NEGLECTED CHILDREN AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM

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Introduction

This thesis deals with chronic neglect of children -- "chronic" in the sense of continuing for a long time. The term "child" is applied to all under 16 years of age.

The following pages are based on a study of 39 records of cases made available by the Hamilton Children's Aid Society.

The statistics formulated from these cases are not taken as final proof of the causality of certain factors, for several reasons. In the first place, a high correlation between two phenomena does not necessarily indicate a causal connection. Furthermore, all sociological data are open to personal evaluation, and hence are not easily interpreted. Finally, the number of cases used here is too small to produce reliable results. However, since they were all of a chronic nature, it may be considered that the statistics obtained from them may be dependable enough to indicate certain general tendencies.

Statistics in regard to social conditions in the United States will be quoted in many instances. This is thought to be justified by the similarity between the American and Canadian standard of life. The same is not true of Canadian and European culture and social legislation.

The first three chapters deal with general con-

siderations of the possible factors in neglect arising from social conditions outside the family. The next two deal with conditions within the family leading to neglect. Finally, a special study is made of the importance of the conditions found there, and suggestions as to possible solutions.

CHAPTER 1

Economic Aspects of Child Neglect

It is fitting to commence a consideration of child neglect by examining its economic causes. This economic aspect really underlies many of the more obvious but superficial causes; such as, immorality, drunkenness, divorce, desertion, insanity, cruelty and crime.

In a study of thirty-nine chronic cases in the records of the Hamilton Children's Aid Society, it was found that 32 of the 39 were in poor financial condition, while the remaining 7 rated only fair. In 37 cases:

31 were on relief
2 received assistance elsewhere
4 only were living on their own wage

This economic aspect will be dealt with first of all by considering the historical shift of economic functions from the family to other agencies. Then we shall regard the relation of poverty to the family and children.

In colonial times the family was an important economic organization. It was really a <u>factory</u> in itself. The family was the centre of the domestic system of production on which civilization was based. The economic unit of the family produced certain corresponding social conditions. In marrying, a

man sought not only a mate and companion, but a business partner, with capabilities of caring for the children and furthering the economic security of the home. Children were not only regarded as objects of affection, but as productive agents, and were thus worthy of care from an economic standpoint. The fact that the home was an economic institution affected the careful selection of a mate, and also the attitude towards divorce.

Divorce or separation not only broke a personal relationship, but an economic one as well. The American home now is broken more frequently by separation and divorce than in colonial times. This has well-known repercussions in the sphere of juvenile care. Increased separations and divorces do not prove that husbands and wives find marriage less agreeable than their ancestors did. It may mean that certain functions and traditions (economic, educational, religious, recreational etc.) which once operated to hold even an inharmonious family together have now weakened or disappeared.

As time went on, more people lived in towns, where they produced less of the food they consumed. Large scale production became general. At varying intervals, productive operations have been transferred

wholly or in part from the household to the factory. This transference of economic functions has been a factor in many social questions, including the stability of the family, the position of women in society -- and hence their attitude towards their offspring.

The economic functions which have been taken from the family were not all lost to it at once. First there disappeared the making of metal implements and furniture; then spinning and weaving; then medicines and soaps. Baking, canning, sewing, and laundering are not all given up yet. Undoubtedly the use of electrical appliances in the household has slowed down the transfer of duties away from the home.

In regard to women's present housekeeping duties, since we have no comparable earlier data it is difficult to make any inferences from the material presented as to trends. If, however, the domestic economy of the farm is thought of as containing a large element of survival from an earlier cultural situation, the differences between the rural and the city household, assuming the economic level to be the same, may be taken to indicate the line of evolution.

Housekeeping still remains one of the major industries, and home management is one of the most important occupations. The housewife still makes her contribution to the family support through the production of goods and services in the home. There are more housewives than women engaged in other industries. The home is still a consumption unit, largely supported by the money earnings of the males, supplemented, perhaps, by the wife, and maybe even the older children.

But the recent shifting of home occupations to industry has created many problems other than economic. Some of the old ideals and standards for the prospective home-maker are gone with the conditions which gave rise to them. There is uncertainty about having children and about their care and education.

The period during which parents are liable to neglect their children has been lengthened by the fact that children are an economic burden for a longer time, and an economic asset for a shorter time. This is becoming increasingly true in recent years with the new legislation restricting child labour and participation of children in street trades (begging, selling newspapers by children under the age of 10 is prohibited on our city streets.)

The shifts of occupations from the home to the factory must obviously reduce to some extent the economic importance of the woman in the home.

The tendency, therefore, is for her to seek outside employment or activities. Where both husband and wife work outside the home its functions become small indeed. However, in such a case there is usually sufficient money to pay for the children's care and thus prevent any drastic physical neglect. Outside recreation and amusements of the cheaper type which lure the overwrought woman away from home and cause her to neglect her children are really the serious problem here. These amusements are of necessity of a lower type since they must be very inexpensive (beer parlours, dance halls, movies, etc.)

The present economic independence of women is also an important factor in child neglect. If a woman is not dependent on marriage for support she can throw it up any time and desert her family. In the 39 Hamilton cases mentioned above, 8 women (or 1/5 of the cases) had deserted their children once, and 4 had deserted several times to go off somewhere, obtain a position, and live by themselves divested of all responsibility.

This economic independence of women might conceivably cause them to postpone marriage too long until they are neurotically and physically unfitted to care for children. The case records used here however, have not proved so far that the above suggestion is correct.

The wife may also work to increase the family income, thus sacrificing values of the home and the proper care of the children. This may be sewing or some such occupation within the home -- according to the Hamilton cases (or day labour "charring" outside the home.)

The feeling of mutual protection and financial aid within the family is weakening. The family in modern times has less and less status per se and an individualization of the members is emerging. This can be seen in changes in law regarding the rights of the wife. This feeling that every member of the family can shift for himself -- this indifference -- often extends to the children and results in neglect.

The above paragraphs have emphasized the effect of the new economic conditions on the women and children to the exclusion of the man of the family. However, the shift of economic functions to the factory necessitates the father's absence from his children. Vocational guidance has passed from the home to the school, further weakening the family ties and the parents' influence on their children. This historical shift of economic functions has also produced urbanization with all its distracting and undesirable influences on man -- all of which will be more fully dealt with later under urban factors in neglect.

Now let us consider the effect of poverty on the family in so far as it causes neglect of the children. Economic aspects are very important in creating those physical and mental states causing poverty and consequent neglect of children.

In the higher income levels divorce is obviously more frequent than desertion because the upper classes attach a certain stigma to desertion, and there is money to pay for court proceedings and the care of the children. Therefore they are not a charge on the state. On the other hand, in the lower income levels the husband is more apt to desert. *i. Since divorce is increasing, *ii. it is likely that desertion is also, especially in view of the increasing ease with which the wage earner can change locality. Then arises the problem of non-support and neglect of the children.

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*i Beach -- An introduction to Sociology and Modern Social Problems. page 197

*ii Queen and Mann -- Social Pathology. page 58
Kimball Young -- An Introductory Sociology page 250
Elliott and Merrill -- Social Disorganization page 531 & 532

Increase of Divorce in Canada

Year	No. of divorces
1883	13
1903	21
1909	51
1913	80
1918	114
1928	785
1929	816
1930	875

The failure of poorer families to function well is often brought to light because of the dependency occasioned. Sheer poverty and the long continued worry over financial matters may produce discouragement, disillusionment, and desertion.

Poverty may be defined as a lack of the necessaries of life. The conditions in which a man should be called poor will depend on the standard of living prevailing in the particular social group to which he belongs. The form and density of the social group must also be considered. That seems to be necessary in one country and in one social group is by no means certain to be necessary in another. For example, a barefoot child walking on the pavements of a city clad only in a pair of trousers is considered a victim of neglect. Yet such a boy in the country would not be considered neglected at all. The personal equation would also influence the conclusions of the investigator.

In densely populated cities there are general conditions of poverty for which the individual is not wholly responsible. This will be considered later in a chapter on rural and urban conditions.

The most manifest form of poverty is hunger for food. Men may be hungry because he can not

work or because he will not work. One is a proper object of charity; the other needs reforming.

It may be true that social conditions and economic opportunity are of primary importance in the study of the economic success of the individual. More fundamental than the social study is an investigation of the attitude of each individual toward such opportunity as he may have.

The object of the social worker is to secure such an organization of society and such a development of the individual that adequate comfort may be secured for every man, woman, and child. Comfort and effort have a definite relation one to another.

When poverty is defined as a lack of the necessaries of life, we have simply defined it in its obvious and concrete forms. We have not explored its nature or its causes. The intellectual futility of much of the discussion of poverty results from too much attention to its outward symbols such as, the want of good food and clothing and of suitable housing conditions.

Much of the misery of poverty is simply the manifestation of ignorance. True, there are other unavoidable causes of poverty, such as, inherited or acquired physical defects, or the absence of an industrial market for certain types of skill -- such as in a period of readjustment after a new machine has been invented etc.

However, deficiencies of intellect or character appear to be the main cause of chronic poverty. In the first place, nearly all in the lower economic strata are deficient in education -- perhaps through the fault of the state. Our country for years has offered unsuitable education in public schools for future wives and husbands -- instruction in hygiene, food, housekeeping, and vocations being notably absent until just recently. Similarly education in good taste has been neglected. Some homes show ignorance, poverty, and degradation, while others conducted on the same income are orderly and in good taste. Multitudes of the poor do not know what to do with what they have. This is a failure in the use of the mind -- a failure in judgment in spending. Lack of foresight is the psychological failure of the poor. The pressure of the immediate pleasure is intense and weakness succumbs. Large numbers, though they know how income might be used to better advantage , ~~they~~ lack the self-control and the earnestness required for the undertaking. Many poor men are an easy prey to the various seductions of life because they lack self-control. Intemperance tends to poverty, but intemperance is also caused by insecure economic conditions.

This is the moral deficiency of the poor. Only those who see that a large part of poverty is a lack of intelligence or a lack of character, or both, are able even to suggest any correct or adequate remedies.

As we saw above, the family has continued to be the social and economic unit to a large extent, even in our complex developed modern society -- for it still undertakes the care of the young, the sick, and the aged.

There is a standard of living which should be maintained by every social group for all its members. Where the family is not able to provide the means for this standard of comfort, it is arguable whether it should be maintained by the aid of private or public charity. Pauperism has been defined as the receipt of aid from some form of the organized state. Adam Smith believed that individual relief and private charity was best because he did not trust the efficiency of the government to perform such a function. He advocated limitation of state intervention, because the government's agents usually were inefficient. State supervision is too general and not sufficiently individualistic. Furthermore, Smith said that the state was extravagant, since it was spending other people's money: "---such a government as that

of England; which --- has never been famous for good economy --- and in time of war has constantly acted with all the thoughtless extravagance that democracies are apt to fall into." However, such charity is often bungling and all-considered even encouraging indolence --- and Malthus arrived at practically the same conclusion in his book on population. He further stated that state relief should be as little as possible and as soon as possible should be reduced to the care of paupers in almshouses. Yet, it is difficult to provide the proper standard of living for all, without lowering the standard for those who most deserve to have it elevated.

