

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

MOTHERS, DAUGHTERS, AND GRAND-DAUGHTERS:  
AN EXAMINATION OF THE MATRILATERAL BIAS  
AND RELATED VARIABLES IN JEWS AND  
ICELANDERS IN CANADA

by

RICHARD M. RICE

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## ABSTRACT

The Canadian kinship system has been traditionally viewed as consisting of isolated nuclear family units in a bilateral or symmetrically multilinear structure. An analysis of the kinship networks of rural and urban Icelanders and Jews in Manitoba supports the hypothesis that the structure of the families in these groups exhibits a matrilineal bias. Evidence is presented which indicates that the bias is inherent in the system due to the close ties between mothers and daughters, a condition which leads to gynocentricity, i.e., closer ties between female members of the extended family. The results of the analysis also reveals that the sex-role behavior of the nuclear family heads is related to the strength of bias as displayed by the various family units. In the families in which one head performs activities traditionally defined as being in the realm of the opposite sexed head, the interaction becomes skewed towards the extended families of the individuals involved in the "role-crossover". We also find that continuity in the role behavior of the males is related to the strength of the bias. In the families in which a family corporation or business enterprise exists, we find that the strength of the matrilineal bias, is less than in the

families in which sons do not succeed their fathers in occupational activity. Finally evidence is presented which indicates that the nuclear family may not be the isolated unit as has been conceived by many social scientists concerned with the family in industrial society.

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R. M. R.

TO MELISSA

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION AND THEORY

With the exception of the study of the native populations, the amount of anthropological research undertaken in Canadian industrial society exhibits a paucity seen in no other cultural or geographic area, particularly in the study of the kinship systems of the ethnic groups which comprise Canadian society. This thesis is an examination of the kinship structure of two ethnic groups, Icelanders and Jews, with particular emphasis on the kinship networks of the families in the sample. The research was initiated to test the hypothesis that these families, rather than being bilateral or symmetrically multilinear, exhibit a matrilineal bias. Furthermore, several hypotheses are generated concerning the sex-role division of the family heads and the instrumental and expressive activities and the manner in which they affect the asymmetry of the structure.

Anthropologists have traditionally considered kinship systems to be an important factor in the understanding of the cultures of the peoples they study. One need only to examine many of the major treatises in the field of anthropology to ascertain the relative importance of the kinship system (Murdock, 1949; Radcliffe-Brown and Forde,

1950; Levi-Strauss, 1963). Although anthropologists have conducted studies on American society (Warner, 1963; Lynd and Lynd, 1929; 1937), there has been little emphasis placed on the kinship system.

In 1943, Talcott Parsons, a sociologist, described the kinship system of the "contemporary United States" as bilateral or symmetrically multilinear; analagous in structure to an onion with the nuclear family in the centre. He believed that as the industrial society requires mobility from its members, and as the extended family reduces the individual's independence; the isolated nuclear family must form the basic unit in the kinship system. Until recently this description, although never substantiated by empirical data, has been adopted by most social scientists.

The decade of the 1950's saw North American anthropologists becoming increasingly interested in their own culture and in particular, its kinship system. The studies focused on three aspects of the kinship system. One group examined the terminology, (Homans and Schneider, 1955; Wallace and Atkins, 1960; Romney and D'Andrade, 1964; Goodenough, 1965), their major concern being a componential analysis of the terminology. Several sociologists began to question the traditional view of the isolated nuclear family (Brown, 1952; Litwak, 1959-60; Sussman, 1959; Sussman and Burchinall, 1966) while anthropologists examined the interaction and assistance patterns; both financial and emotional,

which family members extended to one another (Leichter and Mitchell, 1967; Bott, 1957; Coult and Habenstein, 1965; Young and Willmott, 1957; Aldous and Hill, 1965; Cummings and Schneider, 1961; Robbins and Tomanec, 1966; Poggie and Pelto, 1969). The results of these studies led social scientists to question the symmetry of the kinship structure and to look for the factors underlying this asymmetry.

Homans and Schneider, in an examination of the terms of address used by 209 university students when referring to their kinsmen, found that greater emphasis was given to the relatives on the mother's side of the family. They were unable to postulate reasons for the occurrence of this phenomena, but did speculate that it could occur because "... women are more perceptive of kinship obligations and relations than men" (1955: 1199). Further strength is lent to this conclusion by Leichter and Mitchell (1967), who in an examination of the interaction patterns and relations among Jewish families, found a matrilateral orientation accompanied by greater awareness of relatives by females.

Elizabeth Bott examined the kinship networks of a small number of families in London and found a matrilateral orientation in the interaction patterns. She believed the closeness of the mother-daughter bond in combination with the presence of a female "connecting relative"<sup>1</sup> (1957: 130-40)

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<sup>1</sup>Similar in function to the gate-keeper in the small group.

could account for her observations. Similarly Coult and Habenstein, in a study of inter-family ties concluded that the matrilateral orientation in their sample was present because the female served as the link between the various family units (1965: 12).

Young and Willmott (1957) in a study of family life in London expressed the opinion that the matrilateral orientation of their sample was due to the strength of the mother-daughter bond and the continuity<sup>1</sup> in the expressive roles<sup>2</sup> played by women (1957: 157). The continuity of role behavior was also seen by Aldous and Hill (1965) as the possible factor underlying the strength of the mother-daughter bond. Cummings and Schneider (1961), in a study of sibling solidarity, suggest that the strength of the mother-daughter bond was related to the mother's serving as both expressive and instrumental leader<sup>3</sup> of the family, a phenomena termed "gynofocality" (1961: 143).

In 1966 Robbins and Tomanec, using a sample of 140 university students attempted to test the hypothesis that

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<sup>1</sup>Continuity occurs when an offspring succeeds the same-sexed parent in the instrumental or expressive activity in which the parent was engaged.

<sup>2</sup>The instrumental role "... has to do with making big decisions, being the ultimate disciplinarian, and taking responsibility for the family's economic security" (Stephens, 1963: 304).

<sup>3</sup>The expressive role "... has to do with nurturance (feeding everyone, caring for children, keeping house, plus the emotional concomitants of these nurturant tasks)" (Ibid.).

the "... American family, ideally symmetrical, in practise emphasizes relationships with maternal relatives" (1966: 135). The results of the study supported their hypothesis and indicated that females are closer to each other than males. Robbins and Tomanec felt that this matrilateral orientation might be due to the female's role in the kinship structure.

In 1969 Poggie and Pelto published the results of a study which supported the hypothesis that the North American kinship system is matrilaterally asymmetrical. The sample in the study consisted of 45 males and 38 females from a university class. The group was ethnically heterogeneous, as was the case in all the above studies cited above, with the exception of the Leichter and Mitchell sample, and thus, did not control for the differing cultural backgrounds of informants.

In their study, Poggie and Pelto were concerned with factors and mechanisms underlying the matrilateral bias, and examine two factors that they believe influence its presence; the mother-daughter bond, and the sex-role division of the nuclear family heads. They rely for their theoretical background on articles by Morris Zelditch (1955) and Dorrian Sweetser (1966), in which role theory concepts are applied to heads of nuclear families. Relying upon Murdock (1937), Zelditch states that it is a cultural universal at the family level, that the male role is instrumental and the female role expressive (1955: 315).

Sweetser's article is a more intensive examination of the sex-role division in industrializing and industrial societies. She has found that a greater amount of interaction occurs with the wife's relatives than with the husband's. She attributes this asymmetry in the industrial family to the lack of continuity in the male role and the intensity of the mother-daughter bond.

Using the theoretical concepts outlined in these writings, Poggie and Pelto postulated that the American kinship system exhibits a matrilateral bias. They viewed this bias as being inherent in the system due to the tendency toward "gynocentricity" and the American family's function as a unit concerned almost exclusively with expressive activities. They define their terms as follows:

By gynocentricity of kinship behaviour we mean the tendency for females to be more emotionally involved and active in kinship interaction than are males. Matrilateral bias on the other hand, refers to the tendency for interaction with kinsmen to be more frequent and intensive with the "mother's side" than with the "father's side" of the nuclear family's extended kinship network (1969: 3).

Having postulated the existence of these relationships, Poggie and Pelto constructed a questionnaire designed to test the female's preference for interaction with females, her matrilateral relatives, and the greater interaction between the nuclear family members and the matrilateral kinsmen. As the sex role division is the basis for their hypotheses, the questions focused upon the expressive



activities of the nuclear family.

The present study examines the kinship networks of two ethnic groups in order that we might better understand the matrilineal orientation found in industrial societies, and the factors which underly its presence and relative strength. Although this study builds upon all the above mentioned studies, it is useful to use the Poggie and Pelto study as a departure point.

If, as several researchers have reported, the mother-daughter bond is the most important in the family, then the concept of "gynocentricity" as proposed by Poggie and Pelto will be found in the groups. In order to test for this, the following hypotheses were formulated:

1a. Females consider, as friends, a larger number of female relatives than male relatives.

1b. Females enjoy seeing female relatives more than male relatives.

1c. Females seek advice from female relatives more often than from male relatives.

1d. Females write letters to female relatives more often than to male relatives.

Having hypothesized the presence of gynocentricity, we must now examine what Poggie and Pelto refer to as "the causal link between gynocentricity and matrilineal bias ... .. the possibility that, in addition to being more kin oriented than males, females give preference to interacting with their matrilineal kin" (Ibid.: 4). To test this, the following hypotheses were formulated:

2a. Females consider, as friends, a larger number of matrilateral relatives than patrilateral relatives.

2b. Females enjoy seeing matrilateral relatives more than patrilateral relatives.

2c. Females seek advice from matrilateral relatives more often than from patrilateral relatives.

2d. Females write more letters to matrilateral relatives and more often, than to patrilateral relatives.

2e. Females are able to name a larger percentage of matrilateral relatives than patrilateral relatives.

2f. Females see more matrilateral relatives out of obligation, than patrilateral relatives.

Having postulated the female's preference for interacting with her kinsmen rather than her husband's, we turn to the nuclear family units. Sweetser has stated that as there is no continuity in the instrumental role in industrial society, the nuclear family will have greater interaction with matrilateral relatives (1966: 157). She states that this is due to the mother-daughter bond and the expressive nature of the family. Poggie and Pelto have stated a similar argument which they use to postulate the matrilateral asymmetry of the American kinship system.

It can be argued, in fact, that the decrease in instrumental significance of the American kinship system frees the American nuclear family for greater expressive interaction in the kinship network. If this is true, and if there is a pan-human tendency for expressive behavior to be defined as a female domain, then we would expect that the communications in the kinship would be handled by females. Such a female predominance in kinship interaction would account for the suggested matrilateral bias if, as we are hypothesizing, females in American middle class families tend to prefer interaction with matrilateral relatives (1969: 7).

Thus, one would expect that if the link between gynocentricity and the matrilateral appears, the nuclear family units would exhibit a matrilateral bias in their kinship interaction.

The following hypotheses were formulated to test for the bias:

3a. On holidays, the nuclear family visits more frequently with the matrilateral kinsmen than with patrilateral kinsmen.

3b. On a day to day basis, the nuclear family visits more with matrilateral kinsmen than with patrilateral kin.

3c. The nuclear family spends more vacation time with matrilateral kinsmen than with patrilateral kinsmen.

3d. There are more matrilateral kinsmen who spend vacations in the homes of the nuclear families than patrilateral kinsmen.

3e. More matrilateral kinsmen live with the nuclear family than patrilateral kinsmen.

If these hypotheses are true, our results should reveal that a matrilateral bias exists when we consider the interaction patterns of the entire sample. This assumes that the individual families in the sample do not exhibit continuity in instrumental activities and the sex-role division follows the pattern stated by Zelditch. As instances of family businesses, some which extend for three generations and include kinsmen other than offspring; and role "cross-over", in which men perform expressive activities and the females instrumental activities, do exist in our family units, we are led to reflect upon the consequences

of these conditions on the interaction patterns of the families.

Zelditch claims that although there is considerable role exchange between father and mother in the American family, the ideal is the important aspect. As the father is ideally the individual who is responsible for the family's economic security, and the mother for the nurturance, the sex-role division does apply in American society (1955: 339). Stephens criticizes Zelditch for calling the sex-role division a universal on the family level:

It is probably too much to claim that there is a certain type of role differentiation that is universal to all families, I am sure Zelditch would agree to this. It would be safer to claim universality on a societal level (thus allowing for exceptional families within societies), and even this is probably a bit rash. Further, I would not choose the labels "instrumental leader" and "expressive leader" to describe the attributes of the husband-role and wife-role (1963: 304).

I furthermore doubt that this is a universal on a societal level, as Stephens has alluded.<sup>1</sup>

Taking two aspects of the role division, (the female's contribution to the family finances, and the male's participation in education), we will examine the kinship and the matrilateral bias to determine how they are affected by "role cross-over". When the female contributes to the family finances, she is performing a larger role in the family. Thus, in addition to the gynocentricity which

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<sup>1</sup>Cummings and Schneider (1961) claim that the matrilateral orientation of their sample families results from the wife's functioning as the instrumental leader.

is inherent due to the mother-daughter bond, she commands a greater share of authority in the home. One would expect that in the families where the female has a greater position of authority, the interaction with kinsmen is more likely to be at her initiation. Therefore the following hypothesis is formulated:

4a. When the female household head performs an instrumental activity on a regular basis, and the male performs no expressive activities, the relative strength of the matrilateral bias will be greater than in families in which the female does not perform instrumental activities.

