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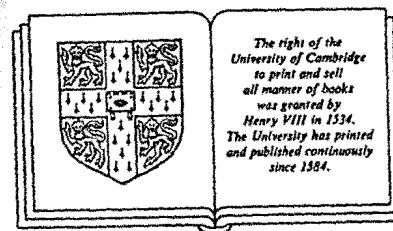
Interest and emotion

Essays on the study of family and kinship

Edited by

HANS MEDICK

DAVID WARREN SABEAN



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Contributors

ALAIN COLLOMP (1936) studied medicine in Paris and wrote his doctoral dissertation in medicine on the poet and playwright, Antonin Artaud, in 1963. Since then he has practised medicine in Paris and Nanterre. Beginning in 1970, he studied history at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, centring his interests on the history of the family. He has had numerous publications in the *Annales ESC*, *Ethnologie française*, and *L'Homme*. He will soon publish a work of historical anthropology on a group of villages in the Haute-Provence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: *La Maison du Père* (Presses Universitaires de France, 1983).

ESTHER GOODY (1932) received her PhD in Social Anthropology from the University of Cambridge in 1961. She is currently Lecturer in Social Anthropology at Cambridge and Fellow of New Hall. Her books include *Contexts of Kinship* (Cambridge, 1973) and *Parenthood and Social Reproduction* (Cambridge, 1982). She has also edited *Questions and Politeness* (Cambridge, 1978) and *From Craft to Industry* (forthcoming, Cambridge University Press). She is currently interested in the problem of the relationship between systems of production and roles of authority, the relations of production in domestic groups, and the implications of technology for the division of labour.

HERBERT G. GUTMAN (1928) received his PhD from the University of Wisconsin in 1959. He taught at the University of Rochester, the State University of New York at Buffalo, and the City College of New York. He is currently Distinguished Professor at the Graduate School of the City University of New York. His publications include: *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom 1750-1925* (Oxford, 1976), *Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America* (New York, 1977), *Slavery and the Numbers Game: A Critique of Time on the Cross* (Champaign, Ill. 1975). During 1982-3 he held a chair in American Civilization at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris. He is presently engaged in a study of the relationships between class, immigration, and race in nineteenth-century America.

NOTES

- 1 The problem has been announced with a series of trumpet blasts. Some of the works that might be consulted are: Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, 'The Political Crisis of Social History: A Marxian Perspective', *Journal of Social History*, 10 (1976-7), 205-19; Tony Judt, 'A Clown in Royal Purple: Social History and the Historians', *History Workshop*, 7 (1979), 66-94; Geoff Eley and Keith Nield, 'Why Does Social History Ignore Politics?', *Social History*, 5 (1980), 249-271. There is also the question of narrative in its relation to these issues: cf. Lawrence Stone's article 'The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History', in Lawrence Stone, *The Past and the Present* (London, 1980), originally published in, *Past and Present*, 85 (1979), and the debate which followed it: Eric Hobsbawm, 'The Revival of Narrative: Some Comments', *Past and Present*, 86 (1980), 3-8, and Philip Abrams, 'History, Sociology, Historical Sociology', *Past and Present*, 87 (1980), 3-16.
- 2 An interesting discussion of the issues is found in E.P. Thompson, *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (London, 1978).
- 3 See Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People without History* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1982), and the debates surrounding the work of Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World System*, vols. 1, 2 (New York, London, 1974, 1980).
- 4 See the remarks by G. Allardyce, 'The Rise and Fall of the Western Civilization Course', *American Historical Review*, 87 (1982), 704-14.
- 5 Carlo Ginzburg and Carlo Poni, 'La Micro-histoire', *Le Debat*, 17 (1981), 133-6; a similar problem in Malinowski's work is discussed by Marshall Sahlins, *Culture and Practical Reason* (Chicago, 1976), 74-5, 86.
- 6 See B. Cohen 'History and Anthropology: The State of Play', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 22 (1980), 198-221; R. Isaac, 'Ethnographic Method in History: An Action Approach', *Historical Methods*, 13 (1980), 43-61; Natalie Z. Davis, 'Anthropology and the Possibilities of the "Past"', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 12 (1981/2).
- 7 Renato Rosaldo, *Ilongot Headhunting 1883-1974: A Study in Society and History* (Stanford, 1980); Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge, 1982); Jack Goody, *Production and Reproduction* (Cambridge, 1976); Jack Goody, *The Domestication of the Savage Mind* (Cambridge, 1977).
- 8 See on this the fine article by Eric Wolf, 'Culture and Ideology: An Essay in Honour of Angel Palerm', *Festschrift for Angel Palerm* (forthcoming). Wolf quotes Raoul Narrol on the concept of 'cult-units'.
- 9 Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, 1977).
- 10 For the preceding remarks we are indebted to our conversation with Rhys Isaac.
- 11 See the illuminating discussion in Michelle Rosaldo, *Knowledge and Passion: Ilongot Notions of Self and Social Life* (Cambridge, 1980).
- 12 Jack Goody, 'Introduction', in Jack Goody, et al. (eds.), *Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Europe 1200-1800* (Cambridge, 1976), 3.

Part I. Family and the economy of emotion

I. Interest and emotion in family and kinship studies: a critique of social history and anthropology

HANS MEDICK and DAVID WARREN SABEAN

The history of the family as a branch of social history has begun in the past few years to pose a new range of questions. At the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, largely under the influence of Peter Laslett,¹ interest was centred around the structure of inner-familial relationships specific to class, group, and culture. Since the end of the 1970s, there has been a development in two broad directions. First there is a new emphasis on the problem of continuity and change in the social function of the family. Above all research has been centred on the role of the family in processes of social reproduction, socialization, and work, especially since the beginning of industrialization. The social history of the family is no longer caught so firmly in the grip of over-arching sociological theories of modernization and industrialization but undertakes research in concrete, local, and regional situations and seeks to derive theory in tandem with empirical investigation.²

A second direction involves the analysis of the reciprocal action of fundamental economic and social processes on inner-familial structure and distribution of roles and an assessment of how these roles were allocated to some extent by the defining power of bureaucrats and professionals. Some of the new themes are the effect of the organization of work on the household and family, the differential profiles of family life among property-holding and non-property-holding groups, the 'domestication' of family life through the policing of the family by the modern state. In this second direction, a new aspect to the family has been brought forward - no longer so much the structural and statistical moments, which might be called 'objective' - but rather the peculiarities of family experience and norms and modes of behaviour at different periods and in different classes and cultures. In this way of viewing the matter, family and household are no longer taken for granted as fixed magnitudes. One looks through and beyond the family to consider changes in sexual relationships, questions of inner and extra-familial sexuality, childhood, youth, old age, and death.³

The strong point of these new 'subjective' perspectives in the history of the family – their reference to the immediate context of experience and problems of the researcher and reader – does not always outweigh the disadvantages. The structural and material conditions of family life are not intentionally screened out but are usually introduced only as 'objective' aspects in the context of global change. Consequently, they are considered indirectly and rather superficially to the development of family relationships.

