

A REGIONAL STUDY OF SOCIAL WELFARE MEASUREMENTS

(No. 2: The Fraser Valley)

An exploration of the regional assessment
of demographic and social welfare statistics
for British Columbia, 1951-1961

by

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and

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Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK
in the School of Social Work

Accepted as conforming to the standard
required for the degree of
Master of Social Work

School of Social Work

1963

The University of British Columbia

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ABSTRACT

"Regions" and regional development are accepted in British Columbia but there is no co-ordination of the regional boundaries for education, health, welfare, census enumeration, and technical survey districts. The available basic social and welfare data for some regions (in this instance, the Fraser Valley) have been compiled to indicate what these data will reveal about a region, as well as to indicate where there are gaps and discrepancies.

Census materials for the years 1951 and 1961 are the main types of social data, supplemented by some compilations of the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board because of its special relevance to this region. The monthly reports of the Provincial Department of Social Welfare, dealing with six main areas of social welfare service, are the source of the welfare data, and these are analyzed over a ten-year period. The Department of Social Welfare's regional boundary was accepted in this study as the official regional boundary for the Fraser Valley: Welfare Region VI. Where the census material available did not coincide with this regional boundary, appropriate adjustments were made.

An examination of the social data shows clearly that this is an area undergoing rapid expansion, particularly in terms of urbanization and population increase. Forecasts indicate this will continue. The region itself now contains an urban portion, a portion in transition from rural to urban, and a rural portion. The area has examples of "urban sprawl" and the results of little physical or social planning. The welfare data indicate markedly higher rates of increase than the population increase. Examined together, both sets of data bring problems to light and suggest new areas for investigation. If homogeneity rather than availability of transportation or administrative convenience should be the objective of regional division, there are strong grounds for relating Surrey municipality to Greater Vancouver, which it is becoming increasingly a part, rather than to the agricultural domain of the Valley.

The welfare data is currently measured primarily on the basis of numbers of "cases". Measurement by the number of persons and families served, analyzed along with the special characteristics of each, i.e., age, sex, education, employment history, family structure, and so on, would be more productive for planning, administration, and public information. Also, if these facts were available, they could be related directly to the social data to show which segments of the total population are using welfare services. A review of the present deployment of staff time seems to be indicated, raising the question of "maintenance" service versus a "rehabilitation" focus, and the important question of differentiation of types of cases, and, perhaps, of

social work personnel.

This is a beginning study of only one region. For clarification of the issues raised, and to determine the special as well as the common characteristics of this region, other regional analyses are needed, but these should become progressively easier.

We wish to acknowledge our indebtedness to Dr. L. C. Marsh for his direction and encouragement; to Miss Vivian Harbord who shared many of her ideas as well as much information; to the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board who gave us of their time and materials; and to the Department of Social Welfare who gave us access to their monthly reports which comprise the basis of our welfare data. The co-operation and interest of all these persons made the thesis possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Abstract	ii
Acknowledgement	iv
Tables and Charts	vi
Chapter 1. <u>The Case for Regional Measurement</u>	
Regional measurement. Selection of a study region. The Fraser Valley as a region: its sub-areas. Geographical and descriptive features. Scope, method, and limitations of the analysis.	1
Chapter 2. <u>Who Lives in the Region?</u>	
General population pattern. Density of residential patterns. Rural-urban distribution. Family elements. Ethnic origins. Economic status profile.	20
Chapter 3. <u>Social Welfare Caseloads</u>	
Jurisdiction of the Department of Social Welfare. The locations of the total caseload. The make-up of the welfare caseloads. Changes in the incidence of welfare caseload.	53
Chapter 4. <u>Implications of Regional Measurements</u>	
Social and economic changes in the region. Present caseloads and services. Regional boundaries. Measurement of cases and services. Social planning and statistical development. The case for further studies.	75
Appendices:	
A. Auxiliary Statistical Tables	91
B. Bibliography	96

TABLES AND CHARTS IN THE TEXT

(a) Tables

<u>Table No.</u>		<u>Page</u>
I.	Fraser Valley and Related Areas, 1941-1961	21a
II.	Fraser Valley: Population of Component Areas, 1951-1961	23a
III.	Area and Density of Population	31a
IV.	The Rural-Urban Pattern	33a
V.	Ratio of Males to 100 Females, 1951-1961	37a
VI.	Population of Key Age Groups	38a
VII.	Age Groups by Municipality for Region <u>6</u> , 1951	38b
VIII.	Distribution of Children in Families, by Age Groups in 1951	39a
IX.	Marital Status, for Region 6, 1951-1961	41a
X.	Ethnic Origins of the Population, 1951-1961	42a
XI(a).	Occupational Distribution of Working Force, 1961	46a
XI(b).	Occupational Distribution of Residents, 1951	47a
XI(c).	Occupational Distribution of Residents, 1951	49a
XI(d).	Occupational Distribution of Residents, 1961	49b
XII.	Fraser Valley Population & Caseload Comparisons, 1951-1961	57b
XIII(a).	Distribution of Caseloads by Major Categories, a. Absolute Numbers	61a
XIII(b).	Distribution of Caseloads by Major Categories, b. Proportionate	61b
XIV.	Estimated Number of Persons Served, by Major Categories of Service, for alternate years 1951 - 1961	62a

<u>Table No.</u>		<u>Page</u>
XV.	Numerical & Percentage Increase Comparison of Major Categories for Region 6	66a
XVI.	Distribution of Caseloads Within the Region, 1951-1961. a. Total Caseload b. Cases Excluding Pensions	69a
XVII.	Percentage Increase of Cases and Workers for Region 6, 1951 - 1961	77a
XVIII.	Number of Workers and Average Caseloads in Main Sub-Districts, 1951-1961	77b
XIX.	Population by Age Groups for Region and Component Municipalities over 10,000, 1951-1961	92
XX.	Proportionate Distribution of Caseloads by Category, for Surrey District Office	93
XXI.	Proportionate Distribution of Caseloads by Category, for Chilliwack District Office	93
XXII.	Proportionate Distribution of Caseloads by Category, for Abbotsford District Office	94
XXIII.	Proportionate Distribution of Caseloads by Category, for Haney District Office	94
XXIV.	Proportionate Distribution of Caseloads by Category, for Langley District Office	95
XXV.	Proportionate Distribution of Caseloads by Category, for White Rock District Office	95
<u>(b) Charts</u>		
Fig. 1	Population Distribution, 1961, Lower Mainland Region of B. C.	10a
Fig. 2	Component Areas, Region VI and Census Metropolitan Vancouver	11a
<u>Schedule</u>		
A.	Location of Department of Social Welfare Offices, Region 6, 1951 and 1961	57a

CHAPTER I

The Case for Regional Measurement

It is no longer a debatable contention that today's world is involved in an unprecedented rate of change. Only a comparatively few persons living in this era have escaped direct contact with the great social, political, economic and technological upheavals of our time; and these upheavals have usually caused some form of alteration in their life-style, even if only in the things they see, read about, and discuss among themselves. It is not likely that any who have so far remained untouched by the "new twentieth century" will continue to be so for long. Nor is it likely that rates of change will subside anywhere where there is a population given to communication with other populations.

If the optimum development of resources, including human resources, is accepted as a major value in society, then it is not enough to be "aware" that change is going on within the community. There must be public information about this change, and critical examination of it, to determine its directions and its implications. This is necessary if changes are to be used to advantage, if they are to be directed and if people are to be prepared for the future, and for reasonable and democratic efforts at controlling it. All of this implies planning.

Traditionally, in Canada, welfare programs have been organized after a need has been "felt". Programs have been devised to deal with "problems" - or even crises - as they have arisen, one by one. In spite of a long history of conferences and reports, there have not been many comprehensive plans - certainly not to the extent that national road systems have been planned, to say nothing of armed defense. Yet, however, welfare is one of the community's biggest issues - socially and economically. In terms of money spent and citizens affected, the impact is widespread.

Social planning, in the broad sense, applied to the better organization of human resources as well as natural resources, industry, and urban growth, has not won much allegiance as yet in Canada. As an area of practical government activity it is still a recent, and somewhat debatable, enterprise for two reasons. First, there has been too much improvization and extemporization. Secondly, the links between broad welfare services and overall social organization are not widely understood. For social welfare services, the situation is even more complicated. Yet a fund of important material is available to improve our knowledge and understanding; to give some indication of incidence - where the problems are -; of cause and effect - or, at least, correlation and association -; of the kind of work social welfare personnel are doing, and of directional trends. The Dominion Bureau of

Statistics Census supplies increasingly comprehensive social statistics gathered from its nationwide population survey conducted at ten year intervals. The British Columbia Department of Social Welfare reports compile, monthly, a great deal of information on their overall operations, and this has been much improved and expanded since a revision undertaken in 1956. If these two can be examined and related within a given geographical area, a profile of the "welfare universe" and the paths it has embarked upon, may be illustrated.

This is no longer a new idea for British Columbia. In an exploratory study of the subject in 1960 entitled, Measuring the Incidence of Welfare Problems, W. J. Koch set forward three possible results from analysis of this kind of material. Statistical resources, he suggested,

"... are needed (a) as aids in the definition of welfare problems, (b) to determine the nature and distribution of welfare needs, and (c) for evaluating the appropriateness and effectiveness of existing welfare service and planning in the development of new services."¹

A year later, a similar view was voiced by Michael Wheeler in A Report on Needed Research in Welfare in British Columbia, adding a fourth possible objective:

"...(d) to add to the knowledge needed for sound

1 W. J. Koch, Measuring the Incidence of Welfare Problems, Master of Social Work Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1960, vi.

formulation of social policy."²

Statistical Resources

Two major statistical resources readily available for planning purposes are the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and the Department of Social Welfare. However, in using the available statistical material, a major difficulty must be overcome if an examination of something more refined than the entire province is to be undertaken. For the compilation of Census material, the province of British Columbia, like all the other provinces, is broken up into Census Divisions. There are no fixed political divisions within the western provinces similar to the eastern counties so arbitrary Census Divisions "were established for the presentation of statistical data for permanent areas smaller than a province. These were designed to permit future subdivision where necessitated by population increases, without destroying comparability of information collected in earlier census."³ The Department of

2 Michael Wheeler, A Report on Needed Research in Welfare in British Columbia, Community Chest and Councils of the Greater Vancouver Area, Vancouver, 1961, p.56. Emphasis added.

3 In Ninth Census of Canada, 1951, Volume 1, p. XIV. The boundaries for census divisions and subdivisions are set by the Federal Census authorities after consultation with appropriate Provincial government representatives. At the same time most Provincial government departments designate separate regional boundaries for their own use. In spite of efforts to co-ordinate these, no single set of boundaries is yet established, rendering much valuable statistical data, inaccessible.

Social Welfare has utilized its own set of administrative regions but rarely in British Columbia do these coincide with census boundaries.

Prior to 1943 there were three administrations and field staffs serving the welfare needs of the people of the total province. These were the Welfare Branch, the Old Age Pension Board and the Unemployment Relief Branch. On March 1, 1943, in order to eliminate duplication of field services and to facilitate administration, the three separate units were amalgamated into the Social Assistance Branch under the Assistant Deputy Provincial Secretary. Then decentralization of the new administration was inaugurated. At first the province was divided into five major districts with the boundaries established on the basis of accessibility of transportation. Each district was placed under a senior official designated as Regional Supervisor. The headquarters for the regions were established in the cities of Victoria (Region I), Vancouver (Region II), Kelowna (Region III, later moved to Vernon), Nelson (Region IV), and Prince George (Region V). As work loads increased beyond the point of effectiveness, two further regions were added. The southeastern tip of Region II was made Region VI in 1952 with its district office now in Abbotsford. And, in 1957, a further northern Region, Region VII was created by the transfer of two offices each (and their territories)

from Region II and Region V. Terrace was chosen as Region VII's headquarters.

Following the initial amalgamation and decentralization, in 1946, the health and welfare administrations for the province were amalgamated into the Department of Health and Welfare under the Minister of Health and Welfare. A Deputy Minister of Health and a Deputy Minister of Welfare were placed in charge of the Public Health Branch and the Social Welfare Branch, respectively. However, in 1959, the Social Welfare Branch, Department of Health and Welfare, ceased to exist when an Order in Council proclaimed the welfare services within the jurisdiction of a separate Department of Social Welfare. Although there has been major administrative re-organization at the top level, since 1943, the social welfare services have continued to be administered on the decentralized, regional basis outlined above.

In attempting to relate the social data from the Census with the statistics collected by the British Columbia Department of Social Welfare, at present some inadequacies have to be accepted because the Census Division boundaries and the Social Welfare regional boundaries do not coincide. A few adjustments are possible; and some interpretation can aid other discrepancies. These will be discussed in detail later but if this study waits until exactly coincidental boundaries are set up, the initial explorations may never get done.

Selection of a Study Region

It has seemed reasonable to make a start with two regions, quite differently located, and contrasting in general characteristics. Social Welfare Region V in northern British Columbia is being examined, simultaneously with the present study, by Vivian Harbord. Region V is a "frontier" area which presents many special problems for welfare because of its sheer size, its rural character, and the impact of recent northern economic expansion. The present study, of Social Welfare Region VI, is concerned with very different territory: The Fraser Valley is rural agrarian rather than frontier; it is now undergoing uneven change towards urbanization; it is affected by the great metropolitan area of Vancouver, yet it is not "of it"; and, whereas Region V is a huge area with a small population, Region VI is a small area with a sizeable and rapidly growing population.