It should logically follow that in families in which the male partakes in the expressive roles, the position of authority that he possesses is greater than in families in which male activities are confined to instrumental roles. As the family is an institution concerned, to a large degree, with expressive activities, he would be in a position to offset the bias and to share the communication channels with his wife. The following hypothesis is consequently offered:

5a. When the male household head performs an expressive activity on a regular basis, and the female household head performs no instrumental activities, the relative strength of the bias will be less than in families in which the male does not perform expressive activities.

We will also examine the kinship networks of the families in which there is continuity in the male role. Sweetser suggests that continuity is the important variable in the interaction pattern.

... Where there is succession in male instrumental roles, solidarity will be greater between the nuclear family and the lineal relatives of men,

and where there is no succession, solidarity will be greater with the wife's family (1966: 157).

Thus, one would expect that the interaction patterns in these families would indicate a patrilateral bias. But it must be remembered that the expressive function of the nuclear family unit is great in industrial societies as is the strength of the mother-daughter bond. Therefore, the following hypothesis is offered:

6a. When there is continuity in the male role and the female performs no instrumental role, the relative strength of the matrilateral bias will be less than in the families in which there is no continuity in the male role.

The testing of the first three sets of hypotheses will allow us to test for the presence of the matrilateral bias in the two ethnic groups; thus enlarging our knowledge of the kinship structure of the ethnic groups in Canada. As one group is composed of rural and urban families, we will be able to discover the differences between rural and urban families. The last two hypotheses will allow us to better understand how the role behavior of nuclear family heads influences the interaction patterns of the nuclear family with its extended kinship network.

## CHAPTER II

### FIELDWORK AND METHODS: DESCRIPTIONS AND REFLECTIONS

#### Introduction:

The anthropologist, upon entering the field, brings with him ideals, values and norms which he attempts to control in the interests of objectivity. Recently, the quest for more objective studies has led the anthropologist to substitute interview schedules, questionnaires, and rigorous sampling techniques for the traditional methods of anthropology. The goal of greater objectivity is one that is endorsed by this researcher. However, it is important to remember as Kimball has said, "It is because anthropology has developed methods other than statistical for recording and analyzing human behaviour that gives it a distinctiveness of result" (1965: 217).

The use of the participant observation technique requires the establishment of a rapport between the researcher and his informants. This procedure is sometimes difficult and lengthy, and due to limitations of time and money, may preclude the employment of elaborate sampling techniques. This does not, however, negate the use of

sampling, it merely recognizes the need for a different, yet equally valid, sample. As Margaret Mead says:

Anthropological sampling is not a poor and inadequate version of sociological or socio-psychological sampling, a version where  $n$  equals too few cases. It is simply a different kind of sampling, in which the validity of the sample depends not so much upon the number of cases as upon the proper specification of the informant, so that he or she can be accurately placed, in terms of a very large number of variables. ... Within this very extensive degree of specification, each informant is studied as a perfect example, an organic representation of his complete cultural experience (1953).

Objectivity can also be more closely achieved if researchers describe in greater detail their methods, techniques employed in selecting informants, impressions of the community, and, when possible, the community's impression of them. The latter has recently been employed by Liebow (1966) and Chagnon (1968).

Another reason for the inclusion of a more extensive report of the field experience is the learning process it provides to other researchers. As more and more groups are refusing to allow research to be conducted among them, we are realizing the importance of having good relations with our clients. Through an evaluation of the methods used by their predecessors, fieldworkers will be better prepared for their field experiences, thereby lessening culture shock and providing greater knowledge of the methods and techniques available. This will reduce the occurrence



of the mistakes which frequently lead to antagonism between researchers and clients. For this reason, this chapter contains sections which discuss the methods employed in this study and certain aspects of the field situation.

#### The Research Area:

The data was collected during the months of June, July, and August of 1971 by a research team consisting of my wife and myself who used a method combining participant observation with the administration of a highly structured interview schedule. To allow for better testing of the hypotheses the research was conducted among three ethnic groups in the Inter-Lake region of Manitoba.<sup>1</sup> One group consisted of Icelanders from a small town.<sup>2</sup> This group was selected because the small population of the town allowed the population to be aware of the reason for my presence and its high proportion of a single ethnic group controlled for ethnicity. Of the three major ethnic groups in the town, the Icelanders were selected because their long period of residence in the area provided the greatest degree of homogeneity. The other two groups were Icelandic

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<sup>1</sup>The Inter-Lake region is between Lakes Winnipeg and Manitoba.

<sup>2</sup>The identity of the town is not revealed at the request of the informants.

and Jewish residents of Winnipeg, who vacationed in the Inter-Lake region, thereby allowing for greater comparison.

The Interview Schedule:

The interview schedule was a modification of the questionnaire devised by Poggie and Pelto for their study of the American kinship system. The Poggie and Pelto questionnaire was designed for administration to a sample of ethnically heterogeneous university students, the majority of whom were single. It examined the matrilineal bias and the execution of expressive activities in families. Questions on instrumental activities were not included as they assumed that these were carried out in institutions outside the family. As the present study questioned this premise, questions regarding the instrumental activities which could occur in the family were added. Additional modifications were made to allow for the examination of interaction between the members of the informant's family of orientation, the attitudes of the male and female heads towards relatives, and the informant's ability to trace genealogies of both their and their spouse's family.<sup>1</sup>

The interview schedule was tested prior to entering the field by administering it to several acquaintances of

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<sup>1</sup>See Appendix I.

the interviewers. This allowed the researchers to develop skill in administering the interview, and led to subsequent modifications in its structure.

The Sample:

Although it was initially intended that all the Icelandic families in the town would be interviewed, this proved to be impossible.<sup>1</sup> The families included in the study were not, however, selected on the basis of a formal sampling technique. A list of families and individuals with Icelandic surnames was compiled from an inventory of telephone subscribers; and with the assistance of the Lutheran minister, a resident in the community, the names of the individuals who were single, widowed, divorced, or married to non-Icelandic spouses were discarded. Additional names were added to the list from the Reverend's knowledge of the people in the town.<sup>2</sup> After interviews had been completed with two families in which heads were over the age of 65, it was decided not to interview these persons as they interacted almost exclusively with their children due to their ill health and the small number of relatives available from the same or ascending generations.

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<sup>1</sup>Reasons are described below.

<sup>2</sup>The small size of the Icelandic population allowed the Reverend to be familiar with the entire population, including the people who did not attend his church.

As commercial fishing had been banned on the lake due to mercury pollution, it was assumed that the men of the community would be present during the interview session. However, after entering the field, it was discovered that many men were engaged in jobs outside the town.<sup>1</sup> This required the deletion of the portions of the interview designed to be answered by the male head.<sup>2</sup> The total number of families interviewed was 23 out of a possible 36, although three were discarded during the analysis as having unreliable responses.

The decision to include the urban sample was reached during the fieldwork session as feedback was being received from urban Icelanders regarding basic dissimilarities<sup>3</sup> between the rural and urban groups. The urban people believed that the rural group did not exhibit the traditional Icelandic values of high achievement, motivation and educational excellence. If, as these comments suggest, the groups are different, then the results from the rural group would not be applicable to the urban. It was felt that if we could administer the interview to urban Icelanders, we

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<sup>1</sup>There were a number of men present in the town. However, the exclusion of the families of the migratory workers would limit the scope of the study. Therefore all men were excluded.

<sup>2</sup>The interview session is described below.

<sup>3</sup>The research did not substantiate this claim.

would be able to attempt a comparison between the two groups. The Inter-lake region of Manitoba contains several summer resort towns. One resort is populated largely by third and fourth generation Canadians of Icelandic and Jewish descent from Winnipeg. The inclusion of these groups broadens the scope of the study allowing an inter-ethnic comparison in addition to the rural-urban one. As the sample consists of only eight families from each group, we are unable to apply the results to the entire ethnic populations; but we are able to examine the variables to determine if they affect the three groups in a similar manner.

"In the Field":

In order to familiarize ourselves with the town and some of its people, it was decided to visit the town before the actual fieldwork commenced. This would also allow the people the opportunity of learning of our impending study. It was hoped that we would meet the leaders of the town and perhaps be introduced to other members of the community. Being unable to contact the mayor of the town, we proceeded to the Lutheran Church.<sup>1</sup> Upon explanation of our research and intentions in the community, the minister volunteered to assist us in any way possible. In addition to assisting in

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<sup>1</sup>The Icelandic population generally are members of either the Lutheran or Unitarian churches.

the compilation of the list of families, he introduced us to the informal leaders of the town and published a notice and endorsement of our study in the church bulletin.<sup>1</sup>

Although we had originally hoped to become temporary members of the community, it was decided not to live in the town in which the research was being conducted. This allowed us the opportunity of withdrawing when we desired. The obvious disadvantage of this is that one cannot become a member of the community and the amount of participation-observation is reduced. However, the advantage of withdrawal combined with the fact that there was a large age difference between the informants and ourselves, which mitigated against complete participation, lead us to believe that it was not necessary to remain in the town on a full-time basis,

Interviews were conducted upon appointment. This method proved to be most efficient, as the interview required several hours to complete and the informant could select a time when we could be relatively free of interruptions. It also had the added advantage of allowing those individuals who did not wish to become informants to gracefully decline. In the three months we had only one refusal.

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<sup>1</sup>Due to the lower postal rates of "Household" mail, the bulletin was sent to all houses in the community.

The interviews in the rural area were conducted by the interview team. It was originally intended to have my wife interview the women, while I interviewed the males. Both informants were to answer the sections of the schedule which examined the interaction of the family unit with their relatives. The decision not to include the men forced us to consider whether to continue the team concept or to use a single interviewer. After careful consideration it was decided that the team approach had many advantages and should therefore be continued.

As previously noted, there was only a small number of men in the town. We felt that a male interviewer would meet with some resistance in his attempts to conduct the interviews. Therefore, the presence of a female researcher regardless of her actual role in the interview would be beneficial. It was discovered that as the women could readily establish a relationship other than researcher-client, a relaxed atmosphere was established for the interview schedule.

The two-person team enabled us to gather more information from the interview. I served as the principle interviewer, taking a genealogy of both the wife's and husband's side, noting names and residences. During this period, my wife, who served as my assistant took notes on the comments which were made by the informant. This portion of the interview required the greatest period of

time as the families were large and the informant made extensive comments about many of the individuals on the chart. These comments were incorporated into the data.

The portion which examined the interaction patterns incorporated the geneology as a research tool. With a complete picture of the extended kin in front of her, the informant could give an accurate description of the interaction. The person who was not conducting the interview would take field notes to supplement those of the interviewer. After the interview was completed we would discuss various points which had arisen during the day, allowing us to examine factors which might have been neglected.

With the urban sample, the problems we encountered differed from those in the rural sample. The most significant difference was that the informants were acquaintances of the interview team. We felt that as they had previously assigned a role to my wife<sup>1</sup>, it would be impossible for us to conduct the interviews on a team basis. Added problems were introduced, however, as the clients were overly concerned with the impression they created for the interviewer. This was particularly so among the Jewish informants, although it was also true of the Icelandic sample to a lesser degree. The responses were

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<sup>1</sup>The interviewers, in addition to being Jewish, have spent many summers as neighbours of these people.



therefore, carefully checked for inconsistencies, thus controlling for validity in the study. The few responses which were not verified were eliminated from the study. Although there was no difficulty in developing rapport, both the interviewer and the client were uncomfortable during the portions of the schedule which concerned personal feelings about relatives. The situation was either handled in a joking manner by both parties or with a tone of indifference on the part of the informant.<sup>1</sup>

The experience of administering interviews to people with whom a permanent relationship must be maintained provides a unique learning experience. One becomes acutely aware of the problem of violating the individual's personal areas. This has not been given adequate attention in the anthropological literature, perhaps because it is something that cannot be avoided.

#### Conclusion:

This chapter, in addition to a description of the methods used in the collection of data, has attempted to briefly comment on the advantages and disadvantages of them. Some reference to personal experiences were included, not as anecdotes but in the belief that they will be useful to future fieldworkers.

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<sup>1</sup>The interviewer always followed the lead of the informant.

## CHAPTER III

### HISTORICAL CONSIDERATIONS

#### Introduction:

The Jewish and Icelandic populations of Manitoba share many characteristics. The similarities may be seen in the history of their immigration into Canada, their development while in Canada, and their pride in their religious and ethnic backgrounds. In both cases, the primary reason for settling in Canada was the opportunity afforded them to practise and promote their culture and religion as they became responsible citizens of their new homeland. Institutions to meet these ends were created within the first days of their arrival. The schools stressed both the cultural heritage and language of the groups and the subjects which were found in the Canadian school system. These schools were supported wholly by the ethnic community. When one considers the historical importance of education in both of these groups, the rapidity of their formation is not surprising. Lindal informs us that by "... 1800 practically all people in Iceland could read and write" (1967; 154). Although there are no comparable figures for the Jews, it may be assumed that an equal percentage were literate in the Hebrew language, with

a slightly smaller percentage literate in the language of the country in which they lived.<sup>1</sup>

Religious services were initially conducted in private homes, and permanent buildings erected as soon as funds were raised.

The social attitudes and values exhibited by these groups parallel the other similarities, particularly in the area of political philosophy. The Jews were the leaders of the reform and socialist movements in eastern Europe. In Iceland there was social insurance legislation as early as 930 A.D. Kristjanson refers to the law that required an individual's neighbours to compensate him for two-thirds of his loss if the damage was due to circumstances over which he had no control (1965: 4).

The subsistence base of the groups differed; the Icelanders being farmers and the Jews tradesmen, merchants, and peddlars; but the hardships encountered made life in the old world equally unpleasant for both groups. The Icelanders were faced with a series of environmental disasters, while the Jews were subject to violent discrimination which prevented them from freely pursuing their goals.