The difficulties in handling the interplay of subjective and objective moments of family life can be seen clearly in the way the relationship between emotional needs and material interest is handled in both the disciplines of social history and anthropology. In analysing the family, anthropologists and social historians have often found difficulties in handling this relationship, and rather than carefully sorting out the nature of rights and duties, claims and counter-claims within families in different social and cultural contexts and delineating the corresponding specific territories in which emotion, trust, and sentiment are structured, emotions and interest are often treated as opposites which cancel each other out. In addition there is an attempt to legitimate such a view by means of evolutionary or 'ideological' perspectives, which contrast much too easily a 'modern' emotional-laden nuclear family to 'traditional' family relations based on a different structure of motives altogether. In a way similar to but more emphasized than Flandrin and Foucault, Edward Shorter describes the pre-history and history of the modern middle class family in Europe of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a progressive 'sentimentalization', for which the analysis of matters such as property relations seems irrelevant. Succinctly, Shorter puts it this way: 'when we encounter young men passing up fat dowries to wed their heart's desire, we shall know we're standing before romance'.⁴ As a pendant to this, 'peasant' family relationships are regarded as mediated solely through such interests: marriages are formed without regard to sentiment, and the ruling forces of parent/child relations are direct, tangible items of property. The more play a *sachliches Element* has in shaping family relationships, it is assumed, the less room there is for emotion.⁵ Working class family relationships in this view appear to be 'liberated' from accumulated wealth, which allows free play to emotion, but caught in the squalor of direct production and disoriented by disintegrative forces in industrial cities, the family becomes an arena of highly transient relationships, waiting for 'embourgeoisement', the penetration of sentimentalized values first produced in another social milieu, in order to attain stability.⁶

It is important in the first instance not to accept the self-articulation of family experience in different classes and at different times at face value, for in one context family experience can be mediated through a highly articulated form of language, whilst in another it might not be subject to expression in linguistic form at all.⁷ For example, it has been noted for 'middle class' school children in London in the 1960s that the discourse which they had learned at home involved

abstracting from social context and treating people with whom they were communicating in a context specific only to them, accenting their individuality, and attuned to emotional response.⁸ In such form of communication, material interest is hidden in the concern to communicate at the level of the individual and the emotional. Considered as an historical or comparative problem, in families such as the ones these children came from, claims to rights and the demands that obligations be fulfilled, property relations, material production, and instrumentality would be mediated through a language intent on expressing relationships in a context of individuality, in which just such material interests would not directly be expressed. For the historian or anthropologist, these forms of 'coding' would have to be grasped in terms of the total set of relationships – emotional and material – that are mediated through them.⁹

There are two implications in this view to be explored here.

1) Material interest cannot be excluded from consideration in analysing the family in those contexts where it fails to be explicitly articulated.¹⁰ This would mean, for example, that any understanding of various forms of nineteenth-century middle class family experience should involve a thorough-going study of the dynamics of property-holding and not just stop with an historical chronicle of sentiments.¹¹ In addition, the practical experience of family life does not segregate the emotional and the material into separate spheres but is shaped by both at once, and they have to be grasped in their systematic interconnection.

2) The way family experience is talked about, the modes of exchange on a linguistic level vary from family to family, class to class, and over time. The type of 'code' in which the child learns to communicate is generated within a specific set of family relationships, and it remains for the historian and the anthropologist to specify the range of possible codes and the nature of family dynamics as rooted in specific contexts of production and domination which produce particular codes.

Basil Bernstein provides a starting point for the consideration of this latter problem in his notion of 'elaborated' and 'restricted' codes, which he attaches respectively to contemporary 'middle class' and 'working class' school children. To handle only the 'restricted' codes for the moment, Bernstein seeks to understand the general context in which they arise.

Sapir, Malinowski, Firth, Vygotsky and Luria have all pointed out from different points of view that the closer the identifications of speakers the greater the range of shared interest, the more probable that the speech will take a specific form. The range of syntactic alternatives is likely to be reduced and the lexis to be drawn from a narrow range. Thus, the form of these social relations is acting selectively on the meanings to be verbally realized. In these relationships the intent of the other person can be taken for granted as the speech is played out against a back-drop of common assumptions, common history, common interests. As a result, there is less need to raise meanings to the level of explicitness or elaboration. There is a reduced need to make explicit through syntactic choices the logical structure of the communication. Further, if the speaker wishes to individualize his communication, he is likely to do this by varying the expressive associates

of the speech. Under these conditions, the speech is likely to have a strong metaphoric element. In these situations the speaker may be more concerned with how something is said, when it is said; silence takes on a variety of meanings. Often in these encounters the speech cannot be understood apart from the context, and the context cannot be read by those who do not share the history of the relationships. Thus the form of the social relationship acts selectively in the meanings to be verbalized, which in turn affect the syntactic and lexical choices. The unspoken assumptions underlying the relationship are not available to those who are outside the relationship. For these are limited, and restricted to the speakers. The symbolic form of the communication is condensed, yet the specific cultural history of the relationship is alive in its form.¹²

Peasant and plebeian societies fulfil Bernstein's criteria of shared history and face-to-face relationships with common interests and assumptions, and it is in such contexts that one expects to find communication largely reduced to concrete symbols in which a great deal remains unarticulated, and meaning, 'implicit'.¹³ 'The community of like interests underlying [such a] code removes the need for subjective intent to be verbally elaborated and made explicit.'¹⁴ In communication, therefore, symbolism is 'descriptive, tangible, concrete, visual'.¹⁵ Whereas peasant and 'working class' forms of communication often implicitly express their meanings and reinforce social categories, middle class 'elaborated' codes are oriented towards the individual and towards qualification; they are suited to expressing subjective meaning and develop a vocabulary oriented to personal relationships.¹⁶ It is just this aspect which is a threat to the user of 'restricted' codes:

tender feelings which are personal and highly individual will not only be difficult to express in this linguistic form, but it is likely that the objects which arouse tender feelings will be given tough terms – particularly those referring to girl-friends, love, death and disappointments . . . To speakers of [such a] language tender feelings are a potential threat, for in this experience is also the experience of isolation – social isolation.¹⁷

Just as the 'elaborated' code is subject to misinterpretation if taken at face value, so too the 'restricted' code. When the peasant expresses himself in a concrete form ('I love the woman with 40 acres'), analysis should not stop with the notion that here only instrumental values are in play and that emotions and feelings are stunted. Both what we might call the 'language of property' and the 'language of sentiment' mediate social categories, the interplay between family members, and the emotionality of family and sexual life, but they have to be read for what they are: the contexts in which they have arisen and the complex layers of relationships which are mediated in their very structures.

