GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY AND THE EXTENDED FAMILY

by

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CHAPTER I

THEORY AND EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

A. Introduction

There are two main approaches to the study of kinship: (1) the study of organized or corporate kin groups and (2) the study of kinship ties from the social perspective of Ego. Since there are no corporate kin groups in North American society (except perhaps among certain minority groups) the second approach must be used by those interested in North American kinship. This means essentially the examination of the nature and extent of Ego's relationships with kin.

Most recent theorists in the United States have denied that relatives are of any importance in North American society, and have stressed the isolation of the nuclear family, basing these statements on the demands of a democratic, urbanized and highly industrialized society. However, empirical work has shown that relatives play a large part in the daily lives of individuals and nuclear families. Most studies have been directed toward showing that relatives do keep in contact with one another, sometimes also describing the nature of such contact and determining some of the functions of kinship in North American society.

Recognition of the discrepancy between most theory and empirical research has led to several explanations of this 'lag'. Attempts at new theoretical formulations have also

appeared in the literature, some of which provide excellent starting-points for empirical research.

B. The Isolated Nuclear Family

Among family theorists it is usually agreed that there are class differences in the extent to which kinship is important. The upper class and the lower class maintain more kinship ties than the middle class. Among upper class persons pride in 'heritage' is what keeps relatives together. (Cavan 1953, Hollingshead 1949, Parsons 1949, Warner 1953) The lower class person is supposed to maintain ties for reasons of mutual aid. (Cavan 1953, Hollingshead 1949 and 1953, Kirkpatrick 1955) He feels obligated to give shelter to relatives or married children in times of crisis. (Hollingshead 1953:290) But it is the middle class and the upwardly mobile individuals who are considered characteristic of American society. These are thought to have least awareness of kinship. (Cavan 1953, Hollingshead 1949, Parsons 1949 and 1953, Warner 1953)

Since it is Parsons who most fully discusses kinship (others often quote him), let us examine his theories first. He argues mainly that the dominant value orientation of American society emphasizes functional achievement, i.e. it is universalistic as opposed to particularistic. Recruitment to occupational roles must be by universalistic criteria, and this is expediated by freeing the individual from all

but the most essential particularistic ties (i.e. those of the nuclear family). Any other system would undermine the universalistic orientation that is essential to the maintenance of this social system.

> The patterns of behavior institutionalized in the modern occupational system run counter to many of the most deep-seated of human needs and motivations, such as relatively unconditioned loyalty to groups, sentimental attachment to persons as such, the need for security against competitive pressures, and the like. The functioning of our occupational system, therefore, is possible only by virtue of a relatively severe discipline, which involves both motivation to maintain a high level of performance under difficult conditions and adequate resistance to the types of behavior and attitudes which, if allowed to develop far enough, would seriously interfere with functional efficiency. . . . The direct integration of occupational function with the kinship system, as it occurs in many nonliterate and peasant societies, is quite impossible. To an important degree their different patterns prevent them from getting in each other's way and undermining each other. . . . The isolation of the conjugal family . . . as a primary characteristic of the American system is the mechanism for freeing the occupation-bearing and competing member of the family from hampering ties which would both inhibit his chances and interfere with the functioning of the system. This applies, of course, both to his emancipation on maturity from his family of orientation and to the segregation of his own family of procreation from those of his brothers. (Parsons 1949:261-263)
>
> Structural analysis shows that, if the United States is to remain and develop further as a democratic, urbanized, industrial society, with a large measure of equality of opportunity, the range of possible family structures which are compatible with its type of society is very narrow. (1949:273)

Parsons emphasizes the tie between husband and wife and that between parents and children, and fully recognizes that this tie is difficult to break because of its strength. But it must be broken to maintain the social system. Because of the structural isolation of the conjugal family and the

fact that the married couple are not supported by comparably strong kinship ties to other adults, the marriage bond is, in our society, the main structural keystone of the kinship system. Marriage, here, is accompanied by a process of 'emancipation' from the ties both to parents and to siblings which is considerably more drastic than in most kinship systems. Since a child has few adults to become attached to, relationships are intensified. This makes them all the harder to break at the time of marriage (or at adolescence.) Psychological research has suggested that affective ties of an individual, established in childhood, are very important; therefore it must impose strains on the individual to be forced to modify these by situational pressures. (Parsons 1943:30 - 32) But, Parsons insists, there is in fact emancipation from "solidarity with all members of the family of orientation about equally, so that there is relatively little continuity with any kinship ties established by birth for anyone." (1943:32)

In discussing the correspondence between the types of value patterns and social systems of a society, Parsons concedes that certain types of systems, such as governmental structures and those centering around the stratification subsystem, show on the whole closer correspondence with dominant value patterns than kinship, "which is bound to the relatively more specific functional conditions of man's biological nature." (Parsons and Shils 1951, p.184) Yet, the

only concessions to the 'functional conditions of man's biological nature' made in America are the particularistic ties within the nuclear family.

> The kinship cluster imposes a strong tendency toward particularistic, diffuse and ascriptive commitments. The nature of the personality system and the nature of the roles of the child-parent relationship make affective expression more likely in the kinship situation than elsewhere. Hence there is an irreducible minimum of commitments to that combination of pattern variables within the kinship sphere. At the same time, however, beyond this irreducible minimum, values institutionalized in the actual role structure of kinship systems may vary very considerably, in accordance with the value-orientations dominant throughout the society.
>
> The American kinship system, on the other hand, while granting a place to particularistic commitments, tends to restrict them even within kinship. It tends, as far as possible, to accept a commitment to reward universalistically judged classificatory qualities, such as intelligence and the kinds of performances which are assessed by universalistic criteria rather than particularistically judged qualities such as blood ties. (Parsons and Shils 1951:177)

The theme of the value patterns associated with achievement and occupational mobility being contrary to kinship values recurs in other writers. Since upward mobility is the theme of middle class ideology, independence and aggressiveness are emphasized and loosening of ties with the parental family and little recognition of obligations to the extended family result. (Winch 1963) Increased opportunities for spatial and vertical mobility is correlated with the breakdown of the 'consanguine' family. The value of security available within such a family is less than the handicap imposed on the individual by associated obligations, hence the breakdown. (Linton 1949) Linton, however, does explicitly

recognize that the "trend presently evident" (i.e. isolation) may be reversed by factors quite external to family structure. The isolation of the conjugal unit is seen by Williams (1951) as mainly due to the geographical dispersion of adult children. He, too, considers a kinship system with strong intergeneration continuity as incompatible with the fluidity of social classes.

Still others only mention in passing that there are no or very little kin ties in American society. The urban mode of life consists of a substitution of secondary for primary contacts, and therefore a weakening of the bonds of kinship. (Wirth 1939) There is no extended kin group in the middle class and many upwardly mobile families break with their kin group. (Hollingshead 1953) The middle class family is expected to consist exclusively of husband, wife and minor children. It is considered unfortunate to have to help parents or accept help from them on the part of married children. (Mead 1948)

It is difficult to find support from empirical data for the unimportance of kinship ties. However, Dinkel (1944) found that "the obligation of children to support aged and needy parents is apparently no longer well established in the mores. . . . The children often take into consideration the nature of their personal relations with parents in order to come to a decision as to whether or not to help them." (Dinkel 1944:378) Codere (1959) interviewed co-eds from

a select college, and concluded that as a system of social organization and interpersonal relations, kinship is minimized in the United States and is in no way functional.

C. Empirical Research

1. North America

A number of studies, most of them involving the middle class, have not borne out the theory that the nuclear family is isolated. It has been found that nuclear families feel obligations towards their relatives and have fairly extensive contacts with them, and that relatives rely on each other for aid of many kinds.

Sussman and Burchinal (1962b) found that while attitude data revealed a strong post-marital financial autonomy norm, actual behavior was contrary to this. In fact, financial aid exchanged between parents and married children was of great importance in many cases. "Parental aid is a variable affecting family size, family continuity over time, family status, family behavior in times of disaster and retirement patterns." (1962b:332) In an earlier study Sussman (1953) also found that affectional and economic ties still link the generational families and give stability to their relationships. In yet another study 100% of a lower-middle class sample and 92.5% of a working class sample were found to be actively involved in help and service exchanges with

their kin. (Sussman 1959) Data from a study on population change suggests that many neo-local nuclear families are closely related within a matrix of mutual assistance and activity. (Sussman and White 1959, as reported in Sussman 1959)

Sharp and Axelrod (1956) report that mutual aid among relatives was a significant pattern in an urban population. Baby-sitting and help during illness were two of the most frequent forms of aid; geographical migration did not seem to lessen the chances that mutual aid would occur. Reiss (1962) found, among the middle class in Boston, that there was an obligation to keep in touch with kin (90% of informants), to be friendly and loyal and to provide assistance in time of need. 30.6% of Reiss' informants saw their kin at least once a month. Greer (1956) found in two urban areas in the Los Angeles district that about 75% visited their kin at least once a month, and 52% at least once a week. Bell and Boat (1957) found kinship visiting a primary activity of urban dwelling; kin were considered the most important in providing relationships that could be counted on in an emergency. Axelrod (1956) reports for the Detroit Area Study that 49% saw their kin at least once a week and 62% at least once a month; relatives were seen more frequently than either friends, neighbors, or co-workers. (This was true in all status groups except the highest, where friends replaced relatives.)

Bossard and Boll (1946) analyzed free essays of 68 students of an Eastern university. They noted a marked degree of identification with kin as such; relatives had special prerogatives as such, no matter where they lived; relatives regarded each other as custodians of the family reputation. Quarantelli (1960) noted that the extended family is the major source to which disaster victims turn for help, rather than to public agencies. Litwak (1960a and 1960b) found that despite geographical and occupational mobility, there is considerable interaction among relatives. Although spatial mobility reduces extended family face-to-face contacts, this does not reduce extended family identification, and conversely, extended family identification does not prevent nuclear families from moving away. (1960b) The extended family sometimes provides aid to those who are either downwardly mobile or in the initial stages of their career, so that there is no actual status loss. (1960a)

Garigue (1956) found among urban French-Canadians that kinship is an important mechanism for manipulating the social environment. Leisure-time activities are often carried on with relatives; there is a certain degree of economic reciprocity. Jitodai (1963) reports no over-all pattern of differences in contact with relatives between natives and migrants in Detroit. 50% of his sample saw their relatives at least once a week. Kosa, Rachiele, and Schommer (1960) found that sharing the home with relatives is a

frequent and conspicuous form of assistance, "a practice that implies material help to the needy and emotional support to the lonely or incapacitated person. It establishes a living arrangement that extends the household beyond the nuclear family and shows a strong kinship solidarity." (1960:129)

Albrecht (1954a and 1954b) found that among people over 65 years only 9% seldom or never see their children. In 27% of the cases parents and children are mutually independent but maintain a close social and affectional relationship; in 44% of the cases mutual independence exists as well, but parents and children may share home or advice with each other. (1954a) 19% of grandparents take on grandchild supervision jobs occasionally; 5% do so regularly while parents work. (1954b) Cumming and Schneider (1961) interviewed respondents 50 to 80 years old. They found that the sibling bond was especially strong in this age group; the sister-sister bond seemed to override even the spouse bond among women. Duvall (1954 as reported in Duvall 1957) discovered that mutual aid patterns among relatives are a predominant feature of family life. Dotson (1951) found that extended family get-togethers and joint recreational activities with kin dominate the leisure time pursuits of urban working class members.

2. England

Although there may be significant differences between, for instance, the dominant value patterns of British and American society, England is an urbanized, industrialized nation. Important empirical research has been done there which cannot be ignored in a discussion of Western kinship.

Firth (1956) reports that for a working class neighborhood, kinship ties outside the household and elementary family unit are important for social relations. Townsend (1957) found that old people in a London suburb found security, occupation and interest as members of an extended family. Young and Willmott (1957) report strong ties between relatives in the same working class suburb.

On the other hand, there seems to be evidence that geographical and occupational mobility do interfere with kin relations in England, and that the middle class nuclear family is in fact more isolated than the working class one. Bott (1957) found that the less interconnected the social network, the less interaction among relatives. The interconnectedness of the social network depends (among other things) on the degree of geographical and occupational mobility. Mogey (1956) feels that in England there is considerable confusion about what can be demanded of the kindred, and a limited recognition of relatives. "Acceptance or rejection of kinship ties is permissive in England: no one is condemned for this, indeed

there is so little interest in the whole matter that awareness of kinship is regarded as a purely personal affair. The society has no views on it." (1956:83) Willmott and Young (1960) found that kinship awareness and interaction decreases somewhat from the working class to the middle class. Townsend (1957) notes that relationships between siblings are sometimes broken up because of status differences. The parent-child bond (especially mother-child) also overrides the sibling bond to the extent that often when parents die siblings see less of each other.

D. Theory and Research

The extent to which the isolated nuclear family theory is taken for granted can be seen in books written about 'the family'. Some do not mention relatives at all. (Baber 1939, Bernard 1942, Elmer 1932, Nimkoff 1947). Some mention relatives only to say that they are of no importance in American society. (Bossard and Boll 1943, Cavan 1953, Folsom 1943, Kirkpatrick 1955, Parsons and Bales 1955, Winch 1963)

Only one treats relatives as an important part of 'family living', with functions of mutual aid, affection and companionship. Duvall (1957) considers that a couple, on marrying, establish membership in three families--a family of procreation and two families of orientation "made

up of all her [or his] close and distant relations." (1957:141) She discusses thoroughly the relationship with relatives at all stages of the family cycle. Duvall's discussion of kinship is based largely on a study conducted by herself. (See Duvall 1954)

When theory and research diverge to such a large extent the conclusion must be drawn that the theory is inadequate or obsolete. Let us examine first the idea that extended kinship ties are incompatible with an achievement-oriented, urbanized, and industrialized society.

