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THE FAMILY SEEN THROUGH THE BEVERIDGE REPORT, FORCES'
EDUCATION AND POPULAR MAGAZINES: A SOCIOLOGICAL STUDY
OF THE SOCIAL REPRODUCTION OF FAMILY IDEOLOGY IN WORLD
WAR II

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by

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ABSTRACT

The research explores the mechanisms which structurally support and culturally sustain conceptions of the normal family, variations within and articulation between such conceptions, and disjunctions between reality and beliefs about that reality.

Three paradoxes - the abundance of familial prescription directed at an institution perceived as private, assumptions of increasing egalitarianism and the tenacity of traditional familism despite objective conditions for change - considered within the context of ideology directed attention to differences in prescriptive sources and sanctions, variations in the social realities of audiences, the role of consentient and competing elements within an ideology and the persistent challenge to an ideology posed by reality.

The analysis comprised a case study of the conjugal relationship propounded in documentary sources during the Second World War, a period characterised by the articulation of egalitarianism and disruption of familial patterns.

Texts were selected by their origin in the State or general culture and their orientation to audiences - both undifferentiated and differentiated by gender, class and stage in the family cycle. They comprised the Beveridge Report, the published and unpublished evidence and internal official memoranda; the forces' education programme (BWP and ABCA) and two women's periodicals (True Romances and Good Housekeeping). A qualitative content analysis was undertaken, structured according to the problems central to each text.

Within the democratic processes of policy formation familial behaviour was fragmented and sanctioned. Contradictions inherent in the propounded ideal were depoliticized by displacement to alternative domains

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and forms of discourse, thereby legitimising alternative articulations. The association between fragmented elements and stereotypes suggested the State's control over consciousness. The crucial juxtaposing of esteemed values affected the potency of challenge.

In a unique and complex manner similar mechanisms sustained a particular consciousness for each discrete audience. Traditional familism encompassed subtly different familial models sustaining the obtaining distribution of societal power by class and gender.

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CONTENTS

	<u>Page No</u>
CHAPTER I: <u>THE RESEARCH PROBLEM</u>	
Introduction	1
The Empirical Location of the Problem: Contradiction	5
Familial Prescription	5
Source and Orientation	
Audience Reality and Variability	
Traditionalism and Egalitarianism	16
Egalitarianism	
Traditionalism	
Traditionalism in Practice	25
Economic Power	
Decision Making	
Physical Dominance	
Division of Labour	
Traditionalism in Beliefs	32
Education	
Social Class	
Age	
Gender	
Objective Conditions for Change	38
Family Size	40
Women in the Labour Force	47
Activity Rates	
Married Women's Activity Rates	
Wife's Earnings and Family Income	
Role Reversal	
Bread Winner Wives	
Role Sharing	
Concepts of Need	
Discontinuities	58
Unemployment	59
War	65
Male Conscription	
Female Conscription and War Work	
Evacuation	
Summary	75
The Theoretical Location of the Problem	76
Beliefs, Behaviour and Theories of the State	84
Articulation	85
Ideological Closure, Fragmentation and Reality	94
Legal Regulation, Public Opinion and Common Sense	98
The Design of the Research	106
Defining the Universe	107
Historical Period	
The Climate of Values	
The Sample: Selecting the Sources and Audiences	116
Mass Audience and the State	
Discrete Audiences and Non-legal Sanctions	

The Forces' Education Programme	
Women's Magazines	
Selection of Magazine Type	
Sampling the Documents	
Summary	137
Method of Analysis	138
CHAPTER 2: <u>MASS AUDIENCE AND THE STATE</u>	
Practical Discourse: The Beveridge Report and Associated Documents	141
The Ideal Model of the Family in the Beveridge Report	141
Background to the Report	141
State Requirements	149
The Structuring of Behaviour	151
Assumptions and Principles	
The Flat Rate of Contribution	
Liability for Contribution	
The Structuring of Consciousness	161
The Restructuring of Women on Marriage	
Social Divisiveness	
Conformity and Deviance	169
Summary	179
The Accommodation of Challenging Realities	180
Devaluation: The Published Evidence	180
Official Constraints	184
Selectivity	
Perceptual Set	
The Extension of the Past	
Definitions and Categories	
Contribution	
Textual Constraints	191
Linguistic Convention	
The Single Role Family Structure	
Alternative Voices	200
Women and Social Insurance	
Individual versus Communal Responsibility	
Summary	213
Displacement and Redefinition: The Unpublished Evidence	214
Familial Themes in the Discourse	217
Structural Threats to the Ideal	218
Inherent Threats: Hierarchy and Power	218
Deficiencies in Role Performance	222
Instability of Family Structure	226
Role Allocation: Flexibility	
Sexuality, Monogamy, The Problems of Women	
Definition and Allocation of the Problem of Women	
Definition as Minor and Peripheral	
Statuses, Types and Antagonisms	
Summary	246

	<u>Page No</u>
Fragmentation: Integration of Ideal and Real Stereotypes	247
Legal Regulation, Stereotypes and the Ideal Family Structure and Stereotype	
Displacement and Redefinition	
Conclusion	263
CHAPTER 3: <u>THE FORCES' EDUCATION PROGRAMME</u>	
Origin and Content	265
Introduction	265
Emergence of the Scheme	265
Morale and Efficiency	266
Voluntarism	
Compulsion	
Liberal and Conservative Tensions	273
Military Progressives and Conservatives	
Changes in the Military Structure	
The Censorship Issue	
The Radical Context	283
Liberal Instructors	
The Mood of the Audience	
The Audience	286
Size	
Composition	
The Conception of the Audience	
Educational Discrimination	
Attitudes to Family and Marriage	
Evidence of Change	
Changes in Family and Marriage	
Underlying Patterns	
Dominance	
Male Expectations	
Summary	309
<u>BWP</u> and ABCA	310
Introduction	310
Context of the Ideal: the Construction of Receptivity	314
The Climate of Gender Relationships	316
Editorial Control	317
Boundary Setting	
Control over Presentation	
Format	
The Orientating Assumptions	333
The Centrality of the Male	
Use of Language and Definition	
The Male as the Standard	
Ownership, Control and Power	
Ownership of the Occupational World	
Male Control over Women	
Innate Gender Differences	348
The Family as a Value	351

	<u>Page No</u>
The Ideal Model of the Family	354
The Peripheral Models	355
The Colonial Model	355
The Historical Model	
The Pure Model	359
Generation	
The Conjugal Role Structure	
The Family as a Unity	
Problems of Individualism	
Interpretation for Good Parents	
Resocialisation for Inadequate Parents	
The Interpreted Model	396
Citizenship: Processes of Interpretation	
The Housewife's Burden	
Women, Work and Citizenship	
Official Documents	
The Text: the demand for labour	
Women and Work	
Summary and Conclusions	422
CHAPTER 4: <u>POPULAR CULTURE</u>	
The Two Magazines	426
True Romances	430
The Audience	430
The Text	437
Family Stages	437
Economic Theme	439
Economic Containment	441
Articulation and Accommodation	444
The Dilemma of Choice: Ideal and Real	444
Poverty and Happiness	
Romance	
Economic Rationality	
Rich Husbands	
Beauty: strategy and resource	
Economic Independence	
Establishing the Marital Pattern	463
The Service Role	
Violence	
Beauty	
Contradictions Within the Ideal	
The Male Work Ethic: togetherness	
Rational responses	487
Conclusion	487
Good Housekeeping	489
The Problem	489
Domestic Service	
The Married Woman Worker	
Social Awareness and Education	

	<u>Page No</u>
The Text	493
The Dimensions of Change	493
Continuities in Change	496
Strategies of Continuity	
Format and Material	
Traditional Themes	
The Central Character and Use of Retrospection	
Constants	
Home and Family, Natural and Supernatural	
Tensions between Tradition and Modernity	
Control over Change	
Patterns of Maintenance: Control over Individualism	513
The Middle-Class Work Ethic and the Mediation of	
Masculinity	514
Masculinity, Class and Stability	520
The Housewife: the Ideal	522
The Domestic Dichotomy	522
The Realities of Domesticity	523
War and Individualism	530
The Economic Challenge	531
Gender and Occupation	
The Absent Male	
The Widow	
The Career Woman	
Power	
The Working Wife	
The Mediation of Sexuality	550
Sexuality Within Marriage	
Sexuality Outside Marriage	
The Other Woman	
The Casual Encounter	
The Innocent	
The Domestication of the Outside World	562
 CHAPTER 5: <u>CONCLUSION</u>	 568
 <u>APPENDICES:</u>	
Appendix I: The Representation of Evidence. A Comment on	
Men Without Work	580
Appendix II: The Selection of the Periodicals for Analysis	583
Appendix III: Definitions	595
Appendix IV: Familistic Themes in Six Data Sets	590
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 600

CHAPTER I: THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

Until the re-emergence of feminism in the late 1960s and an associated re-orientation of approach to the structure and function of the family particularly, although not exclusively, within capitalist economies, family ideology has been a neglected field of study.

Within the sociological literature this neglect has compounded conceptions of family structure which leave out of account, or accommodate only uneasily, a series of paradoxes. The following serve as examples. The family is conceived as a place of leisure and renewal while simultaneously comprising the location of work for married women - a duality which Winship (1978:137) has identified as an essential component of the content and format of women's magazines. The family is seen as the institution conducive to individualism and self expression but one in which constraints, of time, energy and finance as well as culture, inhibit self actualisation for men and women both within the home and in the wider society (Oakley 1976:80; Bacon n.d.:38). The family is seen as the location of affectionate and rewarding relationships but its highly valued privacy allows for the expression of the opposing sentiments of anger and violence, as witnessed in the evidence to the Select Committee on Violence in Marriage (1975) and in the reports of Erin Pizzey's work in 1972 in the setting up of Chiswick Women's Aid; furthermore the very ethic of privacy is conducive to a reticence towards intervention in such circumstances by outsiders, whether lay persons or more formal authorities (Worsley 1977:184; Jeffery and Pahl 1979:7).

There is moreover a widely held conception of the 'normal' family

and a general belief in the sanctity of the family co-existing with an extensive interventionist 'therapy industry', thus suggestive of widespread variation or deviance depending upon the value position of the observer (Poster 1978:121). A contradiction exists between the ideology of wifeness and motherhood, an aspect of this normality, and the material necessities of day to day living which may demand a wife's economic contribution to the family income (Allen and Barker 1976(a):7); and there may be a lack of fit between identities based upon gender as they obtain in the family and social hierarchies obtaining in the outside world (Poster 1978: 163; Morgan 1975:221). Land (1979:141) has also noted the importance attached to the family as 'the key institution for creating and structuring continuities from one generation to the next', a notion which implies that the family is both a 'powerful force for the transmission of the status quo', and also as 'an institution which manages, or is expected to manage, the tension between order and change, thus facilitating rather than inhibiting change. Hence,' she continues, 'paradoxically the family both transmits culture and provides a counter culture'.

Three such contradictions were central to this study. Firstly, the academic and lay conceptions of the family as an essentially private institution yet, paradoxically, one which co-exists alongside a mass of rhetoric and regulation directed at it by external agencies; secondly, a tension between traditionalism and egalitarianism in familistic beliefs and practices parallel with an assumption, only recently challenged, that the family is becoming an increasingly egalitarian institution; and thirdly, the tenacity of a traditional familism¹ throughout the

¹ Morgan (1975:8) has defined familism as including 'ideal models of what the family ought to be like, evaluations of the importance and meaning of family life in the context of society as a whole... (and) the centrality or otherwise of the family in the lives of social actors'. (Italics in original)

social structure despite what would appear to be the objective conditions for change in this century.

This was the puzzle. The research problem arose out of a detailed examination of these contradictions and an attempt to encompass them within a conceptual framework which both aided explanation and facilitated more penetrating insights. The result of this interaction between fact and theory located the phenomena within the sociological problematic of consensus; more specifically concerning the social reproduction of family ideology, that is, how conceptions of what is normal are structured and sustained.

Morgan (1975:96-97), distinguishing between conflict and contradiction, criticizes functionalist approaches to the family which would see such issues as strains and conflicts superimposed upon an underlying equilibrium rather than as contradictions inherent to the familial structure itself. Consequently, despite the limitation in its formulations, the concept of ideology (inherent to which, I would argue, is the notion that consensus is actively, although not necessarily consciously, maintained; that disjunctions between reality and beliefs about that reality are accommodated; and that interests and relationships of power are involved) rather than concepts of values, norms and mores, proved to be of greater analytical power in penetrating data characterised by diversity and contradiction.

However, despite their heuristic usefulness, such propositions and theories present a confusing lack of agreement and definition and tend to a purely theoretical introspection. Underlying this research, therefore, is the premise that a more extensive knowledge of the phenomena is essential to any ultimate theoretical refinement. A major aim, therefore,

has been to provide a detailed analysis of the intricacies of ideological processes at work.

Steps in this direction, for example in the work of Burton and Carlin (1979) in the field of official discourse, are now being taken. There is, in addition, an accumulating body of research on family ideology, the findings of which are discussed below. These studies have, however, concentrated predominantly upon specific institutions or social milieux and while such studies are valuable what are needed are not only examinations of the processes by which a particular set of beliefs is maintained at any one point in the social structure, but also analyses which illuminate how the particular elements of an ideology, manifest at these various locations, are articulated; that is, how family ideology is enunciated to specific groups or audiences and the nature of the linkages, if any, between such messages; for examination of these studies and theoretical formulations leads to the proposition that an ideology is not a monolithic structure but is critically differentiated.

To explore such questions, documents produced during the Second World War were selected as a test case for analysis. The period was one of dramatic change in the daily organisation of people's lives and affected a total population. There was also a sense of expectancy, albeit tinged with cynicism, regarding a better and more egalitarian post-war society. Furthermore cultural values were highly visible for, at the minimum, they formed part of the rhetoric of war. This period then seemed eminently suitable for an examination of the processes associated with the maintenance of conservatism in the form of a traditional family ideology in a period of social change.

The war as a period of great social change is deeply rooted in the

conventional wisdom only comparatively recently challenged (Calder 1969); and in this context it should be stated that preliminary reading changed, indeed reversed, the nature of the research question from how the changes wrought by war upon structures and attitudes had been reversed during the post-war years, to the above problem of maintenance of traditional structures and attitudes during the course of the war despite the threats posed to them by the social and cultural disjunctions of wartime.

The documents were selected according to their origin and the audiences to whom they were addressed. They comprise the Beveridge Report on Social Insurance of 1942 and associated documents; the material produced by the Directorate of Army Education and the Army Bureau of Current Affairs for the forces' education programme; and two women's magazines - Good Housekeeping and True Romances. This encompassed State and general culture as sources and mass audiences: one which embraced the entire population and others distinguished by gender, class and stages in the familial cycle. They were examined by means of a qualitative content analysis.

THE EMPIRICAL LOCATION OF THE PROBLEM: CONTRADICTION

FAMILIAL PRESCRIPTION

Examination of a wide range of empirical studies, although not exhaustive, drew attention to the following facts: that prescriptions for family behaviour varied according to both their source and the audience to whom they were addressed; that the agencies articulating these messages differed according to the sanctions available to them; that highly valued belief systems competed within single institutions and in the messages purveyed; and that certain prescribed behaviours, some of

which were considered to be innate or inevitable, were apparently actively sustained. It is necessary, therefore, to set out the empirical material from which this emerged.

Source and Orientation

While criticising the view which ascribes an inevitability and inherent naturalness to the family, Morgan (1975:212-213) makes the salient point that 'in a very real sense the family is an ongoing reality, difficult to displace or change', by virtue of the fact that 'most people live or have lived in families and that alternatives may seem remote or identified with groups readily accorded the label of "deviant" (religious groups, hippies, etc.)' and that many major life events and celebrations are family events all of which combine to make the existence of the family appear normal and natural (Morgan 1977:165-166).

Yet examination of bibliographies (British Museum; British National Bibliography) astounds by the volume of publications on the family. The phenomenon is comparable to that observed by Virginia Woolf in 1928 on looking up the subject 'Women' in the catalogue of the British Museum.

'One went to the counter; one took a slip of paper; one opened a volume of the catalogue and the five dots here indicate five separate minutes of stupifaction, wonder and bewilderment. Have you any notion how many books are written about women in the course of one year ...'

(Woolf 1973:28)

An indication of the cause of her astonishment may be gauged from the fact that, for example, the catalogue for 1881-1900 contains 33 columns devoted to the subject.

Similarly, while the emphasis may shift, the subject of marriage and the family, whether in relation to society as a whole or as an individual and personal matter, has been a theme for many writers over the years. Like those who write on women, these writers too come from many walks

of life: clerics, the medical profession, educationalists, academics, philosophers, the aristocracy and representatives of state bureaucracies and voluntary welfare organisations.

Of this output on family subjects, a considerable number take the form of manuals, that is the how to of married life whose content may be broadly classified according to matters dealing with general personal relationships within marriage, the sexual relationship of husband and wife, and works on what may be called the curriculum of family life, that is, household management and domestic economy and parenting skills including advice on nutrition, hygiene, education, child management and baby care.

The following will give some idea of the extent and range of such works. Between 1881 and 1900, 87 manuals were published. Of these, 26 were on marriage itself, 42 on motherhood and nine on parentcraft. Six manuals appear to come in gender specific forms: there are ten hygiene manuals for wives and eight hints, facts for, talks to, and plain words on sexual morality for men. The latter are probably concerned with sex outside marriage. Between 1940 and 1945 of the 105 manuals published, 24 are general marriage manuals; 15 are sex manuals for the married, seven concern family relationships, 37 on parenting; and 29 on household management. Between 1968 and 1972, of the 130 manuals published 24 are general marriage manuals, 19 are sex manuals for the married; 66 are parenthood manuals and 21 are on domestic economy.

Thus the profferment of such advice appears to have increased. Excluding the large section devoted to household economy, in the period 1881 to 1900 an average of 4 manuals a year was published. By the period 1940 to 1945 the output had increased to an average of 15 manuals a year. From 1968 to 1972 publications rose to an average of 24 manuals

a year.

In addition, the phenomenon of offering marital advice has become more institutionalised. The marriage guidance council was set up in 1939, and in the same period there was a development of manuals aimed not directly at the lay person, but produced for counsellors in marital relationships such as clerics, doctors, teachers and marriage guidance counsellors. Three such manuals were recorded as published between 1941 and 1945 and 20 between 1946 and 1950.

In addition to works which could be considered unsolicited advocacy or direct advice for those who seek such aid, less obvious publications implicitly spell out the range of living patterns subsumed under family life, the structure of family relationships and the value of the family. This includes, for example, the debate upon the place of women in society and books concerned with such subjects as planning and housing.

Recently, for example, the Greater London Council published a booklet for prospective tenants in which the position of walls could be adjusted within the housing shell to suit individual life styles. It is accompanied by drawings which imply the range of acceptable family forms (Hamdi:1977). Similarly, a booklet, published in 1947 for the Council of Industrial Design, implicitly defines the good home and the range of family forms. Despite the recent mass employment of women during the war, and the contemporaneous pleas for women to remain in industry (see below) not one wife in the eight families portrayed works outside the home: the sole references to paid employment are that one wife is a novelist working at home and another is a former school teacher. Furthermore, the unease associated with singlehood (a spinster civil servant perched on the edge of a chair) and the associated limited physical space and social relationships of the spinster are promoted - she needs one extra chair for

entertaining a friend to coffee in her bedsitter (Bentley 1947; See also Whittick 1943:13).

A consideration of the range of sources must also take account of the implicit messages or statements on family life contained in the mass media as well as other institutions. Millum (1975:179) in a study of femininity in the advertising in modern women's magazines has revealed the traditional familial messages relayed, as has Winship (1975) in an examination of Woman. Journalists have similarly drawn attention to the implications of the use of language in newspapers (National Union of Journalists 1977:5-7,9). Examination of children's and adult literature has revealed similar phenomena (Weitzman et al. 1972; Prida and Ribner 1974:45, 47; Lobban 1976:41-42; White 1977:49-52; Harrison 1978).

In addition, the sociological literature has long taken cognizance of state institutions which intervene authoritatively, with ultimate recourse to legal sanctions, in the daily family experience of the individual. For example Coser (1974:xxv), emphasising the function of the family as an agency of transmission of moral and social values and valued goods and property between generations, argues that 'its features cannot be a matter of indifference to political power holders'. MacIver and Page (1965:274-280) in their introductory text book devote a section to 'The Family and the State'.

At an elementary level the content of this material is value laden in that notions of what 'ought to be' are implicitly invoked. There is increasing evidence, however, that such values are heavily orientated towards a traditional familism central to which is the simple model of the single-role family with its gender based division of labour. The husband-father is the breadwinner and the wife-mother is responsible for

domestic servicing and child care. Her activities are confined to the home. It is upon the conjugal relationship and factors associated with this form of traditionalism that this study focusses, although, as it will be shown, family structure cannot be divorced from other familistic elements.

The studies referred to earlier form part of this familistic documentation. For example, the studies of children's literature and text books reveal traditional stereotyped figures, even more stereotyped than in real life, of mothers and fathers and contrasting and discrete male and female worlds. The female world is centred on domestic activity and child care and the male world directed to occupations and activity outside the home (Weitzman et al. 1972: 21,41-42). Gordon and Shankweiler's (1971:459) examination of best selling sex manuals between 1950 and 1970 demonstrated that an apparent liberalism in the advocacy of female initiative and co-operation in sexual matters is accommodated within the traditional framework of male dominance; and Michel's (1960) study of French family literature disclosed traditional familistic attitudes held by marriage and family experts.

Similarly studies have revealed an implicit traditional familism in agencies central to the creation, articulation and dispersion of knowledge. For example, of the social sciences, Ehrlich (1971) in an examination of six recent marriage and family college level texts (all published since 1960) for unproved value laden statements about the female, found that in these texts emphasis is placed upon the stability of society, perceived as an entity making demands upon the individual. Vital to the maintenance of such stability was the family with its traditional sex-role divisions and behaviour patterns, and failure to conform to such a pattern was seen as conducive to marital disruption and disturbed

children. Laws (1971) likewise, in a critical review of the marriage adjustment literature, indicates a similar normative bias on the part of academic researchers leading to a lack of methodological sophistication intimately related to a theoretical inflexibility and a neglect of alternative familial models for hypothesis testing. Frankenberg (1976: 26-29) has similarly pointed to such conceptual deficiencies in community studies as has Mahen (1976:71) of anthropological studies.

The status of this knowledge is both high and important for it subsequently becomes part of the theoretical armoury and conventional wisdoms of agencies who apply it in their working practice. Ultimately, it may be argued, it enters into the common senses or modern practices of the population at large.

Recent studies have indeed revealed a traditional familism embedded in the theory and practices of agencies external to the family but which play an important legal and moral role in circumscribing the activities within it. For example, Gillespie (1971), Weitzmann (1975) and Coote and Gill (1974:1977) document, how American and British Law uphold traditional conjugal roles; Blake (1974:306) indicates the legal pressures upon both men and women towards marriage and parenthood and Dezalay (1976) demonstrates the operation of traditionalist assumptions during divorce procedure. Studies, for example, of the economic sanctions of social welfare and the disregard of the female element in the structure of the labour market (Land 1976: 120), the definitions of motivations towards motherhood according to whether a pregnant woman is married or single offered by the social work and medical profession (MacIntyre 1976: 164,168), and the lack of opportunities and the socialisation towards marriage (Joffe 1971; Shaw 1976) are examples of other mediating forces.

Audience, Reality and Variability

With certain exceptions, which are discussed below, the studies cited above are specifically limited to distinct groups. Yet in any society the social reality of audiences necessarily differs. Socio-economic status, stage in the family life cycle and gender present themselves as major differentiating variables. Audiences may differ according to other characteristics. They may, for example, be captive, such as school children, or self-selecting, such as the readers of comics or newspapers; or they may be anxious about their new role as parents or their absence of marital role as single people, or be the long married experiencing the realities of economic constraints and the limitations imposed by family obligations.

The sociological literature furthermore, contains a long tradition of studies which reveal within British Society a range of familial patterns in both conjugal relationships and child rearing practices. Bott (1971), for example, in her study of familism in the 1950's found that the organisation of conjugal roles ranged from a highly segregated sexual division of labour to a system of joint conjugal roles with a high degree of interchangeability of task between the husband and wife. (It should be noted, however, that none of the wives in these families were in paid employment, that is, Bott's definition did not encompass this economic dimension.) Also, it is clear that the conjugal role organisation of the working class homes of Bethnal Green (Young and Willmott 1957) or the traditional Yorkshire mining community (Dennis et al., 1969) would be different to those of the dual career families examined by the Rapoports (1971) and Paloma and Garland (1971); and the Newsons' (1963) study of childrearing practices, specifically orientated to class differences, revealed broad variations in methods, expectations, and

philosophies in middle class and working class families.

This raises the question as to whether, if they are to have any meaning for their publics, the articulation of familial messages is identical for all audiences or whether it is critically tempered to discrete groups. That prescriptions do take account of social differences is clear in MacIntyre's (1976) study, referred to above, of the expectation of a differing attitude to motherhood, albeit an attribute defined as innate, made by medical and social work personnel according to whether or not a pregnant woman was married. Similarly, different prescriptions according to gender, but within one social class, are evident in Davin's (1979) study of early board school texts; and Flora (1971:435) reports differences in the articulation of passivity, again assumed to be an innate attribute, in women's magazines according to the nationality and social class of their readership. The question, therefore, becomes extended - from an interest in whether the set of familistic beliefs is monolithic and whether prescriptions take account of such differences - to a concern as to how such diversity is incorporated within an embracing familial belief structure.

In this context it is of note how some theorists make a special point of emphasising the variability of family forms and the problems which arise from attempts to define the family (Morgan 1979:168-172). Similarly in lay circles mention of the family evokes a standard but unspecified image which is quickly re-assessed when individuals are enjoined to measure this image against personal experience and knowledge.¹

¹ This point is based upon discussions during a course given for the Workers' Educational Association, Darlington 1978. Assumptions are also under challenge. Dean (1980:18) for example writes in the Guardian, 'The popular conception of the family - one married couple and one or two children - now only represent 25 per cent of all households ... almost one out of eight families are now single parent families.'

Bott (1971:192) observed this phenomenon amongst her respondents and her comments are quoted in full because it is such fluidity and ambiguity which is explored in this thesis.

'In any group discussion, lay or technical, of family life, people are quick to agree that there is no such thing as a "normal" family. No one, they argue, is perfect and no family is perfect either. But at some later point the phrase usually creeps back into the discussion, though its meaning may have changed slightly; from being the 'perfect' family it has become the 'average' family. The label may be changed too; words like 'average' or 'ordinary' - our own choice - may be used instead of 'normal'. In common-sense usage the word 'normal' and its various substitutes are thus very ambiguous. They may mean perfect, average, or customary, according to context. But it is impossible to get away from using the idea of normality.'

At a different level there is a hint within the research literature of a disjunction or incongruity between reality and beliefs or expectations of that reality. Shaw (1976:139) in her examination of how the education system structures girls' failure, raises the pertinent question,

'Do girls really believe that marriage and a family are going to provide a life-long activity ... with 42% of all married women working, and more in the working class, is it likely that girls are totally unaware of this, especially if they take their own mothers as models?'

Thirty years early Thomas (1944:27) in a survey conducted for the Ministry of Reconstruction to assess the potential post-war female labour supply revealed a similar conceptual blindness on the part of single women to the economic realities of marriage. Irrespective of the realities which surround them (as Shaw has noted above) more single women (63 per cent) than married women (44 per cent) felt that a married women should not work. Thomas comments,

'The difference in emphasis arises, perhaps, from a lack of appreciation on the part of the single woman of the frequent necessity to work after marriage.'

Other studies suggest a denial of reality itself; for example, of the increasing presence of women in the workforce and their economic family role in their critical contribution to the family income (Land

1976:116-120; Lister and Wilson 1976); and the discrepancy in the study referred to above between the professional definition of maternal instincts and those of the clients (MacIntyre 1976). Furthermore, although in this instance the discrepancy was apparent to some of the participants, in other instances the collaboration of the individual concerned in the process of definition has been remarked. Dezalay (1976:100), for example, observes of the ideological processes within the French divorce procedure for the working class,

'... the law finds its most important collaborators in the spouses themselves. It is they who institute proceedings and they present, or accept, interpretations of fault which fit into the stereotype'.

Of interest, therefore, and what is often left open or implicit in such studies, is how impositions which apparently deny the facts of everyday life come to be accepted by many who are disadvantaged as well as by those who benefit.

A further aspect of variability was the variability of source - the distinctions which could be drawn between the origins of the messages. They fell into three categories broadly differentiated according to the sanctions available to them for the enforcement of behaviour: those which involved legal compulsion associated with material rewards or penalties, and ultimately a denial of liberty for gross non-conformity, for example, certain legal regulations such as state insurance, parts of family law and education; those which fell within what may be described as the cultural domain: the mass media, literature, religious and political institutions, with no compulsion or apparent sanctions and a wholly voluntary audience; and those which, in a sense, fell between the two, for example, medicine and divorce law where involvement was not imposed but where the use of such services

involves accordance with specific definitions of behaviour.

In sum, therefore inspection suggested that the prescriptions were not necessarily directed at the population at large but towards specific, discrete and yet overlapping audiences and carried a range of sanctions operating at different levels.

This material appeared to indicate a continuous, although not necessary serial process of socialisation, that is, not one confined to early childhood experiences and models, into the appropriate norms of family behaviour, and a continuous sustenance of specific familial patterns. It also, of course, left open the question of the place of competing models and practices in such a configuration. Before pursuing these themes, the second paradox is examined: the tension between traditionalism and egalitarianism.

TRADITIONALISM AND EGALITARIANISM

The second set of contradictions which shaped the research arose from a closer examination of the two opposing belief systems which run through discussions and formulations of the family: traditionalism, with its emphasis upon duty, obligation, hierarchy, solidarity and control; and egalitarianism with its associated components of rights, equality, individualism and self-actualisation.

In the literature on the family these themes emerge in the form of two contrasting types of conjugal role relationships. In the traditional model, which Laws (1971:448) considers to be epitomised in its contemporary form in the work of Parsons (1956), marital roles are identified as different and complementary. An instrumental or a role directed outwards to economic performance, is accorded the husband-father and an expressive role, directed inwards towards family relationships is accorded the wife-mother. While both husband and wife are seen as leaders with

comparable power residing in their own spheres of competence (Parsons 1956:45) nonetheless, the relationship is hierarchal, 'father is "supposed" to remain the primary executive member' (Zelditch 1956:340). In this traditional model the activities of the wife-mother are predominantly confined to the home. Even when in the workforce, as Parsons recognises she might be, home centred activities remain central to her life and her identity (Parsons 1956:13-15). Furthermore, female occupations are defined as 'not of a status which seriously competes with that of (the) husband as the primary status giver and income earner' (Parson 1956:14). A similar point is made by Harris (1969:161-162).

In Zelditch's (1956:340) paper, this family structure is explicitly referred to as 'democratic' rather than 'traditional' in that the husband's ' "commands" are validated on the basis of "good judgement" rather than general obedience due a person in authority' (Italics in original). This is tempered by Parsons (1956:24); while emphasising the complementarity of marital roles, also emphasised is the affective quality of the relationship and the emotional importance attached to 'the significant other'. More explicit traditional models, epitomised in the studies of rural communities (Arensberg and Kimball 1960; Whitehead 1976) and in traditional mining communities (Dennis et. al. 1969) reflect the division of labour and authority structure more harshly and also a lack of mutuality between husbands and wives in leisure time pursuits (men and women associating in their respective gender groups) and the separate and possibly antagonistic male and female worlds (Whitehead 1976:169,175).

Eleven years prior to Parson's formulation Burgess and Locke (1950), in the last year of the war, produced a model of companionate marriage contrasting with the inegalitarian and autocratic power structure of

the traditional or institutional pattern.¹ They note that,

'the form of family that appears to be emerging in modern society may be called the companionship family because of its emphasis upon intimate personal associations as its primary function. Other characteristics of the companionship family are: the giving and receiving of affection; the assumption of equality of husband and wife; democracy in family decisions, with a voice and a vote by the children; the personality development of its members consistent with family unity; and the expectation that the greatest happiness is to be found in the family'.

They also, ironically, note its entry into popular thought.

'This conception of the companionship family is becoming so much a part of our culture that it is difficult to consider it objectively and critically.'

(Burgess and Locke 1950:716)

Laws (1971:489) has usefully summarised the essential characteristics of companionate marriage contrasting them with institutional marriage,

'... a rigid separation of roles is expressly disavowed rather role sharing and a breakdown of role polarization are expected ... role definitions are essentially symmetrical or interchangeable between the two spouses (and) companionship - a relationship between persons rather than roles - is adopted as the chief object of marriage.'

Law continues,

'Companionship marriage differs from institutional (that is, traditional) marriage in being "democratic and permissive" rather than authoritative and autocratic; in relying for its power on internal feeling states (especially love and growing mutual identification) rather than external constraints; in being innovative rather than traditional and static with respect to the design of the marital relation; in emphasising personal happiness rather than duty and respect, self-expression rather than subordination; and assimilation rather than accommodation as a means of resolving conflict.'

¹ Parsons (1956:17) points out that sociologically both family forms are institutionalised in that the statuses of marriage and parenthood are linked to external expectations and pressures both legal and informal. Burgess and Locke are contrasting a unity sustained by external laws and mores with a unity dependent upon the affection and consensus of its members. In Parson's model these feelings are incorporated within a rigid division of labour which allocates the major affective role to the wife - mother and the major instrumental role to the husband - father.

These two themes¹ jostle in an uneasy relationship in much of the family literature. Thus, while some writers and theorists have pointed to a trend towards egalitarianism in both structure and belief patterns others, and indeed sometimes the same individuals, have noted the persistence of traditional familistic beliefs and practices amongst some at all levels of society, that is, irrespective of age, gender, education and social class. Examples of this phenomenon are detailed below.

Egalitarianism

Until the re-emergence of feminism and ensuing critiques, a widely held assumption that the family and conjugal roles were becoming increasingly egalitarian was (and still is) manifest in both theoretical formulations, noted by Morgan (1971:178), interpretations of research and in the opinion of lay experts.

While in 1945 Burgess and Locke (1950:27), for example, specifically write that the companionate form of family is not to be conceived as having already been realised but as emerging and that the two models should be viewed as two ideal types, Laws (1971:489) citing Burgess' paper of 1956 notes that he refers to companionship marriage as the emergent dominant form of marriage in the United States and throughout his paper refers to institutional marriage in the past tense. In introductory sociology texts, Maclver and Page (1950:269) in an outline the changes from the patriarchal family of the 18th century refer to the 'equal partnership' of the modern family; and Chinoy (1967:152-154) refers to the increasing equality in the family and substantial changes in the

¹ More recently, in an attempt to define equality, Jancar (1978:4) notes that Rossi (1964) and Heibrun (1973) have offered the concept of androgyny as the ideal value, where both men and women can freely choose their roles and behaviour. In this thesis I have used the concepts of traditionalism and egalitarianism in the broad sense of these two models outlined above.

familial division of labour.

Similarly, in a paper entitled 'The Institutionalisation of Egalitarian Family Norms' Dyer observed in 1958 that 'the indications are that shared norms are becoming established around patterns of equality with some significant exceptions' (Dyer 1962:247); and the group of studies stemming from the personal resource theory of marital power conceives an egalitarian structure (or not) as dependent upon the personal attributes and characteristics of the individual and define husbands and wives as potential equals. (See, for example, Blood and Wolfe (1960:37) and the critique of such studies by Gillespie (1971:448) on the grounds that such resources are structurally pre-determined and do not occur by chance.)

When turning to commentators on trends (Goode 1963:21) in drawing associations between specific patterns of values and economic and family structures, observes

'One principle in this family ideology (the ideology of the conjugal family) is egalitarianism and the spread of the conjugal family is accompanied by a trend towards egalitarianism between the sexes.'

A similar view is found in the texts of advice from marriage experts. A doctor writes in 1956, 'Today modern marriage is, we believe, much richer and fuller by being a partnership between equals' (Sandler 1956:68). In 1961 a marriage guidance counsellor, in a book on sex education for the young, refers to the modern ideal of marriage as a democratic sharing partnership (Ingleby 1961:133). More recently Young (1973), although subject to severe criticism and contrary evidence (see, for example, Frankenberg 1976; Whitehead 1976:201) and the Rapoport (1975(a)) have suggested the continuance and almost inevitability of this trend.

It is important to note, however, that a paradox lies within this corpus of writing, which gives recognition to a persistent traditionalism despite any apparent change. Certain writers for example draw attention to the difficulties and tensions which this trend, described as an improvement, brings in its train either for society in general or in the interpersonal relationships of husband and wife. For example, the study of six American marriage and family texts extensively used in colleges revealed an acknowledgement that there is no known evidence of innate predispositions towards particular sex-roles, and that the extension of equality within the family embodies both elements of social justice and brings benefits to the family in the form of improved companionship between the spouses as well as enabling women to increase their economic contribution to the home. Yet this was seen as posing a dilemma; as a threat to the institution of marriage and the stability of society. Sex-roles were perceived as following a stereotyped male-instrumental/female-expressive pattern and failure to conform, even a partial rejection of the housewife role in an attempt to combine those of career and housewife, as leading to marital disruption, destructive elements of competition between husband and wife and disturbed children (Ehrlich 1971:421-430; see also Michel 1960).

In the field of advice to the layman on 'Sex in Marriage' in 1959, in a special issue of Family Doctor entitled 'Getting Married',¹

¹ This issue of Family Doctor was the cause of great controversy. It contained two 'frank views on marriage and sex'; one by Dr. Eustace Chesser, a psychologist, entitled 'Is Chastity Outmoded?' and the other by Dr. Roger Pilkington, lecturer in genetics, 'Marrying with a Baby on the Way'. It led to the resignation from the British Medical Association of the editor, Dr. Winifred de Kok, and Dr. Chesser and the withdrawal of all unsold copies (50,000) of the 250,000 published (The Times 1959; The Glasgow Herald 1959). This liberal image requires qualification. Earlier Chesser in 1949, wrote Sexual Behaviour Normal and Abnormal, 'to provide an answer to the demands of the more extreme feminists ... (for) the rejection of the maternal role (the logical

the doctor referred to above writes,

'The new equality of the sexes has led to serious strains in the stability of family life ... the idea that marriage is a partnership of equals has produced its own special difficulties ... Today, modern marriage is, we believe, much richer and fuller by being a partnership of equals. But since it contains a thinking wife who is no longer trained to submission, with a fully developed personality of her own, any factor causing her frustration must have a disruptive effect.'

(Sandler 1959:68-69)

Thus it is assumed that an equality is already established - an assumption to which other articles in the issue give lie. These present a composite image (cast in the form of humour) of petty though serious dictatorship and the irksome strategies employed by the now dependent wife in a contract which logic would suggest should be rejected. One article is entitled 'Are we Women Mad?' (Dalmore 1959:160). Another, written by a man, 'All Give and No Take: Marriage is a partnership of equals ... or is it?' (Keene 1959:116-117) retails the grasping, self-centred nature of women as the married man's burden.

Other formulations accommodate the traditional position within the framework of companionate marriage as has already been noted of Parsons, or like Harris (1977:161) merely make an assumption regarding role division on the basis of socio-biological assumptions.

Others make reservations about their own optimistic comments on a perceived trend. Thus Goode (1963:56) adds to the comment noted above the telling point concerning the logic of an extension of equality to women but follows this with a review of research evidence which suggests

Footnote from previous page.

conclusion of such demands) is not included in the familiar lists of perversions which appear in the text books - yet it is the greatest perversion of all! (Chesser n.d.:ix italics in the original).

In 1944 Chesser was vice-president of the Married Women's Association, an organisation devoted to struggle for equal rights for married women and one in which such feminists as Edith Summerskill and Juanita Francis were central figures. The complex character of a liberal stance is also evident in other liberal figures of the period (see chapter 3).

the limited extension of such rights and attitudes within marriage, and summarised in the observation,

'Perhaps both the paradoxes and aspirations inherent in this question (of the social position of women within the family) were captured in the statement of a Yugoslav analyst about the modern family in his country:

"... the creation of the socialist family (is) founded on individual and reciprocal sexual love and on the true equality of the spouses. It is necessary to confess, however, that in Yugoslavia this type of family is found rather rarely at the present time (1957), especially with respect to the latter characteristics." '

(Stanojčić 1957:222 cited Goode 1963:66, italics in original)

While Goode acknowledges the complexity and confusion of the situation others (and more recently) find it possible to hold two opposing positions simultaneously. Thus, Young's much criticised view of the trend towards an egalitarian symmetry, by which he means 'there should be no monopoly for either sex in any sphere' (1973:275), stands in stark contrast to his earlier analysis of the inegalitarian distribution of income in the working class family (1952) and, 30 years later, to his recent small survey with Syson entitled 'Women, the New Poor' in which the same phenomenon is revealed. They found that,

'nearly half of the fifty women interviewed (all of whom were in the early stages of the family cycle) had received no extra wages from their husbands though almost all of the husbands were earning more ... the standards of living of these wives and children were bound to drop. They could not take action against their husbands as their husbands could against the Government'

(Young and Syson 1974, cited Bell and Newby 1976: 166-167)

The following observations, made in the same year serve to summarise the duality of position which may be held.

'Increasingly men acknowledge a domestic role - ranging from being a helper to a full time participant.'

(Rapoport and Rapoport 1975(a):190).

'As Soviet and Western studies have shown, the asymmetry of role expectations in the domestic sphere is extremely tenacious.

(Rapoport and Rapoport 1975(b):423).

These paradoxes raise interesting questions. While it may be permissible or acknowledged that a politician may hold contradictory positions¹ the canons of academic research would render this odd. Furthermore, the research referred to above indicates both conceptual omissions by sociologists and a widespread assumption of equality in lay and academic circles. The question this raises is how despite the evidence examined in the next section such views could be held. It directs attention to a search for structural and cultural factors which facilitate a belief in the trend to egalitarianism in the face of the tenacity and pervasiveness of traditional familism throughout the social structure.

Traditionalism

At the minimum an egalitarian model of the family premises an equal or fair allocation of the family's resources to the benefit of all its members, an equal allocation of power between husband and wife, and an equal allocation of the economic and domestic responsibilities of marriage on criteria other than gender. The research literature and government statistics provide little evidence of such a model.

The following does not comprise a comprehensive account but rather points to evidence of the continuing tenacity and pervasiveness of a traditional familism throughout the social structure some of which evidence was and is available to those supporting the egalitarian thesis. For, despite in some cases an adherence to an egalitarian philosophy,

¹ For example, when in opposition the present (1980) Conservative government described itself as the party of the Family, yet in power the family, across a wide range of policies has suffered: in the failure to protect child benefits from inflation; in the new flat rate sick pay scheme which includes no additional payments for children; in the cuts to the benefits which children receive under the short term national insurance scheme; in the cuts to the school meals programme and the proposed cuts - stopped by the House of Lords - to the subsidies for school transport (Dean 1980:18).

elements of the traditional and conservative view of the family are held and practiced by some irrespective of age, education, social class and gender.

The evidence spans a period of approximately the last fifty years. It is not confined to Britain or Western capitalist societies which largely share a cultural tradition, but also includes Communist societies, for which evidence is accumulating and in which egalitarianism was an early goal (Jancar 1978:2).

Traditionalism in Practice

The evidence presented here falls into two parts: practices and beliefs. First, the examination of practices, although these tend to overlap, refers to those associated with power and those which refer to the sexual division of labour within the family.

Economic Power

The early campaigners for family endowments cogently drew attention to the effect of male power in the absolute control a husband had over his earnings and the ensuing lower standard of living than that of their menfolk which was 'in a large minority of cases, endured by wives and children' (Rathbone 1940:104). Rathbone's reference to 'workers of hand and brain' suggests that this phenomenon was recognised as not confined to one social class.

The evidence of the interwar surveys and later reports (Caradog-Jones 1934; Tout 1938; Rowntree 1941; Ministry of Labour 1937; Soutar et.al. 1942; Madge 1943; Hajnal and Henderson 1950) upon which Young (1952) drew in his analysis of the distribution of income within working class families, the study of the working class wives of the 1930's (Spring-Rice 1939), and that of soldiers and their wives during the Second World

War (Slater and Woodside 1951) also attest this power. This is not to say that all husbands were selfish, many handed over their unopened wage packet to their wives (Young 1952:309), nor that a man's right to such a practice was necessarily queried by women for it was often traditionally accepted. Yet notwithstanding the need dictating that the breadwinner should have priority for the sake of the family, generosity and justice lay within the gift of the husband. This type of analysis has recently been challenged as not taking into account regular additional financial commitments to the family budget by the husband, such as saving for repairs to the home (Grey 1979:208). Such commitments however do not necessarily alter the economic power relationship of husband and wife.

For the post-war period, by drawing upon official statistics of consumption patterns, Young was able to conclude that up to 1952 the pattern still obtained. His more recent evidence with Syson (1974) referred to earlier, suggests the contemporary continuance of the pattern as do anecdotal journalistic material and comment for example, that wage increases are not passed on to wives, and the underlying societal assumptions of responsibility coupled with the potential for irresponsibility in its exercise.

'The assumption behind any wages paid to a man is clear. Either he is, or will shortly become, responsible for the housing, feeding, clothing and general welfare of a woman and their mutual offspring. If he loses his job, his dole and any other social security benefits will reflect the same assumptions. With all worldly goods I thee endow, he says at the altar and we take it as God's truth. But it is a lie. If he doesn't feel like it, he needn't endow his wife or children with a sausage.'

(Tweedie 1978)

In less colourful language, Land (1976:120) provides details of such assumptions regarding the allocation of marital power lying behind much legislation, in for example, social insurance, maintenance orders and

their (lack of) enforcement. Thus she notes that the legal access of a wife to a proportion of a husband's earnings has never entered the mainstream of political debate except in the contingency of the break up of the marriage. This theme however emerged in the arena of public discussion during the Second World War, and is referred to more fully below; and it has lingered on in, for example, the demands of the 'wages for housewives' groups since.

Yet the importance of the economic variable to the conjugal relationship has been shown in studies of the relationship of a wife paid employment to her power within marriage, whether it actually increases her power (Blood and Hamblin 1958) or merely reduces male dominance, as Laws (1971:491) suggests, since when a woman relinquishes her job, with the advent of the child rearing stage of the family cycle, the marital adjustment literature shows that an earlier symmetry in the relationship may be supplanted by a more traditional husband dominated one, expressed by a withdrawal of the husband from domestic responsibilities (Laws 1971:492).

Decision Making

Gillespie's (1972:147) critical review of decision making studies also indicated the non-comparable nature of decision making areas for husband and wife. Major decisions, for example, on the husband's job and location of house are made by the husband - decisions not comparable with the choice of colour of the wallpaper. Furthermore, she notes that Blood and Wolfe (1960) found that the higher the husband's status (based on occupation, income and ethnic background) the more power he had to make decisions (Gillespie 1972:451).

Physical Dominance

Gordon and Shankweiler (1971) in an analysis of popular sex manuals, have pointed to the continuing assumption that the male is the dominant partner in sexual activity, although this is presented in the language of egalitarianism. British law admits of no rape within marriage, and violence or physical coercion are the ultimate sanctions of marital power (Bell and Newby 1976:164). Contemporary newspapers are witness to the high proportion of physical assaults occurring within the family (25 per cent of reported instances) and such accounts, as well as an accumulating body of evidence on violence within the family, reveal the predominant direction of the exercise of this power: the physically strong subject the weaker - husbands the wives, and parents the children.¹

Bell and Newby (1976:165) argue that power which is moral, economic, physical, sexual and traditionally legitimate infuses the deferential relationship of husband and wife which in turn serves to sustain this power; but when threatened, for example, by an increasing feminist consciousness of the wife, or her undertaking paid employment, the latent physical dominance underlying the relationship may be released. Frankenberg (1976:38,40) has argued the more problematic and retaliatory element within this power structure, that is, that wives fight back by for example withdrawal of domestic services, or establishing an independence on 'bingo' nights, or even physical retaliation. Nonetheless, there are strong social pressures, as well as fear, to control such behaviour, especially the non-solidary nature of women as a group and the support a woman's mother may give to the marriage bond and a daughter's eventual accommodation to the deference expected (Whitehead 1976:197;

¹ A woman said she dare not protect her child from attack by her common law husband for fear of him striking her (Guardian 1980, 5 Sept.).

Komarovsky 1962:39) and which I discuss below.

Division of Labour

Within the family performance of or primary responsibility for economic and domestic tasks continue to be allocated according to gender. The community studies already referred to have attested this over the years. More recently, an East German member of an Ecumenical delegation to the North-East of England, invited by the World Council of Churches, commented critically upon the current situation (and as comprising a danger for the contemporary Church). Based admittedly upon conversations, entitled 'Women in Society' the article opens,

"Things are changing now" is the most common reply to this topic. Nevertheless (or because of this) one still finds a great uncertainty and helplessness especially among the women themselves to articulate their feelings and to describe their situation ... The old and inherited patterns of the family and the role of women in the families and in the society are still alive.

Men are usually considered as the breadwinners and they are expected to provide the home. The mother is the "key-stone" of the family and more or less responsible for the children's education including the Christian education as far as this is accepted at all.

This pattern (the "pattern of Mary" it was called by one person) is a part of the Church's tradition and it is taken over and established as a norm by the society.

Women are just expected to be the helpers of men.'

(Moser 1979:25)

More systematic research upon the issue supports this view of the division of labour between husband and wife, as does data on the employment of women.

Komarovsky (1962:231) in her study of Blue Collar Marriage conducted in 1958 and 1959, found that while wives may be engaged in employment outside the home in no case was a wife economically independent of her husband. An interesting tension is revealed in this data, however, which

Komarovsky (1962:68) refers to as the 'ethical inconsistencies' arising when some elements of interlocking roles undergo change while others persist, 'thus while the wife's role of secondary provider is accepted, she cannot fully savour its rewards'. While the rewards of work are many: the enjoyment of social life on the job, satisfaction in workmanship, the bracing effect of having to get dressed up in the morning, some relief from constant association with young children and the benefit of interesting conversation with a husband, the wives worked from an economic motive. Yet the wife's pride in earning could not be given expression because either she or other women were conscious of how her essential economic contribution to the home 'hurts a man's feelings'. Because male esteem, status and identity are crucially linked to the provider role, the recognition usually associated with income cannot be given to the secondary provider. Of interest to this thesis is how such inconsistencies are sustained.

Findings on the distribution of the domestic work load and responsibility for child care also indicate the variable and secondary nature of the part played by husbands in these spheres even extending to situations where the husband and wife are in comparable employment.

Thus despite an apparently increasing involvement of men in domestic tasks there is evidence that this might be irregular, conditional and selective. This was true of Komarovsky's subjects (1962:50). In 1945 the report of a Swedish Commission found that while men participated in household duties to a greater extent when their wives worked, they did not on the whole assume an added share of responsibility for childcare (Dhalstrom 1967:33). In a 1944 Danish sample 52% of the respondents did not even occasionally help their wives with domestic work other than 'washing pots' (Eliot et al:206 cited Goode 1963:69) and in 1960 less

than one third of husbands helped with housework regularly. The situation might be changing in that a higher proportion of domestic participation is reported for the young and city dwellers (Goode 1963:69). However, the data of Myrdal and Klein (1956) indicated the heavy domestic burden carried by women who also work outside the home and more recent data for Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union (Jancair 1978:41-42) and Sweden, usually held as the Western egalitarian model, present a similar picture. Communist sociologists consider the time spent on housework by working women to be so substantial that experts have named the work done at home 'the second shift'. An American study of 42 professional couples revealed only one couple which could be regarded as truly egalitarian and undertook to share equal responsibility for both economic and domestic tasks. In other cases the wife's economic role, although comparable in terms of status and pay, was conceived as secondary (and by the women themselves) to that of housewife and mother and to the husband's economic role (Paloma and Garland 1971:534). The British study of dual career families also demonstrates a similar underlying allocation of responsibility (Rapoport and Rapoport 1971).

That there is task sharing is in no doubt; in other words, marital patterns have changed. Rossi, however, has suggested an association between the presence of a more egalitarian partnership and stage in the family cycle; that is an egalitarianism in the early childless stages of marriage when both partners are working, but with the advent of children, coupled with the different career opportunities for men and women, a settling into a traditional pattern (Laws 1971:500). Laws (1971:492) also notes a withdrawal of domestic help by husbands when, it could, be argued it is most needed in that the studies of Campbell (1967), Heer (1958) and Blood and Wolfe (1960) indicate that husbands take less responsibility

for household work with the birth of the first child although after the birth of the fourth the husband resumes some tasks.

Traditionalism in Beliefs

Practice and belief do not appear to have a direct relationship. Goode (1963:21) for example, following a summary of available evidence, has commented upon the discrepancies.

'Since at present (the) philosophy of egalitarianism is most strongly held among the better educated segments of the population, and among women more than men, two interesting tensions may be seen: lower class men concede fewer rights ideologically than their women in fact obtain, and the more educated men are more likely to concede more rights than they in fact grant.'

Gillespie (1971:457) after assessing the basis of power within marriage and attributing it to the institutionalised class nature of gender in the wider society rather than personal resources of the spouse conceived as individual attributes in one type of sociological model, argues that egalitarianism has little impact upon the distribution of power. Although under some conditions women can gain power vis a vis their husbands (that is if they are working women and with more education than their husbands) this is not equal power.

Goode's comment suggests the constraining factors of everyday life upon the enactment of beliefs. Yet Dahlström's (1967) admittedly small study shows that even parents who profess an egalitarian philosophy of child care unconsciously differentiated between male and female infants to the extent of weaning females earlier than males. Yet anthropologists have, in detailed analyses, demonstrated intricate connections between a system of belief and the dominant concerns of the people who use it for thinking with (Douglas 1975:207).

The problem which presented itself at this stage of the research, however, was more straightforward: the presence, despite the assumptions

of an egalitarian trend (if not complete equality), of a tenacious traditional familism and its pervasiveness throughout the social structure. Here I refer briefly to the evidence for this statement as measured against Dahlstrom's (1967:175) definition of a conservative sex role ideology as 'a preoccupation with the woman-housewife role and a conviction that such a role is a life-long pursuit'.

Education

While there is evidence of an association of liberalism with length of education (Feldman and Newcomb 1969; Bayer 1975) the evidence of Michel on the traditional attitudes of marital experts, referred to by Goode (1963:58) as an intellectually emancipated group, supposedly in the vanguard of opinion, and the critiques of relatively recent sociological texts, both of which have been referred to above, are indicative of a conservatism held by at least some members of elite educated groups. In a study conducted in Belgium by de Fisser in 1956 amongst relatively well educated Belgian-French speaking adult men, while 32 per cent considered it acceptable for a woman with school age children to work away from home only 12 per cent said a husband should not have more authority over his wife than she over him (Goode 1963:58).

In more recent evidence, and importantly in an American study which used a national sample, Bayer (1975:39) found that, despite the recent growth of liberalism (measured on political, economic and social issues), with regard to the status of women in American society many college students, both men and women, could still be characterised as sexist in their attitudes and opinions. In 1970 57 per cent of male freshmen and 37 per cent of female freshmen strongly endorsed the view 'that the activities of married women are best confined to the home and family'.

The comparable 1973 cohort of freshmen, while showing a reduction in this attitude, still contained a significant proportion holding such a view. The figures were 41 per cent of the males and 19 per cent of the females.

Social Class

Given the relationship between occupational status and length of education and their association with social class, these findings are of direct relevance. Goode, it has been noted, drew attention to the greater profession of egalitarian beliefs among the middle class. Bayer's data supports this inverse association between socio-economic class and conservatism. He found that students holding a conservative view were more likely to come from poorer rural or small town backgrounds. (A finding which relates to Whitehead's (1976) study of sexual antagonism in a rural community.)

Important to a consideration of the dispersion of knowledge, such students were likely to have lower educational and occupational aspirations (Bayer 1975:395). They planned to enter the lower reaches of professional occupations - business, the non-medical health professions and education - all of which, but especially education, would bring them into contact with the young for whom they might serve as role models (Bayer 1975:397).

Age

In addition to lower education and socio-economic class, it is often assumed that increase in age is associated with the holding of more conservative attitudes. Kirkpatrick (1936) found, however, that when education was held constant there were no significant differences in familial attitudes between young and old. The more recent enquiry by Marplan (1977) showed that traditional attitudes were held by some young

people. Paloma and Garland (1971:539) also found that the toleration of domestication (that is the acceptance of the primacy of the domestic role) amongst professional wives showed no differentiation according to age.

Gender

While women have been shown to hold more liberal familistic views than men several studies confirm the widely held view that traditional roles within the family are endorsed and enforced by women as well as men. Goode (1963:63) collates findings which indicate a belief in home orientated role for women, by both men and women. Bayer's (1975) study shows, for young Americans, that although not as extensively held as men, a substantial proportion of educated women adhere to this view. Evidence from the 1977 Marplan survey of young people suggests that in Britain, while the conservative view is less endorsed by females than males, nonetheless a significant proportion of females hold this view. Thus it is noted that although girls take a slightly more progressive view of their future role even so two-thirds thought that

'at times of high unemployment it should be the woman who loses her job first as it's more important for the man to work'.

Of adult women, Player (1979:2) in a survey of 2,385 mothers with children between the ages of 0 and 12 years, found that just over 20 per cent of them had no intention of returning to work (compared to 15 per cent in the General Household Survey). 'The survey', she comments, 'indicated that there is a sizeable minority of women who have no intention of returning to work and still feel that their place is in the home (38.9 per cent)' (Player 1979:11-12). Furthermore, this was not entirely related to the immediate demands of childcare, suggesting that attitudes did not necessarily change as children became less demanding. Of the women

whose youngest child was 12 years of age or older, while 58 per cent of these mothers were already working as opposed to 18 per cent of those with children of two or under, 25 per cent of the former group nonetheless had no plans to return to work. While this was not strictly a random sample when compared with the General Household Survey (1973) it was considered generalisable to mothers in Britain.

Finally, to indicate that the relationship between age, social class and gender holds complexities which this data does not reveal, it is worth noting first Law's (1971:503) citation of an older survey by Glenn (1959), that while attitudes towards working wives by the white women of a small Georgian community showed that conservatism was inversely related to social class and education, major endorsements were for purposes largely related to the provision of necessities for living or family maintenance. (See also Goode 1963 for European Studies of the 1950s). As noted earlier, Whitehead (1976) also provides evidence of conservative norms being enforced by women as well as men in rural Hertfordshire, and Battlesister's (1971:415) observation based upon Komarovsky's work, also referred to earlier, on the relationship of the older generation in such enforcement in working class families, suggests an awareness of the inequalities in the situation, and at least an initial rejection, by those who finally may come to endorse a conservatism themselves.

'The older woman may strengthen the wife's hand when it comes to major demands, but, quite as frequently, their influence is to lower her expectation and to counsel resignation. A young wife is speaking "My mother would listen to my gripes and calm me down, she'd hand me the line about a woman's place, and after a while I got to seeing that maybe she was right."

(Komarovsky 1963:39)

Other studies do indicate an asymmetry of marital role expectations on the part of males and females, girls and women having more egalitarian

views than boys and men (Laws 1971:507-508). This suggests the problem of tension management ensuant upon marriage which Bell and Newby (1976) have attempted to place theoretically within a framework of a deferential dialectic of interaction. Here the fact that the male perspective usually obtains (Laws 1971:508) arises from a 'traditionally legitimated hierarchial relationship' and the ability of the husband to manage its inherent tensions (Bell and Newby 1976:155;157). The analysis below is of the cultural and structural resources which facilitate this ability.

While the evidence on the cultural and institutional sources of a traditional familistic ideology referred to the content of messages purveyed both at the level of behaviour and in attempts to shape particular patterns of behaviour, the studies cited above, which have examined familism in both belief and practices at the level of specific categories of individual, indicate a conservatism dispersed throughout the social structure and held by some, if not all, in those various locations. Taken together, they suggest an extensive and tenacious conservatism which paradoxically, can be held in parallel with the belief of an increasingly egalitarian family structure. This is not to be confused with the suggestion that the family has become more humanitarian nor to deny that it has undergone change (see for example Aries 1973, Shorter 1979, Anderson 1979).

The problem raised by this data, however, was not only the complex of contradiction in beliefs and practices - between belief and practice, between competing beliefs, and between belief and evidence to the contrary - but also the tenacity of traditionalism in the face of the objective conditions for change in this century. I now turn to an examination of these conditions.

OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS FOR CHANGE

Such tenacity of traditional beliefs and practices is notable when considered in conjunction with the countervailing influences of this century which would seem to provide the objective conditions for change in family structure and belief patterns.

The focus of this section is on the impact of such changes upon family structure. The intention, however, is not to provide a historical background of the comparatively recent social and political changes which have implications for family life. Such would include, for example, the extension of women's legal and political rights, embodied in various Acts of Parliament, which formally increase women's parity with men in control over real and personal property (Married Women's Property Act (1882), New English Law of Property Act (1926)), in uniform enfranchisement for men and women (Representation of the People (Equal Franchise Act) (1928)), in the equalising of grounds for divorce (Matrimonial Causes Act (1923)) and applications for guardianship of children (Guardianship of Infants Act (1925)), and in the entry into and position of women in public life and the labour market (Sex Disqualification (Removal) Act (1919)). Additionally a clause in the Education Act (1944) removed the marriage bar for women teachers as did the Civil Service in 1945. The most recent legislation of this kind has been the Equal Pay Act (1970) and the Sex Discrimination Act (1975).

Also included would be assessments of the economic protection of the family afforded by legislation relating to the security and conditions of the worker, particularly the working man, in for example, the Factory and Workshop Act (1901), the Unemployed Workman Act (1905) and the Labour Exchange Act (1909), and the National Insurance Act (1911). Wilson's (1977:103-106) survey of this early period graphically demonstrates how

family security was conceived as a male problem, as indeed it is today.

A concern with the technical and physical inadequacy of military and industrial manpower leading to intervention by the State into areas of life traditionally held to be the responsibility of the family is also important and would include the concern with curriculum and also physical welfare embodied in the various education acts and reports; for example, the Education Act (1902), the Education (Feeding of School Children) Act 1906, the Education (Provision of Meals) Act (1914), and legislation to promote the health and welfare of mothers, for example the Midwives Act (1902), the Maternity and Child Welfare Act (1918), and the Children's Acts of 1908 , 1918 and 1926 which attempted to protect children from parental neglect.

Also of significance would be an examination of the apparent shifts in sexual attitudes which appeared in the 1960's and documents such as the Wolfenden Report 1957 and the Morton Commission on Divorce 1951.

The import for the family structure of certain of these formal changes has been the subject of analysis. Davin, for example, has examined the familial components of school curricula of the last century (1979) and State intervention in maternity (1978). Social insurance provision has been examined by Land (1976) and forms part of the analysis of this thesis.

The aim here, however, is to extract from the configuration key aspects which lend support to the proposition that objective conditions existed which were conducive to fundamental change in, and a reassessment of, the conjugal role structure, specifically in the allocation of domestic and economic responsibilities.

This strategy might be questioned by the historian as allowing for the oversight of significant features of the period as the search of the

historical material is not exhaustive (if this is ever possible). It may be countered on two points. First, the changes selected are major and impinged widely upon the population; secondly their selection has been made according to the criterion of sociological relevance, in this case their direct impact upon family structures in the sense that aspects of familial behaviour altered.

Four aspects were considered of major significance: demographic change, the growth in the employment of married women, the mass unemployment of the interwar years, and war, specifically the Second World War.

Family Size

The import for the structure of family relationships in the reduction of the number of children born to a family lies in two directions: first, in the release of time and energy and the increase in health and longevity of women; secondly, the control of fertility itself perhaps says something of the climate of family relationships.

The rapid decline in family size since 1900 was noted in the Report of the Royal Commission on Population (1949:25). Although historically the trend was not uniform throughout the population for marriages contracted between 1925-1929, the absolute difference in the average size of completed families of non-manual and manual workers had narrowed by one-third to .76 from the 1.15 for marriages contracted between 1900-1909.

The trend towards smaller families started amongst the upper and middle classes in the 1860's and the 1870's. Banks (1954:168) associates this change in familial behaviour with the major economic variables of aspiration towards a standard of living and the sustaining of a raised standard of living in the face of economic depression following a period when standards had risen.

Gittins (1976: 1979:94) has suggested that class differences lay

not so much in the lack of contraceptive knowledge as in the contraceptive techniques employed and differing ideals of family size. Hewitt (1958, cited Wilson 1977 :101) has also noted the early practice of contraception amongst some sections of the working class and Banks (1954:5) isolates textile workers as amongst the groups in which fertility showed an early decline (although later than that of the upper and upper-middle classes). The important drop in family size amongst the working class however took place in the 1920's and '30's, again associated with the constraints of economic depression (Gittins 1976).

Titmuss (1963) in his essay on 'The Position of Women' cogently drew attention to the significance of this major demographic change for women themselves and for the social structure. The following statistics, taken from this essay, give some indication of the size and implications of the phenomenon. Thus, for all classes the proportion of all couples having seven or more children during the second half of the nineteenth century was 43 per cent. For marriages contracted in 1925 this proportion had fallen to two per cent (Titmuss 1963:90). From a mid-Victorian family size of six or more the average size of completed working class families of marriages contracted in the period 1925-1929 had fallen to just under two and a half (Titmuss 1963:89).

¹ Gittins (1979:87) argues against Banks' filter theory and hierarchial theory, of the diffusion of contraceptive knowledge from middle class to working class. She contends that contraceptive practice originated independently within the working class itself; that the chief source of knowledge was not the middle class mistress who imparted it to domestic servants; that the medical profession was especially reticent in providing information even when counselling no more pregnancies (see also Spring-Rice 1939:44) although certain welfare organisations and voluntary bodies sought to provide information for the overburdened mother. According to her data (which is oral evidence) the chief sources of information were the female co-workers in offices, shops and factories before marriage and neighbours after marriage.

By drawing associations between these statistics and those of the health and mortality of women, Titmuss indicates the effect upon women's lives. First, the number of years devoted to child bearing and child care is vastly reduced and compressed into a shorter time span; maternal concerns no longer consuming a woman's life either in actual maternal tasks or in its effect upon her health during and after the completion of those tasks,

'The typical working class mother of the 1890's, married in her teens or early twenties and experiencing ten pregnancies, spent about fifteen years in a state of pregnancy and in nursing a child for the first year of its life. She was tied, for this period, to the wheel of child bearing. Today (1956), for the typical mother, the time so spent would be about four years.'

(Titmuss 1963:91)

Contrasting the vitality of women, he observes, that whereas at the turn of the century maternal care was not completed until the mid-fifties and the mother possibly had another twelve years to live, in 1956 most mothers have already concluded their maternal role, despite the expansion of its psychological and social responsibilities, by the age of 40 and can expect to live another 36 years. Many mothers are not worn out by their forties (Titmuss 1963:92).

Since 1931 the gains in the mortality of women, particularly in the age range of 45-80 years, are particularly significant. Drawing upon the life tables in the Registrar General's Decennial Supplement for 1951 Titmuss summarises the position.

'At age sixty the 1951 (mortality) rate (for men), is almost the same as that of twenty years earlier. At that age, the woman's rate of mortality in 1950-52 was about 45 per cent less than that forty years before while the men's rate was only 22 per cent less. These conclusions are even more pronounced for married women (and to a somewhat lesser extent for widows) for all ages up to seventy in contrast with the experience of single women. Not only do married women show much lower rates, but the gains they

have made since 1930-32 are more substantial (although) working class women still show substantially higher rates of mortality than the national average for all women.¹

(Titmuss 1963:95)

Not only has the decline in the extent of child bearing had a direct effect on women's health but Titmuss also makes the telling comment of its effect on the standard of living of the mother.

'The decline in the size of the family has meant, in terms of family economics, a rise in the standard of living of women which has probably been more important by itself, than any change since 1900 in real earnings by manual workers. Nor would it be hard to argue that this factor was far more influential up to the Second World War than any additional services and improvements in medical care.'

(Titmuss 1963:96-97)

I now want to point to some of the implications which this has for structure of conjugal relationships especially in regard to the working class.

Titmuss (1963:90) refers to the decline in the size of the working class family as constituting a 'revolutionary change in working class attitudes to childbearing'. However, in the literature which has drawn upon attitudes to sexuality, both biographical works such as the writings of working women at the turn of the century (Women's Co-operative Guild 1916) and social surveys which enquired into such aspects of family behaviour such as Slater and Woodside's (1951) enquiry of the mid 1940's, which took account of two generations, suggest that the change in attitude to fertility is predominantly that of men. Women's fear of conception echoes through the pages of the personal accounts and responses (Slater and Woodside 1951: 196-198, 211). A good husband is defined as 'one who

¹ This higher mortality rate still obtains thirty years later. The lower the income, occupational and educational levels of the population the higher its mortality rate both from infectious and chronic diseases. The class differentials have increased since the Second World War according to Dr. Harvey Brenner, an American medical sociologist in evidence to the House of Lords Select Committee on Unemployment (Ballantyne 1980).

doesn't bother me much' (Slater and Woodside 1951:168) that is, does not insist upon his sexual rights.

However, although not strictly comparable, indications of change can be discerned in two surveys. The first, Working Class Wives (Spring-Rice 1939), conducted in 1934 for the Women's Health Enquiry Committee was a survey of 1,250 married women the majority of whom did not work outside the home. The women were drawn from the panels of various health organisations, those in bad health were not selected and there was a disappointing response from a control group of women in better social and economic positions and the unmarried of all classes. The report chronicles the chronic ill health, monotony and drudgery of the lives of these women; their lack of leisure, of managing on low incomes and long suffering acceptance of hardship.

A point is also made, however, of the lack of awareness displayed by husbands of the harshness of their wives' lives. 'One of the biggest difficulties mothers have is our husbands do not realise we ever need any leisure time' (Spring-Rice 1939:94). The housewife's day remains invisible to the husband and is accepted with resignation by their wives. Thus while some are solicitous, for example, in giving help in heavy tasks or caring for the children for one evening, generally men do not realise the wife's hardship and cannot visualise her day. If he is unemployed, he usually helps in the house and notices her harrassing conditions of life but usually attributes this to his unemployment (Spring-Rice 1939:104). Of this male attitude it is also observed that the private and often very solitary work, which is unpaid and unorganised, 'is inevitably taken for granted not only by the wives but also by the other half of the public, who themselves have thrived upon it'; and of the politically active men, where,

'the better economic conditions which are the basis of most of the demands would benefit their wives and families most of all, there is none the less a primitive acceptance by the men, as well as the women themselves, of the general conditions of the housewife's life'

(Spring-Rice 1939:18).

In Slater and Woodside's survey (1951) conducted twelve years later a difference if not a change is discernable, although it should be emphasised that the married couples interviewed (soldiers and their wives) were not drawn from the lower sections of the population although they were predominantly working class and lower middle class.

The earlier survey noted the widespread ignorance of contraception amongst these wives; although, as Gittins (1979:94) has observed in her study of fertility, care must be taken in defining the term, since those of her respondents who were married during this period and earlier did not classify coitus interruptus as a contraceptive technique although many practiced it. Spring-Rice is therefore probably referring to ignorance of the more reliable mechanical techniques of birth control practiced by the middle class. On the other hand, Slater and Woodside (1951:212) found widespread knowledge and use of birth control, albeit a lack of rigour in application in many cases, amongst couples in the 1940's, although the sheeth and coitus interruptus were widely used.

As significant in this group however is the change in attitude witnessed in expectations of a higher standard of living for themselves and for their children. Slater and Woodside found however that women largely relied upon their husbands for birth control and that husbands argued the economic case for family limitation more strongly than did their wives who felt 'they would manage somehow'. It was men rather than women who showed reluctance to have children. Furthermore, some men (Slater and Woodside 1951:183) showed a solicitude for their wives and

did not wish to see them worn out by child bearing and household drudgery as their own mothers had been (Slater and Woodside 1951:187). Both men and women showed a strong reaction to the poverty they had endured as children in the early years of the century and, in a more child centred family, saw family limitation as a means of enhancing the happiness and opportunities of their children (Slater and Woodside (1951:185).

Family relationships, as measured by such factors as drunkenness and violence, seemed less harsh than those of their parents' generation. (Slater and Woodside 1951:41-42); and, whether cause or effect, the decline in family size appears to be associated, from this admittedly meagre evidence, with a change in interpersonal relationships between husband and wife. As will be seen, however, in the more detailed discussion of this material in conjunction with the analysis of the forces' education programme, this does not necessarily indicate a change in role relationships. Thus although Titmuss (1963:91) observed, a woman's power to control her fertility 'can hardly have been exercised without the consent - if not approval - of her husband', amongst the working class in the first half of the century at least, this evidence suggests that it was apparently male control of fertility which was the important factor.¹

¹ In challenging a widely held assumption of a relationship between the decline in family size and the development of women's rights Banks and Banks (1964:85;130) have observed that the evidence suggests that family planning amongst the Victorian middle class was a male initiative and the traditional conjugal role relationship remained undisturbed. Both in the 1870's and in the 1930's the phenomenon is related to the standard of living. There is however a difference in that amongst the middle class in the earlier period the wife had, as part of an expected affluent life style, already been released from domestic drudgery - translated from the perfect wife to the perfect lady (Banks and Banks 1964:69) - whereas amongst the working class respondents of the twentieth century survey there was, at least by some men, a direct concern with the quality of life for the individual woman. This is not to deny the symbolic overtones for male status but this was probably more evident in the attitudes displayed towards women employed outside the home.

More objectively, the potential challenge to traditional role relationships rested in the effect of the reduction and compression of the child bearing years which presented a challenge to the cultural norm which locates female identity in home and family, and additionally raised social, shading into medical, problems amongst women so confined. These find a place in the stereotypes of bridge playing middle class housewives and neurotic, hypochondriac, self-centred women, and the lady of leisure.

Secondly, it allows a more direct challenge to the definitions of stereotyped conjugal roles in that more women are free to enter the labour market and however defined, are adopting an economic familial role. This may be explained away by theorists such as Parsons (1956:14) who suggests that the particular and secondary nature of women's jobs can never present a challenge to the traditional family structure; and Zelditch (1956:336) who defines a woman who is the sole supporter of a family as not performing an instrumental role in the sense that a man would be, but performing an integrative one in that her dominant aim is to keep the family together.

Women in the Labour Force

Since the Second World War women's paid employment, especially that of married women, has increasingly come to constitute a crucial structural element of the macro-economy of British society (Bruegel 1979: 12; Barron and Norris 1976:52; Counter Information Services 1976:17) and the micro-economy of the family (Land 1976:119; Counter Information Services 1976:30; Hamill 1979). Such facts and the change in practice which they imply hold the potential for a reassessment of conjugal role patterns.

The facts referred to here focus upon the economic elements of a wife's familial role as indicated by her paid employment.¹ They fall into

¹What is not considered is the economic element contained within a woman's domestic labour in the production and reproduction of manpower (see for example, Seconbe 1974; Frankenburg 1976).

two categories: first, the statistics regarding the increased entry of married women into the labour force and the consequent visibility of a wife's economic behaviour; secondly, evidence on the contribution of a wife's earnings to family income.

Activity Rates

The economic activity of women in this century has fluctuated, the two world wars providing discrete periods of mass entry of women into the labour force but with distinct differences in their aftermath.

Prior to the First World War the proportion of women in the workforce was falling, largely due to the decline in domestic and agricultural work for women and protective legislation which circumscribed female employment (Counter Information Services 1976:8). The pre-war figure of 5.5 million rose to 7.5 million during the war (Calder 1968:331) with the recruitment of women into industry as skilled men were increasingly drawn into military service. With peace, in 1918, came the withdrawal of women from jobs they had taken over from the men as the agreements made between the trade unions and employers regarding dilutees - unskilled workers who in the contingency of war had taken over male skilled jobs - became operant. Male workers were given priority over female. Unemployment amongst women rose.

¹In March 1919 Reynolds Newspaper reported one labour exchange with 2,000 women on its register and only 35 jobs to offer them. There were 530,000 women drawing unemployment donation,¹ far more than men, including demobilised soldiers. By November, the number was down to 60,000. (Counter Information Service 1976:12).

Many women returned to the family, but many others were dependent upon their own income maintenance as war widows or spinsters for whom marriage (with its presumed economic dependency) was remote or extinguished due to

¹ The original terminology for the dole

the male casualties of the war. These women became defined as 'the surplus women problem' an issue which is referred to in the forces' education material and the Beveridge data.

In the 1920's and 1930's a slow rise in female employment was resumed. In the Second World War women were again recruited massively, but this in a sense concealed an underlying trend of a rising rate of female employment. During the war two and a half million women were mobilised for paid industrial employment, either full time or part time, although assuming the continuance of the pre-war trend this implied only three-quarters of a million more than would have been the case (Calder 1968:331).

Although at the end of the war two million women were made redundant (Counter Information Services 1976:19) yet the upward trend in female employment continued. The necessity for the employment of married women was also officially recognised in official statements over the period in, for example, considerations on employment policy following the war, in statements by the Ministry of Labour in the immediate post war years and in the Labour government's National Plan of 1965.

Thus in Employment Policy (1944) the Government expressed a commitment to full employment and fear of a shortage of labour. A Ministry of Labour statement of 1947 iterated:

'The need to increase the working population is not temporary, it is a permanent feature of our national life ... women now form the only large reserve of labour left and to them the government are accordingly making a special appeal.'

(Ministry of Labour 1947:183)

Forecasting a manpower gap of about one per cent consistent with an average economic growth rate of three per cent women were seen as a major resource.

'If activity rates in the regions where they are below average could be raised to the national average the addition to the labour force would be 320,000 ... practically all of this increase would be made up of women.'

Furthermore, married women should take up paid employment to a greater degree than they had traditionally (National Plan 1965, cited Counter Information Services 1976:9). While the balance of payments deficit soon undermined the Plan it had nonetheless identified a trend which had already begun and which continued irrespective of the growth rate of the economy.

Married Women's Activity Rates

Within this general trend of female employment I wish to isolate the activity rates of married women as central to this thesis. Although not strictly comparable, due to changes in definition, the decennial Censuses of Population provide the best indicators of trends. This evidence is used along with that of social surveys.

According to a statistical survey Women and Work (HMSO 1974) between 1931 and 1971 the proportion of married women at work rose from ten per cent to 42.2 per cent (Lister and Wilson 1976:6). According to Beveridge the census of 1931 showed that one in eight (12.5 per cent)¹ of married women were in gainful employment, a figure, which it should be emphasised, concealed wide regional variations, the significance of which is discussed below. By 1939, immediately prior to the war, it was estimated that this proportion had increased to 1 in 7 (14 per cent) of married women (Beveridge 1942(a):para 49). By 1943, the peak year of employment during the war, 22 per cent of all married women aged between 16 and 60 were in employment, a figure which also obtained in 1947

¹ Thomas (1944:1) uses these census figures to show that of married women between the ages of 18 and 59, 18 per cent were employed.

although the age structure of the group had changed - the average age rising (Thomas 1948:7-8). By 1971 Hamill (1978:3), in a survey of wives as breadwinners, found that 49 per cent of married women under the age of 60 were in employment and an even higher proportion worked at some stage of their married lives.

The category, 'married woman worker', is not homogeneous but comprises groups which vary according to age, by the existence of dependent children, as well as by the numbers and age of dependent children. Although the economic activity rates varied between these groups, Hamill's (1978:3) comparison of 1961 and 1971 census data showed that increased activity was not confined to particular sectors but that for all the groups identified the activity rates increased over the ten year period.

Thus, while in 1961 the likelihood of a married woman working varied little with age and by 1971 older wives, up to 50, were more likely to work than younger wives, yet wives in all age groups except the few under 20 were more likely to work in 1971 than in 1961. Similarly, when dependency was considered, although a wife with no dependent children was more likely to work than a wife with dependent children, and the more dependent children a wife had the less she was likely to work, while this pattern did not change between 1961 and 1971 the activity rates of all groups rose. Moreover the difference between activity rates of women with few dependent children and those with many narrowed. Again, the variables of age and dependent children showed the same pattern for 1961 and 1971. Thus, the activity rate of wives with no dependent children still fell with age, older wives with dependent children were more likely to work than younger ones (probably reflecting the influence of the children's age) and mothers of pre-school age children were less likely to work than other mothers with dependent

children; but, as with the groups already mentioned, the activity rates of all these groups were higher in 1971 than in 1961.

Thus, discounting the full-time or part-time nature of the work, the phenomenon of the increased economic activity of married women is located at all stages of the family cycle and, in objective terms, is highly visible.

Wife's Earning and Family Income

The second feature of the phenomenon is the relationship between the wife's earnings and total family income. Several stereotypes attach themselves to the perception of a wife's earnings; for example, that it only supplements the primary source of family income - the male wage; that it is to provide the family with 'extras' which are dispensable; or that it is to provide 'pin money'. While the first two stereotypes suggest the familial nature of the income, the latter carries overtones of money earned for the sole disposal of the female earner. Grey (1979: 181-189) however, after surveying the literature and from her own survey of the families of 97 male manual workers in Edinburgh finds no basis for this assumption¹, observing that there was no 'evidence that a wife's

¹ There are however, some hints in the literature, not mentioned by Grey, that the case is not perhaps so straightforward. For example, one wife in Komarovsky's (1962:68) American study of working class families felt that if she fulfilled all her housewifely obligations, she was entitled to retain any money which she earned (much to her husband's resentment). This was a matter of contractual obligations fulfilled rather than mutuality of the familial enterprise. It was, however, the only case. In a British example, a working wife in the textile industry defined her wage as for 'keeping herself' and as part of an obligation and self-respect. The author's note,

'Unless they are "keeping themselves" they think there is something wrong and on returning to work, on a wage that left them no better off than they had been when drawing unemployment assistance, used expressions such as, "but of course, now my money is my own" '.

(Pilgrim Trust 1938:83)

In an industry where male wages are historically low and individual members are expected to contribute to the family wage: it could be argued that this was a contribution to the family budget. It does not necessarily indicate, however, that the whole wage becomes part of the household budget. To keep oneself carries overtones of individualism as the authors are quick to point out.

earnings are separated from general housekeeping funds; universally they are pooled with the housekeeping allowance'. A study carried out by the Christian Economic and Social Research Foundation (1957) also found that of the 59 mothers interviewed only three spent any of the earnings on their own clothes and make-up (cited Wilson 1977:62). A wife's earning can, therefore, be taken to be an important element in family budgeting.

A recent examination of the Family Expenditure Survey (1974) by an economist at the Department of Health and Social Security provides some insight into the effect of wife's employment upon family income (Hamill 1978). It was estimated that the average contribution to the family budget by working wives was approximately 25 per cent. That is, out of 11 million couples with the husband under 65 years of age, nearly seven million working wives had gross weekly earnings which averaged a quarter of the family's gross weekly budget. This average, however, concealed important differences with implications for the family structure: first, the proportion of the wife's contribution and secondly, the crucial nature of the earnings. Hamill (1978:6) isolated three types of earnings related role structure: first, those with a breadwinner wife; secondly, subsumed within this category, the situation of role-reversal; and thirdly, a pattern of role-sharing. The definitions are not sociological (Hamill 1978:18), they refer solely to earnings and do not imply any re-distribution of either domestic workload or power.

Role reversal applied to the situation where the husband was economically inactive and the wife worked and was subsumed within the category of breadwinner wives, that is, where the earnings of the wife were at least

half the gross family income.¹

The third type, role sharing, referred to the situation where although the couple was not reversing roles or where a wife was not a breadwinner, nonetheless the wife's earnings still made an important contribution to the family budget.

Of these three types of economic relationship, that of role sharing was the most dominant. The following gives some indication of trends where possible² and the pattern of the wife's contribution.

Role Reversal

The number of role reversal cases is proportionately small whether census data or Family Expenditure Survey data is examined despite the figures not being strictly comparable due to differences in definitions, the categories included and geographical area covered. Thus, the 1971 Census shows a total of 165 thousand cases in England and Wales and the 1974 FES provides an estimate of 300 thousand in Great Britain. The Census isolated three groups within this category. The major group is that of wives with husbands who are retired: 108 thousand cases. In 20 thousand cases the husband was a student and 37 thousand cases remain unspecified. Within the group are the permanently sick but also included are those families where the husband is of working age and economic roles have been consciously reversed.

¹ If the husband was not working and receiving benefits these may be more important to the family than the wife's earnings. Thus, not all role reversing wives were breadwinner wives. Conversely not all breadwinner wives will reverse economic roles. If the husband also worked, although the wife may be the breadwinner in the sense that her income was superior, the roles were not completely reversed.

² Definitions of the breadwinner in the census conceal the breadwinner wife as defined here. For a married couple, where both husband and wife are working full time, the husband will be treated as the chief economic supporter even if he is earning less than his wife (Lister and Wilson 1976:6); and Family Expenditure Surveys do not allow for comparison of trends (Hamill 1978:6).

Many institutional factors serve to discourage this type of structure - taxation, family income supplement, national insurance, unemployment and sickness benefits, occupational pensions, disablement benefit and supplementary benefit (Lister and Wilson 1976). While many individuals are probably ignorant of the resulting disadvantages until they have recourse to the particular agencies, nonetheless, over a period of ten years, from 1961 to 1971, the Census figures indicate that for each group this type of familial economic organisation increased. Thus, the unspecified category rose from approximately six thousand in 1961 to 37 thousand in 1971; the group where the husband was retired doubled from 50 thousand in 1961 to 108 thousand in 1971 and the student role reversal marriages quadrupled from five thousand in 1961 to 20 thousand in 1971 (Hamill 1978:4-5).

Bread Winner Wives

The FES 1974 shows 360 thousand breadwinner wives in Great Britain. Three per cent of all wives (five per cent of working wives) married to men under pension age were breadwinners. Compared with other working wives, breadwinner wives were more likely to be older (over 50), married to men with low incomes or no income (role-reversal) - virtually all had husbands earning £50 a week or less. They had fewer or no dependent children and they were more likely to be professional, managers or teachers (ratio of 1:3). No data is available for an examination of trends (Hamill 1978:6-7).

In sum the number of couples where the wife was the sole or primary earner was relatively small, somewhat over half a million in 1974, although they have been increasing (Hamill 1978:n.p.).

Role Sharing

Role sharing, the third type of arrangement, was the most dominant and also of major significance. Hamill (1978:7) observes,

'Even when a couple are not reversing roles or when the wife is not the breadwinner, the wife's earnings may still make an important contribution to family income.'

Thus, while relatively few working wives (three per cent) have earnings which account for more than 50 per cent of family income, the earnings of one-third of working wives (2.3 million) account for between 30 per cent and 50 per cent of family income and a further five million wives contributed something financially in 1974 (Hamill 1978:19).

Concepts of Need

In the literature on family life, ranging from official documents (Beveridge 1942(a)), surveys (Pilgrim Trust 1938:232), advice (Gray 1952:165), general comment and observation (Knewstub 1980) it is acknowledged as permissible, although to some regrettable, that in some instances wives must seek employment outside the home due to the low of earnings of the husband or the absence of any earnings. It was, for example, this situation which Beveridge (1942(a))sought to alleviate, if not irradiate, by proposing a system of economic support for wives and dependants during a husband's periods of non-work, and a system of family allowances to meet the problem where the male wage was inadequate for family needs.

Hamill's (1978:12) contemporary data indicate the continuing extent of such need. A comparison of incomes showed that only five per cent of families with working wives were poor, that is, had incomes of £40 a week or less in contrast with 22 per cent of families with non-working wives. More recently the Royal Commission on the Distribution of Income and Wealth (1978 Research Report 6) found that when wives do not go out

to work, the chances of a family in Britain today being in poverty are almost one in three; where wives work, the chances are nearer one in fourteen (Bruegel 1979:20).

Furthermore, evidence demonstrates that a wife's contribution plays a significant part in keeping a family above supplementary benefit level (that is, subsistence). The analysis of the FES data indicates that three times as many families would have been far below the supplementary benefit level if wives had not worked and nearly three times as many would not have been more than 20 per cent above that level.

However, factors other than basic need enter into the economic considerations associated with a married woman's employment. The concern of ordinary people with a higher standard of living emerges in discussions of the declining birth rate of the inter-war years and was noted in the previous section. In any event, the concept of need is inappropriate. A substantial single wage is not conceptually subdivided into that which covers basic needs and a supplementary and dispensable element. It is, in its totality, associated with a specific range of expectations. Similarly, joint incomes (a danger which marriage manuals warn against) affect the range of expectations. Thus, irrespective of a wife's wish to earn and have some economic independence, there is evidence at least in some instances, that both husband and wife are party to a concern with standards of living and quality of life in its material aspects as Komarovsky's (1962:66) evidence demonstrates. Even here, this overlaps with such basics as housing and child care in the sense that additional income can contribute to standards above the minimum, to better housing or expanded opportunities for children.

In this sense, therefore, the contribution of the wife is as necessary to the family as in cases where it maintains standards at or marginally

above subsistence level. As such, it affords the wife a legitimate basis of power within the family other than that solely attributed to access to economic resource.

Thus the visibility, legitimacy and independence afforded by this trend, would appear to provide an objective base to undermine conceptions of traditional family roles. Yet, as the evidence cited earlier demonstrates, the familial economic role of women is surrounded by stereotypical conceptions.

Discontinuities

A second type of phenomenon which provides the potential objective conditions for change in family structure can be conceptually distinguished from changes in demography and the demand for female labour. The concept of discontinuity, that is, disruption in social and cultural relations as formulated by Kornhauser (1960) in the context of the development of mass society, is applicable to the mass unemployment of the inter-war years and the total wars of the twentieth century. These were two conditions which Kornhauser identified as raising problems of legitimation for the State or governing elite in the hold it had over mass loyalty and commitment to and acceptance of the obtaining social order. Important to this analysis is a historical proximity which may be conducive to a reinforcement of any effects.

Although the theory is elaborated in terms of the wider society and the State, since a society is composed of multifarious groups, the referents, by definition, are the State and these smaller groups and categories. As the analysis of the State documents on social insurance will demonstrate, familial rewards in the form of welfare provision were part of the resolution of the crisis.

The concept, however, has utility and theoretical applicability to the family structure itself. War and unemployment created a legitimation crisis for both family and State; in fact the two are inextricably linked. For the family the crisis was also political, that is, it concerned the distribution of power, and can be summarised by Habermas' (1976:48) observation.

'Legitimation crises result from a need for legitimation that arises from changes in the political system (even when normative structures remain unchanged) that cannot be met by the existing supply of legitimation.'

In other words, the authority of the male head of household was rendered vulnerable by unemployment and war. The difference between the family and the State was that while the State could mobilise and reorganise resources to contain the crisis, the family, namely in this instance, the male head, could not ultimately do so without external intervention by the State. Such intervention is part of the resolution of the State's crisis. In this section I examine the discontinuities within the family.

Unemployment

The following details give some indication of the mass nature of unemployment in Britain during the world economic crisis of the inter-war years. In 1932, three years after the onset of the depression, unemployment was at its peak. From the last quarter of 1929 to the last quarter of 1932 unemployment among the insured population rose from 1,281,000 to 2,757,000. Four men were available for every three jobs (Pilgrim Trust 1938).

These figures, because they refer only to the insured population, predominantly the industrial working class and only three quarters of

the working population in the social sense (Pilgrim Trust 1938:5) do not portray the full extent of unemployment. For example, in 1934 it was estimated that approximately 3,000,000 uninsured workers in occupations such as clerical, office workers, managers, engineers, chemists and architects, that is, those in middle class occupations, were out of work. Temporary unemployment amongst newly qualified teachers (a traditionally 'safe' job) persisted until 1938 (Calder 1969:28). Also excluded from the statistics were domestic workers and uninsured married women.

The extent of unemployment varied, the South-East and South-West of England suffering least. In 1932 the statistics showed that in the South-East approximately one in eight workers were out of a job, in the South-West one in six, in the Midlands one in five. For the North and Scotland it was one in four and in Wales more than one in three (Calder 1969:27).

That the phenomenon was not confined to the industrial areas is indicated in the list of places selected in 1936 by the Government to be given priority in the allocation of official contracts. Over the previous twelve months all had had a rate of unemployment amongst men over 18 years of age averaging at least 25 per cent. The list ranged from such areas as Ross on Wye to industrial Liverpool (Calder 1969:27). It should also be noted that the new industries promoted by this policy in the trading estates attached to the depressed areas, tended to call upon female rather than male labour (Pilgrim Trust 1938:81).

Studies of unemployment during the 1930's do indicate an effect upon the family structure during this period. Although Komarovsky's (1971) study is American it must be referred to as it specifically addresses shifts in the familial power structure ensuant upon a husband's

unemployment. The aim of the study was to explore the relationship between the man's role as economic provider of the family and his authority in the family.

The sample comprised 59 families of men who had been out of work for at least one year and was undertaken in the winter of 1935 and 1936. Of these 59 men, 13 experienced a loss of authority in their families. The limitations of the sample, however, suggest that in the society at large there may be a more extensive realignment of power within the family than this relatively small proportion would indicate.

First, the sampling frame, the list from the Emergency Relief Administration of a large industrial city just outside New York City, meant that although the allowance was so meagre that the wife continued to be a potential provider, nonetheless families where there had been a complete reversal of economic roles were excluded. Also excluded were families where tension had been of such an order as to lead to marital breakdown (Komarovsky 1971:24). Consequently the findings underestimate the probable effects upon family structure.

Loss of control (used interchangeably with loss of status, power or authority) was defined as either the unwillingness of a family to accept a man's authority irrespective of whether or not he enforced it by coercion, or a loss over one or more spheres of familial relations where formerly the man had exercised control (Komarovsky 1971:10). Cases where a husband and father withdrew his claim to certain privileges, for example to personal service, or became more helpful with the housework or more considerate, were also treated as a loss (Komarovsky 1971:13). It is argued that such partial relinquishments of authority were indications of a subtle change in attitude, since all withdrawals were enforced, and the attitude towards the person whom one serves is not the same as that

towards the one who shares the burdens of the household.

Three patterns of breakdown were identified: the crystallization of a husband's already inferior status, the breakdown of a more co-ercive control, and the weakened authority of a husband over a loving wife. Irrespective of the quality of the new relationship, which ranged from subordination and contempt of the husband, reversal of economic roles (the wife insisted on having the assistance paid in her name and was in complete charge of family finances), partial or complete emancipation of the wife from the husband's coercive authority to a more egalitarian relationship between husband and wife, the effect of unemployment was to release the wife from former constraints (Komarovsky 1971:24-36) and initiate a changed pattern of dominance.

In discussing the cases where unemployment had no effect on the relationship Komarovsky draws attention to the tenacious hold of the effects of former economic dominance. Thus she refers both to habits of deference which years of economic dependence upon a man may have engendered and which may continue when he fails as a provider and the strength of patriarchal authority which has its roots in part in the economic structure of society. The type of family structure where the wife traditionally accepted the husband's authority or where his authority derived from a wife's love or admiration was the most resistant to the threats unemployment posed to male status (Komarovsky 1971:50). Acceptance of the husband's authority on utilitarian grounds (fear or instrumental reasons) rendered male authority more vulnerable (Komarovsky 1971:50).¹ Bell and Newby (1976) have attempted to trace the mechanisms by which such deference is sustained and indicate the role of unemployment

¹ This finding is interesting in view of the emphasis upon love in the women's press.

in this. Komarovsky's study suggests that the basis of deference must be more clearly distinguished in order to isolate more critically the mechanisms by which it is sustained.

A British study, Men Without Work, (Pilgrim Trust 1938) conducted in the same year confirms the view that unemployment disturbed the family structure. The sample is broadly comparable in that it comprised the long term unemployed (those who had not had more than 3 days continuous work in the previous year) but it also included women, married and single (See Appendix I). The relationship between husband and wife however was not examined in detail as the aim was not to test a hypothesis but to attempt a typology of unemployment to aid appropriate intervention by voluntary organisations.

Apart from the acute psychological disorientation and material deprivation experienced by the unemployed and their families, the evidence scant though it is, indicates at the minimum a dislocation in the former pattern of conjugal relationships. No reference is made to shifts in the authority structure but that the response to dislocation produced a range of adaptations.

For example, in some cases the marriage disintegrated completely. The researchers comment upon the high number of men who have left home (Pilgrim Trust 1938:147). This may be due to humiliation or the increase in the squalor and poverty of the home due to the fact of unemployment and domestic friction exacerbated by the man's increased presence.

There is evidence of role reversal, the wife becoming the breadwinner, with a variety of attitudes and tensions attached to it. Thus it may be accepted without any apparent tension (Pilgrim Trust 1938:45); it may be resented by the wife and disliked by the husband

(Pilgrim Trust 1938:147); or in some cases a working wife may be indicative of a sense of conjugal mutuality and support, where the wife returns to work so that the husband can look for a job (Pilgrim Trust 1938:145) or 'to keep the home going'. (Pilgrim Trust 1938:170).

In some instances, also, unemployment allowed for a welcomed domesticity in both women and men. In some cases women formerly employed were glad to be able to devote themselves to the family and did not wish to return to work (Pilgrim Trust 1938:83), although it should be noted that over 50 per cent of the unemployed married women did want to return to work (see Appendix I). In one case there was the complete and happy involvement of the husband in the family caring role (there were nine children), who saw the task as a full time job for two, and had no intention of seeking work. That this man was better off on unemployment assistance than he was when in work does not detract from the significance of this realignment. He could have adopted the pattern of aimless leisure, centred around the club, the billiard hall, the employment exchange, the public library or the cinema which is described as the day "pattern" of the unemployed man (Pilgrim Trust 1938:158). In Blackburn, where there is a tradition of female employment after marriage, they refer to several instances where men do not want to work (Pilgrim Trust 1938:86). Of one, they observe, that his 'ideal seems to be to send his wife out to work'. They add, 'he was fit and strong but neglected and rather shifty in appearance'. In other words, his comments were not accorded a legitimacy which could make them applicable to a wider population.

The responses were complexly related to a range of contaminating factors; such as the location of an individual's identity and expectations as to the allocation of economic responsibility within the family. For

example, all Komarovsky's respondents felt that it was a man's duty to provide for the family (Komarovsky 1971:74). In the British evidence, particularly where there was a tradition of married women 'keeping themselves', this was clearly not universally held. There were also external effects such as the impact of unemployment benefit and the family means test which came into operation after six months of unemployment insurance when the unemployed were demoted to unemployment assistance. Some wives actually stopped working when their husbands became unemployed, finding the family income comparable (Pilgrim Trust 1938:170); others were happier working even though working for little economic advantage as noted above (Pilgrim Trust 1938:167).

In sum, however, these studies of the 1930s indicate a situation of flux, while Bakke's (1932) study suggests a gradual adjustment to new patterns. Such patterns however, were soon subject to further disruption by war. Ironically, while manpower demands restored the economic position of the male, the physical dispersion of the family and the overriding demand for labour which drew into the labour force women whose expectations had not encompassed such a role after marriage presented further challenge to the traditional family structure.

War

The final set of conditions which I suggest provided an objective base for change in family structure were those attendant upon the discontinuity of war. The discussion is confined to the circumstances of the Second World War.

Marwick (1977:182) isolates disruptiveness as one of the dimensions of war,

'... the way in which people were projected into all sorts of new life situations and patterns of behaviour, rather different from those they would have continued to follow in times of peace'.

The demand of the military machine and the war economy for manpower meant the relaxation of, if not release from, traditional familial constraints. The family unit was atomised by male and female conscription, the demand for female labour, evacuation and child care provision outside the home, and accentuated by damage to housing stock by enemy action. There were changes in the objective experiences of women whereby the demand for them in formerly masculine defined jobs (Bullock 1967:63) and their enforced separation from husbands in the armed forces or working away from home in key occupations, gave them the experience of social and economic independence. Furthermore, irrespective of their entry into the labour force, women had to take responsibility for family affairs previously held to be the sphere of men. Although as the research referred to earlier indicates, sections of working class women already had much budgetary responsibility, nonetheless female financial decision making was assumed to have become more widespread and was given public recognition, albeit in a stereotypical form. As will be seen, the women's press of the period, for example, refer with astonishment and coyness to women demonstrating their numeracy in the essential task of dealing with the system of rationing and the management of family finance.

In addition, previously ignored or denied female capacities were given public recognition. For example, in terms of actual output the Minister of Labour, Ernest Bevin, in an address to the Diamond Jubilee Congress of the Women's Co-operative Guild in June 1943, observed that while he had calculated that it would take three women dilutees to two men in building up the country's labour power, the output instead had been slightly the other way round compared with 1939 (Douie 1949:19).

Regarding women's capacities an observer commentated '... there seems to be nothing women cannot do well if the work is within their physical capacity' (Odhams n.d.:18); and another referred to the welcome with which many women received the change from their former occupations of domestic service, private secretary and included those accustomed to service themselves (Odhams n.d.:38). And in the introduction to Annabel Williams - Ellis book Women in War Work Lady Isobel Cripps (1943:7) writes,

'There are ... some women who in the work they have had to undertake have found in themselves new abilities or that their abilities and inclinations lie in new directions.'

Male Conscription

The National Service (Armed Forces) Act (1939), introduced on the first day of the war, rendered men between the ages of 18 and 41 liable for conscription. By the end of 1943 conscription extended to men over 18 and not yet 46 (Calder 1969:31). Not all such men were called into the armed forces, some working in key occupations central to the war effort, were reserved¹ although they too could be drafted away from home. Ferguson and Fitzgerald (1954:3) estimate that the height of the war effort there were possibly 2½ million husbands living away from their wives and families.

The absence of the husband has several dimensions. First, it made possible a relaxation in constraints and control over a partner's sexuality. For the husband forces' life was, for some, the equivalent of a return to bachelorhood as one of Slater and Woodside's respondents remarks. This allowed men the freedoms associated with bachelorhood, or at least the removal of even the minimum constraint of wives who accepted the double sexual standard for men and women, an acceptance that Slater and Woodside's (1951:156,219) evidence demonstrates (see also

¹ In the chapter on Forces' Education this is discussed in more detail.

Calder 1969:314). There was however a dilemma. Absence from home similarly allowed wives a greater sexual freedom. As one soldier comments, 'War wives are like single girls' (Slater and Woodside 1951:215), a reference to the ambiguous status of the childless wife of wartime marriages.

The deferential dialectic (Bell and Newby 1976) and the control of female sexuality was obviously more difficult to sustain across a physical and temporal distance despite the social control exercised over the soldier's wife by, for example, the members of the community in which she lived or by more official agencies.¹ The fidelity of soldiers' wives was subject to much debate in the press (Slater and Woodside 1951:222).

However, in addition to anecdotal evidence (see for example, Longmate 1975:276; Calder 1969:314) the statistics of the period suggest a change in behaviour patterns. First, a sharp increase in venereal disease suggested a greater sexual promiscuity of both sexes, and such figures only reveal actual numbers coming forward for examination. In 1941 the notified cases amongst male civilians and servicemen had increased by 113 per cent and amongst women by 63 per cent. By 1942 the statistics were worse and from the Autumn of 1942 the Ministry of Health launched a publicity campaign which continued throughout the war (Calder 1969: 313). The incongruity of the Ministry's advertisements and the theme of women's magazines - which provided one of the vehicles of communication - is startling. Magazines such as Good Housekeeping which ran articles on venereal disease and casual prostitution were aware of this incongruity

¹ This is discussed in the chapter on the Forces' Education Programme. One example, however, is the Advisory Bureau set up by the Soldiers', Sailors' and Airmen's Families' Association 'to contact families of men who might be anxious about their family or their wives' conduct' (Douie 1949:49).

and their response is discussed below.

Even more pertinent for the implications of the effect of war on family structure and sexuality were the statistics on illegitimacy and divorce. There are few records of the incidence of irregularly conceived children born to married women but in Birmingham, where note was kept, the percentage tripled between 1940 and 1945. Over half of such mothers had husbands in the forces. Calder (1969:314) comments that while some men accepted such children many deserted their wives or sued for divorce. The divorce rate soared during the war and in the immediate post-war years from 10,000 in 1938 to 25,000 in 1945. Furthermore, the pattern of petitioning was reversed. In 1938 46 per cent of divorces were filed by husbands, in 1945 this changed to 58 per cent, 70 per cent of which were for adultery. Part of this increase was probably due to the rise in earnings making divorce accessible to a wider public; nonetheless, the government recognised the changed gender distribution of the problem when it made divorces quicker and cheaper for men in the services - on low pay and distant from home (Calder 1969:314). This reversal of pattern was confined to these few years.

A further dimension of the impact of male conscription upon family structure was economic. This acted in a complex way and was, moreover, related to the crucial demand for labour. The low level and inadequacy of the allowance paid to the wives of service men is usually referred to in studies of the period. It was comparable with the level of unemployment benefit of the 1930s - 17 shillings from the State, and seven shillings from the husband (leaving him with roughly one shilling per day), with five shillings for the first child and declining thereafter. This compared with the average wage for men in the manufacturing industries of £4.10s in July 1940, rising to £6.4s.4d in July 1944 (Riley 1979:35).

This low rate, it has been observed, often forced women to supplement it by seeking employment. Riley (1979:85) in her probing study of the ideological issues surrounding wartime nursery provision and its post-war demise notes that a good proportion of women in factories were servicemen's wives who desperately needed the money. A pamphlet published in 1946 by Political and Economic Planning, Mothers in Jobs, observes,

'Even during the recent war there seems to have been little willingness among mothers to work unless economic circumstances forced them to. There is, for example, a good deal of evidence that war-time nurseries were used mostly by wives of Service men and unmarried mothers.'

(Political and Economic Planning 1946:4)

The inadequate allowance then could be conceived as driving some women into jobs which, however much they increased the combined work load of employment and domestic responsibilities, nonetheless provided for some a measure of independence not known before and a regularity of income they had not previously experienced. Slater and Woodside (1951: 214), however, note the differential impact of the service allowances upon middle class and working class wives. Middle class women may have been forced to work in order to meet the financial commitments of their life style - mortgage repayments, running a car and so forth. They also observe, however, that for many working class wives, the allowance itself represented an economic security they had not previously known. The extent of such irregularity of income ~~as~~ due to unemployment or dependent upon the whim of the husband is not discussed (Slater and Woodside 1951:74).

The relationship between independent income and sense of independence is complex. While Thomas (1944:22,21) in his analysis of the advantages women see in work distinguishes between independence and economic reasons he notes that, first, independence means economic independence and, secondly,

that the primary advantage of work to most women, the economic gain resulting from it, is so obvious that it is quite possible that many women gave secondary reasons only; of his sample 49 per cent of all women gave economic reasons and 19 per cent independence. For married women the percentages were 59 and ten respectively (Thomas 1944:21:22). It could be argued, however, that the reasons for work are irrelevant to the effect. That is, that to be a source of family income in itself carries a certain independence. Although only ten per cent of soldiers' wives gave independence¹ as the advantage of work (Thomas 1944:22) certainly the soldiers interviewed by Slater and Woodside (1951:223) did not like the increased actual independence of their wives which had been brought about by the war whether by working or by shouldering increased responsibility in the home.

Female Conscription and War Work

Some of the effects of female participation in the war were noted above. However, although in conscripting women Britain went further than either Germany or Russia, the effect was to exaggerate a peacetime trend (Calder 1969:331). Furthermore, surveys of the type of work entered by women showed that for many (almost half) the work was not a new venture but had been their employment before marriage (Calder 1969:332). Additionally, in contrast to the First World War, technological innovation meant that much of the work was deskilled (Odhams n.d.:22).

However, the significance of the phenomenon for this study lies not so much in this accelerated trend as the extent to which it affected individuals at all stages of the family cycle; for it was these diverse audiences, each experiencing change in ways related to their own particular circumstances that the articulation of an ideology had to encompass.

Women at all stages of the family cycle were affected either by a

¹ 62 per cent gave 'the money helps out' as an advantage.

change in the pattern of their own behaviour or by an awareness that the war was affecting the daily experience and, by extension, potentially the familial status, of other women.

The conscription of women was introduced in December 1941 and applied to unmarried women between the ages of 20 and 30. They could choose between the women's services and industry. The following year this was extended to nineteen year olds. In March 1941 the Registration of Employment Order had involved the registration of men over 41 and women of 20 and 21 and, although Bevin used his power over women with reluctance, by the end of the year registration had been extended to women up to 30 and eventually women between the ages of 18 and 50 were registered. In May 1943 part time work for married women was made compulsory and it was almost impossible for a women under 40 to avoid war work unless she had heavy family responsibilities, that is, had children under 14 or had war workers billeted on her (Odhams n.d. 32, 38; Calder 1969:268,332). Nearly three million married women and widows were employed as compared with one and a quarter million before the war. Of women between 18 and 40, nine out of ten single women and eight out of ten married women were in the forces or industry (Calder 1969:331).

