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the family in canada

FREDERICK ELKIN

an account of
present knowledge and gaps in knowledge
about
Canadian families

THE VANIER INSTITUTE OF THE FAMILY
L'INSTITUT VANIER DE LA FAMILLE

Fifth printing 1968

The Vanier Institute of the Family
L'Institut Vanier de la famille
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In the Autumn of 1964
he was appointed chairman of the Department of Sociology
York University, Toronto.

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as a preliminary study
and as a source book
on families
in Canada.

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in July 1968
has updated some of the tables
and these appear
in the addendum
at the back of the book.

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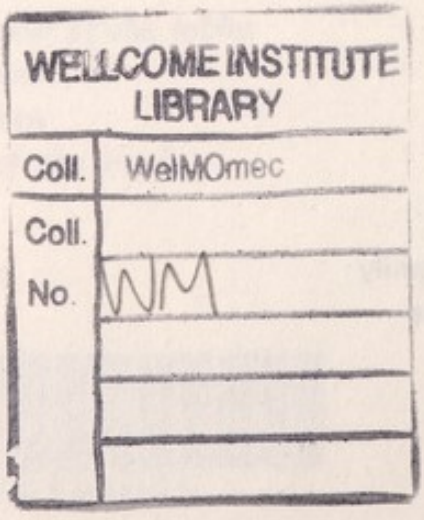
FOREWORD

At an early stage
in our preparations for the Rideau Hall Conference,
it was recognized that an essential first step
was to find out
what we knew and
what we did *not* know
about Canadian families.
We are grateful to Professor Elkin
for undertaking this important task for us
and for completing it so expeditiously.
Our hope is
that this volume will not only serve its primary purpose
as a reference book
for members of the Conference
but that it will also prove of value
to other interested Canadians.

A. D. P. Heeney,

National President,
Canadian Conference on the Family.



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Nine of the 24 tables listed below were able to be updated using 1966 Census data or special survey data. An attempt was made to update all the tables, but since the 1966 Census was a partial one, comparable information was not always available. In some cases, special one-time survey data had been used, for which no comparable later figures exist. The updated tables are : 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 16, 17, 23, 24. These appear in the addendum at the back of the book.

Table

Preface

In writing this report, I have asked basically two questions: (1) what do we know about the family in Canada, and (2) what research has been conducted on the subject? I have included basic statistics, reports of government agencies, studies of individual scholars, reports of "private" groups and associations, and theses written by candidates for degrees. In the brief space of seven months, I have sought to gather together and organize this disparate group of materials and to place it in the context of a changing society. The scope of the project, the required cooperation of so many individuals, and the pressure of time inevitably place limits on such a study. But, it is hoped, this review will answer some basic questions about the family in Canada and will show the range of materials available and the links among the many diverse studies. For those who seek references and bibliographies, it should also serve as a preliminary source.

It would not be feasible to cite the numerous people who have helped me in the preparation of this report. In the course of the project, I have written over 75 letters to University Departments of Social Work, Sociology and Anthropology, and Psychology; officials in federal government; and individuals and groups whose names were recommended to me. Complementing this correspondence were some dozen interviews with various researchers or officials in Montreal, Ottawa, Quebec City, and Toronto. In almost all cases, the respondents were most encouraging and helpful. To all those who have helped, I offer my grateful appreciation; without them, there would be no report.

May I mention by name only those who gave me most immediate and direct assistance: Miss Lillian Thomson and Raymond Doyle, Executive Director and Assistant Executive Director respectively of the Canadian Conference on the Family; Dean Philippe Garigue of the University of Montreal; and four students at the University of Montreal who worked on the project during the summer of 1963: Dogan Akman, Yvon Lussier, André Normandeau and André St. Amand. For its facilities and secretarial help, the Department of Sociology of the University of Montreal also deserves particular mention.

January, 1964. Frederick ELKIN

CHAPTER 1

The Frame of Reference

The family is an old and venerable institution. As widely and as far as we can trace, we find some form or another of the family. Not, of course, that these family forms are the same — they vary in the way they are organized, the tasks they do, and the thoughts and feelings they consider to be right and proper — but always we find the unit which binds together a man, a woman, and a child.

In tracing our own western history, we do not often find what we think of as bizarre forms — polyandry, infanticide, or deification of twins — but, even within our own society, the range of values and acceptable behaviour has been great. And, no doubt, as family forms and tasks have changed in the past, so will they continue to change in the future. In reporting on the family today, we necessarily, in some respects, give a fleeting picture.

The family is not an isolated unit; it exists and functions in the context of a society which in recent generations, with industrialization and urbanization, has been undergoing radical readjustments. And as any one segment of the society changes, so too do the others, including the family. No institution — school, church, corporation, government, or the family — has remained untouched by these changes. As technical accomplishments and job potentialities change, for example, so too does the position of women in the society, and the role of the wife and daughter in the family. As traditional knowledge and skills become obsolescent and people move to city houses and apartments, old people can no longer live as they did before. As education and technical skills develop, former tasks of parents are taken over by schools and other training institutions with a certain lack of understanding between parents and children. On a more direct level, if a given plant closes its doors, many families have no alternative but to leave the community where their roots may have been so well established. Decisions are made every day by business and government leaders, in our own country and elsewhere, which directly affect thousands of Canadian families.

Not of course that families are helpless, but their role is different than in the past. Observers once spoke of the dissolution of the family. We recognize now that the family does not disappear, rather it changes and adapts and develops new patterns; but always, it maintains the crucial functions of giving the family members a place in the society, socializing the children, and stabilizing the relationship between a man and a woman.

These broad considerations underlie this report which focuses on the family in Canada. We may view our knowledge of the Canadian family on two levels. First, the level of the western and North American world in general. The family in Canada has certain characteristics which derive from this broader cultural milieu. Variations exist in detail and in the rapidity with which certain changes occur, but the general trends are similar. Our central key here is not so much specific researches as basic government statistics and our own informed knowledge of the world around us.

The second level is Canada itself, with its distinctive characteristics and relationships. Here we look for the specific research that has been done on families in Canada. There are gaps, as we shall see, and sometimes, for want of specific data, we shall look elsewhere for guides and suggestions. But many studies have been conducted on the Canadian family and we can generally see the directions in which we are moving.

Terms of Reference and Limitations

The purpose of this report is to review our knowledge of the family in Canada. What are the general trends ? What do the basic statistics suggest about the societal context and the family itself ? What researches throw light on the Canadian family ?

For a number of reasons, it has been impossible to include in this report all the materials relevant to an understanding of the topic. First, research studies on medical and psychiatric aspects, except for the occasional reference, are omitted. In recent years, psychiatrists have tended more and more to view the family as a unit. Attempting to treat just one individual apart from other family members is sometimes not only ineffective, but also aggravates the difficulties of others and disrupts the ongoing family unit. However, practically no research has been published in Canada that might help us understand this new

emphasis, except for a very recent review by Abe Weiss of the Jewish General Hospital, Montreal, entitled : "Current Psychiatric Family Investigation : Theory and Research".

Second, also barely touched on in this report, are research studies in the United States, France, and elsewhere. The number of pertinent studies in other countries runs into thousands and no one specialist could hope to master them.[1] However, a few prominent reports, especially in the United States, are cited to help clarify or place in broader perspective our own Canadian materials.

Third, many areas which are closely linked to the family are in themselves too broad, complicated, and difficult to be discussed in any detail. The study, for example, of personality development, ethnic groups, schools, delinquency, and old age all have strong family components, but each also is a most complex subject with many non-family facets. Our general principle of selection has been to include only those research reports which directly link these areas to the family.

This report is centered on data and research. At times, we do cite certain essay-type statements to introduce a section or clarify a position, but as a general rule we have omitted those commentaries found in magazine articles, public pronouncements and ideological statements of particular groups. Nor have we generally included information on the many welfare and action groups who work on behalf of the aged, retarded, husband-wife relationships, or other aspects of family life. Such work, often of considerable value in the society, is beyond our terms of reference.

Even within the limits set for this report, it has not been possible to cover all the pertinent materials. The number of research reports, especially student theses, which touch in some way or another on the family, run into many hundreds. Since our focus is not so much on historical research development as on the recent and contemporary picture, we have tended to omit those theses and reports written more than 12 to 15 years ago — the exact date depending on the particular subject and the materials available.

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[1] For a very general attempt to review and organize family materials, especially in the United States, see Reuben Hill, "Sociology of Marriage and Family Behaviour 1945-1956 : A Trend Report and Bibliography", *Current Sociology*, VII, No. 1 (1958).

Also, numerous studies could not be covered within the time and resources of this project. Were time and resources unlimited, direct contact might have been established with each pertinent research or researcher throughout Canada. In some instances, requests for abstracts or copies of given research reports were not met and it was not possible to follow them up. So undoubtedly many relevant studies are not cited. This report, therefore, must in no way be construed as an exhaustive study of the available material on the family in Canada. At best, the studies cited are selective and illustrative.

In sum then, we present a report on our knowledge and research on the Canadian family. Occasionally, to give perspective or more depth, certain extraneous materials such as demographic data, researches conducted outside of Canada, and commentaries, especially by Canadian scholars, are included. The report does not presume to be exhaustive; limits of time especially prevented us from searching out all the pertinent material.

Our plan in presenting this report is as follows : In part 2 of this chapter we shall give a very brief historical glimpse of the family in Canada to place the subsequent research in perspective. In chapter 2 will follow demographic data, some on Canada in general and some directly on the family. In the following chapter, we shall discuss variations among the families in Canada — rural, French-Canadian, and other ethnic groups. In chapter 4 will follow a report on the "style of life", including data on family economic patterns, housing, mobility, and leisure. In chapter 5, the focus will be on family roles and relationships — the husband and wife, the wife working for pay, parents and children, children at school, and the elderly. And finally, except for a brief concluding chapter, we shall discuss the research on the atypical or deviant family — those families which, for whatever the reasons, do not follow the standard or most common patterns.

The materials presented do not purport to give a well-rounded picture of Canadian family life and, at times, will undoubtedly appear "patchy". As a function of the data available, some topics will be given considerable attention and others, equally if not more important, will be virtually ignored. We shall, however, in a brief appendix, discuss these materials and point up the general gaps in our knowledge. The source materials themselves are cited throughout the report and are briefly discussed and evaluated before each chapter or section.

The Family in Canadian History

Families as such receive little attention in the histories of early Canada. The first Europeans arrived as explorers, soldiers, traders, and missionaries and were far too mobile and unsettled to be occupied with problems of family.

The first farmer-settler in Canada, the historians say, was Louis Hébert who settled on the high land behind Quebec City in 1617. But the early growth of the country was slow. In 1639, four years after the death of Champlain, Canada had a total population of 359, including 64 families.[2] Relatively few came from France voluntarily to settle in Quebec. Some were sent to New France for their skills, some because they were *persona non grata* at home. Protestants were not permitted to emigrate. Two settlements, highly centralized in control, were established — one in Acadia which involved families almost from the beginning; the other in Quebec, with a high proportion of men.

It became the policy of the home government in France to create a rounded and complete community; so, in order that the men might marry and establish families, shiploads of girls were sent from France. Marriage became almost obligatory; privileges were taken from those who refused to marry and prizes were offered to those who had ten living children. It is estimated that, in these early days, the number who came from France was fewer than 10,000.[3]

The French-Canadian population grew with one of the highest rates of natural increase known to history : to about 70,000 in 1765, to over a million in 1871, and to some five and a half million today plus another million and a half or so in the United States.

With a population homogeneous in ethnic origin and religion and with one central base of settlement, the line of growth for the French Canadians was relatively simple and direct. The picture for the "non-French" family was vastly different. The first British settlement

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[2] G. GLAZENBROOK, *A Short History of Canada* (London : Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 27.

[3] See Glazenbrook, *op. cit.;* S. D. CLARK, *Social Development of Canada* (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1942); A. R. M. LOWER, *Colony to Nation* (Toronto : Longmans, Green, 1946); and P. VEYRET, *Population du Canada* (Paris : Presses Universitaires de France, 1953).

was not established until 1749 in Halifax and the early population growth was slow. Following the American Revolution, an estimated 35,000 Loyalists came north and after 1791, British immigrants began to come in considerable numbers. Essentially they formed family settlements. The non-French world, instead of following a simple and direct line, involved, in the words of historian Arthur Lower, "innumerable eddies in the stream".[4] In the early days in Nova Scotia, the settlers were Scotch, Irish, and German, to be followed later by German and Dutch as well as British. And late in the 19th century began the immigration of the varied groups from northern and specially eastern Europe. The proportion of British declined. Sometimes the immigrants came with their families; sometimes the men came first and sent for their wives; sometimes immigrants came alone and married fellow compatriots who were here or native Canadians; and sometimes whole groups came as colonies. The variations were many.

We think of the families in these earlier days as following rather clear-cut traditional patterns. The rural families were almost self-sufficient units of production and consumption. The birth rate was high and families were large, but the death rates too were relatively high. The husband was dominant and the wife officially subordinate, and these roles were supported by the religious and community institutions. Parents were strict with their children. Extended family ties were close. Children were given a practical education in the home and, for the great majority, a grade school education sufficed for the tasks they would carry on.

Gradually, however, the surrounding world began to change more rapidly and so too did the families. Many families moved to the west or to the expanding cities or, especially French Canadians, to New England. Large extended families were split. The movement towards industrialization with increased specialization, more efficient machines, commercial farm production, improvements in transportation and communication, a demand for factory and white collar personnel, and dozens of other accompanying developments all came into full swing and all affected the family.

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[4] A. R. M. Lower, "The Growth of Population in Canada", in *Canadian Population and Northern Colonization,* ed. V. W. Bladen (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1962), pp. 43-68.

In general such developments are not distinctive to Canada. But Canada's history, in distinction from the United States and other western countries, is in some respects unique. We have the distinctive combination of an English and French heritage; our numerous minorities include the Eskimos, Indians, Doukhobors, Hutterites and Mennonites and, compared to the United States, few Negroes; certain recently discovered natural resources and a climate which does not give us a warm "south"; certain British traditions which helped temper the "American" egalitarianism and individualism; an exposure to the model and powerful influences of the United States along with a "Canadian" identity which helps resist Americanization.[5] We shall see, at least in certain minor ways, how these differences affect our family life; however, an analysis of this diffuse and complex problem is beyong the scope of this report. Nor must we forget that Canada's development — and similarly her family problems — are intensely diversified and open to varied interpretations.

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[5] Certain aspects of this problem are discussed in KASPAR D. NAEGELE, "Canadian Society : Some Reflections", in *Canadian Society*, eds. B. R. Blishen, F. E. Jones, K. D. Naegele, J. Porter (Toronto : The Macmillan Co., Ltd., 1961), pp. 1-53; and S. M. LIPSET, "The Value Patterns of Democracy : A Case Study in Comparative Analysis", *American Sociological Review*, XXVIII (August, 1963), pp. 515-31.

CHAPTER 2

Demography of the Canadian Family

Sources. The Dominion Bureau of Statistics (DBS) is our basic source for demographic data. Most detailed are the volumes of the census, which is taken every ten years. The compilation and publication of such data, however, take a long time and some reports based on the 1961 census are still to come. *Vital Statistics,* published annually, presents data on births, deaths, marriages, and other such official data gathered by the provinces following standardized forms. Most of the data cited in this chapter come from these two sources. Further information is available from other government bureaus. The Department of Health and Welfare, for example, publishes data on mental health and hospital facilities and the Department of Labour reports on unemployment and the labour force.

Demographers have further analyzed and interpreted these DBS data but often, it seems, these reports soon become dated. Most prominent among the demographers are Nathan Keyfitz, now at the University of Chicago, and Jacques Henripin of the University of Montreal. Keyfitz has written of population trends in Canada, birth rates, migration in Quebec, and variations between English and French Canadians. Henripin has focused especially on patterns of French-Canadian growth and also on variations between the English and French Canadians. Other Canadian demographers and social scientists have touched on such problems as the attitudes towards family size, the declining birth rate in Quebec, the life cycle of French-Canadian urban families and social class variation in birth rates. Some of these studies are cited in this chapter, some will be mentioned when pertinent in subsequent chapters, and some are too technical to be discussed at all. Few demographic studies focus on the family as such; most deal with the population *en masse.*

Also cited here are a few surveys by the Canadian Gallup poll, officially the Canadian Institute of Public Opinion. These surveys, dealing with attitudes and opinions, are sometimes limited by the size and imprecise manner of selecting the samples and by the vagueness of the questions, but may be generally valid.

Data on population trends are a necessary consideration in making decisions on public policy, school construction, housing, marketing, transportation, technical training, and a host of other problems. Likewise for our knowledge of the family, demographic data — although they tell us nothing about the problems of any particular family — give us a necessary perspective. Are families becoming smaller or larger, are there more or fewer old people, do young people marry at an older or younger age than before, how many are moving to the cities, where do immigrant families settle ? Our discussion of the basic data and trends may be viewed under three general headings :

1) Population growth and the birth rate,

2) Family size, age distribution, and marriage rates,

3) Urbanization and mobility.

Population Growth and the Birth Rate

Canada's population has grown steadily from the days of its settlement, both by natural increase and immigration. The pattern, we have observed, has differed for the English and French Canadians. The French Canadian population has grown almost entirely by natural increase from an original 10,000 to several millions.[1] The non-French population, on the contrary, is extremely heterogeneous with various infusions from overseas. Currently, Canada's population is over 19 million, with 44 per cent of British origin, 30 per cent French, and 26 percent of other ethnic groups. Such figures, however, are at best very crude estimates. In the Canadian census, a person's ethnic group is traced through his father which — assuming that the respondents know the answers — leaves no place for the thousands of intermarriages and omits the central problem of affiliation and identification.

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[1] For more detailed discussion of demographic trends among the French Canadians and differences between the English and French Canadians, *see* A. H. LeNeveu and Y. Kasahara, "Demographic Trends in Canada, 1941-1956, and Some of their Implications," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* XXIV (February, 1958), pp. 9-20; J. Henripin, "Observation sur la situation démographique des Canadiens français," *L'Actualité Economique,* (jan.-mars, 1957), pp. 559-80; J. Henripin, "From Acceptance of Nature to Control : The Demography of the French Canadians since the Seventeenth Century," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* XXIII (February, 1957), pp. 10-19; J. Henripin, "Aspects démographiques." *Canadian Dualism,* ed. M. Wade (Québec : Presses Universitaires de Laval, and Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1960), pp. 149-80; and N. Keyfitz, "Some Demographic Aspects of French-English Relations in Canada," *Canadian Dualism,* op. cit., pp. 129-148.

Since World War II, Canada's population has been rapidly growing, it was just 11½ million in 1941. The rate of growth has been much faster than in the United States and indeed is one of the fastest in the world. The increase has been due to a high birth rate, a low death rate, and a substantial flow of immigrants. The birth rate was relatively low in the 1930's averaging about 21 births per thousand, but rose immediately after the war to a record high in 1947 of 28.9 and continued high until quite recently. The record number of births was 479,275 in 1959. At the same time the death rate, the deaths per thousand population, was also going down, from over 11 in the 1920's to an all-time low of 7.7 in 1961 and 1962.[2] We can compare this with the 1962 rate in the United States of 9.4. Also contributing to the rapid increase in population was the large volume of immigration, with over a million people entering the country from 1951 to 1961, accounting for one fourth of the total population increase.

In the past few years, we have had a slight change of pace. Our birth rate, although still high compared with other western countries (22.3 for example in the United States) has declined to 26.1 in 1961 and 25.3 in 1962. And our immigration has declined to less than 75,000 in each of the last two years, with roughly an equal number leaving Canada for the United States and elsewhere. So the recent population increase has been due almost entirely to an excess of births over deaths.

We expect the birth rate to rise again in the years to come for, in part, the recent decline is due to the age distribution of the population. The low birth rate in the 1930's means a relatively low proportion in the age group of the 20's today, with a resulting lower rate of marriages and fewer births. When, in a few years, a higher proportion will reach marriageable age, we shall again have a higher birth rate. And likewise, when a higher proportion of our population is old, we shall have a higher death rate.

The higher population has been accompanied by an increase in the number of families, to an estimated 4,239,000 in June 1962, averaging 3.9 members per family. A family, according to the

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[2] For an analysis of data between 1941 and 1956, *see* A. H. LeNeveu and Y. Kasahara, *op. cit.*; for an analysis of data from 1921-1951, *see* Norman B. Ryder, "Components of Canadian Population Growth," *Population Index*, XX (April, 1954), pp. 71-80.

Canadian census, is composed of a husband and his wife, with or without children who have never married, or one parent with one or more children, also never married, living in the same dwelling. Adopted, step, and guardianship children count as own children. Almost 90 per cent of the families in 1961 consisted of a couple, with or without children, while the other 10 per cent were one-parent families with children. Somewhat less than 20 per cent of the one parent families — half of whom involve widowed mothers — live with others and do not maintain independent households.

Every province shared in the growth of population in the last decade, but the rate of growth between provinces varied considerably. The bulk of the country's population gain was in four provinces — Ontario and Quebec, which accounted for two thirds of the increase, and British Columbia and Alberta which accounted for 20 per cent. The direction of migration is one important factor accounting for the growth in these provinces. For overseas immigrants, Ontario is by far the most popular province, followed by Quebec and British Columbia. In the movement across provincial borders, the Atlantic Provinces and Saskatchewan have been the primary losers. The drain from these provinces was smaller in the last five years than in previous ones, but still amounted to about 31 per cent of the natural increase in the Atlantic Provinces and 42 per cent in Saskatchewan.

There is much more movement of families within provinces than between them. The transfer of Family Allowance accounts give some idea of the extent of movement of families with children. In the fiscal year 1958-59, there were some 600,000 changes of address within the same province — almost one fourth of the families receiving allowances. The variation between provinces range from 34 per cent in British Columbia to 10 per cent in Newfoundland. The changes of address into and out of each province varied from 1 to 4 per cent.

The increase in life expectancy — the number of years that persons of a given age can, on the average, expect to live — has been one of the marked achievements of the western world. According to a life table, prepared for the years 1960-62, a boy at birth could expect to live 68 years and 4 months and a girl 74 years and 2 months — a gain since 1931 of 8 1/3 years for boys and over 12 years for girls. [3]

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[3] DBS Bulletin, Tables canadiennes de mortalité, 1960-1962, No. 84-516.

Life expectancy has increased so much primarily because of the reduced mortality rate of children. For those under 20, in the last 35 years, mortality was reduced by 70 per cent and the infant mortality rate, the number of deaths under one year of age per thousand live births, fell from over 100 in the early 20's to 27 in 1960 and 1961. The rate, in 1962, increased to 28. Again there is variation between provinces — from Newfoundland's 40 to British Columbia's and Ontario's 23, with the other provinces in between. Many factors contribute to the reduction of infant mortality — new clinics, better prenatal care, medical progress, improved sanitation, and better hospital care. We note that before World War I, less than 40 per cent of births occurred in hospitals; in 1962, the figure was up to 98 per cent. But more improvement in infant mortality is possible. Sweden's rate in 1960 was only 16 and the Netherlands 17; the rate in the United States in 1962 was 25.4.

Everywhere the infant mortality rate is correlated with socio-economic conditions. Jacques Henripin demonstrates this relationship in a detailed study of Montreal. He shows that the lower economic levels have a higher rate of infant mortality than the well-to-do and also that the French Canadians have a higher rate than the English Canadians — especially of that mortality which is due to endogenous factors, that deriving from the constitution of the child, rather than the external environmental as such.[4]

Family Size, Age Distribution, and Marriage

The Canadian family in recent years has been growing in size. The average number of persons per family in 1961 was 3.9 compared to 3.8 in 1956 and 3.7 in 1951. The average number of children in 1961 was 1.9 and in 1951 1.7. Is this a real increase in size or is it merely a function of the family cycle? If the number of young and old couples is high, the average family size would be low; if those in the middle age groups make up a high percentage, the average family size is likely to be larger. However, finer analysis by age groups and birth order calculations confirm the increase.

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[4] J. Henripin, "L'inégalité sociale devant la mort, la mortinatalité, et la mortalité infantile à Montréal," *Recherches Sociographiques*, II (janvier-mars, 1961), pp. 3-34.

We find variations between rural and urban areas and between provinces. Farm families tend to be larger than rural non-farm which in turn are larger than urban — the figures for 1961 being 4.5, 4.2, and 3.7 respectively. Among the provinces, the largest average family is in Newfoundland with 4.7 persons, the lowest in Ontario and British Columbia with 3.6 (Table 1).

Table 1

SIZE OF FAMILY BY PROVINCE AND BY RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENTIATION, 1961

	Rural	Agricultural	Non-Agricultural	Urban	Total
Newfoundland	4.8	4.9	4.8	4.6	4.7
Prince Edward Island	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.0	4.2
Nova Scotia	4.1	4.0	4.1	3.9	4.0
New Brunswick	4.6	4.7	4.6	4.0	4.3
Quebec	5.1	5.7	4.7	4.0	4.2
Ontario	4.0	4.0	3.9	3.5	3.6
Manitoba	4.1	4.2	4.0	3.5	3.7
Saskatchewan	4.0	4.2	3.8	3.6	3.8
Alberta	4.2	4.2	4.0	3.7	3.8
British Columbia	3.9	4.0	3.9	3.4	3.6
Canada	4.3	4.5	4.2	3.7	3.9

A generation ago, many families had no children or just one. This pattern has been changing with a decrease in the percentage of such small families and an increase in the percentage with two children or more (Table 2).

Table 2

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH A GIVEN NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Year	0	1	2	3	4-5	6 and over
1961	29.3	20.2	20.6	13.4	11.4	5.0
1951	32.3	23.5	19.8	10.8	8.9	4.6

With the high number of marriages after the war and the high birth rate, the larger families now tend to be concentrated among those in which the head is less than 45 years of age (Table 3).

Table 3

SIZE OF FAMILY BY AGE OF FAMILY HEAD

Age of Family Head	Size of Family	
	1951	1961
Less than 35	3.47	3.69
35-44	4.41	4.77
45-54	4.19	4.23
55-64	3.27	3.12
65 and over	2.58	2.43
All family heads	3.7	3.9

In the United States in recent years, various studies have discussed the convergence in birth rates and family size. Nathan Keyfitz observes the same tendencies in Canada.[5] Wide differentials existed in the past, with much higher birth rates and larger families in certain provinces, among the less educated, the lower income levels, the Catholics, the rural and the French Canadians. But a convergence seems to be taking place.

Between provinces for example. The highest province in the years 1921-25, reports Keyfitz, omitting Newfoundland, had nearly double the birth rate of the lowest province; by 1959 the highest province was only about 20 per cent higher than the lowest. Statistical refinements by using the more precise fertility ratio do not change the picture.

Statistics on family size also show a convergence. In recent years in Canada, 3rd and 4th births have shown the greatest proportional increases, with very large families on the decline. In Quebec for example, in 1931, 28.8 per cent of all births were of the seventh order or higher; in 1959, the figure was just 13.1 per cent. Keyfitz

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[5] N. Keyfitz, "New Patterns in the Birth Rate," *Canadian Population and Northern Colonization,* ed. V. W. Bladen (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1962), pp. 33-42.

concludes, "it is clear that though the number of children per family is increasing, the distribution is narrowing; the size of families is becoming more uniform". [6]

Convergence is found in the birth rates of groups of differing education. In the 1941 census, the heads of families 25 to 44 years of age with four years or less schooling had an average of 2.88 children; for those with 13 or more years of schooling, the average was 1.61 — a difference of 1.27. In 1951, the differential is still there, but down to 1.06. [7]

A convergence of a kind is also taking place in the ages at which mothers are having children, in the sense that fewer children are being born to older mothers. In 1928, 78 per cent of the births were to mothers under 35; in 1958 the figure was almost 85 per cent.

Over the years we know that husbands and wives have been exercising an increasing freedom of choice in having and spacing children. The well-to-do, it was once thought, considered children to be in competition with material goods and consciously chose to limit the number of children and maintain a certain standard of living. In recent years, however, it seems that husbands and wives of all groups are deciding to have roughly the same number of children as their neighbours, within the range of 2 to 4, and to have them when they are relatively young. Perhaps a certain number of children are coming to be viewed as part of the "standard package", the expected "equipment" of the family.

If, however, we take a Canadian Gallup poll at its face value, parents do not have as many children as they ideally would like. In 1960, a nation wide sample of 679 Canadians was asked, "What do you think is the ideal size of the family — husband, wife and how many children?" Only a few mentioned one child as the ideal number. Four was the most commonly stated figure, cited by 38 per cent of the respondents. The Catholics especially thought of large families as desirable, some 46 per cent citing five children or

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[6] Ibid., p. 40. *See* also CONRAD LANGLOIS, "La chute de la natalité dans la province de Québec," *L'Actualité économique,* XXXIII (juil.-sept., 1957), pp. 225-41.

[7] For general discussion of social class differentials in birth rates, *see* DENIS H. WRONG, "Trends in Class Fertility in Western Nations," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* XXIV (May, 1958), pp. 216-30.

more as the ideal, compared to only 24 per cent of the Protestants. Of the families of various occupational levels, only the farmers varied significantly from the average, with 52 per cent citing 5 children or more.

These figures correspond roughly with two academic studies of ideal family size — one in 1956-57 by the Economics Department at the University of British Columbia on families in Vancouver and one by Colette Carisse in a doctoral thesis at the University of Montreal on the planning and fertility of urban Catholic French Canadians. The Vancouver study, under the direction of T. I. Matuszewski, involved a detailed statistical analysis of a questionnaire given to a carefully chosen sample of approximately 1,500 men and women. The ideal number of children averaged 3.23 with 89 per cent saying 2, 3, or 4. Over three in four, the respondents approved of controlling family size and 97 per cent of those who replied to the questions felt that a couple should have its first child in the first three years of marriage.[8]

The second study by Mrs. Carisse is better understood in the context of French Canadian society, which had traditionally had a very high birth rate. The decreasing rate of recent generations which has occurred in all segments of the society, reflects a significant change in values. Family planning at first was more likely to be practiced in the city than in the country and among those with a higher education and social level.[9] In recent years, however, such planning, both in principle and fact, has become much more widely accepted and the Catholic Church no longer opposes regulation of births as long as natural methods are used.

Marc-Adélard Tremblay and Gérald Fortin, in a study which we shall discuss in more detail later, give evidence of this "profound change in the traditional values of the family". They asked a sample of 1,500 people in Quebec whether it is better to have fewer children

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[8] T. I. Matuszewski, "Population Trends in British Columbia," *British Columbia in Perspective,* Transactions of the Eleventh British Columbia Natural Resources Conference (Victoria, B.C., 1958), pp. 7-13; T. I. Matuszewski, "Attitude à l'égard de la fécondité à Vancouver," *Population,* XIII (April-June, 1958), pp. 299-304.

[9] Colette Carisse, "Planification de la Fécondité" (tentative title) (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Montreal, 1964).

and give each of them an easier life and more education. Some 78 per cent replied "yes", and only 16 per cent "no".[10]

The study of Mrs. Carisse elucidates these changes. She interviewed a sample of 80 mothers, some married five years and some eleven, representing working and middle class levels. The ideal number of children for this group averaged 4.45 but the number *really* desired was only 4.06. No significant differences were found between the two socio-economic levels, but the aspirations of the middle class group showed less of a range. Most of the families preferred to plan their families, only 15 per cent not having tried. For one out of five families, the births were all accidental and for 45 per cent, the planning was completely or essentially successful. Interestingly enough, nothing was done to retard the first birth in 80 per cent of the case; the controls generally came with the later births. For this group, continence was the method of control most commonly used.[11]

Keyfitz, in one study, asked whether the size of the French-Canadian family might be a function of diffusion from the English, that is, the more English-Canadians in the vicinity, the lower the French-Canadian birth rate. But, following a statistical analysis, Keyfitz finds no such relationship. The crucial variable remains urbanization.[12]

Age Distribution. As the birth rate, death rate, and number of immigrants change over the years, so too does the age distribution of the population. In recent years, reflecting the sustained high level of births, it is the young age group that has increased the most. The population under 18 increased from 4.9 million in 1951 to 7.1 million in 1961, an increase of 45 per cent.

The number of people 65 and over also increased substantially during this decade rising by 28 per cent to 1,391,000 in 1961. But, with the high proportion in younger age groups, the aged as a percentage of the total population decreased from 7.8 per cent in 1951 to 7.6 in 1961. All the other broad age groups likewise increased

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[10] Marc-Adélard Tremblay and Gérald Fortin, *Etude des conditions de vie, des besoins et des aspirations des familles salariées canadiennes-françaises,* 3 vols. (Québec : Centre de Recherches Sociales de l'Université Laval, 1963). (Mimeographed.)

[11] Henripin, "From Acceptance of Nature to Control", *op. cit.*

[12] N. Keyfitz, "Population Problems," *Essais sur le Québec Contemporain,* ed. J. C. Falardeau (Québec : Presses Universitaires Laval, 1953), pp. 66-95.

in number but not in relative importance. The smallest rate of increase was for the group 18-24, their number rising only 13 per cent. It is this age group, however, which will soon grow very rapidly.

The same tendencies are found in the United States and elsewhere in the western world. In the United States, between 1950 and 1960, the population under 18 increased 36.6 per cent, while in the last decade the aged population 65 and over increased from 13.4 to 17.5 million. And again those in the middle age groups increased relatively less.

Marriage Rates. In 1961 and 1962 the marriage rate in Canada, the number of marriages per 1,000 population, was 7.0, the lowest since 1934. The marriage rate is a function in great part of economic conditions and the age distribution of the population. In 1932, in the depths of the depression, the rate was just 5.9; and today because of the low birth rate in the early 30's and the relatively small percentage of marriageable age today, the rate is also relatively low. The highest rate Canada ever experienced was 10.9 in 1946, due in part to a backlog built up in the last years of the war.

We find over the years a decrease and convergence in the age of marriage. In 1940 the average age at marriage of men was 28, in 1960 it was just below 26. For women in 1940 the average age was almost 24½; in 1960, it was 23. In 1940, the bridegrooms of first marriages were on the average 3 years and 4 months older than the brides; in 1960, the difference was less than three years. [13]

We find considerable differences between provinces, with Quebec having the lowest percentage of young brides and the Maritimes, the highest. In 1962, the percentage of brides under 21 among total marriages was 56.6 in Newfoundland and only 37.5 in Quebec. Also low was British Columbia with 41.3 The other provinces ranged from 45.6 (Ontario) to 52.4 (New Brunswick) and the average for Canada as a whole was 44.2. These differences between provinces are not distinctive to 1962, the same pattern has existed for years. [14]

Marriage at a younger age also means a higher percentage of married people who are younger. In 1928, two thirds of the brides were under 25; in 1961, the figure was 74 per cent.

With the high immigration of young persons in the years after the war, an increasing number of grooms and brides were born outside

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[13] N. Keyfitz, "New Patterns in the Birth Rate," *op. cit.*
[14] Special tabulation, DBS, Vital Statistics Section, 1963.

the country. 18.7 per cent of grooms and 15 per cent of brides in 1960 were born outside of Canada compared to 11.7 per cent and 8.4 per cent respectively in 1941.

Marriages ordinarily take place within a religious group. About 71 per cent of the marriages in 1960 were contracted among those of the same religion — with the proportion highest among the Jews, 92 per cent; 88 per cent among the Catholics; and 61 per cent among those of the United Church.[15] The rate of interfaith marriage, however, has been steadily increasing. Considering only the categories Protestant, Catholic and Jew, the proportion of brides and grooms marrying out of their religions rose from 5.8 in 1927 to 11.5 in 1957, with the lowest rate in Quebec and the highest in British Columbia and the Prairie Provinces.[16]

A surprisingly high number of Canadians, according to a nation-wide Gallup poll, approve of intermarriages between Protestants and Catholics. In 1958, interviewers asked a sample of 742 Canadians the following question : — "Reports show that there is an increase in the rate of marriages between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Do you approve of this trend or not ?" Some 26 per cent approved, 52 per cent disapproved, and 20 per cent expressed no opinion. In general, more Protestants than Catholics approved, 37 to 21 per cent; more English speaking than French speaking, 37 to 13 per cent; more University and high school educated than public school educated, 29, 32 and 24 per cent respectively; more married than single, 31 to 18 per cent; and more urban, especially in cities of 100,000 or more, than farm, 32 to 19 per cent.

As we shall observe later, the fact that people marry and have their quota of children younger than before has its repercussions in other elements of the society. In a typical case a couple might have their last child at the age of 30 and by the time they are 55, the last child has left home and is married. The parents, with 15 or more years to live, may no longer want a house in the suburbs and the wife is still young enough to work. The consequences for housing, the labour force, recreational facilities, and many other elements of the society are evident.

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15 *Canada Year Book, 1962*, p. 211.

16 David M. Heer, "The Trend of Interfaith Marriages in Canada : 1922-1957," *American Sociological Review*, 27 (April, 1962), pp. 245-250.

Urbanization and Mobility

Perhaps the most striking force making for social change in the western world and in Canada has been industrialization. Canada's labour force was once occupied mostly with primary industry — agriculture and the direct exploitation of minerals — now it is mainly occupied with industry and commerce. In 1900, about 40 per cent of our labour force was engaged in agriculture; in 1961, the percentage was just 11.1. Secondary industry, primarily manufacturing and construction, now takes up 31.7 per cent of the labour force and the tertiary sector — commerce, transportation and services primarily — as much as 54.2 (Table 4).

Table 4

PERCENTAGE OF LABOUR FORCE ENGAGED IN LEVELS OF INDUSTRY

Year	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
1946	29.4	30.8	39.8
1961	14.1 (of which 11.1 is farming)	31.7	54.2

Accompanying industrialization has been urbanization with almost 7 in 10 now living in cities. Since the turn of the century, the rural-urban distribution has completely reversed itself (Table 5). Because of a change in the definition of "urban", however, the statistics show only the general trends. [17]

Table 5

Year	PERCENTAGE OF RURAL POPULATION
1900	62.3
1921	50.4
1941	45.6
1961	30.4

The trend towards urbanization will undoubtedly continue; the Gordon Commission predicted an urban population in 1980 of 80 per cent.

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[17] Before 1951, "urban" referred to any city, town, or incorporated village; in 1951, "urban" was re-defined to include any agglomeration of 1000 inhabitants or more.

In 1961, over 30 per cent of the population was rural, but less than 40 per cent of this group lived on farms, the others were in towns and villages. Again, changing definitions do not permit us to be precise, but the statistics indicate a decrease of the farming population from 31.2 per cent in 1931 to only 11.4 per cent in 1961. So the trek from the farms has continued to the present day with a continuing high rate.

