

Aging and social reproduction in Canada, 1901 & 1911

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Subject

- The elderly and social reproduction – intergenerational exchanges – less predicated on intergenerational co-residence – patterns prevail into 20th century?
- Changes 1901 – 1911:
 - % foreign-born 13% to 23%
 - % living in cities 27% to 37%
 - % heads working as farmer: 42% to 36%
- Changes in the household status of elderly women and men?
- Cross-sectional census analyses of intergenerational co-residence: an indirect view of social reproduction

Canadian Literature

- family strategies perspective, intergenerational co-operation, power of patriarch (Bouchard, Little, Gagan, Darroch & Soltow, Elliott, Bradbury)
- Bouchard (1996) : North American model of « open » family reproduction (family farm; pluri-établissement; parental concern for establishing maximum # children; family solidarity)
- Diversity (gender, age, class, race, ethno-religious identity)
- Research gap in Canada for early 20th century
- U.S.: Ruggles: across 19th & 20th: gradual residential separation of generations – diminished power of patriarchs -- alternatives for children

Canadian Literature

- Earlier research:
 1. Increasingly diverse living arrangements e.g. elderly ♀ : 1871 to 1901 % living as boarders, siblings, other relatives or employees from 5 to 16%
 2. Regional distinctions: elderly widows and married elderly men headed households in greater proportions in Ontario than in Quebec
 3. Elderly men in Ontario more likely to report occupation + retirement, whereas elderly men in Quebec reported just retirement , living on own means or no occupation → Ontario ♂ life-cycle saving (Di Matteo & George) versus Quebec men « donation »

Data & Methods

- 1901 and 1911 Censuses of Canada
- 5% nationally representative, geographically stratified, clustered on dwellings
- Exclusion of group quarters (just 2-4% of elderly)
- 1901: 13,036 persons 65+
- 1911: 16,118 persons 65+
- Descriptive statistics:
 - Characteristics of elderly women & men
 - Distribution across household statuses
 - Household statuses by province
- Multivariate analysis (logistic regression):
 - Widows/never married women: heading households
 - All men: heading households with dependent children

Hypotheses

- 10 years: overall 1901 patterns prevail
- Continued augmentation of diverse range of living arrangements among women and men alike
- Increased urbanization favouring increased proportions of elderly women heading households overall (urban contexts offering means of preserving headship through work, taking in boarders, children's wages)
- Sustained distinctions of household headship among elderly women (greater among women in Ontario)
- Declining proportions of elderly men heading households with dependent children (in particular), as children find alternative means of livelihood

Portrait of the elderly, 1901 - 1911

- Continuity; highlights
- Half elderly women, $\frac{3}{4}$ elderly men heads/spouses of head
- Increasingly native-born group (1901, 35% women 38% men foreign-born; 1911 just over a quarter)
- Only 3% had European ethnic origin other than German or British Isles (compared to 7% all Cdns)
- Increased % read & write; language other than English or French

Portrait of the elderly, 1901 - 1911

- Still predominately living in Quebec & Ontario; elderly dominating Maritimes, not Western provinces
- % urban: women from almost a quarter in 1901 to almost a third in 1911; men from about a fifth in 1901 to a quarter in 1911
- Occupation reporting seems comparable in 1901 & 1911 (difficulties harmonizing, different treatment of retirement: men 1901 56% 1911 60%)

Table 3: Percent distribution of women 65+ years among predominant marital and household statuses, Canada 1871 - 1911

	1871	1901	1911
<i>Spouse Present</i>			
Spouse of household head, children present	25	19	17
Spouse of household head, no children present	14	14	15
Parent or parent-in-law of household head		1	5
N	425	6 409	7 835

Table 3: Percent distribution of women 65+ years among
predominant marital and household statuses, Canada 1871 - 1911

	1871	1901	1911
<i>Spouse Absent</i>			
Head of household, no children present	9	8	8
Head of household, children present	10	11	10
Parent or parent-in-law of household head	37	32	27
Other (nonrelative of head, boarder/lodger, sibling other relative, employee)	5	16	18
N	425	6 409	7 835