The women not working were mostly those with young children, but as noted above, the evidence of nursery usage suggests that at least some of these women undertook full or part time work although figures are difficult to establish (Riley 1979:89). A distinction was drawn, it should be added, between mobile and immobile women. Immobile women were those whose domestic responsibility was so heavy that they must, if they worked at all, be found jobs near at hand, or even in their own homes.¹

¹ The wives of servicemen, even if childless, were classified as immobile. This is referred to in the chapter on the Forces' Education Programme.

Although the commentators on the period point to the real problems women had in coping with both work and domestic responsibilities (Riley 1979:86) and in work or military service away from home (Summerfield 1976:35) there was another facet to the situation. The women's magazines of the period reveal a tension in the cultural expectations of the time. Letters and features not only portray a wide participation of women in life outside the domestic domain but also attempt to grapple with the problem of mothers, tied to the home by young children, who see others enjoying a more stimulating and independent existence along with the problem of mothers who wished to stay at home with their children but who felt pressurised by relatives and friends to take up war work.

An important feature, therefore, was the climate of expectations surrounding women's war work which, it may be hypothesised, induced some to try the experience even when not obliged to, and backed by such official campaigns, for example, as that to encourage child minding in order to persuade more young mothers into war work. 'If you can't go to the factory, help the women who can' (Riley 1979:87) was part of the propaganda of the Ministry of Health in 1941.

There was also evidence of change in the attitudes of employers to the employment of women. For example, 'many managers, doubtful at first of departing from accepted traditions, were surprised at this new source of labour' (Odhams n.d.:22). As regards married women this was witnessed more formally in the removal of the marriage bar in the teaching profession¹ and the civil service.

¹ In June 1962 the Board of Education felt that the shortage of teachers due to conscription into the forces of the men, was so bad that it issued a circular asking such LEAs as were continuing the almost universal pre-war practice of requiring a woman to resign her teaching post on marriage to at least suspend the rule for the duration of the war. In March 1944 the government accepted an amendment to the education bill that a woman teacher could not be dismissed or disqualified by marriage (Gosden 1976:97, 396).

In sum, the experiences of men and women opened horizons which could be conceived as liberating, threatening or more rational depending upon the position of the individual.

Evacuation

Finally, the evacuation scheme had implications for family structure in a wider sense. Just as the recruitment campaign to the Boer War had revealed the physical inadequacy of men in 1899, culminating in the Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration (1904) several of whose recommendations formed the basis of the liberal legislation between 1906 and 1911, so the evacuation of children and mothers of young children from areas vulnerable to enemy attack revealed the inadequacy of the nuclear family within a capitalist system to produce an appropriate citizenry, and in a period ridden by anxieties about the declining birth rate. Furthermore, not only were class divisions, assumptions and wide differences in life chances and class cultures revealed when egalitarianism (and fear of revolution) was being aired, but the exposed realities of poverty also exposed areas of family life where the state and other socialising agencies could intervene. For example, of nursery schools as such agents, the report Our Towns, research conducted by the Hygiene Committee of the Women's Group on Public Welfare, includes the comment,

'We cannot afford not to have the nursery school: it seems to be the only agency capable of cutting the slum mind off at its root and building the whole child while yet there is time.'

(cited Riley 1979:101)

¹ As Riley notes, it is the inadequacy of the parent rather than that of the system which is seen as at fault.

SUMMARY

The aim in this section has been sociological rather than historical. The attempt has been to indicate major changes and events which altered behaviour in the sense of the activities actually performed. Such changes would seem conducive to change in the pattern of social relationships.

That they may be necessary but are not sufficient conditions for such change is clear from the evidence of the tenacity of traditionalism. Frankenberg in making the same point in criticism of Rosser and Harris's observation that demographic change of the kind outlined above has radically altered women's lives, observes,

'The nature of social interaction changes when individuals or groups decide to change it, and set about doing so, overcoming the opposition of other individuals and groups'

(Frankenberg 1976:47)

McLaughlin (1973) has demonstrated the danger in uncritically assigning the family structure as the dependent variable. The traditional family structure of Italian families transplanted to the modern industrial environment of Buffalo over the period 1900-1930 was, she argues, maintained by the selective utilisation of the employment opportunities open to women so that it conformed to the obtaining traditional cultural pattern. Male dominance was evidenced by the occupational style of the women whose economic activity was either confined to the home, for example, in servicing lodgers, or undertaken in the company of relatives in the seasonal canning and harvesting occupations even when better economic opportunities were available (McLaughlin 1973:12). The strength of the patriarchal pattern, it will be recalled, was also noted by Komarovsky (1971). McLaughlin does not enter into the means by which the pattern was sustained within the deferential dialectic of the conjugal relationship itself nor refer

to the challenges to male authority which a modern economic environment might pose.

Observation and the studies referred to earlier would suggest, however, that whatever its form, family structure is simultaneously dependent and independent variable, both utilising the environment to its own ends and also influenced by that environment. The focus of the present study is upon the environment. While conscious of the probability of groups or individuals interpreting familial messages differently and that such messages may be reinterpreted, ignored, defied or not reach their target population, nonetheless the sheer abundance and range in both source and origin render them, at the minimum, a phenomenon which arouses curiosity. Consequently, while aware of the limitations, the analysis centres upon such familial messages. The limitation, however, is tempered by the selection of messages for analysis which are located in a historical period which provided conditions conducive to and a sensitivity towards change.

I now turn to an examination of the theoretical formulations which provided the framework for the analysis.

THE THEORETICAL LOCATION OF THE PROBLEM

The juxtaposition of these three contradictions: the mass of prescription and the privacy and normalcy of the family, the tensions and contradictions between egalitarianism and traditionalism and the tenacity of traditionalism despite the apparently objective conditions for change, led to the proposition that specific familial beliefs and behaviours are, in complex ways, given support by a range of agencies external to the family. Secondly, the distinctions which could be made amongst sources and audiences suggested critical differences in the articulation of their messages.

The theoretical framework which gave the empirical problem a coherence and facilitated the development of hypotheses was associated with Marxist and radical theories of the State and the sociology of knowledge.

Like Barnes (1977:vii) I use theories as a resource. He reassuringly observes,

'There are two ways of expounding and utilising the work of such a group of authors ... one is to embark upon a search for what they "really" meant ... The second possibility is to take up the classic writings in the sociology of knowledge as resources and sources of inspiration, in formulating and dealing with problems of current interest and relevance.'

The initial incursion into the contradictions was provided by the elaborations of Marx's concepts of the State and ideology in the work of Gramsci and Althusser. Althusser's theory in particular has been subject to severe criticism. Thompson (1978) has recently criticised it for its ahistorical cast. It has also been criticised as functionalist, in that ideology appears as a functional requirement of society, necessary for social cohesion (Hirst 1976:383; Larrain 1979:162-164); it has been described by Ranciere as an attempt to reconcile 'the general function which structural functionalism assigns to the 'value system' of every society and the function which Marx assigns to ideology' (Ranciere 1974: 232-3 cited Larrain 1979:162). The theory has also been criticised as deterministic in its action upon individuals as though their minds were just helpless and passive (Larrain 1979:153). In this latter respect, that reification is a necessary component of structuralism, is repudiated by Barnes (1977:56). Structuralism merely seeks to establish relationships between constituents.

However, because Althusser's treatment stems from a different theoretical tradition, that is, it does not deny consensus but starts from an interest in contradiction and change rather than consensus

and stability, the focus is theoretically and consequently empirically shifted to a concern with contradiction and variation within the dominant value system itself, the articulation of that value system in its various forms, and attention to the fact of its dominance rather than the more limited focus of deviations from a norm in which a dominant familial value system is taken as given as in Parsons (1956:145). Despite the debate surrounding assumptions which are, in turn, made of conflict theories - for example, on the identification by an outside observer of the real interests of a group of which that group is itself unaware, (see, for example, Sharrock 1977:511-533 for this discussion) - it is necessary to stress the importance of this orientation. This is due to the overwhelming dominance of functionalist theory in family sociology, epitomised by its major proponent Parsons (1956) in his analysis of family structure and of whom Morgan (1975:25-26), detailing his influence, has observed that 'it would not be too much to say he was the modern theorist of the family'. Critiques are now developing (for example, Morgan 1975:17-59; Poster 1978:78-84; Oakley 1976:52-57) but these have arisen much later than critiques of functionalism in other branches of sociology. As the earlier evidence suggests, there is an ideological dimension to this grip.

Important consequences flow from this alternative approach. First, the insights, the directives provided to key areas for examination and the conceptualisation of the processes involved in the postulated integration into the value system are so substantially different as to render, for empirical purposes, the criticism of functionalism as irrelevant. Family structure, for example, becomes problematic.

Thus the critical employment of theories which incorporate the concept of ideology, it is argued, make possible a reconceptualisation of the

processes associated in functionalist theory with the emergence of specific family structures. The focus shifts from a concern with the automatic adjustment, functional for the wider society, of the familial role structure and the associated norms in the process of structural differentiation to the problematic nature of the family structure itself - of which the abundance of familial prescription is itself suggestive. The consequent orientation then is away from the notion of inevitability and normalcy in the emergence, or existence of, a specific family structure to that of social reproduction¹ or a continuity which is not inevitable but sustained despite factors which might produce pressures towards change.

Associated with this, attention is directed to the unequal distribution of power. The focus upon mechanisms of necessary adjustment, whether co-ercive or not, of the family structure to the changing demands of an economic system is re-orientated to enquiry into the location of co-ercion in discrete parts of the social structure and its relation to specific group interests and the competing interests of other groups.

In this latter conceptualisation, society is viewed as a system of exploitation of the subordinate by the superordinate who exercise a control over behaviour and ideas.

Considered in conjunction with the concepts of source and audience which the search of the literature indicated as important, this approach accords significance to phenomena which might be (and until comparatively recently have been) dismissed as trivial; that is, not only

¹ This idea was presented in a slightly different form in an earlier paper (Allatt 1977) and appears in an extended form in a later section of this chapter. Morgan (1979:36) drawing upon Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) placed this in the context of social reproduction.

is a place given to such recognisable and high status agencies as the law, but the role, for example, of the women's press, pulp fiction and the esoteric tracts of small groups is also accorded significance.¹ All, it is proposed, contribute to the complex articulation of what appears to be simple, the 'normal' family.

As in Parson's model, the family is taken as the dependent variable. The relationship however is not simple. It will be argued that the family structure and the individuals which comprise it retain a certain autonomy, that the contradictions inherent to the traditional structure itself and in the social reality of an individual's life pose constant threats to that structure.

Furthermore, when the implications of Althusser's propositions are subject to a critique and pursued empirically their implication are of a different order. Rather than an acknowledgement that what may be functional for society may be dysfunctional for certain groups within it (as though they were either not part of that society or must be sacrificed to the general good) the application of Althusser's theory (despite the criticisms of its determinist cast) is towards action.

¹ For example in a tract 'Why Women Must Learn to Share their Husbands', Dr. Edward Wilson, as the founder of the Batchelor Motherhood and Collateral Marital Union League, addresses the surplus woman problem. His message is apparently bizarre:- 'a surplus woman is a "carrier" of disease in that she sows resentment against the law and she distorts the emotional and intellectual life of the men of the community'. The chief barrier to the solution is the selfishness of the married woman who does not want to share her husband. The resulting frustration in men ultimately leads to cerebral haemorrhage and loss of pay packet and partner, breast cancer and insanity in the surplus woman and gastric ulcers and gastric cancer is the married woman's own reward. Yet the tract follows the pattern of being divisive of the female group and allocating the problem to potential victims. It makes a small contribution to an overall ideology despite its apparently anti-familistic theme (Fulham and Hammersmith Advertiser 1952 27 Dec.).

Before turning to the strands of theory which provided a useful approach for the analysis it is necessary to clarify two points. First, something should be said about the concept of ideology itself, and, secondly, about the related issue of the identification of a group's real interests in relation to those which may be imputed to them or of which they are apparently unaware.

A contentious debate surrounds the concept of ideology to the extent that the concept itself has been said to be of little use. While theoretically and epistemologically much confusion indeed exists, the concept or its constituent components have here proved of empirical value. Ideology, in the same way as Lukes (1974:9) argues of power, would appear to be an 'essentially contested' concept, that is, 'it is a concept whose application is inherently a matter of dispute' and yet it is, to quote Lukes, "operational", that is, empirically useful in that hypotheses can be framed in terms of it that are in principle verifiable and falsifiable.'

Larrain (1979:13-14) has summarised at least some of the questions which the concept raises. These broadly fall into a series of alternative positions and it is useful at this stage to indicate these orientations to ideology in order to locate the framework used for this study within the general debate. The more specific issues of the debate are referred to later where they contribute to the formulation of the research problem.

The first issue concerns whether ideology is given a positive or a negative meaning. A positive conception sees ideology as the expression of a world view of a class and in this sense there may be a plurality of ideologies as opinions, theories and attitudes formed within a class in order to defend and promote its interests. In its negative meaning ideology is concerned as a critical concept which assumes a form of false

consciousness or necessary deception which somehow distorts men's understanding of social reality. In the first interpretation the 'cognitive value as affected by ideology' is set aside as a separate problem, in the latter case it is called into question.

The second question relates to whether ideology is considered subjective or objective in character, that is whether it is to be distinguished by its psychological aspect or whether it is entirely dependent upon objective facts. In the first interpretation, ideology is conceived of as 'a deformation of consciousness which is somehow unable to grasp reality as it is'. In contrast, in the objective interpretation, ideology appears as a deception induced by reality: it is not the subject which distorts reality but reality itself which deceives the subject. The subjective view emphasises the role of individuals, classes and parties in the production of ideology; the objective view sees ideology as impregnating the basic structures of society. (It will be seen how this conceptual distinction is not as easy to draw when specific cases are scrutinised, but here the dichotomy suffices to set the context of the debate.)

Two other issues are raised by Larrain. The first is whether ideology is the equivalent of the whole cultural sphere, the 'ideological superstructure', or whether it is a separate phenomenon which co-exists within the superstructure. The first position identifies ideology with an objective level of society which includes all forms of social consciousness; the latter employs a restrictive concept of ideology since here not all cultural objects would be ideological. In the present research this aspect is not entered into.

The final issue concerns the relation between ideology and science.

The first position holds that they are antithetical; the second that they share common characteristics, a particular world view. In this latter view ideology cannot be overcome by science.

These oppositions illustrate the distinction between concept and conceptualisation to which Lukes (1974:26-27) has usefully drawn attention. This refers to the notion that in an inherently contested concept there is a generally recognised common core (in the case of ideology I would identify this as distortion and contradiction) but there are alternative ways in which this may be viewed or interpreted in the analysis of social relationships.

Within Larrain's range of themes or conceptualisations those which initially inform this study are those which treat ideology as a critical negative concept whereby reality becomes distorted. The debate as to the respective statuses of ideology and science is not enjoined apart from making the assumption that certain aspects of social reality can be objectively identified and set alongside beliefs and attitudes in a manner which reveals differences between what people think and do and their real interests. For example, it can be argued that confronted with the effect of poverty on the lives, if not the marriages, of their parents it is in the interests of poor working class girls to aim to marry men with as much wealth or potential wealth as possible, yet the gold digger is condemned on all sides in our society (as will be seen below).

As Lukes (1974:34) again has observed the assumptions of interests is necessarily evaluative, 'irreducibly evaluative', yet, like power, it would seem that any view of ideology 'rests upon some normatively specific concept of interests'. Furthermore, unless such assumptions are made it would seem impossible to proceed with either theoretical or

or empirical work. The safeguard lies in the clear specification of the assumptions which are made.

BELIEFS, BEHAVIOUR AND THEORIES OF THE STATE

Stated very generally the theories of ideology attempt to explain consensus or the lack of effective resistance in a class society. Central to the process is the domination of one class over a subordinate one, the control arising from ownership of the means of production and extending to a control over both behaviour and thought.

In Marx's theory thought or consciousness is accorded a material base arising out of the individual's social activity (Bottomore and Rubel 1963:89-90). Social experience, however, is seen as essentially wrought with contradiction arising from the division of labour and modes of co-operation in productive processes which necessarily allocate resources differentially (Bottomore and Rubel 1963:68). Ideology is the term referring to the mechanism whereby such contradictions are reconciled, not at the level of reality but in men's minds by a process which negates or conceals the contradictions (Larrain 1979:46) while simultaneously legitimating the structure of domination. The interests of the dominant few are presented as those of the entire society (Bottomore and Rubel 1963:94-95).

A contentious debate surrounds the concept of ideology. However, irrespective of the lack of clarity, eclectic use of the propositions which have enriched it, along with the empirical evidence cited earlier, provide theoretical leverage into what must be important constituent components in its operation.

Such components centre upon articulation. They comprise the content of the prescriptions, their consistency and diversity, their contradictions and the social realities they accommodate; in addition articulation concerns

the relationship between the messages both in terms of their content and the agencies producing them, and it will be seen how prescription incorporates both behaviour and ideas. A further component refers to the levels at which an ideology must operate and into which it must penetrate if it is to have any meaning as a mechanism of control.

Articulation

I first turn to questions which were raised empirically by the concepts of source and audience - the senders and recipients of prescriptions of familial behaviour. Their theoretical place has been identified most clearly in Althusser's (1972) elaboration of Marx's concept of superstructure and the distinction between state and civil society which Gramsci (1976) fused within the concept of the State.¹ A critique of this model also enables the institution of the family to be critically placed in relation to other institutions of society.

Marx's model of society comprised two levels: the economic base, that is the economic relations of the society, and the superstructure or 'ideological forms' comprising the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophical. This superstructure is seen as corresponding to a definite form of social consciousness. Debate surrounds this model, not entered into here (see, for example, Sayer n.d.:14) but regarding, for example, the relationship between the economic and the ideological given that there is no way at present of isolating mechanisms which might facilitate a recognition of the specific distorted forms the ideological representation of the real relations might take (Mephram 1972:13).

¹ This type of formulation which appears to fuse all social life other than the economic within the concept of the State has been criticized by Miliband (1972) in dialogue with Poulantzas (1972). Miliband argues that in bourgeois democracies these institutions are not part of a monopolistic state system although they are part of the system of power (Miliband 1972 261-262). However, for my purposes, I have found the conceptual distinctions outlined above useful.

More fruitful to this research is the conception of the super-structure stemming from the distinction drawn between the State and the other elements which are denoted as civil society or the institutions of private life.

The explanation of the means by which the ideas of the ruling group come to dominate the whole society is dependent upon this distinction between public and private. The State, the organ of the ruling class, in its administrative activity circumscribes the bounds of social life. In this model it is conceived as unable to penetrate the private spheres of thought. Its role is limited to a formal and negative sphere of activity because its power ceases at the point where civil life begins its work (Bottomore and Rubel 1963:222-223).

While ideology is based in social activity, the articulation of ideology in the institutions of civil society is seen as the elaboration of ideas by intellectuals, themselves part of the ruling group.

'The division of labour ... also manifests itself in the ruling class, as the division of mental and material labour, so that within this class one part appears as the thinkers of the class (its active conceptualizing ideologists, who make it their chief source of livelihood to develop and perfect the illusions of the class about itself), while the others have a more passive and receptive attitude to these ideas and illusions, because in reality they are the active members of this class and have less time to make up ideas and illusions about themselves.'

(Bottomore and Rubel 1963:93-94).

Althusser extends the hegemony of the ruling class into the realm of thought by integrating both the role of daily activity and the articulation of ideas. Like Parsons (1956), but within a model with different emphases, Althusser (1972) argues that in order to maintain a specific system of economic relations it is necessary that appropriate types of individuals are produced. Such individuals must not only acquire the appropriate skills to fit the available positions within the productive

system, but must also have the appropriate attitudes. He argues that ideology makes

'possible the adjustment and cohesion of men in their roles ... it does not only allow men to execute their tasks, but also helps them to bear their situation be it the exploited, be it the exploiter.'

(Althusser 1972:246)

This is close to Parson's (1956:159) view of the familial production of modal personality types differing according to the class position of the family and necessary for the stratification system. The focus however has shifted from a psycho-analytical level and the normative correction of random deviance of Parson's model, to coercive control over behavior where deviation is inherent to the pattern of the relationships themselves. This formulation, unlike Parson's, allows questions to be raised about the control of the family structure itself rather than conceptualising the changes or persistence in the structure of the family as the necessary adaptation to the needs of the wider social system.

The reproduction of the relations of production, that is, of the appropriate attitudes, are seen by Althusser as controlled by the State. Relating this to specific historical contexts¹ two types of control mechanisms are isolated within the social structure and located in discrete institutions, denoted as State Apparatuses, which have at their disposal coercion and ideology.

A distinction is drawn between the Repressive State Apparatus

'containing the Government, the Administration, the Police, the Courts, the Prisons, etc., and the Ideological State Apparatuses which present themselves to the immediate observer in the form

¹ The ahistorical aspects of Althusser's theory of ideology are not discussed here. It was found more fruitful to look at his empirical/historical evidence at this stage.

of distinct and specialised institutions. These are provisionally listed as the religious, the educational, the family, (which is also recognised as having other functions)¹, the legal (which belongs to both), the political, the trade unions, the communications and the cultural (i.e. literature the Arts, sports, etc.)¹

This is proposed as an empirical list which 'will obviously have to be examined in detail, tested, corrected and reorganised' (Althusser 1972: 252).

The types of apparatus differ in two ways. First, the Repressive State Apparatus is seen as centrally organised and unified² while the Ideological State Apparatuses are viewed as diverse discrete institutions. Secondly, although both types of Apparatus use both methods, the RSA functions predominantly by violence and the ISAs by ideology.

Although no indication is given as to the form it takes, a relationship between the Apparatuses is postulated. This is both between the RSA and ISAs and between the ISAs themselves. First the RSA is seen as providing the limiting context within which the ISAs operate. Secondly, a relationship is posited between the RSA and ISAs based upon their both using both means of coercion. It is noted, for example, that violence and coercion are used in families and schools. The ISAs are seen as the location of the contradiction with which the overriding consensus is fraught and with which it is wrought. Thus,

'...all the Ideological State Apparatuses, whatever they are, all contribute, despite their diversity, to the same result: the reproduction of the relations of production, i.e. the capitalist relations of exploitation (and) each of them contributes towards this single result in the way proper to it.'

(Althusser 1972:259)

¹ These are listed as the intervention in the reproduction of labour power and in different modes of production it is the unit of production and/or consumption.

² Evidence does not support this. Riley (1979:83) writing of nursery schools during the Second World War notes the conflicting demands of government departments and queries the concept of a monolithic State. Land (1976) comments on a similar (and related) situation with regard to manpower needs and conception of housewives' roles in the post-war period.

A further point needs emphasis. Ideology within these State Apparatuses is conceived as not just free floating ideas, but is actually lived, that is enacted in the daily practices of the individual. Within each ISA the ideology is maintained by ritual and practice (Althusser 1972:269). For his example of the family he cites the 'ideological ritual surrounding the expectation of a birth' and the structure of family relationships, already present, into which the child will enter and is in fact a part before birth (Althusser 1972:274).

I now turn to an examination of this model in relation to the research problem.

Althusser has been criticised for not according the family sufficient importance and indeed for including it within the list of ISAs. Coward and Ellis (1977:74), for example, see the family as the place where individuals are produced and acted upon to orientate them to critical cultural themes and enable them to take their place in the social structure. As noted earlier, Morgan (1979:12) observes that the family cannot be an ISA as it is itself subject to ideological definition which serves to confirm its 'naturalness' and unquestionable legitimacy.

This status, however, is latent within the specifications as they stand. First, in the articulation of the dominant ideology, the family is identified, in the two historical periods to which Althusser refers, as one half of the crucial pair of ISAs. Thus the family - education coupling of today has superseded the family - church coupling of medieval Europe. What in fact is being observed is the shift in the enforced (whether by law or tradition) participation of individuals (produced by the family) in institutions external to the family. Also being noted is the shift in the relationship of these dominant external institutions with

the RSA. (It could, for example, be argued that each, in the period in when it exercises co-ercion over an entire population, is part of the RSA.)

What is neglected, however, is the fact that the family is coupled with all the apparatuses, both repressive and ideological; for the family produces the individuals who act within them.

This is crucially associated with inadequacies which are important to the postulation of the role of ritual and practice in the maintenance of ideology within the family and which additionally direct attention to a further type of linkage between the family and both ideological and repressive apparatuses.

From the standpoint of the State the family is perhaps less capable, than are other ISAs of maintaining its own, that is the appropriate, ideology. Aspects of family ideology itself - the privacy and independence of the unit - are likely to allow for individual adaptations to the realities of the situation; for example, attempts at role reversal or dispersion through family violence. The institution has a certain degree of autonomy. Families, perhaps, have a latent propensity to go their own way, so to speak, or dismember themselves.

The propensity is heightened by a dimension additional to the contradiction of class conflict which Althusser ascribes to all ISAs; and it will be seen in the analysis how class and the economic variable play a major role in the articulation of family ideology. This further dimension is that of patriarchy witnessed perhaps in its most direct form in the family. While the relationship between patriarchy and capitalism is seen as problematic (see Bruegel 1979) the effect is nonetheless to increase the tensions inherent to the structure.

The neglect of the tension in the family structure and the potential for autonomy is due to a fundamental omission in Althusser's conception of the Ideological State Apparatuses. There is a crucial difference between the family Ideological State Apparatus and the others. While all these institutions are considered 'private' institutions (although their function is public) with the exception of the family all the ISAs listed are in a very real sense public: the family is a primary group whilst the others are secondary groups. As such they are either formal organisations or (as in the case of sport) associated with such.

Important differentiating characteristics flow from this distinction. First, despite Parson's (1956:25) view of the housewife, there are no professionals within the family. This has the following implications: the members are not subject to any compulsory formal training or formal processes of socialisation into their roles; the handing on of a body of knowledge which may be traditional or pseudo scientific (such as marital or child care advice), is inevitably external to the nuclear family although the source may be from within the circle of intimates, that is from other primary groups of friends or kin, or from formal external agencies such as social work, education and medical professions.

Secondly, unlike the other ISAs, the family has no collective voice, it is not organised in any way but is a mass of individual family units. This characteristic is reflected in the literature on the privatisation of the family (see for example, Goldthorpe et al.: 1969:50). Unlike any other ISAs the family does not publicly promote notions about its activities or its purpose. There is no group or individual, professional or otherwise, within the family ISA to articulate its ideology as either part of its practices or rituals as does the church, or as the product

of such practices as does the media. It is therefore, the other State Apparatuses which speak either for the family or about it.

The isolated nature of each family unit, especially with the lessening of the traditional influence of kin due to mobility, suggests that family structure is subject to moderating influences, if not constant threat, from, for example, egalitarianism, divorce, illegitimacy, economic market trends, war, rehousing and so forth. In consequence, it would seem that perhaps more than any other institution in Althusser's list, the family is under a constant barrage of advice, criticism, exhortation and control from State apparatuses both ideological and repressive, which both structure and conceptualise its structure in a particular way necessary to the production of specific types of people with appropriate attitudes.

While the family may not be in danger of breaking down per se, it may develop patterns seen as not conducive to State ends. Such a thesis leads to the proposition that the fundamentally different nature of the family Ideological State Apparatus accounts for the deluge of writing, prescriptions and representations of the family witnessed at all levels of society.

Such a proposition leads to consideration of other incongruities. Althusser and others (for example, Mepham 1972:268; Williams 1975:10) place special emphasis on the notion that ideology is located in behaviour, that it is acted out in daily activity. Mepham (1972:12) for example, criticises Marcuse (1965) on the grounds that he tends to identify the conditions under which people live and think, and which thereby determine what they think, with 'the prevailing indoctrination' by the 'media' advertisements, and so on, to which they are exposed.

While this emphasis may serve to correct the notion of ideology as purely ideas, the dichotomy is false. In fact, Althusser slides between the two positions, primarily because they both hold a valid place and consequently have to enter an exposition of ideology.

Thus while giving an important place to the concept of ideology as behaviour realised in institutions, in ritual and practices, also referred to is the role of ISAs in articulating ideas for others, which by definition some of them must. While such products arise out of everyday practices, as the study by the Glasgow University Media Group (1976) has demonstrated of the television news, they are intended for external consumption. In Downing's (1979:132) terms they are providing 'implicit frameworks for the interpretation of social reality ... which are subtle ... They present principles for making sense of a complex world'.

'The communications apparatus (contributes towards the reproduction of the relations of production) by cramming every citizen with daily doses of nationalism, chauvinism, liberalism, moralism etc. by means of the press, the radio and television. The same goes for the cultural apparatus... The religious apparatus by recalling in sermons and the other great ceremonies of birth, marriage and death, that man is only ashes, unless he loves his neighbour to the extent of turning the other cheek to whoever strikes first. The family apparatus ... but there is no need to go on.'¹

(Althusser 1972: 259-260)

It is important that this distinction is clarified for both theoretical and empirical reasons which relate, firstly, to the concept of audience and, secondly, to conceptual distinctions which can be drawn between types of ideological activity. I refer to these types as structuring and maintenance.

¹ It is perhaps partly due to the conceptual omission in the identification of the family that the example of the family is not elaborated here.

Molotoch (1975) has observed that power is a process and that it is not sufficient to merely point to the bases of power. While not ignoring such structural supports, power has to be sustained on a daily basis. Every relationship, he argues, includes a power component. Barnes (1977:16) makes a similar point in arguing that interaction constitutes a continuous battle for power, '... in interaction between people attempts to predict and modify the behaviour of the other occur literally from second to second'. Linguistic analysis of language as ideology reveals the underlying power structure and challenge in dialogue between the sexes (Kress and Hodge 1979:77).

Molotoch refers to the manipulation of consciousness as a way of sustaining power from day to day and refers to writers and talkers as the manipulators of consciousness. Interaction, it may be argued, is not necessarily confined to direct dialogue and activity but may operate, once removed (although it is significant the pains which are taken to establish close identification by the articulators) between articulators and physically distant audiences.

Ideological Closure, Fragmentation and Reality

Molotoch's proposition and the sheer mass of familial prescription imply a lack of ideological closure. Constant challenge is latent, for example, in the contradictions inherent to the family structure, the competing and contradictory elements within one ideology (which Althusser (1972:254) affirms contribute to the ultimate domination of the ruling ideology) and the total reality of everyday experience. Williams (1973:11) has referred to hegemony, that is the social and cultural domination of the ruling class, as involving the selection of meaning and practices from all that are available and some of 'these selected meanings and

practices are re-interpreted, diluted or put with forms which support or at least do not contradict other elements within the effective dominant culture'.

While not disputing the observation, it is also true that the challenges and reality which have been displaced by these selections do not cease to exist.

One of the problems inherent in Althusser's style of theorising is that the language and hence the concepts are vulnerable to diverse interpretation. An important instance of this is in the interpretation of 'imaginary' in Althusser's formulation of ideology in general.

Althusser writes,

'... all ideology represents in its necessarily imaginary distortion not the existing relations of production (and the other relations that derive from them), but above all the (imaginary) relationship of individuals to the relations of production and the relations that derive from them. What is represented in ideology is therefore not the system of the real relations which govern the existence of individuals, but the imaginary relation of those individuals to the real relations in which they live.'¹

(Althusser 1972:266)

For example, transposed to the institution of the family, this would refer to the concept of the marriage relationship based upon individual feelings and romantic love as opposed to the underlying contractual relationship based upon economic and patriarchal power.¹

One interpretation of imaginary has been to deny the possibility of either individual or reality penetrating ideology, since 'imaginary' is taken to mean that ideology rests on subjective experiences which present themselves as if they represented 'the deeper, unseen and unfelt conditions

¹ Firestone (1972:121) has drawn attention to the unequal distribution of power between the sexes even on the dimension of love. Women are more dependent upon the outcome than are men and invest more in the relationship. Greer (1971:142) has also commented upon the essential lack of spontaneity in love for women due to its association with the search for security.

of social existence' (see for example McLennan et al 1978:102).

A different form of ideological closure is attributed to Althusser's scheme by Coward and Ellis (1977:75). They argue that Althusser has employed, in a restricted way, the Lacanian psycho-analytic use of the term. Imaginary here does not have quite the normal connotation of 'that which is not real'. It also refers to the identification or 'calling upon' the individual as a homogenous, non-contradictory whole - or subject - which is then the coherent support for ideological representations. Consequently they see the only way to penetrate ideology is by Lacanian psycho-analytic analysis which would release the heterogeneous elements which, they argue, make up the unconscious (as opposed to conceptualisations of the unconscious as constituting forms of structural relationships) and which are refused entry into consciousness. These released elements will then attack ideology (Coward and Ellis 1977:155). The discussion is complex and I do not do it justice here. However, in the following paragraphs I argue that substantially the same theoretical position can be arrived at by remaining at the level of structure, behaviour and daily experience.

Coward and Ellis's interpretation implicitly refers to Althusser's concept of interpellation which he denotes as hailing (the term used by Coward and Ellis) and which indicates the individual's recognition of himself in the ideological form; it means that ideology imposes a specific identity upon the individual and one which the individual recognises as his own. The imagery used in this exposition is that of being hailed in the street when, unseeing, the individual knows it is he who is being called (Althusser 1972:273).

The term interpellation, however, in its French usage,¹ connotes interruption as indeed does the term hail. In the context of ideology as lived experience, this suggests that experiences which conflict with ideology are also lived; that is, are simultaneously available but that ideological processes interrupt this totality; in other words ideology incorporates the notion of fragmentation, but all those fragments are constantly available.

Such an interpretation would give a theoretical place to the constant bombardment of familial definition to which individuals in their various social statuses are subjected. Ideology has to be constantly sustained, at least, the evidence suggests, in relation to the family, because ideology never obtains full closure against the full complexity of reality as it is actually lived. Such reality, differentiated according to the different social groups in the social structure, poses a constant threat heightened in times of what Kornhauser (1960) has referred to as cultural dislocation examples of which were described earlier. It is in times of war or high unemployment for example, that individuals may be more crucially dislocated from their habitual daily practices and their interpretations of them, and elites have to seek to re-affirm the legitimacy of their position.

This concept of fragmentation of reality is given support in Habermas' (1976:70) discussion of practical discourse in the context of such a legitimation crisis of the State, whereby certain themes are raised into public prominence and others are deflected. He refers to this process of legitimation as,

¹ I make this point specifically because interpellation is part of French parliamentary procedure (Shorter Oxford Dictionary). This perhaps increases the significance, or for me sharpened my perception, of the term in the work of a French writer. Whether Althusser intended it in the way I have found useful to elaborate is uncertain.

'...directing attention to topical areas - that is of pushing other themes, problems, and arguments below the threshold of attention and thereby of withholding them from opinion formation.'

This distinction proved important to the selection of the state documents for analysis.

Legal Regulation, Public Opinion and Common Sense

In this section I examine the relevance of propositions on the levels at which ideology operates and, related to this, consensus and diversity within an ideology. I draw upon the concepts of law, public opinion and common sense used by Gramsci (1976).

Gramsci's interest in the problem of 'collective man' or 'social conformism' raised for him the issue of the correspondence 'spontaneously and freely accepted' between 'the conduct of each individual and the ends which society sets itself as necessary'. This correspondence, he argues, is twofold:

'coercive in the sphere of positive law technically understood, and is spontaneous and free (more strictly ethical) in those zones in which co-ercion is not a state affair but is effected by public opinion, moral climate etc.'

(Gramsci 1976:195)

He proposes that the role of the State is to raise the great mass of the population to a particular cultural, moral and physical level which corresponds to the needs of the production forces for development (Gramsci 1976:258) and poses the question, 'How will the educative pressures be applied to single individuals to obtain their consent and collaboration, turning necessity and coercion into freedom?' (Gramsci 1976:242).

In the conceptualisation of the processes involved he extends Marx's concept of the State, upon which Althusser (1972:252) later drew, to

include civil society,

'by the State should be understood not only the apparatus of government, but also the "private" apparatus of hegemony or civil society.'

(Gramsci 1976:261)

Although not always consistent in his exposition of their relationship to each other, this formulation nonetheless enables him to draw a distinction between political society or the State, which exerts direct domination or command through State and juridical government, and cultural hegemony which the dominant group exercises through society via the private institutions external to technical law, thereby extending their domination into the realms of ideas, belief and language (Gramsci 1976:12). The linking mechanism is attributed to intellectuals and administrators, in the widest sense, dispersed through the social structure. It would for example include the highest civil servant and the writers of pulp fiction and comics. At one stage Gramsci (1976:342) proposes a research programme to examine the proportion of those engaged in cultural activity at all levels (schools, professions, the book trade, newspapers etc.) to the population as a whole.

Social hegemony, that is, spontaneous consent is given by the mass of the population to the directives imposed upon it by the 'dominant fundamental group' because of the historic accumulation of prestige enjoyed by the group arising from its dominant economic position (Gramsci 1976:12). While this may be so, it provides little aid in penetrating the phenomenon.

However, scattered through his writings collected in The Prison Notebooks (1976) are propositions which probe more deeply into the processes involved in the control of consciousness.

A major proposition is a reconceptualisation of the law to extend it beyond technical functions to include norms and customs. Here Gramsci links technical law with the construction of a free public opinion. He observes that the concept of the law

'will have to be extended to include those activities which are at present classified as "legally neutral", and which belong to the domain of civil society; the latter operates without "sanctions" or compulsory "obligations", but nevertheless exerts a collective pressure and obtains objective results in the form of an evolution of customs, ways of thinking and acting, morality etc.'

(Gramsci 1976:242)

This conception however, is still firmly based upon legal regulation. The role of the law in the creation of consensus is twofold, but in both cases it is conceived for the whole society.

First, formal technical law, the apparatus of state co-ercive power, is seen as enforcing discipline upon those groups who do not spontaneously consent either actively or passively. Gramsci continues,

'This apparatus is however, constituted for the whole of society in anticipation of crisis of command and direction when spontaneous consent has failed.'

(Gramsci 1976:12)

There is, therefore, a formal background of technical law which manifestly provides the boundaries of social life in its day to day existence and which may formally be referred to.

This formal legal regulation, however, penetrates more deeply into the fabric of society than merely providing rules and directives which must be observed in order to obtain rewards or escape negative sanctions. According to Gramsci, technical law ultimately creates a public opinion by the fact of its structuring behavioural patterns and from there entering consciousness so that the individual sees his directed behaviour

as morally right and proper and sanctions those other individuals who do not conform.

'Every man, in as much as he is active, i.e. living, contributes to modifying the social environment in which he develops ... (that is) he tends to establish "norms", rules of living and of behaviour ... The masses... must live (the legal) directives, modifying their own habits, their own will, their own convictions to conform with those directives and with the objects which they propose to adhere. If everyone is a legislator in the broadest sense of the concept, he continues to be a legislator even if he accepts directives from others - if, as he carries them out, he makes certain that others are carrying them out too; if, having understood their spirit, he propogates them as though making them into rules specifically applicable to limited and definite zones of living.'

(Gramsci 1976:266)

In addition to an awareness of widely shared norms, Gramsci also drew attention to the diversity within the norms and values of a culture; just as Bott (1971:196) identified amongst the families she studied, and termed norms of common consent, the norms on which there was a consensus, and personal norms the ideals and standards which her informants felt to be their own private standards and different to those of others. She also drew attention to the assumption that is often made, and which was referred to earlier in the discussion of the normal family, that there is a large measure of agreement on the social norms of family life in the society as a whole. Although she found less consensus on familial norms than was commonly assumed (Bott 1971:194-195), she also found a range of behaviours encompassed by these norms of common consent.

These familial norms of common consent are worth noting: the financial independence of the elementary family of relatives and friends, that each family should have an independent dwelling, a division of labour between husband and wife where the husband was primarily responsible for the financial support of the family and the wife for the home and

child care. In Botts words it was thought that,

'The world would be upside down if the woman went out to work and the husband stayed at home to care for the house and the children, although it was recognised, with varying degrees of approval and disapproval, that husbands sometimes helped with child care and housework and wives sometimes went out to work.'

Adultery was considered a serious offence and parents were assumed to be responsible for the care of their children although standards varied (Bott 1971:197). These norms of common consent were not explicitly stated but taken for granted and their vagueness allowed considerable variety of behaviour to be encompassed within them.

She attributes the personal norms partially to the couples own creation and partially to a selective interpretation of the norms of other groups (Bott 1971:200). This diversity is seen as related to the types of network, close-knit with high interaction or loose-knit, within which the family is set (Bott 1971:212).

Gramsci's recognition of diversity in values is found in his comments on common sense. They vividly convey an essential quality of fragmentation. The editors of The Prison Notebooks broadly define common sense¹ as 'the incoherent set of generally held assumptions and beliefs common to any given society' or 'the uncritical and largely unconscious way of perceiving and understanding the world that has become "common" in any given epoch' (Gramsci 1976:323,322).

Essential to Gramsci's conception of common sense, however, is the notion of fragmentation. Common sense and good sense, because of their variation, appear to differ from the type of consensus which I have considered under public opinion. While public opinion² is shared, common

¹ Good sense refers to the practical, but not necessarily rational or scientific attitudes that in English is usually called common sense (Gramsci 1971:322).

² The term public opinion may also incorporate diversity. It is possible, for example, to refer 'to one sector of public opinion'. However I have taken the term here as it is used by Gramsci to denote that which is generally shared.

sense and good sense are many and differ according to the structural location of the group.

'Every social stratum has its own "common sense" and its own "good sense", which are basically the most widespread conceptions of life and man.'

(Gramsci 1976:326fn.)

His comments upon common sense and religion elucidate the nature of both social strata and fragmentation. Gramsci views religion as a principle component of common sense.

'The principal elements of common sense are provided by religion, and consequently the relationship between common sense and religion is much more intimate than that between common sense and the philosophical systems of the intellectuals. But even with religion some critical distinctions should be made. Every religion, even Catholicism (indeed Catholicism more than any, precisely because of its efforts to retain a "surface" unity and avoid splintering into national churches and social stratifications), is in reality a multiplicity of distinct and often contradictory religions: there is one Catholicism for the peasants, one for the petite-bougeois and town workers, one for women, and one for intellectuals which is itself variegated and disconnected.'

(Gramsci 1976:420)

The concept of fragmentation is additionally complex in that an individual may be a member of several strata or groups and that within individual consciousness itself common sense is fragmentary, incoherent and inconsistent. Thus, in exploring the notion of conformity, that individuals belong to some form of social grouping which share a mode of thinking and acting he observes,

'When one's conception of the world is not critical and coherent but disjointed and episodic, one belongs simultaneously to a multiplicity of mass human groups,'

(Gramsci 1976:324)

and that,

'common sense... takes countless different forms. Its most fundamental characteristic is that it is a conception which, even in the brain of one individual, is fragmentary, incoherent and inconsequential, in conformity with the social and cultural position of those masses whose philosophy it is.'

(Gramsci 1976:419)

These world views are conceived as organic historical processes.

'Common sense is not something rigid and immobile, but is continuously transforming itself, enriching itself with scientific ideas and with philosophical opinions which have entered ordinary life. "Common sense" is the folklore of philosophy, science and economics of the specialists. Common sense creates the folklore of the future, that is as the relatively rigid phase of popular knowledge at a given place and time.'

(Gramsci 1976:326f.n.)

This diversity of values and beliefs has no apparent link with his concept of law except in so far as the operation of a society's laws will serve to eventually modify the lack of conformity.

However, it could be argued (as Gramsci does of religion) that it is misconceived to view diversity as deviation from the general cultural level which Gramsci sees as the aim of hegemony. There are several indications to suggest this: for example, Botts' (1971) observation of diversity within consensus; Althusser's (1972) conception of ideology as composed of many strands, both complementary and competing, and yet still contributing to the ends of the State. When this is linked with the empirically derived concept of audience and the theoretically derived concept of fragmentation an alternative proposition can be derived.

As Parsons (1956:159) has noted, diversity of modal personality types which are related to a family's position in the class structure appears to serve a purpose in the real world, a proposition subscribed to by Althusser (1972:245-246). It can therefore be argued that while State regulation imposes and constructs a broad consensus by directives intended to encompass the entire population, in contrast, prescriptive messages which are distinguished by their orientation to discrete

¹ These observations are particularly pertinent to the content of the forces' education programme.

audiences in specific structural locations, that is, differentiated by the variables of class, family status, family stage, age and gender etc., do not merely reflect the salient norms of that particular group or category, as Hoggart's (1966:122) romantic interpretation of working class women's magazines of the 1950s would suggest, but elaborate and sustain an essential diversity.

The combination of the empirical evidence with the theoretical insights outlined above allowed the construction of the following working hypotheses.

1. Family ideology consist of inter-related beliefs and behaviour.
2. Family ideology is produced and sustained in identifiable ways by agencies external to the family.
3. Agencies which produce familial prescription can be distinguished by the sanctions at their disposal.
4. State legal prescription is directed at the entire population.
5. Familial legal regulation will contain an ideal model of the family.
6. The model will be sustained by legal coercive sanctions, both positive and negative.
7. The model will comprise a selection of elements from the whole range of available family behaviours.
8. Within this range are challenges to the model.
9. Contradiction is inherent within the model itself, thereby comprising its own challenge.
10. The model will be challenged by competing ideologies.
11. The elements not incorporated within the model will be displaced.
12. Such displaced elements and other challenges to the model will be accommodated by mechanisms which neutralise or depoliticize them.
13. Some agencies which propound prescriptive messages do not have enforcable sanctions.
14. Such agencies will draw upon other types of normative control.
15. Specific messages are directed at discrete audiences.

16. As the realities of the audiences differ, so will the messages select from the range of familial themes.
17. The articulation and integration of the themes within messages will be dependent upon the localised problems of the particular audience.
18. The diverse elaborations of family ideology will sustain essential economic and gender distinctions related to the distribution of power.
19. Two distinct processes will be observable.
20. One process will be the structuring of consciousness via the legal control of behaviour.
21. Discrete elements of legally regulated behaviour will correspond with shared norms (consensual norms) in the culture, for example, stereotypes.
22. A second process will be a maintenance of diversity within the consensus by a specialised articulation.
23. There will be a link between these processes.
24. In this relationship legal regulation will be superordinate.
25. In the period of social change under consideration such processes will be orientated to structure and maintain a traditional family ideology.

DESIGN OF THE RESEARCH

'A research design is a plan for collecting and analyzing data in order to answer the investigator's problem' (Holsti 1969:24).

A research design has two interrelated functions. First it reduces the amount of material to be considered, thereby bringing the research within manageable proportions. Secondly, it is the means whereby critical selections of data are made in order to provide the crucial conditions for hypothesis testing. In order that this latter function is fulfilled each stage in the selection of data for analysis and the ensuing choice of analytical measures must be informed by the theory underpinning the research.

The research here comprised a comparison of the familial content of specific written documents. In this section are set out the choices made at each stage of the selection process and the reasons for each decision.

DEFINING THE UNIVERSE

The early field work suggested that ideally the universe to which such a study might refer consisted of all the messages - oral, written and visual - directed towards family behaviour and produced external to the family unit. Such a body of material is so vast that a series of decisions had to be made in order to make it amenable to research.

First to confine the analysis to written sources appeared to be both theoretically relevant because of its abundance, and empirically sound in that much data was accessible. Nonetheless, as the exploratory work discussed above demonstrates, this still comprised a substantial amount of material ranging extensively both historically and in type and the construction of a sampling frame from this data, if not still impossible due to loss of material over the years, seemed impossible in terms of physical and economic resources. The fear however proved unnecessary. Because the theoretical focus was not on trends but on processes of maintenance encompassed within one ideology and operating at different points in the social structure the phenomenon could be examined by isolating a complex of sources at one historical point.

Historical Period

The period of the Second World War, 1939-45, was selected as a critical case for analysis. Given the tenacity of traditional familism, exposed in the evidence set out earlier, and the potential for long-term change in family structures and attitudes inherent in the disruption of a total war, which had been preceded by the less extensive but still evident disruption of mass unemployment, this period, following Kornhauser (1960) and Habermas (1976) was likely to be high in legitimating activity directed at the preservation of the obtaining power structure. Following

Althusser (1972) this then would be a period where the intricacies of the ideological processes of power maintenance would be massively focussed and in force.

Because of this hypothesised activity and focus, it was therefore considered that the complexities and interrelationships of ideological mechanisms would be highly accessible to analysis. Furthermore, should an intense pattern of ideological maintenance not be revealed here, doubt would be cast upon the dominance ideology is purported to hold over behaviour and belief.

The dislocating effect of war upon the family was discussed under the paradox of the objective conditions for change. Briefly these dislocations were the atomisation of the family by conscription, female war work and evacuation and the changes in attitudes and perceptions which flowed from this. Furthermore the adequacy of the family, ensuant upon a poverty derived from the obtaining class structure, was laid open to public inspection by evacuation. There was however an additional feature of the war time period which made its selection particularly appropriate: the climate of values within which the war was fought.

The Climate of Values

The term climate of values is used to indicate the pervasive moral and philosophical tenets of the period. Two aspects are important to the research. First values were both highly visible and articulated by an extensive range of individuals and groups throughout the social structure. Secondly, the content of these values was highly pertinent to an examination of family ideology.

The articulation of values was part of the war effort. Use was made of highly regarded values in official rhetoric to encourage

commitment to the nation state and to laud allies. Moreover, a component of such values as freedom, democracy, individualism, and equality was what may be described as the tangential value of familism. An example of this interdependency is found in a speech by Churchill following the German attack on Russia, 4th June 1941. While maintaining his opposition to Communism he incorporates among his 'effective nebulous generalisations',

'... The cause of any Russian fighting for his hearth and home is the cause of free men and free peoples in every quarter of the globe.'

(Calder 1969:260)

The sentiment is expressed in a more direct manner by a Lancashire ex-serviceman who took part in the Normandy landings, 'You weren't fighting for king and country, you were fighting for your own midden, your own patch' (I.T.V. 1979, 7 Aug.).

Furthermore the threats (or advantages), both moral and physical, of Facist Germany and Communist Russia provided a vivid measure against which the values of British society were often set and, as will be shown, appeared in many sources.

The State also drew upon familism in its exhortatory posters. Fear of a fifth column¹ led to a widespread campaign to prevent idle gossip which might inadvertently disclose key information to the enemy on, for example, the location of specific industries or the movement of troops which might be revealed, say, in comments in servicemen's letters. One such poster ran, 'Be Like Dad and Keep Mum'. The implications of the exchange over this poster in the House of Commons (7 May 1941) between

¹ Although there were virtually no Fifth Columnists, Britons working for the Nazis in Britain, people were encouraged to develop a suspicious 'fifth column mentality' through media such as posters, newsreels and feature films with such stars as George Formby (BBC1 1979, 7 Nov.).

Dr. Edith Summerskill and the government spokesman is discussed below (Women's Freedom League 1941 246:2).

Secondly, as noted earlier, the period has entered into common knowledge, challenged only comparatively recently, as one of great social change. This challenge is itself contested by historians such as Marwick (1976:11) who argues that society did change, even if not nearly as much, or in the directions that some would wish, if the measure of the 1930s is taken rather than a socialist society or a hypothetical ideal state. Marwick (1968:12) argues that total war, necessarily involving the activity and commitment of the entire population, ultimately leads to the distribution of rewards to those undertaking that effort. In this process, he continues participation in the war effort of the two world wars brought an extension of social and political privilege. The underprivileged groups which benefited were the working class, women and children and young people.

Abrams (1963:62) has pointed to a naivety in this position in that not only do different groups participate to a different degree but they have widely varying power to influence the consequential political decisions and the distribution of benefits.

The evidence on the family from which this study developed (and as I have observed re-orientated the nature of the research) would tend to support Calder's (1969:17) view.

'Those who made the 'People's War' a slogan argued that the war could promote a revolution in British Society. After 1945, it was for a long time fashionable to talk as if something like a revolution had in fact occurred. But at this distance, we see clearly enough that the effect of the war was not to sweep society on to a new course, but to hasten its progress along the old grooves.'

A further salient feature of the period which guided the selection,

however, lay not only in Calder's (1969:17) later comment, that 'in the shocked Britain which faced defeat between 1940 and 1942, there were obviously the seeds of a new democracy' but that in the contemporary evidence, although tempered with doubt and cynicism (Slater and Woodside 1951:250; Calder 1969:536), there was nonetheless a feeling that change was possible; and the direction which change should take was clearly evident: social justice and egalitarianism articulated around the idea of a better post-war world 'for which we were fighting'. Paradoxically, in contradiction of official government policy, this was fostered by agencies under direct state control - for example, those responsible for the forces' education programme (discussed below) and in the films produced by the Ministry of Information (BBC 1 1979).

In its popular form, evident in popular journalism, articulation overwhelmingly took the form of a critique of an inegalitarian class structure. This was epitomised in the radical journalism of Picture Post. The former editor, Tom Hopkinson, interviewed in 1977 (BBC 1) described the role of the magazine. Whereas the Daily Mirror influenced, Picture Post helped to create what happened after the war. The approach adopted is summed in the Special Issue of January 1941, 'A plan for Britain', which advocated an all-in contributory scheme of social insurance, a positive health service, a bold building programme to start immediately after the war to root out all slums, the same kind of education for all up to 13 with the public schools brought into the general system and holidays for all. The issue unleashed the biggest flood letters they had (Hopkinson 1970:90).

The magazine (after first doubts on the worthwhileness of the Committee on Social Insurance (Picture Post 1942 7 March:23)) also ran an extensive publicity campaign to raise public pressure for the

implementation of Beveridge's proposals prior to publication, on publication in November 1942, and over the following year when the Government showed a lack of enthusiasm for its recommendations and there was the felt danger that the Report might disappear without trace (see Picture Post articles and letters especially 1942 28 Nov:26; 1942 26 Dec:26; 1943 2 Jan:14; 1943 31 July:26; 1943 4 Dec:26; 1944 15 Jan:26).

Such emphasis was also evident in journalism which reached different audiences to that of Picture Post. For example, Home Chat, a woman's magazine aimed at the older woman at home (White 1970:126), in an article entitled 'Future Security Depends on You' urged women to take a more active citizenship role and press their M.P.s for the implementation of the Report. The mood is caught in the following,

'It was not mere selfishness that caused this great new interest to be taken in social problems. It was a public spirited desire to improve that democracy in which we all believe, whilst we were fighting for it; because we could face the fact that, whilst it was worth dying for, it was by no means perfect.'

(Home Chat 1942 22 May:289)

Good Housekeeping, for example, ran editorials and features on social security (1943 February:3; 1943 May:103) education (1943 May:103 etc.) and housing (1943 May:36 etc.); and Woman's Outlook¹, a woman's magazine published by the Co-operative press, included articles on the Beveridge Plan and 'The Beveridge Fight' (1943 2Jan:83; 16 Jan:102; 30 Jan:123;

¹ Woman's Outlook started in the mid 1920s, was the Co-operative Movement's answer to Home Chat and Home Notes, similar in size, format, housewifery features and fiction but also including articles of social interest and, in particular, co-operative themes. It was never put on general sale, though many of the editorial staff thought it should be, but distributed partly through the education departments of retail co-operative societies and on sale in some of their shops, but mostly by branches of the Women's Co-operative Guild. The first editor was Mrs. Annie Bamford Tomlinson. On her death she was replaced, in 1933, by Mary Stott who 'edited the magazine very much as a voice of co-operative, socialist, feminist ideology while keeping the format as like the current Home Chat - Home Notes mood' as possible. The circulation was under 100,000 (Stott 1978:letter to the author).

13 Feb:133; 27 Feb:172; 13 March: n.p.).

There was however a further dimension to the debate on equality and that was equality between the sexes. Evidence of this debate is also found in Picture Post and in magazines whose primary focus was on the family and which were orientated to upholding its values. Again these are found in both readers' letters and articles.

Home Chat (1942 19 Dec:446) for example in 'Why the Rows Began' airs the issue of equality between husband and wife and economic dependence of the wife. During war, it is observed, a wife is often forced out to work because of the inadequacy of the service man's allowance.

'She works hard and makes quite a lot of money. Certainly, it is more than he is making at the moment, and very often it is more than the whole family lived on in the days of peace. But that isn't the trouble.

The thorn in his side is that she is making it all herself. She has discovered her own value in the labour market. She is independent. She can spend it as she likes and she doesn't have to ask him or consult him. She is an equal now instead of an inferior (financially). And he doesn't like it.

... He feels that his masculine pride has been injured, that his power and position have been torn from him, and that life is all wrong with a wife with money.'

(italics in original)

The article continues by affirming that the economic position of the wife has changed for good,

'From the day of victory onwards, if not before then, women are going to hold firmly to the financial equality they have won recently. Not just the women who have been earning, but all women.

The day is not very far away when, by law, they will be full financial partners in a marriage and entitled to a fair share in the savings, or the cash left over when the

housekeeping bills are paid.'¹

The article continues with references to women MPs who propose fixed allowances for wives and children 'not just what a husband cares to give' and the hope for equal pay for equal work.

The themes are echoed elsewhere. In Woman's Outlook (1942 5 Dec: 689) an article 'Should Wives have Economic Freedom' proposes a legal contract on marriages 'providing for an equitable sharing of the joint income - a point which must have circulated fairly widely since it is raised by a representative of the T.U.C. delegation to the Beveridge Committee in discussion of the possibility of the separate insurance of the wife as opposed to her insurance being subsumed with that of her husband.

'We do not say that the wife is insurable unless the agitation that is going on now that a man's wages should be divided and the wife given a proportion of them, then she would have to pay insurance.'

(PRO 1942 CAB87/77 6 May: Q2266)

¹ This last point probably refers to a legal case of the period concerning property rights in housekeeping money. In October 1943 the Married Women's Association appealed against a judicial decision granted in favour of a husband who applied for a wife's savings from taking in lodgers and from judicial use of housekeeping money; (£103 had accrued in co-operative dividends over a period of 16 years). The Appeal Judges dismissed the case on two counts. First the woman had been using her husband's beds; secondly with regard to housekeeping, they argued,

'If we permitted a woman to save out of the housekeeping allowance, and keep the proceeds, then women would be tempted to give their husbands tinned meat rather than roast meat.'

Married women, then, were not entitled to anything (Summerskill 1967:144). By the Married Women's Property Act (1964) a wife is now entitled to half of anything she saves, buys or wins out of her housekeeping money (Coote and Gill 1974:166).

Themes raised frequently in the letters and articles in Picture Post are also those of equality in pay, insurance and legal status; for example, a letter starts, 'It is ludicrous that a country which is fighting for its freedom should still hold more than 50 per cent of its population in bondage' (Picture Post 1942 21 Nov:3). Equal status of the wife with the husband and financial partnership with equal responsibility for the upkeep of the home and family is advocated (Picture Post 1944 5 Feb:26); a sharp complaint following an article on 'Schoolgirls Training for Motherhood' runs,

'We are trying to maintain the status quo of pre-war days (and) so far as women are concerned this means an attempt to relegate them almost entirely to the home.'

(Picture Post 1942 21 Nov:2).

These quotations, selected from many, give the flavour of this debate and indicate an awareness of the issues that was clearly articulated.¹ There was also a consciousness that change would involve struggle and that that struggle must take place during the war and not be left until afterwards. The victory in April 1943, after the three year struggle, for equal compensation for war injuries is mentioned (Picture Post 1944 8 Jan:12). But in a letter of 1942 Margaret Corbett Ashley, Chairman of the Women's Liberal Federation, observes,

'The only way to secure a better place for women after the war is to make it secure here and now, before war weariness and unemployment rob them of all they have achieved.'

(Picture Post 1942 18 Aug:3)

The issues were also subjects of debates and questions in Parliament

¹ It should also be emphasised that these issues presented here have, for the purpose of indicating the fact of their presence, been torn from the context of their texts. It will be seen in the later analysis how such realities are accommodated within the textual configurations. Constraints upon an individual researcher did not allow for an analysis of Picture Post as was originally intended. Data for analysis was however collected and an impression of this radical journalism is that claims for social justice by gender co-exist, or are intricately interwoven, with a traditional familism.

by such MPs as Edith Summerskill and Mavis Tate, and were also well aired amongst the feminist groups of the period. Aspects of this level of the discourse enter into the analysis of the Beveridge data and detail is therefore not entered into here. There were also general publications such as Ethel Wood's (the sister of Lord Hailsham) Mainly for Men (1943), which ventilated all such themes and included the unequal laws relating to nationality and the illogicalities of taxation in its application to married women.

Initial contact with this material surprised by its contemporary flavour - especially Edith Summerskill's criticism of the war-time media. Yet the issues sank apparently without trace to re-emerge as though fresh in the late 1960s and 1970s. This however, is the subject for a further piece of research. Of importance to this thesis were the visibility of values, the two dimensions of equality and the physical and social dislocation of war as the determining factors for the selection of this period for analysis.

THE SAMPLE: SELECTING THE SOURCES AND AUDIENCES

'When every source can be considered equally important for the purposes of the study, the analyst may draw a random sample. However, if this assumption is not warranted, a purposive sample may be used to reflect the qualities which are deemed important.'

(Holsti 1969:654).

For the reasons stated earlier the research was confined to an examination of documentary evidence. Of the range of sources of such data the hypotheses directed attention to major differentiating characteristics which allowed for a crucial selection for analysis. In this selection the organising concepts were those of source and audience.

Mass Audience and the State

The theoretical significance attached to the role of law in the structuring of behaviour and consciousness indicated the importance of examining the legal rules and sanctions directed at a mass audience comprising the entire population.

In a situation of total war and in a climate that was felt to be potentially revolutionary, the necessity to sustain a commitment to the nation state meant that the Government should be seen to be considering policies for a better post-war Britain.

As Calder (1969:17) somewhat dramatically observes,

'... the necessity for the willing co-operation of all the ruled, meant that co-operation must be paid for by concessions in the direction of a higher standard of living for the poor, greater social equality and improved welfare services.' For the conscripts in the armed forces were dangerous enemies to the old social order; jolted out of their acceptance of it by communal travel, hardship and danger. The rifle aimed at the enemy might be turned on the ruling classes, as it was in Russia.'

He notes that

'very early in the war both Government and private institutions had seen clearly that nothing was ever going to be the same again. The blitz had been the end of a world.'²

(Calder 1969:243)

The concern by the Government had led, however reluctantly, to the setting up of a co-ordinating committee for post-war planning and ultimately to the creation of a Minister of Reconstruction with a seat in the cabinet. Arthur Greenwood as Minister responsible for post-war planning had been given a small staff to co-ordinate the work of a number of committees set up at ministerial and departmental level. In February, 1942, he was dismissed by Churchill and not replaced but 'Planning' was added to the title of the Ministry of Works. In November,

¹ Harris (1977:386) notes that Beveridge consistently argued that the war effort would be greatly strengthened by a positive government commitment to social reform.

² The aerial bombardment of Britain from September 1940 - May 1941.

1943, Lord Woolton transferred from the Ministry of Food to the newly created post of Minister of Reconstruction with a seat in the cabinet (Calder 1969:293,535). Furthermore, internationally, this was set in the context of International Reconstruction as embodied in the Atlantic Charter of August 1941 (Directorate of Army Education 1944:570).

The details of this concern take the form of a series of reports, white papers and acts of parliament, some of which had been underway in the immediate post-war years, but which appeared from 1940 onwards. Their content included discussion and proposals on changes in the distribution and location of industry, the prevention of the growth of new depressed areas and the restraint of overcrowding in others (Barlow Report 1940); rural poverty and uncontrolled land development (Scott Report 1942); that post-war rebuilding should not be inhibited by land prices (Uthwatt Report 1942; White Paper on the Control of Land Use 1944); the adoption of a Keynesian approach to full employment (White Paper on Employment Policy 1943); poverty and social insurance (Beveridge Report 1942); equality of opportunity in education (White Paper on Educational Reconstruction 1943; Education Act, 1944) and free health care for all (White Paper on the National Health Service 1944). Sexual equality was also given some recognition however grudgingly in equal compensation for civilian war injuries (1943) and in the setting up of the Royal Commission on Equal Pay in 1944.

Of these documents the Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Social Insurance, the Beveridge Report, (1942(a)), was the one most centrally concerned with the family. While not strictly defined as law, the proposals in the report were substantially incorporated within the National Insurance Act 1946. Additionally its underlying assumptions

extensively inform today's social welfare legislation (Walley 1972:40; Land 1976:108).

Furthermore, the Beveridge Report is of key importance in the articulation of family ideology in respects other than its role in the legal structuring of behaviour. It also operated at the level of ideas. First, although published as the report of one man, Beveridge, in fact it articulated 'ideas which already commanded a good deal of popular support' and was 'interpreting rather than creating the spirit of the time' (Harris 1977:415;414). This, it will be seen, is demonstrated in the evidence submitted to the Committee (Beveridge 1942b; PRO 1941-2 CAB 87/76-82). It was also evident in its eventual endorsement by major political and social groups (Harris 1977:420) and witnessed in the massive sales of the Report itself.

Two weeks after publication, in November 1942 a national opinion poll found that 95 per cent of those interviewed showed some knowledge of the Report; a year later it was reported that 256,000 copies of the full report had been sold and 369,000 copies of the abridged version. A further 40,000 copies were sold in the United States (Marwick 1976:130). Summaries were widely published in newspapers and there were varying degrees of comment and discussion in journals and magazines which reached specifically located audiences, for example, as already noted, Picture Post, Good Housekeeping, Home Chat, Woman, Woman's Outlook.

This interactive relationship with its cultural context had particular implications which are entered into more fully when the data is examined. In sum however, ideas were drawn from the populace, filtered through the processes of report construction and then returned to the populace (and in this instance very widely dispersed) in a refined form, for

consumption by the population at the level of ideas as well as in the structuring of behaviour.

While not without its critics at the time (Abbott and Bompas 1942; Calder 1969:530; Harris 1977:403;422-426), it is also of note that the Report entered into public consciousness as a predominantly radical and egalitarian document. Beveridge himself was considered a liberal and, by some, dangerous. While viewed by Churchill as a distraction from the war effort, and its early publicity by Brendon Bracken, the Minister of Information, an embarrassment to the Government as a whole, in some official quarter the Report was seen as a means of engendering the commitment of a dangerously despondent and apathetic populace, both civilian (Calder 1969:530-31) and military (Summerfield 1976) to the nation state, and came to symbolise the image of the post-war society for which 'we were fighting' (Picture Post 1942-3; Directorate of Army Education 1944:65) in the conception of which, as has already been observed, egalitarianism was a major theme.

A further feature of the Report rendered it highly appropriate for analysis on both theoretical and empirical grounds. The Report did not stand in isolation but formed part of a configuration of documents associated with the democratic processes of policy formation and the construction of legal rules.

During its deliberations the Committee received evidence, both written and oral from a wide range of individuals and organisations. War time conditions precluded the normal practice of publishing this evidence in its entirety as an accompanying volume to the Report and only those memoranda considered to be of general interest, or to be dealing with major issues of social policy, were selected for publication (Beveridge 1942b:n.p.).

This act of selection nicely fits the process of legitimation described by Habermas (1976:70) referred to earlier, of directing attention to topical areas and withholding others from opinion formation. The thirty years accessibility ruling applicable to state papers now means that since 1972 the entire evidence is available to the public. Used as a research strategy, therefore, this division allows an examination of differences in treatment accorded to the various facets of family life in two theoretically and empirically distinct areas.

A further set of associated documents was also salient. This comprised the internal memoranda of the civil servants who dealt with the representations to the Minister of those who dissented with the proposals or aspects of them. The representations of women's groups were selected to examine how certain aspects of dissention were accommodated.

The configuration of documents is of course much more extensive than this and it was tempting to pursue the various themes and trails which emerged; into the background of civil service deliberations, through the construction of the White Paper of 1944, and into the legislation of 1946. An additional direction could also have been followed in the differential articulation of the Report in the various summaries and booklets produced for the public. Here certain themes disappeared completely, for example, the 'unmarried wife' or mother, others became subtly adapted, for example the implication that husbands had the total financial burden for the insurance of wives (see for example, H.M. Government 1942; Davison 1943; Directorate of Army Education 1944:563-566; Ministry of Reconstruction 1944; Owen 1946). However the documents finally selected were considered of major theoretical relevance and therefore the analysis of legal regulation was limited to the following:

Social Insurance and Allied Services (Beveridge 1942(b)), The Memoranda from Organisations (Beveridge 1942(b)), the unpublished evidence (PRO 1941-2 CAB 87/76-82), and the files on representations to the Minister (PRO 1944 PIN 8/48; 1944-45 PIN 8/69).

Finally, it should be noted that the configuration of texts in this area is, because of the accessibility ruling on state papers referred to above, the most contemporary available for an analysis in this field.

Discrete Audiences and Non-legal Sanctions

The second area of theoretical relevance was that where audiences differed and where the articulators of messages did not have recourse to the repressive measures of the State. Three were selected: a mass male audience and two audiences within what is commonly regarded as a mass female audience. The audiences, then, differed by the variables of gender, and, within the female set, by age, education, social class and stage in the family cycle.

The Forces' Education Programme

The war provided a second opportunity to examine an area not normally available to the researcher - indeed one which does not normally exist. This was the overt education of a mass male audience in familism. Unlike women, men do not constitute self selecting audiences for familial messages via the magazines they buy. Those bought by men which touch on this area are not directly related to the family (although they form an aspect of familism) but are of the sexually titillating 'girlie' variety or possibly of the handiman kind. Prescriptive messages on the family are not usually directed at the male.

However, the compulsory army education programme on citizenship, which ran from 1941 until the end of the war and into the demobilization period, contained material on the family and the wider aspects of familism.

The origin of this material and the characteristics of the audience comprise the realities which this articulation of familism had to address. Consequently examination of this detail is more suitably placed immediately prior to the analysis. The salient features which determined the selection, however, are the following: first the audience of conscripts was mass, male and captive in the sense that presence, if not participation in the classes was compulsory; secondly, in a complex way which is described below, although the source of the messages was set within the domain of the State, the articulators and constructors of these messages were liberal and the messages overtly liberal in content and intent. Similarly the material was ideological rather than repressive, in Althusser's sense, in that it was educational material and, as will be seen, constrained by the conventions of education which were reinforced by the links between the military and civilian educators (predominantly from universities' extra-mural departments and the Workers' Educational Association).

The data for analysis comprised the booklets produced by the Directorate of Army Education entitled the British Way and Purpose¹ (BWP) and selected bulletins of the fortnightly issue of Current Affairs (ABCA). In the first case the whole of the text was scrutinised. In

¹ In 1944 the Directorate of Army Education published the 18 BWP booklets as a consolidated edition with the addition of appendices on domestic and international reconstruction and a selected bibliography. This text has been used throughout the analysis unless otherwise stated. However, the system of referral adopted has been to refer to the relevant BWP booklet and use the page number of the consolidated edition. References not in the booklets come under Directorate of Army Education.

the second, bulletins or parts of bulletins with direct familistic themes were examined. These were: 'Women at War' (Current Affairs 1942, 20 June), 'Women after the War' (Current Affairs 1943 44, 22 May), 'Social Security' (Current Affairs 1943 45, 5 June), 'When the Lights Go On' (Current Affairs 1943 58, 31 July), 'The Trouble with Germans' (Current Affairs 1943 49, 14 Aug), and 'Woman's Place' (Current Affairs 1944 61, 29 Jan).

Women's Magazines

The genre of women's magazines presented the obvious choice for a comparison of familism articulated for mass audiences differentiated by gender as well as a different type of source.

First it should be pointed out that comparison by gender was contaminated, although not critically, by the fact that while the readership of women's magazines was assumed at the time to be almost exclusively female (Hulton 1947:7), the audience of the forces' education material, although predominantly male, did encompass a small female audience. However, while BWP and ABCA were technically directed at both sexes the manner in which this small female component was circumscribed (see below) suggested that their impact on the material as an audience could be legitimately discounted.

A second dimension upon which the texts could be compared, was in their liberal-conservative orientation. As noted, the military material, with its source in both the State and an educational elite of civil society, was infused with a liberalism. In contrast, the women's press was firmly located within a conservative tradition. White (1970:134) in her analysis of the women's press remarks of the immediate post-war years, 'the traditional camp ... found a sympathetic mouthpiece in the women's press, particularly the popular weeklies'.

The autobiographies of Mary Grieve (1964), editor of Woman from 1940 to 1962 and James Drawbell (1968), erstwhile editor of the Sunday Chronicle and editor of Woman's Own from 1946 lend credence to this analysis.

Such conservatism does not contradict the fact that modern careers and new enterprises were built upon it. So also may it co-exist with personal radical philosophies. Mary Grieve, for example, describes herself as an ardent socialist, converted during the 1930s, with a position left of centre (Grieve 1964:52-53); and Drawbell on assuming the post-war editorship of Woman's Own saw himself as directly rejecting his former social activism,

'This image I was building up was of a magazine in touch with all that exciting outer world which women want to be part of ... of fashion and celebrities ... No politics. No crusading and campaigning (as in the newspaper world he had left) ... the new world for leisure and books and pictures and decent homes'.

(Drawbell 1968:37)

The two audiences were also distinguished by a further characteristic. Whereas BWP and ABCA material was produced for a captive audience, and publicly articulated predominantly through discussion groups, the readership of women's magazines was self selecting and consumption of the content was a private and individual experience.

Finally, a further difference facilitated a closer examination of the refinements of ideological articulation and their hypothesised function in the sustenance of variation within a general norm; for while the women's press shares the overarching characteristic of orientation to an apparently mass female audience, it is internally differentiated by discrete readerships of specific types of magazine. These audiences have different structural locations, varying by social

class, education, age, stage in the family cycle or familial status.

By drawing upon previous studies (White 1970); Hoggart 1966; Carter 1977) it was possible to allocate the major magazines, as identified in readership surveys (IIPA 1939:1947), to one of five categories. Of the 69 magazines recorded as published during the war (White 1970; Whittaker's Almanack 1939-45) 34 could be so allocated. They are listed in table 1. This categorisation was possible due to the intimate relationship between the editorial policy and the social realities of the audience

Successful women's magazines were, and still are, constructed with specific audiences in mind. Towards the end of the last century discerning publishers became aware of distinct subgroups within the female population and began to cater for these rather than, as in the past, 'The Sex' as a whole (White 1970:69). Flora (1971:436) notes contemporary editorial policy and the careful discriminations that are made; that the ideal reader of True Story and Modern Romances, for example is seen as 'a "distinct" sociological entity" different in "attitudes, mores and value systems which separate the working class woman from her middle class counterpart"'. Of the historical period under consideration Mary Grieve writes of the lengths to which she went to ensure that not only were accurate regional variations represented but that so were intimate personal circumstances. For example, she recalls, 'No advice on personal hygiene could include a casual reference to a daily bath' (Grieve 1964:90-91). Similarly, but more penetratingly, Drawbell comments approvingly on the American Review Newsweek's observation, 'A woman's magazine can get nearer to a woman than her husband or her doctor can' and he saw 'the necessity of establishing a close bond with (his) women readers which they would be aware of and respond to' (Drawbell

1968:48). While these two editors were the masters of appeal to large readerships, others adopted the same approach towards smaller and more discrete audiences. In a personal communication (1978:24 Feb) A.G. Smalls, managing editor of D.G. Thompson's, writes of the letterpress publications such as Red Star Weekly, My Weekly and Welcome (which folded in the mid 50's) that they 'appealed to working class girls and sold mainly in the north of England'. Hoggart (1966:130) writing of such magazines as the People's Friend, Red Star Weekly, Weekly Welcome and My Weekly comments upon 'the accuracy and detail with which both authors and illustrators portray the lives of their readers'. From the perspective of a working class childhood he notes that 'these magazines have a felt sense of the texture of life in the group they cater for ... (there) is a close knowledge of the lives and attitudes of the audience' (Hoggart 1966:128).

No readership surveys were conducted during the war; the most proximate were in 1939 and 1947 (IIPA 1939; 1947). Furthermore, White (1970:124) rejects the war time period as a period of abnormality inappropriate to the analysis of trends with the consequence that her remarks on readership, like those of others,¹ do not specifically refer to this period. There is however no evidence to suggest that editorial policy changed during this period or that magazines were redirected to different audiences. It is, furthermore, the treatment of such 'abnormality' that is the subject of the present research.

A more serious criticism lies in the effect of the war upon

¹ Hoggart's (1966:120-131) discussion of story magazines relates to the mid-fifties. Williams (1962:54-56) made a general indiscriminating analysis of 70 stories from 22 women's magazines for one week in the early 1960s. Ferguson (1974) examined women's magazine circulation over a ten year period 1964-74. Carter (1977:364) analysed 40-50 contemporary confession type magazines.

readership patterns both in terms of the availability of material, due to paper restrictions, and upon the time available for reading. The studies by Jephcott (1942:98-111) of young working class girls does however indicate that at least some magazines continued to be read by the audience at which they were directed. In addition the focus of the research is not upon the reaction of the audience but on the content of magazines directed to specific audiences.

Thus while the studies do not coincide with the period under investigation they were nonetheless useful in providing a provisional schema which facilitated the allocation of the magazines to five categories and gave a greater coherence and direction to the subsequent analysis. The categories were: the quality monthlies, the older service magazines, the mass weeklies, the story magazines and the confession magazines. This typology (table 1) relies heavily upon White's work with one important adaptation.

Table 1.1: Typology of 24 Major Women's Magazines 1939-1945

Quality Magazines	Home Service Weeklies	Mass Weeklies	Story Magazines (3rd person)	Confession Magazines
Britannia & Eve	Home Chat	Woman	Glamour	True
Everywoman	Home Notes	Woman's Own	Lady's Companion	True Romances
Good Housekeeping	Woman & Home		Luck Star	True Story
Harpers Bazaar	Woman's Companion		Miracle	Woman's Story
Housewife	Woman's Friend		My Weekly	
The Lady	Woman's Pictorial		Oracle	
The Queen	Woman's Weekly ¹		Peg's Paper	
Vogue			Red Letter	
Woman's Journal			Red Star Weekly	
			Secrets	
			The People's Friend	
			Woman's Friend	

Sources: Whittaker's Almanac 1939-1945; White 1970.

¹ Woman's Weekly has an ambivalent status. Its circulation during this period was second to that of Woman, the market leader, but it was one of the older magazines.

Table 1.2: Women's Magazines 1939-1945. Type not Ascertained

Blackwood's Ladies' Magazine
 Eve's Own
 Family Journal
 Good Taste
 Home Companion
 Home Fashions
 Home Journal
 Homes and Gardens
 Ideal Home
 Ladies' Home Paper
 Ladies' Own Magazine
 Ladies' Mirror
 Leisure (destroyed by enemy action)
 Mayfair
 Miss Modern
 Modern Home
 Modern Woman
 Mother
 Mother and Home
 My Home
 Vanity Fair
 Violet Magazine
 Weekly Welcome
 Weldon's Ladies' Journal
 Wife and Home
 Woman and Beauty
 Woman Herself Digest
 Woman Today
 Woman's Companion
 Woman Fair
 Woman's Home Magazine
 Woman's Illustrated
 Woman's Magazine
 Woman's Way
 Woman's World

Sources: Whittaker's Almanac 1939-45; White 1970.

The five types of magazine then can be taken as orientated towards specific and identifiable audiences, intimately related to the realities of their lives. These audiences may be distinguished by social class, age, and stage in the family life cycle and marital status. The magazine types and audiences were the following: the high quality magazines such as Good Housekeeping and Woman's Journal, directed to a middle class audience, an educated readership and predominantly composed of younger and middle aged married women; the older home service weeklies such as Home Chat, Woman's Friend and Woman's Companion which appealed predominantly to the lower middle class and working class although there was a middle class following (White 1970:97). Although they had an overlapping readership by social class, the major distinguishing feature of these magazines was that they appealed to the older married woman at home (White 1970:126). The mass weeklies, Woman and Woman's Own with a new and rising mass appeal were distinguished by their large circulations and the mass nature of their readership which cut across all class boundaries. Peggy Makin (1978) (Woman's Evelyn Home) wrote in a personal communication, 'Woman and Woman's Own ... hoped to pull readers from the A to D¹ categories'. These magazines also aimed at a younger readership than the older weeklies¹.

The story magazines fall into the group which White (1970: App.V) depicts as consisting wholly or mainly of fiction and refers to them variously as story magazines, fiction magazines and pulp fiction. For the purposes of this study I have differentiated between two types of

¹ From the social class definitions used in the IIPA Survey of Readership of Women's Periodicals this range extended from the wives and daughters of factory owners and minor executives to those of unskilled and semi-skilled workers excluding only those in 'the worst slum quarters' (IIPA 1939:Vol. 1:134-135).

story magazine: those in which the narrative is largely conducted in the third person and those which Carter (1977) describes as the pseudo-documentary, first person, woman orientated magazine.

Both White (1970:97) and Hoggart (1966:121-123) identify the readership of the conventional story magazine as predominantly working class. The editorial of the first edition of Peg's Paper in 1919, in whose tradition the genre lies (Hoggart 1966: White 1970:126) is indicative of the reader who was in mind 'the pre-war generation of young women involved in the harsh realities of breadwinning'. Although there was some provision for older women, such magazines were 'apparently designed for adolescent girls and young married women in particular ... two out of three of the readers of Red Letter are under 35'¹ (Hoggart 1966:130; White 1970:326 fn.).

The confession magazines form a distinct type within this category. This relates to the particularly youthful working class audience, the incorporation of an apparently harsher realism than that found in the conventional fiction magazine, and the adoption of the first person singular as the vehicle of narration.

During the Second World War there were four monthly magazines of this type: True Story, True Romances, True and Woman's Story.² According to analysis of circulation trends these magazines flourished in the 1930s. The readership figures for 1939 and 1946 indicate relatively small and predominantly working class readership (See Appendix 11)

¹ Ferguson's (1974) data suggests a shift in the appeal of these magazines to the over 35s.

² Ferguson (1974) has noted that magazines of this type are experiencing an expansion. Between 1965 and 1974 copy sales of such titles as True Romances, Romance, True Magazine, Woman's Story increased by 13 million a year ... New launchings have also been made by IPC: Hers (1966) Loving (1970) and Love Affair (1971). The sales are less than their peak of 62.7 million in 1971.

While Carter, examining contemporary material, has defined these magazines as a celebration of marriage and the family (as indeed could be said of all women's periodicals) and in the tradition of the moral tale of Sunday School books, her analysis does indicate the incorporation of a different kind of reality than is available in other sections of the women's press, relating to marriage if not to the wider society.

In contrast with the other type of story magazine, such as Red Star and The People's Friend, which 'are full of such cosy warmth that it makes you feel like you've been buried alive in home-made scones', the central ideological theme of the confession magazines is that 'maturity consists of making the best of what you have. Even if what you have is pretty crummy' (Carter 1977:365). Furthermore, the use of the first person singular implies a special relationship of intimacy between narrator and reader and gives a special kind of authority to the messages.

Selection of Magazine Types

Of these five types of magazine, the new mass variety, drawing upon a heterogenous and predominantly younger audience and having the largest circulation figures¹ meant that its readership was perhaps the most comparable with the audience of the Forces' Education programme. It was decided however, that analysis of two contrasting magazine types would be more salient in highlighting crucial differences in the articulation of familism. The high quality monthlies and the confession magazines were therefore selected for comparison.

¹ In 1938 Woman had a circulation figure of 750,000 and Woman's Own of 357,000 (White (1970:App IV)).

Within these types a further selection process had to be undertaken to identify the most suitable periodical for analysis, that is with as homogenous and discrete an audience as possible. True Romances and Good Housekeeping were selected. The details of the selection procedure are described in Appendix II. True Romances was selected because of its appeal to young working girls and women who were either unmarried or in the early years of married life. Good Housekeeping was selected because of its appeal to middle and upperclass women (ranging over the complete family cycle) and, because White (1970:136) singled out this magazine, from a conservative women's press, as, in 1946, taking up the challenge of social change and defying conformity as it affected women's traditional role.

Sampling the Documents

Having selected two periodicals pertinent to the research problem, the next stage in the selection process was to sample the documents comprising each magazine (or source) in such a manner as to produce a representative account of the familism peculiar to each.

Several factors were taken into consideration. First, because the study was not of trends but a comparative study of familistic content and mechanisms of articulation, the problem of representiveness was confined to a relatively short historical period. Consequently the major sampling decisions centred on two factors: the nature of the material and its problematic relationship to the familistic themes identified during the initial immersion in the raw data. These indicated a danger of systematic bias and the possible omission of slight but perhaps important

¹ Holsti (1969:131) uses the term document as referring to every item comprising the universe of items produced by the communication source.

distinctions between the magazine which could not be determined on an a priori basis.

First the seasonal variation in magazine content, relating especially to the traditional festivals of Christmas and Easter with their strong association with familism (the family and marriage) and heavily represented in the women's press, should be encompassed in a study of familism. This of course could be taken into account in a sampling design.

More pertinent is what may be described as the yearly cyclical nature of the women's press with the connotation that individual magazines cannot be viewed in isolation from each other but that a year's issues form an interrelated complex whole.¹ In her study of magazines White (1970:19) examines issues of selected magazines over a complete year at five yearly intervals.

This view has bearing on the second problem: the question as to whether certain aspects of familism would emerge adequately, or at all, if for example every second story (or article) were examined rather than a cluster sample design adopted whereby instead of listing all articles and stories whole issues were sampled and all items within such issues analysed (Holsti 1969:135). It could be argued that different familistic themes were likely to follow closely upon each other in order to maintain audience interest and purchasing. In the first place such an approach would provide variety in the content; secondly it would serve to maintain audience identification with the magazine. For although a periodical may be directed at a particular subgroup (or in some

¹ White also argues that it is the viewing of individual issues in isolation from each other that has led to a (lay) assessment of them as inconsequential and trivial and, it might be added, a definition of them as solely for relaxation. Earlier studies have been made, largely with a view to examining the values they reflect.

cases subgroups), within such strata, while bounded by similar constraints (economic, educational and cultural), the life experiences of the individuals differ at any one particular time; ie. they will experience different aspects of familism, for example, spinsterhood, marriage, the attractions of older men, widowhood. Thus it is in the interest of maintaining sales that all the elements of the particular familistic complex upon which the content draws be constantly referred to.

Consequently, although other studies¹ have employed a variety of sampling strategies, for the purposes of this study a modified version of White's approach was deemed the most appropriate.

A continuous six month period immediately following the publication of the Beveridge Report was selected for examination of all issues in their entirety. This had the advantage of incorporating the two major traditional festivals, Christmas and Easter, and also the possibility of comment upon or discussion of or cognizance of social change and post-war reconstruction, which it will be recalled, became particularly salient in both official circles and popular debate at this time. Furthermore, magazine content could be broadly categorised into fiction and non-fiction and to encompass the possibility of a delayed filter effect and to provide opportunity for a range of comment non-fiction was examined for a further

¹ For example, Flora (1971) made a random selection of 202 short stories from recent issues of U.S. and Latin American magazines; Smith et. al. (1975) selected critical extracts from a month's issue of two newspapers at six monthly intervals for critical years; Millum (1975) in a study of images of women in the advertisements in women's magazines examined all advertisements during two month (March and September 1969) of one year for specified magazines. Other studies, noted above, have provided insights into the material without employing (or specifying) any systematic method of sampling (Hoggart 1966; Williams 1962; Carter 1977; Winship 1978).

six months up to the end of November 1943.

Summary

The following table sets out a summary of the audiences and sources which have been selected for analysis.

Table 1:3. Summary of Sources and Audiences of the Analysis.

	<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>AUDIENCE</u>
		<u>Mass Audience</u>
Legal Regulation (liberal)	<u>Government Report and Associated Documents</u> Beveridge Report Published Evidence Unpublished Evidence Civil Service Memoranda	Entire Population
		<u>Discrete Audiences</u>
Military (liberal)	<u>Forces' Education Programme</u> The British Way and Purpose ABCA	<u>Mass Male</u> captive economically active
Popular (conservative)	<u>Womens Periodicals</u> Good Housekeeping (1942-1943) True Romances (1942-1943)	<u>Section of Mass Female</u> middle class educated predominantly married <u>Section of Mass Female</u> working class youthful pre-marriage or early marriage

METHOD OF ANALYSIS

The method of analysis fell within the sphere of content analysis but was treated differently to the traditional practice of enumeration (either quantitative or qualitative) and the simple comparison of themes. The following sets out the procedures which were adopted.

First all the familistic themes were extracted from the selected documents. These were recorded fully along with the contexts in which they were set. No specific attempt was made to enumerate them. The themes are listed in Appendix III.

To give it meaning any form of content analysis must be related to independent criteria external to the text. In this analysis of ideological articulation it was important for theoretical reasons to establish the realities of an audience as a measure against which the articulation of familism for that particular audience could be set. Consequently, as far as possible, the social experiences and attitudes of the audience as they impinged upon familism were established from available studies and surveys. This approach was also adopted towards the articulators of messages. In other words, an attempt was made to elicit the problems and realities of articulators and audience because they met within the texts.

Having extracted the familistic themes a comparison was made according to the origin of the messages. This technique was fruitful especially in the case of the configuration of the Beveridge data; It was, however inadequate for a more intensive examination of ideological articulation in depth. In the perusal of a wide range of documents in the exploratory stages of the study it became clear, for instance, that it was possible for all themes to be represented by one source. Again while an enumeration of content elements would give relative weight according to

the number of times mentioned, or the treatment of themes could be traced, this still appeared to be an unsatisfactory approach to what was emerging as a densely woven pattern of ideological articulation specific to the type of message or text and its audience.

The method adopted arose directly from a reaction to the text of True Romances. An essential procedure in analysis of this type is what Hall (1975:5) has referred to as 'a long initial soak, a submission by the analyst to the mass of his material'. Such immersion in True Romances, prior to any formal analysis, created an awareness of a dominating economic theme around which familistic themes were intricately woven.

As poverty and economic uncertainty were obviously central problems to this young working class readership and were, therefore, ones which had to be accommodated in the articulation of a familistic ideal, it was deemed fruitful to formalise this reaction (that is the feeling which was conveyed to the lay reader as I was at this early stage of analysis) and adopt a problem centred approach to all the documents, especially as the problems, that is, the realities of the real world, which had to be accommodated were not always as obvious. An effort had to be made to let the texts speak and, informed by the background material on audience and source, to consciously ask what problems each source was attempting to encompass and, ensuant upon this, how the familistic themes identified were integrated around the key problems.

The analysis therefore operated on two levels. First a comparison of themes across the sources and secondly the integration of the themes around the key problems of the individual source and audience as they came together in a particular articulation of familism within the specific documents.

Such an approach of course carries dangers. Analysis and interpretation become part of the same process. Although care was taken to establish the realities of social experience against which the texts were set it was ultimately the researcher who determined which problem, or set of problems, were to be considered central to the processes of accommodation. The only safeguard was to provide careful references and quotations to support arguments¹ thereby allowing other researchers to consult original sources or dispute the use made of the selected extracts. Such a method, unfortunately, adds substantially to the length of the thesis.

¹ Banks (1954:19) writing of the possible disjunction between the actual opinion of a group and documentary sources of evidence observes that the only means of avoiding criticism as to how the analyst's position is arrived at is 'to document as fully as possible all statements that we make and to append detailed lists of sources to enable future investigators to cover the same ground to see if they arrive at the same conclusion. This is the nearest we can get to something approaching the experimental method in historical sociology'.

CHAPTER 2: MASS AUDIENCE AND THE STATE

PRACTICAL DISCOURSE: THE BEVERIDGE REPORT AND ASSOCIATED DOCUMENTS

The texts which comprise the Beveridge data are located in the political democratic processes associated with the construction of the law. The analysis demonstrates how an ideal model of the family is constructed from elements selected from a range of familial behaviours, is provided with official State sanctions and extensively penetrates the social structure and culture. The boundaries of State sanctioned behaviour are set and, it is argued, structurally sustain a particular form of consciousness.

Challenges to this model exist in people's real daily experience and, importantly, in the political process where the various issues are raised they co-existed with the selected components of the ideal. Such threatening elements are, however, depoliticized, that is, rendered powerless; controlled by processes of displacement, reinterpretation and devaluation, not necessarily imposed by those with power but operating also in an unconscious culturally induced manner.

The analysis falls into two parts: first the ideal model of the family in the Beveridge Report; secondly, the accommodation of threats to the ideal revealed in the associated documents. This follows the dichotomy proposed by Habermas and allows for a detailed exploration of a practical discourse. Simultaneously, it provides the means of pursuing Gramsci's theme of State control over consciousness or public opinion.

THE IDEAL MODEL OF THE FAMILY IN THE BEVERIDGE REPORT

BACKGROUND TO THE REPORT

Much of the background to the Report was necessarily discussed

in relation to its selection for analysis: its symbolic importance at the time, its contemporary relevance, the strategic position it can be seen to hold in the articulation and circulation of ideas, its status as a liberal and consensual text and its central concern with the family.

The background detail described below is of a more technical nature and provides information to clarify the analysis.

The Inter-departmental Committee on Social Insurance and Allied Services was set up in June, 1941 to inquire into the wide range of anomalies arising from the piecemeal development of the social security system over the previous fifty years (Harris 1977:378). Wootton (1942:3) identified five classes of anomalies: those 'concerned with Rates (for persons of the same sex and age, or families of the same composition), those concerned with Sex, with Age, with Marital Position and with Administration'.

In 1941 seven government departments were directly or indirectly concerned with the administration of cash benefits for different kinds of need and the execution of National Health Insurance was performed through the offices of Approved Societies. Workmen's compensation was supervised by the Home Office, unemployment insurance by the Ministry of Health and the Department of Health for Scotland. Non-contributory old age pensions were administered by the Ministry of Health and supplementary pensions by the Unemployment Assistance Board - which also dealt with the long term unemployed. War victims and their dependants fell under the Ministry of Pensions and the civilian disabled, widows and orphans under the Ministry of Health. In addition there was a nation wide network of local authority committees which paid means-tested public assistance to those in need.

Not only were these schemes financed in different ways but benefits under the schemes varied in size and scope, according to the adminis-

trative scheme under which they fell and not the needs of the claimant. Thus benefit derived through workmen's compensation was proportionate to earnings; a man's unemployment benefit comprised an allowance to meet his own needs and additional allowances for his wife and children, whereas sickness benefit included no statutory allowances for dependants and was deliberately fixed below subsistence level to encourage voluntary thrift (Harris 1977:378).

Within the Health Insurance Scheme, administered by and through Approved Societies, an identical individual contribution did not guarantee identical benefits. Additional medical benefits, above the statutory minimum, were dependent upon the financial standing of the society. Furthermore, benefits in terms of medical treatment were only available to the insured person leaving outside state medical aid dependent non-earning wives and children.

Finally, State insurance was not universally applicable, and while concentrated upon the poorer sections of the community left outside its orbit or did not systematically include groups of low paid workers (for example domestic servants), the self employed and dependent groups such as wives and children.

The inadequacies are stressed because, although the analysis is critical of the provisions Beveridge postulated, the scheme did enhance the lives and security of the mass of the population, especially in the premise it made of a universal national health service.

Pressure for change had been growing during the 1930's. The social surveys of the inter-war years had revealed two dominant causes of poverty: the interruption or cessation of earnings and the absence of a relationship between wages and family needs (Beveridge 1942(a):para 12). Within the Labour movement there was discontent over the gaps in provision, especially with regard to medical benefits for dependants, and

the imposition of the household means test (whereby all members of the family might be called upon to contribute to the maintenance of an unemployed member) on those applying for public relief. Many M.P.'s were pressing for family allowances. There was also pressure to examine the complaints of Trade Unions on the prevailing system of workmen's compensation and the Ministry of Health was being urged to extend the scope of health insurance, increase the level of sickness benefit and to plan a major extension of the Health Service (Harris 1977:382).

The Inter-departmental Committee¹ under the chairmanship of Beveridge comprised civil servants from the government departments responsible for the administration of the existing services in addition to representatives of the Treasury, the Reconstruction Secretariat, the Registry of Friendly Societies and Office of the Industrial Assurance Commissioner and the Government Actuary. In this sense the committee was firmly placed at the centre of State activity.

The aim of Beveridge's scheme was to abolish want (Beveridge 1942(a): para.444), by guaranteeing a minimum level of unmeans-tested subsistence to all during interruption or cessation of earnings due to unemployment, disability or old age and to cover the exigencies of marriage, maternity, widowhood, loss of parents (guardianship) and death (funeral costs). To this end the entire population was to be incorporated within a compulsory scheme of social insurance with a flat rate benefit and a flat rate contribution. Thus provision extended to all employees, the self-employed, housewives, those beyond and those below working age and in part to those

¹ The departmental representatives are listed as: R.R. Bannatyne (Home Office); P.Y. Blundun (Ministry of Labour and National Service); Miss M.S. Cox (Ministry of Pensions); Sir George Epps (Government Actuary); R. Hamilton-Farrell (Ministry of Health); E.Hale (Treasury); Mrs. M.A. Hamilton (Reconstruction Secretariat); A.W. McKenzie (Board of Customs and Excise); Sir George Reid (Assistance Board); Miss M. Ritson (Department of Health for Scotland); B.K. White (Registry of Friendly Societies and Office of the Industrial Assurance Commissioner) and D.N. Chester (Secretary).

of working age who were not gainfully occupied. A residual scheme of national assistance was to provide for those, anticipated as a diminishing minority, who fell outside the broad employment basis of the scheme. The citizen was expected to supplement provision above subsistence by voluntary private insurance.

Beveridge premised his scheme upon three assumptions. The disjunction between low wages and family responsibility inherent to the economic structure, and carrying with it a disincentive to work if the breadwinner were better off drawing benefits, was to be met by a system of family allowances payable in periods of work as well as non-work; medical benefits for all were incorporated within the assumption of a universal national health service; and the whole scheme was premised upon the maintenance of full employment.

The analysis of the Report comprises an extraction of the familistic elements in financial provision and in the actuarial accounting of provision and contribution. Although Walley (1972:255) has observed:-

'that there is nothing to suggest that Beveridge was much interested in the principles by which the Government Actuary distributed the cost of national insurance benefits between the different groups of contributors, so long as the Treasury was not alarmed by the overall result',

this financial detail does provide social indicators in that the costing had its foundations in the assumptions of at least one official and was the basis of discussion, or was accepted, by others. Examples of this may be found in the discussions by civil servants following the publication of the White Paper on the proposal for the finance of maternity benefits (PRO 1944 PIN 8/58 7 June).

Furthermore, at the time, both the symbolic and practical implications of the actuarial costing was seriously treated. As the Government Actuary explains, the significance of giving the scheme an actuarial base is to demonstrate its equity,

'The reasons for considering in detail the relationship of benefits and contributions... is not the technical interest of an actuarial analysis of the scheme - as if a hypothetical fund were to be built up on the basis of actuarial reserves - but the importance of making abundantly clear... how and why the proposed rates of contributions for insured persons have been arrived at, and the equity of the proposals as to contributions...'

(Beveridge 1942(a) Appendix A:para.7)

Secondly, the protagonists at the time were conscious of actuarial implications. Abbott and Bompas (1943:7) in their paper The Woman Citizen and Social Security¹ critically note the implications of the actuarial costing; as for example, in the denial of the personal independence of wives in their treatment as dependants of their husbands, and the basis of social divisiveness, patronage and irresponsibility in the proposed higher contribution rate of the male worker in relation to the female worker whereby, irrespective of age or marital status, a component of the male contribution covers the benefits for housewives. They write,

'It is a psychological blunder to make young boys of 16 feel responsible for the welfare of all married women, including their own mothers on whose work they and the rest of the household are in fact dependent for home and comfort; and at the same time to exclude from any responsibility the young girls (possibly in the same household) and check in them all sense of sharing and solidarity. It is socially undesirable from every point of view to make one group of women citizens entirely dependent for any benefits they may receive on the boy and men earners of the nation. If the married women, the housewives and homemakers, are to be shut out of direct insurance - that is the initial mistake - they should certainly not be dependent on one sex or class. Since society literally depends on them, the home-makers and mothers, it is society as a whole which should bear the burden.'

(Abbott and Bompas 1943:14-15)

¹ The sociological significance of this paper lies not only in its critique of the Beveridge Plan, but the fact that its criticisms disappeared from the circulation of knowledge for over thirty years. Many of its points are resurrected as though original in, for example, the paper by Land and in my own work where the analysis had been made before the paper was eventually obtained. (The paper was difficult to trace. One copy is held in the Public Record Office (PRO 1944 PIN 8/48). It took repeated requests over a period of two years to extract a copy from the British Library). This submergence relates to a further observation. Many of the objections to the treatment of women generally raised by feminists during the war time period are identical with those of the present day, but they also disappeared from public view.

Furthermore, at the level of practical application, despite the rhetoric in the respect of joint retirement pension being paid to husband and wife as a team and divided equally between them should they separate (Beveridge 1942(a); para.324) the ensuing White Paper (1944) is more sanguine,

'Joint pension¹ will normally be paid to the husband but, where the wife is of a pensionable age and makes application for separate payment a pension of 15s will be paid to her and the husband's pension reduced to the single value of 20s. It is felt that this division is justified on the grounds that the pension is mainly provided from the husband's contributions and it would be inequitable to pay him a lower rate than the scheme provides for a single person.'

(H.M. Government 1944: 14-15)

For these reasons, actuarial accounting was considered a penetrating analytical tool.

Although explained in detail below, it is useful to outline the major provisions of the scheme in order to set such detail in context.

The single rate of unemployment and sickness benefit and pension (at age 60 for women and 65 for men) was to be identical (24s) for men and women². For a man with a wife not gainfully occupied there was to be a joint benefit and retirement pension (40s) reduced to the single rate (24s) where the wife was gainfully occupied. A married woman gainfully occupied when herself on benefit was to receive a lower rate of benefit (16s) on the basis that the rent factor was subsumed within either her husband's income or his single benefit (24s) and compensated by the higher value of maternity benefit which working women were to receive (36s for 13 weeks). A woman contributor with a husband

¹ The rates proposed in the White Paper were less generous than Beveridge's proposed rates.

² There were three age bands for the population of working age: 16-17 years 18-20 years and 21-65 years for men (and 60 for women). For each age group while the single benefit was undifferentiated by gender contribution rates were, males contributing more than females of comparable age.

below pension age was to receive the single person's rate of pension (24s), but on her husband reaching pension age this would be subsumed (and reduced) within the joint pension (40s).

A maternity grant of £4 was to be payable to all women and an additional maternity benefit (36s) for 13 weeks was to be payable to women gainfully occupied irrespective of their payment of full contributions. A widow's benefit of 36s for 13 weeks and a guardian's benefit of 24s a week for those widows with dependent children was also proposed. Children's allowances were to be payable for each child when the responsible parent was in receipt of benefit or pension and for each child after the first in other cases. A funeral grant (graded according to juvenile or adult status) and a marriage grant of up to £10 depending upon the number of contributions were also suggested. The detail of how these benefits related to individual contributions form the basis of the analysis, since women's benefits for example were vested in their husband's insurance.

The scheme was to be funded on the insurance principle of contribution and not taxation and met from contributions by the State, the employer and the insured person. The rate of contribution differed by gender; the male contribution being higher than the female contribution in each age group in order to cover the benefits for housewives although this cost was partially met by pre-marital contributions of women¹. Furthermore, within the female group itself the contribution

¹ It is interesting to note how in the presentation of simplified versions of the Report for public consumption, this contribution by women to housewives' benefits, which in the case of late marriage may be quite substantial, disappears in the tables. (See for example Directorate of Army Education 1944:564). Other familial elements also disappear from view, for example, the unmarried mother in popular summaries, in for example, the official publication Social Insurance and Allied Services: The Beveridge Report in Brief (HMSO 1942); and in Social Security: The Story of British Social Progress and the Beveridge Plan (Davison 1943:17), there is no mention of unmarried maternity, divorce, separation or the domestic spinster but 'such poverty as still remains will be due to faults of character and non-compliance with reasonable rules'.

rate could and did differ. A single woman paid the full female contribution rate; a married woman gainfully employed could choose exemption in which case her housewife's benefits would flow from her husband's contribution, or she could choose to pay at the full female rate which entitled her to additional unemployment and sickness benefit at the reduced rate for married women and a pension in her own right unless and until her husband reached retirement age (Beveridge 1942(a): para.401).

State Requirements

A central problem of the State and witnessed in the Beveridge Report is akin to Gramsci's conception of its role: that of shaping the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the population. In paragraph 421 of the Report Beveridge indicates his view on this education role of the State. He observes,

'... the principle of social policy should not be to remove all responsibilities from the parents but to help them to understand and meet them' (italics added).

If the two can be conceptually distinguished, the function of social policy in influencing the content of knowledge (or family curriculum) as well as the shaping of behaviour through State provision has been apparent in the field of family practice for some time; for example, the introduction of domestic subjects in schools in the hope that girls might influence their mothers as well as prepare the girls themselves for their future role in raising the physical standards of the nation (Yoxall 1965:15; 39), attempts to educate mothers in nutrition and childcare by the introduction of schools for mothers (Yoxall 1965:49) and more recently the emphasis on the parent as an educative force and the mass of material directed at elucidating this role (Guardian 1977, 29th September).

The Plan for Social Security, however, provides not only extensive pressures towards predefined patterns of behaviour but the provision and underlying principles are also conducive to a way of viewing particular responsibilities and specific groups in our society and so shape and uphold belief as well as practice.

In the crisis facing the nation, the family is identified by Beveridge as a major site for State intervention. Its functions are defined solely in relation to the economic and ideological needs of the State: increased reproduction of the future workforce because of the fears concerning the declining population of the inter-war years (Beveridge 1942(a): para.413); improvement in the physical quality of man-power (Beveridge 1942(a): paras. 15, 413); the servicing of the present workforce (Beveridge 1942(a): para.107) and the handing on of the dominant ideology. It is observed that,

'In the next 30 years housewives as mothers have vital work to do in ensuring the adequate continuance of the British race and British ideals in the world.'

(Beveridge 1942(a) para.117)

To foster these ends, the rhetoric rationale and provisions of the scheme both reveal and compound a familistic ideology - in this case politically motivated and sanctioned notions of what ought to be - and by the provisions conformity is rewarded and deviance penalised. Furthermore, this ideology extends beyond an ideal model of the family itself, to prescriptions that all men and women should marry and form such a unit. In addition the provisions indicate and sanction a differential allocation of responsibility surrounding marriage and maternity in the society at large. In this a social divisiveness is structurally sustained.

The extensive ramifications of this familism is traced by

examining two interrelated themes. The first is the relationship between the underlying structure of the plan, its assumptions and principles, and the conceptualisation of and sanctions upon conjugal statuses and roles as witnessed in the financial provisions of benefit and contribution. The second component of the analysis is a detailed pursuit of actuarial accounting which, at the minimum, bears an association with specific cultural elements or consciousness.

THE STRUCTURING OF BEHAVIOUR: CONJUGAL ROLES AND STATUSES

Assumptions and Principles

As noted, in the circulation of knowledge, the principles of the Beveridge Plan have entered public consciousness in a singularly egalitarian form which, although ineffectively challenged at the time both in terms of class (Calder 1968) and gender (Abbott and Bompas 1943), has only recently been the subject of a re-emergent challenge¹ (see for example Land 1976; Wilson 1977:148; Walley 1972). Gosden, for example, in a recent study of education in the Second World War, still writes of the Plan,

'It was designed to eliminate poverty by guaranteeing a minimum level of subsistence for all in a scheme of compulsory insurance with flat rate contributions and flat rate benefits.'

(Gosden 1976:207)

¹ Even in some of the recent criticisms inequalities inherent in the Plan itself are neglected. Thus Peter Townsend in a review of Harris's (1977) biography of Beveridge notes of the inegalitarian aspects of insurance 'the fact - that benefits and contributions were flat rate made the public suppose that everyone was involved on the same terms whereas the development of selective occupational and sick pay schemes assured that real equality in living standards between occupational classes would not be achieved' (Guardian 1977: 17 November). He is however commenting upon inequality between economic classes based upon factors external to the scheme and makes no mention of the gender based inequality - leading to the poverty of significant groups - incorporated within the scheme.

However, by adopting a system of classification (which he raises to his sixth principle) all the above principles referred to by Gosden - the flat rate of subsistence benefit, the flat rate of contribution and the comprehensiveness of both persons covered and needs - may be adjusted to meet specific needs. The spuriousness of Beveridge's claim to have devised a plan that was uniform and comprehensive was hotly contested at the time by Hubert Henderson, Oxford don formerly editor of The Nation and employed by the Treasury as a war time economic advisor, who pointed out that Beveridge invoked these principles when they suited him and ignored them when they did not (Harris 1977:423).

