

MARRIAGES WITHOUT WEDDINGS:
CHANGES IN THE AMERICAN FAMILY

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by

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Abstract

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Changes in the American family have given rise to questions about the relationship of such changes to individual development and adaptation, to family form and function, as well as to the consequences for society as a whole. This paper is addressed to examining some of these changes by looking at the altered concepts and practices with respect to participation in legal weddings. Recognizing the "wedding" as historically integral to the institution of the family in the United States, the deliberate decision to not participate in the legalization of the union while having children is viewed as a significant dimension of change. This alternative family form involves a socio-psychological affirmation rather than a legal political determination, and is termed "social contract" in this study.

Twenty families who were social contract and twenty who were traditionally married when originally interviewed are compared over a three-year period, beginning with the mother's pregnancy with a first or second child. Factors which contributed to their original decisions and the impact of becoming parents on that decision are examined. Inasmuch as the social contract participants represented a more experimental, non-conventional portion of the population, it was anticipated that there would be more changes in their lives. It was hypothesized that the additional stress of becoming

parents would result in their relationships being more subject to dissolution than the relations of those who were conventionally married.

The only background differences shown were that:

(1) social contract participants had moved somewhat more frequently as children compared to the married sample, and (2) the former remembered their own parents' relationships as more conflictive than did the latter. The two groups' differences in value perspectives, when originally seen, were maintained over the three years. The social contract group was anti-materialistic, questioning of authority and of conventional achievement, striving, strongly nature-oriented, and favored experiential learning. The conventionally married were less critical of society, and more committed to particular career pursuits. Their earlier differences in emphasis on sex egalitarianism disappeared as the conventionally married women's role expectations became more consonant with the Women's Movement. Also by the time of their children's third birthday, the traditionally married were becoming increasingly concerned about the effect on their children of the emphasis on materialism and acquisitiveness in the culture.

Those who had originally been social contract participants continued to evidence an experimental quality in their geographical moves and the changing context of their living situations. However their experimental mode did not result in an increase in the incidence of couple instability. A

total of 80% of the relationships remained intact after three years, compared to 90% of those who had originally been traditionally married. For the social contract group, the primary effect of having a child seemed to be that one-third of them conformed to custom and became legally married by the end of three years. Also, the experience of having a child reduced the earlier tensions between the generations, promoting a mutually shared acceptance and affection.

Current findings point to modifications in the meaning ascribed to the wedding ceremony for traditional as well as alternative families. Increasingly the security of the child is seen as the only significant reason for legal marriage. Thus it seems that the nature of the ceremony is evolving, becoming consonant with changing expectations for marriage and the family.

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Chapter I

Background of the Study

Introduction

Historically the marriage ceremony was integral to the institution of the family in the United States. The authority of church and state, as representatives of the community, to participate in the couple's bond through the ritual of the wedding was not contested. The wedding was a rites-of-passage which by assuring civil and religious recognition acknowledged the social order's rightful role in the establishing of a family. Therefore, an examination of present concepts and practices with respect to marriage may add to our understanding of current changes in the American family. For this purpose, this paper looks at a group of families in which the couple abstained from the legal wedding ceremony, referred to as "social contract" families, and compares those families with a group of conventionally married families over a three-year period. The focus is on understanding what factors contributed to the initial decision to eschew the public acknowledgment of commitment in wedding and the impact of becoming parents on that decision, and to examine the stability of relationships not held together by legal constraints.

Changes in the American family have become increasingly evident since the beginning of this decade. Concomitantly, concern has mounted as to the meaning and consequences for society. However, altered attitudes and behaviors with

respect to legal marriage, and the nature of the commitment to the relationship, are important dimensions along which the family has been changing. An aspect of the change is highly visible in the acceleration of divorce rates. Another expression is a deliberate decision not to participate in a legalization of the union while having children and establishing a nuclear family. This "social contract" family involves a socio-psychological affirmation rather than a legal-political determination. It is one of the alternative family patterns which was an outgrowth of the 1960's exploration of new family structures (Eiduson, Cohen & Alexander, 1973). Pointing to the increasing rate of divorce, and in many instances, perceiving their own parents' friction and unhappiness, the post-World War II generation devalued the institution of marriage. They scoffed at the idea of commitment for a lifetime. The viability of a relationship was determined only by the gratification provided and its meaning to those involved. The earlier idealization of marriage as "made in heaven" and a sacrament was seen as a sham. The marriage ceremony itself was viewed as a kind of hoax, an excuse for the intrusion of the state into the intimacy of bonding. Caucasian and advantaged youth, representative of the dominant culture, chose to openly cohabit without legal marriage. This differed from common law marriage in which the woman had no choice and was dependent on the man who "kept" her. For the modern woman the traditional role of dependency on a man for economic support did not

apply. In earlier times, pre-marital or extra-marital sexual cohabitation had been variously termed as "living together," "shacking up," or even "living in sin." It had been indulged in only by the very rich who could afford to flaunt social rules, or by the very poor who had nothing to lose by ignoring them. But it represented a significant departure from practice for middle-class America (Cohen & Eiduson, 1975).

Value to Clinical Social Work

The influence of family form and function on socialization and on psychological and personality development is generally recognized by clinical social workers as well as by other mental health professionals (Ackerman, 1968). Therefore the relationship between family change and individual functioning has particular relevance. In periods of accelerated social change such as the present one, added stress is created as the customary resources for support and stability shift and alter. Sensitivity to these cultural factors contributes to differential diagnoses and facilitates the clinical social workers' awareness of the client's adaptive capabilities. (Levy, 1961). Cultural norms determine what behaviors are judged acceptable, expectable, egocentric and/or pathological. In order to remain viable over time the theoretical base of the clinician's practice must be sufficiently comprehensive to identify and respond to changing norms. Dogma may need to be discarded as old assumptions are investigated. Currently the assumption that commitment to the family is wedded to legal marriage is in

doubt. Does one behavior assure greater accountability while the other signifies less responsibility? These are moral values shaped by past social experience and deserve our scrutiny (Heiman, 1950).

What does the change in marriage and the family over the past half dozen years mean in terms of interpersonal relationships? How did the ideological values of the 1960's counter cultural movement influence the change? Did changing values effect commitment, altering expectations in relationships? What personal life experiences collate with the choice to abstain from wedding? What impact does the birth of children have on that decision? Does the mobility of those who embrace the alternative family pattern effect the stability of the family? Since the behaviors of the non-conventional have often been predictive of later more broadly accepted change, it was anticipated that their direction might be indicative of an acceleration of current change. It was recognized that over time there would be more changes in the lives of this experimental segment of the population than in the lives of the more conventional. Given the additional stress of parenting responsibilities, social contract families were expected to be more subject to dissolution breakdown, and the legally married the more stable family unit. However since the family life style was initially chosen by and for the young couple, and not out of consideration for the child, it was hypothesized that the presence of the child might exercise a powerful impetus

toward modifying the experimental pattern in favor of the traditional one. It was in the interest of addressing these questions that this current study was undertaken.

The Family Life Styles Project

The data for this study of social contract families and traditionally married families are a part of a much larger, longitudinal study of child development in a variety of family life styles currently in progress at the University of California, Los Angeles. This study, the Family Life Styles Project, was initiated in 1973. It has been following from birth a group of over 200 children growing up in conventional and non-conventional family life styles. The non-conventional family forms selected in the initial sampling are (1) single mothers, women who elected to have a child without being married; (2) social contract couples who were not legally married and who were having a child; and (3) communes and living groups. Conventional two-parent married nuclear families represent a fourth and comparative group.¹

Fifty families were sampled in each of the four life

¹This work is supported in part by the United States Public Health Service Grant No. 1 R01-MH 24947, and Carnegie Corporation Grant B-3694. Bernice T. Eiduson, Ph.D. is Principal Investigator. Thomas S. Weisner is Co-Principal Investigator. Senior Investigators include Jannette Alexander, M.S.W., Jerome Cohen, Ph.D., M.R. Mickey, Ph.D., and Irla Lee Zimmerman, Ph.D. The work is also supported by Research Scientist Award 5-105 MH70541 to Bernice T. Eiduson. (See Alexander 1976; Eiduson 1974; Cohen & Eiduson for additional information.)

styles. In order to control for possible differences in demographic background factors, all the participants are Caucasian, products of the dominant American culture, who were raised in middle-class or stable working-class environments. The women were 18 to 35 years old, in the third trimester of pregnancy, planning to have their first or second child (75% were primiparous) when first interviewed by project staff. Initially all were living in one of several counties in either Northern or Southern California. Geographical dispersion was not considered critical but was included in selection to increase variability. Referral sources were personally contacted in the San Francisco and Northern California areas, as well as in Los Angeles and Southern California, including the San Diego area. The alternative family participants were identified through counter cultural networks, advertisements in relevant newspapers and bulletin boards, health resources frequented by non-conventional families and other indigenous sources. The conventionally married group was obtained through physician referral, following a random sampling of obstetricians in the respective counties in the California American Medical Association Directory. The families have continued to be followed through changes in life styles and residential moves since the beginning of the study. Currently as the children reach their third birthdays, they are seen at the University research offices, and the mothers are interviewed by field research staff.

The sample for this paper is a subset of the original sample. It was purposefully selected to be comprised of twenty social contract and twenty conventionally married, a total of forty families. Selection was based on the first twenty cases in each category in which mother was interviewed when the child reached the third birthday.

Although the larger study uses a variety of data collection sources, the data examined in this comparative study come from interviews with the mothers. Interview schedules were designed by an inter-disciplinary team of clinical social workers, clinical psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists. The schedules were employed in a semi-structured open manner, with all interviewers professionally trained clinicians and/or under the supervision of a clinical social worker.² Interviews were conducted in the home at the third trimester of pregnancy, at birth, and at six months; at one year and at three years, interviews were in the U.C.L.A. project office.

Data for this paper was obtained by examination of the responses to selected relevant questions from each of the above interviews (See schedules in appendix). In this way information was provided regarding demographic characteristics and personal history. Attitudes towards marriage,

²The author whose position is Project Field Director with the Family Life Styles Study research, had an active role in the recruiting of the participants in the original sample, and has conducted many of the interviews.

personal values, relationships with families of origin, expectations of mate, reaction to becoming a parent, and plans for self, over the three years were obtained.

Changes in mates' and in the family's life were followed as geographic moves throughout the three-year period. The data is presented from two perspectives: (1) a comparison between the two groups; those who selected the social contract alternative, and those who were conventionally married over the three years; (2) within-group variations; these are explored for homogeneity or differences affecting choice of life style and changes over time. Case examples are used to facilitate longitudinal elaboration.

Chapter II

History and Structure of the Family

The Historical Family

An examination of change in contemporary family lifestyles raises questions about the nature of the American family in times past and the history of change up to the present. The nuclear family as self-sufficient, a refuge for parents, and the primary socialization agent for the child, has a long history in America. It started with the earliest European settlers, the Pilgrims, who set the scene for the development of the culture of their new land. From England they had brought with them the practices and customs of their forebearers. Prominent in their thinking were deeply held beliefs and values about family life. The marriage ceremony, which gave religious and legal sanction, was integral to that concept. It served as sacrament as well as public declaration and commitment. It assured community recognition, and the rights decreed by both custom and law. Most important, it assured inheritance by providing for the legitimacy of the offspring. Although there might be dalliance resulting in a bride being pregnant on her wedding day, the necessity for the marriage ceremony prior to establishing an independent family was unquestioned by the dominant community (Demos, 1974). (Demos cites the evidence of mid-18th century colonial American marriage and birth records, which reveal that between one-third to one-half of the brides in some communities were going to the

altar pregnant.) However, the tendency to think of some model family which was stable until very recent times is more myth than fact. For changes in the American family structure have been fairly continuous since those first European settlements. Moreover, there were always exceptions to all generalizations about the family as a consequence of differences in class, ethnicity, region, and religious practice. Nor was the myth of self-sufficiency ever a completely accurate description. Broad social and economic forces have influenced and significantly determined the shape and role of the family from the beginning (Kenniston, 1977).