Greenfield (1961) postulates that there is no necessary causal relationship between the nuclear family form of kinship and industrialization. There are societies in which the nuclear family predominates but which are not industrialized, and conversely societies which are industrialized yet where the extended family is highly functional. He points out that an examination of both comparative and historical evidence indicates that there is no necessary or sufficient causal relationship between the small nuclear family and urbanization and industrialization. The small nuclear family was already present in Northern Europe before the industrial revolution; (i.e. present as an important unit) hence the associative relationship. Bennett and Despres (1960) compared societies in terms of the relationship between kinship systems and instrumental functions of kinship. Most of their cases concerned societies undergoing modernization. They

found that the specific rules or norms which governed the pattern of kinship relations were somewhat independent of the instrumental activities associated with such relations. They conclude:

> The analysis of the above cases suggests that any type of kinship structure can be rationally employed in the organization of instrumental activities. Under changing conditions the relationship of kinship structure to instrumental activity may alter in any of several directions. (1960:263)

There is no theoretical limit to the all-pervasiveness of universalistic standards in a society. Conversely, there is no theoretical limitation of the extent to which universalistic and particularistic value patterns can coexist in a society. Both types of value patterns can be internalized by an individual and accepted by a society, as long as they apply to different situations. (See Fallers 1955) However, there is every indication that there is a psychological limitation of the spread of universalistic patterns to the exclusion of particularistic ones. While Parsons recognizes that particularistic commitments have a place in American society, such commitments, in his view, are limited to the nuclear family--first the family of orientation and then on maturity are abruptly shifted to the family of procreation.

Empirical research has shown that this is not what happens, and indeed what probably really happens is more logical considering the nature of the personality system. Irish (1964) asks: "How much of the mutual affection, associations,

and shared values of the family in which persons grow up carry over into the sibling relations within adult life?" (1964:287) There is every indication that much does, and not only into the sibling relations but also into the parent-adult child and even more distant kin relations.

> Extended kinship solidarity is based on solidary relations formed in nuclear families between parents and children and between siblings. There is, therefore, always a relatively high level of solidarity among some kinsmen constantly being created. (Reiss 1960:226-227)

> Theoretical considerations alone indicate that the universalistic ideology of America could not unilaterally determine social behavior. Particularistic considerations must always be important, for in every society socialization of children takes place in family groups oriented about particularistic considerations. . . . It follows that even in a highly industrialized, highly mobile society we should expect particularistic orientations to remain operative and strong ties to exist between kin even after they have left their families of orientation . . . (Coult and Habenstein 1962:142-143)

While it is logical that affective ties formed in childhood should persist into adulthood, societal pressures could conceivably override this tendency. However, if it is conceded that the personality system of necessity includes particularistic value patterns, then substitutes must be found in the form of particularistic attachments to some other group or system than the kinship one. It is the contention of many that precisely in an urbanized, industrialized society such substitutes are at a minimum. The substitution of secondary for primary contacts in urban situations is generally the rule. (Wirth 1939) Redfield (1946) points out that the anomie and loneliness of the city have created a

special need for the warmth of intimate response. Another author says:

> It is probable, in line with the theory of the effects of primary groups on personality, that any reduction in the number of satisfactory primary contacts makes those that remain seem more rather than less important. It is the difficulty of making satisfactory primary contacts outside the family that makes the immediate and extended family more important. (Key 1961:55)

One of the major subjective feelings in mass society is loneliness and a diminished sense of belonging. It is logical that compensations will develop in reaction to the ill-effects of mass society. One of the psychological compensations that seems to have developed is increased extended family relations. (Rose 1962) The city family "appears to have gained in importance in providing for the primary-group response and affectional needs of its members as relationships outside the family have become increasingly secondary and formalized." (Queen and Carpenter 1953:265) "There are few stable units in which one has a secure ascribed status, where one is sure of 'belonging'. . . . It is in this respect that the extended kinship system functions . . ." (Reiss 1960:224) "Given extensive and rapid spatial and vertical mobility, almost all relationships tend to be shifting sand, lacking in dependability and security, providing no basis on which to build life. The very impermanence of these manifold relationships heightens the need for some relationships which are dependable; which can be, invariably, counted on; which will not be weakened or destroyed by the

incessant moving about of people." (Hobart 1963:107)

The conclusion that needs for particularistic and affective ties override the universalistic orientation of American society in the case of kinship must be drawn on the above evidence. But Parsons contends that kin ties are 'hampering' to the achievement-oriented individual. Since it cannot be postulated that the individual in American society is no longer achievement-oriented, it follows that achievement in the occupational world and ascribed status in a kinship system are not incompatible. In fact, what happens in American society is that the majority of individuals are in agreement that occupational achievement is desireable, and that certain types of demands on the individual cannot be made if he is to achieve. Such demands as geographical propinquity, sharing status with any but the nuclear family, and agreeing to nepotism are simply not made. Particularistic commitments are made on other bases, thus enabling the individual to keep the worlds of achieved and ascribed status apart.

> In contemporary society . . . extended family relations develop from different institutional sources [than in the case of the classical extended family] and as a result do not rely on geographical and occupational proximity for their viability. (Litwak 1960a:20)

Litwak (1960b) also points out that the extended family today legitimizes geographical moves, and as a consequence provides economic, social, and psychological support. Extended family relations "can be maintained over great

distances because modern advances in communication techniques have minimized the socially disruptive effects of geographical distance." (1960b:386) An occupationally mobile individual can achieve status both by deference (from his family) and by association (with friends) if he keeps in contact with the extended family. This is possible largely because friendships can be kept separate from each other and from other relationships. Also, because there are equalitarian relations between nuclear families in the extended family, occupational mobility is not likely to disrupt authority relations between members. Socio-economic aid can be provided across class lines, and class differences in communication and values are becoming smaller, not larger. Extended family relations can be isolated from the industrial organization to prevent nepotism in the following ways: (1) extended families can provide aid in non-occupational areas; (2) norms of occupational merit can be developed within the extended family structure; (3) the ease of evaluating merit means that there need be no real fear of nepotism; (4) bureaucratization of jobs has divorced the family from ownership of the means of production. (Litwak 1960c)

From all the above evidence it can be concluded that first, "the extended family relationship which does not demand geographical propinquity . . . is a significant form of social behavior; second, . . . theoretically the most efficient organization combines the ability of large-

scale bureaucracy to handle uniform situations with the primary group's ability to deal with idiosyncratic situations. These two theoretical points suggest that there is both a need and a capacity for extended families to exist in modern society." (Litwak 1960b:394)

It must be pointed out that although at the present time extended family relations are certainly of importance, there is no certainty that the isolated nuclear family theory has no basis in fact. It is possible that at a certain stage of urbanization, in particular, extended family relations do break down, and are built up again in response to certain needs and under different conditions. Key (1961) points out that there might have been a noticeable lack of contact with relatives during and immediately following the period of greatest migration to the city; this, however, was a temporary phenomenon produced by migration rather than by the city as such; isolation in an urban environment increased pressure for association with kin when the conditions were right. (I.e. when more kin had immigrated and/or when people had produced and reared children to provide themselves with kin) (See also Litwak 1960a) Rose (1962) also considers the possibility that extended family relations did decline and then rise again.

> The . . . hypothesis can be reasonably entertained that the extended family did deteriorate badly in Western cities toward the end of the nineteenth century and has been reviving somewhat within the last few decades. No direct evidence is known to support this . . . hypothesis,

> but it is generally known that over-rebellion against parents by young adults has declined somewhat since the 1930's, that there is less rejection of ethnic identification than there was until about 1930, and that shirking family obligations is less likely in periods of extended prosperity than in periods of frequent unemployment. Thus it is possible that both the older and the newer sociologists are correct and that the new findings reflect something of a reaction against the mass society. (Rose 1962:323)

In contrast to this some authors feel that there has been an 'academic cultural lag' in family theory. (Sussman and Burchinal 1962a) This is certainly the case with those still writing in the late 1950's and early 1960's in terms of the 'isolated nuclear family'.

E. The Modified Extended Family

Since the isolated nuclear family does not exist, and the classical type of extended family is not compatible with modern urbanized, industrialized society (as it stands now--see Haller 1961), Litwak's modified extended family becomes theoretically the most viable type of family structure.

> By modified extended family structure is meant a family relation consisting of a series of nuclear families joined together on an equalitarian basis for mutual aid. Furthermore, these nuclear families are not bound together by demands for geographical propinquity or occupational similarity. (Litwak 1960c:178)

Thus it differs from both the classical extended family, which is so bound, and from the isolated nuclear family which assumes no mutual aid or affective ties. It has already been pointed out how geographical distances and occupational differences need not impinge on extended family relations.

Nuclear families which are part of a modified extended family system engage in activities with their kin which have significant mutual assistance, recreational, economic, and ceremonial functions. (Sussman 1959) Mutual aid occurs significantly among migrants, since relatives are already known, and provide for some time the only social contacts in a new environment. (Litwak 1960b) Also, there is evidence that the extended family provides status aid to those who are either downwardly mobile or in the initial stages of their career. (Litwak 1960a, Sussman 1953, Sussman and Burchinal 1962b) Also, there is no doubt that the 'sense of belonging' and security on a basis other than that of the nuclear family provided by extended family relations is of great importance in a basically impersonal urban society. (Bell and Boat 1957, Axelrod 1956, Cumming and Schneider 1961, Quarantelli 1960, Reiss 1960)

Extended family relationships provide maximum resources for the nuclear family without adding any major burdens. For this reason, "the nuclear family which is part of this modified extended family is more likely to achieve its social goals than the nuclear family which is not." (Litwak 1960c:178) Hobart (1963) also approves the idea of extended family commitment: "where a commitment based family security is dependably available to man, he will have a basis for relating fearlessly to the greater varieties of people available to him in a society organized in terms of achieved statuses . . . (1963:412)

F. Theory of the Study

We have been presented with theory on kinship in American society which negates its importance, and also evidence to the contrary. From this a new theory has emerged which postulates that kinship is important (personally more so than structurally) and describes the forms it takes. In this study I am concerned with testing some of the implications of the modified extended family theory.

"If it can be shown that under modern industrial conditions geographical mobility does not necessarily mean a break in extended family communication, and if it can be shown that in fact the extended family legitimizes such moves, then one major objection to extended family relations in contemporary society will be met." (Litwak 1960c:180) This theory would predict that among those families to which it applies, there would be little difference in kinship behavior between geographically mobile and geographically non-mobile families. Ideological and emotional commitment to the extended family would be as evident for mobile as for non-mobile people, if not more so. There would be no signs of disrupted relations with kin occasioned by geographical mobility, especially no evidence of objections to such mobility by the extended family. In terms of actual behavior, physical proximity would inevitably affect the pattern found, but in general both groups would place little emphasis

on the types of commitement and interaction found in classical extended families.

In selecting a sample to study, the first requirement would be that there be no examples of the classical extended family. This means that none of the informants should report strong objections to geographical mobility on the part of relatives, or an authoritarian structure, or a restriction to one social class of the relatives with whom respondents are in contact.

The sample should contain two groups of people--those whose kin are scattered or live some distance away, and those who have relatives in the same city. It would be expected, then, that there would be no discernible differences between the two groups in attitudes towards relatives; i.e. that both groups would feel that relatives are 'special' in some way, and feel the same obligations towards their kin as well as see the same advantages as ensuing from having relatives. The average size of the kin universe and the average number of relatives kept in contact with should not differ.

Mutual aid should occur in both groups, although the type and amount might differ. For instance, child care, help when someone is ill, and taking care of the house would be expected to be more common among those with relatives in the city. Advice of different kinds would also be more common among this group. However, little difference

would be expected in such forms of help as valuable gift giving, financial aid or loans, or providing long-term residence. Providing residence during a stay in the city should be more common among those with no relatives in the city.

It would also be expected that the length of time away from relatives would be of no importance with respect to attitudes, contact, or mutual aid.

CHAPTER II

THE STUDY

A. Introduction

To test the implications of the theory of the modified extended family, a study was conducted among English-speaking Canadian middle class people, using a structured questionnaire. The attempt was made to keep the sample as homogeneous as possible, except with regard to geographical mobility, the major variable. The interviewing was done during the winter of 1963-1964, in a suburb of Montreal, Canada.

B. The Questionnaire

The experience gained in a pilot study was used in constructing the questionnaire. The pilot study tried to analyze and compare the kin universes and kin relations of middle class and lower class samples. A complete geneology was elicited with information on residence, occupation, contact, and some mutual aid. A few direct questions on attitude were included. The pilot study proved impossibly lengthy. The interviews took from one and one half to four hours, and the analysis proved extremely difficult. It was therefore decided to study a more limited problem, and to use a printed questionnaire.

With this in mind, the present questionnaire was set up. (Appendix) A pre-test resulted in the changing of the wording of two questions (numbers 3 and 11) and the addition of question 12. The interviews took from twenty minutes to one hour.