The concept of need is fundamental. 'The Plan for Social Security starts with a consideration of the people and their needs (Beveridge 1942(a): para.110). However, any plan for action based upon need must necessarily have defined what those needs are and determined how they are to be met. Here an individual's needs are not defined as those of a citizen per se but are seen to vary according to employment status and predefined marital roles.

To incorporate these predefinitions and the consequent variations in treatment, that is, 'giving to each need the treatment most appropriate to that need' (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 97) the population is divided into six insurance classes 'according to their differing ways of life' (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 309). Of the four reserved for the population of working age, Classes I and II are for those gainfully occupied and dependent upon income for maintenance. The other two are for those not so dependent: Class III is for housewives, irrespective of any gainful employment they might have, who are defined as married women living with their husbands; Class IV is reserved for others of working age. Included in this category are domestic spinsters, those engaged in domestic service not for pay (Beveridge 1942(a)): para. 317) - usually sisters looking

after brothers or daughters looking after parents (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 120). In consequence of classification, the principles of flat rate benefit and flat rate of contribution do not mean that all pay the same contribution or receive the same amount of benefit.

The Flat Rate of Benefit

Single men and women are, unlike in the former provision,¹ largely treated identically with regard to benefit. The remaining distinction between the single is that whereas a single man may register the woman with whom he lives but to whom he is not married as a dependant, a single woman may not so register her cohabitant whether able bodied or not.

Within marriage, however, benefits are gender specific. Irrespective of the domestic activity of either partner, benefits relate to pre-defined and traditionally conceptualised gender specific needs. Thus benefits cover the maintenance obligations of the male and repudiate any maintenance obligations accruing to the female through her gainful employment other than for herself. Similarly repudiated are any child care obligations on the part of the male. Included, however, are improved benefits relating to 'the marriage needs of a woman' to be met by the Housewives' Policy which comes into operation on her marriage (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 311).

While the 'aim of the Plan is to abolish want by ensuring that every citizen willing to serve according to his powers has at all times

1

Table 2.1: Provision existing in 1943: Single rates

	Unemployment Insurance		Health Insurance	
	General	Agricultural	Sickness	Disablement
Men aged 21-65	20/-	18/-	18/-	10/6
Women aged 21-60	18/-	15/-	15/-	9/-

Source: Adapted from table XXII (Beveridge 1942(a) Appendix B:230)

an income to meet his responsibilities' (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 444), classification and benefit make it clear what the approved form of service is for each sex.

For men the dominant form of service is that of worker: economic service to the State. The family status of husband/father is secondary and additional in the sense that family status and the external economic status in the occupational structure can, in the insurance regulations, be legitimately occupied simultaneously because the role requirements of each status are not seen to be, or are not defined as being, in conflict. In consequence the male's family role is strongly mediated by his economic role and adequate performance of this predefined role of economic maintenance is dependent upon his commitment to the work ethic and witnessed by a continuous contribution record (Beveridge (1942(a): para. 367).

Thus all men of working age in employment fall into insurance Class I or II and benefits, both individual and family, flow accordingly. Thus, although Beveridge states that the standard rate of benefit or pension is that for a man and wife (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 107), in fact a man's individual benefits remain the same and are identical with those of a single person, as the pension provision of the White Paper referred to earlier confirms. His family benefit for children and wife (dependants' allowances in unemployment and sickness, pension, maternity grant, widowhood and guardianship benefits and funeral grant) are additional. Furthermore, while such benefits are conceptualised within the framework of legal marriage those applicable during an insured man's lifetime may be claimed for a female cohabitant¹ (Beveridge 1942(a):

¹ The registration of a cohabitant as a dependant in effect operates to encompass both within some form of 'matrimonial' bond. Even without such registration the property rights of the married woman, as laid down in the Domestic Violence and Matrimonial Proceedings Act (1976), have recently been tentatively extended to the female cohabitant in the case of domestic violence. (Guardian, 1977:29 Nov.). Prior to this decision a letter commented on a barrister's statement in the case,

para. 367). The dominant form of State service required of women is that of wife/mother. The service, in this case, is rewarded only if performed within the legal framework of marriage. The legal status of wife is sufficient for the receipt of specific new benefits and the adjustment of others.

Ten years earlier, in a radio discussion with Mrs. J.L. Anderson, a member of the National Executive of the Labour Party, in a series of broadcasts he organised on the subject of the family, (Beveridge (1932: 117) raised the issue of the tension between individualism and the family and asked, 'Is the Family in the last resort consistent with the economic independence of wives and mothers?'

Beveridge had previously demonstrated an awareness of this tension between individualism and marriage and family. In his book, John and Irene, he wrote,

'Woman's real problem, on which she has yet to settle her account with man and society, lies not in any question of Education or Work or Wages but in the condition of the marriage relation and all that springs from it.'

(Beveridge 1912:18 cited Harris 1977:83)

In 1906, while defending female suffrage, he saw as more important 'the need to buttress the family and to encourage wifehood and motherhood with financial support from the State' (cited Harris 1977:90) and in 1908 conceded female suffrage as a useful educational measure in that the rearing of children was not necessarily done best by people taught to regard themselves and agreeing to regard themselves as

(footnote continued from previous page)

'If you don't get married, you don't get the rights married people have'. The writer observes, 'The law, however, seems determined to catch cohabiting couples in a double bind situation, in which they do have enforceable "marital obligations", though they do not have (nor perhaps want) the associated rights.' The situation is cited 'in which a court, in the case where a woman is making a maintenance claim against an ex-husband, can order the man's cohabitee to produce a statement of her financial circumstances to be taken into account when the man's income is considered' (Guardian, 1977:19 Nov.).

fitly ranked with aliens, criminals and paupers' (cited Harris 1977:90).

In this he portrays an awareness of the importance of legal definition. Now the proposals of the Report intentionally circumscribe woman's activities. In contrast to the male, the proposed insurance regulations do not allow a woman on marriage to acquire an additional status. The role requirements of worker and housewife are seen as conflicting. Beveridge (1942(a):para 114) states,

'The attitude of the housewife to gainful employment outside the home is not and should not be the same as that of a single woman. She has other duties.'

In the logic of the scheme, therefore, upon marriage her status, with regard to social insurance, shifts from Class I or II, that is 'one dependent upon employment for a living' (Beveridge 1942(a):para 116), to Class III, that of a housewife who 'gains a legal right to maintenance by her husband' (Beveridge 1942(a):para 108). While in reality a woman may simultaneously occupy the status of gainfully employed worker and housewife and may perform both roles, and traditionally has done so in some regions as Beveridge was well aware (Beveridge 1932:74)¹, in the mutually exclusive system of classification only her status as housewife is accepted as legitimate. In consequence, her family benefits are not additional to her individual benefits. On the contrary, her individual benefits, whether or not they result from employment, are transformed into aspects of family benefit with the enacting of the

¹ Although Beveridge's proposals for married women were based upon the fact that in the 1931 census only one in eight married women were gainfully employed, possibly rising to one in seven in 1939, subsumed within this statistical average were wide regional variations. The 1921 census, for example, showed proportions of 2 per cent for the Administrative County of Durham, 13 per cent in London and 42 per cent in Burnley. Furthermore, these figures could be related to the industrial character of the areas and the subsequent availability of employment opportunities. The information is drawn from the published series of broadcast talks arranged and participated in by Beveridge himself.

housewives' policy on marriage; actuarially, for example, her employment and sickness benefit is reduced to cover her maternity benefit.¹ One exception is the pension at the single rate for the working housewife who has not chosen to be exempt from contribution although on her husband reaching pension age this becomes subsumed within the joint benefit payable to him (Beveridge 1942(a): para.401).

The Flat Rate Contribution

Examination of the actuarial basis of the contribution shows how these sex specific differences in benefit are underpinned. Despite the rhetoric endorsing the pooling of risks (Beveridge 1942(a): para.26) the rate of contribution and specific elements within it vary according to the sex of the contributor.

Actuarial accounting relates contribution to average benefits received over a lifetime of contribution. Because certain benefits and needs are defined as gender specific, differences in contribution relating to the maintenance obligations of the male and centrality of marriage and maternity to the female are specifically extended. It is significant that what could have been defined as the needs of family formation appears in the report as the marriage needs of a woman (Beveridge 1942(a): para.311). Although unemployment and disability risks are pooled there is no attempt to pool the marital risks of family maintenance and family formation between men and women.

Because married men are defined as needing the services of a woman,² whom they must support, for the efficient execution of their

¹ This actuarial argument is additional to that which justifies the reduction in benefit by virtue of rent being denoted as the responsibility of the male.

² There is also the implication that all men really need the services of a woman, for they may get 'unpaid domestic services from daughters or sisters' (Beveridge 1942(a): para.363 iv). There is no indication that gainfully occupied women might need a servicing agent although the Family Endowment Society raise this point in their evidence (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77: 12th meeting 2 June Q 3024).

occupational role (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 107), and on the assumption that all eventually marry, 'The contributions of all men are higher than those of women, in order to provide part of the benefits of housewives' (Beveridge 1942(a) Appendix A: para. 29; 18; 23).

Further, because men are defined as having more dependants than women (and in fact do have more), the woman's contribution is actuarially adjusted to take account of this (Beveridge 1942(a) Appendix A: para. 29). The system of classification also means that women are several times less eligible for dependant's allowances than are men, thus confirming the view that women have fewer dependants.

The nature of the constituent elements of the male and female contribution (see table 2.2) suggests a relationship to societal expectation regarding the allocation of responsibility surrounding marriage and maternity. Extending the comments of Abbott and Bompas (1943), comparison of the single male and female contributions in Class I demonstrates this (Beveridge 1942(a) Appendix A: para. 34).

The single male at all ages pays for his own risks regarding unemployment, disability, funeral and pension. An additional element on each item goes towards the allowances for housewives and dependants. In addition he pays for the maternity grant for housewives and widow and guardian benefit, which cannot revert to him should he become a widower, and unless or until he marries this addition to his contribution reverts to the general fund for housewives. A single female similarly contributes towards her cover for unemployment, disability, pension and funeral. These pay for part of her housewife's policy on marriage (Beveridge 1942(a) Appendix A: para. 18). In addition she contributes towards the marriage grant¹ and maternity benefit and

¹ The marriage grant was not incorporated within the final scheme.

Table 2.2: Rates of Contribution in Pence per Week for an Adult in Class I

	Full Actuarial Contri- bution	Insured Person	Share of Employer	Exchequer
MEN				
Retirement Pensions ..	35.1	14.7	14.6	5.8
Widow's and Guardian Benefits	4.1	1.7	1.7	.7
Unemployment Benefit .	37.2	12.4	12.4	12.4
Disability Benefit ..	15.5	6.4	6.5	2.5
Industrial Disability Benefit	3.3	1.4	1.4	.5
Maternity Grant and Benefits	1.3	1.1	-	.2
Marriage Grant	-	-	-	-
Funeral Grant	1.8	1.8	-	-
Cost of Administration	4.9	1.8	1.8	1.3
Total for Social Insurance Benefits ..	103.2	41.3	38.4	23.5
WOMEN				
Retirement Pensions ..	31.8	13.3	13.2	5.3
Widow's and Guardian Benefits	-	-	-	-
Unemployment Benefit .	24.6	8.2	8.2	8.2
Disability Benefit ..	12.2	5.1	5.1	2.0
Industrial Disability Benefits	2.2	.9	.9	.4
Maternity Grant and Benefits	2.0	.9	.8	.3
Marriage Grant	2.8	2.8	-	-
Funeral Grant	1.1	1.1	-	-
Cost of Administration	4.9	1.8	1.8	1.3
Total for Social Insurance Benefits ..	8.16	34.1	30.0	17.5

Source: Finance of the Proposals of the Report Relating to Social Insurance and Security Benefits. Memorandum of the Government Actuary (Beveridge 1942(a) Appendix A: para. 34).

maternity grant for unmarried mothers (Beveridge 1942(a) Appendix A: para. 24).

Thus certain elements in the contribution can be viewed as a form of pre-socialisation, support for which interpretation is suggested by a schools' television programme 'Going to Work' (1976). A young worker dismayed at the amount deducted from his pay is told by an older worker, 'That's for the wife you'll have one day'.

Contributions are, therefore, not just geared to a shared marital identity, but to one with distinct, complementary and irreversible roles. Further, traditional marital patterns are consolidated by the improved conditions which now recognise a husband's obligation to maintain his wife during his sickness or unemployment and by the now increased differential between male and female contribution due to the costing of housewives and dependants. 'Women's contribution will in any case be substantially below those of men, which have to carry provision for housewives' (Beveridge 1942(a) Appendix A: para. 230).

While based upon concepts of social justice, the effect is to subdue attempts at flexibility and change within individual family structures by sanctions, that is, the irreversibility of male and female benefits, which come into force when a family is at its most vulnerable - when it has lost its source of income. This has effect both during a working life-time and old age. A man who undertook a domestic caring role during his working life-time would forfeit his claim to pension. In no instance can an able-bodied man be covered by his wife's insurance. Thus the conditions for change are made less available by the exercise of State power. In both contribution and benefit the role of the husband as economic provider is consolidated and the possibility of the wife adopting the role of major breadwinner and the husband assuming responsibilities for domestic care is undermined.

Liability for Contribution

The compulsory nature of the scheme, that is, liability for contribution by all men and women of working age, is according to Beveridge (1942(a): para.317) an important principle in a scheme of social insurance - insurance where all 'men stand together with their fellows' (Beveridge 1942(a): para.26).

However, because a compulsory contribution requires some source of income on the part of the individual and because some groups do not have adequate income certain 'adjustments' have to be made. It is one such 'adjustment' the exemption from contribution, which directly and indirectly affects the rights (and, it could be argued, claims to full citizenship) of certain groups. The derived nature of a housewife's benefit has been indicated by several observers (see for example, Land 1976:123; Bell and Newby 1976:167; Abbott and Bompas 1943:7).

No housewife, irrespective of her economic activity, is liable for contribution although she may choose to contribute at the single female rate if she is in gainful employment. She will then receive unemployment and disability benefit at the reduced rate for married women plus maternity benefit where appropriate. Others of working age in Class IV may also choose not to contribute if their income is below a certain minimum.

This element of choice has repercussions on values, beliefs and attitudes circulating in the general culture. It is an examination of the structural penetration of the consciousness or beliefs and attitudes at which Abbott and Bompas (1943) hinted which is presented below.

THE STRUCTURING OF CONSCIOUSNESS

Some indication has been given as to how the principles and assumptions of the Beveridge Plan operate to support and consolidate the traditional family structure. Such principles and the underlying fam-

ilism also serve to construct and preserve beliefs and attitudes towards particular groups and social phenomena. Because legal regulation sets the bounds of behaviour and shapes activity the effect is denoted here as the structuring of consciousness. Much of the foregoing can be construed in this way but it is possible to elucidate further by isolating three areas for examination: the restructuring of women on marriage, the social divisiveness of the Plan and conformity and deviance.

The Restructuring of Women on Marriage

It has been shown how on marriage a woman's benefits undergo a fundamental change. In regard to social insurance Beveridge accords the housewife a distinct and consistent identity not found in the schemes or definitions existing at the time, and argues that such clarification is possible by taking into account all 'the social and economic implications of marriage.' He notes that,

'The census includes married women who do not work for money outside their homes among unoccupied persons. The unemployment insurance scheme recognises such women as adult dependants on their husbands, in respect of whom the benefit of the husband is increased if he is unemployed. The health insurance scheme does not recognise such women at all, except at the moment of maternity. None of these attitudes is defensible. In any measure of social policy in which regard is had to the facts, the greater majority of married women must be regarded as occupied on work which is vital though unpaid, without which their husbands could not do their paid work and without which the nation could not continue.'

(Beveridge 1942(a): para 107)

By recognising 'the effect of marriage in giving a new economic status to all women' (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 109) married women in consequence become 'a special insurance class of occupied persons' (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 107). This new economic status, that of being no longer dependent upon earnings for maintenance (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 108) but of being supported out of a husband's earnings, frees her for what is seen to be her particular form of service.

However, forces other than rewards come into play, for what is involved is not simply a shift from the remunerated occupation of the single woman to the unpaid domestic and community¹ work of the married; nor is it merely, as in the case of men, the acquiring of an additional status with attendant obligations; the provisions of the Plan constitute a restructuring of the individual along with pressures towards a re-orientation of attitude and behaviour.

Beveridge is quite explicit, '... all women on marriage acquire a new economic and social status with risks and rights different from those of the unmarried' (Beveridge 1942(a): para.108); and 'the principle adopted here is that on marriage every woman begins a new life in relation to social insurance' (Beveridge 1942(a) para. 110). 'Every woman on marriage will become a new person' (Beveridge 1942(a) para. 339).

This break in continuity and compulsory abandonment of her past is given substance in several ways. First, as noted, the redefinition of her needs means reclassification, the transition from social insurance

¹ An implicit fourth assumption basic to the provisions is the unpaid community service of women. This becomes explicit in the context of health provision for the housewife.

'Household Help in Sickness

... the comprehensive health service should include means of giving household help to the housewives, where this appears to be necessary to make possible their most effective medical treatment. This should be organised as part of the welfare service of hospitals and given on the recommendation of the doctor who sends her to hospital. This service could, if necessary, be extended to giving necessary household help when the housewife is ill at home. But this hardly seems likely to be needed; neighbourly and family help should meet such cases. The case is different when it is important to overcome difficulties in getting a patient to hospital as soon as her health requires it.'

(Beveridge 1942(a): para. 344)

The assumption of the easy availability of such help contrasts starkly with the Spring-Rice's (1939:109) evidence, available in 1939, of women sick and in childbed loathe to ask help of their already overburdened neighbours.

Class I to III, reserved for housewives whether gainfully occupied or not, for she is now, by definition, no longer dependent upon her own earnings for maintenance. She has, thereby, shed some of the risks to which a single woman is exposed and has acquired new personal risks related to the state of marriage: maternity and loss of self-maintenance.

There is to be no escape from the definition or the status. A housewives' policy covering the risks entailed in marriage is now physically part of her insurance record.

'On marriage... she acquires at once under a Housewives' Policy, endorsed or attached to her previous insurance document, a right to benefits and grants set out in the Plan under Marriage Needs. (Marriage grant, maternity grant, widowhood and separation provision, benefit during her husband's unemployment or disability if not herself gainfully occupied).'

(Beveridge 1942(a): para. 110)

Secondly, she loses the insurance aspects of her previous economic identity, '... she does not carry on rights to unemployment or disability benefit in respect of contributions before marriage' (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 111). 'She must acquire those rights, if at all, by fresh contributions after marriage' (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 110). Thus access to benefit is mediated by her marital status and if she chooses not to contribute, derived solely through her husband's contribution record.

Thirdly, there is a change with regard to liability for contribution. Gainfully occupied housewives are the only group of workers who are not liable for contribution.¹ The gainfully occupied housewife is not denied contributory status; she is given the option of paying the full single woman's rate. However, despite Beveridge's rationale and appeal to equity between the married and the single woman, the poor economic return on her contribution and the availability of security by virtue

¹ Women marrying after April 1977 are now liable for the full contribution. Sickness and unemployment benefits are also paid at the full rate.

of her husband's contribution mean that only a small proportion elect to pay in full (Walley 1972:119; Land 1976:124).

This element of choice, further weighted against take up, can be construed as a formal mechanism for the restructuring of a woman's attitude towards employment, that is, pressures endorsing a lack of commitment to an economic role.

Beveridge is quite explicit that a married woman's attitude towards gainful employment not only should not be but is not the same as that of a single woman (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 114). The influences on her behaviour which he cites are her lack of economic need which in turn affects her commitment to work (Beveridge 1942(a) para. 116) and, additionally, her work will be necessarily intermittent because of her role in maternity (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 111), thus, by implication, making her less reliable and useful.

It could be argued, however, that this lack of compulsion embedded in the structure of the Plan not merely reflects but compounds both the assumed (and possibly actual) lower commitment of women to employment and the attitudes taken towards them in the occupational structure by both employees and employers (Brown 1976:42-46). In addition this option structurally undermines the legitimacy of economic activity by married women. In social insurance terms, with regard to employment, married women are not ignored, but, to borrow an apposite phrase from Sam Goldwyn, they are 'included out'.

Finally, the metamorphosis is to be formally and immediately recognised on marriage by the receipt of a marriage grant up to a maximum of £10. 'To make the transition it is proposed that she should receive a marriage grant' (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 110). 'This grant is desirable both as compensation for giving up previous qualifications

for benefit and having to requalify if she continues in gainful occupation' (Beveridge 1942(a): para.340).

Social Divisiveness

While the Beveridge report was, as noted, largely hailed as an egalitarian document it is socially divisive in provision and in accounting principles in a fundamental way to which few apparently were sensitive at the time. Analysis of the actuarial basis of the contribution reveals a divisiveness based in the underlying familism.

As noted, in the contribution rate men and women are differentiated according to presumed future marital roles. The male and female risks associated with marriage are not pooled, thus implying different spheres of male and female responsibilities in marriage and a major social division between the sexes.

There is, however, a second fundamental difference. In social insurance men are treated as a solidary group; for women the reverse is true. Men share collective responsibility¹ the whole of their economically active lives, for the maintenance of themselves, housewives and other dependants. They are, furthermore, collectively exempt from responsibility for illegitimacy and towards cohabitants. While the possibility of a female cohabitant being registered as a dependant has already been noted, the potential sanctions on her are worth quoting in full:-

'... The unmarried woman living as a wife will get no widowhood benefits. If she is gainfully occupied she will pay contributions for all purposes, including medical treatment, pension and funeral grant which she would get without contribution if married; she will not have the married woman's option of exemption. If she is not gainfully occupied she will be in Class IV and will be required to make contributions for medical treatment, pension and funeral grant which she would get without contribution if married. Though it is proposed that medical treatment should be given without contribution conditions the legal liability of the unmarried woman

¹ Delphy's (1976:86) use of the concept 'collective exemption' was particularly useful in providing insights into the divisive nature of social insurance.

in Class IV will remain and be enforced, if she is not exempt for poverty under para. 363. For pension she will have to contribute throughout her working life, and if she does not do so she will not be qualified for a pension. The contributions of the man with whom she is living, if he is married to someone else, will go to secure pensions and other benefits for his legal wife; if he is not married, his contributions as a single man will go to support the benefits of married women generally.'

(Beveridge 1942(a): para. 115)

Thus, unlike the husband, the male cohabitant is not accorded any legal or moral responsibility towards his partner.

In addition, a subtle distribution of responsibility is revealed by an examination of the costing of the maternity grant - 'a sum of £4 to all married women, and other women if insured in Class I or II'

(Beveridge 1942(a) Appendix A: para. 4). The Government Actuary writes,

'The lump sum grant on a married woman's confinement is met from the man's contributions... and the cost of maternity grant to single women is met from the woman's contributions.'

(Beveridge 1942(a) Appendix A: para. 24)

Thus non-deviant maternity, that is maternity within marriage, is costed to all contributing men: women do not share any part of this cost. Secondly, despite their obvious share in illegitimacy, men are not to contribute in their social insurance towards this form of marital deviance.¹ By implication, within the scheme, the unmarried father is not defined as deviant. In stark contrast, unless the unmarried mother continues in employment, she is likely to have recourse to intentionally stigmatising means-tested national assistance.

However, although the cost of the maternity grant is to be met from the women's contribution, this does not mean that women collectively bear the cost of maternity outside marriage. Also relieved of the cost are full-time housewives, that is, those conforming to their domestic role, and housewives who, although gainfully employed, choose exemption

¹ This was amended in the final legislation.

thereby demonstrating a low commitment to work outside the home.

On examination the cost is borne by women who are potential or actual deviant women themselves. They are single women, that is, the ones who might have children outside marriage and whose single status itself (after the age of 25 or 26 according to the actuarial accounting discussed below) defines them as deviant; and housewives who have chosen to pay the full contribution thereby affirming a lesser commitment to the domestic role. Furthermore, the use of the part of women's pre-marital contribution for this purpose carries the implication that they were potential unmarried mothers who on marriage are exonerated and released from any responsibility towards illegitimacy if they adopt a conformist role. Thus deviant women pay for deviant women.

This allocation of the costs of deviance contrasts sharply with the concern expressed in the House of Commons over the welfare of serving men who had contracted venereal disease and were reported to have been given the wrong treatment (Hansard, H.C. Debates, 1943, vol. 386 col.1310). The financial accounting and provisions of the plan indicate a societal allocation of moral responsibility surrounding reproduction.

In contrast to men, women are not collectively responsible for any group or item in social insurance; nor do they collectively enjoy any exemptions. This fragmentation of women as a group, as compared with men, is also seen in their shifting statuses and is reflected in their passage between the classes within the social insurance system of classification. Men appear in the report under five guises: as single men, husbands, fathers, ex-husbands, and cohabitants. However, irrespective of

¹ The double standard of morality was particularly salient during the war and, significantly, of the documents analysed here figures most prominently in the material constructed for the female audience. The discussion of the war-time situation is reserved for this later analysis.

their family or marital status they remain, if willing to work, in insurance Classes I or II, with full insurance cover. Women appear in ten varieties: single working women (Class I or II); housewives not in gainful occupation, housewives in gainful occupation but not paying the full insurance contribution and housewives gainfully occupied and not choosing such exemption (all three fall into Class III - the first two are covered by men's contributions, the third covers herself); cohabitants who are not in employment, unmarried mothers, domestic spinsters, widows with no dependants, guardians (by definition female as child care responsibility is not attributed to males in the system of benefits) and divorced, separated or deserted wives; (all fall into social insurance Class IV with a strong likelihood of dependency on National Assistance and possibly moving into Class I or II on resumption of employment and to Class III on marriage or remarriage).

By such provision, and it must be noted improved provision, women are reaffirmed in their antipathetic, envious and competing groups (Battle-Sister 1972:415,417; Weitzman 1973; Joffe 1971:471). Parity with the widows was a pre-Beveridge cry from the spinsters' organisation. A further hint appears in the text:-

'Even if in the interests of the child, maternity grant and benefit are made as fully available to the small class of unmarried mothers as they are to married mothers (as probably most married women themselves would desire) this does not affect the equities on this point between married women and other women.'

(Beveridge 1942(a): para. 113)

Thus embedded in the Plan's structure is a dual divisiveness reflecting, shaping and consolidating attitudes towards certain patterns of behaviour and orientating relationships both between men and women (see Whitehead 1976) and amongst men and women as collectivities.

Conformity and Deviance

The ideal model of marriage and the family presented in the Report

contains the following elements.

To conform means that the individual marries. 'Taken as a whole, the Plan for Social Security puts a premium on marriage, in place of penalising it' (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 117). Along with benefits which cover the housewife are actuarial losses for men and women who remain unmarried, although this is confused by the inferior insurance status of married women gainfully occupied who elect to pay the full contribution.

Additionally, the approved age of marriage is fixed at 25 or 26 years, the rewards and penalties being lodged in the proposed marriage grant of ten pounds. Women who marry at a later age are referred to by the Government Actuary as 'deferring marriage' (Beveridge 1942(a) Appendix A: para. 25), an interesting linguistic usage in the context of ideology, since in our society women are 'chosen'.

The marriage grant is in effect a dowry to be funded solely out of women's contributions, there being no additional exchequer subsidy nor employer nor male element in its composition. Furthermore, while the contribution forms part of the social security contribution throughout (Beveridge 1942(a) Appendix A: para. 34) and is the highest male or female contribution associated with marriage or maternity, and paid by single and married working women unless exempt from contribution, after ten years no additional benefits accrue,

'... while the grant payable on marriage is equal to 6d for each contribution paid with a maximum of £10 (i.e. for 400 contributions) the actuarial contribution is about one half of this figure for adults, with proportionately lower amounts for girls and young women... The reason for this (return on contribution) is first that the contributions as paid are assumed to be accumulated at interest; secondly, that where marriage is deferred beyond about age 25, the maximum having been reached, no further accretions occur; and thirdly, that if a woman never marries her contributions enure to those who do.'

(Beveridge 1942(a) Appendix A: para. 25)

Thus by marrying at 25 years of age a woman receives double her

contribution, marriage at 35 years means she receives what she has paid into the fund, marriage beyond 35 involves a loss,¹ as does the contribution of the married woman contributor.

Within marriage parenthood is seen as the norm and multiple parenthood is to be encouraged by means of state support. Maternity is the principle object of marriage' (Beveridge 1942(a): para.109) and, 'it can be argued... that children are a contingency for which all men should prepare' (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 415).

With regard to size of family an argument in favour of children's allowances includes references to lightening the financial burden of children and also providing encouragement for larger families by indicating public approval of them:-

'With its present rate of reproduction the British race cannot continue; means of reversing the recent course of the birth rate must be found. It is not likely that allowances for children or any other economic incentives will, by themselves provide that means and lead parents who do not desire children to rear them for gain. But children's allowances can help to restore the birth rate, both by making it possible for parents who desire the more children to bring them into the world without damaging the chances of those already born, and as a signal of the national interest in children, setting the tone of public opinion.'

(Beveridge 1942(a) para. 413)

Parenthood, moreover, should take place within the context of marriage.

Thus with maternity grant and maternity benefit Beveridge imports moral

¹ When this issue regarding the 'chronic spinster' was raised at a later stage in the context of maternity benefits it was argued that such contribution on which there was no return was offset by the advantageous conditions of the single woman's pension. This was to be the same as the single male pension (24s) but ensuant upon a lower contribution than the male contribution (PRO 1944 PIN 8/58). Late marriage was also penalised by the later introduction of the 'half test' whereby a married woman's entitlement to a pension in her own right was dependent upon her paying contributions for half her married life irrespective of the years of contributions she may have prior to marriage (see Land 1976:123).

considerations¹ into insurance principles.

'On the one hand, it may be said that, in the interests of the child, grant and benefit should be paid where appropriate, irrespective of the marital relations of the parents. Against this it may be said, that the interest of the State is not in getting children born, but in getting them born in conditions which secure to them the proper domestic environment and care.'

(Beveridge 1942(a): para. 348iii)

In order to qualify for such benefit it is suggested that a man registers an unmarried wife as a dependant thereby implicitly giving the relationship a quasi-legal status (but one which is dissolved with his death).

Also embedded within the provisions is not merely that the individual marries but that one remains married or re-marries on a partner's demise. This is particularly salient where there are dependent children and is applicable to both men and women. With regard to a widow with dependent children, the guardian benefit plus children's allowances are intended to maintain the family at subsistence level, but the benefit of 24s is subject to a reduction for earnings the mother might have, thus ensuring a low standard of living for a family with no male breadwinner. Hanmer (1977:19) has observed of the battered woman with dependent children who manages to leave her husband, 'The woman dependent on the State ... is kept at a low financial level to encourage her to begin servicing yet another man'. While the financial basis is somewhat different in that a widow's benefits stem from her husband's contribution, nonetheless the effect is substantially the same.

Similarly, however, the widower with children is orientated to seek the services of women. Irrespective of any institutionalised domestic

¹ Similarly imported is the concept of guilt on the break-up of a marriage - guilt or consent of the wife rendering her ineligible for the benefits Beveridge wished to incorporate (but were not eventually included) in social insurance for the deserted wife (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 347). No moral elements, as Abbott and Bompas (1943:16-17) point out affect the male claim to social insurance.

incompetence which might force him into remarriage, should he wish to care for his children other than by providing the means of their economic support through his role in the labour force the State will not aid him in this. Guardianship and death of spouse benefits (which are part of male contribution and to which no female contributes) do not revert to him should his wife die. The economic dimension of a wife's services do not enter into the actuarial accounting.¹ The most obvious solution for both is to remarry and render the appropriate services to the State.

This directly relates to the conception of the marital roles as complementary and irreversible, the component elements of this relationship forming the first part of the analysis. Thus on marriage a woman gains a legal right to maintenance by her husband (Beveridge 1942(a):para. 108). His duty therefore is the economic maintenance of the unit.

'... she undertakes at the same time to perform vital unpaid service ... without which (her) husband could not do (his) paid work, and without which the nation could not continue.'

(Beveridge 1942(a): paras. 108; 107)

In Beveridge's ideal such domesticity and maternity are to be rewarded by their recognition in the joint benefit to the marital team. This concept of egalitarian, if complementary roles, is voiced in several passages.

'(Social Insurance) treats a man's contributions as made on behalf of himself and his wife, as for a team, each of whose partners is equally essential, and it gives benefit as for a team.'

(Beveridge 1942(a): para. 107)

And as noted earlier the premise underlying the joint pension was that each partner had an equal share in it (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 324).

¹ The large drop in a family's standard of living on the death of a mother has been noted by Tony Lynes (1966) of the Child Poverty Action Group (Address to the Fabian Society, Newport, Gwent, November).

Yet such equality is given no structural support in the proposed regulations and the male is considered head of the household, witnessed in his receipt of the joint benefit, and its lack of substance is also apparent in the ease, referred to above, with which it could be negated in the White Paper and the services in kind which the housewife renders the unit disregarded or classified as subsidiary. The essential nature of the family structure, then, is hierarchical.

The logic of the principles and actuarial accounting operate to reward conformity and penalise deviance. With regard to social insurance I have defined marital deviance as taking two forms: private and public. Private deviance involves either loss of the return on, or ineligibility, for the marital element in the contribution or the possibility of financial hardship against which the plan was designed to protect. This type of sanctioning is often hidden from public view in that individuals often only become aware of it (if then) when they unwittingly transgress the marital norm, (this, incidentally, suggests the strength of extra-legal pressures towards conformity). Any ensuing hardship may also be endured in private.

Public deviance involves the more public sanction of recourse to means tested National Assistance. This is a specific deterrent element incorporated within the new scheme 'to encourage the rest'. National Assistance 'must be felt to be something less desirable than insurance benefit otherwise insured persons get nothing for their contribution' (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 369).

Significantly, by extending social insurance to include the mass of the population by including groups hitherto uninsured and by lifting out of means-tested benefit the old, the sick and the unemployed, the function of National Assistance shifts. It no longer punishes misfortune and

poverty per se but punishes economic deviance, which is largely confined to the male, that is, the rejection of the work ethic witnessed by discontinuity or absence of contributions; and marital deviance, which is largely confined to the female.

Transgression from the norm involves penalties. Here I shall concentrate on those meted out to the domestic spinster because it draws attention to the interplay of other cultural factors.

The treatment of the woman

' of working age not gainfully occupied who may alternate between paid work and rendering unpaid service otherwise than as housewives - daughters looking after parents or sisters looking after brothers '

(Beveridge 1942(a): para. 120)

is particularly harsh. The treatment is especially remarkable since the servicing function of this group is explicitly recognised and, further, unlike the female cohabitant and the unmarried mother there is no hint of reprobation in the presentation of the domestic spinster's case.

However, while this lack of criticism is an important indicator of the apparent legitimacy of this status and role, also of note is the absence of any statement regarding the replacement cost to the State of the free and voluntary service provided, especially by unmarried daughters, should they reject their 'moral' responsibility toward parents. As a corollary this particular form of service finds no logical place within the contributory system except in what is effectively the residual category of Class IV.¹

Thus while need is provided for, the provision for this minority

¹ Beveridge was concerned about the position of the domestic spinster as were two of his committee. Mary Agnes Hamilton urged upon him the need for more generous treatment of the spinster caring for aged parents and Muriel Ritson suggested that such women should be treated like married housewives. Despite his concern, Beveridge rejected this as incompatible within the context of contributory insurance and his proposals remained in their original form (Harris 1977:403:404).

group does not, as the report proclaims, reward with unmeans tested benefit those able and willing to serve according to their powers (Beveridge 1942(a):para. 239), nor does it, as Change 7 implies, fully implement the 'extension of insurance... for retirement pensions to all persons of working age, whether gainfully occupied or not' (Beveridge 1942(a): para.53).

Walley (1972:75) suggests that such shortcomings are due to Beveridge's academic approach in relating all provision to employment status. I suggest that another reason for this inadequacy is that provision is related to the complex of cultural values surrounding the interplay of marital and economic statuses.

In the first place, the domestic spinster does not conform to the marital norm. There is an economic sanction on the unmarried, both male and female; for while both men and women contribute towards the benefits of the married, there is no return on these marital elements of the contribution for those remaining unmarried even though they may undertake similar obligations to the married. Pensions for and support for domestic service are derived through the legal bond of matrimony and not filial 'duty'.

In addition, neither does the domestic spinster conform to the economic norm laid down for the single. She has no earnings. In consequence the problem of providing for her arises out of the logic of basing non-means tested satisfaction of need upon the contributory principle - a principle which pre-supposes access to resources. In her case 'there may be no income under the control of the insured person to which liability to contribution can attach' (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 121).

Irrespective of her peculiar position she is allocated to Class IV and required to pay contributions towards her pension. (Her possible need for unemployment benefit or sickness benefit is, as is the case for housewives, totally rejected on the grounds that she suffers no loss of earnings). It is suggested, but not made a legal requirement, that the

relative whom she is servicing may pay her contribution in part payment for her services (Beveridge 1942(a): paras. 121;363 note), but provision is also made for exemption from contribution for persons of low income in Class IV (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 121).

While exemption is used as a means of administrative convenience, it is significant that excusal (whereby contributions are deemed to have been made) is not allowed for this group. The use of the procedure of excusal would have incorporated the domestic spinster within the socially acceptable aspect of the scheme.

The result of lack of enforcement and exemption in effect means that in old age such women will automatically be dependent upon the intentionally stigmatising National Assistance, a situation which is recognised by the government actuary as one that will not diminish for this group as the plan becomes fully operant,

'... the Report envisages that the Social Insurance provisions of the Plan will, even when fully operant, require to be supplemented by assistance... even in respect of pensions, for which the widest coverage is provided.'

(Beveridge 1942(a) Appendix A: para. 59)

While the extension of State insurance reduces the permanent scope of assistance pensions 'a permanent class' will still exist.

'It will probably be made up to a large extent of women (a) who never take up paid employment but live, usually with relatives and may thus never pay any insurance contributions, or (b) who return home or to a relative, after one or more spells of employment not sufficient to build up a substantial insurance qualification.'

(Beveridge 1942(a) Appendix A: para. 59iv)

Thus by remaining unmarried and performing a 'family' service role outside marriage for both individual and State, the domestic spinster is likely to find herself in her old age publicly classed among the deviants - those who reject marital and economic norms - by her enforced dependence upon National Assistance. Insight into the reason why this group can be treated in this manner is provided by documents contemporary with the report.

In a culture placing so much emphasis on marriage, the older spinster occupies a low status in the social hierarchy. This is witnessed by her publicly becoming the object of humour, pity and derision (Comer 1974:208). Thus in the House of Commons debate on the Beveridge Report the position of the spinster, while evoking sympathy, provoked hilarity regarding what was inferred to be her obvious lack of sexual appeal for any male and thus accounting for her pitiable state.

On 17th February 1943 on the second day of the House of Commons debate on the Beveridge Report, W. Leach, the member of parliament for Bradford (Central) supported the case for the reduction of the spinster's retirement age to 55, arguing that by not having children the spinster effectively saves the State money.

'Mr. Leach:

All these benefits are costs which the spinster saves to the State (interruption) - whether that is amusing or not, it is true, and we say some consideration should be given to the fact. What more natural consideration could be given to her than to reduce her pension age from 60 to 55?

The Beveridge Plan, it is freely admitted, places a premium on marriage... What is not so clearly seen is that it places a handicap on spinsters.

The whole body of unmarried women in industry numbers about 4,000,000. By the time the age of 55 is reached, the total is reduced to 175,000. Some have married, some have died, some have fallen by the wayside, and some have left work and gone out of insurance. What kind of people comprise that 175,000? They are certainly poor; 80 per cent of them are very poor indeed. They are hardworking, thrifty and respectable. Indeed, if I were asked which section of the population is the most modest, well behaved and law abiding, there would be only one answer - the spinster.

Mr. McGovern:

That is why they are spinsters.

Mr. Leach:

Doubtless there is an amusing side to that fact.'

(H.C. Debates 1943, vol. 386 col (1860-1863)

This may be construed as a public insult of one sector of the electorate.

Similar nuances may be detected in the material of the forces' education programme. In an illustration of the all-embracing nature of Democracy use is made of the literary convention of juxtaposing a major issue with

a minor one in order to make a specific point - in this case the dynamic foundation of the 'Big ideas' for which 'we' were fighting. Thus it is possible for

'the ordinary citizen to influence the policy of his country at several stages... (which includes taking) part in campaigns advocating policies which may range from 'Pensions for Spinsters' to 'Justice for India'.

(BWP 1942 1:16)

Thus the State provides structural supports which reinforce the powerlessness and vulnerability and popular conceptions of a particularly powerless group. In a later section it is observed how such conceptions assume stereotypical forms which are used to deflect the attempts at challenge the group or its articulate representatives make.

Summary

The composite elements of the proposed regulations penetrate extensively into the social structure both in regard to their multiplicity and their range, actually directing individuals, or bringing to their attention prescribed aspects of familial behaviour. Such prescriptions relate to behaviour inside and outside marriage and affect relationships between groups. It will be seen in the ensuing analysis how an important aspect of this phenomenon was the fragmentation of both the population and familism according to marital and economic statuses and roles. While it is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the extent to which these prescriptive behavioural elements in the regulations actually shape individual's interpretations of roles, statuses and relationships it will be seen how associations can be drawn between the legal supports which set the boundaries of behaviour, and which involve sanctions if not conformed to, and cultural elements in the form of stereotypes.

From the perspective of practical discourse an important aspect in

these supports and regulations is their selectivity. An obvious omission in the Report, for example, is the power dimension in the marital relationship to which the preliminary reading had drawn attention, and the simplistic assumption of marriage as 'a team' with joint benefit rights vested in the husband. In addition, as indicated earlier, the treatment of women within the provisions was subject to challenge by various women's organisations. How these challenges, either those inherent to the traditional family structure itself, or emerging from the competing ethic of egalitarianism external to the family, are met is the subject of the next stage of the analysis.

THE ACCOMMODATION OF CHALLENGING REALITIES

Potential challenge is inherent to selectivity. The data suggest that the accommodation of challenge to the ideal model of the family produced by the Beveridge Report operated at many levels and that practical discourse assumes different forms which are related to the location of the challenge and the political, in this case democratic, context of the discourse itself. Within the evidence two distinct types of accommodation and location were identified: first, those accommodations of challenges which were selected to enter into the public debate and made available to a mass audience, and, secondly, accommodations of challenges not afforded this forum but to which Habermas' notion of submergence needs further elaboration.

DEVALUATION: THE PUBLISHED EVIDENCE

There is a tendency to construe a government report as a factual document yet the factors contributing to an individual's assessment of a particular piece of information are many, and are both overt and subtle.

Of the more overt kind Habermas (1976:70) has, for example, referred

to the ability of the State to control themes which enter public discussion. Furthermore, statements may be reorganised, summarised or crucial omissions made which alter their import and which may lend support to conventional wisdoms or deny the reality of a situation. Marwick's (1977:152) comparison of the original evidence (Imperial War Museum, 1918) with the published report of the evidence given by women factory inspectors to the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry in November 1918 (H.M.S.O. 1919: 204) demonstrates this phenomenon¹, as does the popular presentation in pamphlets and articles of the social insurance proposals of the Beveridge Report, 1942, and the National Insurance Act of 1946 referred to earlier. Again, in the area of beliefs and ideologies Harris (1971: 22-25) has drawn attention to shifts in definition, reinterpretations of meaning and inversions which have taken place over time.

In contrast with both this historical perspective and the exercise of state control over available knowledge, the focus here is upon the shifts in definition or perspective which are latent and operating within the initial presentation of facts.

The material examined consists of those items which were selected for publication, as an appendix to the report (Beveridge 1942(b)), from the total body of evidence submitted to the Beveridge Committee on Social Insurance between its appointment, in June 1941, to the publication of the report in November 1942. The problem for the analyst of these documents lies in the question as to how a rational, logical and equitable case can be rendered impotent by its mere presentation. This is located, I suggest, in a shifting relationship or articulation between highly valued cultural

¹ Marwick notes that the possibility that women may need special conditions of work becomes a definitive statement that women do need special conditions; and a categorical statement that it is a fallacy to think women economically less advantageous to employ becomes the more equivocal statement that 'this does not follow at all necessarily'.

ethics and the key area of the discourse. The major case explored here is the articulation of equality, individualism and citizenship as they relate to the family and, specifically, the conjugal role structure. The manner in which these values are drawn upon by those submitting evidence is crucial to the reception of their case. It is a comparison of the evidence submitted by women's organisations with those of other bodies which serves to illuminate this process with regard to family structure.

During the course of its deliberations the Interdepartmental Committee received evidence, both oral and written, from 127 organisations and individuals excluding that of government departments. This evidence represented the articulate expression of opinion from a wide range of organised groups which are listed in Appendix C to the Report (Beveridge 1942(a): 247-8). They included local authorities, approved societies, employers, trade unions, research organisations, political groups and professional bodies.

Of this evidence 43 memoranda, that is approximately one third, were selected for publication in the accompanying volume of the report (Beveridge 1942(b)). The document holds an important position in the analysis of the construction of knowledge. First, it is located at a critical point in the social structure, that is, it is an official publication, provided for public consumption, of opinion at the articulate level of the discourse. Furthermore, at this articulate level it provides some indication of both the degree of consensus and the range of alternative views circulating, or, at least, available in the society.

In addition, the fact of the official publication accords a degree of legitimacy to the evidence contained in the document; the views posited are, at the minimum, recognised as tenable positions to hold within British society of the period. Such recognition, however, serves to set the

officially recognised boundaries within which the debate is to be conducted: the admissible threads of the discourse. It is furthermore part of the process of legitimation of the Report itself in the implication that a wide range of views informed the final report.

The question raised by this recognition or admissibility, however, is not why certain alternatives appearing here are ultimately neglected, dismissed or ignored, but how it is that what would seem to be a rational and equitable case can be rendered so impotent that the ultimate treatment of them can be deemed both possible and acceptable.

Although, undeniably an important factor, it is inadequate to refer solely to the differential access to power of particular social groups, for example to that of organised labour as opposed to fragmented women's groups. It would seem rather that part of the effect lies within the document itself; that the effect is a cultural as well as a political phenomenon.

Should this be so, analysis of this document will provide evidence of and insight into some of the processes involved in the maintenance of the supremacy of one particular view and indicate elements involved in a resistance to change. The view sustained is that of the traditional conjugal role structure with its sole breadwinner who is male and a nurturant wife-mother located in the home and not gainfully employed, referred to by Nandy (1978:689) as the single role family.

The published evidence falls into two parts. The first is the introduction by Sir William Beveridge, wherein he refers to papers (Beveridge 1942(b):np) on the issues involved in the obtaining insurance schemes (Beveridge 1942(b): paper 1) which were sent to organisations submitting evidence, and the notes which were sent to local authorities (Beveridge 1942(b):186). Both sets are reproduced in the publication. The second part contains the memoranda submitted by the 43 selected organ-

isations.

Official Constraints

One factor distinguishing this evidence from much of the debate conducted at the official level is its availability to the general public. The publication was and is available to anyone who cares to buy or borrow a copy. However, while this provides an aura of openness, examination shows that certain restrictions were imposed upon the evidence before publication. This does not mean that the statements were censored, but that a distinct orientation was imposed upon both the collection and dissemination of knowledge.

Selectivity

In the first place, the evidence reproduced here is selective. In his introduction Beveridge observes that while normally practically the whole of the memoranda would be published,

'In the abnormal conditions of war only those memoranda which dealt either with questions of general interest or with major issues of policy such as the organisation of approved societies, the system of workmen's compensation and industrial insurance are included.'

(Beveridge 1942(b):1-3)

While conceding that much of value had been omitted he points out that,

'The whole of the evidence is available for consideration by any official body that may be called upon to consider further action on the recommendations of the Report or on the problems discussed in it.'

(Beveridge 1942(b):np)

Thus the availability of the whole of the memoranda and access to the richer and complex detail of beliefs, assumptions and attitudes which inform the contributions, both official and lay, are restricted to formal and recognised groups.

Although few may have read the published document and few may have wished to examine the unpublished evidence, such selectivity and limitation of access is one stage in the definition of the officially recognised boundaries of the discourse; for while the implication of Beveridge's reference to 'questions of general interest' is that the omitted evidence is either concerned with the esoteric and marginal interests of the few, or is duplicated in the evidence selected for publication, examination of the whole evidence suggests that what could be considered important elements are omitted, for example, the distribution of income within the family, raised by Eleanor Rathbone as representative of the Family Endowment Society but not published (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 12th meeting 11 June: Q 2994). Furthermore, as will be noted later, when taken in conjunction with its oral evidence to the Inter-departmental Committee certain aspects of an organisation's statement may be accorded stronger emphasis or the underlying assumption more clearly identified. In this latter respect, an additional effect of the selectivity for publication is to create slight, but nevertheless critical, shifts in emphasis in the evidence of some organisations.

Perceptual Set

The evidence submitted by the various bodies was not necessarily a simple representation of their opinion on the issues involved in a system of social insurance. Beveridge himself implicitly sets the general framework within which the debate was to be conducted by providing for the benefit of organisations and individuals wishing to submit evidence the sets of questions, referred to above, around which they were enjoined to organise their thinking.

Thus prior to the submission of evidence Beveridge sent such bodies 'three series of notes prepared by (himself) which were used to invite

information on particular points' (Beveridge 1942(b):np).

A further set of notes was sent to local authorities because of their particular concern with public assistance (Beveridge 1942(b):186). The first series posed six principle questions which, Beveridge points out, 'were not in any way exhaustive and which were drawn up at an early stage in the work of the interdepartmental committee' (Beveridge 1942(b):np).

The questions covered were: closer coordination of social insurance; principles determining rate of benefit; principles determining rate of contribution; scope of insurance benefits; pension age and conditions; relation of treatment to cash benefits; methods of administration; residual problems; social classes; gaps and voluntary insurance.

These notes take the form of questions. Some present alternatives such as, for example, the appropriate form of treatment in alternative situations.

'Should contributions vary with wages:

- (a) if benefits vary with wages,
- (b) if they do not do so.'

(Beveridge 1942(b):2)

Others are based upon the obtaining situation and ask for opinion regarding certain extensions:

'Should treatment for illness or accident... apply as at present only to persons entitled to cash benefits or to other dependants persons not gainfully occupied or above a certain income limit.'

(Beveridge 1942(b):2)

and

'Should rate of benefit vary with circumstances other than wages including age, sex, family responsibilities and differences of rent or other living costs.'

(Beveridge 1942(b):1)

Within these notes, however, it is possible to discern a particular orientation to family structure in three areas. First, the issues raised

take their starting point in the obtaining schemes; secondly, and related to this, definitions and categories used imply a single role family structure; and thirdly, there is an assumption that financially the schemes will have a contributory basis. I shall examine each of these in turn.

An Extension of the Past

The issues which are raised take the established schemes as their point of departure. A comparison of Beveridge's notes with the provision in the existing schemes set out in Appendix B of the Report (Beveridge 1942 (a) 112-46) demonstrates that the notes constituted a reorganisation and extension of the categories of the old schemes. Because of this a particular perceptual set is imposed upon the contemplation of change. It will be shown that this holds true in, for example, the acceptance of the traditional family role structure, even amongst the organisations whose recommendations, (for example, of a non-contributory basis for social insurance), had they been implemented, might have provided an alternative basis conducive to shifts in husband and wife roles.

Definitions and Categories

Secondly, although the intention of all involved was the provision of a more comprehensive and more equitable treatment, there was nothing in these notes which challenged those categories and definitions relating to the family. Familial distinctions frequently appear, for example, dependant, family responsibilities, widows, married women (Beveridge 1942(b):2-3). Furthermore, even in these brief notes categorisation and definition imply a model of the single role family structure with one breadwinner who is male.

For example, the principle risks and forms of interruption of earnings include reference to the "death of the breadwinner" (Beveridge 1942(b):1).

In the notes for local authorities it is clear that the male is the head of the family; the masculine reference to the applicant for public assistance is not merely a literary convention for the paragraph continues with references to his wife and other members of his family (Beveridge 1942(b):186).

Again, although throughout the notes wives are not specifically defined as dependants, for example, in the issue of the extension of medical benefits to the uninsured, it is asked,

'should treatment apply as at present only to persons entitled to cash benefits or to others (dependants, persons not gainfully occupied or above an income limit) '

(Beveridge 1942(b):2),

there is, nonetheless, an implication when considered in conjunction with the groupings into which these three types fall in the consideration of the extension of insurance that, in fact, wives are dependants, since of persons not gainfully occupied only students and those giving unpaid domestic help are specifically mentioned.

'Should any or all insurance be extended to cover classes not now included particularly... persons not gainfully occupied including students and those giving unpaid domestic help.'

(Beveridge 1942(b):2)

Two types of categorisation clarify the position: 'Special Classes' and 'Residual Problems'. Married women are designated as one of the special classes in respect of which, it is asked, 'whether any special conditions of benefit or contribution are required. An inspection of this category (for along with married women are seasonal, casual and part-time workers; workers on short time, persons employed otherwise than by way of business; outworkers; persons under contract for service; i.e., small contractors; and persons employed by members of the same family) suggests that the organising principle is some non-standard relationship to employment (Beveridge 1942(b):3).

It is clear that married women do not fall into the previous category of 'Residual Problems' which addresses the question of the provision to be made for those who are or fall outside the scope of the scheme or for some reason render themselves ineligible for benefit (Beveridge 1942(b):31).¹ Married women are, in effect, those whose husbands adequately perform their role (that is, work). The category of problem individuals comprises, for women, those who in some way fall outside this view of the family unit but have been unable for some reason to enter the workforce: unmarried mothers; deserted wives; women who have lost their family function, that is, widows with no dependants and who have difficulty in adapting to an economic role, women married to economically inadequate or deviant men, along with domestic spinsters or women who alternate between economic and family structures and, finally, long-term unemployed elderly women. Thus 'those giving unpaid domestic help' unless the scope of benefit is extended - an issue raised in the notes - refers to unmarried domesticity, perceived as a residual problem and requiring different treatment to that of the married woman and also carrying with it an assumption regarding different kinds of domestic labour.

Contribution

Thirdly, there is an assumption that any scheme adopted would have a contributory basis, the questions focussing upon the technicalities of contribution (variation according to wage and degree of industrial risk and the distribution between State, Employer and Employee) not on the

¹ Under this heading the question asked is, 'What provision should be made for (a) persons not falling within any of the insurance schemes, or failing to fulfil contribution conditions (b) for persons exhausting their insurance right, if benefit is not unlimited in duration (c) for persons disqualified for insurance benefit by failure to observe insurance conditions (d) for meeting individual needs not covered adequately by insurance.'

principle of contribution itself (Beveridge 1942(b):2). The analysis of the Report itself demonstrates how a traditional familism infused the actuarial consideration linking benefit to contributions and its far reaching implications. As will be seen in the examination of the unpublished evidence such accounting served both to inhibit change and provided the Civil Service with a tautological rationale for countering criticism.¹

These three areas, the basis in the past, definitions and categories, and the assumption of the contributory principle, provide a particularly crucial orientation towards social insurance for those providing evidence. In addition, however, this official framework is important in the interpretation of the evidence by the lay reader. The notes provided by Beveridge, prefacing the evidence as they do, and presumably read first by a lay reader as the conventionally accepted means of orientating oneself to the material, probably do just that. While it is impossible to determine the effect upon the reader, one possibility is that the implicit official model serves to devalue or, mark off as too radical, evidence which posits major alternatives.

There is a double process in the collection and dissemination of these views. The official constraints of selectivity and orientation serve as a filter for what are presented as representative views emanating from particular points in the social structure, but which themselves have been subject to implicit direction and between which there is no dialogue at this official level. The views are individually presented to the

¹ For example, the representatives of the International Labour Office in their oral evidence to the Committee pointed to the practice in other countries of the husband drawing a pension on his wife's insurance where she was the breadwinner. Beveridge and the Government Actuary point out that in the proposed scheme the situation can never arise. Whether employed or unemployed, because of the dependant's allowance attached to male benefit, a husband is always the breadwinner. Attempts to pursue the matter are ignored (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 10th Meeting 13 May QQ 2482-2486).

Committee. This is then returned, often passing through this official mesh, to the pool of public knowledge.

It is however, an aspect of the latter phenomenon, which may be independent of the official process, which is now examined. Despite the possible effects of such various official constraints, it is argued that these are not the most important ones operating upon the data and affecting the reader's judgement of the cases presented. Such constraints are found within the evidence itself.

Textual Constraints

Three types of textual constraints upon change were identified: linguistic conventions, familial assumptions and the interplay of values.

With a few reservations and cautious statements, notably on the viability of the finance of a scheme for social security in the uncertainty of post-war conditions, by the British Employers Confederation (Beveridge 1942(b):18) and the Joint Committee of Approved Societies (Beveridge 1942(b):110), witnesses were overwhelmingly agreed upon need for major changes in the existing provision in social insurance. As noted earlier, 'Beveridge was... articulating ideas which already commanded a good deal of popular support' (Harris 1977:415).

This consensus was held across a broad spectrum of organisations including friendly societies, insurance companies, employer's organisations, women's organisations, local authorities, political groups, professional groups, research organisations and the representatives of organised labour.

'A... striking feature was the very wide degree of support among witnesses for the kind of reform that Beveridge already had in mind - a measure to which Beveridge himself was expressing the spirit of the times. Again and again witnesses pressed spontaneously and independently for measures which afterwards became the main policy proposals of the Beveridge Report - namely, family allowances, full employment, a universal health service, a uniform system of contri-

butory insurance, subsistence-level benefits and the reduction or abolition of public assistance. Insofar as witnesses dissented from these policies it was mainly on points of detail rather than on general principle...'

(Harris 1977:414-415)

Yet, notwithstanding Beveridge's strong lead, alternative opinion was both voiced and, furthermore, appeared in the official publication. Thus it was acknowledged that opinions and beliefs articulated in these formal submissions were not part of a monolithic structure but of one comprising both consentient and competing elements. In consequence the concept of official constraints is an inadequate explanation of how such oppositions were encompassed. Whilst it could be argued that those organisations stepping outside the implicit framework, which itself drew upon a well articulated view, were automatically placed in the strategically weaker position of arguing against an already sanctioned position, it is suggested that much more complex processes were operating and the intricate mechanisms by which these alternative voices are devalued in this document can only be determined by an examination of the text itself.

From the published evidence all papers making references to the family or familial themes were selected. There were 22 from lay organisations and five from local authorities; in all a total of 27.

The importance of the concepts of status and role to the analysis of familism emerged in the examination of the Beveridge Report. Preliminary reading of the published evidence similarly suggested their centrality to this text. Consequently, references to these concepts and the manner of their presentation were recorded - initially as individual items or phrases, then viewed in the context of the paragraph and subsequently as part of the whole memorandum in which they appeared.

These data were then examined for any type of consensus, for example, in linguistic usage or assumptions regarding status and role.

The second part of the analysis consisted of an examination of the content of the evidence of organisations which produced alternative propositions selected on the basis of their implications for family structure. These were concerned with the position of women in social insurance and the financial basis of the scheme. Again these propositions were considered within their context.

In the notes provided for those submitting evidence attention was directed to the possibility of extending the scope of social insurance to render it as encompassing as possible (Beveridge 1942(b): 2). Irrespective of any differentiation according to need and despite the categories and definition indicated in the notes, theoretically the referent was the citizen; a concept which in the People's War encompassed all members of society along with the possibility, if not the reality, of an equity undifferentiated by class or gender.

That the bodies submitting evidence were sensitive to this theme is apparent by their use of such terms as individual, citizen, person(s), worker, contributor. Of the 27 organisations selected 16 used such neutral terms. Indeed, the texts of certain memoranda were distinguished by the predominance of such usage.¹

However, an assessment of the implications of such statements cannot be isolated from the text of which they are part and inspection demonstrated overwhelmingly that ultimately use was made of a part of speech or reference was made to a role or status which either undermined or effectively negated the universal application of the initial comment and, by extension, a universalistic concept of citizenship.

¹ These were: Paper 6. Memorandum of Evidence by the National Council of Women of Great Britain; Paper 7. Summary of Memorandum of Evidence by P.E.P. Paper 8. Outline of the Scheme Submitted by the Fabian Society (Beveridge 1942(b): 26-40).

Linguistic Convention

In the first place, with two exceptions, the United Women's Insurance Society and the Prudential Assurance Company, (Beveridge 1942 (b): papers 20 and 35), all the organisations at some stage adopt the conventional use of the masculine pronoun to denote both male and female.

Thus even the National Council of Women, a body whose evidence was fundamental in raising the issue of the work status of women, suggested that 'a scheme of social insurance (should aim at being) an agency to assist him back to the maximum amount of work of which he is capable' and commenting upon medical treatment, observed,

'Currently medical treatment is only available to the insured person himself.'

(Beveridge 1942(b):31)

Other organisations followed similar patterns, for example:

'Comprehensive extension of medical benefits... to dependent children would mean that any child would receive the necessary medical treatment throughout his education

(Beveridge 1942(b): Memorandum of Evidence by the London County Council:204),

'That he is given every opportunity, and avails himself of that opportunity, to obtain such remedial treatment as would most likely render him again fit for remunerative employment '

(Beveridge 1942(b): Memorandum of Evidence by the National Federation of Employees Approved Societies:94),

'... provision should be made for extra contributions on a voluntary basis - so extra benefit may accrue to the insured person for himself or his dependants'.

(Beveridge 1942(b): Memorandum of Evidence by the Association of Municipal Corporations: 90)

And the London County Council (Beveridge 1942(b):204) in response to questions on determination of applicants needs included in their answer:

'His economic status should be maintained, i.e., needs measured in relation to wages, or to the wages of his group.'

The usage is widespread amongst other organisations. The National Council of Women in their supplementary evidence (Beveridge 1942(b):

34) observe that,

'... with a certain upper income limit, every individual should be compulsorily insured against those contingencies of which he runs a risk.'

Political and Economic Planning (Beveridge 1942(b):34) refer to

'... the services which provide the citizen with a "social service income" when his normal income fails.'

The Fabian Society (Beveridge 1942(b):38)

'... recognise... reciprocal obligation upon the citizen to co-operate fully in the restoration of his earning power.'

The National Conference of Friendly Societies (Beveridge 1942(b):67)

note that,

'... the problem... is the provision of security against the risks of economic life to those engaged in industry, when overtaken by adverse circumstances beyond their control... The object of that provision should be such as to permit the individual concerned to continue to shoulder the normal responsibilities of the citizen, with the maintenance of his own individual freedom, during such periods as he is incapable of following his employment or is unable to obtain employment.'

The National Federation of Employees Approved Societies (Beveridge 1942(b):

94) comment,

'If social security is to be achieved, the relief afforded to the insured person should be available as of right. It would hardly seem necessary for the sick individual who has lost his wages...'

The Association of Approved Societies (Beveridge 1942:115) suggest that,

'The worker should be encouraged to take part in all activity, domestic or otherwise, which would not in fact retard his recovery.'

And the Memorandum of Evidence by the London County Council (Beveridge 1942(b):203) includes the statement that,

'Currently medical treatment is only available to the insured person himself.'

Such examples of usage, it may be argued, merely reflect a linguistic

convention which until recently has been unchallenged.¹ Furthermore, in 1942, it would be reasonable to suppose that such usage would appear both unexceptionable and acceptable. Thus, whilst the implicit orientation embedded in the linguistic form might contain nuances that the statuses of worker and citizen, and the proprietorship of families, attach themselves solely to the male, hypothetical effect upon consciousness cannot be accepted as substantial evidence.

Such cultural constructs, however, do not exist in isolation even at their own level. In this case language is intimately related, if only by association, with a second element: the extensive assumption of a single role family structure despite the presence in the evidence itself of contradictions in the form of the married woman worker.

The Single Role Family Structure

The definition of the single role family structure has already been given. Here I concentrate on one side of the relationship: the sole male breadwinner. This focus is necessary due to the ambiguities surrounding the status and role of women as they appear in this evidence;

¹ This has been challenged empirically. For example, Lady Howe, Deputy Chairman of the Equal Opportunities Commission, in her address to the National Conference of the Institute of Credit Management on 15th March 1978 makes the following comment on the use of the masculine, "... May I draw your attention to the fact that (the outline syllabuses given in your booklet on qualifications for membership) refer to the Credit Manager or would-be Credit Manager as "he" throughout?... If anyone should try to explain this kind of thing by a reference to the inclusive use of "man" taken in the sense of mankind let me reply in advance that it really is not normal in English usage to speak of women as "men"! ... Although some brave souls run the gauntlet of all this masculinity, it is less than encouraging to them when all the signs so clearly suggest that they are not expected' (Howe 1978:19).

At the theoretical level I am not aware of any study comparable to that of Brown and Gilman (1960) on the use of the second person pronoun where attention is drawn to the semantics of usage, that is, 'the covariation between the pronoun used and the objective relationship existing between speaker and addressee', and in which a connection is proposed 'between social structure, group ideology, and the semantics of the pronoun' (Brown and Gilman 1960:252).

for references to gainfully occupied married women carry with them the possible recognition of a female economic family role. In consequence it was important to select stringent indicators of the concept in order to demonstrate the existence and extent of the underlying assumption.

The indicators used were first, that the family had only one breadwinner and secondly, associated with this, explicit references to the statuses of other family members which clarified which of the parties carried the economic role.

Such a definition relegates to a marginal position comments which despite direct references to masculine responsibility, are open to dismissal as linguistic convention, for example, the National Council of Women's observations on 'the insured person and his family' (Beveridge 1942(b):33) or the Association of Municipal Corporations' reference to 'the standard of living of any person and his family' (Beveridge 1942(b):33; 19). For while the witnesses were probably aware, as was the National Council of Women (PRO.1942 CAB 87/77 5th meeting 11 March QQ 1553 - 1559), that married women living with their husbands could not claim for dependants, the reader of the document might not be so informed. The aim, therefore, is to extricate some of the unambiguous mechanisms contributing to a total effect.

Of the 27 papers which refer to the family, eight occupy this marginal position and ten make direct references to the male breadwinner or wives, widows or widowed mother of the worker.

Thus to demonstrate the illogicalities in the insurance schemes the Shipping Federation and Liverpool Steam Ship Owners use the model (significantly this was 'prepared by the Interdepartmental Committee') of a man earning £2 a week with a family consisting of a wife and two children (Beveridge 1942(b):21); the Liberal Parliamentary Party suggest

that there 'should be differential payments of benefit as between married men (or single men with widowed mothers) and single men' (Beveridge 1942(b):42) although that this is immediately followed by the proposal 'that benefits should be the same for both sexes' suggests that the logical implications of statements can be automatically negated by assumptions which are widely shared throughout society.

In the discussion of medical benefits the following comments appear:

According to the National Labour Organisation (Beveridge 1942(b):45),

'The most immediate step... would be to extend the existing service to the wife and children of the wage earner... In these days of declining population the health of wives and children is as important to the state as that of the wage earner.'

And the National Conference of Friendly Societies (Beveridge 1942(b) 73-74) suggest that,

'... as complete a service as possible (in dental and ophthalmic benefits) should first be provided for the family breadwinner and such extensions as can be applied to the advantages of his dependents should then follow... (their) non-availability to wives and children is regarded by insured men as a serious short-coming in the Health Insurance Scheme.'

(This proposal, incidentally, indicates not only a male breadwinner but a hierarchy of rights to health within the family unit).

The Industrial Life Offices Association (Beveridge 1942(b):176) ask,

'If the scheme embraced wife and children would funeral expenses be paid only in cases where they predeceased the breadwinner, whose insurance provides the cover.'

The fact that 17 of the 27 organisations selected make no direct reference to a sole male provider cannot be considered as indicative of the adoption of a flexible position. Although women are acknowledged as members of the workforce, particularly by the two women's organisations, in only ten places in the evidence is there any indication that a woman may be the economic provider. Even here, while the women's organisations refer to a woman's personal hardship due to the withdrawal from the labour force

over the period of childbirth, no reference is made to either a continuing or intermittent¹ but crucially important role in the economic support of a family.

Reference has already been made to the traditional expectation in the textile industries of a continuing work role for women after marriage. Williams (1945) in her study Women and Work draws attention to this further aspect of women's work. In her discussion of the wage structure she makes two points. First, the different cycles of financial family obligations for men and women and, secondly, the lower visibility of the female cycle of obligation than the male. While acknowledging that

'most men marry and are then legally by convention responsible for their families, and it is equally true that the majority of women are single women... it does not follow that every man has family obligations and that no woman has.'

The male cycle reaches a peak when all the children are dependent and then his financial obligations gradually decline as the children become fully or partially self-supporting (say after 21 years after the birth of the first child). Thus, Williams argues, for the greater part of his working life he has only himself and his wife to maintain (say from 45 - 65+ years). This pattern is easily recognised because it both fits in with the accepted social pattern of male breadwinner and dependent family and the dependence of the children on the father is complete and continues for a considerable period.

In contrast the cycle of obligation of the woman wage earner is less obvious because women's dependants are not so easily recognised. Thus until she marries she is expected to help rear her younger brothers and sisters. If she remains unmarried it is to her that elderly parents

¹ For the contemporary identical situation see, for example, 'Working for Extras' (Counter Information Services nd. 30-31); 'The Unequal Breadwinner (Lister and Wilson 1976); Wives as Sole and Joint Breadwinners (Hamill 1978).

eventually turn for support. If she marries and retires from industry she may have to return in order to maintain her children through the illness, death, desertion or unemployment of her husband. Furthermore, this return may not be continuous (it is contingent upon the state of her husband) nor may those she supports be totally dependent upon her (parents may have a small pension). 'The consequence is that the world persists in looking upon the woman with dependants as a rare exception instead of the very usual phenomenon it is' (Williams 1945:65-66).

It would seem therefore, that in their collective evidence, the witnesses by both commission and omission project a particular model of the family. Furthermore, while this latent consensus may stem either from a reality or a perception of reality, the reality implied is static despite challenges by, first, the exigencies of war and, secondly, in the potential of the alternatives supported by some of the organisations.

By remaining latent the two elements combine to imply the centrality of the male in both his relation to the State as worker and in the family as provider. This provides a focus around which some of the dissent within the document circles but with which it never comes to grips.

Alternative Voices

It has been noted that the published evidence contained elements of dissent relating to the historical basis of social insurance. The problem pursued here is the processes by which an apparently logical and just case is devalued. Again the analysis uses the concepts of status and role within the context of the text.

Two themes were selected from the evidence: first the position of women in social insurance and secondly the proposition that the scheme should be financed from taxation rather than by contribution.

It might be argued that such alternative views represented minority

opinions and could, therefore, be included in a published document without any fear that their case would pose a serious threat to conventional and established views. However, examination of the text suggests that factors other than political power render the arguments less potent and, furthermore, that these factors are incorporated by the proposers themselves, that is, that these constraining elements are an intrinsic part of their argument for change.

Women and Social Insurance

Although the evidence of other organisations includes references to women in social insurance, the two women's organisations, the National Council of Women and the United Women's Insurance Society, raise issues which are not found elsewhere in the published evidence. Whilst not ignoring family and maternity, the evidence of the women's organisations focusses on the validity of women in all their statuses (married or single) as members of the workforce, that is, on the economic status of women.

It is of crucial importance to the interpretation of their case that throughout the evidence of the National Council of Women and the United Women's Insurance Society, the major referents are social justice, fairness and equity with men.

Thus the opening paragraph of the National Council of Women's memorandum includes a statement on its principle, 'that the interests of women in work are essentially the same as those of men and that there should be equal pay for equal work' (Beveridge 1942(a):26). The United Women's Insurance Society similarly state, 'The Committee of Management would emphasise that in State Social Insurance the interests of women are identical with those of men...' (Beveridge 1942(b):122).

Attention is then drawn to the inequities which they consider to be

operating within the scheme. Both organisations submit that women are disadvantaged in the scheme and cite the following instances.

First, argue U.W.I.S., although women's interests in work are the same as men's administration has tended to segregate and, in some instances, definitely subordinate them to those of men (Beveridge 1942(b):122). Both organisations refer, particularly, to the arbitrary pooling principle whereby in Unemployment Insurance joint contributions of men and women go to relieve the greater amount of unemployment amongst men, whilst the segregation of risks as between men and women in National Health Insurance means that the greater burden of women's sickness (especially among married women) is not so shared but borne by women alone (Beveridge 1942(b):22 and 122).

Also criticised are, first, women's lower rate of benefit in National Health Insurance and Unemployment Insurance 'although their basic needs in sickness are no less than men's', and, secondly, the social convention circumscribing what is considered to be suitable lodgings for women and attitudes between landladies and female lodgers which mean that women are forced to seek more expensive accommodation than are men (Beveridge 1942(b):33). They furthermore point out the prejudicial effect of unequal rates of pay on income linked workman's compensation (Beveridge 1942(b):28).

Thirdly, actuarial accounting and the poor return on contribution for certain groups is criticised. In Health Insurance, argues the United Women's Insurance Society (Beveridge 1942(b):122-123), married women who work part-time have to pay a high rate of contribution irrespective of regulations reducing the amount of benefit; other women may fall out of insurance for a variety of reasons; and there is a low return on a comparatively high rate of contribution in Pension Insurance which is a

single fund from which they draw a comparatively small amount of benefit.

'A considerable number of women lapse from Pension Insurance for a variety of reasons, and draw no benefit whatever from their contribution.'

The Government Actuary's concept of fairness is attacked,

'while it is argued by the Government Actuary that it is only fair that some part of womens' contributions should go to pay for their benefits as, at a later date, the dependants of the insured men'.

The U.W.I.S. argue that not only is this an uninsurable risk, but the principle is not maintained throughout State Insurance in that it is the contributions of single women and widows which in National Health Insurance largely pay for the excess sickness claims of married women (Beveridge 1942(b):122-123).

Finally, married women who give up work are identified as a special category, a condition not applicable to others who give up work (Beveridge 1942(b):123), and several references are made to the detrimental effect of the shifting insurance statuses to which women, unlike men, are subject. In this context attention is drawn to the inadequacy and inequality of maternity provision for women who work, and the consequent shifts in insurance status to which she might be subject, leading to periods of ineligibility for benefit. The U.W.I.S. emphasise

'the inequality and inadequacy in the provision for the maintenance of the income of the women, married or unmarried, during pregnancy, confinement and the early infancy of her baby'.

Thus in a normal case a woman is not entitled to benefits during a major portion of the period by either National Health Insurance Act or Unemployment Insurance Act and 'arrears may accrue against her which may jeopardise her title to sickness benefits in the future for anything up to two and a half years from the date on which she first ceases work'. Married women are frequently involved in transfer to Class X and re-entry into insurance - a single woman may suffer great hardship. The ramifications

of this, it is observed, 'seriously mitigate against the married woman taking her full place in industry and employment' (Beveridge 1942(b): 124).

The inegalitarian and unjust nature of the prevailing schemes are clearly set out. It is critical to their effect, however, that when the proposals of these organisations for a new insurance scheme are examined, all the formulations are directly concerned with the status of women as workers. The marriage status of a woman is seen to be irrelevant as an organising principle of social insurance.

'It will not matter whether a woman is married or single, she either will or will not be gainfully occupied or employed under contract of service.'

(Beveridge 1942(b):34)

An earnings related benefit will ensure their benefit does not exceed wages. Part time workers employed on a regular basis may similarly be included (Beveridge 1942(b):34), a condition applying particularly to married women. As already noted, proposals for improved maternity provision is couched in terms which refer it back to the concept of woman as worker and the effect of the inadequacy of provision upon her worker status, not upon the fulfilment of her maternal role.

Threats to this economic status are seen as arising not only from the condition of maternity and marital status of the individual but also as being posed by other groups of working women, namely, widows and part time workers.

'... The payment of pension to a widow for life, merely because she is a widow is socially unjustifiable. She is in a position to undercut the unpensioned woman and this in turn reacts on the general wage position of women.'

(Beveridge 1942(b):28)

Similarly, in recognition of the major difficulty of defining a point at which a person may be deemed to be gainfully employed or employed under contract of service, they suggest defining the concept of regularity of of benefit proportionate to earnings, 'in

order to avoid the possibility of the scheme encouraging part-time employment of women in such a way as to lower their status in employment.

(Beveridge 1942(b):34).

Finally, both organisations propose the principle of equal contributions and equal benefits for men and women, that is, no differences to be made according to gender (Beveridge 1942(b):31,122). And while the U.W.I.S. refer to and 'appreciate the difficulty of bringing this into operation until the principle of equal work for equal pay was in force' the National Council of Women make no such qualification here, and, moreover, in the unpublished evidence strongly affirm this principle, irrespective of the wage structure, in their oral evidence to the committee (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77:QQ 1380-1385). That this is not so emphasised in the published evidence makes their statement appear less committed than it actually was.

In sum the form of these extracts as well as their content direct attention to status, inequity and injustice. In addition, vividly imported into this evidence are references to the inequalities between men and women in the structure external to social insurance - in the economy - and the Women's United Insurance Society specifically draw attention to the inegalitarian distribution of decision making power at the administrative level of social insurance. They observe that,

'... while approximately one third of the insured population consists of women the Committee of Management is of the opinion that far too small a part of the planning, structure and administration of State Social Insurance has been allotted to women.'

(Beveridge 1942(b):121)

In this evidence, however, there is an important omission. No explicit reference is made to female family responsibilities whether they be economic or domestic. Responsibility (that is, role performance) is identified with citizenship and a full place in economic life: the

right to be recognised as a committed worker, the sharing of the finance and administration of the scheme with men and the possibility of making a full contribution to the economic life of the community. Crucially, and irrespective of any fact, and a point which could have been made within the context of the women as a worker, no mention is made of a woman's economic responsibility in her family role.

Indeed, the only references to women's position in the family are marginal to the main thrust of their argument, for example, where the U.W.I.S. refer to women's problematic future dependency in actuarial accounting; and whilst the discussion of part time workers is framed with an implicit view of its secondary nature for married women, and pregnancy and maternity implicitly imply female responsibility for child care, such elements are encompassed within an argument for a full recognition of economic status. Thus the major themes which emerge are individualism, equality and responsibility to the community as workers, as citizens.

This orientation contrasts sharply first, with the projection of women in the evidence of the other organisations and, secondly, and most significantly, with the manner in which the case for improvement in male benefits is presented.

Crucially, in both cases, for improved benefit for men and women the emphasis is not so much on status, although this is alluded to, as on role performance, that is responsibility, within the family. The injustice and illogicality of the prevailing schemes are seen as inhibiting the adequate family role performance of both men and women.

In these alternative presentations women as workers appear in an attenuated form. They may be included, as for example by the Shipping Federation and the Liverpool Steam Ship Owners (Beveridge 1942(b):24),

in a general reference to men and women. The Fabian Society refers to women who may function virtually as part-time employees of their husbands (Beveridge 1942(b):38); but the National Labour Organisation is obliquely critical of the married working woman (Beveridge 1942(b):45) and in other cases the married working woman enters the evidence specifically as the working mother, by, for example the Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Congress (Beveridge 1942(b):19), Political and Economic Planning (Beveridge 1942(b):36) and the Fabian Society (Beveridge 1942(b):39), or as the widow without dependants who is assumed to be eligible for the labour market (Beveridge 1942(b):1,36). Furthermore, the wartime employment of married women is, in one case, defined as abnormal (Beveridge 1942(b):110).¹ Two organisations, the British Employers' Confederation and the Shipping Federation and the Liverpool Steam Ship Owners' Association recommend the retainment of different contribution rates (and in the latter case benefits) because of gender based differences in the wage structure (Beveridge 1942(b):10,24).

Women are largely presented in their family statuses as dependants of insured workers: as their wives and mothers of their children and even, as noted earlier, their widowed mothers, thereby complementing the sole male breadwinner.

In the case of men, the emphasis on family role performance is particularly clear when the inadequacies of social insurance are expounded. Detailed reference has already been made to the dominating

¹ Mr. Percy Rockcliffe, the Honorary Secretary to the Joint Committees of Approved Societies and Parliamentary Agent to the National Union of Holloway Friendly Societies comments, '... who is there who can forecast ... what will be the measure of subsequent earnings and taxation... to say nought of such minor matters as interest yields, post-war incidence claims (especially from part-time or whole-time employed married women who became insured merely as incidental to their advent into temporary war-time employment)' (Italics added).

assumption in the evidence of a single role family structure with attention drawn particularly to the role of men. Such a structure is based upon a concept of specific responsibilities. Responsibility is also implicit in the concept of dependants, predominantly a male responsibility. In several of the memoranda, however, this concept of family responsibility is more explicit. The Memorandum of Evidence by the Shipping Federation of the Liverpool Steam Ship Owners' Association (Beveridge 1942(b):21) notes that,

'Health Insurance) consists of a fixed weekly payment unrelated to family obligations.'

The Evidence by the National Labour Organisation (Beveridge 1942(b):47,47) includes the comments that,

'... However improved the tone of our modern Public Assistance the average man does not care to have his wife and children on the rates'

and that,

'... A wage system that takes no account of the size of families indirectly penalises the man who had undertaken the burden of rearing a large family.'

In the Memorandum of Evidence by the National Conference of Friendly Societies (Beveridge 1942(b):77) it is observed that,

'It was realised that there were agencies in existence which permitted a man to recognise his own responsibilities in respect of those dependent upon him, by making a certain amount of provision for himself in times of sickness.'

Thus while a man's claim to improved social insurance is based upon concepts of justice, citizenship, dignity and rights of the worker, threatened by an inegalitarian class structure, the effect would be to enable him to better fulfil the family role obligations society has laid upon him, and it is this element which forms a major aspect in the presentation of the case.

Whilst this interpretation of the role maintenance function of social insurance lays no particular claim to originality (cf. Land 1976:110)

from the point of view of the audience the critical feature is the juxtaposing of a claim based upon role performance (that is, duties and responsibility), with a claim based upon status (that is, rights and individualism). The evocation of family responsibility (for both men and women) imbues the claim for extended benefits with an aura of unselfish justification. Maternity benefits would improve the health of and conditions for infants; and, irrespective of any actual income distribution within the family, improved benefits for men are implicitly defined as not solely for the man himself but also for those for whom society has accorded him legal and moral responsibility.

Thus, in the two positions expounded, the appeal to justice takes different directions. The appeal to individualism, integrity and independence realised through rewards for the status as worker, in the case of men, is compatible with the family: family and worker statuses do not produce conflicting expectations. More importantly the appeal itself integrates the status in one system (economic) with the role in another (family).

In contrast the women's organisations base their appeal almost exclusively upon status, with some reference to role, but both situated outside the family and omitting any repercussions, either positive or negative, on family role performance. Such presentation leaves itself open to pessimistic interpretation, that is, as posing a threat to the family, itself a highly regarded value, especially heightened in war time, when, as noted, the family was simultaneously subject to atomisation

¹ The Archbishop of Canterbury made a similar point when he said 'I do not want to hear any talk of women's rights or women's lib... we have been called' - Thus emphasising role rather than status. Consequently, the case of women's demands for ordination is based upon stronger cultural and material foundations. Women are not claiming a right, and basing a claim upon status and equity, but affirming that they have been called to the Ministry, to the role of ministering, that they must do the job. And who can refute them? (Church of England 1978).

through evacuation, conscription and war work, but which also represented a value and way of life for which 'democracy' was fighting. The appeal to equity and individualism, also, it should be stressed, salient and highly valued ethics, crucially neglects the relationship between the statuses and roles of the two systems. The specific articulation of the women's organisations conveys the impression of self-centredness, thereby devaluing (especially in a period when personal sacrifice is being called upon) what, by the tenets themselves, appears to be a logical and just case.

Individual versus Communal Responsibility

Such critical juxtaposing of values, roles and statuses was not confined to this theme but was also evident in the proposals for the financing of the scheme. In this latter case however, the situation is reversed and values of individualism are now elevated to sustain a particular view. It is important to briefly refer to this for two reasons. First, it serves to demonstrate the complexities of this type of ideological articulation and the difficulties, if not the impossibility, of determining the operating mechanisms a priori. The second reason is internal to the present analysis of the articulation of familism. The form which the funding of social insurance took entered into official and conventional thinking to produce tautologous rationales for the maintenance of traditional familial forms and the suppression of challenge.

That social insurance should continue to be based upon the contributory principle was unquestioned by the majority of organisations. However, despite the clear assumptions in the notes Beveridge provided, certain organisations specifically criticised this principle and proposed alternative means of extracting the individual's share of the cost.

Alternative principles were grounded in the notion of a real pooling

of risks by the entire community by a funding based either upon taxation or on earnings related contributions. In this way the burden would be borne by all according to income and not allocated to different categories demarcated by age, gender and marital status of women.

Thus PEP advocated 'one national system providing its service to the whole population on the basis of common citizenship' and wanted 'in place of the hybrid philosophy of social insurance..., the complete acceptance of all major insecurity burdens' and recommended

'financing the reconstructed services by universal direct taxation of all receivers of income (except social service income) in the future by either a general income tax or a specific social security tax'.

(Beveridge 1942(b):35)

Similarly, the Fabian Society (Beveridge 1942(b):38) proposed a flat rate benefit at a level to cover reasonable needs paid for an indefinite period with no means test and suggested taxation as a method of financing the scheme with no contribution from employers.

The Association of Approved Societies suggested 'a flat rate of benefit in return for a percentage deducted from earned income', i.e. graduated according to income (Beveridge 1942(b):13).

However, despite references by the Fabian Society (Beveridge 1942(b):35) to the reciprocation of rights and duties between citizen and community, and the proposal for heavy non-financial sanctions against the malingerer and the workshy, these proposals of finance through taxation were rejected.

The rejection centres on individual versus communal responsibility and can be elucidated, again, by examining the supposed effect upon role performance but in this case that of citizen's role.

In the case of women, the ethic of individual responsibility for self attacked the ideal - the principles of family life and the structure of Beveridge's ideal model. In the case for the contributory principle the reverse operates. The taxation principle of communal responsibility

is seen as undermining the ethic of individual responsibility for self which here, paradoxically, is defined as valid; for the role of citizen encompasses not only the performance of a duty but an awareness of that performance. This sense of independence and responsibility, it is argued, is more likely to be engendered when the individual is more immediately involved in payment for future benefits. The contributory principle therefore, is seen as more likely to enhance the role commitments of the citizen - a salutary comment upon degrees of citizenship in view of the differential contributory statuses of men and women.

For example, the Liberal Parliamentary Party (Beveridge 1942(b): 42) while 'proposing that contributions should vary with earnings subject to a top limit fixed in broad relation to the actuarial value of the benefit' still supported the contributory principle 'otherwise' they argue 'the sense of independence is lost'.

The Shipping Federation and the Liverpool Steamship Owners' Association observe that in contrast to the means test in the Industrial Social Services, 'A man should, as a result of his regular contribution, have a specific right to certain benefits...' (Beveridge 1942(b):23).

This is not to suggest that similar categorisation and differential payment according to predefined needs would not have informed a system based upon taxation although, theoretically, such a system of costing might have been less rigid in the face of challenge and social and economic change. What can be said is that moral and familial responsibilities would not have been so specifically itemised at the level of the individual. When challenged actuarial logic might not have been so available, as for example in the explanation of the 'shared' pension in the White Paper, as supports for a particular view of social relationships.

Summary

The two themes demonstrate the underlying complexities in the presentation of facts. Both cases, the financial basis of the scheme and the position of women in social insurance, reveal a complex and shifting relationship between values, statuses and roles which, I argue, are conducive to a particular interpretation of the text by the reader. It would seem that an 'acceptable' case can only be presented by paying attention not only to the illogicalities and injustices of status and rights but also to the effect of any change on role performance in what is defined as the key area - in the first case the family, and the second case citizenship. Thus the highly regarded values of individualism responsibility, equity and citizenship have differential impact as they apply to roles and statuses by family, economy and gender. What appears to be a clear case of injustice loses its credence because within the presentation of its own case it is not related to improved role performance within the family. It appears individualistic and self-centred when posed against the family values of sacrifice and service (for both men and women). The women's evidence represented a challenge which was already impotent. Not only could it be published without fear of repercussions but the making of such apparently alternative views public served to legitimise the outcome by indicating that disparate views had been given a voice. Furthermore, publication implicitly invites the general public to weigh the merits of the ultimate decisions, and, as noted, Beveridge's recommendations strongly upheld the concept of the single role family structure. The legitimacy of this outcome, it could be argued, was further consolidated by the effect of the latent message of the text upon the reader's judgement and which thereby helped to sustain a specific component of public opinion.

DISPLACEMENT AND REDEFINITION: THE UNPUBLISHED EVIDENCE

The unpublished evidence consists of the memoranda of organisations and oral evidence of representatives and individuals. Also included are the departmental evidence and papers of the Interdepartmental Committee.

Due to the need for official selection it was hypothesised that the unpublished data would contain elements of familial behaviour which posed threats to the ideal model of the family and which, in consequence fell outside the bounds of the officially recognised discourse. The aim was to elucidate the treatment accorded such threats.

As Beveridge indicated the content of much of the unpublished evidence was largely confined to problems of administration and organisation. However, of the 21 organisations and individuals making reference to familistic themes, while the majority are also represented in the published evidence, seven appear solely amongst the unpublished material. These are the National Council for Social Service, the International Labour Office, the Family Endowment Society, the National Federation of Women's Institutes, The National Spinsters' Association, Sir Ian Fraser, M.P., the Public Assistance Officials, Scotland, and the Standing Joint Advisory Committee, an organisation representing local government officials who administered public assistance. Of these the evidence of the International Labour Office and the Family Endowment Society proved crucially important in the presentation of aspects of family life which were either omitted or appeared in a specialised form in the published material of the Report and the evidence. Furthermore, the oral evidence of the Joint Standing Advisory Committee provided insights into mechanisms of displacement which suggested the forms of linkage or articulation between this particular legal sphere of control and other agencies of ideological maintenance.

In addition to the extraction of familistic themes from this data,

and on the assumption that the evidence of the women's organisations listed in Appendix C (Beveridge 1942(a):247) would convey central familistic themes, a check was made of the material held in the Public Record Office against those listed as submitting written or oral evidence. The results are shown in Table 2.3. Of the 17 listed three did not appear in the records.

Table 2.3: Women's Organisations Listed as Submitting Evidence

Published Memoranda	Unpublished Evidence	
	Held in PRO	Not held in PRO
National Council of Women	Edinburgh Women's Citizens' Association	Dame Georgiana Buller
United Women's Insurance Society	Family Endowment Society	
	National Federation of Women's Institutes	National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs.
	National Spinsters' Pension Association	Six Point Group
	Women's Pension League, Scotland.	Women's Co-operative Guild
	Queen's Institute of District Nursing	Women's Freedom League
	Scottish Midwives' Association	National Union of Women Teachers
	Royal College of Nursing	
	Married Women's Association.	

Source: Beveridge 1942(a) PRO 1941-42
CAB 87/76-82

No search for this missing material in Beveridge's or other official papers was made. The study is not historical and, although of interest, the resources necessary for such a search, which at this stage fell upon the researcher, were considered too high in view of the fact that any findings would have no substantive effect upon the overall results of this

thesis. However, several observations upon some of the material can be made particularly because, as will be seen, Beveridge was concerned with the views of all types of women.

First, there might be some confusion between the organisations. The Married Women's Association was a committee of a larger feminist group known as the Six Point Group and although no memorandum from either appears in this evidence Beveridge reports to his committee a letter he has received from an organisation representing Married Women which 'strongly objected to the use of the term adult dependant, when what was meant was wife' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/78 37th meeting 23 Sept:6). Harris (1977:403) also refers to a letter to Beveridge in September 1942, held in the Beveridge papers, from Juanita Frances, Chairman of the Married Women's Association, pressing for women to be insured in their own right, separate to the husband.

However, in the organ of the Women's Freedom League (1941 19 Sept:5) it is noted that The Six Point Group 'made representations to the Government for the reform of the National Insurance regulations' in which are demands for the identical treatment of women with men in regard to benefits, cover for dependants and rights to benefit, rate of contribution, compensation for war injury, access to medical treatment and no differentials in contribution or benefit for housewives.

It is also reported that the National Council of Women had submitted a memorandum to the Beveridge Committee 'on lines which are in general agreement with the Women's Freedom League general policy' (Women's Freedom League 1942 12 June:6).

Secondly, although Beveridge specifically asked for the opinion of the Women's Co-operative Guild, no communication appears in these records. Examination of their journal Woman's Outlook gives no indication as to

whether or not evidence was submitted although much space is devoted to the Beveridge Report in several issues.

That the Women's Freedom League was particularly articulate in criticism of the Beveridge Report (Abbott and Bompas 1943), as noted earlier, does make the absence of their evidence a particular curiosity. Furthermore, the listing in Appendix C indicated to a general public that account had been taken of their opinion, as indeed it did of the other absent pieces of evidence. However, whether oversight or intent, at the maximum the mechanism of control is that of deletion and as such could not be further elaborated.

Familial Themes in the Discourse

In the published memoranda poverty and egalitarianism presented the major threats to the ideal model of the family and within the presentation of this material the validity of supporting the single role family structure had been elevated and the case for egalitarianism devalued. Problems of class and culture had been encompassed.

With the unpublished material a wider range of familial elements enters the discourse. Furthermore, those items already raised take on a new form. The focus is upon the realities of everyday living which pose threats to the ideal model the Beveridge Plan seeks to sustain and which is widely assumed in the material examined so far to be accepted as the norm.

The following broad themes emerged from an examination of the unpublished evidence:

- poverty
- differential poverty within the family
- family power structure
- inadequacy and incompetence in role performance
- morality
- the happiness of family life, idealisation of family life
- demands of the war economy
- economic class

types of women
 divisions between women
 the economic role of women in the family.

The realities emerging from the unpublished evidence are well known phenomena and many of the points made here have been made by others. Any originality lies in the manner in which I attempt to interrelate them; firstly, in their location and definition as peripheral in the articulation of knowledge surrounding social insurance, and secondly, in the mechanisms by which the complexities of family living and the contradictions inherent in this reality are accommodated.

Structural Threats to the Ideal

The threats to the ideal model are related to the family structure and take two related forms. First those inherent to the ideal model itself and secondly, the instability of the family structure. Additionally, threats located outside the structure, egalitarianism, and innate sexuality, impinge upon it.

Inherent Threats: Hierarchy and Power

In the Beveridge Report and the Published Memoranda a major threat to the ideal was identified as the disjunction between the wage structure and family needs. The inadequacy of income for the execution of the male role as economic provider was focal to both sets of data and the provisions of the Plan sought to alleviate this problem. Additionally, within the publicly sanctioned bounds of the discourse, assumptions are made of an egalitarian, harmonious marital team, albeit with different responsibilities or at the minimum a paternalistic caring relationship. As Miss Cox of the Ministry of Pensions observed, 'The average man is deeply concerned for his wife's future in the event of his predeceasing her (PRO 1942 CAB 87/82 153 16 Sept:1).

A major omission, however, in both proposals and published evidence is any consideration of, or reference to, the power hierarchy within the family and, specifically, its association with the unequal distribution of the family income, leading in some cases, and irrespective of the adequacy of earnings, to lower levels of subsistence for wives and children than for the breadwinner. Moreover, unequal access to and control over the family's resources is to be consolidated during periods of non-earning by Beveridge's proposals. Given that the central aim of Beveridge's plan was to combat poverty (Beveridge 1942(a): para. 444) and given that the fears concerning the declining birth rate made the health and welfare of mothers particularly salient, the fact that no reference is made to the sometimes greater poverty of wives and children compared with their menfolk by either Beveridge or within the memoranda of the organisations published with the Report is all the more surprising.

Historically this silence has been attributed to a lack of knowledge. Young (1952:309), for example, suggests that the evidence of such poverty as revealed in the studies of Soutar (1942) and Madge (1943) appeared too late to influence the Report. However, the release of the unpublished evidence for public inspection in 1972, to which Young had no access, shows that in fact the problem of differential poverty within the family related to superordinate male economic power was brought to the attention of the committee and, furthermore, by an organisation of which Beveridge was a member.

In the book The Case For Family Allowances (Rathbone 1940:102-105) which forms part of their memorandum of evidence and in their oral evidence, the representatives of the Family Endowment Society in their strong advocacy of the payment of such allowances to the mother (PRO 1942 CAB 87/79 42 6 May:14) draw attention to the differential poverty within

families arising from the vesting of the control of family income in the husband by virtue of his position as the chief earner.

Awareness of the ramifications of this power structure is recognised by at least one member of the inter-departmental committee. Thus when Eleanor Rathbone observes of allowances paid to the mother that she has to be trusted in nine out of ten cases to spend the money reasonably, E. Hale of the Treasury comments, 'You also have to trust the father not to cut what he gives to the mother'. To which Miss Rathbone responds that while there is a minority of cases where this would happen,

'a larger minority are the fathers who give their wives a preposterously small amount out of their wage because they regard their wage as something they have earned by the labour of their brains or hands, and at the same time, when arguing for higher wages, use the argument of wife and children.

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 12th meeting 2 June:
QQ 2992-2994)

Similarly, the discussions with the TUC representative, referred to earlier, on the issue of separate insurance for the wife and the agitation 'that a man's wages be divided' and that the wife have a legal right to a proportion of them carry the acknowledgement of a prevailing economic imbalance in the marital relationship (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 42 6 May:Q2266).

That inadequate wages are not the sole reason for a man's inability to adequately fulfil his familial maintenance role is also brought into question. Thus that more men than women have a reduced sense of family responsibility, in that the father may have a lesser concern for the child's welfare, is implicit in Rathbone's observation that there is likely to be 'less chance of money not being devoted to the children if (the allowance) goes straight into (the mother's) hands'

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 42 6 May: 14; CAB 87/77 12th meeting 2 June: Q 2992).

The mother's lack of power is also apparent in the hope that the payment to her will 'improve her sense of dignity and status (and) give her little economic independence (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 12th meeting 2 June: Q 2992); as it is also in the implication that the wife stands in a vulnerable and less favourable position in regard to her husband than do the children. Thus one reason offered by the Family Endowment Society for their decision to exclude a wife's allowance from the endowment system is that 'only the really bad father will abuse it when given specifically for the child' as opposed to provision which includes the wife (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 12th meeting 2 June: Q 2994).

A structural reason is offered as explanation: that this male selfishness may be engendered by the structure of working class earnings.

'The system under which the unmarried wage earner, especially if he is unskilled and therefore attains his maximum wage early in life, enjoys an income as large as that on which afterwards he will have to keep his family, has considerable influence in encouraging excessive expenditure on drink, tobacco, betting, etc. The large margin available for these luxuries in early life engender habits not easily broken and possibly subsequently indulged at the expense of wife and children, or by the device of abstaining from having children.'

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/79 42 6 May:12)

As noted such a system of relationships within the family unit carries, either potentially or in fact, costs to the society in terms of malnutrition and ill health of wives and children. It also poses an additional threat to the ideal in that components of the ideal are not in accord with the realities experienced by certain groups. Nonetheless, faced

with the opposing dilemma of the economic independence of wives and the concern to raise the birthrate by orientating women to the home, the Beveridge Plan, as did the ultimate legislation (1946), compounded this pattern of relationships. Furthermore, the decision regarding family allowances was to pay it to the father although this was reversed by Parliament during the passage of the Family Allowance Act (1945).

The fact that these problems of differential poverty within the family and the husband-wife power relationship were assigned to the periphery did not mean that the problems ceased to exist or became less potent. Such knowledge presents a dilemma; for the economic dominance of the father is inherent to the ideal model of the family and alleviation of the wife's situation by economic means, whether by encouraging her to work outside the home or by paying family allowances directly to her, would undermine this ideal. In addition, however, the notion of an egalitarian happy relationship is also a component of the ideal.

The problem, while dismissed from regulation by social insurance, is not ignored, nor is it merely defined away as solely a matter for the individuals concerned. Tucked away in this evidence are indications of the processes whereby this uncomfortable fact is accommodated.

Deficiencies in Role Performance

As noted, the Report and the Published Memoranda concentrate on the inadequacy in the performance of male maintenance role and the female's maternal and child caring role due to lack of income, that is inadequacy due to structural reasons external to the individual. However, other sources of inadequacy appear in the unpublished evidence. Appearing in the evidence of the Family Endowment Society are such unaccommodating or deviant familial actors as 'neglectful parents', 'the really bad father who will abuse an allowance given specifically for the child', 'the

mother who may be a 'regular waster or drunkard' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 12th meeting 2 June:Q 2994) or who may be proved unfit (PRO 1942 CAB 87/79 42 6 May:14) and the selfish husband (PRO 1942 CAB 87/79 42 6 May:5)

While these and similar characteristics could be defined as personal traits, the witnesses of the Family Endowment Society, particularly Eleanor Rathbone, locate some, at least partially, in the economic structure: for example the selfish husband and father supported in his indulgences by a particular wage structure (referred to above); the inadequate mother finally discouraged by the poverty in which she lives; and although Eva Hubback, Vice-Chairman of the Society, doubts the wisdom of allowing the housewife a larger sum than a weekly payment of family allowances, Rathbone sees such financial incompetence as developed through the lack of experience in the handling of large sums of money (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 12th Meeting: 2 June:Q 2954).

However, in the evidence of another key group of witnesses such traits are construed in a different manner. The representatives of those who administer welfare argue the uselessness of merely offering the poor money 'particularly (the) poor person who has always been poor' (PRO CAB 87/78 32nd meeting 25 Aug Q 7558) and draw attention to the lack of homemaking skills and to the need for education in household management, child management and husband management (orientated, it will be noted, towards women).

'Social welfare must extend to domestic affairs. You may find it necessary to show people how to make beds and how to clean floors and how to cook because quite a number of people have not the faintest idea that there are any cooking appliances other than a frying pan. That is amazing but true. All those things should be included and such things as child management and how to deal with your husband when he comes home in a bad temper or tired... all these things to my mind are very serious points and all come under the heading of social welfare....'

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/78 32nd Meeting 25 Aug:
Q 7559)

Thus in addition to domestic occupational skills, economically powerless women are to be taught survival skills vis a vis their husbands.

Furthermore, in pursuance of Sir George Reid's attempt to get 'a clear and workable definition of welfare work' the following statement is offered,

'I suppose one can be said to be well when one is in happy association with things as they are, and the happiness of a home, anyone's home I suggest is built up of little things without too much regard to the big things, and that is the basis of welfare.'

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/88 32nd meeting 25 Aug:Q 7560)

Thus, in contrast to the structural location accorded the problems in the evidence of the Family Endowment Society, amongst those responsible for welfare the problem becomes defined as personal: problems of coping, of inadequate socialisation. This gains added significance in view of the ready admission of, first, their own lack of expertise:

'I do not think a clerical assistant, however good he may be as a clerk or adding up figures ... is the slightest use (in) attempting to deal with those problems; he probably doesn't know the answer himself' -

and, secondly, of the development in some areas of the employment of their 'own welfare officers dealing with women and babies' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/78 32nd meeting 25 Aug: Q 7559, 7560), when set against

the psycho analytic direction social work took after the war whereby the Welfare State was seen as dealing with material problems

¹ The comment, following this exchange, by Agnes Hamilton of the Reconstruction Secretariat and former M.P. for Blackburn demonstrates the widely held fallacy noted by Slater and Woodside (1951:40) that the poor are inherently happier than the rich. Thus when Beveridge observes that he supposes

'there are some people because they have plenty of money and do not come to Sir George Reid... yet they do not know how to make beds and do not know any cooking appliances other than a frying pan',

Mrs. Hamilton adds 'certainly not how to be happy'. To which the witness responds, 'They miss an awful lot of happiness in life'.

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/78 32nd meeting 25 Aug: QQ 7560-7561)

and social workers as promoting healthy relationships (Wilson 1977:86).

Habermas' proposition can be extended. The problems although pushed out of opinion formation are not ignored. While the conflict inherent to the economic structure of society is depoliticized via social insurance by sustaining a specific family structure, that inherent to this family structure is depoliticized by displacement. Thus specific problems of structure, which could be alleviated to some extent by a re-allocation of economic power, are subject to a double displacement: first to the arena in which they are debated and secondly by the form in which they are presented. This denial of the legitimacy of the source of such behaviour as a subject for debate and control in the legal area renders the behaviour itself available to selective definitions in others.

The complexity of family life is further atomised or fragmented and the objective reality which does not fit into the ideal model of the family as projected here is subject to redefinition as personal. Such definitions legitimise its allocation to the alternative competencies which can now assume the task of prevention or cure, dealing with socialisation, inadequate socialisation, social adjustment or appropriate skills; can legitimately meet the 'need' and in so doing reaffirm or continue the process of selectively defining behaviour which was observed within the elements of legal regulation.

It is easy to identify State institutions which may play this role - education, welfare, family law. Furthermore agencies outside the ambit of State control arise in the wider society to 'meet' these needs now defined as personal and legitimately both part of their realm and seen as within the ambit of their competence. Such agencies would include, for example, voluntary organisations such as the Marriage Guidance Council, family manuals, and the women's press.

These themes are returned to at a later stage. First, other displaced familial elements in the discourse are examined.

Instability of Family Structure

The instability of the family structure comprises a further threat to the ideal. In the unpublished evidence two aspects of this instability emerge: the possibility of more flexible role allocation within marriage primarily related to the female economic contribution to the family; and those threats which in lay terms fall under the heading of morality: illegitimacy, desertion separation, divorce, V.D., that is, sexuality and monogamy, but which are often presented as the problems of women.

Role Allocation: Flexibility

The published memoranda show that the National Council of Women and the United Women's Insurance Society sought to raise the issue of women's status, particularly in regard to employment, but neglected any emphasis upon women's economic family role which, it was argued, undermined their case. Thus, despite the strong egalitarian views expressed by these organisations, no challenge arises within the published evidence regarding the assumption that the male partner is the breadwinner. In contrast in the unpublished evidence this theme does struggle to emerge. It is presented most clearly and positively in the written and oral evidence of the International Labour Office.

Again, however, witnesses fail to make use of available data such as the following produced by their own organisation in 1939, a publication entitled The Law and Women's Work.

'In most parts of the world, the increasing employment of women in paid work outside their own home is making their financial contribution to the support of others increasingly important. No inclusive studies have yet been made either of the contribution of married women to family budgets or of the contributions of the unmarried to the support of ascendants or others. Certain recent enquiries have shown such contributions to be more common and more needed than has usually been assumed and an effort to collect available data as to their frequency and importance is being made in connection

with a new study now in progress in the International Labour Office'.

(International Labour Office 1939:419 fn)

Asked to comment on Beveridge's draft proposals (PRO 1941 CAB 87/76 20 11 Dec.) the I.L.O. representatives make three attempts at posing the issue of the female breadwinner, each of which founders. They preface their remarks by pointing out that 'the distinction between men and women which is ubiquitous in the British scheme is fully maintained in the draft'. This is important, as along with the demolition of their specific arguments also falls the relevance of this critique of the underlying structure.

First they ask,

'Would it not be expedient to consider the case where the married woman earner is the breadwinner, the husband being ailing or incompetent? This implies a dependant benefit for the invalid husband, unless he is a pensioner.'

When asked by Mrs. Hamilton to amplify this statement they observe,

'... one of the unfortunate results of the sharp distinctions between men and women (is) that it does not allow for those special cases where the woman is in fact the breadwinner.'

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/79 47 9 May: 3
CAB 87/77 1942 10th Meeting 13 May:Q 2481)

Secondly, they observe, that in many Continental schemes 'an invalid husband, in the case where the wife is the breadwinner, gets a pension out of his wife's insurance' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 10th Meeting 13 May: Q 2483) and finally, on the issue of reduced benefits for married women they suggest,

'It is not only the case of an invalid husband and his pension, it is when a married woman is the real earner. It may be her husband is a pensioner. She should not have the lower rate of benefit: she should have the higher rate.'

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 10th meeting 13 May:Q 2486)

These points are dealt with by the Committee in the following manner.

In the first instance Beveridge points out that the female breadwinner in the case of the invalid husband is covered. Although the response of the witnesses suggests that they were unaware of this fact they also point out that this was not mentioned in the scheme.

The second case falls due to the logic in the assumption of an original male breadwinner and the proposal to attach a wife's allowance to his benefit. In this instance the question is taken up by the Government Actuary,

'He gets an invalid pension because he has been a breadwinner. Why does he then, if he gets an adequate invalid pension, want to be dependent on his wife'

(PRO 1942 CAB 37/77 10th meeting 13 May:Q 2486);

and Beveridge expands,

'... The man who marries does not marry with that in view and does not perform that function (of a housewife). He is the breadwinner... I think by tying the man to the woman in that way you go counter to the facts.'