All this is to say more than emotions are structured differently in different family contexts, for as an historical and comparative problem, one has to seek the plane, the territory, on which emotions are patterned and to grasp their articulation in specific contexts of concrete material interest, property relationships, and the dynamics of social reproduction. The problem is to capture in the same analytical moment the interpenetration of various levels of exchange – the social relations created, organized, and shaped by persons holding rights or bound by obligations with respect to other persons or things.

The necessity to analyse family relationships as relationships of a many layered exchange can be seen most clearly with the problem of property. For the peasant family, it is assumed that property forms the centre of its relationships. However, it is not so clearly grasped in what way property as a social 'relational idiom' determines the exchange of interests and emotions within the peasant household.¹⁸ According to Davis, 'when we describe rights of ownership, or of use, or of tenancy, we are talking about relationships between people. Rights imply duties and liabilities, and these must attach to people. A hectare cannot be sued at law, nor is a boundary dispute a quarrel with a boundary.'¹⁹

Because material interest is more directly expressed for peasant or plebeian culture, the task of the anthropologist and historian is to grasp the manner in which property-holding and transmission shape internal family relationships in their complexity.²⁰ In analysing property,

we are dealing with rights and duties in relation to material goods, goods whose characteristics – their scarcity and the fact that persons or groups claim relatively exclusive rights over them – signify that they are valued. The definition of property revolves essentially around the problem of exclusion . . . we are not dealing with rights of a person over a material object, but rather with rights between persons in relation to a material object. A man without social relationships is a man without property.²¹

This way of viewing property found in the social anthropological analysis of family and kinship relations, not as a concept of individual material interest but as a socially ordered 'relational idiom', offers perspectives which are generally relevant to the study of emotion and material interest. The problem is to grasp and to analyse both elements reciprocally in order to understand the forces which shape inner-familial relationships, determine the levels upon which exchange takes place, and create conflict and tensions which need to be resolved or which bring about the severance of connections. In all of this it should be understood that emotional needs imply social structure and that they can only be fulfilled within relationships whose structure is shaped by complex material forces.

In order to explore some of these problems, we examined the possibilities offered by four themes: 1) central moments of exchange within the family or household – such as the preparation and distribution of food – which mediate both emotion and material interest; 2) the interconnection between various planes of activity – public and the private, interior and the exterior; 3) specific relationships within the family; 4) the role of kinship in survival strategies.

1) Within the family or between families or among neighbours, perhaps the central ritual which mediates various levels of exchange has to do with meal preparation and the distribution and consumption of food.²² 'The sharing of cooked food . . . is a public statement of inclusion in a single moral and social community among whose members there is trust. Yet at the same time individual community members remain cautious about the safety of such intimate bonds.'²³ Fear of unavoidable food contamination by family members in certain ritual states or anxieties about intended or unintended poisoning by enemies or the ritually unclean are often tied up with perceptions about the

dangerous areas in kinship and other social relations.²⁴ Marginal people and marginal states within family life sometimes evoke the most powerful symbolic images.²⁵ Tensions between husband and wife over integration of one of them into the new household or the new village, over the readiness of one of them to adopt new customs or adapt to change, or over the fulfilment of expectations over work, style, or deference can be mediated through conflict or dispute about meals.²⁶ In many situations where authority is exercised directly and there is little opportunity for resistance, much dissatisfaction is compressed into complaints about food.²⁷

Rights and obligations surrounding the sharing of food are often direct translations of rights in other spheres or symbolize such rights: 'the sharing of cooked food is a relational idiom whose emphasis is on inclusion, on being part of a close and interdependent group'.²⁸ The specification about who is to cook or who is to eat in any particular order or who is to eat with whom may be structured according to the apportionment of sexual rights.²⁹ Conflict between mother and daughter-in-law over the son/husband may be mediated through the rights to cook for him. The way property is shared between husband and wife can be symbolized through eating rituals, two relational idioms thus being translations of each other, or alternatively the one sphere might be used to accrue symbolic capital to strengthen the position in the other sphere. In Morocco, for example, the male head of the family expects deference at mealtime to the tune of eating first and best, but he has considerably less power vis-à-vis a fragile marital bond, which reflects the fact that wives retain residual rights to property from their own families and that women control the entire marriage market. The degree to which the separation of food consumption within the Moroccan family reflects the separation of certain rights in property, or that to which the separation reflects the desire to develop power in the one sphere to use in the other, is an open question.³⁰

Paying close attention to the way food is shared and consumed can be useful for understanding certain aspects of class relations or for analysing internal aspects of class. One finds, for example, that class relationships were compressed and symbolized at mealtimes on the large Austrian 'peasant' farms earlier in this century where the domination of the peasant owner was symbolized by his leadership in prayer before the meal, by the insistence that all of the farm members take part in the mealtime devotions, by the 'bounty' of the offering of the owner's table, the obligation on the part of the labourers and children to eat heartily (even when followed by nausea), the structured silences, and the distribution of the right to laugh during the meal.³¹ Being caught in a situation where direct opposition towards the 'peasant-lord' was impossible, the farm labourer almost always terminated his annual contract over the issue of adequate meals.³²

Also in the working class household of the nineteenth century, the distribution of nutrition mirrored the unequal distribution of social power, above all

between men and women.³³ The privileged position of the man as the 'breadwinner' and 'provider' was strengthened as a consequence of capitalist industrialization processes, especially as the earning capacities of women declined. Undernourishment of children and women in workers' households frequently followed. Of course, this was caused by low levels and irregularity of income but was increased by the unequal 'social distribution of welfare' between man and wife. This inequality forced mothers to provide for the rising expenditures of growing families through the limitation of their own needs rather than by cutting the pocket money of the men. In times of rising prices the household budget of the wife remained relatively constant and inelastic. It was more likely that one would save on the daily nutrition of wives and children than on the money that the husband took for his social needs. His public consumption (drinking and smoking in the working class pubs) was and remained an essential element of male honour, especially in a situation in which this honour was less defensible in the increasingly alienating factory industrial working processes. The contemporary German workers' maxim 'wer verdient wird bedient' (who earns gets) meant more than the unequal organization of the chances of survival of members of the workers' families. It points at the same time indirectly to different centres in the emotional exchanges between men and women. Whilst that of the men was oriented more to the 'proletarian public' outside the family, that of the mothers and women was directed to children, family, and kin, above all to the lines of female descent.

To consider food sharing and meal ritual as a relational idiom is to ask how the various levels of relation – rights, obligations, trust, inclusion, exclusion, hierarchy, differentiation – are expressed, to ask about the nature of the mediation itself, and to ask how this idiom is related to other idioms: 'strictly speaking there are no symbolic objects – there are only symbolic relationships. To speak of food . . . as a symbolic object is often a convenient short-hand term, but it is the conceptualization of the object in a given relation that is significant'.³⁴

2) Many of the relationships which family members have with each other are shaped by activities or considerations which are in fact external to the family itself. In those societies, for example, dominated by 'honour and shame', the focus of activity is private, but the household is dependent on the public for its ranking in the hierarchy of honour and for its marriage partners.³⁵ The activities of any member of the family within the household are sharply modified by outside considerations, both in terms of fulfilling cultural expectations and selecting strategies for the advancement of the reputation of the house and its members.