This chapter examines the recent history of these groups with attention to the values and attitudes, the

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<sup>1</sup>This is based upon the information that Jews in the rural areas of Manitoba could converse in 3-4 languages and often served as writers and readers of letters for the surrounding ethnic groups (Chiel, 1961: 58).

family life, and the role of women, both in the family and society. In this manner it is possible for us to consider the historical factors which may enter into the postulated matrilateral bias, and its relative strength.

### The Icelanders:<sup>1</sup>

#### Last Years in Iceland

There existed in Iceland, as early as the tenth century an attitude of liberalism and progressivism which distinguished her from other countries. In 930 A.D. Iceland became a republic, in which democracy was practiced by a large portion of the population. The social legislation has been referred to previously. The judicial system also indicates the enlightened attitude of the Icelandic people. The emphasis was on reform and retribution rather than punishment, the typical practice of the period.

The subsistence base of the people was farming, with some fishing to provide additional sources of income and protein. The family was expected to help in the work. The female household head therefore had the task of working in the field in addition to caring for the children and keeping the house in order. Tales are told today by the

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<sup>1</sup>Unless otherwise specified, the information for this chapter is from Kristjanson, 1965.

older people of the hard life their parents and grandparents faced in Iceland. When discussing this, the informants made a clear distinction between the woman who helped her husband in his economic endeavours and the woman who did not. The term "housewife" was applied to the woman who limited her activities to the household and the children. A "farmer's wife" or "fisherman's wife", on the other hand, helped her husband by mending nets, plowing the fields, looking after the livestock, in addition to the chores she performed as a housewife. The consensus was that the farmer's and fisherman's wife played an integral part in the success of the husband.

The woman in Iceland enjoyed a superior position in society to her counterpart in mainland Europe. This was in part due to the important role she played in the economic life of the family. There were few surnames in Iceland, and a consequence of this was that a woman at marriage did not adopt her husband's name but maintained her original last name.<sup>1</sup> Informants also referred to the practice of "trial marriage" and the lack of stigma to the illegitimate child. Marriages frequently occurred after the woman conceived. These factors made women less dependent upon the male for their position in the community.

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<sup>1</sup>The last name of an individual is formed by adding /son/ to the father's first name if a son and /dottir/ if a girl. This is still the case in Iceland today.

The family in Iceland was characterized by strong ties between the various units. A common practice was the "quasi-adoption" of a relative's child or children when one of the parents passed away or the parents were unable to raise the child due to economic or personal difficulties. The child considered both his biological and social parents as parents. A distinction was maintained through the kinship terminology.<sup>1</sup> The individual would also have two sets of siblings, cousins, grandparents, etc.

The decades immediately preceding the arrival of the Icelanders in Canada were extremely difficult. There were epidemics that took many lives and left the survivors in a weakened physical condition. The volcanoes on the island were active and as the land was covered with ash, much of it could not be cultivated. The crops that were planted failed due to a series of cold summers which were caused by the presence of the Arctic ice. People began to look for places to emigrate. Groups migrated to South America, the United States and Canada. These areas proved unsatisfactory due to the poor conditions of the soil, the lack of adequate funds, the poor climate, and the presence of other nationals which hindered the Icelanders in the practice of their cultural traditions. At that time the government of Canada

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<sup>1</sup>This was reported by one informant who was "quasi-adopted". I was unable to discover if this was idiosyncratic or the norm.

was recruiting settlers for the North West Territories. As stated above some Icelanders settled in Canada, (Ontario and the Maritimes), but the quality of the land was not satisfactory. They turned to the Keewatin district.

### Immigration:

The Icelanders were looking for a location where they could practice their culture and language without interference from other groups. The group in Ontario sent an advance party to the Keewatin district, where the Canadian government had agreed to grant them land with reserve status.<sup>1</sup> The party reported that the land was suitable for farming and the lake on the eastern border was abundantly supplied with fish. They concluded the area was ideal for an Icelandic colony (Kristjanson, 1965: 25).

### The Early Years in New Iceland:

The party arrived in Winnipeg in the late summer of 1875. As there was a shortage of supplies, and the winter was approaching, several people remained in Winnipeg while the majority of the group advanced to the settlement. They reached the southern tip of the colony in late autumn and it

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<sup>1</sup>Reserve status allows the Icelanders exclusive use of the land. The only exception being the resident Indian population. The land is also exempt from the regulations which apply to homesteaders.

was decided that they should winter there, and advance to their original destination in the spring. The winter was extremely hard and the inexperience of the settlers with local environmental conditions aggravated the situation. The type of house erected did not keep out the cold, and the men, being unfamiliar with ice fishing, could not supply the needs of the people. The children suffered most as vegetables and milk were not available.

The hardships encountered did not deter the Icelanders from striving to achieve their goals. By Christmas a school had been established and the children, in addition to the traditional subjects which were taught in the Icelandic language, were learning the rudiments of English. Although the colony did not have an ordained minister, regular religious services were held. In January of 1876, a formal government was created and a handwritten newspaper was circulated in the colony.

With the spring breakup on the lake, the majority of the settlers prepared to advance to their original destination. The Canadian government advanced a loan to the settlers to obtain the supplies necessary for the spring seeding and to sustain themselves until the harvest.<sup>1</sup> Cows and supplies arrived and the settlers set out for their

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<sup>1</sup>The Canadian government advanced four loans to the Icelandic people. Unlike many other ethnic groups the monies were not considered grants, and all were repaid.



new homes. The townsite was surveyed and 160 acre lots staked out. The summer of that year saw the arrival of an additional 1200 people. The majority came to the original destination, the others settled in Winnipeg and other areas of New Iceland. It appeared that the colony was proceeding smoothly, when in November of 1876, a smallpox epidemic broke out in the colony. New Iceland was placed under quarantine and the settlers were unable to secure the necessary supplies to seed the following summer. The merchants in Winnipeg were slow to extend credit and when they did send supplies they were of poor quality. The epidemic claimed over 100 lives and 1/3 to 1/2 of the colony contracted the disease. A hospital was instituted at the original landing site and two doctors from Winnipeg arrived in the colony to administer to the sick. The quarantine period lasted 228 days (Lindal, 1967: 135).

#### Institutions:

Although the smallpox epidemic prevented the colony from communicating with the outside, the internal activities of the colony continued. In 1877 an elected regional government with a constitution was formed (Ibid.: 139). In the same year a printed newspaper was started and the colony received two pastors (Lutheran); one a conservative and the other a liberal (Kristjanson, 1965: 64). A school was

started in 1877, and in 1889 it became a part of the provincial school system (Ruth, 1967: 22). The colony flourished for the next few years. The next year saw the arrival of an additional 228 settlers. The good fortune of the colony changed soon after and the people began to leave for the city and other farm areas as many found the life too hard.<sup>1</sup> In the year 1880 only 250 people remained in the colony. In 1885, New Iceland became part of the province of Manitoba and in 1897 the area was opened to other ethnic groups. (Kristjanson, 1965: 147). Winnipeg became the centre for the Icelandic population after this and the former settlement of New Iceland became ethnically heterogeneous. After World War II, New Iceland became predominantly Anglo-Saxon, with the Icelandic population slightly smaller.

#### Occupations and Industry:

The district, although the population decreased, did not become a marginal area. As early as 1879 the people branched out from the farm base of the colony. A saw mill and a boat building company were started to supply the fishermen with the type of boat that was necessary for the navigation of Lake Winnipeg. The fishing industry became a

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<sup>1</sup>The advance party had overestimated the farming prospects in the New Iceland region. Farming was a difficult task due to the short growing season and the poor drainage quality of the soils. The Icelandic farms are, however, of better quality than those of the other ethnic groups who entered the area after the best lands were occupied.

commercial venture as the people realized that this method was more economical than one carried out on an individual basis. The Icelandic population is today the largest single contributor to the fishing industry of Manitoba. In 1938 they accounted for 80% of the total catch of fish (Ibid.: 422).

The Icelanders, although proud of their heritage and language, became loyal Canadians. Several volunteers fought in the Riel rebellion in 1885 and they have continued to fight in all wars in which Canada has been engaged.

#### Winnipeg Community: The Early Years.

The Icelandic community in Winnipeg was started in 1875 by fifty people who chose to winter in the city. The women supported themselves by working as domestics and the men as wood cutters. In the evenings, they attended school to learn the English language. The community increased in size with the subsequent migrations and the exodus from the New Iceland colony. By 1883 the population had reached 754. The groups lived in several areas before finally settling in the area of Winnipeg from Maryland-Home to Arlington and Portage to Notre Dame.<sup>2</sup> Some numbers did move to the Fort Rouge area in the early 1900's.

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<sup>1</sup>See accompanying map, p. 52.

Institutions:

The Icelanders sought to maintain the cultural heritage which they brought with them and soon established the religious and cultural institutions they felt necessary for this task.<sup>1</sup> The first religious organization was the First Lutheran Congregation which was founded in 1883, with the building being dedicated in 1887 (Ibid.: 215). The Unitarian Church was first established in 1890 and a building secured two years later. In addition to their religious institutions, the Icelandic population of Winnipeg started several other organizations to promote their cultural traditions. These organizations also engaged in charity work, helping the members of the Icelandic community who were sick or needy. Some of these organizations gave instruction in the Icelandic language.

As with the rural groups, the urban Icelanders believed that they should have their own schools to teach the children the Icelandic language and culture. Many schools were started, but the first school to last any length of time was the Jon Bjarnson Academy, which was founded in 1914 (Ibid.: 392). This school was in existence

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<sup>1</sup>The Icelandic population was not homogeneous in their religious and social beliefs. There was a strong distinction between the conservatives and the liberals. In the area of religion this promoted the creation of several churches and led eventually, to the existence of the two main churches; the Unitarian and the Lutheran. This division can also be seen in the historical development of the Icelandic newspapers.

for 27 years, and served the needs of over 700 children. Initially, it was exclusively an Icelandic school, but gradually parents from other ethnic groups sent their children to the Academy because of the high quality of education received. In 1901, Wesley College established courses in Icelandic literature and language. Lindal informs us that the College became the gathering ground for students of Icelandic descent, and in the same year they established the Icelandic Student's Society to serve their extra-curricular activities (1967: 217-221). In 1951, the University of Manitoba established the Chair for Icelandic Studies. The money required for this was raised by the Icelandic communities in Manitoba, with additional support from the government of Iceland and the Icelandic-Canadian communities outside Manitoba.

#### The Role of Women and the Family:

One of the many cultural traditions which the Icelanders maintained when they settled in Canada was the role of the woman in the community and the economic life of the family. In the community context, the women served as midwives and lay medical practitioners during the many occasions when a doctor was not available. In the field of education, both secular and non-secular, women were the teachers. In the urban community the women have played an

equally important role. In 1877, the Trinity Congregation allowed women to sit as full members of the board (Kristjanson 1965: 346). The major charity organizations were run exclusively by women. These organizations, in addition to providing and raising money to care for the needy and the aged, helped the rural Icelander acculturate himself to the city. They also provided courses in the Icelandic language and promoted the cultural heritage. The women's suffrage movement in Manitoba was actively supported by the Icelandic women and several of its leaders were Icelandic.

In the family the woman also played an important role. As a majority of the men engaged in the joint occupation of farming and fishing, the wife was usually in charge of the farm for long periods of time. When her husband came home, she helped him in mending and folding his nets. The families were large, and the bonds between the members were strong.<sup>1</sup> The practice of raising a relative's child as discussed above was still prevalent.

The woman today still plays an important role in both the rural and urban communities. The formal political structure is run by females in the rural areas. In at least

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<sup>1</sup>This was facilitated by the fact that the Icelanders were not under the regulations of the Homestead Act which required the houses to be built on certain sections of the land. Their houses were thus clustered closely together, rather than far apart as was customarily found on the prairies.

two predominantly Icelandic towns the mayors are, or have been, women. The majority of women are employed and their earnings are important for the family, although the rural groups have a higher percentage of working women.

#### The Rural Community Today:

The population of the town in which research was conducted is approximately 830. From the census data we can see that the age distribution of the town is changing. In the ten year period from 1955-1966 there was a ten percent decrease in the number of people under the age of 35. There are more men than women in the town and from an examination of the census figures for the past few decades, it appears that the females are the first to emigrate from the town, with the males remaining in the town for a longer period. The ethnic composition of the town has changed greatly in the last few decades. The largest groups are the Anglo-Saxons, the Icelanders, and the Ukrainians, representing respectively, 20.3%, 19.3%, and 18.8% of the population. The other ethnic groups in the community and neighbouring rural area are the Indians, French, Mennonites, and Hungarians. The Icelanders appear to be the group that is out-migrating most rapidly; usually to the city and the west coast of

Canada.<sup>1</sup>

The Icelanders remain the formal and informal leaders in the town. Although they still own the largest commercial enterprises in the town, they are slowly being replaced in this area by the Ukrainians, who now own the majority of the businesses.

The main economic base of the town is farming, which is of the mixed and dairy varieties. Fishing is the second largest industry in terms of men employed,<sup>2</sup> although 91% of the fishermen farm to supplement their income (Siemans and Forcese 1967: 22).

The Icelanders in the town have good relations with the other ethnic groups, although comments from the informants indicate an attitude of superiority, particularly towards the Ukrainians and Hungarians. Informants refer to the benefits these groups receive due to their close contact

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<sup>1</sup>Exact figures are difficult to obtain for the town as detailed census records are kept for the census tract and the municipality. The only records which concern the town specifically deal with age, sex, and ethnic group; and these are not consistently noted. Accurate statements are difficult to make due to the presence of others with similar ethnic compositions in the area. The statements above are based on informant's remarks and the data assembled from genealogies.

