

McGILL UNIVERSITY

THE PLAN THE UNMARRIED MOTHER
MAKES FOR HER BABY

A Study of the Psychological Factors and
Factors in the Current Life Situation
that Influence The Plan the Unmarried
Mother Makes for Her Baby.

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ABSTRACT

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THE PLAN THE UNMARRIED MOTHER MAKES FOR HER BABY

This thesis examines ^{certain} ~~the~~ psychological factors in the background of the unmarried mother and ^{some of the} ~~and~~ reality factors in her current life situation to determine how these factors influence the plan she makes for her out-of-wedlock child.

The study is based on the examination of 20 unmarried mothers, who were known to the social service department of a large obstetrical hospital in Montreal in 1956-57.

The data were obtained by the writer, ^{who made} ~~with the~~ use of a schedule during personal interviews with the unmarried mother.

In this study it was shown that neither social nor psychological factors in themselves determined the plan for the baby. It was found that the plan the unmarried mother selected for her baby was determined by the inter-relationship of these ^{groups of} two factors.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

During the past decades many research projects and papers have been written on unmarried motherhood and the child born out of wedlock. The subject has been approached by psychiatrists, social workers and to a minor extent by sociologists. Each discipline has been interested in various aspects of the problem. The psychiatrists in general have been interested in the underlying causes of illegitimacy and how psychological factors influence the plan the unmarried mother makes for her baby. In general, the interest of social workers has centered on how casework can help the unmarried mother solve the emotional difficulties arising out of her pregnancy. The sociologists, in the main, have been interested in finding a method for predicting unmarried motherhood and in studying the changing attitudes of the community towards illegitimacy.

The purpose of this study is to select certain relevant psychological factors and factors in the current life situation of the unmarried mother and to explore the manner in which they interact to influence the plan the unmarried mother makes for her baby.

The choice of topic was motivated by the writer's concern about the decision the unmarried mother made for the disposal of her child. In her experience in helping unmarried mothers around this problem, the writer found

many mothers making plans which were unrealistic and unworkable. In many cases the plan for the child was of such an impractical nature that it endangered the emotional development and physical well being of the child. The writer feels in understanding some of the factors that influence the choice of plan, it will enable social workers to help the mother select the plan which is most realistic for her. It is felt that this study will also have relevance for administrators of community agencies by making them aware of the factors that influence the mothers' choice of plan. Through this greater understanding they may be able to offer more constructive services for this group of clients.

As a social worker in the social service department of a hospital, the writer felt in an advantageous position to undertake this study. In her professional capacity the writer carried cases, some of which were suitable for research purposes. It was the nature of this material that favoured the writer's choice of topic. As she had access to case material revealing information about the personalities and current life histories of unmarried mothers, the writer chose a topic which involved the use of this knowledge.

Relationship of the Study to the Theoretical Material

Most writers have described the unmarried mother as an unhappy neurotic woman with many conscious and unconscious needs and conflicts. It is believed that these conflicts and

needs are responsible for the unmarried mother's inability to control her biological urges from which result her out of wedlock pregnancy. Many kinds of need and conflict have been suggested as the cause of unmarried motherhood. The one aspect of the problem almost all modern theorists agree on is that the causes of unmarried motherhood are deeply rooted and can be traced back to the woman's early relationships with her family. Most psychiatrists consider that the causation lies in disturbed relationships with parents in early childhood. Sociologists, on the other hand, consider unmarried motherhood a symptom of the social disorganization which is most prevalent in lower class society.

Some writers in the field consider that the plan the unmarried mother makes for her baby is closely related to the psychological patterns that were responsible for her out of wedlock pregnancy. There may be a deeply-rooted need on the part of some unmarried mothers to give up their baby, while others have a similar deeply-rooted need to keep it. There is recognition given by other writers that the decision is also influenced by the external realities of the immediate social situation.

In general, writers in the field recognize that there are both psychological factors and reality factors in the current life situation and that each play an important part in the plan the unmarried mother makes for her baby.

However, in surveying the literature the writer has found a lack of inquiry into the interrelationship between psychological and reality factors. On the basis of her own observations, the writer is led to suspect the answer to the question of how the decision is made lies in the nature of the interrelationship between these factors. It is the purpose of this study, through the analysis of case material to attempt to discover the significant factors both in the psychological and the social situation of a group of unmarried mothers, and to inquire into the way these factors may operate to influence the decision.

Objectives of the Study

The purpose of this study is to test two basic assumptions with reference to the plan the unmarried mother makes for her baby. The writer has assumed first, that both psychological factors in the background of the unmarried mother and factors in her current reality situation influence the plan; and second, that it is the nature of the interrelationship of these two sets of forces that determine the plan selected for the child.

To test these assumptions the writer will explore; 1) The specific psychological characteristics and the specific factors in the current reality that may be of significance in the plan the unmarried mother selects for her child. 2) The manner in which these factors interact so as to determine the plan made for the baby.

In order to accomplish the objectives of this study the writer has studied the early familial relationship and also the current life situation of a group of unmarried mothers who presented themselves for treatment at a large obstetrical hospital in Montreal.

The Scope of the Study

The problem in which the writer is interested is both complex in nature and broad in scope. It is impossible in this study to investigate the psychological factors and current life situation of this group of unmarried mothers in their entirety. Therefore the writer will select from a wide range of possible factors only those factors, both psychological and social, which seem most relevant to the problem under study.

In recent years theorists interested in the problems of unmarried motherhood have discovered that many of the strengths and weaknesses in the mother's present personality, and present behavior patterns could be understood by studying her early relationships with her parents. If this theory concerning the importance of early familial influences is accepted, it suggests the following questions that are relevant for the study. What is the nature of the relationship of the unmarried mother with her own parents in her early years? Is this relationship of the type that will prepare the girl to cope maturely and realistically with adult experiences such as motherhood? Is there a relationship between the attitude towards illegitimacy of the unmarried mother learned from her parents as a child to her present attitude towards illegitimacy? Does her attitude towards illegitimacy influence her feelings towards the coming baby? Do her feelings towards illegitimacy and the coming baby

predispose against or favour a given plan? Other writers and the writer's own observations suggest that it is not only the unmarried mother's own feelings about keeping or giving up the baby which determine the decision she ultimately makes, but factors such as income and ability to make living arrangements play an important role in her final decision. Therefore, she questions what is her level of education, occupation and income? Is there assistance available from family, putative father and social agencies? Is it possible to establish a relationship between these above mentioned factors and the final plan for the baby?

The researcher recognizes a number of limitations inherent in this exploratory study. A main limitation is to be found in the fact of the complexity of the subject and the extent of its scope, making it impossible to study all the psychological factors and total current reality situation of this group of unmarried mothers. Another limitation is due to the fact that in obtaining her primary data the writer could obtain only subjective material as the mother herself reported on a conscious level.

There is a further limitation in relation to size of the sample. Limitation of time made it impossible for the writer to explore the life situations of more than twenty unmarried mothers. This is not a large enough group on which to base conclusions or to formulate an hypothesis on a statistically valid basis.

The Setting of the Study

The setting for this study is the Social Service Department of the Women's Pavilion, Royal Victoria Hospital. The Women's Pavilion is one of the largest and best known obstetrical hospitals in the City of Montreal. It has earned an established reputation in the community for three principal reasons: 1) its excellent medical care, 2) its extensive program of prenatal care, and, 3) its liberal admission policy.

The Women's Pavilion encourages adequate prenatal care by maintaining an extensive maternal health programme. Eight prenatal clinics are held each week. Five of these are in the Women's Pavilion itself and three are settlement¹ clinics. At the settlement clinics treatment is extended to patients whose geographical location makes it difficult for them to attend clinic at the Women's Pavilion. The admission policy of the Women's Pavilion states that it will refuse no patient regardless of marital status, race, colour, creed, ability to pay or time of request for treatment. Many unmarried mothers come to the hospital through referral from community agencies and from other hospitals who refuse this type of patient for treatment.

The Royal Victoria Hospital is regarded primarily as an "English" hospital, but it also treats a very large number of French Canadian patients. Many French Canadian unmarried

¹

A settlement clinic is an antenatal held in a public health centre outside the hospital

mothers come to the Women's Pavilion because they feel that in a so-called "English" hospital their pregnancy will not be discovered by members of their own community.

In general, a maternity hospital is an excellent setting to study women who are pregnant out of wedlock. It may not be necessary for an unmarried mother to go to an agency if she is not in need of financial assistance or of help with planning for the expected baby. However, at some time in her pregnancy she is forced to seek medical care. Several other circumstances make the Women's Pavilion a particularly suitable setting to undertake a study of this nature. First, its admission policy of refusing no obstetrical case for care makes it possible to study a group of unmarried mothers composed of varied social and ethnic backgrounds. Second, the present writer has been in a favourable position to obtain confidential information necessary for the study from any unmarried mother attending prenatal clinic or confined in the hospital. The hospital policy states that "all public patients pregnant out of wedlock" are to be seen on a routine basis by the Social Service Department. In addition, the social service department gives casework service to the unmarried mother who is a private patient upon the request of a staff doctor. Public patients who are to be confined in the hospital attend an antenatal clinic either at the hospital or at one of the three clinics held once a week in public health centres. The unmarried mother who attends any one of the antenatal clinics is referred to the social worker by the clinic secretary on her first clinic visit.

If an unmarried mother is admitted to the hospital as an emergency, and has not attended antenatal clinic, she is referred to the social service department by the head nurse.

The Cooperating Agencies

In order to give service to the unmarried mother the social workers in the Women's Pavilion work in close co-operation with the Child Welfare agencies in the community. In Montreal, the social agencies serving the unmarried mother are established according to religious affiliation. All English-speaking Roman Catholics in need of the service of an adoption agency are carried by the Catholic Welfare Bureau. All Jewish unmarried mothers are given service by the Jewish Child Welfare Bureau, and Roman Catholics of French Canadian, European, Asian or mixed origin are served by the Society of Adoption. All Protestant clients, whatever their ethnic origin, are carried by the Children's Service Center.

The policies of the four agencies are different but there are similarities in the service offered by the Children's Service Center, the Catholic Welfare Bureau and the Jewish Child Welfare Bureau. All three agencies are staffed for the most part by professionally trained social workers who offer a casework service to the unmarried mother. They offer temporary foster home care for the baby for a

period of approximately four months after birth. During this time of placement the mother is helped by the caseworker to make a decision as to whether she wishes to keep her baby or relinquish it to the agency for adoption. If at the end of this period the mother decides she wishes to keep her baby she must make private arrangements for his care.

The Society of Adoption did not, at the time the study was undertaken, offer a casework service to the unmarried mother. It was interested almost entirely in the disposition of the child and did not operate a foster home care service as do the other three agencies. Babies for whom the agency was responsible were placed in institutions (crèches) until such time as adoption was arranged, or until the mother was able to make private arrangements for the care of the baby. There was no definite time limit set by the agency in which the mother must take her baby out of temporary placement. Therefore, many of these children remain in the crèche until they are of school age at which time they are placed in orphanages.

The Selection of the Sample

To carry out the objectives of this thesis the writer selected twenty unmarried mothers for study. The universe from which the sample was chosen consisted of the first forty women pregnant out of wedlock who were referred to the Social Service Department of the Royal Victoria Hospital, Women's Pavilion, between January 1, 1957 and March 1, 1957, who were at least four months pregnant, and who met the requirements set out below. From this universe of forty cases the writer selected for study every second unmarried mother.

The writer spent approximately two months collecting the sample as approximately twenty-five unmarried mothers who are in their fourth or more month of pregnancy are referred to the Social Service Department each month.

For the purpose of this study a woman pregnant out of wedlock was defined as a primiparous or multiparous woman who was not married, or who was married but whose husband was not the father of the child she was carrying. Only unmarried mothers who were not living in the same house as the putative father were included in the study. This definition therefore excluded the pregnant woman who lived in a common-law relationship and actually was pregnant out of wedlock. There were two reasons for excluding these women in this study. First, they usually present themselves to the hospital and society as married women, and secondly, the psychological and sociological problems of this type

of woman are different from the problems a woman faces when she must assume sole responsibility for herself and her child.

The writer selected no unmarried mother for study who was less than four months pregnant. This was done in order to obtain all the necessary data including the plan on discharge from hospital by the end of May 1957.

The writer included in this study only women who were receiving both medical care and casework services, and who planned to have the delivery in the hospital. Those who came to the department for social planning only, and who were transferred to a hospital which provided a pre-natal living-in arrangement were not included in the study. These women were eliminated from the study as it would have been impossible in the short time before transfer to obtain all the psychological data needed for a comprehensive picture of the situation. One woman who did not deliver in the Women's Pavilion was included in the study. In this instance she attended pre-natal clinic until her eighth month of pregnancy when she made arrangements to be delivered privately by a doctor who was not on the staff of the Royal Victoria Hospital.

Method of Presentation

In this study the data were obtained directly from the unmarried mothers through the usual casework interviews.

No special interviews were arranged. Therefore, in order to have some uniformity in the method of data collection, all the data were collected by the writer herself. It was arranged that every second patient who fell within the sample at the point of intake was opened as a case by the writer. There was one exception to this method of collecting material. There were certain cases that fell within the sample in which the major responsibility for casework service lay with the Children's Service Center. Since it was felt that any attempt to obtain these data directly from the patient would jeopardize the casework relationship with the caseworker, the above agency's records were used to obtain the data necessary for the schedule.

With this exception, the only source of information was the unmarried mother herself and all material was obtained by the interview method. Most of the information desired was of the type usually revealed to a caseworker who is helping a patient. If there was any information which was not spontaneously revealed within the casework relationship, the writer obtained these data by direct questioning when a sufficiently good relationship had been established.

A schedule was used to abstract the data obtained during the interview. A copy of this is included in the appendix.¹

Following the completion of the schedule, a short history was written on each case in the sample. These histories were used to study the psychological aspects of the unmarried mother's life.

Several different methods of analyses and presentation of the findings will be employed in the study. Some of the factual information lent itself to tabulations and it will be dealt with by statistical analysis. For the qualitative types of material concerning the mother's behaviour or personality patterns individual case study methods will be used. References to the individual cases will be used as means of illustrating certain findings and as a means of supplementing the findings of the tables.

The sequence of material in the study will be presented as follows;

Chapter 2 will present selected theoretical material on unmarried motherhood.

Chapter 3 will present the general demographic characteristics of the sample. This includes data on the mother's age, religion, marital status, education and occupation.

Chapter 4 will study the family background in an effort to learn what effects the early development might have on the mother's personality, behaviour patterns and preparation for motherhood.

Chapter 5 will consider the emotional factors that influence the tentative plan the unmarried mother makes for her baby.

Chapter 6 discusses the putative father and his role in the plan the unmarried mother makes for her baby.

Chapter 7 discusses the environmental factors that determine the final plan the unmarried mother makes for her baby.

The Conclusions will present the findings of the study.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEMS OF THE UNMARRIED MOTHER

The existence of unmarried mothers in society is not new in the world's history, nor is the problem of illegitimacy unique to the twentieth century. The girl who bears a child out of wedlock has long been the object of social condemnation. While public attitudes have varied from one historical period to another and from one culture to another, there has been consistency in the way she and her child have been condemned by society. For the most part the unmarried mother has been regarded as a threat to the form of family established through marriage. A number of explanations of her behavior have been advanced. The simplest one offered was that the girl was born "bad" and that only sinful behavior could be expected of her. Another explanation was that these girls were "oversexed" by nature and lacked control over sexual urges. With the Victorian era came a gentler concept of the unmarried mother. She was an innocent and trusting maiden seduced by an unscrupulous villain.

In present North American society, while attitudes are changing in the direction of greater tolerance, the unmarried mother and her child are still considered a threat to the existing social structure. But within the last half century, with the development of psychiatric knowledge,¹ there has been a greater attempt to understand her. Modern

¹
Supra, p.19-23

theory considers unmarried motherhood purposeful by nature and psychologically motivated.