Malthus' Essay on Population dealt with the question chiefly from the point of view of the family. The tendency of the population to increase is greater, he says, than the possible increase in the means of subsistence. Therefore, there is a natural law tending to a constantly increasing state of poverty -- and the little children's case of neglect looks rather pitiful.

There is a certain wisdom in his doctrine that can never be refuted. The poor do have the largest

[1] Adam Smith - Wealth of Nations page 403
[2] Malthus "Essay on the Principle of Population" as it affects the future Improvement of Society pages 35-37

families -- In fact, the size of their families seems only to be kept down by the death-rate amongst their children.

At any rate, many people do not seem to know the art of living. This, for the individual involves securing the greatest comfort at the lowest cost by the wisest production and careful use of the commodity. So it is the business of the state to furnish the greatest protection for its citizens at the lowest cost in taxation --to these citizens grown men or little children.

CHAPTER 11

Rural-Urban Relations

The following chapter is not directly related to child neglect, but it serves a background for the next section dealing with urban economic conditions and their effect on children.

The modern city, in contrast with the rural area, small town, or village is characterized by congestion of population. The growth of modern cities has depended chiefly on private industry and commerce demanding large quantities of both labour and capital. The economic specialization found in the city, is in contrast to the limited division of labour in the rural community.

This urbanization of population tends to increase with industrialism. In the United States in 1200, 4% of the population lived in cities of 8,000 and over; 100 years later about 32.9% lived in cities over 15,000. In 1950 nearly 48% lived in cities over 10,000. The farm population includes now only about ⅛ of all the people of the United States.

There are no accurate statistics based upon the respective rates of family disorganization in the cities and open country. But there can be no doubt that urban life has contributed to family instability, and that the rate has consistently increased with

the shift in population from the farming communities to the metropolitan centres. There are some significant reasons why this is true.

In the first place, there is the difference of economic interests. Whereas rural life still allows the family to share in the varied routine of the agricultural pursuits, urban life, particularly in the metropolitan centres, generally separates the family during most of the waking day. They may not therefore understand each others problems and fatigues. Overcrowding produces lack of privacy and quiet. Boarding-house life is dingy. With the transfer of home functions to other agencies there emerges the parasitic life of the city.

Commercialized vice is more characteristically a part of the city, for there corruption can go unnoticed or secure paid protection. It is the urban type of life which creates so insistent a demand for illicit sex gratification. This is because of its artificial social groupings, lonely young men and ineffective social control. The crowded conditions of the home give impetus to commercialized amusements, so that recreation becomes a lost function of the urban family.

There is, therefore, quite a definite correlation between family disorganization and certain other factors; such as, the increasing complexity

of industrial and financial organization, heightened mobility, and the disintegration of primary group control in the urban community.

Urban personalities differ from rural ones. Activities and interests are not focussed around one group but many. The family assumes less importance. Many of our contacts with others are very impersonal, so that our activities are not controlled so much by public opinion. The individual is not dependent for his amusement upon close interaction with those around him, but only upon the recreational devices invented to amuse him directly.

In the city a man comes into contact with more varied "social types" of people. This wide range of stimuli permissible in urban centres creates animation, interest, restlessness, and individualism of a certain form. The city may stimulate talent and invention through its educational institutions; but the general course of city life may be too distracting unless talent and invention are directed carefully.

The lack of primary control and the consequent freedom of action make city life very attractive to many people, but they also produce all manner of anti-social behaviour. An analysis made of the 19,000 prisoners committed to the various state and federal penitentaries and reformatories in the United States during the first six months of 1923 showed 70.4% to be from urban communities.*

*"The Prisoner's Antecedents" United States Bureau of Census, Washington.

There seems to be a similar connection between cities and insanity on the one hand, and cities and divorce on the other. Cities furnish the majority (80%) of mental hospital cases*i . From United States census reports it has been found in manufacturing cities that divorce correlates with the increasing density and mobility of population.*ii

However, crime is dependent on the "mores." The customs of a particular society determine what behaviour is criminal. Many actions have been regarded as criminal only with the recent increase in social legislation. The constant increase in the complexity of living in modern urban civilization creates new conditions requiring regulation; for example, public water, light, and sewage. So certain crimes are thus offenses against health, safety, and public well-being.

Much has been written about the dangers to society from the dominance of the city. Decentralization has been possible up to a certain point. Electrical power permits the shifting of light machine-industry into suburban and even rural areas. So too, increased facilities for travel have increased the growth of suburban centres around the larger cities. But a fundamental urban culture still remains. Since the machine and modern commercial organization

*i New York state reports. Quoted in Phelps "Contemporary Social Problems - page 301
*ii Phelps - page 452- 453

lie at the basis of urban life, we cannot escape the cultural changes in this life unless we change the whole economic order. To give up this culture would mean a decline in standards of living and a return to pre-industrial life. There is no indication that we are headed in this direction. Yet in time of depression and city overcrowding many advocate that we solve our economic problem by "putting people back on the farm."

The machine and the city have come to stay until at least there is a profound change in our economic life. The problems raised by the city then are not to be faced by any simple devices such as the one suggested above.

CHAPTER III

Urban Economic and Social Conditions

1. Housing

An aspect of industrial life in its relation to the family is the gathering of masses of people in congested city districts, with the inevitable building of crowded and unsuitable tenements, often unsanitary and unsafe, without opportunity for privacy or recreation. Here it is easy for the values of home life to disappear, and for a degenerate "hive" life to take its place. Here childhood is faced with actual physical neglect.

The child is introduced at birth to that bit of environment which is destined to play a major part in determining his whole life --- the house in which he is to live. People are aware of how the housing problem affects child life, and yet the process of branding and dwarfing our youth goes on with tragic persistence.

A decent place of abode is the first necessity for clean and wholesome living. One of the cures of poverty must begin at this point. Not alone comfort and well-being, but all the incentives for effective work on the part of men, competent motherhood on the part of women, as well as the whole possible future of the child, have their deepest foundations here.

Unsuitable housing has been found to be connected

with delinquency, desertion, and crime. The New York Crime Commission's summary of the case histories of 251 adolescent delinquents showed that nearly the entire group lived under conditions of extreme poverty and unusually congested housing.

According to the findings of several United States' studies which have summarized the principal conditions which are associated with desertion: "Desertion is an urban phenomenon occurring with housing congestion and overcrowded homes."

Conditions of distribution and density of population have an influence upon crime. The statistics of all civilized countries seem to show about twice as great a percentage of crime in their large cities as in the rural districts.

Of course, rural districts are not without their housing problems; but there the main worry is sanitation. Owing to the necessity of raising livestock and keeping animals within convenient distance from the house, it is much more difficult to eliminate the fly pest. Country people are not as well educated in sanitary methods of disposing of waste matter as are people in the cities where public health demands rigid enforcement of sanitary regulations. However, the country children have play space and fresh air to breathe, so the problem is not an acute one in all rural areas.

The housing of a city population is a problem which is at the very heart of city life. Unfortunately, the providing of decent and wholesome living conditions is beyond the ability of a great number of city dwellers. The house is the basis of family life, and home-ownership might be expected as a natural and usual method of providing for it. Ownership of one's home is ideal, because it leads itself to: stability, a homogeneous population, permanency of occupation, continuous citizenship, and incentive to labour and thrift. The main difficulties are lack of foresight, and lack of surplus income even if it is a stable one. So only a small per cent of urban homes are owned by the families living in them. The expectation of landlord profit is the motive which directs the building and the management of most houses.

Property owners should be expected to take a loss on a dwelling which social changes and more advanced standards of sanitation have rendered insufficient and unfit. Some day civic consciousness will be educated to see that it is good business as well as sound religion that no house shall be lived in unless it measures up to standards necessary for comfort, health, and respectability.

The present housing shortage in our industrial areas intensifies many undesirable conditions;

such as: high rents, lack of play space and the resulting movement of the children to play-grounds far removed from parental supervision, the use of old houses known to be infested with vermin and inimical to health. All these deplorable things are found right in Hamilton.

Health is dependent to a large degree on light, air, and sanitation. A reasonable amount of room is essential to such privacy as is necessary to morals. Family recreation is also impossible in an overcrowded home, and the children stray in the streets.

Where living quarters are overcrowded, the death and sickness rates are highest. Also the greater amount of juvenile delinquency and other factors mentioned above, all indicate the family's failure to do its work for society under unsuitable housing conditions. Instead of the crowded multiple-family dwellings, the ideal would be a separate house for each family, with sufficient space for a garden, recreation, privacy, and beauty, free from dust and noise and the various temptations of city life. Such dwellings should give light, air, safety, sanitation, and decency.

Industrial demands more labour from one place to another, which may be a cause of bad housing; but the chief causes are poor income and the

domination of profit in their building. Landlords take an economic rather than a social viewpoint. "Bad housing" means a scarcity of houses which the poor can afford.

There are a couple of possible solutions to the problem. Community action could be taken to provide cheap and quick transportation in order to scatter workers into suburbs where rent is lower and housing conditions better. The main difficulty here is the cost of time and money for transportation, as well as, the difficulty of developing schools sufficiently numerous and near.

Cities may also enforce building regulations in regard to light, air, sanitation, firesafety, etc. But these regulations do not meet the economic difficulty, so they are not enough.

The community must also itself own districts and construct suitable houses which would be beautiful, healthful, convenient, with a rent which the working-class can afford. This is the socialists' ideal.

So it may be seen that building regulations and community financial aid and building project are necessary for suitable housing. The evils of housing and the resulting effect on social life will continue as long as individual profit is the main motive in the construction and ownership of dwellings.

2. Occupation

Our present industrial social order has been blamed for many aspects of family disorganization and consequent child neglect. In industry there are several physical causes of such disorganization; for instance, fatigue, industrial accidents, and occupational diseases. The mental causes appear to be : vocational unfitness, insecurity of labour, monotonous and repetitive work, a destruction of the feeling of craftsmanship, industrial unrest, and strikes.

It is now being realized that man's physical nature is better suited for a wider diversification of activity and far less monotonous toil than he had to perform in the early stages of the machine age. Even yet, much personal disorganization may be attributed to the conflict between human nature and the industrial order.

It may be a little puzzling to see on the surface any connection between specific occupations and the neglect of children. However, some occupations definitely lead to neglect because of their unstable character, the residential changes necessitated, or the possibility of occupational misfits.

Family disorganization and the consequent divorce rates are higher for those employed in some occupations than for others. It is not so

much the nature of these occupations as the lack of security involved which causes neglect of children. The following is the order from highest to lowest: actors; travelling men; musicians; physicians; bartenders; telephone and telegraph operators; farmers.*

As mentioned above, the mobility necessary to a particular line of work may produce family disorganization and neglect. People tend to behave differently away from home than when under the watchful eyes of relatives and friends. Men in particular tend to engage in crime more frequently when in a large city than elsewhere.* Temptations are greater, living is more complex, and the numerous local city ordinances increase the possibility of anti-social behavior --- 77% of the crimes of both sexes take place in urban communities. There is in the city a psychological isolation, the acute loneliness of the friendless city dweller.