<sup>2</sup>In 1970 the provincial government banned commercial fishing on Lake Winnipeg due to the mercury pollution. The fishermen were offered compensation, but the men found alternate employment in the northern areas of the province or intensified their farming efforts. The fishing ban is still in effect.



with the Icelandic population, particularly in the education of their children. Several informants referred to the consolidation of the school district and the benefits the children of the ethnic groups will accrue due to being in contact with the Icelandic children who realize the values of hard work and education.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Urban Icelanders:

The urban Icelanders are found dispersed throughout the city of Winnipeg. The population has been estimated at approximately 12,500.<sup>2</sup> As stated before, education has always been valued by the Icelanders, and it has a long tradition of being actively supported in the community. The group appears to be high in achievement motivation. Although no tests were given for this, one continually sees examples

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<sup>1</sup>It is interesting to note several Icelandic urban informants made the claim that the rural Icelanders did not possess the traditional Icelandic values of hard work and high educational striving. There was no evidence found to support this claim. The majority of the homes have libraries of substantial size and the children when they leave, do so to obtain better paid positions or to enter institutions of higher learning. Work is highly valued as is exemplified by the fishermen who sought after other jobs rather than receive compensation. Several fishermen are over 70 years of age and fish to remain active. Other elderly people can be found engaged in part time jobs, not for the money, but to keep busy.

<sup>2</sup>This must be estimated as figures are given only for Scandinavians in the census data. There are approximately 18,000 Scandinavians in Winnipeg.

of high achievement; the value of work for the sake of work, as exemplified by elderly people working for the sake of keeping busy, pride in the educational, literary, scientific, and musical achievements.

The family life among the urban Icelanders does not appear to differ greatly from the rural group. There is the same pride of ones relatives and there are cases of the adoption referred to above.

There appears to be a greater conscious awareness of the ethnic identity among the urban group. Fewer speak or understand the Icelandic language than the rural group, but there is a concerted effort on the part of individuals to familiarize themselves with Icelandic customs. An example of this is the larger representation of urban and young Icelanders at the Icelanders' Day Celebration (Islendingadagurinn).<sup>1</sup> The Icelandic Canadian Club was created with the principle of fostering the Icelandic traditions. There is a larger active membership of the young than there has been in many years (Anderson, 1970).

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<sup>1</sup>This information was obtained from two informants; one from the rural sample and one from the urban sample; who were actively involved in the organization of the Icelanders' Day Celebration.

in the role positions developed. The mother became responsible for the religious and cultural training of the children, and by the later part of the 19th century the woman became responsible for the home. One of the major reasons for this was the shift in male occupations. The men were traditionally merchants and tradesmen, but as the Russian people became more anti-Jewish, the men could find employment only as peddlars. This necessitated the father being away from the home for long periods of time while he was buying and selling goods in the countryside. Jews were also subject to special draft status which forced the men to be away from home for several years (Sacher, 1967: 264). The mother was delegated by the father to run the household on a day to day basis. The final authority, however, was the father, and the mother's authority was legitimate only to the extent that it was delegated by the father.

The Jews in Russia were subject to discrimination in all aspects of life. In the occupational area, the Jews were not allowed to enter the professions and many trades were closed to them. The educational institutions accepted a small Jewish enrollment only during the periods when anti-Jewish sentiments were not great. In 1881 the Russian government instituted the "May Laws" which forced the Jews to live in special sections of the cities in

western Russia. It is here, in the "Pale of Settlement", that one finds the historical beginnings of the ghettos (Roth, 1951: 334). Religious texts were censored and the Jews were not allowed to freely practice their religion. In the same year the government approved "pogroms" were systematically instituted.<sup>1</sup> The life that the Jews faced was difficult and the future appeared to hold no hope. The only avenue open to the Jews was emigration.

The Russian government were not in favor of allowing the Jews to leave. World opinion, however, was strongly in support of the Jews and the Russian government acceded, in 1882, the migration began. Sacher reports that in the years following the Jews left Russia at a rate of 2,000 a year (1967: 334).

The countries which exerted pressure on the Russian government also extended offers to aid the Jews until they reached their destinations and were settled. Several private organizations were created to help the Jews establish farms in the Americas. The Canadian government encouraged the Jews to come to Canada and farm in the North West Territories. There was a small Jewish community

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<sup>1</sup>A pogrom is an organized and violent attack on the Jewish inhabitants of a particular area. It is usually justified as a punishment for religious crimes the Jews have committed against gentiles. If a Jewish section was to be created as in the "May Laws", the pogroms could be carried out with greater efficiency.

in Winnipeg in 1881 and they extended an offer to help the Jews who wanted to emigrate to Manitoba. Groups of Russian Jews, upon hearing reports of Manitoba and the offers of assistance, decided to immigrate to this area.

Immigration and the Early Years:<sup>1</sup>

In 1882 Winnipeg had a small community of German Jews. The German Jew differed considerably from the Russian Jew who was to arrive that year. As religion was not as important in the life of the German Jew; the cultural patterns of the groups differed. The German Jews believed that they could become acculturated to the non-Jewish life style if they did not emphasize the difference between Jew and gentile. This belief was based upon the ideological considerations; "... democracy meant the obliteration of social separation from the gentiles. They felt they should assimilate" (Herstein, 1964: 5). The German Jews had been successful in their efforts and were accepted by the gentiles in the business and social life of the city.

The community hoped to help the Russian Jews financially and to obtain employment. The Jews in Winnipeg numbered only 21, and the size of the immigrant

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<sup>1</sup>Unless specified, the information is from Chiel, 1961.

population (275), the poverty, and the lack of technical skills provided too great a burden for them. The gentile community of the city came to their assistance with donations of food, clothing and money. Further waves of immigrants arrived in 1891 and 1905-12 when there were new surges of anti-semitism in Russia. The last group consisted mainly of Jews from Romania (Sacher, 1967: 320). The last two groups were helped almost exclusively by the Jewish community which was now larger and thus better able to assist the immigrants in securing employment and housing.

#### Occupations:

The Jews who arrived in 1881 did not possess the skills and abilities which were needed to find employment. Many turned to low skilled manual jobs in order to support themselves and their families. The Canadian Pacific Railroad hired many Jews to lay tracks across the prairies. Many of these Jews settled in the Western areas and opened stores or became peddlars when they acquired the necessary capital. Others attempted to establish communal farms as land was available and money was being offered by several agencies in Europe. The Jews, however, had no experience at farming, and the colonies failed in the first few years of the experiment. The remainder of the Jews secured employment in small trades businesses and as merchants and

peddlars. Some were hired by the German Jews who operated hotels and small firms.

The Jews who arrived in 1891 and 1905 found greater employment opportunities than the 1881 group. Several families from the 1891 group established a farm colony which, unlike previous attempts, was a successful enterprise. The children of these settlers did not wish to remain on the farm, and the colony existed only as long as the original inhabitants. The people who remained in the city obtained employment as merchants, tradesmen, and in the textile factories which were opening in Winnipeg. By this time Jews were also established as owners of a number of firms in the textile and fur industries. These firms hired a large number of Jews.

The German Jews considered themselves to be superior to the Russian Jews<sup>1</sup> settled in the south end of the city widening the distinction between the two groups. The Russian and Romanian Jews initially settled in the vicinity of the Canadian Pacific Railroad depot, but later moved further north. As the Russian Jews became more established financially they moved from the "north-end" to the semi-

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<sup>1</sup>Friction developed between the German and Russian Jews. The former resented the Russian Jews because they felt that they would undermine the position the German Jews had obtained in the community. The friction led to splits in the religious, educational, and charity institutions within the Jewish community.

suburban areas of West Kildonan, Garden City, and River Heights.

Institutions:

As referred to above, the Hebrew religion is the essence of Jewish life. The Russian Jews were very religious and services were conducted in the immigration sheds. The first collective service was held by the German Jews in 1881 and upon arrival of the Russian Jews a Torah<sup>1</sup> was obtained. In 1882, the Jewish community obtained the services of a reverend to lead their services and the community looked forward to the time when they would be able to obtain a rabbi and a building for a synagogue. In 1882 a plot of land had been obtained to use as a cemetery.

The friction between the German and Russian Jews emerges in the history of the growth of the synagogue in Winnipeg. The Russian Jews were Orthodox and the German Reform.<sup>2</sup> The historical reasons for this dichotomy can be seen in the religious training of the Russian Jews and the

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<sup>1</sup>A Torah is the Five Books of Moses written in Hebrew upon a parchment scroll.

<sup>2</sup>The distinction between the two is based upon the degree to which they follow the traditional rules and regulations of Judaism. The Reform Jews follow a path which is based upon making the religion relevant to the times. The Orthodox Jews follow all customs as in the past.



ideal of acculturation as held by the German Jews. The need for the necessary funds to build a synagogue overcame this dichotomy and in 1889 a building was obtained for this purpose. Three years later the Orthodox split from the Reform and built their own synagogue. The community was split and a power struggle emerged between the two factions. In 1913 the groups realized that the Jewish community could not withstand the fighting and they merged. The majority of the Jewish population belonged to the synagogue created by this merger, but the Orthodox members of the community formed their own synagogues. The Orthodox groups later formed a number of synagogues, although the reasons which underlie their formation are not due to conflicting ideologies, but religious regulations.

The Jewish community in Winnipeg believed that the children should receive an education in the religious and cultural traditions of the Jews. There were private tutors in the community as early as 1881, but this method was unsatisfactory and a Hebrew school was established in 1884. The schools in the Jewish community were affiliated with the synagogues and their development parallels that of the religious institutions. In 1900 a communally organized school was created. The parents of the children would pay fees according to the amount they could afford. This school was supported by the entire community. In 1906 the

members of the community who were Zionists split from this school because they wanted their children to use Hebrew rather than Yiddish. The Zionist group established a large school in 1908 and a community school board was responsible for the operation of the school. The Zionist group was not without factions and during the years which followed separate schools were established by the Anarchists, the Labour Zionists, the Bundists and the Social Democrats. In 1944 the Zionist factions joined to form a large Yiddish school. The major difference in the community were between the Zionist coalition and the traditionalists. Chiel relates the differences:

The educational philosophy of both ... (Zionist) ... groups negated traditional Judaism and espoused a humanistic secular set of values. With this as their frame of reference they aligned themselves as the critics of the Talmud Torah's traditionalist curriculum and sought their twofold ideology; loyalty to the Jewish people and identification with their struggle for socialism (Chiel, 1961: 103). (Brackets mine)

The traditionalists were composed of the German Jews and a minority of the Russian Jews. The Zionists were composed of the Russian Jews with the majority being those who arrived in the 1905 immigration.

The Jewish community established organizations to care for the welfare of the Jewish people in both the city of Winnipeg and throughout the world. On the local level, the Jews sponsored a Jewish orphanage, burial societies,

welfare and child care agencies, and clinics to care for the medical needs of the people. The factionalism which is found in the religious and educational institutions can also be found in this area, although the actual splits have not been as frequent. A major difference between the groups is the larger role played by the women in the Zionists sponsored organizations. The Jewish community also formed clubs and institutions to foster the culture of the Jewish people. The Jewish community supported a Yiddish Theatre for many years. There were numerous newspapers, although economics have forced the merger of many.

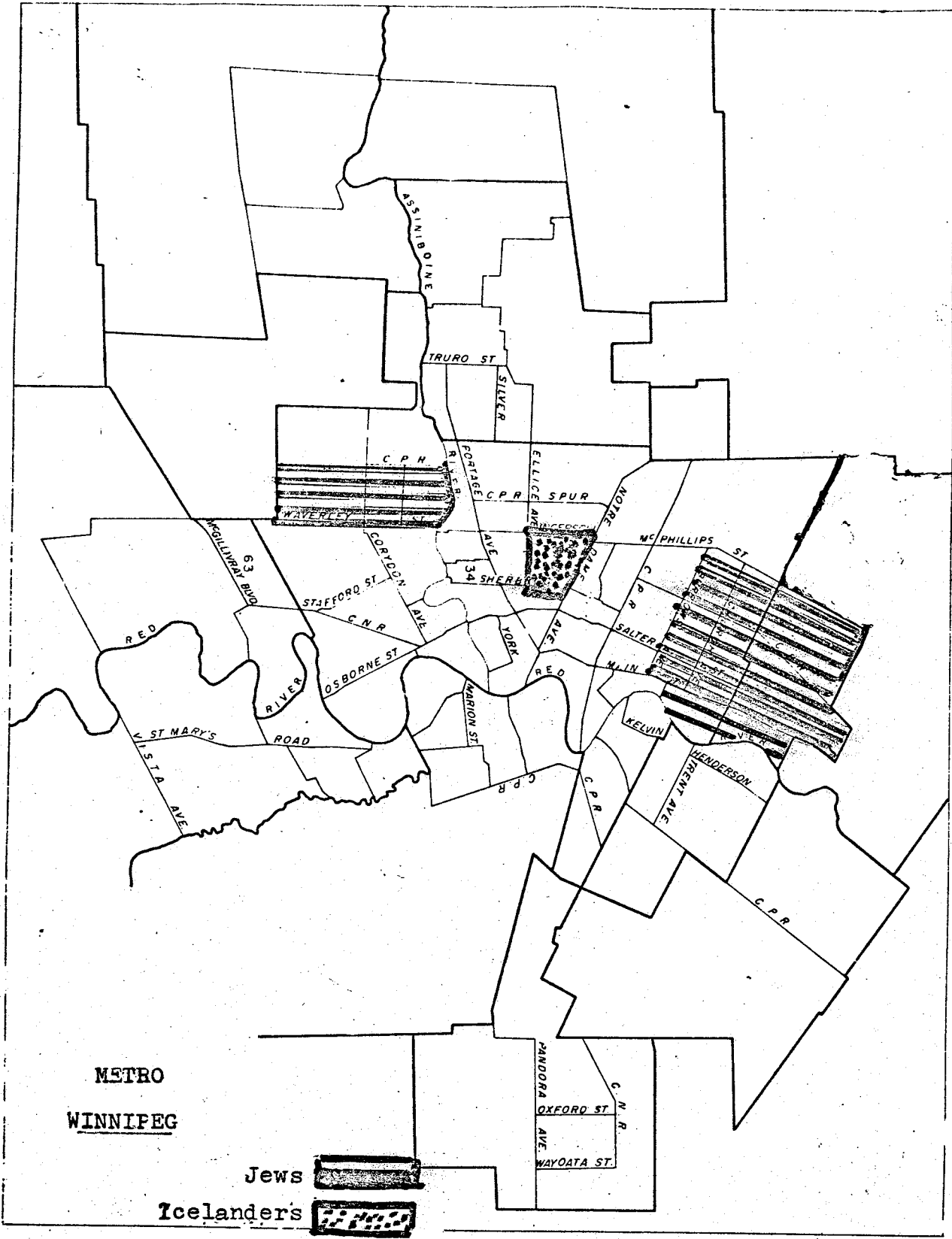
#### Role of Women and the Family:

The family in Canada did not differ greatly from the traditional form found in Russia. As indicated above, the men found themselves in an occupational role which was very similar to the one they had in Russia. The mother ran the home, but the father was the authority to whom all were responsible. The German Jewish family appears to differ to the extent that the mother does not play as large a role in the family, as the father is not absent for periods of time. The Jewish family appears to be similar in many respects to the Icelandic family; the major difference being that the Icelandic woman is not as dependent upon her husband for her status in society.