The Fraser Valley as a Region

The Fraser Valley is a natural geographic unit, in the extreme southwest corner of the province's mainland. While its southern boundary is cotangent with the United States border, the actual valley continues into United States territory. The Fraser River Delta has filled out a wide bay, between the high ridges of the Coast Mountains in the north and in the south the less imposing but still sizeable mountains to the east of

Bellingham in the United States.⁴ These mountains enclose a large triangular lowland. Because of the mild, wet winds from the Pacific Ocean, which forms the third and western side of the triangle, the range of temperature over the lowlands is quite small. The productive soil plus the temperate climate have made for excellent farming in this area.

The current distribution of population in British Columbia's Lower Mainland no longer reflects the original settlement. In 1827, the Hudson's Bay Company, who had been granted monopoly rights in the Pacific Northwest by the British Crown during the previous century, built a fort and trading post at Fort Langley. However, "the first large settlement (in British Columbia) was at Fort Victoria (1842) on Vancouver Island, and it was not until 1860 that some farmers settled near Stave River on the mainland. The discovery of gold in the Fraser River near Hope about 1854 soon led to the arrival of 10,000 miners in the lower Fraser... In 1884 Van Horne of the Canadian Pacific Railway realized

⁴ In Griffith Taylor, Canada, New York, E. P. Dulton and Co., Inc., 1947, there is extensive geographical information on Southern British Columbia with some historical notes.

the advantages of Coal Harbour as a terminal port, and suggested the name of Vancouver for the new settlement at the end of the transcontinental railway."⁵ Vancouver was not important during these early events; but, soon after, through sawmilling and seaport activities, became established as the largest city, and eventually the industrial center of the province. Vancouver, and its adjacent municipalities: North Vancouver, West Vancouver, Burnaby, New Westminster, Richmond, Delta and Coquitlam; now combine to comprise one of the major urban complexes of Canada. ("Metropolitan Vancouver" is an acceptable term with several possible definitions but does not, as yet, have any corporate standing.) Although settlement of the Province began up the valley at Fort Langley and Mission since Vancouver has been established, the growth of the area has branched out from this city. Many influences from this urban complex have now spread across the Fraser and far up into the valley hinterland.

It logically follows that in the beginning the social welfare services for the entire Lower Mainland were administered from Vancouver. However, in 1952, as previously stated, because of a heavy increase in public assistance cases which hindered effective administration,

5 Ibid., P. 179

the area was divided. Metropolitan Vancouver and points north remained as Region II and the Fraser Valley from Surrey to Hope became Region VI.⁶ In the accompanying map (Figure I) the main features are shown, including the "natural" geographical boundaries of Region VI: mountains to the north, east and south (United States boundary), Delta-Surrey municipal boundaries to the west, and across the river to the northwest Metropolitan Vancouver.

The demarcation between Metropolitan Vancouver and the Fraser Valley with one qualification, is the degree of urbanization rather than legal boundaries. The units of "Metropolitan Vancouver" are recognizably urban. The Fraser Valley is primarily rural, but urbanization is increasing, moving up the valley from the west to the east. The exception to rural predominance is the Municipality of Surrey. It is significantly, the area with the greatest proximity and accessibility to Metropolitan Vancouver. Although Surrey is particularly affected to date, it is not necessarily the end of the spread. Already plans for new highways, such as the Port Mann Freeway, will further open up the region for suburban house building and commuters.

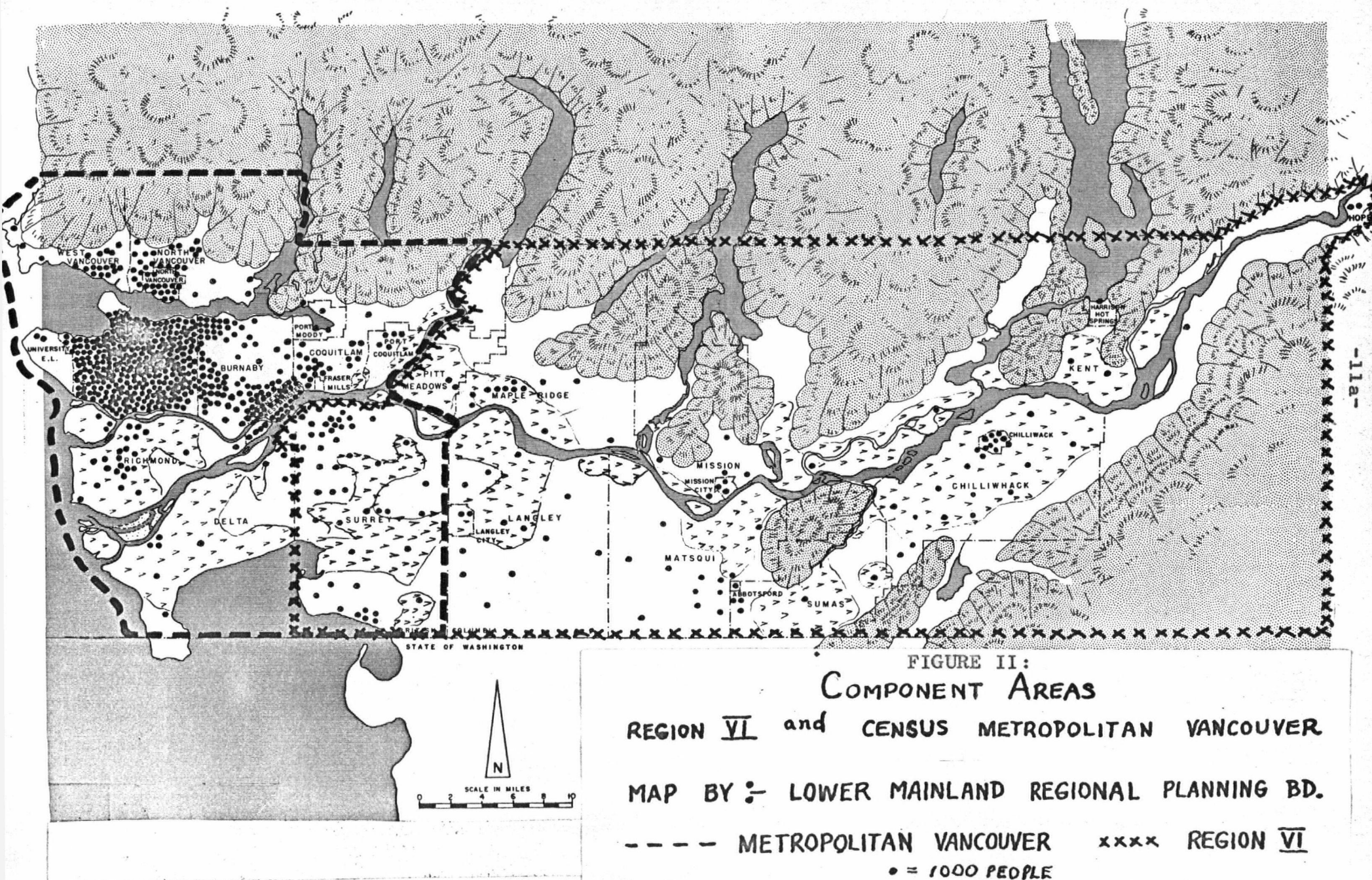
6 From this point on, "Region" capitalized, refers to Region VI.

In sum a clear reason for studying Region VI would appear to be it's constituting a basic agricultural region affected by the adjacent, evolving metropolis; and it's being an area undergoing rapid, but not uniform nor clearly understood, change.

Region VI contains approximately 1,000 square miles of the Valley floor. This area now contains a population of 188,300 distributed within nine municipalities, four incorporated cities, and three villages. Involved here are the municipalities of Surrey, Langley, Matsqui, Sumas, Chilliwack, Kent, Mission, Maple Ridge and Pitt Meadows; City of White Rock, Langley City, Chilliwack City and Mission City; and the villages of Abbotsford, Harrison and Hope. In Figure 2 they are shown with some geographical reference, and size.

As the region lies immediately adjacent to a metropolis its production of food for the city is vital. Traditionally, it has served as the "bread basket" and "milk shed" for Greater Vancouver: it supplies dairy products, poultry, and truck garden produce. It is significant that only thirty percent of it is first class agricultural soil. Much of the rest is peat bog, clay areas or timbered mountainous intrusions.

The region also offers the biggest reserve of



building land. This begs the question: reserved for what use? As British Columbia has very few suitable farming areas and as this region is ideal for agriculture, it should be set aside as a green belt.⁷ However, as Metropolitan Vancouver has expanded, its suburban fringes have been allowed to extend more and more into the Fraser Valley. "Low down payment" housing and subdivisions and piecemeal building have created a great network of "urban sprawl". This has drastically changed the character of this region, and also set a pattern which experience has shown hard to change. There is no overall development plan, although a Regional Planning Board was set up for the "Lower Mainland" area in 1950 by the Minister of Municipal Affairs under the authority of the Town Planning Act. It is one of the few Regional Planning Boards in Canada. The Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board is charged with the duty of preparing plans for the physical development of the region, but it has no compulsory powers. The membership is comprised of representatives of the municipalities and unorganized areas of the Lower Fraser Valley, plus executive and technical staff. The member municipalities and the Government of British Columbia, through the Department of Municipal Affairs, finance the operations.

7 Greenbelt is a tract of land on which urban building is not permitted.

The function of the Board is to act as a liaison between municipal, provincial and federal levels of government with regard to co-ordinated planning and to act as a consultant to individual municipalities for their own individual developmental problems. Planning is beginning to be accepted as an integral part of municipal administration e.g., for zoning, selection of school sites, parks, etc.; but its extension along metropolitan lines is still far from an accomplishment.

The Lower Mainland Region Planning Board accepts the fact that the Fraser Valley is a well defined region and has this to say about its current development:

"The quest of cheap land has led the developer further and further from the city centre leaving large tracts of undeveloped land behind him to be filled in slowly as the outer-most fringe of development spreads. Consequently total area sprawl amounts to... a hundred square miles ... So much land is involved and the overall density is so low, that in one municipality alone the sprawl area - as large as the City of Vancouver - could accommodate, in single detached houses, the growth of the whole metropolitan area for the next ten years in addition to the people already living there."⁸

⁸ Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board, The Urban Frontier, 1962, unpublished manuscript.

The Fraser Valley's historically agricultural nature and its current trends to urban expansion are now its two outstanding, and competing, characteristics. Both color the economic and social picture. At present, nowhere in the Fraser Valley does the farm population numerically predominate. The highest proportion of commercially-producing farms⁹ occur at the eastern end of the region from Langley to Chilliwack, where 41 percent of the population are farm dwellers. This decreases as one goes westward to 22 percent at the mid-zone of Haney, and in Surrey at the western end and adjacent to Metropolitan Vancouver, it is only 12 percent. Of the nine thousand farmers in Region VI, as many as 35 percent work elsewhere in addition to farming. Thus, a large part of the labour supply in the Fraser Valley has, as it were, only one foot on the farm and the other in work of other kinds.

Because of these facts, the economy of the Region presents a more complicated picture than might be expected; but the main elements are:

1. Farm labour, and food processing
2. Lumbering

⁹ The 1951 Canada Census definition of a farm: 3 or more acres or production of at least \$250.

3. Diversified light industry

4. Resident commuters

Likewise, the Region may be divided into three areas:

- (a) the Western, metropolitan-oriented, zone;
- (b) the Eastern, engaged in farming and food processing; and
- (c) the Mid-zone, in transition from farming and sawmilling to metropolitan-oriented areas.

At the western end, the Region, principally the municipality of Surrey, is characterized by metropolitan-oriented, diversified light industry. The diversified light industry which is being steadily attracted into Surrey, could have equally well have located within the Metropolitan area but chose this location because of the low cost of land, availability of large parcels and other essential facilities, including two railroads, power, gas and an accessible labour supply. In this zone, mixed with the light industry, is sawmilling, originally established to process local timber now depleted so logs must be purchased elsewhere. This complicates lumbering operations and creates an economic handicap. This is also the zone of the most concentrated "urban sprawl": from here a large proportion of workers commute to jobs in the Metropolitan centres.

The eastern half of the Region has well established

fertile farms principally in dairying, poultry and small fruits and vegetables. In connection with farming there are two established ancillary services: "seed and feed" chain stores for farming supplies, and food processing plants. Many food processing plants rely only on the local British Columbia market. There are some major plants in the area, however, which market their produce from coast to coast, providing added stability to the local economy.

As the eastern zone offers the same available facilities necessary for light industry as the western end, there will be increased pressure to convert available agricultural land to industrial uses as the outward fringes of industrial and housing developments are extended, unless planning controls are exercised to keep this within bounds. Planning for the future is particularly important in this regard because the Fraser Valley offers the only large tract of fertile agricultural land in British Columbia. Moreover, it is doubly strategic in its position adjacent to Metropolitan Vancouver, the focal point of the Province. Wise planning can counteract the many negative factors in the process of urbanization, so far considered as inevitable.

Scope and Method of the Study

While the argument for close examination of available measurements for regions is now clear, and it is equally clear that more utilization of available statistical material than is made at present is an imperative which good administration must face, it must be recognized that there are formidable limitations to what can be accomplished in these "pioneer" studies. The two regions which have been chosen to "break the path" recommend themselves on several grounds. The northern region and the Fraser Valley region are completely different in geography, location, climate, in occupational pursuits, in exploration and potentiality of settlement. Since it is sparsely populated, the northern region is simpler as a starting-point than most others would be. On the other hand, it makes demands on interpretation of statistics which cannot be met except by people who know the region and its special "ways of life". The Fraser Valley recommends itself as the most basically agricultural - a vital matter for mountainous British Columbia - and as the most geographically self-contained. But it is the closest "non-urban" region to the dynamic and highly concentrated metropolitan centre of British Columbia, Vancouver. As the chapters which follow will indicate abundantly, it is crucially affected statistically as well as economically and socially. In other words, in order to make a start on

the regional measurements for this area, a number of compromises and approximations have had to be accepted if the statistical material available is to be worked on at all.