After eliciting the general characteristics of informants in question 1, the major task was to establish the 'active kin universe', in question 2. Here a complete geneology was not obtained as the focus was on the quality of behavior rather than on the extensiveness of knowledge. Dead relatives, for instance, were not inquired about. The 'kin universe' discussed in this study differs, therefore, from the 'kin universes' discussed by other workers. (See Chapter IV.) Parents and siblings were asked about first, then parents' siblings and their children, then grandparents. At this point, if the informant stopped, I asked whether there were any relatives whom he/she was in contact with who were not yet on the diagram. Occasionally this elicited more. However, in most cases where more distant relatives than first cousin occur, the information was volunteered. This procedure yielded a kinship diagram. From this diagram was compiled a list of relatives, their places of residence, occupation and frequency of contact. Not all the individuals occurring on the diagram were listed separately as spouses and school-age children of relatives were listed together

with the particular relative. Relatives whom the respondents dismissed spontaneously (for example, saying "we never see them") were treated as functionally 'dead' and were not listed on the chart at all.

To identify cases of the classical extended family, questions on objections to geographical mobility and on authority in the family were asked (numbers 8 and 9). If the answer was positive in question 8 (objection to moving), but the objection was obviously not expected to be taken seriously by either the relative making it or the informant, the case was accepted for the study. An example of this would be "Yes, my mother hopes we will move back soon," or "Yes, my parents wish we did not live so far away." All cases of positive answers fell in this category. (Five cases) If the answer was positive for question 9 (authority), the case was accepted if the answer was negative for the second part of the question. (Does everyone accept this authority?)

To investigate emotional and ideological commitment the respondents were asked questions 4 and 11. The first elicits agreement or disagreement with 'blood is thicker than water', the second asks whether people consider relatives 'special', distinct in some way from all others. These two questions comprise the purely emotional aspects of attitudes. Attitude as a tendency to act in a certain way (ideological commitment) was elicited by questions on obligations felt towards relatives (question 5). What were

felt to be the advantages of relatives was looked for in question 6. (This is a composite attitudinal-behavioral question.) These two questions were constructed from Reiss' results, which were obtained by asking open-ended questions. (Reiss 1960)

Mutual aid occurring between relatives was elicited by question 7; these answers completed the chart. The items (forms of mutual aid) for this question were partly taken from a study by Sharp and Axelrod (1956). To discover whether the extended family relations of the respondents had changed in any way considered 'substantial' by them, and what such changes actually were was looked for in question 10. For indication whether religion or some extraordinary circumstances, as opposed to the ordinary process of growing up in a nuclear family part of Canadian society, determined kin relations and attitudes, question 12 was asked.

C. The Sample

To try to rule out extraneous variables as far as possible, the sample was kept homogeneous in certain respects. Only Canadians of Anglo-Saxon descent were included; social class and age were kept fairly constant (by sampling in a certain type of suburb); the respondents were all born in Canada and had at least one parent who was born in Canada. Although I was interested in geographically mobile people,

mobility across oceans poses different problems entirely from mobility within a country or on the same continent.

With a view to facilitating sampling, and also to getting respondents who would conform to the above conditions, a certain suburb across the river from Montreal (the one used in the pilot study) was chosen. This suburban development is about five years old, with the houses costing from $12,000 to $16,000. The occupants are therefore lower-middle or young middle class families. There is no industrial development or office building area nearby; almost everyone works in Montreal. Since the bus service is poor, a car is necessary. This is a suburb very definitely oriented to Montreal, and not a separate town.

The population (1,050 1961 census, more in 1964) is both French- and English-Canadian. Both groups participate in 'running' the town (it is incorporated), although the schools and churches are very definitely separate. There is a French priest and an English priest, but no permanent Protestant minister. The Protestant church (United Church of Canada) is, however, active, with different student ministers every year.

The sample for the study was picked by taking all the English names in the local telephone directory and methodically making appointments by phone. Out of the original 81 names (this means approximately 162 people, since appointments were always made for both husband and wife)

45 people from 24 households constituted the final sample. (Note that two families whom I had interviewed the previous year are not included in the 81 households.) 26 households were actually interviewed. Two of these were couples from England, and in another household the wife was French-Canadian--these interviews were discarded. One household was headed by a widow; in another only the wife was interviewed.

Appointments were made by telling the person that I was doing my master's thesis at McGill in Anthropology, had been interviewing in the town, and would like to interview the person and his spouse. Some refused immediately after this had been said. Others asked what the interview was to be about. I gave the answer that I was "interested in kinship, in how often people see their relatives and so on." There were a number of direct refusals after this--"I don't think we'd be interested." Others said they were too busy right now, or had illness in the family, or to call later on. Those who said they were busy or to call later were called again, usually with the same result; this was taken to indicate that they were merely reluctant to refuse directly, and they were therefore not called a third time.

The 81 households of the original sample fell in the following categories:

From overseas	7	households
Refused before explanation	6	"
Refused after explanation	12	"

Stalled--call again, or too busy, or illness	17	households
French-speaking	7	"
No answer after several calls	2	"
Disconnected	4	"
Interviewed	26	"
Total	81	"

The high rate of refusals and stalling can be attributed to the fact that suburbs such as this one are favorite targets of salesmen. Magazine or book sellers often use a 'pitch' such as "I'm a student working my way through college", etc. Although I tried to be specific about what I was doing when telephoning, even some people who made an appointment with me confessed that they had not been entirely certain that I was not selling something. I also expected that as I conducted interviews, others would hear about me. However, only one couple had heard of me before I telephoned.

It is likely also that people who were especially sensitive about relatives, or had had recent troubles in this direction refused when they heard what the interview was about. A case in point is that of one couple who were interviewed. I had, in my previous contact with the community, met these people, although not interviewed them. They remembered me, and the woman said that this was the only reason she granted the interview. Her relations with relatives had been cut off recently, and the interview proved

slightly embarassing to her. I will mention her in a later chapter.

D. Characteristics of the Sample

My selection procedures resulted in a fairly good breakdown of people with respect to the characteristics I wished to keep constant and those I wished to contrast.

First, all the informants were born in Canada. Their parents fell in the following categories:

Both parents born in Canada	27	respondents
One parent born in Canada	18	"
Neither parent born in Canada	0	"

As predicted, the sample was fairly homogeneous with respect to social class:

Lower or working class	0	respondents
Lower-middle class	20	"
Middle class	25	"
Upper-middle and upper class	0	"

Class affiliation was determined primarily from occupation; where the occupational placement was not entirely clear the added criterion of education was used. (See Warner 1960)

The sample was also divided evenly with respect to religion and sex:

Protestant	26	respondents
Catholic	19	"

Male	22	respondents
Female	23	"

The age of informants ranged from 24 to 50 years, mean 33.4 years. All except one couple (two informants) had children, either under school age, of school age, or both. No informant had any married children, or children who did not live at home.

With respect to geographical mobility, my most important variable, I had to take the sample as it was, because of the small number of respondents. There is, however, a fairly even division between the mobile and non-mobile groups.

Respondents with relatives in Montreal	28
Respondents with no relatives in Montreal	17
Respondents living away from relatives for one to seven years	8
Respondents living away from relatives for more than eight years	9

Since geographical mobility will be my major variable, here I must determine whether the categories of social class, religion or sex have any bearing on mobility. According to Table 1, religion and sex do not, but the lower-middle class is in fact less mobile than the middle class. This will mean that social class as a possible variable must be taken into account in every instance where mobile and non-mobile respondents are compared.

TABLE 1

SOCIAL CLASS, RELIGION, SEX AND GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY

	Mobile	Non-mobile	Total
Lower-middle *	4	16	20
Middle	13	12	25
Total	17	28	45
Catholic	6	13	19
Protestant	11	15	26
Total	17	28	45
Male	10	12	22
Female	7	16	23
Total	17	28	45

* $P < .05$

None of the respondents could be classified as members of a classical extended family, since all were ruled out by questions 8 and 9, and in addition, all had relatives of different social class backgrounds. Both middle and lower-middle class kin were found in 40 geneologies, lower class in 20 and upper-middle class in 7.

Upward occupational mobility was evident in the case of 25 respondents. 19 respondents were stationary, but five of these were young and had occupations which

indicated that their class placement would be different in a few years. Only one was downwardly mobile--her parents were classified as upper-middle class, but her husband as middle class.

CHAPTER III

ATTITUDES

A. Orientation to Relatives

The attitude towards relatives can be kin-oriented in the sense that people are committed to relatives as such, they consider relatives a special category of people; or it can be non-kin-oriented, in that relatives are seen as similar to any other acquaintances.

The question "Do you agree with the statement 'blood is thicker than water'" (question 4) was the central question for defining an individual's kin orientation, since it immediately sets off relatives from all non-relatives and asks people to differentiate or not to differentiate. 75.6% (34) agreed with the statement, 15.6% (7) disagreed, and 8.8% (4) were undecided. From this one could assume that only approximately 75% differentiate between relatives and non-relatives, or recognize something special about relatives. However, in question 11 respondents were asked whether there is anything special about relatives and if so, what it is. 82.2% (37) said yes, 11.1% (5) said no, and 6.7% were undecided. The combination of these two questions will perhaps give a truer picture of the extent of kin-orientation. (Table 2)

On the basis of positive answers to either questions 4 or 11 or both, then, 40 out of 45, or 88.9% can be classi-

TABLE 2

EXTENDED FAMILY ORIENTATION

'Blood is thicker than water'	Is there something 'special' about kin?			
	Yes	Undecided	No	Total
Agree	31	. .	3	34 (75.6%)
Undecided	1	2	1	4 (8.9%)
Disagree	5	1	1	7 (15.5%)
Total	37 (82.2%)	3 (6.7%)	5 (11.1%)	45 (100.0%)

fied as kin-oriented in terms of attitude. The assumption is that the other 11.1% do not recognize anything 'special' about relatives. An interesting correspondence is found in Reiss' work. (Reiss 1960) 11% of his respondents did not think that relatives have any function; i.e. they were indifferent to relatives, seemingly regarding them as any other people they came in contact with.

Those who gave positive answers to question 11 were asked what it is that is 'special' about relatives. 15 out of the 37 (40.5%) could not or would not say what it was they found special about kin. Others mentioned one or more factors, as reported in Table 3.

Under 'common descent' I grouped such statements as: "All have some common link"; "Common background that they have"; "Blood relationship is important"; "They're your

TABLE 3

WHAT IS SPECIAL ABOUT RELATIVES

Type of answer	Respondents	
	Number	Percentage
Simple yes	15	40.5
Common descent	11	29.7
Permanence	6	16.2
Security and help when needed	6	16.2
Interest and acceptance	5	13.5
Negative answer	1	2.7
Total	44*	118.8*

* N = 37. Totals are more than N and 100% because some respondents mentioned two or more of these factors.

own"; "There is a feeling of strong kinship." 'Permanence' I took to be indicated by: "Friends come and go. Relatives are always there."; "Knowing from childhood on. Friends drift away."; "Friends are made wherever you happen to be. Relatives are still there, you hear about them, never lose touch really. You lose contact with friends."; "Friends come and go; when you grow older, relatives are really all you have"; "You are brought up with them, closer associated through a longer period of time." Security and help were stressed in the following ways: "Feeling of security, not quite the same as other people"; "They're there if you need them"; "Approach them before approach friends"; "Wouldn't expect a no from them." Interest and acceptance: "They take

a keen interest in you"; "The way they accept a person. They don't have much choice"; "Easier to talk to"; "Don't have to put on best manners for them. Someone to talk to if no one else available". Only one person expressed a negative sentiment after answering yes to this question: "Have to be careful what one says, or a chain reaction might set up. Have to keep peace."

Let us examine closer those who did not answer positively on either question 4 or 11, in particular the only respondent who gave a negative answer on both questions. He said: "True friends are more important. In general, there is nothing special about relatives. Only those who are friends are important." (I.e. only those relatives who are also friends.) The most interesting fact about this person is that up until five years ago he was part of a classical extended family. A great-aunt (MoMoSi) who died then was the authority figure. The family all lived almost on top of each other. He stated also that his outlook on relatives (see question 12) was definitely not due to any of the given alternatives, implying that his parents think differently, and that his religion certainly does not teach as he thinks. (He is Catholic) He thinks that the family falling apart after his great-aunt's death was a change for the better for both him and his parents. For what this one example is worth, it substantiates Parsons' hypothesis that the classical extended family is dysfunctional in modern

society. There is every indication that this person felt himself put upon to such an extent that he now rejects relatives emotionally and theoretically. At the same time, he carries on extensive mutual aid, especially with his parents and siblings. It can be hypothesized that this is a case of a direct jump from classical extended family to modified extended family structure, without the in-between step of isolated nuclear family, which has been postulated as the usual process. (See Chapter I) Further, such a jump is possible because 'the family fell apart' instead of one unit detaching itself. His attitude can be considered a 'lag' which may well disappear in his life-time, once he gets over the resentment caused by what were probably real 'fetters'.

The informant who disagrees with question 4 and is undecided on question 11 says: "I don't know, they're always there." One is undecided on question 4 and says no to question 11: "Except that they are related to you." This respondent's parents died when he was young, and he "went away early." Two respondents are undecided on both questions 4 and 11: "You are brought up with them."

The three respondents who agree with question 4 but disagree with question 11 are border-line cases, though they have been classified as kin-oriented. In their responses to question 11, one simply said no; another said: "It depends on relative." This respondent went to sea at an early age, admits that: "I was never interested in relatives." The third said: "You can have friends whom you rely on more than

relatives." She is a widow whose personal experience may have determined her attitude.

B. Kin-orientation and Mobility

Having established how far the sample regards relatives as 'special' in some way, let us see whether geographical distance relates to kin-orientation. Tables 4, 5 and 6 show how geographical mobility relates to answers to questions 4 and 11 and to kin-orientation.