It is then useful to analyse the behaviour of family members among themselves and the experience of family life in terms of such matters as the cultural values of 'honour and shame' or social/cultural situations in which social reproduction is tied closely to household strategies, but in which the behaviour of each member is

assigned value in the prestige ledger by the community.³⁶ Further, the behaviour of family members and the power relations among them are linked to the resources available to them: property, kinship relations, neighbourhood networks, professional status, symbolic capital, money. What we argue for here is widening of the problem of linkages between the 'outside' and the 'inside' to the consideration not just of power relations between members of the family and the impingement of work relationships outside the family on the authority relations inside it but to the experience of living in specific families in specific social contexts, to the behaviour of parents and children among themselves and with kin and in extra-familial contexts, to the territorialization of emotion, to relationships of exchange between family members. The problem here is to analyse the way in which these matters are given shape by the structure and social character of work, the distribution of property rights, and by the facts of domination.

Too often roles played within the household are analysed simply in terms of a crude power balance, with women at a disadvantage because they are tied to child bearing and raising and because the economically useful jobs are captured by males.³⁷ Setting aside the questions of who evaluates the roles (until recently most information on the part of ethnographers came from men talking to men) and whether power is to be considered as a set quantum with winners and losers, some discussion needs to be focussed on the details of any particular role and the structure of the bundle of roles in terms of a whole set of rights and obligations, interests and strategies, relationships and conflicts.³⁸ Furthermore, such analyses might usefully consider that roles in the family are shaped within ongoing histories of each family and society; the member under most control and least valued at one point in time may emerge with the greatest respect, consideration, or power later on.³⁹ The same problem arises with budget studies of working class families, which fail to note that children frequently give up their earnings to their mothers and are more likely to provide for them than for their fathers later on in the family cycle.⁴⁰ Heuristically, advances in the study of, for example, male and female roles might be made by systematic analysis of fields of activity and roles played outside the family in terms of their feed-back for the internal family activities or, to change the metaphor, by considering the dialectic between the public and the private. If as in Morocco women totally control the marriage market through a network of female kin relationships and neighbourhood gossip, and are able to contribute to the fragility of the marriage bond through their activities, then the role within the family or larger kinship network of any particular woman takes on a new light. It would be useful to analyse the complex of female strategies, since at this point a woman is dealing with a most important capital resource (marriageable women). Her position of deference and service within the family must be grasped in a totality in which she articulates goals, chooses strategies to attain them, and is able to call upon various resources, capital and symbolic capital, which depending on the context can be traded for one another and transferred from level to level.⁴¹ One must consider

that the rights that a Moroccan woman has in the property of her original family shape the strategies that she pursues within her marriage, one of which is the threat to leave.⁴² A similar point is made by Bourdieu when he contrasts the difference between official ideology and actual practice in arranging marriages and shows how the power of women is grasped differently when one makes this distinction.⁴³

A great deal of interest has been shown in the sexual division of labour for understanding the relationships between husband and wife. In proto-industry, for example, the productive capacities of man and wife are indispensable to one another, and observers have noted a general equality between them and commented occasionally on a lack of clearly defined tasks specifically linked to one sex or the other.⁴⁴ In early industrialization, this 'family mode of production' was often carried over with similar results. In peasant families, husband and wife had clearly defined areas in which work and power were direct reflections of one another. With both the bourgeois family and the working class family in high industrialization, the crucial link between home and work disappears and the wife becomes confined to the home with a consequent loss of status and power.⁴⁵

This last example can be examined to show that while it is apparent that the structure of work helps shape inner-familial relationships, it is also necessary to grasp how particular family configurations within particular modes of production in turn play parts in social reproduction:

the Oedipus complex, which begins with the prohibition of the child's sexual activity, falls within the emotionally charged context of parent-child relations in the privatized, nuclear family. Isolated in the nuclear family, the child's entire emotional life is centred on its parents, on their affection and hostility, on their autonomous power to set the rules of the child, on the depth of the identifications the child makes with them . . . The super-ego . . . assumes that the child will *forever be a member of the family*, will forever carry within the dictates and emotional representations of the father. It assumes that even when the child goes outside the family to seek a mate the emotional meaning of the choice will echo heavily the parent of the opposite sex. It makes certain that the bourgeoisie, a group without strong kinship ties, will be able to transmit property through generations.⁴⁶

A further aspect to be taken into consideration here involves the nature of *Herrschaft* (domination), for family members are differentially subject to extra-familial power, and the constellation of domination within the family is a central aspect of the experience of its various members. The problematical connection between useful work and power, with domination brought in to understand the total situation, is provided by the Mount Hagen, Papua New Guinea, case. There the role of women in production is absolutely essential, for women tend the gardens which in turn nourish the pigs which are traded in the ceremonial arena by men. That a central economic role does not translate itself directly into power is clear, for the men by controlling the entire public sphere extract the labour power of women and dominate them through extra-economic means. This is made clear by considering

the division of labour between the sexes and . . . competition over political status. The latter takes place overtly between men, but the conditions are set crucially in relations between men and women, since women provide such a contribution to productive labour, as well as to human production, that political competition is essentially built upon their efforts. This same dependence on women's labour has in fact carried over into the cash-cropping sphere, in which women do much of the work in weeding and harvesting coffee plots and in processing the coffee beans for sale . . . In Hagan society, men are dominant, both in dogma and in fact, though not as dominant, of course, as their own dogma might lead us to believe. Their dominance is founded on two main factors: the control of land as a basic means of production; and the control of ceremonial exchange relations (*moka*) between individual partners and groups, in terms of which political competition and consolidation are expressed . . . The dogma of male control over exchange is . . . rigidly upheld, for it is in this sphere of transactions that social and political prestige are specifically gained. And such control begins at home, in terms of relations between husband and wife.⁴⁷

Roles within the family, then, are not to be analysed out of context in terms of a universal set of judgements. Rather, in fulfilling roles, in carrying on family activities, individuals are carrying on a series of transactions or exchanges, which may involve inequality on one level, with a reversal of inequality at another, with more power or respect or consideration flowing to one member at one time and to another at another time, or with systematic inequality considered by sex, age, or rank. Part of the problem lies in the sociological concept of 'role', which is radically individualizing and deceptively quantifiable, and fails to pose the problem of family roles in their relational context and as ongoing process.