Free from group controls enforced by public opinion of a known and permanent community, many an individual flits from group to group, failing to assume his or her responsibility as a stable member of society. This person becomes a wandering creature, and an extreme individualist with little

*i Elliot & Merrill "Social Disorganization"-page 495
*ii From a survey of committments to prisons and reformatories in 1923 in United States -- Elliot & Merrill - "The Criminal." page

regard for others including his children. When he feels himself constrained by no home ties, the individual loses his sense of social responsibility. Men who desert their families and their jobs are usually unskilled labourers who feel free to move about as they are sure of finding similar positions elsewhere.

A life of extreme instability increases the value placed upon sensual pleasure, the "here-to-day-and-gone-to-morrow" attitude of travelling men and sailors, (cf high percentage social diseases in ports.) The men who are constantly on the move are uncertain of life and anxious to seize upon the passing moment. The undesirable results of such a hedonistic philosophy were seen in that unstable period during the World War, with its evil effects on the individual and the group.

Mobility makes a definite standard of values difficult. It increases mental strain. Furthermore, under such conditions a family has no permanent institutional connections -- property, church, school, neighbourhood, or community. These agencies have partially taken over the family's functions in education, religion, etc. So if the child loses contact with them because his family is constantly moving, then he is likely to be the victim of neglect.

Vocational unfitness may also be a factor in neglect of children. The dissatisfied worker may weaken, become inefficient, drift away, lose interest in the quality of his work, drink, or desert his family. Vocational maladjustments in extreme cases may lead to nervous disorders, insanity, crime, drink, restlessness, absent-mindedness and lack of powers of concentration.

The monotony and routine motions of many repetitive industrial tasks are especially distasteful to the intelligent worker. On the other hand, the mentally inferior enjoys simple activities which do not make undue demands upon his mentality.

The dissatisfied worker at home may be a victim of petty jealousies, or of self-pity. He may become a fault-finder, unable to co-operate with others, making his own life miserable as well as everyone else's. Finding no pleasure in his work, he goes to the extreme in his leisure activities outside of working hours. His children are robbed of the time and money so spent.

Much of the hectic character of modern recreational life arises from this desire to escape from the reality of the factory. The worker seeks forgetfullness rather than reenforcement of his strength. He seeks oblivion through such disturbing means as drinking, sex debauches, drugs, or even criminal conduct.

Another cause of child neglect is the uncertainty of certain occupations. This necessitates readjustment and low income periods. There are many types of irregular employment: odd jobs; daily and weekly as in the case of longshoremen; seasonal irregularity; business depression; changing of jobs or labor turnover due to dissatisfaction of employer or employee.

A reasonable rate of labour turnovers is not a serious thing, as it may merely enable men to better their economic position, and allow our industrial system to be more flexible. But excessive labour mobility is unnecessary and undesirable -- the employer complains of the kind of employee he gets, and production is not continuous.

The main concern here is with the other types of unstable occupation. Why do people engage in irregular employment? A few do so because their neighbours and parents do so. Many are so emotionally unstable that they cannot stick to one task. Some have to take any jobs they can get because they are immigrants or because they actually lack inborn ability.

The consequences of irregular work are economic, social, and personal, all having repercussions on child welfare. There is, first of all, an economic loss in wages. Savings disappear and debts accumulate. The family goes on relief. The diet may be

unwisely reduced leading to undernourishment and illness. Long continued worry over financial matters may produce discouragement, disillusionment and desertion.*

The social results are excessive instability with a loss of interest in local institutions and separation from such groups as the family, trade -union, and home community. There is also a loss of security and social status connected with unemployment. The personal consequences of irregular work and unemployment are: lowered morale, strain and friction within the family, sometimes desertion, temperamental upheavals, loss of ambition to seek work, lessened efficiency, and sheer laziness from the discontinuance of sustained application.

There are several courses of action that might be recommended at least partially to remedy these occupational faults which are causing mental and physical neglect of the labourer's children.

The remedy for the insecurity of labour depends upon the type of unemployment involved. If it is technical, early training in a skilled trade would be beneficial. Such training should be part of every labourer's formal education received during his youth, and it should be better organized as a

*Note-Figures in case records Chapter VI.

part of our school system. Good technical schools in Canada have been rare indeed until very recently. Unemployment which accompanies a business depression may be partially alleviated by unemployment insurance which would have to be made compulsory. The success of such a scheme remains to be seen when the Canadian Unemployment Insurance Act of 1940 is put into effect. Such an act cannot provide for seasonal unemployment. Much labour is necessarily seasonal, so the only possible remedy would be to organize employment better so that the employees who work in a seasonal winter trade might shift over to a seasonal summer trade.

Vocational unfitness can be practically solved by an organized system of vocational training started at an early age even in our public schools -- something beyond a haphazard manual training course.

Fatigue, industrial accidents, and occupational diseases of fathers have a direct effect on child welfare. These three conditions would undoubtedly be relieved by a shorter working day; that is, a reasonably shorter one. During the present war industrialists are apt to forget that Lever increased his soap production in Port Sunlight by working his labour in six-hour shifts.* At any rate, the fatigue resulting from a ten-hour day renders workers

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*Reference- Michell - "Outlines of Economic History" page 357.

more susceptible not only to occupational diseases but also to those contracted outside the plant.

Stricter periodical medical examinations should be made compulsory in every factory to prevent an occupational disease from progressing to a serious stage before detection. Sickness and accident insurance should also be required by law. Canada is especially backward in legislation regarding the former type of insurance. Novices in any factory should be carefully trained and closely supervised so that they may acquire the skill necessary for fewer accidents. These days the machines themselves are not responsible for as many accidents as are the operators through their carelessness. This situation is being dealt with through safety campaigns which seem very successful.

The monotony of many kinds of labour and its serious psychological effect on the father may be alleviated by frequent rest periods. In the instance of unskilled labour, another relief can be created by moving the men to different jobs within the plant.

With these safeguards in effect the child should not suffer from neglect because of the nature of his father's occupation.

5. Recreation

(Drink, Drugs, Immorality, Gambling, etc.)

A planned programme of recreation has two places in society: first of all, as juvenile recreation, to prevent children already neglected from becoming delinquent; secondly to provide wholesome adult recreation, to prevent parents from neglecting their children through drink, drugs, immorality, gambling, and other undesirable forms of amusement.

The first purpose of proper entertainment has been dealt with adequately in every book on juvenile care(1). Delinquency frequently occurs when there is no opportunity for recreation and no adequate community programme for supervised play. Investigation of delinquent boys in gangs show that one of the specific causes of delinquency occurs in the efforts of boys to "kill time." Such group activities as are developed through the Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, and the host of other organizations for youth are of inestimable value in meeting the social needs of neglected boys and girls wandering about the streets.

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(1) e.g. Elliott & Merrill "Social Disorganization" Chapter V. The Juvenile Delinquent page 111

However, the need for proper recreation for parents has been largely overlooked in consideration of child welfare. Yet this very lack of wholesome activities for adults in their leisure-time is one of the basic causes of neglect of their children. The reason for this is that parents waste time and money in alcohol, immoral activities, gambling etc. The children are thus deprived of this time and money.

Play has many utilities. Perhaps the most important one is amusement, for diversion is necessary for good work. People forget their miseries and take a more cheerful view of things, and are therefore kinder to their children and more co-operative at their work. Play also acts as a cathartic. The strain of work and responsibility may expand people's emotions to the breaking point. Something is needed to drain away this energy in harmless channels, to prevent it from being vented in cruelty to the offspring at home.

Play also re-creates and refreshes the individual. Men often seeks this "re-creation" in getting "back to nature" where he gets experience that will feed his famishing instincts. Often hobbies develop into vocations and serve as a natural vocational guide. Much play may be educative, as well as social. The members of a family may play together; but more often they join the members of

other families. Play may go on in a narrow circle; but it tends also to provide links with the larger world. It helps to tie the members of the family together; it ties the family to the local community, which in turn is thus connected with other communities, and so on.

Amusements used to be self-made, or home-made with proper supervision. Now the desire for "amateur" amusement is disappearing and it is being supplied for money. Commercial recreation often becomes a means for moral and economic exploitation without regulation. To be a monetary success amusement is often risqué and sensational rather than pure and elevating. Public regulation of amusements, such as censorship of movies, is beneficial as far as it goes; but the ideal policy would be communal provision of recreation. In the last few years this latter idea has been carried out by the various churchs, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., public playgrounds, parks, etc. However, the community should take over this field to a greater degree to subordinate the profit motive to public welfare.

Our modern industrial system has made possible shorter hours of work and more time for amusement. However, the discipline, the monotony, and the meaninglessness of fragmentary tasks, the dreary surroundings in industrial towns makes life more

irksome than ever. After people have become lazy and soft they will not make their own fun. Many want, not to play, but to be amused." Amusement usually means merely seeing spectacles, as there are few which involve active participation of every group member. This sort of thing does not afford the benefit to the individual which is found in actual "play."

Just as the absence of proper juvenile recreation makes neglected children delinquent, so the want of suitable adult recreation drives to vice, which in turn causes parents to neglect their children.

4. Immigration or Nativity

Case studies seem to indicate a correlation between nativity and neglect of children. In a study of 488 children deprived of parental care in Delaware, both parents of 54% of the entire group were native-born, while the general population of Delaware at the time had a percentage of 91 native-born. On the other hand, although only 9% of the population were foreign-born, 19% of the neglected children were known to have both parents foreign-born.* It would appear, then, that the foreign-born parents are contributing more to neglect than their proportion of the population would justify.

However, we cannot infer from such studies that certain nationalities are more prone to neglect their children than are others. In fact, this "racial" aspect of immigration has probably been unduly emphasized. The problems concerning immigrants' children are problems of social, not natural, inheritance. Thus, even if tests seem to indicate a heavy percentage of poor ability among

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*"Children Deprived of Parental Care" -- a study of children taken under care by Delaware agencies and institutions by the U.S. Dep't of Labour - Children's Bureau

newcomers to our country, it would show nothing about the stocks as a whole to which these immigrants belong. Likely most of them are what might be termed "marginal men." Undoubtedly in the mass of the extremely poor of every people is to be found a heavy proportion of low inborn intelligence, because poor intelligence itself if the greatest of handicaps in making a living. The economic motive underlies immigration. Although our present immigration legislation attempts to keep out those who are likely to become a public charge, this condition is difficult to foretell.