Urbanization has been rapid for all of Canada, but more so for some provinces than for others. The Atlantic Provinces and Saskatchewan have the highest rural populations, but even in the former group, except for Prince Edward Island, not more than 10 per cent of the population is actually doing farm work. And in Saskatchewan, the rural population decreased from 70 per cent in 1951 to 57 per cent in 1962. Ontario and Quebec are most urbanized, with approximately three fourths of their population living in cities (Table 6).[18]

Table 6

PERCENTAGE OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION BY PROVINCE, 1961

Provinces	Rural			Urban
	Farm	Non-Farm	Total	
Newfoundland	2.0	47.3	49.3	50.7
Prince Edward Island	33.0	34.6	67.6	32.4
Nova Scotia	7.0	38.0	45.7	54.3
New Brunswick	10.4	43.1	53.5	46.5
Quebec	10.7	15.0	25.7	74.3
Ontario	8.1	14.6	22.7	77.3
Manitoba	18.6	17.5	36.1	63.9
Saskatchewan	32.9	24.1	57.0	43.0
Alberta	21.5	15.2	36.7	63.3
British Columbia	4.7	22.7	27.4	72.6
Canada	11.4	19.0	30.4	69.6

[18] N. KEYFITZ, "L'exode rural dans la province de Québec, 1951-1961," *Recherches Sociographiques,* III (sept.-déc., 1962), pp. 303-15; and Gilles Boileau, "Evolution démographique de la population rurale dans 60 paroisses de la province de Québec depuis le début du siècle," *The Canadian Geographer,* No. 9 (1957), pp. 49-54.

In recent years, urban centers and particularly metropolitan areas have burgeoned. In 1962, approximately two-thirds of the urban population lived in Canada's 17 metropolitan areas. Between 1951 and 1961, 60 per cent of the population increase was in these centers. The prairie provinces are no exception. With the spectacular growth of Calgary, Edmonton, and Winnipeg, approximately 63 per cent of the population of Alberta and Manitoba are now urban.

Within the metropolitan centers, it is especially the suburbs that have grown. From 1951 to 1961, the population of the fringe areas of central cities increased some 96 per cent while the central cities themselves increased only 19 per cent. The explanation of this rapid growth — which is a phenomenon of the western world in general — lies in the absence of free land for housing in the central cities, the movement of industry to the outskirts of cities, and the value placed on the suburban type of family life. In the metropolitan areas of Canada, over 45 per cent now live in the suburbs and in the metropolitan areas of Toronto, Quebec, Vancouver, Victoria, and Kitchener, the suburban population exceeds that of the cities. And for the cities of Edmonton and Calgary, in the past decade, the suburban areas tripled in population.

Demographically then we have a picture of a country which grew most rapidly after World War II with a very high birth rate and a large number of immigrants. In the past few years, however, rates of both are down, especially the number of immigrants. Families on an average are larger than a generation ago, with most now having between two and four children. Family planning is common and it seems that parents, throughout Canada, tend to space their children. Our life expectancy of over 68 for boys and over 74 for girls is among the highest of any nation in the world. Our rural population has continued to move to the city, especially to the metropolitan centers; fewer than one in three Canadians are now classified as rural and less than 40 per cent of these actually live on farms.

Demographic data help form the context of many aspects of family life so we shall be referring to such materials throughout the report.

CHAPTER 3

Variations in Canadian Family Life

There is no one Canadian family. With its distinctive geography and history, Canada is much too heterogeneous to have one or ten or twenty distinctive family types. As the geographical setting, and as the social class, religious, ethnic, occupational, and other groupings vary, so too do our families. In this report, we are selecting out for discussion a few major subdivisions in our society which have characteristics in common and for which we have family data. Numerous others, for lack of information, must go unnoticed. We shall first discuss the rural family, then the families of various ethnic groups, and finally the French-Canadian family. The sources will be discussed under each section.

The Rural Family

Sources. In Canadian social science research, rural life, including family studies, has aroused considerable interest. In Saskatchewan, Quebec, and Ontario, fairly intensive researches have been undertaken. In Saskatchewan, a Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life published 14 volumes including one entitled *The Home and Family in Rural Saskatchewan.* Nothing of this scope has been done elsewhere. In Quebec, the classic studies by Léon Gérin and Horace Miner have been followed by both controversy and research.[1] Only the more recent research on the rural Quebec family will be cited here; the more general questions will be discussed in a following section.

The most recent and perhaps most valuable study in Quebec is that of Marc-Adélard Tremblay and Gérald Fortin on the salaried worker in Quebec. The owner-operated farm is not included, but considerable information is given on the non-farm rural world. Tremblay also, as part of the social psychiatric Stirling County project undertaken by Cornell University, analyzed a French-Canadian Acadian

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[1] LÉON GÉRIN, *Le type économique et social des Canadiens* (Montréal: Fides, 1948); HORACE MINER, *St. Denis: A French Canadian Parish* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939).

village in Nova Scotia; and Fortin considers the rural family in his study of forest workers. Pertinent researches touching on rural Quebec have also been conducted by N. Keyfitz, P. Garigue, W. E. Haviland, and G. Rocher and Y. de Jocas. In Ontario, a study of a sample of 352 Ontario farm families was undertaken in 1959 by Helen C. Abell, under the joint sponsorship of the Canada and Ontario Departments of Agriculture, to obtain information on their manner of life, changing family patterns, and community relationships. In Nova Scotia, some data are available on English as well as French villages in the aforecited Stirling County project.

On the National level, DBS again gives us the basic statistical data. Numerous small studies have also been conducted by the Rural Sociology section of the Department of Agriculture, many under the direction of Helen Abell, dealing with the life and problems of rural living. Most of these studies, however, are too out-of-date to consider here.

Some important areas of rural family life are not covered in these various researches but, on the whole, the information we have on Canadian rural life seems valid and well done.

The Traditional Rural Family

The rural family, throughout the western world, is very different today from the rural family of the past. The increasing use of technology has made farms more efficient and sent millions of surplus labourers to the city; the influence of the mass media and the easier transportation have introduced urban values and patterns of life into the country. This process, although it varies in details and in the rapidity with which it has been occurring, is basically little different in Canada than in the United States, France, Russia and many other countries.

The traditional picture of the rural family may serve as a starting point for viewing recent changes. In certain important emphases the French and English-Canadian rural families differed, but they were variants of the same basic pattern. After 1760, French Canada "withdrew" and fell back on itself and the family, in its distinctive religious context, became the cornerstone to survival. The

family came to be viewed as a central institution from which flowed the sacred values of the society. [2]

Since the English-Canadian world maintained close ties with Britain and with the neighbouring Americans, the English rural family never became so enclosed or so enveloping as the French-Canadian family, but in many basic respects the same characteristics and family functions developed.

This rural family was, above all, a relatively independent economic unit, serving both as a unit of production and consumption. The husband, wife, and children had clearly defined tasks. Work was a prime virtue. The father was the leader of the household but the wife often exercised a major influence in family decisions.

The family and marriage were highly valued, and affective relationships and sexual satisfactions tended to be of secondary importance. Larger kinship ties were taken for granted. Everyone felt that he could count on relatives and neighbours to help in an emergency and in turn he would go to great lengths to give similar services. Birth rates were high and children were valued as workers on the farm as well as in their own right.

Religion was crucial in giving integration and cohesion. In French Canada, especially, the church played an extraordinarily important role in education and in imparting feelings of distinctiveness and loyalty. Family life, in its daily tasks and in the ceremonies of the life cycle, was imbued with the sacredness of a religious spirit. In the English world too, church-centered activities often encompassed the family and buttressed the family's strong and clear moral values.

Thus, in this simplified and somewhat idealized picture of a rural society, we find closely knit families, with relatively little change from one generation to another, with sex and generation statuses clearly differentiated, and with the family's pattern of life and thought sustained by the surrounding larger family, community, and church. [3] The situation apparently still applies quite well to a small French

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[2] Philippe Garigue, *La vie familiale des Canadiens français* (Montréal : Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1962).

[3] *Ibid.;* Province of Saskatchewan, Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life, *The Home and Family in Rural Saskatchewan* (Regina, Sask., 1956).

Canadian community of 300 people in Nova Scotia,[4] but elsewhere, according to the researches available, has been changing rapidly.

The Modern Rural Family

The Rural Exodus. Among the many changes in rural life in recent generations, perhaps, the most striking is the exodus of the rural population. In 1900, over 62 per cent of our population was rural with about 40 per cent engaged in agriculture; in 1961, only 30 per cent of the population was rural and only 11 per cent were engaged in agriculture. The statistics show the steady decrease. (Table 7). Accompanying this change has been a transfer of workers away from the primary industries to manufacturing and service occupations of various kinds.

Table 7

RURAL POPULATION IN CANADA

Year	Percentage of total population
1900	62.3
1911	54.5
1921	50.4
1931	46.2
1941	45.6
1951	43.8
1956	33.5
1961	30.4

Various authors have presented details of the movement. Writing in 1957, Meyer Brownstone, Director of Research for the Saskatchewan Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life, discussed the decline of farming families in the prairies :

> The rural community . . . appears to be caught in a continuous state of disintegration due to de-population of two main types, out-of-farming and farming-from-town.[5]

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[4] Charles C. Hughes, M.-A. Tremblay et al., *People of Cove and Woodlot* (New York : Basic Books, 1960).

[5] Meyer Brownstone, "Goals and Performance Relevant to Prairie Family Farming", *Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics,* IV, No. 2 (1957), p. 94.

The basic trends have been the same in Quebec. W. E. Haviland, also in 1957, writes :

> Whatever he is, the French Canadian is not a farmer ... Eighty years ago, about three quarters of the Quebec population was rural, and by 1951 only one third of the Province's total population was rural ... Quebec is an industrial province.[6]

Following a study in the mid-1950's on intergeneration occupational mobility in Quebec, Guy Rocher and Yves de Jocas found that only one in four farm sons remained on the farm.[7]

In a recent issue of *Recherches Sociographiques,* Keyfitz analyzes the recent rural-urban statistics in Quebec, noting especially the marked acceleration in urbanization since 1956. The farm population in Quebec which decreased only 3 per cent from 1951 to 1956 decreased 24 per cent from 1956 to 1961 (4 per cent higher than for Canada as a whole).[8] In 1961, only 22.3 per cent of Quebec's families were classified as rural.

The Revolution in Technology. Rural life, in recent decades, has experienced a technological revolution. Today agriculture

> involves not just tilling, sowing and reaping but chemistry, physics, genetics, economics and mathematics. It includes not only farmers but the makers and sellers of machinery, fertilizers, chemicals, oil and gasoline; government scientists and administrators; food processers, distributors and retailers, including the supermarket.[9]

Twenty years ago one farmer produced enough food for himself and 10 others; today he produces enough for himself and 26 others. The small self-sustaining farm requiring little capital still exists in Canada — over one fourth of Canada's farms sell less than $1200 worth of produce a year — but it is probably doomed.[10] In this process the farm family has become less and less a unit of production

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[6] W. E. Haviland, "The Family Farm in Quebec, an Economic or Sociological Unit?" *Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics,* V, no. 2 (1958), pp. 65-88.

[7] Guy Rocher and Yves de Jocas, "Inter-Generation Occupational Mobility in the Province of Quebec", *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* XXIII (February, 1957), pp. 57-68.

[8] Nathan Keyfitz, "L'exode rural dans la province de Québec, 1951-1961", *Recherches Sociographiques,* III (sept.-déc., 1962), pp. 303-15.

[9] Robert Collins, "Visit to a New Country", *Imperial Oil Review,* (October, 1963), p. 3.

[10] *Ibid.*

and consumption. To obtain the goods he wants, a farmer needs cash and must therefore produce to sell on the market. The family, however, as a subject of study on this new, large, mechanized, scientifically advanced farm is a relatively neglected area.

Changes in rural family life. The urban way of life, through radio, television, newspapers and other mass media and through developments in transportation have all but eliminated any major cultural differences between the city and country. The residents of rural areas operate increasingly by urban standards and values. In its expression in the family, we have already seen the effect on family size — the farm family is still larger than the urban family, but the difference is considerably less than it used to be.

On its general effect on family life, a report of the Saskatchewan Royal Commission, which was based on a sample survey in 1953 of 160 farm families, observed :

> The emerging farm family is moving in the direction of a more urbanized mode of life. The city becomes more accessible through automobiles and buses. As instruments of communication like the radio, television, newspapers, and magazines become more prevalent in rural areas, urban ideas enter the home, for the content of these media is prepared in a city. The improving economic status and educational level of farm people ensure that urban ideas will not be ignored.[11]

Writers report the same general tendency in Quebec. Keyfitz observes that communications have developed so rapidly that the farmer "in many places for the first time can make comparisons and see how much better life is in the city and feel relatively deprived. Radio, television, automobiles and highway have allowed many country people to know the life of the city for the first time." [12]

Tremblay and Fortin in their study of the salaried workers in Quebec observe that the village family expresses the same needs as the family in the heart of Montreal. More than 80 per cent of the families in their survey agree in defining the needs and services essential for daily life. What was considered a luxury 10 years ago — perhaps the car, electric appliances, education, holidays, certain

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11 *The Home and Family in Rural Saskatchewan,* p. 85.

12 N. KEYFITZ, "L'exode rural dans la province de Québec, 1951-1961", *op. cit.,* p. 314.

house furnishings — are now considered a necessity by rural and urban folk alike. [13,14]

In Saskatchewan, Brownstone suggests, the context of many of the changes in the family derive from a new integrated rural-urban community. He writes :

> The service needs of modern farming, social service needs of farm families and changed concepts of cultural and recreational pursuits have broken down the old rural community . . . The direction of change in the community is towards an integrated rural-urban (small urban) community based on urban residence, and increased use of urban-centralized facilities.[15]

Associated with urbanization are the oft-noted changes in the functions of the family. Certain economic activities (baking bread, making clothes, etc.), education, leisure, family assistance patterns, and the like, which were formerly the responsibility of the family, have been partially taken over by schools, hospitals, peer groups, government agencies, and adult sponsored youth clubs. Such changes in Canada as elsewhere have been observed for many years and are specifically cited in a study of Fairhaven, a small Protestant English community of 489 people in Nova Scotia. [16]

In chapter 5, we shall discuss the tendencies towards democratization in the Canadian family. This trend, although perhaps somewhat delayed, is also apparent in rural families. The Royal Commission in Saskatchewan noted that the majority of families in their sample survey represent "a mixture of traditional and changed patterns of behaviour". This new pattern, the authors write, is :

> One in which duties and family customs are much less fixed, with fewer rigid rules or ideas on what is to be decided by whom and with more emphasis upon developing congenial friendships than upon keeping contact with the relatives, although relatives are still very important... it is an important development... that areas of decision are increasingly shared with the children who thus may

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13 Marc-Adélard Tremblay and Gérald Fortin, *Etudes des conditions de vie, des besoins et des aspirations des familles salariées canadiennes-françaises*, 3 vols., (Québec : Centre de Recherches Sociales de l'Université Laval, 1963).

14 See chapter 4 for further data on the increasing standard of living in rural areas.

15 Brownstone, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-95.

16 C. Hughes et al, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

> view parents as guides and advisers rather than patriarchs... who make all the decisions and whose wishes must never be challenged.[17]

C. Cleland, who also worked on the Saskatchewan studies, suggests that the changes away from the farm traditions vary with the type and prosperity of the family. He writes :

> Grain-farm families are the stronghold of traditional family characteristics as regards family integration and the division of labour among family members. In these aspects the livestock and mixed-farm families may have changed most . . . In general, the less prosperous a family is, the more change it is going to show from the familistic ideals of helping the next generation to continue on the land.[18]

In rural, as in urban areas, these tendencies toward a "democratization", do not always occur smoothly.[19] It is reported in the Fairhaven study in Nova Scotia that the authority and strictness in child rearing has relaxed. But at the same time the parents are no longer so clear and so intense in their feelings about the proper way of raising children or managing a family, and experience more uncertainty and anxiety.[20]

Some studies, directed especially by H. C. Abell, deal specifically with roles and attitudes of farm wives and young people. In the Ontario study, based on a sample of 352 families, she found that 98 per cent of the women performed some work around the farm other than homemaking — perhaps keeping farm accounts, operating farm machinery, handling eggs and feeding the livestock. But conditions are changing for women on the farm as they are changing elsewhere. As we shall see in the next chapters, they, like their urban counterparts, have more modern conveniences and appliances and have an increasing role in making important family decisions.[21]

Young people on farms also are less "different" than they once were. It is ordinarily no longer possible to identify the country boy or

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17 *The Home and Family in Rural Saskatchewan,* p. 85.

18 COURTNEY B. CLELAND, "Familism in Rural Saskatchewan", *Rural Sociology,* XX (Sept.-Dec., 1955), pp. 249-57.

19 See chapter 5.

20 C. HUGHES et al., *op. cit.,* pp. 214-15. Compare the discussion of Crestwood Heights and other urban areas in chapter 5.

21 H. C. ABELL, *Special Study of Ontario, Farm Homes and Homemakers.* A co-operative study by the Ontario Department of Agriculture (Home Economics Service and Farm Economics and Statistics Branch) and the Canada Department of Agriculture (Rural Sociology Unit of the Economics Division).

country girl for, in appearance and bearing, they are essentially no different from their urban age mates.[22] Nor are their aspirations the same as they once were. In the families of the Ontario study, 365 children had completed school. Only four out of ten adult sons were engaged in farming and among their younger brothers, only 21 per cent aspired to become farmers. Of the girls, some 70 per cent were married but only 20 per cent had followed their mothers' pattern and become farm wives. Among the unmarried adults, the daughters practically all had jobs, mostly of a clerical or professional type. About half of these girls had moved to a city or town and about half were living with their parents on a farm, commuting to their places of employment.[23]

The young people who *are* going into farming recognize that the occupation is far different today than it was in the past. For a group of 800 young agricultural students in the provinces of Alberta, Ontario, and Quebec, one important goal to strive for is farm modernization.[24]

The prospects for farm youth are not the same throughout Canada. A study of the children of almost 650 farm households in Ontario and Prince Edward Island reveals that the former are better off. The children in the P.E.I. families, especially the girls, left home at an earlier age than those in Ontario and a higher percentage (37 per cent to 10 per cent) moved out of their home province. The Ontario children had had more years of schooling and had better jobs. Compared to the P.E.I. group, a higher proportion of the Ontario girls had clerical and professional jobs and a higher proportion of the boys filled clerical and managerial positions.[25]

We have one interesting study by D. Dyck, of the Rural Sociology Unit, Department of Agriculture, on the relocation of farmers. In

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22 *Ibid.*

23 ABELL, *ibid.*, report no. 6 and H. C. ABELL, "Farm daughters — an occupational survey", *Home and Country,* (Summer 1961). In the same line, G. Fortin notes that the more education rural children get, the less likely they are to find satisfying jobs at home and the more likely they are to drift to the city. "Les changements socio-culturels dans une paroisse agricole", *Recherches Sociographiques,* II (avril-juin, 1961), pp. 151-170.

24 H. C. ABELL and F. UHLIR, *Rural Young People and their Future Plans.* Processed bulletin, Economics Division, Canada Department of Agriculture, January, 1953.

25 C. ABELL and D. DYCK, "Children of Rural Families of Ontario and Prince Edward Island", *Economic Annalist,* XXXII (June, 1962).

New Brunswick, in 1952, some 438 families engaged in farming or woods operations had to be relocated when their farm area was expropriated to make way for an army training center. The author reports that the families did not find this a happy affair. The prospect of having to move was disturbing to some, especially the older ones who were faced not only with the loss of their farms and homes but also the loss of old friends, neighbours and established church ties. Economically, in the four year period, the average net income of the 104 survey respondents decreased by 35 per cent. This particular study was conducted some four years after the relocation actually took place so it may be that the picture the respondents gave was somewhat tainted.[26]

When men leave the farm, they do not necessarily go to a city or town; in one community in Quebec, at least, many go to work in the forest. Here, Fortin says, even more so than in the city, the role of the father is reduced. His prolonged absence prevents him from sharing any authority in the household and the mother becomes the core around whom the children gravitate. The father is essentially only breadwinner and procreator. Those children who work also become more distant from the family because they pay board and thus escape family responsibility.[27]

The Salaried Family in Rural Quebec. In the afore-mentioned study by Tremblay and Fortin, considerable information is presented on the salaried rural worker in Quebec. In great part, these are employees in rural villages and towns. The research was conducted entirely in Quebec, but many of the changes, it would seem, might well apply to rural workers elsewhere in Canada.

Tremblay and Fortin observe first of all that economically the urban worker is much better off than the rural. His earnings are higher and, correspondingly, so too is his standard of living. The difference between the average salary in the metropolis and in depressed villages is as much as $1000. In urban areas as well, the work is more stable and the worker is less subject to unemployment.

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[26] D. Dyck, "Adjustment Problems in Relocating New Brunswick Farm Families", *Canadian Journal of Agricultural Economics,* VIII, no. 2 (1960); D. Dyck and F. Lawrence, "Relocation Adjustments of Farm Families", *Economic Annalist,* XXX (February, 1960).

[27] Fortin, "Les changements socio-culturels dans une paroisse agricole", *op. cit.*

Unemployment and education combine to form a vicious circle. The average worker in rural areas has had fewer years of schooling than his urban counterpart and, having less education, is not so well trained for the requirements of a technical and industrialized civilization. The rural worker thus drifts to the type of job that he can fill — road construction or work in the forest or mines, jobs which are often seasonal. The authors suggest that the foundation is available for a true proletariat in which this way of life is passed down from generation to generation. For some, the cycle can be broken by migrating to the city where the children, and perhaps the heads of families as well, might find the educational facilities to prepare them for an industrialized milieu.

The rural family, compared to the urban, does spend considerably less on housing. Traditionally, one might expect a substantial part of this surplus to be saved, but such is not the case. The rural families, the statistics show, spend this sum and even resort to credit to obtain the items they desire. The value system of the rural family is not what it once was and families, now influenced, the authors suggest, by advertising and publicity, seek to satisfy their "new needs" — that is, to buy such goods as cars, television sets, radios, washing machines, and electric stoves.

In the entire sample group, half carry a permanent debt of $600 a year. The French Canadian, who formerly condemned credit as immoral and prejudicial to family life, now freely borrows from finance companies. The city folk tend to save more than the rural because the latter are just beginning to acquire these expensive goods and appliances which were formerly considered luxuries reserved for the urban population. In all income groups, rural families spend more for such goods than do the urban. More people also borrow in the country; only 17 per cent have never bought on credit compared to 32 per cent in urban areas.

At the time of the survey, half of the families had an automobile, with a higher rural than urban percentage. Interestingly enough, it was in the poorest villages that were found the largest and newest cars; and where, as might be expected, there was most borrowing to pay for them.

In the section on the French-Canadian family, we shall see such problems of rural Quebec in a larger context.

Ethnic and Immigrant Families in Canada

Sources. The Department of Citizenship and Immigration has published two bibliographies of research of Citizenship, Immigration, and Ethnic Groups in Canada. The first which covers the years 1920-1958 is 190 pages long; the second, covering years 1959-1961 is 46 pages.[28] Thus we have considerable data on our ethnic and immigrant groups. However not many of these studies — at least the more recent ones — focus on families. And the data on families that are available are so diffuse that it would require a major project to bring them together. Perhaps the extreme example is the Eskimo. Probably hundreds of articles and monographs have been written on the Eskimo, many of which, in some way, touch on the family. But nowhere is all the family material organized and presented as a unit. Similarly for other ethnic groups.

For a general picture of immigration and ethnic groups in Canada, we shall lean most heavily on statistical data published by DBS and reports by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration and the Department of Labour. For more specific illustrative materials, we shall cite research studies done at the Schools of Social Work, Departments of Sociology and Anthropology, and by certain other professional and amateur scholars. These specific references will be cited in the body of the chapter.

The Canadian Context

On this continent, except for the Indians, we are all immigrants or descendants of immigrants. But the two large groups which were first established here, the English and the French, are generally considered to have prior rights — the French through colonization and settlement, the English through military conquest and later also by settlement. Thus the immigrants who have come since have had to find a place among these peoples long established.

We have liked to affirm in Canada that ethnic groups, much more than in the United States, are allowed and encouraged to maintain

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28 Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, *Citizenship, Immigration and Ethnic Groups in Canada : A Bibliography of Research, 1920-1958,* (Ottawa : Queen's Printer, August, 1960); *Citizenship, Immigration and Ethnic Groups in Canada : A Bibliography of Research, 1959-1961,* (Ottawa : Queen's Printer, February, 1962).

their cultures and be themselves. The "melting pot" was the model for the United States; in Canada, perhaps the "salad bowl" was a more appropriate term.

This difference is relative, for Canada has been both "melting pot" and "salad bowl". Through the schools, mass media, work groups, neighbours, and social clubs, many immigrants have lost their original language, customs and ways of thought and have adopted something closer to the "English-Canadian" culture, varied though that may be. Undoubtedly many of the third generation and beyond also feel more Canadian than "German", or "English", or "Swedish", or whatever their particular ethnic group may have been. But the ethnic groups have not disappeared. The culture has often been maintained through family rituals, parochial schools, social clubs, and newspapers. And often, even when the culture has been lost, an identity, an awareness and acceptance of membership in the ethnic group, has persisted. The problem is recurrent for each generation, frequently with serious disagreements among the members of a particular ethnic group and within particular families. And undoubtedly the problem will continue, with members having various degrees of knowledge about, and feeling varying degrees of attachment to their ancestral groups.

From a personal point of view, immigration demands an extremely difficult adaptation. Leaving one's native land and making one's way in an unknown country where the culture and often language are different is no easy task. Officially the immigrants are wanted and welcomed, but in their day-to-day lives they are not always so well received. Many social scientists and writers have touched on these difficult and challenging problems.

Immigration in recent years has been quite different from that of 50 or 60 years ago. The immigrant of former days was often an uneducated illiterate peasant or worker with strange customs and clothing. In Canada, he took a job which required little skill at the bottom of the socio-economic scale. He did not easily establish contact with Canadian society and often withdrew into a small self-contained world of fellow ethnic members. In recent years, in contrast, the immigrants have generally been urban, skilled in a trade or profession, with a knowledge of English or French, and with an education comparable to native Canadians. Likewise more Canadian institutions — governmental, educational, labour, social agency — have

taken an interest in his welfare and have been ready to help. The emphasis in this report is on the recent rather than the older immigrants.

Our plan in this section is to present the basic data, mostly statistical, first about the ethnic groups in Canada and then about the recent immigrants. This will be followed by a discussion of each ethnic group for which we have family information. The French Canadians will be considered separately in the next section and those of British origin will not be considered at all. The available studies do not allow us to generalize about the British as an ethnic group clearly distinguishable from others.

Ethnic Groups — The General Picture

In the 1961 census, each person was asked: "To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestor (on the male side) belong on coming to this continent?" The replies give us the number of Canadians in each ethnic group. The results, however, must be accepted with caution for, by thus tracing the ethnic group, we completely omit the psychological aspect — the feeling of belonging to a particular group. Perhaps, through the generations, an ethnic identification is lost and now, no matter what his paternal ancestry, someone feels "Canadian". Or perhaps a father was Irish but the mother and children were brought up as, and feel, French Canadian. And for the Jews, the number is under-estimated since there is confusion between the ethnic group and the particular country, perhaps Russia, Poland, or Germany, from which the ancestors emigrated. Nevertheless, the figures do give us a rough estimate of variations.

The largest single group, according to 1961 census figures, comes from the British Isles, 43.8 per cent, followed by the French 30.4, with the other groups composing just below 26 per cent. The proportion of British origin — which was 58.9 per cent in 1881 — has been decreasing gradually for some years and the proportion coming from Europe, other than England and France, has been constantly increasing, from 6.9 per cent in 1881 to 22.8 in 1961. (Table 8).[29]

That the immigrants have tended to assimilate in the direction of the English culture is suggested in the statistics on "mother tongue",

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[29] DBS, Bulletin 92-553, 1961.

that is, the language first learned as a child and still understood. The statistics show English 58.4 per cent; French 28.1 and Other, 13.5. Relatively few members of non-French groups learn French and in four ethnic groups, a majority of persons even give English as the mother tongue : Scandinavian, German, Jewish, and Dutch.[30]

Table 8

POPULATION DISTRIBUTION BY ETHNIC GROUPS 1961

Ethnic Origin	Percentage
British Isles	43.8
French	30.4
German	5.8
Ukrainian	2.6
Italian	2.5
Netherlands	2.4
Scandinavian	2.1
Polish	1.8
Jewish	1.0
Russian	0.7
Other European	3.9
Chinese	0.3
Japanese	0.2
Other Asiatic	0.2
Native Indian and Eskimo	1.2
Other and not stated	1.3
	100.0

Variations by Age. The various ethnic groups have different age distributions. In Canada as a whole, 34 per cent of the population in 1961 was less than 15 years of age. Among the Chinese, the percentage was 28 per cent (in 1951, it was 16 per cent) and, at the other extreme, the Indians and Eskimos had 46.7 per cent. We can explain such differences. The Chinese immigrants in the early decades of the century were married men who came to Canada without their families, while the Indians and Eskimos have had an exceptionally high birth rate. For the percentage under 15 years of age, next in order,

30 DBS, Bulletin 92-561, 1961.

following the Indians and Eskimos are the Dutch with 38.3 per cent and the French Canadians with 37.4 — both also with high birth rates.

For those in older age group, the pattern is also varied but different. The proportion of the Canadian population 45 and over in 1961 was 25 per cent; but for such groups as the Jews and Russians for whom immigration was high a few generations ago, the proportions were 33.1 and 30.6 respectively. For the Indians and Eskimos and Italians especially, the proportions are low, stemming from a high percentage in the lower age group and also, for the Indians and Eskimos, a high death rate.[31]

Sex Ratio. In the earlier days of immigration, many more men than women immigrated to Canada, a situation still reflected in current statistics. Among the Italians, for example, the sex ratio in 1961 (the number of men per 100 women) was 115 (126 in 1951), among Scandinavians 112 (119 in 1951). The Chinese have the most extreme pattern. In 1961 the sex ratio was 163 (374 in 1951), and for those 65 and over it was 824.

Marital Status. Those groups with high proportions of children ordinarily have lower proportions married. Thus of those of French origin, 58 per cent were unmarried compared to 40 per cent among the British. Indians and Eskimos, with many children, also have relatively few married.

Ethnic Families. The statistics on the families of ethnic groups for 1961 have not yet been released. However, the picture since 1951 has probably not changed greatly. Of the 3,300,000 families in Canada in 1951, approximately half had family heads of British origin and approximately one fourth French. The families of British origin predominate in all provinces except Quebec, with the highest percentage of non-British and non-French in the Prairies (45 per cent of family heads).

The families of the various ethnic groups differ in size, being largest among the Indians and Eskimos, with an average family size of 4.7, and the French with an average of 4.4. The Jewish group was lowest with 3.2. The number of very large families strongly affects these averages. Among the Indians and Eskimos, some 13.8

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31 DBS, Bulletin 92-553, 1961.

per cent of the families had six children or more while, among the French Canadians, the figure was 10.5. For the Jews, in contrast, only one tenth of one per cent had families of this size.

Ethnic groups vary in the degree to which the children attend school, with the Jews again representing one pole. The Jews in 1951 had the highest proportion attending school in both the 14-17 and 18-24 age groups, with percentages of 82.5 and 30.8 respectively. The families with Asiatic heads followed closely behind with 82.1 and 25 per cent respectively. The explanation for both groups in part lies in their high urban concentrations, but the value placed on education is also undoubtedly important.[32] For the 14-17 age group, only the families of French, Indian and Eskimo origin were below the national average of 66 per cent in school; for the 18-24 group, the same groups are also below the national average of 13.2 per cent along with those of German and "Other European" origin.

The labour force statistics show just the opposite picture with few Jews and Asiatics between 14 and 18 working. In contrast, the rates were high for the French Canadians and the Dutch, due to their economic situation, the higher percentage in rural areas and their values.

Persons of the same origin tend to marry one another, but again ethnic groups differ. If we view intermarriage as an index of cultural assimilation, the Scandinavians and the Dutch have most assimilated the Anglo-Saxon culture since, according to the census of 1951, they more often married spouses of British origin than of their own. Germans also often married out of their own ethnic group. The Jews, with a percentage of 93.1, most often married among themselves although here ethnic and religious affiliation are compounded. For the Asiatics and Indians and Eskimos, where race and segregation come into play, intermarriage is also low.[33]

Immigrants — The General Picture

According to the census of 1961, some 15.6 per cent of our population is foreign born. Of these 5.1 per cent were born in the

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[32] For a United States study on these points, see BERNARD C. ROSEN, "Race, Ethnicity, and the Achievement Syndrome", *American Sociological Review*, 24 (February, 1959), pp. 47-60.

[33] Canada, DBS, *Ninth Census of Canada: 1951*. General Review and Summary Tables, X, Chap. XIV, pp. 341-42.

United Kingdom and Commonwealth Countries (it was 7.3 in 1951), 8 per cent in other European countries, and 1.6 per cent in the United States. In the past 60 years or so, as in the United States, we find a gradual but pronounced change in the country of origin of immigrants, from the countries of northwest Europe to those of the South and the East; from England, France, Belgium, Germany, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries to Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Russia, and Finland. Relatively, the proportion from the United Kingdom and other Commonwealth countries especially has decreased.

The immigrants are not equally distributed throughout the country. Mostly they are urban, some 81.4 per cent living in urban areas in 1961 compared to just under 70 per cent of the native born. By far the great majority have settled in Ontario and western Canada. Following the 1951 census, some 86 per cent of the foreign born lived in Ontario, the Prairie Provinces, and British Columbia, compared to 55 per cent of the native-born Canadians.

In Canada, we have always had more men than women, a difference due to the higher percentage of men among the immigrants. But the ratio is going down. In 1911, Canada had 158 foreign born men for every 100 women; in 1962, the figure was down to 107.4. The sex ratio for Canada as a whole was 102. The old pattern of primarily male emigration is passing. (Table 9). Since 1931, we have actually admitted more women immigrants than men, especially from the United States, Great Britain, and other Commonwealth countries.

Table 9

SEX RATIO OF FOREIGN BORN FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1951 AND 1961

Country of Origin	1951	1961
Scandinavia	193	128
Italy	175	105
Austria and Poland	131	105
China	703	110

Immigrants are generally adults and the high percentage that arrived before 1931 (75 per cent) are today in the high age brackets. In 1961, over 38 per cent of the Canadian born population was below

15 years of age; among the immigrants, the percentage was less than 10. Roughly a third of our Canadian born population was 35 and over; among the immigrants it is twice that. And for those in the country 65 and over, as many as 38 per cent are foreign born. The number of young immigrants arriving since World War II partially but not completely changed the general picture.

The post war immigrants, those that came to Canada after 1946, present a slightly variant picture. We observed that they are generally more skilled and better educated, their education comparing favourably with the rates for Canada as a whole. They have tended to be in the middle age group, with the great majority between 20 and 49 years of age. Like their predecessors they tended to settle in urban areas where there was a demand for their labour; but unlike their forbears — at least those that came before 1931 — they included almost as many females as males. From 1952 to 1961, females made up almost 48 per cent of the immigration. [34]

Immigrant Households. Approximately a quarter of the households in Canada are immigrant households, that is, the head of the family is foreign born. In general, the proportion increases as we go from east to west in Canada. Of the cities, with a population of over 100,000, Toronto has the most such households, but the proportions are highest in Winnipeg and Vancouver, each with 47 per cent. For those immigrants who came after the war and have families, Montreal leads with 13.6 per cent.

According to a special study in 1961 by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, families of post-war immigrants tend to be stable and well integrated. The sample was taken from those post-war immigrants who came as heads of households or independent adults; wives, fiancées, and other dependents were excluded. Among those already married, it was found, separations were few. Of those married here, as many as 38 per cent married spouses who were Canadian born and they generally expressed utmost satisfaction with the way migration had affected their lives. Because of the deaths of males during the war and the surplus of unmarried women, these marriages seem especially appropriate in this post-war period. The

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[34] See *Canada Year Book, 1962,* chap. on Immigration and Citizenship.

picture of marital stability is reinforced by other indices such as low mental illness and criminal rates.[35]

The study also touches on the family relationships of pre-immigration families. In former days, a husband often immigrated and later sent for his wife and children. The post-war migrants however tended to come as family units. Only 14 per cent had a staggered landing and many of these families were soon reunited. After landing, there was also further considerable movement of non-nuclear dependents of the extended family, such as elderly parents, brothers, and sisters. At the time of the survey only 11 per cent of the families still had dependent relatives abroad they wanted to bring to Canada and many of these were recently widowed mothers or fathers.[36]

The immigrants of former days have a level of living roughly similar to those born in Canada. Those who came after the war do not. Of the heads of families born in Canada, 65 per cent live in single houses; of the heads of families who came between 1946 and 1951, the corresponding figure is 50 per cent. In the former group, the average size house has 5.4 rooms; in the latter, 4.7. However, we find no essential differences in the possession of such basic household conveniences as refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, telephones, etc.[37]

The economic integration of these immigrants, however, has been very rapid. In two to four years, it is estimated, immigrants attain occupations and incomes comparable to the native born of similar statuses. Many immigrants continue to move upwards to statuses higher than those in the old country and to incomes higher than the native born of similar ages. The DBS *Survey on Distribution of Family Incomes by Size in 1957* reports that, except for the most recent arrivals, male post-war immigrants had a higher average income than the native born resident — $3387 to $3380. The situation wasn't quite as good for the female immigrant — $1312 versus $1475 for the female native born. This picture is corroborated in the DBS

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[35] For a further reference to delinquency among immigrants, see chapter 6.

[36] Canada, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, *Family Structure and Integration of Immigrants* (Report GI 5, Ottawa: October, 1962).

[37] Canada, DBS, *Ninth Census of Canada: 1951.* General Review and Summary Tables, X, chap. XVI, pp. 417-24.

survey of 1959. The general success of the immigrant is undoubtedly due in part to the government's skill-oriented selection policy and to the enterprising qualities of those who choose to immigrate.

Many married immigrant women work. In a Department of Labour survey dealing with married women working for pay, as many as one third of the sample turned out to be immigrants.[38] These women, especially those who had language problems were not doing as well on the labour market as the Canadian born, working longer hours and earning less. Relatively more so than the native born, the immigrant wives seem to work because they need the money. Most were married to foreign born men whose earning power, at least during their first few years in Canada, was relatively low — and this undoubtedly gave an important incentive to work.

A thesis by Eva Manyi at the University of Montreal arrives at essentially the same conclusion. Following interviews and budget analysis of 30 working immigrant mothers who left their young children at a day nursery, the author concludes that these women felt they had to work to supplement the income of their husbands and to have enough money to satisfy basic family needs.[39]

A few recent theoretical articles touch on the more personal problems of adjustment which immigrants may encounter, although the emphasis is not particularly on Canadian questions. Frank E. Jones of McMaster University discusses some of the strains of adapting to a new country. He cites the emotional satisfaction which an immigrant may need but which others find difficult to provide, the prestige which may be lower than in the old country, the conflict between democratic tendencies and a more authoritarian background, and the conflict of generations.[40] Henry Seywerd, formerly of The Canadian Citizenship Council, also cites the possible conflict between generations and adds such problems as language adjustment, the feeling of being "marginal" and problems, especially of the unmarried, in achieving satisfactory

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[38] Canada, Department of Labour, "The Immigrant", *Occupational Histories of Married Women Working for Pay (in 8 Canadian Cities)* (Ottawa : Queen's Printer, 1960), pp. 48-53. Also see the section on working wives in chapter 5.