3) Anthropologists have spent much of their energies discussing specific diads within the family, searching for the central emotional moment around which structure is built. Thus among the Tallensi, the key to the analysis of trust and conflict is to be found in the relationship between father and eldest brother.⁴⁸ Within matrilineal societies, structure turns around the uncle/nephew relationship.⁴⁹ Such analyses have tended to ignore women except as counters in the material and psychological game played by men. Where a radical departure from this interest in men takes place, a new diad of mother and child is often substituted.⁵⁰ In any event, most interest has been centred on *intergenerational* trust, piety, joking, or conflict. Historians who have dealt with the matter have also centred their interests on similar factors (inheritance, marital strategy of households) and, like anthropologists, their analyses are directed to the moment of intergenerational succession – when the son succeeds the father in the ancestor cult, when the son inherits the farm, how the nephew claims bridewealth from the uncle. There is a great deal in anthropological discussion useful for the historian, for the former have demonstrated that the territorialization of emotions is structured differently in different societies and is patterned according to the way rights and duties, claims and counter-claims (property) are sorted out. Just what it means, for example, for 'bourgeois' society to restrict the field of emotion to the family calls for comparative analysis.⁵¹

However much the search for the emotional centre to family experience can be

found in a particular diad and in the problem of intergenerational succession, it is perhaps time to explore the interrelationships among siblings. First of all, centring analysis on a particular diad focussed towards a particular structural moment ignores the roles that other individuals play in the whole process of reproduction; it also places the centre of interest on reproduction in the dynamics of family life to the detriment of other aspects: production and reproduction of everyday life. If the central moment of family life in the Tallensi is the father/eldest brother nexus,⁵² what do the sisters think of this, to what degree are their emotional and material existences organized around this factor, how do the younger sons relate to the ancestors, how are the relations between them and the eldest brother structured over time? The thrust of the problem is to ask to what degree the central emotional and material moment found in each society is ideology, to what degree the ideology is accepted and plays a role in sorting out material and emotional interests of the participants, to what degree by emphasizing a single diadic centre crucial aspects of inner-familial relations are ignored. In extending the problems, analysis has to take into account such diverse phenomena as that in many societies older children raise younger children, siblings divide themselves into jewelry wearers and non-jewelry wearers, children often develop different personality types depending on their expected share in the patrimony, and siblings are often brought up in different households and yet create stronger ties among themselves than in some societies where they are not divided as children.⁵³

Most considerations of sibling relationships centre on marriage strategies of a household, making the central point that each marriage in a series has repercussions on subsequent marriages.⁵⁴ There is a great deal more to be done on the analysis of the sibling group during the phase of marrying and setting up new households, but the subsequent relationships of primary kin throughout the rest of their lives demands close analysis as well, not the least because this is the original group whose strategies were developed with regard to rights in the same piece of property.⁵⁵ Where the status of an out-marrying woman is expressed by a certain kind and level of dowry, her male kin (father and brothers) have continuing rights over her and duties of protection in which residual rights to the woman/dowry are not to be analysed apart from each other.⁵⁶ In Western culture, where the in-marrying woman has the least secure position in the household, her male relatives maintain the strongest hold over her dowry – which can offer her considerable protection.⁵⁷ Where children are treated with radical inequality, relations among them may be broken off, or they may be bound to each other under severely hierarchical forms.⁵⁸

One important issue is the way that family mediates social differentiation and class formation. This has been graphically dealt with for impartible inheritance regions in Austria, where siblings brought up together on the same farm faced radically different social relations as adults: farm owners vs. farm labourers.⁵⁹ This differentiation can also be seen where illegitimacy came to play a significant

role and the labour contribution of adult women was integral to agricultural production.⁶⁰ Whether the family is the matrix wherein social opportunity is apportioned or whether adult siblings cooperate socially, economically, and politically, the problem can perhaps best be analysed by a close examination of the adults of the same generation who were raised in the same household or recognize a close genealogical relationship.⁶¹

4) For the historian, the analysis of kinship has largely been neglected, and a great deal of research remains to be done. It is thought by some that for Europe the wider kinship system was the central focus for the individual until the Industrial Revolution demanded a work force based on the nuclear family.⁶² By others, it is thought that strong village institutions obviated the necessity for extensive kinship relationships and that the nuclear family was normal for most of Europe from the early Middle Ages onwards.⁶³ Few have yet systematically examined historical sources to ask about the nature of individual and family *strategies* in placing family members, in political activity, in economic enterprise, or in emotional support or to ask about the *use* of kin in pursuing such strategies. While the work of anthropologists can be suggestive in the search for structure and system in family strategies and the utilization of kin, their work is not often enough informed by the concept of practice or by a thorough analysis of the larger social and economic conditions in which certain structures have developed.⁶⁴ Both disciplines have much to do in the analysis of the use that families and individuals make of kin, the nature of claims that can be exercised, the obligations that are undertaken, the degree to which class is experienced through kin, the role that kin play in reproduction and survival.

Even under conditions where family and kinship bonds have ceased to function as the central 'infrastructure' of the productive and reproductive system of a social formation, and the 'family mode of production' no longer forms the core of its productive, property, and power relationships, these bonds remain of vital importance to the 'way of life' and the reproduction of life of its specific classes.⁶⁵ They may in addition even retain or create important new functions relating to class societies as a whole. In channelling and limiting the transmission of socio-cultural as well as material capital through 'inheritance' between generations, they can act for instance as central mechanisms, mediating and stabilizing relationships of domination between different classes.⁶⁶

An important limiting case is the role of family and kinship in the survival strategies of propertyless and property-poor populations in emerging class societies. For highly divergent situations, such as those of Afro-American slave populations and their descendants, for contemporary immigrant town dwellers in Africa, Asia, and South America as well as for marginalized peasant groups and for the proletarian and sub-proletarian populations of Europe under emerging capitalism, the importance of kin relations beyond the nuclear family has been shown.⁶⁷ It is to be seen above all in their role of managing an often precarious, unplannable, and endangered subsistence. Under conditions of life

and death where the conjugal or nuclear family of husband, wife, and children often could and can hardly be said to exist as a permanent concern, and where community arrangements are weak, kin relations often retain or take on basic functions: they help to maintain an economy of cooperation, mutuality, and help in critical life situations, organized around a kinship system.

The manifold uses to which kin were and are put in these situations, whether in the raising of children, in the provision for old age, in housing and helping a relative from the countryside to overcome the first critical phase of his immigration into the town, have been given relatively extensive attention. Much less research has been done into the nature of the specific structures and networks of kin mobilized for these purposes, and into the foundations of those expectations, obligations, and rights on which this mobilization of resources from kin rested.

An interesting example, however, pointing to the direction in which a discussion might go is provided by the controversial efforts of anthropologists to explain the strategic importance of mother, daughter, and kin in the households and networks of the Afro-American poor.⁶⁸ It not only led to an increasing awareness of the dangers of introducing alien concepts like the 'nuclear family' or derivations from this concept like that of a disintegrated, fatherless, 'matrifocal' family, but it also showed the intimate connection which exists between a specific way to mobilize resources through the network of kin and a pattern of normative expectations, evaluations, and experiences in which the mother and the mother/daughter diad occupies a central place. Though it seems questionable whether insights derived from the specific case of the Afro-American family may serve as a 'universal rule' by which to judge the importance of kin and family connections amongst the working class in general, it nevertheless was and may be used as a fruitful point of departure to develop hypotheses for other social, economic, and class specific contexts.