Table 4: Percent distribution of men 65+ years

among predominant marital and household statuses, Canada 1871 - 1911

	1871	1901	1911
<i>Spouse Present</i>			
Head of household, children present	53	40	38
Head of household, no children present	13	20	23
Parent or parent-in-law of household head	4	5	6

Table 4: Percent distribution of men 65+ years

among predominant marital and household statuses, Canada 1871 - 1911

	1871	1901	1911
<i>Spouse Absent</i>			
Head of household, no children present	6	7	6
Head of household, children present	10	10	8
Parent or parent-in-law of household head	12	10	9
Other (nonrelative, boarder/lodger, sibling, employee)	4	9	10
Total	507	6 686	8 283

Table 5: Percent distribution of women 65+ years among predominant household statuses by bordering provinces, 1901, 1911 Canada

	1901									
	<i>NB</i>	<i>NS</i>	<i>PEI</i>	<i>QC</i>	<i>ON</i>	<i>MB</i>	<i>Org' Terr</i>	<i>BC</i>	<i>Unorg' Terr</i>	
Household head	14	17	17	14	23	13	10	29	50	
Parent/parent-in-law of head	41	34	31	35	30	39	31	34		
Other household status	16	18	22	17	13	11	24	13	25	
N	420	819	144	1 852	2 776	143	59	70	4	
	1911									
	<i>NB</i>	<i>NS</i>	<i>PEI</i>	<i>QC</i>	<i>ON</i>	<i>MB</i>	<i>SK</i>	<i>AB</i>	<i>BC</i>	<i>Yukon & NWT</i>
Household head, +/- children	15	17	10	14	23	15	9	13	11	20
Parent/parent-in-law of head	34	33	34	34	29	34	44	41	31	10
Other household status	18	20	25	21	15	13	13	12	17	30
N	496	919	197	2163	3368	213	159	134	176	10

Table 6: Percent distribution of men 65+ years among predominant household statuses by bordering provinces, 1901 - 1911 Canada										
	1901									
	<i>NB</i>	<i>NS</i>	<i>PEI</i>	<i>QC</i>	<i>ON</i>	<i>MB</i>	<i>Org' Terr</i>	<i>BC</i>	<i>Unorg' Terr</i>	
Married, head of hh, children	47	45	45	38	42	41	36	26	56	
Married, head of hh, no children	15	18	13	22	21	23	23	27	2	
N	482	730	155	1876	3066	162	88	124	9	
	1911									
	<i>NB</i>	<i>NS</i>	<i>PEI</i>	<i>QC</i>	<i>ON</i>	<i>MB</i>	<i>SK</i>	<i>AB</i>	<i>BC</i>	<i>Yukon & NWT</i>
Married, head of hh, children	40	44	42	34	38	38	35	35	35	33
Married, head of hh, no children	17	21	16	22	25	23	19	24	19	27
N	563	871	199	2229	3475	283	224	169	255	15

Table 6: Percent distribution of men 65+ years among predominant household statuses by bordering provinces, 1901 - 1911 Canada

	1901									
	<i>NB</i>	<i>NS</i>	<i>PEI</i>	<i>QC</i>	<i>ON</i>	<i>MB</i>	<i>Org' Terr</i>	<i>BC</i>	<i>Unorg' Terr</i>	
Parent of head	16	12	14	20	13	15	9	7	0	
Other household status	22	24	28	20	24	21	32	40	22	
N	482	730	155	1876	3066	162	88	124	9	
	1911									
	<i>NB</i>	<i>NS</i>	<i>PEI</i>	<i>QC</i>	<i>ON</i>	<i>MB</i>	<i>SK</i>	<i>AB</i>	<i>BC</i>	<i>Yukon & NWT</i>
Parent of head	16	13	14	19	14	13	21	10	10	
Other household status	27	23	28	25	23	25	25	31	36	40
N	563	871	199	2229	3475	283	224	169	255	15