TABLE 4

MOBILITY AND 'BLOOD IS THICKER THAN WATER'

Mobility	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	Total
Not mobile	78.6%(22)	14.3%(4)	7.1%(2)	100.0%(28)
Mobile	70.6%(12)	17.6%(3)	11.8%(2)	100.0%(17)

TABLE 5

MOBILITY AND 'RELATIVES ARE SPECIAL'

Mobility	Yes	No	Undecided	Total
Not mobile	78.6%(22)	14.3%(4)	7.1%(2)	100.0%(28)
Mobile	88.2%(15)	5.9%(1)	5.9%(1)	100.0%(17)

On the basis of these results there is no reason to assume that there are any differences in kin-orientation between mobile and non-mobile informants. The same is true of those

TABLE 6

MOBILITY AND EXTENDED FAMILY ORIENTATION

Mobility	Kin-oriented	Not kin-oriented	Total
Not mobile	89.3%(25)	10.7%(3)	100.0%(28)
Mobile	88.2%(15)	11.8%(2)	100.0%(17)

who have lived away from relatives for a short time as compared to those who have lived away longer.

In Chapter II it was pointed out that lower-middle class people are less mobile. Therefore the social classes were compared on kin-orientation to ensure that when testing on mobility I was not actually describing class differences. While there is no reason to suspect that class differences exist on question 11 and kin-orientation, as here defined, a difference was found on question 4. (Table 7)

TABLE 7

SOCIAL CLASS AND 'BLOOD IS THICKER THAN WATER'

Social class	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	Total
Lower-middle	60% (12)	25% (5)	15% (3)	100% (20)
Middle	88% (22)	8% (2)	4% (1)	100% (25)

$P < .05$

None of the four mobile lower-middle class respondents agreed with the statement 'blood is thicker than water', while all except one of the mobile middle class respondents did. This may indicate that mobility is a pertinent variable among the lower-middle class in regard to this particular attitude. However, in view of the small sample, and also the fact that for kin-orientation there was no reason to assume that either geographical mobility or social class are pertinent, this result must remain anomalous. The only venture into explanation that I will make is to say that perhaps there are class differences in understanding the full implications of the statement 'blood is thicker than water.'

C. Obligations and Advantages

"What is basic is the fact that relations between kindred are governed by a special morality arising from the recognition of common descent . . . Thus it is usual for kindred to admit a special obligation toward one another: an obligation to give help and support in culturally determined ways." (Freeman 1961:209) In the last section we saw that people recognize that relatives are special in some way. Question 5 attempts to elicit the 'special morality', the obligations that people feel they have toward relatives. Question 6 deals with what people feel they have gained from relatives, under the assumption that actual behavior

underlies the advantages seen.

Table 8 shows how much certain obligations are stressed by the respondents, geographically mobile and non-mobile. Table 9 shows what advantages people feel they have gained from having relatives. The results obtained indicate that there is no reason to assume geographical mobility to be a significant variable with respect to obligations stressed and advantages seen. However, in view of the small sample, let us examine these two tables closer.

If we postulate that geographical distance tends to estrange relatives from one another, then those without relatives in Montreal (i.e. mobile respondents) should be less likely to feel obligated towards kin and see advantages in having relatives. On the contrary, in four out of the five questions on obligations, the opposite is the case; those with no relatives in the city are more likely to stress their obligations. Only the obligation to support aged relatives is stressed more frequently by those with relatives in Montreal. (Note that no respondent admitted no obligations at all.) However, in the questions on advantages the situation is reversed. In the case of three types of advantages, the proportion which feels they have gained from relatives is in fact greater among those with relatives in Montreal. Affection and companionship, on the other hand, was felt to be provided by relatives more frequently by geographically mobile persons.

TABLE 8

OBLIGATIONS TOWARDS RELATIVES

Obligation	Mobility	Yes	No	Undecided	Total
A. Obligation to keep in touch	Not mobile	53.6% (15)	42.8% (12)	3.6% (1)	100.0% (28)
	Mobile	64.7 (11)	35.3 (6)	. . . .	100.0 (17)
	Total	57.8 (26)	40.0 (18)	2.2 (1)	100.0 (45)
B. Obligation to be friendly	Not mobile	71.4 (20)	25.0 (7)	3.6 (1)	100.0 (28)
	Mobile	82.4 (14)	11.8 (2)	5.8 (1)	100.0 (17)
	Total	75.6 (34)	20.0 (9)	4.4 (2)	100.0 (45)
C. Obligation to be loyal	Not mobile	71.4 (20)	10.8 (3)	17.8 (5)	100.0 (28)
	Mobile	82.4 (14)	17.6 (3)	. . . .	100.0 (17)
	Total	75.6 (34)	13.3 (6)	11.1 (5)	100.0 (45)
D. Obligation to help in time of need	Not mobile	92.8 (26)	. . . .	7.2 (2)	100.0 (28)
	Mobile	94.2 (16)	5.8 (1)	. . . .	100.0 (17)
	Total	93.4 (42)	2.2 (1)	4.4 (2)	100.0 (45)
E. Obligation to support aged relatives *	Not mobile	92.8 (26)	3.6 (1)	3.6 (1)	100.0 (28)
	Mobile	76.4 (13)	11.8 (2)	11.8 (2)	100.0 (17)
	Total	86.6 (39)	6.7 (3)	6.7 (3)	100.0 (45)

* $P < .10$. For all other parts $P > .10$.
The figures in brackets indicate absolute numbers.

TABLE 9

ADVANTAGES OF HAVING RELATIVES

Advantage	Mobility	Agree	Disagree	Undecided	Total
A. Sense of belonging	Not mobile	78.5% (22)	17.9% (5)	3.6% (1)	100.0% (28)
	Mobile	70.6 (12)	17.6 (3)	11.8 (2)	100.0 (17)
	Total	75.6 (34)	17.7 (8)	6.7 (3)	100.0 (45)
B. Feeling of security	Not mobile	57.1 (16)	39.3 (11)	3.6 (1)	100.0 (28)
	Mobile	47.1 (8)	23.5 (4)	29.4 (5)	100.0 (17)
	Total	53.4 (24)	33.3 (15)	13.3 (6)	100.0 (45)
C. Affection and companionship	Not mobile	35.7 (10)	46.4 (13)	17.9 (5)	100.0 (28)
	Mobile	41.2 (7)	35.3 (6)	23.5 (4)	100.0 (17)
	Total	37.8 (17)	42.2 (19)	20.0 (9)	100.0 (45)
D. Help and advice	Not mobile	46.4 (13)	35.7 (10)	17.9 (5)	100.0 (28)
	Mobile	29.4 (5)	58.8 (10)	11.8 (2)	100.0 (17)
	Total	40.0 (18)	44.4 (20)	15.6 (7)	100.0 (45)

In the case of the four types of obligations which are stressed slightly more often by mobile people, we note that these people have in practice less opportunity to carry them out. It is possible that when people are actually engaged in certain types of behavior they are less likely to stress such behavior as obligation. In the case of supporting aged relatives, however, it seems logical that since this requires the continual presence of relatives more than the other types of obligations, people who do not live near relatives are also thinking of this factor--i.e., that relatives to be supported would have to move, and older people would probably prefer not to move. This obligation, then, would be considered more pertinent by those who actually live near such relatives.

In the 'advantages' question the situation is reversed, and logically so. This seems to reflect more the way in which kin behavior is actually carried out. A sense of belonging, feeling of security and help and advice are easier to get when relatives are nearby. Affection and companionship are also easier to get when relatives are near, but the chances for stress and disagreements are at the same time greater. People who only visit their relatives on special trips derive affection and companionship on these occasions, while the chances for friction are small. They would therefore tend to stress the positive side, while the people living near relatives would perhaps remember

disagreements more.

In comparing respondents who had lived away from relatives for a short time to those who had lived away longer, no significant relations were found except in the answers to question 6A--having gained a sense of belonging. Here we are presented with the anomalous situation that the longer people have lived away the more likely they are to say they have gained a sense of belonging. ($P < .05$)

In view of the greater mobility of the middle class respondents we have to be certain that there are no differences in the obligations stressed and advantages gained between the two social classes. There is no reason to assume that there are differences except on question 5B; here, there is evidence that lower-middle class people feel more the obligation to be friendly than do middle class. (Table 10)

TABLE 10

SOCIAL CLASS AND OBLIGATION TO BE FRIENDLY

Social class	Yes	No	Undecided	Total
Lower-middle	90% (18)	5% (1)	5% (1)	100% (20)
Middle	64% (16)	32% (8)	4% (1)	100% (25)

$P < .05$

This result means that the proportions obtained in Table 8 on question 5B may be reflecting class differences. Note that while both mobile and non-mobile lower-middle class respondents tend to stress the obligation to be friendly, mobile middle class people are more likely to stress this obligation than are non-mobile middle class ones.

Some of these results can be compared directly with those of Reiss (1960). While only 57.8% of the respondents in this study stressed the obligation to keep in touch, 90% of Reiss' informants mentioned this obligation. This difference may be because his sample was an upper-middle class one, and the respondents were drawn from all age groups. Alternatively, the larger proportion of his sample mentioning this obligation may indicate that my respondents took keeping in touch for granted because in fact they were in closer touch with relatives than Reiss'. (30% of Reiss' respondents saw relatives at least once a month, while 62% of the respondents in this study did. His sample was also less mobile than mine.)

The results from questions on advantages (question 6) are directly comparable with Reiss' as well. I chose Reiss' categories not only for their intrinsic interest, but also because I was curious whether having ready-made categories instead of open-ended questions would elicit different answers. In fact, the response patterns of my respondents and of Reiss' do not differ significantly. (Table 11)

TABLE 11

COMPARISON OF THE RESULTS FROM TWO STUDIES:
ADVANTAGES OF RELATIVES

Advantages gained	Reiss' study (Family phases 2 and 3 combined)*	This study
Sense of belonging	66%	75.6%
Feeling of security	57	53.4
Affection	27	37.8
Companionship	39	
Advice	41	40.0
Help	25	
N	76	45

*Since Reiss' sample contained more age groups than mine, I included in this table only those comparable to my study.

It seems safe to say, then, that people in these two samples carry on similar relations with kin, resulting in similar advantages as seen by the respondents.

In Reiss' study, 9.2% of people in family phases 2 and 3 did not see any advantages in having relatives. In my sample, 8.9% disagreed on all parts of question 6.

D. Conclusion

In this chapter the attitudes towards kin have been discussed. It was found that only a very small percentage

do not consider relatives special in one way or another. Also, the majority of informants stress obligations to keep in touch, to be friendly and loyal, to provide help when needed, and to support aged relatives. A large proportion consider that relatives provide a sense of belonging, and slightly more than half gain a feeling of security from relatives. About two-fifths gain affection, companionship, help and advice from relatives.

It has been established that there are no grounds for assuming that attitudes differ between those who are geographically mobile and those who are not, and between those who have moved recently and those who have lived away for a longer period of time. One of the major hypotheses of this study has been substantiated--that geographically mobile individuals as well as non-mobile are emotionally and ideologically committed to the extended family, and that both groups derive the same advantages from relatives.

CHAPTER IV

KIN UNIVERSE

A. Size of Kin Universe

The number of people recognized as relatives often gives a fair indication of the importance of kinship in a society. Although in North American society the kin universe has been found to be relatively small, it is by no means negligible. The same situation prevails in regard to this sample. For 43 respondents, the total number of kin mentioned is 2569. (From two of the respondents, information was only obtained about relatives they were in touch with--this prevents their inclusion here.) The range is 11 - 140, median 52, mean 59.7. These figures include spouses of consanguines and children, but not deceased relatives.

Geographically mobile and non-mobile respondents are compared in Table 12.

TABLE 12

THE KIN UNIVERSES OF MOBILE AND NON-MOBILE RESPONDENTS

Mobility	Range	Median	Mean
Not mobile	14 - 135	49.5	57.6
Mobile	11 - 140	64.0	62.9

There is thus no reason to suspect that the kin universes of the two groups are different. However, the kin universe of those who have lived away a short time is significantly smaller than that of respondents who have lived away for longer. (Table 13)

TABLE 13

SIZE OF KIN-UNIVERSE BY LENGTH OF TIME AWAY FROM RELATIVES

Length of time away	Range	Median	Mean
1 - 7 years	11 - 76	45	44.5
8 or more years	32 - 140	81	79.0

$P < .02$

This result must be considered accidental, since no ready explanations are available. The age of respondents is not a factor here (see below), since the mean age for those away for 1 - 7 years is 31.7, and for those away 8 years or more is 35.8. Here we recall that there are other differences between the two groups--those away for a shorter time are less likely to gain a sense of belonging from their relatives. (See p.48) However, for the total sample there is no correlation between gaining a sense of belonging and the size of the kin universe.

No difference is found in the size of the kin uni-

verse between lower-middle class and middle class informants.

It has been suggested that females report more relatives than males. (Garigue 1956) There is some tendency in this direction among these respondents, as seen in Table 14.

TABLE 14

SIZE OF KIN UNIVERSE BY SEX

Sex	Range	Median	Mean
Male	14 - 82	49.0	53.1
Female	11 - 140	57.5	65.8

Although the difference between the means is not sigificant ($P > .05$), it is noteworthy that both the median and the mean are larger for females, and that the seven largest kin universes were all reported by females.

