatening. Historians are not in agreement on the real reasons for federation but they do not dispute that economic factors were of major importance. The economic and industrial upheavals of the 1890s demonstrated to many people the dangers of disunity (de Garis, 1974).

Many of the early colonists held an attitude that their time in exile in such an alien, inhospitable, comfortless land was to be endured. Fraser (1910, p. 11) described the Australia he observed as "a bit of England transplanted."

The homesickness for England and the feeling of being exiled, reinforced by the prevailing utilitarian philosophy, encouraged many to view Australia as a resource to be exploited in amassing material wealth (Hogan, 1880; C. W. in Sydney Morning Herald, 1907). As recently as 1943 Penton asked if Australians were going to live in their country as "permanent abiders rather than temporary exploiters." Nevertheless there were people who believed in the new nation and had hopes for its future. They took pride in the uniqueness of a whole continent "peacefully united under one government-- united by the will of the people, and that a people almost wholly of one race and one language"² (The Bulletin, 1901, reprinted in Turner, 1968, pp. 256-261).

World War I

Despite the distance from Britain, Australia was proud to be part of the British Empire, and she believed herself secure as part of Britain's defended territory. Like a dutiful daughter she supported the mother country by sending thousands (330,000 of a population of 5 million) to fight in the Great European War of 1914-1918. Ironically it was a tragic military error which established Australia as a

²There appeared to be no recognition that Australia had been nonwhite for 40,000 years and that the English-speaking Europeans were invaders themselves (Middleton, 1978). At the time of federation Australia had been white for only 100 years. It was believed that the natives were dying out. As recently as 1935 Stephenson claimed that Australia is the only continent on the earth occupied by one race, under one government, speaking one language.

nation. In an attempt to seize control of the Dardenelles, thousands of Australian "diggers"³ were among those required to storm ashore and climb an almost perpendicular hillside against heavy Turkish fire. In the extraordinary feat, some of them survived to retain the position for eight months until they were ordered to withdraw (Ward, 1979, p. 128). Anzac⁴ Day (April 25) is the anniversary of the landing on Gallipoli and is observed as a national remembrance day in Australia.

The war dragged on, and Australians became less enthusiastic about it as an adventure. Volunteers became scarce, so the issue of conscription arose. Australia already had the right to conscript for home defense and pressure to conscript for overseas service grew. A bitter argument took place over an attempt to broaden the bases for conscription, and a referendum on the matter was lost by a narrow margin. The governing party split and Prime Minister Hughes was expelled from the Labor Party. A second referendum lost by a slightly wider margin.

The war was blamed for polarizing the Australian community in many ways:

capital against labor, governments against unions, ex-servicemen against civilians, the war generation against their children, the traditional modes of behavior against the new (Turner, 1974).

³ Soldiers.

⁴ Australian and New Zealand Army Corps.

Australia was weakened through war casualties and the heavy war debt she assumed, but there had been stimuli to trading, manufacturing, primary production, transport and communications. In the absence of the men in the services, women were needed in clerical jobs, occupations hitherto denied to them. Consequently, paid work to earn a living was made respectable for all women who were not yet married (Kingston, 1977, p. 132).

The Depression

The period of economic recovery after World War I was buoyant and positive. Money was readily available for borrowing, and there was wide-spread over-extension even though interest rates were high. In 1930 Australia faced default in London. The conservatives insisted on meeting their obligations. Government spending had to be curtailed. Australia joined the rest of the world in the collapse of the economic system (Lowenstein, 1979, p. 7).

In Australia, wool and wheat prices fell and the problem was compounded by drought (Robertson, 1974). At the peak of unemployment, one in three persons was unemployed and there was mass destitution (Robertson, 1974). The Federal Government's response was to give money to the states for public works so jobs were created, and in the later thirties the number of unemployed began to fall. Social effects of the depression were extensive. Australia's

intolerance of unemployment is said to be related to memories of the depression.⁵

During the later thirties significant unrest in Europe prompted general preparations for war. The "arms race" was a major factor in helping Australia and the rest of the world out of depression (Lowenstein, 1979, p. 8).

World War II

As in 1914, when England declared war against Germany in 1939, Australia was automatically at war. Until the bombing of Pearl Harbor in 1941, signalling Japan's entry into the conflict, war seemed distant. War in the Pacific demanded maximum involvement (Bolton, 1974). Conscription was accepted with little opposition, but conscripts could be required to serve only within boundaries directly relevant to Australia.

The mobilization for war included the building of airports, roads, and port facilities. Rationing of petrol, food and clothes was imposed (Ward, 1979, p. 160).

The British influence on Australia waned when hundreds of thousands of United States troops arrived in the South Pacific.⁶ Many of these servicemen spent some time in

⁵An unemployment rate that was nearing 4% in the 1960s almost caused the defeat of the incumbent conservative government in a national election (Ward, 1979, p. 167).

⁶General Douglas MacArthur was appointed supreme commander of the South-west Pacific with control over all allied personnel. His headquarters were in Melbourne initially. Later he moved to Brisbane (Bolton, 1974).

Australia, and the American influence spread rapidly (for example, Coca-Cola, equipment and technology were introduced). Singapore had been regarded as a dependable British fortress. Its capture by the Japanese in 1942 made Australians realize that they could not rely on Britain for their security, and this realization was a factor in their turning to the United States as the great power on which to lean.

For women, the war meant emancipation to undertake paid-work on a much greater scale than during the First World War but, as in 1918, when the men came home, so did the women to become involved in a "baby boom."

Postwar Reconstruction

Australia entered a period of expansion and great prosperity at the end of World War II. Immigration and natural increase in population built up the numbers to maintain the labor force and the market for the products manufactured. Welfare services were expanded, medical advances promoted quality of life, and hospital and maternity benefits were extended. Life for most people became more comfortable as transport, aviation, communications and labor-saving devices became readily available.

Nevertheless, the ambivalence between private enterprise and state action remained. Forty-five percent of the population voted "No" in a referendum seeking power for the Federal Government to legislate for social services

(Bolton, 1974). The government continued to administer railways and is still one of the competitors in a two-airline transport system. The government is also a competitor in banking.

The Korean War

Australia's involvement in the Korean War received little attention from the Australian people. Her role as part of a United Nations peace-keeping operation was the climax to a potent "red-scare." The Soviet Union's expansion in Europe, and China's adoption of the communist system made Australians fearful of communism. The belief that a Labor Government was sympathetic to communism was a factor in its defeat at the 1949 election. The Korean War encouraged people to accept the reintroduction of compulsory national military service (Bolton, 1974). The fear for Australia's security prompted the government to legislate for military conscription of Australian males aged between 20 and 22 for overseas service in peacetime.

The prosperity of the fifties continued in a pattern in which all benefited. Rich strikes of oil enabled Australia to meet almost three-quarters of its oil needs (Ward, 1979, p. 169).

The Vietnam War

On April 29, 1965 the Australian Government decided to send a battalion of troops to participate with the Americans in the military intervention in Vietnam (Ward, 1979, p. 178).

Unlike the Korean War, in which Australia's part was barely noticed, the participation in Vietnam became a bitter and divisive issue for Australians. Many believed that unless the communists were defeated in Vietnam, Australia was threatened. On the whole, the supporters of the war were an older age group than the people who were participating in it. Angry opposition surfaced among many younger people for whom the anti-communist propaganda was one of a number of unexamined policies to be challenged. Opposition was demonstrated, and it reached a wide audience through the assistance of media coverage. At a time when American public opinion was turning strongly against the war, Prime Minister Holt's announcement that Australia planned to increase its participation increased the anger of the war's opponents even more. It was another four and a half years before the Australians were decisively recalled from Vietnam, that being one of the election promises of Gough Whitlam whose government was elected in 1972.

The sixties was a decade of greatly expanded communications and technology, more education opportunities, and less parochialism as Australia, less isolated, became more knowledgeable of and involved in world affairs.

The Seventies

The Labor Government elected in 1972 brought in extensive reforms but their effectiveness was diminished by rapidly rising inflation. In this respect, Australia was

sharing an experience with the rest of the western world. The Whitlam government was frustrated by its own ineptitude and a hostile upper house,⁷ and by overseas events. The Middle East oil crisis, inflation, pollution, rising unemployment, and strong unions, made heavy demands on government. At the height of the crisis in 1975, Sir John Kerr, the Queen's representative in Australia, took the unprecedented step of dismissing the Whitlam government. In the election that followed, the Labor Party failed to gain a majority vote and the unions' rebelliousness increased. Feelings of bitterness and a sense of having been cheated prevailed. Since 1975, more direct action by the unions has created disruptions in society. Disenchantment and increased social tension is present (Blainey, 1980) consistent with Habermas' legitimation crisis. International events such as the Iranian holding of American hostages, the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan and the Iran-Iraq conflict have aroused deep concern for many Australians.

Meanwhile a quiet revolution has begun in Australian households. Married women have entered the paid labor force at an unprecedented rate. Between 1964 and 1978 the number of married women in paid employment increased by 127% (Horin, 1979). Many women work from economic necessity. The household's change to a predominantly consuming unit away from the production of material goods, combined with

⁷ Although a house of review only, the Senate has the ability to refuse to endorse legislation.

aggressive marketing of commodities has demanded more disposable income. In a time of growing unemployment, the extra labor-power available because of the change in attitude of women has made the "proper" role of a homemaker the subject of wide debate. Many working-class parents have undertaken complementary shift-work so that their children are cared for, in spite of the disruptions shifts have on family life.

The next part of this chapter consists of a brief discussion of issues pertinent to Australian life in the twentieth century.

Historical Issues

Trade Unions and the Federal Arbitration and Conciliation Commission

The ideas of unionism were brought to Australia by laborers from Britain where unionism originated. Consequently, unionism in Australia is almost as old as Australia itself, since unionism was established by the 1850s⁸ (Gollan, 1968). The power of the unions reflected the economic situations of the times. Generally they were more powerful in times of labor shortage, but they suffered setbacks during times of recession. The "eight-hour-day" was won

⁸Australia boasts that progressive legislation relating to working conditions was introduced early in its existence. A closer examination of the history reveals that much of the legislation was not enforced and, even when implemented, did not include women (Kingston, 1977, p. 62).

for a range of tradesmen in the 1850s. It became universal in the twentieth century (Gollan, 1968). For approximately 30 years the unionists saw a congruence between their interests and those of the employers, and disputes which arose were solved fairly easily. In the 1880s a polarization developed dividing employers and employees along class lines, as the various trade unions increased their unity. The 1890 maritime strike, although disruptive, failed because of the economic conditions. However, it demonstrated the unity of the interunion council (Melbourne Trades Hall Council) .

Federation was expected to provide the mechanism for dealing with the industrial problems between the colonies. The new "states" retained their rights to deal with matters within their own states, but seamen and railway workers who worked interstate were not covered. To deal with interstate disputes a bill was passed in 1904 to establish a federal tribunal and a system of compulsory conciliation and arbitration (Crowley, 1974a). The arbitration court system for settling disputes between employers and employees, and for fixing conditions of employment, is almost unique to Australia⁹ (Sawer, 1973, p. 104). This use of an objective third party is consistent with notions of fair play. The use of a referee to ensure that the game is played "fair and square" is a popular Australian myth. Direct bargaining

⁹New Zealand is the only other country with an arbitration system like that in Australia.

between trade unions and employers or their associations exists, but it is subordinate and preliminary to the court hearing. Either party to the dispute may request referral to the court. Knowing that the "umpire" can hear appeals means that direct negotiations are undertaken in an artificial context. The parties are not committed to decisions reached prior to the court hearing. One of the conditions of the federal arbitration system was that unions had to be registered to be eligible to present a case. This condition precipitated a rapid increase in the number of unions, and membership trebled between 1906 and 1914 (Crowley, 1974a).

Throughout its life, the arbitration system has alternately appeared to favor employer organizations and unions, depending on the economic climate. The system tends to be self-perpetuating in its involvement of a bureaucracy of employer representatives, union representatives, and appointed arbitration commissioners. Interpretations of the constitutional power of the arbitration commission by successive high courts have expanded its activities and made the commission a powerful body.

An early decision of the Federal Arbitration Court was in answer to "What ought to be fair and reasonable wages?" The Harvester case of 1907 resulted in Mr. Justice Higgins determining,

largely by intelligent guesswork, a minimum living for an unskilled male Australian worker of seven shillings per day for a six-day working week, based on the grounds of the normal needs of the average employee, regarded as a human being supporting a wife and three children

living in a civilized community, and not on the grounds of his employer's capacity to pay it (Crowley, 1974a).