Some of these will be indicated as they arise. But a major difficulty must be stated at the beginning. The closest census subdivision to the Fraser Valley region is "Division 4", which encompasses the Valley, but also includes the various municipalities clustering around Vancouver (to the north as well as to the east). This is a reasonable subdivision from some points of view, and the term "Lower Mainland area" is frequently used to encompass this area. Moreover, it is arguable that the "urban" and "rural" sectors of this larger area complement each other. Whether or not this is true, it is certainly clear by 1963 that the boundaries, as already pointed out above, have become merged and confused. In statistical terms, however, it would be highly desirable to maintain separate statistics for the metropolitan area which, of course, raises constant problems of definition, and for the Valley which, at least in essentials, is a rural-agricultural region. This is, in fact, recognized by the Census authorities and for certain tabulations census Division 4 is divided into Section A and Section B (the latter being metropolitan Vancouver, with certain territory to the north and east:

see map, Figure 1).¹⁰ But not all tabulations in the great range of modern census data are available for Section B alone. Recourse has had to be had, therefore, to figures for Division 4 reduced by figures for Metropolitan Vancouver whenever available. This works reasonably well, but at times is troublesome: it adds much however, to the work of compilation. Unfortunately, a further circumstance complicates this solution. The Census demarcation between metropolitan and rural was drawn at Surrey, mid-way in 1951 and inclusively in 1961. At the same time, administratively, Surrey is included in the Department of Social Welfare's Region VI and needed to be included in the study area socio-economic statistics. Further, it turned out to be statistically a very significant area.

The welfare statistics, on the other hand, are comparatively straightforward. The modifications in their collection has been due to administrative changes but these are easily coped with at least for basic figures.

The objective of the present study is to examine (a) the population structure; then, (b) the relation of the welfare pattern to it; and, then, (c) to determine if there are observations that can be made relating the population changes and the welfare changes, and possible future trends.

10 In the 1961 Census, Division 4 was divided into Subdivisions: A-Harrison Lake, B-Howe Sound, C-Vancouver, D-New Westminster, E-Chilliwack.

CHAPTER II

Who Lives in the Region?

A knowledge of the people of Region VI is essential for two rather obvious but quite different reasons. First, the nature and composition of the population will decide the specific constellation of problems that arise and the network of social services necessary. In addition, the community's particular social welfare network is, in essence, the provision of problem-solving measures, depending on how far it has recognized and committed itself to underwriting the well-being of its members. As the composition of its membership and their problems of work and life change, political, economic and social forces will influence the community's commitments to social welfare. On the other hand, it may be easier to understand what services should be developed and modified if changes can be perceived or foreseen.

An analysis of any Regional composition should begin with population statistics and other related census data regularly compiled by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Since the Census years 1951 and 1961 were chosen as base figures, it was decided to describe the makeup of the Region as it was in 1951, then to examine the changes in distribution over the ten year period. From this, a fairly contemporary

picture should emerge. However, as much of the 1961 census material is still being tabulated at the time of writing, a complete socio-economic profile is not possible. More detailed figures for census subdivisions, metropolitan Vancouver and Surrey would have been preferable. Still, there is sufficient material available to draw the general outlines.

The differences in boundaries for Region VI and Census Division 4 are indicated in Figure 2; and the problems this created in obtaining a refined figure for the study area have already been mentioned. Table I has been designed to show clearly the different working units which had to be used and the method pursued in arriving at a population unit comparable to Region VI. From this table it can be ascertained that Region VI figures for socio-economic data were obtained by starting with Division 4 census figures and subtracting from them the Census Metropolitan Vancouver figures excluding the Surrey portion. The kinds of data here presented for Region VI, have had to be limited to what could be obtained from "Census Tract" material in 1951 (ie, the subdivisions of the metropolitan area of Greater Vancouver which provided the detail for the portion of Surrey that for its purposes, the Census included in Metropolitan Vancouver figures). In 1961,

TABLE I: FRASER VALLEY AND RELATED AREAS 1941-1961

(Population in Thousands)

AREA	1941	1951	1961	P.C. Increase	
				1941-1951	1951-1961
Region VI(a)	75,300	110,900	188,300	47.4	69.7
Division 4	447,300	649,200	907,500	45.1	39.8
Census Metropolitan Vancouver	377,400	530,700	790,100	40.6	48.9
Metropolitan Vancouver (excluding Surrey)(b)	374,000	497,000	719,300	32.8	44.7
Vancouver City(c)	275,400	344,800	384,600	25.2	11.5
Surrey Municipality(c)	13,200	33,700	70,800	127.0	110.4
British Columbia	817,900	1,165,200	1,629,000	42.5	40.0

(a) Region VI, using census data is equivalent to: Division 4 less Census Metropolitan Vancouver, excluding Surrey.

(b) This figure excludes a portion of Surrey in 1941 and 1951, the whole of Surrey in 1961. See text Chapter 2.

(c) Population of Vancouver City in 1956 - 362,000; Surrey Municipality in 1956 - 48,900.

Region VI data are feasible wherever figures are obtainable for the whole of Surrey (since it was then wholly included in Census Metropolitan Vancouver).

General Population Pattern

Total populations and ten - year increases for the Fraser Valley and all the related areas, from 1941 to 1961, can give some of the most important information in the perspective. Taking 1951 as the base year, Region VI had 110,900 people, approximately one-tenth of British Columbia's total population of 1,165,200. By 1961, 188,300 people were living in Region VI, about one-fifth of the British Columbia total of 1,629,000. Clearly, there has been marked population expansion. However, the growth for Region VI is 20 per cent higher than that occurring in Metropolitan Vancouver. This illustrates a characteristic of Region VI (and the Fraser Valley as a whole): as a hinterland of a metropolis, it may experience expansion at a faster rate than in the city proper. This is most evident of all in Surrey, which increased 110 per cent. Such an increase is more than twice as much as occurred in the rest of Census Metropolitan Vancouver: a little under 50 per cent, and is still a significant rate of growth in its own right.

The population of the component areas of Region VI can now be set out in detail (Table II). This is a fundamental

table, for besides giving the overall populations of the study area in 1951 and 1961, it is possible to add a projected increase to 1971, thanks to the estimates made by the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board and kindly made available for the present study. To help as a "bench mark", the relative population growth for British Columbia and for Canada as a whole, have been included. In the ten - year span from the base year of 1951, population in Region VI has grown 69.7 per cent, as against 39.8 per cent in British Columbia and 30.1 per cent in Canada. Undeniably, the Fraser Valley is an area which has grown, in size and in rate of increase, twice as fast as the province or the nation.

To facilitate an understanding of the pattern of the area, Region VI is shown arbitrarily divided into a "Western Sector" and an "Eastern Sector"; the line coming approximately mid-way. This is not standard practice but helps in comprehending the facts. The north-south division within each "sector" is the more natural one of the Fraser River. The component areas in each sector are the municipalities, cities, and villages which make up the Region and are designated by their legal boundaries. Under the heading "Special Areas" is included some unorganized territory and Indian Reserves; a more detailed explanation of this category is presented further on in the chapter. The specific pattern of the study

TABLE II: FRASER VALLEY: Population of Component Areas
1951 - 1961 (with forecast for 1971*)

LOCATION	Population in Thousands			P.C. Increase	
	1951	1961	1971	1951-1961	1961-1971
Region 6	110,900	188,300	(---)	69.7	(---)
<u>WESTERN SECTOR</u>					
<u>North of Fraser River</u>					
Pitt Meadows	1,400	2,100	2,800	52.5	33.3
Maple Ridge	9,900	16,700	24,100	69.3	44.3
<u>South of Fraser River</u>					
Surrey	33,700	70,800	140,000	110.4	97.7
White Rock	(---)	6,400	(---)	(---)	(---)
Langley District	12,300	14,600	24,700	18.9	69.1
Langley City	(---)	2,400	4,100	(---)	70.8
Matsqui	10,300	14,200	22,100	38.6	55.6
Abbotsford Village	780	890	1,000	13.1	13.6
Sumas	4,000	5,100	6,600	28.1	29.4
<u>EASTERN SECTOR</u>					
<u>North of Fraser River</u>					
Mission District	4,500	5,300	8,400	19.2	58.5
Mission City	2,700	3,200	3,700	21.8	15.6
Harrison Village	500	500	1,100	(---)	134.0
<u>South of Fraser River</u>					
Hope	1,700	2,700	4,000	64.9	48.0
Chilliwack District	13,700	18,300	36,000	33.7	96.7
Chilliwack City	5,700	8,200	12,200	45.8	48.8
Kent	1,700	2,100	3,000	27.2	42.9
<u>SPECIAL AREAS</u>					
Unorganized Territory	6,500	12,600	(---)	93.8	(---)
Indian Reserve	1,600	2,140	(---)	33.7	(---)
British Columbia	1,165,200	1,629,000	2,316,900	39.8	42.2
Canada	14,009,400	18,238,200	22,714,500	30.1	24.5

*Projected figure based on estimates of Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board. (reproduced by permission)

area and its adjacent environs is further illustrated in Figure 2.

An examination of the Region on this basis indicates that while the Western Sector contained more than twice as many people as the Eastern Sector, by 1961 the ratio had grown to three times as many. This establishes that the Western Sector has both the largest population of the Region and the greatest expansion. Moreover, within the Western Sector it is in the Municipality of Surrey that the largest population is located: 33,700 in 1951 rising to 70,800 in 1961. Further, it has also had the most phenomenal percentage increase. It must also be considered that during the ten year span, White Rock, a part of Surrey Municipality seceded, taking 1,282 acres of inhabitable land and a population that numbered 6,400 in 1961. While this complicates the precise percentage increase for Surrey, it does not change the trend.

There can be little doubt about the reason for this trend; or about its significance. Surrey is the municipality directly adjacent to Metropolitan Vancouver and so the rapid rate of expansion is in great part, a "spill over" from Vancouver rather than industrialization of the Fraser Valley. That it is the most urbanized part of the Region has been recognized by the Census authorities, in their increasing

inclusion of it within Census Metropolitan Vancouver between 1941 and 1961. Other special circumstances around this point will be discussed later under rural-urban make-up. At the moment, the essential situation has been effectively summed up by the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board:

In any developing region there are three population sub-regions; urban, suburban and rural. Tomorrow's urban areas will extend into today's suburbs and tomorrows suburbs into today's rural areas. A comparison of birth rates indicates a higher trend in rural and suburban areas. As areas become built up, their rates of growth usually slow down, and birth rates drop off.

The Lower Mainland can be divided into three such population sub-regions. The urban area consists of Vancouver, Burnaby and New Westminster, and is ringed by the suburban areas of Richmond, Surrey, Coquitlam and the North Shore municipalities. The remaining municipalities, villages and unincorporated areas to the east make-up the rural region¹¹

11 Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board; The Lower Mainland Looks Ahead, New Westminster, 1952. (Underlining added).

While "Metropolitan Vancouver" is not yet a legal entity, its existence is beyond dispute. Today, urban development spreads over the artificial municipal boundaries with less difficulty than ever before in history. While formerly, metropolitan communities grew consistently from the inside outward at a leisurely pace, today the speed and character of the growth have been completely altered. Today, there is a mass movement of population to the suburbs due to the advent of such things as the "automobile, the car pool, the expressway, improved public transportation, the large scale assembly and development of land by private enterprise and mass production and "packaging" of housing".¹² All these, together with the fact that often, there are no restrictions on building, such as are imposed by planning, zoning or greenbelt provisions; have made it possible for people of all kinds to live in the suburbs. No longer are suburbanites of the well-to-do or problem-free segment of society, instead we find the same gradations from wealth to poverty as in the city.

Assisted by the accessories of modern living, a wide segment of the population is able to fulfil one of the moral principals of North American life: home-ownership;

¹² Canadian Association for Adult Education, Pamphlet no. 3, April, 1963, p. 5.

the acquiring of a single-family dwelling. Together, these two forces create the "raison d'etre" of the suburbs. They also color it's evolving character; its lack of any focal point, the formlessness created by masses of houses, street blocks and subdivisions that begin and end nowhere.

The common denominator of these areas, including Metropolitan Vancouver, is of course their degree of urbanization: the close relationship they hold to one another as a result of the flow of people between them to work, to home, and to social activities. There is no homogeneous degree of activity, density of building, socio-economic status, or cultural ties. It is very diverse; but the relationship does add up to a metropolitan centre. The recognition and measurement of such relationships in the regional study area, are mainly based on consultation between knowledgeable local people, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and the Lower Mainland Planning Board, etc.

Metropolitan government has more than once been urged between the affected communities but so far no action has been taken. However, a beginning can be seen in the co-operative efforts of such things as the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board's standing committee on inter-municipal and metropolitan affairs. However, regional policy-making as a necessity is slow to be accepted.

H. B. Mayo states the case clearly in a Citizens Forum pamphlet, Big City:

"An area that is economically, geographically and socially one is divided in its municipal jurisdiction. For purposes of planning, of orderly growth, of policing, of recreation, of roads and traffic, and other purposes, there ought to be unified government. Instead, government is fragmented. What the facts of life and the needs of people have joined together local government puts asunder."¹³

That metropolitan expansion has important implications for the rural hinterland is more and more apparent. As old highway facilities are streamlined and new ones built, such as the Deas Island expressway now in operation, and the Port Mann freeway now under construction, the feasible and tolerable distance from which to commute, will increase, extending the urban complex and suburban construction eastward up the Valley. This process is already under way and likely to continue. The projected population increases to 1971 suggest the same, if not a higher rate of increase, as has been experienced in the last ten years. Unless there are changes in the planning machinery, this growth may be more of a liability than an asset.