The size of the kin universe is also believed to increase with age. This is especially true when deceased relatives are included in the genealogy. To what extent it is also true when only living relatives are counted, as in this study, is seen in Table 15. Although the difference between the means is not significant ($P > .10$), older respondents do report more relatives.

TABLE 15

SIZE OF KIN UNIVERSE BY AGE

Age	Range	Median	Mean
24 - 33 years (N 21)	11 - 135	49	54.8
34 - 50 years (N 22)	18 - 140	64	63.8

Comparing these findings with other studies is difficult, since where the range of full geneaologies is mentioned, deceased relatives are always included. In this study, no deceased kin are included, nor is it certain that all living kin are. (See p.26) However, from comparative material set out in Table 16, it is evident that the respondents in this study are not exceptional in their reporting of relatives.

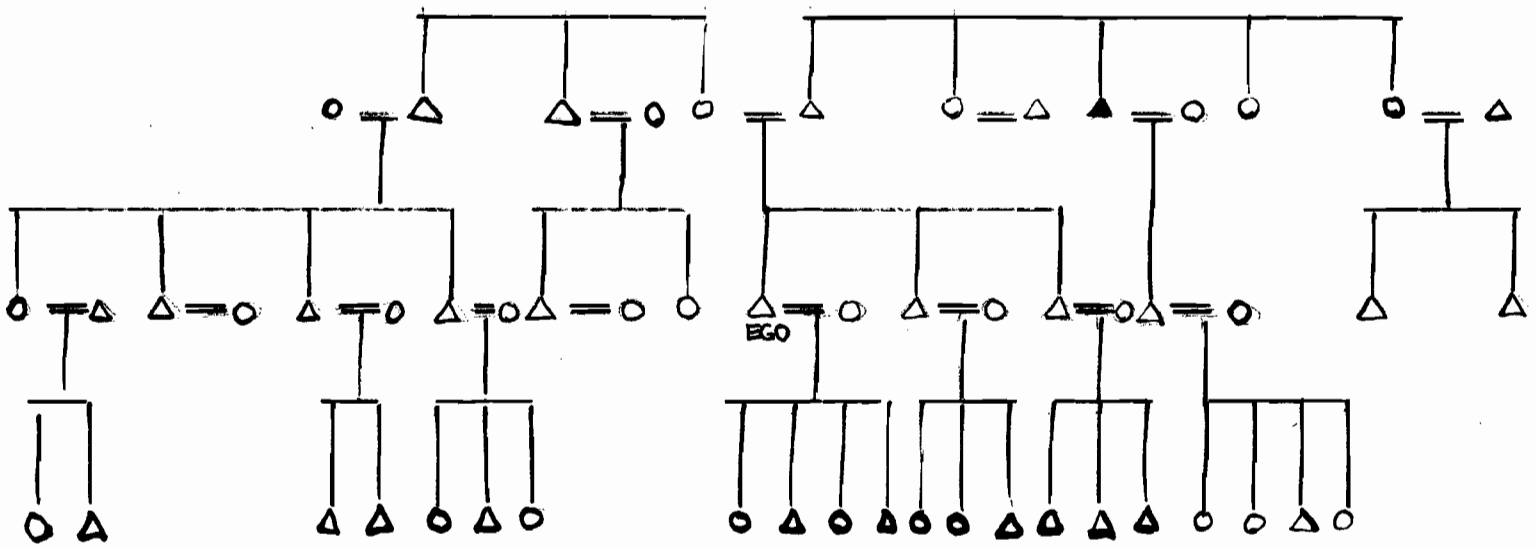
B. Composition of Kin Universe

Figure 1 shows a representative genealogy. The respondent is a thirty-one year old middle class male. As could be expected for this age group, all relatives mentioned belong to only three generations--respondent's own, first ascending and first descending. The most distant relatives (biologically distant) mentioned are fourth degree--children of first cousins. However, for the total sample, the second ascending generation is mentioned (grandparents and their siblings) and also the second descending (siblings' childrens'

TABLE 16

SIZE OF GENEALOGY REPORTED BY SOME RESEARCHERS

Researcher	Deceased relatives included	Affinals included	Age of respondents	N	Range	Median	Mean
This study	No	Yes	24 - 50	43	11 - 140	52	59.7
My pilot study	Yes	Yes	35 - 55	16	46 - 275	111.5	113.5
Codere (1959)	Yes	Yes	Under 20	200	11 - 73	30	33
Cumming and Schneider (1961)	Yes	Yes	50 - 80	15	34 - 280	151	. .
Garigue (1956)	Yes	Yes	19 - 72	30	75 - 484	. .	215
Robins and Miroda (1962)	Yes	No	80% under 25 years	140	3 - 70	. .	18.6



Legend

○ -- female
△ -- male
═ -- marriage bond
| -- parent-child bond
— -- sibling bond
▲ -- deceased

FIGURE 1. REPRESENTATIVE GENEALOGY

children or first cousins' childrens' children). The most distant relative mentioned in any genealogy is sixth degree (grandparent's sibling's great-grandchild). 24 of the 43 respondents, however, do not mention relatives outside of first ascending, first descending, and fourth degree.

The most significant relatives in terms of potential or actual contact are adult consanguines. By this I mean that affinals and children only become significant as members of the household of an adult consanguine. (Note that 'household' is here a more convenient term to use than 'nuclear family'. Adult consanguines without a family of procreation who share a household are still considered separately.) Therefore, in discussing further the degree of relationship, I propose to consider only the adult consanguines who form the links to households. (The consanguine may be deceased, provided that there is a surviving spouse and household.) The total number of adult consanguines is 824, range 4 - 37, median 23, mean 19.2. In Table 17 is shown the total number of each type of adult consanguine relative mentioned by the 43 respondents.

Collaterals comprise 48.5% of all adult consanguines mentioned. The first ascending generation is represented by 45.5%. The second ascending and first descending generations are represented by only 3% each. The proportion of different categories of adult consanguines is shown in Table 18. These stronly reflect the age composition of the sample. Most respondents are too young to have adult children or adult nephews

TABLE 17

CATEGORIES OF ADULT CONSANGUINES

Category	Number
Parents	60
Siblings	126
Mother's siblings	130
Father's siblings	145
Mother's siblings' children	140
Father's siblings' children	126
Siblings' children	11
Grandparents	10
Grandparents' siblings	15
Grandparents' siblings' children	40
Grandparents' siblings' childrens' children	5
Parents' siblings' childrens' children	13
Other	3
Total	824

TABLE 18

PROPORTION OF DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF ADULT CONSANGUINES

Category	Number	Percentage
Parents	60	7.3
Siblings	126	15.3
Aunts and uncles	275	33.4
First cousins	266	32.3
First cousins once removed	40	4.8
Others	57	6.9
Total	824	100.0

and nieces who have set up their own household. At the same time, they are too old to have living grandparents. As people grow older, a shift from parents' generation to childrens' generation is to be expected, while collaterals would remain constant until old age. (See Cumming and Schneider 1961, Garigue 1956)

It has been pointed out that connecting relatives are important. (Firth 1956, Townsend 1957) When parents die, for example, the connection with their siblings is often lost. Table 19 shows how far the presence of parents affects how many of their siblings are mentioned.

TABLE 19

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PARENTS' SIBLINGS MENTIONED BY PRESENCE OF PARENTS

Condition of parent	N	Mother's siblings	Father's siblings
Both living	24	3.3	4.1
Mother living	12	2.7	2.7
Father living	0	. .	. .
Both deceased	7	2.6	2.1
Total	43	3.0	3.4

In the case of mother's siblings, it does not seem to make much difference whether the mother is living or not.

For father's siblings, however, with the death of the father, and also with the death of both parents, fewer father's siblings occur. (The longevity of females over males is evident in the absence of cases with only father living.)

It has also been reported that informants know of more relatives on the mother's side than on the father's side. (Cumming and Schneider 1961, Garigue 1956, Robins and Tomanec 1962) However, in this study no discernible differences were found in the knowledge of maternal and paternal kin. On the other hand, Table 20 shows the number of relatives reported by people whose parents are living and those whose parents are not. The reported number of kin related through

TABLE 20

AVERAGE NUMBER OF MATERNAL AND PATERNAL RELATIVES IN THE KIN UNIVERSE BY PRESENCE OF PARENTS

Condition of parents	N	Maternal relatives	Paternal relatives	Total
Both living	24	24.9	26.6	51.5
Mother living	12.	21.7	11.6	33.3
Father living	0	. .	. .	. .
Both deceased	7	15.6	14.4	30.0

parents declines considerably when the father is deceased, and in fact the decline occurs in the father's relatives. Con-

siderably fewer relatives on both sides are also reported when both parents are dead. It appears, then, that the presence or absence of a parent has definite effect on how many relatives on that parent's side will be included in the geneology. Unfortunately, however, since there was no case where only the father was living, this could not be fully substantiated.

C. Location of Relatives

The residence of all relatives in the kin universe was not determined, since sometimes those kin with whom there was no contact were not put on the chart. (See p.27) The location of relatives, as far as it is known, is given in Table 21. It is evident that the relatives of these respondents are fairly widely scattered. Looking at individual genealogies, in only 15 out of the 43 are more than two-thirds of all kin known to be concentrated in one area. In one of these all relatives live in Montreal; in another, all whose residence was determined do. The relatives of geographically mobile respondents are located in greatest numbers in Ontario (exclusive of that part of the province which is within two hundred miles of Montreal), next in the Maritimes, then in Mid-Canada and United States, and next in the area within two hundred miles of Montreal. The kin of non-mobile respondents are located in greatest numbers in

TABLE 21

LOCATION OF RELATIVES OF MOBILE AND NON-MOBILE RESPONDENTS

Location	All relatives			Adult consanguines		
	Mobile respon-dents	Non-mobile respon-dents	Total	Mobile respon-dents	Non-mobile respon-dents	Total
Greater Montreal	69 ★	723	792	0	220	220
Ontario #	430	176	606	145	58	203
Maritimes	169	96	265	43	38	81
Within 200 miles of Montreal	49	169	218	18	45	63
Mid-Canada and United States	78	51	129	30	16	46
New England	47	71	118	13	22	35
Western Canada and United States	38	27	65	13	8	21
Overseas	9	37	46	8	17	25
Not determined	183	147	330	77	53	130
Total	1072	1497	2569	347	477	824

★ These include spouses and children of respondents
\# That area of Ontario which is further than 200 miles from Montreal

Montreal, next in Ontario, then in the area within two hundred miles of Montreal, and then in the Maritimes. Note that while for non-mobile respondents the kin living in Ontario and within two hundred miles of Montreal are equal in number, for mobile respondents almost ten times as many relatives live in Ontario as within two hundred miles of Montreal. In general, the relatives of non-mobiles, even those who do not live in Montreal, live closer than the relatives of mobiles.

D. Conclusion

The kin universe has been found to be fairly typically North American--a narrow range of kin, with first ascending generation and collaterals the most important; the presence of connecting relatives is an important factor. Relatives are also widely scattered geographically. The kin universes of geographically mobile and non-mobile people are similar in range and size. Relatives of non-mobile people live closer, than relatives of mobile people, even when those who live in Montreal are not taken into consideration.

CHAPTER V

CONTACT AND MUTUAL AID

A. Relationship and Location of Effective Kin

In the last chapter the size, type and location of the kin universe was described. Here we are concerned with the characteristics of effective kin--kin whom people are in touch with. 'In touch with' is defined as anywhere from seeing daily to sending and receiving Christmas cards. Throughout this chapter, figures used will mean adult consanguines. (See p. 58)

The total number of adult consanguines that respondents are in contact with is 460, range 2 - 22, median 9, mean 10.2. (N 45) The number of effective kin of geographically mobile and non-mobile respondents is shown in Table 22.

TABLE 22

NUMBER OF EFFECTIVE ADULT CONSANGUINES, BY MOBILITY

Mobility	N	Range	Median	Mean
Mobile	17	3 - 19	9.0	9.5
Not mobile	28	2 - 22	10.5	10.7

There is no reason to assume that there are any differences in the number of effective relatives that mobile and non-mobile respondents have, although the mean is slightly larger in the case of non-mobiles. Length of time away from relatives, social class and sex were not found to significantly affect the number of relatives kept in touch with, although women kept in touch with slightly more than men did.

Out of the total kin universe, only certain relatives are effective. In Table 23 can be seen to what degree biological distance determines contact. The respondents are in

TABLE 23

CATEGORIES OF EFFECTIVE ADULT CONSANGUINES*

Category	Effective adult consanguines	All adult consanguines	Percentage
Parents	60	60	100.0
Siblings	122	126	96.8
Mother's siblings	79	130	61.2
Father's siblings	70	145	48.3
Mother's siblings' children	38	140	27.1
Father's siblings' children	28	126	23.1
Siblings' children	7	11	63.6
Grandparents	10	10	100.0
Grandparents' siblings	7	15	46.7
Grandparents' siblings' children	16	40	40.0
Parents' siblings' childrens' chr	4	13	30.8
Others	2	8	25.0
Total	824	443	53.8

*N = 43

touch with all available parents and grandparents, and almost all siblings. (One person was not in touch with four half-siblings). More than half of the mother's siblings and siblings' children mentioned are effective kin. Noteworthy is the fact that father's siblings and grandparents' siblings are kept in touch with in almost equal proportions. The difference between the proportion of effective mother's siblings and effective mother's siblings is significant--mother's siblings are definitely more important in terms of contact. Cousins are surprisingly unimportant--only a quarter of those known are effective.