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 10th meeting 13 May:Q 2486)

The witnesses then observe that a member of the T.U.C.delegation at the last meeting used the expression 'team', and this 'teaming' theory is applied by foreign schemes which grant invalid pensions (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 10th Meeting 13 May: Q 2486). This final point elicits no response.

By not emphasising more strongly the possibility of a major contribution by women to family finances the case falls to the encapsulating logic of the new scheme. In the report Beveridge (1942(a) para. 108) is able to contain the reality of a married woman's financial role within the definition of additional wage rather than an essential component. 'Unless there are children, housewife's earnings in general are a means, not of subsistence but of a standard of living above subsistence.'

Yet had this evidence been published, the women's claim for equal work status within the scheme would have been provided with support

from organisations which did not exclusively represent women. As the published evidence stands no critical financial contribution of women to the household is allowed to enter the officially sanctioned discourse. Significantly, the memorandum was not considered to be of sufficient general interest to be given published status.

Just as these points indicate a certain threatening flexibility in marital patterns, in a similar manner the I.L.O.'s comments upon the relationship of benefits to wages rather than contribution also suggests the possibility of a less rigidly categorised role structure.

Beveridge suggests that the distinction between men and women, peculiar to the British scheme, simply reflects the fact that Britain has a flat rate of benefit. Elsewhere benefit is related to wage. The differentiation therefore is not only still incorporated but, because of sex differences in wage structure, it is argued that the British system is to the advantage of women.

The witnesses report that this is not so, due to the maximum limit of wage which is taken into consideration thereby reducing the men's contribution and benefit; that there is in fact little difference.¹ Again, the dialogue ends at this point (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 10th Meeting 13 May: QQ 2474-2480).

What is important in this discussion is not so much the evaluation of alternative methods of finance but the logic by which the distinctions between men and women are seen by the officials as justifiably and logically maintained in the British system.

Uncomfortable problems of logic regarding the extension of equality of shared responsibility and rewards to women in the notion of the marital

¹ They also refer to 'the man's flat rate (being) related in some way to the minimum wage of an unskilled manual labourer, and if that fact is taken into account and the unskilled male labourer is compared with a woman, the difference will be very small after all'.

team emerges in one detail of the evidence presented by the T.U.C.

In amplification of the point that a woman should inherit her husband's insurance rights the witness observes,

'... a woman is married to a man, they become a team and the man dies. We think it is right that the woman, if she goes to work, should continue the insurance where he left off as part of the team, and I suppose if we were logical we would say vice-versa. We are looking at the husband and wife as a team and the insurance is taken out by the husband because he is so circumstanced.'

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 9th Meeting 6 May: Q 2183)

The mere use of the word 'logical' suggests the very oddness of such logic. 'Team' suggests co-operation if not equality, the logic of which enforces an implicit recognition of the fact of the working married woman and the notion of her sharing or taking over a financial burden. Thus infused in such statements are elements which raised fundamental issues as to the validity of a rigid single role family structure but which are screened from public availability.

Again, the notion of equality emerges strongly in the evidence relating to pensions and pension age. The issue of women's lower pension age (reduced from 65 to 60 in the previous year, 1940) does not appear in the published evidence in any controversial form. It is subsumed by the British Employers Confederation within additional benefits (Beveridge 1942(b):6). In the data here, however, it is surrounded by controversy.

In their review of 37 pension schemes the International Labour Office (1939:427) comment,

'Under several schemes the pensionable age is lower for women than for men; the differentiation seems to imply the assumption that women lose the power of self support at an earlier age than men.'

In the unpublished evidence to the Beveridge Committee however, the Fabians point out the cultural assumptions and political problems associated with this regulation.¹

¹ Introduced in 1940 and originating in the demand for wives of insured men (72% had younger wives) to become eligible for a 10s. age pension on their husband reaching 65 (PRO 1944 PIN 8/48 26 Feb.)

First they acknowledge, in response to Mrs. Hamilton's query, the unsatisfactory nature of this specification as little research has been done upon the relative declining power of the sexes with age and it has been based in the main on a series of conventional assumptions. They have accepted it, however, because of the political impossibility of changing it and suddenly disenfranchising all the present old age pensioners. Beveridge's query about future old age pensioners passes unremarked (PRO 1942 CAB 87/78 26th Meeting 28 July: QQ 6331-6335).

Amongst the women's organisations opinion is divided. In their memorandum the Spinster's Association argue strongly in favour of a pension age of 55 and see the reduction of the pension age for women to 60 as a distinct advantage for all women. They refer to distinct pension ages in Russia because of sexual 'physical differences' yet combined with equality of status with men¹ (PRO 1942 CAB 87/79 21 16 March 1).

The National Council of Women, however, strongly refute any differentiation between the sexes. 'We do not feel it is in the woman's interests on the whole that they should be differentiated from men in industry.' In the context of social insurance this statement is significant in its placing of women in the industrial structure, whereas Beveridge located women firmly within the family. And in reply to Beveridge's question they affirm that they look on the 1940 Act as a retrograde step - an omission in their published memorandum, which could have been rectified by its inclusion in their supplementary memorandum (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March: Q 1571).

Crucial as the question of differential pension age was then (and is today), this subject, as presented for public consumption, appeared

¹ '... Women are granted a pension at 50 after 20 years industrial experience as against pensions for men at age 60 after 25 years industrial experience'. R. Hamilton-Farrell of the Ministry of Health notes 'The Spinsters have always been chary of labelling themselves "too old at 55"' (PRO 1944 PIN 8/48 26 Feb),

to evoke no fundamental dialogue either as a challenge to conventional assumptions of female incapacity or on the grounds of equity. It could be argued that this element which enters legal definitions is important in both the placing of women and in the definitions of work capacity to which it lends implicit support.

Finally, the salience of the wage structure emerges clearly in the case presented by the National Council of Women.

While Land's (1976:109) comment that Beveridge 'did not use the argument that on grounds of equity a woman should contribute at a lower rate because her earnings on average were so much lower than a man's' possibly holds for the Report, this does not mean that the inegalitarian wage structure did not enter into his thinking and, it might be added, into the assumptions and expectations, which proved impossible to shift, in the minds of civil servants, and so becoming part of the Civil Service rationale in the private discussions following the publication of the Report despite the pressures from women's organisations.

The discussion with the National Council of Women is prefaced by Beveridge's pessimistic (and accurate) view of the continuance of an inegalitarian wage structure. He observes that if benefits are to be the same contributions must be the same and this may be a serious burden on the wages of women (1936 minimum rate men 55/- and women 36/-) (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March:QQ 1380-1384).

The N.C.W. argue that if women 'get equal benefits also (equal contribution) would be accepted by the women' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March QQ 1385-1386) and 'while there is a difficulty in imposing the same rate of contribution while there is not equal pay for equal work if not imposed it is merely bolstering unequal pay for equal work, which is another representation of the same attitude' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77

5th Meeting 11 March: Q 1381).

It is interesting to note Beveridge's arguments during this interchange. Two aspects have already been mentioned: that the larger contribution would be a burden upon women and that while the women appear hopeful of changes in the wage structure he is not. Furthermore women do different work (to which the representative rejoin that they are not allowed to do the same), and some men support equal pay in the hope that it will lower female employment (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March: QQ 1382-1396).

Prefacing his remarks by observing that 'this is not an attack upon women', with regard to equal benefit he observes that women's desire for employment is less rigorous than that of men's; that women can stand up to unemployment better than men (they are less bored and can go home and help mother); that women are more useful about the house than a man, that is, women are essentially family based; that people who know the labour market have observed fictitious and factitious unemployment amongst women and he is concerned about public opinion; and that there is a danger in the wage and subsistence level of benefits being too close (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March: Q 1387).

However, what is not expressed and what probably undermines the case for equal contributions so strongly represented here is the effect of the class position of this particular body of women in rendering them, in Beveridge's eyes, unrepresentative of working class women. Although an umbrella organisation, The Women's Co-operative Guild is not affiliated and about which Beveridge specifically asks the representatives of the Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Congress. He observes that the representatives of the National Council of Women are being seen that afternoon

'because the point of view of women in regard to social insurance is particularly important, but I think they probably do not appeal

strongly to the sort of economic class of women that yours represent, and I very much want to get at the views of your members' wives'.

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March:
Q 1304)

Thus not only are important elements in the debate with implications for role structure submerged, but the hint lies here of not only a devaluation of middle class womens' views (it will be seen how this is expanded in the forces' education texts) but that class is a device whereby a powerful group can further fragment the intellectual contribution of a less powerful one.

Sexuality, Monogamy. The Problems of Women

A further aspect of instability in the family structure, and a threat which has to be encompassed, emerges as problems associated with women. As Harris (1977:403) observes, Beveridge's proposals raised the whole problem of the position of women in the social structure. Here this phenomenon is examined from a different perspective - how problems of social structure become defined as the problems of women.

The problem comprises two inter-related themes: the first is associated with sexuality and monogamy, the second centres on the importance of the physical presence of the male partner.

The first set of problems appears as problems of the deserted, separated, divorced wife, the unmarried wife and the unmarried mother; the second set appears as problems of widowhood, spinsterhood, delayed marriage, age disparities in marriage. Despite marriage being defined as the sphere of women the male is focal. Consequently any disturbance in the male sphere, whether by death, desertion, promiscuity, selfishness, unmarried paternity, cohabitation or even the mere lack of a husband¹ becomes a problem for women. This is not to suggest that comparable

¹ The spinsters describe themselves as deprived of husbands due to war casualties (PRO 1944 PIN 8/69 19 Oct).

behaviour is not found amongst women. The point being made is that the effects of such behaviour fall more severely upon women than upon men.

The reality of the structure is subject to a subtle redefinition whereby it becomes the problems of women and is, moreover, apparently accepted by all those discussing the subject.

In the data here the phenomenon consists of several elements: the definition of women's problems and women as problems; the definition of aspects of such problems as minor, points of detail or peripheral; the many statuses and types of women; the divisiveness amongst women portrayed in the women's evidence. Each of these is examined in turn.

Definition and Allocation of the Problem of Women

First, women in their various statuses are defined as presenting a problem. Furthermore, it is often Beveridge himself who raises the issue either in his memoranda to the committee or in his discussion with witnesses. He states in his memorandum 'Basic Problems of Social Security', 'The treatment of married women is one of the most troublesome problems in social insurance' (PRO 1941 CAB 87/76 20 11 Dec : 10) and that the recognition of the housewife as a special security class raises in a new form the standing problem of women living with men as their wives without being married to them (PRO 1941 CAB 87/76 20 11 Dec :12).

He twice refers in his discussions with the National Council of Women to problems of divorce, separation and desertion and the complicated questions of widowhood and places this firmly in the woman's court when he asks them 'if you would put your women's minds to the very complicated problems about the treatment of divorce, separation, desertion and widowhood' (they did not), and 'to think over the problems of the unmarried wife and the unmarried mother... a difficult and controversial

problem' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March: QQ 1451, 1614, 1624; CAB 87/81 100 July 15-16).

He asks the T.U.C. to consider poverty arising 'not through the death of the insured husband but through his having gone off' and asks, 'What about the deserted wife?' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 1st Meeting 14 Jan: Q 321).

In discussion of the married woman gainfully employed and the pregnancy which a married woman 'ought to have' he observes to the National Council of Women, 'I think this is only one of the many points of view from which we have to examine the whole problem of marriage' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March: Q 16099), and also refers to 'the difficult question of the domestic spinster' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March: QQ 1444). The Government Actuary refers to the difficulty for widows who have been out of the workforce for a long time in obtaining jobs (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March: Q 1465).

And where a woman's position is relatively unproblematic, that is she is unmarried, problems are then induced, as noted, by making reference to the inegalitarian wage structure, and imported into the woman's position in social insurance.

In addition to problems of status, problems of disease are also located as centring upon women. Thus the evidence of the Ministry of Health and the Department of Health for Scotland records the treatment for women suffering from venereal disease.¹ In the hostels for women and girls under treatment

'many of the patients are retained longer than necessary for purely medical reasons in order that they may receive training and instruction which will be helpful to them when they leave the hostel'.

(PRO 1941 CAB 87/76 4 Aug)

¹ Venereal disease and its location with women are discussed in the analysis of women's magazines.

Definition as Minor and Peripheral

The second aspect of the phenomenon are references to problems of women as of lesser importance.

Thus Beveridge refers to duplication in contributions as important but a detail.

'There was, however, the important point of detail that where the wife was in employment and chose to become a contributor she would be duplicating her husband's contribution to her pension.'

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 3rd Meeting 11 Feb: 1)

And of the woman who is deserted,

'who has married and gives up her occupation, undertaking to be a housewife and bring up children... (who) ought to be insured against the risks of that calling, and one of the risks unfortunately is that her husband may desert her... It is not ignoring him or being kind to him... However, this is a small point to spend too much time on, but it is very interesting.'

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/78 36th Meeting 31 Aug: Q 8281)

That women in certain statuses are regarded as peripheral is clear when the same question is raised by Beveridge of the T.U.C.'s proposals.

Mr. Smyth replies,

'We are aware that there are gaps, but we are dealing with people that we think ought to be within a contributory scheme... Obviously when you have (set out the principles to govern that scheme), there will be people round about and just on the edge and they have to be provided for consistently with that scheme.'

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 1st Meeting 14 Jan: Q 9321)

And the response of the representatives of the Corporation of Edinburgh to the suggestion that deserted wives should receive assistance while the authorities pursued the husband was that 'that class of person would be very difficult to cater for... it would be subsidising an illegal and immoral act' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/78 36th Meeting 31 Aug: QQ 8270, 8281).

That women occupy what might be called a status of disregard is suggested by the following comments on working women. The representatives of the National Council of Industrial Insurance

Approved Societies note that when the war began to get more widespread the societies felt that they had to provide insurance cover for married women because 'these people had to be employed' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 7th Meeting 25th March: Q 1728).

And the following dialogue between the representatives of the National Conference of Friendly Societies and Mrs. Hamilton of the Reconstruction Secretariat illuminates the manner in which women, especially married women, are perceived:

Beveridge: But 46% of the membership of the Approved Societies is not in any kind of Friendly Society but in the Prudential and Industrial Societies.

Answer: For Health Insurance, yes. But you have to remember a big proportion of these are women.

Mrs. Hamilton: They are people all the same, are they not?

Answer: Friendly Societies did not encourage married women to come in as new entrants. The tendency was to regard married women as temporary membership. That has gone by the board.

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 14th Meeting 16 June
QQ 3131-3133)

And Sir John Forbes, representing the British Employers' Federation observes of the wartime demands on manpower, 'At present (industry) is searching the highways for everyone, women included, to produce weapons of war.' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 11th Meeting 20 May: Q 2918)

Thus here are definitions of women as problems, the allocation of such problems to the periphery and women almost defined as non-persons. As such, problems inherent in structure can be shifted to, or perceived as residing with, a low status and fragmented group, as little more than irritations to the general working of the system despite the atmosphere of wartime egalitarianism evident in the data itself.

The representatives of the National Federation of Old Age Pensions Association for example, respond to Beveridge's question as to whether

they are proposing that the joint pension should be twice the single one, whereby the couple would have the money to live separately, by invoking the concept of equality,

'... having rendered service to their country they are fully entitled to it. Today you are going for equality between men and women, it is being promulgated everywhere, and surely the woman is entitled to it? She has done her duty in her home, she has raised children...'

(PRO 1942 87/77 11 Meeting 20 May: Q 2781)

That Beveridge based his scheme on the employed male, usually invoked as the basis of the neglect catalogued above, is, in this sense, only part of the equation. The edifice also had its cultural supports.

Statuses, Types and Antagonisms

The statuses into which women may fall as they are structured (or given recognition) by social insurances were elaborated in the analysis of the Beveridge Report itself. At this stage I only wish to indicate that such statuses, of both men and women, correspond to stereotypes circulating in the general culture, for example, the good husband, that is the good worker, the unmarried mother, the working wife, the pathetic spinster, the good mother. This will be pursued later. Two others emerge clearly in the unpublished evidence.

The first is portrayed by Beveridge himself and is mentioned because of its apparently more frivolous or even humorous nature than the former ones: the gold digger.

Thus he notes the behaviour which social insurance should not reward.

'Most bridegrooms will be in Class I, II and IV. But some men marry after 65 and some marry though incapable of normal work. The social security scheme should not follow the example of the various veteran schemes of the United States, in encouraging marriages of young women with octogenarians or invalids in hope of prolonged widowhood and other benefits. That is to say benefits for (provision of end of marriage) should probably depend on the husband being in Class I, II or IV.'¹

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/79 20 10 March: 3)

¹ No mention is made here of the benefits of married life which may accrue

The second type of woman appearing in this evidence is the landlady, and Beveridge's discussions with the National Council of Women reveal a deepseated distrust between women based, in this instance, in female identity with the domestic role.

The representatives argue that men and women should receive the same rate of benefit because of the difficulties women experience in getting lodgings; that, in response to Beveridge's incredulity, landladies prefer men because they are more likely to be out in the evenings, that women make more demands on a household than a man and are capable of criticising a landlady's housekeeping and in general are more likely to be difficult.

The representative responds to Beveridges acknowledgement that perhaps a landlady would rather have a man than another woman by adding,

'... I personally would do the same. I would prefer to have a man than a woman. If a man comes in he is not criticising whether I leave dust anywhere, and he is much easier to deal with.'

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March:
QQ 1367-1377)

Apart from such general hostility and suspicion, the evidence provides numerous examples of the structured antagonisms between categories of women and associated differences of opinion. These distinctions can be recognised here, not from the analysis of the structure as was undertaken earlier, but from the record of what witnesses actually said. They, so to speak, put flesh on the structure.

(footnote continued from previous page)

to old or disabled men. This is, however, explicitly referred to by Sir Ian Fraser M.P. on behalf of the young war disabled whose disablement, occurring before marriage, does not entitle them to an allowance for their dependants.

'From the point of view of the State it is better that a disabled man should be married for no-one can look after him as well as a good wife. With a good wife and a family around him, he becomes a natural family man, a good and responsible citizen, whereas if he is not married he is to a large extent a useless, unhappy, unwanted pensioner'.

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/81 110 20 July:2)

The antagonisms fall as follows: . working women versus housewives; employed married women versus other working women; married couples versus spinsters; single versus married; widows versus spinsters; widows versus working women; part-time versus full-time working women. I now refer to this in detail.

First the National Council of Women see any family element in a wage a continuing inhibition on equal pay. They wish to have both wife and children included within a family allowance '... so that the basic wage... be the rate for the job and not built up as it is at present built up...' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March: QQ 1420-1421).

In contrast, as noted earlier, the Family Endowment Society, concerned with the politics of financing children, drop their initial proposals to include the wife within such allowances in order to strengthen their case for the additional reason that even before marriage 'very few men look after themselves - a man usually can and does pay to have some woman looking after him - it may be his mother, it may be his landlady' and in consequence 'the cost of a wife is not a net increase' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 12th Meeting 2 June: QQ 3021-3024).

Thus the concept of male responsibility along with the notion of their energies being consumed by their paid employment¹ serve to create divisions between women (for, as observed above, the domestic spinster is also conceived by Beveridge as performing a service role for her brothers (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March: Q 1435 ; Beveridge 1942(a) para 363iv)) and lead in the ultimate regulations to structural supports for cultural concepts of types of women.

¹ The representatives observe, 'Although a single man does not need to support a wife, he really does need a homemaker, and so indeed does the single woman...' (This is the only mention of a working woman's need for service). It can also be argued that because of the single path to employment is seen as the male role from birth, as opposed to women's compromised position, the logical need for domestic supports for anyone in that role becomes institutionalised as the domestic incompetence of the male.

The tension between working married women and other working women is based in 'the excessive sickness claims of married women' which 'deplete the funds available under the present organisation for other working women' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/79 21 16 March:4) and appears in the evidence of the Spinsters' Association.

The antipathy of the single towards the married is also elaborated in their evidence. They query the differential pension contributions of men and women (11d and 5½d), the women's earlier contribution being, according to the Government Actuary, '... more than necessary to cover old age, but... she should be willing to contribute towards benefits which she may acquire if she marries an insured man...'. They continue '... this may be a good bargain for the married man and his wife but it is obviously unfair to the spinster' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/79 21 16 March:4).

Furthermore, the spinsters' wish for 'equity with the widows' in regard to early pensions because of the hardship of their working lives and their exploitation in low wage industries (PRO 1942 CAB 87/79 21 16 March:8).

The potentially dangerous undercutting of wages by part-time married women workers has already been referred to.

The Government Actuary is also conscious of antagonisms between married and single women. Referring to the distribution of the cost of the proposed Marriage Grant he observes that if this is to be allocated to the women's contribution and limited to pre-marital insurance contributions,

'... the elderly unmarried woman would have a grievance which might be difficult to meet, in that she was forced by this arrangement to contribute to a form of compulsory saving from which she did not derive benefit... to limit the extra contribution to the unmarried woman (would) aggravate the grievance of the woman who did not marry.'

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/79 33 22 April:20)

Furthermore it is important to note items that women's organisations

did not comment upon or were somewhat dismissive about. This may be due to the wide fragmentation of women in their everyday lives and their focus upon their individual interests. For although Beveridge may have been correct in his view that middle-class women's organisations were out of touch with the lives of working class women or indeed the hardships of other groups such as domestic spinsters, the structurally significant point is that within social insurance, because men are treated as a solidary group, the need for such awareness does not arise, although organisations such as the International Labour Organisation do indicate such awareness regarding categories of women (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 10th Meeting 13 May: Q 2495). Nonetheless, men cannot be indicted for class insensitivity to other men in the way in which women can.

Thus it is Beveridge, in his discussions with the representatives of the National Council of Women, who draws attention to the problems associated with the divorced, separated and deserted wives and widowhood and asks them 'if you would put your women's minds to the very complicated problem about the treatment' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March: Q 1614). The problem of the unmarried wife and the unmarried mother, again raised by Beveridge, is left (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March: Q 1626). On the plight of the domestic spinster, although it evoked a further memorandum to the committee urging the reduction of the old age pension for her from 70 to 65, they are prepared to allow her to fall to National Assistance; and while suggesting that voluntary contributions may be made on her behalf by the person for whom she is working, no reference is made to any legal enforcement of payment by the beneficiaries of her services (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March: QQ 1430-1444), although the International Labour Organisation produce evidence of such legal enforcement in Denmark and New Zealand (PRO 1942 CAB 87/79 39 28 April: 19).

Their assumptions regarding the treatment of both the widow and the domestic spinster appear harsh to Beveridge. 'You want to treat both of them rough?' he asks (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March: Q 1433).

Their class assumptions are starkly evident when they suggest that when their source of livelihood fails such women can be assisted back to the labour market and should be able to get back into industry without great difficulty in, for example, such jobs as caretaking (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March: QQ 1435, 1448).

Furthermore, unlike the International Labour Office, the National Council of Women accept the view that the contribution costs of maternity should be distributed amongst women rather than be shared also by men and charged to the marital team (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March: Q 1602; CAB 87/77 10th Meeting 13 May: Q 2491).

Although such antagonism and fragmentation is evident in the published evidence, it might be argued that by rendering the stronger version of such antagonisms unavailable to public knowledge, selective publication in effect strengthened the woman's case. However, whilst less accessible to the public, it was accessible in a collective form (unwittingly provided individually) to official groups. This fact may have served to render the women's opinion less viable, and in addition strengthened any official opposition there might be to unacceptable or threatening individual demands.

A hint of the official expectation of the diversity of opinion amongst women and the unrepresentative nature of isolated women's organisations is found in two references in the unpublished data: first in Beveridge's observation to the National Council of Women that he is interested in the opinion 'of women with all kinds of experiences', thereby giving recognition to the fragmentary nature of women as a group (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March: Q 1357); and secondly as noted,

in his insistence on acquiring the evidence of the Women's Co-operative Guild as representative of the wives of working men and not the opinion of middle-class women as represented by the National Council of Women.

That, more than men, women constitute several groups and shift between statuses enters into the deliberations of the committee. Thus during the oral evidence of the Association of Approved Societies Beveridge observes,

'People's status alters and changes, and particularly it changes for the people called married women who according to the state of trade will decide that they want to try to work'

(PRO 1941 CAB 87/76 5th Meeting 26 Nov: Q 304)

In the minutes of the committee on 'Women' he opens with the statement, 'Adult women could, for insurance purposes, be classified into several groups,' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 34d Meeting 11 Feb: 1) and in his memorandum 'Basic Problems of Social Insurance with Heads of a Scheme' he notes, 'The treatment of married women is one of the most troublesome questions in social insurance.' (PRO 1941 CAB 87/76 20 11 Dec: 10).

Women, unlike men, move into the same abstract problem category as poverty or unemployment. That is, that while men inhabit these problem areas women, along with marriage (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting 11 March: Q 1608), actually comprise the problem.

Walley (1972:75) refers to Beveridge's experience with unemployment as leading to a focus on the male wage-earner and with which narrow concern the problems cited are linked. However, the analysis demonstrates not only the existence of such problems but that the problems inherent in the reality of family life enter into the discourse in a special form. The reality has been subject to a process of redefinition and displacement, an example of the working of ideology. In the process, women as a group are both conceptually and structurally

fragmented, this fragmentation inherent to the idealised and real family structure. The redefined problem is partially encompassed within social insurance: the moral elements into non-means-tested benefit and the immoral and unconventional into means-tested assistance. This, however, has effects, a residue of which emerges as the antagonisms between women and a related lack of empathy due to the life experiences associated with the various statuses. This complex serves to structurally reinforce a social divisiveness along with definitions and typifications of women.

Summary

In this unpublished evidence several themes posing threats to the ideal model ultimately projected in Beveridge's proposals can be identified along with the processes of displacement which empty them of their challenge.

Thus the contradictions of the power hierarchy inherent in the ideal familial structure are displaced into personal problems of coping, socialisation and re-socialisation. The potential and actual flexibility in role allocation, raising uncomfortable questions of logic especially in the egalitarian milieu of the period, is encompassed by a variety of expediencies: the omission of dialogue, the tautologous logic of the proposed scheme and the reference to constraints upon change in the external economic structure which are seen as rendering egalitarian change within social insurance unjust. Sexuality, monogomy and the physical loss of marital partner become the societal problem of women and the components of this problem, women's statuses, become defined as peripheral.

These processes serve to sustain images of culturally recognisable social types of individuals. It is the exploration of this phenomenon which enable the three distinct areas of analysis of the Beveridge data to be further integrated. The components of practical discourse, structural prescription and the displacement of structural threat and their penetration

into everyday thought (as Gramsci accorded the role of the law in the control of public opinion) can be highlighted by relating the concept of fragmentation arising out of the above analysis to the concept of stereotype as elaborated by Perkins (1979).

FRAGMENTATION: INTEGRATION OF IDEAL AND REAL

The disjunction between reality and beliefs about that reality was noted in the introduction to the thesis. Other instances of the phenomenon have arisen in the analysis so far, for example, the view that the poor are intrinsically happier than the rich and that marriage is inherently superior to singlehood.

It will be recalled that the proposition here is that such consciousness lies within the totality of everyday experience but, as suggested by the foregoing analysis, that totality is subject to a fragmentation whereby discrete aspects of social life are extracted and structurally supported by use of a variety of sanctions and thereby made nodal points of the total experience. Given that social being determines consciousness, the actual living of these discrete though numerous chunks of reality provides the pre-selected elements for a selective interpretation of the total reality by both self and others. This closely parallels Williams' (1973:11) definition of hegemony referred to above as involving the selection of meanings and practices from all that are available. He further suggests, however, that some of these 'selected meanings and practices are reinterpreted, diluted or put into forms which support or at least do not contradict other elements within the effective dominant culture (1973:11). The evidence suggests, however, that in significant instances such redefinitions also have a behavioural base.

Stereotypes

Selective interpretation of reality is a characteristic attributed to

stereotypes (Perkins 1979; Jordan n.d.2). For while they are generalising concepts, such generalisations are based upon specific elements of behaviour. Furthermore, related to this, while stereotypes do not incorporate complexity, complexity is not ignored but encompassed by alternative stereotypes. For example, housewife, career woman, sex siren, or even woman¹ are, as stereotypes, mutually exclusive. Thus while based in reality they distort by omission, reality is splintered. Consequently, it seemed that this concept might prove useful in exploring the relationship between the selected behaviour identified in the material and a consciousness which denied or accommodated conflicting aspects of reality.

Furthermore, from a theoretical perspective, that stereotypical meanings are widely shared would appear to make them discrete and identifiable elements of Gramsci's notion of State controlled thought. There is an ambiguity in Gramsci's notes which the concept of stereotype brings into focus. It will be recalled that Gramsci referred to three elements: a public opinion or norms containing a moral component and structured by the penetration of law into behaviour and so internalised, enacted and imposed upon others; common sense or the incoherent body of shared understandings common to the whole society; and common senses differentiated according to social strata, both the latter, apparently, given no legal structural base and more ideational in character. Stereotypes would fit the latter characteristic in that they operate at the level of symbols.

However, it would seem that there is a place for all three concepts. Two were identified in the theoretical discussion and no distinction was drawn between societally shared understandings and public opinion. This is a difficult conceptual area for the two may fuse in, for example, the stereotype of the normal family which evokes both naturalness and structural pres-

¹ Dezalay (1976:102) reports a comment by the French judiciary on a woman who under duress left her children, 'She is a bad mother... she is more woman than mother'.

cription. However, whatever the subtleties of the relationship, the foregoing analysis suggests that both elements have a structural legal base.

Perkins (1979:147)) has observed that stereotypes are not merely self-fulfilling prophecies but are structurally enforced, and directs particular attention to the role they play in the social control of both self and others.

For stereotypes are not passive descriptions but active placing mechanisms, cognitive tools of social control. They are evaluative, apparently simple, and short circuit analytical thought. From experience we know that to invoke a stereotype, whether laudatory or pejorative, is literally to put someone in their place (often with the connotation of back in their place) - in their appropriate position in the social structure with all that this implies. For example, the good husband is placed within the economic and family system predominantly as a reliable worker, just as 'housewife' denotes a sphere of competence and innate attributes¹ which deny a place in, for example, political decision making. What is shared yet remains latent in these simple terms is a complex knowledge of the social structure.

The power of such latency and the circuitous resistance of stereotypes is well illustrated when the stereotype itself is challenged and can be demonstrated by yet another challenging reality to the ideal model of the family in Beveridge. Following the publication of the Report a formal deputation to Sir William Jowitt was made by the representatives of women's organisations critical of the status and treatment the proposals accorded women. It was led by Mrs. Mavis C. Tate M.P., J.P. An internal Civil Service memorandum from T. Daish (private secretary, the Ministry of

¹ Perkins (1979:154) suggests that stereotypes turn cause into effect. She argues that stereotypes of irrationality, illogicality, inconsistency, flightiness associated with women have their basis in the job demands of the housewife which require her to continuously switch skills and attention. This behaviour, however, is attributed not to the exigencies of the job but to innate, negatively evaluated female characteristics. This of course implies a balance of power external to the stereotype itself which allows their imposition upon low status groups.

Reconstruction) to Thomas Sheepshanks prior to the representatives meeting with the minister contains the following comment in parenthesis, thereby denoting its special status,

'(I gather that Mrs. Tate expects to be able to bustle through it in time to rise for lunch at 1.00 p.m. or soon after!)

(PRO 1944 PIN 8/48 18 Feb)

Mrs. Tate is succinctly placed or, rather, rendered out of place. By the use of the word bustle¹ the stereotype of the housewife (which the proposals would structurally support) is evoked. It serves two purposes: first it marks out as nonsense any formal proposition or criticism offered by Mrs. Tate or the deputation, since housewives by definition do not possess the necessary mental faculties; simultaneously the pejorative stereotype of the outgroup sustains the solidarity of the group of administrators.

This note was one of a whole set of memoranda which passed between government officials during the stages in policy formation between the publication of the Beveridge Report and the final legislation. They reveal at another level how challenge can be accommodated and, in this instance, the importance of stereotypes in the processes involved.

While the administrative machinery for the implementation of the Report was under consideration a small co-ordinating staff was set up, drawn from the bodies then responsible for various aspects of Social Insurance. It was headed by Thomas Sheepshanks (who was largely responsible for the White Paper (1944)) and responsible to the Minister Without Portfolio, Sir William Jowitt, later first Minister of National Insurance.

¹ While it is legitimate to bustle round a kitchen it is not legitimate to apply similar techniques to a formal meeting. Presumably a man so described would be said to 'drive' through the meeting. The word bustle also has several connotations, for example - done at speed but to tasks which do not require much thought, fussiness despite the speed, a certain superficiality in treatment.

Finer and McGregor (DHSS 1974:143) refer to the 'scant sympathy' the women's deputations received from these officials and this fact has been drawn upon by other commentators (Wilson 1977:143). From the perspective of examining the processes by which this 'scant sympathy' was both legitimised within the group of administrators and sustained much more was involved.

Roebuck and Slaughter (1979:105) in an assessment of public policy affecting the old and women in England, 1880 to 1940, have noted how stereotypes influenced policy decisions yet often had little relation to the actual historical experience of either group. The memoranda referred to here demonstrates another facet: how stereotypes are invoked to deny or disguise the challenging realities.

The internal memoranda of these civil servants relating to the criticisms raised by the women's organisations who sought a meeting with the minister abound with crushing stereotypes. They employ alliteration, puns and derogatory images (as noted). The members of the deputation are referred to as 'the women', 'ardent feminists' to whom 'a concession to women is as much an abomination as discrimination against them' and 'unreasonable', and it is doubted 'if anything short of the impossible is acceptable to them.' Distinctions are drawn between 'enlightened women' and 'women generally' and attention is drawn to the dissention within the deputation regarding the pension age of women. (The spinsters sought a lower pension age for spinsters whilst the other organisations wanted the same retiring age as men.) A point is made regarding 'the absurdity of the underlying demand for equality between the sexes' and the ability of women to engage in formal activity is disparaged. The list of demands they submit is criticised as confused and overlapping and in regard to their conduct in the forthcoming meeting a memorandum reads,

'Here are the points which apparently the women are going to raise - but it is unsafe to assume that they will adhere to any agenda and anyhow they have already been told that you (the minister) can only listen.'

(PRO 1944 PIN 8/48)

Representatives of the Spinsters' Association were similarly dealt with. Miss Florence White, who was after all only exercising her democratic rights 'for which we were all fighting' (BWP 1942 1:16), is referred to as 'an importunate correspondent' in an introductory comment to H. A. Staveley of the Ministry of National Insurance on a draft for the Minister. The comment continues,

'... I doubt whether it is necessary or expedient for the Minister to deal with much of the attached letter. But he should I feel, deal with her specific point about single women bearing part of the cost of maternity provision, which in the main will be confined(!) to married women.'

(PRO 1944 PIN 8/69 1 Nov)

And the following weary minute encapsulates the tiresome finnickey spinster, 'Everything that can be said has been said ad nauseum but one could never satisfy or silence Miss White,' (PRO 1945 PIN 8/69 13 March) and, in notes for the Minister,

'I am afraid that it will continue to be necessary for the Minister to endure representations from the Spinsters' Association and their spokesmen but I am afraid that they are not open to reason. I do not share Mr. Leach's view that it is possible to come to terms over the spinsters' claims and I do not think that the Minister can do anything but listen with patience to what they have to say.'

(PRO 1944 PIN 8/69 1 Dec)

That such memoranda could be circulated (the impact on reading these files almost leads me to describe this as frenzied chatter) reflects 'the shared culture and assumptions' of 'The Whitehall Village' referred to by an ex-senior servant (BBC2 1978 Newsweek) which are being checked to see if they are intact, reaffirmed and marshalled against the challenge.

Nonetheless, that stereotypes can be and are challenged, and that everyday reality itself poses such a challenge, suggests a process of continuous reinforcement. If, as Molotch (1975) argues, power is a process which must be continuously sustained on a daily basis, the structuring of stereotypes would seem to provide a means of maintaining this

power by enabling a control over a consciousness which defines both self and others. The law provides an important source of such structural reinforcement.

Legal Regulation, Stereotypes and the Ideal Family

From the analysis of the Beveridge data a fundamental fragmentation is immediately apparent. Of the facets of family behaviour which pose threats to the ideal model of the family and are presented in this material, only some are selected as appropriate for economic intervention via social insurance. Broadly, those threats to the ideal with a source external to the family itself: poverty inherent in a wage structure unrelated to family needs, the demand for and existence of women in the workforce, and innate sexuality, are encompassed by regulations which comprise a direct structuring of behaviour. Those threats which are inherent in the ideal model itself, specifically the hierarchical power structure of the family, are not included but subject to alternative processes of redefinition which appear to give rise to a distinct type of stereotype and the allocation to other competencies which serve to enforce (support) this definition. Most importantly, the juxtaposition of the effects of these processes and available stereotypes serves to bring into sharp focus the extent and penetration of traditional familism into the social structure.

The controls exercised over behaviour by legal rules of social insurance comprise many individual items. Tables 2:4 and 2:5 show items extracted from the proposed regulations of the Beveridge Report and the associated stereotypes. Frequently one item suggests several stereotypes and conversely one stereotype may attach itself to several items.

With regard to the behaviour they endorse, or impose, the regulations fall broadly into two groups. The first consists of regulations which are directly experienced in the behaviour of the individual, for example,

level of benefit, access to benefit, differences in the level of contribution. The behavioural constraints in the second group are less obviously felt because concealed within the details of actuarial accounting (although critics of the Report drew attention to their implications) but are indicative of cultural assumptions which inform the costing.

Turning to a categorisation of the stereotypes themselves, the following broad groups emerge: solidarity and divisiveness, for example, catty women, the lads, one of the boys, innate gender characteristics, for example, unreliable women, gold digger, flightly women, sowing his wild oats; approved family roles, for example, housewife, good mother, the breadwinner, the worker; threats to the ideal roles, for example, working mother, career woman, gossiping women, working for pin money, unmarried mother, the spinster. The categories are not mutually exclusive.

Table 2.4: Prominent Stereotypes and Social Insurance Regulations

Regulation	Stereotype
Different retirement ages (male and female)	Women the weaker sex
Joint Benefit Subsumed within which is a lower allowance for the wife (husband 24/- - wife 16/-) None for working wife	Man and wife Head of Household Breadwinner The Little Woman Got to look after the Worker
Male and female benefits irreversible	Woman's sphere, man's world Different but equal
Reduced rate of benefit for married woman Married women gainfully employed may choose not to contribute	Pin money, jam on the bread Selfish, self-centred Work for the companionship Gossiping women Working wife Irresponsible worker, unreliable Working mother, latchkey kids Career woman, eat out of tins Who wears the trousers You never know with a woman.
Single women Same benefit as single man	Equality Independent woman, solitary woman

(Table continued over.....)

Regulation	Stereotype
Housewives' Policy	The good wife, the good mother Wife and mother, just a housewife The housewife
Eligibility via husband's contribution record	Dependent on him, grabbing a man clinging woman, hang on to a man good worker = good husband/father
Age of marriage Pension entitlement of woman related to age and physique of husband	Gold digger, temptress Cunning minx Heartless woman, callous woman A male weakness No fool like an old fool
No compulsory cover for the domestic spinster, national assistance in old age	Pathetic spinster
Lower contribution rate for women than men	Innate differences Women don't pay their way Men's family responsibilities Wife and family round his neck Breadwinner, the worker in the family Wife and family
More shifts in insurance status for women than for men	Men safer risks Women unreliable Flightly women Women can't stick together Catty women

Table 2.5: Less Prominent Stereotypes and Social Insurance Regulations

Regulations	Stereotype
Contribution of all males supports all men and all housewives	(Male solidarity) One of the boys, a real man A man to lean on Need a man
Women not collectively responsible for anything	Women can't get on together Catty women
Allocation of costs of familial elements in the contributions of men and women	Man's world Woman's world, clinging female Innate differences Male protector Male provider (even after death) Motherly woman Wife and family round his neck

(Table continued over.....)

Regulation	Stereotype
Allocation of cost of maternity between men and women	(Double standard) Got to sow his wild oats Fallen woman Envious jealous women Unmarried mother Unmarried wife The Eve in every woman (temptress) Women can't get on together
Women do not contribute to costs of own widowhood, guardianship or any male benefits	Financial world of men Helpless women

Of the associations I have suggested between regulation and stereotype while many are obvious parallels others are more intricately related. Furthermore, one would expect to encounter some of them less within the provisions of social insurance than between the covers of a Barbara Cartland novel or a woman's magazine, for example, the gold digger implied in the regulation stipulating duration of marriage (Beveridge, 1942 para:343) and personal qualities governing entitlement to a wife's pension, made explicit in Beveridge's comments referred to earlier. This extensive range is, I suggest, an indicator of linkages between a wide variety of agencies which articulate these stereotypes; possibly the tacit interrelationships between the state apparatuses of ideological control, to which Althusser refers (1972, 254).

Structure and Stereotype

Many of the correlates I have made between regulation and stereotype are fairly direct. Regulations which support the complementary and irreversible roles of husband and wife (Land, 1976:109) and the associated stereotypes need little elaboration: breadwinner, provider, good husband¹

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Dezalay (1976:94) notes that French judiciary procedure equates the good husband with the 'good worker'.

housewife, wife and mother, woman's sphere, man's sphere, the good home, are evoked in the extension, and, it must be emphasised, improved provision, of the married man's benefit and the housewives' policy.

However, structured within specific regulations lie constraints relating to power, subordination and devaluation within the ideal they purport to support. The derived and secondary nature of the housewife's benefit is clear. In stereotypical terms 'he is her contact with the outside world', a point subscribed to in social theory (Parsons, 1956:151) as well as in family manuals (Wallis, 1963:99). The non-working wife, that is, the good wife, is dependent upon her husband's contribution record for the good husband is the reliable worker now supported by the State as head of household the erosion of which was causing concern in several circles.¹ This same fact, however, also facilitates a portrayal of her as the clinging woman notwithstanding that she has, it would seem, real grounds for hanging on to her man.

Furthermore, because of the distribution of the familial elements between men and women in the contribution, all men must carry the cost of housewives. A woman conforming to the ideal, in the approving words of the representative of the National Labour Organisation 'the woman who has borne children and stays at home to mind them' (Beveridge 1942(b):45) is a burden to the male (in fact, as all women are potential housewives so all women are potential burdens). He has, in a sense, whether married or single, 'a wife and family round his neck' a foretaste of the

1

As will be seen it appears, for example, in the pamphlets of the Army courses in citizenship,

'Do you think that when the father is unemployed, and possibly dependent upon the earnings of other members of the family his position is undermined? Have the changes weakened the family and if they have what is there for us to do about it?'

restrictions upon his freedom that marriage will bring. An inversion is apparent here, interesting in view of Perkins formulation of the operation of stereotypes as turning effect into cause, that is, that the male contribution is defined as carrying the cost of housewives themselves not the cost of the domestic and maternal services housewives provide and which are noted within the body of the report.

This discrepancy in contribution between men and women means that structured within the ideal itself is a behavioural element simultaneously conducive to apparently laudatory stereotypes (for example, the good mother who stays at home with her children) and distinctly pejorative ones (for example, the clinging wife, the burden of wife and family). The two together subdue threats arising from resentment, egalitarianism, or attempts at independence which arise in the social situation. I suggest they evoke inhibiting feelings of guilt, unworthiness, and parasiticism by extracting from the total situation the dependency elements (encouraged by the legislation) of child on mother and both on the father. Furthermore the stereotype of the good mother, like that of the housewife is also a mechanism for the devaluation of intellect thereby creating an impotence to venture challenge as witnessed by such self definitions as only a housewife.

In addition to these alternative stereotypes of dependency inherent in and serving to maintain the ideal, there are also those associated with threats located in the external social structures. The fact of women's presence in the labour force before and after marriage constitutes such a threat and is encompassed by regulations which structure a particular form of consciousness. It will be recalled 'Every woman on marriage becomes a new person' (Beveridge 1942(a): para 339), and the mechanisms creating this include reclassification, the physical attachment of the

housewives' policy to her insurance record, loss of insurance rights gained prior to her marriage, lower benefits than other members of the working population, and change regarding liability for contribution. The legitimacy of economic activity by married women is structurally undermined.

That this lower commitment is seen as related to a woman's family responsibilities produces two sets of stereotypes: for example, unreliable workers, work for pin money, provide the jam, and, working wives, working mothers, they eat out of tins, latch-key kids. Thus, for a married woman, paid work produces stereotypes legitimised and structured by insurance regulations which deny her competency in either sphere rather than lauding the double burden she has undertaken.

The enacting of the imposed constraints bites deeply into the social structure in a less obvious way than the examples so far have demonstrated, and sustains behavioural patterns which while superficially remote are intimately linked to a traditional familism. To illustrate the ramifications of the proposed legal supports into the patterns of thinking I take the case of the structured social divisiveness based in the underlying familism.

As noted, the contribution rate differentiated between men and women according to presumed distinct male and female spheres of familial responsibility. A second fundamental difference lay in the treatment of men as a solidary and stable group within the system of classification with collective responsibility within marriage and collective exemption from moral and legal obligation towards those with whom they form non-legal unions or from the cost of sexual activity outside marriage. The cost of sexual deviance falls upon the women's contribution.

This structurally reinforced division between men and women in the double moral standard could be construed as feeding into the consciousness

of both the individual and others the basis for such stereotypes as Cassanova sowing his wild oats, Man is not a monogamous animal, the unmarried mother (there are no unmarried father stereotypes) the fallen woman, women entice men. Furthermore, the fact that the cost for maternity is not even borne collectively by women has stereotypical implications. The relief from this cost of full-time housewives and also those who are gainfully employed but who choose not to pay the full contribution, that is married women who totally conform to the domestic role or who by choosing exemption demonstrate a low commitment to work outside the home, finds a parallel in the stereotypes of the good wife and mother and those who work only for pin money. Again there is a duality incorporated within these stereotypes which refer to the ideal. The good mother does not 'work' and the latter two are dilettante.

As noted the cost is borne by those whom the regulations define as deviant; the spinster over 25 years of age and housewives who elect to pay the full contribution.

The fragmentation of women as a group, as well as the fragmentation of the woman as an individual, was also apparent in their shifting statuses reflected in their passage between the social insurance classes. The materiality of these divisions, compounded by the regulations, serves to contrast the stability, reliability and centrality of men and male stereotypes with the instability, flightiness, enigmatic traits and dependent qualities of women and stereotypes associated with women. The phrase, you never know where you are with a women, could be more accurately stated as, a woman never knows where she is. More importantly, however, what is set up here are antagonistic interest groups. Men are set against women, the spinster against the married and the widowed, the working housewife against the non-working, the contributing against the non-

contributing, all sustained in consciousness by appropriate stereotypes.

As noted by such provision women are reaffirmed in their antipathetic envious and competing groups (Joffe 1971:471; Battle-Sister 1972:415, 417; Weitzman 1972) which I have subsumed, somewhat inadequately, under the stereotype of catty women. That social insurance regulations structure a reality which validates such an apparently far removed stereotype as women can never get along together is startling, and demonstrates the legal penetration into the social structure, and by extrapolation consciousness, serving to shore up a traditional familism.

Displacement and Redefinition

Finally, the concept of fragmentation directs attention to areas of family life which posed threats to the ideal model and yet were not (and are not) encompassed by the regulations of social insurance. The accommodations of the problem of the power hierarchy of the ideal model were expounded earlier. Here I outline the different types of controlling stereotype which arise from the displacing mechanisms which were identified,

The stereotypes of the unaccommodating familial actors arising directly and possibly indirectly from the intra-familial distribution of income were referred to. The selfish husband, the inadequate mother, the drunken mother, the incompetent housewife were accorded a structural base by the Family Endowment Society but defined as personal problems, which could be treated by individualised aid, by the Representatives of the Joint Standing Committee.

The stereotypes associated with these processes of displacement from the structural to the personal are easily identified and range from the poor cook to the battered wife to include, for example, the battered child, the slovenly wife, the drunken father. It is interesting that in

cases of battering attention is often paid to the early socialisation of the individuals, the violent homes they may come from, rather than treating the phenomenon as an extreme case of a societal allocation of power.

As was observed, such definitions legitimate the allocation of the now personal problems to other socialising agencies (family law, social work, marriage guidance, the women's press) which can now assume the task of prevention or cure, can legitimately meet the 'need', and in so doing reaffirm or continue the process of selectively defining behaviour.

However, the stereotype of the working mother differs from that of the inadequate mother. The first stereotype while implying maternal inadequacy, also suggests that this lies in her ignoring her real duty, it implies intent. The second stereotype implies a psychological incapacity for adequate performance. While the behaviour contained within the former must be curbed, that of the latter must be helped.

These different kinds of stereotype, I suggest, are related to the different processes by which the behavioural basis is exposed or isolated. Thus while in the legal control of family income by social insurance, categories are imposed upon a total population and behaviour purposively structured, in the displaced sector of family power the individuals themselves assign their behaviour to particular categories or the behaviour of individuals is brought to the attention of the appropriate agencies. The women's press, for example (where incidentally both kinds of stereotypes appear) places its commercial survival on meeting the needs women identify as theirs, the battered and unhappy seek or are directed towards help. Thus the personal and individual nature of the problem is reaffirmed in this activity of self-selection.

Furthermore, the definitions of appropriate behaviour are not merely articulated by these agencies. Dezalay (1976:98) comments on the pressure

social workers exerted on a client to take up sewing classes rather than buy a dress. But even at the level of wishing to vary the daily menu the definition latent in the magazine is enacted by the individual. For the reader who knits the jumper or bakes the cake the definition is incorporated within her life and possibly some sense of discomfort, guilt or recognition of a nostalgic cosiness and security is experienced by those who resist such calls. The processes from behaviour to consciousness are therefore circuitous. The State however interpellates and orientates in a substantial way.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter the analysis has shown how extensive structural and cognitive ramifications stem from selective and fragmenting processes in one area of the law, whereby discrete behavioural patterns are isolated from the total range of behaviours and rendered conducive to partial or inverted interpretations of reality.

Such selected elements which comprised the ideal model of the family as projected in the Beveridge Report were structured by financial, legal and moral sanctions. Challenges to the model arising from reality, both inherent to and external to the model itself were accommodated by processes of displacement from the public to the private sphere, from structural to personal origins, by devaluation through the publicly displayed interplay of familial and other cultural values, by the inversion of cause and effect in the definition of problems.

The superordinate function of the law in the control of consciousness became apparent in that it was those areas of familial behaviour where State intervention in the form of social insurance was not proposed which became available to interpretation by other agencies. Such legitimation comprises an articulation between State and Civil Society.

The law however imposed prescriptions upon the entire population, setting up boundaries of approved behaviour and structural supports for a form of consensus. Other agencies however were orientated to discrete audiences (yet another level of fragmentation) with different social realities to be lived. It is an examination of the familism portrayed by three of such agencies to which I now turn.

CHAPTER 3: THE FORCES' EDUCATION PROGRAMME

ORIGIN AND CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

The material of the Forces' Education Programme of the Second World War was considered important to an analysis of the familism of the period because of its theme, its official status, the liberal and conservative tensions surrounding its emergence and articulation and, most importantly, its audience. It is unique to find material on the family directed specifically at a mass male audience.

While all three armed services conducted educational programmes for their personnel during the war, the army educational programme was the most dominant. This was due to the fact that the War Office comprised the army bureaucracy and, while not directly concerned with policy in the other forces, it tended to innovate policy which was then recommended to them.¹ It was also the home of the Secretary of State for War who was closer to the higher direction of the war than were the other service chiefs. In addition, from December 1939 until the end of the war, the army was over three times the size of either of the other services.

The Army Education Programme of the Second World War contained, for the first time in Army education, compulsory elements. These consisted

¹ The R.A.F. shared the same problem of static troops as the army and consequently policy on morale came to be recommended to it as a matter of course and it supplied information and ideas. Later, the R.A.F. produced its own publication Target which appeared fortnightly for three years up to the end of 1946 (Wilson 1949:49). The Navy's problem was different: that of maintaining morale on board ship during tours of duty and mechanisms for dealing with this were already developed. There was an Admiralty publication Fleet Orders which contained information about educational facilities (Wilson 1949:49-50).

of talks and discussions based upon first, the two bulletins produced by the Army Bureau of Current Affairs (ABCA) issued on alternate weeks: War, a newsheet of latest events, and Current Affairs, a discussion of their implications; and, secondly, the monthly pamphlets on citizenship entitled The British Way and Purpose (BWP) issued by the Directorate of Army Education. The analysis is confined to the two publications Current Affairs and BWP. To appreciate the implications of the content of this material in the articulation of an ideology it is important to first examine the purpose of the programme and the cultural and military bureaucratic context.

EMERGENCE OF THE SCHEME

Morale and Efficiency

The origin of the army's compulsory education schemes lay in the attempt to grapple with the interrelated problems of morale and efficiency arising from the constitution of the modern army and the changed conditions of modern warfare.

Despite, or because, the army of 1939 was based upon conscription rather than voluntarism, and the civilian had little choice about his or her membership or submission to military discipline, a sense of commitment to what was being fought for was seen by some as essential to the creation of an efficient fighting force (Liddel-Hart 1940:55; Wintringham 1940:59; Summerfield 1976:5).

The experiences following the empty promises of the First World War culminating in the economic depression of the 1920's and '30's had, however, created cynical expectations with regard to the aftermath of the current one. Furthermore, assessments of morale¹ during 1940 and 1941 indicated

¹ Summerfield reports a gap in the official records on army education from January to June, 1941, which probably contained evidence of the War Office's monitoring of morale. In an interview Sir Ronald Adam said three methods of assessing morale were used. A sample of letters home was analysed on

a widespread discontent, arising in this early phase from the boredom and irrelevance of training for both officers and men: for the ranks in drill and the outdated techniques of combat and, at least for some potential officers, in the teaching of conservative techniques for obtaining co-operation of the men by discipline based upon intimidation.

Mass observation contains a report of an officer on the low morale of officer cadets training for heavy infantry service at an officer cadet training unit (Bushford Infantry Corps) 15 March 1941, a group of whom he believed to be the natural leaders of opinion, who were mostly middle class, professional and volunteers. They had become alienated from both the means and ends for which the war was being won. Similar impressions are gained from letters from the R.A.F. (Summerfield 1976:13).

However, even given the relevance of technical training, modern warfare itself raised problems. It demanded a high degree of initiative and co-operation on the part of all ranks during periods of intense activity in combat alternating with long periods of boredom in military bases doing very little. Furthermore, 'by the summer of 1940 it had become clear that the greater part of the army would be based at home for months, if not years to come' (Calder 1969:250).

Thus to create a more efficient fighting force suited to the conditions of modern warfare, to engender commitment to the nation state and to legitimate that nation state, concessions were necessary, certain of which led to the emergence of (paradoxically) a compulsory scheme of education central to which were the themes of individual responsibility, citizenship and the construction of a better post-war world.

(footnote continued from previous page)

its way through the censor, a lieutenant-colonel was sent dressed as a private to assess morale on troop ships, trains and army camps, and commanding officers obtained information from their officers (Summerfield 1976:12).

Between the wars the civilian share in education had become negligible (Wilson 1949:1). Immediately prior to the war there had been pressure¹ from the civilian bodies connected with adult education for the provision, in the event of conscription, of educational facilities as a citizen's right, but on the outbreak of war an agreement to a proposed scheme was withdrawn by the War Office.

The proposed scheme was to have been informal, to take place in the camps, be of an (unspecified) pioneer character, and voluntary. It was to be paid for by the Board of Education from a special grant controlled by a Central Advisory Committee of bodies recognised by the Board (Wilson 1949:1).

However, in consequence of the policy of appeasement pursued in the 1930's, the Army Education Corps itself, whose function was seen as relating to problems of warfare, had itself become an anomaly (Summerfield 1976:8). On the outbreak of war the recommendations of a committee briefed to clarify the position of the A.E.C. in the army structure were shelved (Summerfield 1976:1) and most of the A.E.C. personnel dispersed to other duties. (Wilson 1949:2). In 1940 a Departmental Committee was appointed under Lieutenant General R.H. Haining to examine the wartime role of the A.E.C. with a brief,

'to draw up a scheme of further education for the Army in wartime, in subjects other than military and also to consider the provision required for the welfare and recreational needs of the Army'.

The Haining Committee sat from March to August 1940. The full report was not made available but a memorandum, Education in the Army was issued by the Army Council, September 1940 (Wilson 1949:2; Hawkins and Brimble

¹ During the debate on the Military Service Bill, 18th May, 1939, Mr. Creech Jones M.P., who had been approached by officials of the W.E.A., received assurances from the then Minister for War, L. Hore-Belisha, that in the event of conscription the intention was 'to draw upon the resources of the Board of Education wherever they may be offered to us' (Wilson 1949:1).

1947:100).

However, in April and May 1940, Germany overran Norway, Belgium, Holland and France, culminating in the evacuation of troops from Dunkirk. Morale became a vital issue and it was these events of war itself which precipitated a programme of army education aimed simultaneously at attacking the problem of morale and at encapsulating the new conception of the fighting man.

The scheme emerged in three stages of increasing intensity and range, the first of which was voluntary on all counts. On 1st May 1940, a letter from the Directorate of Military Training informed General Officers Commanding in Chief, All Home Commands, of a scheme of army education, using civilian facilities, which the Command Education Officer of the A.E.C. would supervise.

'Education was to apply to men training and in active service, and not just recruits. Their needs would be met by courses in economics and history "including citizenship and current events".'

(Summerfield 1976:9)

When the Haining Committee reported it recommended the wartime establishment of the A.E.C.¹ In September a small Directorate of Army Education was established and a civil servant, F.W.D. Bendall, seconded from the Board of Education, was appointed as its first director. A Unit Education Officer (usually an ex-school teacher) selected from among the officers was appointed by C.O.'s to encourage participation and satisfy demands, voluntarily made, by using the units own resources, those of the A.E.C. and the voluntary bodies.

1

Summerfield states that during July 1940 the Deputy Adjutant General and Deputy Under Secretary made sure that whatever the Haining Committee recommended the A.E.C. was there to stay. No references or source are given. (Summerfield 1976:9).

Voluntarism

That the scheme, in both implementation and usage, rested upon voluntarism rendered it totally ineffective in breaching the problem of mass morale. An estimated 80 per cent of the army had either not heard of it or chose to ignore it. Many had left school at fourteen and were anti-pathetic towards anything that smacked of institutional education. Their low level of education was seen as leaving them with the inability to make what was considered to be good use of their leisure and, more important, dangerous to the war effort.

The apathy of the rank and file was matched by the apathy and lack of organisation amongst those technically responsible for implementation. There were several problems: C.O.'s, some of whom saw little purpose in the scheme, had complete discretion as to its implementation, there was no effective central control to help unit and divisional officers to set up schemes and no materials were supplied, publicity was both formal and perfunctory and, most important, classes were to take place in leisure hours. Education on the objects and course of the war and the purpose of the war were almost wholly absent. In April 1941 Raymond Gauntlet of the 1941 Committee asked Tom Harrison to organise a Mass observation Survey of army education so that he could ask questions about it in the House of Commons. Two reports were made based upon a questionnaire answered by about 20 Mass Observation contacts in the R.A.F. and the Army in a range of different types of unit. Over half knew of no education scheme. (Summerfield 1967:14).

Compulsion

By June 1941 Major General H. Willans, the head of the recently created (December 1940) Directorate of General Welfare and Education¹, had

¹ The structural changes in the administration and Willans' role in army education are discussed in the next section.

concluded that the army education scheme so far had had little perceptible effect on morale and that to be effective education must be both compulsory and seen as an integral part of training. He made a major change. His report, Education in the War-time Army (4th June 1941), outlined the scheme which came to be called the Army Bureau of Current Affairs (ABCA). It had to 'educate men in bulk' in the objects of war. To counter the resistance of the rank and file it had to be compulsory and it had to take place in duty hours. It was as important as regular meals if as potentially unpalatable.

'If this sort of education is to be provided it must be by the Regimental Officer as part of his life and be served up like rations.'

Every low ranking officer would be under orders to give these classes (Summerfield 1976:15), incorporated as a structural device in an attempt to undermine the social and military divisiveness which characterised the relationship between officers and other ranks and which the progressives in the War Office saw as interfering with the efficiency of the war machine.

A central directorate within Willans' department would supply material and guidance for the hour long discussion led by the officer. ABCA was sanctioned in September 1941 and W.E. Williams, a civilian and an important figure in adult education, appointed as director. The significance of this appointment is discussed below.

The second stage and extension of compulsory education occurred in November, 1942, one year after the introduction of ABCA. The ABCA scheme had revealed widespread ignorance amongst the men both in their general knowledge and in citizenship. Again, however, the extension of army education was ensuant upon a mounting concern over the effect of the humiliating events of war upon the morale of the troops (See Grigg 1948: 325; cited Summerfield 1976:22).

The military situation had again been transformed by the entry of the

United States into the war in December 1941. This put an end to the crisis of supplies, but expanded and extended the battle fronts which now included the whole of the Far East. Against the background of the Japanese advance, the surrender of Singapore, and the steady erosion of British shipping, there were a series of disasters in the Middle East, culminating in the fall of Tobruk in Spring 1942.

The new scheme was called the Winter Scheme of Education, being designed to cope with static troops in Winter and, like ABCA, was aimed to combat complacency and apathy by compulsory education in the aims of the war (PRO 1942 32/10455 Minute 6A 17 August). Similarly, it was to reach units in or out of action. Unlike ABCA, however, instructors were not drawn solely from the officer classes but civilian personnel were encouraged to take part and service personnel could be drawn from other ranks (Wilson 1949:60).

Three hours a week were to be compulsory for the soldier: one hour each for the man as a soldier (an extension of training), the man as a citizen, and the man as an individual (to be related to vocational pursuits and demobilisation). Hawkins and Brimble (1947:294) note this latter concern of the authorities as that of 'the man as a breadwinner'.

The citizenship part of the scheme entitled The British Way and Purpose (BWP) was to consist of subjects concerned with British society and government, and it came to assume more importance than the other two. Eventually, under pressure from Sir Ronald Adam, it was extended beyond the four months planned for it, from November 1942 to February 1943, to May 1944 and ultimately became permanent. Sessions beyond May 1944 were based upon the extensive material within the existing publications collected into one volume (Directorate of Army Education 1944).

While ABCA attempted to draw the soldier's attention to the objects

for which the war was being fought through a discussion of current events in the course of the war and, as noted, had as chief object the improvement of the relationship between officer and men, BWP in contrast was definitely instructional and concentrated upon the aspects of British Society itself 'which it was worth fighting for' (Wilson 1949:60). A war office memorandum reads,

'This period should be devoted to talks and discussions on the British Way of Life, The British Empire and the United Nations. These talks should have the vitally important aim of driving home what we and our allies are fighting for, as well as our responsibilities as citizens of a democratic country and members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.'

(PRO 1942 W0 32/10455 Minute 13A 7 September;
cited Summerfield 1976:23)

In both, however, citizenship was a central theme - in effect the education, under the auspices of the State, of a captive mass male audience of conscripts in appropriate civilian behaviour.

LIBERAL AND CONSERVATIVE TENSIONS

Having outlined the origin of the scheme and its general purpose it is important to examine its position in the spectrum, or more accurately, complex of conservative-liberal opinion.

The status of ABCA and BWP in this radical-conservative configuration has been subject to various interpretations. The publications, and discussions arising from them have been accused of being official propaganda, 'sheer socialism' and non-controversial.

Summerfield (1976:37), for example, notes that BWP has often been described as non-controversial or 'not particularly left wing', and of ABCA Calder (1969:252) writes, 'While Williams himself was radical enough, the bulletins which ABCA issued were generally uncontroversial.'

On the other hand, the Regional Committees of the C.A.C. felt that on occasions the bulletins were vehicles of propaganda and that certain

subjects were being plugged in ABCA sessions (Wilson 1949:35,45); the withdrawal¹ of the summary of the Beveridge Report raised the suspicions of the rank and file (Wilson 1949:56) and BWP was criticised by one serving soldier, writing to Tribune in September 1944, as presenting a justification of the obtaining social order (Calder 1949:25; Hawkins and Brimble 1947:301,303).

Certainly a powerful section of the army establishment saw the potential in such material for the promotion of left wing views and as suggesting the means whereby a citizenry might, both during and after the war, become socially conscious and politically active. For example, the criticisms of the proposals for ABCA in June 1941 made by Captain H. David R. Margesson, Secretary of State for War (December 1940-December 1941) were made on the grounds that they would 'lay the door open to political agitation within the army' (Summerfield 1976:18). Eighteen months later Lord Croft and Sir James Grigg feared that discussion of controversial topics, not necessarily party politics, would create demand for changes (PRO 1943 WO 32/10455, Minute 18, January, cited Summerfield 1976:27).

Military Progressives and Conservatives

It was this powerful conservative group which took steps to contain any radicalism by reserving and exercising the right of censorship on the material of ABCA and BWP. Summerfield (1976:19) records that in June 1941 the army council, the top body in the War Office, agreed to Willans' ABCA proposals,

'subject to the proviso that (first) all material supplied from the War Office or elsewhere has been suitably edited before issue (and secondly) no subjects touching upon party politics be permitted at unit discussions.'

PRO 1943 WO 32/10455 Minute 25, 30 Jan.)

¹ W.E. Williams had persuaded Beveridge to write a summary of the Beveridge Report for the issue of Current Affairs 19th December 1942. Three days after publication it was withdrawn and all copies recalled by Sir James Grigg, defending his action in the House of Commons in January 1943 on the grounds that it had not yet been debated by Parliament (Hawkins and Brimble 1947:176). A different version by Mrs. W.E. Williams, was produced for Current Affairs No. 45, June 5 1943.

However, it should also be pointed out that although pressing for a more liberal content in the material, Willans argued that open discussion of political and sensitive social issues was a more effective means of containment than was their repression.

'... men who wish to discuss politics will discuss them, and it is far better that they should do so openly in the light of facts which have been intelligently and convincingly presented to them, than they should do so in ignorance or behind closed doors. Indeed, I strongly suggest the scheme will, in fact, militate against political agitation. The agitator invariably thrives where he is dealing with ignorant men or working in secret and fails when brought into open contact with facts and knowledge.'

(PRO 1941 WO 32/9735, Minute 23A, June, cited Summerfield 1976:18)

Nonetheless, irrespective of motive, because of their effect on the material it is important to examine the extent of the power and influence of the military progressives.

Changes in the Military Structure

The emergence of ABCA and BWP, and the particular form it took, were related to the presence of progressives in the military establishment and changes in the administrative structure which strengthened their hand, aspects of which have been mentioned briefly above.

In the conservative military establishment education was conceptually and administratively linked to training. On the outbreak of war, in September 1939, recreation and training and the Army Education Corps fell within the jurisdiction of the Directorate of Military Training; welfare was the responsibility of the Adjutant-General, Sir Ronald Adam.

The introduction of the early voluntary scheme on 1st May 1940, before the Haining Committee reported, was the first move in redefining and extending the role of education.

In December 1940, the administrative allocation of responsibility changed. A new Directorate of General Welfare and Education was created

under Major General H. Willans who clearly distinguished his task as concerned with the maintenance of morale as opposed to that of training. As noted, he rapidly assessed the shortcoming of the voluntary scheme, set out a programme for compulsory education in his Report 4th June 1941 Education in the Wartime Army and, most importantly, ensured that the new Army Bureau of Current Affairs fell within the Directorate of General Welfare and Education.

In July 1941 the Adjutant General brought the Army Education Corps under his control thereby removing it from that of the General Staff of the Army Council, where it had been conceived as having more to do with training than active service, and linking it to welfare under the Administrative Staff of the Army Council whose primary responsibility was the welfare of personnel. Thus, both ABCA and the A.E.C. were now under the direct control of the progressives.

In December 1941 the appointment of Paget as Commander in Chief, Home Forces, and overseer of the Directorate of Military Training meant that there was now at least one progressive in this camp ready to push for the implementation of schemes coming from the Administrative staff aimed at affecting the minds of the rank and file. Paget brought a new approach; he took a special interest in the schemes proposed by J.B. Bickersteth, the new and experienced Director of Education¹, and advanced by Adam in July 1942 and which resulted in the Winter Scheme of Education announced by the War Office in September 1941.

Despite the overarching control exercised by the War Office, such

¹ In June 1942 F.W.D. Bendall, who had retained his civilian status, returned to his post in the Board of Education and was succeeded by J. Burgan Bickersteth as Director of Army Education who had been in charge of education with the First Canadian Army since September 1940 and had there built up a comprehensive scheme (Hawkins and Brimble 1947:137).

structural changes obviously lent strength to the progressives in their negotiations over the final form the publications should take and from 1941 to the end of the war there was a continuing struggle over the forces' education programme. In August 1943, for example, Churchill threatened to close ABCA and BWP down (Summerfield 1976:16). It is, however, the orientation of the censorship of ABCA and BWP that is central to this study.

The Censorship Issue

War Office censorship centred upon the detection of 'politics' which, from the evidence, meant any hint or postulation of change in the distribution of wealth, power or opportunity and any criticism of the status quo. Such elements would, it was argued, lay the Army open to accusations of bias.

The withdrawal of the ABCA pamphlet on the Beveridge Report in December 1942 was the most overt and public example of the approach. More specific detail of the attitude however, is found in the marked proofs of BWP 2 'Britain in Action' which were at the time of the withdrawal of the Beveridge summary being scrutinised by the Parliamentary Under Secretary, Lord Croft. He forwarded the proofs to Grigg with a note saying, 'The passages marked in blue are definite propaganda wholly of "left wing" character' (PRO 1943 WO 32/10455 Minute 18 January, cited Summerfield 1976:26).

The passages to which Croft objected (and which appeared in the final publication) referred to worker participation in industry, trade union participation in government, the unequal distribution of wealth and income in British Society, the possibility of full employment and a growing equality in post-war society (BWP 1943 2:50-51).

In Chapter 2 on the Social Services he marked the section on the

abolition of the means test, the extension of the social services to cover industrial insurance and the recommendations of the Beveridge Committee.¹ In Chapter 3 on Education, references to the likely abolition of the public schools were also struck out (BWP 1942 2:56,65,70).

In the supervision imposed upon pamphlets issued after February 1942, Bovenschen, Grigg's Permanent Undersecretary, in a section entitled 'Do we exploit the colonies?' removed a paragraph which referred to the exploitive role of private enterprise in colonial development and replaced it with references to the positive and increasing intervention by the State (PRO 1943 W0 32/10455 Minute 4 20 February, cited Summerfield 1976:28-29; BWP 1943 5:184).

However, skilful negotiation by Adam over the criticisms of, and directives for, the material of the second series which would have recast the entire emphasis of compulsory education, enabled him to orientate the content of the third series in which, importantly for this study, are sections entirely devoted to the family.

Summerfield (1976:29-30) gives a full account of this controversy. It centred on the pamphlet BWP 7, May 1943 by A.D.K. Owen and Barbara Ward entitled 'The Responsible Citizen'. Grigg had wanted a piece which would 'bring out more or less historically the developments of the British system of combining individual rights and freedom, and individual obligations from the Magna Carta onwards' (PRO 1943 W0 32/10455 Minute 25, 30 January). The pamphlet, however, remained entirely in the present and advocated voluntarism as an essential part of democratic freedom. According to Hawkins and Brimble criticism arose from officer instructors who felt that in being asked to discuss the bedrock of democracy and such

¹ The proposals are not given but there is an enjoiner 'The Report will probably have been published by the time you read this... Read the Report or a summary at least: discuss it as fully as possible, for here as always it is our business - to be minded by us (BWP 1942 2:65).

issues as freedom, liberty and equality, they were in the area of ethics, morals and the 'Christian Way and Purpose' which was best left to the padre. Grigg observed that 'Citizenship has been a bit overdone and so have the David Owen - Barbara Ward kind of author' (PRO 1943 W0 32/10455 Minute 46 21 May).

In May 1943 Grigg's position was that there should be no pamphlets on subjects on which Government policy was in process of formulation, in particular education and the social services. Adam, concerned with getting Grigg's permission for the indefinite extension of the compulsory citizenship hour, insisted on a pamphlet on education but suggested that the one on the social services be replaced by one on the good citizen entitled 'What More is Needed of the Citizen?'¹

By conceding in this manner, Adam was able to modify Grigg's proposals for an Empire series. Thus, rather than Grigg's proposition of a series on the historical geography of the Empire and a series on the Napoleonic War to promote a higher degree of Empire consciousness (PRO 1943 32/10455 Minute 45, 21 May 1943, cited Summerfield 1976:30), Adam suggested a series centred on the individual's relationship to the wider social units in which he found himself - the nation, Europe and the Empire. He argued (significantly for this study) that the most expedient way to raise morale was in the arousal of soldiers' interest by instruction in matters which affect them personally (Summerfield 1976:32). Summerfield observes that in a developed form this was adopted in November 1943, starting from

¹ Summerfield's criticism of this pamphlet, BWP 12 by A.D. Lindsay, October 1943, is especially interesting as an example of a particular orientation sensitising the reader to the exposition, overt and latent, of particular values. Thus, Grigg, from a conservative perspective sees a potential left wing threat in the Ward-Owen statements regarding the exercising of rights in order to preserve democracy. Summerfield, from a Marxist-historian's perspective sees such statements as nonprescriptive and Lindsay's model of the Good Citizen as the most value laden in the series. I, sensitised to familism, perceive prescriptive statements and models of the family both overt and latent in both pamphlets.

the individual's relation not to the nation but to the family and neighbourhood, treating the individual's relation to the nation as one effected through his or her productive labour, and giving emphasis to the ways in which the war had affected these relationships.

The first two pamphlets in the final form which this took, BWP 13, 'The Family and Neighbourhood', December 1943, and BWP 14, 'People at Work', January 1944, are centrally related to familism and are referred to extensively in the analysis.

Criticisms by Civilian Educationists

While the Army progressives were concerned with the efficiency of the military machine, the focus of the civilian educationists, as was apparent earlier, was on the individual. Yet in ways important to this study the two concerns coincide.

The effect of civilian educationists upon the content of the scheme is impossible to determine. There is, however, evidence in the accounts of a degree of consultation and influence and, most importantly, comment on aspects of the content of ABCA and BWP which caused them concern. Following the rejection of their early proposals, referred to above, pressure became more organised. In the hope of a renewal of Government policy a Central Advisory Committee for Adult Education in His Majesty's Forces (C.A.C.) was set up,¹ along with Regional Committees, to maintain contact with the Board of Education and, ultimately, to liaise with Army Education personnel.

In the event, not only were the services of the C.A.C. drawn upon for the training of instructors for both of the army education schemes and for the provision of lecturers for BWP but, as already noted, W.E. Williams

¹ The C.A.C. held its first meeting on 25th January 1940. The chairman was Sir Walter Moberly, the vice-chairman A.D. Lindsay, Master of Balliol (Wilson 1949:1-5).

a prominent figure in adult education was appointed Director of ABCA. Williams had already liaised between civilian and service authorities. He was previously head of the British Institute of Adult Education and on the editorial board of Penguin Books and, according to the secondary sources drawn upon here, was by many considered a radical (Hawkins and Brimble 1947:120; Calder 1969:252). The point of Williams' radicalism is important when considered in relation to his powerful position as editor of Current Affairs and in relation to the results of the analysis below.

The C.A.C., in addition to promoting education, also included within its brief the role of watchdog over the educational and intellectual freedom of the individual in a period of intense State intervention in all areas of life but which was particularly pertinent in to the content of material under the final jurisdiction of the War Office (that is, the State) and purveyed to a captive audience under military discipline.

In consequence, criticism of the content of the publications was not confined to the military conservatives; the voluntary bodies also expressed doubts. However, although from an opposing perspective, the substance of the criticisms did not introduce any new dimension; it was similarly concerned with the themes of capitalism and egalitarianism defined in an identical manner.

For example, Wilson (1949:47) draws attention to the omission of capitalist interests in the discussion of oil - a superficially non-controversial subject.¹ In 1944 certain BWP pamphlets aroused sufficient

¹ The publication was Current Affairs No. 3 'Oil', 25th October, 1941. Wilson (1949:48-49) sees this omission as conducive to propaganda from either side; that is, of left wing propaganda from an informed member of ranks who notes the omission and can present views which cannot be countered by a less well informed officer-instructor who, in consequence, has to rely upon the information provided by the pamphlet, or inhibit the discussion, and is then liable to accusations of pushing the official view.

adverse comment from civilian lecturers for the Regional Committee Secretaries to appoint a sub-committee to examine them. Wilson (1949:59) comments,

'Some pamphlets were singled out for particular praise, while others found less favour. But the chief strictures were reserved for the pamphlets entitled 'You and the Empire' and 'You and the Colonies'. These were very difficult subjects to handle in under thirty pages apiece. Even so, it was felt that both ignored controversial yet fundamental issues, the colour bar, for instance, and though the facts selected for inclusion might be accurate, the general effect was so one-sided and unbalanced as to come close to propaganda. These criticisms were on much the same lines as those made a few months earlier by some civilian lecturers at a meeting of the North-Eastern Regional Committee. They maintained that some of the pamphlets laid too much stress on a rosy future without squarely facing real difficulties and controversial issues. This was misleading and, in their view, was likely to make men believe that Service Instructors were putting forward an official point of view, particularly when they lacked sufficient independent knowledge to correct the distortion discernable in one or two of the pamphlets.'

The cynical reverberations of this are found in the C.A.C. for Adult Education in H.M. Forces: Annual Reports for May 1944, (the comments reflecting the tenor of the military),

'A subcommittee appointed by the secretaries of Regional Committees to examine and report of (sic) a certain number of BWP pamphlets that had raised the ire of the local nut-eaters etc., issued a report which they laid before the Executive Committee of the C.A.C.... (The usual Hampstead Sobs over the 'Colour Bar', it seems).'

Thus the material on the family, and it should be borne in mind that this was conceived as instructional material, holds the special position of being the work of the progressives within the army, of having the implicit approval of the civilian educationists¹ who would define themselves as radical or holding a balanced (and balancing) position, and of raising no criticism amongst the military conservatives.

Because of the apparent lack of concern with the familism portrayed

¹ An implicit civilian view on the family emerges strongly in the two historical accounts when education for women in the forces is referred to. However, in only one is the possibility of any controversy in this area raised. These issues are discussed fully below.

in the material it is important to examine the liberal and radical components of the situation in more detail.

THE RADICAL CONTENT

While it is impossible to gauge the extent, there are indications that an instability or sensitivity to change was a component of educational activity in the forces in two other respects: first, in the political or radical leanings of some instructors and, secondly, in the receptivity or mood of the audience.

Liberal Instructors

The prescribed or recommended format for the presentation of ABCA and BWP was essentially intended to elicit audience involvement¹ by encouragement of discussion in the tradition of the academic ideal, that is, based upon the balanced presentation and assessment of all available facts and arguments however controversial (Wilson 1949:165). In a contribution to the Political Quarterly in 1942 Williams wrote, '... the object of an ABCA discussion is to secure balanced controversy on the topic under discussion' (Hawkins and Brimble 1947:303).

Much, therefore, depended upon the assumption of neutrality by the instructors. As the evidence of the last section suggests, the possibility of political agitation was ever present in the minds of the authorities and, although largely unsubstantiated, several commentators have noted the presence of a left wing element engaged in educational activity.

Calder (1969:212), for example, observes that many civilian lecturers were left wing. On this becoming overt lecturers were politely informed that their services were no longer required (Hawkins and Brimble 1947:175).

¹ Other means of involvement were also used, for example, visits to various institutions, residential courses, drama.

Hawkins and Brimble (1947:175) observe,

'Official reasons were never given but it was usually accepted that they had gone too far in preaching a particular party doctrine. The transgressing lecturers had their permits¹ removed and while this raised protest among various political groups it was to no avail.'

King's Regulations forbade servicemen to take an active part in the affairs of a political party, and Summerfield (1976:42-44) from interview material, cites specific instances of the intervention of the authorities where army personnel were involved in what was seen to be politically provocative activity. Leaders and organisers might be given postings and the activity, and publication of it, curtailed or forbidden. Many of those involved in these episodes were in peacetime, Liberal, Labour or Communist supporters. Hyde (1950:105) also refers to the large number of Communist Party members who had succeeded in getting into the Services and whose task it was (before the entry of Russia into the War in June 1941) to 'work on existing discontents as a means of spreading disaffection'. No indication of their activity in the forces following that date is given.

The Mood of the Audience

Finally, although impossible to ascertain the quality and effect of the discussions, there are indications of a particular receptivity within the rank and file to the proponents of social change and to the educational material of ABCA and BWP.

Summerfield (1976:37-38) argues that it was the context within which the material was placed and the extensive and all-embracing concept of citizenship in war-time which imbued the educational material with a radicalism which served to reinforce a quality of the rank and file which can be described as not so much a political consciousness (although many

¹ Civilian lecturers on a Regional Panel had to possess a Certificate of Employment, stamped by the appropriate Army Command or the Provost Marshall's Department at the Air Ministry (Wilson 1949:14).

had this) as a mood of popular radicalism based on the experiences of the 1930's and stimulated by the popular press, in particular the Daily Mirror and Picture Post.¹ In these publications, the emphasis on a country's dependence upon all its people, the bitterness and waste of pre-war years, the ethos of a people talking and of widely shared views, of the individual's rights to and responsibility for change and the possibility of effective joint action meshed with the possibilities, explicit and dormant, in the bulletins and booklets produced by the Army; in for example, the format of the BWP booklets, the bringing together of information about the past and the present, with discussion as to how the future could be shaped, the repeatedly raised question of what operates against this and how can 'we' change it,² the theme of social responsibility, of active citizenship, of the duty to participate in creating and maintaining a better post-war world.

Secondly, although in many army units active citizenship was probably never stimulated, the content of some discussions and debates which spilled over from the ABCA hour, and the size and enthusiasm of the audience (300-400) (although in many instances, especially overseas, there was little else for them to do) (Summerfield 1976:42) suggest that a chord was struck.³ It should be emphasised that in no sense can the following comments be taken as representative, but Summerfield's respondents refer

¹ The Daily Mirror was the most popular newspaper in the forces. In 1941 it was read by 30.3% of servicemen and 32.4% of servicewomen (Kimble 1942:6,8). At one point access to Picture Post was curtailed. Smith et.al. (1975) have also analysed the role of the Daily Mirror in the period.

² It will be seen later that it would be false to assume that this was necessarily in a radical or egalitarian direction.

³ An A.E.C. sergeant working in India observed, 'The average soldier probably never read ABCA stuff or BWP... (but) people who did, spread the word. Their influence was out of all proportion to their numbers. Although nine tenths didn't care much except about beer and cigarettes, ideas penetrated their consciousness or subconsciousness through others talking about them' (Summerfield 1978:45-46).

to such topics as the Atlantic Charter, Nationalisation, Britain after the War, Inheritance Restriction, Public Control of Banks and the implementation of the proposals of the Beveridge Report. However, a hint of the likely response to the material on the family is contained in a respondent's comment, '... and then we had some lighter topics like should women be nationalised...' (Summerfield 1976:42-44).

Finally, although only a small proportion of the forces voted in the 1945 election, of those who did use their vote it has been suggested that an overwhelming proportion voted labour.¹

THE AUDIENCE

Having indicated how the material, teaching personnel and audience were permeated by a sense of readiness for social change it is important to examine other distinguishing features of the audience. The first of these are its size and gender composition.

Size

The intention of ABCA and BWP was mass education. This was to be in British Affairs at home and overseas and in the meaning and practice of citizenship. As an experiment in compulsory mass education by the State, it was recognised as being of 'great potential significance' (Wilson 1949:66).

Although to adult educationists compulsion was viewed as a negation of the meaning of education, the majority of those involved in adult education in civilian life saw the compulsory schemes as a unique opportunity

¹ It has been estimated that about 63% registered to vote by proxy, a figure it is suggested, dependent upon the attitude of the senior officers to active citizenship and which affected the manner in which the proxy vote was organised following D-Day 1944. Of those registering about 58% actually voted in 1945. In one example, where records of the service-man's vote was kept (Reading, where Ian Micardo was candidate), 90% voted Labour (Summerfield 1976:46).

to reach those who would not voluntarily join any educational activity but would become interested when presented with it (Hawkins and Brimble 1947:122-3). As Wilson (1949:46) observes, 'Compulsory attendance was not necessarily an evil.' Furthermore, compulsion resolved the dilemma continuously faced by such voluntary movements (in war and peace) - homage to individualism yet a contempt for the voluntary pursuits of the masses - by the fact that here was a captive populous

'... segregated from civilian life and the old opiates, dog-racing football pools, commercialised sport, motoring and so on had been much reduced, and to some extent lost their spell'.

(Hawkins and Brimble 1947:309)

However, as no comprehensive records were kept the extent of this audience cannot be ascertained. Nonetheless, despite the limitations due to shortages of men skilled in leading discussion groups, and shortages of books and materials, there is evidence the scheme did take place and that it was extensive; and although ultimately dependent upon the co-operation of the C.O. the fact that both ABCA and BWP were compulsory and took place in duty hours paradoxically created a captive yet at the same time a potentially willing audience which saw ABCA and BWP, at the minimum, as welcome breaks in routine.

By December 1941, only three months after its inception, it was estimated that six out of ten units had organised ABCA discussions (Hawkins and Brimble 1947:121). In November 1940, the scheme had been extended to all theatres of war (Hawkins and Brimble 1947:238) and its efficacy had formed part of Adam's case, with the corroboration of the Army Commanders in North Africa, Persia, Iran and the Middle East, for the continuation of BWP and ABCA when, as noted earlier, threatened by Churchill in August 1943 (Summerfield 1976:35).

Although no figures were made public, Wilson (1949:43), basing his

figures on 'reliable sources', estimated that 120,000 copies were produced of each copy of Current Affairs and a copy was sent to nearly every regimental officer of the British Army at home and abroad.

In addition to army use, the Admiralty absorbed 3,850 bulletins per week and the RAF 1,150. The Canadian Forces overseas and in Canada reprinted copies for use. From Easter 1942 the Home Guard adopted ABCA and the Civil Defence authorities were anxious to implement a similar scheme for their personnel (Hawkins and Brimble 1947:164-5).

No official surveys of the two schemes exist and there is no relevant data in Mass Observation but a small War Office Survey on ABCA conducted in 1944 amongst 5,000 soldiers in convalescent depots and transit camps, whose response was likely to be more reliable than when in their units, showed that in 60 per cent of Army units the discussion group was well done, in ten per cent it was sufficiently well done to have some good effect, and in 30 per cent it was not carried out as effectively as hoped (Summerfield 1976:39).

The unique feature of this extensive exercise, however, was that not only was the audience predominantly male and the material male orientated but the elements of the programme of interest to this study comprise in effect an exercise in the mass education of men in attitudes to the family. As such it is historically unique in Britain.¹

Composition

Hawkins and Brimble's (1947:97) statement that 'the army was composed of a cross section of the entire British population' was not strictly accurate. While a cross-section was possibly represented in terms of class and education if both officers and men were taken into account, in other

¹ A similar scheme was operated for the German army but this has not been examined for its familial orientation.

respects there were significant omissions.

First, certain categories of key workers were exempt and in heavy industries of ship building and mining in the North-East and Wales, for example, this had geographical implications both of which have some possible import for traditional familism.

Although all men between the ages of 18 and 41 (and up to 45 by the end of 1943) were liable to conscription following the National Service (Armed Forces) Act (September 1939), certain categories of workers in scheduled occupations, and later protected industries, were reserved or granted deferment. (The basis of the scheme was adapted between 1939 and 1941.) The age of reservation varied according to the key importance of the occupation or establishment and skilled workers below reservation age were suitably deployed in the armed forces. This meant, in terms of audience, that in the army skilled workers were under-represented. It also meant, although the effects of this must not be exaggerated if indeed there were any at all, that in some instances virtually whole communities, specifically those which had, and continue to exhibit, a marked traditional familism, for example, agriculture, coal mining, ship-building, experienced neither the melting pot of service life nor the forces' education programme which did refer to companionship in marriage, if not equality, and an extension in the activities of married women. The contrast with soldiers' expectations of marriage and their marriage partner revealed by Slater and Woodside's (1951) investigation, which is discussed in the next section, and certain aspects of the Educational Programme itself, brings this into relief. It is also of some significance that more contemporary studies and observations of agricultural communities (Whitehead 1976), mining communities (Dennis et. al, 1969) and the North-East (Moser 1979:25) confirm a continuing traditionalism.

Secondly, the army was predominantly male, confined to the younger half of the economically active age group and educationally apathetic.

Although Calder (1969:53) observes that the conscripts and volunteers were healthier, better educated and had higher expectations on the whole than those in 1914, most of the men had not had anything approaching formal education since leaving school at 14 (Wilson 1949:22). Their attitude to education was one of apathy and indifference and, according to some civilian lecturers, their level of knowledge, as revealed by the introduction of ABCA, was an indictment upon the last twenty five years of State education (Wilson 1949:25; Hawkins and Brimble 1947:146, 306). As noted earlier, only 20 per cent involved themselves in the early voluntary scheme; and this was probably reduced to 10 per cent amongst the Young Soldiers' Battalions of whom Hawkins and Brimble (1947:134) comment '... even questions of ... apprenticeship seemed remote from their existence'. At the very base there was a significant proportion of illiteracy.¹ More pertinent, however, is Williams' comment, writing in the Journal of the Army Education Corps in December 1941,

'The grim fact must be faced that the average citizen - in khaki or out of it - is an illiterate in citizenship. The majority of the population, and the majority of officers, have read little about Current Affairs, shown feeble resistance to the many-voiced "guidance" of the Press, and spent little of their leisure in any kind of debate of topics of the day'.

(Hawkins and Brimble 1947:160)

The Conception of the Audience

That the schemes were perceived, if not intentionally conceived, as an exercise in mass education for the male is apparent both amongst those responsible for the material and amongst commentators.

¹ The education of this group is the subject of an article in Good House-keeping. Its significance is discussed in the later analysis.

For example, F.W. Bendall, the first Director of Army Education, observed in an article in the Times Educational Supplement at the end of 1941 that the 'army scheme was the only educational influence working on the younger adult male population' (Hawkins and Brimble 1947:112). Similarly, with regard to the teaching material, Wilson (1949:120) comments, 'Since the men greatly outnumbered the women in the forces it followed that ABCA and other pamphlets were written primarily for the former.' (Wilson 1949:120). Wilson notes that the Y.W.C.A., in consequence of this, attempted to meet the special needs of women and treat subjects in a more personalised way by adopting the practice of including with each monthly issue of the Blue Triangle a supplement called News for Citizens. It was distributed amongst the members of the Women's services. Examples of the subject matter include, 'The World's Food', 'What the Ministry of Labour Does', 'Displaced Persons', 'The War Against Illiteracy'. This served as either individual reading or as material for discussion.

Yet to the War Office, the compulsory schemes were, theoretically at least, as applicable to the A.T.S.¹ as they were to the men (Hawkins and Brimble 1947:152, 147). The A.T.S. comprised a small but significant proportion of the army and, although defined as supportive, the jobs in which women were engaged were important. They were mostly used at bases to release men to fight but nevertheless their work in administration, communications, long range reconnaissance and machine maintenance was vital. Consequently, their morale too had to be considered as an important factor in the efficient performance of these tasks.

Summerfield (1976:35-36) suggests that the morale of servicewomen also involved special problems. She writes,

'Even more than men, servicewomen stationed away from home, were dislodged from customary roles within the family, and patterns of courtship and marriage. This could give women both aspirations and causes for insecurity. The value of their labour power post-war was

¹ Auxiliary Territorial Army.

likely to be lower than men's contradicting its war time value. Their entry into the services for six years might diminish their chances of marriage. Awareness of such a perspective could have the effect of discouraging the effort expected of them. The British Way and Purpose Scheme was applicable to women... (but) even those who supported active citizenship for men were reluctant to stimulate it among women, lest it erode their traditional role still further than participation in the war effort was doing'.

Summerfield does not substantiate this last statement. While not denying the thesis I would argue that the process was much more subtle and less conscious than this statement would imply.

To support the case that this material was geared to a male audience it is necessary, therefore, to show, if possible prior to the analysis, how in effect this small but significant proportion of women was not integrated with the larger group but kept conceptually and often physically discrete.

I shall first look at the factors which contributed to the educational discrimination of women in the forces and then at how the relationship of education to women was perceived.

Educational Discrimination

Despite the official stance, education for the A.T.S. was relegated to second place. Both Wilson and Hawkins and Brimble refer to the education discrimination which women experienced. Indeed, Hawkins and Brimble (1947:347) commenting upon the increase of work following V.J. Day (Victory over Japan) observe '... there was no doubt that in many units A.T.S. education suffered, if indeed it ever got going'.

First the nature of their work provided little opportunity for education. The majority of the A.T.S. was classified in one of three categories: 'employed personnel', 'operational' and 'training' and there was apt to be little time for education in any of those grades. They involved so full a working day that lectures had to take place in the even-

ing. In many units and formations work was by shifts and rendered continuity of study almost impossible.

Furthermore, the male commanding officers, under whose jurisdiction the A.T.S. largely fell, refused to allocate any of the duty hours to education. To avoid encroaching upon leisure time, therefore, the night of the week when they had to be 'in' for their personal chores was chosen. Considering that the men were receiving ABCA and BWP sessions in working time, this raised resentment and effectively operated against any inclination to take up educational classes in free time (Wilson 1949:120).

Educational discrimination was exacerbated by the fact that more professional and skilled women had been prevented from joining the Services than the corresponding classes of men (Hawkins and Brimble 1947:148). Education for women was slow to start and only gained ground towards the end of 1941 when educated women were appointed as Staff Officers (Education) in the A.T.S. (Wilson 1949:89). ABCA was not introduced immediately but only after the first few months, although the A.T.S. had been the first branch of the Services to establish ABCA training schools for N.C.O.'s (Wilson 1949:91).

Furthermore, the composition of the A.T.S. made them more vulnerable to discrimination. As a group they were much more homogeneous in terms of age, marital status, social class, education and occupational status than were the men, and they were much younger.

The following statistics give some idea of the composition of the A.T.S. From the outbreak of war women volunteers were used in the services. By December 31st 1939 there were 43,000 girls in the Women's Auxiliary Services - 'Wrens' (Women's Royal Naval Service), 'A.T.S.' (Auxiliary Territorial Service), 'Waafs' (Women's Auxiliary Air Force), and members of various nursing services. All were volunteers and tended

to come from the better-off sections of society. In April 1941, the Women's Services became part of the Armed Forces of the Crown and so subject to military discipline for the first time (Calder 1969:54,237). On December 2nd, 1941, the conscription of unmarried women between the ages of 20 and 30 was announced. In 1942 the age was lowered to 19. On registering they had a choice between the auxiliary services and important jobs in industry (Calder 1969:268). From November 1942 onwards 56 per cent of the intake of the A.T.S. was of girls under 21 (Hawins and Brimble 1947:148).

Figures taken from statistics of 1942, 1943 and 1944 show that 92 per cent of recruits to the A.T.S. had had elementary and post-primary education without taking school certificate and 0.7 per cent had Higher School Certificate. Like the men their attitude to education was one of indifference. 'It would be idle to pretend that the demand is in any respect equal to the possible supply (of education)... if men are apathetic about education, women are more so,' wrote Dr. Violet Markham in the Report, Amenities and Welfare Conditions in the Three Women's Services (HMSO 1942, cited Hawkins and Brimble 1947:145).

The same source showed the occupational distribution to be predominantly amongst unskilled and lower white collar jobs: 31 per cent clerical, 15 per cent shop workers, 16 per cent domestic service and 23 per cent unskilled manual. The more educated were assigned to the officer class (Hawkins and Brimble 1947:148).

This disparity between men and women as groups was perceived by some civilian lecturers as giving rise to a second problem when educational activity was actually engaged in. First, lecturers experienced difficulties in presenting material to mixed groups (Hawkins and Brimble 1947: 152; Wilson 1949:90), although this might have been related to their own

conceptions of appropriateness of material and method. Secondly, it was suggested that young women in their twenties were diffident about expressing their views in the presence of older and more experienced men.

Wilson also suggests that according to some lecturers, at least in the early days, the girls were reluctant to speak up in the presence of their officers whose upbringing had generally been very different from their own. Thus, while social class is here seen to inhibit the women, from Summerfield's (1976:40) evidence it is the hierarchy of power (the structure of officers and men) which inhibits male performance.

These considerations were closely related to the perception of women as a special category, mirrored by the civilian historians who implicitly relegate them to a second place by first defining them as a special problem and then as a less urgent one. Thus, of the early scheme Hawkins and Brimble (1947:107) write that as well as those of lecture accommodation 'there were many other problems - the place of the Auxiliary Territorial Service in the scheme presented peculiar difficulties...'. The problem is not elaborated. The ensuing comments are confined to the Army Council's realisation of the importance of education for fighting men.

Furthermore of the slow start of the C.A.C.'s work with the Women's Services, Wilson (1949:89) comments this was 'largely because the Regional Committees had little or no contact with these branches of the Forces, and for the reason that the A.E.C. at that time had more than enough to do in looking after the needs of the men'.

This attitude was not unique but a cultural phenomenon. For example, a similar ethos pervaded the setting up of voluntary welfare provision of clubs and other services to the forces. Thus, prior to the setting up of the Council for Voluntary War Work, the following incident took place.

'A few weeks after war broke out, the War Office summoned a Conference of all the voluntary bodies which in 1914-18 had served the Forces. So far as a man can tell from the cautious report of the proceedings,

it must have been almost funny. The Y.W.C.A. was the only specifically feminine organisation present: outside, of course, the A.T.S., the Women's Army. Such men as the Adjutant General, the Quartermaster General and the Chaplain General made most of the conversation in the early part of the day. They were gallant and courteous folk. They were glad to have the women with them if only for decoration: they did not seem to think they were important. The talk was of males and their needs. From time to time, the Y.W.C.A. spoke up. She was listened to with urbanity, but somehow in two or three sentences the talk was back amongst the males. The Y.W.C.A. became impatient. Supported by the A.T.S., she asked if they did not consider that women had some part in the war. They answered, "Yes, certainly they have", and returned to their plans about the men. The Y.W.C.A. persisted...'

(Duguid 1955:112-3)¹

As noted earlier, both by way of needs and in methods of instruction, the women were in crucial ways seen as requiring special treatment. Thus, Hawkins and Brimble (1947:145) observe that,

'although in many respects their demands were the same and ... the facilities provided were organised on a co-educational basis, to the mutual advantage of both sexes, in other respects, the women made different educational demands from the men, and needed different treatment,'

and Wilson (1949:90) notes that the commissioning of highly qualified women to the education side 'made it possible to consider the educational requirements of the Women's Services as distinct from those of the men' (my italics).

These difficulties centred upon the rousing of interest in abstract concepts, international affairs and even citizenship unless the material was intimately related to a woman's experience. Although Wilson (1949:91) notes that this was only a matter of degree, that lectures and discussions for men were also improved by relating them to men's personal experience, he nevertheless comments, 'A more simple and nearly always a more personal approach was necessary than with a male audience.' Thus, 'Prospects for Poland' was replaced by 'Would You Marry a Pole?'; a male audience was

¹ Even in this sympathetic account there is a gender distinction made by the author in the stereotypical phrase - 'so far as a man can tell'.

presented with 'The Growth of Nazi Germany', a female audience with 'Hitler's Rise to Power', and topics related to actual experiences of housing, working conditions and local, rather than national, government.

A mild astonishment is expressed by these historians when such expectations of female attitudes are not fulfilled. Thus, Hawkins and Brimble (1947:149) comment,

'At the same time a larger minority of girls than might have been expected by people who believe in a "homely" approach, showed that they were deeply interested in politics as such, in the operation of war, and, indeed, in any of the subjects which had hitherto been regarded as the province of men.'

Nonetheless, Wilson's (1949:93) assessment is that, generally speaking, international affairs and even citizenship were subjects chosen mainly by and for men; that rightly treated, they could be and proved of interest to women, but that there were other subjects which appealed more readily to them and that consequently it was in these that the best work with the Women's Services was done. Thus, courses in handicraft, housing, homemaking, mothercraft were specially constructed.¹ The following shows the gist of his thinking.

'Women in the Forces were looking forward even more than the men to having homes of their own... There followed naturally from this a desire for instruction in the art of running a home... A further development, again arising naturally from interest in the home, as mothercraft' (my italics).

Furthermore, citizenship was not deemed to have a universal meaning. For women education in citizenship was channelled through an introduction to those institutions with direct links to domesticity, education, child welfare, social welfare, health (Wilson 1949:93).

To pursue this, one further comment is in order which not only demonstrates again how women did not comprise the real audience, but also touches on the ideological dimension in these records. In these accounts only once does a hint of the home/work or the private/public dilemma of women

¹ The peak demand for these courses was in September 1945.

arise although, as will be seen, it is well represented in both the BWP pamphlets and the ABCA bulletins.

This dilemma is couched in a particularly interesting way and is quoted in full.

'One course that attracted a great deal of attention was arranged by the Association for Education in Citizenship, in co-operation with the army education authorities. It originated with a group of auxiliaries and non-commissioned officers who wished to learn how to stimulate in their companions an interest in public affairs and the habit of discussing them. The course was planned to cover a selection of subjects likely to have special attraction for women, sources of information and how to use them. Twenty four auxiliaries and non-commissioned officers drawn from a wide area attended the course. Most of them were women in their early twenties, many of them married. They came from villages, towns and cities in England and Scotland and were products of elementary, secondary and private schools. The quality of the discussion was frequently remarked upon by those who had organised the course, and it soon became apparent that all the auxiliaries had strong views on problems of housing, education, and public health services, town planning and so on. They felt a desire to arouse other women to interest and to a sense of common responsibility for the future of society in Britain. Probably the most interesting point arising from this course, however, was the strongly expressed view that, apart from a few notable exceptions, the majority of these auxiliaries did not look forward to taking an active part in public life; they expected to make home and children almost, if not quite, a full-time job. At first sight it seemed disappointing that these young women were not more anxious to exercise their right to participate in civic and national affairs. Nonetheless, there were indications that their attitude did not signify a retreat from responsibility but a re-evaluation of social responsibility as shared by men and women, a division by function which represented co-operation, and which deserves close study from those who are concerned with the education and political training of women.'

(Hawkins and Brimble 1947:155-6)

Thus while men were instructed in citizenship women, in this instance at least, were allowed to define citizenship for themselves, a factor which ideologically has an important role.

In sum then, for the purposes of this study, it was considered legitimate to consider this material as orientated to a mass male audience.

Attitudes to Family and Marriage

A final characteristic of this audience of which it was possible to gain some insight into was the obtaining attitudes to marriage and family

life. By a coincidence, rare in historical sociological research, data exists on this specific audience, for the period relevant to the study, on the attitudes to family life, the expectations of marriage and of marriage partner.

Between October 1943 and January 1946 Slater and Woodside (1951) conducted an investigation on marriage and assortive mating. The sample comprised soldiers and their wives and was selected with the primary aim of enabling the generalisation of the findings to the working class population of Britain. However, with certain qualification which it might not have been possible to remedy had the survey been conducted even for the express purposes of this study - namely the non-co-operation of those with extreme marital problems and of those of the very lowest socio-economic strata - the limitations of their sample render the data directly pertinent.

The details are as follows. The investigation was of 200 married couples selected on the basis of the husband being a member of the armed forces, married and having a home in London. All the male subjects were soldiers who were being treated in an emergency hospital in the neighbourhood of London. Half the sample had been admitted to wards for neurosis, half to medical and surgical wards.

The biases in the sample constitute the characteristics of this military audience noted earlier. The age group was restricted to men between 22 and 47 years of age; those with serious illnesses either physical or mental were excluded by virtue of initial selection for military service; the occupational range was restricted in that those in permanently reserved occupations stood no chance of inclusion, therefore, the highly skilled were unrepresented (as well as the professional men). Furthermore, as only non-commissioned ranks were admitted to the hospitals

the very ablest and most enterprising of the lower social classes who had been marked out by their abilities for commissions¹ were probably unrepresented, as also they were by the fact that such men often opted for other Services and these subjects had opted for the Army, the service with the lowest status.

In addition, the method of co-operation employed in pursuing the investigation meant that the sample was weighted in favour of the more happily married as those on bad terms with their wives tended to evade investigation and, for similar reasons, against the poorest and problem groups who might have suspected the investigations to be connected with the distrusted government agencies of social work or public assistance (Slater and Woodside 1951:13-21,2). Such groups, however, would constitute a part of the military audience of BWP and ABCA.

The subjects were asked details of their family history, childhood, school careers, records of health and illness, how they met and married, their sexual and emotional relations and their ideas about having children (Slater and Woodside 1951:13).

Evidence of Change

Earlier in this chapter it has been suggested that within this audience there were at least elements which were receptive to and anxious for social change associated predominantly with issues of class - of social security, full employment, equality of educational opportunity. The evidence here suggests a similar although ambivalent concern. While the majority of the respondents demonstrated an apathy and cynicism towards political involvement either in trade unions or politics and towards politicians in general they, paradoxically, simultaneously felt that 'returning soldiers would be in a revolutionary mood, and "wouldn't

¹ In a sense these men still constituted an audience for the ABCA and BWP material in that they may have been partially responsible for presenting it.

stand' for a second post-war let down' (Slater and Woodside 1951:250-251).

Changes in Family Life

In certain ways a conception of change extended to attitudes towards and expectations of family life. In comparison with the attitudes and behaviour of their own parents those of these soldiers and their wives had changed in a startling manner.

The most striking change was the reduction of drink, violence and cruelty in the home (Slater and Woodside 1951:34,41,43,46). For the parental generation a picture emerges of squalor, of the violence and unrestrained sexual demands of some husbands, of overburdened mothers, of the social distance of the father from family life and the chronic poverty of the childhood homes of the subjects. It is this model of family life, especially in regard of its uncontrolled fertility and related poverty that is firmly rejected by the subjects. Furthermore, as referred to earlier, Slater and Woodside (1951:40) challenge the conventional assumption that those who lack material goods are probably compensated by greater happiness and spontaneity in their personal relationships. Over one quarter (114/400) of the control group, that is the non-neurotic, came from unhappy homes and many revealing understatement indicated that standards of happiness were low and that not much was expected. Happiness was depicted by such negative statements as 'they never fought' and 'drank very seldom'.

Parallel, however, with the rejection of this image was not only a lack of cynicism about marriage but an optimism towards their own marriage and an expectation of higher standards in various directions.

First, even if in the same occupational group as their fathers, sons were better educated and had higher standards. Despite latent fears of unemployment and the cynicism towards government intervention already

noted, amongst the younger couples there was an expectation of, and a felt entitlement to, a higher standard of living than that of their parents (Slater and Woodside 1951:183). The older generation was despised for its lower standards of child care and attitudes to education, its lack of planning and, by some, the lack of mutuality in the conjugal relationship (Slater and Woodside 1951:67). A higher valuation was placed upon the individual, specifically children, and, to some extent amongst the younger couples, upon each other.

Such higher standards and evaluations were associated with the control of fertility. They wanted a better childhood and opportunities for their own children than they had had (Slater and Woodside 1951:185). The large families of both the past and the present were condemned. As in Bank's (1969:30) study of middle class Victorians, to consider the standard of living was an issue with moral dimensions. Thus a certain element of control over poverty and life chances was seen to lie in the hands of the individual¹ although this was not stringently put into practice. However unreliable their contraceptive practices might be, only one in five of the couples failed to take some precautions², 80 per cent of the subjects had used some method of birth control at intervals (Slater and Woodside 1951:212).

A sign of the changing quality of the conjugal relationship was not only that husbands as well as wives were conscious of the drudgery associated with child rearing but that they took steps to avoid it by

¹ Mr. Smyth, a T.U.C. representative, observed to the Beveridge committee in the discussion on family allowances, that if the issue were merely poverty then people could be taught how to limit their families 'only to have the size of family they can support' (PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 1st Meeting 14 Jan : QQ. 501-502).

² Of the sample 50 per cent used coitus interruptus, 40 per cent the condom, 35 per cent chemical methods and 10 per cent the cap (Slater and Woodside 1951:213).

reducing their fertility. A husband 'didn't want to clutter her up with children'. Younger couples saw themselves as being tied for a short period by child care but ultimately being able to resume an earlier freedom. Although children were seen as the purpose of marriage by the younger couples (Slater and Woodside 1951:140), parenthood was not considered a duty as it had been by the older members of the sample who criticised younger couples who wished to retain their early relationship with each other. A desire for freedom by both sexes was observed (Slater and Woodside 1951:185).