The Jewish Community Today:

The Jewish population of Winnipeg is approximately 19,500 and is concentrated in West Kildonan, Garden City, and River Heights. The dichotomy between the Russian and German Jews is not made today, the major distinction between the various Jews today being social and economic. The majority of the Jews in Winnipeg are members of Conservative synagogues, a compromise between the Orthodox and Reform. Since the inception of the State of Israel, the distinction between Zionists and the non-Zionists is no longer made. The separate institutions that Jews created when they were not allowed to join the gentile institutions have altered their main focus; and now primarily promote Jewish culture and traditions.

The Jews have been active in the political, social, cultural and charitable institutions found in the city. They have been accepted as equals as discrimination is not characteristic of the non-Jewish people. As was seen among the Icelanders, the Jews are characterised by rapid upward social mobility. Chiel documents the climb as a four step process. The first Jews were in the working class; peddlars, traders, shopkeepers. As these Jews accumulated money they opened small shops and began to enter the middle class. The next generation increased the size of the shops and leave the previous generation in the working



METRO  
WINNIPEG

Jews [horizontal hatched box]  
Icelanders [dotted box]

class. The people in the second generation have the necessary finances to send their children to universities, and the children enter the professions (1961: 66). Hurvitz (1958) accounts for the high mobility of the Jews as being due to four factors; the religion stressed achievement, they were businessmen in Europe and were psychologically prepared for their role as businessmen in Canada, they lived in urban areas in Europe, and they were a minority group in Europe, and had established a positive identity. They therefore, had a minimum of adjustment to undergo when they arrived in Winnipeg.

Summary:

Although the Jews and the Icelanders share many common aspects in the history of the development of their respective Canadian communities, we can readily see the differences which exist between them, not the least being that of the family life and the role of the woman in the home and the community. The Jewish family is ideally very close to the patriarchal family, with the father receiving his authority from religious doctrines. Due to the necessity of being away from the home for long periods of time, he delegated his authority to the wife, but she was the authority only in the name of the father. The Icelandic family, on the other hand, was equalitarian in ideal. The

mother had authority in her own right and did not require her husband to delegate it. I have shown in the preceding sections that this may be due to her duties in both the expressive and instrumental sectors of family life. One would naturally expect, that if there is a matrilateral bias in the Canadian family, that it would be greater in the Icelandic community than in the Jewish community.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE KINSHIP NETWORKS

#### Introduction:

In the two decades that have past since Barnes (1954) first employed the concept of the social network<sup>1</sup>, anthropologists have become increasingly aware of its usefulness as a methodological tool, particularly in the study of industrial societies (Aronson, 1970). The examination of those aspects of behaviour which occur within the context of the industrial family has led to the development of a special application of the social network, the kinship network. Bott (1957), in her pioneer study on working class families in London, utilized the kinship network to explain the variations in the conjugal role and social networks of the families in her sample. The kinship network is utilized in this thesis to explain how the sex-role behaviour of the nuclear family heads affects the interaction patterns of the members of the nuclear family.

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<sup>1</sup>A social network consists of the individuals who in reference to an individual, interact, either with each other, the individual, or only some members.



However, in light of the recent controversy about the position of the industrial nuclear family<sup>1</sup> in relation to the extended kinship system (Sussman, 1959; Litwak, 1959-60; Sussman and Burchinal, 1966), it was felt that although it is to some extent marginal to the thesis, a detailed description of the kinship networks of the three sample groups should be included.<sup>2</sup> Its incorporation, in addition to providing the data used in testing the hypotheses formulated in the first chapter, will provide additional data to the growing body of information about the industrial family and furnish important insights into the behaviour patterns of the three groups.

For the purpose of this thesis, the kinship network is operationally defined as the total aggregate of individuals who are related to and who interact with the members of the nuclear family unit in a two year period. To enable us to account for the differences in the networks due to the occurrence of holidays and vacations, the total network is considered to consist of three sub-network classifications; informal visits, holidays<sup>3</sup>, and vacations. The individuals in the network are grouped into five dimensions<sup>4</sup>; matrilateral

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<sup>1</sup>See Chapter I.

<sup>2</sup>See Appendix II.

<sup>3</sup>The holiday classification is further subdivided into religious, civic, and ethnic holidays.

<sup>4</sup>A detailed discussion of the description contained in this chapter is found in Chapter VI.

kinsmen, patrilateral kinsmen, generation, sibling and non-sibling<sup>1</sup>. The employment of these classifications and dimensions, in addition to demonstrating which relatives interact with members of the nuclear family unit on the various occasions, allows us to see which relatives and events are important in the maintenance of family ties.

The comparison of the networks of the three sample groups allows us to examine the patterns which emerge due to differences in ethnicity and rural or urban backgrounds.

#### The Rural Icelandic Kinship Network:

An examination of the interaction which occurs between the members of the nuclear family unit and the relatives on the mother's and father's side reveals that there is a greater amount of interaction with the matrilateral relatives. This matrilateral orientation is found in the three network classifications.

The analysis of the generational dimension reveals that the pattern varies with the reason for the occurrence of the interaction. On the holiday and vacation networks, the members of the nuclear family units interact most frequently with kinsmen from the same generation, while more informal visits occur with the relatives from the first

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<sup>1</sup>The categories are in reference to the heads of the nuclear family units.

ascending generation.

A very clear and definite pattern emerges when we examine the interaction in relation to the dimensions of sibling and non-sibling kinsmen<sup>1</sup>. In all three networks, there is greater interaction with the siblings and their families than with non-siblings and their families, although this pattern is particularly strong in the holiday network.

#### The Urban Icelandic Kinship Network:

The interaction patterns exhibited by the urban Icelanders differ only slightly from those of their rural counterparts. An examination of the interaction reveals that the identical patterns for the sibling<sup>2</sup>, non-sibling and matrilateral, patrilateral dimensions are displayed. The only variation we find from the rural Icelandic group, is that in all the networks, the urban families interact more frequently with the kinsmen from the same generation as the family heads.

#### The Jewish Kinship Network:

The interaction displayed by the Jewish families exhibits considerable differences from the Icelandic groups.

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<sup>1</sup>In order to receive an accurate description of the interaction in this dimension, we must exclude the individuals in the ascending generation.

<sup>2</sup>The Icelandic's Day Celebration, a minor exception, is discussed below.

We find that only in informal visits do the Jews interact more with their matrilateral kinsmen. A detailed examination of the holiday network reveals a difference in the interaction which occurs on religious as compared to ethnic and civic holidays<sup>1</sup>. On the latter holidays, the Jews interact more with their matrilateral kinsmen, while on the religious holidays, they interact more with their patrilateral kinsmen.

In the generational category we again see that the Jews exhibit a variation from the pattern which emerged from the Icelandic groups. The difference is not, however, as great as in the patrilateral-matrilateral dimension. Unlike the other groups, the Jews interact more frequently with the first ascending generation in all three network categories. This pattern was seen only in the informal visits of the rural Icelanders.

Another difference, although only minor, is the smaller amount of interaction which occurs with siblings as compared to non-siblings. We also find more frequent interaction with the husband's siblings which is the reverse of the pattern displayed by the two Icelandic groups.

#### Discussion:

Although it is not possible, because of the number of variables, to arrive at generalizations regarding the

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<sup>1</sup>The religious holidays are considered to be Rosh Hashanah, Passover, and Yom Kippur.

interaction patterns, we can examine the cultural factors which may influence the people's behaviour. An intensive examination of the holiday network reveals that the largest amount of interaction in the Icelandic groups occurs on Christmas, New Year's Day, Thanksgiving and Easter.<sup>1</sup> The larger size of these networks is due to the increased number of kinsmen from those dimensions which predominate in the over-all pattern, i.e., siblings and the kinsmen of the first ascending generation from the matrilateral side of the family.

Among the Jewish families, the largest networks are found on Hanukah, Passover, Rosh Hashanah, and Yom Kippur. The last three holidays exhibit a different pattern from the one seen in the other networks. On these religious holidays, there are more kinsmen from the patrilateral side of the family involved in interaction, than matrilateral kinsmen. If we examine the cultural backgrounds of the Jews we are able to discover the factors which may influence the interaction. In Orthodox synagogues, the men and women are segregated, resulting in a patrilateral seating arrangement. Although the people in the sample are Conservative Jews, they were raised in Orthodox doctrines and consequently maintain a modification of this seating arrangement.<sup>2</sup> In addition,

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<sup>1</sup>The holiday of Icелander's Day Celebration being both a civic and an ethnic holiday is discussed in a separate section.

<sup>2</sup>In Conservative congregations, men and women sit together.

the religious doctrine which states that the Jewish family is patrilineal may influence their behaviour. The large network on Hanukkah results from the increase in the number of people from the ascending and descending generations. On this occasion, a party is held and is considered to be one of the few events in the year in which all family members can interact.

The urban Icelanders have a large network on the Icelander's Day Celebration. This is in all probability a result of the geographic setting. The town in which these people reside during the summer is near the town in which the Celebration is held. As the day on which the event is held is also a long week-end, many people from the City of Winnipeg attend and take advantage of the opportunity to visit with their relatives.

The people from the rural area do not attend the celebration to the same extent as the urban Icelanders. Those that do attend indicated that they did not go to see relatives but rather friends who have moved from the town. The relatives that they do see are few and usually not sought out.

The Jews and the rural Icelanders both interact more with the ascending generations than do the urban Icelanders; the Jews in all networks and the Icelanders in the informal

one. There are two possible factors involved in this pattern. The first is that the informants are of a lower age which results in their having younger parents who can interact in locations other than their own homes. The other factor may be the activities which are carried out during the interaction. In these groups there is a considerable amount of mutual aid between the generations, both in time and money. The mothers are active in helping their daughters in the rearing of the children. A result of this is that there are more occasions in which the informants see their parents and also this provides them with the opportunity to see other relatives who may be visiting their parents.

#### Conclusion:

The network analysis has shown us that there is a considerable amount of interaction between members of the extended family. The greatest amount of interaction occurs on religious holidays and those which involve a family dinner, particularly among the Jews and rural Icelanders. Another trend which emerges is that there is a core of relatives who are constantly interacting. On the occasions which have larger networks, this core is supplemented by individuals from the same dimensions. Thus there is little expansion of the network into the other dimensions of relatives.

## CHAPTER V

### RESULTS

The data collected from the three sample groups indicate that there is support for the hypotheses formulated regarding the presence of gynocentricity, the matrilateral bias, and the factors effecting the symmetry of the kinship structure. A descriptive presentation of the data, rather than the application of statistical tests, is employed in the hypothesis testing. This method of analysis was decided upon because it was felt, that the sophisticated nature of tests required, combined with the author's limited knowledge of statistics, would lead to statistical problems which the author could not comprehend.

Our initial set of hypotheses, (1a-1d) which postulate that the females are closer to their female rather than their male relatives, is supported by the data in Table I. As the responses list the number of individuals cited by the informants, we can consider the proportion of females to males as indicative of the strength of gynocentricity. From a comparison of the three proportions we can see that the rural Icelandic women have the strongest ties with their female relatives and the urban Icelandic women, the weakest.



Table I. Gynocentricity:

<u>Hypothesis:</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>No. of Individuals</u>	
		<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
la. Relatives the informants consider as friends	Rural Ice.	2	12
	Urban Ice.	5	6
	Jews	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>
	Total	8	23
lb. Relatives the informants most enjoy seeing	Rural Ice.	8	31
	Urban Ice.	8	16
	Jews	<u>1</u>	<u>11</u>
	Total	17	58
lc. Relatives from whom informants seek advice	Rural Ice.	2	17
	Urban Ice.	2	5
	Jews	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>
	Total	5	29
ld. Relatives to whom informants write letters	Rural Ice.	0	10
	Urban Ice.	5	10
	Jews	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>
	Total	6	25

Our second set of hypotheses examines the relationship between gynocentricity and the matrilateral bias; i.e., that in addition to having closer ties with female kinsmen, the women are also closer to and have a greater awareness of their matrilateral kinsmen, regardless of sex, than with their patrilateral kinsmen. From Table II we see that for the total sample, the data supports the hypotheses. However, the Jewish females report an equal number of matrilateral and patrilateral relatives as friends, and the urban Icelandic females correspond with a greater number of patrilateral relatives.