The purpose of this chapter is three fold. First, the causation of unmarried motherhood as described by theorists in the fields of psychiatry and social work will be discussed. Second, the writer will describe the psychological factors motivating the plan the unmarried mother makes for her baby as discussed by these same theorists. Third, the writer will review some of the community resources and the current life situations of the unmarried mothers to determine in what manner they may have a bearing on the plan she makes for her baby. The purpose of discussing this material is to give a theoretical framework for the analysis of data that the writer will undertake in the subsequent chapters of the study.

The pregnancy is considered by theorists in the fields of psychiatry and social work to be a symptom of an underlying emotional problem. It is this underlying problem which is presumed to be responsible for the girl's inability to control her biological urges from which results the out of wedlock pregnancy. Practically every kind of need and conflict has been suggested as the cause of unmarried motherhood. These include loneliness, emotional starvation, rebelliousness, an angry wish to punish a rejecting mother or father and the acting out of an incestuous fantasy of having a baby by the father. In all these cases the act of becoming pregnant is considered to be a direct satisfaction of an inner desire.

Practically all modern theorists agree that causes of unmarried motherhood are deeply seated and can be traced back to the girl's early relationships within her family.

Melitta Schmideberg states that family relationships are the most stabilizing factors in a child's life:

It is only the girl with sufficient affection, security and companionship who can control her biological urges satisfactorily. Satisfactory relationships with a mother or an elder sister will help the girl maintain her defenses and preserve her premarital virginity.¹

Helene Deutsch, in her book, "Psychology of Women," theorizes that the girls who have little love and understanding in their environment are likely to indulge in sexual intercourse that will result in motherhood.

Girls with a lack of tenderness in their environment are prone to uncontrolled sexual indulgence leading to motherhood. They misinterpret man's sexual lust for tenderness and their own need for tenderness creates the readiness for motherhood.²

Deutsch states further that many unmarried mothers are usually emotionally immature girls. Their primary motivation in their relationships with people is to find someone to love them. The backgrounds of these girls typically indicate a childhood of extreme deprivation due either to a broken home, institutional care or to the parents' inability to meet the dependency needs of the child, so essential to her

¹
Schmideberg, Melitta, "Psychiatric and Social Factors in Unmarried Mothers," Journal of Social Casework, XXXII (January, 1951) p.3.

²
Deutsch, Helene. Psychology of Women, (New York, 1945), Vol.11, p. 336.

normal development. The girls continue to seek the gratification of which they were deprived in their childhood, the desire for love which has never been met.

Deutsch elaborates on the need for the girl to have someone to love her, although emotionally she is not ready for heterosexual love.

With physical maturity and development of their feminine assets, they have a new tool for winning love. During the actual love making and the sexual act they fantasize that they are loved. The fantasy is short lived and frustrating... They are not ready for true heterosexual love since their emotional growth is still at that level at which their greatest need is for dependency and dependent security. The love is empty since it does not give them what they want.¹

Irene Josselyn sees unmarried motherhood as a result of the girl's inability to handle frustration during the oedipal stage:

The period in which the girl's strongest emotional attachment is spontaneously directed to the father is of paramount importance in her heterosexual adjustment.

The little girl normally faces the fact that while her father loves her she cannot replace the mother in the father's affection. This love for her is for a little girl who is his own. If she successfully handles the frustration, which involves her infantile sexuality, it becomes quiescent, remaining so until adolescence. With the reawakening of her sexuality her interest turns to boys, (particularly) to boys who are in her eyes similar in type to what her father appeared to be. If she is able to transfer her feelings, her heterosexual love finds a successful outlet. Some girls are unable to make this transfer

1

Ibid, p.338

completely. They continue to seek as a love object a father person with whom they can act out secretly the frustrated desires of childhood.¹

Leontine Young in her book "Out of Wedlock" is in general agreement with other writers on the subject of unmarried motherhood. She sees the causation of unmarried motherhood in the girl's early psychological development and familial relationships. Miss Young believes that the unmarried mother comes from a home characterized by disturbed familial relationships in which one pattern is pronounced - that of the constant domination of one parent:

With monotonous regularity one hears from girl after girl as she describes her early life, a family which has been shadowed by the possessiveness and unhealthy tyranny of one of the parents. It is rare to find a girl who can remember parents who loved and respected each other and shared family experiences and responsibilities. In a great many cases an unmarried mother comes from a broken home and is brought up by one parent only. In a large number of cases the parents remain together and the effect is much the same. The domination of one parent deprives the girl of normal relationships with either parent.²

She states that a large group of unmarried mothers come from homes that are mother dominated by a woman who basically has not accepted her own femininity and whose adjustment to life is a constant struggle over her femininity. To a greater or lesser degree the mother both envies and despises

¹
Josselyn, Irene, "Psychological Problems of the Adolescent," Journal of Social Casework, XXII, (May 1951), p.183

²
Young, Leontine, Out of Wedlock, (New York, 1954), p.40

the husband. She generally marries a passive man who cannot or will not oppose her domination of the family. These daughters express one of two attitudes towards their mothers. Many affirm love and devotion and allow themselves no critical observations. They are dependent on their mothers to an infantile degree, and they cannot express hostility towards them or criticise them overtly. Others are able to express hate and resentment towards their mothers. These girls blame their mothers for everything, deny that they ever received anything positive from them and will go to¹ any length to oppose them.

A second group of unmarried mothers, according to Young, come from homes where the father has been the dominating figure in the home. The daughters describe the father as domineering, rejecting, tyrannical and often cruel and abusive.

Such a girl is very aware of her father as a person but she sees him usually as just one type of person, the father who uses his strength not to protect but to injure. She constantly pictures a father who is never affectionate, who makes no attempt to understand her problems or feelings, who is not close to the children, and whose chief activity in relation to them is to lay down absolute commands and prohibitions. He demands unquestioning obedience and conformity to his wishes and sometimes takes pleasure in refusing the children pleasures and interests which they want.²

Miss Young describes a third category of girls which she classifies as "The Others". These are girls who have poor

¹
Ibid, p.40-44

²
Ibid, p.61

relationships with both parents or who have been raised in an institution and have no parental ties. The members of this group lack any cohesive personality structure. Miss Young refers to this group as the socially disorganized girls who have no standards of their own and little control over their impulses. The girls in this category come from one of two types of backgrounds. They either grew up in homes which lacked social and moral standards or they were placed in foster homes or institutions during most if not all of their childhood. In both cases they had parents much like themselves. In their own home they were neglected and rejected as their parents were unable to meet the demands of parenthood. Further, they were raised from childhood in homes without financial security, emotional strength, or social and moral standards.¹

While modern theorists have suggested every kind of need and conflict as a cause of unmarried motherhood they all agree that becoming pregnant is a direct satisfaction of an inner need. They agree that the cause is deeply rooted and can be traced back to unsatisfactory familial relationships during the early psychological development of the girl.

Along with the recognition of the social and psychological implications of unmarried motherhood has come the recognition that decisions cannot be made by others for the mother with regard to her plans for her baby. Wherever possible every

¹
Ibid, p. 80-92

effort is made through casework services to help the mother reach a realistic decision. But the mother has the deciding choice as to whether she will release her child for adoption or whether she will keep him.

The mother's decision about her child is often influenced, according to many theorists, by those emotional factors which have contributed to the pregnancy. There may be a deeply rooted need on the part of some unmarried mothers to give up the baby while others have a similar deep rooted need to keep him. There is the unmarried mother who rejects the baby and her only concern is to rid herself of him immediately after his birth.

The accepting mother, on the other hand, may want to keep her baby for a variety of reasons which vary in accordance with the degree of her adjustment to life. Bernice Brower, in her article "What Shall I Do With My Baby?" suggests several of these reasons.

Many unmarried mothers need to cling to the child because of their attachment to his father and the hope that through the baby they can still maintain a tie with him. Others who have been lead into pregnancy as a result of their own disturbed family relationships need to keep their babies as a help in working out these relationships. Some need to reinforce their dependence on their families: others to bring about their emancipation from an overly dominating family.¹

There are also many unmarried mothers whose desire to keep their babies is on an infantile level. They do not see the child as an individual but as a doll. They feel they can discard the child when they are bored with it or when its

¹
Brower, Bernice, "What Shall I Do With My Baby?",
The Child, Vol. XII, (April, 1948) p. 167.

demands become too great. Bernice Brower in the above quoted article quotes Dr. Margaret Gerard of the Institute of Psychoanalysis in Chicago, as saying:

Many of the unmarried mothers coming to us for help are impulsive and infantile individuals whose own dependency needs may lead them to hold tenaciously to their babies. Sometimes this is because the girl feels that her family or perhaps the social worker expects it of her. Or she may cling to the child through inability to relinquish any possession for fear that she will regret its loss at some time in the future.

Repeated experience has shown that the more dependent immature women whom we know to be inadequate mothers practically always chose to keep their babies once they had seen and handled them. This choice grows not out of ability to care for the child, but out of the wish for pleasure for herself.¹

There are also more mature young women who are capable of making an objective decision. They are sufficiently mature to keep their babies and give them love and security despite the difficulties imposed upon them by the community attitude towards illegitimacy. Many of the girls in this group will release their children for adoption. This plan is enacted because of a genuine concern and interest for the child rather than the rejection of him.

Whatever the emotional factors are that motivate the decision, the girl has to face a society which is intolerant of a mother bearing a child out of wedlock. In many cases the mother is caught in a dilemma. She must choose between keeping the child, which is the tangible result of her socially unacceptable behaviour, or giving up the child which is counter to her need to respond to it as a mother.

¹
Ibid.

The mother who keeps her child, whether her decision appears to be a realistic one or otherwise, must be prepared to accept many additional problems and to make adjustments to her new situation.

Assistance is at a minimum from the community for the unmarried mother who keeps her child, especially within the Montreal area. Unlike the United States, where an unmarried mother can receive assistance under the Aid to Dependent Children's Act,¹ Canada has few resources to assist the unmarried mother. In the Province of Quebec the unmarried mother and her child are ineligible for Needy Mother's Allowances² which could be considered the counterpart of the Aid to Dependent Children in the United States. In Montreal the Department of Social Welfare also refuses assistance to the unmarried mother who keeps her baby.

The mother who keeps her baby usually must live in very difficult circumstances. If she takes complete charge of the baby she must find a workable living arrangement for herself and the child. This means she must find a job where she can make sufficient money to pay for someone to care for the child. She may take a job as a domestic where she can

¹ U.S. Bureau of Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children, Washington, 1955.

² Quebec Statutes, Needy Mother's Allowance, Quebec Regulations, Act of Amendment 1947.

have her baby with her. She may find a rooming house and work during the day while the landlady looks after the child, or she may place the baby in a private foster home and pay for his care.

It can be seen that these arrangements afford little security for both the mother and her child. It is very difficult for a girl to earn sufficient income to support herself and the child other than on a marginal level. She must depend on people who are not committed to her to care for the child. The people who are assisting her may withdraw at any point with the result that the child is moved from home to home. If the girl is fortunate and finds adequate stable people to care for the child, she must be able to accept the probability that her child will develop strong emotional ties to these people. In many cases the child will become more attached to its foster parents than to its mother.

For the most part, the girl who brings her baby to her parental home is able to provide more security for the child and herself than is the girl who does not return with her baby to her parental home. For the girl, however, this situation has its emotional hazards, as in most cases the mother's role will be assumed by the child's grandmother and the mother must accept a secondary role.

Whatever plan the girl makes for her baby it will be unsatisfactory. If she keeps her child she is faced with

many practical difficulties, while if she gives the baby for adoption she must face the emotional hazards of separation.

In this chapter the writer has made an attempt to summarize the contribution of theorists in the field of social work and psychiatry on the causes of unmarried motherhood and factors that influence the plan the mother chooses for her child. In subsequent chapters, the writer, using the theoretical material as a framework for understanding the research material, will examine the psychological background and current life situation of the twenty unmarried mothers to ascertain which are the significant factors in the plan made for the baby, and how these factors interact to lead to the decision.

CHAPTER III

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE TWENTY UNMARRIED
MOTHERS IN THE STUDY

In this chapter the writer will study some of the objective factual data in the current life situation of the unmarried mothers in this sample group. These data will include age, marital status, education, occupation and income level.

Certain of these factors such as education, occupation and income give some indication of the girl's preparation to cope with her present environment and the additional responsibilities of motherhood. Also these data serve as indicators of the practical resources she possesses to carry through a plan for the coming child. The primary purpose of this examination is to determine whether there is a relationship between each of the above mentioned factors and the plan the unmarried mother makes for her baby.

In this chapter material concerning the age of the unmarried mother will be presented first, followed by findings on marital status, religion, ethnic background, education and occupation.

Age Distribution of the Twenty Unmarried
Mothers in the Study'

The ages of the unmarried mothers in the sample at the time of referral to the Social Service Department ranged from thirteen to thirty-seven years inclusive. Table 1 classifies the unmarried mothers into four year age groupings.

Table 1

Age of twenty Unmarried Mothers at the
Time of Referral to Social
Service Department'

Age in Years	Number
Total 20	
10-14	1
15-19	5
20-24	10
25-29	1
30-34	1
35-39	2

A study of the table reveals a concentration of unmarried mothers in certain age groups. It indicates that sixteen or three-quarters of the sample were between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four years.

It is interesting to note that the highest concentration of unmarried mothers in this sample fall between the ages of twenty and twenty-four years. In recent years the literature has focused on the group of unmarried mothers who became

Hereafter, all tables refer to the twenty unmarried mothers here indicated, unless otherwise specified.

pregnant out of wedlock in the age range from fourteen to seventeen years. This group comprises what is often termed as the young adolescent group. Much concern has been expressed about the numerous problems that face this age group in our society and about the varied and difficult adjustments they must make in the process of growing up. It is interesting to note that in this sample it is not in this age group in which the heavy concentration of unmarried mothers is found.

In examining other studies on unmarried mothers the writer has found that in a study done by Eleanor Furlong¹ on Unmarried Mothers the highest number was concentrated in the age group of twenty to twenty-four years. The statistics of the Social Service department of the Women's Pavilion also show that in the years 1956-1958 the highest concentration of unmarried mothers was in the age range between twenty and twenty-four years. The highest concentration of unmarried mothers in the study is in the same age group as the total caseload of unmarried mothers of the Department. One would expect that this group of girls would have benefited from their earlier adolescent experiences and had reached a stage in their development in which they reached a more stabilized way of life.

¹
Furlong, Eleanor, "A Study of The Unmarried Mother Who keeps her Child," (unpublished Master's thesis, School of Social Work, McGill University, 1954) p.20.

In a later chapter in this study the writer plans to examine what factors in the environment have prevented these girls from solving their emotional conflicts and adjusting to the accepted norms within our society.

Marital Status

Of the twenty unmarried mothers in this sample, eighteen were single, while two were married but both were separated from their husbands. The latter two conceived by men other than their husbands. As mentioned in Chapter 1, for the purposes of this study both the single and married women will be referred to as women pregnant out of wedlock. The terms unmarried mother and unwed girl will also be employed in the study and will carry the same meaning.

Religious and Ethnic Background

In this section the unmarried mothers will be described in terms of their religious and ethnic affiliation. In Table 2 which follows, the subjects are classified according to their religious and ethnic background. The table divides the sample into four categories - French Roman Catholic, European Roman Catholic, English Roman Catholic and English Protestant.

Table 2
Religious and Ethnic Background

Religious Ethnic Affiliations	Number
	Total 20
French Canadian Roman Catholic	13
European Roman Catholic	2
English Roman Catholic	1
English Protestant	4

In Table 2, French-Canadian Roman Catholic refers to an unmarried mother who is Canadian born French-speaking and whose religious affiliation is Roman Catholic. The term "European Roman Catholic" refers to the Roman Catholic unmarried mother who was born in Europe and who recently has come to live in Canada. English Roman Catholic refers to a Roman Catholic unmarried mother who was born in Canada and whose mother tongue is English. English Protestant refers to a Protestant unmarried mother who was born in Canada and whose mother tongue is English. A category for the Jewish unmarried mother was not included in this table as no Jewish unmarried mother was known to the Social Service Department during the period covered by this study. This fact is partially accounted for by the fact that there is in Montreal the Jewish General Hospital with its own Maternity Department. It is assumed that the Jewish Child Welfare Bureau would cooperate with that hospital in serving the Jewish unmarried mother. Fundamentally, however, the lack of Jewish unmarried mothers may be related to the

fact that a pregnancy out of wedlock is a comparatively rare phenomenon in Jewish Canadian culture.