Underlying Patterns

Despite such changes, however, both the gross changes in standards of living and those which seem to indicate alterations in the quality of personal relationships, there is much in the evidence collected by Slater and Woodside to suggest that major divisions in attitudes and patterns of dominance remained unaffected or were being subject to the discomfort of challenge by the exigencies of war. While I attempt here to isolate the attitudes of husbands, it is sometimes necessary to contrast these with those of wives in order to give them point.

These continuing elements consist of the economic, sexual and social control of husbands, the expectations they hold of wives and the non-companionable elements of the conjugal relationship.

Dominance

Despite references to the economic emancipation of women, and the increased possibility of divorce, because, presumably, women are able to support themselves (Slater and Woodside 1951), within marriage the economic dominance and control of the husband is clear. The war brings this sharply into relief.

Thus, Slater and Woodside (1951:74) note that 'some years of service

in the army had provided a regular income allowance for wives which was not dependent on the husband's good graces' and wives' appreciative comments imply that economic sanctions rested with the husband, for example, 'He's very fair and doesn't keep back his earnings' (Slater and Woodside 1951:74;145).

The investigation also revealed the husband's sexual dominance in terms of his expectations regarding sexual conjugal relations and his sense of ownership of his wife and control over her social relationships. A double standard operated both within and outside the marriage relationship which was predominantly expected and accepted by both men and women.

Masculine dominance is noted as 'a general feeling of possessiveness and 'rights' not always agreed to' (Slater and Woodside 1951:167). 'For men conjugal sex relations are a regulated habit, part of the marriage contract... while for women husbands are valued in inverse relation to their sexuality' (Slater and Woodside 1951:168). Attention is drawn to 'a barely veiled sex antagonism and the word "they"... commonly used as a generic term for the demanding male' which is nonetheless combined with an attitude of submission (Slater and Woodside 1951:167). An additional and paradoxical element in this relationship is the reliance women place on the execution of contraceptive controls by the husband (Slater and Woodside 1951:196) combined with the widespread fear of conception even amongst healthy wives (Slater and Woodside 1951:211).

The compliance and acceptance of women may be interpreted as partially related to the operation of the double standard in extra-marital relationships (Slater and Woodside 1951:219). Thus, while women were resigned to the possibility of infidelity of husbands (Slater and Woodside 1951:156), and during war time find additional exonerating circumstances for reconciling themselves to it (Slater and Woodside 1951:219), infidelity

on the part of the wife is strongly condemned both by the husbands (although some forgive their wives) and the wider community. (It should be remembered that the method of investigation would serve to exclude those wives as well as husbands who could not sanction such activity.)

Jealousy, linked with ideas of rights and property, was felt to be a respectable emotion and the 'cuckold mentality' persisted among a proportion of the men (Slater and Woodside 1951:155). Indeed, jealousy and suspicion of a wife's fidelity comprised serious problems of morale for commanding officers overseas; 'the talk of other men with similar fears and some of them with reasons to worry provided an atmosphere of mass suggestion' (Slater and Woodside 1951:221). An instance is given of a C.O. writing an admonishing letter to one wife (Slater and Woodside 1941:154). At the time of the survey the fidelity of soldiers' wives was in the public eye, letters and articles constantly appearing in the press. Woman, (1943) 8 May:11) for example, published an article 'Shadow of Suspicion' which attempted to tackle the exacerbators of such worries, those friends and relatives who wrote to men about the activities of their wives; although it will be seen how contributors to Good Housekeeping sustained this double standard. While other males were regarded as predatory, and a wife's fidelity closely linked to a husband's self esteem or humiliation as the case may be, yet any lapse was considered to be the fault of the woman (Slater and Woodside (1951:155).

This fear of a wife's sensuality extended to the wish to control her activity and opportunity for social contacts outside the home. There was an instance where a wife went dancing against her husband's wishes, and other husbands expressly forbade dancing (Slater and Woodside 1951:152, 87). In general, however, the investigation revealed an unnecessary worry in this respect due to the social isolation of many wives 'who look out

on the world as from a beleaguered fortress' and their lack of activities or interests outside the home (Slater and Woodside 1951:87,91).

This is contrasted with the range of activities pursued by men, especially athletics, and sport, a social convention for men.

'Hobbies and sport are no part of a working class woman's life nor are they expected to be. Questions on the subject were met with surprise or blank looks...'

There is amongst wives a parochialism, apathy and avoidance of clubs (Slater and Woodside 1951:87).

Male Expectations

The expectations men had of a wife and of marriage demonstrated both a sense of superiority and, apart from younger couples, a lack of mutuality in the sharing of interests and activities (Slater and Woodside 1951:142).

Thus, while both men and women looked for qualities in a marriage partner related to their contribution towards building a home rather than one of individual personality, these differed. A masculine dominance was again revealed in that the reasons men gave for their choices sounded self-centred, patronising and negative. For example, a wife was chosen because she was 'on the plain side, but I thought she was a dependable character'. In contrast, when they expressed an opinion (wives were found to be less articulate than husbands) women stressed home qualities and security (Slater and Woodside 1951:124).

A man looked for comfort, an 'agreeable wife' and a place where he 'can exercise power and even dominance which is denied to him elsewhere' (Slater and Woodside 1951:119). In the stereotype which emerged men prized possession and a sense of power (Slater and Woodside 1951:144).

'Men lay chief stress on moral attributes and negative qualities, chastity and fidelity is at a premium... and like attention, comfort

and obedience. "She always does what I want her to do"; "I'm sort of boss of the home, I admit"; "She does everything to keep me happy".'

(Slater and Woodside 1951:146)

Skill in household management was important - good cooking, economy and care of the children. However, it is important to note that, from wives' comments, although patterns of domestic labour were still traditional, there was evidence that some men helped in the house, were interested in their children, and were homeloving, 'not one of those who always wants to be out and about' (Slater and Woodside 1951:146). It was, however, the characteristics of the husband which influenced the happiness of the marriage for better or worse. Women had to be more adaptive.

In general, mutual relations of personalities and interests played small part in these working class marriages (Slater and Woodside 1951: 125).

'It is not thought necessary that a wife should be able to share her husband's interests, and hardly thought possible that she might have interests of her own in which he might share.'

(Slater and Woodside 1951:142, table Xd).

As noted, where mutuality was mentioned it was by the younger less home-bound subjects.

Nor was intelligence expected of wives. Again only a few of the younger and more educated husbands (6) mentioned their wives ability or independence with appreciation (Slater and Woodside 1951:146). More frequently intelligence was distrusted (just as any greater sensuality in a wife than her husband was feared (Slater and Woodside 1951:167)) and was thought irrelevant or unnecessary to the success of a marriage, despite the fact of its advantage. Only two men were disappointed with the lack of ability shown by their wives, and only one or two criticised an excessive domesticity and devotion to home. Similarly, good looks, which are considered an advantage during courtship are thought to be of doubtful

value in marriage. While some men praised and appreciated a wife who kept up her appearance and remained attractive, in general any approach to glamour was deprecated and 'looks' were considered dangerous for the security of the marriage.

'A good looker is liable to be enticed away.'
'Have a good home girl'

(Slater and Woodside 1951:145)

The comments on the effects of war upon the wife's role highlight the expectations men had of their wives and the felt threat that this posed to their own position. While some husbands whose horizons had been broadened by war time experience found the outlook of their wives narrow and restrictive,

'others... less secure, disliked or disapproved of their wives new friends and interests, acquired during their absence. Several women complained of the unfairness that expected everything would be the same after all those years. Men generally did not welcome the increased independence of women which had been brought by the war, by responsibilities personally shouldered, by an independent income and out of home contracts.'

(Slater and Woodside 1951:223)

In all, a prosaic view of marriage obtained, with the emphasis of both husband and wife resting upon the home rather than personal relationships. The married partner was less important for himself or herself than for the contribution to the complex of material and psychological factors which made up the home (Slater and Woodside 1951:125). The importance and greater significance of the home to working class people as opposed to others was stressed, 'It means more to us than people with money' (Slater and Woodside 1951:119).

It will be seen how the forces' education programme in many respects chimed with significant aspects of male expectations and the realities of the situation and met the challenges. It had, moreover, to do so, despite criticisms of its innocuous status, within specifically liberal

constraints.

SUMMARY

There have been several aims in this description of the structural and cultural location of the forces' education programme. First, the liberal tenor of its approach was shown by outlining the conservative and liberal tensions surrounding the emergence of the scheme. This therefore provided an example of a liberal articulation of familism. The second theme was the climate of expectations for change and justice in which the scheme took place and thereby raises the question of the place of familism within such a configuration and its subsequent articulation. The third aspect was the demonstration of the probably unique characteristics of this audience; that it was male, massive, captive and the recipient of familistic messages in the overt form, which in peacetime, was confined to female audiences. The final aim was to provide some indication of the realities of men's lives which the educational material had to accommodate along with its educational philosophy and problems of military morale.

BWP AND ABCAINTRODUCTION

In his insistence on the inclusion of the family in the citizenship material of BWP, Adam was instinctively (or calculatedly) correct.

It is in this area of social life that the individual can legitimately be accorded recognition but where it is necessary to bring those expressions of individualism which appear to pose threats to the State under control.

Control of individualism also features in the contemporaneous discussions of equality as noted by Tawney (1964:26) in a reference to an article in The Times, July 1 1940,

'... If we speak of freedom, we do not mean a rugged individualism which excludes social organisation and economic planning.'

In the forces' education programme it is the concept of citizenship and its interpretations which bridge the requirements of State and individual.

In the material of BWP and ABCA two sources of individualism which undermine the ideal model can be distinguished: those arising within a traditional family structure and which the structure itself cannot control; for example, the practice of contraception or inadequate parenting; and those which arise from factors external to the structure but threaten the traditional relationships within it; for example, the demand for female labour, the extension of equality to women and the poverty inherent in the class structure. While both sources of individualism are treated in the analysis, it is the problems associated with the concept of equality as they impinge upon the family which dominate.

Examination of the background to the forces' education programme revealed three elements which had profound implications for the articulation of familism in this educational material. First, the audience was to all intents and purposes male, with the consequence that male commitment

loomed large. Secondly, the material was expounded in an atmosphere of popular radicalism with its demands for social justice and an extension of egalitarianism. The third problem was the form of discourse within which the issues had to be resolved.

As Adam argued, the family was part of everyone's immediate experience and therefore formed the logical starting point whereby meaning could be given to the relationship of the individual to a series of increasingly wider social relations. More significantly, however, for this study, the family symbolised at the personal level all that was being fought for. It was the area which held out for all the potential of personal autonomy, individual choice, privacy and ownership.

The issue of equality touched this hallowed area in a particularly uncomfortable manner for both audience and State. State concern centred upon the labour force, both immediately and in the aftermath of war. In the short term the concern lay with the morale of the fighting force and its relationship to military efficiency. In the long term it rested with the adaptability and geographical mobility of skilled labour, the problematic post-war demand for labour, technological change which was leading to the de-skilling of jobs, and the reproduction of new labour power.

In Total War the effort and commitment of the entire population was essential. Implicitly, in return, aspirations of social justice were voiced by many sectors of the population and, as noted earlier, although largely in terms of class, were also called for by some in terms of equality between the sexes.

The audience to which the forces' education material was addressed, however, was male. It was indeed the immediate problem of male morale which was the raisen d'etre of the programme. Consequently, it is reasonable to suppose that threats to male morale (both in the immediate situation

and in the future because of import on present morale) had to be accommodated in the content of the texts.

Hence, the themes of social justice and equity raised severe moral and tactical problems for the educationalists. The logic of equality, that is the extension of equality to all social groups, inherent in the concept itself, and its application to familial and economic structures could be predicted as undermining male status, already under threat from the impact of socio-economic change.

As noted earlier, questions of social justice and equity in the re-allocation of the national distribution of wealth, privilege and power as between economic classes excited both political interest and debate amongst the troops and apprehension amongst sectors of the military hierarchy, and became the focus of discussions for a better world in terms of, for example, full employment, equal educational opportunities, income maintenance, social services and housing, applicable to all citizens.

Yet while omissions in the material of any reference to the inequalities associated with race brought protest from the civilian educationists, on the issue of the extension of equality to gender relationships in the family and labour market, they were silent and arguments in the text became obtuse.

A broad distinction can be drawn. While not ignoring the effect on relationships between individuals, issues of class and race relate to power relationships of opposing groups and categories which have a greater legitimacy, that is, are afforded a priority in patterns of thought. Furthermore, any ultimate effect on the family is in terms of its effect upon the unit (largely in terms of income). In contrast, gender equality would have direct, immediate and detailed effect upon the daily exercise of the personal and private power of the individual soldier in his family.

This was a sensitive and vulnerable area of male anxiety; for what was being challenged was not only traditional access to individual power but traditional conceptions of self. The anxiety, it may be hypothesised, was exacerbated, moreover, by a sense of powerlessness to defend a position imposed by the fact of conscription (that is, the State itself removed the individual from the locale of the action) and by a consciousness that national, and indeed personal, survival was dependent upon female labour, for which again the State was making demands.

There was, however, a further complication in that the tenets and philosophy of adult education would not allow the accommodation of such dilemmas by the strategy available in the legislative process, that is, of allocating uncomfortable issues to unpublished debate and private discussion. The problem of the extension of equality into areas which challenged the personal power of critical sectors of the labour force had to be faced within the strategy of objective presentation, the weighing of facts, and open and reasoned debate which took account of all the issues - the axioms of the adult education movement as expounded by Sir Walter Moberly in his introduction to Scarlyn Wilson's account of Forces' Education (Wilson 1949:v).

The Directorate of Army Education and the Army Bureau of Current Affairs it is proposed, constituted agencies of redefinition referred to in the analysis of the legislative process. Furthermore, inherent to the process of normative social control was the airing of the issues and the individual's coming to terms with them, that is, the assimilation of the 'right' approach through self volition, and witnessed in the emphasis placed throughout upon discussion and involvement of the audience. This is exemplified in one directive to officers, an attempt to assuage anxieties concerning lack of expertise, 'It is the duty of the Group

as a whole to provide the answers; it is not a one man job' (ABCA 1942 20:2).

Consequently, for the purposes of sustaining male commitment, the concepts of social justice and equality become neither absolute nor simple in their articulation. They are tailored to or articulated with the structural location of that audience perceived to be the most critical to the resolution of State ends. To this end they are intimately related, and indeed become part of, the familism projected in the material. This, it should be emphasised, is not to suggest that the processes involved are necessarily consciously manipulative, nor that the arguments presented are unacceptable to a female audience.

I now turn to an examination of the processes, at the level of the text,¹ by which equality and individualism (the freedoms for which we were fighting) are brought under control, orientated to State ends and made logically acceptable. In this articulation the ideal model assumes a particular form which simultaneously differs and coheres with elements of the model incorporated within the Beveridge Report.

Extraction of the elements of familism indicated that the analysis should fall into two parts: the exposition of the ideal model of the family and the context in which that exposition was set because the context infused the ideal in important ways. Consequently, each of these is examined in turn.

CONTEXT OF THE IDEAL: THE CONSTRUCTION OF RECEPTIVITY

The ideal model of the family was not set within one context but within layers of context which mutually informed each other. These contexts contributed to a specific orientation within the material which,

¹ That is to say it is not being suggested that this necessarily becomes part of, or integrated into, the individual's behaviour or attitudes.

because of its diffusion throughout the texts, served to subdue illogicalities and alternative perspectives in an unobtrusive yet sustained manner. I have called this process the construction of receptivity. In the following sections it is examined in detail.

The construction of receptivity as distinct from the reception accorded the material, which in any case is now immeasurable and of which, as noted earlier, there was little systematic attempt at measurement at the time (Summerfield 1976:38), is used to suggest the presence within the material itself of something akin to that which Smith and his colleagues denote as tone, by which they mean the 'mode of linguistic registration', of style, rhetoric and so forth by which specific newspapers (the Daily Mirror and the Express) indicate to the reader 'an evaluative 'set' or stance, towards a certain topic (or range of topics) taken by "the speaker", and (they invite) the reader to assume a similar stance' (1975: 23). The dictionary definition of receptivity is 'the ability or readiness to take in'. It is used here to indicate the empathy, the backcloth of assumptions, and reference by the text to common sense and reasonableness, which the education programme itself was attempting to educate, and in consequence of which, it may be argued, common sense itself becomes imbued with a greater authority and legitimacy. Particularly pertinent, for example, is the case of familial knowledge. Here the common sense and experience of the individual is specifically alluded to as a means of assessing the facts (although in cases where experience conflicts with state requirements, as in the case of the birth rate, more positive educational 'facts' are elucidated).

'In dealing with the family we have at least one advantage: it is not just playing with words to say that to everyone of us the topic is familiar... The family is something we know about and have opinions about, based on our own experience.'

And of the status of women and the contemporary family structure, the audience is enjoined to '... read in a mood of critical alertness what Miss Bentley writes, and ... check by your own knowledge and experience' (ABCA 1943 44:2).

Thus, the receptivity of an audience, it is argued, does not merely exist in an abstract sense, as a quality in that audience, but may be induced, at least partially, by the text itself. In other words the assumptions, drawn from aspects within the general culture and articulated in a specific way, rendered the ideal model of the family as it is presented here more readily acceptable and legitimate; audience receptivity is manipulated.

This manipulation, or construction of receptivity, falls into different patterns. In terms of discourse it is organised around different themes. These were identified as the climate of gender relationships, innate gender differences, and the family as a value.

The Climate of Gender Relationships

The character of the receptivity is intimately related to the prevailing allocation of power within society and the challenges to it. Thus, in addition to the power relations of class which, as indicated earlier, were identified as a major threat, the material was also set within the context of the power relationships of gender, also under challenge. Materially, the challenge lay in the behaviour patterns induced by the demands of the war economy and the activities of feminists, and intellectually in the logic of egalitarianism and feminist writers.

The articulation of gender relationships with the crucial (though latent) issue of male morale constitutes a specific and bounded reservoir of basic premises which, due to their diffusion, make challenge difficult

but which simultaneously inform, by entering into its construction, and sustain the ideal.

In the examination of the Beveridge material attention was drawn to two forms of textual constraint: the formal mechanisms of administrative direction and procedure and the underlying assumptions which informed the debate. Similarly, the climate of gender relationships can be located at two levels: the overall editing which constrains the material, and the content of the material itself.

Editorial Control

The proposition that the material was subject to a clear editorial perspective regarding gender relationships would be difficult to sustain unequivocally. The material was after all meant to provide the basis for discussion and airing of views, as the editors of both publications constantly reminded the discussion leaders. Thus, in the preface to the consolidated edition of The British Way and Purpose it is noted that the volume 'will in no way be the exclusive "prescribed text". (It) has no privileged status among the many possible sources of information - except that it can be made available and that it has been designed for the conditions of Army Education' (Directorate of Army Education 1944:1).

Similarly, the ABCA prefaces to the Current Affairs bulletins refer to 'the debatable matter' in the content (ABCA 1943 48:2) and 'strong and conflicting opinions' (ABCA 1942 20:ii). Consequently, the illustrations are confined to what are considered to be clear cases of intervention and control. Three were identified.

One type takes the form of boundary setting. The example is confined to W.E. Williams' editorial control and intervention. This is of special significance given the liberal status he has been accorded. A second type refers to the sequential presentation of one particular topic,

'women', and the shifts in emphasis as the war proceeded. The third type which was isolated was the presence of leading questions which did not meet the criterion of balanced presentation. In the latter case it is impossible to determine whether the result is due to positive editorial control or the absence of any.

Boundary Setting

The constraints upon the acceptable limits of gender relationships took several forms. They were, not surprisingly, most obvious when traditional relationships were challenged. The illustration here centres upon a bulletin, written by Phyllis Bentley for the ABCA publication of May 1943, which she entitled 'Women in the Post-War World' (ABCA 1943 44:4). This bulletin has special significance because, as a challenge, it is located within material which the civilian personnel at least (from whose body W.E. Williams was drawn and in which he had his intellectual and philosophical roots) premised upon the canon of intellectual integrity. While posing several threats the most serious is that which draws upon logic, the potency of which is enhanced by the liberal stance of the educational personnel. Editorial containment of egalitarianism is the focus.

The first indication of containment is in the slight alteration in title. Bentley's visionary title for her article becomes subsumed under the more prosaic one of 'Women After the War', a general title appearing on the cover of the bulletin (ABCA 1943 44:1). Her title and article follow Williams' introductory notes to officers.

Although an apparently minor change, in effect it constitutes a shift from Bentley's structural perspective to an individualistic one. The point might appear slight, especially as the article retains its structuralist cast, yet it should not be dismissed. As the analysis will demonstrate throughout this material there are numerous instances whereby

structural effects are given an individualistic base.¹

Secondly, the topic itself is accorded a special status. This is heralded in the discussion guidelines for officers by the introductory heading, 'A Controversial Subject' (ABCA 1943 44:2). Emphasis is placed upon the existence of not just opposing views, but that there may be two sides to the case which, by implication, are of equal validity and legitimacy. This, however, is cast in a special form. For example, rather than the subject being introduced as full of debatable matter, as Williams does of one of his own pamphlets (ABCA 1943 48:2), the point made here is that some of the views in the bulletin are the personal views of the writer.

'Miss Phyllis Bentley, in presenting the topic, sometimes underlines her own views. But those views need not be yours or your men's... read in a mood of critical alertness what Miss Bentley writes.'

(ABCA 1943 44:2)

No such rider accompanies his own pamphlets (ABCA 1943 48; 1944 61) or editorial comments nor those of the other individual authors: G.H. Ince, the Director General of Man-Power (ABCA 1942 20), Mrs. W.E. Williams, lecturer in economics, University of London (ABCA 1943 45).

The implications are important. Emphasis on the individual basis of the views serves to deny the message any collective authority irrespective of the status any such collectivity might enjoy. In this respect it is interesting that these views are presented by a person whose occupational status itself, as novelist, 'Miss Phyllis Bentley is the well-known author' (ABCA 1943 44:4), carries overtones of individualism if not idiosyncrasy, again irrespective of any view expressed. Why, for example, did not any of the following write the pamphlet: Dr. Edith Summerskill, M.P., Mary Agnes Hamilton, member of the Beveridge Committee, Mavis Tate, M.P., J.P.,

¹ On the specific topic of women's position after the war see, for example, W.E. Williams' elaboration of citizenship for women (ABCA 1944:61).

Florence Earengay, Barrister at Law, Caroline Haslett, C.B.E., or even Margaret Mead who was publishing and lecturing during this period on her anthropological studies which challenged assumptions of innate attributes of masculinity and femininity.¹

All were articulate feminists, but in contrast to Bentley their public status had a representative or publicly acknowledged and 'respectable' base.² From this perspective, Phyllis Bentley's status contrasts sharply with that of the other contributors in these selected bulletins.

This idiosyncratic overtone to the debate is a crucial element in the demolition of the content. The contrast with the directives attached to other bulletins is marked. For example, on other topics, officers are enjoined to 'ram home... crucial points... (such as) that this is a woman's war as much as a man's' (ABCA 1942 20:1). Similarly, other introductory comments provide aids to officers to enable them to encourage appropriate perspectives. For example, regarding the discussion treatment of the Beveridge Report, it is suggested that officers deal first with Churchill's speech, included in the same bulletin, in order 'to get into the right perspective that pattern of reconstruction in which social security is only one of the pieces to be fitted together'; that priority should be given to winning the war (Churchill apparently feared that concern with the Report deflected the war effort (Calder 969:531)) and that the constraints of the post war economy and other competing claims of reconstruction should be recognised (ABCA 1943 45:2).

¹ In September 1943, under the auspices of the British Federation of Business and Professional Women, Mead delivered a paper to the Royal Institution entitled, 'Science, Women and the Problem of Power' (Mead 1943).

² Although it has been shown earlier how Mrs. Tate's authority was circumscribed by the use of stereotypes, it must also be pointed out that I have not found any material relating to the selection of contributors other than the comments of the military personnel referred to earlier.

In contrast, the editorial directive for the treatment of the bulletin 'Women After the War' is specifically to leave the issue open and unresolved.

'Let your ABCA session on this topic be a reconnaissance rather than a legislative assembly.'

(ABCA 1943 44:2)

Paradoxically, to leave the question open enables a critique to be aimed or challenge made while simultaneously disarming it by not according it the prescriptive status of other positions. The significance of this becomes clear when set against the powerful presentation of the centrality of the male which is examined later.

The second aspect of boundary setting rests in direct editorial intervention. In this bulletin Bentley raises issues which challenge the entire import of the texts, namely the topic of egalitarianism, the inherent conflict between equality and the traditional family structure, the conflict between citizenship and motherhood, and the unsatisfactory nature of the traditional conjugal relationship (ABCA 1943 44:5-8).

Williams, in his powerful position as editor, is able not only to directly intervene in footnotes in this text and possibly some adaptation of the text itself suggested by the style of certain passages (for example, one passage comprises a list of questions and a reference to 'hammering them out' (ABCA 1943 44:12), a phrase used elsewhere by Williams in other bulletins (for example ABCA 1943 48:16)) but the bulletins which he writes following Bentley's piece, 'When the Lights Go On' (ABCA 1943 48) and 'Woman's Place' ABCA 1944 61), in many ways constitute a repost to Bentley's points.

This is seen, for example, in the redefinition of equality, the elaboration of citizenship for women and the special interpretation of women's economic activity to support a particular feminine identity which

serves State ends. This redefinition is intrinsic to the final 'interpreted' model of the family. It is analysed in detail below as is the accommodation into the 'pure' model of Bentley's criticisms of the conjugal role structure. (The terms 'pure' and 'interpreted' are explained below).

At this stage I focus upon Williams' intervention as it affects the demotion of the challenge by feminists who, it may be argued, represent the female intellectual component of the climate of gender relationships.

The logic of the feminist challenge for liberal educators is succinctly summarised by Bentley. Under the heading, 'Equality by Instalments' she writes,

'The growth of democracy and the social conscience has made us feel that all human beings have equal rights:-before the law, in voting power, in education and professional opportunities; in all, indeed, that belongs to human beings as citizens. And logic forces us to apply this principle to women'.

(ABCA 1943 44:5)

This logic is not contested, but what is implied is the inadequacy of feminists as logicians and advocates and their misinterpretation of the issue.

One of Bentley's major advocacies is the reconciliation of marriage and career for women. She suggests the systematic re-entry of married women into the work-force through a scheme of registration which could be used by employers. Given skilled domestic help, married women in the early years of motherhood could retain their own occupational skill first by practising it as a hobby and then by working on a part-time basis and, as they become increasingly available as their children grown up, gradually return to full-time employment.

Although Bentley attempts to include all classes of women by specifically referring to domestic work as a profession or skilled craft, her exposition obviously omits women employed in factories. It is hard to

conceptualise how this may be sustained as a hobby, 'although the part-time solution' carries with it, the identical attribute of economic independence (ABCA 1943 44:14-15).

Williams, however, seizes upon the oddity rather than the import of the argument. The editorial asterisk accompanies the word hobby and the footnote runs,

'This is all very well for the minority of women who enter a profession. But how does this prospect of part-time employment after marriage look to the majority of the women whose work consists of putting lids on tins or pressing buttons? Editor, Current Affairs.'

(ABCA 1943 44:15; italics original)

Williams is correct to the extent that Bentley's article does appear to refer implicitly, almost throughout, to the middle class woman with professional training.¹ However, although this bulletin, like the others, was intended as providing the basis for discussion and had already been circumscribed in the manner noted above, Williams is not content to let the inadequacy of the statement speak for itself. By introducing the dimension of class he is able to demote one form of inequality by the use of another, confining a potentially universal criticism of the effect of family structure to a specific group of women in a specific class location and thereby underlining both class antagonisms and antipathies between women.

Moreover, the inadequacy of the feminist case is taken up eight months later in a bulletin written by Williams entitled 'Woman's Place' (ABCA 1944 61). In the points which he lists regarding the assertion that

¹ The limited perspective of middle class feminists of the period has been noted by Pierce (1978). As noted this also emerged to some extent in the oral evidence submitted to the Beveridge Committee by the National Council of Women and Beveridge certainly felt that there was a different female working class perspective. Pierce suggests that the working class perspective focussed upon the hardship and lack of provision for maternity. Whether there was any fundamental structural difference still requires investigation.

'Woman's place is the home' and under what he lists as the 'sixth challenge:- to whom is it "unfair" if a married woman works', he gives the following advice in which incidentally Phyllis Bentley's authority is clearly rejected and the underlying antagonisms and threats of gender are made explicit.

'A Counter-balance

If you find that "Woman's place is the home" is rousing a one-sided opposition you might find it salutary to balance things up by taking a familiar feminist slogan to pieces.

"A Woman has a right to a Career"

This slogan is usually repeated by upper-class feminists whose women friends practice the more elegant professions - novelists, actresses, staff managers and so on. It ignores the grim fact that most women who work are inevitably employed on rather wearisome jobs such as filling bottles in factories. The feminist extremists always overlook this fact and consequently glamourise the whole discussion. Is there really anything more attractive to a woman in the prospect of a job of her own than in the prospect of a home of her own? Is this alleged "right to a career" moreover to apply in a sex-combative way?...

(ABCA 1944 61:5)

Finally, the premises upon which feminists base their argument are defined as false by fiat.

'Some Generalisations about Women

In most discussions about women there comes a point at which someone throws a hand-grenade into the debate. The well-worn phrase "woman's place is the home", for example, can be depended upon to make the argument really explosive, for it develops extremism on both sides. On the one hand it makes the Grand Turk positively livid in his affirmation that he is the superior sex and that women's role is subordinate to his. On the other hand it goads the Ultra-Feminist into the preposterous position that women have a right to do everything that men do.'

(ABCA 1944 61:3)

The inadequacy of the feminist case where the challenge to the traditional family structure and the power relationship between men and women is at its most articulate and formal is established. As noted in Bentley's article (and it is this paragraph which I suspect has been

inserted or amended by Williams to draw out the implications of Bentley's case),

'the place of women in industry after the war is one which causes the average man today great concern, for it affects not only the relationship between men and women but the whole economic structure of society.'

(ABCA 1943 44:12)

Containment by demotion undermines any serious challenge to these structures and allows for the special elaboration of equality in the exposition of the ultimate ideal model of the family. Furthermore, the treatment of the feminist case defines, to the detriment of women, not only the intellectual component of the challenge but also the intellectual balance between the sexes in the dialogue associated with gender: criticism arising from women themselves is based upon false premises.

Control over Presentation

The ABCA bulletins, as their title Current Affairs implies, dealt with topics of immediate interest. In the six bulletins which were extracted because of their familistic content, a second type of editorial control can be identified. A pattern in the presentation of women can be traced from June 1942 to January 1944 intimately related to the two apparently competing demands of the State - present and future manpower - both dependent upon women: the first in the form of labour and the second in the need to increase the birth rate.

The development of these themes, the prominence they are accorded at different times, and their ultimate reconciliation is briefly outlined below. A full account of their content is entered into later. First, as noted earlier, the manpower shortage made the recruitment of women to the workforce urgent. By October 1941 it was estimated that 2,850,000 men and women were needed. By 1943, it was almost impossible for a

woman under forty to avoid war work unless she had heavy family responsibilities and registration for some form of war service was extended to women up to the age of 51. In January 1942 a Control of Engagement Order blocked the possibility of women undertaking inessential jobs when directed to essential ones; in mid-1942 all conscripted women born between 1920 and 1921 were withdrawn from certain jobs (Calder 1969: 237; 268) and put into uniform and wide appeals were made to married women to take up part-time work.

This urgent need for manpower was reflected in a bulletin, June 1942, devoted to an explanation of the recruitment and employment of women in the war effort. G.H. Ince, Director General of Manpower, Ministry of Labour and National Service, explains the necessity for and details of women's employment and points to the remaining reservoir of labour - the part-time work of married women - 'women who in peace-time would never have dreamed of going outside their homes to do a wage-earning job' (ABCA 1942 20:10).

Thus, while giving assurances that women are still firmly located in their traditional family role; that, for example, the wives of servicemen are not directed into jobs away from home; that 'Home comes First' -

'It is the normal thing for women to marry, and their principle job in society has been to make homes and bear children and bring them up properly. This is essential work.'

(ABCA 1942 20:16)

- yet the text comprises an urgent hectoring plea for men to release or redirect their control over women because while their

'domestic responsibilities... are given every consideration... a large number of the women who are essentially housewives have quite considerable amounts of time and energy to spare, and if the war effort is to be maintained they must be utilised.'

(ABCA 1942 20:10)

Furthermore, according to Williams' introduction,

'Much of the dislike many women have of going to war work is due to the fact that their men don't approve.'

(ABCA 1942 21:2)

and the essential normality of women in employment is emphasised.

'Most Women Have been Wage Earners

This is not something new. Women did just as many unusual jobs in the last war - And even in peace-time most women are wage earners for some part of their lives.'

(ABCA 1942 21:3)

A year later, May 1943, Phyllis Bentley, in the bulletin referred to earlier, articulates the feminist challenge to the inegalitarian structure of society and the contemporary family.

Although arguing against 'a marriage system so ill-adapted to modern conditions' (ABCA 1943 44:7), interestingly no fundamental change in the family structure is advocated. A prime position and naturalness is still accorded marriage; thus marriage

'is a fundamental institution which all normal human beings of both sexes desire... The spinster... who earns a living, follows a career and does not experience marriage and motherhood, even though self-respecting, self-supporting and useful to the community is, of course, necessarily incomplete and dissatisfied'.

(ABCA 1943 44:6,7)

Furthermore, the allocation of responsibility for children, domestic work and servicing of the male, 'her eternal function as wife and mother' (ABCA 1943 44:5) is still to remain predominantly with the woman (ABCA 1943 44:12) although she would like to see comparable domestic training for boys (partially so that boys and girls receive identical allocations of curriculum time for the other aspects of their education) and equal educational opportunity for boys and girls (ABCA 1943 44:12).

In an analysis of the asymmetrical and unsatisfactory nature of the traditional family structure, which many consider to be natural (ABCA 1943 44:6), she examines marriage from the male and female point of

view. 'The most compatible form of marriage, at present, for a man, is one where his wife regards home-making as a full-time job' yet the penalty he pays is the boredom experienced in his wife's company (ABCA 1943 44:6). A woman is faced with dilemmas at all levels due to the uncertainty of marriage whether she assumes it is to be her profession and trains accordingly or if she trains for a career outside marriage. In the first instance non-marriage throws her untrained and helpless onto the labour market, in the second instance marriage means that she must abandon her career (or be criticised as a neglectful mother) and devote herself to domesticity for which she may have no inclination or training (ABCA 1943 44:6-7); a situation which does not apply to men. Furthermore, total domesticity means economic dependence upon the male (ABCA 1943 44:6,16).

In addition she urges the revaluation of domestic work which, no longer despised, would release mothers of several young children (by the decent remuneration of domestic help) from what amounts to a dehumanising situation which effectively denies them full citizenship (ABCA 1943 44:9). She argues,

'... the process of motherhood deprives the woman for a time of exercising some of her citizen's rights... the modern young mother ... finds it difficult to be mother of several children, intelligent and humane (that is have an intellectual and social awareness)... (she could be any two of those things but not all three).'

(ABCA 1943 44:8)

What she wishes to see is women as full partners with men, undertaking and allowed to take, their full share of responsibilities and rewards (ABCA 1943 44:8). The logic of egalitarianism on which she bases her claim has already been noted. She additionally supports her case by arguing that there are more similarities than differences between men and women;

'that while it would be idle to deny that women and men have certain

well-marked psychological as well as physical differences, it must be stressed that many of these differences, apparent hitherto, have come from different training, different taboos and conventions, not from basic biology'.

(ABCA 1943 44:15)

This bulletin represents the peak of any expression of change.

Although these two bulletins still retain the traditional pattern or allocation of responsibilities, yet the potential for change is present and to the fore although de-emphasised in Ince's piece.

In the ensuing four bulletins the emphasis changes, progressively narrowing the potential horizons until, in the final bulletin by William, women are structurally and culturally located in their pre-war familial position but with, it must be emphasised, important expansions in the civic and economic components of their role. The stages in the process are as follows.

Despite the emphasis accorded the position of women in employment by Ince and Bentley, the bulletin on social security by Mrs. W.E. Williams, which immediately follows Bentley's, is centrally concerned (as was Beveridge) with the family man (ABCA 1943 45). Women appear here as relative creatures, as wives, widows and mothers. Women as individual contributors are mentioned twice: one to observe that in the obtaining Health Insurance Scheme the contribution differs only by sex (ABCA 1943 45:11) and, in the extraction from the Beveridge Report, that women's contributions are lower than men's because men pay for the benefits of housewives (ABCA 1943 45:17).

In a bulletin of the following month, 'When the Lights Go On' (ABCA 1943:48) a series of questions is raised and brought to bear upon a central dilemma - the need for maximum production in the post war world (that is, the need for a large labour force) and the quality of family life.

In this bulletin Williams sustains the problems raised by Ince and Bentley, irrespective of any notion of egalitarianism, but simultaneously keeps the familial role of women to the fore much more prominently than did Ince earlier in that Ince did not pose this as a dilemma. Thus, he dismisses male fears of women undermining male employment as 'an old scare-crow' (ABCA 1943 48:9) and deflects the threat to the sexual division of labour within the family with connotations regarding power and service latent in the words 'matrimonial felicity'. He asks,

'... does an army of women workers extract too high a price in other ways - decline in housewifely arts and responsibilities, in the birth-rate, in matrimonial felicity, in 'womanliness' and so on? But, remember, if you want to reduce woman's part in industry you must also be prepared to reduce your share of the nation's industrial profit - you must be prepared to reduce your standard of living. It's a complex problem with no easy answer'.

(ABCA 1943 48:10)

Thus the dilemma is nicely shifted from egalitarianism and family, to economy and family while retaining the crucial elements of female participation in the labour force. 'We must remember' he observes at a later point in this bulletin, when the merits and demerits of public eating arrangements, allowed by the setting up of British Restaurants during war time, are juxtaposed to private family meals taken at home, 'that the basic social unit is, in fact, the family' (ABCA 1943 48:14). Egalitarianism and individualism have dropped away.

A second aspect of this re-orientation occurs the following month in a bulletin entitled 'The Trouble with Germans' (ABCA 1943 49). This marks the beginning of the particular definition of citizenship for women and takes the form of an implicit comparison of the conditional citizenship of German women and the freedom of choice enjoyed by British women. Summarising a quotation from Hitler's Mein Kempf it is observed,

'... women in the Nazi State are regarded primarily as breeders. They are not expected to take part in politics. A woman does not acquire full citizenship until she has borne a child...

a childless woman of 25 or over is regarded as a shame and a burden to the State - she has not fulfilled her function.'

A quotation from Alfred Rosenberg,¹ The Mythus (sic) of the 20th Century,

is drawn upon,

'The German Reich of the future will have to regard the childless woman, regardless of whether or not she is married, as an incomplete member of the national commonwealth.'

and Williams comments,

'Women who are not about to bear children or who have no children to look after, either because they are childless, or because they have handed their children over to the care of the State, work in factories or on the land.'

Finally, a quotation is taken from Ernest Bergmann, professor of philosophy at Leipzig,

'Life-long monogomy is perverse and would prove harmful to the race... Every reasonably constructed state will have to regard a woman who has not given birth as dishonoured. There are plenty of willing and qualified youths ready to unite with the girls and women on hand. Fortunately, one boy of good race suffices for 20 girls. And the girls for their part would gladly fulfil the demand for children were it not for the nonsensical so-called civilised idea of the monogamous permanent marriage, an idea in complete contradiction to all natural facts.'

(ABCA 1943 49:14-15)

Williams comments, 'love and fidelity in marriage becomes of secondary importance.'

Just as this is presented as threat to British women, Mason (1976:21) in a paper dealing with Germany's dilemma between pro-natalism and the shortage of manpower, draws attention to the fact that the German mobilisation of women for production remained much less efficient than in Britain, and British policies in this sphere were often held up by Nazi leaders who were prepared to risk the enforcement of stronger measures

¹ Alfred Rosenberg, a doctrinaire theorist represented a challenge within the National Socialist Party to the more pragmatic, flexible and politically sensitive Joseph Goebbels, the Minister of People's Enlightenment and Propaganda, a ministry created in 1933. Goebbels despised Rosenberg and described the Myth of the Twentieth Century as an 'ideological belch' (Balfour 1979:43-44).

as an example and a warning.

Finally, Williams' bulletin of January 1944 'Woman's Place' provides an amplification of the British woman's freedom and citizenship, implicitly providing a contrast with that of women in Nazi Germany and a repost to the criticisms raised by Phyllis Bentley.

This is analysed closely later in this chapter as it constitutes the substance of the ultimate model of the family. It suffices here to say that the components of the issue - egalitarianism, citizenship, woman's place in the workforce and the burdens of domestic life, are subject to processes of re-interpretation which sustain a traditional family structure while simultaneously retaining the use and potential use of married women in the labour force.

In the later stages of the war, therefore, the issues which it highlighted and gave voice had been brought firmly back into line in a particularly useful form. The particular mechanisms outlined here, suggest a control over receptivity by control over the presentation of a specific issue.

Format

The final mechanism identified as demonstrating an editorial control with implications for gender relationships was the use of didactic statements and leading questions. The examples are taken from the BWP pamphlets where the form in which the material is set out - information and discussion questions - lends itself to this particular mode of articulation. Thus one question for discussion reads, 'Do you approve of married women having independent careers?' (BWP 1943 13:383). The value of the family, and a particular structural form, is implied in the question, 'Have these changes weakened the family? If they have what is there for us to do about it?' (BWP 1943 13:384). And assumptions regarding

gender remain unchallenged when the question of war work by women with young children is raised, who work

'... out of patriotism, or to carry on their husbands' jobs if, for instance, he was a small shop-keeper, or for financial reasons... In the absence of adequate arrangements, all the children would be bound to suffer, the greatest burden falling on the eldest girl who would have to cope with shopping, preparing the meals and looking after the smaller children'.

(BWP 1943 13:392)

On the issue of population a consensus is assumed, 'Most people will agree that the trends towards an ageing and seriously declining population should be checked' (BWP 1943 13:384).

While it may be argued that an open discussion could reject such formulations and question their premises, this presentation suggests a specific stance and does set boundaries which have to be consciously stepped outside by a conceptual reorientation on the part of the audience.

The Orientating Assumptions

The orientating assumptions comprise small and apparently trivial detail which, by this very fact, provide a cumulative and sustained infusion into the text and, it should be emphasised, over a period of years. It could be argued that such minutiae comprise a major strength. They fell into three major categories: the centrality of the male; ownership, control and power; and women as problems.

The Centrality of the Male

The male is central to the identification of the audience, language and the use of specific concepts. As noted, contemporary commentators drew attention to the male orientation of the material and the segregation of audiences by gender. It suffices here to observe that this was given explicit recognition in the ABCA introductory notes for officer instructors. Even in the small number of bulletins which were isolated for this study

the situation is represented. A few examples will illustrate this.

The introduction to the bulletin entitled 'A Woman's Place' states, for example,

'There is a special liability in the Army to discuss everything from the man's point of view - mainly because the women aren't there to speak for themselves. So wherever the A.T.S. can share in the discussion, so much better the chance of a balanced argument.'

It is instructive to contrast this statement with the attempts of the Y.W.C.A. representative to shift such a perspective even when they were there to speak for themselves (as noted earlier), and examples of balance consist of men concentrating on the placing of garages and arterial roads while women argue about the best height for a kitchen sink or running hot water, suggesting discrete spheres of male and female competence (ABCA 1944 61:2).

At the end of another bulletin a list of discussion topics is introduced with the suggestion that they are of a kind which

'an officer can raise with his men at any odd moment e.g. night watch on Coast Battery, fall out period during a wiring job... (or which) A.T.S. women may like to talk over during Make and Mend'.

(ABCA 1942 20:iii)

In a bulletin devoted to post-war Britain, the officer is requested to,

'Get your men or your auxiliaries to continue this balance (of the reciprocity of duties of parent and State towards children) as far as their interest takes them.'

(ABCA 1943 48:13)

In addition, or perhaps inevitably, directives to officers are often couched in the masculine. For example, 'These need not be your views nor your men's...' (ABCA 1943 44:2); 'It is... elementary wisdom on his part to get this bulletin thoroughly digested before he embarks on a discussion with his men' (ABCA 1943 45:3).

'Their purpose (the discussions)... will be to clarify men's minds about the world we are fighting for and to send them back to their

duty with a deeper determination to win the war hands down.'

(ABCA 1943 48:2)

The Use of Language and Definition

Use of the masculine which merged conventional usage with assumptions of male occupancy of specific (and general) statuses was closely analysed in the Beveridge data.

However, doubts that conventional usage automatically includes women with the rubric men are raised by the fact that the Director General of Man Power of the Ministry of Labour and National Service deems it necessary in an explanation of the country's desperate position to state, under the heading 'Man-power in Total War', 'Into the term man-power please read also woman-power.' (ABCA 1942 20:2)

Nevertheless, comparable instances occur throughout this material and, while not providing a detailed elaboration which would repeat the earlier analysis, it is important to draw attention to their presence. Although the use is general it is their presence rather than consistent use which is important. The similarity of their flavour may be obtained from the following examples.

In the definition of responsible citizenship, A.D.K. Owen uses the masculine throughout and, although inequalities of gender are raised elsewhere in the texts, gender does not constitute one of the divisions which must be looked to in a definition of democracy.

'Democracy... implies that every man - whatever his race, colour or creed - should be given an equal opportunity of realising the best that is in him.'

(BWP 1942 1:14,17)

There is also the similar relating of what could be defined as general concerns, independent of gender, to the family man, the soldier or men. For example, the discussions of citizenship include headings such

as 'What a man wants' and continue with reference to the 'health and happiness of his children and a constructive leisure for himself' (ABCA 1943 48:10).

'The soldier will want to know in particular how he may benefit from further education, and how his children may get the best that is possible.'

(BWP 1942 2:66)

There are references in BWP to 'the allowances paid by the government to the families of mobilised men' and 'providing for the soldier's family, although under certain conditions there will now be 'Dependants' Allowances for those who have been dependent on persons now in the Army' (BWP 1943 13:393).

Attention has already been drawn to the distinction that was made between the soldier and the auxiliary. There was also the assumption among the military hierarchy that women had no dependants although circumstances forced them to recognise this to be false. Writing of the difficulty in shifting official opinion Wood (1943:118) observes that in 1939 it was considered unnecessary to arrange dependants' allowances for women entering the auxiliary services or courses of training for war work. The position, however, proved untenable and allowances had to be granted

'because so many of the recruits most inconsiderately proved they had dependants, but the dent made on official opinion is still invisible to the naked eye'

The male image is pervasive. A discussion of 'Education for Industrial Needs' includes the observation that 'a happy life depends as much on choosing the right job as the right wife' (BWP 1942 2:75); and in the booklet by A.D. Lindsay, 'What More is Needed of the Citizen?', under the heading, 'Does Man Live by Bread Alone?', the following leaves little doubt that the image is male, 'We want a decent standard of living, a nice house

and a bit of a holiday now and then with the wife and children' (BWP 1943 12:363).

This is not to suggest that men and women do not appear in the texts as individuals. They do in such comments as,

'It is the moral responsibility of every member of the community whether male or female, in peace as in war, to take an active part in the affairs of the world'.

(ABCA 1944 61:11)

and, for example, in references to young men's and women's handicaps which have to be remedied before they can take their place in the army (BWP 1943 10:297); that education must help us to become good men and women, good parents, good workers and good citizens although as this is developed distinctions are drawn between industry and domestic work, breadwinner and housewives (BWP 1943 11:324-5); that men and women suffered from unemployment in pre-war Britain (ABCA 1943 48:3); that householders and their wives or husbands have the vote (BWP 1943 8:229); that conscription for industry has included both men and women up to 50 years of age (BWP 1944 14:411); that 'the hope (that) this war... will lead us forward will largely depend on men and women in the Forces (ABCA 1943 48:4); that 'society wants plenty of freedom of choice, and power for men and women to carry out their choices' (BWP 1943 12:366), and that 'men and women see evils in society and plan to get rid of them' (BWP 1943 12:361).

The point to be made here is rather the general orientation to the male which infuses the text. This may be afforded syntactical support by the fact, for example, that it is women and not men who appear in parenthesis (BWP 1942 1:13) and, materially, women appear in specific rather than general statuses, as appendages to men or not at all. A few illustrations will serve to demonstrate this. In a discussion of citizenship woman becomes synonymous with housewife (ABCA 1944 61:12); settlers take their wives and families to new continent (BWP 1944 16:485); and in Mrs. Williams' account of social security, a key document

in an egalitarian sense, the relationship between State and individual is transposed to the relationship between State and the man and his family.

'Social Security must be achieved by co-operation between the State and the individual... The State... should leave room and encouragement for voluntary action by each individual to provide more than that minimum for himself and his family.'

(ABCA 1943 45:14)

As noted, women appear rarely or in their relationships to men (ABCA 1943 45:11,17). References to the single woman employ such evocative phrases as the 'so called million surplus women' between the wars (ABCA 1944 29:7) and their enforced state as 'childless spinsters' (BWP 1943 6:205).

Similarly, the referent in the material on taxation is the family man (BWP 1943 7:261-262) contrasting sharply with Wood's (1943:112-116) critique of the taxation system as it affects women.

'In fact, any man can greatly reduce the burden of taxation for himself by deciding not to spend his income upon... liquor, tobacco and entertainment, i.e., those indirectly taxed items.'

(BWP 1943 7:262)

Furthermore, even when inhabiting the same structures in an identical capacity to that of men, or formerly held by men, there are differences in the presentation of male and female.

As noted, constant distinctions are drawn between soldier and auxiliary. Although indispensable to the war effort, and despite the claim by ABCA that the conscription of women demonstrated a belief in equality—the actual comment affirming that 'Britain is the only country in the world to call up women for the Forces' runs,

'... and it's something to be proud of, for it proves that we really believe in the quality (sic) of rights and duties between men and women.'

(ABCA 1942 20:1, italics added)

I have interpreted this as meaning equality - nevertheless, the definition

of auxiliary is helper, subsidiary.

In a section on industry a heading, 'What has happened to the Worker', is accompanied by a stick figure of the male recognisable by his cap (BWP 1944 14:416). This contrasts with a following section entitled, 'What has Been the Effect of Women on Industry', accompanied by a stick figure of a woman recognisable by turban and skirt (BWP 1944 14:418). Thus the infusion of work roles with gender is sustained in the pictorial image, and the differential impact of gender upon work place and work roles nicely implied.

In addition in the area of values Lindsay refers to what would apparently constitute universally applicable concepts. However, in the explication of what he maintains is the universal absolute of natural justice he demonstrates that such absolutes in fact only embrace the male. Thus while the universal rules which the 'Just Man' must observe

'are not confined to any single group or country. They are human, universal, and they take us beyond loyalty to our own community. They form what have been called the laws of natural justice',

an illustration of such a rule is, 'protecting women and children'

(BWP 1943 12:365).

The Male as the Standard

The centrality of men is more deeply affirmed by using the male, whether adequate or not, as the criterion against which women are measured when they venture outside the home whether into industry or community. Although it is acknowledged, for example, that in both skills and attitude women in industry have achieved (ABCA 1943 44:13) and in some cases surpassed the competence of men, this measure constantly intrudes. The important point however, is not the adequacy or not of either sex but that the male is the point of reference.

Thus, for example, G.H. Ince writes, at a period when there was a

critical demand for women to enter industry, of women performing the jobs previously done by men,

'... all of them are doing work that was usually thought of as men's work, and all of them doing it just as cheerfully and efficiently as the men did.'

(ABCA 1942 20:4)

Phyllis Bentley writes,

'Women have shown themselves capable of performing many of the jobs in industry performed by men.'

(ABCA 1943 44:12)

And Williams poses the following,

'Women certainly have taken over many jobs which men used to do - and in some of them they are as good as men... some people think they are better at some of these jobs than the men used to be. Are they, for example, better bus conductresses? Are they particularly good at precision engineering?'

(ABCA 1943 48:9)

In the introductory notes for instructors he poses the question, 'Are they capable of equalling men as bus drivers, tram conductors?' (ABCA 1943 44:2); and despite his acknowledgement, both in the text (ABCA 1944 61:14) and in published comments, referred to earlier, of the apathy of men towards the responsibilities of and knowledge of citizenship, Williams retains men as the standard rather than advocating a higher general standard for both men and women.

Thus, on women's attitude to community responsibilities and their education he observes,

'What is too often lacking is the social conscience and the civic determination to apply (their capacities)¹ to the job of making a better village or a better world. To suggest that this dereliction is solely a woman's weakness would be absurd, for men as a whole are also a long way from the fulfilment of their minimum civic duties, and responsibilities. But men are less liable to plead, when pressed, that "they aren't up to it" or "they can't understand it." If women are to play their part in government, local or national, they must bestir themselves to make no less an effort than men to keep

¹ The way Williams describes these capacities is referred to in detail below.

in touch with the issues of the day. But the emphasis must be on effort.'

(ABCA 1944 61:14)

It will be seen later how, alongside this masculine standard, lie assumptions of the biological chasm of innate gender differences.

Ownership Control and Power

The mirror of this underlying male standard lies in an assumption intimately linked with it: male power. Embedded within the material is a pervasive recognition of male ownership, control and arbitration in a variety of spheres.

Ownership of the Occupational World

The text gives recognition to the pivotal nature of the employment of men, particularly in their role as breadwinner. This is demonstrated in the analysis of the ideal model of the family. Here, however, I draw attention to the additional sense of male ownership of the occupational world. This dominance is apparent not only in terms of male occupational territory, that is, of existing distinct labour markets which are traditional but also regulated by formal war time agreements between union and government (Douie 1949:10), but also in the sense of general and intimate male control over the entire labour force per se, that is a control extending to unmarried as well as married women. Irrespective of the outcome of male control and the demands of the economy either during the war time period or in the post-war economy, that male attitudes had an effect on female labour supply was given official recognition in these documents.

Evidence that jobs were considered personal male property is found in the following: officers are urged to 'ram home to their men' the point that 'by sharing our work with women, we may rid ourselves of nonsensical

notions about them' (ABCA 1942 20:2, italics added).

Referring to the fears of soldiers the comments take such forms as, for example, '... the fear of married soldiers that women will be entrenched in their jobs' (ABCA 1944 61:5, italics added).

'Thousands of soldiers are going about believing that their jobs have been permanently taken from them by women and that women will not be able to look after them on this account.'

(ABCA 1943 48:9, italics added)

Of the workforce as a whole it is men who are to ponder the cost of their rejection of women in industry in terms of their personal standard of living, 'If you don't want women in industry you'll have to lower your standard of living' (ABCA 1943 48:9).

'Remember, if you want to reduce women's part in industry, you must also be prepared to reduce your share of the nation's industrial profit - you must be willing to reduce your standard of living.'

(ABCA 1943 48:10)

As will be seen (ABCA 1944 61) these appeals to self interest contrast sharply with the form the message takes when addressed to women or on the attitudes to work which women should adopt.

This notion of possession is subtly reflected in the image of conscripted men leaving empty places in industry which others temporarily fill. For example, the purpose of the Schedule of Reserved Occupation it is explained, is

'... to reserve skilled men who could train other men and especially women, so that the latter would be ready to take the empty places when the time comes to call up more men'

(BWP 1944 14:405);

and that in the last war, 'we had to call up millions of men, to bring women into their places, to train and dilute labour...' (BWP 1944 14:421);

and 'women are running homes and taking the place of men in industry'

(BWP 1943 8:250). Furthermore, in the explication of women's contribution to the war, their work is always defined as helping their men.¹

'Let each one of us see that their effort is not hampered in any way by any failure on our part to realise what an essential part they are playing, and that they are doing it because it is their way of helping their men in the Forces to fight with better equipment and to come home sooner.'

(ABCA 1943 20:12)

This image of male ownership has its counterpart in women's sphere in two ways: first, in the emphasis that is constantly placed upon the maintenance of the performance of a woman's traditional tasks in the home, of raising children and servicing men, and the dual nature of her wartime role; secondly, by emphasis on the abnormality of war: women's roles are not to be re-thought but the content altered by including additional elements while simultaneously retaining the old patterns of identity.

Male Control over Women

That women are subject to control by both the State and the male is explicit in this material. This is not to deny or ignore that men were massively subject to State control.² What is at issue here is that the State direction of women as it is presented in these texts, that is, in the context of male morale, constantly affirms gender relationships with the male as dominant. The following excerpts illustrate this latter sensibility of the State.

'Married women with homes to run, but without young children, however, must undertake work in their home locality. We do not require the wives of men serving the Armed Forces or the Merchant Navy to go to work beyond daily travelling distance of their homes.'

(ABCA 1942 20:7)

'Single women and women without home responsibilities have been called for service before the married women with husbands and homes to look after... (and) asked to do things which wives and mothers

¹ This image is strongly represented in the advertisements of the period both civilian and official.

² The Emergency Powers (Defence) Act (May 1940) gave the government complete control over the persons and property of all classes of the community (Douie 1949:10).

are not expected to do - leave home, for instance, and go to distant war factories...)

(ABCA 1942 20:6)

'I must stress,' Ince continues, 'that in guiding the flow of women into the war-work the government has taken great care to safeguard the country's homes and children.'

(ABCA 1942 20:7)

However, in tandem with this careful presentation of the traditional home base to allay the fears of men away from home, the rationale of the bulletin from which these quotations are taken lies also in the recognition by the authorities of the necessity for men not to relax their control over women, but to use that control to further the war effort. It could, of course, be argued that the State sought to maintain a fiction of male dominance in order to boost male morale. There might be an element of this, but, as the analysis of the Beveridge data showed, traditional patterns of dominance were in the process of being sustained for the long term future by means of legally supported sanctions. Certainly at the time, that women were conscious that their activities were subject to constraint by husbands' opinions and expectations even in their absence is demonstrated in letters to women's magazines. Evelyn Home's page in Woman, for example, contains appeals for advice regarding husbands in the forces who disapprove of their wives working and demand that they either relinquish their jobs now or immediately peace is declared (see, for example Woman, 1942 26 Dec., 1943 13 March; 1 May).

As will be seen, there was an assumption both in these documents, and in the views of civil servants,¹ that men not only had opinions about what

¹ In a letter to Sir Thomas Phillips prior to the publication of the White Paper on Social Insurance, P.N. Harvey of the Government Actuary's department broached the idea of 'ascertaining the views of women on paying an additional contribution to enable spinsters to have a pension at 55'. He then raises the inherent problems,

'... Another point which occurs to me is that to the extent

women should do, and a control over that activity, but also a control over what women should be allowed to express. This cultural expectation of a dominant group is further sustained by the form the problem takes in these texts. The topic 'Women at War', the ABCA bulletin with the express purpose of releasing women from normative controls to facilitate participation in the industrial labour force, is, for example, introduced as

'a subject on which many of your men will have strong and conflicting opinions. Some of them will argue the old-fashioned notion that 'Woman's place is in the home'. Others may feel aggrieved because a sister or a girl-friend has had to leave home and go to work in a factory 100 miles away.'

(ABCA 1942 20:ii)

This introduction supplies a series of 'abbreviated but dependable answers 'to the questions men might raise. The following is a reply to one such question: why 'young married women without children (are never called up) especially those with husbands in the forces' (ABCA 1942 20:1).

'One reason is that too many of those very husbands (and lovers) have antiquated notions about their women, and insist on giving themselves needless headaches about the calamities which, they imagine, might befall those women in the services.'

(ABCA 1942 20:1)

A hint that the reason might be related to the control of women's sexuality appears in the introductory summary of points. This specifically relates to women in the services; the A.T.S. in particular had a bad reputation for moral laxity¹ but no doubt the fear could be generalised to all instances where women now entered the public domain, and it will be seen

(footnote continued from previous page)

that any of the women included in the sample population are married their husbands may take the view that they have an interest in the matter; in other words the question is not wholly one for women.'

(PRO 1945 PIN 8/69 4 April)

¹ The report of the Committee on Amenities and Welfare in the Three Women's Services noted that widespread rumours of immorality and drunkenness were not borne out by the facts (Douie 1949:26).

how it emerges from the female point of view in the women's magazines of the period.

'Don't tolerate the catty tittle-tattle which many grown men spread about women in uniform. If men in uniform had as few black marks against them as the women, they'd be as exemplary as Cromwell's Ironsides.'

(ABCA 1942 20:2)

Thus, one of the crucial points which officers are asked to 'ram home' is that,

'Much of the dislike many women have of going to war-work is due to the fact that their men don't approve. If the men will back the women in those duties and difficulties which war brings to the nation, the women will go to it gladly.'

(ABCA 1042 20:2)

The legitimacy and validity of male opinion is given credence in other instances. Thus although, as noted earlier, while the presence of women in the ABCA discussion groups is alleged to add a new dimension to the debate, men are nonetheless considered capable of answering a questionnaire in lieu of their wives.

'Here is a simple questionnaire which many soldiers can answer on their wives' behalf and which many A.T.S. can answer for themselves.'

(ABCA 1044 61:12)

This questionnaire is related to what affects the housewife in her daily life and covers facilities in the home, public utilities, health services and schools. The survey literature of the period, however, suggests that men, however well intentioned, had little idea of the burden of daily life for the housewife (Spring-Rice 1939:104).¹

Furthermore, women's activities, unlike those of men's, can be raised as moral issues. Later it will be shown how the issue of married women working is intimately linked to the conception of the family as 'the basic

¹This is discussed more fully in relation to the models of family life available to the young working class readers of True Romance.

social unit of the society', which must not be forgotten,

'... after all, no matter how much we develop the wide community sense we must remember that the basic social unit is, in fact, the family.'

(ABCA 1943 48:14)

Here the audience is asked, 'Do you approve of married women having independent careers?' (BWP 1943 13:383); and on the position and role of women, 'Before we pronounce on what she ought to do...' (ABCA 1944 61:16).

These last two fragments illustrate a further element of male centrality in this climate of gender relationships. Women, unlike men, can be isolated as specific objects for discussion. There is an addition a subtle undercurrent in that, where women are the audience and where a topic specifically relates to women, women themselves are thereby orientated to the objectification of themselves: in other words, women are to discuss themselves as problems. An examination of titles and subheadings serves to indicate this: 'Women at War', 'Women after the War', 'Woman's Place', 'The Woman Bogey', 'Hitler and the Gentle Sex' (ABCA 1942 20; 1943 44; 1944 61; 1943 48:9; 1943 49:13).

The details, of this construction of receptivity, therefore, provides a continuous referent, infusing any debate at a level which rarely needs to be articulated. It can be implicitly drawn upon as commonly held ground when discussing any subject and provides an 'unquestioning' support when other rationales are not easily available. Furthermore, it infuses an orientation into apparently neutral statements and concepts such as citizen, equal opportunity and individual development, as for example in the BWP bulletin entitled 'Education and the Citizen' (1943 11:324-325).

Innate Gender Differences

In the articulation of gender differences a different type of authority and kind of knowledge is drawn upon. The sexual division of labour is legitimised by 'scientific' knowledge or facts, revealed in the credence afforded the postulate of innate gender differences. This knowledge emerges in the authoritative context of the section¹ in BWP devoted to education, written by E.S. Roberts, late headmaster of Devizes Secondary School and T.R. Weaver of the Directorate of Army Education (BWP 1943 11).

Juxtaposed to teaching methods which rely upon instruction or conditioning, 'the Plant and Garden Method' is specifically advocated as the most realistic preparation for the world despite its critics. Additional educational authorities, Montessori and Dalton, proponents of specific teaching methods are drawn upon in legitimation (BWP 1943 11:354-357). Furthermore, the innate qualities of gender specific development are implicitly linked in the articulation to those qualities of life for which the war is being fought, individuality and freedom.

'The key words in this method are development and freedom... The child is regarded as a growing plant, with a sense of direction of its own, which needs nourishment, freedom to grow and suitable surroundings... (the teacher) studies the child to discover what needs and interests and tendencies develop so that he can work with and not against them (and) uses the natural urges of the child as a means of education (via) the Playway... (This) has been described as 'Nature's mode of education'... Dogs learn how to fight by playing at fighting when they are puppies. Children's play is more varied. For example, boys play at soldiers or Red Indians; girls play at shops or nurse dolls and dress them. There is behind all they do a fund of natural energy that keeps them at it without any compulsion from outside, because they are satisfying natural instincts.

(BWP 1943 11:356)

Interestingly, although gender related skills are noted, often this is unaccompanied by any reference to a specific gender allocation. The allocation remains largely implicit within a developmental view of the

¹ A chapter of the initial BWP booklets was devoted to education but dealt with the education structure and provision (BWP 1942 2).

individual.

'And now as grown ups, we still see signs of these instinctive trends in what we do. We direct our wits and energies towards certain ends. Instead of exploring the nursery we are keen to go overseas; instead of going about in gangs we join a society or a trade union; instead of playing with dolls, we marry and have children. So we may say that as part of our nature we inherit certain energies and powers of mind and body which are making us grow and change.'

(BWP 1943 11:323, italics original)

An indication of the lack of any felt necessity to substantiate what amounts to either description or theory may perhaps be understood by referring to two comments made in the post-war period. The first is in a collection of papers (Marchant n.d.), on the family after the war (compiled about 1945) which includes papers by Richard Titmuss, W.B. Reddaway and Sir John Boyd Orr and an introduction by Lord Horder. The collection draws upon contemporaneous research and statistics. It has, therefore, a certain academic status.

Dr. Eliot Slater, the joint author of the war time study of soldiers' marriages (1951) and whose views therefore, are extremely pertinent both for this audience and as an indication of authoritative opinion, observes of the psychological aspects of family life, 'The sexes are as different as different species, certainly more different than, say, the white man and the yellow' (Slater n.d.: 98).

Similarly, Dr. Eustace Chesser, referred to earlier as a key figure¹ in the articulation of familial knowledge and, as noted, one who is conceived and conceives himself as introducing a degree of enlightenment into the areas of sexuality which are available for public debate, defines men and women as sexually, emotionally and functionally different.

¹ In a personal communication Margery Proops, who ran the advice column in the Daily Mirror from 1952, says she consulted Chesser who lent her many books in the 50's and early 60's and she read all that he wrote. She says that Chesser's books were popular among ordinary readers for he wrote in a style which could be easily digested and understood (1978 16 March).

'(The sexes) may be equal; they are definitely not alike. The functions allotted by Nature create a difference which cannot safely be disregarded... the economic woman (bases) her demands upon the erroneous impression that the two sexes are exactly alike.'

(Chesser 1949:77,78)

Thus although education is presented in the philosophical stream of the education of the whole individual it is informed by the dichotomous assumption of the culture.

'We Must Educate the Whole Man

... if we single out, say, industry or domestic work from all our activities, we shall say that the purpose of education is to produce good workmen or good housewives, or to get us good jobs. It is all of these things, but surely much more than these. We are not simply breadwinners or housewives. We are first of all human beings.'

(BWP 1943 11:325)

The assumption is also carried into other areas of authoritative expertise. For example, the proposed development of new towns and neighbourhoods have attractions where they meet needs associated with gender. 'It would be nice to stay in this neighbourhood, because it's near father's work and mother's shops...'(BWP 1943 9:270).

Significantly, a case for co-education, premised on the view that sexes are fundamentally different and consequently need to be in contact with each other in order to develop a mutual understanding, argues not for equality of opportunity between the sexes but that a good school should be an extension of family life' (BWP 1943 11:353).

While Williams presents the statistics of the different and inferior opportunities of women (ABCA 1944 61:8-9) the only challenge to the assumption of innate gender differences is made by Phyllis Bentley (ABCA 1943 44:15) and is discussed below. How the threat of Bentley's comments is neutralised has already been examined.

This authoritative and 'scientific' basis for the allocation of roles and responsibilities underlying the ideal structure is nowhere alluded to

in the texts specifically concerned with the family. Yet if the education programme had any meaning, this kind of knowledge must be imported into the discourse providing a now educated rationale which need not necessarily be given overt expression; which, as Williams' editorial comments, referred to earlier, suggest, is occasionally provoked to the surface, but is predominantly latent. It is this latency which provides the strength of unspoken yet shared assumptions.

The Family as a Value

The third dimension of the constructed receptivity is also an important element of familism itself: the family as a cultural value. As a value with a certain autonomy it is a linking mechanism in that it constitutes part of the general context, the receptivity, in which the ideal model of the family is set, yet is also part of the ideal model itself in that it provides the rationale for, or rather is inherent to, a particular structure.

A specific aim of the forces' education programme was to make values explicit. The opening paragraph of the first pamphlet of BWP made this clear.

'One great advantage which the Germans have had over us in this war, up to now, has been a much clearer understanding of what they are fighting for... Naturally we British do not like the Nazi "big idea" and, for many of us, to prevent its realisation is a sufficiently powerful war aim... But when it comes to stating our own "big idea", the positive things for which we are fighting, we tend to be vague or even tongue-tied. We are out to lick the Nazi's ... But most of us are far from clear about what Britain stands for and about what she has to contribute to the making of a happier world.'

(BWP 1942 1:13-14, italics original)

The big ideas of freedom and democracy for which the British are fighting subsume many elements of which the family (in its British form) is one. Consequently the family as a value is established as a value worth fighting for.

In the BWP section on family and neighbourhood a question is raised on the importance of the family: as to whether socio-economic change - smaller families, less reliance on the family circle, less close knit and self-contained families, the lessening of paternal authority and status and the increased independence of the mother - has weakened the family, and 'if they have what is there for us to do about it?' (BWP 1943 13:380-384).

Taken in isolation this question would suggest that an unquestioned and unsupported assumption is being made regarding the value of the family per se. Inspection of the complete data, however, reveals that over several texts the family has been established as a value, an institution worth fighting for and one which serves both State and individual. The family satisfies the spiritual needs of the individual, is a source of manpower and hence essentially related to the individual's standard of living, and a bulwark of democracy and freedom.

In the text the family is associated with the private territory, individual expression and the spiritual qualities of home. Several references are made to the physical destruction of housing, the location of home, and rebuilding (BWP 1943 13:393). Home is, moreover, 'a place essentially ours' (BWP 1943 9:264). 'We think with pleasure of the privacy of our home' (BWP 1943 9:269) and the 'pleasures of home life' (ABCA 1944 61:5). It is a place where 'we can relax and be ourselves; a place to which we come back to after the day's work' (BWP 1943 9:264). Housewives, 'keep their homes a bright refuge for the man home on leave or the tired worker from the factory' (ABCA 1942 20:7) and women have opened 'their homes and their hearts to the children billeted with them... many have provided new homes for mobile men and women' (ABCA 1942 20:12).

This sanctuary is safeguarded by the Government in times of war,

emphasised by the Director-General of Manpower.

'I must stress that in guiding the flow of women into war work the Government has taken great care to safeguard the country's homes and children.'¹

(ABCA 1942 20:7)

The value of the family is respected by allied powers. Even in the extreme case of communist Russia, it is implied, under Stalin, 'Marriage and the family in Russia were brought back into full honour (by the banning of divorce).'

(BWP 1943 4:143)

These spiritual qualities have a greater significance than the satisfaction of the merely personal. The family is imbued with certain powers which not only serve but have saved both community and nation. Here the family is not presented as merely the arena for individual expression but as a powerful social unit. 'The family as a unit has shown great powers of endurance' (BWP 1943 13:393).

'Under heavy stress (about one-fifth of the homes in this country were destroyed or damaged... during the first four years of war) the family has shown remarkable endurance... the majority of families have preferred to carry on in bombed homes, even if better accommodation were offered to them and its high morale undoubtedly helped to defeat the efforts of the enemy to terrorise us into admission of defeat.'

(BWP 1943 13:395, 393)

This high morale and endurance are implicitly linked to the strength of family ties which although difficult to destroy, witness the bonds between mother and child even amongst the poor as demonstrated by the experience of evacuation (BWP 1943 13:392), are nevertheless in danger of being undermined. There are consistent iterations concerning the careful

¹ In fact, because of the strength of feeling amongst men in the Services regarding the possible break-up of their homes during their absence, wives, even though childless and without established homes (as in the case of perhaps the majority of young people married during the war) could only be sent to work within daily travelling distance of home (Douie 1949:13).

balance which must be maintained between legitimate State aid and intervention and the 'natural responsibilities of parenthood' (BWP 1942 2:63).

Thus, with Germany as an awesome warning, the independence of this unit in its relationship with the State is a constant bulwark against the rise of a dictatorship. 'Some objections are raised which see the possibility of danger in the intervention of the State in family life' (BWP 1942 2:63).

'Do you consider that there is anything undesirable or dangerous in parents letting their children be brought up by other people, or by voluntary or State-controlled organisations?'

(BWP 1943 13:384)

It will be seen how closely this is related to the privatisation of housework and the location of women in the home; for, as will be demonstrated, these attributes emerge as inherent to a specific family structure witnessed in the strategies employed in these documents to sustain it. The family as a value, an ideal for which we are fighting, is seen as threatened to the extent that this structure is being altered by socio-economic changes. The presentation of the ideal family in its pure form consequently emerges from a concern with forces which are or have a potential for producing shifts in this pattern. It will be shown how in the final model which emerges from these texts, such factors are taken into account to the benefit of the State. I now turn to an examination of the configuration of family models set in this power context of gender and values.

THE IDEAL MODEL OF THE FAMILY

As Summerfield has observed, the material of BWP is premised not only upon recognition of social change, but upon change which is amenable to positive control and direction by the activity of the individual, the

concept of active citizenship (Summerfield 1976:38). The articulation of the ideal model of the family in the forces' education programme displays these characteristics - that improvement in family life is dependent upon individual initiative, whether directly or indirectly, by bringing influence to bear upon the decision making and political process.

The model in these documents, however, does not present itself with the immediacy and directness discernable in either the Beveridge Report nor the associated documents, but emerges from a series of three juxtaposed yet interrelated images. These may be described as the peripheral historical and colonial models, the central or pure model and finally the modified or interpreted model.

The Peripheral Models

The two major forms of the ideal model are set between two other models; the first an historical construct and the second an image of colonial development. Without any rigorous regard to the facts, the first, by extracting elements from a view of the past, evokes a sense of values lost. The second lends support to a conception of the universality and hence naturalness of a specific component of the Western family ideal structure central to its articulation: the division of labour based upon gender. Here 'modern knowledge' and the evidence of 'natural' development fuse.

The Colonial Model

The colonial model of the family (BWP 1944 17:494-5)¹ is not presented as identical to the Western structure. For example, in the pictorial example, there are two young adult females of unspecified status.

¹ The discussion is based upon this pamphlet and refers to these two pages.

They may be wife and friend, wife and relative or two wives;¹ no children are represented. Furthermore, the intent of the writer is to demonstrate the improvements in standards of living which development is alleged to bring. It is, however, in its explication that assumptions regarding underlying dimensions are revealed.

First the model is given the status of factual knowledge based upon direct and extensive observation. 'The pictorial example is based upon observations in part of Uganda but is generally representative.' The illustration shows a black Ugandan family before and after development. The accompanying text confines its comments however, to the economic activities of the male.

'Before development -

The upper figure shows a primitive thatched round hut without door or window, where the people sit on the ground along with the goats. The cultivator probably only grows enough vegetables for the family, with a small quantity over, which he carries on his head to the market, perhaps far distant. There he exchanges his vegetables for a few simple wants, such as a cooking pot and a piece of matting.

- And After

The lower figure shows conditions after development has taken place. This man has improved his cultivation, has grown more vegetables, and has possibly added bananas to his crops. He may also have been able to grow a valuable export crop like cotton.

He takes his produce to market on a bicycle with sometimes a trailer attached and he can reach a more distant market and can also have more time to cultivate. His wants now at the market are now much greater. He has bought his bicycle and other high-class manufactured articles, imported from us and other manufacturing countries.'

The illustration, however, does include women. The pre- and post-development male is shown pursuing his activity as provider outside the home. The pre- and post-development female is represented in both cases inside the hut (substantially improved by the more efficient use of

¹ Southall (1961:52) has observed that Africa remains a continent of polygamy and that polygamy is the undoubted goal of men in rural society, though comparatively few reach it until their later years.

manpower) by two women on either side of a dish. The difference lies in their elevation from squatting position to chairs and similarly the dish placed on a table between them. Furthermore, while the interpretation of the role of the dish in the pre-development stage is ambiguous, suggesting either shared work or social activity, in the second stage the social nature of the activity is made clear by the addition of two cups.

The message conveyed is important. First, the inside - outside distinction between male and female familial roles is sustained as applicable to societies where even domestic work may take place outside the house. The female is situated inside the home and the male outside, implying a particular distribution of tasks. (This cultural distinction has been noted more recently in Western culture in the imagery of children's literature (see, for example, Reader and Writers 1976)). In a report to the US Commission on the Status of Women, Esmerelda Arboleda Cuervas has recently observed that in Africa 60 to 80 per cent of all agricultural work is done by women. Yet this remains invisible to most developmental economists and does not appear in national statistics (Hosker 1980:i). Furthermore, this erroneous perception of family structure is not trivial. Rogers (1980) has shown its effect upon the disbursement of economic aid by post colonial administrations and international agencies whereby women's economic role goes unrecognised and consequently familial structures are subject to change.

The importance here, however, is in a different direction and lies in the manner in which it bears upon perceptions of Western family structure. The universality of a gender based division of labour in its particular Western form is affirmed. It is, furthermore, given additional potency by its presence in apparently contrasting family forms implied

in the suggestion of polygamy as opposed to monogamy. The phenomenon is also given the status of part of the natural world in that underdeveloped, that is primitive societies, are open to interpretation as closer to nature than those of the sophisticated West, and yet both share major characteristics.

Thus, while modern knowledge provides the 'scientific' evidence of innate differences, the colonial model serves to demonstrate this in what could be described as untouched 'experimental' conditions.

The Historical Model

The historical model comprises a melange of Victorian and pre-industrial strands projecting revered and nostalgic values: of a lost golden age despite the harsher conditions of life, when sacrifice for family, endurance of hardship, conjugal satisfaction with the familial division of labour and the intra-familial allocation of family income obtained; when 'an Englishman's home was his castle', although he might have been a trifle too autocratic, when the mother was 'the central and stable element in the family, content to live there with her children'; when families were large and family life was one of active community and strong family ties.

The sense of loss is captured in the language as well as the content, for example, 'Small families undoubtedly miss something that large families enjoy' (BWP 1943 3:381)¹, even though, as will become apparent, there is no desire to rekindle certain aspects of this past.

These values and images of an idealised past not only serve as a foil, a hovering reminder, but are also incorporated into the pure model. They serve to imbue the contemporary life style, despite apparent advan-

¹ See also the quotations incorporated in the description of the historical model above.

tages, with the overtone of being of less value, of being, in some intangible way and irrespective of the facts, unsatisfactory.

Thus, while it is acknowledged that a smaller family can have a higher material standard of living (BWP 1943 13:381) – there is, for example, a reference to the fact that, 'in the past parents may have had larger families than they wanted' (BWP 1943 13:388) – and although qualified by a range of reasons why family size may have declined, one implication, nonetheless, is that 'our grandparents spent their money' by choice 'on raising larger families' whereas today 'many people... spend money on luxuries not available to (that earlier generation)' (BWP 1943 13:388). These last two examples, however, do not convey the dehumanising effects of poverty and ill health associated with low income and excessive childbearing which the contemporaneous studies demonstrated (Spring-Rice 1939) let alone the biographical accounts and surveys of the turn of the century and earlier and which have been noted above.

The 'loss' in effect provides yet another context in which the facts are set, in this case suggesting a real and yet intangible measure.

The Pure Model

The primacy of a specific ideal family structure more closely aligned to reality is evidenced not only by the prominence it is given in the material but also by the supports and authorities which are drawn upon by the various writers in establishing its legitimacy.

The model can best be presented by an examination of the perceived threats to it which are expounded in the text. The following indicates first the salient features of this model and then expands them.

The pivotal or pure model is that of the isolated nuclear family, specifically a two generation unit of parents and at least three children, released by the State from major economic responsibility for elderly

parents. Within this unit the division of labour is clear cut. One male breadwinner and a home based wife-mother. The wife has no paid employment and few interests, if any, which take her outside the home. Authority and decision making lie with the husband, the head of the household. He provides the controlling influence, particularly over the older children. His earlier power (historically speaking) is now tempered, although no indication is given as to how this has arisen.

Although conjugal tasks are predominantly confined to their respective gender based spheres the relationship is supportive, especially for the wife in her maternal role, and harmonious and accepting. It is technological change, it is affirmed, which has hidden the real nature of this relationship.

While the unit is strongly independent, concentrating its resources upon children and family life, yet husband and wife maintain a nicely balanced reciprocity with the State in the discharge of their specialised familial responsibilities, for example, by taking advantage of the medical and education facilities provided by the State while jealously guarding their primary responsibility for their children's welfare, for example, by not using nurseries or communal eating facilities.

The unit is infused with a sense of unity and harmony of both spirit and activity - the latter reinforcing or constructing the former. Recognition is given to the sacrifice which such family life involves but this, it is argued, denotes the unit's moral bond with the community. It is a means of fulfilling one's duty, an aspect of citizenship which provides the essential building block of the community. The model is given clear supports by the manner in which it is articulated.

I now analyse these features in detail to show how attempts are made to educate the audience, why this particular familial form is presented,

and, finally, the reality which has to be recognised and accommodated. Such reality constitutes a threat to the model. Furthermore, elements in the pure model are in contradiction not only with reality but with the ideal of citizenship and the requirements of the State.

Generation

Despite important omissions it is here, in the isolation of the nuclear unit, that reality and ideal most closely accord with State requirements, for it is within this structure that the problems of manpower are potentially capable of resolution. The first lies in the probability, aired in the text, of the need for a mobile labour force in the aftermath of war (BWP 1943 13:382; ABCA 1943 14 :8). The second factor is the ability of the unit to concentrate its resources, and the legitimacy of it so doing, upon the present and future labour force (BWP 1943 13:382).

Thus in the section which BWP devotes to this topic (BWP 1943 13:381-382), while emphasis is placed upon the breaking of the family circle and family bonds it is pointed out that 'relations have become less important'. Significantly, unlike other structures which have changed or are under threat, it is notable that in this case no mention is made of any attempt to shore up these relationships, either by direct State intervention, or by encouraging a moral commitment on the part of the individual. No allusion is made to affective, and only meagre reference to supportive,¹ ties between either adult children and parents or grandchildren and grandparents. On the contrary, attention is drawn to the part played by the State in enabling the release of children from full economic responsibility for

¹ Price (1980) has drawn attention to the contemporary informal (yet enforced) expectation of some social services departments, of the obligation of daughters or daughters-in-law to provide care and domestic services for elderly parents when requests for home helps are made (Discussion, B.S.A. Family and Kinship Study Group).

the support of elderly parents¹ due to improvements in social welfare and old age pensions over the previous thirty years (BWP 1943 13:382).

In view of the high regard with which the State is held, as being synonymous with democratic government throughout the material, such references serve to legitimise the development.

'The chief contribution of the British people to the progress of mankind has been to work out a system whereby ordinary men and women can take a hand in the governing of their country... Parliamentary democracy.'

(BWP 1942 1:19)

Attention is also drawn to the relaxation in the reciprocity of economic ties from the perspective of adult children. Thus references are made to the effect of social and economic change on the trend towards the establishment of independent households by the newly married by virtue of later marriage and the increased number of smaller houses (BWP 1943 13:382), a trend of which Ineichen (1979:127) observes, 'The aim of "a home of our own" is held almost universally among newly-married couples;' added to which is the geographical separation incumbent upon wider employment opportunities.

The phrasing however of these comments is important to the construction of the ideal model of the family in that a double nuance is incorporated: physical conditions and personal independence is more adequately provided for yet there is a sense of some indefinable loss. The following passage illustrates this duality.

'In those (Victorian) days the family circle was wide and all embracing ... the married couple would in all probability maintain a close relationship with both families... the word "family" had a far wider sense than it has today.

Why have these relations become less important?

¹ The legal obligation to give financial support to elderly or infirm parents was abolished in 1948, although this does not mean that children no longer assist their elderly parents financially (Land 1979:142).

Small Houses and Flats

... have made it possible for many newly-married couples to have homes of their own, while their grandparents last century had often to be content to share a house with either the bride's or the bride-groom's parents...

Modern industry, with all the chances it gives of widely different jobs, often practiced in places far apart, has broken the family circle, so that often the weekly visit of an aunt or cousin has become simply a letter at Christmas-time.

Have Family Ties Weakened?

It might be expected that, with the shrinkage in the size of families and the narrowing of the family circle, family ties would be strengthened. In practice, however, it hasn't quite worked out that way...'

(BWP 1943 13:382, italics added)

Yet this development has important implications for the male audience. Such household formation, even though partially due to later marriage, necessarily extends the status of head of household to a wider section of the mass male population; and if the family unit, rather than the individual, is taken as the unit of labour the delimited unit is recognised and recognisable as conducive to the construction of a mobile labour force, the need for which is presented by W.E. Williams in an ABCA bulletin of the same year (ABCA 1943 48:8):

In other respects, however, the ideal and the real do not so coincide. Deflecting family behaviour from the ideal are factors external to the structure itself and those which are inherent to the concept of the family as the location of self-realisation and independence.

The external threats are located not just in the disturbances of war, but also seen as arising from long term socio-economic change. Such threats assume two forms: those arising from changes which, implicitly, must be accepted, and those arising out of external changes which are defined as creating choices over which the individual has control.

The accommodation of these threats is articulated around two themes: the conjugal role structure and the control of individualism.¹

¹ It is perhaps significant that for this audience illegitimacy and venereal disease are treated, in the first case, sympathetically

The Conjugal Role Structure

The conjugal relationship of the pure model of the family comprises a clear sexual division of labour. This distribution of tasks, it may be argued, has been legitimised within the texts by the presentation of authoritative and 'scientific' evidence of innate gender differences. The articulation of the model, however, indicates a more complex pattern of accommodation.

It is important to note that real and unsatisfactory elements of the prevailing family structure are afforded recognition in these texts. The first of these is the inegalitarian nature of the conjugal power structure. Apart from Bentley's critique, Williams himself hints at excessive male dominance within the family when he refers to 'too many husbands (having) antiquated notions about their women (ABCA 1942 20:1) and poses this question, 'How much of the Grand Turk is there in the average husband?' (ABCA 1943 44:3).

The second intrusion of reality is summarised by the constantly used phrase 'the overburdened housewife' and refers to the continuous demands made upon her by child care and domestic tasks, often exacerbated by an economic structure which does not afford sections of the community sufficient economic resources in the form of wages or has sufficient physical capital, by way of houses, to enable them to perform their familial tasks adequately should they so wish (see, for example, BWP 1943 9:270; 1943 10:305).

However, within the pure model these two features are not only retained but identified as essential to the proper functioning of the family. In this

(footnote continued from previous page)

(BWP 1943 10:303) and, in the second case briefly, as a medical problem which increases during war-time (BWP 1943 10:298; 312-313). Both topics are treated not as familial problems but as medical problems and dealt with, segregated from the family, in the pamphlet entitled 'The Health of the Citizen'.

process a series of important accommodating strategies is employed. This comprises the depoliticization of the power structure followed by emphasis on State supports for the family structure. These are presented in an ambivalent manner so that ultimately the 'spirituality' and essence of the family unit is seen to reside once more in the 'over burdening' of the housewife.

The demonstration within the text itself (a necessary demonstration for this crucial audience) of the unequal distribution of power between the sexes and the control of men over women in both the wider society and marriage would seem of itself to pose tactical, if not moral, problems in the general climate of egalitarian expectancy or in the hope of a better social order in the post-war world. Notwithstanding this, the power structure within the family remains untouched. Indeed, aspects of its modification are regretted in the postulated ideal in its pure form.

The situation is again depoliticized. In contrast to the allocation of themes and consequent re-definition of the power relationship in the Beveridge data, here crucial familial elements do not appear at all. The tensions inherent to the conjugal power relationship (which the educationists must somehow explain away) are diffused by articulating such elements around parental rather than conjugal roles and statuses. Thus while the relationship between husband and wife is implicit in the texts it is attenuated.

This shift in focus allows the exposition to centre not so much upon the distribution of power within the family as it affects the members, but the supposed effect of a change in the power structure upon the family as a unit. A comparison of the treatment of the mother and father is instructive.

In the section on family structure in BWP the senior male member of the household is presented as the father (BWP 13:383). This allows male authority to be described as parental authority. The control men exercise over women, evidenced particularly in the ABCA bulletins and described earlier, does not appear in any form of direct reference in the material specifically concerned with the family.

Moreover, rather than debating the postulated redistribution of power, the concern centres upon the loss of authority experienced by the male due to such factors as unemployment and nebulous changes in attitude. Implicitly this is associated with a weakening of the family.

There is a certain ambivalence about such loss. In the democratic ethos within which the educational programme was set, a lessening of dictatorial control in any sphere must be approved. This is indicated in the following comment,

'Should the father impose his wishes on the family dictatorially as he used to? Or does the new attitude seem saner and more reasonable?'

(BWP 13:383)

This apparently improved the situation is nonetheless encompassed within an apprehension of the change. The point is made by not referring to a more egalitarian distribution of power between husband and wife but by historically contrasting the position of father.

'The modern father has a good deal less control over his family than his Victorian predecessor had. On the whole, parental authority has declined and the dominant father is no longer a normal figure in family life.'

(BWP 13:383)

While such reduction in power may be acknowledged as to the good, it is the language in which the structural effects are couched that suggests a debilitating loss; for example, in the dependency status of the unemployed father, suggestive incidentally of the link between authority

and economic resources,

'Do you think that when the father is unemployed and possibly dependent upon the earnings of other members of the family his position is weakened?'

(BWP 13:383, italics added)

(The dependent state of other family members raises no such qualms.)

The intervention of the State has also undermined his personal position,

'... (relieving him) of a good deal of the responsibility for the welfare of his children has robbed him of a good deal of his authority too'.

(BWP 13:383)

Finally, a traditional evocative aphorism is drawn upon to symbolise this loss of status and autonomy. 'Is it any longer true to say that the Englishman's home is his castle?' (BWP 1943 13:383).

Before contrasting the treatment of the father's position with changes in the mother's status, it is important to note that these effects are defined as originating in the economic and social structure. This is clearly seen, for example, in the observation that,

'Nowadays his work demands that a man shall be out of his home all day; if he does not return for a mid-day meal, the father may scarcely see his children except at weekends.'¹

(BWP 13:383, italics added)

The father is not conceptualised as having any control over these events or circumstances.

In contrast to this exposition of the changes in the father's position which associated loss in status, authority and autonomy, with a loss to the functioning of the family, threats arising from changes in the mother's position are seen as due to gains in personal autonomy and

¹ The query that men may 'go to pubs to get away from their families' is isolated in a later chapter of the bulletin (BWP 1943 13:400). That men leave home because of the conditions of family life exacerbated by the economic depression was noted in the research conducted by the Pilgrim Trust (1938:146).

freedom. Such gains dangerously undermine a key familial position which only the mother can fill. They take her outside the family, thereby reducing her commitment to family and familial activity.

As will be seen from the following quotation, the focus in the section on the family is on the mother's physical location in the home.

'The mother used to be the central and stable element in the family. Is she so today? Not necessarily, perhaps, for the emancipation of women has brought in its train the possibility of all sorts of work, both paid and voluntary, that may take her out of the home; and the provision of nurseries and nursery schools, in the towns at least, lets her seize that possibility if she wants to.

Are these developments to be welcomed? Do you approve of married women having independent careers? Do you think that a woman who is mistress of her home and lives there with her children is necessarily "unemancipated?"

(BWP 1943 1 :383, italics added)

It is elsewhere, insulated from this pure model, that the key economic role of married women for both State and family unit, and the married woman's participation in activity outside the home, is defined in a positive way. The former has already been noted in the context of male control and appears in discussions of the post-war standard of living and potential shortage of labour (ABCA 1943 48:9; BWP 1944 14:422); the latter emerges in the components of citizenship. Both kinds of activity are crucial elements to the emergence of the ultimate model which is discussed in the final section of this chapter.

The passage displays several other interesting features. First, an implicit distinction is drawn between equality and emancipation, the two not being synonymous. Furthermore, there is a suggestion that even emancipation has been misinterpreted; it does not necessarily mean economic independence and can apply to a situation where there has been no change of role. It is applicable to the ideal mother figure imbued with a power which is given no material base apart from an authority she may exercise over her children. Ideally, the castle belongs to the Englishman!

Secondly, while social and economic forces impinge in an unmediated fashion upon the status and role of men as father, an individual autonomy, allowed expression by modern conditions, is ascribed to women. The woman herself mediates her role. Thus while 'work often demands' that a man shall be out of his house all day '... women seize that possibility if (they) want to' (BWP 1943 13:383 italics added).

Finally, the moral tone of the concluding passages relating to the father and mother differs. The question is posed, 'What then do you think about the new position in which the father finds himself?' and, as noted, goes on to imply that at least in the sphere of attitudes this is a change for the better despite the danger to his status and role (BWP 1943 13:383). In contrast, the final questions for discussion on the mother suggest moral approbation and a false assessment on the part of women.

State Supports

The disturbances ensuant upon war serve to bring into relief the supports which the State was prepared to afford this traditional relationship (or, perhaps it should be said, the supports it saw itself as providing since some of these were notably inadequate although again this inadequacy served alternative State ends).

In these texts the exigencies of war seen as undermining the ideal pattern of conjugal relationships and family responsibilities are itemised as mobilisation, women on war work and evacuation, along with the destruction of housing stock. This is depicted in an illustrated form (BWP 1943 13:391). The fundamental sexual division of labour in the State services referred to by the writer of the section on the family in BWP is clear. It comprises a description of the attempts of a benevolent and bi-sexual State to maintain, most importantly, not the pattern of family life, but the spirit and responsibilities of the familial division

of labour.

Thus, attempts are made to accommodate the disturbances following mobilisation and the influx of women into war work within a rigid familial framework. The following demonstrates the State's adoption of two aspects of the male role: as economic provider and as head of the family.

Under the heading 'Providing for the Soldier's Family' economic responsibility is located with the male.

'With the mobilisation of the father - usually the only earner of the family - the family income comes mainly from the allowances paid by the Government.'

(BWP 1943 13:391)

'They include a payment for each of the soldier's children as well as for his wife.'

(BWP 1943 13:393)

Although it is recognised that this payment is not necessarily adequate, especially for a middle class wife whose husband 'was in a good pre-war job and had undertaken heavy responsibilities (instalments for wireless set, car etc.)' with the consequence that 'his wife may often have to live with relatives or go out to work herself'; in the case of the working class wife 'where the father was only earning a low wage... the wife is often, better off on the Army allowance than she was before' (BWP 1943 13:391).

Slater and Woodside (1951 214-215) confirm this view, with certain qualifications, in the study referred to earlier. Army allowances consisted of a base sum with additions on a scale in accordance with rank and number of children. (The wife of a private with two children would have £3 10s 6d a week). They note that the chief difference from peacetime standards was in the stability of the income, (though at a rather low level), and in security and regularity of payment. Life at this level, they observe, was not penury, but neither was it prosperity. Wives,

childless or with one child, who lived with their parents, managed without difficulty or dissatisfaction, and some even saved. Those who had homes and several children to maintain were more likely to complain of the inadequacy of the allowance than were those with fewer responsibilities, especially with regard to necessities for the children. The hardest hit, however, were those in white-collar occupations, who had made their homes in the suburbs and had high standards and commitments, residential, social and educational. There was much worry and struggle to maintain established ways. A number had suffered a severe drop in income by being called up from well paid jobs or from a business which had to be partly or completely closed. In some cases wives were struggling to keep these businesses going until the husbands should come back. An inadvertently telling comment with regard to the pressures upon such wives to take up paid employment appears in a post-war publication by Political and Economic Planning entitled 'Mothers in Jobs',

'Even during the recent war there seems to have been little willingness among mothers to work unless economic circumstances forced them to. There is, for example, a good deal of evidence that war-time nurseries were used mostly by wives of Service men and by unmarried mothers.'

(P.E.P. 1946:4)

Thus, the duality of State requirements referred to in the opening paragraph is nicely encapsulated. The demand for female war workers (married women) is at least partially satisfied by State regulated economic necessity.

The State is also to assume certain moral aspects of the male role through Citizens' Advice Bureaux (set up during the war and staffed by voluntary workers), which may offer help to the housewife on,

'... problems of rationing, firewatching, billeting and other everyday problems... to a certain extent (they) have taken the place of the absent head of the family.'

This comes under the heading of 'Advice on Household Problems... Making Housekeeping less Difficult (BWP 1943 13:395).

Similarly, it is implied that the relaxation in the discipline of older children is associated with the father's absence. The source of this knowledge, apart from statistics on delinquency,¹ stems from social workers whose intervention may be seen as the move of the State to replace male authority and provide the moral support which, as noted earlier, the husband is seen as providing for his wife (BWP 1943 13:391).

The State, again by 'Making Housekeeping less Difficult', takes over certain aspects of the housewives role; yet, while giving help, the text constantly affirms the gender based location of the responsibility. Aid is linked on this text to the war effort, and should the aid not be forthcoming the tasks are assumed by other females.

'The housewife has many difficulties to contend with and certain arrangements have been made to help her...

If mothers were to be free for war-work, for instance, some way of looking after small children had to be found. The Government have increasingly provided facilities for the proper care of children under 5, whose mothers have been unable to make any other arrangements.'

(BWP 1943 13:394)

The passage continues by specifically detailing the aids,

'War time nurseries have been opened all over the country... run by the Local Authorities and paid for by the Minister of Health with a usual charge of one shilling per day to the mother; nursery classes attached to schools have been increased; play centres and residential nurseries for small children; and hundreds cared for by Registered Guardians.'

(BWP 1943 13:394)

¹ Although the sharp increase in the delinquency rate during the war gave rise to concern, for example in Glasgow in 1940 the number of children under 14 years convicted of housebreaking or theft was twice as high as in 1936-1938, Titmus (1950:148) notes that the statistics must be viewed with caution in that not necessarily more children broke the law but that more children were caught doing so.

However, the latent danger is made clear in the possible neglect to children, the gender allocation of domestic responsibility reaching into childhood, as noted earlier, where the burden falls upon the eldest girl if arrangements prove inadequate (BWP 1943 13:392), and in the danger to the State itself, also referred to earlier, in parents allowing 'other people or voluntary or State controlled organisations' to bring up their children' (BWP 1943 13:382).

The State also assumes the housewife's task of feeding the family by the fact that 'part of the food policy has been to provide arrangements for communal feeding. By the end of 1943, over 2000 British Restaurants have been opened' by both Local Authorities and voluntary organisations as well as a great extension of canteen facilities and provision of milk and meal schemes in schools (BWP 1943 12:395).

Aspects of the housewife's tasks are thus socialised, communally undertaken for the common good - saving fuel, ensuring children get extra food (no food coupons were necessary for children's school milk and meals) and releasing the time and energy of the housewife for the war effort. (It will be seen, however, how the concept of socialised domestic labour is confined to the poor in the analysis of Good Housekeeping).

The dichotomy of familial gender roles extends into other parts of the text in a manner which affirms responsibilities and which is linked to policies of State intervention. Thus, in the planning of the post-war environment and housing the point is made that,

'Even if people are transplanted to a healthier region, that may raise other problems. Men are removed from their place of work, and women from their shops...'

(BWP 1943 10:306)

As noted in the preliminary notes to the ABCA discussion on 'Woman's Place' (ABCA 1944 61:2) a distinction is drawn between the areas of expertise on town planning associated with gender. Thus women who are

now in the outside world are relocated in the inner world of home, while men remain in the outer world. The juxtaposing of workers and housewives has already been referred to. It can be seen how this provides an underlying assumption in the depiction of State activity.

Thus it is important to note that while much of the discussion of post-war provision and intervention by the State is conducted in terms of egalitarianism and citizenship, many of the facilities referred to can be viewed, as they are in the text, as intimately related to traditional roles. For example, full employment and social security are to counter the effects of poverty on parental role performance and to provide supports for male status; similar thinking informs the aim to provide improved maternity and health services and family allowances; and by provision of greater educational opportunity to promote equality and to relieve the financial burden for good parents and possibly, therefore, promote a rise in the birth rate.

The Family as a Unity

Examination of the complex of State aids reveals the further relationship of conjugal roles and the family as a value; that is, the family is seen not merely as a unit but as a unity. This is directly associated with the importance of family bonds and it is here that an ambivalence emerges in the treatment of the factors which contribute to the release of the housewife from her burden.

That bonds are seen as a vital aspect of the ideal model and intimately related to its structure is evidenced in the efforts made by the State to maintain contacts between family members during the war. Here, again, a nostalgic past is imported into the present; reference has already been made to the numerous and close relationships in the portrayal of the Victorian family (BWP 1943 13:381). Of war-time provision, in addition

to the economic tie implicit in the dependant's allowance,¹ the following are listed: keeping families in touch by providing army leave of '48 hours and 7 days privilege once in every three months'; cheap travelling arrangements 'to enable the soldier or auxiliary to go home at a small cost'; where possible, arrangements whereby leave for women in the Services coincides with the leave of husbands or children; the introduction of the airgraph letter service 'to speed up the facilities for correspondence with men in the overseas army' and the arrangement for Red Cross parcels and letters to prisoners of war (BWP 1943 13:393).

Concern about the historical weakening of familial bonds is expressed early in the BWP discussion of changes in family life.

'It might be expected that, with the shrinkage in the size of the family circle, family ties would be strengthened. In practice, however, it hasn't quite worked out that way, for outside influences have affected the family and made it less self contained than it was.'

(BWP 1943 13:382)

The independence of the family, the physical proximity of its members² and the physical location of the mother in the home are seen in these texts as closely interrelated. State services while apparently advantageous both to the individual, to family performance and to the nation's health and manpower shortage carry also the possibility of undermining this pure model of the family. As noted earlier responsibilities of State and family are in fine balance. However, an additional ambivalence appears

¹ Riley (1979:86) notes that the principle of retaining parental responsibility was made visible in the nursery charges to mothers. Similarly, the changes made upon parents for children billeted upon others in the evacuation scheme was due to a concern by the Government not to weaken parental responsibility (Titmus 1950:155).

² Bell's (1968: 89-95) study of middle class families has demonstrated the existence of bonds and mutual aid between the generations without need for geographical proximity.

in the presentation of those services which are defined in one part, as 'easing the burden of the housewife' (BWP 1943 13:389).

Thus while day nurseries 'would lay the foundations of a nation strong in body and alert in mind' (BWP 1942 2:71) and should be 'almost as common as pubs' (BWP 1942 2:74), and may be 'a haven to the children' (BWP 1943 10:304) 'for not every woman who can bear a child is the best person to rear it' (BWP 1943 10:304; ABCA 1944 61:4), additionally there are observations that the reduced demands of smaller families make it difficult for mothers to make home keeping a full time job, that they now enjoy intellectual and recreational equality with their menfolk and that many go out to work (BWP 1943 10:304). Consequently, along with British Restaurants, while nurseries may be instrumental in increasing the birth rate by easing the burden of the mother (BWP 1943 13:389) simultaneously they are seen as 'allowing the mother to seize opportunities which take her out of the home' (BWP 1943 13:383), and are directly associated with women in paid employment rather than as part of the service provided to aid child care per se¹ irrespective of whether the mother confines her activities to domestic pursuits or not. Thus the child care organised by the 'Shelter Council' of Bermondsey and Rotherhithe 'helps working mothers to look after their children' (BWP 1943 13:398).

The question is also posed as to whether nursery schools and school meals should be developed as proposed in the White Paper on Educational Reconstruction of July 1943 (BWP 1943 13:396), because

'(if) women who have taken up jobs for the first time during the war prefer the financial independence and higher family income, connected with outside work, to resuming household work as their

¹ The idea of day nurseries and nursery schools as a means of relieving the task of motherhood and thereby improving individual performance while in the minds of certain groups, was, according to Riley (1979: 100, 101, 105) in no sense the intention behind government policy.

sole occupation... all the services which aim at reconciling women's work with the rearing of children will have to be further developed¹.

(BWP 1943 13:396)

It is interesting to note again the tinge of self-indulgence which attaches itself to women's activities, denoted here by the word 'prefer' to imply the operation of individual choice. Moreover such women will swell the numbers for whom work will have to be found (BWP 1943 13:396). This overtone is also found in discussions of the construction of more convenient houses, in many instances the sole extent of the advocacy for change in women's lives in the post-war world. Ann Scott-James, for example, appointed as women's editor for Picture Post in 1941, a publication which considered itself to be radical, limited her advocacy for change to such matters.¹ The extent of such convenience, however, has limits which are expressed by drawing a distinction by fiat between demand and needs. In the BWP pamphlet entitled 'The Home of the Citizen' Elizabeth E. Halton, the author of Our Towns, writes, after discussing the need for refrigerators in the New York climate,

'After the war it might be possible in this country to produce refrigerators as a matter of course if there is a real demand for them. Do we really feel we need them?'

(BWP 1943 9:266)

With regard to British Restaurants the position becomes clearer.

'In war-time most of us eat in community, such as in a mess, a British Restaurant, a canteen, a club. What are the merits of this procedure and what are the drawbacks? Is it a procedure which should be encouraged after the war or not? By eating in community we effect economies of large-scale production, we save time, we save labour in the home and in the shops. Against this we sacrifice privacy and we neglect the housewifely arts. But, above all, we lose that singular opportunity which a family gets, by eating together, of building a sort of family esprit de corps. And, after all, no matter how much we develop the wide community sense we must remember that the basic social unit is, in fact, the

¹ This limited approach of the periodical did in fact evoke criticism from some of the readership as, for example, from Rebecca D. Sieff, Chairman of the Women's Publicity Planning Association, a feminist organisation of the time (Picture Post, 1941 8 March:5).

family. What is the answer to this complicated problem?'

(ABCA 1943 48:14)

'British Restaurants

The catering industry considers these to be an unnecessary and unfair competition with private enterprise. Is communal feeding as a substitute for home catering likely to become popular even though it may be more economical? If British Restaurants are retained at all, should they be run municipally or commercially?'

(BWP 1943 13:396)

A reflection of this unitary nature of the ideal family is found in suggestions as to the post-war possibilities for leisure time pursuits.

Thus the pamphlet on 'The Home and the Citizen' includes, in the discussion of education and recreation,

'The community centre, with its clubs and social life, may provide for some of our recreation but we shall want other opportunities too...: playgrounds for the children, sports for ourselves, and open spaces where the whole family can picnic or sit about on fine days.'

(BWP 1943 9:275)

'Should (pubs) be places of family entertainment or do men go to pubs to get away from their families?'

(BWP 1944 15:400)

Thus, doubt is cast upon the wisdom of enlarging services which allow housewives, by the release of their time and energy, into the wider community. The spiritual quality of the family is sustained by the privatisation of domestic labour, whether in preparing meals to be eaten at home, picnics, or child care, and this task is firmly allocated to women. Yet the ambivalence in the presentation of State supports for the ideal serves an important function in that themes are retained which may be accorded different emphasis in different contexts and woven into a different pattern in the total fabric. It will be shown later how the concept of citizenship, for example, incorporates the notion of activity outside the home.

The strategies of displacement and provision of State supports do not constitute the only supports for this ideal relationship since, irres-

pective of definition, tensions inherent to the structure remain. Furthermore, the communality of forces' life and the opportunity for the exchange of intimate information on a scale impossible in peace time¹ would suggest that in any realistic presentation of the family, at least the salient dissatisfactions or anomalies within the ideal itself, had to be raised. These problems may be categorised as associated with power, the division of labour and the continuity of the relationship.

The power relationship here is raised as the intra-familial distribution of income. The problem is dismissed as due to the processes of industrialisation obscuring both the true relationship and the qualitative aspect of the task, that is, that the family is a unit and not comprised of individuals with individual rights, and that women's economic activity within this unit is family service and by definition, that is, naturally, bears no economic reward. Thus Williams writes,

'One thing to get clear in our minds is the fact that some kinds of women's work are, and always have been, habitually unpaid... you could say that a farmer's wife is a housekeeper, a dairy-manager, a poultry-farmer and a canteen superintendent rolled into one! But nobody bothers to put a price on her work and say she "earns" so much a week. Indeed, there would be no point in doing so. It's all part of the family service. Similar considerations have always applied to women's work in the past.

In the early days of industry, for example, women often did their share of the job without remuneration. When the cotton or wool trade was largely done in homes and not in factories, the whole family worked as a productive unit. The boss supplied the raw material for the family to manufacture at home. The family's agent... the man who delivered the goods and collected the price - was Father. And Mother was content that it should be so. Because her family was one unit working on one job it didn't matter who collected the wages, and she would certainly never have dreamed of saying, "My share of the income - my wages, is so and so."