In colonial times the family and its individual household was considered the basic unit for community life. The structure and function of the state served as the model in macrocosm for the organization of the family. This was the traditional family which had its roots in medieval Europe. In it, there was strict demarcation of work assignments and sex roles. Marriages were arranged and held together by consideration of property and lineage. Affection and the relationship between the marital couple was not a consideration (Shorter, 1975). The male was dominant and the woman without rights. While this was essentially the family model that came over on the Mayflower, the different conditions of life in America effected modifications very early in our history. Sex typing could not be sustained where women's work alongside men was often essential for survival. Al-

though the colonial woman was subordinate in position to her mate, she had more influence in the family and the community than did her European sister. Women benefitted from being in a land in which they were in short supply, outnumbered by men by a two-to-one ratio. Considerations of affection were preliminary to any bargaining over property and marriage-making between the parental families. Thus the American environment worked to improve significantly the status of women (Demos, 1974).

The tight web of community which had endured over the centuries in Europe was fragmented in America by the abundance of empty land that seemed to await habitation. Young people forming new families responded by moving out to the near frontier. Thus a part of the experience in America was of families being divided geographically, with young adult children leaving behind their elders. It resulted in the transformation of the family, a departure of domestic life as integrated into the life of the community. It was a movement which hastened the development of the independent nuclear family, which was often isolated from the community. This nuclear family had multiple functions: economic production; education; protection; and recreation for its members, each of whom had an individual role that contributed to the well-being of the family (DeLora, 1972).

Changing Family Function

The industrial revolution, with the rapid mechanization that was predominant by the mid-19th century, resulted in an

ever increasing automization in production and economic life. Concomitantly, there was a diminishing of the limitless land, an end of the frontier, and finally, completed settlement of the West. The family farm gave way to the factory job. The link between work and the family became increasingly tenuous and indirect. Today few native American families share a significant common economic task in which all members of the family participate. The replacement of family and home education by formal institutionalized education began with the creation of the public school in the mid-19th century.

In the 20th century, the family's role in sex education and moral training has been largely forfeited to other institutions. Likewise, agencies outside of the direct aegis of the family became increasingly important in meeting health and welfare needs, making for an increasing interdependence of the family on other institutional sectors to which authority was delegated. By the mid-20th century, the nuclear family stood essentially stripped of the traditional functions which had distinguished its purpose. This was accentuated by the loss of parental effectiveness in transmitting values and attitudes in the 1960's (Kenniston, 1977). In terms of their influence on their children, parents moved from the functional relationship of being the representatives of the lineage to an affective relationship in which they became the friends of their children. Together with this, there was a growing instability of the couple.

It marked the emergence of what some social scientists have referred to as the "post-modern family". (Shorter, 1975). In the 1960's and 1970's the entire structure of the family has begun to shift. The nuclear family is crumbling, and is being replaced by the "free-floating couple, a marital dyad subject to dramatic fissions and fusions" (Shorter, 1975). Kenneth Kenniston, in reflecting on the continuity of changes in family structure and function, points to the rapidity of change in the past decade as resulting in more than an extension of long-term trends (Kenniston, 1977).

Contemporary Influences

Since the 1960's, divorce rates have accelerated dramatically, not only in the U.S., but in every country in Western society, with roughly the same magnitude of increase in divorce rates wherever there is industrialization. It seems that the demands of our modern economy for mobile and adaptive citizens have similarly contributed to the instability of the family. Moreover, these demands are supportive of the individual's giving primary loyalty to his or her own functioning, with emphasis on the individual's right -- almost duty -- to maximize his or her capabilities. In the United States this concern for self-realization has contributed to the instability of the couple. "To a greater extent than seems true elsewhere in the world, we Americans seem to cherish our right to the unimpeded pursuit of happiness, no matter how much sorrow that pursuit may engender" (Weiss, Marital Separation, p. 8). This has given rise to the ethic

of self-realization as a reason for divorce. Expectations of sharing in intimacy and interests, of sexual compatibility, and the stress on temperamental harmony, have risen as other family functions have diminished.

The emergence of the new family was facilitated by the change in women's status. The availability of birth control and socially-sanctioned abortion contributed to sexual freedom as a new morality. Age-old fears of pregnancy and the burden of women's biological functions were reduced (DeBeauvoir, 1953). It is curious and perhaps relevant that the advances in birth control knowledge were not made until such a time in our history when child-bearing was no longer economically advantageous. Women's increased status and employment altered the balance of power and submission to a mate on whom they no longer needed to be economically dependent. Together with this increased independence of women in the past decade, there has been a markedly decreased stigma attached to divorce, both in civic circles and religious ones. With the decline in veneration of marriage, there has been a turning away from viewing the family as the keystone on which Western civilization rests (Weitzman, 1975).

The modern economy's stress on mobility and on maximizing the individual's capabilities coincided with the current interest in self-actualization and self-awareness. Perhaps the counter cultural generation's emphasis on "doing your own thing" was more influenced by and indeed a reflection of the direction of contemporary industrial society rather

than a statement of independence from the society. Their search and their statement were introductory to the decade of the new narcissism -- the decade of the 1970's. The existential focus on the "me" in the present, with the stress on feelings in the here-and-now, has led toward the search for consciousness expansion and self-improvement to the point of their often approaching the status of a religion (Wolfe, 1977). It is a religion in which the ecstasy of the experiential needs always has to be reproduced. It offers no continuity, and the sense of historicity which contributed to a bonding phenomenon in the earlier relationships of an earlier time has been replaced by maximizing immediate intimacy, and an expectation of instant bonding. Heinz Kohut wrote in 1972:

The deeply ingrained values system of the Occident (pervading the philosophy, the social utopias of Western man) extols altruism and concern for others and disparages egotism and concern for one's self. Yet, just as it is true with man's sexual desires, so also with his narcissistic needs: neither a contemptuous attitude toward the powerful psychological forces which assert themselves in these two dimensions of human life, nor the attempt at their total eradication will lead to genuine progress in man's self-control or social adaptation. Thus, although materialistic rationalism gave greater freedom to self-enhancement, it failed to promote the social and psychological milieu which might facilitate the fulfillment of the narcissistic drive with a realistically self-controlled self-esteem (Kohut, 1972).

A consequence of the growing impersonalism of our technological society has been the erosion of opportunities for attaining such self-esteem. Anonymity accompanies urban growth, and there is a loss of folk heroes who served as

ego ideals in a less complex society. Thus the need for narcissistic expression is exacerbated, and the search for its fulfillment contributes to the diverse forces which confront and shape the contemporary or post-modern family.

The Role of the Counter Culture

There is general consensus that the 1960's counter culture played a significant role in the 1970's experiments with differing lifestyles. Increasingly, the counter cultural movement is recognized as having constituted a significant cultural revolution with far-reaching effects. It mobilized the discontent felt to varying degrees by broader segments of society, spearheading the exploration of alternatives that might readdress the deficiencies or failings in traditional institutions. In so doing, the youthful dissidents rejected the parental lifestyles of their families of origin, and set about finding ways of relating that might prove more consonant with their values. (Eiduson, Cohen & Alexander, 1973). The explicit intention was to avoid the "hang-ups" of conventional marriage, to minimize the utilitarian aspects of the relationship (e.g., minimizing the importance of money, or loyalty or possessiveness), and to maximize intimacy. (Alternative Issues, Journal Of Applied Behavioral Science, Vol. 9, 2/3/:322, 1973).

"Living together" caught on within the half dozen years from 1970 to 1976, and doubled from 654,000 to 1,320,000 as reported by the Bureau of Vital Statistics. This is probably a low estimate, representing only those who reported them-

selves as cohabiting. The ready acceptance of this more open and free cohabitation, initiated by the counter culture, quickly involved an even broader segment of society. It became increasingly acceptable, first to peer groups, such as college youth, and then to broader and more diverse populations.

Within the next several years the interest in the growing trend of cohabitation, without marriage led to a number of comparative studies (Markowski, 1970; Harrell, 1972; Kaylor, 1973; Cole and Bower, 1974; Lipetz and David, 1972). However, an intensive review of the literature revealed that all of these involved child-free couples (Macklin, 1978).

In 1970 the sensitivities of the psychological community had been shocked by statements such as: "The marriage contract involves submission of personal need to an externally imposed time scheme," and "the tragedy of being married" is "having one's relationship defined, not in an interior way, but from the outside, in a manner that proscribes the utterance of truth" (Cooper, 1970). By mid-decade these statements were echoed in many places.

The youth who had spearheaded the break with custom, who had accusingly described marriage as having form without content, began to become parents themselves by the late 1960's and early 1970's. Their choice of lifestyle and the form of their relationship had been shaped by their beliefs and values. The advent of parenthood had not been a consid-

eration. Although the pregnancy may have been planned, it had played no part in their original decision (Alexander & Eiduson, 1977). As in all families at all times, whatever the structure, the stress of accommodating to a new member of the family has an impact on the homeostasis and the couple relationship. In the process, earlier attitudes may be readdressed and life decisions affected.

Chapter III

Presentation of Data and Findings

The Social Contract Family

A decision to eschew legal marriage, perceiving it as antact falling on a scale of anywhere from irrelevant to abhorrent, may well express the couple's conviction. However, considerations which relate to choice of family style and whether or not cohabitation is to be given legal sanction through ceremony are uniquely tested when pregnancy occurs. Social and legal custom must be readdressed, including traditional rules of property rights and legitimacy and their consequences for the child. Also, the young adult is confronted with a new role, that of parent, and the responsibilities which that entails. Hence, it is necessary to understand the thinking of those who determine to adhere to their social contract status, as in the third trimester of pregnancy, when they planned for the birth of their child. At that time motivations were explored at length in interviews with prospective parents. An earlier analysis described two general groupings: the committed and the circumstantial (Kornfein, Martin and Weisner, 1977). The committed were those for whom the social contract status was a deliberate and active expression of personal or political philosophy, adhered to despite the pressures of expectations of their own parents. The circumstantial were those who thought they might marry at a future date. Their decision was largely a result of legal issues, for example,

a divorce for one of the parents that was not yet effectuated, or out of economic considerations such as the desirability of the women's maintaining her eligibility for welfare. For some it was the pragmatic choice of yielding when the differences between the couple on the desirability of legal versus a non-legal relationship could not be resolved. For others it was an expression of some unsureness as to the commitment to this relationship. The fact remains, regardless of which of these two distinctive typologies may apply, in not yielding to the pressures of social convention to formalize the commitment and "really get married," all of these couples exercised the conviction that the legal ceremony was no longer germane or essential. They felt free to act on their option to explore other than the traditional in patterning their family.

The variations within the social contract families can best be demonstrated by three examples:

First, a decision based on economic considerations:

Debbie and Nick had lived together a year and a half prior to the pregnancy. He was 32, had had no previous marriages. She was 24, and had been married once at the age of 20, but that divorce had been finalized the year before. Nick had been raised in the Middle West, the oldest of two children, his father a blue-collar worker who had graduated from high school. It had been an intact, fairly close family. Debbie was the oldest of three children of a father in the entertainment

business and a mother who had some college background. Parents had divorced when Debbie was a young child. Since then Debbie's mother has married and divorced again, and her father has been remarried a total of seven times. She has maintained good relationships with both parents and reported that parents were delighted with the pregnancy and very comfortable about the way the young couple lived their lives.

Nick operated his own trucking business, and Debbie worked as a legal secretary; however, she was resigning from her position in order to be at home with her baby. Following a home visit the field worker's notes describe: "This is a social contract couple which to all outward appearances could easily be traditionally marrieds. They live in a pleasant tract home 20 or so years old, quite well-maintained. She is an immaculate housekeeper. One of the primary motivations for this couple is money. They remain unmarried at least in part as a financial advantage. He can pay her a salary from his business and they can own property in separate names and have certain tax advantages as a result. They are saving money to build their own house in the mountains someday. Debbie expressed her feelings about the legal ceremony -- that it was not important because, 'I don't think a piece of paper insures love or staying together. We realize nothing is forever so we are enjoying it while it lasts.'"

Second, a decision in part determined by legal realities:

Laura was 26 and David 30 when we first met them. They had been living together for one year and three months, and David was in the process of divorce from his first wife by whom he had a 4-year old daughter. He was a graduate of an Eastern university, the oldest of four children whose own father had been killed in World War II. Both of his own parents were college educated as was the stepfather who brought him up. This was a family which was essentially professional middle-class. Laura, the oldest of two children, whose father had been the editor of a small labor magazine, had had a couple of years in college and entertained some plans for continuing her education.

Laura had had three previous abortions over a 3-year period when she was living with another man prior to her moving in with David. She had not wanted a baby then, and she had not had a happy relationship with the man. She described herself as having gone through a period of rebellion that had started in junior high when she changed her dress style and associated with the "beats" and the "hippies" in Greenwich Village. Now, however, she was feeling some need to be "respectable" and specified that legal marriage was important to her, that it was like "making a legal and social statement." Although this pregnancy had not been planned, "we weren't expecting it to

happen," -- she had decided not to abort. She expected that she and David would marry after his divorce was complete.