In this way a nexus was established between wages and cost-of-living. The concept of an Australian needs-based minimum wage, the basic wage, became an accepted factor in industrial affairs.

Social Welfare

Consistent with belief in a needs-based wage, old age pensions were introduced in 1900. Aborigines and Asians were excluded (de Garis, 1974), and the amounts payable were considerably less than the minimum wage (Hudson, 1974). Nevertheless, as a principle, the pension reflected the increasing role that government was beginning to play in people's lives. Pearson (1891) described the state centralism he observed as "creating a state socialism." Other developments supported his interpretation.

In the twentieth century in Australia welfare payments have expanded continually including maternity and hospital benefits, child endowment, unemployment benefits, allowances to single mothers, and allowances to invalids and handicapped persons (Hudson, 1974). The ambivalence between increasing expectations of government and fear of centralist bureaucratization continues. People express fears of the effects of increasing dependence, encouragement of thriftlessness, and of making "good works redundant" (Hudson, 1974). At the same time, some of those who are not receiving benefits resent the taxes they pay to maintain the support. The government

has usually preferred to allow tax exemptions in preference to direct payments. For many years the receipt of medical and hospital benefits was dependent upon people's having private insurance. A change was made in 1972 when the Labor government introduced Medibank, a variation of socialized medicine. The scheme was dismantled by a later government.

Social Classes

John Fraser reported in 1910 that Australians claimed there were no class extremes.¹⁰ It was true in that there was neither a wealthy leisured class at one end nor a class of "poor clinging wretched mortals at the other" (p. 116).

In the early colonial days distinction was made between those who were bonded (convicts) and those who were free. At first the "free" were the British government appointees. Later, voluntary settlers began emigrating from Great Britain. As the population increased, a class system evolved on the basis of status held by people before emigration. Economic differences were apparent and have continued to characterize the class structure.

People dreamed of Australia being the "working-man's paradise," but, as in other parts of the industrialized world, the availability of work depends upon the ebb and flow of market forces.

A "paradise" for skilled working men depends on a pool of workers who can be called upon or retrenched as the

¹⁰This was the dream of many expressed in a ballad by the words "Give us here no lower classes and no mighty 'upper ten'" (Demos, 1888).

market demands. This "pool" is often unskilled, and it includes migrants--both male and female, other married women, and young school leavers.

Australia's Population and Its Distribution

In spite of heavy dependence on primary products and minerals to generate overseas income, Australia has always been a highly urbanized population. At the time of the 1901 Federation, one-third of the total population lived in the six state capitals, and another third lived in smaller cities and towns (Crowley, 1974a). This situation arose partly because the volume of exports produced in the rural areas had to be processed and shipped, thus creating jobs at the ports. Another factor was the railway service that made it convenient to undertake business in the city at the expense of country towns (McQueen, 1978, p. 56). Besides, bush life was hard and uncomfortable. Some of the personal characteristics for which Australians became known are believed to have their origin in the pioneering experiences of the early settlers. Australians, although not faced with hostile indigenes, did face a hostile climate and landscape, apart from the coastline areas in the south. Many men spent weeks or months at a time away from home droving or shearing, and their wives were left to maintain the farms and bear and care for children in isolation. Heat, dust, flies, bush-fires, shortages of water, lack of medical care, and responsibility for educating children combined to test

human endurance. The experiences have become somewhat romanticized since very few people in Australia now live beyond telephones, radio, and aircraft communication, but it is a source of pride for some Australians who can recount tales of forebears who survived extreme hardships. Dependence upon others was inescapable, and it is possible that the Australian phenomenon of mateship grew out of the mutual help and trust that were engendered among lonely bushmen. The more fertile land was controlled by a small group of powerful landowners, and many of the would-be farmers were former urban dwellers with insufficient knowledge of farming.

This extensive urbanization was recognized as a problem in 1910 by Fraser who wrote "An agricultural country like Australia has too few on the land and too many in the city" (p. 9). Probably Fraser's concern was predominantly for the vulnerability to invasion that an unpeopled continent represented. Nevertheless market forces attracted people to the cities. By 1970 capital cities accounted for 60% of the Australian population (Hudson, 1974). C. W. (Sydney Morning Herald, June 8, 1907) described the population distribution as Australia's peculiar centralized settlement and attributed it to the lack of ports because of the inhospitable coastline. He deplored the growth of "decadent cities."

Australia's extensive coast-line coupled with its small population was a continuing cause of concern that the country would be invaded. Threat of invasion by Japan, the "yellow peril," was a fear given substance in World War II. Since

the defeat of Japan by the Allies in 1945, that fear has been dispelled. When the fear was at its height, the need to populate Australia by natural increase and migration was seen as urgent. The relative smallness of the work force and the domestic market were further reasons for desiring population growth (Kingston, 1977, p. 8). A severe economic downturn in the 1890s was accompanied by a sharp decrease in the fertility rate. A Royal Commission was appointed in 1903 to inquire into the declining birth rate in New South Wales. The commission presented a report which accused women of selfishly preferring luxury and pleasure above the strain and worry of children. Women were urged to recover their lost sense of religious and civic duty, to cease using contraceptives, and to re-establish high patterns of fertility (Cass, 1977). An Assembly of the Presbyterian Church denounced the refusal to assume parenthood as a crime against humanity and God. The term "race suicide" was used to describe the problem (Fraser, 1910, p. 126). The commission reported high rates of infant mortality--up to 20% in the cities in the latter half of the nineteenth century. An Infant Welfare movement was introduced, and the mortality rate fell from 116 per thousand to 68 per thousand births between 1904 and 1914 (Burns & Goodnow, 1979, p. 38).

Immigration (much of it assisted) was important in building the population, but Asians were excluded. Ward says that Australians were being neither "uniquely wicked

nor ignorant." The anti-Asian attitude was typical of the Social Darwinist ideas which were widely accepted throughout the western world at that time (1979, p. 121). The largest program of assisted migration was begun after World War II. The motives were to meet Australia's needs relating to defense and economic growth, and to help displaced persons and other victims of the war. Between 1945 and 1966 more than two million migrants came to Australia, and the total population increased from seven and a half million to 11 million (Ward, 1979, p. 162). A further half million arrived by 1970. While many of the migrants were British, over half were Italian, Greek, Dutch, Yugoslav, German, or Polish (Hudson, 1974). As a result, the Australian people became more cosmopolitan. They assimilated many new ideas of eating and entertainment. Some non-white immigrants were approved, but usually only if they possessed particular skills needed by Australia (Hudson, 1974). Pressure was applied to the Department of Immigration to accept Indo-Chinese refugees. Several thousand of the Boat People from Vietnam arrived unofficially and were allowed to remain. War-orphans were airlifted to Australia after the fall of Saigon in the early seventies. Other Asians in Australia are students subsidized by the Colombo Plan--an educational gesture of goodwill and one of the first concrete signs of Australia's recognizing its physical location as part of Asia.

Housing

The goal of home ownership has a long history in Australia. The home is viewed as not only shelter but also as provider of such intangibles as security. A home is prized for providing a setting where individuals have the maximum opportunity for developing identity. Most homes are expected to be single-family dwellings on independent lots. One's house has also come to represent social position.

In 1966, the peak year of home ownership in Australia, 72% of the population owned their homes outright or were in the process of repaying mortgages on homes in which they had equity (Stretton, 1978). Nevertheless, there is still the group who cannot accumulate deposits or have not sufficient income to repay house loans and therefore have to depend on rented accommodation. At the time of Federation, 1901, many of the poorer people lived in squalid, over-crowded, ill-ventilated urban dwellings. The concerned reformers urged that the situation, offensive aesthetically as well as an offense against humanity, should be corrected.

They predicted that improved housing for such people would benefit society by removing (1) the physical threats of crime, violence and disease; (2) the political threat of breeding places for discontent; and (3) the threat to the economy posed by lowered industrial productivity as a consequence of poor health (Sandercock, 1975, p. 27). The provision of public housing was recommended. Victoria was the only state which did not begin the construction of

public housing in the period between 1909 and 1919 (Kilmartin & Thorns, 1978, p. 116). A number of inquiries and Royal Commissions were initiated, but the commitment to private enterprise and the rights of owners of properties to use them how they pleased inhibited any reform. For example, in 1918 a Victorian Royal Commission recommended that the government intervene to enforce "control of subdivision, uniform building regulations, and health regulations, and to proceed with slum clearance and low-rent housing." None of the recommendations were implemented (Sandercock, 1975, p. 66).

In 1936 an inquiry by the Housing Investigation and Slum Abolition Board of Victoria concluded that the slum problem was essentially one of poverty. An outcome of this inquiry was the establishment of the Housing Commission of Victoria in 1938. In the first year of operation the Commission was responsible for the completion of 44 dwellings. In 1978, the number was 2,538, bringing up a total of almost 87,000 dwellings since the Commission's inception (Housing Commission Victoria, Annual Report, 1977-78, p. 32). Almost 47,000 dwellings had been sold to the public. Eligibility for Housing Commission tenancy in 1977-78 was a maximum average weekly income of \$174. Approximately half of the 13,025 applications received in that year were successful (ibid., p. 17).

One of the tasks undertaken by the Housing Commission was slum abolition. It was interpreted as slum clearance,

and it had some negative social outcomes. The character of several inner suburban areas was destroyed and the inhabitants were rehoused in high-rise apartment blocks which created their own problems to compete with the slum problems the new apartments were supposed to "cure." The lesson has been learned. Construction of high-rise dwellings has ceased.

The Victorian laws allowing land to be used as a speculative commodity have permitted large transfers of money to people who used their prior knowledge to buy land. They then resold to the Commission at great profit (Sandercock, 1975, p. 237). For the last several years the Victorian Housing Commission's land purchases have been the subject of extensive inquiries because of speculators' wind-fall profits. The public's confidence in its operations has been diminished--an example of the legitimization crisis.

Transportation

In the late 1800s, an extensive inflow of British capital financed the beginning of rail systems throughout Australia. Trams were "pulled by horses or driven by steam, electricity, or by underground cable" and trains were powered by steam (McQueen, 1978, p. 50). Suburban areas were linked by comprehensive electric train and tram systems. In Victoria the focus of the development was on the city center. Nevertheless, "suburbanization" and "automobilization" became twin phenomena when public transport facilities could not match the increasing needs of the population.

Between 1949 and 1959 private expenditure on motor vehicles increased five-fold (Game & Pringle, 1979). This increase was accompanied by heavy expenditure on road building. The siting of freeways in the 1970s led to extensive changes in the environment. Inner suburban dwellers had some success in their protests against changing the character of their areas (Sandercock, 1975, p. 172).

The Melbourne suburban systems of trains and trams are heavily subsidized by the government. A system of privately owned buses complements, and in some cases, competes with the government services. The effects of rising petrol prices on people's modes of transport are not yet clear. Since many areas of Melbourne are inadequately served by public transport, or not served at all, there may have to be major adjustments: for example, relocation of jobs and services to provide greater accessibility.

Education

Britain used Australia as a "dumping ground" for its unwanted people. Many of the children born in the colonies were illegitimate, and neglect and abandonment were frequent (Burns & Goodnow, 1979, p. 20). Schools and orphanages were established in the hope that the next generation might be better trained. This move set a pattern for universal education and enabled a high proportion of the population to achieve basic literacy. In 1872 Victoria made education free, secular, and compulsory for children aged 6 to 15

years. Perception of education as a commodity was consistent with the utilitarian and materialistic ethos of other areas of national life. Education gave some students the necessary skills for upward social mobility. For society, schools functioned to sift, sort, classify, and credential their clients appropriate to the needs of the workforce (Hunt, 1977; Conway, 1971, p. 212).

In Australia, schools continue to sort and label people. Schools are intangibly arranged in a hierarchy, and access is determined by wealth both directly and indirectly. The prestige schools charge high fees; less prestigious, independent schools charge less. Prestige state schools are associated with better-class suburbs while the lowest on the scale are located in the poorer suburbs. With few exceptions, a child's membership in a particular economic class is reinforced and his or her life chances are circumscribed by the quality of education and the contacts made at school.

There is a dual structure of education in Australia. One system is independent, is church-based and includes an extensively developed Roman Catholic subsystem. The strictly secular government schools constitute the second system. The latter group is administered at the state level. All universities and colleges of advanced education are publicly funded and federally overseen. In the 1920s the number of students receiving secondary education increased but the program continued to be a standard range of academic subjects--principally sciences and humanities--which were

externally examined (Radi, 1974). Vestiges of the external university-examined curricula remain in Victorian schools but only at the final year level. An exception to the academic subjects offered was Cookery. It was taught in some schools because it was "a necessary accomplishment for girls" (Fraser, 1910, p. 193). Nevertheless post-primary education for everyone was seen as risky and wasteful. The introduction of fees was an attempt to limit working class participation (McQueen, 1978, p. 85).