In the earlier days of factory industry, when the mother-centred kinship system served to give working-class woman some security in a life beset by its opposite . . . these bonds, important still today, probably counted even more . . . The insecurity of men was translated into an even greater lack of security for women, who needed it more . . . wives could not rely upon their husbands to stand by them while they reared their children. Death too often removed the prop. Nor were they assured of support from husbands whose lives were spared. In an unstable economy, nearly all men were at some time unemployed and at all times frightened of it; and . . . even when they were at work, they frequently kept their families short of money. So the wife had to cling to the family into which she was born, and in particular to her mother, as the only means of ensuring herself against isolation. One or the other member of her family would, if need be, relieve her distress, lend her money, or share to some degree in the responsibility for her children. The extended family was her trade union, organized in the main by women for women, its solidarity her protection against being alone. It is, to judge by anthropology, almost a universal rule that when married life is insecure, the wife turns for support to her family of origin, so that a weak marriage tie produces a strong blood tie . . . Such defensive action might, ironically, produce the very result it was to guard against. Aware that the wife's

overriding attachment was to her family of origin, excluded from the warmth and intimacy of the female circle, resentful husbands were only too likely to react by withdrawing themselves to their own consolations outside the home, in the pub and in their families of origin.⁶⁹

Without agreement on specific points there seems to be unanimity that the picture of the bourgeois psyche as described by Freud does not fit the emotional dynamics of the family life of the poor. The emotional lives of children, adolescents and grown-ups of these classes and groups cannot be territorialized and mapped within the confines of the nuclear family to the same extent as may be the case with the middle class family. As to the intensity and quality of specific patterns of emotions and their foundation in concrete ways of life and work, in varying degrees of material well-being or misery, generalizations seem difficult. However, if Michael Anderson – in one of the few historical studies which deal with the issue – comes to the conclusion that kin relations amongst the working class poor of Victorian Lancashire were vital for their survival through networks of mutual help and exchange but that the practice of these kin-relations on the other hand bore witness to a 'rather short term calculative orientation', he reaches this conclusion on the basis of an assumption which in an all too linear fashion (not unlike Edward Shorter and Lawrence Stone) links different levels of material well-being with varying degrees of affectivity. He maintains that 'a really strong affective and non-calculative commitment to the kinship net' is always connected to a relative level of 'working class affluence'.⁷⁰ In the light of our introduction a different research perspective seems more appropriate: 'feeling might be *more*, rather than less, tender or intense *because* relations are "economic" and critical to mutual survival'.⁷¹

It seems more than a coincidence that the first historical investigations in this field which explicitly use approaches from social anthropology arrived at conclusions which vindicate this perspective. In his fascinating study of the Afro-American Black family,⁷² Herbert Gutman demonstrates the strong affective and creative power of kinship bonds and kinship symbols in organising the defence and survival of the slave population. The study of naming practices and the use of fictive kinship terminology undertaken in the book seems especially interesting in this respect and a model for similar studies.⁷³ It demonstrates the genesis of connections and consciousness of solidarity of the slave population stemming from emotional and economic changes, which lay at the basis of the material help and symbolic work which reestablished originally broken kinship bonds. The broad and encompassing function of symbolic kinship as an idiom and creator of sociability is developed by Gutman from the specific subjected class situation of American slaves, which did not allow for voluntary associations and an independent community life.

If it emerges from this study that the anthropology and history of working class life and culture should have as one of its central tenets the anthropological investigation of the working class family, Gutman's results at the same time

contain a note of caution and an implicit appeal for careful class and group-specific as well as work-specific analysis. The economic and affective importance of kinship bonds amongst the propertyless and property-poor may be related to a relative weakness of community and associational structures. It may well be strongest in the material 'culture of poverty' of marginalized peasants and immigrant town dwellers in emerging capitalist societies where the family as a permanent institution along middle class lines does not exist but whose culture at the same time has been described as the 'family writ large'.

NOTES

- 1 Peter Laslett (ed.), *Household and Family in Past Time* (Cambridge, 1972).
- 2 Neithard Bulst, et al. (eds.), *Familie zwischen Tradition und Moderne: Studien zur Geschichte der Familie in Deutschland und Frankreich vom 16. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 1981); Jacques Donzelot, *La Police des familles* (Paris, 1977); Michael Mitterauer, *Grundtypen alteuropäischer Sozialformen: Haus und Gemeinde in vorindustriellen Gesellschaften* (Stuttgart, 1980); Jürgen Kocka, et al. (eds.), *Familie und soziale Platzierung: Studien zum Verhältnis von Familie, sozialer Mobilität und Heiratsverhalten an westfälischen Beispielen im späten 18. und 19. Jahrhundert* (Opladen, 1980); Heidi Rosenbaum, *Formen der Familie: Untersuchungen zum Zusammenhang von Familienverhältnissen, Sozialstruktur und sozialem Wandel in der deutschen Gesellschaft des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt, 1982).
- 3 Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood* (New York, 1962); J. L. Flandrin, *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household and Sexuality* (Cambridge, 1979); Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1 (Harmondsworth, 1981); Ivan Illich, 'Gender' (New York, 1982); Edward Shorter, *The Making of the Modern Family* (New York, 1975).
- 4 The leading proponent of this view is Shorter, *Making*, 17.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 55. An important counter-argument to this view is developed by Bernard Vernier, 'Emigration et dérèglement du marché matrimonial', *Actes de la recherche en sciences sociales*, 15 (1977), 50. He shows that in the area in Greece where he worked the traditional marriage system, which was tightly controlled by property considerations, is associated with love, while the new system where personal inclination plays a role and old hierarchies are overthrown, with new forms of wealth, is associated with coldness, with mere cash values.
- 6 See the material gathered by Rudolf Braun, *Industrialisierung und Volksleben* (Erlenbach-Zürich, 1960), 61–72. Along the same lines see Shorter, *Making*, 258–60. Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (London, 1977), 637, holds a similar view.
- 7 In part this is to historicize the problem raised by Basil Bernstein in his concept of different forms of communication or codes as related to different classes, *Class, Codes and Control*, vol. 1, *Theoretical Studies Towards a Sociology of Language*, (London, 1971), 76–82, 125–8.
- 8 Bernstein, *Theoretical Studies*, 147–8: 'restricted codes could be considered status or positional codes whereas elaborated codes are oriented to persons. An elaborated code, in principle, pre-supposes a sharp boundary or gap between self and others which is crossed through the creation of speech which specifically fits a differentiated