There are individuals who scoff at the whole so-called "immigration problem," and point to the fact that our ancestors at some stage were children of immigrants. However, the newer immigration of recent years differs from the original British settlers more than did the earlier immigrants. Those first settlers represented not the poorest in ability that their country had to offer, but often the highest in courage and initiative. The next period in immigration from north-western Europe (British Isles and Scandinavia etc.) brought in people who had so much in common with native Canadians that assimilation was easy. This is still largely true of this type of immigrant.

The recent immigrants from southern and eastern Europe present grave difficulties in assimilation. Their languages, customs, religious beliefs, and general traditions are quite different, so that a longer time may be needed before they become adjusted to Canadian life.

Immigration and the city movement studied earlier are kindred social problems, each having tremendous social consequences for children. The children of immigrants may suffer through two or three different channels. First of all, they may be mistreated by their parents if the latter are in a maladjusted state. In the second place, they may suffer keenly because of society's hostile attitude towards them. Then too, the children may be considered neglected according to our standards because their parents' notions of sanitation, child care, and social hygiene, differ from ours.

Neglect of immigrants' children may be studied in the following aspects: economic, social, political, and religious. We shall commence with the economic considerations. Usually the children of immigrants suffer the disadvantages of poverty. These minority populations constitute the lowest income groups, and also tend to have the most children and consequently the fewest resources per child. To prove the existence of such income

differences, we have the consumer-purchases study made of 825,000 Chicago families in 1935-36 which shows the median income for native whites to be $1,580.00 and for foreign-born whites $1,389.00 Of the native white families only 27.4 per cent received less than $1,000.00, while 54 per cent of foreign-born whites receive less than this sum.*i

On the other hand, we find in the United States about twice as many children under 5 years of age per 1,000 women aged 20 to 44 years in the minor racial groups as in the native white population*ii (or the negro population).

The native inhabitants of our country are generally in more advanced occupations; the foreign-born in semi-skilled and unskilled work. People of the latter group are frequently discriminated against in obtaining jobs and promotions, and they often have to accept lower pay than others for the same kind of work.

The immigrant usually forms part of the marginal labour supply, and so lives in constant fear of unemployment with no degree of stability to offer his children.

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*i Study of Consumer Purchases:
Family Income in Chicago, 1935-36, page 6
Bull, No. 642 Vol. 1., U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics, Washington 1939.

*ii The Problems of a Changing Population page 128
National Resources Committee Washington, May, 1938

Because of low and uncertain income the children of foreign-born parents probably have less sense of security, as well as less opportunity for education, recreation, and vocational preparation, than the children of the native-born.

Poverty and a low standard of living are characteristics of immigrant labour. This cheap labour competes with native-born labour, since you have a body of men who will accept low wages as well as unfavourable conditions of work. This sort of competition, if not checked by the unions, would mean poverty and poor living conditions, not only for the immigrants' children, but for the Canadian labourer's children as well.

Let us next look at the social aspects of neglect in connection with immigrants' children. It has been said that immigrants are more apt to neglect their children because they have a stronger tendency towards crime, illiteracy, insanity, and immorality. This rather radical view warrants examination. We have noted previously that the above pathological conditions were factors in child neglect. It remains to be seen whether or not these conditions are connected with immigration.

In understanding the problem it should be remembered that, as stated above, poverty is the most evident accompaniment of immigrant life.

The immigrant may come out of harsh conditions of economic life with little opportunity for education. His poor condition is no indication of inherently poor quality, except in so far as a certain percentage of poverty is itself caused by a feeble-minded inheritance. It is to be expected that in the struggle to become adjusted to a new and strange world there will be a degree of temporary failure which might show in pauperism or result in crime and other pathological conditions.

The alien's sense of inferiority is partly a result of his economic inferiority. His job is new, so he encounters difficulties and makes mistakes lowering his self-esteem. Then too, his dress, habits, and manner are different, and therefore are ridiculed and even resented.

The belief that the social failure of immigrants leads to pathological behaviour is supported by the fact that the rate of suicide among the foreign-born is considerably higher than among the native-born. In Chicago during 1920 the rate for the native born was 8.4 per 100,000, while that of the immigrant was 23.2. In 1930 the figures were 12.4 and 38.8 respectively.*

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*Quoted in Elliot & Merrill, Social Disorganization page 234

Some of the social problems connected with immigration which may cause children to be neglected are: crime, insanity, illiteracy, and immorality.

There has been a great deal of dispute in regard to immigrant crime. It is a question whether or not the immigrant is responsible for more crime than his percentage of the population would justify. Based on the work of the Immigrant Commission of 1911 in the United States, the following statement is made by one authority: "Such material as is available if trustworthy would seem to indicate that immigrants are rather less inclined toward criminality on the whole than are native Americans, although these statistics do indicate that the children of immigrants commit crime more often than the children of natives." This latter condition is probably a result of the conflict between the old culture and the new. In spite of the above quotation it would seem that the immigrant's poverty, lack of education, residence in the worse sections of the city, low housing and living standards would tend to produce criminality. Unfortunately, proof of this theory is unavailable. Since the connection between crime and immigration is rather uncertain, it is unnecessary to study immigrant crime in relation to child neglect.

However, the delinquency rate is high among the

children of immigrants. This is especially true in regard to sexual delinquency among girls of immigrant parents. This behaviour is a result of the culture conflict in homes of children of foreign parentage. Furthermore, in Canada the family lacks the same control over the children which exists in many European countries from whence the immigrants came. Then too, foreigners usually are members of the lower economic groups which find life rather prosaic. Their children often seek excitement and higher income from leading an unconventional and immoral life.

Although the laws forbid the admission of insane, the hardships and uncertainties of adjustment to new conditions undoubtedly result in a high percentage of insanity. The report of the Immigration Commission defined it as inability to read or write any language. It shows that the average illiteracy among American immigrants from 1900 to 1910 was 35.8 per cent. Of course, this percentage would not be true to-day because of changed immigration laws; but the percentage of illiteracy will be low in so far as immigrants come from countries of poor educational opportunity for the masses of people. Individuals who are illiterate or who have low educational standards quite naturally fail to realize the importance of adequate education

for their children. They usually express a desire to remove their children from school and put them to work to augment the family income. They may also fail to realize the importance of play in the child's life, regarding such activity as a waste of time.

Illiteracy of parents also has an indirect effect on their offspring through its industrial and political effects. However skilled a workman may become, he is at a disadvantage if he has not at least an elementary education so that he can read signs, directions, etc.; thus he earns a low income and his children may experience financial need. The practically illiterate immigrant also is unlikely to understand adequately our political system, and so is not as well able as the average man to obtain better services and conditions for his children.

When a family shifts from one country to another religious ties are often weakened. This is both a cause and effect of disorganization. When the church loses its hold on these immigrants the effects are disastrous, not only in respect to the lives of the children and parents involved, but also the standards of the community. Family disorganization, crime, and vice arise in part from broken religious relationships.

Nevertheless, the fault in the neglect of immigrant's children lies not wholly with the immigrant, but with society as well. Many children suffer disadvantages and handicaps because they were born into groups regarded as inferior because of their racial or national origin and, on that account, are denied many of the privileges accorded the majority. A lower social status is attributed to these minority groups, which results in a feeling of frustration fostering drunkenness and immorality causing parents possibly to neglect their offspring --- as pointed out previously. However, the children themselves are usually regarded as inferior also, and this may crush their ambition and give them a feeling of injustice and insecurity. This is not child neglect in the sense of neglect by parents: it is neglect by society.

The state then, to prevent mental and physical neglect of immigrants' children, must deal with the "immigrant problem" as a whole. The most apparent solution of the whole problem is one of restriction. It is irrelevant and unnecessary to set forth here a long discussion of the various merits and demerits of quantitative restriction, such as the percentage basis used in the United States. Of course, we must recognize that forethoughted parentage by advanced peoples is utterly useless as long as there

are peoples and races which multiply blindly and threaten to flood their neighbours with their surplus population. However, qualitative restriction is of more significance than the quantitative type. It is rather difficult to recommend advances in legislation governing such restriction, unless we present regulations excluding individuals of recognized inferior quality; such as the insane, the feeble-minded, and criminals. But physical and mental inferiority are often difficult to detect unless of an extreme type.

The field in which we can do most to alleviate the discomfort of foreigner's children, is that of assimilation. Assimilation may be defined as the process by which persons share the sentiments, ideals, attitudes, and habits of other persons and thus acquire a common cultural life. The result is a unity in understanding, sentiment, sympathy, and standards, if time enough is allowed and social conditions are favourable. It all depends on the attitude of the native born, the degree of economic opportunity open to him, and the educational activities which are presented to him and he is able to receive. What then, are the things making assimilation difficult, and what agencies can aid it?

Intermarriage is perhaps the quickest method, but not the best one from the child's standpoint,

as he would likely be a victim of conflict in the home. At any rate, policies fostering fusion should avoid force and excessive attention to the externals of naturalization; such as, pledges of loyalty, etc.

Several things make assimilation difficult. The first of these is segregation of immigrants into neighbourhoods of their own. Most are forced to seek cheap housing too, since they are in the lower economic strata. The native-language press may aid in this isolation and cause the readers to look homeward. The government at home may encourage the immigrants to keep in contact with the homeland, especially as long as strong nationalistic sentiment exists in Europe. "Homesickness" may cause the immigrant to forget the unpleasant features of the homeland which he once wished to escape. The home language is often used in church services."Mutual-aid societies" keep up the homeland solidarity.

The agencies which may further aid assimilation may be listed as the home, school, government, and industry. In the home children are born without prejudice. They acquire this largely from their family environment. Therefore, Canadian parents should strengthen and encourage natural toleration.

The school is probably the most important factor facilitating assimilation, in that it furn-

ishes the immigrant child with the language, history, geography, and literature of the new country. It should further foster an appreciation of national groups other than our own, an order to break down prejudice. Instead of merely nationalizing our foreigners through their children, we should do so directly, by providing for adult immigrants evening classes patterned like the day schools. These classes should be free and should stress Canadian history and English.

The government should plan to provide higher standards of food, clothing, housing, medical care, education, and recreation for immigrant's children to put them on an equal footing with other children. Laws should protect the immigrant from abuse and exploitation and make his adjustment easier. It should also provide organized recreation for parents through clubs for athletics, drama, music and art. In such clubs the immigrant may share with the native-born common interests and purposes.

The state should also carefully supervise charity organizations which are often the first group with which the adult immigrant comes into contact. If he is unemployed or ill and unable to obtain aid from his own foreign friends he must appeal to public or private relief agencies for help. The government should make certain that such charity should not only administer material relief but also training

in self-sufficiency and responsibility. The regulation of charity organizations is important, as it is often from these that the immigrant first learns about Canadian standards of health, diet, and sanitation, as well as our conception of the relationship that should exist between parents and children.

The industrial employment of labour may aid in assimilation because here the foreigner is in contact with people not of his own nationality. If employers would insist on having their employees naturalized, special classes for this purpose could be given by the Y.M.C.A.; clubs, churches, and even some industrialists. Employers and unions should be urged not to discriminate against able foreigners. Such discrimination, resulting in inadequate income and work opportunities, may produce actual physical need for the children in the home.