[39] Eva Manyi, "La raison du travail de la femme néo-canadienne" (unpublished Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Montreal, 1955).

[40] Frank E. Jones, "The Newcomers", *Food for Thought,* 14 (March, 1954), pp. 62-67.

heterosexual relationships.[41] Such immigrant problems were widely studied a few generations ago but have received little attention in recent years.

Specific Ethnic Groups in Canada

We have surprisingly few studies of ethnic groups which focus on families. Certain basic statistical data are available, for example, on the sex ratios, intermarriage rate, years of schooling, etc. Articles and books, frequently published by ethnic group associations and tending to be rather self-adulatory, also review the histories of various ethnic group associations and certain traditional types of behaviour. Current ethnographic and sociological material is rare. It has not been possible to review all the studies which might incidentally touch on recent family patterns of each ethnic or immigrant group. In the following sections, we shall briefly cite the basic background data and refer to major studies which discuss the family.

German. According to the 1961 census, 5.8 per cent of our population or over one million Canadian residents are of German origin. They have settled especially in Ontario and the provinces of the west. In 1961, some 65 per cent were living in cities, a large increase from the 44 per cent in 1951.

Those classified as German are not homogeneous since the statistics generally include the German speaking Mennonites and Hutterites. Undoubtedly, a high proportion have more or less assimilated to the English-Canadian culture, many having married Canadians of British origin and many, 59 per cent, citing English as their "mother tongue". The Mennonites and Hutterites, who are more rural, have remained further apart.

Numerous studies, mostly historical, discuss the Germans in Canada. The Department of Citizenship and Immigration, in its bibliographies, lists approximately 150 items dealing with the German population.[42] Most of these are historical; note, for example, Bruce Ramsey's history of the German-Canadians in British Columbia and George Reamon's study of the Pennsylvania Germans who migrated

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41 Henry Seyward, "The Adjustments of Immigrants", *Immigrants in Canada,* (Montreal, 1955), pp. 33-44.

42 Department of Citizenship and Immigration, *op. cit.*

to Ontario during the American Revolution. Other studies deal with folklore, particular settlements, German church activities, and other such topics. One of the most recent, a doctoral thesis by Rudolph A. Helling at Wayne State University, compares the acculturation of German immigrants in Toronto and Detroit. [43]

The Mennonites and Hutterites, by virtue of their distinctive cultures, have received considerable attention although again most of the reports are historical. In one of the most significant studies *In Search of Utopia,* E. K. Francis notes that the family is the foundation and nucleus of the Mennonite group. The Mennonites themselves feel that their ethnic community is composed of families more or less related by countless blood ties and intermarriages. [44]

The Hutterites have also interested social scientists especially because of their exceptionally high birth rate and their "therapeutic colony" technique of handling psychologically disturbed persons. [45]

Ukrainians. In 1961, the Ukrainians, with a population of 473,337, made up 2.6 per cent of our population, down slightly from the 2.8 per cent of 1951. They too are found mainly in Ontario and the Prairie Provinces. In the course of the last 40 years, a remarkable change has taken place in their rural-urban distribution. In 1921, most Ukrainians were employed on the land and less than 20 per cent lived in urban areas. In 1951, the urban percentage was 50; and in 1961, about 75. Ukrainians are now employed primarily in industrial areas.

The Ukrainians came to Canada in essentially three waves. The first, between 1894 and 1914, was primarily made up of conservative peasants, settling in the West. The second, after 1926, was less homogeneous, including farmers, labourers, intellectuals, and discharged

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[43] Bruce Ramsey, *A History of the German Canadians in British Columbia* (National Publisher, 1958), George Elmore Reaman, *The Trail of the Black Walnut* (Toronto : McClelland and Stewart, 1957) Rudolph A. Helling, "A Comparison of Acculturation of German Immigrants in Toronto, Ontario and Detroit, Michigan" (Ph.D. thesis, Sociology, Wayne State University, 1961).

[44] E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia : The Mennonnites in Manitoba* (Altona, Man.: D. W. Friesen & Sons, Ltd., 1955).

[45] J. R. Weil and J. W. Eaton, *Cultural and Mental Disorders : A Comparative Study of the Hutterites and Other Populations* (Glencoe, Ill. : The Free Press, 1955) ; Joseph W. Eaton and Albert J. Mayer, *Man's Capacity to Reproduce* (Glencoe, Ill. : The Free Press, 1954).

soldiers and many settled in urban centers in Ontario. A third wave of displaced persons began in 1957 and — like many other post war immigrants — included a high percentage of skilled tradesmen, professionals, and intellectuals. Ontario attracted the majority of these new immigrants. [46]

Many Ukrainians have always been interested in maintaining their culture and identity. [47] Ukrainian associations have been organized throughout Canada and numerous studies have been done on Ukrainian history, schools, poetry, folklore, newspapers, and occupational adjustment. [48] The language has been of particular interest with strong encouragement in Ukrainian circles and a strong movement to teach the Ukrainian language in schools.

Studies focusing on the family are few. One thesis deals with the intermarriage of Ukrainians in Saskatchewan. [49] Another many years ago described certain conflicts between parents and children and the adaptations required of the parents. [50] But the questions pertinent today, especially for the third generation, are undoubtedly quite different. Probably, in a pattern common for ethnic groups, many Ukrainians recognize their origin and identify with other Ukrainians, but tend to accept, with few feelings of cultural conflict, the general English-Canadian way of life.

Italians. Most Italians are recent immigrants to Canada. In 1951, they made up just 1.1 per cent of the population; in 1962, the figure was up to 2.5. The Italians have settled mostly in Ontario, secondly in Quebec, and thirdly in British Columbia.

Many fewer studies have been done on the Italians than on the Germans and Ukrainians. A thesis in 1939 touched on the changing pattern of family behaviour and the conflict between generations, [51]

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[46] V. J. KAYE, "The Ukrainian in Canada", *Immigrants in Canada* (Montreal, 1955), pp. 12-16.

[47] But note the subtitles of the following books: CHARLES H. YOUNG, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1931); and VERA LYSENKO, *Men in Sheepskin Coats: A Study in Assimilation* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1947).

[48] See the bibliographies of Citizenship and Immigration, *op. cit.*

[49] M. STEFANOW, "A Study of Intermarriage of Ukrainians in Saskatchewan" (Master's thesis, University of Saskatchewan).

[50] CHARLES M. BAYLEY, "The Social Structure of the Italian and Ukrainian Immigrant Communities in Montreal" (Master's thesis, McGill University, 1939).

[51] *Ibid.*

but how important these problems are today we do not know. Philippe Garigue, in a report for the Department of Citizenship and Immigration in 1955, studied the contribution of Italian associations in Montreal to immigrant integration in the community.[52] One thesis by Vincent Castellano at the School of Social Work at the University of Toronto analyzes 55 case histories of Italian immigrants who, because of mental illness, were admitted to the Ontario Hospital, Toronto. The author studied the effect on the immigrant of such psychological stresses as isolation, separation from the family, changes in mores and values, lack of language communication, loss of occupational status, economic stress, and rejection by Italians already established in the country. It was impossible, however, to isolate the specific factors.[53]

Dutch. The Dutch in 1961 made up 2.4 per cent of our population, a considerable increase from the 1951 percentage of 1.9. Most of the Dutch are in Ontario and the provinces of the West, with 60 per cent now in urban centers compared to 40 per cent in 1951.

The studies on the Dutch have focused primarily on demographic problems. Perhaps the most noteworthy is William Petersen's analysis of Dutch immigration to Canada. Both governments tried to control the immigration but, considering the social problems involved, says Petersen, the administrative controls were not as rational as they might have been.[54]

Scandinavian. The next largest group are the Scandinavians who make up 2.1 per cent of our population and reside mostly in British Columbia and Alberta, followed by Saskatchewan and Ontario. In 1961, 70 per cent were urban, an increase of 23 per cent since 1951. The Scandinavians are not a homogeneous group, including Swedes, Danes, Norwegians, and Icelanders.

The studies of Scandinavians are few and almost entirely historical. Some focus on given groups in given areas, such as the Finns of Sudbury or the Swedes in the Stockholm district of Saskatchewan.[55]

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52 P. GARIGUE, *Association of Persons of Italian Descent in Montreal* (typescript; Montreal: 1955).

53 VINCENT CASTELLANO, "Mental Illness Among Italian Immigrants" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1959).

54 WILLIAM PETERSEN, *Planned Migration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955).

55 M. I. ALLEN, "History of the Finnish People of the Sudbury District" (Master's thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1954); G. M. HALLIWELL and

One thesis in the School of Social Work at the University of British Columbia does discuss how Finnish immigrants cope with socio-economic pressures and participate in community services.[56]

Polish. Almost 325,000 Canadian residents are of Polish origin, 1.8 per cent of our population. The first large groups came to Canada in the 1850's and a mass immigration followed in the years 1903-1914.

Again, most of the studies of the Poles in Canada are historical, although there are researches on the Polish language press, social preferences in school, and folklore. Sheila Patterson has discussed the Polish post-1939 immigrants, noting especially the factors which aid or retard their integration into the Canadian socio-economic system. But we find nothing distinctive on the family.[57]

Hungarians. The Hungarians in this country have received a certain attention because Canada opened its doors to several thousand refugees following the unsuccessful revolution in 1956. The Hungarian population in Canada in 1961, partly because of this immigration, is considerably higher than in 1951, but is still relatively small, making up 0.8 per cent of the population (in 1951, it was 0.4). They live primarily in Ontario, followed by Quebec and the provinces of the West. Eighty per cent are urban.

Sociologist John Kosa has given us a picture of the family life of certain Hungarians in Canada. Kosa studied, through interviews, 112 families of Hungarian immigrants in Ontario who came to Canada before 1939, as adults, from the poor classes of Hungarian society. This group, Kosa affirms, has its own characteristics, different from the majority populations of both Canada and Hungary.

The Hungarian immigrant, economically, says Kosa, is a rational man. In order to achieve some success, he is willing to adapt to the patterns of the new society. In selecting a mate and in family relationships, however, less rational considerations necessarily come into play. The Hungarian immigrant might like to establish a family in

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Z. D. PERSSON, *Three Score and Ten, 1886-1956* (Yorkton, Sask.: The Redeemer's Voice Press, 1959).

56 K. I. KINANEN, "The Socio-Economic Adjustment of Finnish Immigrants, with Special Reference to the Utilization of Social Services" (thesis, Social Work, University of British Columbia, 1955).

57 SHEILA PATTERSON, "The Post-1939 Polish Ethnic Group in Canada" (Ph.D. thesis, London School of Economics, 1962).

the usual way, through a romantic courtship, but he can't. He has financial difficulties, finds it harder to meet an acceptable girl, and intermarriage would introduce certain linguistic and cultural problems. So the immigrants in this particular sample looked to the old country to find their mates and, despite a preference for a marriage based on romantic love, made marital selections on the basis of practical considerations.

Kosa also discusses the problems of parental authority and intergeneration disagreement. The Hungarian pattern in Europe was rather patriarchal and a child's behaviour was closely watched and guided. Here the pattern has become more "Canadian", that is, less patriarchal, more generous in allowance, less concerned with etiquette, and allowing of greater freedom to the children. In effect, a compromise has been worked out between the Hungarian and Canadian family systems, with the compromise, as the time passes, taking on more and more Canadian traits. But despite these changes, Kosa states, the coherence of the family remains strong.

We cannot generalize from this particular study to Hungarians who live elsewhere in Canada, who represent higher socio-economic levels, or who have immigrated more recently. But we do get a picture of a successful adaptation, and it may well be — although it is impossible to document — that other ethnic groups followed the same pattern.[58]

Jews. For their size, we have more material on the Jews than on any other European ethnic group, with numerous demographic researches, research reports, and several theses. The census of 1961 gives a Jewish population of 173,344; however this estimate is low since many Jews cited their country of origin rather than "Jewish". A more accurate figure is derived from the number who profess the Jewish religion, 254,368, which is 1.4 per cent of the population.

Partly because the sources of Jewish immigration are few and partly because the average size of the family is small (3.5), the Jewish population has increased just 24.2 per cent since 1951, one of the lowest among the ethnic groups. The Jews are almost completely urban (99 per cent), with over 80 per cent living in the metropolitan

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58 J. Kosa, *Land of Choice, The Hungarians in Canada* (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1957), pp. 44-60.

areas of Montreal, Toronto, and Winnipeg. The rest are scattered far and wide throughout Canada.

The Jews present a somewhat distinctive picture in Canada. They are a small group, relatively prosperous, with a high percentage in the professions and certain businesses. Few, however, have important posts in Canada's largest corporations. Their families are small and they value education highly, conscientiously making an effort to secure a better life for themselves and their children. Their values, in this sense, accord with those of the Anglo-Saxon community.[59] Family solidarity is strong with an extremely low rate of intermarriage although this rate more than doubled from 1926 to 1951, from 4.9 per cent to 10.7. The intermarriage rate is lowest in Quebec where the Jews are most concentrated.

Studies have been made of numerous facets of Jewish life in Canada. Louis Rosenberg of the Canadian Jewish Congress has been most prolific with his reports on demographic patterns and changes. Other areas covered are : history, with one complete volume on the Jews in Manitoba; community organization; immigrant assistance; Jewish medical practice; Jews in Canadian literature; and the fate of one hundred European war orphans taken in by Jewish families after World War II.[60] Many of these reports touch on the Jewish family, but no one volume has selected the Jewish family as such as the basic unit of study.

Doukhobors. The Doukhobors do not merit special attention because of their size; in 1961, they numbered only 13,234. However, because of their uniqueness, they have been the subject of some books and of numerous articles and theses. A chapter in one volume about

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59 For evidence in the United States, see Rosen *op. cit.*

60 Louis Rosenberg, *A Study of the Changes in the Geographic Distribution of the Jewish Population in the Metropolitan Area of Toronto 1851-1951* (Montreal : Canadian Jewish Congress, 1954) ; Rosenberg, *A Study of the Growth and Changes in the Distribution of the Jewish Population of Montreal* (Montreal : Canadian Jewish Congress, 1955) ; M. C. Pirie, "Patterns of Mobility and Assimilation : A Study of the Jewish Community" (Ph.D. thesis, Anthropology, Yale University, 1957) ; David Rome, "Jews in Canadian Literature" (M.A. thesis, University of Montreal, 1961) ; Rosenberg, "The Demography of the Jewish Community in Canada", *Jewish Journal of Sociology,* I (December, 1959) ; A. Chiel, *The Jews in Manitoba* (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1961) ; J. Kage, *Two Hundred Years of Jewish Immigration to Canada* (Montreal : Eagle Publishing Co., 1960) ; and B. Lappin, *The Redeemed Children* (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1963).

the Doukhobors of British Columbia deals particularly with childhood and family life. Claudia Lewis, the author, with an assistant, spent two summers with the Doukhobors observing their behaviour. The child is free to do what he wishes in some areas but, in general, is under a very strict authority. His natural impulses and emotional expression are sharply restricted. He must know his place and show respect and deference to adults. He must not disturb adults and may be expected to stand or sit quietly for long periods of time. Control of "the impulses of the flesh" is severe. The parents, Claudia Lewis suggests, can let out their own bitterness on the child under the guise of acceptable child rearing. [61]

Other European Groups. Many other countries in Europe — Greece, Czechoslovakia, Belgium, Spain, Yugoslavia, etc. — have also given us citizens, and many articles and books have been written about them. But the families of these groups, as such, have not been subject to study. For almost all of these minorities, Ontario is the primary province of settlement. [62]

Asiatics. Approximately 0.7 per cent of our population are Asiatics, mostly Chinese with 58,197 and Japanese with 29,157. The Asiatics are both racial and ethnic minorities, distinguished by their physical features as well as their cultures. The Chinese are found mostly in British Columbia and the Japanese mostly in Ontario. Both groups are highly urbanized.

The Asiatics have been limited entering Canada by the immigration laws. Chinese were barred from permanent residence under the Chinese Immigration Act of 1927; and, against the Japanese, restrictions were imposed as early as 1908, followed by a "gentleman's agreement" in 1928 limiting their immigration to 150 a year. Even the Commonwealth countries of India, Pakistan, and Ceylon had quotas of 150, 100, and 50 respectively. These restrictions have now been lifted and, as an example of the change in policy, 100 families of Chinese refugees were admitted from Hong Kong in 1962.

The Chinese as we observed have had a unique pattern. The first immigrants were men who lived a kind of rooming house life. Those

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61 CLAUDIA LEWIS, "Doukhobor Children and Family Life", in *The Doukhobors of British Columbia,* ed. H. B. Hawthorn (Vancouver : University of British Columbia, 1952), pp. 97-121.

62 Bibliographies of Department of Citizenship and Immigration, *op. cit.*

who were Canadian citizens were allowed to bring their wives and children. The men and their families almost all came from certain small villages in China, so the Chinese communities here have had a strong unity and common loyalties. Since the Chinese girls of marriageable age in Canada were few, the men developed the pattern of returning to China for their brides. In recent years, more and more Chinese have been able to establish family units and with each new census, we find an increasing percentage of women and children. But, compared to other groups, the Chinese are still predominantly an old and male population. [63]

Negroes. The Negroes are a racial rather than an ethnic minority, distinguished by their physical features. Canada in 1961 had only 32,127 Negroes, 0.2 per cent of the population. Most, 65 per cent, are urban and live in Nova Scotia and Ontario.

Numerous historical studies have been written on the Negroes in Canada and a few, including one doctoral thesis, on their cultural and community life. The most recent study with any detail on Negro family life derives from several theses prepared at the Maritime School of Social Work under the sponsorship of the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University. The primary data were gathered in Halifax through personal interviews with 134 Negro families. Further data were gathered from community records, case reports of social agencies, and interviews with knowledgeable citizens.

In general these studies indicate that the Negroes in Halifax do present a social problem — in health, housing, child welfare, and family organization. Racial attitudes and pressures, it is suggested, permeate every phase of the coloured family's life and, in varying degrees, contribute to its disorganization. One thesis reports that the Negro families tend to make their own plans for children in need

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63 ANNE M. DAVISON, "An Analysis of the Significant Factors in the Patterns of Toronto Chinese Family Life as a Result of the Recent Changes in Immigration Laws" (Master's thesis, Social Work, University of Toronto, 1952). Also see the following recent works: S. ANDRACKI, "The Immigration of Orientals into Canada with Special Reference to Chinese" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, McGill University, 1958); E. D. WANGENHEIM, "The Social Organization of the Japanese Community in Toronto — A Product of Crisis" (M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1956); and DAVID T. H. LEE (ed.), *The History of Chinese in Canada,* (Victoria, British Columbia: Joint publishers, Victoria Chinese Benevolent Association and the Chinese Public School, 1960).

of care and protection, trying to place them with relatives and friends. If this fails, then they may use the child care agencies and institutions. [64]

Indians. The Indians too are not a large group in Canada. According to the 1961 census, they number 208,286, just 1.1 per cent of our population. However, because of their unique historical role in Canada and the deprivations they have suffered, they have received considerable attention. Indians are found primarily in Ontario and British Columbia followed by Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and Quebec. Only 15 per cent are classified as urban, but this is a large increase from 1951 when only 0.7 per cent were thus classified.

The Indians are divided into 562 bands, ranging in size from 10 to 7000 members. Some three fourths of them live in 2217 reserves scattered across Canada; the others live in the Northwest Territories or the Yukon where there are no reserves or, like other groups, have moved to urban and industrial centers. The Indians are not becoming extinct, their population from 1951 to 1961 having increased some 32 per cent. With a high birth rate, we find a high percentage of young, with almost half less than 16 years of age. Compared to earlier years, many more are going to school. The total school population is double that of 10 years ago and some 2800 are attending grades 9 to 12 in non-Indian schools.

Indian family patterns are changing. Perhaps the most intensive study of the Indian family was part of a larger report on the Indians of British Columbia. In most of the Indian family cultures, the authors suggest, a new family type has emerged. Traditionally the kinship unit was wide and the conjugal family within it, that is the family made up of the husband, wife, and children, existed "nameless and relatively unnoticed". The larger family unit gave authority, protection and an extraordinary amount of security to the individual.

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[64] See especially the following two theses of the group project at the Maritime School of Social Work, 1959 : C. A. Russell, "Child Welfare Problems in the Coloured Community", and L. Tysko, "Family Life and Family Stability of Negro Families in Halifax". The general report published by the Institute of Public Affairs, Dalhousie University, is entitled "The Condition of the Negroes of Halifax City, Nova Scotia". See also the Bibliographies of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration and Daniel G. Hill, "Negroes in Toronto" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Political Economy, University of Toronto, 1960).

But today the conjugal family has become central, perhaps the major unit of the social structure. New rules and attitudes have been incorporated into the Indian cultures. We now find, for example, the separation and partial isolation of the conjugal family, the naming of these families and of individuals to show their descent, new patterns of courtship with individual choice of marriage partner, conjugal family responsibility for finding a home, narrowed responsibility in caring for the very young and very old, the acceptance of help from government and non-Indian religious organizations, and a new sex morality. The Indians, in sum, are becoming more like the white groups around them. [65]

We know of course that not all goes well in many Indian and Metis (mixed Indian and White) groups. Many live in rural slums; rates of illegitimacy are high; infant mortality, according to figures of 1956-58, is two and a half times as high as among the Whites. One recent Master's thesis by M. J. Brant in the School of Social Work, University of Toronto, elaborates on certain aspects of this disorganization. The author, through the case study method, investigated 20 cases of parental neglect in Indian families, noting that the parents were singularly lacking in guilt and self-reproach when the children were admitted to foster parent child care. Brant suggests that the parents' readiness to delegate responsibility is due in part to a continuation of their traditional attitude according to which responsibility is shared by the extended family or village mutual aid society. [66] So among some Indians, the transition from the old to the new patterns is far from smooth.

Eskimos. The Eskimos are one of the smallest of our ethnic groups, numbering in 1961, just 11,835, 0.1 per cent of our population. But because they have had such a distinctive culture and have managed to survive in the north through thousands of years, they have fascinated the laymen and have been intensively studied by anthropologists.

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65 H. B. Hawthorn, C. S. Belshaw and S. M. Jamieson, *The Indians of British Columbia: A Study of Contemporary Social Adjustment* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958). Also see R. W. Dunning, *Social and Economic Change Among the Northern Ojibwa* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959); and Jean H. Lagasse, *The People of Indian Ancestry in Manitoba, A Socio-Economic Study* 3 vols., (Manitoba: Queen's Printer, 1959).

66 M. J. Brant, "Parental Neglect in Indian Families" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1959).

The conditions of Eskimo life, in recent years, have changed considerably. Each year an increasing number give up a nomadic life of hunting and fishing and take regular jobs such as truck drivers, mechanics, miners, and labourers, and the women sometimes as domestics. Thus, many now have a cash income and live in a wage economy, buying their material needs from the Hudson's Bay Company store. The change, plus the general influence of the White population, has had its repercussions on the family.

It is difficult however to generalize about these repercussions. Dozens of studies of Eskimo bands touch on the family, but the material has never been integrated with this particular focus. A few recent studies in Keewatin, however, probably show the general trends.

Dailey and Dailey discuss a group of Eskimos at Rankin Inlet who work in the mines. Eskimo women, they affirm, once had a clear cut economic role in the family which ensured their equality. Now, with the men receiving wages, the wife is less important. The man can purchase his clothes, tools, and other material goods and, if he so desires, can move into the mine staff house and "live as a white man". The father also no longer has the time or will to teach his sons the old ways, so the younger male generation knows little about gaining a livelihood from the land. The girls meanwhile continue to learn the traditional role of women and the arts of home-making.[67]

Frank Vallee, in another Keewatin study, suggests that certain patterns are changing, but not all. Traditionally when the Eskimos hunted caribou, they lived in small groups, with family units sharing campsites and helping each other. Now the men work for a cash income. But, as in the past, the men still make major decisions and their wishes are given priority. The women continue to maintain the dwelling.

The marriage pattern has changed. Marriage used to be arranged by the family well in advance. Now the family may still give guidance but marriages take place at a later age than before and the young

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[67] R. C. Dailey and L. A. Dailey, *The Eskimo of Rankin Inlet: A Preliminary Report* (Ottawa: Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1961).

people have more personal choice. Compatibility in age and temperament, once given no weight, are becoming increasingly important. As before, children are deeply desired but infant mortality is high. Adoption, for childless families, is common with an easy shifting of children from one family to another. Also, as in the past, a child is tended constantly and the parents do not become angry or physically punish him. Parents gently restrain the child from improper or dangerous behaviour and gradually edge him into an adult role. [68]

From the brief summaries given of ethnic groups, it is apparent that valid information on ethnic and immigrant families is meager. For most groups, the authors have been primarily interested in historical studies and secondarily in folklore and demography. Relatively little has been written on family patterns, family variations or family problems. Undoubtedly, considerable changes have taken place, but what they are and how they have affected family relationships, we do not know. This is an important neglected area in Canadian ethnic group research.

The Family in French Canada

Sources. The French-Canadian family has long been the subject of considerable discussion although, to a great degree, the reports are moralistic and commentaries on history. In general, such reports, plus the material that is not relatively recent, will not be presented here although references to them may be found in the works that are cited. Note too that much of the material on the French-Canadian family is discussed in other chapters. We attempt here only to place the French-Canadian family in context and to note broad trends and central issues.

Two noteworthy *works* have appeared in the past few years. One by Philippe Garigue of the University of Montreal, entitled, *La Vie familiale des Canadiens français,* analyzes the current situation of the French-Canadian family. Data on various aspects of family relationships, which were obtained in interviews with 228 families between 1954 and 1958, are combined with a historical and social analysis. The second work, by Marc-Adélard Tremblay and Gérald

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68 F. G. VALLEE, *Kabloona and Eskimo in the Central Keewatin* (Ottawa : Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, 1962).

Fortin of Laval University, presents the results of a large scale survey in 1959 of the families of 1500 French-Canadian salaried workers in Quebec. This group represents between 70 and 80 percent of the French-Canadian population. The study was sponsored by La Fédération des Caisses Populaires Desjardins in cooperation with l'Assurance-Vie Desjardins and includes data on such questions as sources of income, recourse to credit, savings, expenditures, and related aspirations.

Numerous other reports touch directly or indirectly on the family. Some, for example articles by Guy Rocher on the French-Canadian woman or the changing family, are informed essay-type articles which discuss available data and trends [69]; some, such as the articles by M. Rioux and P. Garigue on cultural values, are broad anthropological portraits [70]; some, for example the articles by Garigue and R. Piddington on kinship relationships, employ anthropological techniques but are more limited in scope [71]; some, such as M.-A. Tremblay's study of L'Anse des Lavallée in Nova Scotia, are community studies[72]; some cited in the previous chapters by Keyfitz, Henripin, and others are demographic; some, such as the research by G. Fortin on the forest workers and N. W. Taylor on French-Canadian business men, touch on family problems in specific milieus [73]; some, such as those of Lise Roquet and F. Roussel, are more psychological, focusing on personality and intrafamily personal relationships. [74] In general, these studies employ legitimate techniques of their respective

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[69] Guy Rocher, "Les modèles et le statut de la femme canadienne-française", *Revue internationale des Sciences Sociales,* XIV, No. 1 (1962), pp. 132-139; Guy Rocher, "La famille dans la ville moderne", *Service social,* IV (1954), pp. 80-84.

[70] Marcel Rioux, "Sur le développement socio-culturel du Canada français", *Contributions à l'Etude des Sciences de l'Homme,* 4 (1959), pp. 144-162; Philippe Garigue, "Les changements sociaux et les valeurs culturelles", *L'Actualité Economique,* (oct.-déc., 1958), pp. 426-435.

[71] P. Garigue, "French-Canadian Kinship and Urban Life", *American Anthropologist,* XLVIII (December, 1956), pp. 1090-1101; Ralph Piddington, "A Study of French-Canadian Kinship", *International Journal of Comparative Sociology,* II (March, 1961), pp. 3-32.

[72] C. Hughes et al., *People of Cove and Woodlot, op. cit.*

[73] Gérald Fortin, "Les changements socio-culturels dans une paroisse socio-agricole", *Recherches Sociographiques,* II (avril-juin, 1961), pp. 151-70; N. W. Taylor, "L'industriel canadien-français et son milieu", *Recherches Sociographiques,* II (avril-juin, 1961), pp. 135-51; N. W. Taylor "French Canadians as Industrial Entrepreneurs", *The Journal of Political Economy,* LXVII (February, 1960), pp. 37-52.

[74] See chapter 5 for the specific references.

disciplines; the authors seek valid data and cite the necessary qualifications of the methods they employ.

Surveys of attitudes and behaviour have also been conducted by such groups as the Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique and the L'Action Catholique Canadienne. These studies, often with unrepresentative samples and limitations in technique, do not pretend to be significant contributions to our knowledge of the family but, as we shall see in the succeeding chapters, do contribute to our understanding of certain problems in certain milieus.

The Historical Context. In contrast to the family in English Canada, the French-Canadian family has always been a distinct entity with a distinctive culture. The reasons are essentially historical. The English Canadian family, by virtue of its language, contacts, commercial relationships, and immigration never lost contact with the families of England and the United States. The French-Canadian family, however, developed independently and originally. Two factors were especially important. First, with the suddent halt in immigration and control from France, the French-Canadian families were left to themselves. Second, the French Canadians always saw themselves in sharp opposition to the North American Anglo-Saxon culture that surrounded them. [75]

In great part the French-Canadian family was able to maintain its unique characteristics through its strong religious traditions and consensus which permitted the religious authorities to unite the people along broad religious principles. The church was the primary integrating force.

The principles of the church favoured strong familial solidarity, in part through the ideal of high birth rate. Children were the "dons gratuits de Dieu", the free gifts of God. This ideology was also strongly encouraged by political figures, and other leaders who preached the privileged destiny of the French-Canadian "race" who, thanks to the "revanche des berceaux", the revenge of the cradle, would be liberated from their minority status.

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[75] See especially P. GARIGUE, *La vie familiale des Canadiens français* (Montréal : Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1962).

Likewise encouraging this strong religious sentiment was the relative quiet and regularity of the rural life and often a link was made between survival, the family, and the rural world. The following ideas, as expressed by a Jesuit priest, were not uncommon :

> It is in the country and not the city, that we find the true features of a people because it is there that you find old families, families with roots, which persist and multiply . . . It is this source of life, force, stability and patriotism that the city tends to exhaust for its own profit... From a social point of view, the large city, especially in times of unemployment, consumes the body and the soul, disorganizes the family, brings forth animosity and hate, favours the hatching of revolutionary ideas and of social difficulties.[76]

In the family itself, divorce was out of the question and, in principle and the official ideology, the father was the authority and the wife obligated to obey. Garigue notes however — and we shall observe this again later — that the wife was not without influence.

Today, all authorities agree, urbanization and industrialization have profoundly transformed the French-Canadian family. In discussing the origin of the present day family, some writers, for example, M. Rioux, H. Miner, and E. C. Hughes stress the rural traditions of the past which kept many French Canadians relatively isolated. These groups were shaken by industrialization and urbanization.[77] Garigue argues that this emphasis is limited, that certain non-regressive and important external links persisted in the rural environment, and that a clear-cut continuity exists between the French-Canadian family of the past and the present.

The Family in an Era of Urbanization. In various ways in recent years, the family in French Canada and the influences impinging on the family have been changing. We have already noted certain trends. The population is becoming urbanized, with an increasing proportion living in the city each year and, incidentally, with a continued high rate of unemployment. The province is becoming industrialized with fewer and fewer working in the primary

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[76] Richard Arès, s.j., *Notre question nationale,* Vol. I, (Montréal : Editions de l'Action Nationale, 1945), pp. 150-152.

[77] Marcel Rioux, "Sur le développement socio-culturel du Canada français", *op. cit.;* Everett C. Hughes, *French Canada in Transition* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1943); Horace Miner, *St. Denis : A French-Canadian Parish* (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1939).

sectors of the economy and more in the secondary (factory) and tertiary (white collar). Nor is the urban society homogeneous. One study speaks of three milieus : the "urban bourgeois", "worker", and less distinct "white collar".[78] With finer instruments other milieus could be discerned and described.

The birth rate today, which has been steadily decreasing, is not much higher than the average for Canada. It is lowest in large cities and tends to increase the greater the distance from the large city. Infant mortality remains higher in Quebec than in most other provinces. Quebec brides tend to be older than those in other provinces and also have their children at a somewhat higher age.

The rural world is not as isolated and distinct as it once was and its sentiments and way of life are little different today from those in urban centers. Partly through the influence of the mass media, especially radio and television and advertising which reach rural as well as urban sectors, Quebec is becoming more and more standardized.[79]

The family has always been a strong and revered unit in French Canada. From a personal point of view, this has given a strong sense of security and warmth; from an economic point of view, however, this spirit has been partially responsible for holding back French Canadians in the economic and commercial world. With the family a primary concern, the directors of small family enterprises were reluctant to organize more impersonally and to take the risks necessary to expand and compete in a larger market. With the current revival in Quebec, the elite and provincial government are very much aware of this limitation and are now, in various ways, encouraging the efficient family enterprises to modify their structures and their policies.

As we shall observe later, the status of women and family interrelationships have changed considerably, in the same general direction as the rest of the western world. In the family, the woman,

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78 CLAUDE RYAN et al., *Les milieux sociaux urbains au Canada : Rapport d'une enquête* (Montréal : L'Action Catholique Canadienne, 1961). (Mimeographed.)

79 See, besides the references cited in the last section, the article by H. MINER, "A New Epoch in Rural Quebec", *American Journal of Sociology*, LVI (July, 1950), pp. 1-10.

despite the ideology which placed the man at the summit, has always been a central figure in guiding the family and bringing up the child. Legally, however, the woman — especially if married — has had few rights, but the present provincial government is expected to change this situation soon. In recent years, the woman has gained more political rights but has not taken advantage of them because, in part, of a feeling that her "place is not in politics".[80] More women work than ever before, a higher proportion in fact than in Canada as a whole, but the proportion of wives working for pay is lower. Again, ideology is one factor.

Interpersonal relationships in the family have also been changing, with a general tendency, as elsewhere, towards more "democratic" and "egalitarian" relationships. Women have more recognized power and the children are less likely to accept quietly the authority and wisdom of their parents. Some writers think of the family as disorganized and undergoing crises of "improvised urbanization"; other deny it.[81] Garigue goes so far as to suggest that rather than harming the family, urbanization may even reinforce important family values.[82] We do, as we shall see, have some evidence that family kinship ties remain strong for the French-Canadian families in the city.

Many institutions in French Canada, while both reflecting and influencing the rapidly changing society, impinge on the family. The Church, for example, in various ways continues to take a strong interest in the family in the urban setting. We have already observed that the Catholic Church, as a matter of policy, does not resist family planning as such. Also, every year, thousands of young people take church guided marriage preparation courses and priests often serve as marriage counsellors. The Church takes an active role in such organizations as Les Foyers Notre-Dame for young married couples, La Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique, La Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique, and L'Action Catholique Canadienne, and La Ligue Ouvrière Catho-

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80 ROCHER, "Les modèles et le statut de la femme canadienne-française", *op. cit.*

81 GONZALVE POULIN, "The French-Canadian Working Family", *Canadian Welfare*, XXVIII (June 15, 1952), pp. 32-35; MAURICE TREMBLAY, "Sécurité de la famille ouvrière : Position du problème et principes de solution", in *Sécurité de la famille ouvrière* (Québec : Les Presses Universitaires Laval, 1951).

82 GARIGUE, *La vie familiale des Canadiens français, op. cit.*

lique, all of which in one way or another are interested in family problems.

Provincial government agencies too which, in former years, defended the rights of the rural population, have turned their attention to problems caused by urbanization and industrialization. More assistance is given to families whose children continue in school and legislation better protects the conditions of work for women and children. To put greater emphasis on the family, the Department of Social Welfare was renamed the Department of the Family and Social Welfare. And the School system which has been criticized for its incoherent programme, backward methods, irrelevance to a modern industrialized society, and a general lack of integration, is being radically overhauled.

Even the popular literature reflects the changing image of the family. Stories are no longer written in the vein of *Maria Chapdelaine*; the current authors and journalists, if they deal with the family, are more likely to consider the problems of modern urban groups. [83]

For most of the general points cited in this section, the research evidence will be cited in the chapters to come. The general picture, however, is perhaps less evident in specific researches than in the tenor of the society itself and is expressed in the mass media, the popular culture, and radical changes in associations and institutions.

For lack of research data, we have considered only a few major family types omitting, for example, any discussion of socio-economic levels and of regional, occupational, or religious differences. And even for the types we have discussed, our data are very limited.

In chapter 2, in discussing demographic aspects of the family in Canada, we observed certain convergences. In this chapter, in considering ethnic and rural-urban variations, the same tendency seems evident. Especially the rural family, of which there are fewer each year, is no longer very different in its material or social life than the urban. The situation is more complex for the ethnic and minority groups since family life is so closely intertwined with a feeling of identity and the

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83 JEAN-CHARLES FALARDEAU, "Recherche d'une voix : le Canada français par sa littérature", *Recherches et Débats*, Cahier No. 34 (mars 1961), pp. 79-88.

maintenance of certain traditional customs and values, and many group leaders are consciously encouraging such developments. But where we have data, we often find that traditional family styles are giving way to more "modern" patterns. At the extreme pole, we see such tendencies among the Indian and the Eskimo, but probably among almost all of the ethnic groups, the material aspirations of family life and the interfamily relationships — between husband and wife and between parents and children — are going in the same "contemporary" direction. In chapters 4 and 5, in discussing the style of life and family roles, we shall observe this tendency further.

CHAPTER 4

Style of Life

Sources. We find four types of material describing the life and thought of Canadian families, each representing a different level of knowledge. First are the studies of the country as a whole, for example, of DBS or the Canadian Gallup Poll, which allow us to generalize about Canada but which, however, give us little in the way of illustrative material. The DBS material is objective and especially trustworthy and valuable. The Gallup Poll surveys, by virtue of having smaller samples and dealing with attitudes and opinions, are more suspect, but in most cases are probably generally valid.

Second are the regional studies, for example those of Philippe Garigue and Marc-Adélard Tremblay and Gérald Fortin on the families in Quebec, or the studies by the Department of Agriculture or Saskatchewan's Royal Commission on Rural Life. These studies may be essentially objective with statistical and precise questionnaire data or they may be more general, based on semi-structured or non-structured interviews. In all cases, the data are interpreted. These studies are ordinarily well done with necessary qualifications stated about the research techniques.