When the subjects were classified according to the religious factor alone, it was noted that the largest proportion of the sample was Roman Catholic. There were fifteen Roman Catholic and five Protestant making up the total twenty cases.

When the subjects were classified by ethnic origin, it was found that thirteen were French Canadian, five were English Canadian and two were of European origin. It is clear from these figures that the sample is weighted in favor of the French Canadian and the Roman Catholic girl.

In studying the religious and ethnic distribution of the unmarried mothers serviced by the Department since the year 1952, it was found that the religious distribution in the sample is representative of the total caseload of unmarried mothers carried since that year. For example, in 1952, of the total caseload of three hundred and thirty-eight unmarried mothers, one hundred and ninety-seven were French Canadian Roman Catholic and one hundred and eighteen¹ were English Protestant.

This high concentration of French-Canadian Roman Catholic unmarried mothers attending the hospital can be accounted for by several reasons. Montreal is a predominantly French Canadian City in a predominantly French

¹
Royal Victoria Hospital, Women's Pavilion,
"Departmental Statistics," 1952.

Canadian province. Many of the French general hospitals in Montreal do not accept the unmarried mother for care. However, there is one large maternity hospital within the French speaking community which accepts the unmarried mother. This hospital, unlike the Women's Pavilion, maintains a residence in which the unmarried mother is expected to live and work during the months before and immediately following the birth of her baby. Many girls are unwilling to enter this type of arrangement as they prefer to work and maintain themselves in the community until they are ready to deliver their babies. In addition, for the girl who fears recognition within her own community there is value in coming to an "English" hospital.

In a later chapter in this study, the writer will examine the data to ascertain whether there is a relationship between the religious ethnic origin and the plan the unmarried mother makes for her baby. The writer questions if there is a noticeable difference between the English Protestant and the French Canadian unmarried mother in planning for the baby. She is interested in knowing if as a result of the close kinship ties within the French Canadian family the mother is more likely to bring her baby to her parental home and allow him to be raised by his maternal grandparents as one of her siblings.

Education, Occupation and
Average Income

In the following sections of this study, the writer will examine the education, occupation and average income of the twenty unmarried mothers in the sample. For the caseworker these data are invaluable for diagnostic purposes as they help her understand the capacities and abilities of the girl. They give the worker insight into the means by which the unmarried mother can help herself. In this study these data are especially important as they give some understanding of the "practical equipment" the unmarried mother has at her disposal to carry through the plan she chooses for her baby.

The following table shows the age at leaving school and the number of years of academic schooling completed by the twenty unmarried mothers at the time of referral to the Social Service Department.

Table 3

Grades of School Completed in
Relation to the Average Age
of Leaving School

Grade Completed	Number of Unmarried Mothers	Average Age at leaving school
Total 20		
1 to 7	6	14
8 and 9	9	15
10 and 11	2	15
High School	3	17

Table 3 indicates that only three girls out of the twenty completed high school. The formal education of six out of twenty girls ended at elementary school or at the average age of fourteen. Fifteen girls left school before or upon the completion of grade 9 or two years of high school. Fifteen of the twenty girls were less than sixteen years of age upon leaving school to work.

Five girls in the sample had vocational training in addition to their academic schooling. Of these five unmarried mothers, two were trained as stenographers and three as typists. The remaining fifteen girls had no specialized training or skills.

It will be shown that the low level of education, lack of specific training or skills and the early age at which the majority of the girls in the sample left school forced most of them to take unskilled jobs with very low remuneration.

The following table shows the occupation and average income of the twenty unmarried mothers before the conception of their out-of-wedlock child.

Table 4
Occupation in Relation to
Average Weekly Income
in Dollars

Occupation	Number of Unmarried Mothers	Average Weekly Income in Dollars
Total 20		
Clerical Worker	6	28
Saleslady	2	31
Factory Worker	3	27
Waitress	6	28
Domestic	1	-
Grade school student	1	-
Stenographer	1	45

In the category of stenographer was included one girl who had attended business college and had achieved sufficient skill in typing and shorthand to utilize it on a job.

The category clerical worker covers the six girls who were employed in office jobs other than those requiring both typing and shorthand. The work of these girls was principally filing. Five of these six girls had taken courses in a business college but had never developed sufficient skill in typing to utilize it on the job. The average earnings of the girls in the clerical positions was twenty-eight dollars weekly.

The category of saleslady covers those persons who were selling any commodity to the public. One of the two girls in the category earned her living by selling advertising on a commission basis. She calculated that when her commissions were averaged she earned approximately forty dollars weekly. The other girl worked for a general department store. Her weekly earnings were twenty-five dollars.

Factory workers were those girls who were employed in factories doing work that required no previous special training or specific manual skill. All three girls worked on sewing machines and were paid by the hour or by the piece. Their average earnings were twenty-seven dollars weekly.

Six girls worked as waitresses. They worked mainly in snack bars and cheap restaurants in the poor districts of the city. Their weekly salary including tips netted them an average of twenty-eight dollars weekly.

The one girl in the domestic category was employed in service in a private home. The writer had no exact information on this girl's earnings.

One girl in the sample had never worked as she was attending elementary school at the time of her conception.

It can be seen that there was a relationship between the educational level and type of occupation performed by the girls. They were employed in jobs that required little education and specialized skill and in consequence their

incomes ^{were} ~~was~~ low. In terms of the present cost-of-living their salaries were only sufficient to provide the basic necessities of life.

In summary, a generalized profile of the unmarried mother who is included in the study shows a single girl, under the age of twenty-five, of French-Canadian origin and whose religion is Roman Catholic. She left school at fourteen or fifteen years of age and has worked mostly at low paying unskilled jobs.

In a later chapter of this thesis the writer will re-examine the general characteristics of the twenty unmarried mothers in relation to the plan she made for her out-of-wedlock child. The writer will then be able to point out which of these factors played a role in determining the plan.

CHAPTER IV

THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE UNMARRIED MOTHER TO HER PARENTS

Childhood Relationships

In this chapter the writer proposes to obtain a picture of the early relationship of the unmarried mother with her parents. This study will add further to the total understanding of the mothers, but from a different focus from that of the previous chapter. The previous chapter gave a demographic and socio-economic profile of the unmarried mother. In this chapter the purpose is to describe her familial relations in early childhood and to look for clues to understand her personality in adulthood, at the time she first comes to a prenatal clinic.

Modern authorities recognize that family background and relationships play an important role in the development of the individual. The emotional growth of the child is a continuous process; he is a product of the many influences he meets from birth to adulthood. Since the parents are the first and most important persons in the child's life, their influence is of the utmost importance in the development of personality. The stability of the family, the affection, security and companionship they can offer all contribute to a normal healthy development and adjustment of the individual. Under these conditions the child can develop a feeling of being wanted which affords him strength to deal with the problems of his early life. In adulthood this feeling will help him develop into a self-confident person who can meet and accept responsibility.

In an article by Gertrude Pollak in the journal of "Social Casework" she states:

The content and the quality of the child's relationships with his mother, father and his siblings are both chronologically the first and in terms of personality development the most important influences that are brought to bear on the child. These various relationships interact with the result that the family unit in which the child grows up is the product of the interrelationships of several people with varied needs and varied potentialities.¹

The particular relationships with father, mother and siblings which the child experiences in the family along with the particular character of interrelationships in the family unit will deeply affect and influence his later ability to form relationships in life with members of both sexes and will determine the attitude expectations, hopes and goals that he will develop.²

Unfortunately, ideal conditions do not exist in every situation. Broken homes, poverty, immoral behavior, drunken and irresponsible behavior on the part of parents all have adverse effects on the child. The type of personality each parent has and his or her feelings towards the child are of basic importance in the child's personality development. Parents, consciously or unconsciously, display their own feelings or needs to their children. The anxious, over-protective mother, or the dominating, rejecting parent can also contribute to the emotional disturbance of the child as can the above mentioned factors.³

¹ Pollak, Gertrude, "Principles of Positive Parent Child Relationships in Family Life Education" "Social Casework, Vol. XXXVII. No.3 (Ma.1956) p.131.

² Ibid. p.132.

³ Ibid. p.133

The writer of this study was interested in the early background of the unmarried mother for several reasons.

- (1) It gave some insight into the maturity and the ability of unmarried mothers to meet and accept responsibility,
- (2) It was a determining factor in the preparation the girl had for motherhood and for planning realistically and objectively for her coming child.

The following table classifies the unmarried mother by the type of relationship that existed between her parents and herself during her childhood. The categories for this table were formulated by analyzing the feelings the unmarried mothers expressed towards their parents in positive or negative terms. Positive feelings have been taken to include those in which there were feelings of love, acceptance, and understanding. Negative feelings have been taken to include those characterized by feelings of rejection, discrimination, hostility, continual criticism and absence of love. In some instances the unmarried mother did not verbalize actual feelings of like or dislike for her parents. In these instances, it was necessary for the writer to use her diagnostic skills of casework to decide the quality of the relationship between the girl and her parents.

Table 5 classifies the twenty unmarried mothers in the study into seven groups.

In the category of "Disturbed relationship with mother but good with father" were included those girls whose feelings were negative for their mother but positive for

their father. Girls whose feelings were negative for their father but positive for their mother were included in the category "Disturbed relationship with father but good with mother". In the category "Disturbed relationship with both parents" were included those girls whose feelings were negative for both parents. In the study there was a group of unmarried mothers who were raised in an institutional setting and have had no contact with their parents during childhood. They were included in the category "No parental ties". A group of girls expressed neither positive or negative feelings for their parents. These girls were in continuous contact with their parents but never shared their feelings or life experiences with them. They were included in the category "Superficial relationships with both parents". The category "Good relationship with both parents" included girls who expressed positive feelings for both parents. A category "Other" was included in the table for one girl who expressed positive feelings for her mother but was deprived of a paternal relationship as her father died when she was a young child.

Table 5

Quality of Relationship between
Girl and Parents During
Childhood

Quality of Relationship	No.of Patients
Total 20	
Good relationship with both parents	3
Disturbed relationship with mother but good relationship with father	5
Disturbed relationship with father but good relationship with mother	2
Disturbed relationship with both parents	4
No parental ties	3
Superficial relationship with both parents	2
Other	1

The above table indicates that the greatest proportion of unmarried mothers in the study had a disturbed relationship with one or both parents. Eleven or more than half of the unmarried mothers in the study had a disturbed relationship with one or both parents. When the group of girls with "no parental ties" is added to the above mentioned only a quarter of the unmarried mothers had a good relationship with both parents. In the following subsections, the writer will describe by case illustration the typical quality of the relationship between the unmarried mother and her parents in each of the seven categories in Table 5.

Positive relationship with both parents

Three girls in the sample had good relationships with both their parents. They described their parents as kind, affectionate people and spoke of their families as united groups who lived harmoniously. Miss G. and Miss N. are examples of girls in this category.

Miss G. had lived with her family since birth. The family income was inadequate - it maintained the family merely on a subsistence level. At age thirteen Miss G. left school and started working to supplement the family income. She seemed to have positive relationships with both her parents. She spoke of her mother as a kind, affectionate person in whom she could confide and share her problems and experiences. The father seemed to play a less dominant role in the family. The girl stated that her father was a "good" man who never drank nor had extra-marital relationships. He did not participate actively in family affairs in that he left the rearing of the children and domestic matters to his wife.

Miss N. was the eldest of six children. The girl grew up in a home in which the family income was adequate. The father was a graduate pharmacist and owned a drug store. The girl spoke of both parents in positive and affectionate terms. She was able to share her feelings and life experiences with her mother. However, she referred to her father as "strict" and felt he would be shocked and punitive if he were told of her out of wedlock pregnancy.

Both the case of Miss G. and Miss N. illustrate a situation in which the family life was harmonious. But the case of Miss N. contrasts Miss G. in that the personalities of their fathers were different. Mr. N. was the authoritarian figure in the family while Mr. G. appeared to have been a meek person who took little interest in family affairs.

Disturbed relationship with mother and good relationship
with father

Five girls in the sample had disturbed relationships with their mothers and good relationships with their fathers. The cases of Miss P. and Miss N. are examples of girls who were included in this category. Both girls expressed feelings of being unloved, rejected and misunderstood by their mothers. They spoke of their fathers as being kind and understanding people of whom they were very fond.

The case of Miss P. illustrates a situation in which the girl was overtly hostile and resentful towards her mother.

Miss P. came from a home in which there was marital discord. The girl felt her mother was responsible for the quarrels between her parents and as a result she was sympathetic towards her father. When the father was sent overseas, the mother began going out with other men. Miss P. reacted to this behavior with feelings of hostility and resentment. These feelings were further intensified by her mother who used the girl as a baby sitter for her younger brother. This interfered with her schooling and prevented her from participating in recreational activities with her peer group. Miss P. believed that she had been deprived of normal family life. She held her mother responsible for this and consequently was overtly hostile to her.

Miss N. described her mother as a mentally ill person who was unwilling to take psychiatric treatment because she never believed she was ill. At times the mother would love her children and at other times she totally rejected them. The children experienced continual movement between their parental home and a foster home as the mother's mental condition at times made her incapable of caring for the children. The father was a stable person and the patient expressed positive feelings for him. He was kind and understanding, and took an interest in his children. The girl stated that she could share her feelings and experiences with him.

Miss N.'s childhood experiences are comparable to those of Miss P. in that she also experienced maternal deprivation; meanwhile she had received acceptance and understanding from her father who was living with his family. However, she expressed no overt hostility or resentment towards her parents. This could be attributed to her capacity, now in adulthood, to appreciate her parent's problems.

Disturbed relationship with father and good relationship
with mother

Three girls in the sample had disturbed relationships with the father. In general they described him as cold, disinterested, strict, rejecting and abusive. They felt that the father never showed any affection nor made any attempt to understand them. They described their mother as a kind, understanding woman who also was misused and maltreated by their father. In all three cases the father was very strict, and he placed great emphasis on the need to delay sexual gratification until marriage. Two cases were chosen to illustrate the group of girls included in this category.

The case of Miss G. illustrates a situation in which the girl felt her father was a punitive person. Miss G. viewed her father as the sole cause of familial discord. He drank heavily. When he was drunk he had no control over his behavior and would physically abuse his wife and children. Miss G. spoke of her mother as a kind understanding person who had done her best for her family. Miss G. left home at fifteen to escape the tyrannical rule of her father.

Miss B. was very resentful towards her father. He would never permit her any pleasures such as playing outside with other children or to watch television in a neighbor's house. The father would beat her for the slightest cause. If the mother interfered he would beat her as well. Miss B. and her older sister both became pregnant out-of-wedlock the year the father died. Miss B. had never experienced sexual intercourse prior to her father's death but was unable to identify the putative father because she had had intimate relationships with several men during the time of conception.

The case of Miss B. illustrates a situation in which the father was a foreign-born man who sought to impose the cultural standards of his country of origin on his children. He was an

authoritarian and demanded complete obedience and conformity to his wishes.

Disturbed relationship with both parents

Four girls in the sample had disturbed relationships with both parents. These girls were raised in homes in which there were no social or moral standards. They knew little security in their early years, for they experienced only emotional and economic deprivation in their homes. Their family situations revealed the whole gamut of social problems - parental separation, desertion, prostitution, illegitimacy and poverty. Two girls in this group were brought up in homes in which the mother lived with a series of men. One of these girls was an illegitimate child, and she did not know her own father. The parents were unable to meet the demands of adult life and to accept responsibility. As a result the girls spent a great deal of time in foster homes and institutions. In these foster homes and institutions, as in their own homes, they felt neglected, misunderstood and rejected.

Miss D. is one of the girls included in this group.