David, on the other hand, spoke of their both having coming out of heavy, stormy relationships: "We found each other compatible, good sex, it was very nice. We wanted a no-strings relationship, -- a reaction to our previous relationships." He was very ambivalent about having a baby when the pregnancy first occurred. He felt that marriage was "important for a couple to have a sense of participation in society," but he also felt that in choosing one's lifestyle, he wanted "one the provides a choice of the modes of living one's life as opposed to automatic imitation of one's parents." He saw himself as having conformed in a very traditional manner early in his life, but rebelling in college, becoming active in civil rights and liberal politics. He had gone through a period of rejecting material success but then saw material success as necessary for other goals.

Both expected that they would get legally married at a later date, but did not feel it was necessary to marry because of the child. The couple shared interests in an Eastern religious group active in the small community in which they live and also expressed some interest in the possibilities of communal living with this group at a later date.

Third, a deliberate philosophically-based commitment to not marry: Martha and Jerry had been together on and off for one year and eight months when they first became known to us. During that period they had lived together, broken up once or twice and again moved back together. She was 30 and he 25. Both were college educated. He had a degree in a profession which he practiced on a part-time basis while she worked in a clinic for low income persons. She had had a previous marriage and had a 3-year old daughter by that marriage who lived half-time with her and half-time with the child's father. Since the birth of that child, she had had two abortions. The current pregnancy had been planned, since she did want another child, a child fathered by Jerry.

Martha and Jerry shared strong political and humanistic values. Both had been raised in intact nuclear middle-class environments. He had been the oldest of two boys; she had been the oldest of six children. When we met them, they lived in a small house shared by a roommate in what appeared to be an enclave of people who were living an unconventional life. "They are interested in arts and crafts in which their home abounds. The living room looks like some type of psychedelic den. There are literally 20 gigantic pillows covered in tie-dye material scattered around. Furnishings are a conglomeration of styles and colors.

One entire wall of the living room has bookcases filled with their professional libraries as well as many other types of literature. The home gives the impression of being very active, lived in, a casual place."

Neither Martha nor Jerry believed in legal marriage. Her comment was, "What the state or government does doesn't mean anything to me." His comment: "At times I enjoy telling people we are not married. It shows them that there are other paths. We would only marry because of health insurance and other practical purposes. The ceremony doesn't mean anything to me. We currently have a sense of commitment to each other and we are monogamous."

The Conventionally Married Family

There are differences as to the importance of the legal ceremony among those who are legally married, who had conformed to traditional expectations. Four of the 20, when initially interviewed, did not consider legal marriage important. Rather they saw themselves as having conformed because it was easier, "avoided a hassle" with their own parents. An additional four added the factor of their respect for their parents' feelings, for the parental traditions and customs. For the majority (12 out of the 20), stress was placed on the security legal marriage provided for the children, and feelings of importance that the marital bond be thus legalized if there were to be children in a family. An elaboration of this view was the belief that

marriage made for a deeper commitment and for a couple's working together in the relationship. The following three examples illustrate the variations within the married group:

First, a couple who did not believe legal marriage important: Fern and Tom, while not believing that legal marriage is important, nevertheless had married three years previously after having lived together for 6 months. Both were college graduates; he worked as an accountant while she continued her education, working for an advanced degree at a university that was some distance from their residence. Because of the distance factor, she lived part of the week adjacent to the university and was at home with Tom the rest of the week. They had an egalitarian relationship. She was active in the Women's Movement, a value which he shared. Both had come from middle-class homes, each being the oldest of three children. Fern's parents had been divorced while she was in college. She had always been particularly close to her mother and continued to maintain that relationship as well as having a good relationship with her father. Tom's family of origin likewise had a history of closeness.

Fern and Tom did not plan this pregnancy. Actually they had not really thought about having children, and for the most part had felt disinclined, so that Tom had favored an abortion. However, Fern could not go along with that idea. She had retained her own name

when they were married; both names were listed on the mailbox of their small, rented beach-community home. They planned to combine their names in providing a surname for the child. With respect to legal marriage, Fern felt, "I don't think it means anything." Tom's feeling was that it had been important when they had gotten married but that was no longer true. At the present it was more of a "convenience." "It makes us an economic unit and it helps in certain legal situations."

Second, a couple who respected and identified with parental traditions: To Barbara and Scott, marriage was important. She stated, "I would never live with someone if I was not married. It would hurt my family and it was the way I was brought up." Scott agreed that it was important to the family and important socially although he personally didn't have feelings other than that about it. They had been married for five years; both were 28 at the time of the pregnancy. Both came from working class families. Scott, who was the oldest of four children of an intact family had had some college. Barbara had been the middle of nine children and had enjoyed the position of being the "favorite" in a large family.

A high-school graduate, Barbara had become a successful businesswoman operating her own small business in conjunction with participating in Scott's business

activities, to some extent as well. She enjoyed her work, felt successful, saw herself as always having been liberated and therefore not interested in the Women's Movement, and anticipated that she would continue with her work. The pregnancy had been planned, both were looking forward to having a child, and expected that they would share the responsibility and that they would enjoy having a child who would share with them in the outdoor sports in which both participated. Both were very ambitious, presenting a picture of successful young businesspeople.

Third, marriage as a safeguard for the children:

Catherine and Tim were 27 years old at the time we first met them. Both had been raised in families in which parents had been professional people. Catherine had been the oldest of two daughters and Tim had been the third of four children. Both were working, but Tim was continuing his education part-time in order to advance his business career and to increase his earnings.

Their household was described as "...that of a financially comfortable young couple, living in an apartment dwelling. The apartment has a color TV, lots of leather-type furniture and is put together in a somewhat impersonal way. The house itself is absolutely immaculate." They had been married for five years. Catherine's statement was, "I could live with someone but never bear a child outside of marriage." She ex-

pressed her feeling that "legalities forced parents to become more of a family unit." For Tim legal marriage was not so important. "Love is most important and wanting to live together and have children. The legal contract is not the important thing." He had gotten married, he said, "because my wife wanted it and our families wanted it and then I felt a legal contract was more important than I do today."

Although they have wanted children, the pregnancy had not been planned as they had wanted to defer having children in order that Catherine might continue working so that they could save more money; however, they were both pleased at the prospect of having their child. Both had come from closely knit families and had anticipated having the same kind of family for their own child.

These examples reflect the wide range of motivations as well as the diversity within and between lifestyles.

Characteristics and Personal Histories of Participants

Overall there were no distinguishing characteristics in the early backgrounds of those who entered social contract relationships and those who entered legal marriages. The age range of women in both groups was from 20 to 32 with the mean age being 26. The age range of the men in social contract relationships was 22 to 41, with a mean age of 29; the age range for the traditionally married men was 22 to 36 with a mean age of 30. The majority of all the participants

had grown up in the Pacific States, with the Southwestern and mid-Atlantic states being the next heavily represented, and the remainder coming from the Eastern part of the United States. All came from Caucasian families representing the dominant culture. In their families of origin the majority of the grandfathers were middle class with respect to education and occupation; the remainder were working class. Family size in these families of origin was variable.

The families of origin of the women were characterized by maternal grandmothers being the homemaker in the majority of instances. (84% of the traditional married women's families and 70% of those in the social contract group.) Also, almost all women reported their relationship with their own mothers as being either good or at the minimum fair. Thus the presence of a model for identification with whom there was at least a fair relationship was similarly available to the women in both our lifestyle groups. Similarly, the relationships with their own fathers had for the most part been good ones. There are two differences between families of origin of the respective lifestyle groups which may have more relevance to later lifestyle choice. The first is the number of times moved in the course of childhood and growing up. Almost two-thirds of the unmarried women had moved three or more times during their childhood, whereas a like number of married women had never moved or moved only once or twice during their growing up.

Table 1
Residential Moves in Childhood

Family Type	None	1-2	3-4	5 or more	Total
Social Contract	1	4	5	10	20
Traditionally Married	5	12	3	0	20

The second and perhaps more significant is the perception of the quality of the relationship between the parents in the families of origin. Almost three-fourths of the conventionally married group reported those parental relationships as basically harmonious, or as having much warmth, despite some tension. In sharp contrast, more than half of those of who chose to be social contract families reported that there had been much tension, or cool, distant relationships or divorce in more than half of the parental homes.

Table 2
Relationship between Maternal Grandparents during Mother's Childhood

Family Type	Basically Harmonious or Tension plus Warmth	Much Tension, Cool, Distant	Divorced During Childhood
Social Contract	40.00	30.00	30.00
Traditionally Married	70.00	25.00	5.00

$p < 0.0530$

Factors Contributing to Lifestyle Choice

Earlier reports have pointed out that those in alternative lifestyle patterns have been more experimental and less conforming in living their lives than those who identify with the majority culture. The population being reported upon in this writing bears out that earlier finding. This is reflected in their entire experimentation with drugs. Almost one-half of those in social contract relationships had experimented with the use of LSD or hallucinogens at some point in contrast to only one or two of those traditionally married.

Table 3

Previous Drug Usage - LSD

Family Type	Some Use	No Use	Total
Social Contract	65.0	35.0	100.0
Traditionally Married	11.0	89.0	100.0

$p < 0.0134$

Table 4

Previous Drug Usage - Other Hallucinogens

Family Type	Some Use	No Use	Total
Social Contract	42.0	58.0	100.0
Traditionally Married	5.0	95.0	100.0

$p < 0.0578$

The difference is striking even with a drug as prevalent and accepted in the culture as marijuana in that more than half of the married sample reported no previous use, in contrast to almost all of the social contract sample having used marijuana to varying degrees.

Table 5

Previous Drug Usage - Marijuana

Family Type	Regular	Inter- mediate	Occa- sional	No Use	Total
Social Contract	50.0	5.0	35.0	10.0	100.0
Traditionally Married	5.0	11.0	16.0	68.0	100.0

$p < 0.0016$

One-half of the social contracts reported having lived in an alternative lifestyle prior to their current family choice, whether in a prior cohabitation relationship or some communal experience, in contrast to only four of the married group. Perhaps it was the same exploratory interest which led almost one-half of the women in the alternative group to plan for home births rather than hospital deliveries, in contrast to only a single traditionally married woman who had a similar plan.

The frequent residential moves reported as childhood experiences of social contract families tended to be repeated in their families as adults. Although the mobility of contemporary culture is reflected in residential moves made by the conventional families, there is a qualitative difference

in the overall kind of geographic changes between the two groups. The maximum number of moves among the traditionals was of two families which made three moves. Four of these families moved out of California to Eastern states. The balance of the moves were essentially within their respective residential area, either into new neighborhoods within the area, or to upgrade their housing. Among the social contracts there were six families that made three or more moves, up to as many as eight geographic changes.

Table 6
Residential Moves: Birth to 3 Years

Family Type	None	One	Two	Three	More than Three	Total
Social Contract	5	6	3	4	2	20
Traditionally Married	9	6	3	2	0	20

Moreover there appeared to be some tendency in the direction of moving northward in that half of the families who moved did so for the purpose of either moving into a more northern portion of California, or with three families -- into Oregon or Washington. An additional two social contract families moved outside the state, one moving to the East, and one to the Midwest.

Table 7Residential Moves Out of Area

Family Type	None	Moves with- in Geograph- ic Area	Moves to Other Section of State	Move to Another State	Total
Social Contract	5	5	5	5	20
Tradition- ally Married	9	7	0	4	20

There were other kinds of residential changes as well. For example, one social contract family spent six months in Mexico. Two families moved into communes, and an additional five families had roommates or boarders with whom they shared housing for varying lengths of time. Thus, it seems apparent that while residential mobility is ubiquitous in contemporary life, there is a qualitative shift in the direction of more dramatic change among those in the social contract category.