(ABCA 1944 61:6-7)

¹ A reader writes to Evelyn Home (Woman 1943 9 Jan.:22) that her boyfriend has become 'bitter and disillusioned' in the forces so that she is 'almost afraid of him' and he says 'he has discovered too much about marriage to want to inflict it on me. So many of his companions have had unhappy marriages...'

This seems to be making explicit reference to the agitation noted by the T.U.C. representative to the Beveridge Committee, and referred to earlier, for a wife's right to part of her husband's earnings, and again the conjugal power relationship has been displaced into the parental roles as well as the family as a unit.

The threat to the traditional economic relationship is also raised in the text in the form of questions surrounding the effect of war work upon women's attitudes to economic dependence and a return to home life. Two current views of the period are posed - the one that women will be glad to return 'to their kitchens and cookery books'¹ and,

'on the other hand... that when the war is over women will not want to retire from the limelight - they will want absolute equality.'

(ABCA 1944 61:11)

The additional suggestion that 'we' are never satisfied - 'How far are our yearnings for what we haven't got a temporary reaction and how far a permanent change of desire?' (ABCA 1944 61:5) - serves to convey the stereotype of women never being satisfied or of knowing their own mind. The overtones of selfishness in formulations of women's hypothesised preferences have already been noted (See BWP 1943 13:396).

The ultimate sanction in this power relationship is hinted at, although well insulated from sections dealing with the family or women, in the BWP pamphlet entitled 'Citizen of Britain' in the Chapter on 'Law and Justice' (BWP 1942 1:36).

¹ This is echoed by Lady Beveridge (1945:12) in an introduction to a manual on housekeeping.

'The girls who fled so eagerly from what they considered to be the narrowness of their home life, are now not so sure that it was so narrow. They have had enough of Nissen huts and dormitories. They have driven in convoys of great army wagons and will like better to wheel a perambulator - "if and when". They have mounted A.A.guns, and directed pilots home from operational flights, but they will enjoy listening for the key in the lock, when the peace-time job is over for the day and their own man comes home.'

'Civil Courts - (i) Courts of Summary Jurisdiction.

"Police Courts" have only very limited power to deal with civil cases, which consist principally of small matrimonial matters. claims for wages and landlord and tenant matters.'

Secondly, while the description noted above implies an underlying, if lost or mislaid, harmony in the relationship, the alternative potential of the sexual division of labour, given voice by Phyllis Bentley, provokes no dialogue in the texts. Under 'Problems of Marriage: The Average Male Angle' she observes,

'There is no doubt at all that the most comfortable form of marriage at present, for a man, is one where his wife regards "home-making" as a full-time job. She "Keeps house", buys and cooks the food, cleans and beautifies the house, feeds and clothes and tends the children - or in richer families, superintends these activities. Such a wife is always there when the man returns home; she interests herself primarily and mainly in his affairs and their children's, putting their concern always first. She encourages and consoles; she admires even if without fully understanding. She holds the family together; she is its centre, its inspiration. In such a family the man alone earns; the wife has no profession, no money of her own, but with the children shares in the man's earnings. The man, that is, fights and hunts, protects, supports, defends; the woman concerns herself solely with the well-being of her husband and their children. Such a relationship is for the man a beautiful, and many people think a natural one. The concentration of his wife's attention upon the home is deeply satisfying. He often pays for this, however, by experiencing boredom within the narrow circle of her interest.'¹

(ABCA 1943 14:6)

The quality of the relationship, these separate worlds, is hinted at elsewhere along with suggestions for an increase in the mutuality of conjugal activity in the post-war world, for example in the possibility of a changed use of public houses noted earlier (BWP 1943 13:400), or nights out together (ABCA 1943 44:3).

Bentley goes on to outline the frustration for the individual woman, the tensions created between women and the detrimental effect upon her family which may arise when a trained or professional woman finds that on

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The themes are echoed in the marriage manuals of the period, see for example Gray (1941), the founder of the Marriage Guidance Council.

motherhood 'she is committed for life never to practice her own trade again on penalty of being considered a neglectful mother...' (ABCA 1943 44:7). She continues,

'Under such conditions (women) become frustrated and irritable, perpetually alluding to contemporaries who live "wider" lives, or they turn violently against all liberal views of women, or they bend upon their families the whole force of their personality, using in the organisation of spring cleaning an energy which would have sufficed to run a Government department... this is wretchedly uncomfortable for their families - especially for the children who are expected to fulfil all the hopes denied to their mother by her sex.'

(ABCA 1943 44:7)

Furthermore, while Bentley advocates a greater similarity in the education for family life, that is that both sexes should be taught domestic skills and not gender associated home-making skills, albeit to promote the status of housewifery,

'Until all young people, boys as well as girls (are taught) the rudiments of cooker and housewifery... housewifery will always be a "woman's job", and, by the thoughtless despised and undervalued accordingly',

(ABCA 1943 44:12)

the suggestions made by Williams in the introductory notes to this pamphlet are more indicative of the obtaining divisions than in providing suggestions for fundamentally rethinking the post-war social structure.

'Should there be more partnership in bringing up the children: e.g. the husband's night in; e.g. a local system of pooling the care of children in the evenings so that husband and wife can go out together?'¹

(ABCA 1943 44:3)

This is a long way from Bentley's conception of men and women as

¹ A summary of readers letters sent to Woman on the causes of small families revealed the second most important reason to be the loss of freedom. This was amplified as 'a wide demand for more nurseries and home helps, so that wives and husbands may share some pleasures. instead of mothers being tied completely' (Woman 1943 26 June:11).

equals. She concludes her contribution with the following,

'Pugnacious Feminism

The general attitude to the place of women in the community is going through a transitional phase. Meanwhile there is bound to be a feeling amongst women that it is their duty to see women represented in all the various spheres of life in Parliament, in town councils, in committees, on boards. It is indeed necessary at present that women should so figure, in order that full participation may gradually be secured. The feminism which demands this representation may appear irritating and excessive, but it is the natural and necessary pugnacity of a group fighting for a freedom hitherto denied them and must be understood in those terms, as a temporary expedient. The sooner we are able to drop it, the better.

The Balance Sheet

The more the woman gains this participation, what, if anything, will the man gain? Or will he lose?

He will lose the uncritical adoration, the subservience, of women which he has enjoyed (if it were enjoyment) through the centuries; he will lose the confident assumption (if he ever firmly held it) that this is a man's world and man is a superior being.

But if he loses a slave, he will gain a partner; it has been shown that he need not in the process lose a mother for his children and a cook. It is an insult to men, to which I will not be a party, to suppose that they prefer the society of half-educated slaves to that of intelligent equals.

Olive Schreiner, a noted feminist writer of the 1890's, described by an allegory her hopes for the result of the emancipation of women ... she pictured two figures struggling through life's storms; one, the man, stood erect, the other, on her knees, was chained to him by economic necessity. Thus, in every step the man took he was obliged to draw his wife along. It was Olive Schreiner's hope and aim to break the chain, to enable the woman to rise to her feet and walk freely at her husband's side. The rate of progress, and the joy of both partners in the walk, would surely be greatly enhanced if this voluntary association of equals were the customary relationship between woman and man.'

(ABCA 1943 44:16)

The final dilemma in this structure is the burden of family life: the economic burden for men and the household drudgery and interminable demands of child-rearing for women. These are intimately related to economic inequality, individual decision making and the overriding problem of population size. They are examined under the problems posed by individualism.

Problems of Individualism

A problem inherent to the pure ideal model of the family in the democratic society as it is portrayed in these texts is the legitimacy of personal decisions on familial behaviour made by husband and wife. It is in this context that the threat to the ideal lies within the ideal itself.

As was noted earlier in this thesis, even in extreme cases when such behaviour breaches the bounds of legality, the evidence demonstrates a tendency on the part of both formal agencies and private individuals to defer intervention or decline to intervene. The family appears to be almost a sacrosanct area for individual expression whatever its shade.

Yet rampant individualism must be contained and the texts demonstrate some of the mechanisms brought to bear even upon those who may inhabit structures which approximate the ideal in the sense that the conjugal relationship conforms to the ideal pattern of a male breadwinner and dependent wife.

In this section I concentrate upon this aspect, although the individualism which finds expression in the demands of women for independence, along with the demands of the economy which shape it, both feed this and impinge upon it. The control of this latter type of individualism is reserved for later discussion.

Conformity to the ideal conjugal relationship is the necessary but not sufficient condition for the realisation of the pure ideal. Within the pure ideal the control of individualism centres upon parenthood and both 'bad' parents who either neglect their children or remain childless, and 'good' parents who limit the size of their family in order to provide them with a higher standard of living and improved educational opportunities.

A reader of Woman, for example, observes in a letter of parents of two children families, having experienced the disadvantages of lack of education.¹

'... can you blame us for doing the best that our experiences have taught us for our "two's"

Equal education will encourage the people who love children, and want them, to have larger families.'

(Woman 1943 26 June:11)

The mechanisms for dealing with these types of deviance are subtly different. 'Good' parents' behaviour is subjected to processes of reinterpretation; bad parents are castigated as subjects for re-socialisation.

Interpretation for Good Parents.

The overriding concern of the period was the decline of the population and figures prominently in the texts; it is, for example, the theme of two of the three chapters on the family in BWP (1943 13:380-390). Yet the average family produced two or fewer children.

Notwithstanding that the Beveridge Report had drawn attention to the relationship between poverty and large families, the same direction is taken as the Report itself.

'Good' parents are to have the effects of their behaviour interpreted to them. First, a series of authorities are drawn upon in an attempt to affect these legitimate choices. Attention is drawn to the seriousness with which the situation is viewed by the Government to the extent of appointing a Royal Commission on Population (appointed March 1944) and three scientific committees. The reference to these different types of

¹ The cost of education was also a concern amongst the more affluent sectors of the population - in this case the cost of public schools as opposed to secondary education (see, for example, Chronicler (1943) Good Housekeeping Feb:14).

bodies is a reference to different types of knowledge. The explanation given in the text alludes to this.

'The Royal Commission, apart from the Chairman (the Lord Chancellor) and the three scientific committees who are experts (Scientific, Biology and Medicine and Economics who will conduct investigations needed by the Royal Commission) consists of a cross-section of the intelligent citizensof the country - a sort of special jury.'

(BWP 1943 6:204)

That this intelligent citizenry comprised an elite group is less relevant than that of its 'representativeness' and its access to modern scientific knowledge. The passage intimates the authorities which should be recognised as wise: the government, scientific knowledge and informed common sense. (Whether or not they were so regarded, or whether, in the climate of class tensions, this presentation had the reverse effect to that intended, is open to question).¹ It could be argued that such authorities suggest a greater validity, a consensus of opinion, than the opinion voiced or acted upon within the isolated family unit.

Nonetheless, the opinions found in, for example, readers' letters of the time, suggest that both men and women had taken individual decisions to either restrict the size of their family, and in some cases to remain childless until conditions improved, for reasons of lack of housing, the premature ageing and bondage experienced by earlier generations of women whose lives were dominated by childbirth, the desire to both provide better opportunities for their own children and enjoy their own adulthood, and the uncertainty of both war and post-war conditions.

In response to such strictures which are predominantly those of class

¹ Slater and Woodside (1951:249) noted amongst their respondents a 'spiritual gulf between the government and the people', and not necessarily because of a conservative cast; both men and women held what is described as 'a paranoid attitude to class differences' (p.254). Similarly, of the government's attitude, Harrison (1976:19) comments that 'Many Conservative and Liberal leaders, never trusted the masses and in a way deeply and privately despised them.'

conditions another authority is called upon. Churchill's speech on population is referred to, as well as the measures the Government is to take to encourage citizens to 'undertake the burden of larger families' (BWP 1943 13:389).

There is first, the suggestion of a more equal society:- the relief of poverty through policies of full employment, social security and family allowances; and the development of equal educational opportunity and social services. The second takes the form of other measures to ease the burden of the mother.

While other authorities and sanctions are also drawn upon, they are attached in a more specific and differentiating way to this kind of deviance within the pure model. Social pathology, psychology, short-sighted although well-intentioned misinterpretation, fear and self interest are all utilised. I would argue that the thrust here is upon the 'proper' interpretation of the situation and its elucidation by the more knowledgeable constructor of the text.

In a sense the childless couple belongs in the category of inadequacy. It is considered here as a situation for reinterpretation because such may be potentially 'good' parents, a conceptualisation often reflected in the debates of the period.

The childless marriage is classified as pathological and statistical correlations are misused; they are presented not as measures of association but used to suggest a causal relationship between childlessness and divorce.

'What about the marriage that is completely childless? Surely it is necessarily incomplete: it is a fact that there is most divorce amongst childless couples.'

(BWP 1943 13:381)

The implication is that childlessness undermines conjugal relation-

ships rather than allowing any basic dissatisfaction to be resolved by dissolving the union. The enforced dependence of a mother in the family structure is omitted. Furthermore, there is no basis in fact for the implicit assumption that childless marriages are inherently unhappy. Slater and Woodside (1952:142) for example, found that often such marriages were amongst the happiest. Therefore, not only are educationists demonstrating a belief (also held by the majority of Slater and Woodside's working class couples), but, more significantly, they are presenting it as a fact with authoritative support.

The presentation is also pointed in that its overemphasis ('completely' is redundant) and rhetorical appeal to the common sense of the audience, backed up by this use of statistical fact, serves to distance both the speaker in the text and the audience from this kind of deviance irrespective of the presence of such marriages amongst them.

Small families are also dealt with. First, the psychological problems which threaten the only child are noted. Susan Strauss (1977) has observed that in the 1920's and 30's child guidance experts said that 'being an only child is a disease in itself' although no data can be found to support this view.

Here this finds voice in the comment that 'the only child stands in particular danger (of becoming tied to mother's apron strings)'. (BWP 1943 13:381). And in a profile of three families, the presentation of a middle class child with stimulating and interesting parents (the mother is an artist) surrounded by books and conversation and meeting interesting people, carries the comment '... but he is an only child' (BWP 1943 11:326).

While the comment here is allowed to speak for itself, in the section on education there is the veiled threat of State intervention on social and psychological grounds to send the 'only' child away to school; '... an only child may need the continuous companionship of other

children... home will not be the best place for them' (BWP 1943 11:352).

Thus, by definition, home conditions for the only child are psychologically as well as socially inadequate.

Also playing upon fear, there is a further dubious use of statistics to imply that mothers of only children are more likely to die in childbirth.

'Factors other than the general condition of the expectant mother affect the death-rate of mothers in childbed. It is more dangerous for example, to have a first baby than a second or third. Since considerable numbers of married couples nowadays limit the size of their family, many having but one, it follows that there are relatively more first babies born now than there used to be when large families were the rule.'

(BWP 1943 10:302)

(This paragraph continues with remarks addressed to the dangers of late childbirth which are increasingly prevalent due to the later age of marriage.)

Finally, the small family of 'only two children' is subject to scrutiny despite the material advantages to both children and parents and the laudable motives of parents in limiting the number of their children. First, the social and psychological disadvantages are indicated.

'Small families undoubtedly miss something that large families enjoy. Living amongst brothers and sisters is good for the child, and being one of a large family with all the give and take that means, is a valuable social training. If there are only two children in a family, it is likely that much of their time will be spent in the company of adults; perhaps they may become tied to mother's apron strings...'

(BWP 1943 13:381)

The argument then shifts from a focus upon the parental concern for the individual child to one incorporating an element of self interest. It should however, be borne in mind that in the background lies the modifying historical image of the sacrifice of Victorian parents to their large families; parental sacrifice goes hand in hand with parental self-interest. Thus, it is pointed out, small families will ultimately lead

(by reducing future manpower) to a reduced standard of living for all (including those children which concerned parents seek to benefit).

'It is also true that some of the advantages of the small family if looked at from a wider angle, aren't so real as they may at first seem.'

(BWP 1943 13:381)

In addition to the difficulties in maintaining and increasing industrial output there is the parallel difficulty in maintaining 'our military power' (BWP 1943 3:387). Fear and self-interest is invoked by drawing attention to the situation in other countries, especially those with opposing ideological systems, Germany and Russia, both of which have expanding populations (BWP 1943 3:386). Thus enlightened self-interest would suggest the urgency of an increase in family size. The duty of the citizen is invoked, 'If larger families are in the interest of the community, should not the individual be moved by that consideration?' (BWP 1943 3:389).

Finally, immigration and technological change as factors which might solve this manpower problem are dismissed as marginal (BWP 1943 12:387) and a tacit assumption is made as to the shared definition of the problem and the action necessary. Under the heading 'What should we do about it?' the following comments appear.

'Most people will agree that the trends towards an ageing and seriously declining population should be checked.'

(BWP 1943 13:388)

'The only way to avoid an ageing and seriously declining population in the future is for the average size of family to be raised to at least three children.'

(BWP 1943 13:389)

'At the moment there is an abnormally large number of women who could be mothers. But this number is beginning to decline.'

(BWP 1943 13:389)

'Either we can go on as we are and take the consequences already seen, or we can make the extra effort involved in raising families of three or four instead of the popular one or two. What is your choice?'

(BWP 1943 13:389).

Resocialisation for Inadequate Parents.

In contrast to the treatment accorded 'good' parents who have not been quite far sighted enough, bad parenting is recognised in these texts by the use of derogatory stereotypes or condemnatory phrases often, although not necessarily, class based.

The childless marriage also belongs in a sense in this category, as indeed do parents of small families, to the extent that selfishness may be alluded to. More pertinently, there is the treatment of those who have actually assumed parenthood. Inadequate parents are castigated as lazy, selfish, lacking in sense rather than uninformed, and inadequate in their own personal relationships, making for an inappropriate setting for child rearing. The following excerpts demonstrate these points.

BWP's tenth pamphlet, 'The Health of the Nation', written by the Director of Biological Research to the Army (BWP 1943 10:293-319) includes a chapter entitled 'The Mother and Child'. Significantly, references to bad homes and inadequacy are found under this heading although the comments taken in isolation, of are often applicable to both parents. By implication, therefore, the locus of inadequacy is the mother.

It should be pointed out that both structural and personal inadequacies are noted in the previous chapter, 'Whose Job is Health',

'The problems of the Army doctor in this country are concerned, not so much with battle casualties and the treatment of sickness contracted abroad, as with the poor physical and mental condition found in many of the intakes, the product of malnutrition, faulty housing, faulty upbringing and of neglect. ... under development, dental decay, emotional instability, lack of a sense of social responsibility... The faults of our social structure and the inadequacies of the pre-war medical, dental and education services are clearly revealed among

the Army intakes of today.'

(BWP 1943 10:297)

This duality of structural and personal factors is echoed in the chapter on Mother and Child. Following an acknowledgement of the paucity of medical personnel the following comment appears,

'Often the good that is done in hospital and school is undone by the conditions of home. There is not much lasting profit in going to a day nursery or to a good school if one must return to a slum which is dirty, where sleep is fitful and disturbed, and where ignorant and careless parents cannot or do not give to the child its requirements for health, sturdy development.'

(BWP 1943 10:305)

The detail of this personal inadequacy however is elaborated by the following. First, recognition is given to the idea (fact) that mothering is not necessarily an innate quality (and that nurseries benefit the child and the nation).

'Not every woman who can bear a child is the best person to rear it and many homes and vicinities are the least suitable playgrounds for youngsters. In these days of small families, however, it is difficult for many mothers to make home-keeping a full-time job. Women now enjoy intellectual and recreational equality with their menfolk and women go into outside work, especially in wartime. And children in the day nurseries enjoy and profit from the company of other children of similar ages... So it is that the day nursery can be a godsend to many mothers and a haven to the children.'

(BWP 1942 2:71)

'There is no question of compelling mothers to send their children; yet an adequate provision of nursery schools would lay the foundations of a nation strong in body and alert in mind... (Nursery schools) should be almost as common as pubs.'

(BWP 1942 2:74)

The emotional imbalance and anti-social behaviour of the child is, however, firmly located in the home. Thus while under the section 'special problems' the 'nervous' or 'difficult' child has his condition attributed to 'hereditary tendency' or 'unfavourable home or school', it is elaborated solely by reference to the home.

'These difficult children are the products of the reaction between their own personality and their surroundings, and commonly they come from homes in which there is continual conflict and frustration. They are difficult to manage, steal, are fearful and hot-tempered, and these habits, if unchecked, result in making them unfit for life in our society. The underlying problem in many cases is the adjustment of the home life. (Local Authority clinics) are needed because in our society so many parents are inexpert in the raising of children and because in so many homes there is no real place for a child.

(BWP 1943 10:304)

State sanction upon such parents, in the form of boarding education (although it would seem that this might be 'care' rather than education) is hinted at in the bulletin on Education.

'... if we, their parents, quarrel or neglect or spoil our children, or if we are separated or away from home, or if we, through ill health or poverty, cannot provide properly for them, home will not be the best place for them... although (it is also argued that it is) bad for children to be cut off from their natural life in the home.'

(BWP 1943 11:352)

The further elaboration of inexpertise, laziness, foolishness and irresponsibility is found in the ABCA bulletins written by Williams. It is set within the context of the relationship between the State and the family; and under the heading, 'Motherhood and Livelihood', again indicating the locus of the problem, the question is posed by Williams on his introduction to Bentley's piece,

'What do you consider should be the dividing line between parental responsibility and State responsibility for the care of children?'

(ABCA 1943 44:3)

The dilemma between totalitarian control of the family (and by implication future citizenry) and individualism is clearly apparent. The resolution is seen as lying with voluntary co-operation (that is of responsible parenthood) with a benevolent State. Thus while the State has provided extensive services to help parents in the form of material welfare, child health provisions and educational opportunities 'sometimes the State seems more concerned and responsible than the parent'

(ABCA 1943 48:13) and 'there's still a lot of slack (between State provision and child mortality) to be taken up. For much of it parents are responsible...' (ABCA 1943 48:11).

Below I refer to the care with which poverty and slum conditions are presented to this audience, but here the class stereotype of shiftless inadequacy clearly emerges, epitomised in the archetypal Snookses.

'Lord Woolton makes admirable and abundant arrangements for Mrs. Snooks to get fruit-juice and vitamins for her baby free of cost. And Mrs. Snooks proves too idle and shiftless to go and get it. Or the State offers a scholarship which will give little Alfie Snooks three more years at school - only to find that the boy's parents prefer to send him to work in some blind alley occupation so as to enable them to spend more on football pools or the cinema.'

(ABCA 1943 48:13)

The lazy Mrs. Snooks and the self-indulgent couple are supplemented by mothers who take no interest and demonstrate little sense in nutrition. The audience is asked to consider the following proposal for the post-war world,

'... More school meals and school milk, to give children a better diet than many of them get. Or would you concentrate on educating mothers to show more interest (and more sense) in the feeding and upbringing of their children?'

(ABCA 1943 48:11)

The problems of inadequacy associated with the 'many parents deficient in a sense of obligation to their children' (ABCA 1943 48:13) are subject in these texts to vilification through linguistic conventions and the hint of legal State intervention. For those '(equal numbers) who strain every sinew to give their children a good start' (ABCA 1943 48:13) inadequacies may be alleviated by education: first in the school curriculum. 'Should girls be taught child-welfare as a preparation for home-making?' (BWP 1943 11:350) is a question which is included as the final one in a series of questions on types of schools, public schools, the teaching of citizenship and occupational choice. Secondly, however,

the issue is personalised to that of individual initiative and responsibility. Before the birth 'the mother should take care of her health and make some study of mothercraft ... the mother should know how to feed and rear her infant ... parents should save a fair share of the expenses of birth', and ensure the child receives the benefits of schooling by providing the appropriate home conditions so that the child is physically fit and 'trained to take school seriously' (ABCA 1943 48:13). The State is not a substitute for the individual's effort, but a reinforcement.

In this presentation there is, however, an ambivalence. The treatment of parenthood is strikingly different to that of class and yet the two are seen to inter-relate. This is brought out in two passages: the first in a description of slum inhabitants and the second in a description of the slum child.

On the disadvantages of being born into a slum,

'The slum harbours two kinds of people: first, those who, because of hereditary defects, are too seriously handicapped to compete successfully with their normal fellows in the struggle for social security and advancement; secondly, those who, though normally endowed with strength and wit, have encountered overwhelming misfortune and have become imprisoned in poverty. Slum conditions, created by the misfits and unfortunates, themselves deform the minds and maim the bodies of normal children born in them.'

(BWP 1943 10:305)

This is followed by the structural effects of lack of housing stock and, earlier, methods of socialising (rather than condemning those from slum conditions) into the appropriate use of new houses (BWP 1943 9:27). Again, there is the image of the mother struggling to provide a proper home against the odds of poverty and slum conditions.

'Slum conditions make it hard for a woman to bring up her children decently and give them a real family life.'

(BWP 12:358)

There is also the image of the resourceful slum child contrasted with

the deficiencies experienced by the single middle-class child already noted, and the isolated rural child with no-one to talk to.

'Mary's parents were poor. With two younger brothers she was brought up in an overcrowded tenement. She had too little to eat, the street was her playground and she knew nothing of the country. But she learned to fend for herself and get on with other people.'

(BWP 1943 11:326)

In this particular rendering of class the feckless Mrs. Snooks and her husband, along with the deprived Alfie, have disappeared. The psychological dimension, while still present, is accounted for by structural effects in a manner which is not present in the treatment of parenthood where class is an incidental dimension.

In a chameleon manner the recourse to structural rationales varies according to whether the focus is upon class or family.

The Interpreted Model of the Family

Irrespective of the efficacy of these sanctions which would seem to aim at sustaining this pure model of the single-role family structure, the model itself is inadequate. No matter how conformist the population is to this pure ideal of the text, it is a model which renders the major problems insoluble: the logic of egalitarianism, the actual presence of women in the labour force, particularly married women, and the problematic post-war demand for labour and deskilling of jobs associated with technological change. The accommodation of these problems requires a greater elaboration in the articulation of familism.

Interpretation is crucial to the final form of the model. Such interpretation paradoxically integrates into the pure model (or the ideal) discrepancies between this pure model and actual behaviour which would deny it but which it is essential to maintain. Superimposed upon the pure form then is an adapted model which leaves the pure model both intact

and informing the final version. The structure of conjugal relations and the allocation of familial responsibilities remains essentially undisturbed. Despite female access to economic resources, in this image male status and the sexual division of labour remain undisturbed.

It was argued earlier that the effect of the detailed regulations proposed by Beveridge was to undermine a married woman's sense of commitment to a work role. The focus there was upon the family role. In the material of the forces' education programme, however, several sections actually focus upon women at work and, moreover, the legitimacy of it. If this interpreted model of the family, I am proposing, has any validity, it suggests that the pressure is not to keep the married woman physically in the home, as the pure model would indicate, but to ensure that her identity lies there. The pure model is a means of presenting, and sustaining, the image of this domestic identity.

The educational programme, therefore, is one of those agencies identified hypothetically in the analysis of the pre-legislative processes of social insurance, in which particular aspects of reality become situated for depoliticization by reinterpretation. In the pure model the power structure inherent to that particular model of the family is emptied of its potential antagonisms; in the interpreted model not only are the potential antagonisms of gender inherent to the concept of equality ignored and rendered impotent, but a particular type of labour is constructed out of this. To this end the concept of citizenship is crucial. By its elaboration the problems of social reality are allocated to women in two ways: first by the displacement of problems of structure to those of personal inadequacy; secondly by giving an identity to a specific type of worker.

Citizenship: Processes of Interpretation

The Housewife's Burden

The logic of equality is accommodated by the articulation of the concept of citizenship - a concept within which the further concept of individualism finds a place. Barbara Ward (assistant editor of the Economist) and A.D.K. Owen, (Stevenson Lecturer in Citizenship, University of Glasgow) in their booklet 'The Responsible Citizen' provide the following definition.

'There are three meanings behind responsible citizenship. The first is that the citizen, both in the political and social spheres, acts, not because of terror or pressure, but because he responsibly chooses to do so; secondly, that he has got alternatives between which he can choose; thirdly, that he is called upon to take an active part in fulfilling the decisions he has made.'

(BWP 1943 7:215, italics added)

This concept of citizenship not only allows for a shift in exposition from the structural to the personal but also accords a legitimacy to individualism in any interpretation.

To expose the final interpreted model of the family I examine the interpretation of citizenship for women as it is related to involvement in the political (in the sense of potential for influence upon structures) and economic spheres.

The concept of citizenship posed several dilemmas for these texts. First, a popular interpretation of the concept is in stark contrast to the essential contradiction between citizenship and the prevailing family structure in the limitations it imposes upon thought and action as described by Bentley. Secondly, the active component of citizenship, with its emphasis upon individual participation and commitment to both the immediate and wider community in its economic and political aspects is in direct contradiction to the emphasis in the pure model of the family upon the mother's physical location in the home. In his bulletin

'Woman's Place' (ABCA 1944 61) Williams devotes sixteen pages to the concept of citizenship and reconciles these contradictions in an important way.

Despite the clear image of the pure model, elsewhere in the texts the themes of responsibility and sharing posited by Bentley as essential components of citizenship and equality (ABCA 1943 44:8) are taken up and elaborated. There are affirmations that men and women must equally undertake such responsibilities.

'It is the moral responsibility of every member of the community, whether male or female, in peace as in war to take an active part in the affairs of the world... the task of winning the war cannot be the responsibility of one sex alone.'

(ABCA 1944 61:11-12)

However, it becomes clear which part of the community is in danger of not assuming its share.

'Even if she decides that her place is in the home she can't contract-out of her community responsibilities. Whether a woman is married or single, old or young, a factory worker or a business woman, wherever she is she has the same responsibilities as the male citizen.'

(ABCA 1944 61:14)

The apparent conflict this poses to the pure model creates the need for interpretation.

First maternity is raised to a civic duty recognised by all. Thus, despite the itemisation of the various statuses women may occupy,

'... one civic ideal... (is) that whatever else we look forward to after the war we must put first of all the principle that as many women as possible should marry and have babies.'

(ABCA 1944 61:10)

That this is universally applicable to women is confirmed by the fact that the terms woman and housewife are synonymous in this particular text. This becomes clear in the steps in Williams' argument concerning a woman's exercise of her citizenship. Her active contribution to the

community is located in the domain of improvement to her daily life and apparently confined to individual action.

'(A woman) should have ideas of her own about the problems which affect that community, because:-
 (a) by thinking for herself,
 (b) by finding things out for herself, she can help build up a public opinion instead of a public apathy...
 What does, in fact, affect the housewife in her daily life?'

(ABCA 1944 61:12, italics original)

By fiat, given no fundamental change in the social structure, the limitations imposed by family life upon citizenship became part of the concept itself. While this is as applicable to men as to women, the allocation of tasks in the sexual division of labour necessarily imposes different restrictions.

The limitations are recognised by Williams, although really as a repost to Bentley's feminist argument, for when citizenship in general is discussed by Owen there is no suggestion by him that the ordinary citizen pursues politics beyond the local level (BWP 1942 1:16). With regard to women Williams provides a definite and patronising view.

'Is there any need for a woman to leave her home and sit in Parliament in order to take her proper place in the life of the community? Surely not?'

(ABCA 1944 61:12)

This contrasts markedly with Edith Summerskill's comments in the bulletin of the Woman's Freedom League.

'As I sit in the House of Commons and observe the apathy of the 600 male members concerning women's questions, I want to rush into the highways and byways and tell my fellow women that they cannot hope to get a square deal in life until they come and help the very small group of 12 women M.P.s at Westminster. If we had, say, 100 women in the House there would be no need for these endless deputations to Ministers asking for what is only simple justice for women.'

(Summerskill 14 March 1941:1)

The underlying problem in the sexual division of labour, however, still remains unaccommodated - the lack of time, exhaustion, lack of

education, limited horizons of women confined to a domestic role, the double burden of those wives and mothers who are economically active and the structural limitations of the labour market upon any women who do undertake gainful employment. I turn first to the domestic aspects of this configuration.

The burden of the housewife's task was defined as a key area in the problems associated with the declining birthrate. It will also be recalled how relief of these burdens was seen as constituting a threat to the family structure. In addition, Bentley indicated the inequity in the distribution of such responsibilities.

An examination of the treatment of the drudgery of domestic labour shows how the structural factors underpinning it are neatly displaced to the individual and articulated through a series of derogatory stereotypes which, in some cases, are structurally located in the pure model of the family itself.

In brief, the underlying cause of a woman's drudgery is attributed to her inertia as a citizen. Irrespective of the message on gender, the passages which follow, when compared with the surveys of the period, suggest that Williams was totally unaware of the restrictions upon and fabric of working class life.

'If the housewife is content to pay her rates and sit back and let the councillors do the rest, if she cannot be bothered to use her right as a ratepayer, or the wife of a ratepayer, to elect those people who are responsible for the organisation of all those things that affect her daily life, has she any right to grumble if her house is inconvenient and her shopping takes half the day because the bus service is bad? Public opinion begins at home.'

(ABCA 1944 61:13)

This passage continues with a direct undercutting of the pure model constructed by both BWP and ABCA, and trivalises an area of activity to which they have accorded a spiritual significance.

'If women gave as much consideration to the election of the member of the local council as they do to the preparation of their husband's evening meal, it should be possible to build up a set of conditions in which the housewife's job would be less burdensome and in which she would have more time to study problems outside her own domestic sphere.'

(ABCA 1944 61:13)

And in consideration of 'The Time Bogey' with which the housewife is continuously faced, it is proposed that only by the housewife overcoming her inertia will the 'vicious circle' be broken. Her ceaseless round of activity allows her to be defined as passive; (incidentally lending support to the conception husbands have of a wife's day, noted by Spring-Rice (1939:104) and referred to earlier, and feeding the stereotype of 'the lady of leisure').

'The harrassed housewife, even in the remote days of peace, probably had as much as she can manage with a house full of children and the shopping and housework to do. At the end of the day she is often too tired to read the paper at all... but if (amenities such as transport, nurseries, planned houses with labour saving devices were there) perhaps the housewife would not be so inclined to say "I haven't got time to bother with politics." Certainly, its a circle, but surely not a vicious one, for once women become active and not passive members of the community they will be able to bring about those immediate reforms which will kill the time bogey.'

(ABCA 1944 61:13)

The whole import of the argument is to thrust the responsibility for change (albeit to ease her domestic burden) upon women.

'If either in the past, either from her own inclination, through pressure of work, or because of prejudice, she has not found her place (in the community) she must seek it in the future.'

(ABCA 1944 61:14)

'It would be disastrous if women sat back in this war and said: "It isn't a woman's war, therefore it isn't my business." It will be equally disastrous if women sit back after the war and say, "It isn't a woman's job to help with running this country and therefore it isn't my responsibility."'

(ABCA 1944 61:14)

Furthermore, a woman is not allowed to plead the inadequacy of her education and its even lower standard than that of men's which was high-

lighted by the enquiry into the conditions for women in the forces and noted earlier.

'But there is still one more statement that the average women will make even if she is convinced about all of this. "I haven't had a good enough education to understand current affairs.'

(ABCA 1944 61:14)

This, however, is not seen as a fault in girls' education or a culture which ridicules or registers surprise at any such attempts as, for example, did the historians of forces' education, but as a fault in women themselves.

'Women who trot out the excuse, "I can't understand current affairs and local government", are usually confessing a lack of effort rather than a lack of capacity. They don't try. They reveal a most impressive curiosity and alertness on matters of local tittle-tattle and can elaborate with complete footnotes and cross-references, the bluish making narrative of the goings on at No. 6, Sycamore Crescent. They can read with unparalleled concentration and retentiveness, the fashion and film columns in newspapers and magazines. The capacity is there all right, the ability to read, to argue, to pass judgement, to spread information. What is too often lacking is the social conscience and civic determination to apply the capacity to the job of making a better village or a better world.'

(ABCA 1944 61:14)

Whilst a similar apathy amongst men is acknowledged, as the historical records discussed earlier also suggest, and that the apathy amongst women was indeed greater, yet criticism of the male is modulated, that of women is placed entirely upon women.

'To suggest that this dereliction is solely a woman's weakness would be absurd, for men as a whole are a long way from the fulfilment of their minimum civic duties and responsibilities. But men are less liable than women to plead, when pressed, that "they aren't up to it" or "they can't understand it." If women are to play their part in government, local or national, they must bestir themselves to make no less an effort than men to keep in touch with issues of the day. But the emphasis must be on effort.'

(ABCA 1944 61:14-15)

Williams then indicates the availability of means whereby women can improve themselves as citizens: that a woman should extend her break-

fast reading beyond the strip cartoon of Jane of the Daily Mirror; and that she should extend her knowledge beyond that of the film world, attend meetings of visiting celebrities and evening classes (which might attract women if made more comfortable). In this context, however, it is again of note that Slater and Woodside (1951:87) find the notion of such sociability outside the conceptual range of working class soldiers' wives.

In Williams' model while, paradoxically, such activity would take a woman outside the home, albeit in a still privatised capacity, yet the constraints upon her confinement to the home have not been removed and thereby sustain the limits upon any such activity. Women are implicitly defined as creating their own bondage. Furthermore, the ultimate aim of citizenship activity is to produce a greater domestic proficiency; thus release from the tasks does not constitute release from the structure.

Furthermore, the cast of this argument comprises an inversion of that originally set out by Bentley. The lack of partnership between the sexes is not construed as a component of a structural imbalance of power but as inadequacy, portrayed as apathy and idleness, on the part of women.

'The effort of women must not be an emergency contribution; it must be a permanent one... women must recognise the post-war scope of their opportunity. They must put themselves into the mood of post-war participation. Their full partnership with men must become an act of resolution.'

(ABCA 1944 61:14)

Women, Work and Citizenship

The second aspect of citizenship for women is related to the apparently competing requirement of the State for adult workers. It is here that the pure model of the family is modified and yet retains its power.

The responsibilities of the active citizen outlined above simultaneously absolve the State from the initiation of action by placing the

impetus for change upon the potential recipient and contain the citizenship activity of women within the domestic domain. However, whether or not the housewife's burden is lightened is of less immediate, and perhaps long term, significance than is the articulation of the relationship of women to the labour market. In these texts while the first aspect of citizenship - the hypothetical effect upon the birthrate and the identification of women as housewives along with their sphere of activity - contributes both to the pure model and to the final model, it is the rationales supporting a definition of women as members of the workforce which clarify the constituent elements of the pure ideal model of the family and in so doing accommodate the realities of individual lives and State requirements into the final model.

The salience of the demands of the economy was indicated in the introduction to this chapter. These comprise, in this regard the problematic demand for labour and the deskilling of jobs. They are not a singular phenomenon but are inherent to the economic structure.

The two problems emerge clearly in the texts. Both are related to the identification and creation of a specific type of worker in the construction of which familial ideology plays a key role by enabling the transposition of structural factors, external to the family, to personal characteristics. The devices of this transposition reflect the problems inherent to the structure and are articulated around ambivalence and duality.

Official Documents.

An ambivalence, contradiction and an apparent denial of the facts characterise the official pronouncements of the period regarding the position and presence of women in the labour force. The references here are to documents which appeared in the immediate post-war years as well as

those during the war. It will also be seen how they are paralleled in the texts of the forces' education programme.

Contradictory and apparently competing claims upon women emanate from a range of government departments and official bodies, the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of Health, the Beveridge Interdepartmental Committee.

Land (1976) for example, identified the contradiction, continuing up to the present, in the Government policies of the period in that while Beveridge's proposals placed married women firmly within the home, and were, furthermore, sustained in the ensuing National Insurance Act, 1946, this was in direct contradiction to those concerned with employment policy. She points out that Beveridge's view, along with those of some of his committee and those submitting evidence, was that women's presence in the workforce was a temporary and exceptional phenomenon, yet while this might have appeared true in 1943, the situation did not obtain at the end of the war when social insurance policy was being formulated. By the end of 1946 there were still 875,000 more women in the working population, 700,000 of them employed in industry, than in 1939 (Land 1976:116-117).

Furthermore, during the war, the Government was committed to a policy of full employment (H.M. Government 1944 Cmnd. 6527) and there was, furthermore, fear among the economic policy-makers of a shortage of labour and a perceived need to recruit more women. As all women except those with pressing family responsibilities were already conscripted or registered for employment, this could only refer to housewives.

Wilson (1977):156) notes that during the war the Ministry of Reconstruction had commissioned the Report referred to earlier (Thomas 1944) on the attitudes of women towards continuing work after the war on the

assumption that they would continue to be needed; and by 1947 the Ministry of Labour observes,

'The need to increase the working population is not temporary. It is a permanent feature of our national life... women now form the only large reserve of labour left... and the government are accordingly making a special appeal.'

(Ministry of Labour 1947:183)

During the wartime period the provision of wartime nurseries and child minding arrangements reflected this ambivalence. Thus while there was a demand for women's recruitment into the wartime employment and encouragement, although not compulsion, of women with young children to take up work, nursery provision was erratic, confused and localised (Riley 1979).

Thus Riley (1979:87) observes that while during the war it was clear that the Ministry of Health could at no time have believed that the provision of war nurseries could be by-passed altogether, and their early circular to local authorities made the point of stressing that nurseries were essential, these were to be promoted in public communications as ad hoc arrangements and localised and not as pointed to future government policy; that they were to be treated as products of urgency and emergency. Their justification was as part of wartime production rather than a general social service. Child minding, however, was encouraged by an instrumental Ministry of Labour.

There was debate at the time as to the effectiveness of nurseries in releasing female labour; but, interestingly, it has been argued that the essential consideration in such evaluation is not the numbers, but the type of labour which was released - for example, dexterous 15 to 25 year old women (Ferguson and Fitzgerald 1943: 207-208).

Nevertheless, despite the demand for labour after the war, and the social/educational concerns for the child and the postulated contribution

of nursery schools as supports for motherhood which had also been voiced, nurseries were rapidly closed after the war. In early 1938 there were 104 day nurseries and 118 nursery schools in England and Wales. In September 1944 there were 1,450 full-time nurseries for children from 0-5 years; 109 part-time nurseries for children from 2-5 years; 748 nursery classes in schools for 2-5 year-olds. The estimated number of children wartime nurseries collectively held was 59,000 of whom 18,800 were under 2 years old (Ministry of Health 1945, cited Riley 1979:83). Between 1945 and 1960, 40,000 day nursery places were closed as peace-time brought a renewed indifference to the position of working mothers and their children.

The Exchequer grant to local authorities was halved after 1945, and responsibility was handed to local authorities, requisitioned buildings and land were returned to peace-time use. Moss (1979:15) refers to a Ministry statement of 1945 which refers to mothers of young children.

'The Ministers concerned accept the view of medical and other authorities that, in the interest of the health and development of the child, no less for the benefit of the mother, the proper place for a child under two is at home with his mother. They are also of the opinion that under normal peacetime conditions, the right policy to pursue would be positively to discourage mothers of children under two from going out to work (and) to make provision for children between two and five by way of nursery schools and classes.'

The major tensions however, as the analysis of the Beveridge data in the last chapter would suggest, was between married women working per se and the demand for labour.

The contradictions in policy were accompanied by the fact that the attitudes of both women and employers changed with regard to the employment of married women. The marriage bar in both the civil service and the teaching profession was removed. Furthermore, Land has noted that women wanted, or expected of economic necessity, to combine marriage with paid employment. In the study referred

to above, conducted by the Wartime Social Survey for the Ministry of Reconstruction in 1943, half the married women aged over 35 and almost one third of those under 30 years of age said when interviewed that they wanted to stay in employment even after the war. Altogether, 60 per cent of occupied women in 1943 wanted to work after the war (Thomas 1944:29). By the end of 1946 there were still 875,000 more women in the working population (700,000 of them actually employed in industry) than in 1939.

The ensuing analysis however, suggests that these contradictory positions are not as paradoxical as they might appear.

The Text: The Demand for Labour.

The contradictions appear in the text in a particularly crucial form, the process of which I trace below.

The likelihood of a high demand for labour after the war is made explicit in both BWP and ABCA. There is, for example, in the BWP chapter 'From War to Peace' and under the heading 'Will the Problems be the Same This Time?' (a reference to 1918), the guarded statement assuaging male fears of unemployment.

'It seems fairly clear that for a time we shall be short of labour for our own needs rather than have to fear unemployment.'

(BWP 1944 14:422)

The reasons are enumerated as the need to maintain the armed forces, the need to supply food and raw materials for liberated Europe, the need to start an export trade to pay for imports and, 'The return to home life of many women and elderly persons' (BWP 1944 14:422).

In the following section, 'Shall We Be Poorer After the War?', the notion of an apparently innovatory element in the labour force is introduced.

'... On the other hand, people are accustomed to work in industry and have adjusted home life to enable them to continue with their work.'

If we can arrange to keep them in work, there will be some millions more pairs of hands available to produce wealth than there were before the war.'

(BWP 1944 14:422)

Questions are then raised as to the traditional cultural constraints which may affect this supply of labour.

'How far will there be attempts to exclude women from jobs which they have done in the war, but which they did not do in peace-time?'

(BWP 1944 14:424)

And, as noted in the context of male centrality, under the problem of 'The Woman Bogey', it is observed that our standard of living is dependent upon a large labour force and the contribution which female labour has historically (not just during the war) made.

'If you want big production, you want a big labour force. Our immense export trade in pre-war days depended partly on women coming into industry and providing a big national labour force.'

(ABCA 1943 48:9)

And again, as noted, earlier the impact upon men's personal lives of excluding women from industry is alluded to and the concept of full employment as a means of producing wealth is invoked.

'If we want to maintain a maximum production after the war, partly to rebuild Britain, partly to restore an export trade, can we afford to send the women back home? Can't we find employment for all in peace as we do in war?'

(ABCA 1943 48:9)

However, even in this apparently direct presentation, the nature of this pool of labour is differentiated from 'normal' labour: the first quotation incorporates the suggestion of its temporary quality; it is both traditional and new in the sense that it existed in pre-war days yet is only now at the forefront of public awareness; additionally its availability has involved the adjustment, by the individuals themselves, of other spheres of responsibility. The differentiating features of this element of the labour force are pursued later. First, I examine the ambivalence

in presentation which reflects the ambivalence of official thinking.

The solution to the labour shortage would appear to be diametrically opposed to the image, practical and spiritual, encapsulated within the pure model of the family. This is resolved by a series of mechanisms.

First a dilemma is incorporated within this demand which nicely parallels the contradiction in official practices. Thus in the same section, 'The Woman Bogey', which deals with the need for an enlarged workforce the following comment appears.

'Thousands of soldiers are going about believing that their jobs have been permanently taken from them by women, and that women will not be able to look after them on this account.'

(ABCA 1943 48:9)

This fear is then deflated by allusions to the historic presence of women in industry, and followed by the argument outlined above on the relationship between the size of the labour force and the personal standard of living. However, the fear is raised again in a less personal but nonetheless emotive form at the end of the section.

'Are industrial requirements the only consideration? Does any army of women workers exact too high a price in other ways - e.g. a decline in the housewife's arts and responsibilities, in the birth-rate, in matrimonial felicity, in 'womanliness', and so on?'

(ABCA 1943 48:10)

This is then encapsulated by references once more to the relationship to personal standards of living. In this formulation it is of note that the personal demands of men (to be looked after) have become transposed to the personal responsibilities of women (housewifely arts) and, additionally, marital happiness associated with women's physical presence in the home. Again, this type of transposition is referred to later.

The second aspect of this dilemma is that it incorporates yet another paradox, expressed by the use of pejorative stereotypes. Women are available to criticism if they work and if they don't work.

'Can women enjoy both livelihood and motherhood? ...you might have a neglected home at one extreme - and you might have a bridge-playing suburban wife at the other.'

(ABCA 1943 44:3)

The two stereotypes are those structurally identified in the Beveridge proposals. The example demonstrates the importance of such cultural forms in the control of consciousness. It will also be seen how they underlie the construction of a particular type of worker in the ultimate model of the family.

The next stage in the reinterpretation of the pure model and the incorporation of reality consists of a subtle shift in the exposition of structural effects. This shift is from the immediate effects of the structure upon individuals to the ultimate and rebounding effect upon the individual when inhabiting future structures. Adverse effects are deemed as following from the individual's original decision to enter the first structure.

'A great many industrial processes today can be done as well by women as by men. Yet it was rare before the war for women to be paid the same rate as men when they were doing the same work. Women undercut men, with the resulting tendency to bring down men's wages. Then they married the men, and found they couldn't raise a family on the poor pay they had unwittingly helped to fix.'

(ABCA 1944 6:8)

The concept of need - through remaining unmarried ('remember the so called "million surplus women"' (ABCA 1944 61:7)), the low earnings of husbands and loss of husband either through death or divorce - has disappeared. Women, not the constraints of the economic and social structure, are responsible for their own familial poverty.

The second aspect is a reference once again to unemployment. Despite the argument for encouraging women to remain in the labour force, the

¹ Although not raised in this section it is elsewhere suggested that equal pay might be a safeguard and in men's interests as well as women's (ABCA 1944 61:10).

threat posed by women to male employment prospects is raised along with the cost to the State. Thus if women 'prefer' the advantages of work¹ to housewifery, again an emphasis upon individual choice and not need, and do not wish to relinquish their jobs,

'... the number of people for whom employment will have to be found after the war will be greater than before the war and all the services which aim at reconciling women's work with the rearing of children will have to be further developed.'

(BWP 1943 13:396)

The issue is raised again by Williams in a later bulletin when he attempts to encompass the feminist case for equality: married men are concerned about their familial responsibilities, women (married or single) are rejecting theirs and inhibiting male performance.

'Is this alleged "right to a career", moreover to apply in a sex-combative way? What reasonable grounds may there be, for instance, for the fear so many married soldiers express that they will come back to find women entrenched in their jobs? What about biological differences and social responsibilities? How do you equate women's role as mother with their role as wage earner?'

(ABCA 1944 61:5)

The next stage in the process of reinterpretation is the direct shift from structural constraints to person decision making and attributes. The presentation circles around choice, ambivalence in women, versatility, equality, and culminates in the redefinition of work as a particular type of service as it applies to women.

The unequal position of women in the workforce is given full recognition. The headings under which this is considered in Williams' bulletin, 'Woman's Place', give some indication of this: 'Semi-skilled and Second Grade', 'Mostly Semi-skilled', 'Limited Scope', 'Force of Custom'

¹ As noted earlier these advantages are economic independence and a higher family income. The reference is also to women who have taken up up jobs for the first time during the war, implying that in peace-time these advantages would be purely personal.

(keeping women out of jobs they could perfectly well do)', 'Merit is Not Enough', and 'The Narrow Ladder to a Profession'. Furthermore, women's adaptability, skill and competence which the war has revealed is lauded. The following quotation from an architect is included.

'The building trade has many lighter occupations for which women are fitted... The girl who can understand a complicated piece of mechanism like the instrument panel of a Spitfire would find the wiring up of a house a simple matter.'

The audience is asked, 'What do you think of that one?' It is followed however, by a reminder counselling a rational and equitable examination of the question which simultaneously creates an awareness that the problem lies in a different plane to that in which male skills and employment must be considered.

'On these matters be careful not to confuse the question of women's adaptability and skill with economic factors. "Can she do it?" isn't the same question as "should she do it after the war?"'

(ABCA 1944 61:9-10)

The apparent case for more equitable treatment of women however, is dispatched within the next paragraph by the invocation of the concept of choice. It will be recalled that the major civic ideal for women was to 'marry and have babies' (ABCA 1944 61:10). The problems arising from this civic duty are then reinterpreted as arising from woman's choice not the community's need.

'We must face up to the implications of this civic ideal... can women expect to get the more responsible kind of job if their main idea is to get married?'

(ABCA 1944 61:10)

The circularity of the argument is stressed incidentally, by the repost to the feminists' claim to work as a right. Here, it will be recalled, the nature of paid employment for working class women, according to Williams, gives the choice of homemaking a logical priority (ABCA 1944 61:5).

Furthermore, despite the implied criticism of women's obsession with marriage, it is suggested elsewhere that nowadays women have a choice between marriage and a career (BWP 1943 13:388). Yet women's act of choosing is presented in a way that transposes the costs of such choice to the personal idiosyncracies of women - the stereotype that women are never satisfied and demand constant attention and 'limelight'. Importantly, whichever choice a woman might make in these texts it is open to criticism. Two contemporary contradictory statements are quoted.

'Women are rising magnificantly to the occasion and helping the country in the time of trial, but when the war is over women will be thankful to return to their kitchens and their cookery books... The war has shown that women's proper place in the community is to be working side by side with men, and that consequently, when the war is over women will not want to retire from the limelight - they will want absolute equality.'

(ABCA 1944 61:11)

This question of economic independence is also raised in the BWP bulletin and has been referred to earlier. Here it is recorded in full

'Will the women who have taken up jobs for the first time during the war prefer the financial independence and higher family income, connected with outside work to resuming household work as their sole occupation.'

(BWP 1943 13:398)

And the personal capacities which war has revealed to women themselves are seen as raising moral issues for the woman herself. Attributing the following quotations to Service disputants, Williams sets out the ambivalence.

A New Sense of Power

'Life in the A.T.S. has revealed to many women capacities they had not suspected - such as ability to succeed in new and difficult jobs. If that is so, is the discovery likely to give her a fresh appetite for an interesting post-war profession? And, in that case, can she reconcile such an ambition with her responsibility to marry, if possible, and have children? If it comes to choosing one or the other, which way do you think it will be - or should be - and why?'

(ABCA 1944 61:3)

However, the underlying theme is the suggestion that the outcome of any choice will be unsatisfactory to women - women are never satisfied - first indicated by the question mark in the sub-heading

Longing for a More Private Life?

'Service life is public life - does it make an A.T.S. want the privacy of a home after the war? Service life is inevitably a disciplined and regulated life - will the A.T.S. have had enough of it by the time the war is over?

When an auxiliary returns to enjoy the pleasures of a home life will she be satisfied even then? How far are our yearnings for what we haven't got a temporary reaction and how far a permanent change of desire?'

Even women's positive qualities are defined as a hindrance to her. Thus 'woman suffers from her excessive versatility: she can produce children and she can wire the electrical system of a bomber' (ABCA 1944 61:16).

Women and Work

The definitions and processes outlined above underlay the final definition of women as workers. The pure model itself, flanked by the historical and developmental models, centrally locates the female in the home. The concepts of woman and housewife are conflated, reinforced by authoritative assumptions of innate developmental characteristics. The feminist case and the associated interpretation of equality is deflated and the image of women choosing their own path underscored by allusions to female vacillation, inconsistency and apathy. Parallel with this runs an acknowledgement of male power and control in family and work structures and the development of the small family as a feature of modern life. This configuration provides the base from which the reality of women's presence in the work force and the requirements of the economic structure (irrespective of the family's economic needs) along with specific strains associated with deskilling can be accommodated. In this accommodation the concept of citizenship plays a crucial part because of its

components of choice and service; and a specific worker role is encapsulated as the second strand of female citizenship.

Williams prepares the ground for this interpretation of citizenship and the ensuing reinterpretation of the ideal model of the family. In the bulletin 'Woman's Place' he poses the following questions as the 'Third Challenge' of the discussion,

- 'Is the home a full-time job -
- (i) all the time,
 - (ii) at certain periods only?
 - (iii) when there are no children?
 - (iv) when the children are at school or grown up?
 - (v) are all women temperamentally suited to bringing up children?'

(ABCA 1944 61:4)

This latter question is not taken up in the bulletin although as noted earlier, it is raised in the discussion on nursery schools as a facility for both mother and children and in Bentley's comments on careers. It is included in the list here to demonstrate that the opportunity to raise the question is provided, but the bulletin itself does not provide material for such discussion.

Such a list potentially incorporates a duality - sympathy for a boredom ensuing upon under-employment and lack of skills and education to obtain satisfying work, and the recognition of a specific pool of labour.

While still locating the problem in the women themselves, a Political and Economic Planning broadsheet of 1946 encapsulates the former.

'The majority of women in Britain are not conscious of any conflict between motherhood and gainful employment. As girls they tend to regard work as an interlude between school and marriage. They are not, therefore, as eager as men for higher training and qualifications, or if they are their parents tend to discourage them. They are not ambitious to make careers for themselves, to get on and up in the world, at least not while they can still look forward to married life. On marriage they mostly drop out of the labour market willingly, even if there are no marriage bars to drive them out. Only in middle age, when children and housework have ceased to claim their full attention, do the more mentally alert among them

become aware of a certain emptiness and cultural isolation in their lives and begin to regret the fact that they no longer have any occupation to which to turn.'

(P.E.P. 1946 Aug:1)

The Fabian Society's evidence to the Royal Commission on Population (1946), while firmly placing the responsibility for child care upon mothers with some aid by way of nursery schools, expressed their role as workers more forcefully.

'The mothers who choose to spend their whole time in looking after the children when they are small - which is what the majority of mothers will always do - must realise that they should give part-time service to the community when the children are older. If society solves the problem of how they are going to get help in their job of caring for the children when they are small, they must in turn help to get some tasks to put meaning into their lives when the children are gone. A democratic society cannot tolerate parasites, and married women who are not pulling their weight should be recognised as parasites...what is really involved is a new set of values which will allow women to take their proper place in society as mothers, workers and citizens.'

(cited Riley 1979:104)

It will be recalled that Bentley argued the case for part-time work for women with domestic commitments particularly when children were young, and that this was criticised by Williams in terms of class on the grounds of the dull and repetitive work involved in most female occupations. Williams' solution here, is hardly that envisaged by Bentley, nor does it change, but rather compounds the continuance of the work he criticises. This paradox is accommodated by the transposition of the structural to the personal and the invocation of service in citizenship.

Following the sentences on civic duty for women as marriage and maternity and the displacement of this national principle to one of personal choice the following question is posed,

'Is the part-time principle a good idea? When the children are at school would it be practicable for the mother to put in a few hours at a factory?'

(ABCA 1044 61:10)

ture of the work is then made explicit,

'Modern industry involves many "blind-alley" jobs. Which do you think the more socially desirable:-

That boys and girls should do those jobs, as so many do nowadays,
That older married women should do those jobs, on a part-time basis?'

ABCA 1944 61:10)

The unsatisfactory nature of this type of work¹ is made socially (and democratically) acceptable for women by defining it as service - she 'puts in' a few hours as she had done in war-time.

Furthermore, this particular concept of work as sacrificial service carries the overtones of civic duty 'which has nothing to do with the wage question... (but calls upon) the spirit of voluntary service' (ABCA 1943 48:15). Thus, the low remuneration of women concomitant with such jobs is partially accommodated.

While both men's and women's paid employment may be defined as service to the State (I have used this concept in the analysis of the Beveridge data) as indeed it is here, women's service in work is imbued with the sacrificial elements associated with the family and motherhood. It is significant that in performing such tasks the women worker does not undercut the male and performs a service for the young - perhaps her own young. Furthermore, if work is this kind of service, one only does it when one is needed, that is, when the labour is defined as necessary by others.

Importantly, for the economy, what has been established is a specific type of worker, essential both to the prevailing organisation of work itself and the fluctuations in demand inherent to the system, whose identity does not lie in the work place. In this process of construction the demands of the economy are displaced to personal history and decision

¹ This kind of interpretation of work for women, the acceptance of monotony because work is not as central to their lives, finds expression in industrial sociology in the work of Blauner (1967:176) and is discussed by Oakley (1976:231).

making.

The debate concerning male and female attitudes to work often centres upon the problem of commitment. This misses the point. Personal identity is more crucial to psychological collapse and unrest when work is unavailable.

As Lindsay points out 'long unemployment rots a man' (BWP 1943 12:358). The chapter in the Pilgrim Trust Report devoted to unemployed women showed that the same epithet is applicable to women (1938:241) although Bruegel (1979:21) has observed that none of the major studies of the impact of unemployment in Britain consider unemployed women. Significantly, the Pilgrim Trust's Report is entitled 'Men without Work'.

This facet also gives a salience to Beveridge's comment to the representatives of the National Council of Women,

'This is not an attack upon women, but I suspect that the desire of women for employment is less rigorous than that of men because... apart from the money question, they stand up to the unemployment; they occupy themselves; they are less bored by it than men and therefore, it would be bad obviously to weaken the already weaker incentive of women to get employment.

(PRO 1942 CAB 87/77 5th Meeting March: Q1387)

What is required is a pool of labour which can be drawn upon when required and made redundant when necessary without the costly psychological imbalance ascribed to the unemployed whose sense of identity and worth is located in paid employment. Men may dislike work, treat it instrumentally to enrich private life, as the studies of the affluent worker have demonstrated (Goldthorpe et al, 1970:174), but, for the majority, some position in the economic structure is an essential component of self identity or masculinity.¹

¹ How male identity enters the familial role of women is analysed in the following chapter. On a contemporary note a marriage guidance counsellor has commented, 'Women should also be sympathetic to men who have lost their jobs - for this too is increasing impotence... The problem here is that a man's self-image of masculinity is often projected through

While a woman's identity and major activity may lie in the world of work there are pressures to confine it to the family; and there are sound economic reasons for this in terms of industrial cost, flexibility and the need for a psychologically stable citizenry.

The role of the woman citizen which has been articulated in these texts nicely fits the analysis by Barron and Norris of the labour market as a dual labour market, comprising a primary sector, containing relatively well-rewarded and stable jobs, and a secondary sector, containing lower paid and insecure occupations functional for employers (Baron and Norris 1976:47). Five main attributes that may make a particular social group or category a likely source of secondary workers are enumerated: dispensibility, clearly visible social difference, little interest in acquiring training, low economism (that is the value placed upon economic rewards) and lack of solidarity (Barron and Norris 1976:53).

The first attribute, dispensibility, that is, the ease with which an employee can be removed from a redundant job, is of obvious relevance. This has two aspects - voluntary turnover and relative ease of involuntary separation. The primacy accorded family demands obviously identify married women with the first aspect.

Of the involuntary turnover the authors include in their discussion the sense of lower eligibility felt by women, and enforced by the community, for scarce jobs and the degree of acceptance of these values by the group. Of the problem of acceptance they raise the issue as to whether the degree of acquiescence to the situation by the redundant group is accounted for by their greater malleability, their lower attachment to

(footnote continued from previous page)

If he loses his job or feels insecure at work he may feel that his masculinity is under threat. This can create cases of impotence which take as long as a year to recover.'

(Sunday Times 1977 9 Jan.)

work as a career, because of financial support from husbands, or because of the many alternative jobs open to them (Barron and Norris 1976:56).

The analysis of the forces' education material has indicated that the concept of attachment should at the least include that of identity rather than commitment. Irrespective of the fact that women are in the workforce, that they work outside the home, their identity is, arguably, located in the pure model of the family which has been reinterpreted to include a concept of citizenship which embraces a servicing form of economic role.

Whether women are active in the labour market or not does not, or appears not to, affect their public identity. In a historical period when established identities and conceptions of self were widely under challenge and to the forefront of consciousness, the forces' education programme operated to sustain in consciousness the old identities in a form particularly functional for the State, while the Beveridge proposals would provide the structural supports for such identities.

However, while this material may be seen as an attempt to persuade women where their true identity lay, more importantly, it represents an interpretation of reality for a mass male audience which usefully, for both State and family budget, permits and indeed encourages that whole reality while simultaneously emptying it of any challenge to the prevailing power structure. With regard to the apparent confusion and ambivalence of government policy referred to earlier, such paradoxes, I would argue, contribute positively to this effect of creating specific economic identities.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The liberal origin and background of the forces' education programme and the context of readiness for change in which it appeared was described

in the first part of this chapter. In certain respects the material was liberal and did advocate change, especially in regard to factors associated with class, but also in relation to certain aspects of family life. For example, when compared with the findings of Slater and Woodside, referred to above, on the confined horizons of working-class wives, there was certainly an attempt in part of the texts (although possibly due to misconception of working-class reality) to broaden such horizons in a manner which, at the minimum, would have increased social competence and intellectual awareness. There were also attempts at encouraging greater mutuality in the activities of husband and wife and the participation of the father in family life.

Nonetheless, in a fundamental respect, and despite the liberal credentials of those involved in its construction, the material was profoundly conservative. Furthermore, while the inequalities of class were dominant in discussions of social change, it would be wrong to suggest a lack of awareness in the texts that war was challenging traditional familial structures, specifically in the manner in which it was influencing women's activities, attitudes, and awareness of their own abilities, along with the effect of economic independence, not only upon their status but also upon their ability to perform, with a reliable and increased income, their family role. Indeed, this posed a major problem for this mass male audience and consequently had to be dealt with. Unlike extra marital sexual activity, the dilemma was openly presented in the material along with a recognition of the inequalities suffered by women in the labour market and the burden of the domestic role.

The material additionally provided evidence of deeply held convictions, although not all aspects were universally held, of the unnatural and even preposterous nature of fundamental familial change; for example

the assumption of innate sexual differences in familial behaviour or the preposterousness of the logic of equality applied to women. That such cultural incomprehension was a societal phenomenon is suggested by the government spokesman's reply to Edith Summerskill's objection to the familial assumptions of the war-time poster 'Be Like Dad and Keep Mum'.

'I am indeed sorry if words that were intended to amuse should have succeeded in irritating. I cannot, however, believe that the irritation is very profound or widespread.'

(Women Freedom League 1941 23 May:2)

Such assumptions are often used as a means of explaining the difficulties inherent to change. Such assumptions however, are sustained in complex ways.

Relevant to such sustenance, and to the problems in the understanding of ideology, are the mechanisms employed here by which the problems of the State, the educators and the audience were accommodated.

Of the texts selected for analysis these proved the most difficult to unravel. In many respects (and I would suggest that this may hold for texts which are formally educational, for example, marriage manuals) they appeared to present exactly what the educators specified in their educational aims - a balanced representation of views.

Close analysis, however, revealed layers of context, both structural in the relationship to the obtaining allocation of power and cultural in the reference to types of knowledge and values. These were under a definite editorial control informed by the dominant conventional assumptions referred to above. Most importantly the contextual layers, dispersed throughout the texts, informed each other thus making unnecessary any need for direct references to them in the articulation of specific topics.

Winship (1978:139) in her analysis of women's magazines referred to the mechanism of compartmentalisation, or 'boundary construction' in the presentation of knowledge whereby competing elements may be kept

discrete and separate. This occurred in the BWP and ABCA material only with the topics of sexual activity and conjugal violence. Conversely, it would seem that the dispersion of assumptions throughout the text provides latent understanding which may be implicitly drawn upon.

Secondly, while the image of the ideal model of the family was comparatively easy to extract from the proposals of the Beveridge Report, in contrast the ideal model in these educational texts, while still profoundly traditional, emerged from a series of interrelated constructs which contributed to the final model by influencing it with crucial values - both traditional and modern - and ultimately enabling the incorporation of a threatening reality in a form which did not disturb the traditional structure and furthered its utility for the obtaining societal demands. The apparently disparate and competing elements which Beveridge had identified, the housewife and the working wife, were drawn together in this model. Thus, the ultimate model of the family in this material although 'simple' was complex in its definition. The analysis revealed not just a structure but the cultural interpretations which inform it. Also indicated was the manner in which an older concept may be modified in the face of challenge and remain fundamentally unaltered.

The hypothesis that the articulation of a family ideology was intimately related to its audience was sustained. To test whether such articulation differs according to differing audiences is examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4: POPULAR CULTURE

THE TWO MAGAZINES

The theoretical purpose in selecting two distinct types of women's magazine for analysis was to clearly establish a discriminating articulation of familism, as Gramsci noted of Catholicism. In conjunction with the forces' education programme the selection of the women's press per se allowed for a comparison to be made by gender. The selection of two types of magazine enabled an examination of the distinctions made within the category women. In other words, the intention was to pursue the concepts raised variously by Parsons, Althusser and Gramsci, and embedded in the empirical material discussed earlier, of modal personality types, of the social reproduction of structurally related skills and attitudes, and of different common senses.

The magazines are examined separately but it is useful to provide a brief indication of their content in order to place them in a comparative context. Although it is recognised that the format of such publications forms part of their message (Hall 1975:18) this is not entered into and remarks and analysis are confined to content.

The following comprises a description of the content of the two selected magazines over the sample period. While the content of the periodicals differed according to the distribution of fiction and non-fiction certain attributes were shared: fiction- advice on domestic skills, that is, housewifery and child care- advice on personal problems. The immediate contrast, the wide ranging subject matter of the features in Good Housekeeping and their total absence in True Romances is marked.

The table of contents for Good Housekeeping lists the material in four sections: fiction, special articles, service features and miniature features. In Table 4.1 this allocation is slightly adapted, grouping Mary Gray's discussion and comment on what are defined as personal problems of general interest with the specific editorial material and isolating the contribution by Chronicler, the man of the world, from the rest of the special articles.

The remaining 91 articles encompass a wide range of subjects which according to their manifest content cover education (9); social reconstruction (2); citizenship (2); organisation and content of service life for men and women (6); economics (2); biography (2); women's jobs and professions (3); issues facing women as a result of the war (4) and issues specifically concerning women (11); experiences or accounts of other countries (15), and very general articles ranging from Spring, wild animals to music and the Empire (30). There are also 5 humorous personal descriptions of personal life.

The service features form a key section of the periodical, presenting a professional approach to housekeeping (White 1970:103) and embracing technical advice on the domestic skills of housewifery, the caring skills of child development and child health and skills of personal presentation (and preservation) in the beauty advice. For purposes of categorisation occasionally features in this section were counted as general articles due to the fact that their content impinged upon wider societal or political concerns. For example, an article on nursery schools and nurseries related to the institutions of education and child development (Chaloner 1943 June:42), or in the same issue, discussion of formal organisations of women for collective action by N.C. Stoneham (p.34).¹

¹ It is significant that the formal institutions were nursery schools and nurseries and the formal activity was membership of and representation

Table 4.1: Descriptive Categories and Number of Items Examined in Good Housekeeping

Type of Material		No. of Items
<u>Fiction:</u>	Short Stories	26
	Poetry Miscellanies	2
<u>Editorial Material:</u>	Editorial	11 ¹
	Personal Advice	12 ²
<u>Special Articles:</u>	Philosophical Commentary on Current Events	10 ³
	General Articles	91
<u>Service Features:</u>	Domestic Skills	
	Clothing	12
	Cookery	12
	Housekeeping	12
	Gardening	12
	Caring Skills	
	Child Development	12
Children's Doctor	12	
	Personal Presentation (Beauty: 2 features)	24

The material of True Romances was predominantly fiction taking the form in each issue of three or four long complete anonymous stories and usually one, sometimes two, serials.⁴ Twenty-three complete stories

(footnote continued from previous page)

by Women's Institutes and Townswomen's Guilds for the express purpose of raising standards of goods and services (consumption) with stress placed on the non-political nature of the activity.

¹ In the August 1943 issue an article on family size was in the editorial spot.

² Mary Gray's articles on personal problems of general interest did not appear after April 1943. Because this type of material deals with problems arising directly out of the prevailing situation it was decided to examine the articles of the preceding seven month period, in total May 1942 - April 1943 inclusive.

³ The articles by Chronicler first appeared February 1943 and terminated November 1943.

⁴ Over the sample period Good Housekeeping did not contain any serials although some appeared before December 1942. Winship (1978:148) has implied, but in her paper does not specify, a distinction between short stories and serials in the articulation of femininity. Here I make no distinction.

were examined and seven instalments of three serials.

There was no general editorial comment. The editorial material consisted of two features; one comprising personal accounts sent in by readers entitled 'The Happiest Moment of My Life' and the second an advice feature on personal problems of the same genre as Mary Gray of Good Housekeeping although more formal in presentation. While Mary Gray discusses problems which she has found amongst her friends, readers of True Romances write to Miss Porterfield for advice.

The only other features were knitting patterns, cookery and advice on child care. All features were examined over the twelve month¹ period with certain modification for the personal advice item as noted in the footnote below.²

I now turn to an examination of the two magazines.

Table 4.2: Descriptive Categories and Number of Items Examined in True Romances.

Type of Material		No. of Items
<u>Fiction:</u>	Complete Stories	23
	Serials	3 (7 instalments)
<u>Editorial Material:</u>	The Happiest Moment of My Life	12
	Do You Need Advice?	11 ²
<u>Service Features:</u>	Domestic Skills	
	Knitting Pattern	12
	Housewife Helps (Cookery)	12
	Child Care (For Mother and Child)	12

¹ In the event it was found that the fiction was so dominant and the features supportive that reference to this aspect is only occasionally made. Others have drawn more attention to the use of these categories in the accommodation of contradictions (see Winship 1978).

² This feature did not appear after January 1943 and therefore the preceding issues were examined, i.e. from February 1942 - January 1943. There was no article in April 1942.

TRUE ROMANCES

THE AUDIENCE

Two characteristics dominated the audience and the text of True Romances: the stage in the family life cycle and an economic theme. As noted earlier, the readers of True Romances comprised young unmarried girls and married women predominantly in the early stages of married life of low socio-economic status.

In her two books Girls Growing Up (1942) and Rising Twenty (1948) Jephcott has described the social and economic circumstances of a non-randomly selected group of girls between the ages of fourteen and twenty during this period. Although the reading matter of her informants was largely confined to the story magazines and 'erotic bloods' (Jephcott 1942:98) (the confession type of magazine is not mentioned) what she says of these girls may be taken as an indicator of the readership of True Romances.

The background of the girls is dominated by poverty. They grew up during the depression with a childhood overshadowed by the unemployment of fathers (Jephcott 1942:40). As Titmuss (1950:116) has observed in the discussion of the evacuees, it was not long term unemployment only which affected families during this period but the widespread intermittent unemployment which reached an even larger number; and Boyd Orr (n.d.:48) noted that,

'before the war the diet of about 30 per cent of the families in the country was below the standard for health, that of the poorest 10 per cent being grossly deficient.'

These girls, Jephcott (1942:38) comments are likely to have little personal knowledge of people who have always known economic security or acquaintance with a standard of living that has not been dominated by economic difficulties. She also notes how they have grown up with a perpetual shortage

of material things - saucepans, bedding, cleaning materials - and a paucity of individual possessions of their own (Jephcott 1942:38,36). Their education and leisure time pursuits were narrow and limited (Jephcott 1942:138), and their eventual paid employment of a monotonous and casual nature, endured for 'a quick money return' an attitude influenced by adult attitudes bred of the fear of resumption of unemployment after the war (Jephcott 1942:40). This approach to employment was exacerbated by the increase in job opportunities during the war. There was no sense of any commitment to either job or community, the economic necessity of the family being the very real motive for work (Jephcott 1942:40).

The contrast between reality and the romanticism and sex culled from 'crooners, advertisements and romance novels' (Jephcott 1948:80) is stark. These girls have before them, in the lives of their mothers and older sister, models of marital and family relationships which are harsh and unenviable in the constant struggle against poverty (Jephcott 1948:42). Such models have been graphically described by Spring-Rice (1939) and Slater and Woodside (1951) and were commented upon in the chapter on the forces' education programme.

While fourteen-year-olds, Jephcott (1942:38) observes, know that their own lives will be like their mothers' although they do not intend to have as many children and thereby reduce the burden (Jephcott 1948:38) some realise that money would alleviate their condition, 'I wish I was a lady with of course the means' (Jephcott 1942:38). Spring-Rice (1939:95) drew attention to the inertia within the phenomenon - that the daughters of the women whose harsh lives she describes,

'will harbour no more than a vague hope that somehow, and through no direct action of their own, matters will have improved by the time they embark on the business of wife and mother.'

Nonetheless marriage is immanent in the lives of these young girls. A preoccupation with boys forms an important part of their lives (Jephcott

1942:135), indeed their dominant interest (Jephcott 1948:65). Even as young as 18 they were

'very much alive to the fact that they would possibly be getting married within two or three years time (at a much younger age than middle-class girls) and be having a baby within a year or so later.'

(Jephcott 1948:22)

In England and Wales for the years 1929 to 1939 between 50,000 and 60,000 girls were married each year before they were 21. In 1940 the number rose to 116,000 and in 1943 remained as high as 82,000. 1940 was a boom year for weddings; more women were married at twenty than any other age.

Marriage is seen as a full-time career; it is seen as a matter of principle that a woman's first duty is to look after her own home. Work is the interim between leaving school and marriage. Practically all Jephcott's respondents said they would want to give up their jobs when married. Some do consider continuing with work but their reasons are not a belief in the value of their job nor personal independence, but 'only of my husband's pay weren't enough', or 'if we need to get a good home together'.¹ Although Jephcott comments that the possibility of delegating domestic tasks to other women had not yet seriously been considered by women of this class the account by Dennis and his colleagues (1969: 182), of the refusal of a miner to have his meal cooked by any other than his wife and that it had to be cooked and not convenience food such as fish and chips, suggests deeper implications for the marital relationship.

The boys, Jephcott observes, take the same attitude - it is the girl's duty to make marriage her career - and their opinion carries much weight amongst the girls (Jephcott 1948:72-73). In the earlier study she also notes the manner in which the assumption of the domestic role and the sub-

¹ The fact that True Romances had a following amongst Northern mill girls where there was a tradition of work after marriage may render these remarks less applicable to at least some of the audience.

ordinate relationship of women to men is developed in girlhood. Girls are accustomed to a lower level of pay, to reading advertisements for comparable jobs which offer 14 shillings to girls and 26 shillings to boys.

'She grows up in the knowledge that the boy does not do any housework, has better pay and more pocket money than they have and they accept its concomitant that the woman is an inferior person to the man.'

(Jephcott 1942:39)

However, irrespective of any underlying relationship of power and subordination between the sexes, aspects of which were indicated by Spring-Rice (1939) and Slater and Woodside (1951) and discussed in the previous chapter, the effect of poverty per se upon the marriage relationship and upon the physical attribute of beauty in its familial significance are of import for this audience.

The effect of poverty, induced by unemployment, upon marriage was referred to earlier in the discussion of the studies of unemployment. It is conveyed in the saying, 'Love flies through the window when poverty comes in through the door.' However, in terms of an individuality which is not only related to a personal identity but is also critical to a feminine identity and marriage itself, a further aspect must be considered.

Slater and Woodside (1951) and Spring-Rice (1939) described the lack of leisure, social isolation and drudgery accompanying many marriages for poor women. The effect on the actual physique of the woman is, however, also emphasised by those conducting these surveys. Along with the chronic ill health developing with childbearing and endless domestic drudgery is the loss of physical beauty. Whether this is commented upon by the women and girls themselves, whether it is accepted with (or without) regret as one of the inevitabilities of marriage little indication is given. It obviously, however, strikes the researchers, from more comfortable backgrounds, with a force approaching horror. This is recounted here

because of the major place it has in the texts of True Romances and because it is a vivid symbol and fact of the sacrifice such women have to make to marriage. As such it therefore poses a potential threat to the continuance of the system of marriage amongst the poor.

Thus Jephcott (1948:46) noting that women of under fifty are old women imputes the following to her respondents,

"Our mothers may be old and odd looking, but there was a time when they were young and lovely", is a frame of mind which is rarely stated but which colours the attitude of a good many girls.'

Later she observes that by 19 and 20 some of the girls

'instead of blooming are beginning to look considerably older than their age - one realizes that the freshness or fragileness which gave them their charm as children will disappear; but brittleness and shallowness seem to be taking their place. Care, too, has begun to supplant lightheartedness. The six years since leaving school have started to tell on these particular girls with the sort of pressure that has caused certain of their mothers to become embittered or dispirited women - old before they are 50. The face "pickled in the vinegar of its own disillusionment" has already at 20 begun to form'.

(Jephcott 1948:61)

Thus working class life itself takes its toll on physical attributes, yet, as the mortality figures noted earlier demonstrate, marriage adds to their weight. Spring-Rice (1939:ix) comments,

'It is often heartbreaking to see how rapidly a pretty, attractive girl grows old after a few years of marriage. She loses her looks and ceases to take a pride in her appearance; minor ailments are neglected, her temper frayed, and household worries weigh unnecessarily heavily.'

The contradiction lies in the cultural emphasis placed upon beauty and its familial role in the pre-marital stage. In contrast to the descriptions above Jephcott (1948:63) describing the time and effort girls devote to their appearance observes,

'Moreover the 'poor' girl's personal appearance is her main stock-in-trade. Her face literally is her fortune: and a girl can more quickly be a success through this than by her job.'

(italics in original)

She goes on to note the widespread belief of girls in the importance physical attractiveness has for boys, although the ambivalent position men take towards physical attractiveness in women, once married, was noted by Slater and Woodside (1951) and is referred to above.

This is not to suggest that to remain single would necessarily reduce the harshness of the lives of these readers. In the first place singlehood for women is severely circumscribed socially and economically. Jephcott (1948:45) refers to a mother who is determined that no career 'shall turn her daughter into so incomprehensible a specimen' as a relative who is a successful career woman and has remained a spinster.

Furthermore, often the wages of women, particularly in the textile industry where magazines such as True Romances had their appeal, were low. The Spinsters' Association, with its headquarters in Hebden Bridge, Yorkshire, campaigned during this period and earlier for a lower pension age for spinsters because of the deleterious effects of work in poor conditions upon women who on falling sick before retirement age (or in some instances merely because they no longer looked young (Pilgrim Trust 1938:252) were likely to suffer dismissal and thereby lose their insurance rights to a pension.

It is therefore marriage which is seen as the appropriate avenue for any potential security for a similar readership to that of True Romances. It is a condition however fraught with contradiction and, although the hold of tradition is great, with the objective potential for rejection. In fact Jephcott (1942:78) notes of work and differential opportunities (although she does not transfer the theme to marriage), that a society with profit of the employer as its determining factor, where the young are necessarily forced into dead end jobs due to financial necessity, inhibiting individual development, creates a 'potential

source of revolution.'

Marriage, however, has to be to a potentially good provider, a fact emphasised by parents if not to the forefront when the girls consider boys as their potential mates (Jephcott 1948:14). These two themes, the acceptance of this type of marriage and the kind of provider relates this audience to, or rather makes them an important aspect of, a wider societal problem: the work ethic and social stability.

The economic depression and the provision of unemployment insurance and financial assistance to those out of work raised the issue of the effect on motivation to work. E.E. Bakke (1935:xiii), for example, took as the subject for his doctoral dissertation the question, 'What has been the effect of Unemployment Insurance on the willingness and ability of workers to support themselves?' Of relevance to the young audience under consideration and the young men they either will marry or to whom they are already married is therefore the comment made by one of Bakke's respondents, a young engineer, and considered by Bakke important enough to quote in italics.

'And how about the children of these fellows who have to live on the dole? What kind of a desire to work are they going to have?'

(Bakke 1935:23)

The importance of the female in the mediation of male attitudes to work is hinted at by Jephcott (1948:78) in her comments upon girls' prejudice against marrying miners. She observes that this prejudice lies not so much in the low wage and the possibility of unemployment but in the fact that, along with others such as teachers and the boys themselves, they consider pit work a socially inferior occupation.

'The girls in this study with their pervasive selective influence are certainly doing nothing to counter the influence against the traditional occupation. If such hostility on their part is more than superficial, and if it is widespread, it would appear to have considerable social and economic implications and to be adding its

quota to the accumulations of discontent in the mining community.'

(Jephcott 1948:80)

THE TEXT

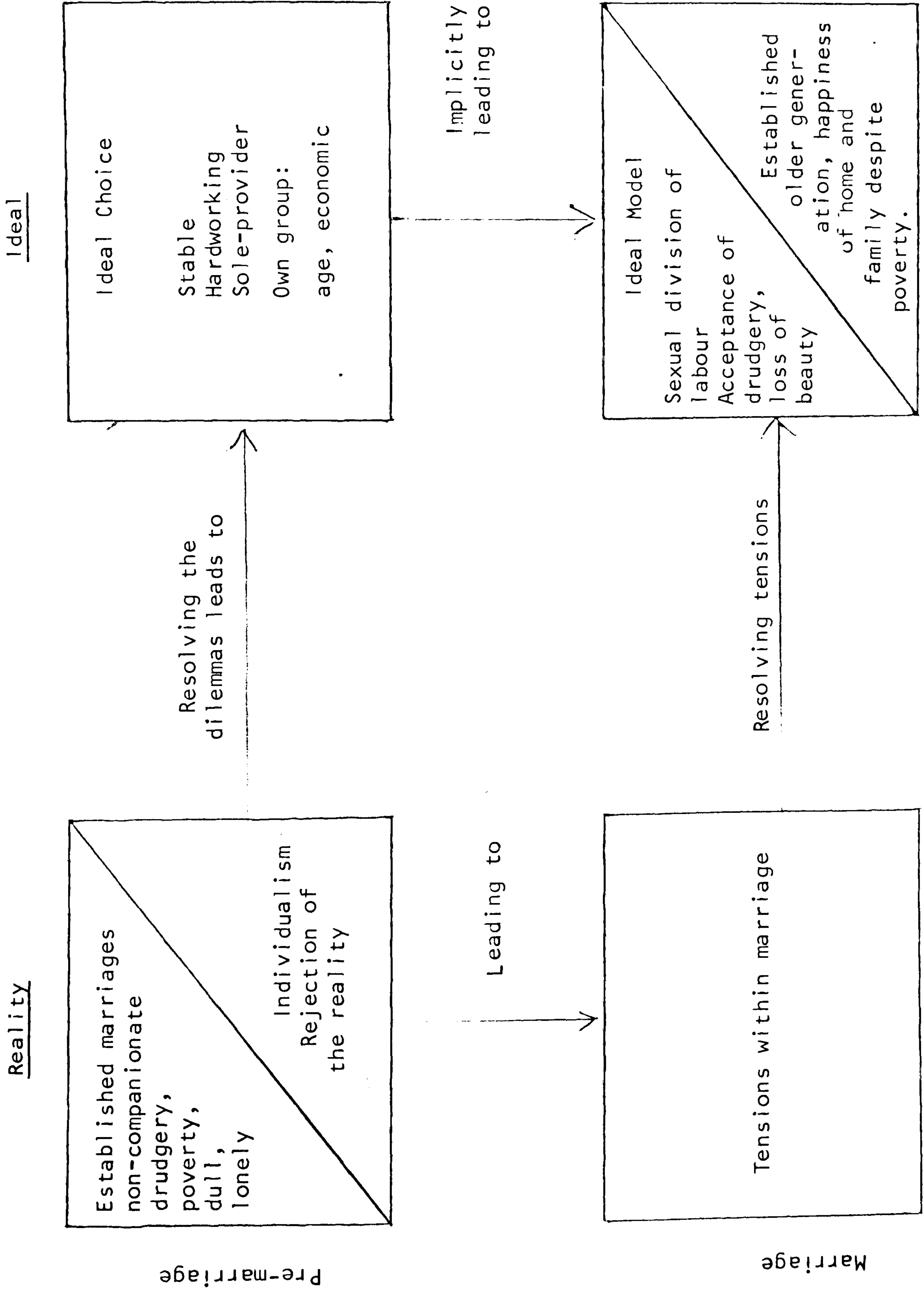
FAMILY STAGES

In the stories of True Romances two stages of the family cycle predominate. The dominating economic theme of the texts is woven around the dilemmas of marital choice and the establishment of the conjugal marital pattern. (A list of the familial themes extracted from the text is attached in Appendix III.)

Thus of the 26 stories examined, 19 feature unmarried women or men coping with the problems of choice of marriage partner. Of these six follow the careers of the single through to marriage and the establishment of a pattern of conjugal relationships. Seven other stories centre on this latter theme, although reference is made to the single state. Similarly, the single are offered models of marriage upon which to draw.

The model of the family which emerges, with its strict sexual division of labour, integrates contradictions and accommodates the potential threats of the real world to this model into an image of moral approbation and acceptance. There are two aspects to the construction of this ideal. The first centres upon choice of marital partner. Satisfactory resolution of the dilemmas of the pre-marital stage, that is, the ideal choice of mate leads, it is implied, to the ideal marriage relationship (although in some cases lessons learnt during this process of choice may be forgotten and have to be relearnt). On marriage any unresolved dilemmas, or heretofore unrealised ones, are imported into the conjugal relationship. The second set of accommodations, therefore, lies in the establishment of conjugal patterns in conformity with the ideal or model as it appears in the texts. The process is presented in diagrammatic form in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3: Relationships Between Ideal and Real in True Romances



ECONOMIC THEME

As noted earlier, the most striking feature of these texts is the relationship between familism and a pervasive economic theme. This was not merely confined to the economic and social location of the individual actors by such techniques as reference to occupations and life-styles but consisted of direct and detailed comment upon the multitude of elements of which an economic dimension could be said to comprise. For example, whole stories centre upon the desire to marry a rich man (TR 1943 29;30 May), to types of wealth (TR 1943 6 Jan), to contrasts between miserliness and the spendthrift (TR 1943 27 May), to security versus romance (TR 1942 5; 1943 18 March; 27 May; 30 May); to the effects of economic irresponsibility (TR 1943 18 March), to the hollowness of economic achievement¹ (TR 1942 4 Dec ; 1943 14 Feb ; 27 May). In isolated comments money is referred to as a trust (TR 1943 10 Jan :23), a girl says she had (no) desire for riches (TR 1943 7 Jan:10), there is reference to pensions (TR 1943 22 April:10), debt is abhorred (TR 1942 5 Dec :22), meters are disconnected and bills unpaid (TR 1943 18 March:31; 1942 5 Dec : 48), families are short of food and clothes (TR 1943 29 May:18; 11 Feb :2). Even in stories where the central characters are comfortably off there is a hinterland of the poor and the humble: the gardener's family (TR 1943 26 May:4) the slum evacuee (TR 1942 2 Dec :11), poor families in desperate need of medical attention, social welfare (TR 1942 1 Dec : 2) and nursing (TR 1943 9 Jan :33).

Such economic themes have not been neglected in studies of women's magazines which have also pointed to the omissions of any reference to the structural location of poverty, unemployment and so forth, in for example, Fowler's (1979) analysis of magazines of the 1930's and by Carter (1977) referred to above. What such analyses do not draw attention

1 . I be seen how this is specially articulated to allow for occupational advance while containing social mobility.

to however, is the dense integration of these economic elements. Thus while there remained familistic elements, such as violence, which partly appeared to lie on a different dimension, many others, such as age of marriage, sex, beauty, incest, illegitimacy were directly drawn into the economic.

In addition, the whole text is shot through by a juxtaposing and, paradoxically, ultimately unifying comparison of rich and poor, or more accurately, the rich and the non-rich.¹ Consequently, apparently non-economic factors, such as dull husbands, love, and womanhood have an underlying economic dimension both in themselves and in their communality between socio-economic groups. Thus rejection of dullness can lead to social aspiration based upon a search for wealth (TR 1943 30 May), to a rich girl's irresponsible choice of marriage partner based upon love (TR 1942 5 May), or to the sexual and violent humiliation of a middle-class woman (TR 1943 13 Feb). Fate or the irresponsibility of love and personal pleasure seeking can plunge the rich into the rigours of poverty (TR 1942 5 Dec ; 1943 18 March). Women of all social classes are seen as identical. A rich child (female) is told never to think of herself as different to a poor child, in this case the gardener's daughter.

'You must never, never feel you are different from other little girls, just because your daddy happens to earn more money than theirs.'

(TR 1943 26 May:4)

A pretty girl bitterly notes to herself that the only difference between girls is the men they are with - in this case one is wealthy and the other not (TR 1943 30 May). Also conveyed here is the antagonism and economic competition for men which exists between women.

'He let in the gears and the big car slid smoothly away... the

¹ These crude terms reflect the crudity of the comparisons.

pretty girl, who sat beside its driver, glanced at me with amused contempt plainly written on her face... "What right has she to look at me like that? What difference is there between her and me?"

And then my own mind answered bitterly. The difference? Her man sitting at ease in his big car, cool and polite - and Ted standing in the dust red faced and perspiring...'

(TR 1943 30 May:21)

ECONOMIC CONTAINMENT

The thrust of this material is twofold and, I would argue, is not merely the bland acceptance of a harsh reality as Carter (1977) has suggested. The import is in the containment and construction of masculinity; this is, first, containment within a specific social or economic group and secondly the construction of a specific type of male worker inherent in women's behaviour.

A focus on the production of femininity with which other analysts have approached this type of material has directed attention to the mediation of women by men (see for example Winship 1978). The concentration upon the articulation of the economic dominating theme however, led to the reverse (although in no sense negating Winship's thesis) proposition of the mediation of the male by the female. The analysis here puts flesh on the bones of the stereotypical phrase, 'Behind every good man there stands a good woman'. This of course was apparent in Beveridge's (1942(a):para.107) conception of the housewife; what emerges from the analysis of two contrasting women's magazines and refers directly to the hypothesis that the articulation of familism is crucially differentiated for distinct audiences, is that 'good women' differ in ways important to the operation of the economy.

Containment, for both men and women, comprises a social, economic and, in one case, biological placement. First, given that women's major

vehicle for social mobility¹ is traditionally conceived as marriage,² the import of these texts is to maintain a supply of women willing and content to marry men in the lower hierarchies of the labour force; men who have little opportunity to improve their income or enlarge their social horizons for themselves or for their wives; or where poverty and all that this entails in marriage is endemic, and where relations between husband and wife may be harsh or indifferent. Such threatening models are, as noted, constantly before the readers in their everyday lives. It will be seen that they are well represented in the text.

The male also is subject to processes of containment. There are, for example, catastrophes and chastening experiences which befall men who attempt to change their economic but more importantly their social position. The newly rich are subject to financial catastrophe (TR 1943 6 Jan:29); the entrepreneurial fisherman is brought down by fate and brings death to his community because, by dint of hard work and initiative, he breaks both the work and moral codes. This enables him to outstrip his, literally, traditional group (TR 1943 14 Feb.). A man from a background of poverty, who has denied himself the freedoms of youth, devoted himself

¹ The social mobility of women has never been examined since it is always concealed within her status as either child, where she adopts the status of her father, or wife, where she assumes the status of her husband. A major recent study does not incorporate a consideration of the mobility of women as individuals (Goldthorpe 1980).

² Berent (1954:326-329) demonstrated that in England and Wales there was a greater tendency for women than men to marry into higher social groups than that of origin (as measured by father's occupational status) - 29.8 per cent of all men married beneath them as opposed to 25.3 per cent of all women. Amongst social group IV, the semi-skilled and unskilled, 19.5 per cent of the women and 16.1 per cent of the men, married two or three groups above their group of origin, that is, ranging from supervisory, non-manual upper-grade through managerial, executive and professional and higher administrative occupational groups. This compared with 3.2 per cent of the women and 2.6 per cent of the men of social group III who made such a transit although of course the change of movement possible is relative to the point of origin.

to hard work and career and, after achieving financial success marries, instrumentally, into a family of high social standing in order to add social success (which cannot be achieved through effort) to economic success, finds that this can bring social and economic humiliation (TR 1942 4 Dec). While men too must contain their aspirations within their own social station, this narrative may also be viewed as a means whereby men, who reject the women of their own class and the accepted familial commitments, can be dismissed by the female readership.

'The girls who liked me - girls I knew I could marry if I wanted to - I wasn't interested in them. They were pretty girls and nice. But all that would get me was a wife and children while I was still on my way up. I'd marry an expensive girl... she'd be beautiful, and she'd have what I call class.'

(TR 1942 4 Dec:16)

Nonetheless, as presented in the texts, the constraints constitute a pressure towards the construction and containment of a male worker imbued with the work ethic, irrespective of the monetary rewards, and restrained from attempts at upward social mobility. Despite the warnings directed at the male who initiates and accepts responsibility for his own behaviour, containment of the male centres primarily upon women's behaviour and its influence upon male attitudes to work. This operates prior to marriage in the exercise of her choice and in the stipulations of the requisites in a husband. After marriage containment rests in the restraining of both her own and her husband's individualism so that they may both adopt the sexual division of labour appropriate to the ideal model. She is responsible for the shaping of his identity as a worker, restraining both excess of economic activity and insufficient economic activity, and enabling him to perform this work role through the proper performance of her own domestic role. In such a manner she contributes to the stability of the economic structure.

ARTICULATION AND ACCOMMODATION

In the elaboration of the above propositions the links and accommodations between the real and the ideal are traced at the two familial levels. As noted, a broad division was also drawn between the rich and the not-rich. The not-rich include teachers, salesmen, trainee accountants, office girls as well as smallholders, unskilled labourers and fishermen. The rich are those with traditional inherited or apparently secure wealth, for example, the landed gentry, retired actresses, businessmen and professional workers such as doctors and solicitors.

Dilemma of Choice: Ideal and RealPoverty and Happiness

The dilemmas surrounding the choice of marriage partner in these texts arise from working class youth's rejection of two aspects of marital reality.

The first is the rejection of marriage in poverty; where a woman may be worn out at thirty.

'Poor Mrs. Grimes! Peter, her oldest, was nine, and she couldn't have been more than thirty, but already worn out with children and trouble, she was almost middle aged... was it ever worth the price of marriage and children, to lose one's hold on youth?',

(TR 1943 22 April:6)

contrasts with the rich.

'Isobel March was a woman who had reached her early thirties. She was very dark, with black glossy hair... She was definitely the loveliest creature which our villagers had seen for a long time.'

(TR 1943 24 April:17)

Where, also, life is a round of mean economies and anxieties seen in one instance in the lives of the narrator's parents and married sisters whose menfolk are unskilled labourers and clerks and, despite their being hardworking, whose earnings are irregular and low, to fall in love

with a poor man 'would mean the same economies my parents practiced, the same hurtful poverty my two married sisters lived in' (TR 1943 29 May:16). 'Love dies in poverty', argues a young man who says he is not earning enough to marry and give the narrator all that he would wish (TR 1943 15 Feb :20).

The second rejection is of the dullness and monotony of the married state or of dull though economically secure men. For example one narrator comments of her married sisters,

'Let them have their stodgy unexciting men, if they looked no further than that for romance... Joyce with her dull quiet Jim... and eventually their dull and boring married lives.'

(TR 1943 30 May: 22,23)

The ideal is here presented as the real, infused with mysterious qualities of happiness and contentment which remain riddles to the uninitiated category of the unmarried. The narrator for example, cannot understand how her parents have 'kept happiness in their hearts' despite their poverty; mysteriously also their 'scant' supper can always accommodate an unexpected guest (TR 1943 29 May; 19,18). The 'dangers of marriage and the difficulties of life' are set against the spiritual quality of house windows in the setting sun 'which bloomed like beacons in the gathering dusk, beacons of home and hearth, of love and family devotion' (TR 1943 29 May: 40).

Yet the rarity of the conjugal relationship outlined above and that the absence is linked with familiarity and poverty is evidenced amongst the descriptions of the parent generation. In one case a marriage where an irresponsible adventurer husband eventually settles down as a good provider evokes a daughter's comment,

'Rarely have I seen, in other homes, especially with middle-aged couples, the courtesy and consideration that I constantly saw between my parents.'

(TR 1943 7 Jan : 10)

And in another observer, of a couple in their youth,

'It was one of those rare, beautiful marriages - completely happy in spite of not much money, not much security, and lots of hard work.

When they knew Ellen was going to have a baby, it didn't daunt them. James worked harder than ever.'

(TR 1943 19 March:38)

Another girl cannot understand how her sisters can be 'so absurdly proud of the small flats, dull husbands and limited horizons' and additionally feel sorry for her (TR 1943 30 May:22). Yet the physical rather than the spiritual attributes and models of married life are prominent in the text and those agonising over choice or aiming to marry a particular type of man (rich) are very much aware of them.

Furthermore, the realities with which these girls are presented contradicts the ideal of marriage. This is not to be dismissed because of the romantic though unrealistic view taken of marriage - itself an important cultural phenomenon - because the texts themselves present an awareness of not only the lack of romance but also the possibility of a lack of care or even civility as a marriage becomes settled.

Attempts to escape such constraints¹ are directly related to the economic, to access to, the creation of or the rejection of money. Thus the texts have to accommodate within the ideal those threatening elements of poverty, drudgery and monotony which would deny it and also to undermine the legitimacy of the attempts by which individuals seek to reject and escape from such realities.

¹ As noted in the introduction, this does not necessarily, if at all, involve a rejection of marriage or a modification of the effect she expects it to have on her life. As McLoughlin (1980) writing of unskilled factory girls observes, 'Although it has not affected her certainty that marriage and a family will suddenly kick-start her life, she can see that the women's magazine dream hasn't come true for the older women in the factory! (my italics).

Romance

That love premised upon emotion and irrationality is the basis of marital choice is implicit in both the title of the magazine itself and the titles of the stories. In the 30 titles there are 11 references to love, 3 to paradise, 3 to the heart and 7 to irrational forces such as hope, magic, nature, the supernatural and religion (see bibliography). Other titles refer to loss, running away and escape.

The superiority of love as the criterion of choice is also made within the stories themselves. Paradoxically, this is revealed when the love criterion is set against the realities of the social context, the logic of rational behaviour and the ensuing ramifications and contradictions.

However, despite the primacy accorded romance, decisions regarding marriage cannot be resolved simply according to whether or not individuals fall in love. For some the figure who will sweep them off their feet either does not appear or is an inappropriate partner.

'What do we want with responsibility, we've got love' (TR 1943 27 May:43) says one of the heroes who asks a girl to marry him on the day he lost his job. (The effects upon marriage when it is based solely upon romance or focussed upon a romantic togetherness are discussed below). She has been blinded by the excitement and fun and so couldn't judge the true value of this attraction. His true character was not gay but 'indifferent to anything but his own desires, this completely selfish irresponsibility that I had mistaken for a happy life...' (TR 1943 27 May:44). Given what amounts as an imperative-'I've a perfect right to happiness. A perfect right to get married like other girls' (TR 1943 26 May:33); not to marry and have children is a 'sacrifice of ... natural needs' (TR 1943 22 April:41)- then a 'sensible' choice has to be made, or at the least, examined. Such choices revolve upon security,

home and family and the development of love after marriage.

'Could I hope to build a real marriage out of deep affection? Was it true that liking and respect and happy comradeship could deepen into love? At any rate, I tried desperately to sell myself the idea that second best - the loving relationship that could exist between Ricky and me, a home, children - were better - far better than nothing at all... something inside me that had been terribly young and honest and idealistic, died a secret bitter little death.'

(TR 1943 26 May:33)

Later she realises she is not one of the sensible ones.

'In order to keep my emotions under control I clung to the idea that real love could grow out of great liking and affection. And yet I knew, in believing that, I was only trying desperately to deceive myself! I knew - and I'd always known - that I was not one of the lucky, level-headed people of the world who could learn to love a man.'

(TR 1943 26 May:34)

A mother advises her daughter, 'Love doesn't come in a moment. Be sensible and marry the boy' (TR 1943 24 April:38), and the daughter muses, 'How I wished that I had accepted his proposal earlier and settled down to a safe and comfortable life' (TR 1943 24 April:17).

While in the first story, 'A Kiss for Remembrance', the heroine ultimately does not have to make this choice, in the second, 'Retribution', the initial rejection of such solidity and security leads to illegitimacy, potential incest and attempted murder.

Economic Rationality

In addition to a tension between the two components of the ideal, marriage originating in love and economic security, the ideal in these texts denies certain forms of rational behaviour conducive to the achievement of economic security. Economic security takes specific forms. For the non-rich woman this is by attachment to a reliable male worker and, for both men and women, confinement within their economic group of

origin.¹ It is not associated with financial resources per se, that is, with having wealth, or even having sufficient money or secure employment.

Strategies of rational individualism fall broadly into two parts: the pursuit of wealth and economic independence.

For women strategies adopted to gain access to wealth take three forms: marrying a rich man, economic and occupational ambition and the assured security of marrying an older man. In the text the rationality of such aspiration amongst this young and poor readership is given recognition and then devalued. The accommodation takes the form of comments by an older (and wiser) generation (although not always offering the appropriate advice) and secondly, any such attempts at escape are rendered futile by forces over which the individual has no control and which bring realisation of the true path to happiness. Rational behaviour is subject to irrational controls.

Rich Husbands

To marry a rich husband who will lift a girl out of her present environment is an obvious mechanism by which to escape an enfolding poverty. It is well established by the anonymous narrators of these stories, either as means which they themselves have attempted (and failed) or by denial of its salience in their marital choice. It comprises the plot of four stories and provides the underlying theme of two others. In 'When You Run Away From Love', the narrator explicitly states that she does not want to marry a rich man and to her employer's daughter, 'I admire your father (who is also old enough to be her own father) but I'm not a designing woman' (TR 1943 20 March:22).

Others have rational grounds for their determination to find a

¹ The exceptions are a case of adoption from a poor into a professional family (TR 1943 19 March) and the marriage of a governess to her employer (TR 1943 26 May).

rich husband but temper it with the requirement of love.

'I'm going to fall in love with a rich man, I've got to. I have to look after my parents. I can't live like they did... I won't live in poverty.'

(TR 1943 29 May:40)

and later,

'I wanted more than a steady provider, a hard worker. I wanted somebody who made a lot of money from his hard work or preferably somebody who had¹ a lot of money.'

(TR 1943 30 May:40)

Another muses to herself, 'The man I marry while possessing material things would have to sweep me off my feet' (TR 1943 23 April:13); and others while rejecting the common place life, 'the man she would marry would offer the world and all its shining treasures, all its vibrant life', regret that the man they are fond of is not successful: 'Oh why couldn't he be the kind of man I want? Why couldn't he be clever and sophisticated and successful and have money' (TR 1943 30 May:21).

Some are encouraged to search for a husband in a more instrumental way. One mother, a 'beautiful and successful businesswoman' who had been 'the breadwinner in our family since Dad died shortly after I was born' (TR 1943 23 April:12),

'Constantly reminded (her) of the importance money must eventually play in her life. "It gratifies a woman's fondest wish, Joanie. Money is power! That's a good thought to keep in mind when thinking about marriage... It's just as easy to marry a rich man as a poor one - and far more profitable."'

Although the housekeeper (the surrogate mother) warns,

'There's often a man with money for every pretty girl. Nothing wonderful about that. The important thing is - can a girl have happiness too? That's something you can't buy, Joan - no matter how much money you have.'

(TR 1943 23 April:13)

¹ The significance of established versus achieved wealth in these stories is discussed below.

And the girl herself finds the rich men she meets boring.¹

Beauty: strategy and resource

The resource upon which these girls draw to attain their ends is their beauty. Beauty, like money and talent is regarded as a trust (TR 1943 10 Jan:23) but for several of these narrators such a trust is not a passive attribute but honed to a fine instrument for social advancement. The articulation of beauty, however, in these texts is fraught with contradiction both before and after marriage. Here the comments are confined to pre-marital beauty.

First, beauty in women is never a purely individual attribute but is socially nurtured, emphasised from birth onwards, creating an awareness of its power and an expectation that it should and will be rewarded.²

'... her daughter was beautiful even as a baby... so lovely when (she was 17) that she attracted attention wherever she went.'

(TR 1943 1 April: 38,37).

'From the time I could remember there were perhaps too many boys telling (her) that her black hair and bright eyes did something special to them.'

(TR 1943 29 May:16)

'... when I was still a child... people would exclaim to my proud mother, "What a beautiful child".'

(TR 1943 30 May:20)

Furthermore the anomaly of beauty in either poverty stricken or mundane surroundings is emphasised,

¹This narrator in fact marries a poor man for love and suffers the trauma of marital poverty which is discussed below.

²'Cinderella's
Ladies' Night
Good Looking Girls Admitted Free
Uglies and Males £1.00'

(The Guardian 1980 28 July;

Advertisement in the Brighton Evening Argus for Stroods Motel, sent in by a reader).

'... I knew for a certainty that he was wondering how beauty like mine had ever come to life and endured in these surroundings.

I had realised for many years, perhaps since too early an age, that against this ugly background of my home (the harsh though clean and respectable poverty only to be found in a large town) the cleanliness with which I was fashioned, the fluid lines of my body, the strange combination of black curly hair and yellow eyes, was a tantalising mystery. The velvet of a rose seems softer when the flower is on an ash heap.'

(TR 1943 29 May:18,16)

In another story casual strangers, helped when their car breaks down, conveying all the glamour of that wealthier world remark of a girl in a small Berkshire village 'born of working class parents' that she was 'far too pretty a girl to be buried in a little out of the way place like ours' and,

'It was, after all, only natural... that a girl as pretty as I would not want to lead such a secluded life even in a village as lovely as ours.

(TR 1943 24 April:17)

Even her mother, worried about the girl's discontent, concedes implicitly that beauty should be displayed and 'only wished she had the means to take (her) about herself' (TR 1943 24 April:17).

Yet despite the acclaim it attracts and the apparent rewards which accrue to it, to the extent in this story of being offered the position of companion and participating in the life of the rich (TR 1943 24 April:18), of eligible rich men proposing marriage (TR 1943 24 April:19) or introducing a girl into glamorous and higher social groups (TR 1943 30 May:21), there are early warnings as to its worthlessness. For example one narrator, taking satisfaction in beauty for its own sake and its effect upon those around her, especially men, muses, 'I knew I was getting conceited about something which I knew was unimportant' (TR 1943 20 March:21). When however, a girl responds to the cues and uses her beauty instrumentally, using her face as her fortune, controls are brought into play within these texts.