In Chapter IV, we saw that although there was some difference in the average number of parents' siblings known according to the presence of the parents, it was not conclusive. (p.60) In view of the differences in degree of contact with mother's and father's siblings, it might be suspected that the presence of a parent is more important in determining contact than in determining inclusion in the kin universe. Table 24 gives some indication that this is in fact true. When both parents are alive, a definitely larger proportion of their siblings are effective than are not. However, when only mother is living, contact with father's siblings decreases, both absolutely and relative to the number of known siblings, while equal numbers of mother's known siblings are kept in touch with and not kept in touch with. (This result could indicate that a widow's married

TABLE 24

AVERAGE NUMBER OF EFFECTIVE SIBLINGS OF PARENTS, BY PRESENCE OF PARENTS

Condition of parents	N	Mother's siblings			Father's siblings		
		Effective	Not effective	Total	Effective	Not effective	Total
Both living	24	2.33	0.96	3.29	2.42	1.67	4.09
Mother living	12	1.33	1.33	2.66	0.67	2.00	2.67
Father living	0	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Both deceased	7	1.00	1.57	2.57	0.57	1.57	2.14
Total	43	1.84	1.16	3.00	1.63	1.74	3.37

siblings are not as important to her as they were when her husband was alive, hence her children lose contact with them.) When both parents are dead, even fewer of their siblings are kept in contact with; the mother's siblings remain more important then the father's,hhowever. Hence, the presence of a connecting relative, in this case a parent, seems to determine whether contact with kin will be kept up or not.

Comparison of all known kin and effective kin shows the shift in importance of different categories of relatives, as in Table 25. Cousins comprise a larger proportion of known kin than of effective kin, while the reverse is true

TABLE 25

PROPORTIONS OF DIFFERENT CATEGORIES OF KNOWN AND EFFECTIVE ADULT CONSANGUINES

Category	Known adult consanguines		Effective adult consanguines	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Parents	60	7.3	60	13.5
Siblings	126	15.3	122	27.5
Aunts and Uncles	275	33.4	149	33.7
First cousins	266	32.3	66	14.9
First cousins once removed	40	4.8	16	3.6
Others	57	6.9	30	6.8
Total	824	100.0	443	100.0

of parents and siblings. The proportion remains the same for aunts and uncles.

Table 26 shows how far geographical distance from relatives affects whether they will be effective or not. We find that, up to a point, the nearer the relative, the more likely it is that he will be effective. Thus, relatives who live in Montreal and within two hundred miles of Montreal are kept in touch with in higher proportions than others. For the other areas, actual distance in miles does not seem to necessarily determine the proportion. The proportion of

TABLE 26

LOCATION OF KNOWN AND EFFECTIVE ADULT CONSANGUINES
OF MOBILE AND NON-MOBILE RESPONDENTS

Location	Mobile respondents			Non-mobile respondents			Total		
	Known	In touch	Per-cent	Known	In touch	Per-cent	Known	In touch	Per-cent
Greater Montreal	0	0	0.0	220	183	83.2	220	183	83.2
Within 200 miles of Montreal	18	16	88.9	45	26	57.8	63	42	66.7
Mid-Canada and United States	30	22	73.3	16	8	50.0	46	30	65.2
Ontario	145	88	60.7	58	31	53.4	203	119	58.6
Maritimes	43	23	53.5	38	21	55.3	81	44	54.3
Western Canada and United States	13	4	30.8	8	5	62.5	21	9	42.9
New England	13	2	15.4	22	8	36.4	35	10	28.6
Overseas	8	2	25.0	17	4	23.5	25	6	24.0
Not determined	77	0	0.0	53	0	0.0	130	0	0.0
Total *	347	157	45.2	477	286	59.9	824	443	53.8

* N = 17 for mobiles, N = 26 for non-mobiles. Total N = 43

effective relatives who live in New England is small, second only to the smallest proportion of all--those living overseas. It may be that the country of residence is significant, even if the countries involved are geographically and socially as close as Canada and the United States. (The number of kin living in the rest of the United States was too small to be able to pursue this any further.) Note that the proportion of effective kin is slightly more than half of known kin.

The above observations generally hold true for both geographically mobile and geographically non-mobile respondents. The proportion of effective kin to all known kin in the group who live within two hundred miles of Montreal is even higher among mobile people than the proportion of effective kin to all known kin in the group who live in Montreal is among non-mobile respondents. A higher proportion of the relatives of geographically non-mobile people is effective than of geographically mobile people. However, the difference is not large enough to be considered significant; the difference that exists in the ease of communication between people who live in the same city and between people who do not is expected to have some effect. That it in fact has relatively little effect is the real significance of these findings.

The 130 relatives known but not effective whose residence was not determined need some consideration. Unfortunately the importance of determining the location of all relatives

was not evident to me at the time of interviewing, as I was focusing on effective kin. Presumably, however, this is a random group (see p.27), and we can assume that these relatives would fall in the same proportions as the others, thereby lowering the percentages in Table 26, but keeping them in the same relative order.

B. Frequency of Contact

The frequency of three types of contact was elicited from the respondents--seeing, writing and telephoning. How often relatives are seen has been set out in Table 27. Only those relatives seen with regularity are included. The cate-

TABLE 27

PERCENTAGE AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF ADULT CONSANGUINES SEEN FOR EACH TIME PERIOD

Frequency	Non-mobile		Mobile		Total Sample	
	Percent	Mean	Percent	Mean	Percent	Mean
Weekly	15.4	1.6	0.0	0.0	10.3	1.0
Monthly	15.7	1.6	4.8	0.4	12.2	1.2
Semi-annually	31.9	3.2	25.3	2.2	30.0	2.8
Annually	15.0	1.5	31.5	2.7	20.8	1.9
Less	22.0	2.3	38.4	3.3	27.9	2.6
Total	100.0	10.2	100.0	8.6	100.0	9.5
Number of kin	286		146		427	
N	28		17		45	

gory 'less' includes only those relatives who are seen regularly, either on trips undertaken every two years, or at weddings and funerals, and kept in touch with by letters and/or cards. It does not include relatives who were seen more than three years ago yet are being kept in touch with by letters and/or cards.

As can be expected, face-to-face contact occurs with greater frequency among people who have relatives in Montreal. However, the average number of relatives seen regularly does not differ greatly between mobile and non-mobile people. Thus, there is no reason to believe that geographical mobility cuts off face-to-face contact--it merely reduces the frequency.

The relatively high frequency of face-to-face contact which occurs among all respondents can be seen more clearly when we examine those who do not see their relatives often. Only one person (male, middle class, Catholic) does not see any relatives at all during some years. He makes a trip to the Maritimes about every two years, and then sees his cousin and her two grown sons. (One of the sons lives in a different town than his mother and brother.) However, this respondent had not seen his sister, who lives in Ontario, for seven years before a visit a year preceding the interview, although he has helped her financially, and writes about twice a year. There were five people who see no relatives more often than once a year. One (male, middle class, Protes-

tant) sees his mother, who lives in Ontario, and his brother in Boston each once a year. He writes to his mother (or his wife does) once a week, and to his brother every two months. He also gives aid to and receives aid from both. His wife also does not see any relatives more often than once a year. Her parents and her sister live in the Maritimes, where she sees them on summer holidays. Although she has several aunts, an uncle and a cousin, all of whom she is in touch with by mail, also in the Maritimes, she does not see them every year, but only every three years. A brother lives in Ontario--him she also sees only every three years. She does not engage in mutual aid except with her parents.

Another respondent (male, middle class, Protestant) sees his parents and one cousin, who live in Manitoba, once a year. An uncle and an aunt there are seen every two years. His other effective kin are an aunt, an uncle, cousins and their married children in Saskatchewan, whom he visited a year ago. He has received aid only from his parents. The fourth informant who sees relatives only once a year (female, middle class, Catholic) is the wife of the man who sees relatives less than once a year. (See first example above.) She sees her mother and aunt once a year. They come to Montreal and she goes to the Maritimes in alternate years. She receives help from both. On the occasions of her visits to the Maritimes, she also sees her brother, his married daughter,

her uncle and two cousins. However, she sees her sister and other brother, who live in a different province in the Maritimes, less than every two years. She telephones her mother every month, and her aunt several times a year. The fifth person (female, lower-middle class, Catholic) sees her mother and sister every year, either in Chicago, where they live, or in Montreal. Her brother and two aunts she sees only when she goes for a visit to Chicago, every two years. Her other brother and aunt, who live on the West Coast in the United States she saw five years ago, but writes to the brother once every three months. She gives aid to her mother and sister.

The first informant discussed above (the only one who sees relatives less than once a year) is not kin-oriented. (See Chapter III) He is the only one of the five non-kin-oriented people who sees relatives rarely; the others still see relatives at least twice a year. And even this informant makes a point of seeing fairly distant relations (cousin and her sons) and agrees that relatives give one a sense of belonging, a feeling of security, and are the major source of advice and help in times of difficulty. The one respondent who rejects relatives in his attitude and also sees them least often does not reject them completely.

The special case of one woman who is neither in touch nor engaging in mutual aid with relatives should be mentioned now. (See Chapter II) Up until one and a half years ago

she was engaged in mutual aid with her mother, and in touch with her three brothers and one sister. Her mother, two brothers, and the sister live in Montreal. There was extreme dissent between her on the one hand and her siblings on the other, over the care of the mother. She is upset that this trouble has alienated her from her mother as well as from her siblings, but under the circumstances feels that there is nothing to be done about it. (The siblings are children of her mother's second marriage.) This is obviously a case of a modified extended family which has cut off one of its members (or the member has cut herself off) because of unusual circumstances. It is probable that she will resume relations with her mother at least, if not with her siblings, before very long. (Her daughter received a letter recently from the grandmother.)

The frequencies of writing and of telephoning have been indicated in Tables 28 and 29 respectively. Writing as a form of contact is predictably more important for those who have relatives in the city. We note that writing does not seem to be very popular, since non-mobile people write letters, on the average, to only one relative, and even mobile respondents write letters to only four. In both groups, with more than half of the relatives living geographically distant only cards are exchanged. (Mainly Christmas cards, sometimes with a short note, and some birthday cards.) None of the geographically mobile respondents, however, reported writing no letters at all.

TABLE 28

PERCENTAGE AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF ADULT CONSANGUINES WRITTEN TO FOR EACH TIME PERIOD

Frequency	Non-mobile		Mobile		Total Sample	
	Percent	Mean	Percent	Mean	Percent	Mean
Weekly	1.1	. .	6.3	0.5	4.3	0.2
Monthly	5.6	0.2	16.0	1.4	12.0	0.6
Semi-annually	21.3	0.7	20.1	1.7	20.6	1.1
Annually	2.3	0.1	4.9	0.4	3.9	0.2
Cards only	69.7	2.2	52.7	4.5	59.2	3.1
Total	100.0	3.2	100.0	8.5	100.0	5.2
No. of kin	89		144		233	
N	28		17		45	

TABLE 29

PERCENTAGE AND AVERAGE NUMBER OF ADULT CONSANGUINES TELEPHONED FOR EACH TIME PERIOD

Frequency	Non-mobile		Mobile		Total Sample	
	Percent	Mean	Percent	Mean	Percent	Mean
Daily	21.8	0.6	0.0	0.0	18.1	0.4
Semi-weekly	10.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	8.5	0.1
Weekly	26.9	0.8	12.5	0.1	24.5	0.5
Monthly	25.0	0.7	62.5	0.6	31.0	0.7
Semi-annually	15.4	0.4	25.0	0.2	17.0	0.4
Total	100.0	2.8	100.0	0.9	100.0	2.1
No. of kin	78		16		94	
N	28		17		45	

We note that respondents with relatives in Montreal do not telephone very often. Although they have on the average 6.7 effective relatives in Montreal, they report telephoning only an average of 2.8. However, this does not necessarily mean that they never telephone the others. Respondents were asked: "How often do you talk on the telephone with this relative?" It is possible that calling relatives (or receiving a call) to invite them for a visit is not considered 'talking on the telephone.' It seems probable from the relatively infrequent calls reported that people were reporting only 'social' telephone calls. Note that precisely such 'social' calls are significant for the study.

Parents are in all cases seen, written to, and telephoned most frequently, opportunities being equal. Siblings are next, then aunts. There are a few exceptions, however. One woman sees her aunt(MoSi) more often than her two brothers and sister, and writes and telephones her more often as well. This respondent's mother is still living, although her father is not. Another woman sees her brother and aunt (MoSi) more often than her parents, although all these relatives live in the same area of Montreal. One man sees his brother more often than his parents. A fourth respondents sees her aunt (MoSi) more often than her parents as well.

An index of frequencies of face-to-face contact, writing and telephoning can be computed by multiplying the mean number

of relatives for each time period by the number of times that time period occurs in a year, and adding the results. (For this purpose, 'less' on Table 27 will mean once every two years--i.e. $\frac{1}{2}$. 'Cards only' on Table 28 will also be counted as $\frac{1}{2}$.) Table 30 shows the indeces for geographically mobile and geographically non-mobile respondents. These

TABLE 30

INDEX OF FREQUENCY OF CONTACT, BY MOBILITY

Type of contact	Index of Frequency	
	Mobile respondents	Non-mobile respondents
Face-to-face	13.5	111.4
Writing	52.8	5.0
Telephoning	12.8	300.6

indeces emphasize the differences, both absolute and relative, between geographically mobile respondents and geographically non-mobile respondents in the types of contact. Seeing is ten times and telephoning twenty-five times more important in the case of non-mobiles than in the case of mobiles. The opposite situation exists for writing--it is ten times more important in the case of mobiles than in the case of non-mobiles. The significant factor here is that communication between relatives occurs much more frequently among geographically

non-mobile respondents than among geographically mobile respondents.