Changing Decisions Regarding Legal Marriage

The decision to have a child had not been a consideration in the social contract couples' original decision to share their lives, establish themselves as a family and reject legal marriage as a meaningless or unimportant decision. The confirmation of that decision followed the pregnancy. However, even before the birth itself, two of these families did go through the legal ceremony, and over the ensuing three year period, at intervals ranging from

the time the child was a few months old until the third birthday, five additional families engaged in the traditional ceremony. What factors prevailed in this reversal of original planning? All seven of the couples had been together anywhere from one year to three years prior to the pregnancy. In five there had been histories of earlier marriages. In all instances this was the first child of the couple. Reasons cited were the urging of their own parents and a wish to please them, as well as to insure the security of their child. One couple specified that it was only for tax purposes and in another instance, it was the mother's yielding to the father's wish to legalize the union. In four of the families there was a strong feeling on the part of the mother of identifying with her own mother in her parenting role and style. One of the young mothers who specified tax purposes as the reason for her and her mate's marriage when their child was eighteen months old had, during the interview when her child was one year old, described the changes she had undergone as a consequence of her own parenting experiences. The interviewer's description follows:

This is a very attractive young woman, gentle, sensitive, and tuned in to her baby's needs. She considered the questions carefully and attempted to respond very fully. She recalled how at the time she was interviewed during her last trimester of pregnancy, she had emphasized the differences she felt between herself,

her plans for mothering her child, and her expectations of how she would mother her own child and the very different life that her child would have. She had felt that she and her lifestyle were completely different from that of her own parents and family of origin. She laughed as she recalled how critical she had been of her own mother's attachment to her children and of how hard it had been for her mother to see the children leave home. Now having her own daughter she realizes how very much like her mother she is. As she now sees it, the only differences are superficial ones, -- that she and her mate built the house they live in and that it is not a conventional house in contrast to the traditional home of her own parents. So on the surface it looks very different. But she saw herself and her mate and their child as being a close, caring family unit just as she now saw her parents as having provided the same kind of family milieu.

It would seem that early models of identification and the tendency for repetition in our basic human relationships exercise strong influences towards behavioral conformity even in the face of differences in belief systems and social styles. Nevertheless, almost one-half (9) of social contract families adhered to their convictions and to their choice of family style. A total of 80% who started as social contracts remained intact families three years after the birth of the research child. Among those who had started their family

with a traditional marriage, 90% were intact at the end of the three year period.

Table 8
Family Status at 3 Years

Family Type	No Change	Legally Married, Same Mate	New Mate	Single Parent	Total
Social Contract	9	7	1	3	20
Traditionally Married	18	18 (No Change)	0	2	20

In the three-year interview, both the legally married and the social contract women reported their greatest source of satisfaction as being with their families and children, and their relationship with their mates. For the most part they were approving of their mates as fathers. Their interpersonal relationships with their mates were experienced as basically harmonious, or as having much warmth despite some tension, by 90% of the married, and by 75% of the social contracts. Only two of the latter reported much tension in the home. Both groups handled differences primarily with discussion, although a third in each group admitted to fighting and arguing over differences. The women in both groups were in agreement as to: (1) the strengths in their relationship; and (2) their ranking in order of importance: first, shared values and compatibility; second, respect and trust; third, affection. Primarily they felt comfortable about their respective marital or non-marital status. Al-

most all who remained social contract families continued to view the marriage ceremony as irrelevant, to prefer their status. A couple of them, who had had non-legal ceremonies in celebration of their relationship considered themselves as "married." More than half of those who were traditional families saw their legal status as important for the sake of the children, and another one-fourth stressed it as a commitment. The social contract families who had subsequently had legal marriages likewise stressed it as important for the children, with only one seeing it as making more of a commitment.

Effect of Birth of Child

The birth of a child is generally regarded as a potentially stressful time in the life of the family. In the process of making room for the new member, the family homeostasis undergoes a transition and in the process of the change, disruption may occur (Cowan, 1978). The change in the relationship between the couple is reflected in the fact that three-quarters of the traditionally married and even more of the social contract women reported that the birth of the child had an effect on their relationship with their mate. Almost one-half of the traditionally married women and three-fourths (15) of the social contract women had experienced low or blue periods.

Table 2
Low or Blue Feelings Following Birth

Family Style	No	Yes	Total
Social Contract	21.05	78.95	100.00
Traditionally Married	55.00	45.00	100.00

$p < 0.0294$

One might speculate that the birth of the child emphasized feelings of aloneness, of being without the customary social support system of legal marriage, and it was this that resulted in a higher incidence of post-partum low or blue feelings among the social contract women. Primarily they attributed this to the responsibilities of motherhood and their physical fatigue, but there were a couple of women in each of the two lifestyles who attributed their psychological blues directly to the worsened relationship with their mates. Better than one-third of all of the women had found caring for the baby harder than they had anticipated. Most had not expected that it would be the mother who would do most of the caretaking.

During the pregnancy many of the social contract families in particular had anticipated a more shared infant caretaking. By the one-year interview, although almost half of the women continued to experience mothering as harder than they had anticipated that it would be, three-quarters of all of the women felt gratified and positive about their mothering roles. Their reports on their own psychological state

were that about half felt generally fine, and approximately the other half experienced some mixed, or "down periods" and "up periods," with the relationship with their mate being specified in several instances as the source of "down periods." In interviews when the child was one, the primary areas of disagreement with mates, with respect to parenting, was reported as differences in disciplining (this was reported by one-half of the social contracts and one-third of those traditionally married). The heavy reliance on "working on the relationship" among couples who are not legally married is again evident in the handling of differences with respect to child care in that they placed more stress on talking over these differences than did the traditionally married. This latter group interestingly tended to ignore differences. (This appears in the data as a trend rather than a significant differential.)

There were two separations among the traditionally married couples in which, in each instance, the father was out of the home by the time the baby was six months old. An examination of factors leading to the breakdown in these families revealed the father's perception of the child as an intruder into the relationship with his spouse. In both families the couples had been married three years prior to the pregnancy. First: In this family the pregnancy was the result of a contraceptive accident. It was unwanted, with father urging an abortion and subsequently wanting mother to put the baby out for adoption. Both parents had themselves

come from advantaged backgrounds, were professionals, with mother in the process of achieving an advanced degree. They were egalitarian in their relationship, and influenced by the Women's Movement in which the mother was active. Mother, who initially had been dismayed upon finding herself pregnant and had not looked forward to mothering, was amazed at her response to the infant and the gratification she found in mothering and in nursing her child. She had not been prepared for the kind of meaning that the child had in her life and was resentful and angry over father's continued negative attitude. When the baby was eighteen months old, there was an attempt at reconciliation in which father moved back into the home. But it proved unsuccessful. By the time the child was two years old, parents had again separated and at three years were in the process of securing a divorce.

Second: In this family the pregnancy had been planned by the parents. Following the birth, marital friction erupted over mother's resentment at father's unwillingness to share responsibility in caring for their jointly planned baby, and for what she saw as father's unwillingness to have his life changed or interrupted in any way by the advent of the baby. Mother felt that father was jealous of the attention she gave to the child. Subsequent to the separation, mother complained of father as "irresponsible and immature" and of his not supporting his child or being interested in the child. The couple were divorced by the time the child

was three years old; however, mother's concern about the father-child relationship continued, and at the child's three year visit, mother reported father as having unrealistic expectations in thinking that the child should be more mature.

It had been anticipated that there would be marked instability of relationships in the social contract families. This thinking had been the result of this population's stress on the quality of the relationship between the dyad as being all important, the experimental style of this group, and the fact that they have frequently been the harbingers of cultural change. Moreover their foregoing the ceremony appeared to provide a relatively accessible escape hatch or, at the very least, a more minimum commitment to their social contract family. Therefore it was somewhat surprising to discover that the social contract families were only minimally (10%) different in being subject to breakdown than those who were legally married. In two of the four social contract families where separation occurred, there was some dissention that centered around the presence of the child. In both instances, the couple had been together for at least a year prior to the pregnancy.

In one family the woman who was four years older than her mate had a history of a previous marriage and had a four-year old by that alliance. As early as the birth interview there was tension between the couple with the young mother's resentment over the father's not being more helpful and

assuming more responsibility around the house. When she moved out shortly before the six-month interview, she attributed her decision to their differences as to what the woman's role should be and stated that he wanted her to do all the cooking and caretaking. The moving out, however, did not terminate the relationship which has continued on and off, which resulted in a subsequent pregnancy for which she had an abortion when our research child was approximately thirteen or fourteen months old. On the way to Los Angeles for the three-year visit to the research office, mother, who had moved to Portland, Oregon, stopped along the Northern coast of California and visited the father in order for him to have an opportunity to spend some time with their child. He then drove the family down to Los Angeles, and accompanied them to UCLA. During the interview mother expressed some ambivalent wish for a reconciliation, as well as some feeling that both of them were too strong-willed and wanted things their own way.

In the second family, the mother was 20, and the father was 13 years older. (He had a previous marriage in which he had an 8-year old son who lived with his ex-wife.) He had wanted a legal marriage as soon as the pregnancy occurred. He was concerned about the baby being "illegitimate." She, however, had felt that legal marriage was unimportant, was inconsequential in her life, and in fact, retained her own name throughout the relationship. During the one-year interview she described the tensions that had arisen between

the two of them as a result of their differences in child care. Father felt strongly that the baby should be weaned at eight months; mother felt equally strongly that she would continue nursing till the transition to the cup was complete. Father also wanted the baby to learn from the beginning what she might touch and what was not hers. Mother believed in removing from the infant's reach whatever she should not get into.

There were important differences between this couple with respect to earlier life experiences. His background was one of a broken home with indications of much instability in his earlier years and estranged relationship with his own parents. He had a history of marginal adjustment and some petty theft. She, on the other hand, came from a home in which both of the parents were professional people. Her father had died when she was five, and her mother had supported and maintained the family of four children of which she was the oldest. Except for a period of tension during her adolescence, this young woman had always maintained a close relationship with her own mother who, in fact, had visited at the time of the birth in order to help with the new infant. Shortly after the child was eighteen months old, our young mother moved out, returning to her mother's home in the Eastern part of the United States. At the three-year visit to that residence the interviewer commented on the three-generational close family relationship between grandmother, mother and child. It may very well be that the so-

cial contract relationship of this family was prolonged because of the birth of the child as much as interrupted because of the conflict over parenting differences.

The remaining two separations in social contract families appear clearly unrelated to the child. In one, the couple had been together for two years prior to the pregnancy. Following the pregnancy, the father wanted a legal ceremony. However she felt unsure of what to do partly because her own mother had been married and divorced twice and was currently living in a social contract relationship with another man and partly because she was not sure that she and her mate (the child's father) really shared the same value system. She cited his interest in material possessions as an example and during the one-year interview, she complained about his offering "junk foods" to the baby. During the 18-month interview, she was critical of her mate and planning to leave him, but did not want him to have that information. It was another year before she did move and during the three-year interview, she described that decision as having followed many months in which there were recurrent explosive scenes when the father would become violent, would threaten her, would beat her up, etc. He had attempted to secure psychiatric treatment but had not been successful in following through. In this instance, the pathology existing in at least one member of the couple, rather than the advent of the child, seems to have been at the root of the breakdown of the family.

The final social contract relationship was one which had appeared very stable, had lasted some eight or nine years, and had produced one child prior to our meeting.

The family was living in a small house or shanty which they themselves had built several years previously. It is in a community of houses or dwellings dispersed over a hilly to mountainous terrain in which residents all know each other, call meetings when there are community problems and established a community park for the children. Many of the residences in the community appear to be much more substantial than that occupied by our family which relies on a fireplace for heating, cold water for washing, and an outhouse for a toilet. Both parents are artists, college educated, almost classic examples of the politically conscious type of alternative lifestyle. They believe in non-violence, are opposed to wars, value trust in others, are non-acquisitive and non-materialistic.

Mother and the family went by mate's surname and indeed their own parents thought that they were legally married. The couple felt comfortable with that in that they did not feel that their parents would understand their reasoning for not wanting to support the "bureaucratic" institution. It is of interest that when father was interviewed, he spoke of his mate as being a strong person but mentioned that if she were not, and felt insecure about their relationship not being

legalized, he would marry her. About the time that our research child was two, this mother (as reported by her in her three year interview) began to "feel a need to be more of my own person and be more independent." She began to resent being referred to as her mate's wife and resumed the use of her maiden name. She pressed for a more egalitarian relationship, and tensions developed between the couple around role models and role expectations. After this they decided to try an open marriage. During that time each of them developed a relationship with other people and finally the separation "just happened."

They continued to be friends and to share the care of their children. Since they live in the same rural area and the same small community, they continue to interact regularly. During the three-year interview, mother expressed ambivalence about the social contract relationship which had replaced her relationship with the father of our research child. She was ambivalent as to whether she might indeed live independently..