- "other". In this sense, an elaborated code is oriented towards a person rather than a social category or status."
- 9 Pierre Bourdieu argues against viewing family and kinship relations as objects, but rather as *practices* which embody *strategies*. Concrete interests of individuals are not reducible to material interests, but neither are they reducible to emotional satisfactions. Understanding interests involves penetrating the screen of language to the concrete matching of practice with social and economic conditions. *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, 1977), 35–6.
 - 10 A comment on this point is made by Pierre Bourdieu, 'Les Stratégies matrimoniales dans le système de reproduction', *Annales ESC*, 27 (1972), 1123–4. A translation appears in Robert Forster, *et al.* (eds.), *Family and Society* (Baltimore, 1976).
 - 11 On the thorough-going interpenetration of middle class families with material interest, see Theodore Zeldin, *France 1848–1945*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1973), 285–91.
 - 12 Bernstein, *Theoretical Studies*, 176–7.
 - 13 *Ibid.*, 125–30.
 - 14 *Ibid.*, 109.
 - 15 See n8.
 - 16 Bernstein, *Theoretical Studies*, 48.
 - 17 *Ibid.*
 - 18 The concept of 'relational idiom' is developed by Esther Goody, *Contexts of Kinship* (Cambridge, 1973), 2–3, 41–50, 121–8.
 - 19 J. Davis, *Land and Family in Pisticci* (New York, 1973), 73.
 - 20 See David Sabean, 'Aspects of Kinship Behaviour and Property in Rural Western Europe before 1800', in Jack Goody, *et al.* (eds.), *Family and Inheritance: Rural Society in Western Europe 1200–1800* (Cambridge, 1976), 96–111.
 - 21 Jack Goody, *Death, Property and the Ancestors* (Stanford, 1962), 287.
 - 22 See Norbert Elias, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation*, vol. 1, (Bern, 1969), 110–74.
 - 23 Goody, *Contexts*, 128.
 - 24 Vanessa Maher, *Women and Property in Morocco: Their Changing Relation to the Process of Social Stratification in the Middle Atlas* (Cambridge, 1974), 102. See Yvonne Verdier, 'Pour une ethnologie culinaire', *L'Homme*, 9 (1969), 49–57. For an interesting discussion of food preparation in a rich ethnographic context, see Goody, *Contexts*, 127, 130.
 - 25 Goody, *Contexts*, 130; also Maher, *Women and Property*, 100. Yvonne Verdier discusses the belief in a contemporary French village that during menstruation, women can spoil certain types of food: 'Les femmes et le Saloir', *Ethnologie française*, 6 (1976), 349–64.
 - 26 See David Sabean, 'Intensivierung der Arbeit und Alltagserfahrung auf dem Lande – ein Beispiel aus Württemberg', *Sozialwissenschaftliche Informationen für Unterricht und Studium*, 6 (Oct 1977), 148–52. The progressive integration of a person into a household can also be symbolized or mediated through meal sharing, see Adrian C. Mayer, *Caste and Kinship in Central India: A village and Its Region* (London, 1960), 220.
 - 27 On the importance of food and food disputes for agricultural labourers in Germany, see Franz Rehbein, *Das Leben eines Landarbeiters* (Jena, 1911), 141–3, 205–8.
 - 28 Goody, *Context*, 127.
 - 29 *Ibid.*, 109, 121.
 - 30 Maher, *Women and Property*, 42, 110f, 124–7, 191f, 217f.
 - 31 Franz Innerhofer, *Schöne Tage* (Frankfurt, 1977), 27, and *passim*.
 - 32 *Ibid.*, 27.
 - 33 L. Oren, 'The Welfare of Women in Labouring Families: England 1860–1950', in Mary S. Hartman and Lois W. Banner (eds.), *Clio's Consciousness Raised* (New York, 1974), 226–44.
 - 34 Raymond Firth, *Symbol, Myth and Ritual* (Ithaca, 1973), 245. For an important analysis of food-sharing as communication, see Roland Barthes, 'Pour une psychosociologie de l'alimentation contemporaine', *Annales ESC*, 16 (1961), 977–86.
 - 35 See J. K. Campbell, *Honour, Family and Patronage: A Study of Institutions and Moral Values in a Greek Mountain Community* (Oxford, 1964), 204: 'unrelated families are only dependent on one another in two significant ways, for marriage partners and social reputation'. For another view along similar lines, Peter Loizos, *The Greek Gift: Politics in a Cypriot Village* (Oxford 1975), 65.
 - 36 See Bourdieu, 'Stratégies'.
 - 37 For a view that female roles are determined by child bearing and raising, see Judith K. Brown, 'A Note on the Division of Labor and Sex', *American Anthropologist*, 72 (1970), 1072–8. A strong challenge to this view and a review of the literature is contained in Susan Carol Rogers, 'Woman's Place: A Critical Review of Anthropological Theory', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 20 (1978), 123–62.
 - 38 Paul Veyne offers an interpretation of the change of the role of husband and father in Imperial Rome as a reflection of the change of the power of the father in the wider society: 'La Famille et l'amour sous le haut-empire Romain', *Annales ESC*, 33 (1978), 35–63.
 - 39 Campbell makes this point with regards to the wife/mother; see, *Honour*, 163–6.
 - 40 Oren, 'Welfare of Women'.
 - 41 Maher, *Women and Property*, 42–9. On female marriage strategies see Bourdieu, *Outline*, 32–71.
 - 42 Maher, *Women and Property*, 191–221.
 - 43 Bourdieu, *Outline*, 33–43.
 - 44 See Hans Medick, 'The Proto-Industrial Family Economy: The Structural Function of Household and Family during the Transition from Peasant Society to Industrial Capitalism', *Social History*, 1 (Oct. 1976), 291–315.
 - 45 Cf. Thomas Held, *Soziologie der ehelichen Machtverhältnisse*, (Neuwied, 1978), 52–7.
 - 46 M. Poster, *Critical Theory of the Family* (London, 1978), 100, in describing the positions of Freud and Lacan.
 - 47 Andrew Strathern, 'Work Processes and Social Change in Highland New Guinea', paper presented to the Anthropology and History Round Table I (Göttingen, 1978), 2–3.
 - 48 See Meyer Fortes, 'Pietas in Ancestor Worship', in *Time and Social Structure and Other Essays* (New York, 1970), 164–200.
 - 49 Cf. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Society* (London, 1952), chaps. 1–4.
 - 50 For example, Raymond T. Smith, *The Negro Family in British Guiana* (London, 1956). For a critical appraisal, M. K. Slater, 'The Rule of Legitimacy and the Caribbean Family: A Case in Martinique', *Ethnic Groups*, 1 (1976), 38–87.
 - 51 In discussing the arguments of Deleuze and Guattari, Poster makes the following observations, which point up the problem of the manner in which the family's emotional life is structured under different modes of production: 'Far from a necessary stage in psycho-sexual maturation, the law of Oedipus ensnares the unconscious into the trap of personified desires. The Oedipus complex is not a simple repression of an existing desire, but a double operation of first structuring a desire and then interdicting it. Without the Oedipus complex and before its appearance, "father and mother exist only in pieces and are never organized into a figure nor into a structure capable at once of representing the unconscious and of representing in it the various agents of the