This immigrant programme may appear rather costly, but it saves money and misery in the long-run. These children are growing up lacking the material necessities of life and feeling inferior in every way. The possible future results for the country cannot be very desirable. These children, if improperly cared for, develop into troublesome citizens who are a heavy burden of expense to the state.

CHAPTER IV

Family Conditions

1. Child Labour

Child labour deserves attention as an aspect of chronic neglect of children, and perhaps as an ultimate cause as well. The child worker may so injure his future labour power, that he becomes a poorly-paid adult, unable to care properly for his own children.

Although child labour conditions in Europe and Asia may be worse than in North America, this does not excuse the fact that children under fourteen years of age are working at occupations and under conditions which are detrimental to their health and development. Since the last war, improvements in this regard have been made in Canada and the United States through the various education acts of the states and provinces which forbid the employment of children under 14. Some laws, such as that in Ontario* require that children should attend school until 16 years of age, unless they have a special permit to go to work. The 1938 U.S. federal Wages and Hours Act imposed further restriction upon child labour.

Nevertheless investigators say, that more than half a million children under 14 years of age are

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*See Appendix

still employed by industry, trade, and agriculture in the United States --- some at dangerous and injurious occupations. Complete figures are not available for Canada, but reports show that there are child labourers mostly in seasonal, agricultural, and home industries. Such a condition is difficult to detect, so social workers must appeal to public opinion on behalf of the children. They point out that, in overtaxing the strength of juveniles, the efficiency of the future labour supply is being jeopardized as well as the quality of many of the fathers of the next generation.

Children, especially in adolescence, have worked in nearly all societies; but naturally the conditions of labour in a factory are not at all like those of the farming, fishing, and hunting activities of primitive groups. Standards of health, education, and child welfare to-day require a different attitude toward these matters. The industries which use children to-day are not usually of value as a preparation for adult work, often even reducing their efficiency. Many machine processes in industry require no skill and have no value for future work. This is the sort of work children do. An investigation in Massachusetts in 1906 showed 25,000 children between the ages of 14 and 16 who had left school, five-sixths of them not having finished the

eighth grade. Only two per cent of these had gone into skilled industries. The rest had entered employment with little chance of future advancement. Studies in St. Louis, Philadelphia, and New York claim that only three to five per cent of such children enter high-grade industries.*

The causes of child labour may be: poverty and an inadequate family wage; the failure of the educational system to interest and hold children; a short-sighted desire of children for economic independence; the employer's desire for cheap labour; the cupidity and ignorance of parents; the shift of child apprenticeship from the home to the factory where it degenerates into mere mechanical labour.

The two prime causes of child labour seem to be poverty and weakness in the educational system. Investigations in various localities show that economic pressure is a factor in one-quarter to one-third of the cases of children who enter industry before completion of the elementary school course. This was the case with two-fifths of 895 children studied in Boston*. Of course it must be remembered that poverty is often the reason given when the principal urge to go to work is discontent with school.

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*Beach: Introduction to Sociology, page 218.
*U. S. Children's Bureau Publication No.89

Although some children's work is not necessary for subsistence, they seek employment to raise the family's standard of living. However, this idea is often over-emphasized. Fuller says: "Of the majority of street-workers it may be said that their earnings are very meagre and that their contribution to family support is negligible(i). Most of this money is spent on movies, candy, and ice-cream.

Many children go to work because of dissatisfaction with school. Some are discouraged by failure to be promoted, or by tasks beyond their mental and physical powers; others resent the routine and discipline found in school. Many factors enter here; such as, uniformity of programme, large classes, teachers' lack of understanding, lack of encouragement at home.

There are many different types of child labourers. One of the most prominent is that of the street traders: newsboys, errand, messenger and delivery boys, magazine-sellers, market-stand helpers etc. -- so commonplace that they are taken for granted. The last economic depression was largely responsible for shifting child labour to these street trades, "blind-alley" occupations offering no future, and

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(i)Raymond G. Fuller - The Meaning of Child Labour

generally unregulated. In Cincinnati the average earnings of a newsboy were found to be 30¢ a day, in Connecticut cities, 54¢ a day."

Other types of juvenile occupations are to be found in: industrial home work, such as the making of artificial flowers, embroidery, lamp shades, buttons etc.; work outside school hours, delivery and messenger service, work in lunch rooms; the agricultural industries, especially the present large-scale ones. Because of the close connection between the child's employment and that of his parents in occupations where children work as members of a family group, regulation of child labour in such cases is opposed on the ground of interference with parental control. Many self-interested groups take advantage of this situation. In such cases where regulation is difficult (commercialized agriculture and street work) it is necessary to develop public opinion, as was done in earlier times in the case of child labour in factories. In this way the public learn to aid in the detection of child labour.

The harm of juvenile labour is tremendous: often bodies are weakened; opportunity for further education is prevented; future earning power is limited because of the greed of parents and employers. Of

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*Fuller, page 86.

particular significance in this connection are the kinds of work done, the physical surroundings, hours, wages, and regularity of employment.

All these occupations are especially dangerous to children. The physical changes in adolescence make the strain of long working hours especially hazardous. Children are more susceptible to toxic infections than adults. Dust, fumes, and temperature extremes are harmful to immature bodies. The lack of physical co-ordination characteristic of the growing child is a source of high accident rate.

The period of infancy and social education is long for human beings. The home and school aids such education. Therefore, industry is unjustified in taking children away from them.

There are studies to prove that working children are more apt to be delinquent than school children.* One study of six large United States' cities showed that delinquency among working boys was 2 to 10 times greater than among school boys. Working girls were from 3 to 25 times more delinquent then school girls. Factors in the delinquency of employed children are disorganized home lives and lack of parental guidance as much as demoralizing influences directly connected with their occupation.

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*Report on Condition of Woman & Child Wage Earners in the United States. 6:37

Of course, many street trades keep the children out late at night where they meet gambling, vice, and crime.

Society protects children from undesirable labour by child-labour laws, school-attendance laws, and minimum-wage laws. It also should modify the school system so as to make formal education more attractive and popular, through vocational guidance and training, and lessen economic pressure. There seems to be a need for vocational education in industry, commerce, agriculture, home economics etc.

Agriculture and domestic service seem free from child labour laws, so a large degree of exploitation is made possible. The only way to regulate this sort of child labour is through the school attendance laws, and the development of public opinion against it.

The purpose of child labour legislation is to afford to all children a fair and reasonable start in life --- especially in cases where the parents neglect to do so or are unable to provide it.

Such protection is designed to prevent the industrial exploitation and premature employment of children and youth under conditions of work detrimental to their health, education, or general welfare.

2. Health

Health is intimately connected with economic success, family life, and personal development. In considering the relation between health and neglect of children, most people think only of the juvenile health problem. However, one cause of the neglect of the child's physical and mental health may be found in his parent's physical condition. Sometimes a physical ailment may be the basis of strained relations in the family. The illness of parents may mean that the children do not receive needed attention and get into difficulties of various sorts, even of a criminal nature.

Information regarding the physical condition of parents is very inadequate since records are usually made only of glaring instances. Agencies frequently arrange for the physical examination of the child but make no systematic inquiry regarding the health of the individuals with whom the child has been associated. Frequently such an inquiry is impossible. We must depend on approximations which do not give us exact measurements but only a general idea of sickness and disability.

Industrial accidents and the consequent disability are not important economic factors in child neglect. In Ontario the family is cared for from a monetary standpoint by workmen's compensation. However, the accident may have a dire mental effect. The injury

itself produces a feeling of helplessness and uselessness. The man's self-reliance is weakened. Discouragement, uncertainty, and physical suffering may weaken his will-power. If he is forced to remain idle for long he may lose all desire to recommence work. In fact, he may accept meagre charity, adapt himself to a lower standard of living, and be content --- thus losing his ambition and initiative, and causing his children to suffer from poor living conditions. Economic loss or loss of life and limb may be partially compensated, but a weakened moral fibre is more serious.

Children, however, are affected not so much by serious incapacity of their parents (resulting from industrial accidents,) but by certain hidden illnesses. These parental weaknesses may not be severe enough to confine the patient to bed, but they cause discord in the home as well as improper care of the child. Some of these weaknesses may be seen in the following extract:

"During the six months ending March 31, 1923, the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor cared for 3,875 families in which it found 5,615 separate important health problems.

539 families showed tuberculosis
299 " " nervous or mental disease or mental deficiency
268 " " venereal disease
256 showed rickets
165 " cardiac problems" (1)

(1) Burritt B.B. in National Conference Social Wk., 1923: 80-84 - quoted Queen & Mann Social Pathology, page 456.

The economic significance of sickness is seen clearly in the California Social Insurance Commission report of 1917 which showed that among the causes for seeking charitable relief in San Francisco and Los Angeles sickness appeared in 2,650 out of 5,3000 families.

In addition to the economic consequences of ill-health we must consider also the effects on personality and social relations. Sickness demoralizes some people and makes them lose their grip on life because of discouragement or a sense of futility or inferiority. Others acquire during illness the habit of dropping responsibility and letting others provide for them. In fact, physical ailments may be related to anti-social conduct. First of all, they may cause irritation and discomfort, and in seeking relief the parent may indulge in all sorts of erratic conduct toward the child. The resulting inefficiency and failure may make the individual feel neglected by his group, and hence he sometimes fails to feel responsible to it for his actions in the home and in society. Some illnesses weaken earning power and thus lower social status to keep up his earnings the parent may resort to unlawful activities, and the child is reared in an atmosphere of crime.

The causes of physical failure and sickness are: heredity (indirectly,) infection, poisons (from drugs

or materials used in one's occupation) food deficiency, air deficiencies, etc. Health is impaired by poverty and ignorance. Poverty is responsible for improper food and crowded living quarters. Ignorance is akin to and responsible for poverty. Parental ignorance of health principles may perhaps be overcome by teaching. The important thing is the health education of the young who will be the parents of the next generation. It is significant that health, income, and education are all related.

Promotion of health may be secured by: education in personal hygiene; periodic examinations of parents such as many commercial and industrial establishments are now providing (such an examination is provided for children by school authorities;) provision for adequate and prompt treatment of any defects detected; rest periods and vacations with pay to rebuild human bodies; an adequate income for everyone, for low wages are connected with poor health; improvement in homes, as well as in places of work and amusement.

To meet the human needs connected with broken health we have public health nurses, hospital social workers, health officers, nutrition workers, mental and physical health clinics. The public health nurse makes visits on people who cannot afford a private nurse or a hospital. She gives instructions in homes in caring for the sick and prevention of

disease. A social worker often gets the social history of a hospital patient and follows up the case. Family service bureaus send out workers competent to give advice on nutrition, selection and preparation of foods, budget-making, clothing, house furnishing, sanitation, etc. Mental health clinics are concerned with mental abnormalities and unusual types of behaviour. The health officer is responsible for enforcing laws concerning sanitation, quarantine, housing, and many other conditions affecting family health.