The freeway development has further significance for

13 Ibid., p. 8.

Region VI. New innovations in road design, such as cloverleafs and indirect approaches to entrances and exits, use up valuable land, much of it previously agricultural. Further, adjacent tracts tend to be fragmented and this can "sterilize" one of our most irreplaceable resources. Too often, not only in Canada but in many other countries, the negative factors in the process of urbanization have been accepted as inevitable. Many undesirable features could be eliminated with planning, that decides land uses and protects the land and the people who rely on it, through zoning and controlled development. Whether this happens in the Fraser Valley will depend on the extent to which the various municipalities are willing to accept and use regional policy-making.

There is further analytic evidence of urban expansion up the north side of the Fraser River: Maple Ridge has experienced the second largest increase in population, jumping from 9,900 in 1951 to 16,700 in 1961 (Table II). It is a fairly large municipality, over 27,000 acres in size and though the northern part is mountainous, includes one major town, Haney. With urban expansion looking for available land and with improvements in arterial highways leading into Vancouver and New Westminster, Haney has in recent years attracted residential housing developments, some secondary industry and, in 1956, the establishment of a Provincial Correctional Institution. The economy of this area received

stimulation from the location of such an institution in its midst, both at the time of its construction and currently in the staff needed for its operation. In addition, often families of the inmates, move to Haney to be near their menfolk. This group forms a small part of the total population but has significance for social welfare, as the greater percentage of them are "dependent" and tend to occasion different types of problems from those otherwise to be encountered in the average suburb; such as drug addiction, and the inevitable "floating" nature of a life attendant on the vicissitudes of a convict.

The numbers of people living in the other component areas are nearly always small, as one goes eastward into the rural sub-region, and this needs to be kept in mind when thinking in terms of percentage increases. The fact that Chilliwack and Hope at the far end of the Eastern Sector, rank next to Surrey and Maple Ridge in percentage increase (the distortions occasioned by the smallness of absolute numbers notwithstanding) would appear to indicate that the rate of population expansion is not simply a matter of "urban overflow" but also some strengthening of rural hinterland economy. Unfortunately a measurement taken only at ten year intervals does not permit the registering of ups and downs within the period, but only the overall change. Consequently, although it is recognized that there has been an economic recession and many resultant changes towards the

end of the decade, the measurement used here does not record this. However, one effect of the economic recession relevant here, has been the increase of the "commuter tolerance", the regular driving - time people are willing to expend if job situations demand it. This fact combined with the availability of low cost housing has tended to continue the rapid rate of population expansion despite the downward economic trend.

The two "special areas" (Table II) now need to be explained. There are a number of Indian Reserves and pockets of provincial Unorganized Territory, scattered throughout the Valley. As each is not listed separately in Census volumes, it is not feasible to retain their identity in all measurements. Succeeding tables will therefore include "special area" figures in the totals but not specify them.

Density of Residential Patterns

A knowledge of population patterns and their rate of growth can be further illuminated by examining their degree of concentration. Such patterns take on more meaning when reviewed in relation to the land area they occupy. Consequently, area and density are set out in Table III for all the component areas of the Region. The area figures used, refer to acres of inhabitable land as estimated by the Lower Mainland Planning Board. This estimate seems more meaningful than using actual municipal figures for total area lying within their boundaries,

TABLE III: AREA and DENSITY of POPULATION

LOCATION	*Acres of Inhabitable Land	Persons per Acre 1951	Persons per Acre 1961
Region 6	374,619	30	46
<u>WESTERN SECTOR</u>			
<u>North of Fraser River</u>			
Pitt Meadows	12,875	11	17
Maple Ridge	27,045	33	62
<u>South of Fraser River</u>			
Surrey	75,900	44	93
White Rock	1,282	(--)	503
Langley District	72,057	17	20
Langley City	2,495	(--)	95
Matsqui	54,891	19	26
Abbotsford Village	160	491	555
Sumas	30,918	13	17
<u>EASTERN SECTOR</u>			
<u>North of Fraser River</u>			
Mission District	16,275	40	33
Mission City	821	325	396
Harrison Village	1,433	34	33
<u>South of Fraser River</u>			
Hope	12,000	14	23
Chilliwack District	41,033	33	45
Chilliwack City	1,040	544	794
Kent	15,898	11	14
Vancouver City	28,160	1,225	1,365

*Area figures obtained from the Lower Mainland Regional Planning Board, and in some instances differ from municipal figures.

since their figures often include acres of water, mountains, etc.

On this basis, Region VI contains roughly 375,000 acres on which, in 1951, the 110,900 people were spread to a density of 30 persons per acre (Table III). This is a very low density when compared to the City of Vancouver, having 1,225 persons per acre in 1951. Thus the Region is still essentially rural in terms of density.

Chilliwack City, Abbotsford Village, Mission City and White Rock are areas of population concentration, although their land areas and population sizes are small. There are, however, limitations to the "town-cluster" measurement because of the circumstances involved in the designation of legal boundaries. For instance, Chilliwack City is defined as the centre for Chilliwack¹⁴ District, while Haney has no legal entity and is not identifiable, yet still accounts for the bulk of the figures for Maple Ridge.

Still the tabulation does provide an overall guide, and it is significant to note again that Surrey has the largest land area of the Region, the largest size population and the

¹⁴It is standard practice within the area to spell the town "Chilliwack" and the district "Chilliwack".

highest density, next to the major towns discussed above. Also as could be expected, the rate of population increase over the decade has more than doubled. The density, is high by Valley standards although low by metropolitan standards.

As one travels eastward up the Valley, excluding the towns, one finds the density decreases to mid-region and then picks up again in the Eastern Sector. Thus in 1951 Maple Ridge had 33 persons per acre, Langley 17, Matsqui 19, Sumas 13, Chilliwack 33 and Mission 40. By 1961 Maple Ridge had 62 persons per acre, Langley 20, Matsqui 26, Sumas 17 and Chilliwack 45.

It is evident that, what was already projected in Chapter I, finds confirmation here in the population analysis. While expansion is a "spill over", the concentration of people is so low in relation to the land they occupy, that even allowing for a doubling of population size, one or two well-organized municipalities could efficiently accomodate the whole urban expansion for the next ten years.

Rural-Urban Distribution

It has been generally agreed that the fertile land of the Fraser Valley is an invaluable agricultural resource. This raises the question of how much of this is being put to agricultural uses. While figures for actual acres in production

TABLE IV: The RURAL-URBAN PATTERN

(This table comprises the whole of Division 4)

AREAS	1951		1961		1951-1961 P.C. Increase
	Population	P.C.	Population	P.C.	
<u>URBAN</u>					
Large Centres (100,000 and over)	344,833	53.1	728,726	80.2	111.3
Medium Centres (30,000- 100,000)	58,376	8.9	(---)*	(---)	(---)
(10,000 - 30,000)	107,668	16.5	(---)	(---)	(---)
Small Centres (1,000 - 10,000)	32,742	5.0	44,272	4.8	35.2
<u>RURAL</u>					
Farm	39,615	6.0	27,022	3.1	-31.7**
Non-farm	64,955	10.0	107,511	11.9	65.5
Total Urban	544,668	83.8	772,998	85.1	41.9
Total Rural	104,570	16.2	134,533	14.9	28.6
TOTAL	649,238	100.0	907,531	100.0	39.7

*Not available.

**Decrease.

are not available, the rural-urban distribution of population, as arranged in Table IV, will serve as a useful index.

However, a note of warning must be sounded before proceeding:

The material extracted from Table IV must be viewed in the light of the changing Dominion Bureau of Statistics definitions of what was classed as "urban" and what was "rural" population. These changes were necessary to take cognizance of the shifting character of population concentrations, creating diversified patterns of "urbanization"-in formerly homogeneous rural areas. Patterns of urbanization tend neither to change the country into a metropolis-like centre nor leave it unchanged except by size. Instead a new synthesis of sociological and economic factors emerges.

As data were not available for the component areas, Region VI, material had to be tabulated for the nearest unit, Census Division 4, which roughly approximates Greater Vancouver and the Fraser Valley considered together. Since most of Metropolitan Vancouver is in the first section of the table (large centres), it is still possible to read into this compilation salient features for the Fraser Valley. For example, in 1951, 84 per cent of the population of the combined area was urban and about one-sixth rural. Of all the rural dwellers, only 38 per cent actually lived on farms. These striking figures are characteristic but not well known.

By 1961, while the urban-rural ratio remained relatively stable, a significant change had occurred within the rural make-up: non-farm dwellers had risen from 62 to 80 per cent. This clearly reflects suburban expansion and fringe growth in the smaller centres and brings the farm population down to only 3 per cent of the total.

The overall urban increase (42 per cent) over the ten year period, needs some qualification by allowing for adjustments of the Census definitions of "urban" and "rural": prior to 1951, the population residing within the boundaries of an incorporated city, town or village, regardless of size, was considered urban and the remainder rural. However, in the 1951 Census, the aggregate size of population, rather than provincial legal status, was the main criterion. Here, "urban" includes all persons residing in cities, towns and villages of 1,000 and over, whether incorporated or unincorporated, as well as the population of all parts of those areas designated as "census metropolitan areas". The remainder was classed as rural. By this definition however, all municipalities - and there are eight in Region VI, involving 55 per cent of the population - regardless of size were considered rural, except where included in a census metropolitan area (as in the case of the ninth Regional Municipality, Surrey). The 1951 definition was designed to create more or less uniform demarcations between urban and rural population but it does not reflect adequately the significance of western "municipalities".

Further, Region VI contains two or three legally incorporated cities, such as Mission and Chilliwack, which due to their size, are really towns, serving as centres for the municipal districts of Mission and Chilliwack. According to Census definitions, both cities are over 1,000 population and, therefore, urban, while the larger adjacent municipalities are rural. Such an anomaly means that there is a scattering of "urban" population in a distorted way Throughout Region VI; although in 1951 it is not very large.

By 1961, it was recognized that this definition is inadequate to cope with the expansion of even small towns across their legal boundaries. Consequently, in the 1961 Census, "urban" means, as previously, the population residing in cities, towns, and villages of 1,000 and over, whether incorporated or unincorporated, but now includes "urbanized fringes" of all such centres of the agglomeration is over 10,000. This means that the Districts of Langley, Mission, and Chilliwack, formerly considered rural, border on the cities of Langley, Mission, and Chilliwack, and as the agglomeration for each is over 10,000, the population residing there is now considered urban.

The "metropolitan areas" used for Census purposes represent groups of urban communities that are in close economic, geographic, and social relationship. As these groups of

communities expand, the Census boundaries must change, if a reasonable measurement of "urban" is to be achieved. Thus, in 1951, there had been enough urban expansion in Surrey municipality for the Vancouver Census Metropolitan Area to include the western portion (approximately one-third of the population) of Surrey, making one-third of the Surrey people urban and two-thirds rural. Since this was found to be unreasonable, in 1961, the metropolitan boundary took in all of Surrey, as well as, its former territory of the City of White Rock which seceded from it during the decade.

Within the "rural" areas, there is a further subdivision into "farm" and "non-farm" population. In 1951, a farm was taken to be a holding on which agricultural operations were carried out and which was either 3 or more acres or, 1 to 3 acres with a commercial production of \$250.00 or over. This definition was changed in 1961, so that a farm is now considered any 1-acre or more holding having agricultural sales of \$50.00 or more.

All the described changes tend to create slight distortions in the ten-year trend figures and this must be kept in mind when comparisons are made.

The ratio of male population to females is set out in Table V. Mainly the ratio is even, the lowest appearing in White Rock and Chilliwack City where there is a relatively

TABLE V: RATIO of MALES to 100 FEMALES

1951 - 1961

LOCATION	1951 Males to Females	1961 Males to Females
Region 6	107	104
<u>WESTERN SECTOR</u>		
<u>North of the Fraser River</u>		
Pitt Meadows	113	105
Maple Ridge	110	112
Surrey	105	104
<u>South of the Fraser River</u>		
White Rock	(---)	90
Langley District	110	107
Langley City	(---)	100
Matsqui	104	104
Abbotsford	84	100
Sumas	102	103
<u>EASTERN SECTOR</u>		
<u>North of the Fraser River</u>		
Mission District	113	108
Mission City	95	100
Harrison Village	107	103
<u>South of the Fraser River</u>		
Hope	107	107
Chilliwack District	106	104
Chilliwack City	90	92
Kent	111	104

large proportion of elderly people, many of whom are widows. The Haney Correctional Institute pushes the male ratio for Maple Ridge upward.

On the whole, there is no major dislocation of groups in the study area. It can be speculated that the relative evenness indicates a predominance of families in Region VI.

Social Components:

A. The Age Groups

An analysis of the population by age groups can reveal much pertinent information on where the expansion is occurring. Is it evenly distributed throughout the various age groupings, or have some age-groups experienced greater increase than others?

The best approach to the dynamic aspects involved is to distinguish significant groups such as: children (0 to 14), teenagers (15 to 19), young adults (20 to 44), middle age (45 to 64), and the elderly (65 and over). The proportionate distribution of these significant sectors of the life span are each noteworthy of study, as are the percentage increases occurring in each from 1951 to 1961 (Table VII).

To provide a "touch stone" the population for Region VI has been arranged in absolute numbers for each 5 year group up to age 25, then in 10 year intervals (Table VI).