Teacher shortages in the 1950s and 1960s led several of the Australian state governments to institute a "student-ship" program. Successful high school leavers were chosen to be educated at the government's expense while receiving living allowances. Thousands of students accepted the offer, undertook the tertiary education, and entered the teaching profession. This entry represented upward mobility for many children of working-class and farm families who would not have been able to undertake advanced education otherwise. Later, many such graduates discharged their responsibilities to the government and moved into other occupations.

The tertiary education which was made available to ex-servicemen after the 1939-45 war also promoted upward mobility for some. The average number of years of education of the population steadily increased. By the end of the 1960s half of the population was completing at least four years of secondary education. Tertiary education

opportunities increased rapidly. The scaling down of student-ships in the early 1970s because the teacher shortage had been overcome was coincident with the removal of tuition fees for tertiary education. Further assistance was offered by the provision of a means-tested living allowance for tertiary students. The number of places in tertiary education has exceeded the needs of the 1980s because of a steady decline in the birth rate. The proposed cuts in education (December, 1979) reflect the manpower planning philosophy, a manifestation of the utilitarian perspective.

Religion

Although the Anglican church was represented in Australia from the country's inception as a convict colony, most of the people for whom the ministry was exercised were quite antagonistic toward that church. In this respect Australia's beginning was sharply contrasted with America whose founders were fired by religious ideals.

The clergy were responsible for education in the colonies until the late nineteenth century when secular schools were established. Since education was seen primarily as a means for maintaining social control, the move was strongly resisted by the church at the time in a struggle over who should control the minds of the young (Dwyer, 1975, p. 4). Consequently many churches established their own schools without government help. The most extensive system was set

up by the Roman Catholic church. State aid to independent schools has been a source of great disagreement throughout the whole of Australia's history. It was argued that to subsidize religious schools contravened the secular ideal of education. Although the principle of state aid was adopted in the 1970s, the challenge continued.

Religious groups initiated many aspects of welfare in Australia in providing care for orphans, homeless adults, including, more recently, hostels and nursing homes for the aged and infirm.

The nineteenth century legal-style authority which many churches had over their members has almost completely disappeared in the last quarter of the twentieth century. This disappearance is consistent with Habermas' analysis of social change. Church membership has become much more voluntary. Religious convictions have become more private. Significant "softening" has occurred between the various denominations, even to the extent of union between Methodists, Congregationalists and the majority of Australian Presbyterians in 1977. These same religious loyalties, while they do not divide, do not bind forcibly, either. A diminished active participation in church affairs by the population as a whole seems to indicate that although pervasive, generalized beliefs in God and Christianity exist, their lack of importance means that to call Australia Christian or to assume Christian values is inaccurate (Hickman, 1977).

Recreation

Climate and space are factors in Australia's reputation as a sport-loving outdoor people. In most parts of Australia the climate is suitable for outdoor activity all the year round. This factor was seen as destructive to family life (Fraser, 1910, p. 119; Archibald, 1907) because young people did not have to depend upon their homes for fire and shelter. Archibald complained that it encouraged a "holiday spirit." Horse racing is extremely popular with spectators, the annual Melbourne Cup being a national ritual (Ward, 1979, p. 149). In 1891 Francis Adams wrote that "Australia's one vice is gambling" and it does account for increasing proportions of personal incomes. Cricket, tennis and swimming have been important in Australia. The "Australian crawl"--a swimming stroke was widely adopted overseas. Another Australian characteristic identified by the historian-teacher Hogan which has continued to grow is the adulation of sportsmen and neglect of "men of brains" (1880). For example, Australia has knighted and in other ways honored many cricketers, jockeys, and swimmers.

Not all recreation in Australia is sport played out of doors. The arts are developing slowly. Opera, ballet, drama, films, and orchestras command growing audiences. Libraries and art galleries are growing, but most Australians prefer the "less cerebral use of leisure in clubs, pubs and sport" (Hudson, 1974) to which could be added, in front of the television set.

Working-class Families in Australia

For the first 50 years of Australia's history, the institution of "family" barely existed. Most of the people in Australia at that time were convicts, of whom the majority were males. Many children were born to female convicts but these were not raised in a "normal" family setting. The advent of government-assisted passages encouraged free settlers, some of whom came in conjugal family groups. Single immigrant women were actively encouraged to come so they could become wives to the adventure-seeking single males who wanted to try their luck in a young country (Burns & Goodnow, 1979, p. 26). The expectation of the authorities was that such unions would produce many children for the benefit of the country. As convicts were pardoned, many married, or otherwise established stable links and lived in families. The isolated nuclear family which resulted became the typical Australian family of the beginning of the twentieth century.

The almost universal family form adopted was the structural one built around the sexual division of labor in reproduction. The pioneer family, for instance, often consisted of the woman and her children, alone for long periods of time while the man was away droving or shearing. It was the man's responsibility to earn the living although the woman often worked alongside him and substituted for him if he were away from home. Her responsibility was to the children and tasks inside and close by the house. The roles were complementary. Children had to be resourceful and responsible from early years for the family to survive.

Urban families fought for survival under somewhat different circumstances, but their expectations of "family" were similar, that is, a stable, intimate environment for the procreation and care of children, and the psychological support of adults. Differences pertained to the conditions of market work and the property relationships for individual families (Cass, 1977). The nuclear family with closer affinal than consanguineal ties was to some extent a factor of separation from the latter by distance.

While the functions enumerated above could have been met by a variety of family forms, in fact there were pressures to conform to a particular, socially approved norm which in Cass' view is reflective of the hegemony between social classes. The "family" was defined for the working classes by Mr. Justice Higgins in the Harvester decision of 1907 when he determined that the minimum wage to be paid to a man should be sufficient to support a man, his wife and three children (Crowley, 1974a). The instrumental role of men was reinforced by various calls to do their patriotic duty, one of which said

One of the first duties that a man owes to his country and one of the straightest means of working for her is that he should support himself and his family if he has one; and should bring up his children in decent happy generous surroundings such as all children in Australia ought to have (Bean, 1918).

Thus the man's role was economically motivated while the female's role was morally motivated--one worked for "money" and the other for "love." The functions could also be

described as "producing" complementing "Processing" of resources.

The ideology surrounding the male as bread winner and provider for his family is still widespread in Australia although some of the contradictions inherent in wage and salary structures have been eliminated. For example, until 1976 single men were not paid less than married men although single women were discriminated against. More unjust was the policy that even if a woman were the sole support of her children she was not paid at male levels. Equal pay was introduced among many salaried and professional workers in the 1960s but it did not become universal until the 1974 National Wage decision that equal pay should be phased in over the following two years (Summers, 1975, p. 138).

The nuclear family in its independent dwelling was the mode of living to which almost everyone aspired, and it was almost universally achieved in the 1950s. This was a time of expansion and prosperity, high marriage rate, decrease in age at marriage, and changes in the timing and spacing of children. Home ownership was high, there was full employment, and domesticity flourished (Game & Pringle, 1979). The availability of credit and hire (installment) purchase meant that the working class could acquire the expanding range of household appliances, furnishings and cars.

This era of the suburban dream was short lived. Rebelliousness among disenchanted young people manifested itself in demonstrations, drug taking and rejecting accepted

social customs. Marriages began to break up at an increasing rate.¹¹ Inflation and unemployment hit families particularly in the lower income groups. Employed married women were made to feel guilty because young people could not find jobs.

Although home and family were woman's domain, in the national emergencies of the war periods 1914-18 and 1939-45 women were urged into factories to replace the "men at the front." Wars over, they went back to their domesticity. But when married women were recruited during the labor shortage of the 1960s they did not as readily go home when they were no longer needed. By then they needed to work to earn the money to buy the consumer goods which they may not have had time either to shop for or to use but families were convinced of their need to obtain them. Women employed outside the home were made to feel deviant as illustrated by the label "working mothers." One does not hear of a "working father." Nevertheless in 1977 more than half of the married women under 54 years of age had some paid occupation¹² (Horin, citing Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1979).

¹¹The increase in the rate of divorce is complex. The decline in religiosity may be a factor in perceiving marriage more as a contract than a sacrament and therefore voidable. It has been suggested that people have unrealistic expectations of marriage and therefore break off the relationship when these are not met. Finally the institution of "no-fault" divorce with the Family Law Bill in 1973 has made divorce easier and less costly since the only ground necessary is "irreconcilable differences."

¹²Farmers' wives have always "worked" but since the income generated was usually absorbed in the family's return, the debate has not included farm wives.

The importance of the family as the basic social unit in Australia is commented on somewhat negatively by Conway who states that, for all its faults, "nobody has yet discovered a better vehicle for the transmission of human awareness and experience than the family" (1971, p. 268). In a more positive vein, Krupinski and Stoller claim that in spite of the stresses and strains to which it is subjected, family "remains the cornerstone of community stability and continues to exert a powerful influence in promoting the well-being of Australian society" (1974, pp. 1-2). Both of these statements lack meaning because the writers treat family abstractly as an undifferentiated phenomenon. Such use constitutes an idealization (Cass, 1977). Further, their opinions are belied by the constant debate in private and in public about what is wrong with "the family" in this last quarter of the twentieth century.

Current Social Environment of Working-Class Families

The following 10-year-old profile of working-class families is compiled from data obtained from an intensive study of a working-class suburb on the fringe of Melbourne (Bryson & Thompson, 1972). In that suburb, most of the housing was developed by the Victorian Housing Commission, occupancy of which is determined by income level. The relationship of income level to occupation determined the homogeneity of the 344 households whose male heads were predominantly (84%) "blue collar"--both skilled and unskilled

workers. The families were characterized by the numbers of young children, the high number of adults born out of Australia and their residential mobility (p. 31). The voting patterns were consistent with the working class (supporters of the Labor Party). Very few adults were involved in conventional committees, a factor explained by the acknowledgment that most would lack the conceptual, organizational and literary skills used in such settings and would therefore not be likely to feel comfortable in the situation (p. 45).

Twenty-two percent of the males were very positive about job satisfaction, 40% were mildly positive, 25% were generally positive but voicing at least one dissatisfaction, and 13% were strongly negative (p. 47). Of the 100 "working" women who gave their opinions of their jobs, 30% were very positive, 44% mildly positive, 14% generally positive, and 12% strongly negative (p. 67). Wives were more often dissatisfied with jobs when their husbands disapproved of their working. Twenty-one percent of husbands disapproved altogether, 36% approved conditionally (in most cases due to need for the money), and 43% approved unconditionally (p. 75). Most of the men had stable employment histories unlike the women. The women did not have career patterns, chose jobs for closeness to home, and felt forced to work to supplement the family income notwithstanding preschool aged children who were usually cared for informally. A frequent practice was for shiftworking parents to stagger

working hours so that at least one parent was available. To a question on income adequacy, 17% responded that they found it "easy to manage," 43% found it "not so difficult," 36% said "difficult" and 4% "impossible" (p. 95). Differences were related to the actual income and the number of dependent children in the household. The nature of the occupations made families vulnerable to the effects of strikes and unemployment, thus making their financial situations even more precarious.

Even though only 19% of the sample had relatives living in the immediate area, most of those surveyed had considerable contact with their kin (p. 115). Patterns of friendliness and mutual aid between neighbors were greatest among those who had preschool children, and more likely among people who had lived in the area for at least two years (p. 123). When questioned about Newtown as a place to live more than twice as many had an entirely favorable view (42.2%) as had an entirely unfavorable view (19.2%). The researchers attributed some of this to the purpose the Housing Commission accommodation served. For most of the people, the move to Newtown represented an important upgrading of quality of living arrangements. Negative remarks about Newtown reflected a stigma that people felt about living in a Housing Commission area--complaints varied from "roughness" of neighbors to dirty, ill-behaved children (p. 135). Approximately half (54.3%) of the residents were satisfied to continue living in Newtown. A further 23.3%

would have preferred to live somewhere else but did not see much likelihood of being able to afford it, and the remaining 22.4% were actually planning their move (p. 146). The outstanding reason for wanting to move related to class when measured by husband's occupation. People with training and consequently higher occupational levels were over-represented among those dissatisfied with Newtown, suggesting that they regarded it as an inferior status location.

In general, Bryson and Thompson found low membership (29% of their sample) in community groups (p. 184). Twenty-eight percent were regular church goers (more of these were Catholic than Protestant and more women than men were represented). Women's memberships tended to be associated with the number and ages of their children. Women were more involved out of social duty when the groups, for example church and school, had direct relevance for their pre- and primary school aged children (p. 199). This involvement is consistent with the observation the researchers made about the residents in general.