Miss D. was an illegitimate child. Her mother never married but lived with a series of men. The girl did not know her father: he was one of several men with whom her mother was having sexual relations at the time of her conception. The girl had four siblings all fathered by different men. Of the four she knew only one. The other three were placed through welfare agencies and they had no further contact with the mother.

The girl spent the first three years of her life with her mother. As her mother was irresponsible and incapable of caring for her, an aunt assumed the responsibility for her care. The girl spoke fondly of the aunt as she felt wanted and accepted by her. At the age of eleven the girl was placed in a convent because the aunt had her own familial responsibility and could no longer care for her. She remained in the institution until the age of seventeen and during this period she had little contact with her mother.

Miss D. was overtly hostile towards her mother. She resented her and stated that she was immoral, irresponsible and that she had betrayed her children by her shameful behavior.

The parents of Miss S. were divorced when she was two years old and her mother was given custody of her. The mother remarried shortly after. The girl accepted her stepfather as if he were her own father and formed a strong emotional attachment to him. The stepfather joined the army and was sent overseas. During his absence, the mother had a nervous breakdown. As there was no family member who could take responsibility for her care, the child was placed in a foster home.

The mother died in a car accident during this period. The girl has a clear recollection of her death. A few days preceding the accident the mother had come to visit the foster home. During this visit the girl upset the carriage containing the foster mother's child. The foster mother reprimanded her behavior. The girl was very upset and resentful when her mother did not defend her but sided with the foster mother. As a result of this accident the girl remembers that she wished her mother dead. The mother's death occurred a few days subsequent to this incident. Miss S. remembered feeling personally responsible for her mother's death.

Miss S. experienced another trauma shortly after the death of her mother. The stepfather remarried and his new wife was unwilling to care for her. She felt very rejected by her stepfather. Previously she had trusted him completely but now she felt that he had failed her.

After this rejection came a period in which Miss S. was moved from one foster home to another. Her grandmother kept her for a while but she was unable to manage her. The girl was placed in another foster home. By this time she was a behavior problem and no foster parents were able to cope with her, with the result that she was moved frequently.

Both girls grew up in an atmosphere of social disorganization and emotional deprivation. They expressed feelings of loneliness and of rejection by their parents.

In the second case cited Miss S. had such strong negative feelings about her childhood that she found it difficult to discuss her experiences with the writer. She stated that she would like to forget this part of her life.

No parental ties

Three girls in the sample were included in the category of "No parental ties." Their parents either had died or they had separated when the girls were very young. Since there were no family members who could care for them, they were placed in institutions. These girls have had either superficial contacts or no contacts at all with their family. The cases of Miss J. and Miss R. illustrate the group of girls who were included in this category.

Miss J. was an only child. Her parents separated when she was two months old. Her mother was unable to care for her and placed her in an institution. At the age of five she was transferred from the institution to a French Catholic boarding school where she remained until she was eighteen. The girl had no memory of her father as she had not seen him since infancy. Miss J. saw her mother only occasionally and, therefore, she had little feeling for her. She expressed a great deal of feeling about her childhood which she viewed as lonely and unhappy. She stated that it was difficult to grow up in an institution and not have a family with whom she could share her problems and feelings.

Miss R. was placed in an institution at the age of two after both her parents had died in an accident. The girl remained there until the age of twelve. During this period she had no contact with any family member and no experience in belonging to a family group. At the age of twelve the girl went to live with a family for three years but in the role of a domestic. She received room and board in return for caring for the children. While in this home the girl stated she formed no emotional bonds with any of the family members.

The life experiences of Miss R. and Miss J. are similar. Both were raised in an institutional setting and experienced severe emotional deprivation. During their early lives they had no opportunity to form meaningful relationships and their life experiences were characterized by the lack of even one

person with whom they could share their feelings and who could love them.

Superficial relationship with both parents

Two girls in the sample were included in the category of "Superficial relationships with both parents." These girls showed no warmth or interest in their parents. They never shared their problems, experiences or feelings with their parents, yet they expressed no negative feelings towards them.

The case of Miss C. is an illustration of one of the girls who was included in this category.

Miss C. never expressed any real feeling towards her parents. She stated that she never confided in them and she found it very difficult to share her feelings with them. She complained that family matters of importance were never discussed in her presence. The girl considered herself a shy child especially her behavior towards boys and in regard to sex. Her mother had attempted to give her some sex information. She became so embarrassed that her mother was unable to continue. Finally her teacher, a nun, discussed the subject with her. Miss C. said that she never had arguments with her siblings but she never felt especially close to them.

Miss A. was the youngest of thirteen children. She stated she had a happy childhood and that she received more attention and material goods than any other child in the family. The girl's emotional attachments centered on her eldest sister rather than on her parents. She lived with this sister while attending school, and it was with this sister that she shared her life experiences and confidences. The writer felt that this eldest sister was a mother figure for Miss A.

The case of Miss A. contrasts that of Miss C. in that the former had strong positive relationships with her siblings although the relationships with her parents were superficial.

This chapter had a two fold purpose. First, to describe the various types of relationships the girls had in childhood with their parents. Second, to discuss these relationships in the light of existing psychological theory to determine whether these childhood experiences were of the type that could be expected to help the girls develop into emotionally stable adults who could cope with a serious crisis such as an out of wedlock pregnancy. In order to accomplish this objective the writer investigated the unmarried mother's preparation for life by examining her early relationships with her parents. It was found that the quality of the relationships could be divided into seven distinct categories if the feelings of the unmarried mother towards each parent were analyzed.

The majority of unmarried mothers had a negative relationship with one or both parents. Thirteen or approximately three quarters had a disturbed relationship with one or both parents. A large number of these thirteen girls came from broken homes, or homes in which there was poverty, drunkenness, and immoral or irresponsible behavior on the part of their parents. The girls had known little stability, security or companionship, all factors which contribute to the healthy emotional development and adjustment of the individual. They had no opportunity to form meaningful relationships with mature parents who by their own example could help the girl to meet and accept responsibility.

Three girls or less than one quarter of the unmarried mothers studied here came from homes in which the family relationship was harmonious and the family situation stable. In these families there was no evidence of immoral or irresponsible behavior on the part of the parents. In all three cases, the parents attempted to provide the girl with a warm and accepting environment. But in two cases, the writer felt the parents had personality problems, which the unmarried mother was not aware of. In one case the father appeared to be an authoritarian person who demanded obedience and behavior beyond reproach from his daughter. In the other case, the father was a submissive person who took little interest in his family or in domestic affairs, allowing his wife to dominate.

It is generally felt by theorists in the field of child development that the child's relationship with his parents is a crucial factor in his personality development. His relationship with his family determines the quality of his adult relationships, expectations and in general his ability to cope with his life situation.

Rita V. Frankiel in "A Review of Research on Parents' Influence on Child Personality" states that the quality of family relationships have a profound effect on emotional development:

The quality of family relationship had profound effects both positive and negative on emotional development and social adjustment of all members of the family.¹

¹
Frankiel, Rita, "A Review on Parents Influence on Child Personality, Family Service Association, (New York, 1953.) p.3.

The child to grow emotionally must have parents who are free from burdens both economic and emotional. Wilhemina Easterling in her study "Some Aspects of Unmarried Parenthood", states it in this manner:

Freedom and opportunity for growth can be given to the child only by parents who themselves are free enough from emotional, economic and other burdens to want to see him grow, giving him every chance to develop his own powers.¹

From this limited sample it is impossible to reach any definite or generalized conclusions, yet certain facts can be established. For the most part parents of this group of unmarried mothers were persons who were burdened with problems both emotional and economic. They appeared to have little capacity to give warmth and affection with the result they were unable to provide their daughters with a firm foundation for life. As a result, the majority of these girls had few positive experiences with parents in childhood to help them cope with life and accept the responsibilities of motherhood. Most of the unmarried mothers have experienced rejection, feelings of being unwanted and unloved by their families. It is these same feelings that appear to play an important role in the plan the unmarried mother makes for her baby.

In a study by Eleanor Baddy Owen "The Unmarried Mother - Her Problem" she states:

It is obvious that the decision for the disposal of the child is not made in a vacuum that is inseparable from the total psychological pattern of the individual

¹

Easterling, Wilhemina, "Some Aspects of Unmarried Parenthood," (unpublished Master's thesis, New York School of Social Work, March, 1959) p.4.

unmarried mother, in fact it is an outcome and integral part of that pattern and can be understood only in that perspective. No decision in life is made just on the merits of the given problems but it is a composite of the individual's personality and past experiences and their relationship to the immediate situation.¹

Bernice Brower in her article "What Shall I Do With My Baby" considers many unmarried mothers as impulsive infantile individuals whose own dependency needs lead them to hold tenaciously to their babies.² Eleanor Baddy Owens supports the above theory in that she states that many unmarried mothers need their babies because they fill their need for constant assurance and love.

We find that because parental relationships have failed to meet the needs of the unmarried mother for love and attention, they tend to develop more or less excessive needs as they grow older. They need constant expression of love and attention from people.³

In conclusion, it would seem that few unmarried mothers in this sample have been given opportunity for emotional and development growth by their parents in early childhood. As a result it appears that they have little preparation to deal with life experiences and accept the responsibilities of motherhood. In consequence it can be said that in many

¹
Owen, Eleanor Baddy, The Unmarried Mother Her Problem, New York School of Social Work, N.Y., September, 1942, p.8.

²
Brower, Bernice, "What Shall I Do With My Baby," The Child, Vol.XII (April, 1948), p.167.

³
Ibid, p. 9.

cases the plan for the child will be influenced by the emotional needs of the unmarried mother and not out of her genuine concern for the welfare of the child.

Adult relationships

In the previous section it was demonstrated that the greatest proportion of unmarried mothers had either disturbed relationships with parents or no parental ties in childhood. In this chapter the writer will examine the present relationship of the unmarried mother with her parents, to determine whether or not there has been a change in the nature of the relationship since childhood and if a change has occurred, to what cause it may be attributed.

The purpose of this examination is to establish 1) the existence or non-existence of emotional support from parents during this traumatic period in the life of the unmarried mother. 2) whether or not the nature of relationship encourages the unmarried mother to approach her parents for assistance in planning for the baby.

Table 6 classifies the unmarried mothers according to the quality of their early relationships with their parents and indicates whether a change has occurred in adulthood. If there is a change in the nature of the relationship, its causation will be examined in the following analysis.

Table 6

Early Relationship with Parents in
Relation to Adult Relationship
with Parents

Quality of Early Relationship with Parents	Total Number in category	No. of cases in which Relationship changed	No. of cases in which Relationship which has remained unchanged
	Total 20	4	16
Disburbed Re- lationship with Mother and good with Father	3	1	2
Disturbed Re- lationship with Father and Good with Mother	4	1	3
Disturbed Re- lationship with both Parents	4	1	3
No Parental Ties	3		3
Superficial Re- lationship with Both Parents	2		2
Good Relationship with Both Parents	3	1	2
Other	1		1

In examining the above table it is found that in the greatest majority of cases the early relationship between the unmarried mother and her parents has remained unchanged in adulthood. In none of the cases was there a change in the quality of relationship, but in four cases, as a result of situational factors, a change in the nature of the

relationship was noted.

In the category "Disturbed relationship with mother and good relationship with father" there was one girl for whom the death of a parent left her devoid of familial ties.

In childhood Miss N. had a positive relationship with her father but a negative relationship with her mother. Her mother neglected and rejected her but the father was a kind understanding man in whom she confided. When Miss N. was nineteen years of age, her father died. This death left her without a close familial tie.

In the category "Disturbed relationship with father and good relationship with mother" there was again one case in which the relationships in the family were affected by the death of a parent.

The father of Miss B. was punitive, abusive and strict towards his family. He treated his wife as if she were a child and did not allow her to take responsibility for family matters or in disciplining the children. At the time of Mr. B's death, the two eldest daughters were adolescents. Mrs. B. was unable to control her daughters. They stayed out late at night, played truant from school and within a year both were pregnant out of wedlock.

In the second case it would appear once the external restraint was removed, there was no internalized control and both girls gave full expression to their biological urges. In this way, although the girl's feelings remained constant towards her father, her home environment and mode of living were affected by his death.

In the category "Disturbed relationship with both parents" there was one case in which a change was noted in the relationship between the unmarried mother and her parents. There was no change in the feelings or attitudes of the girl but the social situation had altered in such a way that she no

longer had contact with her family.

In the case of Miss S. whose mother died when she was seven years old, her father remarried shortly thereafter. Because the stepmother was unwilling to accept responsibility for her care, she was placed in a foster home. She maintained a superficial contact with her father in childhood and early adolescence but in the latter part of her adolescence she was totally devoid of familial ties. The emotional bond of the girl for her father was not sufficiently strong for her to maintain even a superficial contact with him.

In the category "Positive relationships with both parents" there is one girl whose relationships with her family in adulthood differ from those in childhood.

Miss L. spoke positively about her parents; they were kind understanding people who did their best for their children. The girl was fifteen when she left home. At this time her father fell ill and was no longer able to support the family. In the four years she was away from home her only contact with her family was through occasional letters. Even though separated by distance, the girl maintained a warm affectionate attitude towards her parents.

It can be seen that in all of the cases the present relationship between the unmarried mother and her parents was the same as in childhood, in that the emotional quality of the relationship was unchanged. In three cases situational factors such as death and illness of a parent had altered the nature of the relationship in such a way that girl was devoid of familial ties. In the case of Miss B. the death of one parent had changed the home environment and relationships within the family.

When the one girl who was included in the category "Positive relationship with both parents" in childhood and whose relationship with parents in adulthood had changed is

added to the thirteen girls who had either disturbed relationship with parents or no parental ties, fourteen out of the twenty unmarried mothers had either disturbed parental relationships or no parental ties in adulthood.

From these data it would appear that the majority of the girls could not turn to their parents for understanding or emotional support during this traumatic period. Nor could they approach their parents for assistance in planning for their out of wedlock child.

The writer questions whether, in addition to the quality of the relationship between unmarried mother and parents, there are psychological factors within the relationships that affect and influence the plan for the baby. In the subsequent chapters, the writer will study specific psychological phenomena within the parent-child relationship to determine their role in the plan for the child. In Chapter 5 the relationship between the sexual attitudes and behavior of the parents and the tentative plan the unmarried mother makes for her baby will be examined.

CHAPTER V

THE ATTITUDE OF THE UNMARRIED MOTHER
TO HER OUT OF WEDLOCK PREGNANCY

Relationship Between Sexual Behavior of
Parents and Attitude of the Unmarried
Mother to Her Pregnancy

Contemporary sociologists believe the personality of a child develops through the process of socialization. In this process the child first acquires the attitudes and values of his parents, the persons who are responsible for his early socialization. These attitudes and values penetrate the individual's consciousness and become an integral part of his personality structure. In consequence they become important factors affecting his behavior, and his emotional reactions to situations.¹

In complex Western society, the standards and attitudes in matters pertaining to sex are varied. In some families great emphasis is placed on the delay of sexual gratification until marriage and illegitimacy is tabooed. In others, illegitimacy, pre-marital and extra-marital relationships are accepted as part of the social code. Therefore two girls in a similar social situation will react with entirely different feelings. One girl who discovers she is pregnant out of wedlock will express strong feelings of guilt and shame, while another girl will express no guilt and will be much less perturbed by her situation.

¹
Joseph Church and Joseph Stone, Childhood and Adolescence, Random House, (New York, 1957), p.97.

In this section the writer will examine the relationship between the alleged sexual behavior of the parents and the attitude of the unmarried mother towards her pregnancy. The purpose of this examination is to determine if there is a relationship between the attitude of the mother as a reflection of parental attitude and the plan she selects for her baby.

Table 7 shows the attitude of the unmarried mother towards her pregnancy in relation to what she believed was her parents' attitude to, and behavior in matters pertaining to sex.

The category "No extra-marital relationships and non-accepting attitude to illegitimacy" included those parents whom the girl thought had had no premarital or extra-marital relationships and whose parents considered illegitimacy as socially stigmatized.

In the category "No extra-marital relationships and accepting attitude to illegitimacy" were included those parents whom the girl thought had no premarital or extra-marital relationships and who had an accepting attitude to illegitimacy.