TABLE VI: POPULATION OF KEY AGE GROUPS: For Region 6 and
Component Municipalities over 10,000-1951-1961

AGE	Region 6	Maple Ridge	Surrey	Langley	Matsqui	Chilliwack
<u>0-14</u>						
1951	33,762	2,941	9,840	3,608	3,474	4,316
P.C.	30.6	29.7	29.2	29.4	33.4	31.5
1961	58,883	5,417	26,359	5,001	4,875	6,618
P.C.	31.2	32.3	37.2	34.2	34.1	36.1
P.C.Increase	74.4	84.1	167.8	38.6	40.3	53.3
<u>15-19</u>						
1951	7,833	608	1,980	881	915	1,137
P.C.	7.1	6.1	5.8	7.1	8.8	8.3
1961	16,081	1,397	4,387	1,184	1,303	1,548
P.C.	8.5	8.3	6.1	8.1	9.1	8.4
P.C.Increase	105.2	129.7	121.5	34.3	42.4	36.1
<u>20-44</u>						
1951	35,427	3,094	10,151	3,511	3,176	4,757
P.C.	32.2	31.2	30.1	28.6	30.8	34.7
1961	60,411	4,945	23,392	3,929	3,685	5,713
P.C.	32.0	29.5	33.0	26.9	25.7	31.2
P.C.Increase	70.5	59.8	130.4	11.9	16.0	20.0
<u>45-64</u>						
1951	21,145	2,112	7,154	2,687	1,930	2,468
P.C.	19.2	21.3	21.2	21.9	18.7	18.0
1961	32,217	3,077	10,542	2,823	2,848	3,045
P.C.	17.1	18.3	14.8	19.3	19.9	16.6
P.C.Increase	52.3	45.6	47.3	5.0	47.5	23.3
<u>65 and over</u>						
1951	11,832	1,136	4,545	1,580	813	999
P.C.	10.7	11.4	13.4	12.8	7.8	7.3
1961	18,239	1,923	6,158	1,648	1,582	1,372
P.C.	9.6	11.4	8.6	11.2	11.0	7.4
P.C.Increase	54.1	69.2	35.4	4.3	94.5	37.3
<u>TOTAL</u>						
1951	109,999	9,891	33,670	12,267	10,308	13,677
P.C.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1961	188,330	16,748	70,838	14,586	14,293	18,296
P.C.	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
P.C.Increase	69.7	69.3	110.4	18.9	38.6	33.7

TABLE VII: AGE GROUPS
by Municipality for Region 6 1951

	Total	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65-69	70*
Pitt Meadows	1,434	185	137	134	107	100	204	187	164	126	43	47
Maple Ridge	9,891	1,160	951	830	608	552	1,233	1,309	1,076	1,036	480	656
Surrey	33,670	3,776	3,310	2,754	1,980	1,607	4,412	4,132	3,518	3,636	2,059	2,486
Langley	12,264	1,211	1,263	1,134	881	560	1,405	1,546	1,369	1,318	693	887
Matsqui	10,308	1,248	1,136	1,090	915	640	1,303	1,233	1,042	888	400	413
Abbotsford	785	76	64	55	54	59	136	110	65	76	40	50
Sumas	4,015	510	475	408	369	263	513	527	412	263	120	155
Mission District	4,467	593	506	399	334	225	651	594	433	338	165	199
Mission City	2,668	272	233	201	200	195	381	401	279	234	96	176
Harrison Hot Springs	477	56	50	35	30	38	80	69	49	38	16	16
Hope	1,668	207	184	141	108	105	294	264	154	89	50	72
Chilliwack District	13,677	1,655	1,392	1,269	1,137	1,045	1,994	1,718	1,320	1,148	437	562
Chilliwack City	5,663	531	431	393	372	388	767	770	609	619	337	446
Kent	1,725	217	182	150	118	96	225	245	185	164	59	84
TOTALS	109,999	12,852	11,204	9,706	7,833	6,441	14,864	14,122	11,500	10,582	5,241	6,591

From this base significant trends show up clearly.

In 1951, it is interesting to note that each specific age-group's proportion of the total population, held relatively constant throughout the component areas of Region VI. For example, children to the age of 20 make up about 38 per cent of each areas' total population; young adults to age 45 averaged 30 per cent, middle age about 20 per cent and old age about 10 per cent. This constant age group distribution throughout the Region in 1951 indicates its relative homogeneity. But by 1961 the changes that have so far been described, show up demographically. There is a rise in the proportion of youngsters of 0 to 14 years in Surrey, Chilliwack and Maple Ridge while there was relatively little change in the teenage group for the same period. In Surrey the young adult population, aged 20 to 45, rose slightly but dropped 5 per cent in Matsqui, 4 per cent in Chilliwack and 2 per cent in Maple Ridge.

With regard to percentage increases over the decade, it is of little surprise that all age groups experienced an increase. However the most remarkable expansion occurred in the children, teenagers and at times in the young adult group. Surrey's population increased 167.8 per cent in ages 0 to 14 and 121.5 per cent in teenagers. The young adult group increased 130.4 per cent while the rate of expansion

TABLE VIII: DISTRIBUTION of CHILDREN in FAMILIES
by Age Groups in 1951

AGE GROUPS	Region 6	Metropolitan Vancouver	Division 4
Under 6	14,243	60,501	76,744
P.C.	35.1	38.0	37.4
6-14	21,814	70,777	92,591
P.C.	53.8	43.0	45.1
15-18	6,244	20,968	27,212
P.C.	15.4	12.7	13.2
At School	5,042	16,844	21,886
P.C. 15-18 at school	80.7	80.3	80.4
19-24	4,285	23,589	27,874
P.C.	10.5	14.3	13.6
At School	817	4,752	5,569
P.C. 19-24 at school	19.0	20.1	19.9
TOTAL	40,486	164,438	204,924
P.C.	100.0	100.0	100.0

of the old age was only 35.4.

Maple Ridge experienced its greatest increase, 129.7 per cent, in the teenage group. However, there was no correspondingly high increase in the adult population, which fact would indicate an expanding size of individual families. On the other hand, the elderly moved into Matsqui and Maple Ridge in greater numbers than ever before.

B. Family Structure

The analysis so far indicates a rapidly expanding population maintaining the same proportionate distributions over the life span as it increases. Within the age groups, the children show the most rapid expansion. The division between males and females in the population is relatively even, partly, it may be suspected because of the substantial number of young "new" families.

Due to the ample land area over which the population is spread, the overall density of the Region is low, even in Surrey, which contains nearly half of the Region's total population. Although the Region is indigenously agricultural, 85 per cent of the inhabitants live in urban areas. Moreover, within the rural areas, there has been a significant shift to "non-farm" dwellers, indicating the suburban and fringe expansion.

Since the family is the basic unit of society, no measurement is more important; it has vital implications for social welfare, coloring the nature of its services. Marital status patterns can give much evidence to guide the way. For instance, in 1951, nearly half Region VI's population (49.8 per cent) are married (Table IX). The greater part (45.2 per cent) of the remaining inhabitants are single. From the evidence gleaned from the preceding age-tables, approximately two-thirds of the single group are children under 18 years of age. The Fraser Valley population is substantially a family one, then, with a small fraction of unattached residents: 16 per cent single persons over 18 years, 4.3 per cent widowed and a very small number divorced. This same overall pattern holds true for Metropolitan Vancouver, although the married population is slightly higher and there are more widowed and divorced persons.

By 1961, the rise in the newborn population shows itself, as the single group in Region VI mounts to 48.1 per cent and the married group drops to 47.4 per cent. The widowed and divorced sectors drop slightly, making way for the "newborn wave". This probably reflects the evidence of young families with children more than other outstanding factors.

TABLE IX: MARITAL STATUS

For Region 6 1951 - 1961

AREA	Total	Married	P.C. of Total	Widowed	P.C. of Total	Divorced	P.C. of Total	Single	P.C. of Total
1951									
Region 6	128,245	63,929	49.8	5,550	4.3	587	.45	58,255	45.2
Met. Van.*	520,993	271,304	52.1	32,378	6.2	4,380	.84	212,855	40.9
Div. 4	649,238	335,233	51.7	37,928	5.8	4,967	.76	271,110	41.8
1961									
Region 6	188,330	89,213	47.4	7,628	4.0	797	.42	90,566	48.1
Met. Van.	719,327	350,600	48.7	43,158	5.8	6,978	.92	318,591	44.6
Div. 4	907,531	439,813	48.5	50,786	5.6	7,775	.85	409,157	45.1

*Refers to census Metropolitan Area less Surrey portion.

C. Ethnic Origins

The next strand of evidence in the unravelling of Region VI's "texture", is that of ethnic origins. To start with, the general overview; in 1951, the proportion of native-born Canadians as against immigrants was 69.3 per cent in Division 4 as a whole. No figure could be worked out for Region VI, due to a lack of specific data for the base year. However, more information was available for 1961. By this time, the proportion of indigenous people in Division 4 rose to 71.7 per cent, probably pushed upward by the expanding birth rate. Interestingly, in Region VI, the proportion of native-born is even higher: 75.7 per cent.

In closer analysis, Table X indicates that the majority of residents are derived from Anglo Saxon stock; somewhat more so in Metropolitan Vancouver (71 per cent in 1951) than in Region VI (65 percent in 1951). In the same year, a significantly large group (11.4 per cent) living in the Valley are of Dutch origin whereas they represent only 1.8 of Metropolitan Vancouver's population. While many Dutch people are naturally attracted by the agricultural nature of the Fraser Valley, there is also an area of reclaimed land, Pitt Polder, located adjacent to Maple Ridge and originally settled by Dutch immigrants.

TABLE X: ETHNIC ORIGINS of the Population, 1951-1961

ORIGINS	1 9 5 1				1961				P.C. Increase	
	Region 6	P.C.	Met. Van.	P.C.	Region 6	P.C.	Met. Van.	P.C.	Region 6	Met. Van.
British	72,209	65.1	370,684	71.1	100,866	53.5	450,454	62.6	39.6	21.5
French	4,489	4.0	18,373	3.5	7,751	4.1	26,935	3.7	72.6	46.6
Italian	810	.7	6,518	1.2	1,780	.9	17,743	2.4	119.7	172.2
German	10,988	9.9	18,016	3.4	20,334	10.8	45,116	6.2	85.0	150.4
Netherlands	12,735	11.4	9,554	1.8	17,210	9.1	20,323	2.8	35.1	11.8
Scandinavian	8,944	8.0	26,223	5.3	13,784	7.3	38,717	5.3	54.1	47.6
Jewish	84	.07	4,414	.8	109	.05	4,728	.6	29.7	7.1
Polish	2,024	1.8	7,678	1.4	3,077	1.6	11,571	1.6	52.0	50.7
Russian	7,873	7.9	2,141	.4	2,777	1.4	8,167	1.1	-64.7	281.4
Ukrainian	2,708	2.4	10,729	2.0	4,301	2.2	16,421	2.2	58.8	53.0
Other European	5,440	4.9	16,349	3.1	9,299	4.9	36,913	5.1	70.9	125.7
Asiatic	2,482	2.2	12,474	2.3	1,721	.9	24,813	3.4	-30.6	102.1
Others including Indian*	14,904	13.4	12,892	2.4	4,356	2.3	17,426	2.4	-70.7	35.1
TOTAL	110,912	100.0	520,993	100.0	188,330	100.0	719,327	100.0	59.0	44.7

*A figure for Indians only could not be obtained, but for Division 4 was 3,388 in 1951.

**In 1961, there were 142,642 Canadian - born persons in Region VI; 508,192 Canadian - born in Metropolitan Vancouver.

The third largest ethnic group in Region VI is German, followed by Scandinavian and Russian. Scandinavian people come from a similar cultural tradition to Anglo Saxon, making emmigration to this country more attractive. The percentage of Germans and Russians found in Region VI is high compared to Metropolitan Vancouver and is explained by the presence in Matsqui and Chilliwack of a large Mennonite settlement whose members are of Russo-Germanic extraction.

In general, as is usual in North America, the ethnic texture of the metropolis is more widely fragmented, whereas the Fraser Valley has more distinctive ethnic group concentrations.

By 1961, the Anglo Saxon segment of the Region VI population, has dropped to 53.3 per cent, although there has been an absolute increase of 39.6 per cent. The population with Russian origin dropped from 7,873 to 2,777 whereas in Metropolitan Vancouver it increased 281 per cent. Both German and Italian groups have increased heavily in the last decade, but are more characteristically to be found in Metropolitan Vancouver than in the adjacent rural areas.

Economic Profile

There is no longer room for any doubt about the vital role the economic pattern plays today. It spreads its impact into every corner of our existence, altering and reshaping the structure of an area and fashioning the lives

of the people who live there. Consequently, the economic profile has highly significant social implications for all who seek to understand the make-up of a region. Such an understanding is doubly important to social welfare planners as they seek to know both the nature of "needs", and in which direction remedial actions lie. The economy has direct bearing on what problems are created and how much concerted effort will be applied to their resolution.

The classifications of the gainfully occupied population, as compiled by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, have been improved from Census to Census; and the detailed compilations now supply enough discrimination between types of occupations to permit an approximate status or social-class tabulation. This detail, however, is not yet available for subdivisions of the provinces, which would allow a consistent and intelligible picture of the socio-economic structure of the Fraser Valley "community" as a whole. Compromise has been effected by accepting the occupations which are available for summary tabulations and for sub-areas, such as Division 4. This, nevertheless, provides a number of useful indications which are basic to an understanding of the working life of the Region.

It must be remembered that the figures presented, indicate the occupations of the residents, not necessarily economic pursuits or industries located in the region. In

other words, it is possible to live in the Region but work elsewhere. The most important area to which this applies, as might be expected, is that of Surrey.