The first concern of most of the residents (of Newtown) is with the interests and activities of their families. They are likely to be drawn into civic affairs only when these are seen to be of practical assistance in meeting family needs. (p. 11)

On the whole, residents perceived their educational services as satisfactory, but their health services unsatisfactory due to necessity of travelling long distances (p. 241). The major social problems were related to personal finances.

Since 1972, when Bryson and Thompson published their work, Australia has entered a period of severe unemployment (approximately 6% overall). Since the most vulnerable are the school leavers without specialist skills, it is likely that Newtown's financial problems will have been compounded by unemployment.

The immediate economic outlook is pessimistic. Unemployment is blamed upon the schools for not preparing leavers more adequately for employment. The fact is ignored that there are insufficient jobs available regardless of what skills people possess. People who cannot find work are humiliated, according to Walsh (1979, p. 129) by the steps that have to be taken to qualify for the unemployment benefit, in particular the judgmental attitudes of the many employees of the bureaucracy. Unemployment is made out to be the fault of the victims who are frequently branded as "dole bludgers" (Walsh, 1979, p. 129; Dwyer, 1977, p. 57). Unemployment is being further aggravated by the installation of modern technological equipment. Stephen Rose of the British Open University called what the industrialized nations are now experiencing, the new Industrial Revolution. Unlike the first two revolutions, this has not created work. This one is permitting the replacement of "brains" as well as "brawn" by technologically advanced machines (1979). Members of the blue collar working-class will be affected by the disappearance of jobs such as welding, painting, and production line functions. Thus the hopes of achieving

the promise of the "good life" are becoming more futile. Home ownership is declining because of the interest rates imposed to compensate for inflation. Low income families are even further disadvantaged (Dwyer, 1977, p. 10). The public sector still takes the responsibility for the health care of the socially disadvantaged, but by the time people are eligible for such, they need support in many other directions as well. Unions are unable to promise much relief because they have not adapted readily to changing economic realities. In imposing their sometimes irrational will they have caused self-injury (Walsh, 1979, p. 154). The large scale wage increases unions have fought for and obtained have contributed to unemployment. The mood seems to be mainly one of uncertainty about the future.

Societal Expectation of Working-Class Families

The primary roles of working-class families in an industrialized capitalist society are (1) to deliver workers to the labor force and (2) to consume goods and services. (Dubnoff, 1979). It is expected that these workers/consumers will be socialized to know their place in the society; that is, they will have been prepared to reproduce their parents' roles. They will know how to behave appropriate to their gender and will have had sufficient education to be able to follow instructions but not to be too innovative. Their aspirations should be modest. This was articulated in the 1920s in Australia when secondary education was expanding.

Many leaders believed that post primary education for everyone was dangerous (would produce misfits) and wasteful, and fees were re-introduced in order to limit working-class access (McQueen, 1975, p. 85). The barriers against working-class finishing high school and entering tertiary education are less deliberate in the late twentieth century.

The concept of "ownership" in our society needs to be understood. From their earliest days children learn what is, and is not, their own and who has the rights to dispose of particular resources (Connell, 1977). Working-class people have their own labor power as a bargaining asset, and it is assumed that they will expect the maximum return they can win from employers for it. Good behavior of the labor force consists in working for non-economic as well as economic reasons. The latter leads to inefficiency if people want to trade income for leisure by working shorter hours, or even if they do not want to work overtime in spite of the generous money return (Dubnoff, 1979).

Working-class families are expected to function as independent economic units regardless of the composition of the family and the number of them employed. (In announcing tougher screening for unemployment benefits early in 1980 Prime Minister Fraser said that families of the unemployed would have to help the unemployed.) At the same time families are supposed to be acting as psychological refuges for their members and to be maintaining internal group solidarities and loyalties. Working-class people are assumed to be

present-oriented in their inability to, or lack of interest in, planning for the future. They are expected to be amenable to rigidly structured working hours to fit with what best suits the machines they are controlling and by which they are controlled. It is assumed that they will accept the vagaries of the market system and the availability or non-availability of work because they represent the buffer zone on which capitalism depends.

Summary

Australia is caught in social crisis like other western capitalist nations. Government has lost credibility. It is facing fiscal problems, and the ways in which these problems have come about are consistent with the experience of other western capitalist nations. The dominance of the utilitarian perspective which has characterized Australia since the European migration is identifiable with Habermas' technical domination of society.

This chapter has given an account of the way in which working-class families, as abstract entities, experience historical reality. In the next chapter is a detailed analysis of one working-class family.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF HABERMAS' THEORY AND
CASE-STUDY DATA

This chapter is in two parts. The first part describes the family and the process of involving the family in describing itself. The second part is the analysis of the relationship between the case-study data and Habermas' theory relating to systems of action.

Description of the Evans Family

The Evans family comprises two adults, Richard and Denise; their six children, Stan, Fiona, Ted, Tess, Reg, and Elaine; and Denise's two nephews, Noel and Steve. Richard is 48 years old and Denise is 36. They have been married for 19 years. Both Richard and Denise are from large families. Richard was one of 13 children and Denise was one of nine. Their children's ages range from 17 down to eight years.

Richard Evans receives an invalid's pension. The family income consists of his allowance¹ of approximately

¹The government is the source of all allowances mentioned.

\$550² per month and the Family Allowance, to which they are entitled, approximately \$319 per month. Stan, the 17 year old, is currently unemployed. He receives unemployment benefits of \$158 per month. Fiona, the 15 year old, contributes to the family income by working part-time (out-of-school hours) as a checker at a local supermarket. Richard undertakes some casual work but is limited in this activity by his disability and the conditions of his pensioner status. The base-line family income is therefore approximately \$1,000 per month.³ An occasional win at Bingo,⁴ betting on horse or dog races, or in Tattsлото⁵ is a bonus because such winnings are not taxable and do not affect eligibility for government allowances. Denise perceives her family as being "better off than some people"⁶ and identifies the "some" as "those who can't keep their family together." She indicated that there are some months that the bills come and she wonders how they will ever pay them.

²Amounts of money mentioned are in Australian dollars.

³The current minimum adult wage in Australia is \$134.80 weekly. This is approximately \$7,000 per year (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 1980). The Family Allowance is not means-tested so it would be received in addition to wages.

⁴A numbers lottery played at tables.

⁵A numbers lottery for which entries are mailed.

⁶All quoted material in this description is drawn from the researcher's field-notes and consists of actual words spoken by members of the Evans family.

The Evans family rents their house from the Victorian Housing Commission ("the Commission"). The Commission is a public housing authority whose role is to provide accommodation for low-income families at subsidized rental rates. The \$43 weekly rent paid by the Evans family is much less than a comparable house rented in the private sector would command. The house is approximately 30 years old and is in need of maintenance work. For example, some doors are without knobs and some windows leak. The Evans family has lived in this suburb, Anaheim, approximately 15 kilometers from the center of Melbourne (real name) for eight years. The Evans family regrets the "roughness" of the area in which they live and they wish they could move to the country. The area is well-served by public transportation, having access to both train and bus services.

Fiona (15 years) and Ted (13 years) attend a technical school to which they travel by train. Tess (12 years) will be going with them next year. At present Tess and Elaine (8 years) attend a local elementary school, while Reg (11 years), Noel (9 years) and Steve (8 years) attend the local Special School.⁷ None of the children has to be taken to school although the three who attend the special school are picked up by school bus daily. Richard was a welder before he joined the Australian Navy. After retiring from the Navy he chose to work as a bread-carter, delivering bread daily

⁷School for children with learning problems.

to a "round of regular customers in their individual homes. When he gave up bread-carting he worked as a drainer, constructing sewerage drains with his brother-in-law, but he could not continue when he became ill. His back injury did not heal, so approximately five years ago he was recommended for an invalid's pension.

Denise left school before completing elementary school. She spent most of the time between leaving school and her marriage, at 17 years of age, helping at home because by then her mother was an invalid and there were five younger members of the family for whom to care. Denise worked in a factory for a while, but the paid-work which she enjoyed most was in a delicatessen. She liked the contact with people and the challenge of using her ability to "add up in her head."

Richard and Denise are both Australian-born. Richard lived on a farm in Northern Victoria until the age of four when his family moved to Clunes. The area proved unsuitable for his father who had been affected by mustard-gas in World War I. Richard's father died when Richard was 12 years old. Denise's mother was of Irish-Catholic descent and her Anglo-Saxon-Protestant father was nominally Salvation Army. Denise was sent to a parochial school but has not carried on this pattern with her own children. Denise and Richard were married in a Methodist church. While the family is not linked to any branch of organized religion through attendance, baptism or membership, Denise thinks that "believing in God is important."

Richard's view of politics is to vote for the person "who [will] do the most for [him]." Denise has no political party preference at either state or national level. Voting at these levels is compulsory, but Denise claimed that she would "rather be fined than vote." Denise's reaction is consistent with her objection to being "told what to do." She has not travelled in suburban trains since the point when smoking was banned for all train travellers and not just those in non-smoking compartments.

Both Denise and Richard are keenly interested in greyhound dogs. They took two greyhounds with them on their honeymoon. Tina, a part-Corgi dog is the Evans family's house-dog. She belonged to Denise's father who died approximately three years ago. The family has a pet cat as well. At present Denise and Richard are responsible for two greyhounds. Denise is particularly fond of Sandy, aged 16 months, and takes a keen interest in his welfare. Several other family members share in the exercising of the dogs.

The enthusiasm for greyhound racing is one of a series of examples of Denise's love of gambling. She and Richard play Bingo, bet on horse and dog races through betting shops as well as on course, and enter in Tattsлото. Denise extends her love of a challenge of this type into a daily contest with the newspaper crossword puzzle. She described herself as such a gambler because she was "born with a pack of cards in one hand and a form-guide in the other!" Denise

said that she would not want to have a lot of money because it would take the fun out of gambling "if it didn't matter whether you won or lost."

The Evans family relates to a range of social institutions including:

The Victorian Housing Commission

Social Security

Public Education system

Government--local, state, national

Medical and Dental services

Law Enforcement agencies

Sport and Recreation facilities

Economic system

Most of the initiatives in interaction are external to the family. The contact with organized religion which Denise had as a child through attendance at parochial school has been allowed to lapse.

According to Denise, relations with the housing authority are satisfactory. The inspector remarked on the house being "knocked about" and Denise said that she thinks the authority should do some repairs. In the eight years that the Evans family has lived in this house the only maintenance work that has been done is the wall-papering which the family carried out. Denise was relieved that the inspector did not appear to notice the greyhound in the backyard. She suspects that Housing Commission tenants are "not allowed to keep greyhounds."

Dealings with the Social Security system have been satisfactory. Although some invalid pensioners had their status reviewed and allowances cut in 1980, this has not been Richard's experience. Stan has to report regularly on his attempts to find work. His payments have continued without interruption.

The general attitude of Richard and Denise toward the education system is one of disappointment. They think that the system has failed because teachers fail to "control" children. Stan left school before he finished Level Nine. Reg is at Special School because he was "uncontrollable" at regular school. Denise was supportive of the teacher when Reg complained about being punished because he "wrote too big" and he whistled in class. Denise recognizes the value of education for some people. She thinks that Fiona is doing what she would have liked and is encouraging of Fiona's desire to continue at school and to go on to tertiary study to become a social worker.

Government at any level appears to be almost irrelevant to the family although Denise said that a local political representative had helped Richard to "get on the pension." Her attitude to voting illustrates her own feeling of powerlessness in making any changes in society.

The main health services available to the Evans family are located at public hospitals. One in particular, a large city hospital, is highly respected by Denise for its excellent staff. "They are brilliant in there . . . they saved my

life." Dental work for family members is usually undertaken at the dental hospital, for nominal charges, but there is often a long waiting period before a consultation can take place.

The police force is seen as an ally. Denise appealed to the policewomen to counsel Fiona as a 13-year-old. The court's system is respected. In spite of thinking that it was unfair to have to "put a dog down" because it had "bitten a couple of kids" who had been teasing it, Richard and Denise accepted the judgment and paid the fine.

The family uses local recreational facilities. Richard assisted in coaching a local football team and Stan played some football. Tess and Elaine belong to a marching-girls team. The major recreational interest, however, is the dog-racing, so trial- and race-tracks are important to the program planned for the dogs.