Main contrasts:
widows heading households;
all men living as heads with children

Summary:

- Household headship of elderly widows/never-married women:
 - + young-old; widowed; non-white; foreign-born; born in Ontario, U.S., England, Ireland, Scotland; English-Protestant ethnicity; speaks English only; rural non-farm dweller or urban-dweller; lives in Ontario; reports occupation; no boarder or servant present
 - - never-married; living in province of birth; French-Catholic ethnicity; speaks French only; farm-dweller; lives in Quebec

Summary:

- Household headship with co-resident children of elderly men:
 - + young-old; married; born in Maritimes or Ontario; anglo-Protestant or Irish-Catholic; living in the Maritimes; employer or farmer
 - - old-old; widowed; born in Quebec; French-Catholic; living in the West or Quebec; no occupation given; boarders or servants present
 - Effects erase regional differentiations?

Endogeneity?

- Rural-farm status and widowhood
- Co-residence with children in the model for widows? (cannot measure # of children ever born)
- Occupation and headship (men: cessation of work signals transmission of headship; women: work signals poverty/isolation & residence apart from children – direction of causation?)

Table 8: Logistic regression on the probability of heading a household by select characteristics, women aged 65+ years, Canada, 1901, 1911

	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>Sig</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>Sig</i>
Province of residence				
Prince Edward Island	0,442	0	0,759	0,403
Nova Scotia	0,589	0	0,948	0,783
New Brunswick	0,512	0	0,94	0,764
Quebec	0,504	0	0,7	0,004
Ontario	1		1	
Manitoba	0,601	0,003	0,617	0,017
Territories in 1901	0,515	0,104	0,307	0,025
Saskatchewan in 1911	0,318	0	0,414	0,01
Alberta in 1911	0,509	0,013	0,548	0,057
British Columbia	0,657	0,028	0,452	0
Yukon & Northwest territories in 1911	1,074	0,938	0,378	0,444

Table 8: Logistic regression on the probability of heading a household
by select characteristics, women aged 65+ years, Canada, 1901, 1911

	<i>Exp(B)</i>	<i>Sig</i>
Religion & Ethnicity #3		
English-Protestant	1,554	0,026
Scottish-Protestant	1,782	0,005
Irish Protestant	1,331	0,17
Irish Catholic	1,507	0,056
German	1,513	0,075
Other	1,611	0,014
French Catholic	1	
Rural-Urban Status #1		
Living in city 3,000+ persons	7,109	0
Rural nonfarm	10,981	0
Rural farm	1	
Occupation listed #2		
Occupation listed on census	9,253	0
No occupation listed on census	1	
No servant present	1	

Table 8: Logistic regression on the probability of heading a household by select characteristics, women aged 65+ years, Canada, 1901, 1911

	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>Sig</i>
Province of residence #5		
Quebec	0,7	0,004
Ontario	1	
Manitoba	0,617	0,017
Saskatchewan in 1911	0,414	0,01
Alberta in 1911	0,548	0,057
British Columbia	0,452	0
Yukon & Northwest territories in 1911	0,378	0,444
Age #6		
65-69	1	
70-74	0,789	0,001
75-80	0,68	0
80+	0,42	0
Marital Status #4		
Never Married	0,311	0
Widowed, divorced, separated	1	

Table 8: Logistic regression on the probability of heading a household by select characteristics, women aged 65+ years, Canada, 1901, 1911

	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>Sig</i>
Birthplace #7		
Quebec	1,573	0,003
Other Europe	0,655	0,044
Ontario	1	
Literacy #11		
Illiterate or can read but not write	0,744	0
Literate (reads and writes)	1	
Language spoken #10		
Speaks French only	0,545	0,003
Speaks English and French	0,657	0,017
Speaks English only	1	
Household Contains Boarders #9		
Boarder(s) present	0,474	0
No boarder present	1	
Household Contains Servants #8		
Servant(s) present	0,439	0
No servant present	1	