In all four social contract families, the breakup of the unit is less clearly related to the baby's birth than it appears to have been with the two conventionally married couples. The relationships of those couples who had been traditionally married seem to have been unable to tolerate the stress of making room for the new member and for the sharing of the mate. The underlying dynamic of disrupted

homeostasis is apparent. This does not seem a factor in the first three social contract relationships. Indications are that there were differences between the couple, independent of and pre-existing the child's birth, that led to dissolution of the relationship. If there had been no baby, the first couple's relationship might have lasted a little longer, but dissatisfactions expressed in early interviews were predictive of the separation. However, the second and third couples' relationships may have been prolonged because of the presence of a child. In all three of these families, the relationships appear born in part of protest (a prolongation of an adolescent thrust for independence), and in part a search for self in fusion with another.

In the fourth and last social contract family the separation seems primarily an example of the kind of cultural shift manifest in the dominant culture with respect to evolving and changing roles of men and women in modern times.

Effects of Value Systems

Values and belief systems interact with social reality, are modified by it, and effect change in it. The social realities presented by the counter cultural movement of the 1960's and the early 1970's challenged the beliefs of the dominant society, giving rise to an antithetical value system. One of the consequences was the emergence of non-conventional lifestyles. The relationships between alternative values and the decisions regarding marriage and the family may be best understood by examining the value perspectives of those

in the two family types. For this purpose the following eight value perspectives are germane:

- (1) Materialism, since the emphasis placed on material success and acquisitiveness provided one of the primary sources of criticism directed at the dominant society by counter cultural youth.
- (2) Conventional achievement orientation, its concern with career aims and attitudes towards success, and its competitiveness, were viewed as interfering with creative self-fulfillment. For the counter culture, self-actualization was stressed as the more important achievement.
- (3) Attitudes toward authority, that is the conventional established sources such as educational and political institutions, traditional religions, and the views of the parental generation, were generally rejected as "bureaucratic" and concerned with maintaining the "Establishment." Individual choice was stressed and traditional authority was questioned.
- (4) Sources of knowledge, on a differential range of importance from the scientific-rational vis a vis the sensory-intuitive ways of knowing. Counter cultural values were critical of the scientific world view which had produced an impersonal technological society and in its place stressed the sensory-intuitive experiential as valued sources of knowledge.
- (5) A natural-organic perspective identified with living in

harmony with nature, stressing a return to that which is natural and a commitment to the organic in contrast to the "plastic" and "artificial" products of modern technology. It is a search for purity of air and water and of organic foods, foods not chemically contaminated.

- (6) Sex egalitarianism in contrast to the acceptance of traditional sex roles and the latter's emphasis on male-female differentiation with respect to life tasks and activities.
- (7) Future orientation. The counter culture emphasized experiencing in the here-and-now and allowing the future to unfold rather than planning for that future with long-range goals which direct present behaviors in terms of future plans.
- (8) Humanism, which stressed close and meaningful relations, face-to-face interactions, sharing and mutual cooperation, in contrast to the impersonal and estranged quality of contemporary life.

The values data from the trimester interviews strongly distinguished between those who chose the social contract relationship in contrast to those who were traditionally married. Of the eight value dimensions measured, six statistically discriminate as predictors for lifestyles for the mothers: (1) materialism; (2) achievement orientation; (3) authoritarianism; (4) sources of knowledge; (5) a natural-organic perspective; and (6) sex egalitarianism. With the exception of attitudes toward authority, the men's value

orientations were similarly discriminating. Although the women who chose social contract relationships generally placed more emphasis on humanism and less emphasis on future planning than did those in conventional families, the differences were not statistically significant. The rank order of positions on these eight values by the women in the two lifestyle groups is shown in Table 10.

Table 10
Rank Order of Eight Values
at Trimester of Pregnancy

Value	Social Contract	Traditionally Married	Chi Square Probability
Materialism	Low	High	0.0004
Conventional Achievement Orientation	Low	High	0.0371
Attitudes toward Authority	Low	High	0.0188
Source of Knowledge: Scientific/Rational	Low	High	0.0000
Natural/Organic Perspective	High	Low	0.0003
Sex Role Egalitarianism	High	Low	0.0032
Future Orientation	Low to Moderate	Moderate to High	0.1236
Humanism/Personalism	Moderate to High	Moderate to Low	0.4872

These values perspectives were not only important in the choice of lifestyle but influenced day-to-day behaviors. The differences of orientation with respect to materialism may be reflected in their homes, with traditional families

often selecting very conventional furnishing while those in social contract relationships frequently use old, second-hand, or substitute items, often very imaginatively in a style which has been described as "funky" (Weisner & Weibel, 1978). It is of interest to note that more currently, at the time of the three-year interview, one-fourth of the traditionally married women expressed concern about the culture's emphasis on materialism, and stressed their wish to de-emphasize materialism.

Attitudes towards achievement as well as materialism were reflected in the counter culture's deliberate rejection of the "affluent society" and their choice of lifestyles in the direction of a downward social mobility (Eiduson, Cohen & Alexander, 1973). Career goals, success, and "making it" in the mainstream were associated with a money-oriented, drive competitiveness. Instead they emphasized self-fulfillment and self-actualization. Maybe this difference in achievement orientation is reflected in the fact that twice as many traditional women completed four years of college and/or had additional graduate training as compared to women who entered social contract families. Among the men, one-third more of those who are traditional completed college and went on into graduate fields. Occupational placements followed a similar pattern with half of the traditional women ranking high in terms of socio-economic status, the majority of the remainder being in the middle range and only a couple being in the lowest category. The pattern for the tradi-

tional men is similar. Those in the social contract status show almost an inverse ratio with very few placing in the high level, half of them in the median range and just under a half in the low range.² During the three-year interview it was apparent that attitudes towards the issue of authority and authoritarianism continue to discriminate between those in the two lifestyle groups. In response to our inquiry, the majority of the social contract group placed authority as a very low value in contrast to those in traditional families for whom it ranked medium to high.

Table 11

	<u>Value of Respect for Authority:</u> <u>3-Year Interview</u>			
Family Type	Low	High	Medium	Total
Social Contract	55.00	5.00	40.00	100.00
Traditionally Married	25.00	45.00	30.00	100.00

$p < 0.0115$

This was similarly reflected in their child-rearing practices in that the child's obedience was considered important to all the traditional families whereas 25% of the social contract families did not consider this important at all. However, the overwhelming majority of both groups of parents felt it was important for the child to have a reason to obey.

²This ranking is according to the Hollinghead-Redlich classification by education and occupation.

With respect to sources of knowledge, those in social contract families continued to emphasize experiential learning in child-rearing practices, viewing the important sources of their child's learning as coming from examples and/or modeling. The continuing emphasis on spiritual consciousness may also be indicative of continuing attitudes about ways of knowing. These beliefs as to ways of knowing may also contribute to the slightly greater credibility of the more personal birth control measures such as nursing and the rhythm method relied upon by 20% of the social contract mothers.

The commitment to the natural-organic perspective was demonstrated in behaviors around the birth of the child. Stressing childbirth as natural, 35% of the social contract women had their babies in their homes in contrast to 5% of women in the traditional lifestyle.

Table 12

Where Babies Born

Family Type	Hospital	Home	Total
Social Contract	65.00	35.00	100.00
Traditionally Married	95.00	5.00	100.00

$p < 0.0177$

An overwhelming majority (75%) of the social contract women had natural birth in contrast to only 10% of traditional women.

Table 13

Natural Childbirth

Family Type	No	Yes	Total
Social Contract	25.00	75.00	100.00
Traditionally Married	90.00	10.00	100.00

$p < 0.0002$

This feeling for that which is natural applies to breast feeding as well. Although practically all of the women started out by nursing their babies, 50% of the social contract women were still nursing their babies at one-year old, in contrast to only 10% of the traditional women. Emphasis on natural foods was from the beginning an important aspect of the life of the non-trationals with 95% of them adhering to natural food diets exclusively in contrast to only 30% of the traditional women who shared this value.

Table 14

Use of Natural Foods

Family Type	Yes, Exclusively	No, Rarely	Sometimes	Total
Social Contract	95.00	5.00	0.00	100.00
Traditionally Married	30.00	65.00	5.00	100.00

$p < 0.0001$

Emphasis on the body and on all bodily functions as natural and therefore not to be hidden or treated as objects for shame appear prevalent in child-rearing practices. During the three-year interview, mothers were asked whether

their children "played with their genitals (masturbated), never or rarely, or whether they were observed to do so occasionally, or regularly. The factor of observation may be an important indicator of acceptability of a behavior as natural since almost all of the women in both lifestyle groups described their own attitudes about this issue as "casual." Almost all of the social contract women had observed their children play with themselves at least occasionally whereas one-third of the traditional women reported that their children never or rarely did so.

Table 15

Masturbation Frequency: 3-Year Interview

Family Type	Never or Rarely	Occasionally or Regularly	Total
Social Contract	5.00	95.00	100.00
Traditionally Married	35.00	65.00	100.00

$p < 0.0177$

A similar attitude was sustained with respect to nudity. Whereas most families felt comfortable about a child's being nude at home or seeing the parents nude occasionally, almost two-thirds of the traditional women would forbid or avoid the child's being nude away from home in contrast to one-third of the alternative lifestyle women who would avoid it. Thus it is not surprising that almost all of the traditional women did not allow their children to be nude with nude playmates in contrast to the majority of social contract families in which the children did have these experiences.

This variable is statistically significant in distinguishing between the two family styles.

Table 16

Child Plays Nude with Nude Playmates
3-Year Interview

Family Type	Never or Rarely	Occasionally to Regularly	Total
Social Contract	37.50	62.50	100.00
Traditionally Married	90.00	10.00	100.00

$p < 0.0009$

Attitudes held with respect to parental displays of sexuality reinforce the differences in findings between the two lifestyles, in that 40% of those in the social contract category did occasionally or rarely have sex in front of the child in contrast to only 15% of the traditional families. Their reflective feelings on this issue demonstrate the difference.

Table 17

Mother's Feelings Re: Sex in Front of Child
3-Year Interview

Family Type	Never Allow	Avoid	Casual	Total
Social Contract	15.00	75.00	10.00	100.00
Traditionally Married	65.00	35.00	0.00	100.00

$p < 0.0038$

Clearly fewer of the traditional than the alternative lifestyle women accept the body and its functions as "natural" and valued as an aspect of nature; however, in selecting among a group of five values, one of which was "feeling for

nature," there was no significant difference between the two lifestyles.

In the three years that have elapsed since sex egalitarianism was a value which discriminated between choice of lifestyle, there have been changes as indicated by the overwhelming majority of all the women who stressed shared caretaking as important during the three-year interview. About half in each of the groups report that shared caretaking does work or works out half of the time in their family. However, more of the women in traditional families are accepting of the way it works in contrast to more of those in social contract families feeling discontented with their mate's lack of caretaking participation. The increasing egalitarian emphasis is also seen in the general agreement among all of the women in ignoring or playing down sex differences in their children in regard to their behaviors and/or play materials. Although slightly more of the traditional women (25% as compared to 10% of the social contracts) prefer being full-time homemakers, the majority of all of the women do not want to be at home full-time with their children. They are either currently working, whether full-time or part-time and are enjoying their work, or they are anticipating getting out of the house into at least some kind of part-time work in the foreseeable future. There is some difference between the two groups in terms of their attitude about money, with the majority of the social contract women preferring to earn their own money, while a majority

of the traditional women feel the father's earnings are likewise theirs, or it does not matter to them. Thus the social contract women continue to stress their personal independence. Humanism continues to be a shared value with the majority of all of the women valuing caring about others. Likewise, most are involved in some kind of future planning in terms of changes they look forward to making in their lives.

Attitudes Towards the Dominant Culture

The alternative values of the counter culture developed in response to their perception of the superficiality and emptiness of modern life. These values represented a search for meaning which would replace the materialistic emphasis. In the three-year interview, in order to determine current attitudes, we asked our participants, "Some people feel pretty comfortable about our culture or society. Other people feel that there are changes they would like to see. How do you feel?" The responses were statistically significant in differentiating between those women who originally had selected their respective lifestyles. A majority of those in the social contract category believed that many changes were needed in contrast to only a few of the traditional women. Similarly, almost a third of the latter group expressed the feeling that things are all right just as they are. Only one of the social contract women held this view, while a majority of the latter felt that many changes were needed in society.