While Richard regards "the system" as a challenge and delights in trying to "beat" it, Denise assumes that anyone in business is out to get as much money from her as possible. It was, therefore, quite surprising to Denise that the health-food shop man telephoned to check what it was she wanted when Tess went to his shop to buy vitamin tablets for the dog. The local milk-bar⁸ proprietor is also exceptional because he allows the Evans family to buy on credit. For the children, the amounts of money they could spend at

⁸Snack-shop.

the Melbourne Show⁹ in September were very important. The Show is an agricultural and pastoral exhibition but the commercial aspects of "show-bags,"¹⁰ competitions¹¹ and rides were most attractive to the Evans children.

Involvement of the Family in Describing Itself

As is consistent with critical theory, and with the ethnographic method, the researcher allowed the family members to define their own situation not only by using their words in her observations but by having them read her description of them.

Shortly before the conclusion of the series of observations, the researcher wrote the above description of the case-study family, based on interpretation of the observation notes and gave it to the family for their comments. At a subsequent visit the researcher was told that all the family members had read the description and had agreed that it was accurate apart from two points: the amount of weekly rent (\$43, not \$34) and that she had incorrectly described the invalid's pension as taxable. The involvement of the family in this way also served as a reliability check.

⁹Royal Melbourne Agricultural Show.

¹⁰Advertising bags, sold at the Show, which include samples of products and novelties such as comic-books, candy, and small toys.

¹¹Competitions include such things as trying to ring a target with a hoop or knocking down pins. Rides were thrill rides on roller-coasters, ferris-wheels and the like.

Diagrammatic Description of the Evans Family

A diagrammatic representation of the family household members is presented in Figure 7. Links between family members have been classified by the researcher, on the basis of her observations, as "present strongly," "present," or "present with evidence of stress." Denise's link with Richard, with each of the children, and with the dog, Sandy, appeared throughout the observations to be strong. Richard's links appeared to be strongest in relation to Denise. Linkages showing some stress were apparent between Stan and Reg, and Ted and Reg; some stress was observed between Ted and Tess, and Elaine exhibited some stress in her relationships with Noel and Steve. Elaine, like her mother, is particularly fond of animals. She expressed affection for the house-dog, Tina, and the family cat.

Another way of communicating information diagrammatically is through an ecomap. An ecomap transcends the linear view which reflects "the limitations of thought and language rather than the nature of the real world where human events are the result of transactions among multiple variables" (Hartman, 1978). The Evans family ecomap showing its relationships with the community, as interpreted by the researcher, appears as Figure 8. In the center circle is a diagram of the family/household (excluding the animals) with the individuals identified by their ages. The surrounding circles and part-circles represent community institutions with which the family interacts. The strength of the

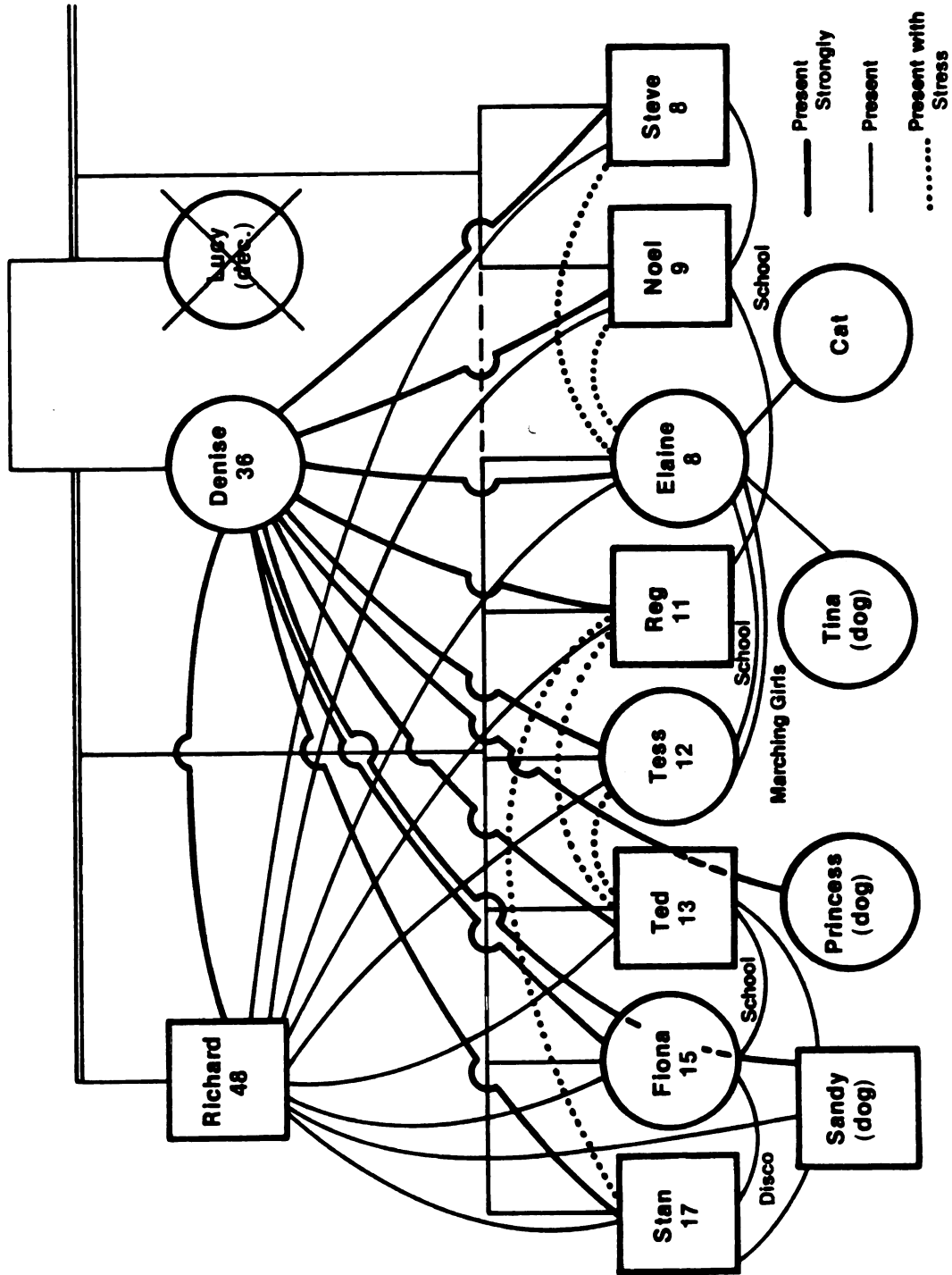


Figure 7. Linkages within Evans Household Including Three Dogs and One Cat

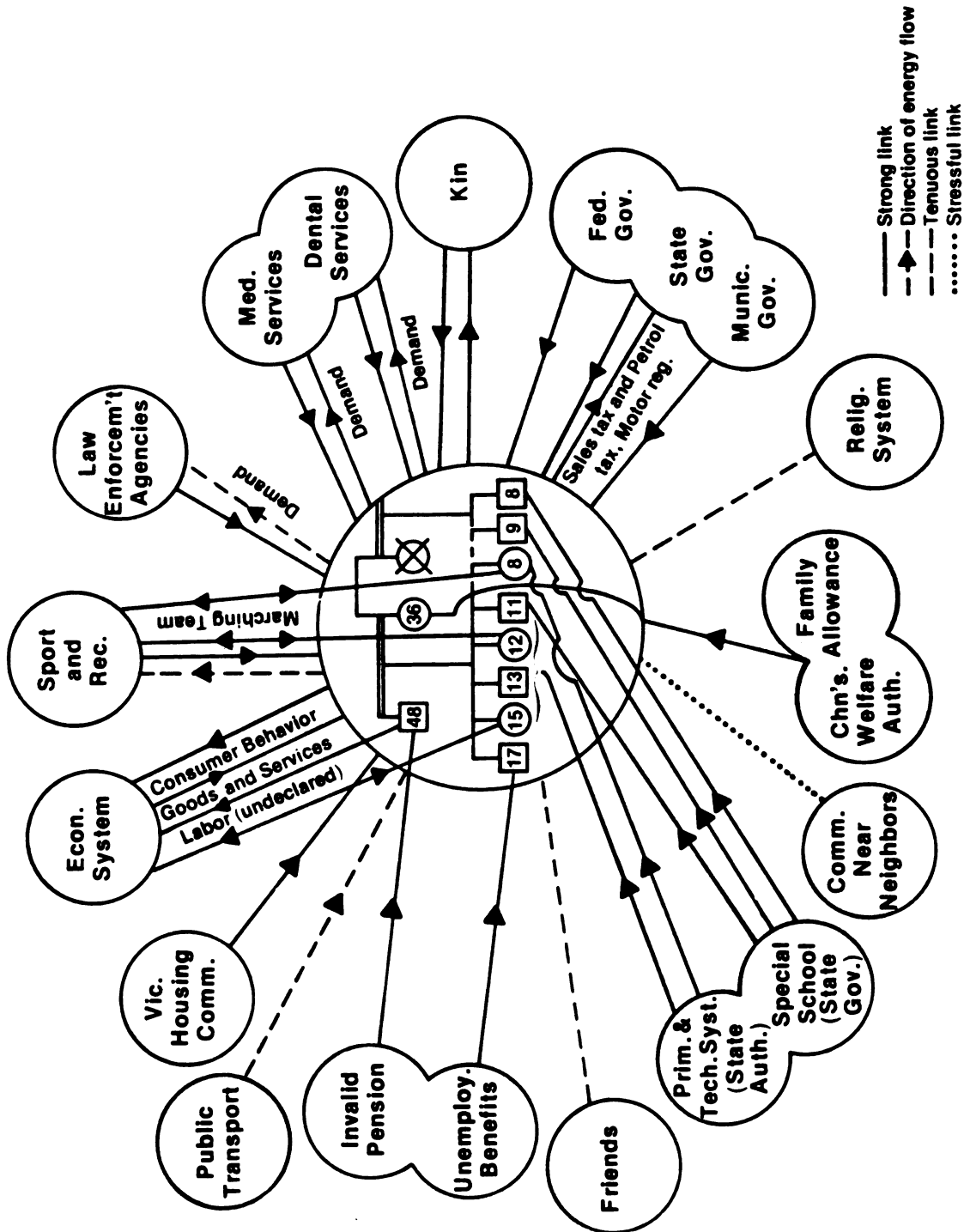


Figure 8. Ecomap of Evans Family

association is indicated by the type of line connecting either the family member, or the family as a whole, with the particular institution. The quality of the relationship has been nominated by the researcher on the basis of her observations as "strong," "tenuous," or "stressful." The direction indicated by the arrow is the direction of energy flow. For example, the link between the Evans family and their wider kin is strong and the energy flow is in both directions; the link with the religious system is tenuous; the link with the near neighbors is stressful. The nature of the link between the 12 and eight-year-old girls (Tess and Elaine) and the Sport and Recreation category is their participation in a marching team, one of the examples of interactions included in the diagram to clarify the writer's intent. The diagram reinforces that the family is primarily a reacting system.

Systems of Action in the Evans Family

Language as the expression of conditions of social life is central to the following analysis because understanding of the conditions of social life is related to understanding self-formation within the family. The set of language cues identified as the key to mode of rationality constitutes the tentative framework derived from Habermas' theory (refer p. 50 above). The framework was used to explore the themes which emerged from the data.

Initially the themes identified in the data were: "beating the system," "belief in the supernatural," "making a fortune," "sense of freedom," "role of money." The statements made by the family members were coded and sorted according to the categories. As the sorting proceeded, it was found necessary to create a sixth category, "kinship and community."

The next step was to summarize the contents of the categories. Further examination of these categories revealed that there was duplication within and between them. It appeared that it might be useful to collapse a number of the categories, for example, "belief in the supernatural" and "sense of freedom," and to reorganize the content into the following four categories:

1. Belief in the supernatural, the occult, astrology, chance, luck, fate. Gambling as a way of "making it." Fantasy of "moving to a farm," winning Tattsлото, illusion of freedom (avoidance of being tied-down and subject to routine) when in fact there was heavy dependence upon social institutions. Absence of effective action (capacity to complain, refusal to vote, to boycott electric trains of little consequence).
2. Alienation from society. Lack of loyalty to legitimate power illustrated by refusal to vote (later tempered by voting merely to avoid the \$100 fine) or by pragmatic "vote for the person who will do the most for me"; depoliticization, illustrated by undeclared income and avoidance of tax; atomized family unit, dependence on a limited number of kin for community--minimal service of social interests, separation from neighbors; view of world as basically non-problematic, maintenance of uncritical attitude; maintenance of holding pattern, coping framework.

3. Technical domination by society. Universalistic, impersonal nature of medical, educational, housing, social security (both invalid and unemployment authorities) institutions. Inflexible, rule-oriented, procedural, functional roles. For example, no specific doctor, undifferentiated "they" when speaking of medical care; schools in general have failed their children; housing authority spoken of as "the commission" or "it."
4. Technical domination within the family. Repeated interactions observed within the family in which money played a part.