Hospital service is available to the well-to-do through their ability to pay the fees charged. The unemployed or destitute are cared for at the public expense. But the man on low wages cannot afford the great cost of adequate medical service under our present system of individual practise. The problem of bringing good medical attention within the reach of everyone may be solved by health insurance or some group system of medical service. A good example of this type of insurance is that which has been in force in England since 1911.

3. Religion

In most families where children are neglected there is a marked lack of religious interest. No person who is familiar with the history of man can deny the importance of religion in the development of his ideas, his moral standards, and his institutions. Religion is one of the most fundamental phases of man's life. It has been, and still is, a part of his culture, without which his life is incomplete and unsatisfying. Under whatever form it assumes, religion is for man one of his deepest concerns. Man has turned to it for hope, for inspiration, and for support in a changing world of personal and social experience.

Religion rests upon a fundamental psychological need. It is a "balancing factor" in personality. An individual from a disorganized family faced with difficulties, crises, or conflicts, needs religious experience to give him faith in a beneficent deity and relief from worry. Religion helps to fulfill life, gives it a richer, more pleasing, and more personally satisfying meaning. In view of these considerations it is not surprising that we should find lack of religious interest to be a characteristic of disorganized families where children are neglected.

In most cases a household's religious tendencies are measured in terms of church attendance. The

growth or decline of a family's church interest may be taken as a criterion of its religious interest, because the church is the recognized agency for expression of the religious impulse.

Many other social agencies, besides the church, look after man's physical welfare on this side of the grave and his social relations with other men. However, the church may become a very powerful social agency in a community. Yet there is a danger of the church becoming largely a social rather than a religious institution, and inefficiently duplicating the social service work of the government or voluntary social agencies.

Urwick * disagrees with this view, and says that poor people drift away from religion if it is not applied socially. He says: "The social applications of religion are wanting; is not that the chief reason why so many proletarian movements are essentially non-religious or even anti-religious? Bring it down to earth they seem to say; show it to us at work as <u>the</u> great regenerative force among all the muddles and oppressions which stand between us and a decent life; and <u>then</u> we will respect it." This writer

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*Reference: E. J. Urwick "The Social Good" page 241 (Urwick, Professor of Political Science in the University of Toronto 1927.)

would evidently say that the church should interfere in social service and politics on behalf of children's welfare. There is an attempt here to show that religion may mainly benefit the child not by such interference alone but by making his parents better people, less apt to neglect him morally and physically. It may also aid in the development of the child into a normal law-abiding citizen.

Religion is a very powerful factor in lending emotional support to the moral code of the group. In this way it prevents anti-social conduct such as cruelty and abuse of children, providing that the family is religious.

It is unlikely that any fault in religion itself (such as Urwick mentioned) is to be blamed for people's indifference. The fact is that religious interest rises and falls with men's necessities. If the people trust the policeman for protection, the physician for healing, the inventor for victory, the state for sustinence, and themselves for worldly success, then their zeal in religion wanes. When a man is refused relief elsewhere he goes to a church.

The decay of religious belief in a family works against its success and stability. Family

affection and a high degree of morality are correlated with religion. Where religion has a part in marriage it no doubt serves to increase the emotional bonds and to put more weight behind community sanctions. It might thus prevent many broken homes and the consequent misery of children.

One of the most important causes of increase in divorce is the declining importance of the religious theory of marriage and the family. No where in history has really stable family life existed without a religious basis. The family has become partly disconnected from religious sentiments and ideals, so that many people regard marriage and a family merely as a matter of personal convenience.

It is important that the family have spiritual connections, because it furnishes the origin of religious ideas, attitudes and practices. The early years in moral training are very important in forming personality. While the child is quite young the church and school may take over his training, but the influence of the mother and father (especially the mother) seems to overshadow subsequent religious and moral influences on the child.

The home is the fundamental educational institution in religion as in education. In spite of this however, the religious needs of the

growing child outrun the family like his other needs. Yet many people fail to attend church themselves and neglect to send their children.

In spite of public schooling for all, education still remains a function of the family and church. We shall probably see the church continue to play an important part in formal education for a long time.

Closely related to more formal religious education has been the development of such organizations as the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A. etc. There are in addition vacation camps, clubs, etc.; and other devices are sponsored by the churches in which more formal education is supplemented with opportunities for recreation or discussion.

The Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, although not strictly religious in standpoint, have much in common with these other agencies. Their general purpose is to supplement the work of various groups such as the family, the church, and the school, chiefly through leisure time activities like athletics and handicraft. The Big Brothers and Big Sisters do the same sort of work for neglected children or those in poor economic circumstances. They have developed summer camps and rather elaborate programmes for the winter months in many of our cities.

This problem of religious apathy is one which churches of all denominations all over the Dominion have been trying to solve. Possibly a severe national crisis will bring both rich and poor back to religion. Then it will be up to the churches to hold their interest after the crisis passes.

Perhaps the attitude of superiority assumed by a few "well-to-do" members of the church drives the poor away. It is indeed regrettable if any individual is made to feel out of place merely because he or she is poorly dressed.

At any rate children would suffer less neglect if their parents were religious. We have seen that such neglect is partially caused by vicious habits arising from parents' psychological condition. Children benefit from religion because it is probably the most powerful factor in the cure of these pathological mental conditions causing neglect.

4. Mentality

Mental deficiency might be considered the key problem in child neglect, for it not only causes neglect directly, but it also, indirectly produces it through poverty, desertion, immorality, and large families.

In commencing, let us look at an ordinary grading of mentalities.*

I.Q.

Above 140	"Near" genius or genius
120--140	Very Superior intelligence
110--120	Superior intelligence
90--110	Normal, or average intelligence
80--90	Dull normal
70--80	Border-line (sometimes classified as dull, sometimes as feeble-minded.)
Below 70	Definitely feeble-minded
60--70	High-grade moron
50--60	Low-grade moron
20--50	Imbecile
-Below 20	Idiot

The extent of feeble mindedness (counting all individuals with an I.Q. below 70) varies from 0.5 to 2.0 per cent of the population in United States and England.**

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*Elliot and Merrill - Social Disorganization page 781.

**Phelps - Contemporary Social Problems, page 325

This is as accurate an estimate as we can get from current studies. Teachers find that this is about the percentage requiring special classes. Of course, it must be remembered that these percentages were taken from groups from which the most serious defectives had been removed and placed in institutions. However, estimates which place the proportion of mentally deficient much higher than 3 per cent are probably using a much wider definition of the term "feeble-minded."

The morons and border-line cases are the greatest problems because they circulate practically unrestricted. They are more difficult to detect because some can perform routine tasks. While it is quite easy to distinguish imbeciles and idiots by their social inadequacies, many tests are needed before a person can be classified as a moron, border-line type, or dull normal. Intelligence tests should be checked with medical and social histories, and an ... rating by itself is not infallible. Four standards for judging the degree of feeble-mindedness are: educational inadequacy, economic inefficiency, social inadequacy, and a low I.Q. rating.

Now that the concept of feeble-mindedness is better understood, it will be shown how it causes neglect of children -- first of all directly, and then indirectly. Mentally deficient parents

neglect their offspring because they lack the ordinary common sense to conduct their own personal lives and to plan them consistently. They lack the foresight to see the consequences of their neglect, and the will-power to improve their ways.

The problems of adjustment to complex social surroundings are often difficult enough for those of average mental capacity; so therefore the mentally inferior may not be able to meet the demands of parenthood or afford sufficient physical care and social training for their children. Their incapacity to cope with all the increasingly complex problems of modern life is indicated by the fact the many mentally dull parents find it difficult to carry out the job of parenthood in a manner suitable to the demands of our times. This incompetence of parents is a clue to much of the delinquency, poverty, and other pathological conditions manifested by certain notorious families. For those who cannot make these adjustments which society demands, life is made miserable. We see that feeble-mindedness means not only low intelligence and an inability to meet the ordinary demands of life, but also an inability to acquire certain social habits; that is, the mentally deficient find it difficult to act in accordance with

the standards of their group. Hence their actions are often anti-social, a fact which explains their frequently indifferent attitude towards the neglected state of their children.

It is evident, then, that feeble-mindedness may directly cause mental and physical neglect of juveniles. Mental, neglect may be caused by the low mentality of the parents which is responsible for the children's irregular school attendance, social isolation and moral retardation. Physical neglect, may arise from feeble-mindedness in the housewife which is likely to cause poor homemaking, inattention to health, friction, and cruelty.

Mental deficiency also brings about neglect indirectly in that it also is connected with immorality, illegitimacy, desertion, intemperance, crime, poverty, etc. There is a belief that feeble-mindedness is associated with every important pathological problem, and it is justified to a degree.

In industry low mentality often means unskilled labour, irregular employment, and industrial accidents, all of which may result in inadequate income and physical neglect of the children. Mental deficiency is a detriment to child welfare in general, because it is another factor

which complicates the problem of establishing a minimum wage. These subnormal types are seldom able to earn the minimum wage. They are, therefore, frequently unemployed and a relief burden.

The feeble-minded individual suffers poverty because he cannot compete on equal terms with his fellows, or manage himself and his affairs with ordinary prudence. We saw above that economic incompetence is one of the criteria of feeble-mindedness; therefore, the latter must be a factor in unemployability.

The harm done the children by criminal parents is not the transmission to the offspring of any acquired characteristic known as criminality. But they may transmit to the offspring an impaired vitality which may show itself in weak resistance to crime and other forms of degeneracy. If the criminal parent stays in the home the child is injured or maybe neglected mentally. If that parent is removed, then the child still suffers physical neglect, having only one parent to care for him, and may become a burden on the government.

In practically half the cases of illegitmacy mental defectiveness is a factor. Of 344 unmarried mothers examined in Minnesota in 1926, 25.8 per cent were classified as feeble-minded and 24.4 per cent as border-line cases.*

Immorality amongst this class is high, because

*Phelps - Contemporary Social Problems, page 340

they lack the capacity for judgment and therefore are often victims of the unscrupulous. A larger share of unmarried mothers are from the border-line and dull normal groups than the definitely feeble-minded. Many of this former class can pass as normal, so they are more difficult to control. Little need be said of the obvious effects on the child of immorality in the home.

It is sometimes assumed that the mental defectives neglect their children because they have such large families. As a matter of fact, the birth-rate for defectives as a whole is not high. This is because the rate is reduced by the lowest grades of feeble-minded who have a birth-rate of almost nothing in case of segregation. However, the birth-rate of morons and border-line types is probably higher than the normal, since they lack the restraint and common sense necessary for birth-control.

The causes of low mentality may be classified under either heredity or environment. Authorities differ as to the amount of feeble-mindedness caused by heredity, but it has generally been thought to be the most significant factor. If a defect is congenital, a certain proportion of the offspring, according to Mendel's law, will inherit the defect.