Table 18
Need for Societal Changes
3-Year Interview

Family Type	Many Changes Needed	Some Changes Needed	Pretty Good, As Is	Total
Social Contract	65.00	30.00	5.00	100.00
Traditionally Married	15.00	55.00	30.00	100.00

$p < 0.0035$

In articulating the changes needed, both groups spoke of the need for more caring and concern for others in our society. However, for the traditional women, this was combined with a yearning for a simpler life and a return to traditional values, whereas for the social contract women, the direction was toward greater emphasis on the ecology and closeness to nature. While both groups expressed a concern about the stress on materialism within the culture, it was the social contract women who emphasized spiritual values.

In view of the continued criticism of the culture, it is not surprising that the overwhelming majority of the social contract women wanted to raise their child differently than most Americans are raised. It is of interest that slightly more than half of the traditional women joined them in this. For three-quarters of the former group in contrast to only one-third in the latter, that difference was expressed in terms of treating their child with more respect and giving their child more autonomy than is general in the culture. Other differences expressed had to do with

traditional women feeling they spent more time with their children or that they de-emphasized materialism, etc., along a scattered range.

All of the homes of families of origin were identified with an established traditional religion, whether the practice was only occasional or devout. The majority had been Protestant, with Catholic ranking second, and Jewish third. Although there is a lessening of this kind of religious identification overall among participants, it is particularly striking among those who chose the social contract lifestyle, with 85% of the women and 90% of the men having no current religious identification. This is in contrast to the traditional families in which 50% of the women and 40% of the men continue to identify themselves with one of the three religious institutions.

Table 19

Religious Identification - Mothers
3-Year Interview

Mothers	Jewish	Protestant	Catholic	None	Total
Social Contract	0.00	15.00	0.00	85.00	100.00
Traditionally Married	10.00	35.00	15.00	40.00	100.00

p < 0.0027

Table 20Religious Identification - Fathers
3-Year Interview

Fathers	Jewish	Protestant	Catholic	None	Total
Social Contract	0.00	10.00	0.00	90.00	100.00
Traditionally Married	10.00	20.00	10.00	60.00	100.00

p < 0.0244

The low level of interest in political activity among all of our participants, originally reported three years ago, continues, the majority feeling quite ineffective about producing change. There appears to be agreement that only in the way they live their own lives and by very direct participation or modeling can they as individuals be effective. On the whole, there is optimism about their ability to make desirable changes in their own lives. It is somewhat curious in view of this that while all the social contract parents believe their values or attitudes about the culture are reflected in their child-rearing (either by direct reaching or by setting an example which serves as a model), one-third of the traditional mothers do not see their feelings reflected in this regard.

Table 21Values Reflected in Child Rearing: 3-Year Interview

Family Type	No	Yes	Total
Social Contract	0.00	100.00	100.00
Traditionally Married	33.33	66.67	100.00

p < 0.0049

Attitudes toward Earlier Models

The attitudes of the families of origin, the grandparents' generation toward the alternative lifestyle chosen by the young adults who themselves were about to become parents, was, as might be expected, either negative or at best mixed. However, once the baby was born, it was immediately accepted with positive feelings on the part of the overwhelming majority of all the grandparents, regardless of the lifestyle of the family. Within a couple of weeks of the birth, the majority had visited and seen the baby. As reported by the social contract mothers, when the children were three years old, the effect of the child on the relationship with the grandmothers in particular, was dramatic in an increased feeling of closeness.

Table 22

Change in Relationship with Maternal Grandmother:
3-Year Interview :

Family Type	Always Close	Closer	More Distant	Deceased	Never Close	Total
Social Contract	15.00	75.00	5.00	0.00	5.00	100.00
Traditionally Married	47.37	26.32	10.53	15.79	0.00	100.00

$p < 0.0152$

Only a comparatively small percentage of traditional women reported this kind of effect. For them the relationship had always been close. It may very well be that the experience of themselves becoming parents made for a more accepting

and a less critical attitude on the part of social contract women toward their own mothers, so that overall there was a softening and greater acceptability within the mother-daughter relationship. Nevertheless, a determination to do better by their child and to readdress the parenting errors of their own parents remains. At three years, all of the women were asked about similarities and differences between themselves and their own mother's child-rearing practices with respect to: (1) the amount of parental time spent with the child; (2) the emphasis on authority; (3) the extent of disciplining; and, (4) the demonstration of warmth and affection. As might be expected the traditional women saw themselves as bringing up their own children very much as they had been raised, in the majority of all the categories. The social contract women identified with their own mother's parenting only in the area of the amount of warmth and affection in the home. In all other respects they differed. They saw themselves as giving more time to their children, placing less stress on discipline and much less stress on respect for authority than had been a part of the homes of their childhood.

Table 23

Comparisons Between Way Mother was
Raised and Rearing of Child:
3-Year Interview

Parental Time Spent with Child

Family Type	Same	Different: More for Child	Different: Less for Child	Total
Social Contract	25.00	60.00	15.00	100.00
Traditionally Married	50.00	25.00	25.00	100.00
p < 0.0801				
<u>Amount of Discipline</u>				
Social Contract	25.00	20.00	55.00	100.00
Traditionally Married	65.00	10.00	25.00	100.00
p < 0.0393				
<u>Respect for Authority</u>				
Social Contract	25.00	15.00	60.00	100.00
Traditionally Married	70.00	5.00	25.00	100.00
p < 0.0170				

Given the positive feeling about relationships with grandparents at this point in their lives, the attitudes about doing differently by their own children than had been done with them might be best understood as a criticism of traditional values with their inherent socialization practices.

Chapter IV

Conclusion

Clinical Findings

The changing attitudes toward marriage as well as the acceleration in the rate of divorce are the phenomena of a rapidly moving culture. Some fear that we are approaching a society of singles who cohabit, co-mingle, share an experiential encounter, then disconnect, moving on in search of that next self-expanding discrete moment in a time empty of continuity. For the clinician, current changes bring the expectation for immediate intimacy into the consultation room. Our clients and we address each other on a first-name basis during the first hour of meeting. There is a shared denial of need for time in order to construct and develop a therapeutic alliance. It is as though we would short circuit the route by which we must travel if we are to build trust to open the sealed doors of those internal rooms, locked from memory, in which we had long ago stored our since forgotten shames and dreads. Instead, there is an expectation shared by clinician and client that each therapeutic hour have a promptly felt significance. The new existentially-oriented therapies explore the reparative in the experiential. They too are searching for ways of knowing that have not been integral to Western scientific thought.

The issue of expectations both of self and of others is brought into sharp relief by some of the findings. There

is broad applicability in the expectation of social contract couples that the relationship last only as long as it is good or has meaning. Inherent is the requirement of "working" on the relationship by being attentive to the discontents and by "talking them out." Each partner shares in the burden. The illusion of acceptance as a "given" in the relationship is gone. This emphasis on a present unburdened by obligation to a future can obviate the necessity for commitment. Thus as a consequence of the instability of the cultural scene, defensive behaviors may be provided a seeming legitimacy. It is as though social pathology has tended to mask intrapsychic pathology. For some, the denial of expectation that a relationship can last "forever" offers a socially acceptable rationale as a way of dealing with an anxiety-provoking ambivalence in object relations. For others, there appears to be an in-depth understanding of the impermanence in all things, and a genuine acceptance that relationships change. The resolution of the early conflictive wishes permits incorporation of the positive in the parental model.

Expectations for achievement are in terms of the success of realizing oneself as a person. This kind of self-involvement, while a seemingly narcissistic self-indulgence, may also contribute to the stark reality of an existential confrontation with the loneliness within. The comfort of the trust that another will really be there is absent. The impersonality of our contemporary technological society intensifies the angst of liveness. Need for sustained

feelings of belonging, of loving and being loved, are integral to well-being and infuse the narcissistic search for self-fulfillment. For the present, the way in which this need may be met seems in transition.

Our clinical practice can only exist in the context of our culture. The kaleidoscopic shift catches many of us up short in a world that has moved on. It is important for us to be cognizant of what shaped yesterday's psychodynamic formulations and wherein they have applicability today. Implicit is the necessity of attentiveness to the implications of our own reactions whenever we are confronted with that which is "different." For many of us it is as though suddenly, as may happen in a dream, the house in which we have lived has lost its familiarity. The flight of stairs often climbed is not there. It has disappeared. Indeed, there is no upper floor at all. The rooms through which we easily moved yesterday are in a bewildering new array. Scrambled!

Certainly it is the family that furnishes the support and interactional system, the interpersonal contact and communication, which influences development and the adaptive capability of the individual. But "who" and "what" is family is very different in these last years from what it was as recently as a generation ago. The impact of this and of our capacity to accommodate to it are critical to our professional viability.

Summary of Findings

Ritual and ceremony develop structure, mirror meaning,

and assure recognition as a social order evolves. Conforming to custom ties past to future, integrating individual lives into a context which acknowledges a historical pattern. This both provides and reflects acceptance of the society of which one is a part. The question of meaning holds the key to conformity. The altered function of the family, weakened by removal of much of its traditional social role, placed in question the ceremony of marriage which had served to connect inner and outer reality. The current findings point to modifications in the meaning ascribed that ceremony for traditional as well as alternative families. Increasingly the only significance is consideration for the security of the child. This motivated one-third who had originally rejected the concept of "legal marriage" to conform to custom within the first three years of the baby's birth. Contrary to expectations, that proved to be the primary effect of having a child on the relationships in the social contract families. Their experimental mode did not increase the incidence of couple instability. On the contrary, their relationships proved to be very nearly as durable as those of conventional families, thus appearing to validate their original claim that commitment to the relationship is not determined by a marriage ceremony. It would seem that this commitment stands separately and does not necessarily correlate with a more generally mobile lifestyle. Those who were always more readily responsive to change and experimentation continue to evidence an explorative quality in their

geographical moves and the changing context of their living situation.

A different perspective on life values continues to distinguish those who had originally selected an alternative style. Interestingly, aspects of their values appear absorbed in the traditionally married population's growing concern about the culture's emphasis on materialism in modern life, as well as the changes in women's expectations becoming increasingly consistent with egalitarian goals. It may be that materialism is correlated with the impersonalism of contemporary life in the married group's yearning for an earlier time of more community and caring, and the social contract group's search for personal meaning through spiritual sensitivity. Although social contract participants were significantly more critical of the culture, both groups shared a skepticism of the individual's ability to effect any broad political or social change. The striking difference between the two groups with respect to reliance on traditional religious institutions may relate to the equally different emphasis they gave effectiveness to pass on to their children their personal values and ideologies. The latter belief, typical of the social contract group, obviates the importance of an external authority or source, and increases the need for conviction in one's independent position.

The experience of having a child, with its attendant responsibilities, seems to have modified earlier tensions

between the generations. A mutually shared acceptance, each of the other, has led to increased feelings of affection. Thus, although the social contract group continues to seek to correct the parenting inadequacies of their own parents and of the dominant culture, they are equally as appreciative as the traditional parents of the warmth in their childhood homes. It is this powerful pull of identification with those first life models which is likewise present for those who succumbed to custom and were legally wed. For some, critical questioning has led to resolution and a personal acceptance of the limitations of the structures available. Since this report is based on findings of a subset of the participants in an ongoing longitudinal study, it will be possible to continue to follow changes in the significance of marriage in the lives of contemporary families. It may well be that the nature of the legal commitment and hence the meaning of the wedding ceremony is evolving, becoming more consonant with changing expectations for marriage and the family.

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Appendix

Sample Schedule of Questions Selected from the Trimester
Interview

Sample Schedule of Questions Selected from the Birth Interview

Sample Schedule of Questions Selected from the 6-Month
Interview

Sample Schedule of Questions Selected from the 1-Year Inter-
view

Sample Schedule of Questions Selected from the 3-Year Inter-
view

TRIMESTER INTERVIEW

Name _____ I.D. _____
Interviewer _____ Date _____
Proj. Off. _____ Home _____ Other _____
Time _____
Life Style _____
Area _____

PREGNANCY HISTORY

1. Did you plan to have a baby now? Yes ____ No ____
a. Why did you want (not want) the baby?
2. How did you FEEL when you LEARNED you were PREGNANT?
3. How many prior pregnancies have you had? Number _____
4. Do you have a history of MISCARRIAGES? Yes ____ No ____

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
When _____	_____	_____	_____
Month _____	_____	_____	_____
Cause _____	_____	_____	_____
5. ABORTIONS: Yes ____ No ____

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
When _____	_____	_____	_____
Why _____	_____	_____	_____
6. How do you FEEL about the ABORTIONS? _____

7. Did you ever consider INTERRUPTING the PREGNANCY? Yes ____ No ____
a. (If yes) How did it happen you changed your mind?
8. Did you ever CONSIDER giving the baby up for ADOPTION? Yes ____ No ____
a. (If yes) What changed your mind?