In the category "Extra-marital relationships" were included those parents whom the girl reported were separated and living in common-law with other mates, or were having extra-marital relationships while still living together as man and wife.

In the category "Marked promiscuity" were included those parents who were known to have relationships with many mates or were earning their livelihood by prostitution, or had several out of wedlock pregnancies, all of whom were fathered by different men.

In the category "No information" were included those cases in which no information was known or none was given by the girl regarding her parents' attitude to sexual relations. This category included the cases in which the girl had no parental ties.

The table divided the girls into those who expressed feelings of guilt and shame or showed signs of depression in their ante-natal period, and those who expressed no guilt or shame and had an indifferent attitude. Those who expressed guilty feelings are referred to as "guilty," those who expressed no guilty feelings as "not guilty."

Table 7

The Attitude Towards the Pregnancy in Relation
to the Parents' Behavior in Matters
Pertaining to Sex

Parents' behavior in sexual relations	Girl's feeling towards pregnancy	
	Total 20	Guilty 6 Not Guilty 14
No extra-marital re- lationships. Non- accepting attitude to illegitimacy	5	5
No extra-marital re- lationships. Accepting attitude to illegiti- macy	2	2
Extra-marital re- lationships	6	6
Marked promiscuity	3	3
No information	4	1 3

The five cases included in the category "no extra-marital relationships and non-accepting attitude to illegitimacy" included those girls in whose families there had not been an out-of-wedlock pregnancy in the immediate family prior to that of her own. Sex instruction had been given to the children by their parents in which great emphasis was placed on delaying sexual gratification until marriage. In some cases the parents used the threat of ostracizing the daughter should she become an unmarried mother. In all five cases the girls expressed feelings of guilt and shame about

their pregnancy. They felt that their behavior was contrary to the values in which they had been raised. It appeared that the girls had internalized these values and the resulting conflict created by the pregnancy was reflected in their feelings of guilt and shame. In a later part of the study, the writer will question whether this attitude of guilt is a determining factor in the plan the girl made for the baby.

Miss M. grew up in a home in which great emphasis was placed on delaying sexual gratification until marriage. The father threatened his daughter with ostracism from the family if she ever became an unmarried mother. He was very strict in matters pertaining to dating, and insisted on approving Miss M.'s male friends before she could go out with them. Miss M. was very disturbed upon discovering she was pregnant. She was depressed throughout her ante-partum period and continually expressed feelings of guilt and shame.

Miss B. was raised in a home in which the parents were devout Christians who adhered to a rigid moral and social code. They would not allow their daughter to participate in social activities such as dancing and going out with boys. The parents felt sex was sinful and that its only function was that of procreation. Miss B. expressed strong feelings of guilt and shame throughout the pregnancy and showed a tremendous need to punish herself. Her masochism was best illustrated during her difficult labor and delivery, when she refused an anaesthetic or drugs since she thought that through suffering she could expiate her "sins".

Two cases were included in the category "no extra-marital relationships and accepting attitude to illegitimacy". In these cases the girls believed that there were no extra-marital relations by the parents or any member of the immediate family prior to their own out of wedlock

pregnancy. Illegitimacy was not sanctioned by the family members but it was not stigmatized as in the previous group. The accepting attitude of the family towards the pregnancy can be partly accounted for by the fact that illegitimacy was not unknown in the larger family group. In one case the brother had married a woman who previously had borne a child out of wedlock which was fathered by a man other than himself. In the other case the mother had adopted the illegitimate child of a family member. These girls were not overtly upset by their pregnancy but they did express some shame and seemed to have more awareness that their behavior was socially unacceptable than did those girls who grew up in homes in which the parents had had aberrant sexual relations.

Miss L. grew up in a home in which there was only one parental figure because of the death of her father at an early age. The mother worked hard to keep the family together. The girl said that her mother had one male companion after her father's death but she is certain that her mother had no sexual relations with him. The other members of the immediate family had no aberrant sexual relations but the brother married a girl who had borne a child out of wedlock which she kept. The writer spoke with the mother. She was shocked by the girl's behavior but she was sympathetic towards her daughter and concerned about her welfare. The mother's accepting attitude towards the girl's illegitimate pregnancy was an important factor in the plan which the girl later made for her baby.

Six cases were included in the category "extra-marital relationships". In these cases the parents were living together but were having extra-marital relationships, or were

separated and living in common-law with other mates. If any sexual information was given to the girl, no emphasis was placed on delaying sexual gratification until marriage. The girls in this group expressed no feelings of guilt or shame about their out of wedlock pregnancy.

Miss R. grew up in a home where the father drank heavily, and constantly had extra-marital sexual relationships. She accused her father of having raped her when she was five. Since that time she had been terrified of him but had never told anyone of the incident until she was fifteen. She expressed positive feelings for her mother although there was not a close relationship between them. The parents separated when she was ten years old. Miss R. expressed no feelings of guilt or shame about the pregnancy.

Three cases were included in the category "marked promiscuity". In two of the cases the mother had never been married and in the third, she had been married but separated from her husband shortly after. All three mothers had lived with various men at different times. When they were not living with men the mothers had resorted to prostitution for their livelihood. Consequently the girls were exposed to a home environment in which there were no moral standards in sexual matters.

At the age of six, two of the girls were sent to convents, but they occasionally visited their mothers. Their education emphasized adherence to a strict moral code with emphasis on chastity. As a result of this education, the girls were overtly hostile towards their mothers. In these cases the girl gave lip-service to the controls

taught within the convent but their behavior suggested that actually they had identified with permissive standards by which their mothers lived. In such instances it seemed that the super ego of the girls, as far as their sexual behavior was concerned, had minimal control. They had incorporated the super ego of the mother rather than the moral intellectual¹ instruction of their religious training.

Miss B. was raised in a home in which there was personal and social disorganization. The mother separated from the father shortly after Miss B. was born. From that point the mother maintained herself by living with various men or by prostitution. The girl was educated in a convent. As a result of her religious instruction she expressed hostility towards her mother. She felt that her mother's behavior was immoral. Despite the convent education and her attitude towards her mother, the girl's sexual behavior strongly resembled that of her mother. The girl's greater identification with her mother rather than with her educational background are demonstrated by the absence of any feelings of guilt or shame she had about her out of wedlock pregnancy.

The four girls in the group "no information" were those who gave no information on the parent's sexual relationships. This was due either to the girl's lack of knowledge or else her unwillingness to discuss the matter. In the cases where there was a lack of knowledge, this could be accounted for by the girl's separation from her family and placement in an institution at a very early age. In the one case where there was guilt, the writer felt that there probably had been no

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This theory is discussed in an article by Irene M. Josselyn, "What We Know About the Unmarried Mother," Speech delivered at National Committee on Service to Unmarried Parents, Cleveland, June, 1953.

extra marital sexual relationships or illegitimacies in the immediate family, as the girl spoke of her parents as being devoted to each other and to the children.

The three girls who expressed no feelings of guilt were all raised in institutions and have had no emotional ties with any one person. As shown in Chapter 2 present day¹ theorists believe that a girl without emotional ties will be less likely to develop a moral conscience and an ability to adhere to socially acceptable behavior. It seemed that the absence of guilt feelings towards the pregnancy could be accounted for by the institutional upbringing with its lack of parental emotional ties.

In summary, the case material indicates that a relationship exists between the sexual behavior of the parents and the attitude of the unmarried mother to her out of wedlock pregnancy.

The girl who was raised in a home in which emphasis was placed on delay of sexual gratification until marriage and in which illegitimacy as well as extra marital relationships were unknown phenomena expressed guilt and shame about the pregnancy. However, the girl who had no parental ties or grew up in a home in which there was promiscuity or extra marital relationships on the part of her parents showed no feelings of guilt or shame.

¹
Infra, p. 23

Ability or Inability to Inform
Parents of Pregnancy

In this section the writer will examine the case material to determine if there is a relationship between the girls' attitude towards her pregnancy and the ability to share this experience with her family. The purpose of this examination is to establish if the plan the unmarried mother chooses for her baby is affected by her own attitude to her pregnancy and her ability to share the experience of pregnancy with her parents.

In Table 7 the attitude of the unmarried mother to her out of wedlock pregnancy was classified as guilty or not guilty. In Table 8 these attitudes will be considered in relation to the ability or inability to inform her parents of her pregnancy.

Table 8

The Attitude Towards the Pregnancy in
Relation to Ability or Inability
to Discuss the Experience
with Parents

Girl's attitude towards her out of wedlock pregnancy	Ability to discuss the pregnancy experience with parents		
	Total Attitudes	Discussed	Not discussed
Guilty	6		6
Not guilty	14	7	7 ^a

^a These seven girls have no parental ties. This group is composed of girls who either were raised in institutions or whose familial ties were severed a considerable time before conception.

It is significant to note that the six girls, who expressed guilt feelings towards their pregnancy and who did not share the experience with parents, were the same girls as in the previous section, whose parents were included in the parental category of "No extra-marital relationships and non-accepting attitude towards illegitimacy". As shown previously the parents had rigid values on sexual behavior and placed great emphasis on delaying sexual gratification until marriage. The girls had strong identification with their parent's values, and as a result they reacted to their pregnancies with strong feelings of guilt and shame.

The pregnancy was a traumatic experience which the girls could not discuss with their parents. In most cases they did not have sufficient funds to maintain themselves during their ante-natal period and were forced to discuss their pregnancy with at least one person in order to obtain financial help. It is significant that at no point did any one of these girls approach their parents for the help. This help was sought from community agencies, friends or even acquaintances. It would seem that help was sought from people who had little emotional significance for them. In this way the fear of condemnation and rejection was lessened.

Miss C. grew up in one of the families in which the parents had rigid values in sexual matters. The children were given sexual instruction and great emphasis was placed on delaying sexual gratification until marriage.

Miss C. was very disturbed on learning of her pregnancy. She immediately made plans to leave home as she was fearful of her parents discovering her condition. Although she had six siblings who could have helped her she approached none of them. She felt that her behavior had disgraced herself and her family.

For financial help Miss C. approached a previous employer whom she felt she could trust and who would not betray her confidences.

Another illustration of one of the girls in this category is Miss B.

Miss B. was raised in a home in which the parents had very rigid standards in matters related to sexual and social behavior. The family belonged to a religious sect which believed that all pleasurable behavior was sinful. No sexual instruction was ever given to the girl as it was understood that the only purpose for sexual relations was procreation within the bond of marriage. Miss B. was very upset upon learning of her pregnancy, and her first thought was to prevent her family from learning of it. She requested help from an elderly couple whom she knew from childhood and whom she regarded as kind and able to understand human failings.

The table shows that fourteen girls displayed or expressed no feelings of guilt about their pregnancy. As shown in the previous section, these were the girls who were raised in homes which have known the whole gamut of social problems - illegitimacy, extra-marital relationships, separation and desertion. In these homes the values were such that it was not considered necessary to delay sexual gratification until marriage nor was illegitimacy considered socially stigmatized behavior.

Of the fourteen girls, only seven were in contact with their parents at the time of conception. It is noteworthy that all seven girls told their parents about the pregnancy.

It appeared to the writer that the ability to share the experience was related to the absence of guilt feelings in the girl. This absence reflected the values accepted in the home in which illegitimacy was not considered stigmatized behavior. This contrasts with the attitude of the girls in the preceding category, in whom illegitimacy was considered stigmatized behavior and where there was fear of rejection and condemnation.

Miss P. is an example of a girl included in these seven.

Miss P. grew up in a home in which both parents had extra-marital relationships. The mother was promiscuous while the father entered into a common-law union with another woman. The girl resented her parents, especially her mother. She felt that her parents had betrayed her by their behavior. In spite of her resentment, her identification with them was sufficiently strong for her behavior to resemble theirs. The girl expressed no feelings of guilt or shame over her out of wedlock pregnancy, with the result that upon discovering her condition, she immediately informed her mother.

There was a group of seven girls who had no parents with whom to share the pregnancy experience. These girls came either from family backgrounds similar to the seven just discussed or else they were raised in an institutional setting. Of the girls who were raised with their families, it will be recalled that in Chapter 4, it was shown that parent-child relationship was severed a considerable time before conception. This severance was the result of external circumstances such as death or severe illness of the parents. These girls expressed no feelings of guilt

or shame. It appeared, as in the seven cases previously discussed, the lack of guilt and shame on the part of the girls was a reflection of the early familial environment in which illegitimacy was not considered social stigmatized behavior by the parents.

The girls who were raised in institutions likewise lacked feelings of guilt and shame. The writer felt that this lack of guilt was a result of the girl never having developed meaningful relationships so that she could be disturbed by the fear of condemnation and rejection from those who had emotional significance for her.

Miss T. parents separated when she was six years old. As there was no family member who could care for her, she was placed in an institution. The girl remained in this institution until the age of sixteen. Miss T. was twenty when she became pregnant. She was not upset and expressed no feelings of guilt and shame. The girl's lack of familial ties forced her to turn to a community agency for assistance.

In summary, it appeared that the girl who expressed guilt about her out of wedlock pregnancy did not share the pregnancy experience with her family. For fear of rejection she sought assistance with her problem from persons who had little emotional significance for her. In contrast, the girl with no guilt feelings about her pregnancy, if she were in contact with her parents, shared the pregnancy experience with them and requested their assistance in solving her problem.

Plans Considered for the Child During
the Ante-natal Period

It will be recalled that earlier in this chapter¹ it was shown that of the twenty unmarried mothers in the sample, six grew up in families in which their parents placed emphasis on the delay of sexual gratification until marriage. With the result that they reacted to pregnancy by being very emotionally upset and expressing feelings of guilt and shame.

The remaining fourteen girls were raised in an environment in which the delay of sexual gratification until marriage was not considered a mandatory part of their social code. As a result they expressed no feelings of guilt or shame about the pregnancy.

The writer will now discuss the plan the unmarried mother made for her baby during her antenatal period. An examination will be made of the above mentioned factors to determine in what manner they influenced the attitude of the unmarried mother to her unborn child and the plan she expected to carry out for her child upon discharge from hospital.

Table 9 describes the attitude of the unmarried mother to her pregnancy in terms of guilt or non guilt in relation to the plan she made during her ante-partum period.

¹
See p.69

Table 9

The Attitude Towards Pregnancy in
Relation to Plan Made For Child
During Antenatal Period

Attitude towards pregnancy	Total unmarried mothers	Plans made by the unmarried mother during her ante-partum period	
Total Attitudes	20	Adoption 4	Keep Baby 16
Guilty	6	4	2
Not guilty	14		14

The above table demonstrates that in the majority of cases the plan the girl made for her baby was a reflection of her attitude to her out of wedlock pregnancy. Of six girls who had a guilty attitude to their pregnancy, four considered only adoption. In contrast, the fourteen girls who had a non-guilty attitude all considered keeping their babies.

It is significant that four of the six girls who had a guilty attitude to the pregnancy never considered any plan but adoption. They were the girls who were shown to have had positive or superficial relationships with their parents rather than negative ones.¹ They had grown up in homes in which delay of sexual gratification until marriage was a part of their morals, and were therefore unable to share the knowledge of the pregnancy with their family or friends. It would appear that their main concern was to

¹
See Chapter 1V, p.62

rid themselves of the reminder of their socially unacceptable behavior and to avoid censure from their family and friends. These girls had a choice between keeping the child and severing the bond with their family, or giving the child for adoption and remaining within the family group. The emotional bond with the family was such that the girl was unable and unwilling to break it and therefore had to make the second choice.

Of the two girls who had a guilty attitude towards her pregnancy but planned to keep her baby, one was able to make this plan because she expected to marry the putative father after the birth of the baby. However, she did not inform her family of the pregnancy and had no intention of doing so until the child was legitimized, as she was fearful of their censure. In the case of the other girl, there was still a fear of family censure but it was not as strong as with the four girls who considered no other plan but adoption. Although this girl went to great length to prevent her family from learning of her pregnancy and thus avoid their disapproval, she planned to tell them after the birth of the baby. She hoped that their concern for the child would outweigh the chance of her being ostracized by her family because of her out of wedlock pregnancy.