Table II. Relationship Between Gynocentricity and the Matrilateral Bias:

<u>Hypothesis:</u>	<u>Group</u>	<u>No. of Individuals</u>	
		<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
2a. Relatives who females consider as friends	Rural Ice.	3	36
	Urban Ice.	1	11
	Jews	8	16
	Total	<u>12</u>	<u>63</u>
2b. Relatives who females enjoy seeing most	Rural Ice.	4	10
	Urban Ice.	3	8
	Jews	3	3
	Total	<u>10</u>	<u>21</u>
2c. Relatives who females seek advise from	Rural Ice.	4	15
	Urban Ice.	0	7
	Jews	3	5
	Total	<u>7</u>	<u>27</u>
2d. Relatives to whom females write letters	Rural Ice.	0	10
	Urban Ice.	10	5
	Jews	0	6
	Total	<u>10</u>	<u>21</u>
2e. Percent of relatives <sup>1</sup> known who females are able to name	Rural Ice.	68%	76%
	Urban Ice.	68%	73%
	Jews	79%	82%
	Total	<u>70%</u>	<u>76%</u>
2f. Relatives who females see out of obligation	Rural Ice.	2	5
	Urban Ice.	0	0
	Jews	1	3
	Total	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>

The results from the network analysis provides us with the data required to test the third set of hypotheses which state that a matrilateral bias exists in the interaction

<sup>1</sup>This is reported in percentages of the total number of kin who the informant knows to exist. This number varies among the groups and families and a percentage is a more accurate representation.

patterns of the nuclear family units.<sup>1</sup> We find that our hypotheses are supported, i.e., a matrilateral bias is present in the kinship structure of the three sample groups. In the holiday network, the Jews see an equal number of relatives from each side of the family, while the Icelandic families (both rural and urban) strongly support the hypotheses.

We find that the hypotheses regarding the vacation patterns of the families (3c), although indicating a matrilateral bias, does not strongly indicate support for the hypothesis. The larger number of matrilateral relatives in the network is due to the data provided by the urban Icelanders. The other two groups do not indicate support of this hypothesis.

When we examine the data concerning the final two sets of hypotheses, we find that in general the trends indicated tend to support our assumptions. We must note that the total number of families which comprise the sample for these hypotheses is small and only provides us with trends as to the veracity of our hypotheses. Although the data is presented for the three sample groups, the figures for the total sample represent a more valid indication of the data.

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<sup>1</sup>The data for the individual hypotheses is found in Appendix II; Table XI-3a, XII-3b, I-3c, II-3d, and Appendix III; Table III-3e. Tables I and II in Appendix III contain the interaction patterns expressed as percentages.

Hypothesis 4a which states that the strength of the matrilateral bias is greater in those families in which the female household head performs an instrumental activity than in those families in which her role is confined to expressive activities is supported by the data in Tables III and IV.

Table III. Informal Visits (Day to day visitation network):

<u>Group</u>	<u>Females with Jobs</u>		<u>Females without Jobs</u>	
	<u>Patri.</u>	<u>Matri.</u>	<u>Patri.</u>	<u>Matri.</u>
Rural Ice.	11%	89%	17%	83%
Urban Ice.	16%	84%	34%	66%
Jews	41%	59%	20%	80%
Total	<u>17%</u>	<u>83%</u>	<u>22%</u>	<u>78%</u>

Table IV. Holiday Interaction:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Females with Jobs</u>		<u>Females without Jobs</u>	
	<u>Patri.</u>	<u>Matri.</u>	<u>Patri.</u>	<u>Matri.</u>
Rural Ice.	35%	65%	22%	78%
Urban Ice.	18%	82%	57%	43%
Jews	6%	94%	22%	78%
Total	<u>22%</u>	<u>78%</u>	<u>33%</u>	<u>67%</u>

Hypothesis 4b states that the strength of the matrilateral bias is less in those families in which the male household head performs an expressive activity than in those families in which he does not. In order to examine the male's participation in the expressive activities of the family, the criteria employed was the father's serving as the primary head in the religious and ethnic training

and education of the children. The data contained in Tables V, VI, VII, and VIII indicate that there is a trend in support of the hypothesis.

Table V. Religious Training .... Informal Visits:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mother Important</u>		<u>Both Important</u>	
	<u>Patri.</u>	<u>Matri.</u>	<u>Patri.</u>	<u>Matri.</u>
Rural Ice.	43%	57%	28%	72%
Urban Ice.	15%	85%	26%	74%
Jews	21%	79%	60%	40%
Total	31%	69%	39%	61%

Table VI. Religious Training .... Holiday Interaction:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mother Important</u>		<u>Both Important</u>	
	<u>Patri.</u>	<u>Matri.</u>	<u>Patri.</u>	<u>Matri.</u>
Rural Ice.	24%	76%	35%	65%
Urban Ice.	29%	28%	71%	72%
Jews	33%	67%	43%	57%
Total	29%	71%	34%	66%

Table VII. Ethnic Training .... Informal Visits:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mother Impt.</u>		<u>Both Impt.</u>		<u>Father Impt.</u>	
	<u>Patri.</u>	<u>Matri.</u>	<u>Patri.</u>	<u>Matri.</u>	<u>Patri.</u>	<u>Matri.</u>
Rural Ice	57%	43%	31%	69%	0%	100%
Urban Ice.	23%	77%	3%	97%	43%	57%
Jews	22%	78%	16%	84%	92%	11%
Total	34%	66%	22%	78%	43%	57%

Table VIII. Ethnic Training . . . . Holiday Interaction:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Mother Impt.</u>		<u>Both Impt.</u>		<u>Father Impt.</u>	
	<u>Patri.</u>	<u>Matri.</u>	<u>Patri.</u>	<u>Matri.</u>	<u>Patri.</u>	<u>Matri.</u>
Rural Ice.	8%	92%	41%	59%	16%	84%
Urban Ice.	8%	92%	27%	73%	45%	55%
Jews	32%	68%	8%	92%	98%	2%
Total	<u>34%</u>	<u>66%</u>	<u>22%</u>	<u>78%</u>	<u>43%</u>	<u>57%</u>

As there are no families in which the father is the parent solely responsible for the religious education of the children, we employ the category in which both parents are responsible for the education. In Tables VII and VIII, we employ a scale which utilizes the three situations which occurred; mother important, father important, and both important. We would expect the strength of the matrilateral bias to decrease from mother important, to both important, to father important. From the data in Tables VII and VIII, we see that in the families in which the male is the head solely responsible for the ethnic training of the child, the strength of the matrilateral bias is considerably smaller than in the families in which he is not. We find, however, that the strength of the matrilateral bias is not affected when the male shares the responsibility for the ethnic training with his spouse. This result was not anticipated. Again, as was the case in the data for the preceding hypotheses we must consider the results of the total sample due to the small number of families.

The final hypothesis regarding the effect of continuity in the male role is also strongly supported by the data. Again, the entire sample must be considered.

Table IX. Male Continuity .... Informal Visits:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Continuity</u>		<u>No Continuity</u>	
	<u>Patri.</u>	<u>Matri.</u>	<u>Patri.</u>	<u>Matri.</u>
Rural Ice.	30%	70%	17%	83%
Urban Ice.	0%	100%	33%	67%
Jews	51%	49%	20%	80%
Total	<u>40%</u>	<u>60%</u>	<u>22%</u>	<u>78%</u>

Table X. Male Continuity .... Holiday Interaction:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Continuity</u>		<u>No Continuity</u>	
	<u>Patri.</u>	<u>Matri.</u>	<u>Patri.</u>	<u>Matri.</u>
Rural Ice.	19%	81%	22%	78%
Urban Ice.	67%	33%	57%	43%
Jews	77%	23%	22%	78%
Total	<u>65%</u>	<u>35%</u>	<u>33%</u>	<u>67%</u>

Thus our data support our hypotheses and indicate that a matrilateral bias is present in the three sample groups and the degree of skewedness of the bias is related to the sex-role behaviour of the heads of the nuclear family and continuity in the instrumental activities of the males.

## CHAPTER VI

### DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Although the data support our hypotheses regarding the presence of the matrilineal bias in the kinship system of industrial societies and the factors which affect its relative strength, we find that the degree of support varies from group to group and from hypothesis to hypothesis. This chapter examines these variations and the variables which may possibly be responsible for their occurrence. The kinship networks described in Chapter IV are also examined in greater detail and the results are discussed in reference to the controversy between Talcott Parsons and the Litwak-Sussman school of sociology.

We find that there is strong support for our initial hypotheses, (1a-1d), concerning the presence of the phenomena of gynocentricity among the women in industrial societies. Although we are aware that the females have closer relationships with their female relatives, we do not have comparable data for the males in the sample families. As previously stated, it was originally intended to examine this, but due to reasons outlined in Chapter II, it was not possible. Poggie and Pelto in their study report that "... the male preferences and interaction tendencies are



not as strongly skewed toward the patrilateral" as the female are to the matrilateral (1969: 9). I feel that it is fair to assume that this is also true for the males in our sample groups. This is based upon three considerations; 1) the father-son bond is not as strong as the mother-daughter bond, 2) the results indicate that there is a link between gynocentricity and the matrilateral bias, and 3) the results from the Poggie and Pelto study are similar to the results in this study in those instances in which similar hypotheses were tested (i.e., gynocentricity and matrilateral bias).

The data from our second set of hypotheses, (2a-2f), reveals that a causal link exists between gynocentricity and the matrilateral bias. The females in the sample groups prefer to interact with and feel closer to their matrilateral relatives. We do find, however, that there is considerable variation in the responses of the three groups. In the initial set of hypotheses variation also existed, but this variation was in the amount of support given the hypotheses, while in this case the variation encompasses support and non-support of our hypotheses.

The Jewish women report that they enjoy seeing an equal number of matrilateral and patrilateral kinsmen, although the majority of these kinsmen are female. A possible explanation for this occurrence may lie in the fact that there are almost twice as many patrilateral kinsmen as matrilateral who reside within a thirty mile radius of the

informants' homes. The familiarity between the interviewer and the informant, as mentioned in Chapter II, may also have influenced the responses of the women.

Unlike the other two groups, the urban Icelandic women write a greater number of letters to their patrilineal kinsmen. Again we note that these kinsmen are predominantly female. This pattern probably results from the larger number of patrilineal kinsmen residing in locations outside the city of Winnipeg.

As it is the women rather than the men who maintain the correspondence in all three groups, we find that Bott's contention that it is the females who function as the "connecting relative" between the family units is supported by our data.

The females exhibit a greater awareness of their matrilineal kinsmen as compared to their awareness of their patrilineal kin. The percentages reported do not reveal a large difference, but when we consider that there are more than 6,000 relatives denoted by the informants we can see that the difference is of some consequence.<sup>1</sup>

Although the male's awareness was not tested, there are several indications that the males could not list and/or name as large a number of relatives as could their spouses.

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<sup>1</sup>There were no statistical tests run to test for significance.

The two males who were interviewed revealed that they knew only one-half to two-thirds of the relatives denoted by their wives. In addition, the females frequently commented that their husbands did not know their own (patrilateral) relatives as well as the women did.

The initial set of hypotheses revealed that the rural Icelandic women have the closest ties with their female relatives and the urban Icelanders the weakest. If the link between gynocentricity and the matrilateral bias is a direct relationship, we can assume that the matrilateral bias will be strongest in the rural Icelanders and weakest in their urban counterparts. The data in Tables I and II in Appendix III do not lend credence to this assumption. Therefore, although there is a relationship between the two, there are other factors related to the bias and its strength. These factors will be examined below.

We find that there is strong support for the central hypothesis, i.e., that the nuclear family units interact more with their matrilateral kinsmen than with their patrilateral kinsmen. There are, however, a few exceptions. The Jewish families, during the holiday network, interact more with their patrilateral kinsmen. This apparent discrepancy in the results can, however, be explained. If a distinction is made between religious holidays on one hand, and civic and ethnic on the other, we see that a patrilateral bias is displayed in the religious holidays, while the interaction in

the civic and ethnic holidays reveals a matrilateral bias. As was explained in the chapter on the kinship networks, the patrilateral orientation during the religious holidays results in part from the religious ethics of the Jews; the seating arrangement in the synagogue and the patriarchal nature of the traditional family. As the religious holidays are the most important in the holiday calendar, they command a large network which is responsible for the patrilateral skewing in the entire network.

There are a greater number of matrilateral kinsmen who interact with the nuclear family units on a day to day basis. This matrilateral orientation is also found among the relatives who spend their vacation in the homes of the informants. However, in the vacation patterns of the informants we do not find strong evidence of a matrilateral bias. The urban Icelanders display a small matrilateral bias. The other two groups, however, do not display this bias; the Jews see more patrilateral kinsmen and the rural Icelanders; an equal number of kinsmen from both the matrilateral and patrilateral sides of the family.

An examination of the geneologies and the notes taken during the interview sessions reveals that the important factor in determining this form of interaction is not the structure of the kinship system, but the financial resources of the family and the location of kinsmen. The majority of the informants who reported interacting with relatives

while on vacation stressed that they saw these relatives because they were in cities through which the informants passed enroute to their vacation destination. This is particularly true of the cities of Vancouver and Toronto. The rural sample, as a result of their low income, is limited in its vacations.