HISTORY OF RELATIONSHIP

9. Tell me about your relationship with BABY'S FATHER.
How long were you or have you been together? Length of relationship _____

10. Are you currently MARRIED to baby's FATHER? Yes ____ No ____
 - a. (If yes) LEGALLY? Yes ____ No ____ How long? _____
 - b. (If no) Were you ever? Yes ____ No ____
 1. (If yes) Are you now: Separated ____ Divorced ____ Widowed ____

11. (If not married to mother) Father's CURRENT marital STATUS: Single ____
Married ____ Separated ____ Widowed ____ Divorced ____ Don't Know ____

12. Is father LIVING with YOU now? Yes ____ No ____
 - a. (If no) Any CONTACT with him? Yes ____ No ____
 1. (If yes) How often do you get in touch? Frequency _____

13. If not living with baby's father, are ther OTHER MEN in your life now?
 - a. (If yes) Living with you? Yes ____ No ____ Time Together _____

14. Have you been PREVIOUSLY MARRIED? Yes ____ No ____
 - a. (If yes) Number of times _____
 - b. How OLD were you?
 1. _____ years
 2. _____ years
 - c. How LONG did they last?
 1. _____ years
 2. _____ years

15. What were you doing during the last year before you became pregnant?
Work ____ School ____ Travel ____ Housekeeping ____ Other(Specify) _____
(Check more than one if appropriate)

16. Did you have any particular PLANS for yourself before you became pregnant?
Yes ____ No ____
 - a. (If yes) What were those PLANS?

17. What is your CURRENT MEANS of FINANCIAL SUPPORT?
Mother's work ____ Father's work ____ Grandparents ____ Welfare ____
Other _____

39. Were on any DIET PRIOR to PREGNANCY? Yes ___ No ___

a. (If yes) What for? _____

b. Type: _____

40. Do you use natural foods? Yes ___ No ___

(Unprocessed, organic, no additives)

a. Frequency: _____

45. How about ALCOHOL and TOBACCO?

a. Have you SMOKED during pregnancy? Yes ___ No ___

#/day _____

46. Do you drink ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES? Yes ___ No ___

Type

Frequency

Beer _____

Wine _____

Hard liquor _____

(Check all appropriate)

41. What DRUGS have you ever had experience with, and have you used DRUGS at all DURING PREGNANCY?

42. When did you start? _____

43. How did you start? _____

LABOR AND DELIVERY

47. WHEN do you expect the baby? _____

48. WHERE will the baby be born? _____

49. How did you happen to make this decision about where the baby will be born? _____

50. Who will DELIVER the baby?

Doctor (M.D.) ___ Doctor (Non-M.D.) ___ Midwife ___ Friend ___ Nurse ___

Father ___ Other _____

a. (If M.D.) Name of Doctor: _____

Address: _____

51. Who do you expect will be present during labor? Father ___ Friend ___

Counselor ___ Living Group Member ___ Other ___ Don't know ___ None ___

52. During delivery? _____

53. Do you plan to have ANAESTHESIA? Yes ___ No ___ Maybe ___ Don't know ___
 a. Natural or prepared child birth? Yes ___ No ___

PRENATAL PREPARATION

55. Have you participated, or are you planning to participate, in any program to PREPARE for the baby's Birth? Yes ___ No ___
 a. (If yes) What kind of PROGRAMS? Bradley ___ Lamaze ___
 Other (specify) _____

56. Is the baby's FATHER or anyone else involved?
 Baby's father ___ Anyone else (specify) _____

BOOKS

57. Are you READING any BABY BOOKS? Yes ___ No ___
 a. (If yes) Which ones? _____

PLAN FOR BABY

58. How will you FEED the BABY? Breast ___ Bottle ___ Both ___
 a. Why did you make that decision?
59. WHERE will the BABY SLEEP?
 Own room? Yes ___ No ___
 Own bed? Yes ___ No ___
 a. (If no) Where? _____
 With whom? _____

SEX AND NAME PREFERENCES

60. Do you have a PREFERENCE for a BOY or GIRL? Boy ___ Girl ___ No ___
 a. Why? _____
61. Have you CHOSEN any NAMES for the BABY? Boy ___ Girl ___ No ___
 a. (If yes) What? _____
 b. Why that name? _____
62. Under what SIGN will the baby be born? _____
 Don't know _____

CARETAKING

63. Will anyone help you take care of the BABY in the first two weeks? Yes ___ No ___
- a. Who will it be? Father ___ Grandparents ___ Nurse ___
Other living group members ___ Other _____
- b. Will you have any help around the house the first few weeks? Yes ___ No ___
Who will it be? Father ___ Grandparents ___ Nurse ___
Other living group members ___ Other _____

64. What BABY ARTICLES do you have?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
BED	_____	_____
CLOTHES	_____	_____
DIAPERS	_____	_____
TOYS	_____	_____
OTHER THINGS	_____	_____

65. Some people feel that at least one of the baby's parents should be with the baby on a full-time basis. Others, disagree. How do you feel? Agree ___ Disagree ___
- a. Why? _____
- b. (If agree) To what age? _____
- c. (If agree) Which parent? _____

66. Do you anticipate that this will be so in your case? Yes ___ No ___

67. Do you expect that caring for the baby will take up most of your time? Yes ___ No ___
- a. (If no) What other kinds of things do you expect to be involved with? _____
- b. (If no) Who will be taking care of the baby most of the time? _____

68. What kind of childhood would you like your baby to have? _____

- a. How do you expect this to come about? _____
- _____
- _____

MOTHER'S BACKGROUND

69. What were you like as a child? _____

70. Was your life similar when you were a CHILD to what the BABY'S will be?
 Yes ____ No ____
 a. In what ways, same? _____

 b. In what ways, different? _____

71. Where did you LIVE most of your childhood?
Town State Rural Urban Suburban

72. How many times did you MOVE while growing up? (Until 18 years old) _____
74. I see you said your mother worked (or did not work). Was she home most of the time when you were little? Yes ____ No ____
 a. (If yes) Did she work at all outside the house? Yes ____ No ____
 b. (If yes) What did she do? _____

75. What kind of relationships do you have with your own FATHER and MOTHER now?
 a. With your Mother? _____

 b. With your Father? _____

 c. Was it always that way? ~~ca~~
 With Mother? _____

 With Father? _____

76. Were you especially close to either parent? Yes ____ No ____
 a. (If yes) Which one? _____
 b. What years of your life? _____

77. How do you feel about your present relationship with you FATHER and MOTHER?

- a. Mother? _____

 b. Father? _____

78. How do your Mother and Father feel about your LIFE STYLE?

- a. Mother: She doesn't know about it _____
 Don't know how she feels _____
 b. Father: He doesn't know about it _____
 Don't know how he feels _____

79. How do your parents feel about the PREGNANCY?

- a. Mother: She doesn't know about it _____
 Don't know how she feels _____
 b. Father: He doesn't know about it _____
 Don't know how he feels _____

80. How OFTEN did you see YOUR MOTHER and FATHER last year? # of times _____

- a. Is this typical? Yes ___ No ___

Elaborate: (Phone calls, tapes, etc., in between visits)

FUTURE ORIENTATION FOR BABY

88. What kinds of things would you like the baby to be involved in when he/she grows up? Whatever he/she likes ____ Don't know ____
89. If there were no problems in going or lack of opportunity to go to SCHOOL, HOW FAR would you like the BABY to go?
As far as he/she wants to ____ Don't know ____
90. What kind of work would you like him/her to do when he/she grows up?
Whatever he/she wants to ____ Don't know ____

SEX ROLES

93. Do boys and girls grow up differently? Yes ____ No ____
a. In what ways? _____

b. (If yes) To what are the differences due? _____

94. Will you do anything to emphasize the differences? Yes ____ No ____ Don't know ____
a. (If yes) What? _____

95. Will you do anything to play down the differences? Yes ____ No ____ Don't know ____
a. (If yes) What? _____

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

99. Is organized religion important to you? Yes ____ No ____
a. (If yes) Which one(s)? _____

100. Are you active in any religious organizations? Yes ____ No ____
a. (If yes) Which one(s)? _____

b. How frequently do you attend? _____

101. Is personal religion important to you? Yes ____ No ____
Elaborate: _____

102. Is personal philosophy important to you? Yes ____ No ____
Elaborate: _____

103. Do certain philosophies effect the way you lead your life? Yes ____ No ____
a. (If yes) Which one(s)? _____

b. In what ways do they effect your life? _____

104. Do you believe in Astrology? Yes ___ No ___ Sometimes ___
 a. Does it effect what you do? Yes ___ No ___ Sometimes ___
 b. How? _____

105. Do you reply on personal INTUITION in the way you lead your life?
 Yes ___ No ___ Sometimes ___
 a. Elaborate: _____

POSSESSIONS

107. Are possessions important to you? Yes ___ No ___ Sometimes ___
 a. Why? _____

ATTITUDES:

108. Is LEGAL MARRIAGE important to you? Yes ___ No ___
 a. Why/why not? _____

109. Is it important to you to be POLITICALLY ACTIVE? Yes ___ No ___
 a. Are you formally affiliated with a political party? Yes ___ No ___
 b. Which one? _____

110. Do you want your child to be POLITICALLY ACTIVE? Yes ___ No ___

111. Is success important to you? Yes ___ No ___
 a. Elaborate: _____

112. Do you want your child to be successful? Yes ___ No ___
 a. In what ways? _____

113. Has the WOMEN'S MOVEMENT effected your life style? Yes ___ No ___
 a. (If yes) How? _____

115. Does anything distinguish your life style from the usual traditional life styles? _____

116. (If not now living in alternate life style) Any history of your living in alternative styles since you've been an adult? Yes ___ No ___
 a. (If yes) What? _____

b. Where? _____

c. When? _____

117. What SPECIFIC experiences led to your CHOOSING your current LIFESTYLE?

a. (If in alternative lifestyle) Give us a brief history of your movement into an alternate lifestyle. _____

Name _____ ID _____
Interviewer _____ Date _____
Proj. Ofc. _____ Home _____ Other _____
Time _____

BIRTH PROCESS

1. What is the baby's full NAME? _____
a. Birth Date _____ Sex _____
2. WHERE was the baby BORN? _____

Hospital: _____

Address: _____

Other: _____
(specify)

3. WHO DELIVERED? Doctor _____ Midwife _____ Other _____
(specify)

8. Did you have NATURAL CHILDBIRTH? Yes _____ No _____

25. Do your PARENTS KNOW of the birth? Yes _____ No _____

FEEDING

31. How are you FEEDING the baby? Breast _____ Bottle _____

a) How did you decide? _____

37. Is the baby on a SCHEDULED or DEMAND feeding? _____

41. When do you expect WEAN your baby? _____

42. What will make you decide to WEAN? _____

48. Has the baby been CHECKED by a DOCTOR? Yes _____ No _____

a) (If yes), when? _____

49. Do you plan to have the baby CHECKED by a DOCTOR REGULARLY? Yes _____ No _____

a) (If no), by someone other than an M.D.? Yes _____ No _____

(Specify) _____

PARENTING ATTITUDES

51. Are you APPREHENSIVE or CONCERNED about anything in CARING for your baby?

Yes ___ No ___

a) What kinds of things CONCERN you? _____

52. Are you now READING any BABY BOOKS? Yes ___ No ___

a) (If yes), Which ones? _____

BABY'S APPEARANCE

53. WHO does the baby LOOK like? You ___ Father ___ Both parents ___

Grandparents ___ Himself ___ Brother/Sister ___ Other ___ (specify)

DEMOGRAPHIC DATA (Ask ONLY if a change since 3rd trimester interview)

54. List all MOVES since last time we talked: in terms of type of housing + duration

	<u>Type</u>	<u>Duration</u>	<u>Reason for Move</u>
1.	_____	_____	_____
2.	_____	_____	_____
3.	_____	_____	_____
4.	_____	_____	_____
	(Current)		

55. Any change in your FINANCIAL SITUATION? Yes ___ No ___

a) Current sources of support: Welfare: _____

b) Husband's work: _____

c) Food stamps: _____

d) Own family: _____

e) Mother's work: _____

BE SURE TO REDO MAPS, FAMILY FUNCTION, NEIGHBORHOOD RESOURCES, ETC.
IF THERE HAS BEEN A CHANGE IN RESIDENCE.