To help in the interpretations, a preliminary compilation has been made, comparing the main dimensions for Canada as a whole and for British Columbia. Against these figures, it is easier to interpret similarities and differences for the Fraser Valley and Metropolitan Vancouver.

It must be kept in mind that few, if any, of the occupational groupings as brought together here, are sorted out in enough detail to make them clear-cut measurements of social class, socio-economic status, or skill and responsibility level. Thus, for example, foremen as well as "line workers" are included in construction or the extractive pursuits; while the manager and owner class includes small store operators as well as business executives; transportation occupations include truck drivers and postmen as well as pilots and locomotive engineers; service occupations include officers as well as "other ranks" and so forth. The figures utilized here must be treated as approximations or indications only.

Showing figures for women separately from those for men, is desirable because the occupational status indicated, is not always the same within the terminology employed for both groups. For example, there are far more technicians among the

"professional and technical" tabulations for women than men in this group. Also, teachers and nurses account for about three-quarters of the "professional" class when this is applied to women only. Telephone operators represent nearly 90 per cent of the transportation and communication class for women. In the craftsmen group, far more of the women are semi-skilled factory workers than skilled artisans.

For the country as a whole, and for the provinces, there is now a wealth of economic data, particularly on industry, resources and employment. Labour force and unemployment counts are made quarterly on a sample basis by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. In addition, the branch offices of the National Employment Service and the Unemployment Insurance Commission, permit highly important measurements on a local or regional basis. For a more extended study, it would be most valuable to draw this material into the picture; but, as already indicated, it has been necessary to confine the review to Census statistics.

A major measurement which is still available within these limitations is that of the occupational pattern. The main dimensions are reasonably clear. By far the largest groups in Canada nowadays are the industrial wage-earners (around 30 per cent) who comprise the third sector of Table XI(a), together with the white collar groups, which range from about

TABLE XI(a): OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION of WORKING FORCE:
Comparative Proportions: Canada and British Columbia, 1961.

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	NUMBERS		PERCENTAGE	
	Canada	B.C.	Canada	B.C.
Proprietary and Managerial				
Male	481,379	49,900	7.0	8.6
Female	57,661	7,123	0.9	1.2
Professional, technical				
Male	356,578	33,332	5.0	5.5
Female	272,333	23,332	4.2	3.9
Clerical				
Male	324,811	24,120	5.0	4.0
Female	509,345	49,563	7.9	8.7
Sales, commercial				
Male	263,229	25,850	4.0	4.4
Female	147,486	16,325	2.3	2.8
Service, recreational				
Male	400,399	41,012	5.9	7.0
Female	395,948	37,187	6.1	6.4
Transportation, Communication				
Male	354,736	34,110	5.1	5.8
Female	37,968	3,541	0.6	0.7
Artisans, Craftsmen, Factory workers				
Male	1,354,594	130,024	20.0	22.4
Female	205,189	9,384	3.2	1.6
Labourers, industrial				
Male	294,059	27,139	4.0	4.6
Female	20,943	1,560	0.3	0.3
Farmers, stockraisers, etc.				
Male	384,410	11,152	5.2	1.7
Farm workers				
Male	573,098	21,388	8.1	3.4
Female	75,868	3,067	1.1	0.5
Other extractive workers				
Male	179,593	22,405	2.0	3.6
Undefined workers				
Male	123,042	12,509	1.3	2.0
Female	43,178	4,681	0.7	0.9
TOTAL Labour Force				
Male	4,705,518	421,786	72.6	73.0
Female	1,771,923	152,076	27.4	27.0
TOTAL Both Sexes	6,477,441	573,862	100.0	100.0

Source: Adapted from Census 1961, Advance Report
AL-1-(94-500) p.3.

25 to 33 per cent depending on definitions. The total significance of both of these groups is certain indication of Canada's growing industrialization and urbanization. It should be compared with the group (15 per cent) whose living is fundamentally derived from the primary extractive industries such as farming, logging, mining and fishing. This is only half what it was thirty years ago.

The distribution for British Columbia, at first sight, follows almost entirely the national pattern. Small differences, however, are significant in large scale measurements of this kind. For example, in British Columbia there is a higher proportion of managers and owners, and of professional men; a considerably higher proportion of men in service occupations and of women in clerical work; and a larger quota of normal wage earners. Even more significant is the low proportion of farmers British Columbia has in comparison with the rest of Canada; British Columbia is not a major agricultural province, whereas there are far more loggers. What this reflects in more general terms, is that British Columbia, partly by reason of its topography, is a much more urbanized and far less rural province than most of the rest of Canada. This makes the Fraser Valley, as the most agricultural section of British Columbia, even more

TABLE XI(b): OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION of Residents 1951

(Separate distributions for males and females, respectively)

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	NUMBERS Region 6 Met.Van.*		PERCENTAGE Region 6 Met.Van.	
Proprietary and Managerial				
Male	2,384	18,335	6.0	12.0
Female	331	2,121	7.0	4.0
Professional				
Male	1,008	10,825	9.8	7.2
Female	758	7,862	15.9	13.0
Clerical				
Male	10,654	1,673	26.5	1.4
Female	897	20,725	19.0	35.0
Commercial and Financial				
Male	547	13,389	1.3	9.0
Female	637	7,015	13.3	12.0
Service				
Male	2,129	13,991	5.2	9.7
Female	1,354	11,895	28.3	20.0
Transportation, Communication				
Male	4,427	16,286	11.1	11.0
Female	196	2,723	4.0	5.6
Manufacturing				
Male	6,589	27,545	16.4	18.6
Female	139	4,970	3.0	8.0
Construction				
Male	2,349	13,068	6.0	9.0
Female	2	42	.04	.07
Primary (Extractive)				
Male	7,887	2,498	19.6	2.0
Female	540	124	11.3	.2
Labourers				
Male	2,225	12,907	6.0	8.2
Female	58	827	1.2	1.3
All Occupations				
Male	40,199	130,517	100.0	100.0
Female	4,912	58,304	100.0	100.0

*Categories summarized in The Dominion Bureau of Statistics's publications.

**Refers to census Metropolitan Vancouver less Surrey portion.

outstanding by contrast.

Many insights may be gained from a close study of the occupational status "mosaic". Every major difference between the Fraser Valley residents and British Columbia "norms" has a possible bearing on welfare services. This will be clearer when detailed figures are also available for 1961. But a highlight is thrown on the situation by a simple summary of the occupational categories into four groups, comparing Region VI with the province as a whole:

<u>Approximated Groups</u>	<u>Region VI</u>	<u>B. C.</u>
I Proprietary, Managerial	10.0	19.2
II White Collar and related	46.1	39.8
III Industrial Workers	20.1	31.8
IV Primary, Extractive and Labourers	23.8	9.2
1951 Total Working Force (men and women)	<u>100.0</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Two measurements are outstanding. The high proportion of white collar residents on the one hand; and the most marked difference of all, the high proportion of workers in the extractive industries (including loggers) and unskilled workers (mostly dependent on construction for jobs). It must be kept in mind that the occupational pattern is not necessarily fashioned by the local economy. Therefore, it is likely that most of the white collar group

are suburban commuters, as are many of the loggers and construction workers. It is also noteworthy that the female clerical workers, who are so very large proportionately in Metropolitan Vancouver, are relatively few in the Fraser Valley.

Unfortunately, only an even more truncated measurement is available for 1961. The figures available at the time of writing were specially released by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics; and these are reproduced here in a form as close to that of the preceding tables as possible. Figures for Division 4, reduced by those for Metropolitan Vancouver, give a very rough approximation of the picture for Region VI, excluding Surrey. It will be remembered that all of Surrey is included in Metropolitan Vancouver figures and that it accounts for half of the Regions population. Still, the trends can be appreciated.

The steady rise in the number of white collar workers is very striking (Table XI(c)). It should be noted that more than one-third of the 48,000 clerically occupied men and men live outside the City. The same is also true of half of the artisans and industrial wage-earners. These are all indications of the shift in the local economy from primary activities to tertiary pursuits; an increase in service activities and manufacturing; and also a marked

TABLE XI(c): OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION of Residents 1951

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP*	NUMBERS Region 6 Met. Van**		PERCENTAGE Region 6 Met. Van.	
Proprietary and Managerial				
Male	2,384	18,335	5.3	9.8
Female	331	2,121	.7	1.2
Professional				
Male	1,008	10,825	2.3	5.7
Female	758	7,862	1.7	4.2
Clerical				
Male	10,654	1,673	23.6	.9
Female	897	20,725	1.9	10.9
Commercial and Financial				
Male	547	13,389	1.2	7.1
Female	637	7,015	1.5	3.8
Service				
Male	2,129	13,991	4.7	7.4
Female	1,354	11,895	3.0	6.3
Transportation, Communication				
Male	4,427	16,286	9.8	8.6
Female	196	2,723	0.4	1.4
Manufacturing				
Male	6,589	27,545	14.6	14.6
Female	139	4,970	0.3	2.6
Construction				
Male	2,349	13,068	5.2	6.9
Female	2	42	***	***
Primary (Extractive)				
Male	7,887	2,498	17.5	1.3
Female	540	124	1.3	.1
Labourers				
Male	2,225	12,907	4.9	6.8
Female	58	827	.1	.4
All Occupations				
Male	40,199	130,517	89.1	69.1
Female	4,912	58,304	10.9	30.9
TOTAL (Both Sexes)	45,111	188,821	100.0	100.0

*Categories summarized in Dominion Bureau Statistics publications.

**Refers to Census Metropolitan Vancouver less Surrey portion.

***Less than one-tenth of one per cent.

TABLE XI(d): OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION of Residents 1961

Occupational Group	NUMBERS			PERCENTAGE		
	Census Div. 4	Vancouver Met.	City	Census Div. 4	Vancouver Met.	City
Managerial Occupations	33,991	30,903	15,314	10.3	10.4	9.6
Professional and Technical	35,131	32,331	17,223	10.6	10.9	10.9
Clerical Occupations	50,502	48,072	29,209	15.2	16.5	18.4
Sales Occupations	27,790	25,863	13,294	8.4	8.8	8.4
Service and Recreation	43,949	38,976	24,106	13.3	13.2	15.2
Transport and Communications	21,307	19,037	9,851	6.4	6.4	6.2
Craftsmen and Production	77,793	69,863	35,371	23.5	23.7	22.3
Farmers and Workers	10,356	4,571	1,366	3.2	1.6	0.9
Loggers and Related Workers	2,987	1,570	819	0.9	0.5	0.5
Fishermen and Hunters	2,453	2,134	779	0.7	0.7	0.5
Miners and Related Workers	1,244	820	430	0.4	0.3	0.3
Labourers	13,902	11,951	6,089	4.2	4.1	3.8
Occupation Not Stated	9,845	8,668	4,870	2.97	2.9	3.06
TOTAL Labour Force	331,250	294,759	158,721	100.0	100.0	100.0

continuation of the suburban expansion.

It must be remembered that the measurements consulted here, do not record short term but significant shifts, such as the economic recession which affected employment everywhere in Canada in 1958. The Department of Social Welfare statistics registered the recession by the rapid increases in caseload, and changes in caseload structure, and in the segment of the population in need of help. This is the essence of Chapter III, which can now be analyzed more meaningfully against this Regional background.

CHAPTER III

Social Welfare Caseloads

The function of the Department of Social Welfare has been stated as being "to help people restore themselves to a state of independence wherever that can be done". Furthermore, "...the personnel policies of the Department are based on two considerations: Assurance of the wise use of public money, and ... restoration of the individual to the place where he can stand comfortably and safely on his own feet."* As well as its "restoration" objectives, the Department has the responsibility to "maintain" persons in need. To these ends, the Department of Social welfare is responsible for the administration of more than fifteen Acts.

To facilitate this administration, the Department of Social Welfare has two major parts: "the field" or Regional Administration, which has already been referred to; and, the Head Office or Divisional Administration. The Divisional Administration operates out of the central office of the Department located in Victoria and is sub-divided into the different categories of service which the Acts cover. It has

* Annual Report of the Social Welfare Branch of the Dept. of Health and Welfare, 1954, Victoria, B. C., p. 13.

the following internal divisions which denote categories of service: Family Division-Social Allowance, Family Service; Child Welfare Division; Medical Services Division; Old Age Assistance, Blind Persons' Allowances, Disabled Persons' Allowances, and Supplementary Assistance. In addition, the Department is responsible for the Industrial School for Boys, the Industrial School for Girls, the Provincial Home for the aged and infirm at Kamloops, the Welfare Institutions Act (Licensing) and the Social Service Departments in the Division of Tuberculosis Control and the Poliomyelitis Pavilion. Prior to 1957, there was also a Social Service Department in the Division of Venereal Disease Control and prior to 1955, a Psychiatric Division, Social Services, Provincial Mental Services which transferred to the Health Services Department.

The Family Division looks after the administration of the Social Assistance Act, which was revised in 1945; formerly the Mothers' Allowance Act, it was incorporated into the Social Assistance Act in September 1958; the Family Service Program, which covers social and counselling services where no financial assistance is necessary; and helps establish eligibility, and sometimes administers, Family Allowances and Old Age Security Pensions for the (Federal) Department of National Health and Welfare. The Social Assistance Act of 1945 established the principle of

granting assistance on the basis of need and outlined the duties of the municipalities in respect to granting social assistance if they are to receive reimbursement from the Province for the cost of such assistance. These latter terms were revised in September, 1958.

The Child Welfare Division of the Divisional Administration administers the Protection of Children Act, and looks after "children in care", i.e., wards of the government; the Juvenile Delinquents Act; the Adoption Act; the Children of Unmarried Parents' Act; the Act for the Legitimation of Children; and, the Act for the Equal Guardianship of Infants.