Third are those studies sponsored by particular groups, ordinarily seeking information to help them develop their programmes. Thus the Social Action Department of the Canadian Catholic Conference helped direct Family Life Surveys of the English Catholic population in four dioceses, the reports of which only the first two are available : Sault Ste. Marie, Saskatoon, Halifax, and Kamloops. In Quebec, such groups as the Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique (JEC), the Ligue Ouvrière Catholique (LOC) and the L'Action Catholique Canadienne have all made studies regarding particular problems of family life. The Family Life Surveys were guided by research specialists and seem quite valid for the samples studied. The Quebec studies, with limited professional guidance, do not pretend to be scientific reports. They are valuable for the data they present, but we cannot be certain of

the validity of the results and cannot generalize beyond the particular samples.

Fourth are the individual researches of social scientists and students, especially of Schools of Social Work, who have written theses for their Masters' Degrees. Those studies by professors having academic posts are ordinarily well done and valid with necessary qualification stated for judging the research. The theses serve various functions for the universities and the students, but are of variable merit as contributions to knowledge. In some cases, the methods do not permit us to be certain of their results and in few instances do the sampling techniques allow of generalization.

Many observers, in recent decades, have speculated on the changes in family life derived from such developments in the larger society as increasing mobility, industrial specialization, expanding productivity, and technical achievements. The observers have commented on the smaller families, higher standard of living and material expectations, freer relationships between the sexes, more democratic and child-centered family spirit, increasing concern with consumption and leisure, and dozens of other pertinent topics. What information do we actually have in Canada? We shall focus in the next chapter on the positions or roles of the individuals in the family and the relationships between family members. In this chapter, we shall deal with the style and thought of the family as a unit — how much does the family earn, how does it spend its money and its leisure time, how is the family housed and supplied with equipment, what are the problems of mobility, and how are family ties?

Economics of Family Life

Undoubtedly, from a material point of view, the average Canadian family lives better today than ever before. One index is the increase in salaries. The head of a salaried family in 1961 earned, on an average, $4133 and the family's salaried income was $4906,[1] figures which are considerably higher than a decade or two ago. Income

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[1] DBS, Bulletin 93-519, 1961. The Breakdown of DBS figures on total family income from all sources were released too late for this report. The average non-farm family income for all of Canada from all sources for the year ending June 1, 1961 was $5,449. Highest family income was in Ontario with an average of $5,868, British Columbia was second with $5,618, and Newfoundland was lowest with $3,673.

distribution presents the same picture. In 1951 for example, 75 per cent of the heads of salaried families earned less than $3000 a year; in 1961, the figure was just 25 per cent. (Table 10).

Table 10

PERCENTAGE OF HEADS OF SALARIED FAMILIES EARNING GIVEN AMOUNTS

Year	Percentage earning: Less than $3,000	$3,000-$3,999	$4,000-$5,999	$6,000 and over
1951	75	15	5	2
1961	26	23	34	15

In part, of course, the higher salaries merely reflect higher costs and inflation, but it also does indicate a real increase in the standard of living. The higher earnings of Canadians are not equally distributed among the regions and social levels of the country. We find differences by province, rural and urban distribution, the employment status of the wife, and socio-economic level.

Table 11

FAMILY SIZE AND SALARIED EARNINGS BY PROVINCE

Province	Average no. of persons	Average no. of children	Salaried income of family head	Family income when head is a wage earner
Newfoundland	4.7	2.7	$3143	$3592
Prince Edward Island	4.2	2.2	2845	3335
Nova Scotia	4.0	2.0	3431	3954
New Brunswick	4.3	2.3	3189	3718
Quebec	4.2	2.2	3948	4694
Ontario	3.6	1.6	4400	5274
Manitoba	3.7	1.7	4028	4816
Saskatchewan	3.8	1.8	3830	4511
Alberta	3.8	1.8	4242	4985
British Columbia	3.6	1.6	4443	5184
Canada	3.9	1.9	$4133	$4906

Provincial Variation. The families are wealthiest on an average in Ontario and British Columbia and poorest in Prince Edward Island, Newfoundland and New Brunswick. Adding to this discrepancy in earnings is the size of the family, for the largest families are found in the poorest provinces. To cite two extreme cases : Ontario, with an average of 3.6 persons per family, has an average family salaried income of $5274 while in Newfoundland, with an average of 4.7 persons per family, the family income is $3592 (Table 11).[2]

Particular provinces may present minor variations. Tremblay and Fortin, for example, in their study of the salaried family in Quebec, note that the larger the household, the higher the family income but, on an average, the proportion is still less for each member of the family.

Rural-Urban Variations. The families in urban areas generally have higher incomes than in the rural areas. The average income of non-agricultural families and single persons in 1961 was $4815 with a family income for salaried workers of $5194. The salaried family in rural areas earned $3649 and it was even less for those salaried workers — omitting those who exploit their own land — living on farms.[3,4] (Table 12).

Table 12

INCOME OF SALARIED URBAN, RURAL, AND FARM FAMILIES

	Income of Family Head	Income of Family
Urban	$4353	$5194
Rural	3166	3649
Rural-Farm	2623	3143

Incomes are the highest in metropolitan areas. In Toronto, for example, the average salaried income was $5831 while in Ontario as a whole, it was $5274. Family size differences, 3.4 in Toronto and 3.6 in Ontario, accent the difference. Quebec shows the same pattern.

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2 DBS, Bulletin 93-516, 1961.

3 DBS, Daily Bulletin (Oct. 4, 1963). For 1963, with the record production and sale of wheat, the figures for the prairie provinces, especially Saskatchewan, are quite different.

4 DBS, Bulletin 93-519, 1961.

Montreal, with an average family size of 3.7 persons, has an average family income of $5295 while the province with a family size of 4.2, has an average income of $4694. Tremblay and Fortin found in their sample that the average income in Montreal and Quebec city was approximately $1000 more than in the least favoured rural centers.[5]

Employment Status of the Wife. The income figures suggest — and we shall discuss this point again in the next chapter — that wives work primarily for economic reasons. The husband, in families of working wives, earn less than do husbands in families of non-working wives — the averages for salaried income in 1961 being $3867 and $4303 respectively. However, with the wife's added pay, these families earn more, with a family income of $5917 compared to $4695 for the families of non-working wives. Wives earn less than their husbands. Fifty per cent of the wives who receive salaries earned less than $2000, about 45 per cent earned between $2000 and $5000 and just 2 per cent $5000 or more.[6]

Indices of Socio-Economic Level. The best indices of socio-economic levels are income and occupation, but specific information on the relationship between the two is not available. We do know, from many other studies, that a rough income scale exists from the business and professional men, to the white collar and skilled worker, to the semi-skilled and unskilled labourer. Tremblay and Fortin give this information for their sample of salaried workers in Quebec.[7] (Table 13)

Table 13

SALARY BY OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL, QUEBEC

Level	Average Family Income
White collar	$4908
Skilled labour	4708
Semi-skilled	4041
Non-skilled	3768
Other occupations	2486
	$4200 average per family

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[5] TREMBLAY and FORTIN, *Etude des conditions de vie, des besoins et des aspirations des familles salariées canadiennes-françaises, op. cit.*

[6] DBS, Bulletin 93-516, 1961.

[7] TREMBLAY and FORTIN, Etude des conditions de vie, *op cit.*, I, chap. 4, p. 18.

Information on a national level is available on the relationship between education and income which are both closely correlated with occupational level. The Department of Labour, on the basis of a 1959 survey, shows the relationship.[8] (Table 14)

Table 14

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YEARS OF INSTRUCTION AND INCOME

Income	Elementary School	Secondary School	University
	%	%	%
Less than $3000	43	24	20
3000-5000	33	34	23
5000-10,000	22	37	42
10,000 and more	2	5	15
	100	100	100

As are many relationships of this type, the process is circular through generations. The more the education, the higher the income; and the higher the income, the more likely the children will continue their education.[9] (Table 15)

Table 15

PERCENTAGE OF CHILDREN OF GIVEN AGE GROUPS ATTENDING SCHOOL BY EARNINGS OF HEAD OF FAMILY

Age of children	Less than $3,000	$10,000 or more
15-18	60	90
19-24	10	60

Expenditures. An analysis of expenditures is a valuable means for understanding the values and way of life of a family. When there is a choice, what does the family choose to spend its money on? Is it toys for the children, holidays for the parents, a large car, life insurance, household appliances, or entertaining?

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[8] La Banque Royale du Canada, "L'orientation des jeunes", *Bulletin Mensuel,* 44 (sept., 1963).

[9] DBS, Bulletin, 93-519, 1961.

Our best source of data here is the DBS survey on City Family Expenditures for 1959 which was based on family expenditure records of 1672 families of two or more persons and 288 one-person units in sixty urban centres of 15,000 and over. A previous study in 1957, based on a nine-city survey, was limited to incomes between $2500 and $7000 and focused on specific types of families within the size range of 2 to 6 persons. [10]

The percentage distribution of expenditures among the main consumption categories was essentially the same in the 1957 and 1959 surveys. Approximately 40 per cent of the 1959 expenditures of families of two or more was allocated to food and shelter. Household operation, furnishings and equipment took 9 per cent; clothing another 9 per cent; and transportation 11 per cent; while 16 per cent was devoted to other current consumption including medical care, personal care, recreation, tobacco, alcoholic beverages, and miscellaneous items. Total current consumption expenditures averaged $4751 or 85 per cent of total expenditure. The remaining 15 per cent went for taxes, security payments, gifts, and contributions. [11]

Considerable differences exist between the provinces. In the Atlantic Provinces, some 28.4 per cent was spent on food while in Ontario, it was 22.1. In part of course, this is a function of family size which averages 4.2 for the Atlantic Provinces and 3.6 for Ontario. Interesting differences appear in other categories. Automobile expenses, for example, in the Prairies come to 11 per cent of expenditures compared to only 7 in Quebec. For clothing, the range is from 11 per cent in Quebec to only 8 in Ontario.

The Tremblay and Fortin study in Quebec in 1958 shows a much higher proportion relatively for food, 36 per cent, and for shelter, 19 per cent, with correspondingly lower figures in the other categories. The Quebec and national figures, however, are not completely comparable, in part because the Tremblay and Fortin sample includes only salaried French Canadians earning less than $8000 a year. The

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10 Reports of two other expenditure surveys are due in 1964 : (1) families of 2 to 6 persons with incomes from $3,000 to $8,000, carried out in 1962; and (2) farm family expenditures, taken from a broader farm survey carried out in 1958.

11 DBS, *Daily Bulletin* (May 23, 1962).

Table 16

AVERAGE EXPENDITURE PATTERNS BY INCOME GROUPS, NINE CITIES, 1957

Item	$2,500 2,999	3,000 3,499	3,500 3,999	4,000 4,499	4,500 4,999	5,000 5,499	5,500 5,999	6,000 6,499	6,500 6,999
Food	31	31	26	26	24	23	23	22	21
Housing, fuel, water, light	20	20	19	17	17	17	17	16	16
Household operation	4	4	4	3	4	4	3	4	4
Furnishing and equipment	6	5	5	6	7	6	6	5	5
Clothing	9	9	8	9	9	9	9	9	10
Other commodities and services	25	22	27	27	26	27	27	29	30
Gifts, contributions, personal taxes and security	6	9	11	13	14	14	16	16	16
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Total expenditure	$3,159	3,353	4,107	4,436	4,849	5,342	5,693	6,016	6,825

expenditures per year in the Trembly-Fortin study were also lower, $4213.[12]

The 1957 survey shows quite clearly that the expenditure pattern varies with income. The lower income, the higher percentage spent on food and housing and the less on gifts, contributions, taxes, security, and miscellaneous commodities and services,[13,14] (Table 16)

Table 17

PERCENTAGE OF HOMES WITH GIVEN FACILITIES AND EQUIPMENT

	Percentage of homes		
Equipment	**1963**	**1951**	**1941**
Refrigerator	94	48	21
Telephone	87	60	40
Radio	96	93	78
Automobile, one or more	73	43	37
Television set	90	—	—
Vacuum cleaner	72	42	24
Washing machine	87	74	—
Phonograph	54	—	—
Freezer	18	—	—

The Tremblay and Fortin study shows the same picture for the salaried French Canadians. Families earning $1600 a year spent 46 per cent for food; families earning $7400 spent only 27.[15]

Expenditures also vary by family types. A two adult family, for example, in the 1957 survey spent 21 per cent of its budget on food while two adults with four children spent 28. The French-Canadian

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12 Marc-Adélard Tremblay and Gérald Fortin, "Enquête sur les conditions de vie, les besoins et les aspirations des familles salariées canadiennes-françaises", *Recherches Sociographiques,* IV (janv.-avril, 1963), pp. 9-46.

13 DBS, Prices Division, *City Family Expenditure, 1957,* Catalogue : 62-517, Ottawa, 1961.

14 According to one United States study, the lower the economic group, the greater the influence of the wife in deciding how the money is spent. Mirra Komarovsky, "Class Differences in Family Decision-Making on Expenditures", *Household Decision-Making,* ed. Nelson N. Foote (New York : New York University Press, 1961), pp. 255-65.

15 Tremblay and Fortin, "Enquête sur les conditions de vie, les besoins et les aspirations des familles salariées canadiennes-françaises", *op. cit.,* p. 22.

study follows the same pattern although the percentages continue higher for food. For the family unit averaging 2.3 persons, food costs amount to 32 per cent; for the unit averaging 7.3, the percentage was 43. For clothing, in the 1957 survey, a four adult family spent 12 per cent of its budget; a two adult, one child family spent only 8.[16]

Tremblay and Fortin, in their study of the salaried French-Canadian worker make the pertinent point that the "needs" of the people over the years have changed. "Needs", it is apparent, has a strong psychological component and the luxury, or even the unknown of the past is the necessity of today.[17]

Forty or so years ago, the "need" had a more physiological character with some 90 per cent of the earned income going for food, clothing, and housing. Now these items take up only 68 per cent of the budget with 32 per cent earmarked for "other and new needs" such as transportation, leisure, education, and insurance.

This change implies that the traditional habits and attitudes in Quebec that encouraged saving, the purchase of property, and cash payments, have been replaced by an emphasis on consumption and credit buying. At one time credit was condemned as immoral and harmful while saving was considered a necessity to insure the security of the family. And, in principle, according to Tremblay and Fortin, these values are still upheld. Some 72 per cent in their survey oppose credit and 51 per cent say they can save from one year to another. But in practice, only 23 per cent of the families succeeded in saving and some 74 per cent, in one form or another, went into debt. Half of the families surveyed had an average debt of $600 — some 12 per cent of their salaries — which was renewed from year to year. Once a family began borrowing, they continued borrowing again each year as they paid back; the most common lender being a finance company. And their economic life was so organized to stabilize the debt.[18]

The situation seems to be no different in English Canada with increasing borrowing year by year. The average amount of debt per

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16 *Ibid.*, p. 23.
17 TREMBLAY and FORTIN, *Etude des conditions de vie, op. cit.*
18 *Ibid.*

family for consumer goods in 1963 according to DBS is $913, which is some 20 per cent higher than three years ago and 7 per cent above that of last year. The figures for the Saskatoon Family Life Survey are not out of line with these. Some 43 per cent of the families, excluding mortgages, owed between $100 and $1000 with some 30 per cent owing more than $1000.[19]

Housing and Furnishings

One index of both our changing way of life and our increasing standard of living is our housing and household equipment. For a long period after the war, the tight housing conditions in cities forced many families to crowd together in the same dwelling unit. The situation has greatly improved in the last decade. In 1949, it is estimated, one family in seven was without separate living quarters; in 1961 the figure was down to six per cent. Those in 1951, and before, who shared houses or apartments did not do so by choice. Jacques Henripin observed in 1956 that some 80 per cent of the family heads earning less than $1000 a year did not have their own household while for those whose heads of families earned more than $6000, the percentage was only 1.5. The percentage decrease, he notes, is rapid.[20]

Of the 6 per cent of the families in 1961 in which the head of the family was not also head of the household, some two thirds were living with relatives and most of the others, often new Canadians and relatively poor families with young children, were in rooming houses.[21]

In Canada, in 1961, over two thirds of the dwelling units are occupied by their owners. Urban and rural differences are marked, with some 41 per cent of the units rented in the city compared to only 20 in rural areas. Provinces also vary. While in Ontario, only 29 per cent of the dwelling units were rented, in Quebec, it was 60, Quebec being the only province with more tenants than proprietors.[22]

In the early days of our history, families were large, and so too were the houses. It was the woman's job, assisted by domestics,

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19 DBS, *Credit Statistics,* catalogue 61-004, September, 1963.

20 J. Henripin, "Les besoins futurs de nouveaux logements au Canada jusqu'à 1971", *L'Actualité Economique,* (juil-sept., 1956), pp. 191-209.

21 Guy Rocher, "La famille canadienne d'après le recensement de 1956", *Bien-Etre Social,* XI (sept.-oct., 1959).

22 DBS, Bulletin 93-523, 1961.

if the family could afford them, to take care of the house. Not so today. With smaller families, the difficulty of finding domestics, and new household appliances, a large house is not only less necessary, it is often a burden. We find a tendency therefore, leaving aside apartment houses, towards smaller homes. And in the large cities of the east, many one-time comfortable houses have been transformed into small apartments and rooming houses.

One index of crowding is the proportion of persons to rooms. In both 1951 and 1961 in Canada, there were .74 persons per room. Again the provinces vary, with the most crowded conditions in Newfoundland (.86) and the least crowded in Ontario and Prince Edward Island (.67). Historical conditions, urbanization, the number of children, and other such factors affect these rates. For statistical purposes, the census bureau rather arbitrarily classifies the "crowded household" as one in which the number of persons is larger than the number of rooms. By this definition, 16.5 per cent of dwelling units in Canada were crowded in 1961 compared to 20 per cent in 1951.[23]

Although most families have their own houses or apartments, thousands of families still live in exceptionally poor conditions. In 1951 it was reported that the income level of at least one third of Canadian families was too low to purchase a new home and that perhaps half a million of these families were living in poor or sub-standard quarters.[24] Albert Rose of the School of Social Work, University of Toronto, who directed a number of student theses in studies of Regent Park South and Regent Park North reports that those on welfare allowances and those who are barely self supporting find it most difficult to get adequate accommodations.[25]

According to a report of a Committee studying housing designs for the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, adequate consideration is not now being given to the varying needs of household types. We need a wider range of dwelling types in Canada tailored to the

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[23] DBS, Bulletin 93-529, 1961.

[24] The Bank of Nova Scotia, "Housing-Time to Take Stock", *Monthly Review,* (February, 1959).

[25] Albert Rose et al., "Significant Differences in the Social and Economic Histories of a Group of Families Admitted to Public Housing", (School of Social Work, University of Toronto, in co-operation with the Metropolitan Toronto Housing Authority, 1959).

specific needs of such groups as young couples, elderly people, and very large families. [26]

Housing in Quebec City has been the subject of a very detailed four volume report published from 1961 to 1963. The Municipal Council of the City of Quebec sponsored this research by architects, sociologists, city planners, and others which gives innumerable details about the growth of the city, and the housing conditions, attitudes, and homes. The family as a unit, with its needs and aspirations, is a thread running throughout the study. [27]

Perhaps the best index of Canada's rising standard of living is the increasing number of household conveniences and appliances. The percentage of families with such items as refrigerators, television sets, washing machines, has been constantly increasing (see Table 17). In 1963, as many as 94 per cent of the households had electric refrigerators, 87 per cent automatic or electric washing machines, 90 per cent television sets, and 72 per cent an automobile. [28]

Except for the proportion of automobiles, urban households are better equipped than rural. In 1961 some 70 per cent of rural families had automobiles compared to 68 of the urban. For all other convenience items, however, the rural areas, especially the rural agricultural, lagged far behind. For example, some 97 per cent of urban families had a refrigerator compared to 80 of the rural. And less than 2 per cent of the urban households did not have running water compared to over 34 per cent of the rural. [29] But still, compared to earlier days, the more or less successful rural and farm areas have considerably more amenities than in the past and have come to take for granted the conveniences — electricity, power washing machine, toaster, vacuum cleaner, telephone, radio, television, etc. — which were once identified with the well-to-do family in the city. [30]

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[26] Royal Architectural Institute of Canada, *Report of the Committees of Inquiry into the Design of the Residential Environment* (Ottawa, 1960).

[27] James Hodgson, Gérald Fortin, et al., *Rapport de la Commission d'enquête sur l'Habitation à Québec*, 3 vols., 1961-1963.

[28] DBS, *Daily Bulletin*, (October 21, 1963). See also DBS, *Household Facilities and Equipment, 1963.*

[29] DBS, Bulletins 93-525 and 93-527, 1961.

[30] Helen C. Abell, *Special Study of Ontario Farm Homes and Homemakers*, (Progress Report no. 1, Canada and Ontario Departments of Agriculture, 1959).

Mobility

The Canadian family, we have observed, is a mobile family.

> It moves to the city in the first place because the lucrative jobs are there, and from one town to another in the interests of job betterment and because of company transfers. It moves within the town or city, or to the suburbs, as it becomes more financially secure, more ambitious, develops distinctive interests and tastes, or climbs the social ladder. It is estimated that the average Canadian family now moves once in every four years.[31]

Probably our best index of mobility is the changes of address recorded for families receiving family allowance cheques — in 1959, such changes of address were recorded for over 27 per cent of the recipients.

The statistics on mobility, however, do not indicate the seriousness of the problems for the particular families concerned. The decision whether or not to move may be a very difficult one to make and the problems of adaptation in a new environment may cause innumerable anxieties for every member of the family. A study by the Canadian National Railway throws some light on the complexity of the factors involved. For reasons of efficiency and economy, the company decided — and such decisions in high offices are made every day by major corporations — to close down certain shop operations in London, Ontario and Moncton. With dieselization of the locomotives and other technological changes, these shops were judged unnecessary. But what was to be done about the employees who had lived in these towns for years ?

Depending on the location and seniority, employees had the alternatives of transferring to Toronto, Montreal, or Winnipeg; "bumping" into the local freight car shop, that is, taking a job at a somewhat lower level; accepting layoff; retiring early; or resigning. Interviews were held with all the affected employees before the shop closure and with all the transferees after they had moved. In considering whether or not to move, the men expressed a mixture of economic, social, and psychological considerations. Such factors as work security, particular skills, seniority, and other employment considerations were of course important; but so too were community ties,

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[31] Canadian Association for Adult Education, *The Family: Pressures and Problems,* (January, 1963), p. 3.

home ownership, and family relationships. The report notes that the influence of wives for or against transfer can be profound. Perhaps the wife had a job that was difficult to duplicate elsewhere or extensive family connections in the home town. The number, age, educational level, community activities and marital status of the children also were important with concerns about schools, curricula, and educational standards. In a few cases, transfer decisions gave rise to — or more accurately, aggravated — marital upsets and emotional crises for some family members. What is perhaps most significant here for an understanding of the modern family is that the basic decisions on moving were over and beyond the immediate control of the family, and the families could only adapt.[32]

Kinship, Membership, and Leisure Activities

Some years ago, it was commonly said that the large extended family was giving way to the small nuclear unit of parents and children. Couples, it seems, were having fewer and fewer contacts with their parents, siblings, and other relatives. However, several recent studies in the United States and England have shown, on the contrary, that families continue to maintain close contact with relatives, keeping in constant touch, helping in both everyday situations and emergencies, and getting together on ceremonial occasions.[33,34] Recent studies in Ontario and Quebec present the same picture for Canada. The larger

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[32] Canadian National Railways, A Study of Labour Mobility, A Report Prepared by the CNR's Personnel and Labour Relations Department. (Mimeographed, 1961.) Also see Canadian National Railways, Displacement Problems and Barriers to Labour Mobility on C.N., an unpublished paper presented to the Duke of Edinburgh's Second Study Conference on the Human Consequences of the Changing Industrial Environment in the Commonwealth and Empire. For a discussion of some of the broader problems involved in the location of industry, including possible efforts made to cope with resulting unemployment, see the brief of the Canadian Labour Congress presented to the Special Committee of the Senate on Manpower and Employment, Ottawa, Thursday, January 26, 1961.

[33] Marvin B. Sussman, "The Isolated Nuclear Family : Fact or Fiction", *Social Problems,* VI (1959), pp. 333-40.

[34] One American author, however, rather plausibly suggests that extended families today are quite different from those of the past. Geographical propinquity, occupational ties, and a rigid authority structure are no longer essential characteristics. Rather the extended family today is composed of more or less egalitarian families bound by affectional ties which facilitate the achievement of its individual members. See Eugene Litwak, "The Use of Extended Family Groups in the Achievement of Social Goals : Some Policy Implications", *Social Problems,* VII (1959-1960), pp. 177-87.

families, the authors suggest, still play an important role in the lives and sentiments of family members.

In Hamilton, Ontario, Peter C. Pineo measured the contacts that 327 families, largely of the working class, maintained with their relatives. In as many as two thirds of the cases, the families were in contact with relatives at least once a week. In contrast to the findings of Young and Willmott in London, England[35], these relationships took place as much with the relatives of the husband as with the relatives of the wife. The type of contact varies with the stages of the life cycle. Quoting Pineo :

> The contact between parents and children is the most frequent form in the youngest and oldest age categories. But throughout the life cycle the contact with siblings is high, and is the largest single source of contact among those who are 36 to 50 years old.[36]

Several studies in French Canada also show the continued importance of the family in urban settings; the family, as we observed, having been recognized by all authorities as a mainstay of rural society. The first to study this particular problem was Philippe Garigue in his analysis in 1955 of the kinship knowledge and behaviour of 32 French-Canadian households in Montreal. He indicates that the range of kinship knowledge is broad, the number of kin known to each respondent averaging 215. Mutual assistance and frequency of contact was also high with women serving as the central figures in such contacts. And "because the women are most active in kinship affairs . . . kinship is not conceived of as a pattern of strict 'patriarchal' obligations, but as a reciprocal relationship from which much pride, pleasure, and security can be derived".[37] The large size of the sibling groups also permits the individual to choose, on the basis of personal preference, those with whom he wishes the closest relationships. Urbanization, maintains Garigue, has not fundamentally changed the close kinship pattern of the French Canadian family.

A study of a suburb of Quebec City in 1957-58 by Simone Paré of the School of Social Work at Laval University likewise suggests that

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35 Michael Young and Peter Willmott, *Kinship and Family in East London* (Glencoe, 111. : The Free Press, 1957).

36 Peter C. Pineo, *Primary Relationships in a Working Class Area of Hamilton.* Paper read at the University of Toronto Conference on Urban Sociology, February, 1963. (Mimeographed.)

37 P. Garigue, "French-Canadian Kinship and Urban Life", *American Anthropologist,* XLVIII (December, 1956), p. 1099.

the extended families remain close. Miss Paré questioned 100 subjects of two generations — 64 from the older and 36 from the younger. The generations differed, the older passing more family evenings together and seeing relatives more often than the younger; the sons and daughters generally feeling freer to extend their circles from relatives to friends. But even among the younger generation, 30.5 per cent of the children met their relatives at least once a week. In general, those born in the locality and those of the lower economic level saw their relatives most often.[38]

Anthropologist Ralph Piddington, in a study of a French-Canadian township in Manitoba also stresses the importance of kinship. Many of the French Canadians are related since the direction of migration was largely determined by kinship; a newcomer chose this town because his relatives were already settled there. The family, reports Piddington, is a discrete residential and economic unit and the center of widely ramified kinship relationships, with considerable intermarriage among relatives. The kinship ties serve to integrate the French Canadians and to keep them aware of their identity as a distinct ethnic group.[39]

A few French-Canadian writers cite data or arguments opposed to certain aspects of this picture. Marcel Rioux of the University of Montreal arguing primarily against Garigue, writes that urbanization *has* fundamentally affected the French-Canadian family and that kinship recognition in Montreal is less than in the past and in more traditional rural centers.[40] And Gérald Fortin, in a study, still to be published, of the working class family in Montreal, suggests that kinship relationships between close relatives, especially between a woman and her mother, are frequent and strong; but relationships with more distant relatives occur less often and would seem to be less important.[41]

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38 Simone Paré, "Participation d'une population de banlieue à ses groupes de famille, de parenté, d'amitié et de voisinage", *Service Social,* IX (janvier, 1960), pp. 25-47.

39 Ralph Piddington, "A study of French-Canadian Kinship", *International Journal of Comparative Sociology,* II (March, 1961), pp. 3-32.

40 Marcel Rioux, "Kinship Recognition and Urbanization", *National Museum of Canada,* Bulletin no. 173; and "Sur le développement socio-culturel du Canada français", *Contributions à l'Etude des Sciences de l'Homme,* 4 (1959) pp. 144-162.

41 G. Fortin, "L'ouvrier urbain et sa famille", (progress report), *Recherches Sociographiques,* III (sept.-dec., 1962), pp. 366-68.

In part, the disagreements could be resolved by information empirically derived — how frequent and close are contacts among near and distant family members; in part the disagreements are more theoretical — to what degree is urbanization responsible for changes in the family and by what criteria are the changes judged to be fundamental or minor ?

Leaving aside the question of family ties, our information on leisure activities of families is meager. Pineo, in his study of Hamilton, observes that contacts with non-relatives are as frequent as contacts with relatives. He says :

> Only 70 of our respondents reported daily contact with some member of their extended family who did not live with them, but 120 reported daily contact with some friends. Both the men and women in the area we studied were actively involved in visiting and talking to neighbours; my over-all impression at this time is that the amount of contacts with kin and non-kin were roughly equal.[42]

Fortin, in his still-to-be published report on the working class family in Montreal, also suggests that there is considerable visiting among friends. He observes that the friends of a couple were more often originally friends of the wife than of the husband. A family, he suggests, might also be quite close with one immediate neighbour, but, in crowded sections, view the other neighbours as people to be warded off.

A few theses rather inconclusively discuss family leisure in working class areas in Montreal. One by G. W. Alton of the McGill School of Social Work, reports on 131 participants at a recreation center who have few facilities at home. "Although family play does exist", says the author, "it appears to be spasmodic and limited." Explaining factors may be the demands of other activities, inadequate information on feasible family leisure, the small size of apartments, and in part the fact that, for this research, the family did not consider a host of activities such as meals, conversations, and watching television as family leisure.[43]

Contrasting results were found in a study of 132 working class families who were members of the Iverly Community Centre. Patricia

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[42] Pineo, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[43] G. W. Alton, "Family Play and Recreation" (M.A. thesis, School of Social Work, McGill University, 1955).

Morrisson, also for the McGill School of Social Work, writes that, in this group, family recreation is common. Some 58 per cent of the families, for example, play at least one table game during the week at home. Interestingly enough, she reports, teenagers have an important role in the family's discussion and planning of leisure time activities.[44]

We have little information on the participation of families in organizations. The Family Life Survey in Saskatoon reports that 40 per cent of the families do not belong to any occupational organization and proportions are even lower for service clubs, women's clubs, and political parties.[45] Simone Paré, in her study of a suburb of Quebec City, notes that 38 per cent of her sample were not members of any voluntary organization, with 29 per cent belonging to one, and 33 per cent to two or more. Those participating most were over 40 years and had gone to school beyond grade 10.[46]

Television, we know, is a favourite family activity, with the average Canadian watching about 22 hours a week and with the set in the house turned on about 40 hours a week; figures not very different from those in the United States. But how much of this is family viewing, we do not know.[47] In Saskatoon, according to the Family Life Survey, husbands and wives watch together 16 hours a week; and in three out of four families, the parents also keep a check on what the children see on the television screen. Our general picture of family leisure, it is apparent from the data reported, is quite sparse.

Parents, concerned with their family's welfare, often like to group together, formally or informally, to discuss and work out their problems. Most well known are the Home and School and Parent-Teacher Associations, of which there are some 4500 branches in Canada with 300,000 members. The authors of *Crestwood Heights* speak of this as the town's most significant voluntary association.[48]

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[44] Patricia Morrisson, "Family Play in the Families of the Iverly Community Centre" (M.A. thesis, School of Social Work, McGill University, 1953).

[45] *Catholic Family Life Survey, City of Saskatoon, 1960 : A Joint Report and Statistical Summary* (Saskatoon, Sask. : Catholic Centre, 1960).

[46] Simone Paré, "Participation aux associations volontaires dans une paroisse de la banlieue de Québec", *Service Social,* X (mai-juin, 1961), pp. 24-42.

[47] Neilsen survey, 1962. Reported in "T.V. : the Years Ahead", *Canadian Sponsor,* (Sept. 24, 1962), p. 7.

[48] J. R. Seeley, R. A. Sim and E. W. Loosley, *Crestwood Heights* (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1956), p. 277.

Church sponsored groups such as the Christian Family Movement or the Foyers Notre-Dame also have regular meetings to discuss common problems in the context of the Church's moral teachings.[49]

A group thesis at the School of Social Work at McGill, suggests that groups can be effective. The authors compare child rearing patterns of 78 families in Child Study groups, sponsored by the Mental Hygiene Institute of Montreal, with 32 comparable control group families. The authors find that the Child Study group families cited fewer problems, for example, bedwetting or aggressive behaviour. Perhaps, as members of these groups, the parents had more information to help them handle their problems or perhaps the very membership in the group helped reduce their anxieties.[50]

Various groups have also been interested in helping parents-to-be and couples experiencing marital difficulties. Marriage counselling services were indirectly studied in a thesis in 1959 by Lillian Messinger at the School of Social Work at the University of Toronto. She interviewed 30 physicians to discover their attitudes towards such services. They tended to view marital problems as a combination of social pressures and personality disorders and did recognize the value of counselling services.[51]

Pre-marital education is widely practiced by Church and other groups, especially in Quebec. The quantity and quality of such education, however, says Dr. S. C. Best in a summary report prepared for the Canadian Conference on Children, varies greatly.[52] On a more general level, of course, the Churches have always, from their particular perspectives, played a leading role in educating the public on problems of the family and in affirming moral principles, with numerous

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[49] For a review of Parent Education activity in Canada, including a list of groups involved in such activities, see *Parent Education in Canada,* prepared by the Canadian Mental Health Association. Much more data are available on such activities in the United States, especially on the participants in such activities and the content of their programmes. See Orville G. Brim, Jr., *Education for Child Rearing* (New York: The Russell Sage Foundation, 1959)

[50] R. Brodeur et al., "Parental Values towards Children's Behaviour" (unpublished Master's thesis, School of Social Work, McGill University, 1955).

[51] Lillian Messinger, "Marriage Counselling" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1959).

[52] S. C. Best, *Premarital Education for Parenthood,* Canadian Conference on Children, 1960. (Mimeographed.)

publications addressed both to their own memberships and the public at large.[53]

It is evident that the research in Canada on the "style of life" of the normal family is rather sparse. In general, we see that the standard of living has been improving with more and more families achieving, and undoubtedly taking for granted, cars, holidays, new electrical appliances and new types of amusement. But considerable differences exist between provinces, rural and urban settings, and socio-economic levels; and, to obtain the elements of this new standard of living, a high proportion of families resort to credit. As suggested by David Riesman and others, it seems that the traditional puritan values of economy, savings, and cash payments, have been superseded by a stress on gratification and consumption. We shall observe in chapter 6 that a significant segment of our population remains at the "ragged bottom", and does not achieve what many of us think of as "normal" standards.

Our Canadian population is quite mobile with one in four families moving each year. It was once thought that members of larger families would lose contact with each other in the city. This apparently has not come to pass, but the form and texture of such contacts are probably quite different from what they were in the country or a few generations ago. We have relatively little information on the leisure of families and their participation in voluntary groups. As to the concern of other groups with the family, much the greater interest, as we shall see, is in the "problem" rather than the "normal" family.

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[53] See for example *Marriage Breakdown, Divorce, Remarriage : A Christian Understanding*, 1962, and *Toward a Christian Understanding of Sex, Love, Marriage*, 1960, published by the United Church of Canada; and the May 1963 issue of the *Bulletin of the Council for Social Service*, entitled "The Responsible Christian in Family Life and in the Community", published by the Anglican Church of Canada.

CHAPTER 5

Family Roles and Relationships

In some respects the family may be viewed as a small group, or a combination of small groups, in which each member has a different part to play. The father, mother, and each child has his particular role and we expect different behaviour from each person. In the more interpersonal relationships, perhaps one organizes the family for action and another smooths over points of friction; perhaps one has more influence in decisions on shopping and another on investments; perhaps the whole family together decides where to go on a holiday. Each sub-group also involves unique relationships — the husband and wife, grandparents and grandchildren, parents and children, parents and grandparents, mother and son. These are the general areas of consideration in this chapter. We do not ask how the family acts as a unit, but rather how each acts in his particular position and how he interrelates with others.

The available material falls under five general and overlapping headings :

1. Husband-wife relationships
2. Parent-child relationships, including adolescence
3. The family and the child at school
4. The working wife and mother
5. Elderly people.

For each heading, we ask what major questions have been raised and what studies have been done ? Can we generalize about the trends and the directions in which we are going ? The studies, as we shall see, are ordinarily not definitive and leave many important questions unanswered. In some instances, the studies on English and French-Canadian families fit neatly together; in others, they do not and will be discussed separately. We shall comment on the sources under each major section.

Husband-Wife Relationships

Sources. A Conference entitled "The Real World of Women", with speakers from Canada and the United States was held in 1962 in Toronto, sponsored by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The report of the Conference, published by the Canadian Association for Adult Education, includes some data on Canada plus general commentaries on the trends and problems of recent decades, including husband-wife relationships. In French Canada, Philippe Garigue and Guy Rocher of the University of Montreal, especially, have written informed essay-type articles on the changing roles of men and women. The actual research data, however, on husband and wife relationships is scanty. The study with most detail is the well-publicized *Crestwood Heights,* published in 1956, by J. Seeley, A. Sim, and E. W. Loosley, which presents a picture of a very well-to-do suburb of Toronto. Nothing of this scope has been written since. Garigue, in *La vie familiale des Canadiens français,* has joined together a discussion of theory and a series of his own researches, although, as he observes, his sample necessitates certain qualifications. In part he generalizes on interpersonal family relationships in French Canada, including that of the husband and wife. In English Canada, studies of husband-wife relationships in rural areas are discussed in reports by Saskatchewan's Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life and the Department of Agriculture. The Canadian Institute of Public Opinion has asked a few pertinent questions and various theses — some of which are quite competently done — have been written on particular groups or on special aspects of marital relationships. The pertinent material on the French-Canadian family, we shall observe, is more integrated than that on the English-Canadian family.

Morris Zelditch concludes, following a theoretical distinction of Talcott Parsons and a study of ethnographic reports of 56 societies, that there are certain more or less universal differences between the roles of men and women. The husband is more likely to play the *instrumental* role, directing the family's basic economic activity, and serving as ultimate authority and final disciplinarian of the children. The wife is more likely to play the *expressive* role, to resolve conflicts, express sentiments and feelings, and be consoler and comforter.[1]

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[1] Morris Zelditch, Jr., "Role Differentiation in the Nuclear Family: A Comparative Study", *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process,* T. Parsons and R. F. Bales eds. (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), pp. 307-52.