6 MONTH INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

8. WHO does MOST of the CARETAKING?

Mother____ Father____ Other/specify_____

9. (If father or other caretaking involved---)

Do you see EYE-TO-EYE on caretaking? Yes____ No____ Sometimes____

a) (If no), What are the areas of DISAGREEMENT?_____

b) How do you HANDLE the DIFFERENCES?_____

51. Are you finding BEING a MOTHER easier____ or harder____ than you had expected?

52. Has the baby affected your relationship with your husband/man? Yes____ No____

PARENT'S HEALTH

54. How have you been FEELING psychologically? _____

55. Have you had any LOW or BLUE periods? Yes____ No____

a) Frequency_____

b) Duration_____

56. What have they been ABOUT? (Describe): _____

57. Was there anything you DID that made you FEEL BETTER?

Talked with friends____ Professional Help____ Hospitalization____

Other____ Nothing____

61. Since our last meeting, what changes, if any are there in:

a) The way you live your life _____

b) Your plans for the future _____

c) Anything else _____

d) In your activities _____

62. Does your lifestyle seem to be working out for you? Yes___ No___
(Explain): _____

64. Are there THINGS you'd like to BE DOING now that you're not able to do?
Yes___ No___

65. Do you have PLANS for doing anything DIFFERENTLY in the NEAR future? Yes___ No___
(If yes), Describe: _____

FINANCES

66. How are you being SUPPORTED now?

Mother works___ Father works___ Welfare___ Grandparents___
Other (specify) _____

67. Are there any PROBLEMS about having ENOUGH INCOME to meet Family needs?
Yes___ No___
(Describe): _____

GRANDPARENTS

68. Have the GRANDPARENTS seen the baby since his/her birth?

a) Maternal Grandparents Yes___ No___ Frequency___

b) Paternal Grandparents Yes___ No___ Frequency___

c) What is the Maternal Grandparents' attitude toward baby?_____

d) And the Paternal Grandparents'?_____

69. Have other RELATIVES VISITED? Yes___ No___

Relationship

Frequency

RETURNING FATHER

70. (If father out of home at birth interview, but now in home)
WHEN did FATHER move in?_____

ABSENT FATHER'S RELATIONSHIP WITH CHILD

71. (If father had been in home, but is not now)

WHEN did the baby's father MOVE OUT?_____

How did you FEEL about it?_____

72. WHERE is HE now?_____

73. Does he VISIT the BABY? Yes___ No___

a) (If yes), Frequency_____
Duration_____

b) How LONG has it been since he LAST saw the baby?_____

OTHER RELATIONS

(These questions are asked if father is NOT living with MOTHER and CHILD)

77. Do you have any particular MAN now? Yes___ No___

(If no to 77), Have there been any OTHER MEN in your life since I saw you?
Yes___ No___

80. (If yes to 77), How LONG have you BEEN TOGETHER? _____

81. How does he RESPOND to the BABY? _____

82. How does the BABY seem to LIKE HIM? _____

83. Are you planning to CONTINUE LIVING HERE? Yes___ No___
(If no), Specify plans _____

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2. (If father or other caretakers involved)

Do you see EYE-TO-EYE with other caretakers ON CARETAKING? Yes ___ No ___

a. (If no, or sometimes) what are the areas of DISAGREEMENT? Sometimes ___

b. How do you handle the DIFFERENCES? _____

28. (If BREAST-FEEDING the baby), do you give any SUPPLEMENTARY BOTTLES? Yes ___ No ___

a. Is there a SPECIAL REASON for giving the baby a supplementary bottle? _____

b. (If yes), how OFTEN do you give it? _____

29. Does your MILK SUPPLY seem ADEQUATE? Yes ___ No ___

30. How long do you expect to CONTINUE BREAST FEEDING? _____

31. What would make you decide to wean? _____

(If you have changed from BREAST to BOTTLE during the past 6 months), how OLD was the baby when you changed? _____ Months.

a. For what reasons was the change made? _____

b. How did you make the change? _____

d. How did you FEEL about it? _____

GOING OUT

48. When you GO OUT do you ever LEAVE the baby HOME? Yes ___ No ___

a. (If yes), with whom? _____

Frequency? _____

b. What was the baby's REACTION to this at first? _____

49. When you GO OUT do you ever LEAVE THE BABY AT SOMEONE ELSE'S HOUSE? Yes ____
No ____
a. (If yes), with whom? _____

50. Have you been away from the baby OVERNIGHT? Yes ____ No ____
a. (If yes), how long? _____
b. What were the CIRCUMSTANCES? _____

c. Who CARED FOR the baby? _____
d. Where? _____
57. How do you FEEL about being a MOTHER now that the baby is 1-year old?

a. Are you finding BEING a MOTHER easier ____ or harder ____ than you
previously expected?
Elaborate: _____

58. How have you been FEELING psychologically? _____

60. Are there THINGS you'd like to BE DOING now that you're not able to do?
Yes ____ No ____
a. (If yes), describe: _____

61. Do you have PLANS for doing anything DIFFERENTLY in the NEAR future?
Yes ____ No ____
a. (If yes), describe: _____

62. Since our last meeting, what changes, if any, are there in your lifestyle?

a. The way you live your life _____

b. Religion or philosophy _____

63. Does your LIFESTYLE seem to be working out for YOU? Yes ___ NO ___

(Explain): _____

OTHER RELATIONS

(These questions are asked if father is NOT LIVING WITH MOTHER AND CHILD).

67. a. Do you have any particular MAN now? Yes ___ No ___

(IF YES)... Does he live with you? Yes ___ No ___

a. (If No), Did he ever live with you? Yes ___ No ___

b. HOW LONG have you been TOGETHER?

68. (If No to Question Q. 67(a).

Have there been any OTHER MEN in your life since I saw you? Yes ___ No ___

a. Did he/they live with you? Yes ___ No ___

(If yes)

b. How LONG were you TOGETHER?

69. Are you planning to CONTINUE LIVING at your present address? Yes ___ No ___

a. (If no), specify PLANS: _____

FINANCES

70. How are you being supported now?

Mother works ___ Father/Mate works ___ Welfare ___ Grandparents ___

Other (Specify): _____

71. Are there any PROBLEMS about having ENOUGH INCOME to meet family needs?

Yes ___ No ___

a. (If yes), describe: _____

72. Have the GRANDPARENTS seen the baby since we saw you last?

a. Maternal Grandparents? Yes ___ No ___ Frequency _____

b. Paternal Grandparents? Yes ___ No ___ Frequency _____

c. What is the attitude of the Maternal Grandparents toward the baby now?

73. Have other RELATIVES VISITED? Yes ___ No ___

Relationship

Frequency

RETURNING FATHER

74. (If father out of home at Birth Interview, but now in home).

When did FATHER move in? _____

a. (If a commune) are you living together? Yes ___ No ___

ABSENT FATHER'S RELATIONSHIP WITH CHILD

75. (If father had been in home at 6-months, but is not now).

When did baby's father move out? _____

76. How did you FEEL about it? _____

THREE YEAR INTERVIEW

7. Some parents wish that their child were more or less willful? How about you?

a.

child is:

_____ passive _____ cooperative _____ assertive _____ resistant or willful

Other: _____

b.

parents attitude:

_____ pleased with the way child is

_____ wishes child were:

8a. Is it important to you that your child mind you? _____ No _____ Overlook some things _____ Very important

b. Is it necessary for your child to have a reason in order to mind? _____ No _____ Yes

c. Do you feel it is important for your child to feel he/she can influence the adults' decisions? _____ No _____ Yes

9. Some parents feel that it is very important at this age to encourage a child to be as self-reliant as possible; other parents feel that this is premature or even unwise. How do you feel?

. Do you usually structure your child's play so that he/she will know what to do and not be at loose ends?

. At this stage of a child's life some parents encourage boys to be masculine, girls to be feminine; other parents play down such differences. What do you do?

Emphasize differences

Ignore differences

Play down differences

. Do you differentiate at all in regard to personality, e.g. encouraged or acceptable behavior.

toys

a. Most children play with their genitals. Have you noticed whether your child does this very often?

Never Rarely Occasionally Regularly

--	--	--	--

b. What's your attitude about this?

24. In different families there are different attitudes and practices regarding nudity. How is it in your family?

Do you let your child go nude?

b. Does anyone go nude regularly in front of your child?

c. Do you or your mate bathe or shower with your child?

Never	Rarely	Occasionally (1 x month)	Regularly (1 x week)	NA
-------	--------	-----------------------------	-------------------------	----

mother

father

Has your child ever seen you have sex?

No	Rarely	Occasionally	Regularly	NA

--	--	--	--	--

How do you feel about this?

25. Are there any particular values or ideas that you are purposely trying to teach your child?

spiritual consciousness

feeling for nature

creative expression

(k order) respect for authority

caring about other people

26. a. Some people feel pretty comfortable about our culture or society; other people feel that there are changes they would like to see. How do you feel?

_____ Many changes necessary _____ Some changes necessary _____ Things are pretty good

b. If changes are desired, what type?

c. Do you feel that you as an individual can effect change when you see a need?

d. Do you see any way in which these feelings may be reflected in the way you are raising your child?

27. a. How do you compare the way you are raising your child to the way most Americans are raised?

28. CURRENT MATE:

29. Current marital status:

30. How are you getting along with your mate?

31. What are the strengths of your relationship?

32. There are always areas of agreement and disagreement. How is it with you and your mate? Do you seem to agree or disagree on most things?

a. Mainly agree Mixed Mainly disagree

--	--	--

b. What causes most of your disagreements?

c. Do you agree on how to bring up your child?

Mainly agree Mixed Mainly disagree

--	--	--

d. Describe your main child-rearing disagreements:

33. When you have conflicts with your mate, how do you usually handle it?

_____ Spouse ignores and walks away from argument.

_____ Mother ignores and walks away from argument.

_____ Fight about it inconclusively.

_____ Fight and reach satisfactory conclusion.

_____ Discuss quietly and conclusively.

_____ Discuss unconclusively.

_____ Appeal to other party.

_____ Appeal to higher authority.

34. Do you ever get physically abusive with one another? _____ No _____ Yes

If yes, please elaborate:

35. Do you ever have disagreements that go on for days? _____ No _____ Occasionally
_____ Often.

37. How does your current mate relate to your child?

38. How does your child respond to your current mate?

39. How do you feel about their relationship?

40. Do you find that you intervene much in their relationship?

_____ No

_____ Used to, but don't any longer

_____ Yes, describe:

47. PREVIOUS RELATIONSHIPS

- a. Have you lived with any other men in the past 1 - 1/2 years?
 _____ No _____ Yes Name: _____
- b. If yes, how long were you together?

48. CHANGING MARITAL STATUS

- a. Have you changed your marital status since you entered the project? _____ No
 Yes, type of change: _____
 Age of child: _____
 Why changed: _____
- d. If separated, was there much fighting prior to the decision to separate?
 _____ No _____ Yes
- e. If yes, what were your disagreements about?
- f. Did you argue much about the man's participation with the children or household responsibilities?

49. a. How do you feel about your current marital status?

54. At this point in your life, what are your greatest satisfactions?

55. a. Is there anything about your life you would like to change or have different? _____ No _____ Yes, describe:

- b. If yes: do you think you'll be able to make those changes?

56. a. People go through periods in which they characterize themselves as being pretty high or very low. What's it been like for you lately?

- b. And for your mate?

	depressed	low	average	good	high
mother					
father					

- c. If depressed or low, what about?

- d. For how long? _____

- e. Doing anything about it? _____ No _____ Yes

57. How do you feel about having a paying job versus being at home raising children and being a fulltime homemaker?

58. Does it matter to you whether or not you have your own money?
59. a. Do you feel that shared caretaking between mother and father is important?
- b. How does it work out in your family?
- c. How do you feel about the way it works out in your family?
 _____ pleased, satisfied
 _____ discontent
- d. Has there been a shift in expectations regarding the man's participation with the children or day to day household responsibilities?
61. Has the relationship with your parents (child's grandparents) changed since the child's birth?

62. How far away do these people live? (indicate name of city or state)

Same neighbor- hood	Same city	w/in 100 miles	w/in 500 miles	w/in 1000 miles	more than 10000 miles	not applicab
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Mother's parents:

- a. child's maternal grandmother
 b. child's maternal grandfather

Mother's sisters & brothers:

- c. child's aunts
 d. child's uncles

Father's parents:

- e. child's paternal grandmother
 f. child's paternal grandfather

Father's sisters & brothers

- g. child's aunts
 h. child's uncles

63. How often do you see each ?