- collectivity, but always break into fragments . . ." The Oedipus complex "translates" the unconscious into Papa, Mama and child, who, far from natural or universal figures, are the specific products of capitalism . . . [Deleuze and Guattari] view Papa-Mama (the emotional configuration that is given to parents and elicited by them in the nuclear family) more as products of capitalism than as autonomous agents. Starting from society as a whole, they see the family and its psychic drama only as a segment of the whole and in relation to the whole. In pre-capitalist societies Oedipus exists only as a potentiality, as a space not filled. After capitalism has deterritorialized or reduced the libidinal value of kinship structures, of relations of alliance and descent, Oedipus emerges as a repressing and potent form . . . the family is constituted under capitalism as the place where the production of desire will be blocked and misshaped and will be coded and marked through the castrations of the Oedipus complex . . . Oedipus is a socially imposed repression against the free flux of the unconscious.' Poster, *Critical Theory*, 106.
- 52 Fortes, 'Pietas'.
- 53 For examples, Leonard Kasdan, 'Family Structure, Migration and the Entrepreneur', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 7 (1965), 345-57; Goody, *Context*.
- 54 A good example of such an analysis is Alain Collomp, 'Alliance et filiation en Haute Provence au XVIIIe siècle', *Annales ESC*, 32 (1977), 445-7. See also the brilliant article by Pierre Bourdieu, 'Stratégies'.
- 55 The fact that property rights shape subsequent relationships among sons is discussed by Campbell, *Honour*, 189. Loizos also develops a similar argument, *Greek Gift*, 67-8. See also Emrys Lloyd Peters, 'Aspects of Affinity in a Lebanese Maronite Village', in J. G. Peristiany (ed.), *Mediterranean Family Structures* (Cambridge, 1976), 157-71.
- 56 In a south German village in the eighteenth century, for example, conflicts between wife and husband were brought before the village court by the father or brother of the wife. Often the property rights of the woman were at issue.
- 57 An extreme case of this is discussed by Paul Veyne in 'La famille et l'amour'. See also Collomp, 'Alliance et filiation'.
- 58 See Sigrid Khera, 'An Austrian Peasant Village Under Rural Industrialization', *Behavior Science Notes*, 7 (1972), 29-36, for an example where the sibling group breaks off relations. Vernier, 'Emigration', provides an extreme case of dependence for younger sisters.
- 59 Khera, 'Austrian Peasant Village'.
- 60 David Sabean, 'Unelichkeit: ein Aspekt sozialer Reproduktion kleinbäuerlicher Produzenten. Zu einer Analyse dörflicher Quellen um 1800', in Robert Berdahl, et al. (eds.), *Klassen und Kultur. Sozialanthropologische Perspektiven in der Geschichtsschreibung* (Frankfurt, 1982), 54-73.
- 61 Campbell, *Honour*, 176-9. See also N. Abu-Zahra, 'Family and Kinship in a Tunisian Peasant Community', in Peristiany, *Mediterranean Family*, 157-71. Goody, *Context*, 200-24, discusses fostering in terms of the claims and counter-claims that grown siblings make on each other. And finally, Bourdieu, *Outline*, 39-40: 'the closest genealogical relationship, that between brothers, is also the point of greatest tension, and only incessant work can maintain the community of interests. In short, the genealogical relationship is never strong enough on its own to provide a complete determination of the relationship between individuals which it unites, and it has such predictive value only when it goes with the shared interests, produced by the common possession of a material and symbolic patrimony, which entails collective vulnerability as well as collective property.'
- 62 See Peter Laslett, *The World We have Lost* (New York, 1965), 2-6, 78-9; Neil J. Smelser, *Social Change in the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1959), 2-3, 158-62, 198-9, 211-12.

- 63 The problem has recently been discussed by Ludolf Kuchenbuch, who finds an accent on the nuclear family before village institutions developed: *Bäuerliche Gesellschaft und Klosterherrschaft im 9. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1978), 59ff.
- 64 See the works already cited by Pierre Bourdieu.
- 65 Cf. Claude Meillassoux, *Femmes, greniers et capitaux* (Paris 1975), part 2; for a specific group in the European transition towards capitalism, cf. Medick, 'Proto-Industrial Family Economy'.
- 66 An excellent example for this is given in the essay of Vernier, 'Emigration'.
- 67 P. C. W. Gutkind, 'African Urbanism, Mobility and the Social Network', *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 6 (1965), 48-60; for the impoverished peasantry in nineteenth-century Ireland see Michael Anderson, *Family Structure in 19th Century Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1971), 81ff. Cf. the interesting remarks in Meyer Fortes, 'Kinship and the Axiom of Amity', in his *Kinship*; Carol B. Stack, *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community* (New York, 1974).
- 68 For an overview of the debate see the introductory remarks in Slater, 'Rule of Legitimacy', 38-43; recent positions: Stack, *All Our Kin* and 'Sex Roles and Survival Strategies in an Urban Black Community', in Michelle Z. Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere (eds.), *Women, Culture and Society* (Stanford, 1974), 113-28; N. Tanner, 'Matrifocality in Indonesia and Africa and Among Black Americans', Rosaldo and Lamphere, *Women*, 129-56.
- 69 Michael Young and Peter Willmott, *Family and Kinship in East London* [1957] (Harmondsworth, 1972), 189.
- 70 Anderson, *Family Structure*, 178.
- 71 E. P. Thompson, 'Happy Families', *New Society* (8 Sept. 1977), 499-501, review of Stone, *The Family*: 'The Highland crofter's family was not the same as the Cornish tinner's nor as the Yorkshire weaver's. And to understand these families, and to detect the signs and gestures which disclose their interior emotional life, we must attend very closely indeed to "economics" - or to that daily occupation (farming, fishing, weaving, begging) which gives us their way of living: a way of living which was not merely a way of surviving but also a way of relating and valuing . . . for the vast majority throughout history, familial relations have been intermeshed with the structures of work. Feeling may be more, rather than less, tender or intense because relations are "economic" and critical to mutual survival. Anthropologists may know of societies without "sentiment" but they do not often show us societies without norms or value systems. That people did not feel or relate to us does not mean that they did not feel at all nor relate in ways which to them were imbued with the profoundest meaning' (501).
- 72 Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom 1750-1925* (Oxford, 1976), esp. chap. 5: 'Aunts and Uncles and Swap Dog Kin'.
- 73 A first effort in this direction for Germany has been undertaken in the study of H. Zwahr, *Zur Konstituierung des Proletariats als Klasse: Strukturuntersuchung über das Leipziger Proletariat während der industriellen Revolution* (Berlin, 1978), without, however, profiting from the anthropological approach; Zwahr is interested in 'Patenschaft' as a medium of 'proletarian community relations', but his macro-analytic approach makes him miss to a large extent the social and emotional infrastructure of these community relations.