Syphilis or alcoholism in the parent may be

a non-hereditary cause of low mentality. Feeble-mindedness is also related to other factors in the environment; such as, toxins, infections, and malnutrition. The stimuli of the environment also affect the mentality of an individual, as the functioning of man's mind depends upon the conditions under which it performs and its treatment. Malnutrition may be indirectly responsible for retardation in mental development; supervised nutrition and care before and after birth may raise the I.Q. However, the children of parents normal in intelligence have been found to resist extreme malnutrition with only slight effects on mentality; to the feeble-minded children inadequate diet is a more serious handicap.

The prevention of low intelligence is a baffling problem. Sterilization has been advocated on the grounds that marriage among this group would prevent much immorality, and would not be objectionable if there were no children procreated. However, sterilization is not so effective, since a greater proportion of the population are "carriers" of feeble-mindedness rather than actual victims of it themselves. According to R.A. Fisher, 89% of the feeble-minded are children of "carriers," while only about 11% have feeble-minded parents.(1)

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(1) R. A. Fisher - "The Elimination of Mental Defect." Journal of Heredity 18:529 - 531 (Dec.-1927)

Then too, sterilization laws are very difficult to administer justly because of difficulties in diagnosis. Birth control should be practised by normal people who suspect themselves of being carriers of feeble-mindedness.

Improved and more careful medical care is needed for early diagnosis, and cure if possible, of those physical defects causing low mentality. Still higher standards of obstetrical skill are required to prevent injury at birth. Control of infectious diseases could be improved by more health education and more careful isolation. Further research in nutrition would be a help in curing mental defects resulting from malnutrition.

There are not enough institutions for custodial and educational purposes, and those in operation are handicapped by over-crowding. The emphasis in present institutions for this purpose is custodial care for the lower type of defectives, rather than training for the high-grade ones. A combination of training and supervision would work out very well if these high-grade morons and borderline cases were placed in industrial workshops. Special classes for the mentally retarded have been established in our public school system, but the main purpose of these is merely to prevent interference with the normal child's progress. These

special classes should teach personal cleanliness, manual training, physical education, vocational training, and limited academic work. Thus people with low mentalities may be trained to be of some use to society, and partially pay for the expense of training and supervising them. Along with such training there must be segregation in most cases to prevent reproduction when there are no sterilization laws or when the feeble-minded will not practise birth control.

The maintenance of special classes, custodial care, and institutional treatment is a heavy economic burden on society; but it is not nearly so heavy an expense as that arising from the economic dependence and anti-social conduct of those mental defectives not properly trained and supervised.

Mental disease may also be a factor in neglect although not as important as feeble-mindedness. The difference in the treatment of the two lies in the fact that the former condition is more apt to be acquired then the latter. The "feeble-minded" are those whose intelligence is limited because it is never developed. The "mentally diseased" are persons who are normal in intelligence, but whose intelligence fails to operate because of organic or functional diseases. If these mental diseases are inherited it is a problem

of eugenics and mental hygiene. If they are acquired through social or psychological experiences or factors such as disease, malnutrition, or toxins, our society must introduce the reforms necessary to protect itself against them.

CHAPTER V.

Family Conditions (Cont'd)

5. Miscellaneous Factors

A. Age at Marriage

In desertion cases we often find that the parents were married too young to know their own minds or to realize the significance of the act. The marriage age varies for different populations. A labouring-class population usually marries earlier than a middle or wealthy class, and the age at which marriage takes place advances as civilization becomes more complex.

In a study of children found neglected in Hamilton[1] it was found that 59% of the fathers were married between the ages of 19 and 24, while 71% of the mothers were married between 15 and 21. Young men of the middle and upper classes, on the other hand, usually marry when they are 24 to 30 years of age; while young ladies of these classes usually enter into matrimony between the ages of 21 and 28.

Age is not altogether a chronological matter of years. Nevertheless, any wide disparity in age is bound to mean divergencies in attitudes, interests, and ideas on child-care.

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(1) Chapt. VI

B. Forced Marriages

Patterson (i) found that 14% of the cases of desertion and non-support in the Philadelphia court occurred in families where there had been "forced" marriages; that is, where the father and mother had been "forced" to marry by the conception of a child. But, in comparison with these figures, we have the results of a study of 500 women who were not deserted(ii). In this group 19% had conceived before wedlock. This might seem to indicate that forced marriages are not factors in desertion and consequent neglect. However, in 45% of the Hamilton* cases of neglect mentioned above, the marriage was forced.

C. Mixed Marriages

Differences in religious attitude constitute a serious source of tension in the family. Only those who do not think their religion significant should marry one of a divergent faith. Even then there are nearly always difficulties over the children's upbringing, or conflicts over matters of dogma. In the case study of child neglect in Hamilton, about 35% of the marriages were of the mixed type. This is probably a

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(i) Patterson, S.Howard - "Family Desertion and Non-Support," Journal Delaware, 7:278.
(ii) Joanna Colcord, "Broken Homes", p. 93.

* See Chapter VI.

higher percentage than is justified by the number of mixed marriages in society as a whole.

D. Size of Families

Occupational status affects family size, as the following table shows:

Average Number of persons per family in selected communities divided by broad occupational groups 1930*

Occupations	Average Size of Family
Professions	3.01
Clerical	3.04
Proprietary group (store Owners, Business Managers, etc.)	3.25
Skilled	3.51
Semi-skilled	3.47
Unskilled	3.91
Farm owners and renters	4.40
Farm labourers	4.52

The problems to be met are greatly reduced when there are older children to help either in the care of the home and the other younger children, or by contributing to the income of the family. In most large families the oldest children are old enough to aid in this way. In numerous cases, however, where there were older children they are married and so burdened with the rearing of a family of their own that they are unable to assist their parents.

The low birth-rate in the higher income brackets is due to the high ideals and standards governing family life. Some parents desire to give better care and

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* W.F.Ogburn, "The Family and its Functions," Chapt. XIII, Recent Social Trends.

education to a small number of children, and so they voluntarily and consciously restrict the birth-rate. The desire for an easy life or for pleasures may also be an influence in restricting the size of families -- particularly in the case of well-to-do families. On the whole, the classes with higher incomes believe in voluntary restriction of the birth-rate and a small family in order to bring to maturity a small number of vigorous and well-educated children. A low income and a large birth-rate usually mean a high infant death rate and a relatively ignorant population.

Society has two alternatives to prevent such a condition. It can instill in the poor a growing desire for a higher living standard and education for their children. The other alternative would be to redistribute income so as to give to the mass of poorer families the opportunity to provide their children's minds with a reasonable education, and their bodies with decent and healthful conditions of life. If society is unwilling to do this, it is unreasonable for any religion to demand that those economically poorer parents who cannot suitably provide for children shall be kept in ignorance of how to prevent the birth of children.

E. Sanitation

A chance for physical cleanliness, although seemingly trite, is another important need of children in

congested neighborhoods. Although a simple essential for health, it is for these children a complicated problem.

To make cleanliness habitual and pleasurable rather than spasmodic and painful, children need at least a chance to keep clean. The unavailability of the wash basin, hot water, the wash tub, and privacy, makes for habits of shiftlessness and laziness, robs children of their self-respect, and causes disease.

The first step would be to provide adequate housing facilities and to appoint more sanitation inspectors. Until this can be done, a large number of public baths should be made available winter and summer, and within easy access of those sections with the least adequate housing accommodation.

6. Broken Homes

Homes may be broken by death, divorce, desertion, or separation. Death of one parent will not result in neglect of the offspring if the other parent is capable. Divorce need not here be considered as a separate factor, since desertion is very often the "poor man's divorce". The results of death of a parent or desertion by a parent are much alike.

Desertion, like divorce, is usually an attempt to escape from a difficult family situation. When attempts to overcome troubles at home fail there is always the possibility of withdrawing from the family circle by the legal device, divorce, or by the informal means, desertion, the irresponsible departure from the home on the part of either the husband or wife, leaving the family to make its way as best it can.

A deserter is a shirker who runs off and leaves his family to shift for itself. Most deserters are husbands, and most are members of the lower economic groups. A higher proportion was found among skilled and semi-skilled labourers than among professionals, according to a Philadelphia study*. Of the relief work of welfare societies, 10 to 15% is concerned with deserted families.

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* S.Howard Patterson, "Family Desertion and Non-Support", Journal of Delinquency, 7:249-282, 293-333 (September and November, 1922).

It is more difficult for the wife to desert, because the children are directly dependent on her for care; her close relationship to them makes for greater emotional attachment. Then too, marriage may be the only means of support she knows. As women become more independent and able to support themselves they desert more often. A woman's desertion of her family ruins her reputation more so than in the case of a man.

A non-supporter is a sort of deserter, because he sits about the home and lets others maintain it. He has less courage and initiative than the deserter, and thus is more difficult to reform. He often has a sentimental attachment to the home, but he shirks responsibility because of his lack of physical and mental stamina.

Broken homes have been purposely considered last, because the factors involved clearly demonstrate the interrelation which exists between the various factors in child neglect. These causes of desertion may be divided into two categories -- personal, and community ones. The personal factors are numerous. There is mental defect accompanied by industrial inefficiency, poor housekeeping, and lack of self-control. Then too, faults in early training may exist, giving rise to low ideals of home life and of personal obligation, lack of self-control and ability to meet responsibilities. A third condition leading to ~~condition~~ *desertion* might be differences in background, whether these be social, racial, national,

religious, or age; or if the husband migrates to a new country before his wife. Another cause of desertion is ill-advised marriages -- hasty, mercenary, or forced.

Lack of education may mean a lack of preparation for married life and lack of industrial training. Desertion may be brought about by occupational faults, such as lack of success, seasonal or irregular work, or women's lack of interest or skill in housework. If a man's occupation is the type in which he can find work anywhere, he will not hesitate so long when wanderlust strikes him to desert his family and old job to go elsewhere. Money troubles, such as the wasteful spending of the wife, may lead to friction.

Another factor to be considered is ill-health, with its resulting lowered vitality, despondency, irregular work, and financial burdens. There are also temperamental differences: standards of conduct, nagging, jealousy, quarrels, and disagreements about the upbringing of children.

Other vicious habits may also lead to desertion -- sexual immorality, alcoholism, use of narcotic drugs, gambling, etc.

The group or community factors in desertion are: b the interference of "in-laws"; the attitude of the individuals racial or national group toward the sanctity of marriage, position of women, etc.; influence of companions

expectation of relief; the tendency of members, especially the husband, to seek recreation away from the family; community standards in the administration of civil marriage and divorce, and its tendency to ridicule marriage in comics, movies, etc.

There are two types of desertion. It may be permanent, which is the poor man's divorce; or temporary, which may be termed the poor man's vacation. Both are often indicative of a low family wage. In case of unemployment desertions tend to fall off; so the need for sympathy is apparently greater than any urge for a change of surroundings. Desertion is probably nearer a poor man's vacation than a poor man's divorce. The deserting man usually does not consider his absence from home as anything so definite and final as a divorce. Desertion is easy, effective, cheap, without marked social stigma in some classes, and it leaves the door open if the deserter cares to return.