A problem which emerged from this arrangement was the absence of parallelism between the categories producing a disjuncture when considering them as a whole. Further reflection on Habermas' writing prompted a decision to categorize the beliefs as they related to: "cultural beliefs," "economic life," "political system," "social relations with wider community," and "family relations."

The rearrangement produced the following division of the data:

1. Cultural beliefs: Belief in the supernatural, the occult, astrology, chance, luck, fate. Gambling as a way of "making it." Fantasy of "moving to a farm," winning Tattsлото, illusion of freedom (avoidance of being tied-down and subject to routine) when in fact heavy dependence upon social institutions.
2. Political system: Absence of effective action (capacity to complain, refusal to vote, to boycott electric trains of little consequence). Alienation from society--lack of loyalty to legitimate power illustrated by refusal to vote (later tempered to voting merely to avoid the \$100 fine) or by pragmatic "vote for the person who will do most for me"; depoliticization illustrated by undeclared income and avoidance of tax. View of world as basically non-problematic, maintenance of uncritical attitude.

3. Economic life: Source of income invalid pension, unemployment benefit, family allowance placing the family at the margin of the capitalist productive system--labor not required for productive process but being supported by the State. Gambling winnings. Challenging the system.
4. Social relations with wider community: Atomized family unit, dependence on a limited number of kin for community--minimal service of social interests, separation from neighbors. Technical domination by society illustrated by universalistic, impersonal nature of medical, educational, housing, social security institutions. For example, no specific doctor, undifferentiated "they" when speaking of medical care; schools in general have failed their children; housing authority spoken of as "the commission" or "it." Universalistic food preparation.
5. Family relations: Technical domination within the family--repeated interactions observed within the family in which money played a part as instrumental currency; effect of money as cultural currency in terms of group ties; normative transactions.

A discussion of this typology derived from the interaction of Habermas' theory and the case-study data follows.

Cultural Beliefs

In his analysis of society Habermas identifies a tendency toward cultural crisis, one manifestation of which is a belief in the occult (Keane, 1975). In the case-study data there were several examples of belief in the supernatural, astrology, luck, chance, and fate. Denise described herself as a "typical Virgo"¹²--terribly critical" after she had complained of the unreliability of an associate in greyhound racing. On a later occasion she announced that September 24 and 25 were proving to be "as unfortunate as

¹²Sign of the Zodiac.

[her] horoscope predicted" which supports the thesis that she believed that the stars were playing a part in what befell her. Another time Denise reported being impressed greatly by a clairvoyant she consulted who was able to describe facets of (Denise's) life which the clairvoyant could not have known about, including that Denise cares for two children who are "not [her] own." The clairvoyant further predicted that Denise would eventually have the care of another child which was "not [her] own."

Denise expressed a belief that she has experienced rattling of doors and the shaking of the house without reasonable physical explanations. Fiona too, reported that she had had a frightening experience during the "calling up" for a seance. In addition, Denise was inclined to think that there was some supernatural cause for a series of "strange phone calls [which] were getting her down." A telephone call in which a person had told her that "the devil" was trying to act through her disturbed her greatly. She reacted strongly when one of the children brought in a mirror with, "Don't break it--seven years bad luck--I'm terribly superstitious."

A belief in "luck" was evident in the claim by Denise that she was "lucky at Bingo," having won the jackpot twice, and having won well on a recent horse-race. She claimed to be lucky also "at the dogs." However, she did not have enough faith in her luck to bet any money on their dog Sandy in a particular race because "that would be a sure

way of making him lose." The excitement of playing games of chance was mentioned several times by Denise, as was the extra zest provided by it mattering "if she lost or won," because she believed that she could not afford to lose the money invested. Gambling success is extremely unlikely given that very few people manage to achieve it, bearing in mind the principles on which gambling is based. However a number of references were made to this hope, for example, the possibility of winning "Tattslooto" as a means of obtaining a car for Fiona when she is eligible to drive.

An ambition of the family is to live on a farm. Denise was ready to acknowledge that \$48,000 was out of their reach for the purchase of a property she had been told about. Apparently she had received information that the purchase price was \$24,000 and she had actually called to inquire about the property only to find that the price was double what she expected. Given that on another occasion she had said that it was not possible to "make up a one hundred dollars but [possible to] make up a five dollars" to pay off installments on household goods, the farm was even more of an illusion.

When the possibility of moving to another country property came up, the expectations were raised to the extent that Reg reported that the family would be moving in four weeks, and discussions were taking place on arrangements for schooling. The "promise" associated with the property which was for lease was over-rated, and the venture was impractical to consider. There were great expectations of the male

greyhound's racing potential. Richard described the dog as "the great white hope." It was similarly idealistic for Stan to believe that he could find another job readily when he "walked out" of the one he had at the time. The current level of unemployment in Australia and the over-representation of Stan's age group and education level put him at serious disadvantage in the job market. He was waiting for the Employment Service "to let [him] know of an opening" in gardening.

There was a fatalistic acceptance in the observation by Richard that the education system had failed as far as his family is concerned. "School doesn't work for our kids." Even Fiona, who was reportedly "doing well" at school and has ambitions of going on to finish secondary school and then into higher education, had been suspended for a misdemeanor shortly before the researcher met the family. On another occasion, though, Denise accepted responsibility for one set of adverse circumstances when she said, "We've had some hard times--but it was our own stupidity."

This acceptance is exactly counterposed to the belief in magic as the power in her life, to which Denise referred frequently. To take full responsibility for the "hard times" they had experienced is as distorted as taking no responsibility at all. Blaming their own stupidity carries the implication that if they had not been stupid they would have escaped the hard times. Such a direct relationship does not exist. In suggesting that it does exist, Denise is claiming

for themselves power and capacities no member of a social group can possess.

The sense of freedom expressed by Denise in the family's good relations with Social Security and the Housing Commission has elements of illusion in it because both authorities impose strict constraints on their clients. Social Security places a very low ceiling on what an individual may earn without prejudicing the invalid pension or unemployment benefits, beside other requirements. The Housing Commission precludes such things as "wall-papering" and "keeping greyhounds," two things specifically mentioned by Denise. Having to accept the Housing Commission representative's pejorative remark about the house being "knocked about" and the Evans' having a "mob of kids" belied a sense of freedom and autonomy in one's own home. Stan's expectation that his efforts in the garden might have been noticed by the inspector indicated a consciousness of inferior status.

The disposal of their money is controlled by earlier decisions the family made to become involved in installment purchasing. A condition of the co-operative to which they belong is that the administrator has to "approve purchases."

Attempts on the part of Denise and Richard to exercise freedom and autonomy are very limited in scope. Denise claims to rebel at being "told what to do." For example, she claimed that she would "rather be fined than vote,"¹²

¹² Voting in Australia is compulsory at the State and National levels, and sometimes at the local level.

although when the election day came, the threat of a \$100 fine was effective and she did "as she was told" and voted. The boycott of electric train travel because "they knock[ed] smokes off in the train" (that is, banned smoking) meant little because of her infrequent use of the train anyway. Richard's assertion that he was "never one to be tied up" is belied by his 19 years of marriage and his six children plus the acceptance of responsibility for his wife's two nephews. Denise's rejection of "routine" is similarly subjective. Her life is routinized but in a different way from the stereotype she is rejecting.

In relation to cultural beliefs the data support that there are distortions of reality which are obscuring the practical problems facing this family. In general these beliefs are related to the perceptions of power in their lives.

Political System

The pragmatic attitude of Richard toward involvement in the political process was expressed in his intention to "vote for the man who [would] do the most for [him]." His criterion of "doing the most" was technical (instrumental) and atomistic. The "most" was the promise of increased Family Allowance. Acceptance of the promise as genuine, and disregard of any other government policies and practices were expressions of alienation from the political process and absence of loyalty to the legitimate power--factors of crisis identified by Habermas. Denise's lack of effective

action was expressed by her hostility to participating in the electoral process,¹³ illustrating her alienation from the political system.

Richard's involvement in work which is undeclared, and his avoidance of taxation contributions as a consequence, alienate him from society and the political process. To some extent they reflect the deficiencies of a system which is so inflexible as to deny financial support except when an individual is totally dependent. In the opinion of Professor Else Oyen, the Australian welfare system is "incomplete and based on grudging handouts" (Mills, 1980), in spite of amounting to 28% of the annual national budget. Australia had an innovative welfare system as early as 1910 but the early promise has not been fulfilled. Professor Oyen attributes some of the problems to Australia's political institutions which have created "obstacles for the development of welfare," citing Federalism's role in the delay of "delivery of welfare services" (ibid). One of the effects of such policies and practices is to depoliticize individuals as is the case with the Evans family. This issue does not appear to be perceived as a problem by the Evans' but this is consistent with Habermas' position that

¹³The overlap in content which occurs from time to time in this discussion is because many of the factors considered, for example gambling, voting, the police force, have dimensions relevant to more than one category.

in a world dominated by technology, people are unaware of problems in which they are caught.

Again the data support that the practical problems of this family are obscured--in this case in relation to the political system--by their lack of understanding of the dynamics of political power.

Economic Life

As consumers of goods and services the case-study family is involved in economic life in the traditional sense. But their income comes mainly from grants from the public purse through various distributive agencies. Even the winnings from gambling successes are not returns for productive labor--a basic tenet of the capitalist system to which the family belongs.

Ironically the family's investment in gambling in the hope of winning large returns is consistent with the capitalist's investment with his hopes of profitable returns, but it is an illusory investment and without productive effort.

The system does not appear to need the productive labor of any of the family members except for Fiona whose part-time employment in a local supermarket fits the capitalist model. The preparedness of the State to support these non-producers (in market terms), albeit grudgingly, while contrary to the capitalist notion is instrumentally motivated. In Habermas' terms this is part of the State's intervention to counteract the instability of the capitalist system with its fluctuating

demands for productive labor. While the provision of financial support ensures that the minimal needs of the family are met, their location on the margin of the system reinforces their alienation.

The economic system stands as a challenge to Richard. He said that he had always been one to "try to beat the system." His undeclared work is a success in this context. Other instances of family members gaining satisfaction from "beating the system" were Stan and Fiona's success in gaining entry to a hotel disco (minimum age 18 years) even though Stan was only 17 and Fiona 15 years old. Both Stan and Fiona were amused at their success in forging their mother's name in matters related to school. Reg thought it was very funny when after he had hit a boy who had "hit [his] girlfriend" the wrong person was identified as the culprit and was punished instead.

The data support that the family's concept of their involvement in the economic system is distorted and illusory.

Social Relations With the Wider Community

The case-study family is predominantly an atomized unit. Birthday celebrations, for example, consist of "parties between themselves." A limited number of Denise's kin provide community, as borne out by the number of times the Evans family has lived with relatives, and by the extent to which they have relatives stay with them from time to time. Denise regards children as company for herself. She

said that she "really wouldn't mind having another child to keep [herself] from being bored in the daytime." She is eagerly anticipating grandparenthood with "children and grandchildren coming home for Sunday dinners." Denise had been able to overcome a problem because her husband and family "had stood by her."

The family does not appear to be integrated with the immediate neighborhood. Both Richard and Denise described the area as "bad." Examples of disjuncture were the telephone calls to police because of the Evans' parties. The Evans family was defensive because they were not having a party on each occasion, but the issue appeared to be not so much that the description of what was going on was inaccurate, but that relations with the neighbors precluded direct negotiation. A neighbor allegedly threatened Tess with a knife when she was on her way to school one day. A positive transaction with a neighbor was the gift of snack foods for the children. Denise and Richard's explanation for "not getting on with the neighbors" is that "they (the Evans) will not drink with them."

There appears to be very little interaction with other community groups apart from Tess and Elaine's membership of a girls' marching team. There are no church affiliations, for example. Richard makes contacts through his coaching of a football team and the use of resources (physical plant and organizational structure) for greyhound racing, but these do not appear to demand very much personal or family commitment.

The family's relationships with services appear to be universalistic and impersonal in nature. When speaking of medical care Denise gave great credit to the hospital. "They are brilliant in there--I've got a lot of faith in them--they saved my life." The education system was spoken of as an undifferentiated institution--Richard's statement that "school doesn't work for [their] kids" is an illustration. The generic term "teachers" appeared to include all teachers, and the expectation was expressed that teachers should be able to "control children." This expectation makes no allowance for particularistic skills and needs of either individual teachers or children. A teacher who could not "control" Reg was not doing her job, in Denise's opinion. The Housing Commission was spoken of as an undifferentiated entity too. For instance, Denise did not want "the Commission" to paint the house because "they use such drab colors."