Our general knowledge of Canadian society, plus the researches that have been done in both English and French Canada, tend to bear out this distinction; yet there are trends, modifications, and variations on the theme.

According to the traditional picture of past generations, the man was the authority and incontestable head of the household, although the wife may well have been a significant power behind the throne. In recent years, the accent has been on the greater equality between men and women and on a "democratic" or "partnership" type of relationship.[2] Perhaps most often noted in the literature is the changing role of the woman, although any change in this role means a corresponding change in the role of the man and the models for children. The woman is not as subordinate as she once was and is less discriminated against in education, employment and social relationships. From a personal point of view, she has a greater freedom of choice, with many more alternatives open to her and with greater possibilities for realizing her intellectual and artistic potentialities.[3] Not that the paths are clear. When change rapidly occurs, one is never sure who accepts which standards or what the repercussions will be if a new, or even traditional, line of behaviour is followed.

English Canada. Practically all the English-Canadian studies of husband-wife relationships, in one way or another, touch on the trend towards a partnership. Even in rural areas where we might have expected the traditional pattern to persist, the picture of the dominating man is passé. As part of the study of Ontario farms in 1959, a sample of 352 homemakers was asked to identify the person concerned with decisions regarding 17 different types of farm and home activities, most of which entailed earning or spending of family income. For 14 of the items, with generally large majorities, both the husband and wife

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[2] Such terms as "democratic", "partnership", "companionship", and "egalitarian", although the general meanings may be understood, are vague, nebulous and not without bias. In specific reasearches, these terms are likely to be "operationally defined", that is, they mean whatever the specific methods and procedures measure. See F. S. C. Northup, *The Logic of the Sciences and the Humanities* (New York : The Macmillan Co., 1947), chap. VI.

[3] In the Conference, "The Real World of Woman", the increasing freedom of choice was a point especially emphasized by Henry David, President of the New School for Social Research, New York. See *The Real World of Woman* (Toronto : Canadian Association for Adult Education, 1963).

were cited. The three items for which the percentage was below 50 were purchasing food, which was handled by the wife, and purchasing farm equipment and making farm plans which were handled by the husband. In general, it was found that the family is a closely knit unit with the husband, wife, and children each doing their share of the farm and home work and with the husband and wife making most decisions as a team.[4]

The Saskatchewan Family Study of 1953, with a sample of 160 farm families, showed essentially the same pattern. The authors write:

> The data... suggest that most families in the sample fall far short of the strong dominance by the father assumed to be true for the family of an earlier day. For only two kinds of decision was the father indisputably the most influential family member in the majority of families — deciding about the planting of crops and deciding to buy machinery.[5]

Urban and national studies likewise suggest this trend towards a partnership type of relationships. Perhaps one small index is the degree to which husbands help with the housework. In 1958 The Canadian Institute of Public Opinion asked a nationwide sample of 674 husbands and 529 wives whether the husbands helped with the housework. Admittedly housework is difficult to define and respondents may not have been truthful but some 68 per cent of the wives (and 76 per cent of the husbands) said "yes". The young (81 per cent between the ages 21 and 29) helped more than the older; the English speaking more than the French (74 to 32 per cent according to the wives and 77 to 58 per cent according to the husbands); the University educated more than the public school educated (80 to 65 per cent); and the urban more than the farm (roughly 77 to 57 per cent).[6]

Several smaller studies and theses also point up the shift to the "democratic" pattern. Using family finances as an index of collaboration in a study of 42 families, Mrs. Nan Foster, in a report in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Child Study,* notes that about 62 per cent

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[4] H. C. ABELL, Progress Report No. 4 of the *Special Study of Ontario Home Makers,* October, 1960.

[5] Province of Saskatchewan, Royal Commission on Agriculture and Rural Life, *The Home and Family in Rural Saskatchewan* (Regina, Saskatchewan, 1956), pp. 73-74.

[6] Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, 1958.

manage their money jointly. In the parent's generation, the percentage was only 45.[7]

In a sociology thesis at McGill, which involved a study of 100 working class families in Montreal (as well as 100 matched families in Exeter, England), Marion Crawford did not note any clear-cut decision-making pattern but she did observe that the patriarchal family pattern is very unusual. The wife plays an important role in significant decisions, especially when she herself has a salaried job.[8]

In another sociology thesis at McGill, Arlene Bruck made an intensive comparison of democratic and father-dominated families. To find examples of the latter, however, she reviewed hundreds of cases and left religion only partially controlled. Mrs. Bruck concluded that the democratic families are superior from the point of view of organization and collective life. The members, for example, are more likely to find satisfaction within the family unit and are more likely to accept some common definition of the good of the family. But, from a psychological point of view, as we shall observe later, the family members are not necessarily healthier.[9]

Although the sample does not allow us to generalize, the same picture is suggested in a social work group thesis at McGill for which 465 wives throughout Canada completed a questionnaire citing factors contributing to compatibility in marriage. The subjects, who were chosen rather arbitrarily by third parties, report that among the traits most appreciated in the husbands were consideration, kindness, and emotional maturity and most unappreciated were the husband's inability to give recognition and security. The husband, it is apparent, is judged to a great degree by his personality and he is not a dominant figure, safe from criticism.[10]

Canadians generally, it seems, especially of medium and high incomes, judge their marriages to be successful. A Gallup poll

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[7] NAN FOSTER, "The Family and Money", *Bulletin of the Institute of Child Study*, XX (December, 1958).

[8] M. P. CRAWFORD, "Decision-Making in Working Class English and Canadian Families" (Master's thesis, Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, McGill University, 1962).

[9] ARLENE BRUCK, "Autocracy or Democracy : The Impact of Authority on the Family" (Master's thesis, Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, McGill University, 1963).

[10] D. DAVIDSON et al., "Factors Contributing to Compatibility in Marriage" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, McGill University, 1959).

asked a sample of 1600 Canadians how successful they considered their marriages to be. Almost two out of three said "very successful", 27 per cent "moderately successful", and 8 per cent "not very" or "don't know". Comparisons are risky since "successful" does not mean the same to all respondents. But, for what it is worth, wide differences were found between the wealthy and poor, with 84 per cent of the former saying "very successful", to only 51 per cent of the latter; and between those whose parents were judged to be happily married and those whose parents were not, with 85 per cent of the former saying "very successful", to only 39 per cent of the latter.[11]

The one study which stresses the discord between husbands and wives is *Crestwood Heights*. The authors write: "The deepest cleavage in the belief system of Crestwood Heights — more basic and deeper (we feel) than the difference in age, ethnic groups, or status — is created by the striking divergence in the belief system of men and women".[12] The women, the authors report, tend to minimize differences between the sexes while the men tend to exaggerate them. Ideologically, the men regard the difference as an impossible gulf to be accepted with good humoured tolerance; the women do not take the differences so lightly. Both the men and women recognize that the roles are not, as in the past, clearly allotted by sexual status, and that conflicts formerly avoided or regulated by statutory authority, are now subject to discussion. It seems that the new freedom in this well-to-do setting of Crestwood Heights permits the couple to be more open and lucid about their feelings and experiences. But, it is apparent, with all the trends towards democratization, certain challenges remain.

In the United States, certain aspects of husband-wife relationships, barely touched on in Canada, have received considerable attention, notably decision-making, which has even been subject to laboratory type studies, the division of labour, and marital adjustment.[13]

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11 Canadian Institute of Public Opinion, July, 1954.

12 SEELEY, SIM, and LOOSLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 382.

13 See for example: WILLIAM F. KENDEL, "Observational Studies of Husband — Wife Interaction in Family Decision Making", *Sourcebook in Marriage and the Family*, ed. M. B. Sussman (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963), pp. 144-56; E. W. BURGESS and P. WALLIN, *Engagement and Marriage* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1953); D. W. WOLFE, "Power and Authority in the Family", *Studies in Social Power*, ed. D. Cartwright (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1959).

French Canada. The traditional picture of the French-Canadian family points up the great prestige and considerable (often rigid) authority of the father who was at the same time owner of the farm and foreman of production. However, the mother in many realms, although with little authority, had considerable power.[14] The division of labour left her entire control of the upbringing of the children and the domestic tasks.

The officially subordinate position of the woman is manifested in her political and legal position. It was not until 1940, 22 years after the federal government and some years after the other provinces, that the women in Quebec were given the right to vote. And it was not until 1962 that a woman was elected to the provincial legislature. Following the Napoleonic code, Quebec's civil laws accord practically no legal rights to a wife. Without her husband's authorization, a wife cannot engage in court proceedings, buy or sell real estate or engage in business. Nor can she authorize an emergency medical operation on her child. This entire code, however, is in process of being rewritten and liberalized.

Urbanization and industrialization, we have observed, have led in Quebec to a vast movement from country to city. Accompanying this movement, all the experts agree, has been the passing of the traditional patriarchal organization and the increasing recognition of the mother, a process not dissimilar to that in English Canada and many other parts of the world. This process has gone so far, suggests one writer, that one can defend the hypothesis that the French-Canadian family today is largely matriarchal.[15]

Nominally, in the city, affirms Garigue, the husband still has the prior position and the official authority, and the position of the wife is complementary.[16] The husband too is the basic breadwinner and protector and, in the household, has the authority and power to punish. But in the day-to-day areas of family life, it is the wife who predominates. It is she, first of all, who is the focus of the emotional life of the kin group, who maintains contact with and

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[14] For a discussion of the difference between authority and power, see D. M. Wolfe, *op. cit.*

[15] Work in progress. For a preliminary statement, see Gérald Fortin, "L'ouvrier urbain et sa famille", *Recherches Sociographiques,* III (sept.-déc., 1962), pp. 366-68.

[16] P. Garigue, *La vie familiale des Canadiens-français op. cit.,* p. 34.

integrates the larger family unit. She too, although perhaps superficially submissive to her husband, holds the reins of parental authority.[17] Through the strength of her affective ties, subtly or otherwise, she guides and leads the family, maintaining control over the children and their education, and the family welfare in general. In bringing up the child, several commentators note that the father is largely absent.[18] The Church in the French-Canadian milieu, it has been suggested, through its stress on family and maternal values, has encouraged the mother-child relationship.

The Tremblay and Fortin research gives some empirical support to this picture in observing that the wife has a determining influence in the economic decisions of over 80 per cent of the families. In 46 per cent of the salaried families, she alone manages the family income while in 35 per cent, she and her husband jointly make the decisions.[19]

What has happened to the role of the father? Rocher distinguishes three models for the behaviour of the father when the family moves to the city : 1) he retires from direct participation, giving only economic support, 2) he reacts defensively and overemphasizes his authority, especially over the children, or 3) he adapts, generally becoming more democratic, perhaps helping with the work of the house and finding new ways of relating to the children.

A subtle rearrangement, suggests Rocher, may be taking place. The father has lost his official authority and does not dominate the complex of family relationships but, with the spirit of egalitarianism,

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17 See P. GARIGUE, "French Canadian Kinship and Urban Life", in *Etudes sur le Canada français* (Montréal : Faculté des Sciences Sociales Economiques et Politiques, Université de Montréal, 1958), and GUY ROCHER, "Les modèles et le statut de la femme canadienne-française", *Revue Internationale des Sciences Sociales,* XIV, No. 1 (1962), pp. 132-39.

18 LISE ROQUET, "Les images de la femme dans le milieu jeune professionnel, urbain". To be published in *Contributions à l'Etude des Sciences de l'Homme;* GUY ROCHER, "La famille dans la ville moderne", *Service Social,* IV (1954), pp. 80-84; GÉRALD FORTIN, "Les changements socio-culturels dans une paroisse agricole", *Recherches Sociographiques,* II (avril-juin, 1961) pp. 151-170; Louis Pronovost, "Jeunes et adultes au sein de la famille", in *Monde des jeunes et monde des adultes* (Montréal : L'Action Catholique Canadienne, 1963), pp. 11-26; *A la découverte de l'amour véritable,* (Montréal : Fédération Diocésaine de la Ligue Ouvrière Catholique). (Mimeographed); unpublished survey by Brother Arthur Hébert, s.c. cited in "Les Quatorze-Seize", *La Semaine à Radio-Canada,* XI, No. 40 (1961), p. 7.

19 TREMBLAY and FORTIN, *Etude des conditions de vie, des besoins et des aspirations des familles salariées canadiennes-françaises, op. cit.*

he develops a new and real power. He now takes part in family affairs, that were formerly foreign to him, in which case, the mother's influence might actually be diminishing.[20]

A few studies at the University of Montreal, although in quite limited milieus, bear out these ideas of changing husband-wife relationships.[21] Fernand Roussel of the Department of Psychology, University of Montreal, intensively studied family relationships in 20 well-to-do professional and business families in a suburb of Montreal. In the majority of decision-making areas, affirms Roussel, no one spouse was dominant, the couples for example sharing an equal responsibility in the upbringing of their children, such as in punishing or deciding on a bedtime hour; in domestic tasks, such as repairing goods; and in leisure activities such as buying magazines or deciding what shows to attend. The wife has somewhat more influence in social activities, for example in certain relationships with friends, relatives, and party guests while the husband has a more important role in such economic activities as purchasing a car or insurance. Garigue had noted that the wife does nothing without the consent of her husband; Roussel suggest that in this milieu the reverse is also true; the husband does few things without the consent of the wife. Such complementary relationships and equality are highly valued by this particular group.[22]

A study by Lise Roquet, also of the University of Montreal, of almost 50 married professional couples finds the same general tendencies, but with a qualification. Wishing to help her husband succeed, the wife takes a background role regarding her husband's profession; she sees her own role as centering on the home and the children. But here a point of disagreement arises. The father demands that he too have a part in the direction of the home, suggesting, for example, that the child's upbringing is not sufficiently masculine. The wives in turn reproach their husbands for being unprepared for the upbringing of the children and for, in fact, abdicating a direct responsibility.[23]

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20 Guy Rocher, "Le père", *Food for Thought,* XIV (March, 1954), pp. 6-10.

21 The studies cited are part of a broader series which focuses on authority relationships in small groups. See Bernard Mailhot, o.p., "Les recherches en psychologie sociale au Canada français" (1946-62), *Situation de la recherche sur le Canada français,* F. Dumont and Y. Martin, eds. (Québec : Presses de l'Université Laval, 1962), pp. 189-204.

22 Fernand Roussel, "La relation d'autorité dans le milieu familial". To be published in *Contributions à l'Etude des Sciences de l'Homme.*

23 Roquet, *op. cit.*

It would seem on the basis of these various studies that the same general trends towards a kind of marital partnership — or at least towards a more active and recognized role for the wife — exist in French Canada as well as in English Canada and elsewhere.

Parent-Child Relationships

Sources. The studies which touch on more or less normal parent-child relationships (atypical or deviant children will be considered in chapter 6) come from diverse sources and do not lend themselves to integration. Again the most detailed research is *Crestwood Heights* but, as noted, its setting is limited. The Institute of Child Study of the University of Toronto has, since 1926, been an important Canadian center for research and especially parent education. Its staff has written dozens of advice-giving articles in magazines and the Institute's own bulletin. However, most of the published research reports concern the school, peer group relationships, and mental health with just a few small studies directly linking the child and the family. The research in process at the moment centers on the long-run development of the normal child.[24] In Montreal, sociologists F. Elkin and W. A. Westley have reported on an adolescent group in a well-to-do suburb. Westley, at present, with psychiatrist Nathan Epstein, is in the midst of a large scale study of the family and mental health. Unfortunately the results are not expected until 1965. One thesis by Arlene Bruck is available which touches on some of the problems of this project. In French Canada, we find several theses in the Schools of Social Work and some reports by such groups as the Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique and L'Action Catholique Canadienne. These studies often ask important questions and perceptively analyze their data, but with technical limitations in research design and procedure they do not give definitive information or permit of generalization.

The family has a crucial role in the socialization of the child with practically all specialists agreeing that the parent-child relationship is the major determinant in the formation of his personality and future relationships. The parents, it is also recognized, act not only

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[24] For a review of the Institute's work, see M. L. Northway et al., *Twenty Five Years of Child Study* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1951); M. L. Northway (Ed.) *Well Children ... A Progress Report* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956).

in their own right, but as intermediaries of the larger culture, teaching the values of the larger society and of their own national, socio-economic, ethnic, and religious groups.

We have already touched on some of the broader questions and developments in parent-child relationships. Many of the traditional family functions for the child have been assumed by such institutions and groups as hospitals, schools, and organized clubs. Children attend school for many more years than in the past, especially in the higher socio-economic levels and in certain ethnic groups. With more schooling, fewer adolescents and young people are in the labour market. A more democratic and less severe ideology of child rearing has permeated our society, so children are treated more gently and are permitted to speak up more directly in the family. With fewer children, probably more time is devoted and more concern is expended on the welfare of each. As our values change, so too do the things children come to appreciate. So today they learn the values of security, equality, the avoidance of suffering, and perhaps that they have the moral right to have "fun".[25] But problems still remain. In some respects, no doubt, socialization is more difficult than in the past because of the complexity and continuous evolution of our society. With different degrees of power between parents and children and different styles of life, some problems of emancipation from parents are inevitable. One Canadian author, Kaspar Naegele, feels that it may be possible to take the sting out of adolescence; another, E. I. Signori stresses the negative side of youth, citing the delinquency, illegitimacy, alcoholism, automobile accidents, and other indices of rebellion and inability to accept responsibility.[26] In any case, as Otto Klineberg observed in his talk for the Canadian Conference on Children, some uncertainties for parents seem inevitable — uncertainties about the values they wish to inculcate in their children, the roles they should play, the methods they should use, and above all, their own identity, who and what they are.[27]

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[25] MARTHA WOLFENSTEIN, "Fun Morality : An Analysis of Recent American Child-Training Literature", *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures,* eds. M. Mead and M. Wolfenstein (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1955), pp. 168-178.

[26] E. I. SIGNORI, "Attitudes of Young People Today", *Canadian Welfare,* XXXIV (June 15, 1958), pp. 77-82.

[27] These points, among others, were discussed by speakers at the Canadian Conference on Children. See especially GEOFFREY VICKERS, "What Do We Owe the Children", *New Horizons for Canada's Children,* ed. B. W. Heise (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1961), pp. 3-17; KASPAR D. NAEGELE, "Children in

Early Child Rearing Patterns and Socialization. In the United States and Western Europe, thousands of studies have been reported dealing with some aspect or another of parent-child relationships and child rearing. Psychiatrists, psychologists, educators, anthropologists, sociologists, and others have written voluminously on such problems as discipline, authority, creativity, dating patterns, parental models, and ethnic, social class, and regional variations in child rearing patterns.[28] In Canada however, in recent years, except perhaps for atypical children — who will be discussed later — this has not been a major area of research.

The most detailed study in Canada which links the family to more or less normal child rearing practices is *Crestwood Heights.* In this quite well-to-do suburb of Toronto, we again find evidence of an increasing democratic spirit with the children often freely discussing problems with their parents and with a psychologically oriented discipline. The mother, who is home during the day, tends to be the central figure of the family, but the father has an important symbolic role in the daily routine and can be active under conditions of tension and uncertainty. The parents, aware of the complexities and intellectual movemens of our changing society, are uncertain how to bring out the best in their children and look to the experts for advice. But the experts are not consistent, so the dilemma of the parents remains. In part, the parents hope that the various institutions and associations to which the children are sent will make them more mature.

The other studies on child-rearing are small and scattered. One, by Carroll Davis of the Institute of Child Study, focuses on the rather neglected problem of sibling influence. Following an intensive study of

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Canada — Present and Past", *ibid.*, pp. 18-29; and Otto Klineberg, "A Cross-Cultural View of the Child and the Family", *ibid.*, pp. 30-44.

28 See, for example, the following works all of which review or reprint considerable material: Reuben Hill, "Sociology of Marriage and Family Behaviour 1945-1956: A Trend Report and Bibliography", *Current Sociology,* VII, No. 1 (1958); Urie Bronfenbrenner, "Socialization and Social Class through Time and Space", *Readings in Social Psychology,* eds. E. E. Maccoby, T. M. Newcomb and E. L. Hartley (3rd Ed., New York: Holt, 1958), pp. 400-425; Winston W. Ehrmann, *Premarital Dating Behaviour* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1959); James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll, *The Sociology of Child Development* (3rd. ed., New York: Harper and Bros., 1960); *Manual of Child Psychology,* ed. Leonard Carmichael (2nd. ed., New York: Wiley, 1954); *The Child: A Book of Readings,* ed. Jerome M. Seidman (New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1958).

five pairs of siblings, she suggests that each child uses the other as a means of self definition. She writes, "Each child uses the other to measure his own 'differentness' as a way of seeing himself as unique, of becoming a person in his own right".[29]

M. F. Grapko, also of the Institute of Child Study, on the basis of questionnaires given to 300 children in grades 4, 5, and 6, analyzes the excuses children give. The children most commonly make excuses, Grapko suggests, in their relations with adults — the teacher, mother, and above all, the father. When for example, children require help from their father, a high proportion choose not to bother him "since he is always so busy".[30]

In French Canada, Lionel Vallée, in a thesis for the school of Social Work, University of Montreal, tackled the much broader problems of family authority and acceptance. Using a sample of 118 children in grade 4 of working class background, Vallée studied their placement along two scales : (1) authority-democracy-laissez-faire, and (2) rejection-acceptance-overprotection. To obtain information permitting him to relate the parental behaviour to that of the children, he also interviewed the mothers. The scope of the problem is too broad to be certain about classifications and relationships, but the thesis does demonstrate the close relationship between parental behaviour and the child's personality. Also, the scores on the scales do not present an unambiguous picture although, for the second scale "acceptance" is clearly most common. Perhaps above all, the thesis indicates a current of interest in French Canada which has been widely discussed, but has led to little research.[31]

Louis M. Richard, in a study of a normal school for Brothers, points up the continued influence of early family relationships. He suggests that the student's current perception of status positions and roles is in direct continuity with the same perspectives of their early childhood.[32]

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29 Carroll Davis and M. L. Northway, "Siblings, Rivalry or Relationship", *Bulletin of the Institute of Child Study*, XIX (September, 1957.)

30 M. F. Grapko, "Children's Excuses", *Bulletin of the Institute of Child Study*, XX (March, 1958).

31 Lionel Vallée, "Attitudes de parents et comportements d'enfants" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Montreal, 1957).

32 L. M. Richard, s.c., "Influence des groupes antécédents sur le groupe actuel", *Contributions à l'Etude des Sciences de l'Homme, V (1962)*, pp. 103-37.

Adolescence and Youth. Adolescence has long been a favourite subject of discussion of educators, psychologists, and social scientists. Traditionally the authors spoke of the storm and stress of adolescence and the conflict between generations. The adolescents, it was said, rebelled against the adult world and formed close peer-group relationships as part of the process of growing up. They were no longer children, but not quite adults, and developing an independence from their parents was a crucial step. Adding to the tensions was a new sexual awareness and the need to make decisions about their future careers. A few studies in Canada touch on these problems of adolescence although in limited milieus. [33]

In *Crestwood Heights,* the authors note that social mobility has, to a certain degree, enlarged the gap between generations and offers the possibilities of internal divisions within the family. Elkin and Westley, following an intensive study of 20 adolescents and their families in a well-to-do suburb of Montreal, suggest that the storm and stress image of adolescence is only a partial picture. In this particular suburb, the adolescents live in a rather protected environment, with friends very much like themselves. The adolescents, to some degree, have their own unique culture, their language, dances, and manner of kidding, but the parents are very much aware of such activities and they are not a source of parent-child conflict. The authors affirm that a certain continuity exists for these adolescents and that their current behaviour and ideas, as seen in their organization of parties, academic and professional aspirations, and marriage ideals, prepare them for the life they will probably lead as adults.[34]

R. A. Sim in a general report concerning our perspectives on youth, says that adolescents often experience individual problems, but rejects the idea that "individually experienced problems, if they are multiplied, create a social problem".[35]

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33 Juvenile delinquency and other deviant forms of adolescent behaviour will be considered in chapter 6.

34 Frederick Elkin and William A. Westley, "The Myth of Adolescent Culture", *American Sociological Review,* XX (December, 1955), pp. 680-84; W. A. Westley and F. Elkin, "The Protective Environment and Adolescent Socialization", *Social Forces,* XXXV (March, 1957) pp. 243-49.

35 R. Alexander Sim, "The Youth Question : Is it a Problem and for Whom ?" *Social Policy in the Sixties* (Ottawa : Canadian Welfare Council, 1961), p. 3.

As yet only pilot study results have been reported on the Westley-Epstein study of the family and mental health. Nine college freshmen, judged by interviews and tests to be emotionally healthy, and their families, were intensively interviewed. This analysis points to such relationships as the following : a marked dependence of wives on their husbands, the lack of a direct relationship between parental sexual adjustment and family integration, and the importance of the father as a source of emotional strength. A second phase involves a comparison, again with intensive techniques, of some 100 healthy and disturbed children.[36]

Associated with this study is the afore-cited research of Arlene Bruck who hypothesized that a relationship exists between the mental health of adolescents and the type of authority prevailing in the family. To this end, she compared ten "democratic" and ten "father dominated" families. The author suggests that, while egalitarian control sometimes generates friendlier relationships within the family, the behavioural differences between the two groups are not extreme,

> Both groups of parents are extremely responsible and highly concerned about their families' welfare. They do differ, however, in their approach to child-guidance and discipline. Democratic discipline tends to lean towards self-direction and inner-control; father-dominated discipline is more direct.

But she adds,

> "the 'velvet-glove' treatment can be as coercive as the direct approach".

In general, she concludes that neither form of family authority is favourable to healthy emotional development.[37]

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[36] W. A. WESTLEY, "Emotionally Healthy Adolescents and their Family Backgrounds", *The Family in Contemporary Society* (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1958), pp. 131-47; NATHAN B. EPSTEIN and W. A. WESTLEY, "Patterns of Intrafamilial Communication", Psychiatric Research Reports 11, American Psychiatric Association 1-9, December, 1959; W. A. WESTLEY and N. B. EPSTEIN, "Family and Emotional Health : A Case Study Approach", *Marriage and Family Living*, XXII (February, 1960), pp. 25-27; N. B. EPSTEIN and W. A. WESTLEY, "Grandparents and Parents of Emotionally Healthy Adolescents", *Psychoanalysis and Human Values*, ed. Jules H. Masserman (New York : Grune and Stratton, Inc., 1960), pp. 181-88; N. B. EPSTEIN and W. A. WESTLEY, "Parental Interaction as Related to the Emotional Health of Children", *Social Problems*, VIII (Summer, 1960), pp. 87-92; W. A. WESTLEY and N. B. EPSTEIN, "The Psycho-Social Organization of the Family and Mental Health", *Decisions, Values and Groups* (New York : Pergamon Press, 1960), vol. I., pp. 287-303.

[37] BRUCK, *op. cit.*

The studies of adolescence in French Canada have most often been sponsored by young people's groups in order to obtain information for preparing programmes and guiding their members. The samples ordinarily do not allow us to generalize beyond the subjects questioned, but in many respects the conclusions are so closely interlinked that they give us some confidence in the validity of the results.

The studies in French Canada link two of the crucial problems for adolescents : the relationships with (1) parents and (2) members of the opposite sex. One question that links the two is sexual and romantic education. Traditionally the family had the responsibility of informing and guiding the child, including the area of sex. And this is acknowledged. Charbonneau reports, following a survey of 300 adults of various social levels on sexual education, that "a very great majority admit that theirs is the first responsibility".[38] But few parents, it seems, so behave. The adolescents themselves affirm that the influences that most helped them understand such questions are extra-familial — individual reading, conversations with friends, and sometimes with priests and teachers. Of the two parents who might occasionally have a hand in teaching the realities of sex, the mother is apparently the more active. According to a poll of 1500 parents of adolescents by the Ligue Ouvrière Catholique, 90 per cent of the fathers do not participate in the sexual or sentimental education of their children.[39]

Dating is common and, according to a study of 156 students averaging 16 years of age in St. Hyacinthe, is generally beyond parental influence. The students do not talk much to their parents about their dating activities. At 15, almost half of the young people date, according to one survey, while at 18 the figure is almost three quarters and the majority of such meetings occur out of view of the family — in the street, restaurant, recreation centers, theatres, dance halls, etc.[40]

Another report by the Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique of 100 adolescents of various social levels and milieus suggests that parents and

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[38] Rhéal Charbonneau, "L'amour avant et après le mariage : résultats d'un sondage", *L'Amour humain, don de Dieu,* ed. L'Action Catholique Canadienne (Montréal, 1962), pp. 80-81.

[39] A la découverte de l'amour véritable (Montréal : Fédération Diocésaine de la Ligue Ouvrière Catholique, 1962). (Mimeographed) ; Charbonneau, *op. cit.;* André Saint-Amand, L'éveil sentimental chez les étudiants (de 14 à 18 ans) (St-Hyacinthe : Fédération diocésaine de la Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique de St-Hyacinthe, 1962). (Mimeographed.)

[40] St-Amand, *op. cit.;* and Charbonneau, *op. cit.*

adolescents do not share the same outlook in judging the children's friends or the places they frequent. The parents prefer a serious peer group and want assurance that their daughters go to respectable places. The girls themselves desire a more lighthearted group without restrictions on where they might go. The perspectives of marriage also differ in this survey — the parents are more likely to see the negative aspects, the suffering and the difficulties; while the adolescents are more likely to see the positive, the happiness, freedom, and beauty.[41]

The sharp differences between the adults and young people are also brought out in a report based on a 1962 symposium sponsored by L'Action Catholique Canadienne. The invited representatives, from diverse milieus, here too pointed out that the development among the young people of heterosexual feelings is a source of tension and conflict with parents. The latter are concerned with safeguarding the morals and honour of the family and make relatively few efforts to educate their children into love relationships. Communications with parents were said to be limited and unsatisfactory and various points of conflict, including money and religious practice, were noted. [42]

Garigue, on the basis of his studies, suggests that the central conflict is not between both parents and the child, but just the father and child. He writes that children have an affection towards, and feel confidence in their mothers while towards their fathers, they feel a respect mingled with aggression. The relationship between the father and child he writes "seems to be characterized by a lack of spontaneity, by a formal respect or admiration alternating with the rejection of parental authority". [43]

Authority, one thesis suggests, is differently expressed at different social levels. Marie Lefrançois, in a study which was part of a group thesis at the University of Montreal, divided the parents of 92 young adolescents at a classical college into the groups according to their income, occupation, and education. They were questioned about the freedom they gave their children in outside activities, the control they

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41 Les relations jeunes adolescents-adultes (Montréal : Secrétariat National de la Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique, 1963). (Mimeographed.)

42 *Ibid.;* and Monde des jeunes et monde des adultes, Report of a Forum (Montréal : L'Action Catholique Canadienne, November 24, 1962). (Mimeographed.)

43 P. Garigue, *La vie familiale des Canadiens français,* p. 46.

exercised over the reading or television viewing of the children, the discipline exerted when a child balked at carrying out a demand and so on. The groups varied considerably within themselves but, in general, those of the higher level accorded their children more freedom. The author in part explains the greater strictness and rigidity of the less educated group by their lower degree of psychological security.[44]

To some degree, many of the studies cited must be discounted or at least taken as a partial picture. Authority relationships in French-Canadian families are in flux and, in many of these studies, the young people are given the opportunity to air their views and express their grievances. Such information should be complemented by more scientific researches with representatively selected samples which study not only these more manifest attitudes, but the subtleties of the sentiments and interrelationships of the various parties concerned.

The Family and the Child at School

Sources. DBS presents us with the basic data on the trends in school attendance and variations among provinces. We have already observed, from such statistics, that those who drop out of school when they are young are likely to have lower positions on the occupational scale and to earn less money. We have, however, relatively few studies that discuss the relationship between the family and the school. A few theses, of variable merit, focus on the family and nursery school education. Education too, we know, is very closely and directly related to differences in socio-economic level and several theses, especially in French Canada, discuss facets of this relationship. Again, each thesis has certain limitations, but the consistency of the findings and their general agreement with each other and with researches elsewhere give some weight to the results. Some important topics such as the family and occupational choice, parental participation in schools, and changing attitudes of parents towards the school, are hardly touched on, if at all, in Canada.

Statistical Data. Little formal education is necessary for the vast majority of people in a simple or rural society. In a society,

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44 Monique Dupuis, Marie Lefrançois, Lyette Plourde et al., "Caractéristiques socio-culturelles et attitudes parentales" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Montreal, 1957).

however, that is becoming complex and industrialized, a highly elaborate system of schools to teach the necessary skills and background information is crucial. In general, the educational system in Canada, as in other western countries, has made the necessary adaptations with more specialized programs of study and with an increasing number of children being given the opportunity to attend school and realize their intellectual potential. Statistical data show the general trends. In 1911, the average number of years at school was 8; in 1931, it had risen to 9.9 and in 1951 to 10.5. Today it must be close to 11. The percentage of children attending school has also been increasing. In 1941, some 51 per cent of those between 5 and 19 years of age were attending school; in 1951, it was 66 per cent; and in 1961, over 78.

Especially in the older age groups, the increase has been great. In 1941, over one third of the young people between 15 and 19 were attending school; in 1951, the proportion was over two in five and in 1961, almost three in five. In general, especially for the older age groups, urban attendance is higher than rural, but since so many young rural people migrate to the city, the percentage differences are not great.

Table 18

PERCENTAGE ATTENDING SCHOOL, AGES 15-19, BY PROVINCE

Province	Percentage
Quebec	50.1
Newfoundland	51.7
Prince Edward Island	55.5
New Brunswick	56.7
Nova Scotia	57.3
Manitoba	62.1
Ontario	63.0
Saskatchewan	65.5
Alberta	65.8
British Columbia	68.0

Differences between provinces in 1961 for the 15-19 age group were considerable, ranging from 50 per cent in Quebec to 68 per cent

in British Columbia. (Table 18.) Currently, however, with a strong emphasis on education, the picture in Quebec is rapidly changing.[45]

The proportion attending universities in Canada, compared to the United States, remains low. In 1960, some 10 per cent of those of college age were actually at college in Canada compared to 20 per cent in the United States. (The proportion in Canada has now gone up to 13.)

Research studies. Accompanying these more or less demographic trends have been changes in the relationship between the family and the school. The family has lost many of its one-time educational functions but the tie between family and school inevitably remains close.

> Whether a child is receptive or has serious qualms when he enters school, whether he is prone to accept or reject the school authorities, how he reacts to the teachers as models of authority — all, to a great degree, are a function of attitudes and orientations which have been developed in the family setting. The child attending school, moreover. remains a member of the family, and the two agencies may reinforce or counteract each others' influence — or both.[46]

Only a few scattered studies in Canada discuss such relationships between the family and the school and most are inconclusive. One thesis in sociology at McGill shows very well the relationship between the family and an educational nursery school television programme. Suzanne Blais interviewed a sample of 47 French-Canadian mothers whose young children regularly watched the popular Maman Fon Fon programme on Saturday mornings. The influence of the programme, says Miss Blais, depends on the degree to which the parents encouraged their children to watch and participate. She writes :

> Adults (parents) have a complementary role... it appears that television itself is only a primary stimulus, and that parents must provide the necessary incentives if their children's television experience is to become a constructive and productive experience.[47]

Two psychology department theses at the University of British Columbia also touch on the families and young children. Eva M. Bene

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[45] DBS, Bulletin 92-557, 1961.

[46] F. ELKIN, *The Child and Society* (New York : Random House, 1960), pp. 56-57.

[47] SUZANNE BLAIS, "Parent, Child, and Television : Interaction in Communication" (M.A. thesis, Dept. of Sociology and Anthropology, McGill University, 1962), p. 117.

had mothers of nursery school children and the nursery school supervisers complete questionnaires. She found that the more sympathetic and understanding the attitude of the mother to young children, the better adjusted was her own child to the school. Likewise mothers who had older children in the family seemed to have "better" attitudes towards their children at school.[48]

Margarete Kahn, of the same department, investigated the relationship between maternal overprotection and reading achievement in young children. Using 15 over-protected children and their mothers, selected on the basis of their scores on the California Parent Attitude Survey, and a control group of 17 mother-child pairs, she found that reading achievement was higher among the children not overprotected. But since the education of the parents was apparently one of the factors not controlled — and it is higher in the control group — the results are inconclusive.[49]

Studies in both Canada and the United States have shown the close relationship between school drop-outs and the social and economic situation of the family.[50] Marie-Pia Joanette, in a sociology thesis at the University of Montreal, analyzes a similar relationship in French Canada. She interviewed some 80 young people, 40 who discontinued their studies in grade 7 and 40 who continued, at least to grade 11. She acknowledges that the family in these cases is not the sole factor determining school perseverance and that the family itself is strongly influenced by the milieu, but she herself emphasizes the very close relationship between the family climate and the subsequent conduct of the child. The family furnished the occasion for the child's first contacts which favoured or retarded this development. The family too initiated the child into its own values, creating a climate which encouraged study or, on the contrary, made it difficult. Those families,

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[48] Eva Mary Bene, "Mother's Attitude and Nursery School Children's Adjustment" (Master's thesis, Dept of Philosophy and Psychology, University of British Columbia, 1948).

[49] Margarete Kahn, "An Investigation of the Role of Maternal Overprotection on Reading Achievement in Young Children of Average and Above Average Intelligence" (Master's thesis, Dept. of Psychology, University of British Columbia, 1960).

[50] For a Canadian report on school drop-outs some years ago which clearly shows this relationship, see : Canadian Research Committee on Practical Education, *Your Child Leaves School* (Toronto, 1950).

she reports, in which the parents had a higher education seemed to better understand how to stimulate their children. [51]

This picture is reinforced in a thesis by Delphine Périard of the School of Social Work at the University of Montreal who studied the family situations of 25 cases in which the child, because of absence from school, was in trouble with school authorities. Miss Périard reports that the parents would have liked to give a good education to their children but found it difficult because of their social conditions and because, with little schooling themselves, they could not easily encourage their children. [52]

The increasing complexity in the courses offered at school and the range of specialties required in the work world also complicate the relationship of parent and child, for parents may not be qualified to advise their children. Three studies touch on this problem in French Canada. The first, by the Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique, of a hundred adolescents, averaging 14 years of age, suggests that the parents are largely out-of-date. They are quite ignorant of the courses offered and the aptitudes required and many, with few years of schooling themselves, find the programmes that their children follow and the rhythm of the changes quite incomprehensible. [53]

A second study, in line with this development, by Monique Dupuis of the School of Social Work at the University of Montreal, suggests that parental influence is being replaced by that of specialists. Her subjects, parents of 11 to 14 year old students at a classical college, are interested in the school work of their sons, but leave to the educators the question of guiding their children's literary tastes. [54]

We have already observed that children of well-to-do and better educated parents are more likely to continue at school than those less favoured. They also, another thesis suggests, are more likely to have

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51 Marie-Pia Joanette, "Les responsabilités de la famille et de l'école dans la non-persévérance scolaire" (Master's thesis, Dept. of Sociology, University of Montreal, 1962).