Similarly, it is significant that all fourteen girls with a non-guilty attitude to their pregnancy, during the antenatal period expressed a desire to keep their child.

This was the group of girls who had either no parental ties or who were raised in homes in which illegitimacy was accepted in their social code. It appeared that the sexual behavior of the parents, attitude of the family to illegitimacy and the resulting non-guilty attitude to the pregnancy enabled the girl to consider keeping her out of wedlock child.

In summary, in this chapter, the writer was able to demonstrate a relationship between the attitude of the unmarried mother to her out of wedlock pregnancy and the plan she made for her child. This attitude in turn seemed to be a reflection of the girl's relationship with her family and the parents' behavior and attitude in matters pertaining to sex. The unmarried mother who grew up in a family in which a positive relationship existed between herself and her parents and in which emphasis was placed on delay of sexual gratification until marriage considered adoption as the only possible plan for her child. In contrast, the girls who had formed no meaningful familial relationships, or who had poor relationships with their parents and grew up in homes in which illegitimacy was not considered socially unacceptable behavior, all expected to keep their child.

It is important to note that the plan discussed in this chapter is not the actual plan carried out by the mother for her child. Rather, it is the plan she expected to carry out while still pregnant. In a subsequent chapter the writer will determine if in all instances the plan considered by the

girl during her antenatal period actually was the same as the one used on her discharge from hospital. If there are instances in which a change in plan was noted, the writer is interested in knowing the reasons for the change.

CHAPTER VI

THE UNMARRIED FATHER

Until recently, the role of the unmarried father has been given little study or consideration by theorists interested in the problem of illegitimacy. His role biologically was incontestable but beyond that his chief importance was considered to be his capacity and willingness to give financial assistance. In general, it was more or less taken for granted that he was a weak character without scruples or conscience from whom little could be expected. That he was a human being, with needs, problems, fears and potentialities of his own was rarely considered. But with the development of psychiatric knowledge, we have come to understand something of the unmarried father as an individual.

Leontine Young in her book "Out of Wedlock" states that the putative father and unmarried mother come from a similar type of background and are similar in personality structure.

He is in almost every case a counterpart of the neurotic personality of the unmarried mother. Their problems complement each other with precision and unconsciously each has sought in the other an answer to his own neurotic needs.

The unmarried father seems to come from the same type of family background as the unmarried mother. The dominating mother or the dominating father has created a neurotic home situation in which the personality of the boy has been warped. Blocked in his emotional development he has, as an adult, attempted the impossible task of reconciling infantile needs and confusions with realities of the adult world. Like the unmarried mother he often has an unconscious drive for a child out of wedlock and he finds it difficult and often impossible to combine love and a sexual relationship within the structure of a happy marriage.¹

¹

Young, Op.At. p.250.

It is not an accident that the unmarried mother chooses a man with personality difficulties as the father of her child. Modern authorities agree that unmarried motherhood is purposeful by nature. The unmarried mother unconsciously wants a child, but specifically a child without a husband, as a means of solving her own conflicts and needs arising from early childhood experiences. As a result of these needs, the girl wishes to eliminate the man totally from her current life situation and from planning for the coming child. Therefore, she chooses someone who is irresponsible or disinterested in her as a person or someone she really never knows.

Theorists who have studied the nature of the relationships between the unmarried mother and the putative father have found it possible to discern definite patterns of behavior. The following material are the findings of a research study by Kasarin and Hasdschin.¹

There was a lack of interest in marrying the putative father. The girls showed a real vagueness about him and a certain unwillingness to learn more about him. Generally speaking, the relationship between the girl and putative father were fairly brief and unstable. There was a blind acceptance of the fact of pregnancy without in any way blaming the men in question. This means almost to say that the pregnancy is hers, thus giving the men neither credit or blame. In many cases the girl may have known several men quite well but became pregnant by one she knows casually and probably met but once.¹

¹
Kasarin, J. and Hasdschin, S. "Psychodynamic Factors in Illegitimacy," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XI (January, 1941), p.66.

Norman Reider in an article, "The Unmarried Father," further supports the findings of Kasarin and Hasdschin.

Men do not actually exist as individuals but only as phantoms. If a real relationship does not exist, the man has been used only as an instrument.¹

In summary, the putative father appears to be the neurotic counterpart of the unmarried mother. Generally he is an emotionally unstable person who is unable to accept responsibility and he often is unable to live within the norms of society. The unmarried mother, consciously or unconsciously seeks out this type of person because of her unconscious wish that he exist only as the biological instrument necessary for the pregnancy. In general, after the conception the relationship between the two is ended, and the unmarried mother assumes full responsibility for planning for the coming child.

¹

Reider, Norman, "The Unmarried Father," American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, XVlll, (April, 1948), p.230.

The Nature of the Relationship Between the
Unmarried Mother and Putative Father

In this section the writer will study the nature of the relationship between the putative father and the unmarried mother in order to determine his role in the plan the unmarried mother made for her baby. To accomplish this objective the following factors will be examined.

- 1) The marital status of the putative father.
- 2) The emotional quality of the relationship between the putative father and unmarried mother.
- 3) Whether or not the unmarried mother informed the putative father of the pregnancy and sought his help.
- 4) The willingness of the putative father to assist the unmarried mother with her plan for the baby.

Marital status of the putative father.

The following table discusses the marital status of the putative father.

Table 10

Marital Status of the Putative Father

Total	20
Single	12
Married	4
Divorced	0
Seperated	3
No Information	1

The classification indicates that seven out of the

twenty putative fathers in the sample could not marry the mother as they were already married, or else married and separated from their wives. The three men who were separated could not marry the respective mothers because of religious scruples or inability to finance a divorce. In the remaining twelve cases, the marital status of the putative father was not a factor which prevented him from marrying the unmarried mother. In one case, the marital status of the putative father was unknown. In the following sub-section of this chapter, the writer will examine the other factors which prevented the marriage.

Quality of relationship between the unmarried mother and
putative father

Of the twenty unmarried mothers in the sample, nineteen claimed to have known the men who were the fathers of their children. In one case the girl was unable to identify the putative father as she had had relationships with several men at the time of conception.

In the following table the relationships of the unmarried mothers with the putative fathers have been categorized into two groups, -- superficial relationships and meaningful relationships. A superficial relationship was considered one in which the girl had known the putative father for a very short period of time before conception of the child, and she stated or intimated that the putative father had no emotional significance for her. A meaningful relationship was considered one in which the putative father had emotional significance for the girl in that there was an emotional bond between them. This emotional bond was one in which the girl experienced feelings of attachment and interest for the putative father.

Table 11

Quality of the Relationship Between
the Unmarried Mother and the
Putative Father

Quality of Relationship between Unmarried Mother and Putative Father	Number of Unmarried Mothers
Total	20
Superficial	13
Meaningful	6
No Answer	^a 1

Of the nineteen mothers who could identify the putative father, thirteen have been categorized by the writer as having had a superficial relationship with the putative father, while the remaining six were categorized as having had a meaningful relationship with the putative father.

In those cases categorized under superficial relationships, several dynamic patterns emerged between the putative father and the unmarried mother. In eight of the thirteen cases, the girls, in discussing the putative father with the writer, could not give any picture of the man as an individual. The girl could describe him physically but no picture of his personality emerged. The girl knew nothing of the familial relationships and personal interests of the man, nor did she

^a In this case, the girl was unable to identify the putative father as she had intercourse with several men during the time of conception.

give any information about the interplay between personalities of the putative father and herself.

In two cases in the superficial relationship group, the girls were aware that the relationship between themselves and the putative father was superficial. They implied that the putative father was temporarily filling an emotional need for affection. It would appear that these girls were offering sexual gratification to the man in return for affection.

In two cases the girls had, just prior to the conception, broken with men who did have emotional significance for them. Shortly afterwards they became pregnant by other men who had no emotional significance for them. These girls were very hostile towards the putative fathers and they insisted they had been forced into the sexual act.

In the remaining case in the superficial relationship group, the girl claimed to have no recollection of the occurrence of the sexual act. She stated that the event had taken place while she was unconscious as a result of hitting her head on a car door.

The case of Miss C. is an example of a girl included in the superficial relationship group.

Miss C. had a long meaningful relationship with a man other than the putative father. She alleged that this relationship had not resulted in marriage as they were unable to resolve their religious differences. Shortly after the relationship was broken off, Miss C. became pregnant by another man whom she had known for several years but whom she saw only occasionally. She expressed a great deal of hostility towards the putative father. In the

first interview Miss C. alleged that the putative father had raped her but after several interviews with the writer she recognized that she had contributed to the seduction.

In the six cases in the category of meaningful relationship between the unmarried mother and the putative father the girls expressed feelings for their respective men as individuals. It was evident that there was an interplay between their personalities. These relationships, however, could not be classified as being positive. In all six cases the putative father appeared to be the neurotic counterpart of the unmarried mother. These men were all chronically unemployed, alcoholics, or criminal offenders. In three cases, before the girls became pregnant, there was an understanding that the putative father and the unmarried mother would marry. Upon discovering the girl's pregnancy, all these men disappeared.

The case of Miss C. is an illustration of one of the girls included in this category.

Miss C. had known the putative father for a long period. They saw a great deal of each other and the girl expressed positive feelings for him. Although the relationship between the pair appeared satisfactory, the girl had chosen a man who had not made a satisfactory social adjustment. He was twenty-five years old and separated from his wife. During the girl's antenatal period, the putative father was in prison for larceny and non-support of his wife.

The case of Miss S. is a further example of a girl included in this category.

Miss S. had known the putative father for a long period of time before she became pregnant. The putative father wished to marry her but she was unwilling to enter into marriage because she was fearful of the permanent relationship. She felt that the putative father would not be a suitable husband. Miss S. alleged that the putative father drank heavily and was quick to become angry. As a result of these factors, he had difficulty in keeping a job.

In summary, it appeared that the majority of unmarried mothers had allied themselves with men who had little emotional significance for them. The cases in which there was a meaningful relationship between the two, the relationship could not be classified as positive as the putative father was a maladjusted person who could not live within the norms of society.

In the following table, the writer will discuss whether or not the unmarried mother informed the putative father about the pregnancy.

Table 12

Quality of Relationship Between Putative Father
and Unmarried Mother in Relation to the
Ability of Unmarried Mother to Inform
the Putative Father of the Pregnancy

Quality of relationship between the unmarried mother and putative father	No. of unmarried mothers telling putative father of the conception	No. of Unmarried mothers not tell- ing putative father of the conception
Total	^{Total} 20	15
Superficial	13	3
Meaningful	6	1
No Information	1	1 ^a

The table indicates that the majority of unmarried mothers in the study discussed the pregnancy with the putative father. Ten of the ^{thir}~~four~~teen girls who were classified as having a superficial relationship with the putative father told of the pregnancy. Each of the remaining ^{three}~~four~~ girls, when questioned why she did not want the father of their child to know of her condition, could offer no explanation.

^a
This girl claimed she could not identify the father of her coming child, as she had intercourse with several men during the time of conception.

To the writer, it appeared that for these girls the putative father existed only as a biological entity and he played no role in their emotional life. As a result of their feelings for the putative father, they were fearful of informing him of the pregnancy, lest he should interfere with their mode of planning for the coming child.

Only one girl of the six who were classified in the category "Meaningful relationship with putative father" did not inform him of her pregnancy. This girl had severed her contact with the putative father before her pregnancy was diagnosed. She had discovered that he had been imprisoned for socially unacceptable behavior. As a result, she had no desire to re-establish the relationship.

It is significant to note that only two out of the fifteen girls who did inform the putative father of the pregnancy asked him to marry them. In neither case did a marriage result. In both cases the putative father was emotionally unable to accept the responsibility of marriage and the care of a child. The remaining thirteen mothers did not request the putative father to marry them. Either they were disinterested in him, or emotionally unable to form a long term meaningful relationship.

The following table discusses the willingness of those putative fathers who were informed of the pregnancy by the unmarried mothers, to assist financially during the antenatal period and in planning for the coming child.

Table 13

Willingness of the Fifteen Putative Fathers
Who Were Told About the Pregnancy
to Assist The Unmarried Mother

Responses of Putative father to information about the pregnancy	Total	No.of Unmarried Mothers who asked for assistance	No.of Unmarried Mothers who did not ask for assistance
	15	8	7
Putative fathers who refused assistance	7	7	
Putative father who gave assistance	1	1	
Putative father who offered assistance	2		2
Putative father who offered assistance which was refused by unmarried mother	5		5

The table shows that only eight of the fifteen unmarried mothers who told the putative father of the conception, directly asked him for help. They requested financial help to cover their living and medical expenses during their ante-partum period. Only one putative father gave financial help and, according to the girl, he was willing to marry her

after the baby was born. However, the marriage did not result as he was unemployed at the time of the child's birth. Of the other seven putative fathers, five refused to help the girls in any form, while two offered to pay for an abortion. This was refused. None of these seven girls had further contact with the putative father. Of the eight girls, only two asked the putative father for help in the form of marriage.

Seven of the girls told the putative father of the conception but did not directly ask him for help. Five of the putative fathers offered the girl financial help and in one case the putative father offered to marry the girl of his own volition. In two of these five cases, help was offered in the form of willingness to pay for an abortion. In all of these five cases the girls refused to accept the offers. They were disinterested in the putative father and wished to have no further contact with him. They were fearful that if they accepted financial help from him, he would interfere with their mode of planning for the coming child. In the remaining two cases, the putative fathers did not offer financial assistance.

In summary, this table shows that out of fifteen mothers telling the putative father of the conception, only one mother received help from the putative father. When the other five mothers who did not tell the putative father of the conception are added to the group of the fifteen who did tell, there

results only one mother out of twenty who actually received help. These data are significant as they indicate that only one putative father was directly involved in the plan the unmarried mother made for her child.

In conclusion, it seems clear that in this sample group the putative father had no influence, except in one case, in the plan the unmarried mother made for her child.

CHAPTER VII

THE FINAL PLAN THE UNMARRIED MOTHER
MAKES FOR HER BABY

It will be recalled that the writer has discussed the plan the unmarried mother made for her baby during her antenatal period.¹ It was pointed out this was the plan contemplated by the mother but this was not necessarily the one carried out upon her discharge from hospital.

In this chapter, the writer will discuss the final plan for the baby. For the purpose of this study, the final plan is considered to be that made upon discharge from hospital. The writer recognizes that this may not be the permanent plan. The unmarried mother may find her plan unworkable in practice and within a short period of time she will select another method of care for her child. In most instances, the writer is unaware of these changes as the contact between her and the unmarried mother ends with discharge of the patient from hospital. However, there was one exception to this consideration. In the cases of the unmarried mothers, who through the assistance of a community agency placed their babies in foster care, the plan a year subsequent to delivery was known to the writer. These girls will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

¹
See Chapter V, p.80

In the first part of this chapter, the writer will examine certain of the social characteristics of the unmarried mothers discussed earlier¹ in order to determine if there might be a direct relationship between these factors and the plan for the baby. The factors of age, religious ethnic background, occupation and income will be discussed. In the following section, the writer will examine the interrelationship between psychological and social factors to ascertain how they influence the final plan for the baby.

¹ See Chapter 111, p. 37

The Influence of Social Factors
on the Final Plan

Age of Unmarried mother in relation to final plan.

The following table classifies the unmarried mothers into four year age groupings. The plan is divided into two categories: adoption and keeping baby or temporary placement with intent to keep.

Table 14
Age in Relation to Final Plan

Age		Adoption	Keeping or Temporary Placement with Intent to keep
Total	20	10	10
10-14	1	1	-
15-19	5	2	3
20-24	10	5	5
25-29	1	-	1
30-34	1	-	1
35-39	2	2	

The above table reveals that in this study there appears to be no relationship between the age of the unmarried mother and her plan for the baby.

The religious ethnic background in relation to final plan

In the subsequent table, the writer will examine the religious and ethnic background of the unmarried mother in relation to her plan for the baby. The classification for religious ethnic background is similar to the one already¹ discussed.

¹
Chapter 3, Table 2.