As all the families in the samples were born in the towns in which they are currently residing, we find that the vacation interaction reveals the manner in which family ties are maintained over geographical distances. We find that the relatives who most frequently return to their "home town" are the matrilateral relatives, leading us to assume that family ties are maintained through the matrilateral side of the family.<sup>1</sup>

The hypotheses which examine the effect of role cross-over by the family heads, and continuity in the male role on the strength of the bias are both supported. We find that in the families in which the female head performs an instrumental activity, the matrilateral bias is stronger than in the families in which she does not. On the other hand, in the families in which the male is active in the expressive realm, we find that the matrilateral bias is not as strong as in the families in which he is exclusively concerned with instrumental activities. We must remember that the number of families in these samples

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<sup>1</sup>This may also be a result of the higher female emigration rate and their subsequent marriages to males who reside in other cities and towns.

is small and we are not able to definitely state that there is substantial support of our hypotheses. We can, however, report that the data indicate that support may be found in a larger sample.

Our final hypothesis concerning the effect of continuity in the male role indicates that stronger ties between the patrilineal relatives are found in the continuity situation. The existence of a family business or corporation may function to give the family a sense of corporateness, thus leading to stronger ties.

#### The Networks:

From the network analysis and the data used in the hypothesis testing we can examine the controversy between Talcott Parsons and the Litwak-Sussman school regarding the industrial nuclear family. Parsons (1943) has stated that the American kinship system is structured like an onion, with the nuclear family at the core and the extended kin forming the layers. He sees the social distance between the nuclear family and its extended kin increasing proportionately with each layer. The family, although maintaining contact, is basically an isolated unit. The isolatedness is viewed as a function of the industrial society which requires independence and mobility from its members. As the extended family would compete with the institutions of the industrial society, the isolated nuclear family emerges.

Sussman and the sociologists who support him maintain that the family is not an isolated unit, but interacts with considerable frequency with its extended kin.

The families in our sample, although they cannot be taken as representative of Canadian society, do provide us with additional data on this subject. In the application of our data, we find it convenient to retain the analogy of the onion. We find that there is increasing distance as the layers reach the outer portions of the structure, however, we do not see these layers as circles, but rather as ellipses which are skewed towards the matrilateral side of the family. The relatives who are closest to the family are the siblings and the first ascending generation from the matrilateral side. The kinsmen in the other layers are present on the larger occasions. (Christmas, New Year's Day, Easter, Thanksgiving), but these are also skewed, with a larger representation being from the matrilateral side of the family.

We do not find that the nuclear family is isolated. Our data represents only the interaction which involves all the members of the nuclear unit, and we find that interaction occurs daily. If we were to include the interaction which occurs between the individual members of the kinship network, and interaction which occurs in other than face-to-face encounters, (telephoning, letter writing), we would find that there is considerably more interaction. This interaction, although substantial, occurs mainly with the kinsmen from the

inner rings of the "onion" structure.

Conclusions:

We have seen that the structure of the kinship system in our sample families exhibits a matrilateral bias rather than being bilateral or symmetrically multilinear. Furthermore, evidence has shown that this bias and its relative strength is dependent upon three variables.

Perhaps the most important variable is the close relationship between the females in the extended family. This is, in turn, partly due to the strong bond between the mother and daughter. The close bond and the gynocentricity are both built into the structure and the child is socialized into these attitudes through his contact with the kinsmen.

Although the bias is present in the entire sample, we find that its strength varies with the sex-role division of the household heads. As the female head performs roles which are defined as being in the male sector, we find that a greater amount of interactions occurs with her kinsmen. When the male head performs activities in the expressive realm of the family; the amount of interaction which occurs with the matrilateral side of the family decreases. We may attribute this to the larger degree of authority the head gains as a result of the increased position, and perhaps the status which accompanies the increase in role activities.



Our data shows that in the families in which there is continuity in the male role, the strength of the matrilineal bias is considerably weaker. Earlier in this chapter we stated that this situation may lead to an industrial form of corporate family. The implications of this will be discussed below.

One aspect of the factors that influence the bias is the strength and importance of religion and ethnicity in the family. Tables XI-XIV reveal that the bias is stronger in the families in which religion is very important. The evidence presented for the importance of ethnicity, does not as readily indicate the same trend. In the latter, only the holiday network displays a stronger bias than in the families

Table XI. Religion and Ethnicity Stressed (Informal Network):

	<u>Patrilateral</u>		<u>Matrilateral</u>	
	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>
Rural Ice.	71%	41%	29%	59%
Urban Ice.	33%	25%	67%	75%
Jews	19%	30%	81%	70%
Total	<u>29%</u>	<u>34%</u>	<u>71%</u>	<u>66%</u>

Table XII. Religion and Ethnicity Stressed (Holiday Network):

	<u>Patrilateral</u>		<u>Matrilateral</u>	
	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>
Rural Ice.	29%	29%	71%	71%
Urban Ice.	43%	24%	57%	76%
Jews	35%	48%	65%	52%
Total	<u>34%</u>	<u>37%</u>	<u>66%</u>	<u>63%</u>

Table XIII. Religion and Ethnicity Not Stressed (Informal Network):

	<u>Patrilateral</u>		<u>Matrilateral</u>	
	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>
Rural Ice.	53%	38%	47%	62%
Urban Ice.	0%	11%	0%	89%
Jews	<u>72%</u>	<u>65%</u>	<u>28%</u>	<u>35%</u>
Total	63%	34%	37%	66%

Table XIV. Religion and Ethnicity Not Stressed (Holiday Network):

	<u>Patrilateral</u>		<u>Matrilateral</u>	
	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>Religion</u>	<u>Ethnicity</u>
Rural Ice.	0%	24%	100%	76%
Urban Ice.	0%	42%	0%	57%
Jews	<u>90%</u>	<u>70%</u>	<u>10%</u>	<u>30%</u>
Total	82%	41%	18%	59%

in which ethnic identity is not stressed as important. The data in the above tables does not account for which parent is the important individual in the religious and ethnic training of the children.

The presence of the bias in the kinship system can have great consequences for theories concerning the family. This is particularly evident in the socialization of the child. We have assumed that the child is subject to basically equal influences from both sides of the family. However, if we may correlate the amount of interaction with the degree of socialization pressures exerted upon the child, we can see that this may not be an accurate representation. As

there is a greater amount of time spent with the child's matrilateral relatives, regardless of sex, we can assume that the child is subject to greater socialization from his matrilateral kinsmen.

The relative importance of the families in the socialization process is affected by the sex-role division and the degree of continuity in the male role. We have seen that in the families in which the mother is involved in instrumental activities, (gainfully employed), there is more interaction with the matrilateral relatives. If we are correct in our assumption regarding the relationship between the amount of interaction and socialization, then we can see that in these families, the socialization pressures from the matrilateral kinsmen will be greater than in the families in which the mother does not work. With this in mind, we gain insight into the families in which the mother is absent from the home environment due to outside employment. In such instances, the child as a result of constant exposure to his matrilateral kin, becomes socialized more by his matrilateral kin than by his patrilateral.

We find that the opposite is true in those families in which the father is involved in expressive activities or when there is a family business enterprise. In the case of families we have speculated that the families may develop a corporateness such as is seen in unilineal kinship systems. The corporateness is, of course, not of the same degree as in

unilineal systems, in fact the matrilateral bias is still present, although only slightly. The smaller size of the matrilateral bias in the corporate families indicates that there are counteracting forces acting on the asymmetry. The fact that the bias is still present in these conditions indicates that the gynocentricity is a more important variable than is the sex-role behavior or the continuity in the instrumental activities.

Another important implication of the asymmetry in kinship structure is the attainment of statuses. Parsons has stated that an important aspect of the isolated nuclear family in industrial society is that it precludes the ascribing of statuses (1949). If there were ascription of status in an industrial society, the efficiency of the society would be hindered. Parsons views this as one of the reasons for the development of the bilateral system in the United States. Although we have no data on this subject, the results of our hypothesis testing and the network analysis lead us to question the non-ascription of statuses. In both the corporate and strongly biased families, we can see that there is a strong possibility for the ascription of statuses. Within the extended family, the child's status is dependent upon the status which his parents maintain in the extended family unit. The children of the leaders of the family group will be given a higher status in the family than the children of parents who are not in a high position

in the family hierarchy. One would also expect that in the corporate families the males would have a higher status than the females, while in the families in which there is a strong bias, the reverse would be true. Within the society, the child has an ascribed status which is related to the status of the extended family, i.e., the matrilineal extended family.

Summary:

This thesis has examined the kinship system in three groups, a rural Icelandic, a Jewish, and an urban Icelandic, and found that the structure exhibits a matrilineal bias. The bias is inherent in the system due to the presence of the phenomena of gynocentricity among the females in the sample.

The matrilineal bias is present in varying degrees of strength, relative to the cultural background of the family, the sex-role division of the family heads, the presence or absence of continuity in the male role, and the importance of religion and ethnicity.

The data has shown that as the family head performs the roles which are traditionally associated with the opposite sexed head, the interaction becomes skewed towards that head's relatives. However, in no instance was the influence strong enough to produce a patrilineal orientation.

An examination of the extended kinship networks of the families has shown that the family in industrial society is not an isolated unit, but, in fact, interacts with a considerable degree of frequency and regularity with its extended kinsmen. We see, however, that the kinsmen with whom the greatest amount of interaction occurs are the matrilineal kinsmen, particularly those from the same generation as the heads of the nuclear family units.

The interaction varies from occasion to occasion, and from the data it appears that the events which function to bring the family together are Christmas, New Year's Day, Thanksgiving, and Easter for the Icelanders and Hanukah, Passover, and Rosh Hashanah for the Jewish families. One aspect that these events share is that a family dinner is held in each. From the fieldnotes, it also appears that a considerable amount of informal activities also coincide with gastronomical activities, leading us to wonder at the importance of this activity in the maintenance of family ties.

The data has also shown that the women play a larger role in the maintenance of the family ties through time. In her interaction with relatives, both in face-to-face situations and through letter writing and telephoning the female functions as the connecting relative, maintaining both the family ties and lines of communication.

The comparison of the results from the three groups has shown that the cultural backgrounds of groups is important in the structure of their kinship system. The Jews have the weakest matrilinear bias of the three groups. This is easily understood when we remember that they have the strongest patriarchal tradition of the three groups. The rural Icelanders have the strongest bias. If we refer to the chapter on the history of the Icelanders in Iceland we see that the family was basically an equalitarian family due to the importance of the wife in the household economy. The rural group has closely maintained this pattern of living, particularly among the families in which the men fished or farmed. Among the urban Icelanders the bias exhibited is not as strong among the rural group, but is quite substantial. The urban environment, with its many ethnic groups, has produced a greater acculturation on these people.

The implications of the matrilinear bias on the various theories and assumptions about the industrial family are many. Although it is not intended to examine all the implications, several warrant comment. In the socialization process, in addition to the matrilinear relatives exerting a greater influence on the child than has previously been suggested, we can see that the matrilinear orientation is perpetuated through the socialization of the child into norms and ideals of a matrilinear

orientation in the kinship system. We also find that if the matrilineal relatives do play an important role in the socialization of the child, the norms, ideals, and values held by them will be internalized by the child, rather than those held by his patrilineal relatives.

Farber (1966) has presented evidence that greater interaction with one side of the family results in a power differential for the parent from the family with whom the greater interaction occurs. He also presents evidence that this correlates with mental disorders in children.

Thus we have examined three kinship systems in Canadian society and the data has shown that the structure differs from the theoretical models. Although the sample was small and unrepresentative of the entire Canadian society, we have presented data that leads us to question the traditional model of the industrial family, the sex-role division of the family heads, and the manner in which the division affects the structure of the family. In order to fully comprehend the implications of the matrilineal bias present in the kinship structure of industrial societies, it is necessary to conduct an intensive examination of all segments and strata of Canadian society, with particular emphasis on the factors which underlie this asymmetry.



APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Part I ... Background Information

1. Family name \_\_\_\_\_, family no. \_\_\_\_\_
2. Married yes      no
3. Years married \_\_\_\_\_

4. Number of children

	Male	Female
0-5		
6-10		
11-15		
16-20		
21-25		
26-30		
31-35		
36-40		
40-		

Part II ... Male Interview Sheet (All kin referred to by #)

(NOTE: Only the starred questions were asked of the female informant re: her spouse.)

A. Kinship

1. Which of your relatives do you most enjoy seeing?  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. Which of your relatives do you most see out of obligation?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. Which of your relatives would you rather not be with?  
\_\_\_\_\_

4. How many relatives do you talk over problems or seek advise from? \_\_\_\_\_, which ones? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. Do you consider any of your relatives to be more like friends rather than as relatives? \_\_\_\_\_.  
Which ones? \_\_\_\_\_

## B. Economic

- \* 1. What is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_
- \* 2. What is/was your father's occupation? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do you approve of women working for wages outside the home? \_\_\_\_\_, if so, under what conditions, if any \_\_\_\_\_.
- \* 4. In your normal work dealings, are there any relatives associated with you? \_\_\_\_\_, if so, which ones are they? \_\_\_\_\_
5. In the handling of the family finances, budget, etc., do you consult your wife or handle it by yourself? \_\_\_\_\_. If he consults his wife, to what degree does she participate? \_\_\_\_\_
- \* 6. Have you ever lent money to a family member? \_\_\_\_\_, which one(s)? \_\_\_\_\_
- \* 7. Have you borrowed money from a relative? \_\_\_\_\_, which one(s)? \_\_\_\_\_

## C. Religion

- \* 1. What religious denomination are you? \_\_\_\_\_
- \* 2. What denomination were/are your parents?  
mother \_\_\_\_\_  
father \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do any other relatives belong to the same church? \_\_\_\_\_, which ones? \_\_\_\_\_
4. Was religion important in the home in which you were brought up? \_\_\_\_\_ (a scale from very important to moderately to not important).