52 Delphine Périard, "Fréquentation scolaire en regard du milieu familial et des parents" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Montreal, 1952).

53 *Les relations jeunes adolescents-adultes, op. cit.*

54 Monique Dupuis, Lyette Plourde, Guy Tourangeau et al. "Caractéristiques socio-culturelles et attitudes parentales" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Montreal, 1957).

their school problems understood by their parents. Lyette Plourde, using as subjects the same sample as Miss Dupuis, demonstrates that those parents who themselves are better educated are more interested and demanding in the education of their children, and better understand such problems as the criteria for judging classical colleges or disagreements between a student and professor. Those with a primary school education, Plourde suggests, do not see nuances and have more definite opinions and attitudes which they often justify with little real knowledge.[55]

A slight variation of the last theme is elucidated in a thesis by Guy Tourangeau at the University of Montreal in which he relates the education of the parents to that of their children. Tourangeau reports that the lower the level of the parents' education, the more they reject the kind of education they themselves had. However, despite this opposition to their own past, they are not as prepared as those better educated to accept new methods of education.[56]

The relationship between the family and occupational planning has been touched on in one thesis. For a group thesis in the School of Social Work at McGill, students interviewed some 71 girls in their last year at the University asking about family and non-family influences in occupational planning, and finding them, as we might expect, to be complementary. These influences were most directly evident when students had definite plans. A relatively high proportion of those with vague plans came from families whose incomes were high, over $10,000 a year.[57]

The Working Wife and Mother

Sources. There have been few studies of the working wife in Canada. We do have statistical data from DBS and two excellent reports published for the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labour : *Married Women Working for Pay,* 1958 and *Occupational Histories,* 1960. These are collaborative efforts. The Department of Labour drew up the sample in eight cities, organized the study, and supervised the preparation of the results while most of the

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55 *Ibid.*
56 *Ibid.*
57 M.-E. LEMAY et al., "Familial and Other Influences in Occupational Planning" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, McGill University, 1957).

field work was done by M.A. students at the Schools of Social Work in Halifax, Quebec City, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg, and Vancouver. In the theses written by the students, considerable case data are presented which illustrate and clarify the problems of the working mother.

Also available is a small study of women farm workers in Alberta by Helen Abell written when she was associated with the Department of Agriculture and a report of a Conference on Women at Work, sponsored by the Montreal Y.W.C.A. in 1961.

A few studies touch solely on the woman worker in Quebec. Roger Chartier in 1952 analyzed the reasons behind the movement towards women labour; and Nicholas Zay of the University of Montreal, and Louise Caron, in a 1955 thesis at the same institution, analyze the Quebec data on women labour, noting such information as the trends in employment and their type of work.

Church groups have made significant contributions to our understanding of the working mother. The Family Research Committee of the Canadian Catholic Conference has reviewed the research on juvenile delinquency and the working mother and the United Church of Canada appointed a Commission on the Gainful Employment of Married Women which reviewed available material and itself carried out a small research on the professional woman.

A most valuable comparative source is the anthology edited by F. Ivan Nye and Lois W. Hoffman, *The Employed Mother in America* (Rand McNally and Co.) which appeared in 1963 in the United States.

The Overall Picture. Few developments have been more important in recent years in modifying the roles and relationships of family members than the increasing number of working wives. To the roles of wife and mother, women increasingly have added that of partial breadwinner, with salaried jobs outside of the home. From a broad social perspective, this is merely one development among many in the changing roles of women; women are now freer to choose their husbands or their clothing, to attend professional schools, hold public office, and participate in a host of other once forbidden or discouraged activities. From the perspective of the family, working wives has meant a change in the family structure, with each member playing a part different from that in the past. When the wife first takes a job, it is not just *her* activities and expectations that change; it is those

of all members of the family. What is the situation today of the working wife in Canada?

Each year, the statistics indicate a higher proportion of married women join the labour force. Chronologically, World War II, with its great and sudden demand for labour was a decisive turning point with many wives going to work for the first time. In 1941, approximately one in 20 married women was working for pay; in 1951, over one in ten; and today the figure is over one in five. Among the women in the labour force as a whole, the proportion married increased from just 10 per cent in 1931 to over 47 per cent in 1961 (Table 19),[58] with the married outnumbering the unmarried especially in the farming, managerial, and sales occupational groups.[59]

Table 19

PROPORTION OF MARRIED WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE

Year	Proportion
1931	10
1941	13
1951	30
1961	47

Increasingly over the years, older women especially are going to work. The most dramatic increase has been for women between 35 and 54; in 1951 they made up just over 20 per cent of the female labour force, in 1961, it was over 30 per cent. (Table 20).[60]

This increase in the proportion of working wives is not unique for Canada; a similar trend is evident in all western industrialized countries. In fact, Canada's percentage is far below that of England where one out of four wives works for pay or the United States where the figure is one out of three.[61] Likewise, although the trend is towards

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58 *Married Women Working for Pay in Eight Canadian Cities* (Ottawa: Women's Bureau, Department of Labour, 1958). Also, *Women at Work: A Seminar* (Montreal: Y.W.C.A., 1961), pp. 29-30.

59 DBS, Bulletin 94-509, 1961.

60 *Women at Work: A Seminar, op. cit.*, p. 32.

61 In the United States too, the number of working mothers has increased markedly in the past few decades. In 1940, about one in ten mothers with children under 18 was in the labour force; in 1950, one in five; and today, one in three.

the working wife, she is still, at any one time, far outnumbered by the wife not working for pay — in Canada some 80 per cent of the married women are not in the labour force.

Table 20

PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN IN THE LABOUR FORCE BY CERTAIN AGE GROUPS

Age	1951	1961
25-34	24	29
35-44	21	31
45-54	20	33
55-64	15	23

Factors Underlying the Increasing Proportion of Working Wives. The factors to be considered in explaining why more wives are working today than in the past are many and complex. We have already observed the change in the ideological climate which permits women a greater freedom of choice and the opportunity to participate in more diversified activities, including jobs of various kinds. From the point of view of the women themselves, economic motives are of paramount importance in their decision to take a job. In some cases, for families struck by unemployment or irregular labour of the husband, or for widows, divorcees, and separated wives, the women must work to make ends meet. In other cases the women do not have to work, but they wish to raise or maintain a certain standard of living. Families now demand facilities that were unavailable or considered luxuries a generation or two ago. Based on the occupational histories of working wives, the Women's Bureau summarizes :

> ... the first time a woman takes a job after marriage is usually associated with some event that produced in the woman a feeling of economic need. It may be a period of unemployment for her husband, a temporary separation throwing financial responsibility on her, illness in the family with resulting medical bills, accumulated debts or the purchase of a house involving assumption of a mortgage.[62]

The Tremblay and Fortin study in Quebec arrives at the same conclusions. "In three out of four cases in which wives work, she is forced

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[62] *Occupational Histories of Married Women Working for Pay* (Ottawa : Women's Bureau, Department of Labour, 1960), p. 64.

to do so because the family suffers a serious deficit in its general budget".[63]

A woman may continue to work for reasons other than those which first led her to look for a job. "Most often, perhaps the family has been accustomed to the higher standard of living and they would all miss the little extras that her income brings".[64]

Technological and industrial developments have encouraged the employment of women : first by considerably reducing the work of housekeeping and freeing her for other activities; and second, by creating a great demand for office and service jobs of various kinds which women can readily fill.

Without implying a cause and effect relationship, we may also trace a parallel between the increasing proportion of working wives and certain demographic tendencies. Women not only live longer compared to the generations of the past, they also marry younger, have fewer large families, and complete their childbearing at a younger age. Many now return to work when the children go to school or when the children are old enough to leave home.

Legal and industrial world changes have also encouraged the working wife. Two provinces, Alberta and British Columbia, have introduced legislation giving certain considerations to working wives before and after pregnancy and many collective agreements have similar cases.[65] And in industries under federal jurisdiction and in all the provinces except Quebec and Newfoundland, a woman who does the same job as a man is legally required to receive the same pay.[66]

Geographic Variations. The proportion of wives working for pay varies in different sections of the country. More women work for pay in cities than in the country, but the statistics are deceptive. Wives have traditionally worked on farms, but not for pay, and they still do. A recent DBS report on the Labour Force points out that in 1961,

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[63] TREMBLAY and FORTIN, *Etude des conditions de vie, des besoins et des aspirations des familles salariées canadiennes-françaises* (Québec : Centre de Recherches Sociales de l'Université Laval, 1953), vol. I, chap. 2, p. 28.

[64] *Occupational Histories of Married Women Working for Pay, op. cit.*, p. 64.

[65] *Women at Work in Canada* (Ottawa : Department of Labour, 1958), chap. 6.

[66] *Equal Pay for Equal Work,* (Ottawa : Department of Labour, 1959). Currently in Quebec such a law is also under serious discussion.

about 80 per cent of the women workers on farms were married and more than 72 per cent of the women were non-paid farm workers.[67] That the work of farm wives contributes to the productivity of the farm is indicated in an Alberta study which found that farm production is higher on those farms exploited by married men than on those farms in which wives were not present. According to this study, the most common tasks of the women included caring for the poultry yard, maintaining the garden, milking and washing the milking equipment, and keeping the books.[68]

The proportion of married women working for pay differs greatly between provinces and cities within provinces. Ontario, in 1951, had the highest percentage with married women making up 15 per cent of the labour force, followed by British Columbia with 13.3. The more rural Maritimes have low rates as does the highly industrialized Quebec, whose rate is 7.4.[69] For Quebec, distinctive cultural values enter the picture. Guy Rocher suggests that the French-Canadian family also aspires to a higher standard of living — which should lead to wives seeking jobs — but this is counterbalanced by traditions against a wife working and the high value accorded the wife and mother. However, as we have observed, the values in Quebec have been changing rapidly. In contrast to a few generations ago, it is now considered normal for a young girl to work until she marries and increasingly to work until she has one child, or perhaps even more.[70]

Within the provinces, it is ordinarily the large industrial cities whose industries require office workers, telephone operators, receptionists, etc., which have the highest proportion of wives working for pay.

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67 Labour Force statistics.

68 Helen C. Abell, "The Woman's Touch in Canadian Farm Work", *Economic Annalist,* XXIV (April, 1954), pp. 37-38.

69 *Women at Work in Canada, op. cit.,* p. 17.

70 Guy Rocher, "Les modèles et le statut de la femme canadienne-française", *Revue Internationale des Sciences Sociales,* XIV, No. 1 (1962), pp. 132-39. For further data on the woman working for pay in Quebec see Roger Chartier, *Problèmes du Travail Féminin* (Québec : Centre de Culture populaire de Laval, 1952). See also Louise Caron, "Le travail féminin dans la province de Québec" (Master's thesis, Dept. of Industrial Relations, University of Montreal, 1955), and Nicholas Zay, "Analyse statistique du travail de la femme mariée dans la province de Québec", *L'Actualité Economique,* XXXII (oct.-déc. 1956), pp. 488-501.

Motives for Working. As we might expect, considering the importance of economic motives, the proportion of working wives varies with socio-economic level, with the highest proportion in the lower income groups. In the study of the Women's Bureau, almost half of the husbands of working wives earned less than $3000 a year. (Table 21).

Table 21

PROPORTION OF WORKING WIVES BY HUSBAND'S INCOME

Husband's Income	Proportion of Working Wives
Less than $3000.	46.7
3000. to 5000.	40.1
Over 5000.	3.5
Unknown or not applicable	9.7
	100.0

"It is obvious", the report concludes, "that if the families in the sample depended on the husband's incomes alone they would be well below the cross-section of Canadian urban families in income. With the additional earnings of the wife their family incomes compare favourably with others".[71] The majority of wives, however, do not really earn very much, earning in 1955, when the study was done, less than $2000. Even adding their husband's salaries, close to 40 per cent earned less than $4000.[72]

A high proportion of the working wives in the lower socio-economic groups are immigrants. These women, particularly those whose native language is not English, are apt to work longer hours and earn somewhat less money than the Canadian-born. In part, the Women's Bureau study suggests, the immigrant women in the sample earn less because they are older than native-born Canadians and older women

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[71] In the United States, the picture is very much the same. In 1961, in families where the husband earned less than $3000, over half of the mothers with children ages 6 to 17 and one fourth with children under 6 worked. When the husband's income was $7000 or over, the proportions were about 30 and 13 per cent respectively.

[72] *Married Women Working for Pay, op. cit.*, p. 42. See also the references to family income in chapter 4, supra.

are more often found in lower-paid jobs. But immigrants too, like others, as time goes on, are moving into white-collar jobs.[73]

Wives work of course for other than economic motives or for a combination of reasons. In the Women's Bureau survey, more than half of the women cited such reasons, among others, as "not enough to do", "personal fulfilment", and "interest in the job or organization". Many women first go to work to earn money, but then they find that they enjoy their jobs or their contacts with fellow workers and stay on. But all the studies suggest that the economic motive is foremost. In the afore-cited survey, nearly 80 per cent stressed such reasons and almost half gave no other reason for working.[74]

Wives with professional or semi-professional training make up a very small proportion of the female labour force; yet they merit particular attention because they are well known in the community and may serve as models for young girls. The Commission of The United Church on the Gainful Employment of Married Women, as part of a larger review, sent a questionnaire to various professional women in Canada, receiving 68 tabulatable replies. For this group too — although because of the limitations of the sample, we cannot generalize from the results — economic motives were paramount, but the motives were often oriented towards future needs, such as the education of the children or retirement. Many of these women, also, felt a certain personal fulfilment in making use of their special skills, which often had been laboriously acquired. For some too, frustration at home was a factor, for housekeeping, as for the wife in Crestwood Heights, was not especially valued as a career.[75]

The Jobs of Working Wives. Working wives take three primary types of jobs. Most common, especially for women with a high school education, is clerical work. Work in factories and service jobs (for example, in hotels, restaurants, and households) are the next two groups (Table 22), both tending to recruit women with a lower level

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73 *Married Women Working for Pay, op. cit.*, pp. 70-71, and *Occupational Histories of Married Women Working for Pay in Eight Canadian Cities, op. cit.*, p. 53.

74 *Married Women Working for Pay in Eight Canadian Cities, op. cit.*, p. 46.

75 *Report of the Commission on the Gainful Employment of Married Women* (Records of Proceedings of the Nineteenth General Council of the United Church of Canada, 1962), pp. 257-95.

of education.[76] The industries in which they are employed vary greatly depending on the section of the country, with manufacturing ranking high in the industrial provinces of Ontario and Quebec.[77]

Table 22

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WORKING WIVES BY OCCUPATION

Occupation	Per cent
Clerical	37.2
Manufacturing and mechanical	22.7
Service	16.9
Commerce and finance	11.5
Managerial and professional	9.3
Transportation and communication	2.0
Construction, labourers, not stated	0.4

Not many women keep life-long jobs; as their positions in the family life cycle vary, so do their jobs. The percentage of mothers who work is relatively low in families with young children. In the Women's Bureau survey, 60 per cent of the continuous workers have never had a child and of the women in the sample who are childless, 70 per cent have worked continuously. Only 14 per cent worked part time. Many women seek part-time jobs when they have young children, but such jobs are often hard to find. Also, if financial motives are important, part time jobs are often not worth the effort; so those with part time jobs are more often found among those whose husband have high incomes.[78]

Adaptations of the Wife and Family. When a wife takes a job, she has to rearrange the time formerly alloted to various activities. One study in the United States suggests that the working wife spends less time watching television, making informal visiting and formally

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[76] *Married Women Working for Pay in Eight Canadian Cities, op. cit.*, chap. 2.

[77] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[78] *Ibid.*, chap. 3.

entertaining.[79] She does not give up housework, (except perhaps for laundry services), but the time she devotes to it is greatly reduced.[80]

What arrangements does a working wife make for her children — which is especially a problem when the children are of pre-school age? The Women's Bureau study cites the following in order of importance as the most common arrangements for pre-school children: the grandmother is at home, one parent is home all the time, neighbours or friends help, or the child is sent to nursery school. Baby sitting services are less commonly used because of the cost (from $10 to $12 a week in Toronto) plus the expense of travel. Sometimes too, in the absence of parents, older children take care of the younger ones. And a few have the means to keep a full time maid. It is a rare working mother who does not seriously try to make some satisfactory arrangement.[81]

How about the working wife herself, how does she react to the experience? Many observers have speculated that the dual role of wife and wage earner leads to anxiety and tension, but the researches available do not confirm this fear. Not that the women are not aware of problems and perhaps even become defensive. The Women's Bureau reports:

> The women interviewed were reluctant to say that their own lot was a hard one, but perhaps their own difficulties were mirrored in their readiness to see hardship in the lives of other married women who were working. Those without children — more than 40 per cent of the sample — usually said they had no particular difficulties. There was a natural tendency for mothers to be protective in replying to questions about the care of their children.[82]

But the women are not more tense or anxious; in some cases, in fact, according to studies in the United States, they are even better adjusted.[83]

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79 F. Ivan Nye, "Recreation and Community", *The Employed Mother in America*, eds, F. I. Nye and L. W. Hoffman (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1963), chap. 25.

80 *Married Women Working for Pay, op. cit.*, p. 16.

81 *Ibid.*, p. 60.

82 *Ibid.*, p. 62.

83 See the following chapters in *The Employed Mother in America, op. cit.*: F. Ivan Nye, *"Adjustments to Children"*, chap. 24; Sheila Feld, "Feelings of Adjustment", chap. 23; Lawrence J. Sharp and F. Ivan Nye, "Maternal Mental Health", chap. 21.

What of interrelationships within the family? There does tend to be a rearrangement of tasks within the household with the husband and children helping much more. According to the group thesis study of working wives at the University of Montreal, almost all help in accomplishing the daily household chores.[84] We have very little data on the effect on interpersonal relationships, but one study of Irish Catholic families in the United States suggests that working, compared to non-working, wives exert more influence on the decisions to be made; if the husband and wife disagree, the wife is more *likely to win out*.[85]

How about the success of marriage itself? If the wife works, is the husband-wife relationship weakened? Most husbands apparently do not resent their wives going to work and many are grateful for the contribution to the family budget. Is there discord over the job? We have no Canadian data, but a report from the United States suggests that working on the wife's part is not a cause of marital conflict. However, if there is conflict due to other causes, the job may be the occasion for friction or argument — all of which seems plausible.[86]

How about the children? Many have expressed concern that the children would be adversely affected if the wife took on a job and was not "standing by" at home. Such statements, however, are far too broad and simplified since they do not consider the range of variables — for example, the sex of the child (one research in the United States suggests that adolescent boys are less directly influenced by the mother working than are adolescent girls), the family's socio-economic level, the mother substitute if there is one, the age of the family members, and so on.[87]

Likewise, working in itself is much too broad a concept and is not psychologically meaningful. Does the wife enjoy working (one

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84 Jocelyne Guilbault, Marie-Thérèse Lacharité and Andrée Lafontaine, "La femme mariée en emploi rémunéré" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Montreal, 1956).

85 David M. Heer, "Dominance and the Working Wife", *Social Forces*, XXXVI (May, 1958), pp. 341-47. A McGill thesis by M. Crawford reports a similar conclusion. *Op. cit.*, chap. 4 supra.

86 F. Ivan Nye, "Marital Interaction", *The Employed Mother in America, op. cit.*, chap. 19.

87 Elizabeth Douvan, "Employment and the Adolescent", *ibid.*, chap. 11.

United States study suggests that this is a crucial variable),[88] how does she explain her work and how does she behave to other members of the family? The studies that do consider the effect on children give no evidence that they are in any way harmed. One American study finds no significant difference in the degree of independence of children of working and non-working mothers.[89] Others find no evidence that juvenile delinquency is higher when the mother works — which was a pervading fear of many. Citing the report of the Canadian Catholic Conference, which includes a review of DBS statistics :

> Juvenile delinquency represents a very small proportion of all Canadian juveniles. Moreover work of the mother appears as a characteristic in only one case in five. Thus... we do know that four out of five mothers of children charged with juvenile delinquency were not working. Therefore a working mother can be construed at the most as a factor or conditional cause in a minority of cases.[90]

To conclude, we note that the wife working for pay is a relatively new development in our society which seems to be increasing from year to year. Socially it is so important because it leads to a major structural reorganization of the family with each family member playing a role different from that in the family in which the wife does not work. Because this development seems to run counter to the high value traditionally placed on the home, the critics have been many and severe and the working wife has been on the defensive. However, we have no convincing evidence of any deleterious effects on either the wife or her family. For the working wife, the home is still the central area of her life and her job is secondary. The key question is not whether the wife is working, but the way her job is viewed and judged in the family, the characteristics of the mother substitute, and the quality of the relationships among the members of the family.

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88 Lois W. Hoffman, "Mother's Enjoyment of Work and Effects on the Child", *Child Development,* XXXII (March, 1961) pp. 187-97.

89 Alberta E. Siegel et al. "Dependence and Independence in the Children of Working Mothers", *Child Development,* XXX (December, 1959), pp. 533-46.

90 Report of the Sub-Committee on Juvenile Delinquency and Working Mothers (Ottawa : Canadian Catholic Conference, Family Life Research Committee). (Mimeographed.)

Elderly People

Sources. Except for a few theses submitted for Masters' degrees at the Schools of Social Work, we have virtually no research on the problems of aged families in Canada. Not that the aged have not aroused considerable interest. The Department of Labour prepared a very helpful report in 1959, *The Aging Worker in the Canadian Economy,* bringing together available statistical information on employment, income, occupations, labour force status, and age composition; and is now in the process, with the latest census data, of bringing the material up-to-date. V. S. Stevens has done a survey on a sample of over 300 old people in Wellington County, Ontario. The problems of the aged have been widely discussed and brought to the attention of both the public and responsible officials in the *Workshop on Aging,* sponsored by the Ontario Society on Aging in 1960; the *Workshop in Living Accommodations for the Aging,* Ottawa, 1962; the numerous pamphlets published by the Canadian Association for Adult Education; the report by R. M. Clark comparing economic security for the aged in the United States and Canada submitted to the Minister of Health and Welfare; the studies on legislation concerning assistance to the aged ; a series of radio broadcasts by C.B.C.; and the brief of the Canadian Welfare Council's Committee on Aging to DBS requesting a census monograph on the aged. Various articles too have touched on the opportunities and facilities for the aged such as the brochure "Opportunities for the Older Woman", prepared by a Committee of the Vancouver University Women's Club in 1957-58 and the report by B. Blishen in *Canadian Hospital,* 1956 on the "Aged and Hospital Resources". But most of these reports and discussions, valuable though they may be, do not present new research data, and focus on the aged person as an individual, not as a member of a family. So we have little information, for example on the attitudes of older people towards their children and vice versa or on the roles they might play with their wider families and friends. We have no studies on the order of Havighurst and Albrecht, *Older People* (1953) which analyzes in detail the role of an older group in a particular American city. Our basic awareness of the problems of the aged stems primarily from our general knowledge and reports published in the United States where the literature on all aspects of aging, with a half dozen journals devoted to the subject, is voluminous. It would seem, however, that

certain aspects of the problem in Canada — with a smaller proportion of aged, pensions in lieu of a social security system, no warm temperature retirement centers (such as Florida), certain more closely knit ethnic groups — would differ.

The Changing Setting. In speaking of old age from the perspective of role relationships, we stress not chronological age, but rather position in the life cycle. Not that chronological age is not important; it is recognized in awarding pensions and retirement plans and also in its physical accompaniments. We know, for example, that elderly people are more likely to have accidents, higher rates of illness and mental disorder, be more forgetful, and spend more than twice as much time in hospital beds.[91] Yet it is more meaningful from a social point of view to consider old age in terms of the modifications and readjustments of social roles. Perhaps the husband no longer provides for the family through his daily labour, perhaps the woman can no longer maintain an independent household, perhaps the children have left home, perhaps one partner has died. Each requires serious adaptations in the way of life. Equally important, when someone reaches the age of 65 or 70, others often define him as *old;* they treat him differently and expect different behaviour of him, and the elderly person may, no matter what his physical condition may be, accept this definition.

Medical advances, in part, underlie the current significance of the problem. The life expectance in 1931 was 60 years of age for men and 62 for women; in a recently published revision for years 1960-62, the figures have risen to 68 years 4 months and 74 years 2 months respectively. Also the number of people aged 65 and over in 1961 was 1,390,000; in twenty years, it will be some 2½ million.[92,93]

Compared to other industrialized nations, Canada does not have a high proportion of aged people. With a high birth rate and a large

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91 *Enquête sur la Maladie,* 1950-51 (Ottawa : Queen's Printer, 1954), Bulletin No. 5.

92 Canadian Association for Adult Education, *The Family : Pressures and Problems,* (January, 1963).

93 It is not so much the life expectancy for those over 65 that has increased — since 1931, the increase is just about two years — but the number who live to the older ages. Medicine's main advances have been in reducing the infectious diseases, not curing the chronic and degenerative.

number of young immigrants in recent years, our population is relatively young. In 1961, 7.5 per cent of our population was 65 or over, compared to 8.1 in Italy, 9.1 in Denmark, and 9.2 in the United States. An estimate in Canada for 1980 is 8.9 per cent; in the United States, it is 10.[94] So Canada's problems in the immediate years to come may not be as severe as those in other countries, but still, in numbers, our elderly population is increasing and the problems will become increasingly important. Adding to the complexity of the picture is the variation among the provinces, ranging, for those 65 and over, from 5.8 per cent of the population in Newfoundland and Quebec to over 10 per cent in British Columbia and Prince Edward Island, with most of the other provinces close to the average of 7.6.[95]

With earlier marriage and fewer children, the parents of today "save considerable time" compared to their grandfathers. Following United States figures, the average couple that married in 1890 could look forward to 31 years together; in 1950, they could look forward to 41.3 years. In 1890, when the last child was married, one parent was likely to be dead; in 1950, the average couple would still have 13.9 years together. And after one spouse dies, in 1950, the widower or widow could be expected to live for another 7.5 or 15.8 years respectively.[96]

The personal problems of the aged stem primarily from changes in the way of life and values of our society. Most important, the extended family unit of the past, in which elderly folk lived with their grown children, has been increasingly replaced by the nuclear family, made up of a husband, wife, and their young unmarried children. The husband and wife have a smaller home, fewer obligations to their older relatives, and depend on them less. Many have moved to other cities. In the United States in 1960, only 10 per cent of the males 65 and over lived in households in which relatives were heads of the family and a high proportion of these men were widowed. The figure is probably not much different in Canada.

The change in our cultural values has also meant a devaluation of old age. Traditionally, the older people made sigificant contributions

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94 *Royal Commission on the Economic Prospects of Canada*, November 1957.
95 DBS, Bulletin 92-542, 1961.
96 See PAUL C. GLICK, "The Life Cycle of the Family", *Marriage and Family Living*, XVII (February, 1955).

to the household economy and their judgments were respected. But in our rapidly changing society, their experiences and opinions seem to be less relevant and it is more difficult to provide them with meaningful and satisfying roles.

Economic Adaptations. The aged must ordinarily adjust to a loss of income. Every Canadian, at the age of 70, can now receive a pension of $75.00 a month. For those between 65 and 70 who meet a means test, help is also available. The average annual income in 1959 for those 65 and over was $1472. But almost three out of five had an income of less than $1000 and almost three out of four less than $1500.[97] The situation will improve. Those who retired in the past often knew little of regular pension plans while now (34 per cent in 1960) over one-third of the non-farmwork labour force is enrolled in such schemes. The average payment — just $800 in 1960 — will also be considerably higher.

The Economic and Research Branch of the Department of Labour notes that the percentage of persons aged 65 and over who are economically active has been declining. Only about 40 per cent — somewhat more than in the United States — are now working.

We can understand why elderly people find it difficult to get jobs. First, the women, brought up in a period when a woman worked only in case of dire necessity, often lack any work experience for a paid employment. And the men, who began their work careers before or during World War I and then often in agriculture, are not trained for the new skills demanded in today's industry. Retraining or relocating is difficult for the older worker. Reluctance on the part of companies to hire old people for reasons of prejudice or the added cost in some pension plans is also not uncommon. And of great importance, automation has, in many cases, just decreased the demand for labour. So this situation is not likely to improve.

The problems of the aged in recent years have been vividly brought to public attention through workshops, briefs, and public statements, and much has been done. Pensions have been increased and national contributory pension plans are under serious discussion.

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[97] *DBS Survey, 1959.* Cited in Canadian Association for Adult Education, *The Family: Pressures and Problems,* (January, 1963).

Some 8000 elderly people are in National Housing projects controlled by the federal government and another 1000 rental units have been built for low income, including elderly, families under federal-provincial agreements.[98] On the social welfare side, numerous services, often manned by volunteers, have been created to help make life easier and more pleasant for the aged, be they in good health or bad.

Role Relationships and the Family. What research do we have in Canada which helps us to understand the social and psychological problems of aging? Not very much. Psychiatrist J. S. Tyhurst of the University of British Columbia has selected out retirement for analysis, and, on the basis of intensive case studies, suggests that retirement may best be viewed as a type of transition and social change. From this point of view, retirement for an individual means not just a loss of income, it means changes in a whole series of social relationships — in his position in the society, his associates, and his community of residence.[99]

Tyhurst asks : what roles are available for the older person in such groups as the family or in organizations ? In our society, he says, we have no retired role as such and the older person is expected to take roles customary for a younger man. We admire him if he "does not show his years". With illnesses and the coming on of certain infirmities, Tyhurst suggests, a retired person often assumes a "sick role". He can then legitimately be sick and :

> expect certain responses from others, has a place in society, and can be expected by society to do some things and not others. The role can provide a rationale for little activity, for diminished social participation, for dependence, for being around.[100]

Several theses on the aged have been written in the Schools of Social Work, but not many focus on the family as such. A few at the University of Montreal touch on the sorry plight of many old people who have found no satisfying place in the rapidly changing French-Canadian society. One describes the life of couples forced to

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98 *Canadian Press* report, September 11, 1963.

99 TALCOTT PARSONS, "Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States", *American Sociological Review,* VII (October, 1942), pp. 606-614.

100 J. S. TYHURST, "Retirement", *Proceedings of the Association for Research in Nervous and Mental Disease,* XXXV (1956), pp. 237-242.

live in institutions [101]; another reports on the difficult life and feelings of rejection of aged women assisted by the Bureau d'Assistance Sociale aux Familles [102]; and a third reports on the medical needs and health and economic conditions of a group known to the Société d'Orientation et de Réhabilitation Sociale. [103]

At the University of Toronto, Falconbridge has studied one hundred members of the "Second Mile Club of Toronto", focusing especially on their attempts to balance the desires of independence and security. It was most important to them, affirms Falconbridge, to maintain some feeling of independence, a feeling which made them want if possible, to live apart from their children and reluctant to accept help from or bother them. [104]

Some of the recent research on the aged observes that the situation for many — at least those who are well and still have their spouses — is not as unhappy as the theoretical discussions and popular comments imply. Peter Townsend, in a classic study in England, reports that the majority of old people in the working class borough of Bethnal Green maintain close ties with their children and grandchildren, with much visiting and mutual assistance. [105] Similarly a study in 1958 of 1500 elderly families by Gordon Streib of Cornell University, reports that the elderly were adapted to their new situation, led generally productive lives, accepted without rancor the relative success of their children, maintained a high degree of solidarity with them, and did not feel isolated or cast aside. [106]

Two recent group theses at the School of Social Work, McGill University, present essentially similar findings. One group of 54 retired men presented a relatively stable pattern of family life, living

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101 LUCILLE DESHAIES, "Aide aux vieux couples" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Montreal, 1955).

102 LUCILLE MATHIEU, "Conditions de vie de la femme âgée indigente", (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Montreal, 1952).

103 ROCH PARISIEN, "Les vieillards de Montréal vivant sous l'Assistance Publique" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Montreal, 1953).

104 JOHN A. FALCONBRIDGE, "Living Arrangements of Elderly People" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1951).

105 PETER TOWNSEND, *The Family Life of Old People* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958).

106 GORDON F. STREIB, "Family Patterns in Retirement", *Journal of Social Issues*, XIV (1958), pp. 46-60.

near their children, and having frequent contact with them.[107] The second thesis, which was based on interviews with 137 men and women 70 years of age and over, focused on certain census tracts in Montreal. Four in five were heads of households and most active in their homes and in the community — doing housework, shopping, caring for grandchildren, helping relatives and friends, and carrying on various social activities. Almost all were quite satisfied with their positions in the household and their style of life.[108]

A survey by V. S. Stevens of the Ontario Agricultural College of a sample of 346 urban, rural, and institutionalized elderly people of Wellington County, Ontario, more or less follows the same line. Stevens obtained information on economic resources, social life, attitudes to change, health, church attendance, and other such questions. In general, he suggests that the elderly people are largely content with their circumstances although objectively there are lags in educational level, diet and nutrition, medical examinations, and social isolation.[109]

For many aging people in Canada today, the problems, financial and otherwise, are undoubtedly very serious. But for others, more or less satisfactory adaptations are being made. The very awareness of the problems of the aged has led to various kinds of assistance and to adjustments by both the aged and their children.

The topic of family roles and relationships covers such a vast expanse that it is difficult to pick out highlights. Two common trends that do, however, run through the various sections are dissociation and egalitarianism. Our traditional image of family continuity, stability, and integration — which was, of course, never completely true — is a portrait of the past. The generations today — the grandparental, parental, and child or adolescent — are, in their activities

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107 Olive Chesworth et al., "A Study of the Personal, Family and Social Circumstances of Old People in Greater Montreal" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, McGill University, 1962).

108 D. Adefrissew et al., "Patterns of Living of Elderly People in Montreal" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, McGill University, 1958).

109 Vernon S. Stevens, *The Aging Population of Wellington County* (Guelph, Ontario : Department of Agricultural Economics, Ontario Agricultural College, 1959).

and manner of thought, quite far apart. Not that they are necessarily in conflict, but understanding another generation is not as simple a phenomenon as it was once thought to be. The relationship between spouses, likewise, with the husband and wife frequently having different backgrounds and the wife possibly having a work milieu of her own, can involve a great disparity.

A partial resolution of such dissociation seems to occur — although admittedly our research data are extremely limited — through increasingly egalitarian relationships. Adolescents and children in school, who sometimes find that their parents are of limited help, more freely express their feelings towards them and, frequently, if they can manage, go their own way. The parents in turn behave more freely, and with fewer dutiful obligations, to their own relatives and aging parents. The wife, although she considers her family paramount, does not feel so bound to the home and may, if she chooses, go to work to earn money for the family, perhaps thereby also finding a more interesting life. The wives and husbands both have a part in making important family decisions and more freely discuss with each other their thoughts and problems; and, if they consider it advisable, more readily separate. The elderly folk too realize that life has been changing and more often, it seems, assume an initiative and seek a new *modus vivendi*.

In all such changes, however, some families, for whatever the reason, fall by the wayside or adapt differently from the majority. It is this group especially that we shall consider in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

The Atypical Family

Sources. The greater part of the work on the atypical family has been conducted for Masters' theses at various Schools of Social Work. Since these Schools, however, are primarily interested in giving their students a professional training, the theses are often considered to be of secondary importance. They fulfil requirements of the graduate faculty and do give the student some knowledge of research problems and writing. But as contributions to knowledge, they often leave much to be desired. For one thing, the subjects are frequently of an exploratory nature which means that a dim light is thrown on a wide area, or the focus is on a particular problem without adequate reference to the larger, more significant context. The methodology too is often deficient. In many cases, the subjects questioned or interviewed are the ones easily available at agencies, hospitals, or community centers. Without proper controls and sampling techniques, attempts to generalize are meaningless. Often too the case material used is deficient since it was not originally gathered with research in mind. And finally definitions and criteria of classification are often too vague to ensure reliability and validity.

This generally negative picture of the research value of the theses requires some qualification. Even with their limitations, these theses often do contribute to our knowledge of the family in Canada and for many areas give us the only knowledge we have. Many are perceptive and suggestive and in almost all cases they touch on significant problems. The group theses especially may be illuminating since they allow us to see several facets of a given problem. A significant number of theses also are written under the guidance of professors who themselves have particular interests and the professors not only lead the students to work in these areas, but sometimes direct them more intensively. This has been the case, for example, with David Kirk at McGill who is interested in adoption and Benjamin Schlesinger of the University of Toronto who is interested in the multi-problem family.

Others besides students have conducted research on specific aspects of the atypical family. In relating the family to delinquency, most

notable is psychiatrist Bruno Cormier and the McGill Research Team in Forensic Psychiatry. Although their perspective is psychiatric, they often tend in their analysis of particular problems to focus on family relationships. D. Paitich of the Forensic Clinic in Toronto has studied the characteristics of sexual deviants, psychiatrist E. D. Wittkower and his colleagues at McGill have studied the effect of serious child illness on the family; the Alcoholism and Drug Addiction Research Foundation has conducted research on alcoholics; B. Ayres and J. Lagey in Vancouver have done work on the multi-problem family. Father Noel Mailloux and Claude Lavallée of Montreal have written on the family links with delinquency and personality. Other miscellaneous researches, focusing on such problems as disasters and community disintegration, also touch indirectly on the atypical family. The research studies on the atypical family cover such a wide range of topics and are so unrelated to each other that a review almost inevitably resembles a potpourri. Each researcher has ordinarily posed his own questions without relating them to other work in Canada. For each specific topic too, the number of questions that might be asked and the number of possible researches that might be undertaken seem unlimited. For some of the topics, there is an enormous literature in the United States, England, France, and elsewhere where research is done. However it has not been feasible to attempt to cover these studies.

In this chapter we are concerned with the atypical or deviant family, that is, the family that, in some way or another, is different from the standard or normal. Such terms, of course, are relative for no clear cut norm exists for what is typical. Nevertheless the terms are useful in making broad distinctions. Normally, for example, a husband and wife live together; if they are separated, the family is atypical. Normally, parents have their own children; if they adopt, they are atypical. Normally, men, perhaps along with their wives, work and earn money for the family; if a man is unemployed, the family is atypical. Normally, women marry before they have children; if an unmarried girl has a child and keeps her, the family is atypical. And so on. In using the terms "atypical" or "deviant", no stigma is implied. They imply only "difference", — whether better or worse than "normal" is not relevant for this discussion.

It is probably safe to generalize — although exceptions are numerous — that if others see a family as deviant, the family members similarly see themselves. But this leaves aside the most significant question of *how* the family members view themselves. There are subtleties too in considering the particular "others" who see the family as deviant and the variety of possible interpretations and judgments of the particular deviance in question. [1]

As our examples above indicate, "deviance" covers an extraordinarily wide range of phenomena. In discussing the research in Canada on this topic, we shall employ the following outline :

1. Deviance due essentially to such external environmental factors as depression or war;
2. Structural deviance in the husband-wife-child unit such as divorce, adoption, illegitimacy;
3. Deviance in interpersonal family relationships such as marital conflict or sexual deviation;
4. Delinquent behaviour and the family;
5. The multi-problem family.