There are different types of deserters who must be treated accordingly. The spurious deserter leaves his family to escape some financial responsibility or to secure charitable relief. This type is the product of unwise relief. The gradual deserter develops when a man is forced to go away from home because of his occupation or because he is an immigrant. New interests absorb his attention and his standards and attitudes change so that

he fails to send for his family. The intermittent husband is the chronic periodic who leaves home at somewhat regular intervals with the coming of spring or pregnancy. Such an individual is characterized by excessive lack of responsibility so that he is unwilling to undergo any mental strain. Also in this category fall the temperamental deserters who leave after a spree, fit of restlessness, or discouragement. The "ill-advised marriage" type is usually permanent, amounting to the "poor man's divorce", and it usually follows hasty or forced marriages or marriages of convenience.

Desertion has serious consequences for the wife and children. The mother may be in serious economic straits, because there is often no state aid to deserted wives for fear of providing an incentive to other husbands to desert. The mother may have to secure work outside the home while the children are left unsupervised after school hours. Slack school attendance, delinquency and neglect may arise out of this situation.

Often the children are absorbed into industry at an early age with their education and future earning power cut short. The children will suffer the above results no matter which parent deserts.

The early method of dealing with desertion was the punitive one which secured the warrant for arrest of the deserter, his location, apprehension, return to jurisdiction, and conviction. Now these measures have

been partly abandoned, and there is less tendency to press court action in the beginning, as that is like a declaration of war upon the individual.

The administration of relief should be carefully supervised so as to detect the "spurious deserter". If housing were improved in many of our industrial centres men would not have to separate themselves from their families when they change jobs. Early vocational education and training in responsibility would ease the desertion situation.

Marriage might be reformed and put on a firmer basis. A minimum age of marriage might be set at 21 so that mothers will at least be approaching maturity, and fathers will be a little better able economically to care for children. A physical examination should be required to detect ill health, and banns announced for a time in church to give the prospective parents opportunity to discover differences in temperament. At any rate, any true satisfactory adjustment must be based upon the source of the conflict.

Case Records

The following is a summary of 39 chronic cases taken from the records of the Hamilton Children's Aid Society.*

As stated in the Introduction, the statistics formulated from these cases are not taken as final proof of the causality of certain factors for many reasons. All sociological data are open to personal evaluation, and hence are not easily interpreted. The number of cases used here is rather small to produce reliable results; but since the cases are chronic certain general trends may be obtained from them.

Relief (37 cases taken)
31 (or 84%) on relief
4 (or 11%) living on own wages
2 (or 5%) receiving assistance elsewhere.

Financial Condition (39 cases)
7 (or 18%) fair
32 (or 82%) poor

Health (39 cases)

	Good	Bad	Not Mentioned
Father	20 (51.3%)	4 (10.3%)	15 (38.4%)
Mother	21 (54%)	6 (15%)	12 (31%)
Family	20 (51.1%)	8 (21%)	11 (28%)

Housing
Overcrowding

Yes	No	No Mention
21 (54%)	7 (18%)	11 (28%)

Sanitation

Good	Little Dirty	Bad	No Mention
15 (38.5%)	4 (17%)	15 (38.5%)	5 (13%)

Condition of House (39 cases)

Good	Fair	Poor	No Mention
6 (15%)	1 (3%)	19 (49%)	13 (33%)

* See form of case record summary in appendix.

Drunkenness (39 cases)

	Excess	Moderate	No	No Mention
Mother	6	11	3	19
Father	13	11	1	17

Forced Marriage (39 cases)
16 (55%) not forced
13 (45%) forced

Desertion (39 cases)
14 (or 36%) Had desertion
6 Mother deserted
6 Father deserted
2 both deserted.

25 (or 64%) no desertion.

Broken Homes (39 cases)
27 (or 69%) - broken homes

21 (or 54%) - parents separated by desertion or court order.
6 (or 15%) - one parent dead (3 with father)
(3 with mother)

The number of forced marriages amongst neglected children seems rather high — probably a higher percentage than in the population at large.

The desertion figures seem to show an equal tendency for both parents to desert. Children, according to these figures, suffer the same neglect whether it is the mother or father which dies.

Cruelty

Yes	Slight	None
13 (33.3%)	6 (15.4%)	20 (51.3%)

Occupation of Father (34 cases)

27 unskilled - (69%)
7 semi-skilled - (31%)

Size of Family (39 cases)

No. of Children	Cases
1	2
2	6
3	9
4	5
5	1
6	5
7	2
8	2
9	1
10	0
11	2
12	3
13	1

These figures do not indicate that parents having 2, 3 or 4 children are more apt to neglect them than those having 11, 12 and 13. The opposite is probably the case, as a large proportion of the population as a whole have 2, 3 or 4 children.

Age at Marriage

(Father, 29 cases)

Age	No. of Cases		Age	No. of Cases
19	2	)	30	0
20	3	)	31	0
21	2	)	32	1
22	3	)- 57%	33	0
23	3	)	34	1
24	4	)	35	0
25	1		36	2
26	1		37	0
27	2		38	0
28	0		39	1
29	3			

(Mother, 31 cases)

Age	No. of Cases	Age	No. of Cases
15	1	26	0
16	5	27	0
17	1	28	0
18	5	29	1
19	4	30	2
20	2	31	0
21	4	32	0
22	1	33	0
23	4	34	0
24	0	35	0
25	0	36	0
		37	1

No. of Agencies

No. Agencies	No. Cases	No. Agencies	No. Cases
1	1	9	0
2	3	10	2
3	4	11	1
4	5	12	2
5	5	13	0
6	6	14	1
7	3		
8	6		

Religion

Mixed Marriages - 8 out of 23 (35%)
Same religion -15 out of 23 (65%)

(13 - both Protestant)
(2 - both R.C.)

R.C. families - 4 out of 22 - (18%)
Protestant " -18 " " " - (82%)

Court Appearances (average)

Parents 1.4
Children .3

Parents regarding children - 1.3
(regarding neglect, desertion, non-support)

Illegitimacy

14 cases out of 39 - 36%.

Racial Origin

	% of those neglecting their children	% of Population *
English	53.8	47.1
Irish	15.4	12.8
Scotch	7.7	19.6
Roumanian	7.7	.64
Italian	3.8	3.3
Polish	3.8	2.8
Indian	3.8	.1
French	3.8	1.6

The percentage for the English is probably too high, since people have a tendency when in doubt about their racial origin, to call it English.

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* From census for Hamilton, 1931, in the Canadian Census.

CHAPTER VII.

Conclusion

It is obvious in a study of this nature that no one factor can be isolated as a cause of chronic neglect of children. Several factors are interrelated and it is difficult to distinguish cause from effect. An individual's physical and mental state (health and mentality) determines what occupational status he will have, which in turn determines how rich or poor he will be. His economic state determines his housing, recreation, vices, and the labour of his children. Yet his housing, recreation, morality, and environment in turn affect his health and mentality. Interwoven amongst all these factors are the various conditions of marriage and causes of broken homes.

However, the problem of poverty seems to be at the centre of the whole network. In fact, child neglect is usually first detected by its poverty-stricken state.

The remedies suggested at the conclusions of the various topics are but palliatives for conditions arising from poverty. Poverty itself may be the result of adverse economic conditions. Some advocate the re-forming of the economic structure to get rid of the inequities and oppressions which are the chief hindrance to a free and happy life for all.

If poverty were merely the result of depressions and adversities, it would practically disappear in time of prosperity. But it does not. In fact, much of

poverty is chronic. We must attribute this state to either mental or physical defect. If physical defects are the cause of low earning power, then we must have improved medical care of a socialized type, as well as improved conditions and hours of work.

Poverty may also emanate from a faulty psychological condition or low mentality. Psychological science looks forward to curing us all of the mental complexities which lead to sin and misery. Education is trusted by some to raise to a higher level our power of dealing rightly with life, and therefore of living well. Eugenic reform is relied upon to free us from the drags upon the wheels of progress, and to purify our people from those innate defects which make a good life impossible.

Even the vast work of improving the health of the community -- whether by purging the environment of its most unhygienic elements or by directly fighting disease-- cannot be classified as an attempt to change radically the fundamental conditions of character and circumstance from which neglect or care of children springs.

APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Extracts from The Children's Protection Act

1. In this Act,

(B) "Child" shall mean a boy or girl actually or apparently under sixteen years of age.

(J) "Neglected child" shall mean,--

(i) a child who is an orphan and who is not being properly cared for by anyone, or who is brought with the consent of the person in whose charge he is to the judge to be dealt with under the provisions of this Act.

(ii) a child who is abandoned or deserted by his parents or only living parent, or who is deserted by one parent and whose other parent is unable to maintain him.

(iii) a child whose parents, only living parent, guardian, or other person in whose charge he may be, cannot by reason of disease, or misfortune or infirmity, properly care for him.

(iv) a child whose home, by reason of neglect, cruelty, or depravity on the part of his parents, guardian or other person in whose charge he may be, is an unfit and improper place for him.

(v) a child found living or associating with a thief, drunkard, vagrant, prostitute or other dissolute person not its parent or living in or frequenting a house of ill fame.

(vi) a child found begging or receiving alms in a public place or carrying on a street trade contrary to this Act, or loitering in a public place after nine o'clock in the evening after being warned as provided by section 15.

(vii) a child who with the consent or connivance of his parent or parents commits any act which renders him liable to a fine or to be sent to any prison or reformatory institution under any Dominion or Provincial statute or municipal by-law.

(viii) a child who by reason of inadequate parental control is delinquent or incorrigible, or who is growing up without salutary parental control or under circumstances tending to make him idle or dissolute.

(ix) a child who without sufficient cause habitually absents himself from his home or school.

(x) a child born out of lawful wedlock whose mother is unable to maintain him or unfit to care properly for him.

(xi) a child whose parents neglect or refuse to provide or secure proper medical, surgical or remedial care or treatment necessary for his health or well-being, or who refuse to permit such care or treatment to be supplied to the child when ordered by competent authority.

(xii) a child who is not being properly cared for and whose only parent is serving a term of imprisonment and who is brought, with the consent of the person in whose charge he is, to the judge to be dealt with under this Act.

(xiii) a child who by reason of ill-treatment, cruelty, continual personal injury, grave misconduct or frequent intemperance by or of either of his parents or his guardian or other person in whose charge he may be, is in peril of loss of life, health or morality.

15. Street Trades

(1) No girl under sixteen years of age and no boy under twelve years of age shall engage in or be licensed or permitted to engage in any street trade or occupation.

(2) No boy under sixteen years of age shall engage in any street trade or occupation between the hours of ten o'clock in the afternoon and six o'clock in the forenoon of the following day.

16 Children Out At Night

(1) No child shall loiter in any public place after nine o'clock in the afternoon or be in any place of public resort or entertainment after that hour unless accompanied by his parent or guardian or an adult appointed by the parent or guardian to accompany such child.

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