These heroines know that beauty is a means of escaping poverty. In the story 'Rich Man - Poor Man', Jeannie knows the 'legend current that any rich man can be caught by a poor but smart and beautiful girl but the odds are long. She qualified on all three' (TR 1943 29 May:16, italics original). She adopts strategies to ensure that she doesn't fall in love with a poor man because she 'had to come to this mythical rich husband with a clear conscience and an untouched heart' (TR 1943 29 May:17). Thus she declines invitations out, she takes a 'poor boy' home to scare him off by 'flaunting our poverty in his face so that he would understand... that I was not going to make my parents' mistake' (TR 1943 29 May:17). She has 'two ironclad rules' - never to let a poor boy spend money on her and never to let one kiss her (TR 1943 29 May:18) (which of course she breaks).

Others, however, are even more single minded. If beauty is a trust and they are taught by others that it has a value, then they develop and polish it to their own ends.

'... I had the key that would admit me (to the bright and glittering world I envied). I had been fashioning it with patient unrelenting labour for years. I began, I think when I was still a child, and people would exclaim to my proud mother, "What a beautiful child."¹

During my schooldays, I learned that a smile and a flutter of my lashes made the boys happy to do my homework for me, and that a certain kind of glance from widened eyes would throw even the strong, silent type into a state of helplessness. Oh, I knew men now, at nineteen. I knew what they wanted in a woman. Beauty, smart clothes, were nine-tenths of it. And the rest could be learned and practiced.'

(TR 1943 30 May:20)

Details of industry and dedication follow.

'I learned to play tennis. Not because I liked it, but because it kept my figure within the slim smooth outline I had resolved to keep... I exercised religiously night and morning. However tired I might be at night, I spent an hour brushing and grooming the rich golden hair that was my best feature.

¹ Who now criticizes her for her 'eternal primping' (TR 1943 30 May:22).

I studied the clothes, learned to design them, to make them. I hated the work and I hated the study, but the kind of clothes I wanted to have weren't sold in bargain basements.'

(TR 1943 30 May:20)

She has also studied the social structure of advancement.

'I had long ago learned that if you make an impression on a man, he wants to introduce you to his best friends, that is the men he's proud to know. It's a man's way of making an impression on a girl. Slowly you move upward, doing that. Slowly I was rising to the top.'

(TR 1943 30 May:21)

'I had made use of my talents' (TR 1943 30 May:23).

Another carefully learns the social accomplishments of her employer with a view to bettering her ultimate condition.

'Watching her closely I tried to imitate her charm of manner... I must appear very young and unsophisticated and I wanted to learn all I could. I did not intend to be a paid companion all my life.'

And on meeting a young man her social superior -

'I knew that his people financially and socially, were in a very different position from that of my own parents, but I also knew that I would not disgrace him. I had learnt much during the two years I had spent with Isobel March. She was the perfect specimen from whom to learn the veneer and sophistication which a portion of the community deem so necessary.'

(TR 1943 24 April:18)

However, such planning is to no avail. Two techniques are employed in the text. First, within the plot of the story itself the women are deceived the repercussions of which rebound upon the women themselves.

For example, the girl who has been acquiring the social accomplishments of her employer brings upon herself an illegitimate child, deception of her parents, poverty, potential incest, blackmail and attempted murder. Her raised social milieu leads to her seduction by a wealthy young man. She has a child and is forced, through shame, into leaving her child in a home. She eventually marries the dull though respectable admirer of her childhood days (and learns to love him). This enables her to be re-

united with her child by adopting her own daughter who at 17 (and as beautiful as her mother was) falls in love with an older man who, it transpires, is her natural father. The former lover attempts to blackmail the mother in return for renewal of her favours and she attempts, unsuccessfully, to murder him.

'I thank God for his mercy. Greatly have I sinned. I am not deserving of my happiness... When I hear of the execution of a murderer, I say in my heart, "But for the Grace of God, there go I."'

(TR 1943 24 April)

However, more subtle than such dire warnings is the implication that a rational course of action is impossible. Despite the apparent rewards which accrue to particular attributes and behaviour, and men's overt response, a woman can never know what a man wants. A double standard refutes any attempts at the logical interpretation of events.

Thus while men apparently enjoy the company of beautiful vivacious women, they marry quiet, plain ones. The girl who devotes her abilities and time to her major resource, and who, after being taken out for four years by the man she knows would provide the entry into the world she desires, where

'As Bob's wife I'd be mistress of a country home, have my own servants, my own bank account and I would have earned it'

(TR 1943 30 May:23),

learns that she was wrong to no longer fear other quieter women.

"Well a man has to settle down, Jeanette. You're lovely, and exciting, yes. But a man has to marry and have children..."

Yes, I was lovely and exciting and desirable! But not the kind of girl he wanted to marry! That was what he was saying!

... "You don't understand Mary, you see. You've two different sorts of women. You're very lovely Jeanette and you're exciting, but a man can't live on champagne."

... Men simply did not want women like me.¹

¹ A psycho-analyst, writing in a manual on singlehood in 1949 raises this phenomenon to scientific status. 'Women are admired for beauty, it is true, but rarely married for it. How often we see that men prefer

She whispers to herself,

'You worshipped your own beauty, because you knew what he wanted! That was the key that was going to let you into that glittering world you envied... Should I curse the beauty I had been given, because I had turned it into a two-edged sword now plunged into my heart?'

(TR 1943 30 May:31)

Similarly, a girl should not adapt herself to conform to the type of behaviour of those with whom a man is most frequently seen to spend his time. Men, while enjoying the pleasures of this lively and 'glamorous' company also want someone to revere as the title 'Girl on a Pedestal' implies (TR 1942 3:12). Thus for women the range of behaviour is fragmented into types of women while for men it is subsumed within an integrated personality.

This suggests a further possible dimension of fragmentation. The complexity and contradiction in the full range of human behaviour can be sustained in the powerful in a manner which disperses the inherent discomfort. This is done by the compartmentalisation and insulation of the component elements by displacing them into the behaviour of less powerful and fragmented groups.

That some beautiful women are socially mobile through marriage is accounted for by the innate weakness in man which is viewed indulgently. One man for example, married 'an obscure but glamorous night club singer, a Circe of a woman' who proved hard and unfeeling.

'Vivien Loring, who had held Kit's ardent young heart in the palms of her greedy callous hands; who had drained him of laughter and faith and joy... (her) gods had been luxury and money and self.'

(TR 1943 26 May:2,3)

(footnote continued from previous page)

girls with other qualities to their conspicuously beautiful sisters. Cinderella is more than a fairy tale.' Yet this is observed in the context of the social problems women have which are associated with a lack of physical attractiveness. Reik(1965:20) ignores the point that Cinderella was a beautiful drudge confined to that status by other, ugly, women.

He loved her and 'the poor devil couldn't help himself' (TR 1943 26 May: 32). Similarly helpless is a young doctor who falls in love with and marries a scheming beauty, although in this case of the same social class. Phil was, remarks a female observer,

'too big and earnest and honest and sweet to know what she was up to until it was too late. It could have happened to any man - but it had to be Phil '.

(TR 1942 1 Dec: 7)

Others, as noted earlier, are classed as dull; while the girl who successfully marries above her group of origin, does so due to her qualities of tenderness and sincerity, and, while in love with her employer, yet as a governess fears she might be considered a gold digger 'a cheap little schemer who was not above trying to win him and his money through her apparent devotion to Dinah' (TR 1943 26 May:8).

The male's instrumental use of marriage is similarly condemned if it is to acquire social acceptance and as an investment to crown the wealth accumulated through hard work and self denial. Unfortunately he falls in love with his wife and in consequence, when her family is thrown into social disgrace, is bound to her by affection (TR 1942 4 Dec:17). In a second case, a man finds that 'he had thought he could map out his life like a chart but he couldn't' (TR 1943 25 April:21). He explains his reason for his doomed engagement to his employer's daughter, 'For a few weeks... he had been tempted to feed his ambition. He had lost his head' (TR 1943 25 April:32).

A variation of the rational path to economic security¹ is to marry an established older man. In these stories wealth and age coincide but the argument might well apply to a man of any social group with a secure job. The import, however, is to contain the individuals of low socio-economic status within their own group.

¹ The distribution of income within the family is not raised in these texts.

Age differences, ranging from 12 to 25 years feature in four of the stories. Class differences are apparent. While 12 years is apparently an acceptable gap for the very wealthy, in for example, 'When You Run Away from Love' (TR 1943 20 March:47), there are undertones of it producing a physical incompatibility amongst the less-rich even in apparently ideal relationships. Thus a mother with a husband ten years older warns her daughter against marrying an older man.

"The mental plays an important part. But when you marry a man old enough to be your father - I'm sorry to see you wince - the chances of being happy are slimmer. He can't give you the kind of love a younger man can, even if he is the most wonderful man in the world. It's natural to marry a man close to your own age. Nature intended it so. Can't you understand that...?" My mother wanted to warn me, wanted to share something that she had learned with me - the wisdom that might have come through suffering. She spoke for herself and for my father. Unquestionably he knew of her talk to me.'

(TR 1943 20 March:47)

In several other stories age differences are brought to the attention of the reader, for example, 'Retribution' (TR 1943 24 March), 'Rich Man-Poor Man' (TR 1943 29 May), 'To Him She Was Everything' (TR 1943 30 May). More serious, however, is the message that although an older and established man may be old enough to be one's father, he might in fact turn out to be just that, as in the story 'Retribution' referred to earlier. 'My baby, falling in love with her own father' (TR 1943 24 April: 39). To marry someone your own age is a protection against incest.

This concern with biological placement is echoed in a character's search for his mother on learning that his middle-class parents are adoptive and that he was taken from a foundlings home. One must know the biological inheritance one is bringing to marriage. His security is gone.

'I don't know what kind of blood is in my veins. But eventually that blood will tell, and so I can't marry you, Connie. You have family background and good breeding. I have nothing - not even a name that is really my own.'

(TR 1943 19 March:36-37)

Economic Independence

An alternative way of ensuring economic security is to become economically independent. Two avenues are open to women in these stories: using their beauty instrumentally to obtain money without any marital attachment or by paid employment.

The women referred to above in the pursuit of a rich husband see relief from poverty, power and new horizons arising from all that such men could offer. To this end, which still lies within the social convention of marriage, they draw upon their major resource - beauty. However, the power of beauty as a resource must be contained. It might even lead to an independence without any obligation of marriage, given what is presented as the innate sexual weakness of men.

Facing destitution, however, the instrumental use of beauty may be a girl's only resource; here it appears in terms of 'paying life back', and the reality of impoverishment, and her ensuing action is encapsulated by attributing it to a revenge upon men (TR 1943 16 March:4). One narrator realises that the conjunction of her beauty and the 'weakness' of middle-aged married men can ensure her an economic independence in some comfort.

Deceived by a man into 'borrowing' money from her place of work and with consequent dismissal she embarks upon the career of adventurous without intending any services, sexual or otherwise, although this is only hinted at in the text. 'I would take everything I could get and give nothing in return' (TR 1943 16 March:4).

'My only assets, though it was some time before I realised it, were my face and my figure... I planned as far as possible to meet older, married men. In fact the older the better. Solidly married men could actually be defrauded, because they disliked exposure, and so rarely brought cases against people like me. "Money by false pretences" was a charge that could have been brought against me hundreds of times; but none of my victims risked the attendant publicity... I resorted to a little polite blackmail...

(When sitting) with a stout, baldish first-class passenger, I may have looked enviously at groups of happy young students travelling third (class); but I never let my feelings get in my way. I was out for money, clothes, jewellery, expensive perfume - not romance. I shut my eyes to spiritual values, and built my life on the shifting sands of material things.'

(TR 1943 16 March:3,4)

Needless to say her plans are ultimately undermined by her falling in love, marrying and being exposed, her husband leaving her, her baby dying, and her resolve to pay back all the men she has defrauded.

Interestingly, in this story there are explicit references to the double standard.¹ No criticism is made of the men, married or single, who pay train fares and expenses on the premise that she will join them. Of others no mention is made of why she was lent money; rather the readers' and the narrator's sympathy is invoked, the moral being that she has defrauded men and deserves to suffer. For example, after she is married, she meets 'poor old Henry A., who had "parted" with what - I have discovered later - took him six months to earn...' Furthermore, some men to whom she offers repayment are quite philosophical about the whole business, some saying she was 'welcome to it' and another that he could well afford it, and 'if she sent the money back it would only be spent on a couple of "binges"' (TR 1943 16 March:44). And when prevented from explaining her past to the man who wishes to marry her she comments,

'I yielded to the temptation to put the past behind me and start an entirely new life. Why not? I argued... Other people had done it, especially men...'

(TR 1943 16 March:5)

Thus initiative in this direction, although apparently meshing with

¹ The double standard is also dealt with within marriage when a marriage is threatened by a wife's girlfriend suitably entitled 'Battle for Love' (TR 1943 April 21) highlighting the constant underlying antagonisms between women, the constant vigilance all women must maintain in the competition for men.

the market demands of the male, is discouraged. The problem is presented as lying with the girl's initial gullibility in being deceived by a man and not male use of women.

A more legitimate mode of ensuring economic security is paid employment which continues into marriage given the low and precarious nature of male wages in this class.

Unless of wealthy families, the unmarried girls in these stories are in paid employment. Although in superior jobs to most of the readers, that is in offices as opposed to factories, it is clear that these jobs hold little future. Advancement, from the typing pool to the boss's secretary, is dependent upon the romantic inclinations of the boss (TR 1943 15 Feb). There is also hint of a girl's economic exploitation by the family from which marriage will release her. The mother of a fairground family had two good looking daughters whom she intended to keep with her as long as she could as they not only helped with the business but were also sources of income, attracting young men to the stall who bought things they did not want (TR 1943 12 Feb : 9).

There are, however, instances where girls have the foundations of a more substantial career: the governess, referred to earlier, is a college graduate, a qualified teacher with psychological training (although, be it noted, interest in psychology rose out of her vague sense of loneliness as an only child). Another is a nurse. In these two instances the 'career' is accommodated in a culturally accepted form. The governess marries her employer and while her status changes to that of wife, her ministering role continues as before with the addition of ministrations to her husband. This is brought out clearly when, before their marriage, he is sick.

'And because he wanted it like that, I did all the simple little things for him which ordinarily the nurses would have done.'

(TR 1943 26 May:36)

The situation of the nurse is encompassed by family tradition and female service. Thus, while she can support herself if she remains single, she is the daughter of a doctor and trained as a nurse in order to help him (TR 1942 1 Dec: 2). She falls in love, works for, and, after many vicissitudes, eventually marries the young doctor who has taken over her father's practice. In two other instances, however, careers as singers are renounced or forbidden because of the wishes of a husband (TR 1943 11 Feb; 24 April).

The spectre of the old maid, present in several stories, lurks with especial salience in the background of those with a serious career which broadens their interests and which increases independence and responsibilities. For example, the report of the beautiful step-sister of the nurse referred to above, when told of the way in which the nurse is 'seeing life' in her caring work,

'Ten years from now what will you be?... A scrawny old maid, clumping up and down a hospital corridor somewhere in white cotton socks and flat heeled shoes! And you call that living!'

(TR 1942 1 Dec:4)

A teacher of 27 sees herself as staid, 'I suppose you have to begin as a staid, cool and self-contained person before you can fall overboard like that' (TR 1943 22 April:8). In this story a woman's career is seen as presenting alternative responsibilities to marriage, that is to the family of origin. Thus the family have 'invested' in her education so that she might take responsibility for the elderly mother.

'Mother remained my responsibility alone. Fortunately, I was well able to take care of her, with my steady job and my sense of responsibility.'

(TR 1943 22 April: 7,8)

Dilemmas arise, however, when she contemplates marriage to a man on a smaller salary and no security.

'What security has he to compare with yours? You're in a safe job and you'll retire on a pension. He - why, he's nothing but one of

a hundred nobodies working for a big store. Let business get slack, and they'll sack him in a minute. And there you'd be, having given up everything that all of us have wanted to give you.'

(TR 1943 23 April:10)

'We all sacrificed so much for you! ... We saw you through your training and made a career for you. Eve and I became just housewives, but you - you have a career... You can't throw away all the security of your position just to marry a man who hasn't even a decent job.'

(TR 1943 23 April:9)

The juxtaposition however, is not really one of individualism versus the dependence of marriage and the physical sacrifices marriage brings. Although she feels the emptiness of childlessness she wonders if it was 'ever worth the price of marriage and children, to lose one's hold over youth' (TR 1943 23 April:8). The dilemma is shifted from the dependency and denial of marriage to responsibility towards family of origin by the single. This dilemma, serving to cloak the logic of a wife's economic contribution to the familial budget, is continued into the marriage relationship and is examined in the next section which deals with the establishment of the marital pattern. In its pre-marital form, however disguised, it poses a contradiction to the tenet of choice determined by security of male income.

In sum, the treatment of pre-marital behaviour as it relates to choice of partner is articulated around economic reliability and the containment of individuals within their group of origin. Economic logic however, while taking predominance over romance in choice of husband is not to be applied to the independent behaviour of the female.

Establishing the Marital Pattern

It is instructive to pursue the economic theme into marriage. The stories with marriage as their central theme are primarily concerned with the establishment of the ideal pattern of conjugal relations. In these texts central to such establishment is the problem of poverty. Paradox-

ically, although solutions are elaborated and reinforced by reference to other economic groups it is from the contradictions posed by poverty that the ideal marriage pattern emerges.

Thus as well as the accommodation of poverty (or the class structure) itself, in the articulation of the familial ideal poverty plays a crucial role in the structuring of the model; the ideal accommodates the harshness of poverty and poverty cloaks the contradictions inherent in the ideal.

The ideal structure is that of a strict sexual division of labour and an acceptance by both male and female of the rigours which poverty might bring to marriage. The psychological reductionism in these processes of acceptance, or inevitabilities of fate, that is, that causes lie in the individual and not structures or are beyond human control, has been noted in previous studies. So also has the fact that such texts vividly portray the realities of everyday life.

Fowler (1979:106) for example, in an analysis of story magazines of the 1930s has noted the degree of realism embedded in this type of fiction and has suggested that for working class readers this permits some means of identification deriving from the everyday life with which they must struggle and inspires a desire to complete the story to see how they are resolved. Romantic love, she argues, is frequently the mainspring of these stories because it bears the promise that individuals can, together, transcend structural contradictions. Of the problems within marriage portrayed in such magazines, for example adultery, maltreatment of children, the consequences of chronic poverty, unemployment, the problematic relationship between wage labour and domestic labour for women and so forth, she later (p.108) notes the use of the literary convention of bigamy which releases the 'good' partner from an unhappy marriage. The dilemmas and contradictions in True Romances, however, would appear to have a familism, in the form of a sexual division of labour embedded in

their resolution.

The purpose of the present analysis is the examination of the integration of familistic elements into a densely woven economic theme and in so doing to reveal the manner by which the articulation of familism is crucially related to a particular audience; not merely in its reflection of values, but by providing the detail of the social control function of the 'pastoral' advice as to how life should be lived, to which Fowler (1979:91)) refers, and show how any acceptance of such advice by this audience is not merely a means of social control in the sense of creating a quietism but would create an audience with a potential for a positive contribution to the sustaining of the economic structure.

Although interrelated, and also leading to tangential although again related issues, to facilitate the analysis the data is examined under three headings: the service role, contradictions within the ideal and rational economic behaviour.

The Service Role

That the mystical qualities of conjugal love can overcome the hardship and mean relationship to which poverty is conducive is indeed conveyed by some of the older generation who feature in the fiction of True Romances and in some of the readers letters (TR 1943 Aug :30). An awareness of the rigours of poverty was also acknowledged in the narratives of those considering marriage. However, what is conveyed by the heroines of the stories discussed below is the deep sense of shock, ensuing upon marriage, as to what marriage in poverty entails.

Thus a struggling farmer who has actually persuaded a girl from a comfortable background to marry him against her better judgement, in a story significantly entitled 'Don't Say Goodbye', angrily declaims,

'What do you mean, golden promises? I never made any pretence

about what life here would be. I even warned you that it would be hard going at first. You knew I was poor... I promised to make good, and I will - I've got to!

(TR 1943 23 April:16)

And from another who has married after an acquaintanceship of 'three short weeks' (TR 1943 8 Jan : 12), 'You chose this life, and then you set yourself against it. Why you chose it I don't know...' (TR 1943 8 Jan : 42).

Latent in this is the implication that a girl only marries a poor man if she so chooses and that she enters into the contract fully aware of the life it will entail. While Reik (1965:20) from a psychoanalytical perspective observes that, 'Women's task in love is, in reality, twofold: to get men and to keep them' (and this indeed is a theme of True Romances and is discussed below), from the 'realism' portrayed in these stories it could conversely be argued that the problem of men (and society) is to get women to choose appropriate males and to retain them within the marriage once they have discovered what it is like. (The latter is the theme of five stories).

The hardship in the housewife's service role, conceived in the sense Beveridge had in mind as a support for the male provider, is graphically described - drudgery, monotony, isolation, loss of physical attractiveness, sense of bondage, lack of leisure.

'Working like a slave all day... I thought I'd go mad with the continual round of cleaning, cooking, washing, ironing and other chores. There was not time for glamour or good times. There didn't even seem to be time for love.'

(TR 1943 23 April:14,15)

'Was this marriage? If it was I wondered why it was called the "exalted state"' (TR 1943 23 April:15). 'What you need is a servant not a wife!' (TR 1943 23 April:16).

And after the birth of a baby this is intensified although a wife is

mentally aware that it should create bonds between husband and wife

(TR 1943 23 April:35).

'Once again I was plunged into the dreary round of household activities, only now I had Gwendolen to care for in addition. Upstairs-downstairs-baby's lusty cries-meals! Was there no end to this perpetual round? I couldn't go on - I couldn't!'

(TR 1943 23 April:36)

'So lonely. So unchanging day after day... Yes, it was our home, but I was beginning to hate it. I felt like something caged with clipped and crippled wings against the bars.'

(TR 1943 8 Jan : 15)

'(I wondered) if by my marriage I had not bound myself by many intolerable bonds. The routine of my life settled down upon me like a black cloud.'

(TR 1943 10 Jan : 22)

'The empty monotonous years - as like as beads on a string... Steve and I growing old, bent and discouraged, all loveliness and excitement drained away.'

(TR 1943 8 Jan :16)

'I'm old and worn out and hideous (and only 22)! That's what your farm has done to me. Day after day - all alike. All empty and lonely and drab! Never going anywhere, never seeing anybody.'

(TR 1943 8 Jan :42)

'I looked pretty - before I married you. But look at me now!'

(TR 1943 23 April:16)

'I didn't intend to forfeit my beauty for a yolk of bondage; it was too great a price to ask of anyone!'

(TR 1943 23 April:36)

'A baby - to thwart my plans for escape.'

(TR 1943 23 April:16)

This rejection of the housewife's role is set against the ideal in two ways: first by a presentation of the perfect wife and secondly by a realization of her misconception on the part of the woman. These are linked to an understanding of the male marital role and the sexual

division of labour.

'One evening I asked, "Haven't you too much to do?"

"Not in the house. Housework is fun. Oh Walter, you have your work and I have mine."

"Cookery and cleaning, eh?"

"Don't be so condescending. I stay at home, and I'm doing the things that will give you pleasure. I expect you to come home happy. I cook for you, my dear and I love every bit of my job."

TR 1943 17 March:8)

And although increasingly tired, and unable to keep up with her husband's energetic pursuits as she would wish, this wife rejects a maid.

'I had a fairly good salary, but we could not afford too many luxuries. Carol insisted on keeping house, and she just had a woman to come in once a week and help her with the cleaning. After I received an increase in salary, about three weeks after our marriage, I wanted her to engage a maid. We had an extra bedroom, and enough of an income now to keep a maid. But Carol objected. she wanted to save that money for a rainy day.'

(TR 1943 17 March:7)

The tiredness in this story is exacerbated (and partially explained) by pregnancy. It has, however, implications for 'the companionship marriage' which this young wife has as her ideal. 'She wanted', comments her husband 'to live up to her own concept of the companionship marriage' (TR 1943 17 March:8), although he wants her to spare herself. Interestingly then, this form of marriage, academically presented as more egalitarian, means here additional adaptation and sacrifice (of energy) by the wife, in literally accompanying the husband in (here) his leisure time pursuits as well as performing her servicing tasks. There is no notion of any redistribution of tasks or devolution of power. The resolution is her gradual opting out to her pure servicing role, despite the threat posed by energetic and single women (her younger sister) as companion for her husband. She patiently waits, 'She wasn't a fishwife, for otherwise she would have made a scene' (TR 1943 17 March:11), for the realisation to return her husband to her.

For those wives who reject the exigencies of the domestic role an ultimate realisation of its rightness is associated with a greater understanding of the male familial role and consequent adaptation of self. Thus, for example, the wife about to leave her husband comments during her narrative:

'If only I had tried to see his side of the problem; if only I had been patient; but I was too wrapped up in my own misery even to care'.

(TR 1943 23 April:15)

A husband remonstrates, 'A man can't do his best if his wife is pulling against him all the time. Can't you see that Mary?' (TR 1943 8 Jan :42).

In other cases the economic role and economic responsibility of the husband towards both wife and society is more specific. In the wealthy home, where a wife rejects the monotony of organising her household, the husband (who has been able to lend money to support his present wife in her former marriage) points out to her that 'money... is a trust... One has no right to violate that trust' (TR 1943 10 Jan :23); that his responsibility is careful investment and her's careful household accounting. Succumbing to her demands for luxury and extravagance reduces them to poverty from which they emerge not just through his hard work but through her maturation heralded by her joyful adoption of the domestic servicing role. 'I'm a woman, now, your wife - we'll face it together, and together we'll rebuild' (TR 1943 10 Jan :35). She 'will dismiss her servants' and 'will cook and clean and look after the children until you are on your feet again' she tells him, and comments, 'I sang as I cooked and cleaned, doing my own work in the house' (TR 1943 10 Jan :35).

The danger in the absence of actual domestic work is, it should be pointed out, implicit in the portrayal of wealthy women. Throughout these stories they appear as selfish, bored and neurotic. The comments,

furthermore, are given status by attributing them to the members of the medical profession. A selfish beautiful wife undermines the philanthropic dreams of a young doctor who '... will end up with his dreams dying on his hands and a lot of neurotic matrons waiting in his outer surgery' (TR 1942 1 Dec :8). And when scandal touches him it serves to

'... fill his outer office with idle and curious women who came to consult the now "notorious" Dr. Hollis about their imaginary aches and neuroses. They swept past me scornfully as I showed them in. But they fixed their bright eyes upon Phil and became coquettish at the slightest provocation.'

(TR 1942 1 Dec :33)

A doctor observes, 'Bother these spoiled young women with nothing but time on their hands to imagine symptoms' contrasting this with a needy case where the father is sick and the mother about to have a baby and already with three children (TR 1945 9 Jan :32).

In another instance the male's sense of his economic responsibility, his side of the bargain, is set against a wife's rejection of the drudgery of the domestic role. She leaves him, regains her former job and former beauty, and he sends her money out of his small earnings.

'The sight of those so hard won notes, wrested from the farm by Steve's own two hands, brought tears to my eyes. It was so like him to send them! I was his wife, his responsibility, and no matter what it cost him in effort and self denial, he was going to do the thing he believed to be right.'

(TR 1943 8 Jan :42)

She realises she

'wasn't big enough to be a farmer's wife... I began to realise that the demands I had made on my husband were selfish ones, the resentments I had felt, unreasonable and childish.'

(TR 1943 8 Jan :44)

This last quotation leads nicely into the contradictions which in these texts, and in real life, accompany this maturing process and a mature adoption of the domestic servicing role irrespective of its rigours. The first of these contradictions is associated with domestic violence; the

second with the cultural contradictions surrounding female beauty. In each case, an origin in an economic base penetrates into the wider social structure and culture.

Violence

Violence in these texts is wreaked by men upon women. There is no violence towards children. Between the unmarried, violence is romanticised as the suppressed sexual urgency of the male, often masochistically welcomed by the female. It may herald a sexual awakening as well as the conveying of a latent sense of possession.

'... his lips were on mine, hard and possessive, awakening, stirring me to life'

'John pulled me to him eagerly, almost roughly, his lips against my throat.'

(TR 1943 18 March:13)

'I went crazy sure enough in that minute, and there was no thought in me at all as I pulled her close to me in spite of her struggling, held her close to me as if she was my own... while she pushed and pounded on my chest with her free fist.'

(TR 1943 14 Feb :17)

'... he stood in front of me, his strong hands biting deep into my shoulders... I tried to turn away from him but the grip on my shoulders held me firm.'

(TR 1942 3 Dec :46)

Paradoxically, romantic violence is taken by the female as a sign that a man cares for her.

'I knew his kiss, his lips pressing again and again over mine, assuring me with their violence as his words had failed to do.'

(TR 1943 25 April:21)

In its marital form, however, violence arises from a different source. It is the male reaction to a wife's rejection of either the domestic or sexual service expected of her. When the farmer's wife gives voice to her resentment at the poverty which has caused her to

lose her child,

'Steve caught my arms in an iron grip and shook me. His face was dark and congested. A little forked vein sprang out on his forehead, and I could see it quiver as the shocked blood coursed through it. He said, "Mary, stop it! Heavens you're not a child! Can't you understand that it isn't what happens to you that matters, but how you take it?'

(TR 1943 8 Jan: 42)

This resentment at the kind of daily drudgery which Margery Spring-Rice (1939:96) described is thus attributed to a lack of maturity; and violence in the male, provoked thus by the female, forms the initial stage in the enabling process whereby women are led to self-revelation concerning their true happiness. It is an awakening to the sexual division of labour.

Latent violence is also present when a wife rejects her husband sexually. The following incident is set, significantly, within the context of a girl marrying outside her class, the marrying of the upper class established (if impoverished) with brash new wealth and serves as a de-politicizing mechanism by displacing violence into the class structure in the form of a lack of common understanding between husband and wife. After a humiliating scene in front of his friends where he ridicules her former life (the civilised life of traditional wealth) the wife sleeps in the spare room. She wakens to find her husband standing by the bed.

"This is my room," I said. I was cold with deadly anger, as he turned on the light.

"And you are my wife," he answered; one hand reached towards me. I looked at him. "Don't touch me Douglas. You're drunk."

"I think I'm cold sober and you can't play tricks with me."

(TR 1943 6 Jan: 6)

At this point the possibilities are avoided because the husband breaks down. The continuing sexual revulsion which his wife feels is overcome not by leaving the marriage (since the 'code(was) that a wife should stay with her husband, no matter at what cost to herself' (TR 1943 6 Jan:6) and after an attempt to leave him she feels it her duty to return when he

becomes sick) but by submerging her identity.

'I was lost, caught up into a great wonder, a passionate longing to help, to give him all I could. Somehow I had broken the shell of personality; I had merged myself into the soul of another - I no longer dreaded his kisses.'

(TR 1943 6 Jan :38)

The boredom and monotony of marriage may also be rejected even by comfortably off women. In this instance it is the sexual violence of other men which drives such a woman back to a dull but reliable mate. Thus, through the exercise of no effort on their part, dull men may be assured of their partner.

'I could not close my eyes to the fact that Bob, as a husband was dull. He was. He like his days to be just the same. Meals at the correct time, bed at half past ten. Cinema once a week... I longed to be back in town on my own... and lead a bigger sort of life.'

(TR 1943 13 Feb :14)

The restlessness, however, in the narrative is not fundamentally attributed to the imposition of a family life specifically associated with a husband's demands for order¹ but in her own lack of domestic occupation: she has put off 'the unpleasantness' of having children although she admits it is selfish; and she can afford good domestic help.

'In fact I sometimes thought it was the great amount of leisure time I had on my hands that made me so restless and disconsolate.'

(TR 1943 13 Feb :14)

The reality of this suspicion materialises when she revisits the haunts of her days before marriage, the flat where her former boyfriend lived, and asks the new occupant if she could look round. She transgresses the code by accepting a cocktail and suddenly he

'had his arms around me, and his lips were fastened on mine. It was not the sort of kiss Bob ever gave me. And it was different from Neil's. I didn't like it. It was all my own fault... I should never have come at all. I struggled in his arms, pushing his face away.'

¹ This theme also emerges in Good Housekeeping.

"Don't," I whispered too annoyed to speak louder. "Don't."
 He gave a short laugh. "You asked for it," he said. "Coming here like this; I know women," and he wrenched me closer straining my protesting body to his, and pressing his mouth on mine again.'

(TR 1943 13 Feb :42)

Such violence is legitimated in the texts. These men are the earthly vicars of a paternal and just God who, when a married woman's mere thoughts stray to other men, irrespective of the cruelty and unfaithfulness of a husband, punishes her through the death of her small child. By the narrators recognising God as a father, and by implication the woman as a child, and acknowledging punishment for sexual deviation as just, domestic violence and extra-marital violence is legitimised by their spiritual status.

'God (was) punishing her for letting (her) heart turn towards Adam ... while still the wife of another man... Insane? Of course I was! I know that now. I know that God is like any other just and loving father. He sees the intention deep in our hearts, and His forgiveness is boundless. But the precious knowledge and realisation of God's love was something that could only come with my own willingness to accept it.'

(TR 1942 2 Dec :11)

Beauty

The second contradiction arising from the drudgery of the domestic role in poverty concerns physical attractiveness in women. As noted beauty features largely and instrumentally amongst unmarried women. It is carried by them into marriage and, in the two stories referred to above, it is quickly lost. The mechanism of accommodation is made clear in one story. The real beauty in a woman is inner beauty, not a physical manifestation in the individual but the ability to create atmosphere.

'I had sinned against them both (my husband and my child) sacrificing love and duty on the altar of beauty. I had made a fetish of my looks, placing them above marriage and motherhood. It had never

occurred to me that real beauty comes from within - beauty of soul and heart and character - that the rest is but window dressing. I knew all this at last, and I prayed for divine forgiveness.

I made a pledge to God, then, to keep my little world surrounded with beauty of peace and love and tolerance. May He grant this strength of purpose to me through the years to come...'

(TR 1943 23 April:36)

This conception, although widely expressed in our culture, also carries its contradictions. Simone de Beauvoir (1972:542) has described how closely a woman's identity is linked with her physical appearance and presentation; that the importance of the toilette for many women 'is because in illusion it enables them to remould the outer world and their inner world simultaneously' and that 'since woman is an object... her intrinsic value is affected by her style of dress and ornament'. Jephcott (1948:61-64) particularly emphasises the amount of time and money young girls spend on their appearance. The phrase, often referring to a woman following marriage, 'she's let herself go' thus carries more than its superficial meaning of personal carelessness but also a loss of her identity. It also conveys overtones of moral condemnation of the woman herself: that the inability to stem the ravishes of the domestic burden, even in this case in extreme hardship, are due to shortcomings in the woman. This is expressed clearly by one husband in these stories who accuses such a woman of making a god of her beauty, as spoiled and pampered.

"I've worked like a horse in this place, and, instead of appreciation I have to listen to insults... I looked pretty - before I married you. But look at me now! I've stood all I'm going to! - I'm going away!" "Well! Dick shouted. "Whose fault is it if you can't find time to be a real wife? Who asked you to let yourself go to seed? You should have married a rich man who had money to burn..."

(TR 1943 23 April:16)

Thus the satisfactory wife's role does not comprise solely

of a devotion to domestic duty even from the point of view of the husband despite the fact that attainment of the 'real wifeliness' referred to above poses its own contradictions for the male - the pride in ownership and the arousal of male predators. Similarly a wife has to be conscious of the ever present threat of other women in the competition for men, whether single or married, and women who may furthermore be best friends or younger sisters.¹

In the same issue as the story last referred to is one entitled 'Battle for Love' in which a wife finds her husband kissing the best friend she had invited for two weeks and for whom she had felt sorry because 'she worked so hard in her stuffy London studio, slaving away at her books and articles and things'; and she's secretly glad she herself hasn't brains because it would mean 'hard work', 'long hours', 'prestige to keep up' and 'people asking her for her opinions on questions of the day'.

She examines herself in the mirror, however, and finds several flaws - her figure 'developing unsuspected curves in the wrong places'.

'My hands, well, they'd done a lot of hard work since Tom first met me, and I hadn't bothered much, anyway... Gone to pieces without even noticing it, and then been daft enough to dangle an attractive brunette like Cherry in front of my man... Apart from my looks I'd improved as a wife. I cooked better every year. I adored my home... I made life easy for (Tom). And it wasn't enough.'

(TR 1943 21 April:3)

The anti-intellectual theme emerges in her prayer for brains to regain her husband - which she does by reluctantly employing domestic help to release her for the task of making herself desirably erotic again, rousing her husband's jealousy by encouraging an old flame, defying him in his

¹ The latent and overt antagonisms between women in their competition for men run throughout the stories (see for example TR 1943 1 Dec; 1942 7 Jan; 13 Feb; 17 March; 21, 23 April; 26 May).

attempt to impose a double standard of sexual behaviour by drawing attention to his own, and ultimately winning him back so that she can return to her domesticity.

'I didn't care about any other man living: I only wanted to be allowed to live in wifely peace with my husband. I didn't want to dress up like this and make my hair gleam and go dancing. I wanted to be alone, comfortably alone, with Tom, and his old pipe, and the garden.'

(TR 1943 21 April:47)

Thus a woman has the responsibility, by not letting herself go, for retaining sexual desire in a husband. The conditions of marriage are deflected to the woman. Yet letting oneself go is here partially excused by the fact that a wife had to shed her domestic burden in order to devote herself to the sexual pursuit of her husband. If she cannot do this juxtaposition with the accompanying story means she can turn to the cultivation of inner beauty, again by devotion to domestic duty.

Contradiction Within the Ideal

While the domestic service role of the wife maintains the economic role of the husband, contradictions in the ideal have to be resolved in order that the male work ethic itself may be sustained. In this the wife is a key mediator.

The Male Work Ethic: Togetherness

An element in the ideal model of marriage is the notion of togetherness, of lives shared. The romantic view of marriage, an important element even if confined to its sexual dimension,¹ is to take this literally as days spent in physical proximity and shared activity. This is in stark contradiction to the component of the strict sexual division of labour and the contrasting male and female spheres when a wife

¹ Jephcott (1948:91) records the view of an American friend of one of her respondents that 'marriage is 75 per cent bed.'

is solely confined to the domestic role and the husband works outside the home.

Revealed here, however, despite the emphasis on the hard-working male in several of the narratives, is the tenuous attachment of the male to the work ethic and the important place of the wife as mediator of the male. It is important, for example, to have a wife with no income. After a wife loses her voice, the basis of her career, her husband observes, 'I was making a good salary, and now I had someone on whom to spend my money. Now there was point in working' (TR 1943 11 Feb :6). There is also the latent criticism of men who won't undertake certain jobs. When one wife observes that, 'Other men find work' he retorts, 'Stop nagging. I will not take a job, at my age, for a small salary, which will tie me down from nine to five' (TR 1943 18 March:16). This may be crudely set against the father of one heroine who

'was a hard worker. He just never had the training to be anything more than a handyman... Dad often did odd jobs in the houses of well-to-do people, cleaning out boilers, washing windows, clearing cellars, beating rugs... he wasn't bitter or sour.'

(TR 1943 29 May:18,19)

A societal significance can be lent to this juxtaposition from Bakke's study of unemployment. The unemployed were popularly regarded as unwilling to work, refusing offers of temporary employment, but this ignored the effect of a break in unemployment on the conditions for insurance benefit (Bakke 1935:140-142).

The phenomenon of the irresponsible male occurs both in narratives which deal with marital choice and those concerned with the marital relationship itself. When the choice of husband is under consideration, a carefree happy nature is not to be confused with an irresponsibility which denies the importance of paid employment and only living for the present. Discovering that a man had lost his job the day before he

proposed to her, a heroine realises,

'So this was his true character, this indifference to anything but his own desires, this completely selfish irresponsibility that I had somehow mistaken for a happy way of life.'

(TR 1943 21 May:44)

'... he was so irresponsible. He didn't save and he didn't want to. He didn't care about planning for the future. All he wanted was fun and good times, and no responsibilities. I thought I wanted that too, but when I was faced with it I knew I didn't.

(TR 1943 21 May:45)

Some male irresponsibility, therefore, is screened out by a woman's choice of husband. Others who do not accept parental warnings, although in this instance the man is presented in a sympathetic, even tender light, find themselves (in this case from a wealthy background) reduced to the hardships and humiliations of poverty.

'Other people took life too seriously, set it into ruts, until there was no joy left. But he had learnt the secret of taking every day as it came and pressing from each second all the sweetness it held. To have found such a laughing companion was a gift for which I must give thanks.'

(TR 1942 5 Dec :20)

Rick cannot settle to any job, and when he does earn money, or borrows it, spends it on presents rather than pay bills. He won't give her security (TR 1942 5 Dec:48), she anguishes,

'... and we have love, and the problems of the world are pulling us apart. If we could only go to some kind of fairyland, we two alone, where there is magic, and we could play as children, and the world would be forgotten.'

(TR 1942 5 Dec :48)

It is notable however, that this is the only male, in this sample, who undertakes female caring tasks for his wife and baby when she is ill. While this is highly regarded in the text, it serves to underline a deviance from the masculine ideal of caring and protectiveness through strength and economic provision.

This heroine, therefore, suffers through her own irresponsible choice.

She furthermore refuses to turn their 'relationship into a nagging, quarrelling contest of wills' knowing that she could not win and that her husband would turn elsewhere (TR 1942 5 Dec:48).

Such irresponsibility, however it may be presented, is an exaggerated form of the romantic togetherness, or companionship, which comprises part of the ideal. The mediation by the wife of this contradiction within the sexual division of labour is hinted at in the reference to nagging in the last quotation and has echoes in other stories. A girl acknowledges her effect on her boyfriend's behaviour, changing him to a possessive miser.

'I suppose it was my fault. Perhaps it was my words that first changed some vital part of his character, for he had been such a sweet and normal boy.'

(TR 1943 27 May:9)

An older man explains the effect (or role) of women on men.

"'You bring out the best in me. If you saw yourself, you'd understand. You hang on my words. Your blue eyes follow my every movement. You look like a little girl before a Christmas stocking. I just can't disappoint you, so the words flow. That's how girls inspire boys - young wives inspire their husbands. And I, even though I'm old... Well I can be inspired too.'"
"I wish I could inspire you" I murmured.'

(TR 1943 20 March:22)

The role however, is made even more explicit in a story suitably entitled 'False Paradise' (TR 1943 18 March). Here a new wife undermines a husband's commitment to work by wanting to preserve the happy togetherness of the honeymoon; from a good position which he has worked hard to achieve he is granted a long leave of absence; he then takes a further two months, loses his job and attempts to find another. His wife thinks with fear 'what it would be like to have him tied to an inflexible routine', while he observes, 'Some day, soon, I'll be a slave

again. We'd better have what fun we can while I'm still free' (TR 1943 18 March:15).

When he loses the desire for work, she realises she has been instrumental in this (TR 1943 18 March:15) and learns how to perform her domestic role from a critical mother-in-law. She sees in his face 'that intangible something to be seen on the faces of tramps, of drifters; of those who have failed, and will no longer try.' She tells him she cannot respect him unless he finds work and provides an income (TR 1943 18 March:16). As the situation deteriorates, not only borrowing from his friends but also rejecting his former standards and borrowing from his wife, her mother-in-law comments,

'He was a good boy and a hard worker until he met you. He supported me after his father's death. And you've made him a drifter.'

(TR 1943 18 March:31 italics original)

But later she acknowledges,

'John was older; he'd had more experience. If there hadn't been a weak spot in him nothing could have turned him into the drifter and idler he became.'

(TR 1943 18 March:33)

It is the realisation that true happiness is found in the strict sexual division of labour by which the dilemma is restored.

'This is my home, I thought. Tomorrow, John will leave me in the morning to go to his own business which he has firmly established, tomorrow evening he will come back to me. He has his work; I have mine... (I) put on my apron, singing as I went. "This is my home; this is my home, the place I keep and tend for my husband and my child."'

(TR 1943 18 March:35)

Thus the responsibility for the male work ethic lies in the acceptance by the wife of the sexual division of labour¹ and the denial

¹ There is a comparable ending to the serial in the same issue noted earlier. Beauty and unity are found by the wife accepting the domestic role, once rejected, after her husband has recklessly sold his safe investments in order to make her happy (TR 1943 10 Jan :23,35).

of the romantic ideal of companionate togetherness.

Rational responses

The final aspects of the establishment of the marital pattern centre upon a rational economic response to poverty on the part of wives. This is either the adoption of an economic familial role by the wife or her urging her husband to improve his economic position. The accommodation of these responses reveals women as the mediators of a male's economic status and identity and also as mediators of the economic structure.

The stories where the unmarried girl is the central figure contain, as noted earlier, several references to leaving paid employment upon marriage, the decision, it is intimated, ultimately residing with the husband. For example, "'I'll give up my job if you want me to, Jerry.'" (TR 1943 27 May:42).

" - You won't go on working, Donna?"

"Not if you don't want me to. But I don't want to myself! I want to be a real wife!"

"Then kiss me as if we'd been married ten years. As if I'd found you waiting every day when I came home from work."

(TR 1943 22 April:9)

In these stories a working wife is also associated with modernity and an independence which carries overtones of selfishness. A girl who says that she 'knew she would marry one day and had no desire for a career' (TR 1943 7 Jan :10) later says of her mother's offer of advice, 'You have a perfect right to say whatever you like, Mother. I'm not modern and valiantly individualistic.'

(TR 1943 20 March:47)

And Jane Porterfield's advice column contains references to the selfish wife who only thinks of her career and ultimately destroys the marriage (TR 1942 July:30). That marriage involves a loss of independence is

suggested by the manner in which the schoolteacher refers to falling in love. 'Your independence vanishes faster, a foolish snow image lost in the warm glory of love's dependence and trust' (TR 1943 22 April:8).

It would also seem that love drives out competence, at least initially.

'And it was just as well that I'd grown too dizzy to be a good teacher, for very soon I'd stop teaching for ever!' (TR 1943 22 April:8).

There is, however, a hinterland in the fiction, and explicit recognition in readers' letters (TR 1942 May:30) of married women who work either from necessity or from choice. There are for example, the 'young mothers at the mill' who leave their children in a day nursery¹ (TR 1942 2 Dec :10); and the comfortably off widow, unwilling to be useless, with a successful career caring for people, but with an emptiness in her life.

'You might have thought that this was recompense for what she had lost... you might even envy her the position of Matron she had gained. But after a while you'd notice the tender, sad mouth. Then you could not envy Nettie Graham.'

(TR 1943 22 April:8)

¹ Summerfield in her forthcoming study of women in the Second World War explores the attitudes of the period towards nursery provision. In this story the nursery is closed because of infection, an apparently trivial detail but important in the articulation of ideas to this particular audience in that it chimes with the strands in the debate which sought to confirm that mothers carried responsibility for child care and should be at home. Seven months later, for example, Dr. Marjorie Black reporting on State nurseries in the British Medical Journal argues that day nurseries did not solve the problem of the woman doing full-time work; the home of such workers lapsed into squalor. After the war medical women should insist that the married woman with young children was not a suitable person to undertake full-time work. The proper place for a baby under two was at home, if the home was a good one. Dr. Katherine Hirst added that in nurseries the infection rate was high, mothers were therefore off work due to sick children; nurseries were squandering rather than conserving woman power; children under two were better off in their own homes even if the homes were bad (Patterson 1945:41-43; see also Riley 1979:93-97). In July 1943, however, in the feature 'For Mother and Child' True Romances ran an article 'My Impression of a War Time Nursery' which emphasised the happiness in day nurseries and the confidence with which mothers on war work could leave their children (p.29).

In this story 'Lets Escape to Happiness' the dilemma of adequate income and the traditional role of women is pursued into marriage in the form of a woman with a career in teaching marrying a man, a shop assistant, earning less than she does. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that she also carries the economic responsibility for an elderly parent thereby encompassing the assumption, made in the story, that the male takes over all a wife's economic responsibility which here includes this additional burden. In the presentation of the ideal, this then is an exaggerated case. But it should be borne in mind that when considering the articulation of an ideal, work after marriage was both traditional and necessary for many of the readers. In addition, while Fowler (1979:110) has noted the cognisance by the story magazines of the 1930s of social change and refers to the tensions inherent in the relative liberation of women outside marriage and their position within it, it should be remembered that the writer of the Pilgrim Trust survey on unemployment in the 1930s defined as social progress the relinquishing of the traditional practice whereby women continued in employment after marriage (see Appendix I). Similarly, in 1947, in evidence to the Select Committee on Estimates with reference to development areas and the location of industry, a meeting was reported between Wearside Corporation and government officials. Wearside were asking for the greater provision of women-employing industry. In a dispute with them over the size of the available female labour force (Wearside claimed it to stand at 40,000 and the Ministry of Labour and National Service 20,000), F.G. Hanham, the Regional Controller, Ministry of Labour and National Service, while querying their lack of statistical evidence and pointing out that some of the potential was mortgaged to other industries in the area, also observed, 'I refuse to be party to Lancashire practice or a very high

proportion of married women' (H.M. Government 1947:40).

The echo in True Romances is clear. The rational response of the wife, her continuation in employment, to what must entail a significant drop in the standard of living of all three of the characters, and which is emphasised in the story, is treated as a selfish love of luxury and ostentatious living, an evasion of the spirit of marriage, starting domestic life on the wrong foot, a defiance of her husband, an assumption of the leading role. It is also clear that employment is additional to her domestic role, 'Working all day and then taking care of that larger flat sometimes left me tired and nervy' (TR 1943 22 April:42). This apparent unfairness is accommodated elsewhere in advice to a reader complaining of the double burden she undertakes and the assumption, by her husband, that he should not contribute to the domestic maintenance of the marriage. The advice is that he should share these tasks. This, however, is not because of the redistribution of the marital roles but because he has raised no objection to his wife continuing work and has 'continued to allow (the reader) to help with (his burden of provider)' (TR 1942 May:39).

Furthermore, the anxiety in her husband concerning their dependence upon her salary is not due to the fact that this may delay their having children for he asks after the birth of their child if she is going to return to work; it is his status in the eyes of others associated with the expectation that he should be the sole economic provider even if that provision is less than that which she could provide. His motives in marrying are queried by her family - that he is looking for an opportunity to abandon work. Thus by eventually relinquishing her economic familial role she mediates her husband's masculinity for both himself¹ and the

¹ There is a similar sense of shame in a husband at a wife earning 'just a little more than I made. No I wasn't glad - I felt ashamed' in the story of a wife with a career as a singer (TR 1943 11 Feb: 2). In both instances the teacher's and the singer's skills are domesticated, confined to the benefit of their own children.

social group in which he is placed (TR 1943 22 April:42,43,45).

In the readers' letters the contradiction is negotiated first by leaving the issue openly ambiguous by presenting the two sides of the case, but also by presenting a latent orientation in the juxtaposition of two letters, under 'Do You Need Advice', affirming a right of women to employment and independence and financial responsibility (TR 1942 Sept: 30) with a third letter, under 'The Happiest Moment of My Life' - when after a mental struggle, the writer gave up her good position and found marriage and happiness (TR 1943 Nov :30).

An alternative rational response to poverty is to marry outside one's group or urge a husband to economic advancement. This theme was dealt with in relation to the unmarried. There are two stories which treat it in the married state. A woman who marries new rather than traditional wealth, noted earlier, suffers emotionally and sexually and eventually through devotion to her wifely duty (and the death of her husband) is brought within the fold of her class of origin (TR 1943 6 Jan). In another case a woman not content with the way of life her husband has to offer (which is middle class comfort) urges him to greater heights, first divorces him due to mistakenly thinking he is unfaithful, is on the brink of marrying a hard, successful man, and then realises the validity of her original husband's attitude to work and remarries him.

This is not to say that men do not achieve better jobs or promotion in the narrative but rather that this is due to their own decision or external events. The role of women is to urge men to devote themselves to work itself and accept whatever may be the outcome. In this sense, along with the emphasis upon marriage within their social group they contribute to the stability of the economic structure.

CONCLUSION

The aim in the analysis of the articulation of familism for this working class audience was to isolate the elements which made it distinctive. Pursuing the intricacies of the economic theme, the dominance of which afforded it importance, revealed a complex model of familistic behaviour deeply related to the economic structure, orientated to the production a stable sector of the workforce mediated by the sexual division of labour.

In the construction of this model both structural and cultural contradictions had to be accommodated. The difficulties posed by poverty are encompassed by an intensification, a purification of the model itself, the division of labour becomes more clear cut. Threatening esteemed values such as rationality, individualism and beauty, are subjected to constraints which not only devalue them but the devaluation itself, in some cases, is subject to processes of rationalisation.

Thus while Gramsci has referred to incoherent sets of beliefs and assumptions which comprise the latent philosophies of different social groups this analysis suggests that in ways important to the embracing social structure attempts are made to lend them a consistency. For example, attempts are made to reconcile the contradictory attitudes to beauty in our culture and, similarly, sexual and domestic violence is legitimated by ultimate recourse to higher spiritual authority and the childlike naivety of women. As with the fragmentation of women as a group into types, there appears to be a relationship between perceived consistency and the legitimation of power.

In Good Housekeeping it will be seen how social change is the dominating theme for this middle class audience. When compared with this the initial reaction to True Romances was to note an apparent neglect of social change. There is no hint, despite the emphasis upon the economic

or problems regarding the distribution of income within the family; women have to accept what a man is prepared to offer. And this was during a period when, in the homes of this readership the regularity and predictability of the forces' dependant's allowances, although small, was keenly felt. Ferguson and Fitzgerald (1954:3,4) estimate that at the peak of the war effort there were possibly some 2½ million husbands living away from wives and families in addition to key industrial workers who were drafted to essential work away from home yet the absence of a male head appears in one letter (TR 1942 Sept:30) and features in the final paragraphs of one story. Again the redistribution of household tasks appears in one story (performed by an inadequate provider) and in one letter. The treatment of social change as it relates to the economic activity of women, however, takes on a special form. It is not just that girls say they are not modern and will give up work on marriage, nor the reinterpretation of independence from the economic to an affective state of dependence, but that egalitarian marriage is subject to an interpretation which redefines equality. While Williams expands the job description of the housewife to include work and special citizenship activity outside the home, blaming her for inadequacy and her own condition if she cannot undertake this; here, first, the domestic role is defined as all consuming - as indeed it was for many working-class women; secondly equality is interpreted as an additional burden. Equality does not reduce the housewife's tasks but increases them. This is demonstrated in the treatment of the tired working wife and the interpretation of companionate marriage. It chimes well with Williams' editorial strictures on the preposterous suggestion that women have a right to do all that men do. In these stories the physical limitations of exhaustion do indeed make it so. It could also have, although this ventured tentatively, some relationship to the division between the middle-class and working-class attitudes to the position of women referred to by Pierce(1978). Equality in such terms is a luxury.

GOOD HOUSEKEEPINGTHE PROBLEM

In contrast to the young working class audience of True Romances, the final examination of familism is of material directed at women who were predominantly middle-class and who enjoyed a greater degree of economic security. They were also predominantly married with a marital pattern established over a period of some years.

This audience posed different problems to that of True Romances and centred upon social change. The first arose from the changes in the occupational structure and the decline in domestic service. The second was directly related to the war: the re-entry into the workforce of women who on marriage had no or little expectation of ever again undertaking paid work outside the home. The third problem rested upon several factors: the educational level and intelligence of the audience with its potential for a rational re-assessment of their erstwhile circumstances and the structures they inhabited; the articulate feminists were drawn from this social class; that changes in social structure were evident in both everyday war-time experience, both in the family and outside it, and also at the theoretical or ideological level of the debate on equality and post-war reconstruction. This audience would, then, be conscious of the debate on sex equality. It was, therefore, these problems which had to be accommodated within the familism articulated for this audience if the traditional family structure was to be given any legitimacy.

Domestic Service

Although the proportion of living-in servants probably declined during the 1930s it has recently been argued, in contrast to studies which have classed domestic service as a Victorian and Edwardian phenomenon that was declining in the 1920s (Barnett 1974:135-142;

Horn 1975:171; Roberts 1973:222), that domestic service remained high and actually increased by 16 per cent between 1920 and 1931. Furthermore, it extended to the lower middle-class (Taylor 1979:121). Ferguson and Fitzgerald (1954:3) report a study by Frankel (1945) which estimates the total number of domestic servants (indoor and outdoor, resident and non-resident) in Great Britain in mid-1939 at 1,590,000.

However, irrespective of facts, there appears to have been a widespread feeling that middle-class women were having to increase their involvement in the performance of household tasks in the inter-war years - a phenomenon to which the publication of Good Housekeeping itself bears witness. One aristocratic commentator, Dorothy Patterson (1945:36), expresses the change in the following terms,

'Even... before the war, to be a mother was in many instances to be overburdened and distraught. Young women of the sturdy middle-classes, trying to maintain standards of culture and education on modest and highly taxed incomes, and ready and willing to live in the fresh air and sunshine of the country for the sake of their children, found women as a sex refusing them help and co-operation in every direction.'

The war exacerbated the situation with the conscription of women from inessential industries into the war economy and the women's services with the consequences commented upon by Douie (1949:153),

'Shortage of woman-power greatly reduced the number of domestic servants, and in classes accustomed to this assistance, women, perhaps for the first time in their lives, scrubbed their own floors and did it with a good heart.'

Concern over the post-war recruitment of women into domestic service was also expressed at official level in that the Ministry of Labour and National Service set up a committee, reporting in 1944, on 'the post-war organisation of private domestic service'. An indicator of the expectation that middle-class women had domestic help lies both in Douie's account and Spring Rice's (1939:107) definition of working-class women as those who perform domestic duties without help.

From the point of view of the articulation of a familial ideology it was this increased domestic burden which the texts had to accommodate.

The Married Woman Worker

There is little evidence for the period on the married middle-class woman who went out to work. As noted earlier Spring-Rice (1939) had no response from middle-class women whom she had hoped to compare with working-class wives. Myrdal and Klein (1962:85) observed in 1956 that little attention had been paid to the married middle-class woman in employment and that their number had seemed too insignificant to warrant close social investigation.

There are, however, some general pointers. Nottingham (1947:672) for example, in a study predominantly concerned with the American situation but also making reference to the broadly similar British one, noted how the Second World War acted as a stimulus to the flagging aspirations of middle-class women in their vocational and political community roles restrained during the inter-war period by, for example, the marriage bars in various white-collar occupations, the segregation of low status female professions, the barriers to promotion and hostile male attitudes. She also observes that the war gave to some middle-class women an opportunity to develop more independence in their family roles, presumably in the increased opportunity for decision making in the absence of husbands and the financial independence gained through war work (Nottingham 1947:673).

Also noted in this paper is the growing dissatisfaction in the inter-war years by some, although by no means all, middle-class women with their family roles and a discontent aroused by the knowledge of a wider range of opportunities which were open to women. Jefferys' (1952) study (cited by Myrdal and Klein (1962:85) of married women in the higher grades of

the Civil Service lends support to this. Unlike the study conducted by the International Labour Office (1946) where the analysis of the motivation of married women to work was confined to two factors - economic need and the manpower needs of the national economy - Jefferys' study allowed other factors to emerge. Although one in five of these middle-class women were the sole or main source of the family income, interest in work or failure to secure satisfaction from unrelieved domesticity were given as frequently as financial considerations. Myrdal and Klein comment on the complex psychological situation apparent in the full employment of the fifties, components of which were the desire for a higher standard of life, the need for company, the preference for more congenial types of work and the wish to be financially independent. They also note, however, the guilt felt by many men, particularly in the middle-classes, whose wives had jobs.

Finally, the intelligence, awareness and ability to assess the implications of the apparent and potential changes of the period, coupled with the intention of the magazine to reach this type of audience, has implications for the mechanisms by which the accommodation of the threats to traditionalism could be achieved.

Social Awareness and Education

Again, editorial policy was unobtainable but the readership surveys indicated a readership of educated and socially aware individuals. This was substantiated by the subject matter of the magazine, the level of discussion and the wide ranging references in descriptive and illustrative material.

As noted earlier, and as will be referred to in the analysis, the range is wide. There are, for example, articles on structural reform and curricula innovation in education, post-war housing, the inadequacies of

social insurance as they relate to maternity, the Beveridge Report, economics, postal communications, piloting aircraft, the Officer Cadet Training Unit, the empire, venereal disease, and sex education. These are referred to in greater detail below. Descriptive passages in the fiction include such stylistic and erudite passages as the following,

'The next weeks lay like cotyledon leaves within the seed of that day. Time would enlarge the ultimate leaves of her passion, but not reshape them, for they were already shaped in miniature. There were weeks to be lived patterned after the minutes of that day, weeks of shame disguised as anger, weeks of hard glittering suspicion.'

(Pearson 1943 Jan :98)

There are references to psychology and Freud and in one test of dinner party social competence there appears, 'Is it true that entirely new art and literary forms have arisen from dialectic materialism?' (Arnold 1943 April:16).

Furthermore, each issue included book reviews of both fiction and non-fiction. The non-fiction section of the issue of February 1943, for example, contained reviews of books on fascism and defeatism in France; German critiques of the German regime and a book of essays on the English countryside.

THE TEXT

THE DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE

The central problem which these texts address is that of change. This is the major distinguishing feature between Good Housekeeping and True Romances. In marked contrast to True Romances which has a peculiar air of timelessness, the content of Good Housekeeping is infused with an awareness of change, both societal and personal. Because the change is not of one kind it is useful to extricate the types which are present.

1. Long term change:
 - e.g. changing attitudes to marriage and family size.
 - social equality (class).
 - female emancipation.

2. Change induced by war:
 - e.g. women's war work
 - women living independently of men.
 - dispersion of the family unit.
 - rise in venereal disease.
 - widening of social contacts.
 - dislocation which induces a degree of marginality.
3. Future change in post-war reconstruction for a better world.
 - e.g. employment.
 - housing.
 - educational opportunity, curriculum development.
 - social security.
 - woman's place.
4. Personal change related to stage in the familial cycle.
 - e.g. spinsterhood.
 - widowhood.
 - in-law status.

These types of change are interwoven throughout the text. Thus not only does war, obviously, have an impact upon personal lives and marital relationships, but, where personal change is related to stage in the familial cycle, in this periodical (unlike the same phenomenon in True Romances) the change is frequently placed in some form of historical perspective to which the personal is linked. This historical perspective is important to the articulation of familism.

In addition to this historical theme, however, there is a substantial awareness of the contemporary world which is treated in some depth: the privations and exigencies of war upon domestic life; the private griefs and personal problems induced by war; but most importantly a sense of wide public debate and a sense of both participation and anticipation throughout society of change which has to be induced and pursued by active participation on the part of the individual; and an awareness of both immanent change and a potential for change in the post-war world.

The editorial of February 1943 devoted to the Beveridge Report, carrying an illustration of a woman reading it, concludes,

'The Plan is not a charity: it is an attempt, on sound insurance principles, to place the whole population above the hunger-line. It lights the way like a beacon to the kind of world we want our children to grow up in, and we should not allow anyone to interfere or to cloud the light.

'Freedom from want cannot be forced on a democracy or given to a democracy. It must be won by them.'" These are Sir William's own words, taken from his report. Are you reading, thinking, talking, working to win this freedom and more particularly to achieve the aims of the Beveridge Plan?'

(Italics original)

Awareness of and links with this real world of change are emphasised. *Chronicler*, the pseudonym of James Drawbell, editor of the Sunday Chronicle, who contributed a regular miscellany of comment and opinion from February 1943 to November 1943 entitled 'Finger on the Pulse' is introduced in the February issue.

"'Chronicler' who contributes this new feature, is one of the best-informed men in the country, for his work brings him into intimate association with the outstanding figures of the hour and with Mr. and Mrs. Everyman. With his wide sympathies and understanding he is the perfect recorder of what people are thinking and feeling today.'

(Chronicler 1943 Feb:14-15)

Captions of following months (for example, *Chronicler* 1943 July:16) refer to his survey of 'the panorama of our changing times'. He is, in these presentations, accorded authority by his alleged access to contemporary opinion of both the well placed and of ordinary people which in turn gives his comments an air of legitimacy.

Because of the dominance of contemporaneity and the stimulation of social change in Good Housekeeping, rather than compare the two magazines across themes, it was considered more productive to the analysis of ideological articulation to organise such analysis around this major characteristic of the texts.

The familistic prescriptions of True Romances were directed to a specialised negotiation of poverty. In Good Housekeeping, for a very

different audience, the articulation of familism was in startling contrast. Here traditional roles were sustained by taking cognizance of the extensive aspects of social change, indeed in many respects embracing them, but effectively subjecting this challenging world external to the family to processes of domestication.

Notwithstanding the dominant motif of change close inspection revealed that what is at issue is not change or expansion of opportunities per se. The theme around which familism is elaborated is essentially conservative - continuity within change.

The analysis falls into three parts. The first examines the containment of change by locating it within historical and universal perspectives; secondly, the family relationships in the texts are examined along with the threats, posed particularly but not exclusively by war, to what are considered the proper and established patterns; the final and summarising aspect of the analysis comprises an assessment of the accommodation of tradition and change by the domestication of the outside world.

Continuities in Change

Paradoxically it is the emphasis upon change related to a special treatment of familial themes that evokes an atmosphere or undercurrent of stability and timelessness induced in True Romances by the almost total absence of historical or contemporary references. The effect in Good Housekeeping arises from the articulation of a continuity of universals and absolutes through all historical and personal change. In Good Housekeeping the past becomes the future and the future evokes the past.

In the demands imposed by war, in the creation of new social experiences, when such personal experiences, or the observation of their

effect upon others, were leading to a questioning (if not rejection) of traditional structures and where such rejection when it related to social class had much popular support, and in a magazine which catered for an educated audience and provided intellectually stimulating material, this undercurrent of constancy in change provides an important unifying and pervasive device of orientation, similar in function to the layers of assumptions and configuration of family models in BWP and ABCA.

The device of employing constants in the controlling of present and future is more apparent in the fiction than the non-fiction. In the fiction the continuity comprises both content and techniques. In the content specific values and patterns are treated as absolutes and are often seen as cyclical irrespective of social change and independent of the individual. With regard to technique literary conventions are employed to convey these messages, as for example, the use of 'flashbacks' and memories. To the extent that a technique may itself carry a message, the ideological effect is compounded. Selected familistic themes swing pendulum-like between present, past and future. In one story referred to in detail below, 'At a Sacrifice' (Cousins 1943 May), a situation in the present becomes one family's past, an even earlier past beyond that and, simultaneously another family's future.

While these effects are found in both fiction and non-fiction the differences lie predominantly in the types of control available. Both are tuned to audience control, but the story form allows a complete control over theme with the implication that the outcome is to be applauded. It also incorporates the disarming device of relaxation. The non-fiction, arising apparently directly out of real experience (some more testable than others), and obviously concerned with the present and immediate future, is more abrasive, poses questions to the reader or

leaves some unresolved although strongly indicating the appropriate answer. Recourse has to be made to different techniques. The use of reality and experts is one such device. Rather than allowing the difficulties to play themselves out as the story form allows, we are, so to speak, invited to view at close quarters a turbulent slice extracted from an all-embracing and overarching calm of eternity.

Strategies of Continuity

Format and Material

Although the symbolism may not be apparent at a conscious level a distinction is conveyed by the type of paper upon which the material is printed. There are two kinds: smooth glossy white paper with black print and illustrations and coarse buff coloured paper with illustrations and sometimes titles or slogans in four crude primary colours.

The distinctions in presentation broadly, although not entirely, follow a distinction between modern and explicitly traditional material. Although not all traditional material appears on the rougher paper no modern material appears at all. While largely confined to fiction the non-fiction which is accorded such treatment reaffirms traditional values. There is, for example, an article by Gray (1942 Sept :14-15), 'Youth and Hope Make the Best Parents', in which a return to youthful marriages is advocated and which claims the centrality of family formation in the enhancement of a woman's individuality and freedom. Interestingly for the propositions regarding the use made of social change and modernity, the traditional authority of parents is simultaneously rendered suspect. Gray criticizes the fallacy of the view, attributed here to contemporary parents, that independence and freedom for girls lies outside marriage.

Although containing no familistic references an article on the Empire appears on this paper (Tiltman 1943 April:12) as does an anthro-

pomorphic article on nature (Warren 1943:14).

Traditional Themes

Of the 24 stories eight draw upon traditional themes for their plots. A story by Elizabeth Goudge in the December issue 1942 is based upon the biblical story of the Flight into Egypt of the Holy Family. Traditional peasant communities, or the exiled members of one, form the basis of two stories: 'Free Choice, Free World' (Flying Officer X 1943) and 'And the Women Danced' (Gulliland 1943); rural life, with particular emphasis upon traditional skills and values comprises the theme of two others: 'Baron the Plough Horse' (Rodgers 1942) and 'Farm Boy' (Gosse 1943). Traditional attitudes towards values associated with home, marriage, children and childbirth run through four others: 'Martha' (Watson 1943); 'Monthly Stranger' (Linsley 1943); 'Godmother Tomorrow' (St. John 1943 March); 'At a Sacrifice' (Cousins 1943 May). Additionally 'Legends from Our Allies' (1942:14) draws upon such themes.

The Central Character and the Use of Retrospection

As would be expected, given the age range of the audience, the central character of several stories is a mature person, not necessarily old, reflecting upon and assessing the past. Such use of retrospection serves to reinforce, if not establish, a time link in the perpetuation of specific values. This backward assessment includes childhood sibling relationships (Cousins 1943 Jan), memories of the ethos of home (Watson 1943), the first stirrings of adolescent romance by a woman embarking upon her honeymoon (Cousins 1943 Feb), the first ten years of the married life of a beautiful, wealthy, socially successful and childless woman (St. Johns 1943 March), the review of a marriage of thirteen years duration (Pearson 1943), the longevity and key events of a marriage recounted

to a grandchild (Rodgers 1942) and the cycle of family life as viewed from the stance of widowhood (Cousins 1943 May).

The continuity is sustained, furthermore, by the presence, either to a lesser or to an overwhelming degree, of elements of nostalgia, symbolism, mysticism and fundamentals which lend to the action an aura of the enacting of deep seated verities. There are, for example, rings - handed down through the generations as engagement rings (Cousins 1943 May:91) - the hearth and household gods' (Watson 1943:18), the Holy Family (Goudge 1942), the church 'filled with a pure, very pale gold light (which) seemed to speak to her' (St. Johns 1943 March: 91) and unquenchable sexual urges - 'the ancient hunger of mankind', 'strange bondage' (Cousins 1943 Feb:62) and 'hidden currents' (Pulsford 1943:68); and, at a more mundane level, a double bed bought with prize money for a display of masculinity¹ and which has lasted a lifetime (Rodgers 1942:62). The use may be quite explicit. The introductory paragraph to 'Good Luck, Dear Spoons' (St. Johns 1943 Feb:6) opens,

'Families, like nature, have symbols, themselves often unimportant, but representing conquest, tradition and memorable occasion: good luck charms and significant heirlooms, meaning more than any outsider can understand.'

Paradoxically while such symbols and events in the stories essentially relate to individuals they also portray values and events which are independent of individuals. I shall demonstrate this by examining the manner in which constants are used in the articulation of the familism of Good Housekeeping.

Constants

Home and Family, Natural and Supernatural

The sacred qualities attributed to the concept of home are made

¹ This is discussed below.

quite explicit in one story, 'Martha' (Watson 1943). The narrator describes the effect of Martha, the cook, on the lives of the children of the family (the parents are shadowy figures).

'Whatever household gods we had, it was her cherishing that preserved them to us, in the years when the corner stones had crumbled and weeds grew about the threshold, her tending that kept alive the family flame upon the hearth.'

(Watson 1943:18)

For an educated audience the passage reinforces the sacred and enduring nature of home by the implied parallels with the domestic religions of antiquity. In Rome of the late republic and early empire a girl upon marriage of the manus form (where power over her was transferred from father to husband) renounced her father's religion and worshipped instead at her husband's hearth. In classical Athens women traditionally lit the fires on husband's or father's hearth (Pomeroy 1975:152,98). Paradoxically, then, an advance in the emancipation of women, that is education, is employed to consolidate tradition if not inhibit change. The sacred qualities are also strengthened by demonstrating their contemporary relevance in crisis.

'When the crash came, it was she who kept the flag flying... who adapted herself (and us) to the horrifying little villa that came afterwards.'

(Watson 1943:68)

'Do you think of us - "the family," whom your love and your pride created?'

(Watson 1943:19)

The narrative is, moreover, infused with a particular time motif - familial time - which heightens both the intimate nostalgia and sense of impersonal continuity.

'Time was not measured for you by the clock or the calendar, but by the cradle, the pram, the school desk.'

(Watson 1943:19)

'She should have a pension - a little house with a warm fireside where we "the family" would be reunited, and our children would hear how we, too, had been young... it was not to Martha that we said goodbye on that autumn day - it was to our childhood.'

(Watson 1943:69)

In these texts, however, home and family do not necessarily have material confines of either time or space. Thus in the story of the flight into Egypt of the Holy Family, led by an Egyptian slave girl, home is identified with Christ, the baby, and by implication babies and motherhood.

'Above all (in the terrible journey) there was the baby, the reason for it all, the centre of their living and their striving, their joy, their pride, their home. (Wherever the baby was) was their home.'

(Goudge 1942:93)¹

In a more contemporary situation, in a society where home is usually associated with house, and particularly during this period when one in five² houses were destroyed by enemy action, the concept of home is again divest of its material trappings, particularly for the older age groups, thereby not only enabling the continuance of family and home building in the obtaining of housing stock by a new generation, but also enabling the sustenance of the same values. There is, therefore an underlying stability although individual actors may change.

On agonising whether to sell a house on the death of her husband after all her children have left home, a woman reminisces over the events of family life, birth, childhood, marriage and death - again time is

¹ In this story there are three families, Egyptian, Roman and Holy, all exhibiting a traditional family structure. Significantly, while it is Joseph who interprets the material signs as indicating that a caravan has passed in the night (as opposed to the Egyptian girl's belief that it was a visitation of angels), it is the girl who interprets and understands the mystical qualities of home and baby.

² This was the title of a series of articles in Good Housekeeping (1943) in April, May and June.

measured by familial events. A young couple, with children of similar age to her own when the initial purchase was made, come to view the house. She comments on the couple,

'How little the years and the times change the essential things! It was the same look she had exchanged with Clem twenty-five years ago, eager, conspiratorial, proud and a little frightened. There is no romance in life like that look - the look of two people bound together by ties stronger than life, who find in each other the courage to carve out their mutual destinies, to raise shelter over their love, to rear children and keep home... (it) made her know once and for all that home is but the communion of spirits, and that it has no concern with wood and stone and plaster and brick, or even with the earth itself. Mrs. Farraday knew that henceforth her home was her heart.

She had expected it to be like the end of the world - blotting out all the future. But it wasn't. It was pleasant to think of a young family in the house again¹ ... it was the purpose of a house to have a baby waddling with unsteady steps from doorway to doorway, a little boy swinging on a limb in the orchard outside, flowering as ever and loud with the sound of bees... to have a man and a woman together in the upstairs room.

Mrs. Farraday knew that that was all a house was good for.'

(Cousins 1943 May:10)

Thus the house is sold to young people of the present for the same reasons that it was sold by the previous occupant twenty-five years earlier.

Furthermore we are taken into the even more distant past when

Mrs. Farraday recalls that at that time.

'It did not occur to her to think of the woman who had hung the white muslin curtains at the windows or polished the table or lighted the lamps before.'

(Cousins 1943 May:89)

By this device of recall and imagination continuity extends from recalled past to an inferred past and an inferred future.

The theme of the story is reinforced by descriptive passages on the continuity of nature and, paradoxically, the permanence of the

¹ The cynical might wonder if one purpose of this story lay in an attempt to ease the housing shortage by encouraging those with large houses and no family to move house.

house itself.

'It was May and the lilacs were in bloom around the door - the same lilacs. Everything changes, but the lilacs go on.'

(Cousins 1943 May:7)

Tensions Between Tradition and Modernity

In addition to the concept of values inherited, or rather entered into, by actors down the generations and projected into the future there are elements which are portrayed as absolutes but set in the context of tension between tradition and modernity.

For example, with regard to childbirth and motherhood, although modern attitudes to pregnancy no longer treat the condition as an embarrassing secret (Linsley 1943:21) and improvements in ante-natal and post-natal welfare organised by the State are laudably compared with the traditional arrangements of the previous generation (Tiltman 1942 Dec :7) the import of the two stories in which this theme is dealt with is that these are merely superficial changes. The agony and joy of childbirth is the fundamental experience and constitutes a common bond between women irrespective of social class¹ and despite its essentially individual nature

'It was over... the long drawn hours of rhythmical agony that had culminated in pain beyond all belief and from which there had been no escape.

It had passed, leaving the peace that "passeth all understanding."

... It was peace, and pure joy to be so, she thought, with the

¹ That women, irrespective of social class, share communalities is explicit in a story of a cottage rented by a newly married middle-class couple from one of lower social class. The middle-class girl realises that the vulgarity she attributes to lower-class taste in the furnishing of a home is irrelevant to the fact that both are attempting to create a first home. 'They looked at each other - two young women with a common bond between them' (Dean 1943:71).

certain knowledge that those hours of agony had passed with that strange, grey world of half-forgotten pain, where lie the dim remembered anguishes of all women.'

(Linsley 1943:69)

The experience of birth also draws her close to the vulgar, lower class midwife she had previously found irritating (Linsley 1943:74).

The desire for children, even perhaps unrecognised by the woman herself (Linsley 1943:96) or despite medical advice on the possibility of death in childbirth, is shown as a fundamental urge which modernity may superficially cloak. This holds for women of both high and low social class. Thus of a writer's domestic help

'Undaunted, she decided to pursue the matter in my absence. It was another boy - stillborn, a reminder that the doctor had warned her against producing a family. But Lucy... is indomitable.'

(Tiltman 1942 Dec :6)

And of a singer with a wealthy background a father explains to his son about his dead mother,

'She had what she wanted you see. She said she'd rather have children than live to be seventy - and she thought you and Bibs were fine.'

(Benet 1943:12)

Traditional customs in a cohesive traditionally structured peasant community in occupied Europe, where women age early, where the male takes precedence over the female and mothers over wives, is depicted as instrumental in outwitting the modern German army of occupation (Gulliland 1943).

Juxtaposed with this the theme of advances in female emancipation is treated on one occasion humorously in the fiction¹ and approvingly

¹ An elderly uncle 'thinks civilization fell when women got the vote' (Benet 1943:105). In this story while the women are talented and have careers their return to domesticity and motherhood is resolved through their proclivity for this function. This is referred to above of a mother; and of the talented daughter her brother consoles his worried father,

in several of the non-fiction contributions. There is, furthermore, incorporated within this writing the implication that British and Western women are in the van of this movement as well as there being signs of an international trend towards emancipation. For example, in 'News From the Middle East' it is observed that 'No longer are the women of the East the ritual-bound chattels they once were' (Wing 1943:5); that while country women are still bound by tradition 'the modern Egyptian girl has altogether different ideas'. An American writes of Australian women that while the First World War released Australian women from the kitchen and that household drudgery has declined over the last ten years 'Yet they never approximated their American cousins' freedom and independence' (Gordon 1943:86).

The techniques by which attempts are made to resolve this paradox by redefinition, modification, exposition and domestication in other parts of the text are discussed later.

Similarly traditional skills and the flowering of the individual in their performance are set against the mindless monotony of the modern industrial process (Gosse 1943). Such flowering it will be seen, is an intrinsic aspect of the containment of lower-class individuals within a class position and constitutes a specific form of masculinity to which both men and women must bend their energies. In this same story the pure values of the rural life are upheld against the sullied values of urban modernity witnessed in the application of lipstick and wearing satin clothes. '(I've got a girl) a towney - but she's different from

footnote continued from previous page

"Oh, she'll go a little haywire when she's eighteen and probably write a phoney child-prodigy novel. And then she'll marry somebody who'll chase her round the house with a poker if she tries any tricks and have eight kids and end up a good sport." And funnily enough, I knew when I said it that it was going to be true.

(Benet 1943:112)

the others. She don't paint her lips, not now anyways' (Gosse 1943:57).

Whilst this story refers to male skills, that of pregnancy and childbirth (Linsley 1943) demonstrates the metamorphosis to dignity, status, individual development and serenity when women concern themselves with the central function of maternity. As noted above, the slatternly midwife is transformed. 'How right it was that work should bring out a person's best qualities' (Linsley 1943:74) is nonetheless spoken by a woman whose maternal love has been amazingly awakened by childbirth. It will also be seen how the nursing role and hierarchy pose contradictions for femininity.

In family life, again bearing in mind the age of the readers, the experience of the older woman and her knowledge of true values, of family loyalty irrespective of social class, is set against the modernity and striving towards high standards of consumerism of a daughter who has married well. The mother-in-law has been presented at court, there are crests on the family silver,

'A triumphant match¹ for Frances, and the girl was bursting with pride in her great luck of loving and being loved by a man who was and had everything she most desired.'

(St. John 1943 Feb :77)

The comfortable home of the mother, 'the living room looked cheerfully lived in', the mother herself who is constantly counselled by the daughter against 'letting yourself go' (St. John 1943 Feb.:6), is set against the modernity of the daughter's home.

'But it was Fran's house, too, and she never felt quite welcome in it. Everything was so different from what it had been in their home. Fran had improved on everything, she had found newer and

¹ The gold digger is recognised in these texts. A girl rejected in love retaliates by saying the man has not enough to offer her and is accused of being a gold digger (Pulsford 1943:68). 'Puppylove' is said to occur before girls take the financial position of their suitors into account (Whitman 1943:65). I have not incorporated this into the analysis because of its apparently less salient position for the articulation of familism than was the case in True Romances.

better and quicker and easier and healthier ways to do everything.'

(St. John 1943 Feb :80)

While the daughter fears 'the impending doom of social catastrophe' (St. John 1943 Feb.:82) at her mother's sentimentality and lack of taste in displaying her collection of souvenir spoons to the highly born family of marriage, the mother feels that the daughter's perfectionism stands in danger of being interpreted as snobbery by those whose affection she wishes to hold.

The wisdom of the mother is justified in this plot yet it has been noted earlier that in the non-fiction it is parents who may have adopted the values of modernity by attempting to dissuade their children from early marriage (Gray 1942 Sept.) Where traditional familial agencies are not operating in an approved direction then experts must interpret experience to parents.

Again modernity, in the form of rationality and modern notions of psychology, is juxtaposed with the basic need for parental affection by a teenage boy whose mother is dead and whose father is apparently indifferent towards him.

'I'm modern. I know there's no reason why you should like anybody because he's your son. They prove that in the books, these days. And if you're famous, why naturally grown children tie you down and get in your way... It was probably something pretty psychological that Father couldn't help - with one of those Greek names perhaps.'

(Benet 1943:106)

In an editorial feature advocating large families old and new values are apparently harmoniously incorporated - the traditional value of a large family and the modern wife, with a profession, who will not have time to perform certain domestic tasks for a husband.

'At first the boys protested, saying that as I mended their father's clothes, their wives would doubtless do the same for them.'

I pointed out that I was a woman without a profession, and they would have to go far before they would find one and so they had better learn when still young.'

(Stirling 1943:1)

Only in the grumble of the sons does this exposition hint at the tension inherent in the traditional power relationship between the sexes. The relationship, however, is not neglected but is elaborated for the reader in a story, 'Little Brother' (Cousins 1943 Jan), which juxtaposes stereotyped concepts of innate masculinity and femininity and the modern notion of domestic task sharing, analyzed by its childhood setting and the wry humour of its treatment. The final outcome serves as a model for the ideal (and happy) distribution of conjugal power based upon the eternal of male supremacy and the moral dispensation of justice by the male, highlighting the futility of any female attempt to reverse this longstanding order of things and the injustice with which females wield power given access to it.

'It occurs to me now that my flagrant efforts to dominate my little brother in his defenceless youth were the result of that age-old feminine instinct to boss any male in sight for as long as possible knowing - without knowing why - that sooner or later man's prerogative will set in.'

(Cousins 1943 Jan :16)

The power battle is presented as part of the natural order. 'The struggle for supremacy between the sexes makes itself manifest very early' (Cousins 1943 Jan :6) and while she is neither magnanimous nor honest in admitting faults for which her brother is blamed along with her (Cousins 1943 Jan :8) yet she 'greatly fancies' the role of friend and protector. She observes,

'In the deep recesses of every feminine spirit are buried the germs of the tyrant, engendered by centuries of having to get their own way by devious means. Fortunately for the world, these malignant bacilli are defeated in most women by the stronger forces of love and gentleness. Little girls are notably short of both, and when you find a really cruel woman you usually find a case of arrested

development.

I ruled my brother, not with an iron hand, but with a subtle, calculated look of my innocent eyes which always conjured up in sharp outline the smoking episode (of coffee grains) behind the garage.'

(Cousins 1943 Jan: 74,76)

Her power,¹ unlike that of her brother's when he eventually gains the ascendancy through an act of moral courage and in her defence, is wielded unjustly,

'In the midst of the battle when he was fighting honestly for his just deserts, I would pause and give him that certain look which set his good mind and his small tough person quaking. Whatever the controversy, he gave in.'

(Cousins 1943 Jan:76)

It is her sentimental attachment to an older boy, when 'Man's world came crowding into (hers) and reduced it to second place' that her small brother, in defending her against the other boy's taunts, gains a moral supremacy.

'In a flash of intuition I knew that I would never again have to tell her (mother) anything again concerning him. My little brother would handle it. The years of appeasement were over. My look had lost its efficacy, defeated by chivalry, by larger and more generous powers of understanding and moral courage. Thus ever with tyrants.'

(Cousins 1943 Jan:18)

In contrast to her, in his now dominant position, he exercises justly the power of control over her behaviour and the dispensation of the chores. While she had to perform the mutually disliked chore of sweeping the kitchen, he allows her to recite although he dislikes it. Because she feels he has conceded so much she must also concede (Cousins 1943 Jan:80).

Gender stereotypes are presented as innate qualities (albeit originally socially engendered), serve both to support a traditional dis-

¹ The relationship of power to women appears also in an article by Chronicler (1943 June) and is discussed below. In the above story power in women is apparently a disease which would destroy the world. The theme of immaturity also runs through several aspects of female challenge to the traditional order referred to below.

tribution of power and simultaneously are seen as conducive to a harmonious and just relationship.

'There was a certain relief in the atmosphere. After the stress and strain of power, co-operation had new and gentle compensations, where there is admiration, pride and affection, all is easy.'

(Cousins 1943 Jan:78)

Thus innate and universal characteristics inform the ideal and inevitable relationship between the sexes. This is explicitly imported into the marriage relationship and given a biological basis in an article ironically entitled 'Men Are Like That' (Lamb 1943) devoted to the problems men endure because of women's biological cycle and the crucial differences in male and female behaviour. A woman, it is argued, unlike men, can never release herself from a consciousness of her spouse.

'(A man) is a man first and a husband afterwards. A woman is always a wife first and a woman afterwards... By accepting the primeval differences between the sexes without cavil, women could ensure the crown of their lives: the undying love of a man.'

(Lamb 1943:40)

Similarly, other implicit modern assumptions made by a narrator - that it is acceptable for a woman to be the economic provider - are overturned. Martha, the cook who tends the sacred hearth, understands the importance of a man's dignity and what is morally right as opposed to rationally possible (Watson 1943).

Because the man she wishes to marry in on relief which would be withdrawn if he married Martha who had 'a bit of money saved' they did not marry.

To the comment of the narrator 'Oh but... Martha would have understood,' inferring that the source of a family's income is irrelevant, Mr. Mullins replies, 'She did... she knew how it was. It wouldn't have been right - her keeping me - she saw that.' The narrator's comments follow in parenthesis, ('Oh, Martha, again your delicacy shamed my blunter feeling.')

'I couldn't have Martha keep me and Martha wouldn't have done it ... but they wouldn't pay me relief, if there was any money in the house - they said it all counted up together - they couldn't understand,

Control over Change

The thread of continuity within change which runs through the text serves to promote a particular orientation to war-time change. Not only does it allow for the definition of abnormal to be applied to the period but it also provides the basis for a 'balanced' perspective, a stance which Mary Gray constantly urges upon her readers, towards the problems in and challenges to an ideal which the upheaval of war does not necessarily create but which it brings into prominence. In this manner problems inherent to the social structure may be displaced into short term problems of temporary disturbance.

Thus the thrust of many of the features, both explicitly and implicitly, is less of a linking of the past, present and future but rather a containment and direction of potentially threatening change which has been induced by, or raised to the level of consciousness, by war.

However the role of the constancies outlined above is crucial in this process. It is the theme of continuity which makes possible the definition of the obtaining situation as abnormal, which provides a safe position, an anchorage, and which allows the ambiguities and contradictions to be laid bare and openly discussed by a magazine whose selling point is that of being in touch with the real world and which attracts an educated and questioning readership.

For a reader questioning the pre-war organisation of family life, finding war-time life either more fulfilling or bringing into sharp relief the disadvantages of the marital state, it is the immanent changes induced by war which are defined as giving rise to disturbed notions and interpreted for the reader as immaterial. In one instance, Mary Gray (1942 May:21) comments that the change a working wife is feeling, 'is only in (her) own mind. It hasn't really happened you know.' Change, then, is defined as abnormal, a small hiccup in the unfolding of

eternal values.

Patterns of Maintenance: Control over Individualism

Despite the implication in the texts of the inevitability of the outcome the disturbances are nonetheless not left to subside with the passing of time but rather subject to processes of reinterpretation as superficial reaction to superficial events. The second stage of the analysis, therefore, focusses upon the means by which specific familial patterns are sustained in the light of the threats to them and the ideal pattern which emerges. This is done by concentrating upon the two major variables in the selection of the audience: the social class and the familial position of the readership.

As in the earlier texts which were analysed, messages are directed to both those within a conjugal structure and also to those outside but in critical juxtaposition: the spinster, the career woman, the feminist, the selfish mother. Although ideal attributes may refer to both men and women, the focus for familial maintenance is upon the role of women both within and outside the family.

The types of maintenance fall within three broad groups: conjugal relationships including the sexual division of labour and the sexual double standard, spouselessness and the relationship between generations. Most categories are inevitably inadequate and necessarily subsume broader societal issues which cut across their boundaries; for example, antagonisms between women, fundamental sexual and gender relationships and specific forms of economic man. Other familial elements, for example, romantic sadism, appear to lie along other dimensions. It was considered to be most productive to structure the analysis around the dimensions of pattern maintenance of the familial ideal and refer to the residual elements where they were associated (either in their contribution or their

potential threat) with this pattern.

The Middle-Class Work Ethic and the Mediation of Masculinity

A second major distinction between True Romances and Good Housekeeping is the articulation of the economic theme. In contrast to True Romances this theme does not dominate the text of Good Housekeeping. Although similar elements appear in the text and enter into the analysis, for example, occupational statuses of both male and female, working-class and middle-class, working women both married and unmarried, economic promotion and demotion for women on marriage (connected with problems of social status), the gold digger and economic considerations in marriage, enjoyment of material possessions and the economic responsibilities of the family man, the economic theme does not provide the integrating mechanism for the familism of the text.

However, despite the more restrained presentation, the priority accorded the economic in True Romances, sensitised the analyst to the economic in Good Housekeeping especially with regard to the work ethic, its place in the sexual division of labour and the female mediation of economic masculinity.

Both middle and working-class work ethics appear in the text. The analysis focusses initially upon the ramifications of the middle-class work ethic. This ethic is lucidly presented in only one story, entered into in detail below (Cousins 1943 May), although hinted at in two others. Thus David was, 'deep in the financial page where his heart lived and breathed and had its being' (Pearson 1943:18); and a father who,

'was always the last to leave the office at the mill, although he owned it and, as Uncle Bill said, there was no earthly reason why he should be the first in and the last out.'

(Nebel 1943:3)

Despite the muted presentation, critical differences emerge in the elaboration of the wife's role. While she remains the mediator of male economic activity the mediation differs according to a husband's social class. Work is infused with different meanings.

It will be seen how both the contrasts within Good Housekeeping itself between the middle-class and working-class work ethic and in comparison with True Romances reveal differential emphasis and detail in the application of family ideology. This re-affirms the point which emerged specifically in the analysis of the published evidence of the Beveridge Report, that the detailed working of an ideology is intimately linked to the specific context (whether small or large) in which it is located.

Although it is acknowledged that middle-class wives work (Blythe 1943 March:142; Gray 1942 May:20) and, in fact, 'the part-time principle' of part-time work for women and men is advocated in one editorial as a practice which could fruitfully be extended to the benefit of both after the war (Good Housekeeping 1943 Oct :1) there is no doubt that, like True Romances, Good Housekeeping considers the husband to be the breadwinner. In the above article the husband and wife devote their part-time involvement to home and outside activity respectively: day nurseries in the post-war world will enable mothers to 'add to the family income' (Chaloner 1943 June:101); a reader advocates 'a social system that is so designed that mothers have no financial difficulties to urge them away from their duty to the family' (Good Housekeeping 1943 May:103); and the dichotomy between housewife and worker is apparent in the admonition that despite the possibility of meals being taken away from home 'you still have the responsibility for the proper nourishment of the war worker in the family' (Minister of Agriculture 1943 May:31).

However, unlike the prescription for the class containment of the

lower-class, the middle-class work ethic as portrayed for this group is to work in order to climb an occupational and economic hierarchy.

This is not to suggest that individuals necessarily leave their class of origin, as would appear to be the case in the story referred to earlier where a distinction is drawn between the earned wealth of a middle-class family and the established upper-class wealth of another (St. Johns 1943 Feb); and again where upper middle-class girls are counselled to be prepared to marry beneath them although still within the broad spectrum of the middle-class (Gray 1942 Oct :41). Within this middleclass, however, there is a pronounced hierarchy of advancement and a gradation of socio-economic statuses. In 'David', for example, the married pair start their married life in a poor area.

'It was the kind of street they had lived in that first year of their marriage. Here was that first year of marriage, as if it, too, had been a neighbourhood from which people packed up and moved away.'

(Pearson 1943:92)

In contrast, the emphasis in stories dealing with working-class life is on the improvement of skills within a static social and economic group. It is significant that when in True Romances the full exploitation of skill brings economic reward, fate steps in to restrain individual effort (TR 1943:14). In Good Housekeeping, the restraining forces upon the lower classes are not so violent and are located more clearly in the effect of women not on work per se, a major theme of True Romances, but upon skill and pride in work. The farm boy improves his skill in ploughing (Gosse 1943:57); the old man won a prize for ploughing as a young married man (Rodgers 1942:18). While some occupational movement may be possible this is not hinted at in the stories apart from horizontal movement to industrial employment (Gosse 1943:9), and it is unlikely that the farm labourer will become a farmer.

It is also of note that in True Romances heroines aspire to husbands with secure or traditional wealth rather than men with the potential to advance. In contrast Mary Gray (1942 Oct.:41) berates the middle-class mother who is not prepared to sanction a daughter's marriage to men with little financial background or social skills but who may proceed to rise economically and ultimately achieve the requisite position - a junior clerk who was rejected 'now owns his own factories'. It is made clear that a woman (and this would seem to be directed at the middle-class woman) must risk all in a man, as an act of faith, while she is young and he has not yet made his mark on the world, or she stands to lose her chance of happiness. Again Mary Gray presents her analysis to a friend who is an unmarried career woman: that love, home and husband... are the things most important in value but only,

'if you think so strongly enough, when you are very young, to take them fearlessly and unquestioningly...

"I suppose you mean I could have married, but I didn't," she smiled.

"Yes," I told her, "but you preferred security and independence created by your own brain. You weren't sure enough a husband could supply them."

(Gray 1942 July:43)

The effort necessary for such male advancement is mediated in two ways; first by the ideology of home and family and secondly by the moral elements of the housewife's role rather than the physical domestic service of the wives of True Romances. This is at its most explicit in the story of a family and a house, itself an economic factor as well as a social and familial symbol, and suitably entitled 'At a Sacrifice' (Cousins 1943 May:6).

A husband rises from salesman to managing director ultimately bringing about his own death through overwork. There is no condemnation of such an effect, only pity and sorrow. That men work hard has already

been noted.

The origin of this effort is seen to lie first in the man's own driving ambition culminating in an inability to relax from work, exacerbated by the extra pressure created by the war, that is, by abnormal circumstances. The following passages illustrate the progress. The first reveals two important elements, the husband's ambition and the wife's faith in him - a point which will be returned to.

'Clem... was a salesman for a wholesale grocery company, but some day he would be director of it. Clem said so, and Mrs Farraday never doubted it for a minute.'

(Cousins 1943 May:7)

(Unlike the heroines of True Romances who realistically assess the long odds of their suitors achieving success although some, in fact, do).

As a young family they see a large house which is beyond their means. Familial symbols here enter the story to provide the necessary economic drive to purchase the house. The need for a particular type of worker is displaced into the arena of familial consumption.

Mrs. Farraday uses her ring as collateral, that is, something of more value than the money lent. 'The ring has been passed down in his family, the big blue-white diamond that had been her engagement ring' (Cousins 1943 May:91). She worries,

'Perhaps he wouldn't understand. Perhaps he wouldn't even forgive her. It had been his gift to her. I wanted to have the house so, she wailed, for you and the children.'

(Cousins 1943 May:90)

'But it hadn't been six months before she got it back because Clem was promoted... There was something about getting it back that had driven him night and day. If it hadn't been for the ring he might never have been made Sales Manager.'

(Cousins 1943 May:93)

Thus the compounding factor of the male work drive which thrusts him socially and economically upwards is the family which has been med-

iated by his wife's action. The story traces the development of the family with incidental references to economic consumption based in familial love.

'Caroline had been to an expensive school. Nothing had been too good for Caro where Clem was concerned. He worshipped his sun-and-shadow, fly away, emotional child... And Clem was a director of the company now. He had gone right up - almost to the top. He had built a new wing on the house so that Caro would have room for all her friends.'

(Cousins 1943 May:95)

The children grow up and leave home; there is no longer any need for economic expansion to meet family needs, but work has now become a way of life,

'... She and Clem were alone in the house. But the house was good, and there was always Clem, big and good and dearer every day he lived... Clem was working so hard. He was managing director of the company now, and the food business had never been so complicated or so important. There were so many new regulations and such problems of transportation and distribution and rationing. Clem was working till all hours. He didn't sleep well, in spite of being so exhausted, and Dr. Fowler said he would have to slow down. But Clem drove himself heedlessly on. He didn't know how to do anything else.'

(Cousins 1943 May:98)

Death follows a short illness, 'the house serene and lovely through it all'. His dying words are, 'We've had a good time Francie. We've had a good time in this home' (Cousins 1943 May:98).

The family, both factually and symbolically is the driving force of middle-class economic man. Faith, however, as part of the economic component of the wifely role is crucial. Such faith, however, rests upon an unchallenged assumption of the sexual division of labour. In this particular story the wife questions neither her husband's ambition nor his ability but has faith in him and his future advancement. The same phenomenon of faith in the working-class encourages pride in the given task and serves to inhibit change. In each case, however,

there is both a reflection and sustaining of differential class values which in turn sustain crucial divisions of labour within the male workforce. Different kinds of economic man (or masculinity) are mediated by the female role.

Masculinity, Class and Stability

The importance of and workings of faith are elaborated in the presentation of upper-class and working-class life, both of which share a similar immobility. Thus the significance of a wife's faith in keying a husband into his appropriate position in the outside world, in this case of leadership conceptualised as service to the community, is comparable with the role of faith and admiration of the lower-class wife or potential wife portrayed in Good Housekeeping.

A marriage, set in an upper-class context, is threatened by the drunkenness of the husband. The threat, however, is not because of the effect on the quality of the marriage itself, but because the husband is not fulfilling his obligations to the outside world. The husband's gifts remain vague but impressive.

'She thinks of the waste when he is so desperately needed in these times... a betrayal of his country... when he drank he was no longer master of his fantastic ability to sway men with words... In the past it had not mattered so much. It had only to do with the two of them. Now he was needed.'

(St. Johns 1943 March:8)

While still loving him, she is about to dissolve the marriage so that she may serve her country, 'If I cannot save him I must save myself. There are places where I can serve' (St. Johns 1943 March:95), when sudden insight, gained significantly in a church while performing the office of godmother, reveals to her that love is not enough for a marriage. A woman must also have faith in order that her husband may perform to capacity in his non-familial role. Thus she moves from

the observation that 'she couldn't go on living with him if she couldn't believe in him,' (St. Johns 1943 March:8) to deciding they will fight it together (St. Johns 1943 March:98) because 'with faith a woman can move mountains' (St. Johns 1943 March:98).

This aspect of the female role as mediator of the male economic role, and as an element in the construction of masculinity is again clear in the story of an unmarried woman, 'Martha' (Watson 1943), who is, significantly, undertaking key familial tasks as cook. One aspect, where she declines marriage because of the impropriety of undermining a man's self esteem in his role as provider, has already been noted. The economic independence of the male is associated with a personal dignity which jeopardises a rational course of action. Additionally, however, a woman's physical attributes may contribute to this masculinity.

'Her dignity, her calm, her largeness did not dwarf him - they swelled his shrunken self-esteem. Under her care he began to look less rabbit like.'

(Watson 1943:68)

Finally, in a story featuring another lower-class pair, it is through the girl's admiration of his skill in horse management that a boy becomes a man.

"'You drive (the horse and cart) that's what matters.'" Wilse was silent, there was suddenly an importance in his job that he had not felt before... standing there before his work the desire to play with machines had left his heart; the boy became a man and grew to his craft. Then he turned to the girl.'

(Gosse 1943:55,57)

The implications of the elaboration of this moral division of labour become clear when set against the threats to the traditional single role family structure posed by the emergence of married middle-class women into the war-time labour force. This is examined below as part of the complex of the housewife's role and the challenges of social change.

The Housewife: The ideal

Before examining the threats to the traditional division of labour which although always latent the war highlights, it is useful to examine the ideal middle-class wife which change is subjecting to stress.

Ideally, in these texts, she is beautiful, gracious, serene, sexually available to her husband throughout marriage, economically dependent upon him and a mother. She is the competent controller of the home, its servants and its emotional climate - a central figure in the maintenance of personal relationships of gender, generation and kin by marriage. As a wife she is both adored and respected by her husband. Of special significance for this readership, she is philosophically adjusted to the shifts in status associated with the marriage of children and the death of her husband. Within this ideal lie a series of contradictions stimulated or made salient by social change.

The Domestic Dichotomy

Although, in the fiction, the wife-mother performs certain household tasks, for example, polishing furniture (Cousins 1943 May:89), serving breakfast with a smile (Pearson 1943:18), the configuration of domestic tasks is often carried by two figures: the wife and the cook or maid. When set against the structural changes which were leading to a decline in domestic help available to the middle-classes the treatment of this dichotomisation of the domestic role gains significance. Each half carries a different familial message. In one the emphasis lies upon the wife as the manager of relationships; in the other deeper sacred chords of hearth and family are struck. Domestic chores and drudgery are thereby imbued with a spiritual quality which allows for their necessary reconciliation within the ideal conception of the housewife's role.

First, the allocation of the domestic role between two actors whereby a servant performs the heavier domestic duties and, specifically,

cooking, frees the wife for the performance of the gracious tasks of family maintenance vested in her beauty, serenity, love and support. These elements will be elaborated later. Although aspects of such elements may be combined with the tasks of service, as noted above, nowhere in the fiction is there an indication of the physically destroying drudgery or the monotony, intellectual debilitation and time consumption of the domestic round for the middle-class woman, although there are references to the drudgery born by the poor working-class housewife (Nebel 1943:77). The servant in the middle-class family, however, does not merely perform an instrumental role of physical domestic maintenance but in so doing sustains sacred elements of familism. This is clearly articulated in the story of Martha (Watson 1943) referred to earlier and the quotations used there also serve as examples of this second purpose - the spiritual importance of the service tasks, domestic work, which middle-class women were increasingly having to undertake.

The Realities of Domesticity

The realities of the situation are not, however, left at this level. The destructive monotony and the continuous work load of the middle-class housewife's round, the invisibility of the role itself and its non - if not anti - intellectual component is given a voice in the non-fiction and subject to reinterpretation through a range of devices.

In an article by Mary Gray, writing on issues of general interest, the major dimensions of the problem are set out. The caption runs,

'The children are at their most tiresome age, you slave in the house with nothing to show for it, you envy women on war work or in the Services.'

(Gray 1942 March:24)

¹ Commenting upon the considerable proportion of married women with children of below school age who undertook war work and the various reasons which might have induced this (low income, loneliness, patriotism)

The young wife complains to her confidante,

'Its just work and rush from morning to night. I never get away from the home or the children for a minute. Honestly, I think I'll run out and never come back... I get so fed up with being in a backwater that sometimes I wish I hadn't married.'

And when Mary Gray reminds her that once she had said,

'time and time again before (she) married that a career wasn't enough to fill a woman's life, and that marriage and children were the only things worth while'

she replies, 'I was too young then to realise how limited a purely domestic life can be' and that had she stuck to her job she would probably have been a success (Gray 1942 March:25) and that nine out of ten mothers think 'their lives are dull and rather thankless' (Gray 1942 March:45).

There are several devices used in the accommodation of this assessment of the situation. They are described in detail because they recur.

First, because 'millions are in the same boat' (Gray 1942 March:25) the problem is somehow rendered of lesser significance. Secondly, the title of the piece itself, 'Domestic Doldrums', implies a temporary situation, just as the war itself which has exacerbated the situation, because she has 'no Ethel (her former help): she's making munitions' (Gray 1942 March:24), is conceptualised as temporary and abnormal. This latter aspect is linked to a further important dimension: that change induced by war has not revealed inadequacies of family structure (as evacuation did of the poverty inherent in a class structure) but rather that war has obscured the reality. 'War... is inclined to obscure straight thinking' (Gray 1942 March:46) and we are inclined to see

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Ferguson and Fitzgerald (1954:24) note that war work was necessary for that sense of 'belonging' to the community which assumed new importance in war-time. 'While it seemed patriotic to have a baby in war-time it seemed less worthy to stay at home and get tea for children coming home from school.'

life outside the family 'through a haze of glamour' (Gray 1942 March:25). Support for this interpretation is paradoxically offered in the observation that women make exactly the same complaints in peacetime (by implication when all was normal and natural) and they therefore have no currency.

Realism is therefore interpreted as a lack of realism. It is further underlined by an implied lack of maturity on the part of the woman and by drawing upon the inadequacy of structures external to the family in order to bolster the inadequacies within it.

First there is a reminder of the personal duty to the nation in rearing children and the idealism of what women in general do but which they later forget

'Women marry for love and the ideal of home and children and then start kicking when they get older because they feel tied at the heels.'

(Gray 1942 March:46)

Thus a deep dissatisfaction with a structure, defined now as an 'irritation' (Gray 1942 March:46), is an immutable fact of family life.

The effect is reinforced by consigning this irritation to the level of individual immaturity. Desire for life outside the confines of the family is ascribed to a girlish self-indulgence, a craving for excitement.

'Its maddening to be stuck with the shopping, washing, meal-getting and the rest of it and see other women out in the swim.'

(Gray 1942 March:46)

Furthermore, by posing the desire for the continuation of her pre-marital occupation as a secretary as a desire for fame rather than freedom, it can be shown how unrealistic she is in her disregard of the limitations of female employment. 'I shouldn't think even one in ten million became famous through a business career' (Gray 1942 March:25). Her rewards, it is argued, are in the future even in future generations. She will never be lonely. She is one of the lucky ones.

The remedies also lie with the individual but not in the direction of change. 'Your nose is pressed to the domestic grindstone. But there is no need to keep your eyes there as well' (Gray 1942 March:46). In acknowledging the widespread nature of the problem, interpreting its parameters so as to individualize them and making rejection appear simultaneously immature, selfish and yet opposed to self interest, the obtaining order of things is allowed to remain unchallenged. 'Only by talk can you blow off the dust of irritation which has a way of hiding the good and fine things of life' (Gray 1942 March:46).

In presentations such as the one above, the grind of the housewife's day centres round the children and is exacerbated, it is implied, by the absence of the husband in the forces. However, in an article entitled 'Living Alone is Fun... But... Don't Enjoy it Too Much' by Anne Blythe (1943 Feb), a regular contributor to Good Housekeeping, the strictures imposed upon household organisation and work created by the physical presence of a husband is given voice. A contrast is made between her domestic life in his absence in the forces and that which she is enjoined to undertake on his return.