Table 15

Religious Ethnic Background in Relation to
Final Plan

Ethnic origin and religious affiliation	Total plans	Adoption	Keeping or Temporary placement with in- tent to keep
Total	20	11	9
French-Canadian R.C.	13	8	5
European R.C.	2	-	2
English R.C.	1	-	1
English Protestant	4	3	1

The above table reveals that there is not sufficient difference in numbers to draw any significant conclusions. The table shows that more French-Canadian, Roman Catholic girls relinquished their babies for adoption than kept them.

The writer is of the opinion that the figures in this sample are not representative of the total group of unmarried mothers in the community. From her experience in counselling unmarried mothers in a non-sectarian setting, the writer suspects that more French-Canadian unmarried mothers keep or attempt to keep their babies than relinquish them for adoption. The writer has found that frequently the unmarried mother will return to her parental home with the child and that the child will be raised as her sibling by his maternal grandparents.

The table reveals that both European girls kept their babies. These numbers are not sufficient to draw any conclusions but from her experience the writer has found that

most European girls keep rather than relinquish their babies for adoption.

In summary, the numbers in this study are too small to warrant any conclusion about the relationship between religious ethnic background and the plan for the baby. However, from her work experience, the writer feels that if a large sample was studied a definite relationship might be shown to exist.

The occupation and weekly income in relation to final plan.

The following table classifies the unmarried mother according to occupation and average weekly income. The definition for each category of occupation is the same as the one used in Table 4.¹ The plan is divided into two categories, adoption and keeping baby or temporary placement with the intent to keep.

¹
See Chapter 3, p.38.

Table 16

The Occupation and Average Weekly
Income in Relation to the Plan

Occupation	Average Weekly Income	Total of unmarried mothers	Adoption	Keeping Baby or temporary placement
Total		20	10 9	10 11
Stenographer	45	1	1	-
Clerical Worker	28	6	3	3
Saleslady	31	2	-	2
Factory Worker	27	3	1	2
Waitress	28	6	3	3
Domestic		1	1	-
Grade School Student		1	1	-

The table reveals that in this sample group, there is no direct relationship between the occupation, average weekly income and the final plan the unmarried mother makes for her baby. It would seem that ability to support the child would be an important factor in influencing the mother's selection of plan, but in this sample this factor alone does not determine the choice.

In summary, it appears that in this study psychological or social factors in themselves do not determine the final plan. Therefore, the writer assumes it is the interrelationship between these two ^{groups of} factors that determines the choice of plan. In the following sections of the chapter, the writer will examine the three possible choices of plan the unmarried mother can make for her child and determine how the interrelationship of social and psychological factors determine the choice.

Factors Determining The Final Plan for the
Baby upon Discharge from
Hospital

Table 17

The Plan Made During Antenatal Period in Relation
to Plan Carried Out Upon Discharge from
Hospital

Plan during ante- natal period	Total plans	Plan carried out upon discharge from Hospital		
		Adoption	Temporary Placement	Keeping
	20	10	5	5
Adoption	4	4	-	-
Keeping	16	6	5	5

This table demonstrates that the four girls who initially planned to give their child for adoption actually carried through with this plan. In addition, six who planned to keep their babies during their antenatal period relinquished them for adoption upon discharge from hospital.

There were sixteen girls whose initial plan was to keep the child. Of these only five actually carried through with this plan upon discharge from hospital. In addition, five girls placed their babies temporarily with an agency with the intention of taking the baby out of placement once they could establish a home for themselves and the child.

Unmarried mothers relinquishing their babies for adoption.

The four girls who initially planned to give their babies for adoption carried through with this plan. These were the girls who had positive or superficial relationships with their parents. They were raised in homes in which the parents had no extra-marital relationships and illegitimacy was stigmatized. Their only concern was to rid themselves of the child and thus avoid censure from family and friends. These girls were able to support a child, but their guilt feelings prevented them from considering a plan other than adoption.

Six girls who in the initial plan considered keeping their baby, upon discharge from hospital, placed their baby for adoption. These girls came from homes in which they experienced parental deprivation, or they were raised in institutions. They considered keeping their baby during their antenatal period because of their need for a love object. But, they were unable to make realistic plans to keep their children. The income of five out of the six girls was sufficient to maintain themselves only on a marginal level. They were employed either as waitresses or as machine operators and were earning between \$22.00 and \$30.00 gross per week. The sixth girl was employed as a typist earning \$35.00 per week. They had no parental ties and therefore could not expect any assistance from their parents to help them carry out their plans to keep the

child. Therefore they were forced either to place the child temporarily with an agency or release it for adoption.

Three of the above mothers who released their child for adoption had previously had a child. In one case the child had been legitimate but in the other two illegitimate. In each case the mother had attempted to keep the child but only one had been able to carry through with the plan. This was the mother with the legitimate child who had been awarded custody and support for him upon separation from her husband. In the other two cases the mothers had attempted to keep their child but found it impossible to support him. In one case the girl had released the baby for adoption. In the other case the girl had supported the baby in a temporary foster home. When she was no longer able to meet the payments, she abandoned the child.

These three unmarried mothers had already experienced the reality of keeping a child without adequate financial support. Their initial lack of realism in wanting to keep the child disappeared after delivery when confronted with the reality of supporting him. The mother's previous experience of being unable to support herself and her previous child adequately made her aware of the difficulties she would face should she decide to keep this baby.

The remaining three unmarried mothers grew up in homes in which they had experienced maternal deprivation. In two cases the girls' mothers were promiscuous and so preoccupied

with their extra-familial relationships that they had very little time to devote to the needs of their children. In the third case the mother was constantly in and out of mental hospitals with the result she could not give her children the attention and affection they required.

In spite of the poor relationships with their mothers in childhood, these girls did experience a positive relationship with one parent or a substitute parental figure. In two cases the girls had positive relationships with their father and in the third case the girl had an aunt who was a substitute mother figure.

As the girls reached adulthood these ties were severed. In the first two cases, one father died and the other separated from the girl's mother and no longer had contact with his children. With the third, the aunt's own immediate familial responsibilities and interests took precedence over her responsibilities towards her niece. The girl moved out of her aunt's home to live in a convent when she was thirteen, and from that time contact between the two became infrequent.

These girls all considered keeping their babies during their antenatal period. They recognized that their motivation for wanting to keep the baby was a need for a love object. Initially they attempted to secure financial assistance from the community, but in this they were unsuccessful. They were employed in unskilled jobs and their income was sufficient to maintain themselves on a marginal level.

Despite their own experienced emotional and material deprivation and the consequent need that they felt to keep their baby, these three girls, unlike the other girls who placed their babies temporarily,¹ had sufficient understanding to have a deep concern for the future of their baby. They realized that without financial assistance they would be unable to keep the baby. They themselves had experienced an unhappy childhood because their parents had been unable to provide them with a secure environment. They realized that if they kept the baby there was a high probability that he would experience an emotional and material deprivation not unlike their own.

Because of these factors, these girls did not procrastinate in making their decision to release the child for adoption. They were realistic in recognizing that temporary placement would only delay the final decision of giving the child for adoption.

In summary, ten unmarried mothers in the sample relinquished their babies for adoption upon discharge from hospital. Four of these girls grew up in homes in which illegitimacy was stigmatized. Their only concern was to rid themselves of the child and thus avoid censure from their family and friends. This group of girls never considered a plan other than adoption. The remaining six girls grew up

¹
See Chapter VII, p.106.

in institutions or homes, in which they had experienced parental deprivation. These girls had no guilt feelings about the pregnancy as they had grown up in homes in which the parents had extra-marital relations and in which illegitimacy was sanctioned. They considered keeping their babies because of their need for a love object.

It was their inability to support the child or to obtain financial assistance from the community which prevented them from carrying through this plan. Three girls had previously had a child which they had been unable to support. They had experienced the reality of keeping a child without adequate finances. Despite their emotional need for the child, the other three girls recognized they would be incapable of supporting a child on their limited income. Their concern for the child was genuine. They recognized that to place him in the crèche would damage him emotionally and only would delay the final decision of giving him for adoption.

Unmarried mothers who kept their babies.

Of the five girls who kept their babies, four were unskilled workers and had jobs which enabled them to live on only a marginal level. The fifth girl was skilled and earned a salary which enabled her to live on more than a minimum subsistence level.

Of the four girls whose income was only marginal, two had positive relationships with their parents and grew up in families in which illegitimacy was not stigmatized. These girls were the ones who were able to discuss the pregnancy with their families. The latter encouraged them to keep the baby and take it directly home from hospital. These girls planned to have their mothers care for the child, while they worked.

One of the remaining two girls whose earnings were only sufficient to maintain herself on a marginal level was able to carry through her initial plan to keep her baby. She and the putative father were planning to marry. In the meantime he was assisting her in her plan to keep the baby, by inviting both her and the child to live with his sister. This sister cared for the child while the mother worked as a domestic on a daily basis. Several months subsequently the relationship between the putative father and the girl came to an end. At this point she was forced to leave the home of his sister. She tried to maintain herself and the child on her earnings but found this impossible. She could not

ask her family for help as her guilt feeling prevented her from telling the family about her out-of-wedlock child. Shortly after she left the home of the putative father's sister she was forced to relinquish the child for adoption.

The fourth girl who was classified as having no parental¹ ties, had suffered severe emotional deprivation during most of her life. She had been raised in an institution and had known little affection or love. In the baby she saw someone she could love and whom she hoped could return this love in the future. Initially she planned to keep her baby but up till the eighth month of her pregnancy she doubted whether she would be able to support both herself and her child. In her eighth month she came into an inheritance of several thousand dollars which was decisive in her plan to keep her baby. She felt that with this money she could find someone to care for her baby while she worked. The girl carried through with this plan upon her discharge from hospital. It is possible that at some point in the future this girl may be forced to relinquish her child for adoption. When she has depleted her inheritance she will probably find it impossible to support both herself and the child on her marginal income.

The fifth girl came from a similar background as the one just mentioned. She never considered any plan other than keeping the child. This girl was able to carry through with this plan. She was an experienced bookkeeper and her salary

¹

See Chapter IV, p.45.

was sufficient to support both herself and the child. She arranged for her landlady to care for the child while she worked.

In summary, five girls kept their babies. These girls expressed no feelings of guilt about the pregnancy. They grew up in institutions or in homes in which illegitimacy was not stigmatized. This group of mothers was able to keep their babies because either they were capable of supporting the child or had assistance from their family or the putative father. In the case of two girls who had a positive relationship with their parents, the parents were willing to care for the child while the girl worked. One of the remaining five girls was able to keep the child because the putative father was assisting her financially. The remaining two girls grew up in institutions and they had never known anyone whom they could love or who could love them. The child filled their need for a love object. These girls had sufficient money to support the child without the assistance of family or friends. In the case of one girl, she earned sufficient money to support the child. In the case of the other, the girl had received an inheritance, this inheritance, in addition to her salary made it possible for her to support the child.

Unmarried mothers who placed their babies temporarily in the care of a community agency.

With the assistance of a community agency, five girls placed their babies in the crèche or in a foster home, until they could make practical plans for their care.

Four out of these five girls grew up in institutions or in homes in which they experienced severe emotional deprivation. Their parents were people who could offer them little security or love. It would seem as a result of their background, these girls were in continual search of a love object. This group of girls is similar to the one described¹ by Dr. Margaret Gerard. They were impulsive and infantile individuals whose own dependency needs led them to hold tenaciously to their babies. Their decision to keep the baby grew not out of ability to care for the child but out of the need to fill an emotional vacuum.

These girls could not make practical plans for the care of their babies. One factor in their inability to formulate a workable plan was their low level of income. They had only completed eighth grade at school and had no specialized training. This lack of education and special skills equipped them only for unskilled positions with low remuneration.

Another factor which prevented these girls from making a practical plan for their babies was that they either had no parental ties or disturbed relationships with their

¹
Infra, p.25

parents. This affected the girls in two ways. First, if there were family ties, the parents were disinterested and unsympathetic to the girl, and this meant that they were unwilling to help her in the plan to keep the baby. They would not provide money for the care of the child nor would they have the child brought home to be cared for by the grandmother while the unmarried mother herself worked. Second, all four girls were living apart from their families. This meant that the largest share of their earnings were spent on maintaining themselves. Not one girl of the four earned sufficient to support her child in addition to herself.

In Montreal, there is no financial assistance available for the unmarried mother who keeps her baby. The community agencies offer the unmarried mother either adoption or temporary placement for her baby. The purpose of temporary placement is to allow the mother sufficient time to re-establish herself in the community. Once reestablished she must decide whether she wishes to keep the child or release it for adoption. The girls who were emotionally unable to release their babies for adoption, and also financially unable to support them procrastinated in making a workable plan for the child by placing him temporarily in the crèche. These girls all had the intention of taking the child out of placement once they had reestablished themselves. When they took the child out of placement they planned ^{to} work and ^{to} have someone look after the child during the day.

The fifth girl, who temporarily placed her child in the crèche, came from a family with whom she had positive relationships but who considered illegitimacy socially unacceptable behavior. This was the girl who went to great lengths to prevent her family from learning of her pregnancy and birth of her out-of-wedlock child.¹ She placed the child temporarily in the crèche with the hope that in several months she would have sufficient courage to tell her parents of the child's birth. She hoped that they would help her to keep the baby in spite of their attitude and feelings about illegitimacy.

In summary, five girls placed their babies in the care of a community agency, until they could make practical plans for his care. Four of these girls were emotionally unable to release their babies for adoption and also financially unable to support him. This group of girls grew up in institutions or in homes in which they had experienced severe emotional deprivation. In the child, they saw their need for a love object fulfilled. They were unable to take their baby home from hospital because their income was not sufficient to support him and they lacked assistance from their family or the putative father. The fifth girl intended to tell her family about the baby and request their assistance in keeping him. She placed the child in the crèche until she had sufficient courage to carry out this plan.

In the following section, the writer will examine the plan for the baby of this group of unmarried mothers a year

¹

See Chapter V, p.69.

subsequent to the birth.

Follow-Up Study on the Five Mothers Who Placed Their Baby
in the Temporary Care of a Community Agency.

One year after the information was gathered on those girls who placed their babies temporarily in the crèche a follow-up study was done.

The five girls in this category were in the same marginal standard-of-living income group. Consequently they were unable to take the child out of placement. One mother released her child for adoption four months after its birth. This mother had placed her child with an agency which had accepted it on the understanding that the mother had to make a practical plan for the care of her child within four months. When the four months expired and the mother was still unable to support her child, she relinquished him for adoption.

At the end of one year, three mothers still had not made any plans for taking their children out of the crèche. These mothers had also placed their babies through an agency, but, unlike the above case, they were not forced into making any plans for the baby. The mothers' earnings were still inadequate to support both child and themselves. There was no assistance from the mothers' family or the putative fathers forthcoming in these cases. The mothers' emotional need for their child as a love object appeared to be more important to them than the welfare of their child. These mothers continued to procrastinate in making a realistic plan for their child. Until such a time as the agency would refuse to keep the child in placement in the crèche, it would seem these children

would be without the security of the home and family unit.

The fifth girl who had originally planned to tell her parents about her out of wedlock child after its birth and ask their assistance in order to keep it, had done so. Her parents were willing to assist her in keeping the child, but they wished her to leave the baby in placement for a longer period of time. They were reluctant to face the inquiries of their friends and neighbours as to the origin of the child. Therefore, they procrastinated in helping their daughter take the child out of placement.

In summary, of the five mothers who had placed their child in temporary placement, at the end of one year, only one had made a decision on the future of her baby. It is significant to note that this decision had been forced on her by the policy of the agency. The remaining four mothers did not make any decision as to the future of their babies, nor did the agency pressure them by refusing to keep the child in placement.

Summary of findings

In summary the case materials indicated~~x~~ that those girls who had positive relationships with parents and a guilty attitude towards their out-of-wedlock pregnancy never considered any plan but adoption for their baby. Their only concern was to rid themselves of the product of their socially unacceptable behavior and avoid censure from their family and friends. In an unpublished study, by Barbara Lounsberry, her results were similar.