Deviance Due Primarily to Environmental Factors

Sometimes families experience crises and become deviant — as we use the term — because of environmental factors essentially beyond their control. Perhaps economic conditions are such that the husband cannot find a job, perhaps he is drafted into the army, perhaps a physical disaster strikes the family. Studies in the United States suggest that families vary considerably in their manner of experiencing and adapting to these crises and various authors have tried to isolate pertinent variables such as "integration", "adaptability", and "family or-

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[1] Reuben Hill, in speaking of the crisis-prone family, stresses this aspect, asking how does the family define the alleged crisis-event. See "Generic Features of Family under Stress", *Social Casework* (February-March, 1958), pp. 139-58. Frederick Elkin too emphasises the self-image of the deviant. See "Socialization of the Atypical Child", in *The Unusual Child*, ed. Joseph Roucek (New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1962), pp. 177-191.

ganization".[2] A few studies in Canada touch on families made atypical by such external events. Figures are available which indicate the ups and downs of employment, and the raw figures, although they require interpretation by the expert, give a rough picture of the number of families affected. (Tables 23 and 24.)[3] Unemployment, seasonal and otherwise, is undoubtedly a major problem in Canada today.

Table 23

ANNUAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE AVERAGES

Year	Rate
1954	4.6
1955	4.4
1956	3.4
1957	4.6
1958	7.1
1959	6.0
1960	7.0
1961	7.2
1962	5.9

The unemployed rate refers to the percentage of unemployed in the labour force.

A study in Nova Scotia carried out in conjunction with the Cornell University, Stirling County project, discusses the social disintegration of some small hamlets which were bypassed by technical and industrial developments. With the social isolation and economic impoverishment of the village, the moral standards of many families disintegrated and illicit sex affairs and premarital pregnancies became common. To some degree, the process of disintegration was held back by the economic help family members gave to each other and

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[2] See Robert G. Angell, *The Family Encounters the Depression* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936); R.S. Cavan and K.H. Ranck, *The Family and the Depression* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938); Earl L. Koos, *Families in Trouble* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1946); and Reuben Hill, *Families under Stress* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1949).

[3] DBS, *Labour Force, 71,001 monthly*, XIX (February, 1963).

the desperate attachment of the old generation to the traditional scheme of values.[4]

The specific effect of unemployment on families is touched on in a thesis at the University of Toronto in which 26 families who applied for unemployment assistance were interviewed. The author emphasizes the stress as experienced by all the families and especially the physical deprivations which resulted from financial needs.[5]

Table 24

UNEMPLOYMENT, TAKING THE FAMILY AS A UNIT

	Approximate no. of family units affected	Approximate no. of persons in the family units		
No one in the unit employed	200,000	2 - 3 85,000	4 - 5 65,000	6 - 7 29,000
One or more employed in the unit	230,000	61,000	82,000	48,000
Total	430,000	146,000	147,000	77,000

A few social work theses touch on families and military service. One in 1952 at the University of Montreal compared two groups of veterans, one living with, and one living apart from, their families. The author compared the groups on such variables as religion, ethnic origin, time of conception, age of children, and age of marriage, but found no conclusive differences.[6] Another thesis a year later at McGill focused on the problems of servicemen's families as reflected in the caseload of the Family Welfare Association in Montreal. The study suggests that psychological disturbances were common in the families and that often a husband enlisted because he had personality

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[4] Marc-Adelard Tremblay and Emile Gosselin, "Loomervale: un cas de désintégration sociale", *Recherches Sociographiques*, no. 3 (1960), pp. 369-43.

[5] Doreen M. Gillen, "Some Effects of Unemployment on Family Life" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1955).

[6] William A. Dyson, "A Study of the Physical Stability of the Family Unit of the Married World War II Veteran" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Montreal, 1952).

problems, found it difficult to obtain work, or wanted to escape family responsibilities.[7]

The effect of a crisis on the family is also touched on in the study by H. D. Beach and R. A. Lucas of the 1958 Springhill mine disaster in Nova Scotia in which 75 miners were killed and 19 were trapped underground from 6½ to 8½ days. Because of the ever-present dangers of mining and previous disaster experience, the families and the community were well prepared both psychologically and organizationally to handle the crisis. The majority of families had plans for an emergency and those directly involved or bereaved were assisted by their relatives, among others. For the long waiting period of those wives whose husbands were trapped, the extended family especially, the authors report, played an important supportive role.[8]

Structural Deviance in the Husband-Wife-Child Unit

Atypical Parents

Divorce and Separation. Families may be structurally deviant because the husband and/or wife does not follow the usual role or because one of the children in some way is atypical. For the former, the most common type of deviance is probably divorce and separation. Canada has one of the lowest divorce rates of any westernized country — lower than England or France and much lower than the United States or Scandinavian countries. Canada's divorce rate increased until the years following World War II, but has since remained more or less steady. In 1900, fewer than 20 couples divorced in Canada, the number increasing to 21 in 1903, 51 in 1909, 60 in 1913, and over 1000 in 1932. The peak year was 1947 with 8213 divorces, a rate of 65.4 per 100,000 population. The high rate in the post-war years was due in part to the many unstable marriages formed during the war years and to a postponement of legal procedures while the war was on. Since 1940, the rate has ranged

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[7] M. R. Golubeva, "Problems of the Families of Enlisted Men" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, McGill University, 1953).

[8] H. D. Beach and R. A. Lucas, *Individual and Group Behaviour in a Coal Mine Disaster* (Washington: National Research Council, Disaster Research Group, published no. 834, 1960).

from a low in 1960 of 36.0 (6563 cases) to a high of 41.5 in 1953 (6160 cases). The 1962 rate was up very slighty to 36.1.

Within Canada, in 1961, British Columbia had the highest rate 86, followed by Alberta 78, Ontario 44, Manitoba 34, and Nova Scotia 33. Quebec and Newfoundland have no divorce courts and their residents must appeal to Parliament for a divorce. Quebec, however, does permit judicial separation, which includes, in contrast to a Parliament divorce, a determination of property distribution and custody of children. The number of such separations has been increasing. In the judicial district of Montreal, for example, the number has gone up from 962 in 1955 to 1462 in 1961.[9]

The problems of divorce and separation are complicated by a variety of factors. Socially, with increasing mobility, the family and community controls on individuals are weaker; with their increasing emancipation, women are permitted other alternatives besides the traditional housewife and mother role; and with general changes in our values, more emphasis is placed on individual happiness. Legally, we have the variety of provincial laws and the expense for residents of Quebec and Newfoundland of the Parliamentary divorce. Church leaders are not all in accord, with the Catholic Church opposing divorce and the Protestant Churches, under certain circumstances, generally accepting it.[10]

Although considerable research has been done in the United States on divorce and other problems of marital breakdown[11], the subject has been virtually ignored in Canada. One study however, we have observed, does touch on marriage counselling.[12]

Unmarried Mothers. Illegitimacy rates in Canada, according to official figures, have been increasing. Between 1921 and 1925, the ratio of illegitimate to total births was 2.2 with an average number

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9 ROY AMARON, "Separation in the Province of Quebec", in *Marriage Breakdown, Divorce, Remarriage* (Toronto: United Church of Canada, Board of Christian Education, 1962), pp. 46-47.

10 The report *Marriage Breakdown, Divorce, Remarriage, ibid.*, gives a general discussion of the problems of marriage breakdown and cites the positions of certain church groups.

11 See, for example, PAUL H. JACOBSON, *American Marriage and Divorce* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1959), and WILLIAM J. GOODE, *After Divorce* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1958).

12 See above chapter 5, part 1.

of 3721 per year; in 1961, the ratio was 4.5 with 21,490 births, the highest on record. There was a slight increase during the war years, a dropping off during the early 1950's, and a relatively steady increase during the past 5 years. In general, the mothers of illegitimate children tend to be some four or five years younger than mothers of legitimate children.

Considerable variation exists among provinces. Omitting the Yukon and Northwest Territories, the highest rates in 1961 were in Nova Scotia and British Columbia with 6.9 and the lowest in Ontario and Quebec with 3.5 and 3.6 respectively.[13]

Several social work theses have dealt with the unmarried — especially the young adolescent — mother. At the University of British Columbia, in 1962, Therese Kaufman reviewed the literature on the 13 to 16 year old unmarried mother and then studied a group of case histories drawn from the 1960 records of the Children's Aid Society of Vancouver. She suggests that girls from disrupted families may be more vulnerable since they experience both "internal" pressures as well as the ordinary "external" pressures of daily life, and also that inconsistent or confusing community influences may aggravate the situation.[14]

For a thesis at the University of Toronto in 1959, Mary Parlee studied the case records of 18 unmarried adolescent mothers obtained from the Metropolitan Toronto Children's Aid Society. She was especially concerned with the girls' reaction to the new stressful situation and the part played by the girls' mothers in dealing with the social agency. She concludes in part that the girls were not able to make plans alone and were quite dependent on their mothers.[15]

Joan McGuire, in another thesis at the University of Toronto, compared two groups of unmarried mothers — in one, the mothers were 18 years old or less; in the other, 28 years old and over. The

[13] These figures are taken from the reports of parents who say they were not married to each other at the time of birth or registration and in Ontario for those cases in which the marital status of the mother is reported as single. DBS, Vital Statistics, Bulletin 84-202, 1961.

[14] THERESE KAUFMAN, "Child Mothers: Social Circumstances and Treatment Problems of Unmarried Mothers of School Age" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of British Columbia, 1962).

[15] M. J. PARLEE, "Adolescent Unmarried Mothers" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1959).

sample of 60 mothers — 30 from each group — was drawn from the records of the Unmarried Parents Department of the Children's Aid and Infant's Home of Toronto. The author found no clear cut differences in the adjustment or behaviour patterns of the two groups; but the older girls were more independent of their parents and generally of a higher intelligence, education, and employment level. The putative fathers for the older girls were also more often married and occupied higher occupational statuses.[16]

A few theses at the University of Toronto had psychological or psychiatric orientations. In one, a study of unmarried mothers with low IQ's, the author found no direct relationship between the IQ of the mother and plans she made for her child.[17] In another, based on case records of 15 unmarried mothers, the author suggests that underlying the girls' behaviour were unsatisfactory interpersonal relationships which in turn stemmed from unsatisfactory parent-child relationships.[18]

In Quebec, I. L. Hicks, of the University of Montreal, reviewed some 50 cases at the Catholic Welfare Bureau between 1931 and 1945. In general the girls had left school by the age of 15, had unsatisfying jobs, no religious ties and affiliations, and came from homes which were defective in normal family relationships.[19]

The Absent Father and Deserted Wife. When, for whatever the reason, the father is absent from the family, we would expect the mother and children to experience difficult problems. Two theses point up the resulting behaviour problems of sons. R. Wallace of the University of Toronto, in cooperation with the Big Brother Movement, studied the cases of 45 boys, mostly between 9 and 11 years of age, whose fathers were absent. More than four out of five — and especially the younger boys — showed behaviour problems

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[16] J. McGuire, "The Age Factor in Unmarried Motherhood" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1954).

[17] L. Romkey, "The Disposition of Children of Unmarried Mothers with Limited Intelligence" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1951).

[18] J. A. Scott, "Significant Relationships in the Environment of the Unmarried Mothers" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1960).

[19] Isabel L. Hicks, "A Study of Fifty Cases of the Unmarried Mothers' Division of the Catholic Welfare Bureau between the Years 1931 and 1945" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Montreal, 1949).

at home. Withdrawing behaviour and stealing were common.[20] J. R. Whalen of the Maritime School of Social Work focused more on the juvenile offender, but likewise suggests a very close relationship between the particular family disorganization and the behaviour of the son.[21]

Miriam Hutton, in a thesis at the University of Toronto, suggests that at least some mothers, when the husbands are absent, do manage adequately. The author interviewed 15 such mothers who sent their children to public day nurseries and found, to her surprise, that the women were coping rather well with their triple roles of mother, wage-earner, and homemaker. These women were self reliant and had good mother-child relationships. Except for a certain loneliness, the problems they cited of inadequate recreation and a concern for the future stemmed in part from their limited income.[22]

We do not know precisely how many deserted wives there are in Canada. A desertion is officially recorded only when it leads to a court order, an application for public assistance, or a request for the services of a welfare agency. The significance of the problem, however, is suggested in the following figures taken from the annual reports of one provincial public welfare department.[23]

Year	No. of desertion cases	Desertion as a percentage of all public welfare cases.	Desertion as a percentage of all cases other than health.
1956	1182	0.6	33.7
1957	1370	12.7	40.4
1958	1470	7.9	15.4
1959	1634	6.7	11.7

A report of the Canadian Welfare Council in 1961 reviews some factors that are alleged to underlie desertion. Personality factors

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20 R. WALLACE, "Behaviour Problems of Boys Separated from their Fathers" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1959).

21 J. R. WHALEN, "Absence of the Father and Delinquent Behaviour" (Master's thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, 1962).

22 MIRIAM B. HUTTON, "Sole Support Mothers" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1959).

23 *Family Desertion, its Causes and Effects* (Ottawa: Canadian Welfare Council, 1961). The percentage decrease in desertion in 1958 is due to the great increase in the total caseload as of January, 1958 when unemployed employable persons became eligible for assistance.

include emotional immaturity, inability to carry the role of family wage-earner, and irresponsible moral standards. Social and economic factors include the broad potentially disrupting currents of urbanization and the independence of women; and differences in race, religion, and social class which can become serious if associated with other disruptive factors. Studies in Newfoundland and Manitoba are cited which suggest that community attitudes and pressures tend to keep families together. In Newfoundland the proportion of desertions was lower among those families who lived in the husband's community of birth; in Manitoba, desertions were lower in rural areas.[24]

The problems faced by deserted wives are discussed in a thesis by D. M. Thomson at the University of Toronto. Thomson, in the capacity of welfare official, interviewed thirty wives with children whose names were selected from the District Welfare files. These wives did not find it easy to clarify their marital relationships with their husbands. They also participated in very few groups, including churches, and wanted if possible to end their marriages and marry again.[25]

The Disabled Father. Authority and role relationships in the ordinary family assume that each person does the tasks expected of him. When, however, someone is disabled, redefinitions and redistributions of role behaviour are necessary. A group thesis by five students at the Maritime School of Social Work touches on this very problem. The subjects were 80 families living in Halifax county in which the father was disabled and unable to provide for his family, and the mother was a beneficiary under the Mother's Allowance Act. The individual studies dealt respectively with the family unit, mother, father, children, and economic adaptations. Sister Patricia Burke reports that these families were keeping together although assistance was needed to help sustain family relationships and strengthen family life. J. J. F. Ronaldo Lavoie discusses the adaptations, physical and otherwise, of the typical mother in the group. G. S. MacDonald evaluates the physical, medical, and psychological needs of the fathers, suggesting their further need of case and medical social work services. J. V. Richards analyzes the physical

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24 *Ibid.*

25 D. M. Thomson, "Some Problems of Deserted Wives" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1954).

health, education, and emotional development of the 320 children noting that the school performances were average and that some examples of emotional maladjustment were related to the family situation; but no marked pathological results were identified. In general, this author reports, the living conditions were comparable to those of the other low income families in the community. C. M. Campbell discusses such questions as food, clothing, and housing expenditures as well as family debts and provisions made for extras. All of these theses tend to emphasize the role of the social worker and the further assistance that social work services might give.[26]

Family Illness. Although there is nothing particularly unusual about illness in a family, such a family, by our definition, is still deviant. The members cannot carry on their routine roles and readjustments of various kinds are necessary. Likewise families develop patterns for handling this type of deviance.[27] Two theses deal particularly with the family's reaction to mental illness. Owen Fonseca, an M.A. student in sociology at McGill, studied 22 families in which one member was in a mental hospital. He found the family responses varied enough to warrant setting up the following typology based on the delegation of responsibility and the subordination to the doctor's orders:

1. The treatment-oriented type in which the sick individual is viewed as a patient rather than a person. The treatment of the illness is the supreme goal and responsibility therefore is relegated to the doctor.
2. The deferential type in which the doctor is viewed less as a means to an end than as an authority whose orders are to be unconditionally obeyed.
3. The utilitarian type in which the family retains ultimate authority and considers the doctor to be a means to an end.

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[26] Sister Patricia Burke, "Family Life of Mother's Allowance Recipients"; J. J. F. Ronaldo Lavoie, "The Mother in the Complete Family Unit Receiving Mother's Allowance"; G. S. MacDonald, "Fathers in Families which are Receiving Mother's Allowances"; J. V. Richards, "The Child in the Mother's Allowance Family"; C. M. Campbell, "Economic Implication of Mother's Allowance in the Family where the Father is Disabled". All are theses at the Maritime School of Social Work, 1958.

[27] See T. Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), chap. X.

4. The family-focused type in which non-medical considerations are especially important in determining the response of the family. The sick individual is not just a patient, but also a person with roles in the family.[28]

The second thesis was a sub-project in the Stirling County series in Nova Scotia. In order to explore attitudes to mental illness and mentally ill persons, the families of five patients in the provincial psychiatric hospital were intensively studied. In general it was found that the families were quite tolerant of the disordered behaviour as long as the ill person did not become unpredictable and unmanageable or pose threats to himself or other family members. The families had no apparent conception of the role of emotional factors and attributed the illness to such features as the infirmities of old age, physical illness, the after effects of childbirth or accidents, or heredity. Hospitalization was appreciated for its custodial function and relatives agreed to treatment without really understanding what would be done or why.[29]

A somewhat related study at the University of Toronto deals with the incidence and description of illness in different social contexts. The author compared 30 families in Leaside, an old settled area, with 30 families in Midland Park, a relatively new subdivision. Midland Park, the author reports, had a higher incidence of both physical illness and nervous symptoms — the latter stemming from the greater geographic mobility, feelings of isolation (due in part to the lack of public transport) and the lack of community facilities and organization.[30]

The Atypical Child

Families may also be structurally deviant by virtue of having atypical children, that is, children who are, in some way or another, different from those we ordinarily expect to find in a family. Perhaps

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[28] O. W. Fonseca, "Family Responses to the Crisis of Mental Illness" (Master's thesis, Department of Sociology, McGill University, 1953).

[29] E. Trainor, "Attitudes of Relatives toward Mental Illness in Stirling County" (Master's thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, 1951).

[30] R. Naundorf, "The Middle Class Family and Illness" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1962).

the child is born prematurely, adopted, physically or mentally deficient, or gifted.

It is impossible to obtain statistics for Canada as a whole on atypical children. The provinces vary considerably in the manner in which such deviations are defined, and cases processed and recorded. It would be possible, for each type of deviance, to obtain estimates through approaching the appropriate public and private agencies throughout the country, but even here the figures for most types would not be precise because of differing definitions and systems of classification.[31]

The Premature Child. As part of a larger project at the Montreal Children's Hospital, A. Johnston of the McGill School of Social Work compared 50 mothers of boys born prematurely with 50 matched mothers of boys born at full term. Each mother was rated on 18 different variables adapted from the Fels Scale for Appraisal of Parent Behavior. Clinically it is often assumed that the mother of the premature child, by virtue of her disappointment in the child's ability to compete with his peers, is more anxious, more indulgent, less objective, and less understanding. Miss Johnston found no such variation. The only significant differences were in the intensity of contact and accelerational attempts. The mothers of prematurely born children demonstrate more intensity in their contact with their children and are less inclined to speed their rate of maturation.[32]

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[31] For the Canadian Conference on Children in 1960, attempts were made to compile such statistics. F. R. MACKINNON in *Foster Home Care, Group Care for Children and Adopted Children* reviewed the problem and noted the difficulties for child welfare cases. J. R. MARTIN in *Chronic Disabilities in Children* reviewed the situation for the physically handicapped, citing available data for the United States, Europe, and Canadian provinces and cities. He cites, with due qualifications, the *Canadian Sickness Survey 1950-51,* Bulletin no. 6 (Ottawa: DBS and the Department of National Health and Welfare, February, 1955) which gives the number of people under 25 years with a permanent physical disability as 139,000, of which 37,000 have severe or total disability; and also a United States report which estimates that 16.9 per cent of children under 15 have a chronic condition, over 90 per cent of whom were not limited in activities. The lack of national data is also touched on in *Child Welfare in Canada* (Ottawa: Department of National Health and Welfare, General Series, Memorandum no. 15, April, 1958) and in a personal communication from Jean F. Webb, Chief, Child and Maternal Health Division, Department of National Health and Welfare, Ottawa, September 9, 1963.

[32] A. JOHNSTON, "Maternal Attitudes and Behaviour in Relation to Children Born Prematurely" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, McGill University, 1962).

The Sick Child. In a thesis at the University of Toronto, Kathleen Moorby interviewed the parents of 30 children admitted to the Hospital for Sick Children to study the parents' psychological experience. In general, she reports, the parents understood why the child needed hospital treatment, but were not so well prepared to handle the situation at the hospital itself. Many were unaware of the costs, what they might bring, their own possible participation in the handling of the child, or the difficult problems of separation. [33]

In the Department of Psychiatry at McGill, Dr. Wittkower and his colleagues have studied the impact of a prolonged physical illness (diabetes, rheumatic fever, asthma, etc.), of a child upon the family. The sample consisted of 30 families, divided into three equal sub-samples — English-Protestant, French-Catholic, and Jewish. The sub-samples, however, were judged too small and heterogeneous to permit any clear-cut conclusions about the respective groups. The investigators distinguished several phases in the reactions of the families, beginning with the recognition of the possibility of illness. In the second phase, they speak of the development of a rational reality-testing, a "perspective equilibrium", in which one parent is anxious and the other reassuring. The mechanisms of defense most often encountered were : *isolation of affect* by which the parents intellectually recognize the event without responding with full emotional intensity; *denial* whereby they fail to accept the reality of illness or its consequences; and *motor activity* where the parents, especially the mother, become busy in the useful care of the child in order to forget about the situation. The research only partially confirms certain studies in the United States. The authors note that, in cases of mild gravity, the family response is approximately proportionate to the quality of its previous integration and group organization. But, if the child's chronic illness is severe, the family life is bound to undergo a profound change, the direction of the change depending on a variety of factors including the relative dominance of the husband and wife, the stage in the family cycle in which the crisis occurs, and the degree of family isolation. [34]

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[33] KATHLEEN V. MOORBY, "The Psychological Experience of Parents Admitting Children to Hospital" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1958).

[34] E. D. WITTKOWER, "The Impact of the Prolonged Physical Illness of a Child upon the Family", (1963). (Mimeographed.)

The Physically Handicapped Child. To have a child who is physically handicapped or deformed creates not only practical and psychological problems for a family, but serious social and interpersonal ones as well. Relatively little research, however, touches on these complicated socio-psychological variables. One thesis at McGill does concern the part which parents play in the programme for children with cerebral palsy at the Children's Memorial Hospital. The author reports that the parents of the 17 cases studied did not easily understand the child's difficulties or their own role in treatment. In some cases, the problems in parent-child relationships seemed to stem from feelings about the physical handicap itself; in other cases, the attitudes of the parents towards the child reflected their own personality difficulties and emotional maladjustments of long standing. [35]

The Mentally Retarded Child. A group thesis at McGill focuses on the impact of a mentally retarded child on the family unit. The sample consisted of 44 families in which a child's IQ was below 75. In general, the families showed a capacity for love and affection and encouraged the child's growth in the same manner as for a "normal" child; at the same time, they evidenced considerable stress. The child's deficiency in socially adaptive behaviour and slowness in developing were especially tension-creating. The mothers would spend extra time teaching the retarded child, but this gave the mother less time for other activities and often left her feeling guilty, irritable and exhausted. Parents too frequently felt helpless about the future welfare of the retarded child. Siblings were affected. Sometimes they did not so freely bring their friends into the home. In general, how the parents interpreted the retarded child's condition to the sibling seemed to be an important factor in the sibling's understanding and interpretation of the situation. Community relationships added to the stress. Many families had limited contacts in the community. Some felt that certain neighbours, relatives, and friends shunned them, which in turn often led the families to withdraw to protect themselves and the child. While the majority of families generally tried to

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35 B. M. ALLAN, "Parental Problems in the Treatment of Children with Cerebral Palsy" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, McGill University, 1951).

interpret the retardation to others in the community, some families completely avoided the subject.[36]

In a thesis on the same general problem at the University of Toronto, E. M. Iwasaki, whose sample consisted of 34 mentally subnormal children between the ages of 5 and 11 and their 74 siblings, interviewed parents and analyzed life history material from school files. The parents, for the most part, the author suggests, failed to work through their feelings about the handicap and thus were unable to look at the broader implications in the family and the effect upon the other children. The sibling themselves expressed a wide range of attitudes many of which, directly or indirectly, indicated a resentment of the subnormal sibling and frustration and insecurity on their own part. On the manifestly positive side, the siblings sometimes sought privileges for the subnormal child which they did not ask for themselves, they "mothered" the child, or they were especially nice to him in order to please their parents. On the negative side, they resented the greater amount of love they felt the abnormal child sometimes received; and they expressed outright hostility by excessive teasing, physical abuse, or ignoring his presence. The negative feelings were sometimes repressed and sometimes led to feelings of guilt.[37]

Also in Toronto, P. R. McClelland studied the effect on family functioning of maintaining a mentally subnormal offspring at home until adulthood — 18 years of age or older — in 22 families belonging to the Metropolitan Toronto Association for Retarded Children. No consistent pattern was apparent; some families experienced great strain, others experienced little.[38]

The Psychologically Disturbed Child. Marion Kay, in a thesis at the University of Toronto, studied the special problems of 20 families whose schizophrenic child was cared for at home. In general she found that the home life revolved around the special needs of

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[36] I. Adamovics et al., "The Impact of a Mentally Retarded Child on the Family Unit" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, McGill University, 1960).

[37] E. M. Isawaki, "The Emotional Problems in a Sibling Relationship where one Child is Mentally Subnormal" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1957).

[38] P. R. McClelland, "Families Caring for an Adult Mentally Subnormal Offspring at Home" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1956).

the child. The financial problems related to the care of the child as such were not a major cause for concern, but housing costs and extra expenditures created by waste and damage were considerable. Interpersonal relationships, she found too, were also adversely affected. In contacts with others, parents, to avoid humiliation, were often aloof and withdrawn. Self-blame, guilt, and bewilderment were not uncommon and since the nature of the affliction is still full of unknowns, the parents were prey to a pervading kind of anxiety. [39]

The Adopted Child. When sociologist David Kirk joined the staff of the School of Social Work at McGill in the mid 1950's, he continued his previous research on adoption and directed several students in theses on the subject. Most of the theses center around Kirk's central idea that the childless couple entering adoption is confronted by a series of handicaps which are reinforced by the attitudes of other people. The handicaps stem from various sources. Preparation for biological parenthood develops through past experience and especially in the course of pregnancy; for the adopter, the preparation is more abrupt and unpredictable. The biological parent is essentially autonomous; the adopting couple depends on middlemen. Biological parents have obligations to their children which are total and unqualified; adopters, since they may return a child with defects, might not so completely give themselves to the child and in general introduce a stronger element of rationality. Biological parents are expected to integrate the child into the family; adopting parents likewise so integrate the child but at the same time are advised to differentiate him by indicating that he has other forbears. For biological parenthood no special sanctions are necessary; an adopting couple must submit to inquiries about their finances, marriage, religion, and state of health. Added to this is the considerable uncertainty connected with adoption plans, the lack of ceremonies or institutional supports at birth, and the fact that parental status is not even secured when the family gets the child. [40]

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39 M. KAY, "Parental Problems in the Home Care of a Schizophrenic Child" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1958).

40 See H. D. KIRK, "Nonfecund People as Parents: Some Social Psychological Considerations", *Fertility and Sterility,* XIV (May-June, 1963), pp. 310-19; and "A Dilemma of Adoptive Parenthood: Incongruous Role Obligations," *Marriage and Family Living,* XXI (November, 1959), pp. 316-26.

One group thesis at McGill is based on questionnaires sent in 1956 to over 1500 adoptive parents in Quebec, Ontario, New York, Ohio, and California. No distinction is made in the analysis between Canadian and American families, but the replies showed consistent patterns and trends. In general, the parents of the adopters showed greater approval after the adoption than preceding it; with the wives' parents showing slightly more approval than the husbands'. In judging the factors to be considered in adoption, little importance was given to birth in or out of wedlock, but the health and background of the child were important. The majority wanted the child to be young at the time of adoption, favoured "matching" of characteristics, and believed in adopting children only of the same nationality and race. A difficult-to-explain difference was found in the importance given to the intelligence of the child's original parents, with a well-educated New York group giving it little weight and a less formally educated Ontario Catholic group giving it a relatively high weight. [41]

Another group thesis, which was based on the interviews of a sample of 70 adoptive families in Quebec, focused on the feelings of "sameness" or "difference" of adoptive families as related to the roles of parents. In general, they took the natural family as their normative frame of reference. The adopters seem to look upon their roles as involving considerable degrees of deprivation and handicap, but resist the implications of differentness, responding with mechanisms of rationalization, intellectualization, denial, and suppression. The adopters also express frustration and uneasiness when dealing with certain problems of infertility. Many felt insecure in their relationships with their adoptive children and, because of the absence of the biological tie, often felt that the whole relationship which had been consolidated for years could be damaged. [42]

One group thesis focused not on the adoptive parents themselves but on the attitudes of the community towards various aspects of adoption. Each student interviewed 23 or 24 families whose names were chosen from the Lovell Directory of Montreal. Five separate

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[41] R. Cynberg et al., "Insights into Adoption" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, McGill University, 1958).

[42] M. Bedoukian et al., "Adaptation to Adoptive Parenthood" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, McGill University, 1958).

studies are reported. One concerned community attitudes surrounding infertility. The subjects viewed families with children as the normal social goal and expressed invidious attitudes towards human infertility. They expressed incomplete and qualified acceptance of the adoptive family seeing it as a deviant rather than a normal family pattern. It seems, however, that this evaluation of the adoptive family is not due to institutionalization of the adoptive family per se so much as the invidious assumption that human infertility means personal inadequacy.

A second study focused on the attitudes surrounding authoritarianism and substitute-family patterns. On the basis of various questions regarding discipline, adoption, and social mixing, the families were rated on their degree of authoritarianism. Those respondents with authoritarian attitudes, compared to the non-authoritarian, expressed more invidiousness towards adoption and were more likely to see the adopted family as deviant.

A third sub-study focused on the attitudes surrounding nationality, race, colour, and substitute family patterns. In general, the respondents judged adoption in terms of its advantage to the child; the wishes of the adoptive parents were quite secondary. The belief that moral characteristics are inherited appears to have little significance among the respondents; they were more concerned with hereditary disease and mental illness. Community prejudice appears to be the main objection to the adoption of children of mixed racial background. The respondents were more inclined to reject such adoptions because of the alleged attitudes of others rather than because of their own personal convictions.

Two of the sub-theses dealt with French Canadians and suggest that their attitudes towards adoption and illegitimacy are somewhat different from the English Canadian. Some of the French Canadians were less sympathetic to the idea of adoption and questioned the bond of affection between the adoptive parents and the adopted child. In part the reactions seemed linked to the feeling that it was the duty of married persons to have children and that the unmarried mother who keeps her child deserves a certain admiration. It is no virtue to abandon or surrender a child. Adoption itself for some seemed to be associated with charity. One author found little relationship between an emphasis on lineage and invidious attitudes

towards adoption. More meaningful to these respondents than lineage as such was the concept of wider family ties.[43]

One thesis at the University of Toronto focused on the specific problem of telling a child about his adoption. Thirty-one sets of adoptive parents, with children between the ages of 5 and 12, were interviewed. Intellectually, as the agency had advised, the parents believed it important to tell the child about his adoption and in fact, 27 of the families had done so before the children were 6. But the parents did have qualms and appeared to be most comfortable telling a pleasant and flattering story. Areas of anxiety which they tended to avoid were especially the whereabouts of the natural mother, the reason for giving up the child, and the child's illegitimacy.[44]

The Foster Child. As part of a group research project on foster care, E. F. Baig of the Maritime School of Social Work studied the separation reaction of one hundred wards of the Children's Aid Society of Colchester County. Some had experienced separation reactions from natural parents, some from foster parents, and some from both. The three major reactions were emotional withdrawal and acting out, which were found in all developmental periods, and school difficulties which were found in all periods beyond the late toddler.[45]

Deviance in Interpersonal Family Relationships

Family relationships always present certain problems and conflicts, but ordinarily they do not become evident enough to draw the attention of social agencies, medical personnel, or government agencies. When they do, for purposes of this report, they are considered deviant or atypical. We shall discuss first those studies that center on the husband-wife relationship and then those that center on parent-child relationships.

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[43] R. Bramble et al., "An Exploration into some of the Attitudes in the Community Surrounding the Adoptive Family" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, McGill University, 1957).

[44] Adrienne MacLeod, "A Study of Factors Involved in Telling a Child about his Adoption" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1957).

[45] E. F. Baig, "Separation Reaction of Foster Chidren" (Master's thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, 1963).

Husband-Wife Relationship

Marital Discord. A social work thesis at the University of Toronto focused on the causes of marital conflict as viewed by a group of 32 women whose names were selected from the files of the Neighbourhood Workers Association between 1953 and 1956. When asked the causes of their unhappiness, most pointed to the problematic behaviour of their husbands, citing behaviour of an economic nature or such problems as unsatisfactory emotional response, extramarital affairs, sexual maladjustment, mistreatment of children, or excessive drink. Many of the women themselves, the authors report, have varying degrees of emotional instability and malajustment as manifested in expressions of dependency, lack of confidence, domineering behaviour, or frigidity. Various traumatic experiences in their backgrounds could also be directly related to their present adaptations.[46]

A more psychiatric orientation is shown in a thesis by M. Siegel, also at the University of Toronto, in which she studied the emotional bonds between husbands and wives, one of whom was under treatment at the Toronto Psychiatric Hospital with the diagnosis of anxiety neurosis. In general, the bonds for the 23 patients were unsatisfactory and the activities and feelings of one partner inevitably created repercussions in the other. For the male patients, the primary problem was the struggle between dependency and emancipation; for the female, the extreme sense of unworthiness. Other symptoms of disturbance are also cited but the results are not conclusive.[47]

Bruno Cormier of the Department of Psychiatry at McGill has reported on the psycho-pathology of eight men, each of whom killed a woman to whom he was bound by marriage or an equivalent relationship. The men were examined while serving terms in prison. In all cases the murder was not motivated by material gain or due to mental illness; rather it resulted from a deep rooted conflict between the individuals involved. The ties between the men and women were strong. They were interlocked in such a way that they needed each

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[46] P. H. Pak, "Marital Conflict" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1962).

[47] Mildred Siegel, "Emotional Bonds between Married Partners in Cases of Anxiety Neuroses" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1960).

other both for unhealthily needs and their psychological well-being. Even when the husbands were aware of their aggressive feelings towards their wives and the danger of living together, they could not bring themselves to leave. They preferred to regard their own threats as part of a strategy in a difficult co-existence. [48]

Alcoholism and Husband-Wife Relationships. In 1960, there were an estimated 233,000 alcoholics in Canada of whom 7 per cent received treatment.[49] Undoubtedly then, for tens of thousands of family members, alcoholism is a very serious problem. Public education and research on the problem has been an especial concern of the Alcoholism and Drug Addiction Research Foundation in Toronto. Sometimes the Foundation conducts or sponsors research; sometimes the Foundation helps students with their theses.

C. Tela of the School of Social Work, University of Toronto, compared the marital problems of a sample of 36 men who were being treated for alcoholism at the Brookside Clinic and 36 alcoholics in Don Jail. In general, the clinic patients presented a more favourable picture with less separation and divorce and a more stable married life. None of the convicted alcoholics had been able to settle down to a married life. The jailed alcoholics also showed greater personal disorganization and social disintegration but, the authors suggest, the clinic patients may have a higher degree of personality pathology.[50]

Two studies deal partially with husband-wife relationships. In one study, 64 patients who had been treated for alcoholism at the Brookside Clinic were followed up 5 to 11 years after hospitalization to see how they fared in employment, marriage, family relationships, outside group associations, and drinking behaviour. In general, the married patients fared better than the single or separated, especially if they were employed. Compared to those not working, more marriages in the employed group were scored as "positive", and the improvement in the relationships between parents and children was marked. For the unemployed, for the most part, relationships with

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[48] B. Cormier, "Psychodynamics of Homicide Committed in a Marital Relationship", *Corrective Psychiatry and Journal of Social Therapy*, VIII, no. 4 (1962).

[49] Cited in *Canada's Mental Health*, XI (Sept.-Oct., 1963), p. 41.

[50] C. Tela, "Marital Patterns among Alcoholics" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1959).

children had deteriorated. In general, for all the married, compared to the unmarried, abstinence was more common. Increased participation in household routines, however, was not associated with positive results, reflecting neither a gain in abstinence nor improved communications and relationships with the wife.[51]

A second study touching on husband-wife relationships tests the hypothesis that changes in drinking behaviour of alcoholics who participated in a treatment programme will be reflected in other areas of behaviour. The subjects were a sample of 15 married patients who had undergone treatment in Brookside Hospital and continued as out-patients following their discharge during 1951 and 1954. In general, a gain in abstinence affected intra-family relationships more than it did the extra-familial. The patients after treatment did not especially enlarge their social circle or their social participation. Intramarital sexual adjustment as such, however, was not strongly affected either by excessive drinking or by a gain in abstinence. In this study, the alcoholic's contribution to the domestic economy, at least following a prolonged period of abstinence, did show a direct association with rehabilitation. When relationships between the husband and wife were strained, the respective role activities of the two became increasingly rigid. The father-child relationship was also significantly affected although gratifying results were not as prompt as in other aspects of social participation because of the son's contempt and mistrust of his father.[52]

Parent-Child Relationship

Alcoholism. In one thesis at the University of Toronto, the author, P. L. Bouschard, asked how alcoholism was associated with attitutes towards parents and parental drinking behaviour. The sample consisted of 68 male alcoholics, half chosen from men in jail serving sentences for drunkenness and half undergoing treatment at Brookside Clinic. A significant finding for this sample was that

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51 *Social Participation and Drinking Behaviour in a Group of Alcoholic Patients Followed up from 5 to 11 Years after Hospitalization* (substudy I.I-19-62, project 17). Report of the Alcoholism and Drug Addiction Research Foundation, Toronto, Ont.