The Pension Division administers the Old Age Assistance Act; the Blind Persons' Act, which came into force in January 1952 covering benefits which were previously administered through the Old Age Pension Act; the Disabled Persons' Allowances Act, which came into being in April 1955; and, Supplementary Assistance, which prior to 1958 had been known as the Cost-of-Living Bonus. Prior to 1952, this Division administered the Old Age Pension Act, but on January 1st, 1952 the Federal Old Age Security Act came into effect providing Dominion pensions for all people on reaching the age of 70. Any problems arising out of eligibility requirements for the Old Age Security Act are also handled by the Family Division of the Department.

The Victoria headquarters set the administrative

procedures and make the necessary administrative interpretations under the Acts. Each of the seven Provincial Regions is responsible for carrying the Acts into practice for the people of their region. The services carried out in the field are classified and reported under a standard set of headings. Regional administrators have discretion in a number of matters, with the final authority resting in the Head Office. The Regional administrators have regular meetings to facilitate communication between themselves and Head Office and to facilitate uniformity of service between Regions.

Each Region has several offices; these are designated to be either a "provincial" office or a "municipal" office according to the distribution of provincial-municipal welfare costs for the area which the office serves. Any municipality, which wishes to do so, can set up its own office; municipalities whose population is over 25,000 persons must do so, by law. The municipality is then responsible for the administration of the office including the provision of a Municipal Administrator, office space, equipment and staff. In such cases, to help cover the financial costs, the provincial government shares in the staffing of the office on the basis of one municipal to one provincial worker. The Province, in these cases, also provides a District Supervisor for casework and child welfare services. This person is a representative of the provincial government -

rather than of the municipality - and through casework services has something to say about office standards. Provincial offices are set up by the Province in unorganized territories and areas where the population is too small to support its own office though a Provincial-Municipal agreement. The area then partially reimburses the Province on a per capita basis. The Regional Administrator is the final field authority over both types of offices. Currently, in Region VI, all the offices are Provincial Offices except the Surrey Office which is Municipal.

The offices set up by the Department of Social Welfare throughout the province are positioned to facilitate contact between the workers and their clients. This means that the district offices are most often established in the communication and transportation centres of districts, which are usually also the most populated area of the municipality or municipalities to be served. It is from these offices that the welfare statistics are compiled.

The "welfare districts" are referred to by the location of the administrating office rather than by the name of the geographical area served. Thus, the name of a district office will not necessarily correspond in geographical terms with the Dominion Bureau of Statistics use of the same name. In addition, one office sometimes serves more than one geographical area, but the welfare statistics show the total area served with no break-

down by sub-areas. In the interest of clarity, from this point on, the names used refer to the district offices and, thereby, the entire area the office serves, unless otherwise indicated. Accordingly, the "Abbotsford Office" serves the districts of Matsqui, Mission, and Sumas, and the town of Abbotsford, and Mission City. The "Chilliwack Office" serves Chilliwack Township and District, the villages of Harrison and Hope and the municipality of Kent. Chilliwack Township had a sub-office until 1957; in 1958 the Township office was amalgamated with the District office.

The "Haney Office" serves the municipalities of Pitt Meadows and Maple Ridge, where the population centre of Haney is located. The "Langley Office" currently includes Langley City and Langley District. For the year 1957, Langley City operated its own office but decided thereafter that service and administration could be more effective from one city-and-district office.

Up until 1957, White Rock was part of the municipality of Surrey and came under that jurisdiction. However, in 1958, when the City of White Rock seceded from Surrey, they established their own office which is supervised from the Langley Office. The "Surrey Office" serves the towns of Cloverdale and Whalley located within Surrey Municipality.

In order to facilitate references to the welfare

offices, the sections for Region VI as they were in 1951 and 1961 are listed in Schedule A.

The Locations of the Total Caseload

The caseload distribution and the population distribution of Region VI are juxtaposed in Table XII. The communities served by each office are indicated; the population figures are the population totals which each office has under its jurisdiction.

In 1951, 102,880 persons lived in Region VI. By 1961, this had risen to 173,450 persons living in this area; an increase of 59.3 per cent. In 1951, the caseload total was 4,966. In 1961, the caseload total was 11,155. This increase - 128.3 per cent - in other words, is more than twice the population increase.

In every sub-area, except Surrey, the caseload between 1951 and 1961 increased far more than the population change in the same time period. This highlights the differential types of change in Region VI, and points up the fact that welfare caseloads are not necessarily proportional to population. Surrey shows the highest rate of population increase - and also the largest absolute figures - in Region VI, which must be remembered against the fact that its percentage increase in caseload is, with one exception, the lowest. Arranging the District Offices in order of population size, caseload size, and percentage increase of cases as at 1961, the following picture emerges:

Schedule A: LOCATION OF DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WELFARE OFFICES

- Region 6, 1951 and 1961 -

Office	1951	1961
Abbotsford	Operating	Operating
Chilliwack	Operating)	Amalgamated in
Chilliwack Township	Operating)	1958: now part of
Haney	Operating	Chilliwack Office
Langley City	Operated in)	Operating
Langley	1957 only)	Amalgamated in
Surrey	Operating	1958: now part of
White Rock	Operating	Langley Office
	Operating	Operating
	Part of the)	Established in
	Surrey Office)	1957 as a pro-
		vincial office

TABLE XII: REGION 6: Fraser Valley Population and Caseload

Comparisons - 1951 - 1961*

DISTRICTS by OFFICE LOCATION	<u>Pop.inThousands</u>		P.C. Increase 1951-61	<u>Caseload Totals</u>		P.C. Increase 1951-61
	1951	1961		1951	1961	
OFFICE + TERRITORIES:						
<u>Abbotsford:</u>						
Matsqui	22,300	28,700	28.7	962	2,249	133.8
Abbotsford						
Sumas						
Mission City						
Mission District						
<u>Chilliwack:</u>						
Harrison	23,300	31,800	36.4	958	2,163	125.8
Hope						
Chilliwack Dist.						
Chilliwack Twp.						
Kent						
<u>Haney:</u>						
Pitt Meadows	11,300	18,800	66.4	520	1,290	148.1
Maple Ridge						
<u>Langley:</u>						
Langley City	12,300	17,000	38.2	685	1,298	89.5
Langley Dist.						
White Rock		6,400			556	1.1**
<u>Surrey:</u>						
Cloverdale	33,700	70,800	110.4	1,841	3,599	95.5
Whalley						
TOTAL***	102,880	173,450	68.6	4,966	11,155	128.3

*Unweighted by "points" system.

**Since 1957.

***Population totals do not include unorganized territory and Indian Reserve.

<u>District Office</u>	<u>1961 Population</u>	<u>1961 Total Cases</u>	<u>1951-1961 Percentage Increase in Caseload</u>
Surrey	70,800	3,599	95.49
Chilliwack	31,800	2,163	125.78
Abbotsford	28,700	2,249	133.78
Haney	18,800	1,290	148.07
Langley	17,000	1,298	89.50

White Rock District Office is omitted because there is no 1951 figure for comparison. The 1951-1961 percentage increase for Surrey is underweighted because the 1951 figure includes the White Rock area while the 1961 figure does not.

However, the caseload figures refer to "cases". A "case" refers to a service given, not necessarily to a person. Since many "cases" are couples or families, a mother and child, and so on, there was contact with more persons than the caseload figures indicate. In a Social Allowance "case", for instance, one family will be regarded as a case, although contact may be made with all family members; similarly, for Family Service cases. In the other categories of service, e.g., Pensions, Child Welfare and Health and Institutional, a "case" implies direct service to an individual.

Records are kept of the numbers of individuals receiving Social Allowances. Numbers are not kept of individuals receiving service through Family Service. However, the term "family" states the fact that such a case always refers to more than one

individual: a husband and a wife, a mother and her child(ren), or any combination thereof. A "corrected" figure can be computed that is closer to the actual number of people served if the numbers of individuals receiving Social Allowances figure is substituted for the number of Social Allowance cases carried, and if the Family Service figure is doubled. A doubled Family Service figure is not really accurate, but it is at least closer to the number of persons receiving service than the caseload figure. Judging from this kind of compilation, for example, 5,946 persons in the Region received service in 1951 compared to the 4,966 cases shown. By 1961, 18,231 persons in Region VI received service compared to the 11,155 cases indicated. The difference between number of cases and number of individuals has itself increased over the ten-year period.

A "case" refers to an individual, or to an individual and his or her dependants. Thus, the other persons indicated in addition to the caseload figure are dependants. The spread between the number of cases and the number of individuals indicates that more families are coming into contact with the Social Welfare Department than was the case ten years ago, when a higher proportion of social allowance recipients had no dependants.

Not only are more persons coming into contact with the Social Welfare Department in absolute numbers, but the

proportion of the population who receive service is also higher. In Region VI, in 1951, using the estimated figure for numbers of individual clients, 5.8 per cent of the population of Region VI were receiving some kind of service from the Department of Social Welfare. By 1961 the percentage had risen to 10.5 per cent. An increase is typical for the Province. In 1951, an estimated 4.7 per cent of the population of British Columbia had received service from the Department; in 1961, the percentage was 7.4. Thus, although there was a general increase for the total Province, the increase was disproportionately high for Region VI.

The Make-up of the Welfare Caseloads

If the distribution of caseload by categories of service for Region VI is compared with the overall provincial distribution; there are no outstanding differences. For example, in 1961 the figures were as follows:

<u>Category of Service</u>	<u>B. C.</u>	<u>Region VI</u>
Pensions	54.1	51.1
Social Allowance	34.5	36.0
Family Service	1.6	1.5
Child Welfare	8.9	10.4
Health & Institutional	<u>0.9</u>	<u>1.0</u>
	100.0	100.0

In Region VI, pension cases are less important and there are more social allowance and child welfare cases than average.

The proportionate distribution of caseloads by major category for the ten year span being studied is shown in Table XIIIa. The distribution of caseloads in terms of absolute numbers is shown in Table XIIIb. These two tables need to be examined together.

The Pensions category of service includes the aged, the blind, and the disabled who do not have the means to provide for themselves. The aged and the disabled are groups in Canada whose need has been recognized, and for whom social responsibility has been acknowledge in legislation. Old Age Assistance, Blind Persons' Allowances, Disabled Persons' Allowances and Supplementary Assistance are the Acts which come under the jurisdiction of the Pensions services. Traditionally, the Pensions category has been the largest in terms of numbers of cases. The persons who are eligible to receive a pension are those people in the community with the least earning capacity: over 65 years of age, and permanently physically or emotionally disabled. In fact, their earning capacity is estimated to be less than what is needed to provide the basic essentials for life: food, clothing, shelter. This is one of the criteria of eligibility. Furthermore, once an individual is in receipt of a "pension", it is probable that he will always be in a position where he will require this assistance.

TABLE XIII(a): Distribution of Caseloads by Major Categories

(As at December 31st-alternate years 1951-1961)

a. Absolute Numbers

CATEGORY	1951	1953	1955	1957	1959	1961
Pensions	3,134	3,998	4,298	5,458	5,575	5,700
Social Allowance	1,003	949	1,261	1,480	2,559	4,018
Family Service	204	271	236	188	188	168
Child Welfare	536	757	881	929	1,115	1,159
Health and Institutional	89	119	112	105	91	110
TOTAL	4,966	6,094	6,788	8,160	9,528	11,155

TABLE XIII(b): Distribution of Caseloads by Major Categories

(As at December 31st-alternate years 1951-1961)

b. Proportionate

CATEGORY	1951	1953	1955	1957	1959	1961
Pensions:						
Old Age Assistance	60.4	15.6	13.8	13.5	11.7	10.8
Supplementary Social Assistance	2.5	48.9	47.0	49.9	43.1	36.8
Blind & Disabled	(-)	1.1	2.3	3.3	3.6	3.5
Social Allowance	20.3	15.6	18.6	18.1	26.8	36.0
Family Service	4.1	4.4	3.5	2.3	2.0	1.5
Child Welfare:						
Adoptions	3.3	3.5	3.5	3.0	3.0	2.7
Child Welfare	7.5	8.9	9.5	8.5	8.7	8.2
Health and Institutional	1.8	2.0	1.6	1.2	1.0	1.0
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Pension cases may require a good deal of time and effort on the part of workers initially to establish eligibility, i.e., proving age, computing assets, and so on. However, once the pension is forthcoming, the work diminishes to periodic visits, though additional effort may be required occasionally to secure appliances, or to help deal with a family emergency such as death. Although proportionately and in absolute numbers of cases the Pension category is largest, it is not the area which takes up the greatest amount of social workers' time. The pensions caseload exemplifies the claim that numbers of cases cannot be equated with a quantitative estimate - to say nothing of the qualitative aspect - of service given. By the same token, a differentiation is required between "new" pension cases and "continuing" pension cases in any attempts to measure service.

Social Allowance cases, on the other hand, take more time than the proportionate distribution of services indicates. A more realistic picture of the situation is gained when numbers of individuals are substituted for number of Social Allowance cases (see Table XIV). This arrangement indicates the increased number of individuals on Social Allowance payrolls, and the increased percentage of contacts in Department of Social Welfare offices dealing with Social Allowances. In 1961, of the estimated 18,231 persons who became part of Region VI's caseload, 10,926 persons were Social Allowance recipients.