'Quite frankly, I have enjoyed my year alone - almost too much. I have loved the freedom of the cottage to myself... loved the nursery dinners at mid-day... with the minimum of washing up; and no full dress supper to prepare... After years of juggling with vegetables and sweets and coffee, how perfectly glorious to munch an apple on the sofa (with a thriller in the other hand) or have a mug of milk and a flung-together sandwich on the edge of the writing-table or the sewing machine!

And clothes and make-up and hair-dressing! Is there anything nicer in the world than Not Having to Bother? Unless its having the bedroom all to oneself...

But I know its bad for me. I know it when my husband comes home, and I find myself having to dash round into a sane routine again. It's quite an effort to begin to cook a dinner in the evening because he likes his main meal then. And unconsciously I rather resent the old responsibilities about strong coffee and ashtrays, favourite curries, carvers on the table and masculine laundry. His litter of newspapers and cigarette ends stirs up some old-maid wrath in me, and although I clearly love to have him home, how awful not to be able to dry off nappies at the sitting-room fire and

serve ground rice pudding twice a week.'

(Blythe 1943 Feb :22, italics original)

The other aspects of independence are discussed below. Here a distinction is drawn between affection, 'shar(ing) the home with the other person who also owns it' (Blythe 1943 Feb :22) and domestic service.

The only accommodation offered is the attribution of selfishness and the antisocial nature of her freedom. Again reference is made to childish status - 'a bad habit, rather like too many sweets in a spoiled child's diet' (Blythe 1943 Feb :22).

The effects of the housewife's day on either appearance or a mood have, furthermore, to be hidden from view. This has bearing upon both the physical and cultural invisibility of housework which is taken up in the texts but which is wrought with contradiction.

Several editorials are devoted in some respect to the status of the housewife and the low regard in which she is held by society. In December 1942 the editorial theme is that the contribution of the housewife to the war effort goes largely unrecognised.

'Housewives don't get visible decorations for bravery: their medals are worn very quietly, in their own immediate circle, and in a few people's hearts.'

(Good Housekeeping 1942 Dec :1)

Her husband, however, it is pointed out knows the job she is doing. Yet the commentator continues, in fact, by indicating that the husband does not know what she does.

'He knows the job she is doing. Not all the details of course - he just thinks of it as "carrying on"... he doesn't remember her lack of help in the house... (or) the time spent on shopping (or) that cooking, cleaning, children, gardening, tending chickens all have a share of her time. He hasn't heard of her Civil Defence work, knitting, regular salvage hunts and the mathematics war-time housekeeping entails.'

(Good Housekeeping 1942 Dec :1)

¹ This phenomenon of low regard and invisibility obtains today (see for example, Oakley (1976:100)).

In June 1943 the editorial refers to Bevin's proposed Charter for Domestic Workers¹, that while the housewife was probably not in his mind he has nonetheless done housewives a service by bringing their activity into public consciousness.

'For years we women whose main task is running a home for our families have suffered, if silently, under the injustice of our work being taken for granted.'

(Good Housekeeping 1943 June:1)

And the Beveridge Report was welcomed in the editorial of February 1943 as at last giving status and recognition to the housewife.

'The financial recognition of motherhood - the new status and rights of housewives - the free medical treatment even for those "not gainfully employed" - all these suggestions give the housewife's position a dignity it has never before possessed.'

Good Housekeeping itself was based upon the attempt to professionalise housework. The service features of each issue included a section by 'The Good Housekeeping Institute' the import of which was founded upon the tenet that housework was skilled work, 'to be efficient we must have a dozen or so crafts at our fingertips' (Good Housekeeping 1943 June:1), but that many needed training. Thus readers, as 'intelligent women' it is felt will accept the advice and teaching offered by the various war-time ministries 'to become a brilliant housewife at no cost whatever to yourself' (Good Housekeeping 1943 April:25).

This professional approach is epitomised in, for example the advice to the novice dressmaker, 'Here's your Beginner's Guide. Set yourself a high standard from the beginning' (Good Housekeeping 1943 Feb :24).

The approach is further emphasised by the status and letters attached to the editor of the Good Housekeeping Institute section:

Principal, Phyllis L. Garbutt, A.L.C.

¹ This was a proposal that domestic workers be trained and treated as skilled workers.

Nottingham (1947:675) refers to the National Housekeeping Institute which was being opened in London in order both to train domestic help and to raise its status and so attract recruits.

The approach, however, has its contradictions even within the text. First, the housewife is encouraged to contribute to the invisibility of the housewife's tasks by masking the stress it gives rise to. Such masking is conceived as part of her role in the servicing of others. The beauty expert offers advice to combat the 'Domestic Doldrums' discussed by Mary Gray above.

'... It's worth keeping fresh and attractive for the children's sake (because children adore beauty in their mother). And there are those other times - the times when your husband comes home on leave, or when he returns in the evening after a grinding day. What is the sense of worrying him because you look out of sorts? And what is the point of doing yourself such a bad turn?'

(Drake 1942 March:25)

There is, however, an additional problem which is associated with professionalisation and is not resolved in the text. While the view accorded the professionalisation of the housewife role is in accord with that advanced by Parsons, the level of ability demanded by the majority of these tasks, especially those daily chores which contribute most to the monotony and debilitating aspects of the job, is nonetheless low.¹ Surprisingly the contradiction inherent in the situation, especially for this audience, appears in an article on the Officer Cadet Training Unit, an article which presumably is intended for the educated woman and with the intention of making her more aware of the outside world. An account of the work assigned to the soldier of less than average intelligence likens his performance to that of a good housewife's.

'You may be surprised to hear that a man who you know is a dullard has been posted to a highly technical corps. Check, and you will find him in a domestic job suited to the low-learning capacity group.'

(Thompson 1943 July:60-61)

The use of intelligence tests in isolating those of below average intelligence is to enable them to be given jobs in which they will be

¹ See Oakley (1976:222-225) for contemporary comments.

happy: 'Joe becomes the champion potato peeler' and 'Jack, in the boiler room, kept the place like a model kitchen' (Thompson 1943 August:18).

If middle-class educated women are to increasingly incorporate the mundane within their housewifely roles there are, however, aids to resolve the dilemma: first the attempt to imbue tasks with an air of professionalism (emphasising a rational, planned and skilled approach to them) but secondly, the infusion of mysticism into drudgery conveyed in the magazine fiction.

War and Individualism

More serious challenges to the traditional division of labour and marriage itself are posed by two kinds of activity which were not new but increased and thrust into prominence by change induced by war. First, as noted earlier, the war-time economy was dependent upon the economic activity of women. Married women were the last reserve of labour. Secondly, in broad terms, sexual activity outside the family increased. The war had potential for bringing to attention, both publicly and in the experience of the individual, certain contradictions. In the economic sphere this lay between individual potential and achievement, between equality and subordination, and between rationality and traditional practice. In the sexual sphere the tension rested in the double standard of sexuality and the unequal allocation of responsibility for the control of innate sexual drives.

These issues, or aspects of them, have appeared earlier in the analysis. They were formally articulated at the level of the State, as the Beveridge data demonstrates, and a reading of the documents of the period indicates their formal presentation in parliamentary debate, government committees, deputations to ministers, and public protest meetings.¹ The analysis

¹ The three year campaign for Equal Compensation for Civilian War Injured was one such case (Wood 1943:118).

of the Beveridge data and the forces' education material has shown also how they were subject to a variety of accommodating mechanisms.

In the text of Good Housekeeping with its emphasis upon contemporaneity the debate is pursued on a different plane. A major component is directed to internal feeling states of an audience whose cultural definition of identity is supposed to lie in the specialization of feeling, empathy and sensitivity to the requirements of others. A major theme in the texts is therefore the management of relationships with self as pivotal. Consequently control over any re-assessment of the traditional family structure which might arise out of these economic and sexual activities focusses on the control of individualism both in the housewife and in women generally, locating the housewife as the mediator of societal control. I now turn to an examination of the economic and sexual challenges.

The Economic Challenge

As noted earlier the war afforded middle-class housewives, often after several years of marital economic dependency, an unanticipated economic and social independence through participation in the war economy and by physically removing the husband from the family,¹ thereby giving them access to and control over economic resources and the management of their lives. The discussion in Good Housekeeping bears witness to the liberating effects of such experience.

It will be seen, however, how this experience is re-interpreted for the middle-class housewife. An important aspect of this interpretation rests, as in the case of the educational material for the forces, upon assumptions which inform it but which arise in other parts of the text. Economic

¹ It will be recalled that Ferguson and Fitzgerald (1954:3) estimated that at the height of the war, discounting the civilian workforce, two and a half million husbands were away from home.

activity is invested with important gender differences presented independently of, but latently informing, an assessment of the housewife's role. Broadly, two themes can be identified: gender and occupational structure, and power and femininity, and it is necessary to refer to these strands in order that the more overt points are not merely viewed as dismissable isolated articles and comments.

Gender and Occupations

In an analysis of this kind small detail creates a cumulative effect. The relationship between occupational statuses and the wider economic structure is one such case. Any explicit relationship, although the instances are few, which can be drawn between economic activity and the wider structure are either confined to the male or ultimately conferred upon the male. Thus descriptions of a male character's occupation, as well as providing a description of occupational status often incorporate an element which relates him to the economic system, the world outside the family. For example, as in the story of the house noted above, personal descriptions of the husband run parallel with business growth (Cousins 1943 May), or with catastrophic changes in economic fortune as in 'Good Luck, Dear Spoons' (St. Johns 1943 March), or as a professional, particularly doctors (Nebel 1943; Attenby 1943).

This is not to deny that women's occupations, some as key positions, do not appear. There are, for example, nurses, the heads of the women's services and women who demonstrate some political leadership. However, the economic (and political) activity of women does not have the same correlates. In important ways women's relationship with the social structure wider than the family circle is encompassed within a familial form. In other words the occupational status of women is familialised even for outside occupations such as teaching or nursing which are often seen as an

extension of the traditional family role.

Occupations may be related to the family or stereotypical female qualities; for example, the midwife is concerned not only with the technicalities of childbirth but assumed to love all 'her' babies, '... how (was it) that Nurse Cook could love so many babies' (Linsley 1943:74). Chaloner (1943 June:101) notes in a discussion of residential nurseries, other women work because they are needed. Thus one woman of '45 who hadn't worked for 16 years and was now a clerical worker four days a week observes,

"Its tiring," she admitted, "but at the end of this we¹women are going to feel we helped, and that's what counts."

(Richmond 1943:7)

An article in the series on the part played by psychiatrists and psychologists in the modern army notes that, 'The A.T.S. like the Army, has O.C.T.U.s to select and train women officers to play their part beside men' (Thompson 1943 August:18). Apart from the clear implication of the primacy and established nature of the male role, the accompanying picture makes the familial interpretation of such female support clear. It is of a group of women in uniform positioned round a female cook at a kitchen table. The companion picture is of men grouped around a model of a map.

In the discussion of part-time work for the whole community, 'What Do You Think of the Part-Time Principle' (Good Housekeeping 1943 October) and which is referred to again below, although the benefit to the community of those married women who wish to work (and the implication is those professionally trained) is emphasised, the major part is devoted to the increased benefits to the family and marriage accruing from a greater sharing of domestic tasks between men and women and a reduction in the dullness of the housewife. It is clear, however, that the traditional responsibilities

¹ The advertisements of the period predominantly define women's work as helping the men.

are not to be swept away.

Thus the colleague's wife does war work plus her traditional work.

'... not that she liked the job itself, but enjoyed the extraordinary variety of human contact and getting away from the house, where incidentally she does a full-size job in raising live stock and garden produce, as well as running the home.'

(Good Housekeeping 1943 Oct

And main jobs into which individuals would put less time thus freeing 'time and energy for taking on some contrasting part-time occupation'

(Good Housekeeping 1943 Oct :1) still follow the traditional sexual division of labour. Thus,

'While the wife would enjoy outside contacts and the stimulus of work, whether it might be serving on the local council or selling hats in the local store, helping in a Nursery School or in one of the new Continuation Schools, the husband would be able to spend more time in enjoying and taking an active part in the upbringing of his children, or exercising his creative skills at the kitchen stove... Isn't there a basis of truer and therefore happier married partnership here, than when the wife gets housebound and circumscribed in outlook, and the husband comes home from long hours outside the home to relax like an oriental pasha, while wondering what has happened that his wife has grown so dull.'

(Good Housekeeping 1943 Oct :1)

This editorial concludes by arguing that a woman is more use to the community after she has experienced marriage and parenthood, often becoming far more valuable in her professional work, and, whether full-time or part-time, those married women who so wish should have the opportunity to continue their 'outside-the-home career' 'if the community itself is not to suffer' (Good Housekeeping 1943 Oct :77).

Setting aside the emphasis placed upon the relationship between activity outside the home and happier marriages and advantages to the community rather than value to the individual herself, it is interesting to note how, in a similar way modern educational advances and the education and careers of women are also given a familial slant.

Training and education, ultimately associated with economic identity

in the male, for the female are orientated to familial ends. A university student's choice of subject and the final renunciation of her ultimate choice are influenced by her attempt to make her lecturer fall in love with her. It is of significance that her original choice was maths (she switches to chemistry) Titus 1942). Numeracy in women and the fact that women were often forced into some forms of accountancy by war is often treated with self deprecating humour,

'Mathematics? The subaltern in the desert would smile if he could see his wife in the evenings now. Busy with a pencil and paper working out the points... Brave Mrs. Smith, who "always hated figures." She really does deserve a medal for that.'

(Good Housekeeping 1942 Dec :1)

It is also, in contrast, referred to as a domain to which women also have a right and as a source of power.

'"Finance and economics aren't women's subjects," say some folk. We don't agree. They have been wrapped in mystery for too long. The more we all understand how this world is run, and the forces behind the slumps and booms... the more we can play our part in helping to run the world more sanely and more for the common good.'

(Securitas 1943 Feb :14)

The message of the above story, however, remains. Intelligence is irrelevant to marriage and is reinforced by the fact that her father, an academic (i.e. intelligent) is married to a temperamentally opposite and beautiful woman. The 'One Thing in Common' of the title which they share is love and not the intellect of the Curie type relationship to which the daughter originally aspired (Titus 1942).

In the same issue a girl tax collector, with a degree in psychology, uses her somewhat insecure knowledge -

'Betty had taken a degree in applied psychology and ... was happiest when tracking a complex or an inhibition to its lair. (Jim's) gambling fever was probably some basic insecurity or some strange childhood experience. She'd have to look it up in Freud.'

(Goodman and Rice 1942:78)

- to divert the man she likes from gambling and convert him into a good family man.

'... its alright to gamble as long as you're not a family man. But I'm going to be, and if family men gamble they're liable to get in over their heads.'

(Goodman and Rice 1942:86)

A journalist, while acknowledging that her type of work enables her to fit it around her family commitments, nonetheless uses her own case (about to have a fifth child and continue work) to affirm that the feminist view of the limitations the family imposes upon a woman are old fashioned. First it is made clear that the criticism of her is made by an unmarried woman, who exclaims,

'... and you've got your own life to live! Look at what the world offers to women today, especially with your opportunities. Don't tell me that you are deliberately throwing all that away to become a sort of - well - old fashioned mother. I thought women had learned more sense.'

(Blythe 1943 March:42)

Like Williams, Blythe's response is that women have only themselves to blame.

'Childbirth far from dulling my brain, seems to sharpen it... I simply refuse to believe all these sad tales of women who have sacrificed great careers to become mothers. Perhaps ballet dancers do, and women in those badly organised professions where married women are taboo.¹ But if a woman has energy and enthusiasm enough, she can at least go back to her old career if she has not found a more satisfying one in the rearing and tending of her children. Children do not take one's entire life. The years in which they need constant personal care are all too short, and the world is wide and fair for women who have time and energy to spare. Those women who complain that they are "tied hand and foot" by their families are usually those who are too lazy and too afraid to re-organise their lives so that somebody else does the hand-and-foot business and they earn that person's wages.'

(Blythe 1943 March:87)

When modern education is referred to modernity as applied to girls

¹ It has been noted that until the war this applied to the Civil Service and was generally true of teaching.

carries an updated domestic component. Progress is seen as synonymous with a more efficient training for traditional roles. For example Cicely Fraser (1943 Jan :98) refers to the Norwegian education system which, for girls who choose, it is emphasised, equips them to be wives and mothers; and the surprise of a middle-class male employer is recorded on discovering that his Norwegian maid is a lady (with a father and uncle in high places) who has learnt domestic science at school because 'How do I know if my husband should be rich?'

The following month in 'A Structure for Schooling' she sees the advantage of a curriculum which, while based upon choice and ability, would be to the advantage of,

'A large group of children, especially girls, who are neither drawn to classics nor to mathematics, and for them we suggest a third curriculum, in the style of the Norwegian trade schools, where they could get commercial courses to fit them for office work, where girls would have a chance of learning domestic science and mothercraft, and where boys could learn handicrafts.'

(Fraser 1943 Feb :16-17)

In another article 'West Sussex Gives a Lead in School Building' (Fraser 1943 May:4) a headmistress in a senior girls' school for those who fail the selective intelligence test at eleven, but in a modern building, attempts to make the curriculum as progressive as the edifice. The timetable along with the usual subjects includes mothercraft and current affairs.

'I always have in mind what the girls are going to do afterwards. Some will go into service and of course later on most of them will marry. So we give them a start with running a house and child care (because they will also be voters there are courses on local affairs and current events). I want to educate them in living. It would be utterly unforgivable to educate them at less in this building.'

And after rehearsing the arguments advanced for and against co-education Len Chaloner (1942 Dec :30) poses as its major advantage not only the enhancement of relationships of partnership and equality

between the sexes but that this is due to the familial model upon which it is based - the natural family unit-and therefore, in a manner which is left unexplained, boys will earlier develop masculine qualities and girls feminine ones.

The Absent Male

An important familistic component in the theme of women and employment or activity outside the home is its articulation around the absent male, as has been observed by Winship (1978)134).¹ Such absence may be due to singlehood, widowhood or conscription. Paradoxically the absent male is ever present and the treatment of spouselessness provides a warning context in which appropriate wifely behaviour may be set.

The Widow

The widow who has become a breadwinner of necessity nicely parallels Zelditch's definition: work is not part of her identity but a means of maintaining her family. Indeed, the reason for her undertaking work is intimately related to the loss of her real identity. A son contemplates,

'... for the first time he sensed how, as a woman grows older alone, little things mean a lot to her. These spoons - why, they were part of a time when his mother had been complete in herself, a wife with a husband, not just living in relation to her children.'

(St. Johns 1943 Feb :8)

The emptiness of her life is witnessed in her loneliness,

'... Mrs. Brandon removed the scattered evidence of her adjustment

¹ Winship considers this absence and its simultaneous presence in women's definition of themselves, drawing upon Berger (1972:47).

'The surveyor of woman in herself is male: the surveyed female. Thus she turns herself into an object - and most particularly an object of vision: a sight.'

Winship links this objectification to the context of capitalistic commodity production in that women are both consumers and consumed.

to loneliness. Probably the competitions which she entered were a waste of time; but they helped to pass away the hours.'

(St. Johns 1943 Feb :6 italics original)

The work, furthermore, comprises the writing of homely stories for a magazine, and is humiliating to and despised by her daughter on the grounds of an implicit connection with herself as a model for them.

Yet,

'Mrs. Brandon did not like to remind Frances that they'd lived on the serials for a good many years.'

(St. John 1943 Feb :7)

An article, 'Words About Widows', emphasises the importance of widows retaining financial independence and how the removal of the husband renders a woman vulnerable to the wider community. 'A woman left alone is always a target for a great deal of criticism... widows are always watched' (Mollard 1943:51). Another urges them not to banish the thoughts of re-marriage as they will 'have increased (the level of) happiness by so doing' (Gray 1943 April:90).

The Career Woman

The second instance is of the successful but somehow disconsolate unmarried career woman noted earlier. She abandons the business she has created in order to serve in the war, rises to a high administrative position in a factory but nonetheless feels that she has now lost the opportunity of marriage and family. The decisions she made successively, through her twenties and thirties, not to marry unless she met a man who could match her intelligence and competence have been subject to erosion due to fear of encroaching age and loneliness. She is advised by Mary Gray not merely to sink herself into her work but to devote her talents to the service of others. She shows interest, for example, in adopting a child and is encouraged to do so by Gray (1942

Aug :94). The woman adds, 'But I still feel that married women can't know how frightening it is just to have a career and nothing else,' while Gray reminds her how many married women would envy her her 'own special brand of living and security'

This woman, therefore, never achieved that half of the female identity which the widow had and has now lost and which women with husbands and children implicitly have; that although 'there must be so many women like her' her type of security is somehow different. It will be recalled that women who have achieved such complete states nonetheless complain about their lot. In effect two opposing dissatisfied and envious groups are portrayed which give some substance to the claim that 'women are never satisfied'. By this means a measure of control is exercised upon each.

Power

Before considering the absence of the husband due to conscription or other war work it is necessary to examine the configuration of power, economic activity and femininity to which the problem of the working wife is linked. There are two locations for the emergence of challenging power relationships: in the occupational structure and within the family. Each is examined in turn.

Paradoxically in certain occupations which are considered appropriate for women stages in the career contain a major power dimension. Thus, in addition to the differentiation of power in the career hierarchy, even the junior teacher and nurse exercise power over helpless groups, the young and the sick respectively. While both occupations may be interpreted as vicariously maternal, power over children and young people raises (or did at this period) fewer contradictions of status than does nursing. Cultural definitions of femininity subsume attributes

of passivity, compliance and subordination yet young nurses of necessity exercise power over adults often older than themselves. Particularly significant are those of working age, rather than the very old, and males. Thus obtaining cultural patterns of authority are inverted.

The issue was topical in that problems of nursing structure and pay were being aired at the time.¹ Yet the issues are raised in Good Housekeeping in a form which is not located in the function of nursing but in the meaning for and effect upon women. Earlier the transforming of an individual through her identification with her occupation as midwife was referred to. Here the anti-familial characteristics of nursing are presented.

These are brought to the reader's attention by Chronicler 'that discerning commentator' who 'spotlights for your notice the more worthwhile topics engaging the attention of people in all walks of life just now' (1943 June:12). Thus, given the legitimacy accorded his opinion, the following are raised to the status of dilemma if not social problem.

First, dwelling upon the dedication nursing evokes in some women, such fulfilment and service may threaten marriage,

'Even married women get the urge to go back after a few years of freedom, and some of them do, to the annoyance of their husbands and sometimes the break-up of their marriage.'

(Chronicler 1943 June:12)

Secondly, however, power poses threats to the concept of femininity and societal subordination of women. Monica Dickens' view, writing of matrons, is cited,

'that it is too much to expect that women getting into middle-age, without having known love and a home and family, should not

¹ The shortage of nurses of the inter-war years and the urgency of reform in the nursing services became critical with war-time demands. Two reports on nurses salary and conditions of work were published in February 1943 (Ferguson and Fitzgerald 1954:286, 312-313).

sometimes be jealous of the younger nurses.'

(Chronicler 1943 June:13)

The deficiencies of the occupational structure become the problem of the frustrated spinster.¹ There is a structural displacement in the interpretation which facilitates the use of further pejorative stereotypes. Thus stereotypes which arise from familial structures, for example the social isolation of the spinster in a couple orientated society combined with a need to be self-supporting and as financially secure as possible, shift to the occupational structure. This is not to say that the constraints of the job are unrelated to behaviour, merely that there are deeper structural roots.

More seriously, demands inherent to the occupational structure conflict with qualities which would support the traditional family power structure. Thus, Chronicler observes that all nurses from junior to matron have power in hospital; power over patients makes a nurse autocratic; it is 'awfully bad for any girl to be able to tell

¹ Similar arguments were advanced in support of the employment of married women teachers. Gosden (1976:496-7) notes that the rule imposed upon women between the wars, that they should be dismissed on marriage 'had produced a strangely unbalanced group of women entrusted with the care of children, since membership was confined to spinsters and widows.' In the processes of the Butler education act (1944) the permanent removal of the marriage bar by law was ultimately accepted by R.A.B. Butler, on the urging of Chuter Ede, on the grounds of its positive gain to the education service.

'The consequence of the bar was to restrict headmistressships to spinsters. Acute difficulties are not infrequently caused on staffs when a Head Mistress in the fifties who has lived a life of repression has to deal with young and goodlooking assistants. In secondary schools these thwarted middle-aged women can also be very harmful to senior girls.'

(PRO 1944, ED 136/147, Chuter Ede to Butler, 6 March)

So much for the legitimacy in common sense assumptions of the claim of the period that women could now choose between marriage and a career. To Chuter Ede at least, because of their physical attributes it is implied, such women were the rejects of the marriage market.

someone whose worth ten of her exactly what he must do and when' (Chronicler 1943 June:59). It is difficult for a sister, with power over other nurses 'not to become bossy'

'If she didn't chase and bully them all day, the work wouldn't get done. Chasing and bullying is insidious. It probably affects her whole character. It seems so absurd when nursing is such an essentially feminine profession that it turns so many into unfeminine martinets.'

(Chronicler 1943 June:59)

What is being articulated here is that no woman would really wish to be like this. Female stereotypes are brought into play. The spinster and career woman are to be pitied, the necessary authority of the nurse at all levels is to be viewed as a problem, the married nurse is a threat to marriage and the housewife at home is reassured. Power in women in leadership roles is also subject to devaluing processes but this is reserved for discussion of the domestication of the outside world.

In addition to this configuration is the theme not only that all women wish to marry, but the hypothesis that, in the mysterious region of the collective female mind, all women after the war will want to and indeed are secretly planning to return to domesticity. Such women furthermore are 'modern'.

In the article noted earlier Chronicler (1943 June:60) alleges to have overheard 'three typically modern young women', munitions workers, discussion their post-war plans.

'... what they did say had a very direct bearing on their lives and on the lives, I should think, of many other women. And I wish that some of those anxious citizens who talk about "the problem of women after the war" could have overheard them with me. I can't help thinking that we overrate this problem of what these millions of women, caught up in the war machine, will do with their lives after the war. There was no doubt at all in the minds of these girls.'

Only one, apparently, is at all hesitant about the full adoption of a full domestic role.

'Number three was shaken. "Oh, its not that I don't want a home and

children," she said hastily. "I'm with you there, but I'd like to have a little more of this kind of life before settling down."

She is jeered at for her naive assumption that she will continue to enjoy factory life when 'she has been in harness for two and a half years'. Chronicler ends with a question for his readers as to whether these are a cross section of the millions of women who are 'planning - secretly - their own feminine background' after the war. His introduction had made clear that he thought they were.

Elsewhere the assumption is made in a more straightforward manner. An article on the massive employment of women by the G.P.O. by 1943 and the possibility of their employment after the war concludes,

'And in another woman-predominating department I got an answer of wide significance. "The girls have got a nice job here. Some of them will stay on after the war: we can do with them. But when the men come back - well, what have we to offer against the competition of husband, home, and the kids."'

(Thompson 1943 Feb :20)

The Working Wife

Against this background of ominous stereotypes symbolising threats to feminine identity when power relationships outside the family are challenged is set the accommodation of the challenge to the conjugal power relationships which is posed by the working wife. For this audience it is concerned with the conscious management of the relationship through deployment of alleged female skills. It will be seen how, related to the earlier discussion, the middle-class wife is portrayed as the mediator of a particular form of masculinity and, in a complex manner, thereby mediates her own femininity. Bland and her co-authors (1977:78) refer to Willis¹ (1977) conception of masculinity as a construct, articulating with class, which differentiates men along a manual/mental division which working-class men live out as a socially superior masculine/socially inferior feminine divide. They argue, however, that

it is working-class men's recognition of femininity, as it is lived by their wives, which allows that class division to be constructed through sexuality. The evidence produced by the analysis here, however, suggests that the interrelationship between the constructions of masculinity, femininity and class, at least for the middle-class, is more complex and needs further examination.

Good Housekeeping, first of all, acknowledges the reality of the effect of war-time employment of middle-class wives.¹ The effect of part-time work on the general mental bearing of a wife has already been noted. Chronicler (1943 July:17) quotes his own doctor's observation that,

'For women (the war has) been the greatest tonic in the world. They've escaped from a whole world of everyday domestic drudgery - and from boredom and consequent ailments.'

The article by Blythe (1943 Feb), also referred to earlier, is indicative of the pleasure found in the fact of independence and responsibility for one's own life; and an article by Mary Gray, 'Wives Without Husbands', (1942 May) highlights the individual development, and realisation of the limitations in her normal position, ensuant upon a new economic and social independence. The caption runs,

'Being a working woman again with one's very own pay packet, has lots of compensations... but what of afterwards, when returned husbands expect their helpmeet to step back into domesticity and financial dependence.'

(Gray 1942 May:20)

In a friend, married four years, who has taken on a war-time job, struck by her prettiness and vitality and new girlish eagerness, 'Hello (I thought) you look very much alive and all on your toes' (Gray 1942

¹ The strain of doing a double job, particularly if there were children to look after, to which Ferguson and Fitzgerald (1954:25) draw attention via statistical evidence on absence through sickness in the munitions industry, does not figure in the accounts in Good Housekeeping (See Wyatt, S. A Study of Certified Sickness Absence among Women in Industry. Industrial Health Research Board).

May:21) the warning is clear.

This question, raised in a magazine apparently orientated to change, holds many possibilities. The answer Mary Gray supplies is that women must, and will of course, go back to their pre-war position in the home. However, to legitimise this conclusion a series of rationales has to be used.

Importantly the problem itself is recognised as legitimate. 'I realise that these young wives have a very real problem before them' (Gray 1942 May:21). But doubt is already established in Monica's mind.

'I simply love (being a wage earner again). Sometimes I wonder if I don't love it too much. I mean what's going to happen when the war is over and Bob is home and I return to domestic bliss again, not forgetting the washing up!'

(Gray 1942 May:21)

Secondly, Mary Gray is startled, and makes the assumption that she will return and reminds her of the abnormality of present circumstances which 'are not to be confused with normal conditions. It's just an interlude' (Gray 1942 May:21). 'But', argues Monica, 'you don't understand. I'll have to ask Bob for everything again. I'll be dependent' (Gray 1942 May:21). And she goes on to draw a distinction between love and domesticity.

This dialogue form, interspersed with comments by Mary Gray, is then used to undermine the case for egalitarianism and individualism latent in the situation and directs the problem away from structure and into the personal, to specific elements and interpretations of individualism.

First, economic independence appears as self-centredness. 'Its, marvellous to be my own boss and do what I like with my money' (Gray 1942 May:20). Secondly, what she is enjoying is presented as a relapse into girlish irresponsibility.

'... there must be a few million Monica's in the world today, all standing on their own feet once more and most of them liking the experience and feeling as if they'd been let out of school... they've recaptured the inflammable stuff of youth.
 "I feel as if I've stepped right back into my giddy youth!"'

(Gray 1942 May:20-21)

Thirdly, it is given a sexual dimension,

"'You've met one or two men and they've been paying you attention. Confess now'".

She grinned and flushed a little. "Yes, but there's no harm in it, and its so nice to be taken out again."

(Gray 1942 May:21)

The warning and culturally expected response of guilt are apparent. This contrasts markedly with the treatment of male sexuality in wartime discussed below.

Fourthly, work and independence are demoted to a form of excitement and do not raise fundamental issues of equality.

'... after the last war women got so used to excitement that they couldn't live without it (and) thought that everything that is of lasting value to a woman, like a husband, a home and yes, even reputation, were comic like bustles and side spring boots.'

(Gray 1942 May:21)

Finally, Mary Gray elaborates the misinterpretations women have made, both now and in the past, of their own needs and responsibilities. Fundamentally the message is that what women are experiencing now has literally no substance. The sense of rejuvenation 'is only in your own mind. It hasn't really happened, you know' (Gray 1942 May:21).

However, a woman's individual achievement outside the home while immaterial yet still presents a tension,

'If she's reminding herself she must see the danger, she must feel the tug between the smaller but real world of home and husband and the seemingly unlimited but transient one of her own efforts.'

(Gray 1942 May:21)

The location of happiness for women is identified, she is not really

happy now despite what she feels. This is intimately linked to a redefinition of independence along with warnings regarding security as she loses her attractiveness.

"Remember, when you married Bob you gave up all the things you are enjoying now, but you gained so much in happiness and security you knew it was all worth while. When you give up your so-called independence again, that same happiness will be open to you. As you get older you'll need it more and more, and a woman's awfully foolish who doesn't realise this."

... I found myself hoping that all young wives like Monica would remember that their wartime lives, apart from their husbands are artificial and, except for their war jobs superficial; that the least important aspect of independence is being self-supporting and, that the most important is emotional security. Don't you agree with me that this is true and that forgetfulness, even a temporary lapse, so easily crumbles the foundations of happiness?'

(Gray, 1942 May:68)

A woman is responsible for maintaining the power structure conducive to harmonious marital relationships. To sustain this aspect of her role she is reminded that 'money, independence and admiration' are not values which are central to a woman's happiness unlike the 'lasting (value of) a husband a home and ... reputation' (Gray 1942 May:21).

She is further reminded that one of her wifely duties is to submerge her own initiative - a stricture which is phrased to give it a flavour of an equality - which she can create - in order to enable her husband's adjustment upon his return from wartime service.

'What you must remember is that Bob and husbands like him will have their share of readjustment to do, as well. It'll be up to wives to make that as easy as possible. But one thing won't have changed, and that is that marriage will always be a job for two. So don't try to steer the whole ship and don't remind him that you managed to look after yourself and have a good time when he wasn't there.'

(Gray 1942 May:68)

This management of the conjugal structure is elaborated elsewhere. While the import of many of the articles is upon partnership between men and women it is made clear this is not an equal relationship. In 'Fairy-Tale Marriages Don't Just Happen' (Gray 1942 Dec) the reality of

unhappy marriage and divorce is acknowledged along with the heightened risk which faces wartime marriages when the 'tremendous jerk into peace' has to be faced. The bridegroom has to find his feet in civilian life and 'the bride becomes a wife within the narrow sphere of the home'. The responsibility for the transition is not 'a fifty-fifty business' but, initially at least, 'entirely the wife's job'. She must curb criticism, make her husband feel important, not compare him with other men and 'try to fit her life in with his rather than attempt to force a mutual life into the channels which she most desires.' The 'biggest obstacle to a girl is her independence.'

'A wife who is too independent can ruin a marriage. This quality, coupled with generosity, so often leads her to assume too many responsibilities. She is too eager to help her husband over the ground he should tread alone, if he is to keep his manhood.'

When Gray asks of her friend, a divorcee, 'Then you think the modern war bride should finally become the old fashioned type?' the response is prefaced with a laugh thereby simultaneously moderating and strengthening the argument,

'I don't mean she should be the clinging vine to the point of strangulation, but a woman who trains herself to lean on her husband - even if at heart she feels she may give way - stands a better chance of helping him towards success than if she tries to stand between him and the buffets. This has a way of sapping a man's ambition, because he sees in his wife someone so capable that struggle appears unnecessary effort. And the result is the marriage falls to pieces, because in time the girl loses respect for her husband.'

(Gray 1942 Dec :44,64-65)

Thus the middle-class wife is to mediate the leadership and power of her husband's masculinity. Paradoxically, once her own independence and power is relinquished, the articles on beauty and personal appearance teach her how to manipulate herself in order to manipulate her husband. For example, in an article devoted to the voice,

'The average women doesn't seem to suspect that inside her there

is a lovely speaking voice, completely individual and natural. All she has to do is find it... Husbands will sign a cheque faster if the request is a little musical.'

(Good Housekeeping 1943 June:17)

The contradictions with which an ideology abounds is again highlighted when this reigning in of women is contrasted with the final paragraph Mary Gray writes in an article encouraging women, significantly older ones whose husbands are away and who themselves have moved into hotel accommodation, to take up jobs, either voluntary or paid.

'What we must realise is that while the war has robbed many of us of what we felt made life worth living, it has, at the same time given us something. It's given us a new set of circumstances in which to build new interests to refurbish our minds; to extend our activities. And, if we want to know happiness and usefulness, both today and tomorrow, we must take and shape them with a good heart and willing spirit.'

(Gray 1942 June:88)

This article, 'Boarding House Blues', has been referred to earlier. The contradiction is resolved in that it is addressed to an older age group, to women who are seen here as firmly based in a domestic role and whose apathy and dispiritedness is causing male anxiety. It is therefore another form of maintenance of the male's economic performance and an example of a discretely tailored familism.

The Mediation of Sexuality

A further aspect of the housewife's role centres on sexuality. In these texts the war brings into prominence the double standard of sexual relationships which is nowhere queried but given support. Conjugal maintenance and marriage itself lie in the relationship of women to sexuality both within and outside marriage. Although, as noted earlier, sex is recognised as a primal urge, the housewife is identified as the controller of both her own, other women's and men's sexuality.

Sexuality Within Marriage

It has already been noted that competency in housekeeping, cheerful service and 'not allowing herself to become drab and old' (Pearson 1943:88), are not sufficient to hold a husband.

'She always tried to be light and entertaining for breakfast. Mother said, "Serve smiles with breakfast, and you'll have kisses after dinner." Funny that generation really got a lot of kisses.'

(Pearson 1943:18)

A woman has to be sexually available throughout marriage. Such availability must not be seriously interrupted by the traumatic experience of a child's death (Pearson 1943) and there is a hint, in one story of lower-class life, that sexual availability continues into old age (Rodgers 1942 Dec). To actively deny a husband sexual services can lead to him to seek them elsewhere. Such male behaviour, furthermore, is not defined as a lapse, since the husband cannot promise that it will not recur; this is dependent upon the wife.

'It takes two... to be unfaithful... I mean the man, and the wife he loves, who... lets him be unfaithful.'

(Pearson 1943:95)

Even in the romanticised version of sexuality the above story serves to suggest that women must not consider men monogamous; that male sexuality is different to that of the female. The husband's sexual needs although not satisfied successfully on this particular occasion, are not necessarily confined to fulfilment by one woman. If a wife will not

¹ Romantic violence is latent in some of these stories as it was in those of True Romances. For example, '... at that moment he could have shaken her until her pretty teeth rattled' (Cousins 1943 Feb :60); 'There was something in him that made him want to hurt her a little, I think' (Cousins 1943 Feb :61). However, this is not pursued into these marriages as was the case for the stories of True Romances.

satisfy his needs, he must look elsewhere.

In contrast, while a wife may burn with what is defined as the humiliation of sexual desire, she does not consider satisfying it outside marriage. She becomes

'an angry and revengeful woman by day, biding her time; and a heart-broken bewildered one by night, lying in her bed, yearning and humiliated by desire.'

(Pearson 1943:90)

Sexuality Outside Marriage

This story is set in peacetime conditions. In war, because of the release of individuals from the social controls of family and community, along with the increase in social activity, the question of male and female sexuality became more explicit.

In wartime sexual relations outside marriage were critical to the functioning of the war machine. This operated at two levels. First, the sharp rise in venereal disease caused concern in official circles as early as 1940 regarding its potential debilitating effect upon the armed forces (Ferguson and Fitzgerald 1952:15) and led to Defence Regulation 33B in 1942.¹ In the case of the American troops in Britain for example, in May 1943 the army announced that venereal disease had already put more than 2,000 G.I.s out of action in the United Kingdom that year.² Propaganda was intensified and prophylactics issued free to all applicants (Longmate 1975:284).

¹ This provided that any person suspected by a specialist in venereal diseases of having infected two or more patients might be compelled to undergo examination and treatment.

² Buckley (1979:68) describes the similar dilemmas confronting the military hierarchy in the First World War. Of the 30,000 men comprising the first Canadian contingent to arrive in England, 2,700 were sent back to Canada after contracting venereal disease. One calculation based on an estimate of 1.5 million troops in England, noted that 54,000 cases of the disease between January and August 1915 suggested a loss of 200,000 weeks' sickness at a cost of £400,000 (Buckley 1977:85).

This latter point relates to the second and paradoxical aspect. Sexual activity was seen as a major component of male morale. In the first place, morale was in danger of being undermined by concern about the conduct of wives and girlfriends at home. Certain of the strategies employed to deal with this have been referred to earlier. They included the committee convened in 1942 to inquire into the conditions of service women.¹ Parallel with this, however, male morale was seen as being sustained by the presence of women. This ranged from the female task in making a place homelike, inviting members of the armed forces into homes, or serving in canteens, to sexual availability. Longmate (1975:279) makes an illuminating comment in his observation of 'the tolerant - and it must be felt - ... sensible attitude' of the American authorities 'to this ancient problem of their men's sexual needs'. In this instance a commander built special accommodation inside the main gate of the barracks where officers could take prostitutes.

A further example is also suggestive. Whether placed there by intent or not, regional medical officers opposed, when new hostels for women war workers were proposed, their siting immediately opposite large military establishments, as some early ones had been (Ferguson and Fitzgerald 1954:110).

The double standard, latent in the fiction, becomes explicit in the features. Nowhere is it challenged. Sexual relations outside marriage occur irrespective of marital status. The stable element in this articulation is the male. Around him almost as satellites is a periphery of women - the wife, the mother-in-law, the other woman, the casual sexual encounter, the promiscuous girl and the sexually

¹ Edith Summerskill, a member of the committee, writes in her autobiography, 'I presume that it was convened to set the minds of husbands (who feared their working wives might be subject to unwelcome advances) at rest (although) it was difficult to see how (we) were expected to discover anything about the sex life of the girls (Summerskill 1967:75).

innocent.¹

In this text, the woman playing the key housewife role, that is the one comprising the approved interpretation, is the manager of this periphery. In this manipulation men are divorced from, yet affected (and infected)² by it. It will be seen how the interpretations deflect cause and allocate blame.

The Other Woman

The problems and worries faced by a wife about her husband's freedom from the restraints of home and family are raised and accommodated in an article by Mary Gray (1942 Nov) entitled 'War Wives and the Other Woman'. While in the article 'Wives Without Husbands' (1942 Nov), the warnings on the response of wives to other men's sexual advances were sounded and women were urged to exercise a restraint upon their relapse into immaturity, here the interpretation shifts.

Non-one, she argues, would deny men and women away from home, companionship,

'Wars divide so many homes, separate so many husbands and wives for long periods of time, that it is understandable that many married men and women seek companionship elsewhere to ease loneliness and fill in time.'

(Gray 1942 Nov :44)

The article continues, however, by focussing upon the male; upon the husband's needs and the wife's role in sustaining his faithfulness to herself.

'Men probably do this more than women, because, after all, married women with children still have their homes and the usual circle

¹ In Woman the tale-telling friend or relative referred to earlier would be included.

² In the descriptions of the contagion of venereal diseases, there is a slide from the inclusiveness of male and female to a concentration on the female as at fault. At one stage the Women's Freedom League (1943 28 May:1) noted that, under Defence Regulation 33B, 36 men had been informed against and 475 women.

of friends about them.'

(Gray 1942 Nov :44)

The article comprises a warning to both wives and 'the other woman' (the latent content of the title) and sustains the legitimacy of the married man's autonomy.

Gray, the confidante of the husband, itself a mechanism to establish her authority, unfolds the situation of a decent husband, lonely and uprooted, in effect settled into a bachelor existence, who fears that the girl with whom he is friendly is becoming too fond of him and affirms that nothing would change his love for his wife.

'After 13 years of marriage you build in a lot of love out of so many things that range from the first romantic days on through all the ties of home and children,'

(Gray 1942 Nov :44)

a sentiment which Gray attributes to thousands of married men and which apparently exonerates him from any guilt or responsibility towards the girl providing he has told her. The girl, however, is 28, attractive and divorced thereby marking her out as dangerous to an older wife in fear of being eclipsed.

The means of allaying this fear rest with the wife, not by confronting the reality but by her past investment and her inactivity in the present situation. Much rests upon the quality of the marriage and how she has maintained it prior to the husband's departure.

'A man rarely forgets a wife or fails to return if she has been a fair and loyal partner... providing you have made your husband happy in the past you need have no fear that he will not return.'

Additionally, she should pity the other woman and her misplaced affection towards a 'decent' husband.

'A wife has more cause to be compassionate towards the other woman, than to worry over the effect the friendship might have between herself and her husband. It's the other woman who's really alone, who is really threatened with emotional shipwreck.'

(Gray 1942 Nov :44)

Furthermore, the husband's autonomy is sustained and the wife glued more firmly to the ideal by raising the spectre of the interfering and prying wife associated with action or intervention in a situation where another woman, while fundamentally pitiable, still remains a potential danger. 'No wife is so foolish as to wish to deny a husband all companionship' (Gray 1942 Nov :44). The reason remains unspecified. Wives should guard against the temptation 'to pry into what their husbands are doing while they are away from home' since it makes a man feel guilty and then 'it becomes an easy step to seek consolation from his woman friend and give his wife something to deplore' (Gray 1942 Nov :44).

Finally the accommodation shifts to the mystique of internal feeling states which become associated with normalcy. Unless a marriage has been unstable,

'men and women know with a deep and inner knowing that one day there will be a change back to normal and the threads of the old, familiar existence will inevitably be knitted together again.'

(Gray 1942 Nov :44)

This article may be viewed as serving to encourage a quiescent home front and simultaneously protect a component of male morale. Control over anxiety-producing behaviour by the male is vested in the prior ideal role performance of the wife and deviation by the male has its source in this same performance. The male is allowed the freedom of two females, both warned of the dangers to themselves which they court.

The Casual Encounter¹

The exoneration of married men is not confined to those husbands who

¹ The casual encounter was considered more conducive to the spread of venereal diseases than the professional prostitute 'who knows her business' (Buckley 1977:67).

merely seek companionship but extends to those who pursue casual and callous sexual relationships. It is here that the housewife's role in the control over sexuality overlaps with the maintenance of relationships between generations.

The wartime problem is stated clearly in the caption to an article entitled 'Modern Vivandiere'. The caption runs,

'This article is frank and deals with a state of affairs that is by no means pretty. All of us who are not afraid to face the facts know that many girls in their 'teens, and nicely brought up girls, too, are infected with the pitiful madness the writer describes.

What is to be done? It is natural that girls should want the company of the opposite sex, but that mustn't mean lurking at street corners and hanging round camps.'

(Grenfell 1943:17)

This 'open letter from a soldier to a young woman', a collective composition, vilifies such young girls while making no criticism of the male half of the equation nor sees any paradox in the view that while such girls are denying themselves future happiness, the future remains intact for men providing sufficient unsullied girls remain available for marriage. The double standard is accompanied (or accomplished) by the identification of two types of women.

'We young soldiers are vain, and a cheap and shoddy picture of oneself isn't too high a price to pay for your body... the men have two feelings towards you, ridicule and contempt. Never for one instant do they dream of comparing you with their own women, their wives, their sweethearts, their girlfriends... If you heard their comments about you, you would never lift your head for shame.'

(Grenfell 1943:55)

Descriptions of the girls are of spiritual death and squalor. In fact it seems remarkable that they could be considered even for their sexual services in the first place.

'... only a kid but your face is old; its hard, sort of fixed. The eyes haven't got the freshness of youth in them. They are cold.'

The girl's general appearance is 'unkempt'. She has 'grubby nails' and 'raucous voice' and affects a 'cigarette dripping from (her) mouth' (Grenfell 1943:55).

The girls are first compared unfavourably with earlier camp followers who 'cooked, nursed, worked, fought... apart from being just women, that is, they made themselves useful' (Grenfell 1943:55). In other words, these girls are not providing enough service - the elements which apparently justified the sexual component (which has shifted from the purchase by men to the gains made by women) are those of domestic service now made redundant by changes in military administration. Additionally, they are compared with 'pure' women, the daughter of a friend who is 'looking ahead without fear to marriage, a home, to children. Dare you?' (Grenfell 1943:57).

Such girls are seen as the despoiled fruits of victory both for Britain and for the individual serving man.

'What sort of chance will you have given yourself, after a couple of years of your present life, to be one of the young mothers of this brand new Britain that so many of your and my generation have already died to make possible... What is the reward with which you will consecrate the sacrifice of thousands of English boys who lie beneath the deserts of Libya, in the jungles of Malaya, along the roads of France, who drift fathoms deep under cloudy channel skies? At your present rate you stand little chance of giving their memories more than a little child without a name, a child who may perhaps carry in its bones the rotting germs of disease.'

(Grenfell (1943:57)

The problem and remedy is conceptualised as that of the female.

'(We are) not trying to revile you out of spite... I and the fellows who helped me write this... would like you to pack up and give yourself a chance.'

(Grenfell 1943:57)

This location, however, is subject to further elaboration which displaces the problem and its control from a cultural phenomenon of differential expectations of gender into the structure of relationships and role

performance within the family.

The first aspect of this shift is made by Chronicler (1943 Feb :14). The Reverend Ronald Selby, the radio padre whose credentials comprise the combination of authority and modernity, broadly locates the controlling structure.

'You have probably heard him on the wireless - a quiet effective, un-parsonlike voice. He's very much the "sporting parson" type of padre, smokes a pipe, and has the supreme gift of talking to men in their own language. And that does not mean bad language... a young, broad minded man, very much in touch with what is going on... the problem most worrying to all people connected with the moral and social life of our big camps is the problem of the girls between fourteen and seventeen who hang about in the vicinity... "The real trouble is that the men they take up with are probably married and far away from home. There's a lot of grief there in the making, I'm afraid." His view is that the problem can't be tackled from the camp side of the question. It should be tackled in the home by the parents.'

The refinements of the control mechanisms are specifically elaborated in an editorial feature on venereal diseases, surrounded by a black border.

'To All Thinking Women

On the opposite page we publish an advertisement from the Ministry of Health on the subject of venereal diseases. For a family magazine this may seem at first sight, a strange step. But just because Good Housekeeping is edited for, and by, those who believe wholeheartedly in the sanctity of the home; who believe that, above all, our children's heritage must be safeguarded and this country, and the world, made a better, cleaner, safer place to live in it is only logical that it should draw attention to an evil menacing all that we hold dear.

Here too, we want to make one point. Much danger lies in the fact that the ordinary decent citizen, especially when a women, feels that "V.D." is so remote from her life and home that, though to be deplored, it is not really her concern. How tragic a fallacy this is appears every day.

A clean, intelligent lad, a son of whom any mother may be proud, joins up. Away from home and friends, eager for fun and companionship in his off-duty hours, an evening that starts innocently enough may end up disastrously. The fact that a boy would not seek the company of prostitutes does not mean safety. An appalling number of venereal infections are caused by quite young girls who seem, on the surface, perfectly fit companions for decent lads.

Not always, of course, is it the boys who suffer most. Many a young married couple have had their happiness blasted because the husband, before marriage, and as the price, perhaps, of a single escapade,

contracted venereal infection and then, not fully cured, passed it on to his wife and unborn child.'

(Good Housekeeping 1943 May:103)

The innocent and excusable nature of the male 'escapade' and location of fault in the female is again apparent. The control also, however, lies with the female, not only in the restraint, which is discussed below, but also in the behaviour of the housewife at a place removed from the site of activity.

Women, that is by implication housewives, can exercise influence by commitment to their affective role.

'What can we women do? First and foremost perhaps, make our home life so warm and full and rich that husbands, sons and daughters, wherever they may be... will feel its call stronger and more compelling than any temptation.'

(Good Housekeeping 1943 May:103)

Additionally, they can 'offer the hospitality¹ of their homes to young men and girls in the Services and factories working away from home' (Good Housekeeping 1943 May:103).

The Innocent

The housewife role is, however, more extensive than this. Part of her role is to preserve her daughter's virginity and teach her sexual restraint. In a sensible article 'Tell Your Daughter the Truth' Gray (1943 March:38) urges mothers to warn their daughters against the promptings of both their own sexual urges and that of predatory males in the war-time

¹ There is evidence in, for example, readers letters to Woman that such hospitality was predominantly conceptualised and extended to men and not women. Many letters referred to comforts and so forth provided for men; a female reader complained about the neglect of women and the editor of Woman attempted to readjust her readers' attitudes (Woman 1943 22 May:3). Caring for other women, especially those of working age, but even comparatively young female children are expected to serve as well as be served, sits uneasily within the boundaries of female affectivity and is highlighted when the housewife is called upon, so to speak, to widen her family.

situation of relaxed familial and community constraints; not to confuse ignorance with innocence and against the assumption that venereal disease and illegitimacy are confined to the lower social classes. Such sex education, however, is apparently only for girls. It is they who are to exercise sexual restraint and preserve themselves for marriage and motherhood. The mother, therefore, in this educational task, is a key figure in maintaining the virgin prizes for the fighting forces as outlined by Grenfell and for the societal control of venereal infection.

The articulation of sexuality merges with the central role played by the older housewife in the management relationships between generations. What is important is the manner in which broad societal themes of solidarity, antagonism and sexuality are drawn within the embrace of the family, and their control seen as located within its structure, thereby imbuing the status of housewife with an apparent power if the role is enacted in the appropriate manner, that is, in conformity with the ideal of submission as set out here.

For example, women mediate the solidarity of men. They sustain an affection between brothers (Nebel 1943 April); reveal the hidden and awkward affection between fathers and sons (Nebel 1943 April; Beret 1943 March).

They exercise both direct and indirect control over younger women by their ability to present them to or deflect them from the desirable male. The control of sexuality is one example of this. Another example is the part played by a mother in sustaining the illusion of first romance for her daughter by deflecting the blackmailing threats made to her future son-in-law by a former paramour. To hide the former male escapade is the only means of preserving her daughter's happiness.

'(The letters would) destroy for ever the sacred glory to which

every girl has a right at least once - the glory of knowing in full faith that this man had never loved before, has withheld from others that true romance, while waiting for her.'

(St. Johns 1943 Feb :78)

Yet this same mother is conscious of the deep sexual antagonisms between women, whatever their relationship to each other.

'Fran loves me... but this mother-and-daughter business wasn't as simple as that. A daughter was another woman. Between women there was often a sort of antagonism, a sense of competition and jealousy.'

(St. Johns 1943 Feb :80)

And another is aware of the latent antagonism between women who are familiarly bound.

'Take your feet off the wallpaper... It's such a lovely afternoon, dear. Why don't you go out and play. (Why was it you always nagged your daughter?)

(Cousins 1943 May:95)

This stands in contrast to the treatment of a son, allowed to 'put his big feet on the bedspread and she never had the heart to make him move them' (Cousins 1943 May:96).

However, the crucial point of this management of relationships is not the manipulation and maintenance of family relationships but the implication of the centrality of the housewife in the control of societal issues including particular forms of masculinity. For an educated middle-class audience, awakened to the possibilities in a post-war world this is an essential element in the accommodation of social change. In the last section of this chapter this theme is considered. It also provides the focus which draws together the threads in this particular articulation of familism.

The Domestication of the Outside World

The answer to the threat that women might venture into the world outside the family is to render a woman's familial role as central

in the power it exercises over that external world. In Good Housekeeping therefore, not only are the historical, mystical and nostalgic continuities within change evoked, but the housewife is shown to have a particular form of power if she cares to exercise it. Nazi propaganda amongst schoolchildren of occupied Europe can be combatted by

'hundreds of thousands of women (who) patiently teach their children by night not to believe what they have learned by day'.

(Albert 1943 June:51)

- the ideological role Beveridge envisaged for mothers.

In addition to those powers noted above it is of interest to examine other devices which contribute, however indirectly, to the sensation that it is perhaps unnecessary to leave the confines of home. Not only is power and fulfilment located within the home but, the implication is, the outside world is the domestic writ large. This is not to deny an element of truth in some of the examples. It does, however, serve to empty the British world and the family of discord and imbalance of power.

A discussion on post-war planning, for example, on the priorities of reconstruction likens State organisation to that of a benign family.

'Every housewife understands (about priorities). She knows that her housekeeping money is limited and so she plans how it is spent. If she spends a little more on something there, then she's got to spend a little less on something here. That is what is called good housekeeping. And so we've got to think of England as a gigantic family with that Someone (the decision makers such as Parliament or individual ministers - it's not a dictatorship but someone must make the decisions) as a housewife whose job it will be to see that within the house-keeping money no-one goes hungry...'

(Stoneham 1943 April:35)

Len Chaloner (1942 Dec :30), emphasising the egalitarian relationships which, it is alleged, are recognised in America and the Soviet Union¹

¹ This continues with an apparent unawareness of the changes introduced by Stalin prior to the war, 'It was the first tenet in Lenin's planning of the Soviet Union, and is upheld by Stalin today.'

for example, argues that

'the government of any country is not a mysterious male province, but as Mr. Priestly so aptly put it "a larger housekeeping" of deep concern to women as well as men.'

The argument continues, as referred to earlier, with a call, therefore, for co-education, making the schools like the 'natural family' and thereby providing the basis of an egalitarian partnership. The administrative wing of the Army is not merely described as house-keeping, which indeed it may be, but, more importantly, the qualitative differences in organisation implicit in the quantitative differences of army and family are ignored.

'So when you see an Army officer out in his car in the day-time, don't assume that he is on the spree. Quite probably he is on an errand similar to your own - shopping for his family.'

(Bidwell 1943 Feb :38)

When women as political leaders are referred to, at some stage their familial qualities are invoked. Thus while Chaloner (1943 Feb :30), in the above article, refers to Madam Chiang Kai Shek as 'a close colleague with her husband in both the war effort and the vast reconstruction of the regime which has enabled China (to resist Japan), Chronicler, elsewhere, while referring to her revolutionary career and her influence upon her husband, also makes salient a domestic image when he observes,

'She decided that what China needed was a wholesale job of housecleaning and she tackled it by founding what she called the New Life Movement.'

(Chronicler 1943 June:17)

A description of a group of women (The Volontaires Francaises) who escaped from France and who maintain French resistance from abroad contains references to the motherly qualities as well as the efficiency of the head, Helène Terré.

'But to many of the girls she has in fact had to play the part of

a mother, helping them to recover from loneliness and nervous collapse, smoothing out the incompatibilities and welding them into a service.'

(Fraser 1943 March:57)

These would also seem to be desirable qualities in a leader¹ as well as a mother.

Finally, although political activity in the form of participation in local government is referred to, the organised activity advocated for women in the post-war world, in one article dealing with post-war reconstruction, takes a special form. While elsewhere the shaping of public opinion² through discussion (where no organisational base is indicated) -

'Are you reading, thinking, talking, working to win this freedom (from want) and more particularly to achieve the aim of the Beveridge Plan?' -

(Good Housekeeping, 1942 February:1 italics original)

or sending a postcard to one's M.P. is advocated (Good Housekeeping 1943 May:1), here the role of women is to raise the standards of consumption in the new world. 'By insisting on higher quality every woman in England can play her part in building a better Britain' (Stoneham 1943 May:36).

'Now what can she do collectively... how many women belong to a group? How many of those who are asking for better quality and higher standards are using this existing machinery (of group consultation with the Board of Trade or the British Standards Institute) to push their demands? The membership of Women's Institutes, in the country districts, is rising slightly, but the membership of the Townswomen's Guilds has fallen badly, and anyway they never mustered more than a fragment of available housewives. There are whole suburbs of big cities without any

¹ The kind of leadership qualities which women may demonstrate is left as an open question in an article on psychological assessment in the army. For example, on this 'intriguing problem it may turn out that the commanding woman approximates the pompous man' or qualities which create 'the woman leader in civic life or county society are the reverse' for the mass leader (Thompson 1943 Aug :59).

² During the war the Home Office monitored public opinion through local chief constables.

representative, non-political body voicing the opinions of the housewives who live there.

So you need no longer ask, 'What can I do?' There is a lot YOU can do if you are prepared to work for your new and better world. And if you aren't prepared to work then you mustn't grumble if you don't get it.'

(Stoneham 1943 June:101)

While this activity may be extended to include standards of, for example, education, social security provision¹ and so forth, it is clear that the housewife is considered primarily as a purchaser. These other areas where organised activity would be as relevant become spheres in which the traditional housewife's role becomes reaffirmed and bolstered rather than challenged. The housewife is, or should be, a skilled domestic worker and an expert purchaser. Thus the world which 'we ourselves will have to shape', 'the real unformulated want' of which 'the approval which welcomed the Beveridge Report was a sign' (Stoneham 1943 May:36) is narrowed to domestic consumption. The socialisation of housework which would radically alter such a role is conceptualised as a form of organisation for the poor. An article entitled 'Community Housekeeping' describes 'an experiment in living' set up by the Society of Friends for four bombed out mothers and their children. They live in independent units in a hostel but share the tasks on a rota system. It is suggested that

'after the war it might continue... (to) give healthy living space and sound conditions to families who ordinarily would be forced by poverty to live in conditions which would stifle domestic orderliness and a wholesome way of life.'

(Richmond 1943 July:44,91)

Within this magazine then the threat of social change is absorbed

¹ Even here, a rigorous and vehement advocacy (written prior to the publication of the Beveridge Report but published after it) for the rights of women as citizens and workers to improved maternity benefit, and based on the grounds that after the war some women will need to and want to work, also contains the observation, 'after all women are domestic animals' (Kornitzer 1943:47).

into traditional structures by processes which invest the traditional with modernity. Real experiences and reactions to them are redefined for the individual in such a manner as to render them unreal when set against measures (or common senses) extracted from alternative systems of knowledge - an eternity imbued with spiritual significance and, related to this, the individual's 'inner knowing' (which might be construed elsewhere as the effect of her socialisation). Thus the closed world of the family which is being disturbed, and the retention of the woman in her traditional role within it, despite the modifications which appear throughout the text, are sustained by entering into the psyche or conceptualisations of herself by the individual reader. Familial obligations, which are taken as given, are used to elaborate and sustain a double standard of sexuality, maturity and individualism which are, in turn, used to sustain family obligations and the self abnegation which this entails.

By such abnegation the housewife is accorded a position of supreme power. Not only is she the manager of the internal world of the family and the constructor of men (who are incidentally particularly functional for the economic system) but by her willing imposition of limits upon her individualism she exercises power in the world external to the family. Importantly for this readership, intelligence, rationality and social awareness are directed to traditional ends by processes which call upon these very qualities. The whole is an intricate web of tradition and change, the new enmeshed within the old.

When compared with True Romances it can be seen how not only different familial elements are drawn upon and elaborated, for example sexuality, but how identical elements, for example the sexual division of labour and masculinity, are shaped into different patterns for different audiences but which nonetheless underpin a fundamentally shared structure.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

The focus of the study was the extent to which a traditional family ideology epitomised by the single role family structure with its sexual division of labour, the husband father as the sole breadwinner and the wife mother with activities essentially based in the home, was sustained in a period of social change during which family structures were deeply affected and the competing ideology of egalitarianism posed a challenge.

In contrast to the suppositions regarding the relaxation of constraints during the Second World War the analysis of the selected documents strongly supported the proposition that traditional familism during the period was sustained both by the State and agencies in the wider culture. Furthermore, the articulation of a traditional family ideology was not confined to conservative agencies. Setting aside the liberalism of Beveridge himself, the Beveridge Report was hailed by many and diverse groups as a liberal document; the personnel and content of the forces' education programme was intricately infused with liberalism; and while the women's press was traditionally conservative, magazines aimed at educated middle-class women presented an image of a new freedom and widening horizons.. In this data only the magazine for the young working-class girl (and perhaps the Civil Service although the examination here was not sufficiently exhaustive) could be immediately classified as overwhelmingly and manifestly conservative.

The means by which traditional familism was sustained were complex and penetrated deeply into the social structure. They also crossed those boundaries between sociology and psychology into which this analysis could not (and was not designed to) follow. The actual reaction to and influence of, for example, a woman's magazine and the meaning it

held for its reader is the subject for research from that complementary perspective. The analysis here halts at the proposition that such familial messages constitute pressures of varying intensity towards specific interpretations of everyday life experienced by individuals who differ according to their gender, age, stage in the family cycle and social class.

The design of the research and the method of analysis, that is the distinctions drawn between source and audience and between discrete audiences, and by integrating each specific section of the analysis around the themes salient for that document or set of documents, was, it was felt, important to the unveiling of some of the ideological processes and the significance of contradictions within an ideology. Many avenues, such as semiology or linguistics, for example, with the potential for revealing contributory effects were left unexplored.

What was demonstrated, and goes some way to explaining the abundance of familial prescriptions which formed the starting point to this enquiry, was how messages while remaining within the broad chapel of familism were uniquely tailored for identifiable audiences; and that differences and contradictions within an ideology were not random, nor attributable to a cultural lag in the downward filtering of ideas and practices through the class structure, but, as Althusser suggests, orchestrated to sustain, I would argue, the prevailing patterns of power.

In this evidence the ideal family structure emerged in various modulated forms as sustaining both the obtaining economic system and the obtaining distribution of power between the sexes: capitalism and patriarchy. In this process specific types of worker, necessary to the economic system, and a form of masculinity, which eased the burden of contradiction for the male, were erected via the mediation of reality by family and gender.

Regarding the economic system, the Beveridge proposals provided structural supports for two types of worker. The one, evoked by the image of 'the worker', conceptualised as dependent upon, and with an identity lying in, work; the other a reserve worker adaptable to the fluctuating demands of the business cycle (while also servicing the present 'worker' and producing the next generation of both types). These two types of worker were most clearly elaborated in the forces' educational data, the latter subtly incorporated within the many layered model of the ideal family which emerged in this material. The women's magazines served to elaborate further distinctions in the former type of worker by producing models of the female mediation of masculinity. Such masculinity and the models of female mediation were related to social class and important variations in the work ethic. The treatment of masculinity is discussed below in the context of ideological mechanisms.

It is perhaps the analysis of the mechanisms comprising the articulation of the family ideology obtaining in these texts which make a greater contribution by suggesting a means of approaching other problematic areas such as, for example, the perception of and attitudes towards the poor, increasingly relevant as unemployment rises and, indeed, unemployment itself. Barnes and her colleagues (1981:13), commenting upon the analysis of the published evidence to the Beveridge Committee and the control of information through the manipulation of powerful ideologies, have also suggested the applicability of the approach to other areas of information transmission such as the operation of the official secrets act, the use of computerised databanks for security purposes and the debate about charging for information where strong taboos about the safety of the State or the operation of market forces too often close off the possibility of debate.

In this articulation the first dimension to be noted is the super-

ordinate position of the State. The analysis of the Beveridge Report and the associated documents suggested that in several ways the regulatory role of the State was critical to the construction of an ideology.

Evident within this data was the facility within the processes of policy formation for the State to select certain behaviours and, because of its immense power, to sanction, to direct and control both their enactment and their definition. Thus only certain familial behaviours were selected to be subject to State intervention by social insurance; key contradictory elements were implicitly directed to other agencies although it should be emphasised that not all contradiction was entirely redirected since certain discordant elements, such as the working wife, were necessary to the economic structure. The selective use of legal, financial and associated social sanctions isolated fragments of behaviour in a manner which made them conducive to particular interpretations. Additionally, in the collection of evidence to the Beveridge Committee, a selective framework was provided for lay opinion to organise around; and while the form of democratic process within which this took place implied dialogue, especially in its published form, it was in effect, merely a juxtaposing of views. There was little dialogue between the proponents of the views. Thus opinion drawn from sections of the public was returned to the public in a truncated form after passing through controlling mechanisms of the State. That the Civil Service played an important part in this sifting and sorting of views, and the intimate relationship this bore to conventions current in the general culture, was apparent in the control over the presentation of the representations made by groups who challenged the model of the family erected in the Beveridge Report.

It was the latent effect of selection, the displacement referred to above, which provided insights into the links between the State and

other agencies, beyond the bounds of direct State control, which articulate an ideology.

First, by the act of selection for legal regulation, certain uncomfortable elements contained within the full range of familial behaviour and which are inherent to the ideal model the State seeks to support are depoliticized, divest of their power, by displacement into another arena of concern thereby becoming the legitimate subjects for treatment by other agencies. This was particularly true for the intra-familial distribution of income and violence, that is inequality, and these themes were in fact elaborated at length in the cultural material which was examined. It should be noted, however, that while not considered here, it is possible that such displacement might be to other areas of legal control, for example, divorce law and examination of the relationship and treatment of the elements of familial behaviour in their allocation to different departments and regulations of the State would be interesting from this perspective.

Secondly, omission by the State to impose legal regulation and definitions upon certain aspects of familial behaviour facilitated and legitimated a second form of displacement - the conceptualisation of the behaviour itself. The understanding of certain behaviours shifts from a structural to a personal, individual or psychological explanation. Such an approach was found to dominate the cultural material which entered into the realm of personal interpretations, understanding and self assessment. It was also of note that contradiction which of necessity, due to contingencies arising outside the family structure and posing a threat to its ideal form, were part of the reality of family life for some groups, for example in the working wife, was given a place by structuring its personalisation. Working married women were given the option of becoming insured contributors within the proposed scheme and

the section on stereotypes demonstrates the intricacies in the structuring of the interpretation of married working women. A further form of displacement is found in that the problems women experience, arising from their position in the social structure, are displaced to become the problem of women - that is objectified to be viewed in the same category as poverty or unemployment.

The borderlines between the structural and personal are not, of course, clear cut and historically there have been pressures to penetrate and move these boundaries as in the current debate on the location of rape as a manifestation of sexuality or power. But domestic violence and the intrafamilial distribution of income eminently inhabit this personal domain in the thinking of many agencies which have major impact upon family life, for example much social work practice.¹ Furthermore, while C. Wright Mills' (1978:14) distinction between 'the personal troubles of milieu' and 'the public issues of social structure' is pertinent here, this type of analysis shows that to recognise a phenomenon as independent of the individual is difficult to the extent that there are structural forces which sustain a personalisation of the interpretation.

In addition to the allocation of familial behaviour to different levels of discourse, that is, to different types of interpretative process, legal rules, by the very detail into which they must enter, fragment behaviour. This took the form of its dissection into discrete pieces which were then subject to intricately worked financial legal and moral sanctions by which they were elevated or demoted and welded into a particular familial model. This model while based upon tradi-

¹This point again recently arose in a discussion with Coffield, a psychologist, in connection with his recent work on the cycle of deprivation (Coffield et.al, 1981).

tional assumptions (as the analysis of the forces' education material brought into sharp focus) yet managed to retain contradictory elements, such as the working wife, in a devalued form which crucially served the economic requirements of the society.

Such powerful control and sanctioning serve to structure consciousness in that parallels could be drawn between the behavioural elements which were treated (and the manner of their treatment) and the cultural phenomenon of stereotypes. This lent support to Gramsci's proposition concerning the control of consciousness by the State in its regulation of behaviour in that such behaviour eventually enters into the formulation of the individual's world view so becoming the basis informing the individual's regulation of the behaviour of those around him. An example of this latter and circuitous aspect could be seen in the way in which members of the Civil Service used stereotypes to control the challenge to the treatment of women in the Beveridge proposals. In addition, however, it is these structurally supported stereotypes which are elaborated and set in motion by the agencies producing material for cultural consumption, the articulators of the discrete common senses. It is in this sense that the law structures consciousness while these other agencies examined here, with less fearsome but nonetheless powerful sanctions, maintain such consciousness on an intimate and daily basis.

The significance of these agencies to ideological articulation lies in their relationship to diverse groups. While State regulation is directed at the entire population within the mass experience of reality and consequently the threats to the ideal model differs. It is the wide range of messages which weave specific realities into the broad web of familism. Women's magazines, for example, provide intimate interpretation and reminders of the meaning of the differing experiences women have. Good Housekeeping indicates that middle-class women should

reject independence as immature or selfish or as demonstrating a lack of any real conception of womanhood. For this intelligent, educated and socially aware audience power is reinterpreted; the world can be controlled from the hearth and the outside world itself is domesticated. For the readers of True Romances the implication is that men can only remain at their toil if women adopt their proper role and what is clearly portrayed as drudgery; to this end the highly valued concept of female beauty has to be reinterpreted to accommodate the realities of poverty and rationality denied.

It should also be noted however, that the power to impose an ideology was not absolute. Apart from the ability of the individual to select or reject what is presented the examination suggested that in the accommodation of threats posed by the social realities of the audience to any proposed ideal account must also be taken of the societal power which resides in particular audiences. Thus while the armed forces were harangued to become better citizens this was in order to improve the post-war world. More pertinently, however, there were two sources of their power. The first lay in their crucial role in the war machine, the second in their societal position as males. The latter, perceived by some as threatened, was sustained in the process of bending morale and commitment to State ends. While Summerfield has argued that the morale of the women's services because of the important role they played was also crucial it was clearly felt unnecessary, and even preposterous, to consider extending full equality to women in order to guarantee their commitment.

Additionally, however, although both female audiences of women's magazines were subject to, and literally bought, definitions which presented them in a traditional and subordinate position, the greater elaboration and sophistication of the familial articulation in Good

Housekeeping in contrast to True Romances suggested not only a more educated audience but, concomitant with this, one with a greater power to offer a challenge than that of young working-class girls.

Fragmentation, like displacement, is a key ideological process. Both were found in all the material examined. The analysis suggested that an aspect of the legitimating process referred to by Habermas, at least at that particular historical period, is a strain towards a consistent image. If ideological processes are placed within this context then, paradoxically, fragmentation and displacement become essential to an internally consistent image.

Throughout the analysis those models of either institutions or individuals (in this case the family and the male) which were supported by those with power were so treated in the law and in the cultural material as to achieve such a coherence. The complexity of human behaviour and the real demands upon and contradictions within the institution of the family were broken down into constituent elements and assigned to other individuals as well as to the institutions considered in the notion of displacement above. Such carriers of the complexity were then set in contradictory and competing relationships with each other - the familiar notion of divide and conquer and the sociological concept of boundary maintenance.

This was particularly evident in the case of women, structured in the insurance proposals and maintained by the stereotypes, which appeared throughout. (The situation with regard to other agencies such as those of welfare, departments of State and other legal prescriptions needs closer examination; but the contradictions which others have noted between, for example, the demands and policies of State departments are highly suggestive.) Thus masculinity in its sexual form, for example, and the contradiction it poses for the husband-father role is displaced

to the weaker group which is in turn splintered into types of women who independently service the component elements: the wife-mother provides the comforts of home and is the vehicle for the responsible component of masculinity, the 'other woman' the expectation of sexual availability inside and outside marriage, the gold-digger the accommodation of a pre-marital freedom denied to women. Conceptual boundaries are set up but the data suggest that they have to be constantly maintained. Similarly the dominance of the economic theme in True Romances and that of social change in Good Housekeeping suggested that the experience of the real world was a latent and constant threat to the dominant interpretations of it.

In the construction of a familial model in the material of the forces' education programme fragmentation lies in the form of superseded yet powerfully active models of the family informing the final image, and fragmentation allows competing elements not only to be accommodated but to strengthen this final model: the ideal housewife both stays at home and goes out to work.

This documentary evidence suggests that by the creation and maintenance of boundaries the threat of both the idea of equality and social experience itself can be brought under control. New knowledge and experience are redefined to fit already existing categories. Gramsci (1971:196) draws attention to the organic continually developing nature of continuity and tradition which encompass new phenomena. For the State to achieve the adaptation of the populace to the requisite level the greatest danger, he argues, lies in discontinuity and improvisation. In the control of continuity he notes how this danger is met by a type of law whose essential characteristic is its method - 'which is realistic and always keeps close to concrete life in perpetual development'.

He observes,

'This organic continuity requires a good archive, well stocked and easy to use, in which all past activity can be reviewed and "criticized". The most important manifestations of this activity are not so much "organic decisions" as explicative and reasoned (educative) circulars.'

From this examination undertaken above it can be argued that the cultural material would also fall within this definition, witnessed particularly in Good Housekeeping in the domestication of the outside world and in the forces' education material in the cumulative construction of the ultimate model of the family. Similarly, in the published evidence to the Beveridge Committee, the explication of the contemporary material was worked and reworked in a passive sense by the manner in which values, statuses and roles took a series of kaleidoscopic forms, the same pieces conveying different meanings merely by their specific juxtaposing. The term passive is used to indicate that there was no evidence of a controlling intervention in this process but rather a lack of awareness of the subtle dimensions of salient values in the culture which served to devalue a legitimate position.

Although the cases for examination were carefully chosen to highlight distinctions the analysis is necessarily limited. However, the examples of contemporary evidence which have been indicated throughout the thesis along with the studies referred to in the introduction lend weight to the proposition that the processes summarised above give an ideology a resilience and go some way to explaining its tenacity in the face of objective countervailing influences to the interpretations or frameworks for interpretation which it provides.

This raises the issue of social change. While not necessarily static in its connotation, as Morgan (1979:10-11) has observed, the concept of social reproduction has been most effective in the exploration of processes of maintenance and continuity and it is in this sense that the social reproduction of family ideology has been the focus of

the analysis. The results of this analysis suggest that a major aspect of such reproduction lies in legal regulation in that the law intimately and selectively controls the structural basis of beliefs producing broad conceptions of normality which are then released for discrete elaborations.

Laws however, may be strong or weak, carrying heavy or few sanctions and being more open or less open to interpretation. In this sense it could be argued that social insurance regulations are more powerful than say the Sex Discrimination Act 1975. Consequently, the relationship between changes in the law and common sense assumptions, whether and how such phenomena change, the classificatory processes involved and the place in these processes of other cultural and legal agencies requires examination by the analysis of law where change is intended.

Fundamental of course, is the actual distribution of power within a society. This problem has not been approached here. The analysis has, rather, attempted to dissect some of the processes by which such a distribution is sustained and thereby perhaps rendering it more susceptible to challenge.

APPENDIX I: THE RE-PRESENTATION OF EVIDENCE. A

COMMENT ON MEN WITHOUT WORK

The study Men Without Work (1938) was the subject of a recent article in the Guardian (1980:29 Sept.) in which today's unemployment was compared with that of the 1930s. Written by one of the original authors, Sir Walter Oakeshott, then master at Winchester College and subsequently Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, the only reference to working women is,

'There is a whole series of unanswered questions that make comparative nonsense of the comparative figures. How far is the difference between 1936 and present figures distorted by the number of women in recent years who have found employment?

The impression conveyed by the article is indeed of men (family men) without work. Yet, irrespective of the fact that this was a study of the insured population, drawn from the active registers of the Unemployment Assistance Board and that more women are insured today (although by having taken the married women's option many also drop out of unemployment statistics), of the six areas selected for examination two (Leicester and Blackburn) were chosen because of their high incidence of working married women. It is specifically stated that in Blackburn the investigators were seriously confronted with 'the problem of long term unemployment amongst women as well as men (Pilgrim Trust 1938:28). Additionally a chapter, undertaken by Eleanor Iredale, the committee secretary, was devoted to unemployment amongst women. Thus while a comparison of statistics might be of dubious worth a comparison of problems would be highly pertinent. In the article, however, women only appear as the wives of the unemployed. Thus the investigator re-presents his own findings.

The study is also noteworthy for its value-laden orientation. For

example, the discussion of the effect of unemployment in breaking down the value a married woman placed upon her economic independence, and the increase in the unemployed married woman's preference for homemaking rather than a return to employment is phrased in the following manner.

'Thus while among the unemployed women in Blackburn there was a considerable number who clearly regarded the mills as a second home, and could not be reconciled to unemployment for that reason there was an almost equally large number who had evidently found that release from work meant the possibility of living a home life such as they had never lived before, and who would certainly avoid going back to work if it were possible to avoid it.

(Pilgrim Trust 1938:83)

I would argue that the tone, and ultimately content, of this sentence would be affected if the statistic had been summarised as 'fewer' rather than 'almost'.

Similarly, the standard of housewifery is measured by effort, or so it appears, rather than outcome - that food was bought cooked or in tins and cheap clothing bought for the family from a multiple store instead of being made by the mother (Pilgrim Trust 1938:114).

The debate upon the employment of married women is at first enjoined in a balanced fashion. Thus it is noted that

'in so far as it may be socially more desirable for women to devote their main energies to their homes and families... (that some women may not wish to return to work) will not be considered a problem of unemployment at all but a matter of somehow making it permanent'.

And they continue, this is against the modern view, out of date, and opposed to the opinion that by employment 'a woman gains a new status which she may justly value' (Pilgrim Trust 1938:84). On this view, they argue, a high rate of women's unemployment is more serious.

However, this neutral position is later renounced. In the detailed chapter of unemployment amongst women it is observed,

'The existence of a group of women in Blackburn who, despite the tradition of continuous work in the mills and despite the low

standards of wages earned by their husbands, yet feel the claims of the family to their whole attention, is, we believe, an indication of social progress.'

The supplementary comment leaves no doubt that any role reversal does not enter into any conceptualisation of the problem from the point of view of the family, that is, that a caring adult is available in the home.

'It seems particularly unfortunate that as in one instance in the sample a young wife of 22 should have to go back to work while her husband remains unemployed: though she said she would much prefer to stay at home, if her husband were working, but with him out she has no choice but to go back to work.'

(Pilgrim Trust 1938:240-1)

Also of interest when the structural linkages in the circulation of ideas, as well as their ultimate impact on the wider social structure, are considered is the composition of the originating and consultative committees of this project. Names appear which, even within the limits of this thesis, figure prominently in the articulation of familism. Sir William Beveridge, Ronald Davison, H.W. Singer figure in the production and articulation of the Beveridge proposals; A.D. Lindsay (Master of Balliol) and Sir Walter Moberly were centrally concerned with the forces' education programme; A.D.K. Owen was involved in both. The consultative committee also includes John Newsom, a chief education officer, whose book Education for Girls (1948) advocated essentially different curricula for boys and girls and the centrality of the domestic role for women.

It is the power of these views and the key position and status of their articulators, both of which are salient over forty years on, that is so striking.

APPENDIX II: THE SELECTION OF THE PERIODICALS FOR ANALYSIS

Selection of the periodicals for analysis within the two chosen categories of magazine constituted a further refinement of the target group. The aim was to select one magazine within each type with a clearly defined audience in order to highlight differences in the articulation of familism as it related to different social realities.

Determining the audience of a magazine prior to reading the magazine itself¹ raises certain problems. Yet the logic of the research insisted that an attempt must be made to provide some objective measure of an audience in order to ultimately assess the significance of the relationship of content of the magazine and the structural position of the reader.

First, the publishers could provide no formal statement of editorial policy for either the war time period or the pre-war or post-war years. Secondly, even where circulation figures were available they were unreliable indicators of a magazine's popularity because restrictions on paper supply reduced the numbers of copies printed. Similarly, although readership surveys were suspended in the years during and immediately after the war², any findings would have presented a false account of a periodical's typical audience, that is the readers who would in peacetime conditions be attracted to a particular publication. The war-time scarcity of reading matter led to people reading publications they would in normal circumstances not have selected. Calder (1969:512) also comments on the

¹ For example, the editor of The People's Friend said that there were no written statements of editorial policy available but 'an understanding of the magazine's approach to its readers would best be gained by reading the magazine' (Neilson, D. 1978, 13 March, personal letter).

² Institute of Practitioners in Advertising (1978 18 July) Letter to the author.

effect of war upon reading habits,

'With reading for pleasure, as with religion, the war made the addicts keener, while reducing the call for "good light reads" among housewives of all classes, now much overworked.'

Yet White (1970:123) notes that scarcity created an insatiable demand and every copy had a multiple readership.

Thus surveys conducted immediately prior to or following the research period were likely to be superior indicators of the typical audiences than any contemporaneous ones. Three readership¹ surveys, were available (IIPA 1939, IIPA 1947, Hulton 1947) and were accordingly used to provide descriptions of a magazine's audience with reference to the major structural characteristics of age, social class and in some cases, marital status.

The surveys were broadly comparable in both sample design, categories used and generalisability to the population at large. Furthermore, a comparison of the results indicates broadly similar readership patterns. It was decided, however to base the analysis of readership characteristics on the 1939 IIPA survey and refer to the 1947 surveys to illuminate specific features.

This decision was considered justified on the following grounds. First, IIPA's 1939 survey included more women's periodicals than did the later surveys.² Secondly, the 1939 survey gave a more detailed account

¹ Readership comprises both the magazine purchaser and secondary readers who may be members of the same family or outsiders to whom the magazine is passed on. That editors are as concerned about the readership and not merely circulation figures, ie. numbers of copies sold, is witnessed by the importance of advertising revenue to a magazine (White 1970:281).

² IIPA (1939), gathered information on 44 periodicals, IIPA (1947), on 27 periodicals and Hulton (1967) on 23 periodicals all of which were specifically defined as having an exclusively female (IIPA 1939:9) or negligible male (Hulton 1947:7) readership.

of the readership. Although definitions of social class were comparable, in the tables in the 1947 surveys the information was compressed into three categories as opposed to the five of the pre-war survey.¹ Similarly the earlier survey extended the age range to 14 as opposed to 16 in the IIPA 1947 survey and the dichotomy of 'over 35' and 'under 35' in Hutton, 1947.²

Alternatively, the advantage of the post war surveys was the distinction by marital status of the reader. However, because of the broad similarities referred to above, it was considered legitimate to supplement the 1939 data with that of the later surveys where appropriate.

Finally, the assumption was made that three years of war (1939-1942), irrespective of any other changes, would have made little difference to the age and class characteristics of the readers who in the pre-war period were attached to specific magazines.

The Confession Magazines

True Story and True Romances³ were clearly not market leaders commanding respectively 2.27% (479) and 1.55% (328) of the total women's periodical readership (see table 11.1). Nor, in comparison with other magazines did they attract a substantial proportion of readers from any one

¹ The social class definitions of the IIPA survey of 1939 are reproduced in Appendix III. This gives some notion of the starker contrast in life styles which obtained at the time.

² The age categories for each survey were:
 IIPA (1939): 14-24; 25-44; 45-64; 65 and over.
 IIPA (1947): 16-24; 25-44; 45-64; 65 and over.
 Hutton (1947): under 35; over 35.

³ No figures were available for True and Woman's Story.

Table 11.1: Readership of Major Women's Periodicals by Type, Social Class and Age Group. 1939.

Magazine Type	SOCIAL CLASS										AGE GROUP																													
	A					B					C					DD					14-24					25-44					45-64					65 & over				
	TOTAL					TOTAL					TOTAL					TOTAL					TOTAL					TOTAL					TOTAL					TOTAL				
Number of females interviewed	21,114	100.00%	1,034	100%	3,314	100%	9,516	100%	7,250	100%	4,297	100%	8,406	100%	6,296	100%	2,115	100%																						
Number who read -																																								
Woman's Own	2,159	10.23%	38	3.77%	469	14.15%	1,143	12.01%	459	6.33%	632	14.71%	904	10.75%	533	8.47%	90	4.26%																						
Woman's Weekly	1,370	6.49%	39	5.03%	210	6.34%	764	8.03%	357	4.92%	358	8.33%	593	7.05%	349	5.54%	70	3.31%																						
Home Notes	1,273	6.05%	52	2.80%	246	7.42%	668	7.02%	312	4.30%	334	7.77%	534	6.35%	344	5.46%	66	3.12%																						
Woman's Companion	499	2.36%	29	1.06%	105	3.17%	251	2.64%	114	1.57%	136	3.16%	212	2.52%	124	1.97%	27	1.28%																						
Home Chat	462	2.19%	11	3.77%	50	1.51%	250	2.63%	151	2.08%	115	2.68%	236	2.81%	97	1.54%	14	.66%																						
Woman's World	461	2.18%	39	.77%	122	3.68%	220	2.31%	80	1.10%	109	2.54%	178	2.12%	139	2.21%	35	1.65%																						
Home Companion	348	1.65%	8	.97%	38	1.15%	191	2.01%	111	1.53%	65	1.51%	134	1.59%	126	2.00%	23	1.09%																						
Family Journal	260	1.23%	10	.68%	32	.97%	125	1.31%	93	1.28%	70	1.63%	112	1.33%	63	1.00%	15	.71%																						
Woman's Friend	250	1.18%	7	.48%	25	.75%	123	1.29%	95	1.31%	62	1.44%	98	1.17%	70	1.11%	20	.95%																						
Home Journal	239	1.13%	5	1.26%	39	1.18%	116	1.22%	79	1.09%	68	1.58%	94	1.12%	63	1.00%	14	.66%																						
My Home	216	1.02%	13	3.48%	55	1.66%	112	1.18%	36	.50%	61	1.42%	96	1.14%	53	.84%	6	.28%																						
Wife and Home	299	1.41%	36	6.58%	97	2.93%	143	1.50%	23	.32%	56	1.30%	134	1.59%	92	1.46%	17	.80%																						
Woman and Home	298	1.41%	15	1.35%	78	2.35%	149	1.57%	56	.77%	53	1.23%	175	2.08%	62	.98%	8	.38%																						
Mother	662	3.14%	68	1.30%	223	6.73%	290	3.05%	81	1.12%	145	3.37%	296	3.52%	186	2.95%	35	1.65%																						
My Weekly	275	1.30%	14	12.96%	62	1.87%	156	1.64%	43	.59%	67	1.56%	160	1.90%	43	.68%	5	.24%																						
Mother and Home	504	2.39%	10	1.26%	35	1.06%	259	2.72%	200	2.76%	170	3.96%	209	2.49%	104	1.65%	21	.99%																						
Good Housekeeping	212	1.00%	13	7.93%	53	1.60%	108	1.13%	38	.52%	41	.95%	119	1.42%	48	.76%	4	.19%																						
Woman's Journal	609	2.88%	134	7.93%	216	6.52%	205	2.15%	54	.74%	93	2.16%	272	3.24%	203	3.22%	41	1.94%																						
Harpers Bazaar	332	1.57%	82	.97%	108	3.26%	106	1.11%	36	.50%	60	1.40%	160	1.90%	97	1.54%	15	.71%																						
The Lady	28	.13%	10	1.93%	10	.30%	8	.08%	-	-%	5	.12%	20	.24%	3	.05%	-	-%																						
	68	.32%	20	1.93%	26	.78%	20	.21%	2	.03%	10	.23%	34	.40%	18	.29%	6	.28%																						

Table 11.1: contd.

	TOTAL	A	B	C	D	14-24	25-44	45-64	65 & over
People's Friend	538	18 1.74%	100 3.02%	292 3.07%	128 1.77%	95 2.21%	204 2.43%	171 2.72%	68 3.22%
Oracle	322	2 .19%	4 .12%	119 1.25%	197 2.72%	166 3.86%	102 1.21%	47 .75%	7 .33%
Red Letter	940	1 .10%	35 1.06%	433 4.55%	471 6.50%	348 8.10%	379 4.51%	171 2.72%	42 1.99%
Red Star	730	2 .19%	15 .45%	311 3.27%	402 5.54%	247 5.75%	323 3.48%	133 2.11%	27 1.28%
Miracle	438	2 .19%	7 .21%	175 1.84%	254 3.50%	232 5.40%	140 1.67%	59 .94%	7 .33%
True Story	479	7 .68%	41 1.24%	243 2.55%	188 2.59%	206 4.79%	212 2.52%	50 .79%	11 .52%
True Romances	328	5 .48%	22 .66%	169 1.78%	132 1.82%	174 4.05%	123 1.46%	27 .43%	4 .19%
Woman's Illustrated	380	12 1.16%	78 2.35%	205 2.15%	85 1.17%	136 3.16%	157 1.87%	76 1.21%	11 .52%
Woman's Pictorial	316	25 2.42%	100 3.02%	141 1.48%	50 .69%	50 1.16%	162 1.93%	88 1.40%	16 .76%
Lady's Companion	204	1 .10%	25 .75%	107 1.12%	71 .98%	57 1.33%	81 .96%	52 .83%	14 .66%
Woman and Beauty	419	52 5.03%	138 4.16%	175 1.84%	54 .74%	163 3.79%	184 2.19%	62 .98%	10 .47%
Modern Woman	323	23 2.22%	115 3.47%	141 1.48%	44 .61%	72 1.68%	163 1.94%	80 1.27%	8 .38%
Woman's Fair	282	31 3.00%	79 2.38%	134 1.41%	38 .52%	139 3.23%	107 1.27%	33 .52%	3 .14%
Modern Home	269	34 3.29%	90 2.72%	115 1.21%	30 .41%	60 1.40%	129 1.53%	73 1.16%	7 .33%
Weldons Ladie's Jnl.	261	27 2.61%	36 2.59%	124 1.30%	24 .33%	70 1.63%	98 1.17%	86 1.37%	7 .33%
Miss Modern	241	22 2.13%	72 2.17%	121 1.27%	26 .36%	106 2.47%	87 1.03%	42 .67%	6 .28%
Everywoman	143	12 1.16%	35 1.06%	74 .78%	22 .30%	31 .72%	55 .65%	46 .73%	11 .52%
Woman's Sphere	139	15 1.45%	38 1.15%	62 .65%	24 .33%	43 1.00%	67 .80%	27 .43%	2 .09%
Thompson's Weekly	225	3 .29%	16 .48%	118 1.24%	88 1.21%	38 .88%	100 1.19%	70 1.11%	17 .80%

Source: Institute of Incorporated Practitioners in Advertising. 1939. Table 6:44,49.

social class or age group. The determining factor in the choice of True Romances was the distribution of the readership for each magazine. While True Story had the larger readership within each class and age group, that of True Romances was of greater relevance to the analysis in that it was more discrete in its slightly more youthful readership.

The close similarity of each readership by social class is shown in table 11:2.

Table 11.2: Comparison of the Readership Distribution of True Story and True Romances by Social Class

PERIODICAL	TOTAL		SOCIAL CLASS							
			A		B		C		D	
True Story	479	100%	7	2%	41	9%	243	50%	188	39%
True Romances	328	100%	1	*	35	11%	169	52%	132	40%

Source: Institute of Incorporated Practitioners in Advertising 1939, Vol. 1.

Table 6.

A comparison by age distribution (table 11.3), however, shows that the young readership of True Romances (14-24 years) was proportionately higher than that of True Story. 53% (174) as opposed to 43% (206).

Table 11.3: Comparison of the Readership Distribution of True Story and True Romance by Age.

PERIODICAL	TOTAL		AGE							
			14-24		25-44		45-64		65+	
True Story	479	100%	206	43%	212	44%	50	10%	11	2%
True Romances	328	100%	174	53%	123	37%	27	11%	4	1%

Source: Institute of Incorporated Practitioner in Advertising 1939, Vol. 1, Table 6.

True Romances then, appeared to be more orientated to single and young married women than did True Story. Some support for this distinction is found in the post-war Hulton Readership Survey (1947) which classifies informants by housewife status. The data is presented in table 11.4.

Table 11.4: Comparison of the Readership Distribution of True Story and True Romance by Housewife Status of Class DE¹ Women.

PERIODICAL	TOTAL		STATUS			
			HOUSEWIVES		AGED UNDER 35 NOT HOUSEWIVES ²	
True Story	173	100%	92	53%	81	47%
True Romances	202	100%	95*	47%	99*	49%

Source: Hulton 1947, Table 9.

¹ The data is only available for class DE women.

² For definition see Appendix III.

* There is a discrepancy in the Hulton tables in the base figures for the subgroups -when calculated from the percentage of the totals for all subgroups.

One further dimension was examined: the class distribution of the youngest readers (Table 11.5). Again the lower class appeal of the two magazines is confirmed but with a higher proportion of the readers of True Romances coming from homes of skilled rather than unskilled workers.

Table 11.5: Comparison of the Distribution by Social Class of the 14-24 year old Readership of True Story and True Romance.

PERIODICAL	TOTAL		SOCIAL CLASS							
			A		B		C		D	
True Story	206	100%	3	2%	14	7%	97	47%	92	45%
True Romances	174	100%	1	1%	8	5%	92	52%	73	42%

Source: Institute of Incorporated Practitioners in Advertising, 1939, Vol. 1, Table 6:50.

In assessing this evidence, the complexion of the actual readership distribution of each magazine was of greater significance than the total size of each readership. Despite the lower numbers involved, True Romances because of its more discrete readership was selected for analysis. Proportionately this readership was slightly more confined to social classes C and D and but more confined to the youngest age group. Thus while differences are probably marginal, nevertheless, True Romances to a greater extent than True Story had a more exclusive appeal for young unmarried or young married working class girls and women.

The Higher Class Monthlies

Because of their relatively higher command of the market than other magazines in this category the choice of periodical which catered for upper and middle class readers lay between Good Housekeeping, with a readership of 2.88% of the total readership of women's magazines, and Woman's Journal with a total readership of 1.57%.

In certain respects Woman's Journal was highly suitable for a comparison with True Romances. First, when launched 1927 it was directed at a slightly higher class of reader than was Good Housekeeping, launched in 1922 (White 1970:95). This situation still held in 1939 and is shown in table 11.6 below. In addition, as table 11.7 demonstrates Woman's Journal also attracted a slightly younger audience, Good Housekeeping having a greater appeal over the span of the family cycle. Thirdly, like True Romances, fiction was Woman's Journal's strongest feature.

One of White's sample years, however, was 1946, the year immediately following the end of the war and, despite the slightly more discrete aspect of the audience for Woman's Journal, it was her analysis of magazine content for that particular year which was given most weight in the selection.

Women's magazines of this period were very conscious of the dilemmas and tensions war had created for women, especially married women - the awareness of a new competence, independence and the limitations of a traditional domestic role. While sympathetic, however, the majority counselled a return to domesticity (White 1970:132). Of the few which not only recognised the challenge and opportunities which confronted women in 1946 but also accepted the challenge on behalf of its readers in a promotion of change and a defiance of conformity White (1970:136)

Table 11.6: Comparison of the Readership Distribution of Good Housekeeping and Woman's Journal by Social Class

PERIODICAL	TOTAL READERSHIP	SOCIAL CLASS							
		A		B		C		D	
Good Housekeeping	609 = 100%	134	22%	216	36%	205	34%	54	9%
Woman's Journal	332 = 100%	82	25%	108	33%	106	32%	36	11%

Source: Institute of Incorporated Practitioners in Advertising 1939, Vol. 1, Table 6.

Table 11.7: Comparison of the Readership Distribution of Good Housekeeping and Woman's Journal by Age

PERIODICAL	TOTAL READERSHIP	AGE							
		14-24		25-44		45-64		65+	
Good Housekeeping	609 100%	93	15%	272	45%	203	33%	41	7%
Woman's Journal	332 100%	60	18%	160	48%	97	29%	15	5%

Source: Institute of Incorporated Practitioners in Advertising 1939 Vol. 1, Table 6.

singles out Good Housekeeping for special mention. The quotation she uses is reproduced in full.

'... If we are to survive as a nation, Britain will have to allow our women as well as our men to use their energy and ability. Before the war, we wasted an enormous amount of the energy of women ... (in homes that were) old-fashioned, badly-planned and ill-equipped with labour-saving devices. (There was) the frustration and waste of energy when capable women could not find the right outlet for their capacity ... "Suburban neurosis" was the name invented by the

doctors to describe the state of those women who left their jobs to marry and then found themselves lonely and cut off from their old interests, so that they passed from a state of near boredom to actual illness. There was the frustration too, of the older married woman whose children had grown up and left home, so that she found herself in her forties with the sense that she was no longer needed and with no constructive outlet for her capabilities. Many such women ... did find an outlet in voluntary service and local government work ... but too many others drifted from bridge to the cinema ... in restless dissatisfaction.

'The needs of the war changed the picture ... Prejudices, customs and traditions restricting women's employment were thrust aside. Women were drafted into practically every type of job and with a minimum of training, did remarkably well ... the country could not afford to be deprived of the services of any efficient citizen for any artificial reason. Part-time schemes for the employment of married women were organised with considerable ingenuity. To many of these women it was a revitalising experience.

'Yet now that the war is over, some people seem to think that women should go back to just the kind of jobs they did before the war and accept once more the same old artificial reasons and limitations. To my mind that would be disastrous ... We women must assume the responsibility of making our full contribution in the field for which our personal capacity fits us. Many women will rightly choose marriage and motherhood and feel that under present conditions the making of a home and bringing up young children is a job to which they wish to give the whole of their time. Others, many of whom are professional women, wish to combine marriage and motherhood with at least a part-time career ... we do need an adequate supply of women with first-class qualifications to serve on policy-forming bodies ... If we can carry forward into the future the spirit of individual efficiency shown by British women in the war years, then we need not fear the problems of tomorrow.'

(Good Housekeeping 1946 May, Italics in original)

This raises several points. First it comprises an apparent emphasis upon social change in a traditionally conservative medium. Secondly, if such a position is taken at the end of the war, it may be hypothesised that there was emphasis upon change during the war when people's behaviour did, and had to, change. Thirdly, social change is particularly salient for this thesis. And fourthly, the position leads to intriguing questions as to whether or not a traditional familism was encompassed by Good House-

keeping and, if so, how it was encompassed within a framework of change which had direct bearing upon the family role structure.

These considerations led to the selection of Good Housekeeping as a potentially more testing case of ideological articulation than Woman's Journal.

APPENDIX III: DEFINITIONS

1. SOCIAL CLASS

The definitions of social class used in the IIPA Survey of Press Readership (1939 Vol. 1:134) constructed under the guidance of Mark Abrams, provide insight into the stark class differences of the period against which the concept of egalitarianism which infuses the data must be set.

Again, as in Slater and Woodside's (1951) survey, it is noted that women's magazines are not considered as penetrating into the worst slums. It is here, therefore, amongst the very poor, that the State confronts the obtaining familial patterns more directly, that is, with less intervening mediation by other agencies. Perhaps the widespread acquisition of television sets has since changed this relationship.

DEFINITIONS OF SOCIAL CLASSES, 1939

CLASS AA¹

At least two servants in house, or one in town flat; telephone; higher priced car or more than one car; house usually detached (allowing for part of the country, or district in large town) with at least ten rooms and well-kept garden (with gardener) or "luxury" flat in town; children at public or private school and university or equivalent.

Typical Occupations:- Factory owner; stockbroker; banker; company director; established member of the professions, including highest grade of civil service; land-owner; larger scale farmer; major executives in business.

Income of chief earner £1,000 and over a year.

CLASS A

At least one maid; telephone; medium priced car; detached or semi-detached house of more expensive kind in suburbs, with 8-10 rooms - bought on mortgage arrangement; or comfortable central flat in "good" district. Children at private school or good grammar or secondary school.

¹ For the purposes of the survey Class AA was incorporated with Class A.

Typical Occupations:- Owner of small factory or large retail shop; minor executive in business; managers and assistant managers; owners of small commercial concerns; medium grade professional men, e.g., members of small architectural firms, medical general practitioners with smaller practices; upper grade civil servants.

Income of chief earner between £500 and £999 a year.

CLASS B

Regular maid rare and usually no telephone; occasional domestic help; secondhand or cheap car, or good motor cycle in country districts and smaller provincial centres; detached or semi-detached house, 5-8 rooms with garden - on repayments; flat in inner suburbs; or cottage dwelling in less congested parts of town. Children usually at secondary school.

Typical Occupations:- Owner of small to medium-sized shop; owner of small workshop; younger members of professions; technical and managerial staff in business concerns; executive and higher clerical civil servants; bulk of middle aged and older bank and insurance officials; key workers in certain trades.

Income of chief earner between £250 and £499 a year.

CLASS C

No maid or telephone; occasional domestic help; house reasonably well kept; house and street definitely superior in character to D; 4-6 room house- 3-5 room flat; house semi-detached in suburbs or, more commonly, in row; small garden in less congested areas; occasional motor cycle and, very rarely, secondhand car; good push bicycle- children usually at elementary school.

Typical Occupations:- Foremen in most trades; skilled workmen e.g., printers, type-setters, and semi-skilled workmen in sheltered industries (L.P.T.B. employees, building trade and distributive trade workers); bank clerks; draughtsmen; secretaries and non-junior typists; lower grade blackcoated workers generally, except for juniors; higher grade shop assistants; managers and assistant managers of small concerns; owners of very small retail shops; lower grade civil servants; office and works superintendents.

Income of chief earner between £125 and £294 a year.

CLASS D

No maid or telephone; no paid domestic help; cheaper council houses or older houses in rows, or tenements; 2-4 rooms. No garden as a rule. Poorer working class areas, excluding only the worst slum quarters.

Typical Occupations:- Lowest grade office and warehouse clerical staff; semi-skilled and unskilled in most employments, e.g., cotton, coal mining, building; semi-skilled in seasonal trades.

Income of chief earner under £125 a year.

2. HOUSEHOLD STATUS

Heads of households, or householder (the terms are used synonymously throughout the tables) are those men responsible for the rent or the general upkeep of the household. In most cases they will be principal earner, though this need not necessarily be so. The term includes men living alone as well as men living with their own families, but excludes men living in hotels, boarding houses, hostels etc.

HOUSEWIFE

A housewife is defined as a woman responsible for 'keeping house' in the household in which she lives. She may therefore be married or unmarried, with a job or at home all day, living by herself or acting as a housekeeper for husband, father, brother, sister or other relative or group of relatives. The term excludes women living in hotels, boarding houses, hostels etc.

(Hulton 1947:47)

According to these definitions no woman can be a householder even if living in identical circumstances to a man. More recent definitions demonstrate a similar logic in concealing some economic identities and promoting others irrespective of the factual basis.

THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD is that member of the household who either owns the accommodation or is responsible for the rent, or if the accommodation is rent free, the person who is responsible for the household having it rent free. If this person is a married woman whose husband is a member of the household, then the husband is counted as the "head of household".

CHIEF WAGE EARNER is the senior working member of the household; normally the oldest related male of 21 years of age and over in full-time employment. If there is no male of 21 years and over then the oldest related female of 21 years and over in full-time employment is taken. Non-related persons living in the household cannot count as chief wage earners.

(Monk 1976:18)

The familistic themes which appeared in the data are set out here in a very simple form. They are not strictly categorised and are not, obviously, mutually exclusive. The purpose here is to indicate their range rather than be exhaustive. The form of analysis meant that they were ultimately organised according to the particular data source or the audience to which they were addressed and the detail of this is discussed in the appropriate chapter of the thesis.

	<u>Report</u>	<u>Pub</u>	<u>Unpub</u>	<u>FE</u>	<u>TR</u>	<u>GHK</u>
Marital choice	-	-	-	1	1	1
Marriage	1	1	1	1	1	1
Age at marriage	1	-	1	1	1	1
Length of marriage/gold digger	1	-	1	-	1	1
Strict sexual division of labour	1	1	1	1	1	1
Role reversal or relaxation	-	-	1	1	1	1
Family size (population)	1	-	1	1	1	1
Motherhood	1	1	1	1	1	1
Widow/Widower	1	1	1	1	1	1
Guardianship	1	-	1	-	1	1
Divorce	1	-	1	1	1	1
Working mother	1	1	1	1	1	1
Working wife	1	1	1	1	1	1
Drudgery/toil/male and female	-	-	1	1	1	1
Bad parents	1	-	1	1	-	-
<u>Hierarchy</u>						
Economic dependence/independence	1	1	1	1	1	1
Intrafamilial distribution of income	-	-	1	1	-	1
Male authority/leadership/hierarchy	1	1	1	1	1	1
Violence - romantic	-	-	-	-	1	1
Violence - domestic	-	-	1	1	1	1
<u>Sexuality</u>						
Venereal Diseases	-	-	1	1	-	1
Sexuality inside marriage	1	-	1	-	1	1
Sexuality outside marriage	1	1	1	-	1	1
Casual sex	-	-	1	-	1	1
Other woman	-	-	-	-	1	1
Unmarried wife	1	-	1	-	-	-
Unmarried mother	1	1	1	1	1	1
Double standard	1	-	1	1	1	1

	<u>Report</u>	<u>Pub</u>	<u>Unpub</u>	<u>FE</u>	<u>TR</u>	<u>GHK</u>
<u>Relationships</u>						
Innate gender differences	-	-	-	1	-	1
Duty/Responsibility - conjugal/ parental	1	1	1	1	1	1
Relationships between sexes	1	1	1	1	1	1
Relationships within sex	1	1	1	-	1	1
Generation relationships: young/ older	-	-	-	1	1	1
In-law relationships	-	-	-	-	1	1
<u>Other female types</u>						
Selfish mothers	-	-	1	-	1	1
Domestic spinster	1	1	1	-	1	1
Spinster	1	1	1	1	1	1
Career Woman	-	-	-	1	1	1
<u>Family and Society</u>						
Class and Family/Poverty/Wealth	1	1	1	1	1	1
Types of worker (mobile technical change)	1	-	1	1	1	1
Family and State	1	1	1	1	-	1
<u>Values</u>						
Home/Family/Historic /Ethic	1	1	1	1	1	1
Happiness/contentment	-	-	1	1	1	1
Romance/love	-	-	-	-	1	1
Beauty	-	-	-	-	1	1
Individualism	1	1	1	1	1	1
Equality (companionship)	1	1	1	1	1	1
Citizenship	1	1	1	1	-	1
Duty/Responsibility/fidelity	1	1	1	1	1	1

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