C. Mutual Aid

All respondents in the sample are engaged in some mutual aid with relatives. The direction, amount and type of aid, as well as whom it is exchanged with will be discussed in this section. What types of aid are exchanged between respondents and their relatives can be seen in Table 31. Note that all these forms of aidooccurred while the respondents were living where they are now, except giving long-term residence. In the case of the latter, sharing a household with an adult consanguine at any time during their lives after they had left their parents' home was counted.

The most common type of aid received by the respondents is care for children. Usually this means baby-sitting for an evening or a day, but sometimes children are also cared for by relatives during their parents' vacation or mother's illness. The second most common form of aid received is a place to stay on short visits. The fact that these are most common reflects two characteristics of the respondents--first, that they are young people with children and second, that they often visit out-of-town relatives. Third in order of frequency are small services--help during illness, help with odd jobs (for example, painting the garage), and help in taking

TABLE 31

PROPORTION OF RESPONDENTS REPORTING DIFFERENT FORMS OF AID

Form of aid	Mobile		Non-mobile		Total	
	Received	Given	Received	Given	Received	Given
Any aid	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Caring for children	52.9*	17.6	85.7	50.0	73.3	37.8
Residence during stay in city	100.0	100.0	42.9	46.4	64.4	66.7
Help during illness	11.8	23.5	75.0	60.7	51.1	46.7
Help with odd jobs	35.3	41.2	57.1	57.1	48.9	51.1
Taking care of the house	17,6	17.6	60.7	39.3	44.4	31.1
Advice on personal matters	5.9	17.6	42.9	39.3	28.9	31.1
Valuable gifts	23.5	0.0	32.1	7.1	28.9	4.4
Advice on business or money matters	23.5	17.6	21.4	42.9	22.2	33.3
Help in getting a job	5.9	0.0	28.6	17.9	20.0	11.1
Lending money	11.8	0.0	25.0	17.9	20.0	11.1
Financial help or large money gifts	0.0	11.8	17.9	28.6	11.1	22.2
Long-term residence	0,0	11.8	10.7	32.1	6.7	24.4

* This should be read: 52.9% of mobile respondents reported that they had received care for children from relatives.

care of the house (for example, cooking and cleaning). That services like these are reported by approximately half of the respondents implies that relatives are sometimes depended on for help that otherwise might have to be hired. (This is also true for baby-sitting.) I am here trying to point out that aid of this type is not without financial implications. Direct financial help is not so frequent. Receiving valuable gifts, borrowing money and receiving gifts of money are reported by a quarter or less of the respondents. Getting advice on personal matters and on business or money matters and receiving help in obtaining employment are reported by a quarter to one fifth of all respondents. The least frequent form of help is sharing a relative's household.

The most common type of aid given by the respondents is a place to stay on a visit. This in turn implies that the respondents are often visited by out-of-town relatives. Small services, including care of children, are performed for kin by one-half to one-third of the respondents. That care of children is ranked only fourth here reflects that the respondents have children of their own, and are not often in a position to care for the children of others. Advice (business and personal) is given to relatives by a third of the respondents. Relatives sharing the respondent's household, financial help to relatives (including lending money and giving valuable gifts) and helping kin to obtain employment are reported by a quarter or less of the respondents.

The relatively infrequent reporting of financial help, advice, help concerning employment and sharing a household reflects the autonomy of nuclear families. These forms of help, much more so than the other forms, indirectly or directly encroach on the industrial and social set-up, and also may disrupt equalitarian relations between nuclear families. Thus, the forms of mutual help which would characterize relations within classical extended families are least characteristic between the respondents in this sample and their relatives.

Generally, 10 - 20% more geographically non-mobile than geographically mobile people report exchaning services with relatives. But, while the overall picture shows more mutual aid reported by non-mobiles than by mobiles, this is not true for all forms of aid. There were expected as well as unexpected differences between the two groups. That small services (child care, taking care of the house, helping with odd jobs and help during illness) exchanged should be more common among non-mobile people was expected, and is in fact true. This reflects the physical proximity of the relatives of non-mobile respondents. Little or no difference was expected in financial help, help concerning employment, or sharing the home with relatives. However, more geographically non-mobile respondents than geographically mobile respondents report exchanging these services. The difference, however, is not as large for valuable gifts exchanged as it is for the other forms of aid. It seems, then, that physical proxi-

mity has bearing on these forms of aid as well. Exchange of different kinds of advice was expected to occur more often among non-mobiles. This is also confirmed, except that equal proportions of respondents in both groups reported receiving advice on business or money matters. Staying with relatives for short visits, is, as expected, reported more frequently by geographically mobile respondents--in fact, all mobile respondents reported it, while less than half of the non-mobile respondents did.

The middle and lower-middle class were also compared in terms of mutual aid because more of the mobile group is middle class. The differences were not statistically significant. However, some differences in forms of mutual aid reported by mobile people may reflect class differences. A smaller proportion of the mobile middle class than of the mobile lower-middle class cares for the children of relatives. The same is true in giving advice on business or money matters to relatives. Having received valuable gifts proves more common among the mobile middle class than the mobile lower-middle class. Giving advice on personal matters, however, is much more common among the mobile lower-middle class than the mobile middle class. Giving long-term residence is also more common among the lower-middle class. Apart from these forms of aid in the specified directions, there is nothing to indicate that class differences may be important.

There is some indication that differences may exist in the mutual aid reported by those who have moved recently and those who have lived away longer. Those who had lived away one to seven years more frequently reported care for children and advice on business or money matters. They more often give care for children. On the other hand, advice on business or money matters is given more often by those who have lived away eight or more years. In view of the small number of respondents in these two groups, these are but indications in which direction differences may exist.

Of interest is also who the relatives are with whom mutual aid is carried on. Table 32 shows what proportion of the respondents engage in mutual aid with parents, siblings and other relatives. All respondents who have parents receive aid from them (or her, where only mother is living). Seven respondents, or 15.6% have no parents living. Three respondents have no siblings, and five have no effective relatives except parents and siblings. Aid is more often received from parents than from siblings or other relatives, except advice on business or money matters, help in getting a job, residence during a short visit, help with odd jobs and advice on personal matters. These forms of help are received most frequently from siblings. However, more frequent help is given to siblings than to parents except help during illness, taking care of the house, valuable gifts, and residence during a short visit. It is evident that parents and siblings are most important

TABLE 32

DIRECTION OF AID BETWEEN RESPONDENTS AND THEIR PARENTS, SIBLINGS, AND OTHER ADULT CONSANGUINE RELATIVES BY FORMS OF AID

Form of aid	Parents		Siblings		Others	
	Received	Given	Received	Given	Received	Given
Any aid	84.4%*	71.1%	84.4%	73.3%	48.9%	57.8%
Care for children	55.6	6.7	46.7	31.1	15.6	8.9
Residency during stay in city	37.8	42.2	44.4	42.2	31.1	33.3
Help during illness	40.0	28.9	20.0	22.2	17.8	8.9
Help with odd jobs	26.7	28.9	37.8	42.2	15.6	17.8
Taking care of the house	33.3	20.0	17.8	11.1	8.9	6.7
Advice on personal matters	13.3	15.6	15.6	24.4	6.7	8.9
Valuable gifts	26.7	4.4	6.7	2.2	2.2	0.0
Advice on business or money matters	6.7	20.0	17.8	24.4	4.4	8.9
Help in getting a job	6.7	4.4	11.1	8.9	4.4	2.2
Lending money	17.8	2.2	6.7	11.1	0.0	0.0
Financial help or large money gifts	11.1	8.9	0.0	17.8	0.0	6.7
Long-term residence	4.4	8.9	2.2	13.3	0.0	4.4

* This should be read: 84.4% of respondents reported that they had received some aid from parents.

for mutual aid; but other relatives do enter into it as well. For some respondents they are just as important, or even more important, than parents and siblings.

To give a better idea how widespread mutual aid actually is we can discuss the various types of cases which occur in the sample. For the purposes of this discussion, staying with relatives while on a visit will not be considered aid. For most respondents who have stayed with relatives and who have had relatives stay with them such occasions have been social ones--actually a reaffirmation of their connection with each other. The few cases of staying with relatives while in the city for purposes other than visiting these same relatives have not been distinguished from the social visits.

There are three respondents, who, under this definition, do not carry on any mutual aid with relatives. All of them are mobile--i.e. they have no kin in Montreal. However, they all say that they would turn to relatives in an emergency (see discussion on answers to question 3 below), but that this has not been necessary.

At the other extreme, there are six informants who both give to and receive aid from parents, siblings, and other relatives. All of these are geographically non-mobile. The first (female, lower-middle class, Protestant) works part-time, has five children. She receives nine forms of help from her parents. She also carries on considerable mutual aid with her two brothers, a sister, and an aunt (MoSi). It

turns out that all these relatives live in Montreal, while her other effective relatives do not. The second (male, middle class, Catholic) carries on mutual aid with his parents although they live in Manitoba; he gives aid to his two brothers and cousin (MoMoBrDa) who live in Montreal, and is in turn helped by his brothers. He carries on mutual aid also with his aunt (MoSi) in Toronto, and receives aid from his cousin (MoMoBrSo) there. He has several other effective relatives in Montreal whom he does not carry on mutual aid with. This is the person discussed in Chapter III as having until recently been member of a classical extended family. The third respondent (female, middle class, Catholic) in this category gives ten forms of aid to her five brothers and one sister, and receives aid from four of these siblings. She carries on mutual aid with her parents, and with two aunts (MoSis) and a cousin (MoSiDa). She also gives aid to another aunt (MoSi) and to her grandmother (MoMo). All of these relatives live in Montreal. She has other effective kin (paternal) in Montreal. The fourth (female, lower-middle class, Protestant) receives ten forms of help from her parents, and also helps them. She carries on some mutual aid with two sisters who live in California, and with an aunt (MoSi) near Montreal, an uncle's wife (FaBrWi) who is her godmother, and with a cousin (FaBrDa). In addition, she receives aid from another cousin (FaBrDa) and another aunt (FaSi). Unless otherwise in-

dicated, these kin live in Montreal. No aid is carried on between her and two uncles (FaBr, MoBr) and an aunt (FaSi) also in Montreal. The fifth respondent (female, middle class, Catholic) carries on mutual aid with her mother and two brothers; she receives aid from three uncles (two FaBrs, one MoBr) and an aunt (MoSi), and gives aid to another aunt (MoSi). All of her relatives live in Montreal. The sixth (male, middle class, Protestant) carries on mutual aid with his mother, brother and sister, all in Montreal, and with his uncle (MoBr) in Ontario and his grandmother (MoMo) who lives near Montreal. In addition, he gives aid to an uncle (MoBr) in New England and an aunt (MoSi) in Montreal. His other effective kin do not live in Montreal.

We note, first, that relatives who live in the same city are more prominent with respect to mutual aid than others. Thus, among non-mobile respondents whose parents are living (N 24) an average of 3.71 forms of aid is received from parents and an average of 2.29 forms is given. (Note, however, that not all these parents live in Montreal.) On the other hand, among mobile respondents (N 14) an average of 1.43 forms of aid is received from parents, and an average of 0.57 forms of aid given to parents. In general, more forms of aid are carried on by people who have relatives in Montreal. We must conclude, then, that although there is no reason to assume that geographical mobility rules out mutual aid, it does reduce it.

Another prominent feature in the case of these six respondents discussed above is that maternal kin occur more often than paternal where mutual aid is concerned. Of mutual aid that is carried on with parents' siblings, 61.4% is with mother's, 38.6% with father's. We have seen that mother's siblings are slightly more important for contact than father's, and that the presence of a parent has bearing on contact. (p.67) In Table 33 is shown the importance of mother's siblings for mutual aid according to presence of parents.

TABLE 33

AVERAGE NUMBER OF PARENTS' EFFECTIVE SIBLINGS WITH WHOM MUTUAL AID IS CARRIED ON BY PRESENCE OF PARENT

Condition of parents	N	Mother's siblings			Father's siblings		
		Mutual aid	No mutual aid	Total	Mutual aid	No mutual aid	Total
Both living	25	0.64	1.68	2.32	0.44	1.96	2.40
Mother living	13	0.77	0.77	1.54	0.38	0.39	0.77
Father living	0	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .	. .
Both deceased	7	0.14	0.86	1.00	0.14	0.43	0.57
Total	45	0.60	1.29	1.89	0.38	1.27	1.64

When both parents are living, mutual aid is carried on with more mother's siblings even though slightly more father's

siblings are effective. When only mother is living, more mother's siblings are important for mutual aid than father's siblings as well, but here more mother's siblings are also available. When both parents are dead, their siblings are equally important (or equally unimportant) for mutual aid, although more mother's siblings than father's are effective. Interestingly enough, both when the parents are dead and when they are living, the proportion of their siblings important for mutual aid is considerably smaller than the proportion not important. However, when only the mother is living, the proportions of parents' siblings that mutual aid is carried on with equals the proportion it is not carried on with. This may mean that when the father dies, mutual aid does not drop off with either his or the mother's siblings, but contact does. On the other hand, when both parents die, both contact and mutual aid with their siblings drop off. However, it is quite possible also that relatives with whom mutual aid is carried on remain important all of their or the respondent's lives, while relatives who are only kept in touch with do not. This is a likelihood because it is possible that those whose parents are both dead never established a pattern of mutual aid with their parents' siblings. That is, their parents may have died before they, as adults with their own nuclear family, had set up a lasting relationship with uncles and aunts. However, this possibility is only slight, since the average age of the seven respondents whose parents are dead is 43, about ten years more than for the total sample, and their age when parents died

was not elicited.