5. Was your father or your mother the major factor in your religious training? \_\_\_\_\_
- \* 6. Do you consider religion to be important? \_\_\_\_\_
- \* 7. Do you attend church with your family? \_\_\_\_\_
8. Who would consider to be the more important influence as to the religious training of your children, you or your wife? \_\_\_\_\_

#### D. Ethnic Affiliation

- \* 1. Ethnic affiliation? \_\_\_\_\_
- \* 2. Where were you born? \_\_\_\_\_
- \* 3. What nationality was your father? \_\_\_\_\_, mother \_\_\_\_\_?
- \* 4. Using yourself as generation 1, and your parents as generation 2, how many generations has your family been in Canada? \_\_\_\_\_
5. In the family in which you were brought up was your ethnic identity stressed as something positive? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Was it your father or your mother who were important in this respect? \_\_\_\_\_
7. Who is important in instilling a respect for your ethnic group in your children, you or your wife? \_\_\_\_\_
- \* 8. Have you ever been to Iceland? \_\_\_\_\_, if not, would you like to go? \_\_\_\_\_

### Part III ... Female Interview

#### A. Kinship

1. Which of your relatives do you most enjoy seeing?  
\_\_\_\_\_

2. Which of your relatives do you most see out of obligation? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Which of your relatives would you rather not be with?  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. How many relatives do you talk over problems or seek advice from? \_\_\_\_\_, which ones? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. Do you consider any of your relatives to be more like friends rather than as relatives? \_\_\_\_\_  
Which ones? \_\_\_\_\_

#### B. Economic

1. Father's occupation \_\_\_\_\_
2. Mother's occupation \_\_\_\_\_
3. What is your occupation? \_\_\_\_\_
4. If the woman does not work, under what conditions, if any would she approve of women working outside the home for wages? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Do you have a hand in the handling of the family budget, finances, etc.? \_\_\_\_\_

#### C. Religion

1. What religious denomination are you? \_\_\_\_\_
2. What religious denomination were/are your parents?  
Mother \_\_\_\_\_  
Father \_\_\_\_\_
3. Do any other relatives belong to the same church?  
Which ones? \_\_\_\_\_
4. Was religion important in the home in which you were raised? \_\_\_\_\_ (a scale from very important to moderately to not important).

5. Was your father or mother the major factor in your religious training? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Do you consider religion to be important? \_\_\_\_\_
7. Do you attend church with your family? \_\_\_\_\_
8. Who do you consider to be the more important influence as to the religious training of your children, you or your husband? \_\_\_\_\_

#### D. Ethnic Affiliation

1. Ethnic affiliation \_\_\_\_\_
2. Where were you born? \_\_\_\_\_
3. What nationality was your father? \_\_\_\_\_, mother \_\_\_\_\_
4. Using yourself as generation 1, and your father as generation 2, how many generations has your family been in Canada? \_\_\_\_\_
5. In the family in which you were raised, was your ethnic identity stressed as something important?  
\_\_\_\_\_
6. Was it your father or your mother who was the dominant influence in this respect? \_\_\_\_\_
7. Who is important in instilling a respect for your ethnic group in your children, you or your husband?  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. Have you ever been to Iceland? \_\_\_\_\_, if not would you like to go? \_\_\_\_\_

#### Part IV ... General Kinship Information

1. With the aid of the interviewer the informants will be asked to help construct a kinship diagram. It will be explained to the informants that the chart is similar to a family tree diagram, except the style is different. Also it will be explained to the informants that the anthropologist uses the chart to see the various ties between members of the family

at large. These ties are both the blood-ties and the friendship ties of the people in the diagram. The individuals in the diagram will be filled in using both the family name and Christian names. Later this will be transcribed into numbers so that it can be more easily coded. All the questions in this section will be answered in reference to the individuals in the chart.

2. During the past two years, (1970-1968), how far from your immediate family, (you and your children), have the various relatives indicated on the diagram lived from you? Your answer should be stated in terms of geographic location, e.g., Riverton, Gimili, Winnipeg, Iceland, etc.

PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF RELATIVES

KIN	1970	1969	1968



3. Are there any members of your immediate family who have not lived at home during the past two years? \_\_\_\_\_, if so, which ones? \_\_\_\_\_
4. During the past two years how much vacation time did your immediate family or any members of it spend with your relatives?

VACATION TIME SPENT WITH RELATIVES

Kin visited	Time spent	Kin visited	Time spent
1969		1968	



5. For the same period as in the previous question, please indicate the relatives who spent their vacation time in your home.

VACATION TIME RELATIVES SPENT IN YOUR HOME

Kin visiting	Time spent	Kin visiting	Time spent
1969		1968	

6. About how much time has your immediate family spent with any of the relatives listed on the diagram during the following holidays? Again this is for the period of the last two years.

HOLIDAY TIME SPENT WITH KIN

Holiday	Kin 1969	Kin 1968
Victoria Day		
Thanksgiving		
July 1st		
New Year's Day		
Easter		
Christmas		
Boxing Day		
Islendinga- dagurinn		

7. Which relatives does your immediate family visit on other occasions than the above? (e.g., shopping, meals, films, visiting the aged, etc.)? N.B. this is as a UNIT!

Reasons or occasions for the visit	Kin	How often seen	How long seen	How time is spent
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8. Which relatives do members of your family visit on other occasions than the above mentioned holidays. Note that this is for individual members and excludes the times mentioned in the above question which dealt with the family as a unit.

Reasons or occasions for the visit	Kin	How often seen	How long seen	How time is spent

9. Indicate how frequently each member of your immediate family corresponds with any of the kin listed in your diagram.

FREQUENCY OF CORRESPONDENCE

Member of nuclear family	Relative with whom he corresponds	Frequency (i.e., once a week, etc.)

10. Have any of the kin in your diagram lived or are now living in your home? \_\_\_\_\_, if so, please indicate them. Please be sure to include those that are now living in your home and those that were doing so at one time. \_\_\_\_\_

TABLES I-XII: WORKING MODEL

	PATRILATERAL	MATRILATERAL
	Generation number, with nuclear family heads as Generation 1	
Rural Ice.	Number of individuals	
Urban Ice.	with whom	
Jews	interaction occurs	

TABLE I: NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS WITH WHOM INFORMANTS SPENT VACATION TIME

	Patrilateral								Matrilateral							
	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-sibs	Sibs	T	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T
Rural Ice.		2	10	1		2	11	13		3	9	1		5	8	13
Urban Ice.		4	5	3		7	5	12		4	8	2		12	2	14
Jews			8			4	4	8		5	2			5	2	7
Total		6	23	4		13	20	33		12	19	3		22	12	34

TABLE II: NUMBER OF RELATIVES WHO SPENT VACATIONS IN INFORMANT'S HOUSE

	Patrilateral								Matrilateral							
	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T
Rural Ice.		1	10			1	10	11		3	12	5	1	7	14	21
Urban Ice.		6	11			6	11	17		4	18	1		15	8	23
Jews		7	13			16	4	20		9	5			13	1	14
Total		14	34			23	25	48		16	35	6	1	35	23	58

TABLE III: NUMBER OF RELATIVES WHO SPENT THANKSGIVING WITH INFORMANT'S NUCLEAR FAMILY

	Patrilateral								Matrilateral							
	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T
Rural Ice.		4	2			4	2	6		12	13			12	13	25
Urban Ice.		6	2	2		6	4	10		4	9	7		4	16	20
Jews		2				2	0	2		4				4	0	4
Total		12	4	2		12	6	18		20	22	7		20	29	49

TABLE IV: NUMBER OF RELATIVES WHO SPENT NEW YEAR'S DAY WITH INFORMANT'S NUCLEAR FAMILY

	Patrilateral								Matrilateral							
	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T
Rural Ice.		6	2			6	2	8		13	18	3		14	20	34
Urban Ice.		2	6			2	6	8		12	9			12	9	21
Jews			5			0	5	5		4	2			4	2	6
Total		8	13			8	13	21		29	29	3		30	31	61

TABLE V: NUMBER OF RELATIVES WHO SPENT EASTER AND PASSOVER WITH INFORMANT'S NUCLEAR FAMILY

	Patrilateral							Matrilateral								
	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T
Rural Ice.		2	2			2	2	4		5	8	3		5	11	16
Urban Ice.		1				1	0	1		10	6	4		10	10	20
Jews		14	26	15		14	41	55		34	12			34	12	46
Total		17	28	15		17	43	60		49	26	7		49	33	82

TABLE VI: NUMBER OF RELATIVES WHO SPENT CHRISTMAS AND HANUKAH WITH INFORMANT'S NUCLEAR FAMILY

	Patrilateral							Matrilateral								
	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T
Rural Ice.		6	3			6	3	9		19	40	3		19	43	62
Urban Ice.		4	10	8		4	18	22		8	38	28		10	64	74
Jews		6	20	15		6	35	41		34	33	12		44	35	79
Total		16	33	23		16	56	72		61	111	43		73	142	215

TABLE VII: NUMBER OF RELATIVES WHO SPENT BOXING DAY AND ROSH HASHONA WITH INFORMANT'S NUCLEAR FAMILY

	Patrilateral							Matrilateral								
	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T
Rural Ice.		2	5			2	5	7			4			0	4	4
Urban Ice.						0	0	0						0	0	0
Jews		9	22	15		9	37	46	2	25	11			31	7	38
Total		11	27	15		11	42	53	2	25	15			31	11	42

TABLE VIII: NUMBER OF RELATIVES WHO SPENT ISLENDINGADAGURINN AND YOM KIPPUR (SEATING ARRANGEMENTS IN SYNAGOGUE) WITH INFORMANT'S NUCLEAR FAMILY

	Patrilateral							Matrilateral								
	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T
Rural Ice.		4				4	0	4		2	3			2	3	5
Urban Ice.		1	16			1	16	17		4	54			34	24	58
Jews		12	22	15		19	30	49		14	8			14	8	22
Total		17	38	15		24	46	70		20	65			50	35	85



TABLE IX: NUMBER OF RELATIVES WHO SPENT JULY 1st (CONFEDERATION DAY) WITH INFORMANT'S NUCLEAR FAMILY

	Patrilateral								Matrilateral							
	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T
Rural Ice.						0	0	0		2	2			2	2	4
Urban Ice.			4			0	4	4		2	14			2	14	16
Jews		2	2			2	2	4	1	8	2			9	2	11
Total		2	6			2	6	8	1	12	18			13	18	31

TABLE X: NUMBER OF RELATIVES WHO SPENT VICTORIA DAY WITH INFORMANT'S NUCLEAR FAMILY

	Patrilateral								Matrilateral							
	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T
Rural Ice.		2				2	0	2		2				2	0	2
Urban Ice.						0	0	0						0	0	0
Jews						0	0	0						0	0	0
Total		2				2	0	2		2				2	0	2

TABLE XI: TOTAL HOLIDAY NETWORK

	Patrilateral								Matrilateral							
	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T
Rural Ice. n=20	0	29	34	1	0	29	35	64	0	61	109	14	1	69	117	186
Urban Ice.	0	24	54	13	0	42	49	91	0	48	156	52	0	99	147	246
Jews	0	52	118	60	0	82	148	230	3	137	75	12	0	158	69	227
Total	0	105	206	74	0	153	232	385	3	246	340	78	1	326	333	659

TABLE XII: INFORMAL NETWORK (DAY-TO-DAY VISITS)

	Patrilateral								Matrilateral							
	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs.	Sibs	T	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T
Rural Ice.	0	703	634	52	0	717	672	1389	31	1089	943	8	0	1156	924	2080
Urban Ice.	0	138	155	0	0	208	85	293	0	538	793	0	0	811	520	1331
Jews	6	424	382	36	1	482	366	848	104	771	550	0	0	883	542	1425
Total	6	1256	1171	88	0	1407	1123	2530	135	2407	2286	8	0	2850	1986	4836

TABLE XIII: TOTAL NUMBER OF KIN AVAILABLE WITHIN 30 MILE RADIUS

	Patrilateral							Matrilateral								
	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T	3	2	1	-1	-2	Non-Sibs	Sibs	T
Rural Ice.	7	145	315	393	44	699	305	904	4	126	272	364	103	659	210	869
Urban Ice.	0	13	43	44	3	54	49	103	0	36	68	73	8	140	45	185
Jew	1	57	131	112	5	230	76	306	3	43	70	67	0	136	47	183
Total	8	215	489	549	52	983	330	1313	7	205	410	504	111	935	302	1237

APPENDIX III

TABLE I: INFORMAL NETWORK (DAY TO DAY VISITS)

	<u>Patrilateral</u> <u>(%age of total kin)</u>	<u>Matrilateral</u> <u>(%age of total kin)</u>	<u>No. of kin</u> <u>interacted</u> <u>with</u>
Rural Ice.	40%	60%	3469
Urban Ice.	18%	82%	1624
Jews	37%	63%	2273
Total	<u>34%</u>	<u>66%</u>	<u>7366</u>

TABLE II: HOLIDAY NETWORK

	<u>Patrilateral</u> <u>(%age of total kin)</u>	<u>Matrilateral</u> <u>(%age of total kin)</u>	<u>No. of kin</u> <u>interacted</u> <u>with</u>
Rural Ice.	26%	74%	250
Urban Ice.	27%	73%	337
Jews	50%	50%	457
Total	<u>37%</u>	<u>63%</u>	<u>1044</u>

TABLE III: NUMBER OF RELATIVES LIVING WITH THE NUCLEAR FAMILY  
UNIT

	<u>Patrilateral</u> <u>No. of Individuals</u>	<u>Matrilateral</u> <u>No. of Individuals</u>
Rural Ice.	2	5
Urban Ice.	0	0
Jews	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
Total	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>

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