The girls who placed their babies for adoption had better relationships with their parents than those who kept their children. Their only concern was to rid themselves of the child and avoid censure from the family.¹

In contrast, those girls who had no feelings of guilt about the pregnancy and a poor relationship with their family or no parental ties, all expressed a desire to keep the child. Many of these girls were impulsive, infantile individuals whose own dependency needs led them to hold tenaciously to their babies. Their desire to keep the child arose out of a need for a love object rather than an ability to care for the child.²

¹
Lounsberry, Barbara, "An Investigation of Some of the Factors which Have Bearing on the Unmarried Mother's Decision About Her Baby" (unpublished Master's thesis, New York School of Social Work, August, 1942), p.25.

²
Brower, op.cit. p.24

In the final plan, the mother with the guilty attitude carried through with her plan to relinquish her child for adoption. In contrast, the mother who wished to keep her child was not always able to carry through with the plan. The mother's ability to keep the child was dependent on one of two factors a) the ability to earn sufficient money to support her child or b) support and interest from her family or the putative father.

The case materials indicated that five girls were able to keep their babies. They were able to do this through their ability to support the child or from assistance and interest on the part of the family.

If no assistance was available and the mother was unable to support the child, she placed him in foster home care through a community agency or released him for adoption. The mothers who temporarily placed their baby were merely procrastinating in making a realistic plan. These mothers were incapable of earning sufficient money to support both themselves and their child, nor did they have assistance from their families or from the putative father. Their dependency needs were so strong that they were unable to release the child for adoption.

In a follow-up study done one year later these children were still in placement in the crèche.

Six mothers whose initial plan was to keep their child released it for adoption upon discharge from hospital. It

would appear that they chose this plan because of their own life experiences. Three girls previously had borne a child and experienced the difficulty of maintaining it without adequate financial support. When they were told that there was no financial assistance available from the community for their child, they released it for adoption. They recognized that without assistance they could not support themselves and the child.

The other two mothers who had been raised in institutions and who had strong negative feelings about their childhood, also released their child for adoption. They had sufficient emotional insight and concern for the child to recognize that their child would face an emotional and material impoverishment similar to the one they had experienced should they keep the child.

In general, it would seem the results of this study are significant for the social worker who is helping the unmarried mother select a plan for the disposal of her child. The results of the study indicate that it is the mother with the more positive familial relationships that is capable of making the most realistic plan for the baby. This plan is often relinquishing the baby for adoption. In contrast, the mother who has experienced a poor relationship with her family often will make a plan which is based on her own need rather than a genuine concern for the child. In many instances, the plan is to keep the baby or, if her finances prevent it, to place him

temporarily in the care of a community agency. It would seem that it is the mother who ~~emotionally~~ is unsuited to keep a child, generally, is the one who attempts to carry out this plan. To the writer, it would appear that it is the role of the social worker to provide the unmarried mother with a supportive mother substitute type of relationship in which she can use the worker rather than the child to fill her dependency needs. In this manner, the unmarried mother can be enabled to make the most realistic plan for her child with the least trauma to herself.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS

In this study an attempt has been made to select certain psychological factors and ^{certain} factors in the current life situation in a group of unmarried mothers and to establish how the interrelationship between these two factors determine the plan for the baby. The study was based on the analysis of a sample of twenty unmarried mothers who presented themselves to the Social Service Department of the Women's Pavilion, Royal Victoria Hospital, over a period of three months.

The complexity of the subject and the amount of time in which to collect data placed limitations on this study.

It was impossible to study all the psychological factors and the total current reality situation of this group. The sample was not a large enough group on which to base conclusions or to prove a hypothesis on a statistically valid basis.

The Women's Pavilion was an appropriate setting for this study because of its unique position in the community in the field of maternal care. Its admission policy of refusing no obstetrical patient made it possible to study a group of unmarried mothers composed of varied social and ethnic backgrounds.

The writer was in a favourable position to obtain confidential information necessary for this study from any unmarried mother attending clinic or confined in the hospital.

The hospital policy made it mandatory for "all public patients pregnant out-of-wedlock" to be seen by a social worker. In addition, upon the request of the doctor, many private patients, who were unwed mothers, were served by the social worker.

The existing theory in the field of social work and psychiatry provided the framework for the study. Consideration was given to the fact that unmarried motherhood is purposeful by nature, and ^{that it} is a symptom of an underlying emotional problem. It is this emotional problem that is a motivating factor in the plan the mother makes for her baby. In addition to the emotional factors motivating the plan, consideration was given to social factors which enabled or prevented the unmarried mother from carrying through her tentative plan.

Findings of the study

A generalized profile of the unmarried mother who was included in this study showed a single girl under the age of twenty-five, of French-Canadian origin, whose religion was Roman Catholic. She left school at fourteen or fifteen years of age and has worked mostly at low-paying unskilled jobs.

Approximately three quarters of the sample had a disturbed relationship with one or both parents. A large number of the girls came from broken homes or homes in which there was poverty, drunkenness and immoral or irresponsible behavior on the part of the parents. The girls had known little stability, security and companionship, ^{is there} ~~all~~ factors which contribute to the healthy emotional development and adjustment of the individual. They had no opportunity to form a meaningful relationship with mature parents who by their own example could help the girl to meet and accept responsibility. Less than one quarter of the unmarried mothers came from homes in which the family relationships were harmonious and the family situation was stable. In these cases, the parents attempted to provide the girl with a warm accepting environment. But, the writer felt that in several cases the parents had personality problems of which the unmarried mother was not aware ~~XX~~.

In this study it was possible to demonstrate a relationship between the attitude of the unmarried mother to her

out of wedlock child and the tentative plan she made for her child during the antenatal period. This attitude in turn seemed to be a reflection of the girl's relationship with her family and her parents' behavior in matters pertaining to sex. The unmarried mother, who grew up in a home in which illegitimacy was stigmatized, had guilty feelings about her pregnancy. She never considered a plan other than adoption for her child. In contrast, the unmarried mother who grew up in a home in which the parents had extra marital relations and illegitimacy was sanctioned, or was raised in an institutional setting, had no guilty feelings about the pregnancy. This group of girls all considered keeping their babies. In many of these cases, the plan considered for the baby was influenced by the mother's dependency needs and need for a love object rather than a genuine concern for the welfare of the child.

In this study consideration was given to the relationship between the unmarried mother and the putative father, and his role in the plan she made for the baby. The theoretical material considers the putative father the neurotic counterpart of the unmarried mother. Generally, he is an emotionally unstable person who is unable to accept responsibility and often he is unable to live within the norms of society. The unmarried mother consciously or unconsciously seeks out this type of person because of her unconscious wish that he exist only as a biological instrument necessary for the pregnancy. In general, after the conception the relationship between the two is ended, and the unmarried mother assumes full responsibility

for the planning of the child.

In this sample it was found that the majority of unmarried mothers had allied themselves with men who had little emotional significance for them. The few cases in which there was a meaningful relationship between the two, the relationship could not be considered as positive as the putative father was a maladjusted person who could not live within the norms of society.

The majority of unmarried mothers told the putative father about the pregnancy; but only two wished to marry him. The remaining thirteen were either disinterested in him or unable to form a long-term meaningful relationship. Of the fifteen girls who told the putative father of the conception, only one received financial assistance from him. In the remaining cases, the mother either did not request his assistance or she did request it and was refused.

In conclusion, it was found that out of twenty putative fathers, only one was directly involved in the plan. Therefore, with the exception of one case, the putative father had no influence on the plan made for the baby.

The final plan considered ^{here} was the plan the mother made for the baby upon discharge from hospital. In many cases this was not the same as the one she made during her pregnancy. It was possible to show that a change in plan occurred because of reality factors in her current life situation.

The factors of age, religious ethnic background, occupation and weekly income were examined in relation to the final plan.

It was not possible to demonstrate a direct relationship between these factors and the final plan. It was shown that the final plan was determined by the interrelationship of psychological and reality factors in the current life situation of the unmarried mother.

In analyzing the final plan, the writer discussed the three possible choices of plan, adoption, temporary placement and keeping the baby, and attempted to establish what psychological and social factors determined the mother's choice of plan.

It was found that unmarried mothers who relinquished their baby for adoption could be divided into three categories. One, the unmarried mother, who had a positive relationship with her parents and grew up in a home in which illegitimacy was stigmatized, never considered a plan other than adoption. Two, the unmarried mother who had a previous child and had experienced the difficulty of supporting him without adequate finances gave up the baby. Three, the unmarried mother who had a deprived relationship with her parents, but who had a positive experience with substitute parental figures, and whose income was inadequate to support the child, released him for adoption.

The unmarried mothers who kept their baby could be divided into three categories. One, the unmarried mother, who had a positive relationship with her parents and grew up in a home in which illegitimacy was sanctioned, took the baby home from hospital. Her parents assisted her either with money or by caring for the child while she worked. Two, the unmarried

mother, who received financial assistance from the putative father, kept the baby. Three, the unmarried mother, who grew up in an institutional setting and had sufficient money to support the child, took the baby home from hospital. In these cases, she earned or had inherited sufficient money to pay a woman to care for the child while she worked.

With the exception of one girl, the unmarried mothers who placed ^{her} ~~their~~ baby in the care of a community agency, with the intention of keeping the child once ^{they} ~~she~~ had established ^{themselves} ~~herself~~ in the community, fell into one category. This group of girls grew up in institutions or in homes in which they had experienced a negative relationship with their parents. The girl's income was insufficient to support her child and herself. Yet, the mother's need for a love object made it impossible for her to plan realistically for the child. Therefore, she placed her baby in the care of a community agency and thus procrastinated in making a final decision for the care of the child. One unmarried mother, who had a positive relationship with her family, planned to tell her parents of her out of wedlock child and request their assistance in keeping the baby. She placed the baby temporarily in the care of an agency until she had sufficient courage to discuss the problem with her family.

~~In~~ A follow-up study on this group of unmarried mothers done one year after the material was collected showed their income the same and insufficient to support a child. In all but one case, the child was still in the crèche. In this ^{last}

case, the agency had forced the mother to make a plan for the child. As she was incapable of supporting the child, she relinquished him for adoption.

Conclusion

In this study it was shown that neither social nor psychological factors in themselves determined the final plan for the child. The plan the unmarried mother selected for her child was determined by the interrelationship of these two *groups of* factors.

The study showed that often it was the unmarried mother with the least to offer her child emotionally who chose to keep him. This has significance for the social worker, as it indicates how she can best help the unmarried mother and her out-of-wedlock child. It suggests that it is her role to provide the unmarried mother with a supportive mother-type of relationship. In this way, the girl may use the worker to fill her dependency needs instead of the child. This will avoid emotional damage to the child and, at the same time, lessen the emotional trauma for the unmarried mother which may be involved in her making of a realistic plan for the child.

The results of this study suggest further areas for investigation in the problem of unmarried motherhood and her plan for the baby. It would be interesting to study a group of unmarried mothers using depth interviews as a research tool in order to determine how the subconscious factors in the unmarried mother influences her plan for the baby. In addition, it would be interesting to study a group of unmarried mothers composed of various ethnic and religious backgrounds which was sufficiently large to draw statistically valid conclusions to establish if these factors were a determining factor in the plan for the baby.

APPENDIX
SCHEDULE FOR COLLECTION
OF MATERIAL

Section 1. Sociological and Demographic Factors.

Part A. Ethnic and Geographic Origin.

1. Patient's birthplace:

Country _____ Province _____ Town _____

If not born in Canada, age of entry into Canada _____

2. Places patient lived at until the age of 15.

Age	Province	City, town, farm (specify)
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

3. How long in Montreal? _____

4. With whom is the patient living at the point of intake?

5. Country of birth of parents.

Father _____ Mother _____

Age of entry into Canada (if applicable).

Father _____ Mother _____

Part B. Social Background of the Patient.

1. Alleged age _____

2. Alleged marital status:

Single _____ Married _____ Wid _____ Div _____ Sep _____

3. Number of other Children:

Number legitimate _____ Number illegitimate _____

4. Mother tongue:

English _____

French _____

Other _____ specify _____

If other, do you speak French _____, English _____ or both _____

Part C. Occupational Background of the Family of Origin.

1. Who was the breadwinner during the patient's school years?

2. Occupation of the breadwinner_____

3. If the patient's father was the breadwinner, was the Patient's mother employed?_____If yes, why?_____

Part D. Occupational Background of the Patient.

1. Has the patient ever worked full time?_____

2. Age patient started to work_____

3. Usual type of employment_____

4. Longest time spent at any one job_____

5. Type of present employment_____

6. Patient's plan for support during pregnancy at intake

Part E. Educational Background.

1. Grades completed

Primary school_____

Secondary school_____

2. Age at school leaving_____

3. Types of schools attended.

	Day	Boarding
French R.C.		
French Prot.		
English R.C.		
English Prot.		
Other		

4. Vocational or professional training?_____

What type?_____

For how long?_____

Ever employed using skill_____

Part E. Religious Background.

1. Religion:

Father _____ Mother _____ Patient _____

Change? _____

2. Has the patient attended church within the past year? _____

Section 11. Pattern of Relationships of the Patient & Family.

Part A. Composition of the family of origin.

1. Number of full siblings.

Alive _____ Dead _____

2. Number of half-siblings.

Alive _____ Dead _____

3. Other children in the home.

Details _____

4. Where in birth order is the patient? _____

5. Other illegitimate pregnancies in the family? _____

Details _____

6. Age of patient at death of parents.

Mother _____ Father _____

Part B. Socialization of the patient in childhood.

1. Who brought patient up?

Males _____ Females _____

2. Changes in person rearing child. At what ages and why? _____

3. Any time spent in foster home? _____, institution? _____

Details _____

4. Age patient left childhood home _____

5. What is the worker's impression of the girl's early relationships with her parents?

Father _____

Mother _____

Siblings _____

6. If the patient has an institutionalized background, is there a substitute parental figure or figures? _____

If so, who is it? _____

What was the relationship of the patient with this person or persons? _____

Part C. Patient's Present Relationship with the Family of Origin.

1. Any regular contact with family, prior to pregnancy? _____
2. With which member or members? _____
3. What is the relationship of the patient with the members of her family?

Mother _____

Father _____

Siblings _____

4. If the patient has no contact with her family, has she any substitute relationship? _____

If so, with whom are these relationships? _____

What is the relationship with this person or persons? _____

Part D. Relationship with the Putative Father.

1. Does the patient know who the Putative father is? _____
2. What is the patient's relationship with the Putative Father?

3. What is the putative father's age _____
- marital status _____
- language _____
- occupation _____
- birth place _____

Part E. Relationship with Previous Putative Fathers.

If the patient has had previous illegitimate pregnancies.

1. Did she know who the putative fathers were _____
2. What plans were carried out for the child or children?

3. If married, what was the relationship with husband.

Section 111. Reactions to and Attitude Toward Pregnancy.

1. Has the patient told any member of her family? _____

Which member has she told _____

In terms of months of pregnancy _____

2. What was the family's attitude.

Father _____

Mother _____

Siblings _____

Other _____

3. Has the patient told the putative father of her pregnancy? _____

If no, why not? _____

If yes, what was his attitude? Did he offer to assume any
responsibility? _____

Has the patient asked the putative father to help her? _____

4. What was the patient's attitude toward her pregnancy at the
first visit?

Did her attitude change as the pregnancy progressed? If so,
can worker account for the change?

5. Does the girl plan for the care or relinquishment of her child? _____

What was the first expressed plan for the baby (elaborate on these)

Set Herself up independently with the baby,
(self-support or assistance)

Return to her own home with the baby.

Place the baby in a foster home for a temporary or any indefinite period.

Surrender the baby for adoption.

Other

6. Give a history of the planning of the girl throughout the ante partum period. If there is any change in the thinking of the girl during this period, can worker account for this change of plan?

Section 1V. Final plan for the Child

1. At the point of discharge, what actual plan for child is carried out? If this is a new plan from the one previously decided upon, can worker account for the change in plan?

Date of first clinic attendance _____

Estimated date of confinement _____

Date of discharge _____

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