A trend to rely on relatives in emergencies has been reported by Quarantelli (1960) and Young (1954). Both report that the extended family is a major source of aid in disaster. How much relatives are depended on in emergencies by the respondents in this sample is indicated by the answers to question 3. These are given in Table 34. It seems that although rela-

TABLE 34

SOURCES OF ASSISTANCE IN EMERGENCIES

Mobility	N	Source of assistance		
		Own relatives	Spouse's relatives	Other
Mobile	17	58.9% (10)	5.8% (1)	35.3% (6)
Not mobile	28	67.9 (19)	17.8 (5)	14.3 (4)
Total	45	64.4 (29)	13.3 (6)	22.2 (10)

tives are depended on for help in emergencies by both mobile and non-mobile respondents, geographically mobile people are more likely to call on some other person than a relative. This is expected, since for emergencies which have to be dealt with immediately physical proximity of the person called on is necessary. Some types of help mentioned here were financial help and especially sudden illness. In one case, the respondent's parents drove from Ontario to take care of his

children when both he and his wife were involved in a car accident. In another, an aunt (MoSi) took over managing the household while the wife was ill. (This was the only case where a relative other than parent or sibling was mentioned.) A third respondent moved in with his sister when his house burned.

D. Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with contact and mutual aid between relatives. It was found that while geographical mobility does not necessarily reduce the number of relatives kept in touch with or the likelihood that mutual aid will be carried on between relatives, it does reduce the frequency of communication and amount of mutual aid. Mother's siblings were found to be more important for both contact and mutual aid; however, the presence of a parent has bearing on both contact and mutual aid as well, and 29% of the respondents had only the mother living, while none had only father living. While the largest group of effective relatives is that comprising uncles and aunts, parents and siblings are kept in touch with ~~with~~ greater frequency than any other types of relatives. They are seen, written and telephoned more frequently, and also considerably more mutual aid is carried on with them than with other relatives. Although relatives are widely scattered geographically, a larger proportion of those who live in Montreal than of those who live in any other lo-

cality are effective. Of all relatives in the kin universe who live in Montreal, 83.2% are effective; of those who do not live in the city, 54.9% are effective. More mutual aid is also carried on with relatives who live in Montreal than with others.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

The extended families of these Canadian respondents fall well within Litwak's (1960c) typology of the modified extended family. Such a family is said to provide social, psychological and economic support to its members. The importance of relatives for social interaction has been demonstrated for these respondents by showing that they are in touch with a fair number of kin, and that given the opportunity, frequent interaction takes place. Relatives with whom frequent interaction is not feasible due to geographical distance are nevertheless sought out whenever possible. Similar findings in the United States and England, showing the significance of relatives for social interaction, demonstrate that this sample is not unique in this respect. (Axelrod 1956, Dotson 1951, Firth 1956, Greer 1956, Jitodai 1963, Litwak 1960a and 1960b, Townsend 1957, Young and Willmott 1957)

The psychological significance of relatives for the respondents in this study is shown by the emphasis placed on the fact of common descent--the recognition of a special bond with relatives as such, and by the admitting of obligation to kin as well as the deriving of a sense of belonging

and feeling of security from them. Again, other studies have shown similar trends--identification with kin as such (Bossard and Boll 1946, Litwak 1960b), admitted obligations (Kosa, Rachiele and Schommer 1960, Reiss 1960), and psychological advantages through particularistic ties with kin (Cumming and Schneider 1961, Reiss 1960).

That economic support is provided by relatives is not immediately evident in the case of these respondents. Direct economic aid from relatives is not prominent among them. However, some types of mutual aid frequently exchanged with kin do have economic implications. The pattern of direct economic aid differs from that found by researchers in the United States, in that more outright financial help seems to occur there. (Litwak 1960a, Sussman 1953, Sussman and Burchinal 1962b) However, the pattern of mutual aid other than directly financial is similar to what others have found. (Firth 1956, Sharp and Axelrod 1956, Sussman 1959, Sussman and White 1959)

But the respondents in the sample must fit a further specification, which brings us to the real significance of this study. The modified extended family theory specifies that geographical mobility should not affect relations between kin. I will show, as far as possible, that this is true for my sample.

This study does not attempt to demonstrate support for the null hypothesis. Its nature is exploratory--it attempts

to show that the null hypothesis should be considered an important working hypothesis by those interested in the nature of kinship among English-speaking Canadians in particular and among North Americans in general. Therefore, while the sample, being small, cannot be expected to produce statistically significant results, it can and does produce results momentous enough to disallow the discarding of the null hypothesis. Consequently, I have computed means, percentages, and even done tests of significance. These figures are meant to indicate possibly significant characteristics of Canadian kinship and possibly significant similarities and differences between groups.

The implications of the hypothesis that geographical mobility does not disrupt relations between relatives were pointed out in Chapter I --that in general, little difference should be found in size of kin group, attitude, behavior and mutual aid patterns between geographically mobile people and geographically non-mobile people. Generally, these expectations were confirmed. No differences are found between the two groups in the number of relatives known or the number or relatives kept in touch with. However, a tendency for the mobile group to know of more kin but keep in touch with fewer kin than the non-mobile group does exist.

The two groups, mobile and non-mobile, are equally committed to the extended family emotionally and ideologically. Emotionally, the respondents see relatives as being a 'special'

category of people. Ideologically, they admit obligation towards relatives. A slight tendency for the mobile group to stress obligations more than the non-mobile group is found--hence, stressing obligations may be inversely related to actual behavior. Psychological and practical advantages are seen as provided by relatives equally by both groups; again, a slight tendency for one group to see such advantages more often does exist. Here, the non-mobile group more often sees advantages than the mobile group--this may mean that seeing advantages is directly related to actual behavior.

That behavior differs between the two groups is hinted at above. The pattern of contact is in fact quite different. Geographically mobile people do not see or telephone their relatives as often as do geographically non-mobile people. The frequency with which non-mobile respondents see their relatives indicates the importance of kin for social relations. That kin are also socially, but especially emotionally important for mobile respondents is indicated by the regularity of purposeful contact in this group. Mobile people write to relatives, but they also see them as often as is feasible, given geographical distance and the demands of the every-day world.

The pattern of mutual aid also differs between the two groups. Geographically non-mobile people exchange more mutual aid with their relatives than do geographically mobile people. However, although non-mobile people exchange in general more

types of aid with more relatives, the chance that mutual aid exists at all is not less for the mobile group. Both groups consider relatives important sources of aid in emergencies, although again more non-mobile than mobile respondents rely on relatives.

I have here shown that there are similarities and differences in the relationship to relatives between geographically mobile and geographically non-mobile respondents. The differences are found only in behavior obviously dependent on physical proximity. These differences in behavior do not affect emotional commitment. The conclusion can be drawn that the similarities are more significant than the differences, and that geographical mobility separates relatives physically, but does not disrupt relations between them.

The respondents themselves may have views on the effects of geographical mobility. They were asked to indicate if there had been any substantial changes in their relationship with relatives. (Question 10) What changes were mentioned are seen in Table 35. We find that only four respon-

TABLE 35

CHANGES IN RELATIONSHIPS WITH KIN

Type of change	Number of respondents
No change	28
Moving away has estranged relatives . .	4
See kin less because moved away	4
Feel closer to father, mother, or sister	4
Other	6
Total	46*

*One respondent mentioned two changes

dents felt that geographical mobility changes the relationship. Strangely enough, two of these are non-mobile respondents. One woman says: "When all are living together, relations are different. My brother is in the army; I am not as close to him as I would like to be." A man, the same one who was part of a classical extended family states: "All lived together; the family was very close. Now there is a change for the better." Both these respondents are referring to living in the same neighborhood when they mention "all lived together." The woman's brother whom she refers to is stationed in Montreal. The other two who see changes due to geographical mobility have no kin in Montreal. A man says: "I have been drawing away from my brothers. We would definitely be closer if we lived in the same town." A woman: "Because we moved away relations became less. Having own family puts people in a different light--interests change."

Four persons say nothing about the relationship with kin, only that they are seen less often due to mobility. Again, two of the four have no relatives in Montreal, while the other two do.

Four people, then, consider that geographical mobility does disrupt relations with kin; four others recognize only the effects of physical proximity on behavior. 17.8% of the respondents mention geographical mobility at all, while 8.9% consider it disruptive. That mobility within a city is considered important has implications for future studies--a redefinition of mobility may be necessary.

Three respondents consider geographical mobility to further cohesiveness rather than disruption. Oneeof the mobile respondents who feels estranged from his brothers due to mobility (see above) yet says that he has drawn closer to his father. One mobile respondent (female) says: "My sister and I are closer now that we live apart." Another woman feels closer to her mother despite geographical mobility. A fourth respondent (female, non-mobile) feels she has drawn closer to her sister and also her parents.

The last group mentioning changes is interesting because factors which may be more significant than geographical mobility in disrupting kin relations are brought out. Of these remaining six, two mentioned changes at their fathers' death. However, while one (female) states that she doesn't see her father's side any more, the other (male) says that he is closer to the father's side. It appears that his father was "at odds" with his family, and only after his death did his family establish relations with the respondent! A third (male) says: "Visits with aunts and uncles become less as one grows older." It is noteworthy that both his parents are dead. One man says that he realized more what relatives meant after he got married. One woman doesn't see her kin at all any more because of disagreements. (Discussed in Chapter V) The sixth, a man, simply says that he sees relatives less, giving no further explanation. (He is not mobile)

There are indications that factors other than geo-

graphical mobility are significant in disrupting kin relations; two such factors discovered in the course of the study are certainly much more effective in disrupting kin relations than geographical mobility was found to be. One is the death of connecting relatives. In the study, mother's siblings are found to be more important than father's siblings for contact and mutual aid. Further investigation reveals that this difference is due to the earlier demise of fathers. Respondents whose mother is a widow have less contact with father's siblings than respondents whose parents are both living. Respondents whose parents are both dead have considerably less contact with their parents' siblings than the other two groups. The other disrupting factor is violent disagreements between relatives. This is demonstrated by the one respondent who is completely out of touch, and also by another respondent who mentions that his father had no contact with relatives because he was 'at odds' with them. I leave it to others to explore these and other such possible factors.

APPENDIX

Questionnaire

1. Name .....
   Age .....
   Marital status .....
   Years of marriage .....
   Birthplace .....
   Education .....
   Occupation .....
   Religion .....
   Children and their ages .....
   Length of residence in suburb .....
   Birthplace of Fa .....
   Mo .....
   FaFa .....
   FaMo .....
   MoFa .....
   MoMo .....

2. A diagram of the respondent's kinship system is drawn up, starting with brothers and sisters, then parents' brothers and sisters, and stopping at first cousins, unless respondent spontaneously mentions others. He is then asked whether he is in touch with any other relatives. Each kinsman is listed on the chart, using the respondent's term of address for that kinsman. The residence and occupation are determined at this time, as well as the length of time kinsman has lived away from or near respondent. The frequency of face-to-face contact, writing and telephoning are also determined.

3. If a misfortune of some sort happened to you or your immediate family which required outside help, who would be the first person you would call upon for assistance? Has anything of this sort ever happened?

4. You have heard of the saying 'blood is thicker than water.' Do you agree or disagree?

5. Which of the following obligations do people have towards their relatives?

   A. To keep in touch .....
   B. To be friendly .....
   C. To be loyal .....
   D. To provide assistance in time of need .....
   E. To support aged relatives .....
   F. Other .....

6. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

   A. Relatives give one a sense of belonging .....
   B. Relatives provide a feeling of security .....
   C. Relatives can always be relied on for affection and companionship .....
   D. Relatives are the major source of help and advice in times of difficulty .....

7. Complete chart. The following items are written on a separate card which is presented to the respondent with the following instructions: Here is a list of some ways in which relatives help each other. For each of your relatives listed, indicate in which of these ways you give or receive help. For number ten, please indicate whether you have <u>ever</u> given or received this type of help.

   1. Caring for children
   2. Help when someone is ill
   3. Taking care of the house
   4. Advice on business or money matters
   5. Help in getting a job
   6. Valuable gifts
   7. Financial help or large money gifts
   8. Advice on personal matters
   9. Lending money
   10. Providing long-term residence
   11. Providing residence during stay in city
   12. Helping with odd jobs
   13. Other

8. Have any of your relatives ever been opposed to you or any other relatives changing residence? Who and why?

9. Is there anyone among your relatives who tends to make decisions more than anyone else about the affairs of the rest of the family? If so, does everyone accept his or her authority?

10. Has there been any substantial change in your relationship with relatives in the past ten or fifteen years? (If the respondent has not been married for fifteen years, reduce length of time to approximate number of years married.) What kind of change?

11. In your opinion, is there something which distinguishes relatives from all other people, makes them 'special' in some way? If so, what is it?

12. Which of the following factors do you feel have influenced the way you regard relatives?

A. The behavior of your parents .....
B. The outlook of your parents .....
C. Your religion .....
D. Other .....

CHART

Relationship	Term of address	Marital st.	Children and age	Residence	Length of residence away from or near respondent	Occupation	Frequency of contact	Frequency of writing and/or telephoning	Type of help	
									Received	Given

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