The technical, instrumental penetration of the family's life is further illustrated by the frequent use of take-away foods. The technical aspect dominates the symbolic meaning of food served to a family when it is de-personalized to that extent.

The data support the claim that Habermas' theory can be used to characterize the technical domination by a society of a family's relations with its wider community.

Family Relations

The reduction of qualitative exchanges to quantitative measures, a characteristic of technical domination of social relations, is illustrated by emphasis on money and money transactions in familial groups. In the case-study family, it appeared that money played a part as cultural currency in terms of group ties. The penetration of ties of affection by the language of money is an indication of the substitution of the technical for the practical. According to Habermas, money is an inappropriate medium for the expression of group solidarity and for the index of membership of the group. The group consists of those to whom the family "pool" of money is available.

Denise described their method of money management as a "pool" from which the family drew. She appeared to hold the purse. The "drawing" was therefore as she saw fit, reinforcing her position of power as the central figure in the family. Having enough money to keep the family together was clearly an important issue. Denise described as "worse off than us," families which could not be kept together. She resented people who "cry poor-mouth." She wishes that she were as "poor as them." The family's limited money income contributed to the excitement of her gambling. The knowledge that she "couldn't afford to lose," heightened the thrill. This belief is also not borne out because losing money did not prevent her from gambling, nor did it appear to threaten their family's being "kept together."

One of Denise's understandings of money was expressed by the statement "Everything's money now," in connection with anything they wanted to do as a family, for example, taking the children to the drive-in.¹⁴ In the exchanges among family members, money featured frequently. Tess wanted her mother to give money to Noel for his helping with the dishes and as compensation for not going with Richard to buy the take-away food that evening. This occasion was one in which Denise intervened by disagreeing with Tess. She did not want Noel to think that he should get money for everything he did.

Discussion occurred on several occasions about what Christmas presents the children would get even though Christmas was still four months away. Steve was threatened that "Santa Claus [wouldn't] come if [he weren't] a good boy." Reg was rewarded for going to the snack-shop to buy Denise's cigarettes, and compensated for not going to the show¹⁵ by being allowed to buy snacks for himself and the two other children who stayed home.

Two instances of children wanting to convert goods to money were observed. Elaine announced that she would sell a biscuit¹⁶ for five cents and Ted offered to sell his

¹⁴Drive-in theatre.

¹⁵Royal Melbourne Agricultural Show (correct name).

¹⁶Cookie.

stereo for \$5. On another occasion Reg said that they had thought of selling Tina (the dog) for \$100 but rejected the idea because, "She [had] been such a good dog." There were instances of family members borrowing from each other. Tess seemed in constant fear that it happened without her knowledge. Apart from Tess, people did not seem to be very particular about repayments. Elaine's notion of what was Tess' share of the 15 cents that Denise gave her to share with Tess was five cents for Tess and 10 cents for herself.

Another aspect of the technical was the apparent reification of money. Money was spoken of as if it had a life of its own and was something that came and went at will. Denise and Richard's honeymoon lasted "until the money ran out." When they had money, food appeared to take top priority, for example, filling the freezer with meat and buying \$200 worth of groceries from Half-Case Bulk-store¹⁷ at a time. On the other hand, when they did not have cash it was possible to buy on credit at the snack-shop.

The parents were in agreement that Ted "should learn the value of money," but it seemed that money was wearing many guises in their family life, as the language of interpersonal relations, that were ideological and were obscuring the real issues of power and authority.

A discussion of practical actions in the family follows.

¹⁷Store which sells in bulk.

Within the atomized family unit of the case-study family, the concept of sharing was promoted by Denise in particular. It appeared that she had a commitment to equality. For example, she was impatient with her childless sister and brother-in-law for the fuss they made of Tess which she thinks has made Tess selfish. The uncle and aunt had reclaimed the gift of a bicycle to Tess because the other children were using it. Denise said that Tess "was very bad about sharing." Denise's expectations about sharing were the subject of a teasing verbal exchange with Ted and with Steve on separate occasions. When Steve told her that he had made pancakes at school, she said, "Where are mine? You little garbage--you ate them all." When Ted said that he had got "eight out of ten for [his] pizza"¹⁸ she said, "Where is it? You didn't share with me." Sharing of time is important too. Denise said, "It's very hard to give each child some time on its own." To some extent she seemed to have overcome the problem by allowing her children to stay home from school. On four of the six observations that cut across school hours one of the school-aged children was home, a different one each time.

There was an easy attitude toward clothes. When Denise could not find her thongs¹⁹ she said "Fiona must have worn

¹⁸Ted had made his pizza in a foods class and "eight out of ten" was his teacher's assessment of his work.

¹⁹Footwear.

them to work." When Elaine's dresses were too small to wear to the Show, it was regretted that she was too small for Tess'. Ted borrowed Stan's pants to wear to the Show although Stan had to be persuaded by his mother to lend them. Reg had worn Tess' shoes and Fiona's belt. The sharing extended beyond the immediate household of the Evans family to Denise's sister and brother, who, with their respective spouses and children, had stayed with the Evans from time to time. Had Stan's girlfriend been pregnant, Denise said that she and the baby would have been welcome to come and live with them. Previous to the Evans' moving into their present house they had lived with various relatives.

The emphasis on sharing within a very tight network reinforced the boundaries between the family and the community and threw into sharp focus the difference between relating to family members and to outsiders. There was a cynical attitude toward outsiders whom it was assumed "just want to take your money" according to Denise. She was very sceptical about the "non-profit" organization an agent claimed to represent.

Denise's reactions to various of the remarks made by the children conveyed beliefs in fairness and justice. When Tess advised Reg to match the insults he had received, "Do it to them," Denise remonstrated, "That's as bad as they are." Tess complained that Stan pulled her hair, and Denise responded by asking her what she had been doing. She told Reg that it "wasn't very nice to hit another child" and

Steve that it was "cruel and nasty" to pull off a butterfly's wing. Denise acknowledged the legitimacy of a teacher's complaint when "Tess took after her with a stick." She expects that teachers will "control" children, and she endorsed that Reg should have been punished for his misdemeanours. But she was concerned and felt that she had grounds for complaint about the lump on Steve's head which he said was the result of a teacher's hitting him with a ruler. Denise set an example in co-operation for her family in that she and Fiona shared the meal preparation, "You do the potatoes and I'll do the pumpkin" and when Fiona couldn't find her clothes to wear to the Show she said, "If you'd left me a note I'd have had it ready for you." When Ted was resisting his father's request to walk the dog, Denise offered a compromise solution: "Give 'im a little run across the park."

The following exchanges illustrate lack of consistency in practical reasoning.

Denise's words did not always match her actions. The words conveyed an ideal, but the reality was often different. A number of injustices among the children were either ignored or not noticed. When she was appealed to as arbiter (a frequent occurrence) because Ted had promised Tess a "ride on the bike" in return for "a bite of her sandwich" she was more concerned with whether or not Tess would want to eat her evening meal. On the occasion that she was adamant that the two younger girls would not be allowed to go to the

Show because of their quarrelling and refusal to do as they had been asked, she overlooked her earlier decree when the time came for them to get ready to leave.

Denise's belief in freedom is expressed in her statement that she does dishes herself "if she is in the mood." At the same time she appears to regard things done by family members for the benefit of all as being done "for [her]." She expects children to keep rooms tidy because she "get[s] annoyed when [she] has to walk over things." This attitude is ideological and it distorts the real nature and purpose of technical tasks. The tasks expected of children appear to be gender-linked. Girls will work in the kitchen when Denise is not "in the mood" and boys will work in the yard. A very technical justification for boys learning the rudiments of housekeeping was, "It's good for a boy to learn so that when the wife's in hospital they can manage for themselves." Denise accepts meal-producing responsibility which ranges from planning the "freezer-full" of meat to endorsing whichever take-away food source is to be patronized. Having planned her meat and grocery supply, the actual meals to be served seemed to be last-minute, impulsive choices.

Denise spoke of her mother as having been a very "fussy housekeeper." She also referred to an earlier time in her own married life when she had kept her floors shiny and her housework "done." Now she "let[s] it all go," which suggests that she has some sense of "how it ought to be."

In treating the system as a challenge and something to be beaten, or got around, unconsciously Richard is presenting an alienated view of society as part of his contribution to the self-formation of his children.

In this chapter the dialectic between Habermas' theory and the case-study data has been presented. Conclusions of the study, implications for home economics in Australia, and recommendations for further research will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The first objective of the study was to evaluate Habermas' theory related to systems of action as a basis for reflecting upon family activities, using theoretical materials and empirical data from a case-study, dialectically, with the ultimate aim of understanding self-formation in the family. The second objective was to identify the implications of such an evaluation for one profession, Home Economics, in Australia.

Conclusions

The systems of action identified by Habermas were paralleled in the family. Both practical and technical actions were observed. Many of the technical actions were in relation to issues of a practical nature illustrating the domination by technical rationality, in the family, that Habermas describes in society.

Examples of practical actions were the mother's attempts to give each child some time on its own, her normative judgments on several behaviors that they were not "right,"

including that she did not believe in forcing a marriage. She also resisted giving payment to a child for participating in a household task on one observed occasion, thereby indicating that she believed that a different system of action was appropriate in the family group. The acceptance into their home of the two nephews, both with learning problems, illustrates normative behavior. In one respect this action follows a tradition of the previous generation. Two nieces had been incorporated into the mother's family. (There were other instances of close identification with problems of particular kin.)

Many instances of the substitutions of technical action for practical action emerged. Some examples follow.

The use of money transactions as the medium for expressing interpersonal relations within the family is an example of technical domination. The way in which money is talked about--the bases of exchange, reasons for giving and withholding rewards, and the individual with ultimate control--defines the power relations in the family.

The reported appeal to the policewomen to counsel the teenage girl is a substitution of technical action because it is an example of applying instrumental means to solve a problem of normative behavior, a practical issue. In the same way, the transfer of the child to a special school because he was uncontrollable in a regular school is a technical action in a practical problem. To use marriage as the technical solution to the problem of a chance

pregnancy is an example of substituting a technical action when a practical action would be more appropriate. As part of the cultural mores of the society, marriage is a practical issue. Relationships with children are practical issues, so to perceive having children as a way of providing company for a mother is reducing humans to objects and dealing with the issue as though it were technical.

The family's dependence on government allowances for their income reflects depoliticization. They are prevented from participating in the social structure associated with the production system. Some participation in the form of undeclared work occurred, but inability to declare it was alienating in that it denied the person's existence in a political sense. The apparent lack of need for the participation of any family members in the production system is depoliticizing in itself.

The family's behavior toward the political-economic system as something to be outwitted rather than as an expression of their humanness and something in which to participate with fellow citizens also reflects their depoliticization and is related to the state and national practice of compulsory voting.

Australia's system of compulsory voting is technical penetration of the practical domains of human life. To have people vote only because otherwise they would be fined obscures the real meaning of political participation. This technical attitude toward politics reflects the perception

of the political system as a technical administration of affairs of state and is contrary to the ideals of democracy claimed by Australia.

The underlying ideologies which led to the domination by technical action include beliefs about technocracy, metaphysical forces, power and freedom.

An ideology is a framework, consisting of values which act as a guiding principle for peoples' decision making. To hold values is part of being human. According to Habermas, traditional ideologies have been made anachronistic in a capitalist society dominated by technical reasoning. The denial of human capacity to make practical decisions--a tenet of technocracy--excludes the possibility of generating a rational consensus of values to answer the question of how people should live together in a cohesive whole. The technocratic view, claiming to be value free, intervenes as the way for people to deal with practical issues. In this way, technology assumes the role of an ideology.

Although there are many examples of the case-study family's choosing technical action to deal with practical issues, their ideology is not exclusively technocratic. There were vestiges of a metaphysical ideology in the statement that believing in God was important, and in the beliefs in the occult,¹ the stars and luck, but these beliefs were

¹Habermas identified belief in the occult as a symptom of cultural crisis. It is not clear what the origin of the belief was for this family but in either case, it interfered with their view of reality.

mixed with technical ideology. There was no coherent ideology tied into a systematic world-view.

The technocratic ideology is reflective of Australian society. The attitudes to the political system are typical of the western capitalist system's crisis of legitimation as described by Habermas. The heavy dependence of this family on welfare support and their increasing needs contribute to the state's fiscal problems.

The parents' belief that schools are to control children is technocratic ideology. Education is part of the socio-cultural life-world, and to reduce its role to a technical function is inappropriate.

The mother's attitude that participation of other family members in household tasks was for her benefit rather than for the corporate benefit reflects her fragmented view of the family.