52 W. SCHMIDT, "A Study in the Relation between Social Participation and Drinking before and after Treatment in a Sample of Alcoholic Patients" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1957).

alcoholism is not carried down through families, the proportion of non-users among the parents — especially the fathers — being much higher than for Canada as a whole. Likewise, of those alcoholics who really liked the taste of alcoholic beverages, a high proportion of the mothers were non-users. Another significant factor seems to have been the difference in drinking patterns between the mother and father which was the occasion for considerable conflict. The child not only saw the inconsistency between his parents, but experienced a conflict of loyalty. Relatively few of the subjects (18 per cent) felt that both parents had "more or less normal" attitudes towards them, with a higher proportion (29 per cent) speaking better of the mother in this respect than of the father (18 per cent). The author also concludes that a child's drinking behaviour is more closely associated with the attitudes of his parents than with their religious denomination.[53]

Sexual Deviation. The relationships between sexual deviation and the family have been touched on in a few studies, the most important of which, by D. Paitich of the Forensic Clinic, Toronto, is still in progress. In a preliminary paper, Paitich presents the general hypothesis that a significant relationship exists between attitudes towards parents and the development of sexual deviation. The subjects were three groups of male sex deviates — exhibitionists, exclusive homosexuals, and bisexuals — who were patients at the Clinic, and a control group of normal individuals. On the basis of a questionnaire and statistical analysis, eight scales were derived, four pertaining to the mother and four to the father. These scales covered such factors as affection, general competence, strictness and aggression, and parent's aggression towards each other. On the basis of replies to the questionnaire, Paitich concludes: (1) Regarding attitudes towards mother, sex deviates do not differ significantly from normal individuals. (2) Normal individuals, compared to sex deviates, significantly judge their fathers higher in affection, competence, and strictness and aggression. (3) Sex deviate groups do not differ significantly from one another in attitudes towards father. In general, then, Paitich finds no support for a series of hypotheses dealing with the Oedipus complex and mother identification, but

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53 P. Bouschard, "Parent Child Relationships and Alcoholism" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1959).

some evidence that father identification is a pertinent variable in comparing sex deviates and normal individuals.[54]

Bruno Cormier and his colleagues of the McGill Research Team in Forensic Psychiatry report on a psychiatric study of 27 incestuous fathers who were neither mentally ill nor sexually perverted. For the father, the authors note, the daughter served as a replacement both for the aging wife and the young girl he formerly courted. When the father courted his daughter, on the one hand he conducted himself as a young man and on the other, used his paternal authority to overcome her resistance. Incest in a family becomes possible when the family members have not acquired the necessary internal controls. Once incest is discovered, the family either breaks up or reorganizes with the normal controls which existed before the incestuous relationships.[55]

Delinquent Behaviour and the Family

As a social problem in our society, few loom more important than crime and juvenile delinquency. The economic and moral costs are immeasurable; and it seems from the statistics, inexact though they may be, that the situation is not improving.

The primary offenders in Canada, as in the United States and elsewhere, are youthful. In 1960, the 16 to 24 age group comprised less than a fifth of our population 16 years of age or more, but 52 per cent of our recorded criminals. Considering specific offenses, those under 25 years of age made up 68 per cent of the men convicted of breaking and entering, extortion, and robbery; 55 per cent of those judged guilty of offences against property without violence; 60 per cent of those who maliciously damaged property; 55 per cent of those found carrying offensive weapons, and 65 per cent of prison escapees. The average female offender in 1959 was older but still relatively young. Of 2115 such offenders recorded, 872 (41 per cent) were under 25 years of age.

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54 D. Paitich, "Parent-Child Relations and Sexual Deviations". Paper read at the Third Research Conference on Criminology and Delinquency, Montreal, November 22, 1962.

55 B. Cormier, M. Kennedy and J. Sangowicz, "Psychodynamics of Father-Daughter Incest", *Canadian Psychiatric Association Journal*, VII (October, 1962), pp. 203-17.

The percentage of teenagers is high. Of the offenders between 16 and 24 in 1959, approximately three in five were less than 20 years old. In 1961, as many as 13,358 under the age of 16 were judged delinquent by the courts for breach of the criminal code or federal, provincial, or municipal regulations; an increase of 8.3 per cent over 1960. Of these, 80 per cent had no previous record.

Most juvenile delinquents were released on probation.[56] Of the 15,215 recorded juvenile delinquents in 1961, over 48 per cent were released on probation to the courts and over 4 per cent to their parents; 14 per cent were fined; 13 per cent were sent to training schools; and almost 20 per cent were remanded or had their final disposition suspended.

Delinquents represent particular segments of the population. Over two thirds come from urban centers. Relatively few, only 5 per cent, are foreign born and for three out of four, both parents were born in Canada. Ordinarily the socio-economic level of the families is low and the children have little schooling. Over two thirds had just a grade 6 to grade 9 education.[57]

The statistics on crime and juvenile delinquency require qualification. As Nicholas Zay of the University of Montreal points out in an analysis of such data, the basic counting unit is not the offense or the person, but the appearance at court. So one person will be counted as often as he is brought before the judge, and if at any of his appearances, he is charged with several offences, only the most serious is counted. For a variety of reasons, comparative and trend data are also risky. Age limits vary according to province; the courts vary in the degree to which they give formal or informal hearings; the population criteria of reporting has varied (through 1956, statistics included information from municipal police departments in urban centers of 4000 population or more; beginning in 1957, the population criterion became 750); and more and more

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[56] The definition of "juvenile delinquency" varies with the provinces. In Quebec, Manitoba, and British Columbia, the age limit is 18; in Newfoundland 17, and in all the other provinces, 16.

[57] The statistics cited may be found in the *Canada Year Book, 1961* and in DBS, Health and Welfare, *Juvenile Delinquents, 1961,* catalogue: 85-202 (February, 1963).

small towns have been establishing police departments which send in reports.[58]

The research on delinquency and the family is considerable with several theses and with some psychiatric studies by Dr. Cormier and his colleagues. In considering these studies, however, we must recognize that we are covering only a limited aspect of a very complex problem. Many factors enter into delinquency — such as peer group relationships, neighbourhood traditions, police and court policies, correctional institution influences, and the very values of our Society — which are not necessarily familial. Also in looking for sources within a family, as Miriam Kennedy, a psychiatric social worker associated with Dr. Cormier, notes, we must beware of placing the blame on parents. "It is not one individual within a family, no matter how important, but a constellation of relationships which affect every member of the family." [59]

Delinquency and General Family Patterns. For some years, Father Noel Mailloux of the Centre de Recherches en Relations Humaines at Montreal and Claude Lavallée have been studying problems of delinquency, but their focus is ordinarily less on the family than on personality structure and development. Their most recent research has been at Boscoville, an institution for juvenile delinquents in Quebec where they have been observing delinquent boys aged 16 to 20. In one report, they classify the boys into personality types.[60] In another, they analyze the background of these delinquents and others, suggesting that certain personality orientations develop in early childhood and continue in later life. The parents, for example, may treat the child without respect, suggesting that his bad behaviour is just what they expected. The child comes to see himself as the parents speak of him. This in turn may lead to a pattern of group identification with other delinquents in which they all feel they are pariahs, a group apart, not capable of acting other than they do.[61]

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58 NICHOLAS ZAY, "Gaps on Available Statistics on Crime and Delinquency in Canada", *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* XXIX (February, 1963), pp. 75-89.

59 M. KENNEDY, "Dynamics Involved in Family Offences Appearing before the Court", *The Canadian Journal of Corrections,* I (July, 1959), pp. 50-56.

60 NOËL MAILLOUX, O.P. and CLAUDE LAVALLÉE, "Psychological Development and Neurotic Syndromes", *Canadian Journal of Corrections,* I (October, 1959), pp. 35-39.

61 NOËL MAILLOUX, O.P. and CLAUDE LAVALLÉE, "Genèse et signification

Two theses at the Maritime School of Social Work also touch rather generally on the part played by unsatisfactory and inadequate family relationships in causing delinquent behaviour. In one, the author studied the families of 58 delinquents who were known to the Department of Public Welfare in Halifax. Although the majority of families in these cases had adequate incomes, they were generally unstable.[62] For a second study, data were collected both from case records and from interviews with community residents associated with delinquency problems. The author here focused not on the misdemeanor which is said to be a symptom of the problem, but the psycho-social evaluation of the delinquent child. Both authors make a case for treating the parents and strengthening family life.[63]

Two theses deal especially with the family and delinquent girls. R. M. Bruce of McGill reviews the cases of 23 girls between 12 and 16 whose records are at the Mental Hygiene Institute. The girls had been cited for incorrigibility, stealing, truancy from school, or sexual misbehaviour. Over half of the girls were still at school and eight held such jobs as waitresses or housekeepers. For most of the families, the socio-economic conditions were poor, with homes in poor neighbourhoods, overcrowding, or financial problems. Family relationships too were undoubtedly contributing factors. Most of the parents came from Europe and were experiencing problems of cultural conflict. Some two thirds of the parents were described as unstable and undependable with personal problems of their own. In their behaviour to their children, they often ranged from extreme indulgence to extreme hostility. The girls themselves, the author reports, also had personality problems with feelings of insecurity, inadequacy, and inferiority.[64]

M.-A. Bertrand of the University of Montreal studied a group of 63 girls between the ages of 11 and 19 known to the Social

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de la conduite 'antisociale' ", *Canadian Journal of Corrections*, IV (April, 1962), pp. 103-111.

62 G. F. Hickey, "Family Backgrounds and Family Patterns of Juvenile Delinquents" (Master's thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, 1961).

63 F. P. Sampson, "Family Relationships and Delinquent Behaviour" (Master's thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, 1961).

64 R. M. Bruce, "Parent-Child Relationships of 23 Delinquent Adolescent Girls" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, McGill University, 1953).

Welfare Court and the Children's Aid Clinic in Montreal. The group comprised both English and French speaking girls, the latter group on the whole (apparently by virtue of the Clinic selection procedure) functioning at a lower intellectual level. Family patterns were of utmost importance in understanding these girls. Economically the families were pinched, and broken and disorganized homes were the norm. For only nine of the girls were both parents living, united, and in good health. All the other families were in some way disorganized or had health problems. Also, although the significance thereof is not clear, almost four in five cases were oldest, youngest, or only children. For the sexually delinquent, the relationship with the father seemed especially important involving clearly latent incestuous leanings, or strong rejection which can suggest the very same tendencies.[65]

Delinquency and "Assorted" Specific Family Problems. As part of a group thesis at the Maritime School of Social Work, T. E. Chute studied the influence of *family mobility* on delinquency. The subjects were 163 juvenile delinquents from Halifax County who were on the after-care service of the Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare from 1955 to 1961. The author concludes that family migration was of great importance. Compared to the non-migratory families, the migratory were more unstable; the greatest instability being found among the group with the most number of moves. The incidence of recidivism too was greater among migrants than non-migrant families with the greatest incidence among the most frequent movers.[66]

We observed in our discussion of ethnic groups that *immigrants* had a low rate of delinquency. Their children, however, have a rate somewhat higher than their parents. B. W. Baugmartel at the University of Toronto compared the social histories of 134 boys of foreign-born parents with 284 boys of Canadian-born parents, the cases being taken from the records of the psychiatric clinic of the Toronto Juvenile Court. The author concludes that (1) poverty,

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65 M.-A. Bertrand, "Facteurs sociaux et familiaux de la délinquance des adolescentes" (Master's thesis, Department of Criminology, University of Montreal 1963).

66 T. E. Chute, "Delinquency and Migrant Families" (Master's thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, 1962).

broken homes, low mental ability, and lack of educational opportunities play a less important role among the children of immigrants than among the children of the Canadian-born, and (2) other influences possibly producing juvenile delinquency among children of immigrants are a drive for recognition and respect, a craving for status among peers and in school, and inferiority feelings in regard to the family, its language, customs, and culture. Baugmartel contends that the distinctive problems of the second generation child, compared to the Canadian boy, make it easier for him to become delinquent.[67] This same point was made in a study some years ago by H. Atkinson of the Manitoba Industrial Training School for Boys.[68]

As part of a group thesis at the Maritime School of Social Work, L. R. Gallant studied the relationship between the *working mother* and delinquency. The sample consisted of the same 163 families studied by T. E. Chute. The analysis was made with statistical and case study methods. We cannot conclude, says the author, that maternal employment necessarily contributed to the delinquency of the 62 boys so affected. The mother-son relationship seemed to be unhealthy, but for other reasons than that of her employment. Rarely was one factor found in isolation which could be judged to be causative. In general the families could not provide enough strength to enable these boys to cope with the many stressful situations they experienced.[69]

Miriam Kennedy reports on a special study of 16 cases of *offences taking place within the family* such as mistreatment of children, alcoholism, and incest. These offences usually come under the Act Respecting Juvenile Delinquents whose purpose is to protect the children. The Court, writes Kennedy, tends to select an offender, usually the father, and punish him; which often leads only to further disruption of the family and dislocation of the children with resulting delinquency and emotional disorder. The wife sometimes becomes remorseful and wants her husband back and may even become de-

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67 B. W. BAUGMARTEL, "Juvenile Delinquency among Children of Immigrants" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1956).

68 H. ATKINSON, *Boys in Trouble*, A Review of the Work of the Manitoba Industrial Training School for Boys from July 15th, 1926 to July 15th, 1931, Canadian Council on Child and Family, Publication no. 61.

69 L. R. GALLANT, "Juvenile Delinquency and the Working Mother" (Master's thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, 1962).

linquent herself. Complex interrelationships may develop in such families with mixtures of aggression, passivity, and dependency, as well as alcoholism and incest.[70]

Cormier and his colleagues suggest that the *delinquent behaviour of an individual is really often a family affair.* Through channelling the criminality through one member of the family, the others keep out of trouble. The subjects were 41 families in which only one member became a habitual criminal, the black sheep of an otherwise good flock. The families were extremely diverse in origin, social class, milieu and economic status. Nor, among the black sheep themselves, was there consistency in such factors as physical attributes, health, personality, level of intelligence, motivation, or range of interest. One thing was constant however; they all received different treatment, favourable or unfavourable, from their brothers or sisters. For one reason or another, consciously or unconsciously, this one son had been singled out, usually from an early age, and excluded from the family physically and/or emotionally. The other children absorbed a proper social code in the family which they transposed and enlarged when they moved out of the family into society. Unlike their more fortunate sibling, however, the black sheep did not incorporate these necessary controls.[71] P. Deehy, speaking of parole, gives some support to this picture when he writes:

> We have seen families who seem to be able to function adequately only when one member is getting into trouble... with the best of intentions, the family or members of the family seem to have done their best to ensure the return of the released men to jail.[72]

M. Kennedy, reporting in an unpublished paper on further work of the Cormier group, cites some of the distinctive problems of the *multi-delinquent family,* the family with several delinquent children. She notes that the family, despite its difficulties, often does not become dissociated and dispersed. On the contrary, the young delinquents and unmarried adults voluntarily return to the home after

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70 Miriam Kennedy, "Dynamics Involved in Family Offences Appearing before the Court", *The Canadian Journal of Corrections,* I (July, 1959), pp. 50-56.

71 B. Cormier et al., "The Black Sheep", *The Canadian Journal of Corrections,* III (October, 1961), pp. 456-63.

72 P. Deehy, "The Impact of Parole upon the Family", *The Canadian Journal of Corrections,* III (July, 1961), pp. 291-97.

each enforced absence. Unsatisfactory childhood relations, instead of creating distance, result in a need to remain tied to the family in an even stronger and more lasting way than for normal children. Parents of multi-delinquent families are themselves not generally delinquent although they frequently display other severe pathology. In certain cases, when the parents separate from each other and remarry, surprisingly, their standards improve greatly. They are better parents, the marriage is more harmonious, and the children are not delinquent.[73]

In another unpublished paper, Bruno Cormier, again deriving from the work of his group, suggests that, in a multi-delinquent family, one may observe various forms of pathology, many sometimes co-existing in one individual. He writes:

> We have not yet seen a family with more than one delinquent son which did not also show other symptoms among its members. In the few incomplete genealogical studies we have been able to make (and much further and more scrupulous research is required), we discovered that one type of pathology prevailed, though not exclusively in the first generation, followed by another kind in their children and still another among their grandchildren.[74]

A thesis at the Maritime School of Social Work deals specifically with the role parents play in the *treatment of the adolescent delinquent*. The data, collected for a group thesis, were based on a study of 80 juvenile delinquents who were receiving service from the Corrections Division of the Halifax office of the Department of Public Welfare. The findings (1) indicate that the rehabilitation of the offenders is more successful when the parents participate in the treatment and (2) demonstrate the need for more intensive case-work therapy with both the parents and the offenders.[75]

A few family studies deal with the adult criminal. One at the University of Toronto asks to what degree the families of men incarcerated in the federal penitentiary turn to *public assistance agencies* for financial aid. The proportion was relatively low. Of

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[73] Miriam Kennedy, "Family Cohesion and Stabilization" (unpublished paper).

[74] B. Cormier, unpublished manuscript.

[75] T. G. Cleary, "Parent Participation in the Treatment of the Adolescent Delinquent" (Master's thesis, Maritime School of Social Work, 1961).

the 70 men and their families in the sample for whom there was information, 31 were separated or divorced and, of the remaining 39, only 17 (44 per cent) made use of public assistance.[76]

Dr. Cormier and his colleagues analysed the cases of 176 adults who were all *latecomers to crime* with no previous criminal involvement or appearances at court. One hundred and fifteen were married and 102 committed their first offences after marriage. In many cases, the criminal behaviour was a result of conflicts in family relationships. The authors discern five groups of offences:

1. Offences committed within the family such as abusive conduct, assault on the wife, or alcoholism. The husband and wife mutually act out their conflicts and it is difficult to know who provokes whom.
2. Offences taking place after marriage both within the family and outside. In some way or another, marital relations were a factor in the trouble.
3. Offences which occur outside the family, but are directly related to a crisis in the family.
4. Offences of husbands who have sufficiently severe personality problems so that the additional family stress leads to crime.
5. Offences for which no significant relationship could be traced between the marriage and the offence.[77]

The Multi-Problem Family

For many decades, the multi-problem family has been recognized as a significant social problem; only in recent years, however, has it begun to receive much attention in Canada. Definitions vary but, in general, these families are at the very bottom of the socio-economic scale, living in miserable conditions and characterized by such problems as ill-health, delinquency, illegitimacy, child neglect, poverty, alcoholism, unemployment, truancy, and mental illness. In

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[76] Hugh Saville, "Families of Offenders" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1959).

[77] B. Cormier et al., "Family Conflicts and Criminal Behaviour", *The Canadian Journal of Corrections,* III (January, 1961), pp. 18-38.

our metropolitan centers, it is estimated, they constitute four to eight per cent of the population, yet use about 50 per cent of the health and welfare budgets and services. Benjamin Schlesinger of the School of Social Work, University of Toronto, writes:

> These families constitute the lengthy records in social agencies, the numerous visits to medical and psychiatric hospitals, the population of the worst slums of our cities... They make up the families who are known to us from generation to generation as dependents on welfare, charity, and handouts.[78]

The problem is not unique to Canada; it exists and has aroused concern in urban centers in the United States, England, France, Holland and elsewhere throughout the world.

In Canada, we now have the beginnings of serious research on the problem. A general review of the topic with an annotated bibliography was published in 1963 and several studies have recently been conducted or are in progress.[79]

The most intensive study to date is that of B. Ayres and J. C. Lagey of the Community Chest and Councils of the Greater Vancouver Area who, in June 1960, surveyed the multi-problem families in Vancouver. With criteria stricter than those of the more popular writers, 1407 such families were identified. On the basis of previous studies, the authors estimate that in the course of a year, the number would be from one half to twice as large, that is, from 2,100 to 2,800 families. With the average family consisting of 1.5 parents (the father is absent in about half the cases) and 4.5 children, the total number of people involved in a year would thus be from 12,600 to 16,800.

The 1407 families were known on an average of 3.7 years by the social agencies and represented 21 per cent of their June caseload. The families live mostly in the downtown section, characterized by deteriorated housing, high land values, and low rentals. They are largely of Anglo-Saxon origin and residents of the city for generations.

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78 B. SCHLESINGER, "Families of Misfortune", *Canada's Health and Welfare*, XVIII (May, 1963), p. 2. In this article, Schlesinger gives a good review of the many questions raised by the multi-problem family.

79 B. SCHLESINGER, *The Multi-Problem Family: A Review and Annotated Bibliography* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963).

As criteria of selection, the investigators used five problem areas. The percentage of families classified under each category were:

Serious behaviour problem, e.g., habitual truancy, mental disorder, beyond control of parents, emotional disturbances.	90
Economic problem	80
Health problem	43
Child neglect	28
Juvenile delinquency	20

In general, the authors report, these families are not involved in the brutish poverty characteristic of the 19th century. Rather many of their difficulties stem from the inability to form adequate social relationships both within the family and in the community.[80]

Another survey of 47 multi-problem families was conducted in 1961 in Ottawa by the Welfare Council of Ottawa. These families are large, averaging 7.2 members per family and live in housing which is crowded, in poor physical condition, and costly. The education of the adults was of grade 9 or less and, at the time of the survey, the families were having serious financial problems. The families used 35 health and welfare agencies. As is not uncommon, the agencies did not co-ordinate their help to these families so each agency did not really know what the others were doing.[81]

At the University of Toronto, three theses in the School of Social Work discuss the multi-problem family. P. Chatterjee et al. studied a sample of 25 pairs of two generation families in two social agencies of Metropolitan Toronto. The families were large, averaging 7.2 in the first generation and 5.3 in the second. The families were confronted by an array of problems. Noted most often in the first generation were delinquency and crime and the neglect

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80 Beverly Ayres and Joseph C. Lagey, *Checklist Survey of Multi-Problem Families in Vancouver City* (Vancouver: Community Chest and Councils of the Greater Vancouver Area, March 1961). (Mimeographed.)

81 Welfare Council of Ottawa, *Multi-Problem Families,* October 1961. Cited in Schlesinger, "Families of Misfortune", *op. cit.,* p. 7. Schlesinger notes that two small studies identifying multi-problem families have also been carried out in Toronto and Windsor.

and lack of parental control of the children. In the second generation, the most frequent problem was illegitimacy. Also found were alcoholism, marital discord, ill-health, unemployment, poor housing, financial problems, sexual deviation, and desertion. The families live mostly in the downtown section of Toronto. Residential mobility was high with an average move of more than once a year per family, but the move was largely within the same social milieu. The average family of the first generation was served by social agencies 7.2 years, of the second generation 3.8 years. Again the problems confronting these families often came to the attention of a number of different health and welfare agencies.[82]

Renee Roseman, in another thesis at the University of Toronto, calculates the costs for two multi-problem families, one known by agencies for 17 years and the other for 25. The first received help from 16 agencies, amounting to $53,225 and the second received, from public and private funds, the sum of $61,700. And this leaves aside the cost of the many professional and volunteer workers who had been in contact with these families.[83]

A third thesis by B. Veitch, which was part of a group study, focused on the values and "subculture" of eleven multi-problem families in London, Ontario. These families, says the author, hold an identity with many middle-class values, but are frustrated in achieving them. At the moment they are, on the whole, maintaining as good standards as possible, but they are not satisfied with their current lives and do have a desire for a change.[84]

A project is just getting underway in London, Ontario, under the auspices of United Community Services to study approximately 50 multi-problem families. The project has a threefold objective: (1) to provide more effective service to the families; (2) to provide community organizations with experience in working together to determine a long-range plan for improved services to multi-problem families; and (3) to compile systematically valid information about

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82 P. Chatterjee et al., "Two Generation Families" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1962).

83 Renee Roseman, "Two Multi-Problem Families" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1960).

84 Beverly Veitch, "The Values of the Multi-Problem Family" (Master's thesis, School of Social Work, University of Toronto, 1962).

the nature and conditions of these families. A family centered approach will be used, that is, instead of several agencies sending different workers to the same family, one social worker will carry all the family's services, needs, and requests.[85]

This survey which, as we observed, is far from exhaustive, indicates that in the past 10 or 15 years, the atypical family has aroused considerable interest. Also we have accumulated a mass of research material and have had many valuable suggestions. However, except for a few limited areas, it is difficult to point to a body of accumulated and growing knowledge. In some cases, the researches lack the hypotheses and theory that would permit a growth and development of organized knowledge and in other cases small researches are completed, but without further studies on the particular topics, a continuity is lacking.

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85 United Community Services of London, *Proposal for London Family Centered Project,* March 15, 1962. (Mimeographed.) Also cited in Schlesinger, "Families of Misfortune", *op. cit.*

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

It would be impossible in a few pages to review the tremendous range of material we have covered in this report. We can only point to the highlights cited at the end of each section or chapter.

In covering such an expanse of material, we have exposed ourselves to wandering among the trees and ignoring the forest. Adding further complexity, even the outline of the forest is blurred and ill-defined. It is a general principle of social analysis that no one institution can be understood in isolation, apart from others. We study one institution for its unique problems and perspectives; only thus too can we hope to build up our knowledge. But as one component varies so too, in both the short and long run, do innumerable others. We need only consider the simple question of family size. For a complex of reasons but vaguely understood, parents after World War II began to have more children than before. The effects are seen in such diverse areas as housing, the demand for teachers, sibling relationships, the size of the labour force many years later, the demand for consumer goods of all kinds, and eventually in traffic congestion, highway construction, and a thousand other areas. From the reverse position, as industries become larger and more productive, as highways are constructed, as airplanes, dishwashers, synthetic fabrics and hundreds of other technical inventions are improved, so too are there variations in the activities of the wife, the aspirations of the children, the exposure to decisions made thousands of miles away, or the ease of visiting distant relatives. So family problems as such cannot be understood or resolved without a consideration of numerous other realms in the society.

The family has never remained constant. Even when life was most traditional and stable, children were never exact replicas of their parents. Now change is a key concept for any family analyst. The family, with its crucial functions, does not expire, it changes. In varying ways, it adapts and bends and, of course in turn, it influences.

The family in Canada has a western heritage and has moved with western society. Many of the problems and trends we noted — the changing role of women, the multi-problem family, the wife working for pay, the persisting but changing form of kinship ties, the convergence between socio-economic levels of family size and child rearing patterns, the increasing freedom of individuals to choose and depart from their mates, the increasing conscious control of family size, the decreasing importance of family units in large business operations — are no different in Canada than in other parts of the world.

Yet, as we have observed, Canada also has its unique problems and characteristics. We have a lower proportion of wives working for pay and a lower divorce rate than most western industrialized countries. Our weather creates distinctive problems of seasonal employment and limits the areas of settlement for retired people. Our mosaic of ethnic groups has no direct counterpart anywhere in the world. Our history links us especially with the cultures of England and France and our geography to the culture of the United States. We have above all a French Canada with its unique historical development for 400 years. And all this has its effect on the institutions, value systems and sentimental identifications which have been incorporated into our way of thought and life.

The number of pertinent questions, theoretical and practical, that may be asked about the family are endless. We shall never feel that we have enough data to answer all the questions but, it is apparent, we can have more data than we do now. Recognizing the crucial role of the family for each of us in the society as a whole, we can safely predict that the interest in questions of the family will remain high; let us hope as well that we shall always have the active workers and researchers to sustain and develop this interest and to augment our knowledge.

APPENDIX

The State of Family Research in Canada

In considering the recent research on the family in Canada, we have relatively little of which we can be proud. We are well supplied by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics with basic data but beyond that, our information is sketchy, disorganized, and not always trustworthy.

Our family data derive from four types of sources: government, particular associations, individual scholars, and candidates for degrees.

1. The government, through DBS, presents us with the fundamental family data, essential for any subsequent work and as reliable and valid as modern techniques allow. However such material is ordinarily presented with very little, if any, interpretation and is not gathered in the context of any theory or hypothesis. Other government bureaus have also occasionally conducted or sponsored research; note the study of married women working for pay by the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labour and the report on immigrant adaptations by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration. Such studies are generally carefully and competently done but, in sum, they cover limited aspects of family life.

2. Many "private" associations and institutions such as the Canadian Catholic Conference, Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique, and Canadian National Railways have undertaken research related to the family, ordinarily with the particular ends of the group in mind. If the CN, for example, studies mobility, it is because they are interested in maintaining an efficient operation and good management-employee relations. If various religious groups carry out surveys, it is, to a great degree, to implement programmes in Family Life. These studies of course are not necessarily limited to immediately practical objectives. The Alcoholism and Drug Addiction Research Foundation, for example, is interested in basic research into alcoholism as well as in the direct problems of helping alcoholics and reducing the cost of alcoholism to the nation. Technically these studies present a mixed bag. Some have had skilled personnel con-

ducting or advising on the particular researches; some do not, choosing problems not really "researchable", carrying them through inefficiently, or using inadequate samples. These latter studies may be useful for publicity or for mobilizing group effort, but the results have little validity as contributions to knowledge.

3. Individual scholars sometimes conduct research on problems of their own choosing and sometimes work on projects selected by government departments, associations, or their academic advisors. The range of problems is wide including anthropological field reports and studies of multi-problem families, attitudes towards family size, the continuity of adolescent socialization, adoption, family expenditures, and many more. Some studies are descriptive and factual, some quite practical in orientation, some of local or regional relevance, some with theoretical problems partially in mind. Generalizations are difficult. These individual scholars do have the virtue of seeking, through publication, to publicize their works although each speaks ordinarily to his own reference group and others may hear nothing of them.

4. The candidates for degrees, especially in the Schools of Social Work, are our largest source of researchers. These theses, as we have observed, serve purposes other than contributions to knowledge. The student has experience in reviewing the literature, designing and carrying through a study, organizing, and writing. The standards for these theses frequently are not high. Concepts are not clarified, research designs are not carefully prepared, and samples are haphazardly chosen; in which case, the results are suspect. Sometimes such researches are well done, but the authors are guilty of not seeking to publish the results of their labours, so the theses remain unseen and unknown in university libraries.

Research Problems. In the United States, with its vast resources, few family problems remain unstudied. Considerable work has been done, for example, on topics hardly touched on in Canada such as: dating and courtship patterns, sexual relationships, prediction of marital success, family relationships of a psychiatric nature, divorce and remarriage, the unwed mother, aging, family fertility patterns, families in crisis, delinquency and broken homes, and working mothers. Where in Canada, we might find a few studies on such subjects, in

the United States, there are hundreds. Not that these areas *should* be covered in Canada; our resources are much too limited. A caution is also in order: that we should not too readily assume that what applies to the United States applies equally well to Canada. In some respects, at least, we have seen, our patterns are different.

Various criteria determine the selection of problems for research, including personal interest, "fashion", the immediacy of a practical problem, and the availability of funds. But also worthy of consideration, it would seem, is the "more-so" principle of focusing on distinctive highlights, enunciated by Everett C. Hughes in a paper presented in Saskatoon in 1959. Hughes writes :

> In addition to the things which could be done anywhere to add to the knowledge of human societies, what are the features of Canadian life to which the "more-so" principle might apply — those things which are highlighted somewhat in Canadian life, and from which one might learn something more about some aspect of human society than one would elsewhere? [1]

Were this principle applied to the study of the Canadian family, perhaps we would focus on family problems more distinctive to our own society, perhaps seasonal unemployment, the isolated villages, bicultural and ethnic relationships, the relatively low divorce rate. Perhaps here too we might take a step towards a continuity, with less of a research patchwork.

In selecting research problems, practical considerations necessarily assume a large importance. However, the theoretical aspects, it would seem, deserve more consideration. Our knowledge is not built up through an accumulation of miscellaneous facts. Rather our data need a framework and context which allow us to judge the relevance of the research to other knowledge and to define and redefine our ideas. Viewing our Canadian research, this theoretical context, with its hypotheses to be confirmed or disconfirmed, is often lacking.

Recommendations. In order that the research on the family in Canada might be better organized, more available, and more compet-

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[1] EVERETT C. HUGHES, "The Dual Mandate of Social Science: Remarks on the Academic Division of Labour", *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* XXV (November, 1959), pp. 401-410.

ently carried through, we should like to present the following suggestions for consideration:

1. That a national clearing house for family studies be established with the purpose of bringing together and organizing the many scattered studies and researches that have been conducted on the family in Canada. In this report, we have covered but a fraction of the researches over the years and our comments have been all too brief. Such a clearing house could serve as a guide to active workers and researchers and a communication link between those interested parties who are of different languages or geographically distant.

2. That a research advisory center on the family be established to assist any group or student seriously interested in conducting research on the family in Canada. The center would be available for consultation in setting up and carrying out any research that might contribute to our knowledge of the family. Perhaps too the center might be a in a position to encourage publication of deserving works.

Author Index

Subject Index

The following tables are updated tables of those listed on Page 4. These were prepared by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. The Vanier Institute of the Family wishes to thank the following researchers at DBS for this work :

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F. G. Boardman	*Chief, General Population Section*
William Nesbitt	*Assistant Director, Special Surveys Division*
Isabel McWhinney	*Chief, Family Expenditure Section, Prices Division*

Table 1

SIZE OF FAMILY BY PROVINCE AND BY RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENTIATION, 1966

	Rural	*Agricultural*	*Non-Agricultural*	*Urban*	*Total*
Newfoundland	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.5	4.6
Prince Edward Island	4.3	4.4	4.3	4.0	4.2
Nova Scotia	4.1	4.0	4.1	3.9	4.0
New Brunswick	4.5	4.7	4.5	4.0	4.3
Quebec	5.0	5.6	4.6	4.0	4.2
Ontario	4.0	4.1	4.0	3.6	3.7
Manitoba	4.2	4.2	4.1	3.6	3.8
Saskatchewan	4.1	4.2	3.9	3.7	3.9
Alberta	4.2	4.3	4.1	3.8	3.9
British Columbia	4.0	4.1	3.9	3.5	3.6
Canada	4.3	4.5	4.2	3.8	3.9

Table 2

PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH A GIVEN NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Year	0	1	2	3	4-5	6 and over
1966	28.9	19.5	20.5	13.9	12.2	5.0
1961	29.3	20.2	20.6	13.4	11.4	5.0
1951	32.3	23.5	19.8	10.8	8.9	4.6

Table 3

SIZE OF FAMILY BY AGE OF FAMILY HEAD

Age of Family Head	*Size of Family*		
	1951	1961	1966
Less than 35	3.47	3.69	3.81
35-44	4.41	4.77	4.97
45-54	4.19	4.23	4.38
55-64	3.27	3.12	3.16
65 and over	2.58	2.43	2.39
All family heads	3.7	3.9	4.0

Table 6

PERCENTAGE OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION BY PROVINCE, 1966

Provinces	*Rural*			*Urban*
	Farm	*Non-Farm*	*Total*	
Newfoundland	1.7	44.2	44.9	54.1
Prince Edward Island	28.4	35.0	63.4	36.6
Nova Scotia	6.0	36.0	41.9	58.1
New Brunswick	8.4	41.0	49.4	50.6
Quebec	8.5	13.2	21.7	78.3
Ontario	6.9	12.7	19.6	80.4
Manitoba	16.6	16.3	32.9	67.1
Saskatchewan	29.3	21.7	51.0	49.0
Alberta	19.0	12.2	31.2	68.8
British Columbia	4.5	20.2	24.7	75.3
Canada	9.6	16.9	26.4	73.6

Table 7

RURAL POPULATION IN CANADA

Year	*Percentage of total population*
1900	62.3
1911	54.5
1921	50.4
1931	46.2
1941	45.6
1951	43.8
1956	33.5
1961	30.4
1966	26.4

Table 16

AVERAGE EXPENDITURE PATTERNS BY INCOME GROUP — FAMILIES OF TWO OR MORE ELEVEN CITIES, 1964

Item	*All Classes*	*Under* $2,500	2,500–2,999	3,000–3,499	3,500–3,999	4,000–4,499	4,500–4,999	5,000–5,499	5,500–5,999	6,000–6,999	7,000–7,999	8,000–9,999	10,000+
						Percentage Distribution							
Food	21.0	32.3	27.0	31.9	25.8	25.0	24.9	24.3	23.5	21.9	20.3	19.4	16.9
Housing, fuel, water, light	16.3	28.2	23.9	22.6	19.6	20.2	19.3	18.8	16.6	16.9	15.9	15.2	13.2
Household Operation	4.0	4.9	4.5	5.0	3.9	4.0	4.4	4.0	3.6	3.9	4.1	3.9	4.0
Furnishing and equipment	4.5	2.0	4.1	4.6	3.9	4.0	4.3	4.5	4.5	4.8	5.1	4.7	4.1
Clothing	8.7	6.3	6.5	7.1	7.8	8.3	7.4	8.0	8.2	8.4	8.8	9.4	9.5
Other commodities & services	28.7	20.0	28.2	22.7	28.2	26.9	26.5	28.0	30.8	28.2	30.2	29.3	28.9
Gifts, contributions, personal taxes & security	16.8	6.3	5.3	6.1	10.8	11.6	13.2	12.4	12.8	15.9	15.6	18.1	23.4
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Expenditure	$7,031	2,429	3,261	3,617	4,132	4,623	5,063	5,597	6,110	6,566	7,719	8,692	12,533
No. of families in sample :	1,723	96	64	67	91	112	109	146	130	226	193	239	250

Source : Urban Family Expenditure 1964, Catalogue No. 62-527 (DBS)

Table 17

PERCENTAGE OF HOMES WITH GIVEN FACILITIES AND EQUIPMENT

Equipment	*Percentage of homes*			
	1967	1963	1951	1941
Refrigerator	97	94	48	21
Telephone	92	87	60	40
Radio	97	96	93	78
Automobile, one or more	76	72	43	37
Television set	95	90	—	—
Vacuum cleaner	78	72	42	24
Washing machine	85	87	74	—
Phonograph	64	54	—	—
Freezer	28	18	—	—

Table 23

ANNUAL UNEMPLOYMENT RATE AVERAGES

Year	*Rate*
1954	4.6
1955	4.4
1956	3.4
1957	4.6
1958	7.0[r]
1959	6.0
1960	7.0
1961	7.1[r]
1962	5.9
1963	5.5
1964	4.7
1965	3.9
1966	3.6
1967	4.1

[r] Revised

Table 24

UNEMPLOYMENT, TAKING THE FAMILY AS A UNIT
(JANUARY 1968)

	Approximate no. of family units affected	*Approximate no. of persons in the family units*		
		2 - 3	4 - 5	6 - 7
No one in the unit employed	155,000	69,000	47,000	25,000
One or more employed in the unit	221,000	67,000	80,000	43,000
Total	376,000	136,000	127,000	68,000

LE DROIT, OTTAWA

PUBLICATIONS OF THE VANIER INSTITUTE OF THE FAMILY

Elkin, Frederick, *The Family in Canada*, Ottawa : Le Droit, 5th printing, 1968 $2.00

The Family in the Evolution of Agriculture, Ottawa : Le Droit, 1968 $1.00

An inventory of Family Research and Studies in Canada (1963-67), introduction by John Spencer, Ottawa : Le Droit, 1967 $2.00

The Canadian Conference on the Family, Proceedings, Ottawa : Le Droit, 1964 $2.50

McDonald, Michael, *Bibliography on the Family from the Fields of Theology and Philosophy*, 1964 $2.00

These publications are available in both English and French.