Table 9: Logistic regression on the probability of heading a household with dependent children

by select characteristics, men aged 65+ years, Canada, 1901, 1911

	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>Sig</i>	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>Sig</i>
Census year				
1901	1,167	0		
1911	1			
Province of residence				
British Columbia	0,636	0	0,749	0,03
Manitoba	0,925	0,427	0,877	0,251
New Brunswick	1,151	0,035	1,041	0,769
Nova Scotia	1,197	0,001	1,039	0,785
Prince Edward Island	1,548	0	1,217	0,357
Quebec	0,803	0	0,921	0,322
Territories in 1901	0,919	0,68	1,008	0,974
Saskatchewan in 1911	0,711	0,015	0,598	0,001
Alberta in 1911	0,713	0,035	0,665	0,029
Yukon & Northwest territories in 1911	0,57	0,306	0,646	0,555
Ontario	1		1	

**Table 9: Logistic regression on the probability of heading a household with dependent children
by select characteristics, men aged 65+ years, Canada, 1901, 1911**

	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>Sig</i>
Marital Status #1		
Never Married	0,025	0
Widowed, divorced, separated	0,549	0
Married, spouse present	1	
Birthplace #2		
West (MB, SK, AB, BC, NWT)	1,971	0,002
United States	0,737	0,039
Scotland	1,342	0,003
Ontario	1	
Occupation/Class #3		
Employer only	0,669	0,049
Employee only	0,46	0
Other own account	0,551	0
Other occupation / status	0,419	0
No occupation listed on census	0,225	0
Farmer	1	

**Table 9: Logistic regression on the probability of heading a household with dependent children
by select characteristics, men aged 65+ years, Canada, 1901, 1911**

	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>Sig</i>
Age #6		
65-69	1	
70-74	0,702	0
75-80	0,52	0
80+	0,435	0
Religion & Ethnicity #5		
English-Protestant	0,95	0,555
Scottish-Protestant	1,181	0,081
Irish Protestant	1,208	0,049
Irish Catholic	1,609	0
German	0,715	0,003
Other	1,104	0,263
French Catholic	1	
Rural-Urban Status #4		
Living in city 3,000+ persons	1,707	0
Rural	1	

Table 9: Logistic regression on the probability of heading a household with dependent children

by select characteristics, men aged 65+ years, Canada, 1901, 1911

	<i>Exp (B)</i>	<i>Sig</i>
Province of residence #8		
British Columbia	0,749	0,03
Saskatchewan in 1911	0,598	0,001
Alberta in 1911	0,665	0,029
Ontario	1	
Literacy #10		
Illiterate or can read but not write	0,836	0,001
Literate (reads and writes)	1	
Household Contains Boarders #7		
Boarder(s) present	0,542	0
No boarder present	1	
Household Contains Servants #9		
Servant(s) present	0,796	0,001
No servant present	1	
N	14841	

Hypotheses born out:

- ✓ Increased diversity of living arrangements
- ✓ Increased urbanization associated with household headship for widows and headship+co-residence with children for men (urban contexts, family economies prevailing)
- ✓ Regional distinctions sustained (greater headship among elderly women in Ontario; greater headship with children among elderly men in Maritimes)
- ✓ Declining proportions of elderly men heading households with dependent children
- X not increased % elderly women heading households by 1911

Complex interpretations

- Which results shed light on the elderly's role in social reproduction per se?
- Widows' headship & poverty, isolation, vulnerability (work, race)
- Male headship with children & life course (married, young-old); substitution of boarders/servants for children
- Declining proportion of elderly persons co-resident with children & declining fertility
- Reduced % men head with children in West & children's alternative opportunities

But...

- Consistent ethno-religious differences:
 - widows' household headship higher in Ontario / English Protestant
 - Men's headship with co-resident children higher in Ontario / Irish ethnicity
- Suggests: important ethno-religious differences in social reproductive strategies of different ethno-religious & provincial groups (e.g. timing of marriage and timing/extent of transmission of property to next generation)