There is an ideology associated with the real understanding of power. The family is dependent on (1) the public housing authority which imposes restraints on their freedom to act, (2) the Social Security administration with its conditions to be met, (3) the demands of the education system in which five of their members are involved, and (4) health services which impose qualifications. It is false consciousness to believe that they are free, autonomous individuals not tied down or subjected to routine. The anonymity of the institutions with which the family deals masks the real power and produces depoliticization.

It is also ideological that the family has power but misunderstands its own limitations. This misunderstanding is illustrated by dependence upon magical influences or, alternatively, claiming superhuman powers for themselves. The family has the capacity to act as an effective group in that they maintain their group cohesion, solidarity and unity as a system. This same ability could be effective in other areas if, for example, they could participate in the same way at a community level.

The metaphysical ideology obscured reality for the family in several instances. While cosmic forces such as the sun and moon are highly influential on peoples' lives, the amount of gravitation effect between a star and an individual is less than between two individuals (Shapiro, 1981). A belief in the stars affecting the family's fortunes is ideological. It obscures the individual's responsibility for his or her actions. Other beliefs in the supernatural were in relation to the occult (for instance, the bad luck associated with breaking a mirror and the influence of luck in success at a game of chance).

The conclusions of this study illustrate that a family's understanding of the real location of power can be obscured and their ability to act effectively, stifled. Inability to perceive their own political natures inhibits them from questioning what appear to be the obvious and "given" in society. Self-consciousness and self-understanding are fundamental to achieving the capacities to act autonomously.

Fromm recognized the need to unmask false consciousness when he said

If a person . . . is not able to see the social reality and instead fills his mind with fictions, his capacity to see the individual reality . . . is also limited (1962, pp. 130-131).

Many people are left out of the Australian democratic process either out of apathy or pragmatic self-interest. Individualism and privatism encapsulate people and they lose their capacity for community--the ability to be part of each other's lives. Misunderstandings of power locations have arisen from the replacement of the socio-cultural life-world of consensual norms, with the "value-free" technology. This misunderstanding occurs in the case-study family.

What are the implications for the self-formation of family members? The family's belief system appears inconsistent and confused and technical rationality dominates family activities. In such a context reflection on, and realistic assessment of, their own capacities by family members is limited and it is unlikely that full human potential will be realized.

In this study the researcher used the critical theory of Jurgen Habermas as a basis for reflecting on the nature of the family activities of an Australian working-class family, focusing on self-formation in the family.

Aspects of the theory which influenced the study were Habermas' critique of positivism; his theory of knowledge; his systems of action; his emphasis on self-formation; his

critique of ideology; and his beliefs in the complementarity of theory and practice, and the need for an historical approach to the understanding of phenomena.

The study has demonstrated that Habermas' way of looking at society is useful for understanding the nature of a family's activities. The theory generated the framework alternative to positivism which made it possible to employ an interpretive approach focusing on practical action and ideology critique. In treating practical action in terms of communication, the theory identified language analysis as an important part of understanding the social reality of individuals.

Habermas helps us to see that unless we understand the problems of family in a socio-historical perspective professional practice with families is abstract and it fails to address the real issues of families and their everyday lives. This insight has implications for home economics, a field that defines itself in terms of the family.

Implications for Home Economics

According to Brown and Paolucci's mission statement for home economics, home economists are facilitators for families. Their role is to enable families to develop systems of action which will lead to "maturing in individual self-formation and participation in the critique and formulation of social goals and means for accomplishing them" (Brown & Paolucci, 1978, p. 23).

This type of partnership between home economists and families demands that the professional understands a family's view of reality. In particular, the professional needs to understand the family's perceptions of the location of problems.

It would be beneficial to home economists to understand societal processes and that the processes within a family are reflective of the larger society. Further, the family processes perpetuate the existing societal processes in the self-formation of members.

The positivist domination of home economics knowledge reflects the utilitarian perspective on science which influenced the way home economics was initially conceptualized. Of importance to home economists is the understanding that the type of knowledge which has dominated the professional practice--the empirical-analytic knowledge--needs to be complemented by other forms of knowledge: interpretive, and critical theory. To grasp reality demands this broader perspective.

Finally, the study's implications for home economics can be summarized in two main points, namely that

1. Everyday life for a family can be highly complex and understanding of such complexity requires different kinds of knowledge (interpretive knowledge and critical theory in addition to empirical-analytic knowledge), and

2. The integration of such new knowledge, by home economists, with their theory and practice, depends upon an historical understanding of the evolution of the field and its knowledge base.

Future Research

The implications of this study for further research are two-fold: methodological and substantive. On the one hand Habermas' theory has yielded insights on the meanings of family activities in a working-class family. The theory should now be extended into use with other family types, or be used in seeking answers to additional questions to expand understanding of working-class family. The types of questions which might be addressed are:

1. How can we understand a family's relationships with other societal institutions?
2. How can we characterize the kind of community a family provides for its members?

The substantive knowledge derived from the study broadens the knowledge base of home economics and generates further questions to be answered using empirical-analytical methods to complement the type of knowledge derived from this study. Appropriate questions to be answered using empirical methods include:

To what extent is satisfaction with outcome of an action related to using the appropriate kind of action (that is, practical or technical action)?

Finally, for home economists the study poses the question: In what ways will home economists have to change to incorporate the kind of knowledge generated by studies such as this one?

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

#5 - 527 Dandenong Road
Armadale
Victoria 3143
Australia
May 26, 1980

Dr. Henry E. Bredeck
Office for Research Development
238 Administration Building
Michigan State University

Dear Dr. Bredeck:

Enclosed are seven copies of proposed research for review by UCRIHS. The proposal has been approved by my Ph.D. guidance committee, chaired by Dr. B. Paolucci, Department of Family Ecology.

If you have any questions or require further information, I may be contacted through Dr. B. Paolucci, Department of Family Ecology, College of Human Ecology, Michigan State University.

Sincerely,

Margaret E. Watters

TO: The University Committee on Research Involving
Human Subjects

FROM: Margaret Watters, Ph.D. student, Family Ecology

RE: Ph.D. Research Project, tentatively titled:
"The Meaning of Household Activities to Family
Members: Application of Habermas' Theory"
Proposal has been reviewed and approved by
Dr. B. Paolucci, Dr. M. Bubolz, Dr. L. Nelson,
Dr. J. Schlater (all of College of Human Ecology).
and Dr. R. Peterson (Philosophy Department).

The following information is provided to facilitate review
of the proposed research by UCRIHS.

I. ABSTRACT SUMMARIZING THE RESEARCH

The main emphasis of the project proposed is philosophical
and theoretical.

The project will encompass:

- a. a critique of the Home Economics field of study in
Australia
- b. a theoretical analysis of the concept "family" in the
Australian setting
- c. an examination of Habermas' theory of knowledge and
human interests as a source of conceptual tools for
characterizing the qualitative dimensions of family
household activities
- d. an evaluation of the model generated in c. (above)
by using it to analyze data collected through a limited
case-study of one family

The procedure to be undertaken includes:

- a. examination of the relevant literature to describe the
context of the study. (The major social, political,
and economic influences in Australia during the twentieth
century will be identified and their interaction described
to provide a setting for both Home Economics as a field
of study, and family as the focus of that field of study
in Australia.)
- b. examination of the literature relating to Home Economics
in Australia

- c. examination of the literature pertaining to Australian working class families to identify and describe the functioning of these families in an urban setting
- d. examination of Habermas' theory of knowledge and human interests to identify concepts relevant to the self-formation of individuals through work (the theoretical model to be constructed constitutes the major emphasis of the research)
- d. evaluation of the theoretical model, c. (above), through its use in analyzing data collected by researcher as participant-observer of one family in its home setting.

The nature of the study is exploratory. The major focus is the building of a model and the collection of empirical data is incidental to the main thrust of the research. Linguistic symbols are important in Habermas' theory so the empirical data will consist of actual words spoken by family members during observation periods. It is anticipated that the researcher will engage in approximately 30 hours of participant-observation over a period of three to six weeks. Direct questions will be confined to questions of clarification or confirmation of meaning implicit in actions. There is no systematic schedule of questions but observations will be focused on activities undertaken by household members singly or in groups, activities which popularly may be described as "work."

II. REQUIREMENTS FOR THE SUBJECT POPULATION

The subject population will consist of one working class family which has volunteered to be studied. The family will comprise two parents and at least one child, aged between six and 15 years, who live together in one household

in Melbourne (capital city of Victoria), Australia. The inclusion of at least one child is crucial to the study as the manner of reproduction of social roles through work, a major function of the family, is of central importance. The family will be involved in procedures relating to informed consent prior to the data collection.

III. ANALYSIS OF THE RISK-BENEFIT RATIO

A. The Potential Risks:

The potential risks to the subjects are minimal but could include the possibilities of invasion of privacy and inconvenience caused by the presence of the researcher as participant-observer.

B. Procedures for Minimizing Risks:

- a.
 - i. The family's full knowledge of the purpose of the study
 - ii. the voluntariness of the family's involvement (all members having participated in the decision to be studied)
 - iii. the family's right to withdraw from the study at any time
- b. arrangement of observations by appointment with the family so that they control the presence or absence of the researcher
- c. the use of linguistic symbols as data giving the family members control of the information conveyed to the researcher
- d. guaranteed anonymity of the subjects (Melbourne's population exceeds two million)
- e. the involvement of only one researcher who undertakes to respect the subjects' rights as fellow-humans

C. Potential Benefits:

The subjects are likely to gain from:

- a. an opportunity to reflect upon their family life
- b. knowing that they are contributing to the generation of knowledge
- c. their learning about the research process
- d. the possibility of their participation being of benefit to other families

Work and family are heavily interdependent in society. A means of characterizing the qualitative dimensions of the inter-relationship may provide a mechanism for better understanding of family dynamics.

IV. CONSENT PROCEDURES

After the preliminary contact, the researcher will make an appointment to visit the family at home. A full explanation of the project, and details of what participation in the research by the family will involve, for each of the family members, will be given. If the family is still willing to participate, each member will be asked to read a consent form, and if satisfied, to sign the form. Verbal assent will be sought from children unable to read, providing that the parents agree to their participation in which case legal responsibility for that assent will be assumed by the parents.

V. CONSENT FORM (please see attached sample)

All family members involved in the study will be present at the signing.

VI. INFORMATION-GATHERING INSTRUMENTS

In this project the process is the product, i.e., the generation of, and the evaluation of, a model is the goal of the research. The observations will be related to work and how that work is perceived by family members. The means of recording observations, whether by tape-recording or writing (in the presence of family members or not) will be negotiated with the subjects.

VII. STATEMENT BY DR. B. PAOLUCCI (major professor)

I have received the project proposed by Margaret Watters, and have approved it.

Signature

Date

Michigan State University

East Lansing

College of Human Ecology

Michigan

June, 1980

CONSENT FORM

We, the undersigned, freely consent to participate in a scientific study being conducted by Margaret Watters under the supervision of Dr. B. Paolucci, Professor, Department of Family Ecology, College of Human Ecology, Michigan State University.

The purposes of the project have been explained to us and we understand the explanation that has been given as well as what our participation will involve.

We understand that we are free to discontinue participation in the study at any time without penalty, or that we may withdraw the participation of our child(ren).

We understand that the results of the study will be treated in strict confidence and that we will remain anonymous. Final results of the study will be made available to us at our request.

We understand that our participation in the study does not guarantee any beneficial results to us.

We are willing to participate in this research. We, as legal parents/guardians of the child(ren) whose signature(s) appear below give our permission for the child(ren) to participate in the study to the extent the child(ren) wish(es).

Signed:

Adult Female Signature

Date

Adult Male Signature

Date

Child's Signature

Date

Child's Signature

Date

Address

Telephone

July 1, 1980

Ms. Margaret E. Watters
#5 - 527 Dandenong Road
Armadale
Victoria 3143
Australia

Dear Ms. Watters:

Subject: Proposal Entitled "The Meaning of Household
Activities to Family Members: Application of
Habermas' Theory"

The above referenced project was recently submitted for
review to the UCRIHS.

We are pleased to advise that the rights and welfare of the
human subjects appear to be adequately protected and the
Committee, therefore, approved this project at its meeting
on June 30, 1980.

Projects involving the use of human subjects must be reviewed
at least annually. If you plan to continue this project
beyond one year, please make provisions for obtaining appro-
priate UCRIHS approval prior to the anniversary date noted
above.

Thank you for bringing this project to our attention. If
we can be of any future help, please do not hesitate to let
us know.

Sincerely,

Henry E. Bredeck
Chairman, UCRIHS

HEB/jms

cc: Dr. Beatrice Paolucci

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