TABLE XIV: Estimated Number of Persons Served,
by Major Categories of Service
for Alternate Years 1951-1961

CATEGORY	1951	1953	1955	1957	1959	1961
Pensions	3,134	3,998	4,298	5,458	5,575	5,700
Social Allowance (Individuals)	1,779	1,860	2,717	3,364	6,251	10,926
Family Services (Cases Doubled)	408	542	472	376	376	336
Child Welfare	536	757	881	929	1,115	1,159
Health and Institutional	89	119	112	105	91	110
TOTAL	5,946	7,276	8,480	10,232	13,408	18,231

(See text for method of compiling these figures.)

Any person in financial need and without personal resources is eligible for a Social Allowance. However, the service is not only financial but includes counselling or casework services. Social Allowance cases take more social work time than other cases for at least two reasons. Financial need indicates joblessness, disability, or loss of the primary wage earner in a family, or some combination of these. By legislation, it is part of the job of the person administering Social Allowances to attempt to get the primary wage earner, and thereby his family also, back to a state of independence. To this end, it is necessary for social workers to see their Social Allowance recipients frequently. In addition, financial dependence in this country does not usually remain an isolated problem but often brings on family stress and even disorganization through feelings of fear and inadequacy. In 1951, there were 776 dependants attached to Social Allowance cases; in 1961, there were 6,908 dependants. It is the job of social workers to deal with the problems of the dependants as well as those of the head of a household. The increased number of dependants in receipt of social allowance benefits, also indicates an increased number of families, as opposed to single persons, in receipt of Social Allowances. This, in turn, indicates an increased amount of family service work.

The Social Allowance figures point up a major issue in

the keeping of office statistics. Although the number of cases and the number of dependants now can be established, and although individual social workers are very knowledgeable about the varying status of their clients, from the office statistics there is no way of knowing the family constellations being dealt with. Numbers of males, females, single, married, widowed, divorced, deserted, and so on, are not indicated. In planning a service - even to describe it meaningfully - it is essential to know, in a systematic way, the "make-up" of the people being planned for. Social workers are used to talking about "cases"; and at one time "cases" referred more often to individuals than to families. But this is changing, as is the attitude toward planning services. In any planning it is essential to know "how many?" and "what are they like?" in order to know what they will need.

The category of Family Service refers to any counselling services to a family not included in any other category. This is a recognition of the fact that families can have problems which are not rooted in financial difficulties. However, as the pressures for financial assistance increase, and accordingly, the problems which often accompany financial distress increase, there is less worker time available to give to Family Service. Social workers in the field are emphatic on this point. They do not keep track of the cases not served. However, they can all give examples of families who have asked for help besides

others they see who could use help, on whom they have had to turn their backs or shut their eyes because there just was (is) not sufficient time to work with them. In public agencies the first responsibility is to carry out legislation and, therefore, counselling services take a back seat.

Child Welfare services include all protection cases, foster care, and adoption work. Like family service work, adoption placement and home finding are often put to one side because of the pressure of emergency work: people must be fed, children must be removed from dangerous situations. The expedient necessity takes precedence over long-range consequences. Because there is only so much time and only so many hands, "luxury" services like counselling and adoption are low on the priority list.

Health and Institutional cases refer to requests from officials of recognized institutions for reports and social histories for provincial institutions, services to families of persons in institutions, and boarding and nursing homes for institutional patients about to be discharged to the community. This is an auxiliary service to other welfare groups and it is not likely that its importance will increase as a category of service. Public Health Nurses are increasingly taking up this service as social workers "cannot find the time".

Changes in the Incidence of Welfare Caseload

Between the years 1951 and 1961 there have been no major redistributions in the proportions of the categories of service, if examined by numbers of cases. There are perceptible trends, however (see Table XV). In 1951, Social Allowance cases comprised one-fifth of the caseload. Then there was a very small decrease (2 per cent) until 1958. Since 1958 there has been a continual increase until, in 1961, Social Allowance cases comprised over one-third of the caseload.

Pension cases have decreased as a proportion of the total Regional caseload between 1951 and 1961. In 1951, Pensions were 63 per cent of the caseload. In 1957, they were 66.8 per cent of the caseload but since then there has been a steady decrease until in 1961 they had dropped to 51.9 per cent of the caseload.

If the Social Assistance and the Pension cases are combined, together in 1951 they were 83.3 per cent of the caseload; in 1961 they were 87.1 per cent of the caseload. These two categories of service predominate in provincial social welfare. Financial need receives first attention as it is visible and obvious. Therefore, other categories of service come second - when and if there is time. The time-available factor now dictates that there is differential service available to persons who live

TABLE XV: Numerical and Percentage Increase Comparison Major Categories

for Region 6

1951 - Base 100.

CATEGORY	<u>No. of Cases: (as at Dec.)</u>			<u>Percentage Increase</u>		
	1951	1956	1961	1951-1956	1951-1961	1956-1961
TOTAL CASELOAD	4,966	6,986	11,155	140.93	228.28	159.67
Family Service	204	232	168	113.72	82.35	72.41
Social Allowances	1,012	1,313	4,018	130.90	400.59	306.01
Pensions - S.S.A.	128	3,338	4,109	2,607.81	3,210.15	123.09
Old Age	2,997	901	1,206	30.06	40.24	133.85
Blind and Disabled	63 (1953)	209	385	331.74	611.11	184.21
Child Welfare						
Adoptions	164	241	241	146.95	146.95	100.00
Child Care and Others	372	650	918	174.73	246.77	141.23
Health and Institutional	89	102	110	114.60	123.59	107.84

in metropolitan centres where there are specialized, private agencies. In the field services of the Department of Social Welfare, each office is responsible for all categories of service. In the larger cities private agencies may devote themselves to non-financial services, i.e., family service, emotionally disturbed children, and so on.

The above statement assumes that there is constructive work which could be done in the non-financial categories of service which now goes by the board because of lack of time. Workers in the field substantiate this, although no systematic record is kept of instances in which service might be given but is not. Should this not be a matter of record?

Reference was made earlier to the fact that Family Services is one of the categories which has low priority on the urgency scale. Over the ten years between 1951 and 1961 this category shows a slow but steady decrease.

The category of Child Welfare, as a whole, has been fairly steady as a proportion of the caseload. Internally there has been a slight decrease in adoptions and a slight increase in care services. This is another category of service that suffers under the pressure of work.

The Health and Institutional category shows a steady decrease, but here the figures are very small.

A different and illuminating perspective of the proportionate distribution of the Region's caseload can be gained if the Social Allowance cases are examined according to the number of individuals served. In 1951 the persons receiving Social Allowances comprised approximately one-fifth of the estimated number of individuals receiving services. There has been a steady increase in the numbers of persons receiving Social Allowances until in 1961, they were 59.9 per cent of the estimated number of individuals receiving social welfare services. This is not only a large number of people (10,926), but the services they receive are time-consuming. Unlike pensions, eligibility has to be re-evaluated each month, and all possible resources of both worker and client are brought into play to work on the economic and social problems of this group of people.

From this view, the greater significance of the Social Allowance category becomes clearer. This is important because it gives a more realistic view of the pressures on workers and, also, indicates where much of their time is spent.

Generally, the proportionate distribution of each District Office's caseload is fairly similar to the distribution for the Region.¹⁵ The Chilliwack Office, proportionately, has carried

¹⁵ See Appendix A for the proportionate distribution of caseloads by category for each District Office.

fewer pension cases than average. In 1951, 75 per cent of the Langley Office cases were pensions but this has decreased to around 50 per cent, the Region average. In the first year of its operation, 1957, the White Rock Office had 80 per cent pension cases. This has gradually decreased to 65 per cent in 1961 but this is still higher than the Region average.

The other category which deviates from the Region "norm" is Child Welfare. In Abbotsford, 16 per cent of the service in 1951 was devoted to Child Welfare. In 1961, a little over 8 per cent of the service went to Child Welfare. The category which seems to have taken over this proportion of the service is Social Allowance. The same situation is true for Chilliwack; from 21 per cent in 1951 to 12 per cent in 1961, with a substantial increase in Social Allowance service. Haney is the same. Langley is the only office which presents the reverse picture: from a little over 4 per cent in 1951 to 13 per cent in 1961.

When the categories of service are examined to establish the changes in amounts of service given between 1951 and 1961, increases predominate (see Table XVI). If 1951 is taken as the base year, the Supplementary Assistance caseload shows a phenomenal increase. However, this figure needs to be reviewed along with the Old Age Assistance figure, which shows a percentage decrease over the ten years. Up to and including 1951, applicants under

TABLE XVI: Distribution of Caseloads Within the Region

1951 - 1961

a. Total Caseload

OFFICE	Number of Cases (a)			P.C. Increase	
	1951	1956	1961	1951-56	1956-61
Abbotsford	962	1,433	2,249	148.9	156.9
Chilliwack (b)	958	1,410	2,163	147.2	153.4
Haney	520	741	1,290	142.5	174.1
Langley	685	872	1,298	127.3	148.9
Surrey	1,841	2,530	3,599	137.4	142.3
White Rock	(---)	550 (c)	556	(---)	101.1
TOTAL	4,966	6,986	11,155		

(a) December of each year

(b) Including Chilliwack Township

(c) 1957 figure

b. Cases Excluding Pensions

OFFICE	Number of Cases (a)			P.C. Increase	
	1951	1956	1961	1951-56	1956-61
Abbotsford	421	476	959	113.1	201.5
Chilliwack (b)	415	609	1,160	146.7	190.5
Haney	206	327	698	158.7	213.5
Langley	183	274	646	149.7	235.8
Surrey	744	852	1,800	114.5	211.3
White Rock	(---)	115 (c)	192	(---)	166.9
TOTAL	1,969	2,653	5,455		

(a) December of each year

(b) Including Chilliwack Township

(c) 1957 figure

the Old Age Pension Act had to pass a means test. In 1952, by federal legislation, the Old Age Security Act provided automatic benefits for persons over 70 years of age with proof of age and residence. Thereby, the large group of persons who were formerly classified under the Old Age Pension Act received their primary benefits through the Old Age Security Act and those without means receive Supplementary Assistance. This explains the shift from the Old Age Pension group to the Supplementary Assistance group.

Prior to 1952 the Blind Pensions were administered under the Old Age Pension Act. In 1952, with the passing of the Blind Pensions' Act, they became a separate category. Prior to 1953 there was no special legislation for Disabled Persons. However, this was forthcoming in 1953, and the percentages reflect the increase in applications.

The new legislation regarding the Pension categories makes comparisons over the ten years somewhat hazardous. Many of the people who were actually included in one or other of the Pension categories before 1956 were previously on the caseload but under a different heading. Under the new legislation, the qualifications and income limitations became less stringent for Blind Pensions, so not only did persons transfer from the Old Age Pension category, but, in addition, more people were eligible. On the other hand, the eligibility requirement for the Disabled

Pension is total disablement. These pensions, therefore, are more difficult to acquire. However, there is an increase in this category too, which is a reflection of the population growth and, perhaps, persistence on the part of the applicants to qualify. The Disabled Pension is paid at a higher rate than Social Allowance which explains the efforts of applicants.

The highest increase in numbers of cases is in the Social Allowance caseload. There are more people receiving Social Allowances in absolute numbers, and as a percentage of the population, than ever before. At first sight this is puzzling. Region VI has been referred to as an area with much new building, particularly housing developments. The people who move into the newest subdivisions are not usually to be seen on welfare caseloads. Moving into a new home in a new community implies a regular income necessary to meet monthly payments. The social services this group is interested in are apt to be schools, churches, recreational centres and playing fields. At this point, their needs are not for "primary necessities" but for the amenities of civilization. Why then the high increase in Social Allowance cases? The answer is that low-income as well as middle - and high - income groups move into the "rural suburbs".

When there is industrial and highway building, persons who want to get in on the "boom" expansion move into the area. Some put their savings into some type of marginal business

investment and attempt to live off the "extra" people in the area because of the building going on. As the boom moves - or dies - as the highway system changes or is re-zoned, persons with marginal incomes may fail to make a living from their business. Another major dislocated group are those persons who move out into the fringes to find the low priced land or "low-cost" districts. Some are already semi-transient, all of them are looking for the lowest possible cost-of-living. If their employment qualifications are of semi-skilled or unskilled nature, their employment tenure may be short or seasonal. Some who move into the "boom" areas to find employment live in motels and trailers. From the data on families and ages it can be seen that it is no longer only single men who move looking for jobs or low costs of living. Entire families pick up their belongings and "move on".

More reporting of information is needed regarding the occupations, residences, and so on, of social allowance family breadwinners. This information is collected on each application for service, but, as far as is known, it is not tabulated. A very interesting study could be made of the occupations and lengths of previous employment of social allowance recipients. These tabulations could be compared by Regions and to the occupational structure of the general population, and the above questions more definitively answered.

The percentage increases shown for Child Welfare, Adoption, and Health and Institutional services are a reflection of numerically small numbers. For accuracy and meaning they need to be seen as part of the total caseload. The decrease in the Family Service category has already been referred to.

Looking at the total caseloads by office (Table XVIa), each district or sub-area has doubled its caseload. Interestingly, the percentage increase from 1956 to 1961 is greater than the increase between 1951 and 1956. The population forecasts indicate that the rate of population increase is going to continue for the next ten years in the Fraser Valley. What does this mean for welfare planning for the future?

If the pension cases are excluded, the percentage increase of cases varies considerably by area (Table XVIb). Langley, Haney and Chilliwack indicate the highest increases. Langley is the area just ahead of the area now undergoing the greatest urbanization (Surrey); Haney is a special case (an "extension suburb"; besides housing the families of persons interned at the Haney Correctional Institute); and Chilliwack attracts persons who want to "get away from the city", or who can gear their occupations to farming interests, often on small acreage. White Rock, with its many retired people, shows the lowest increase in cases when pensions are excluded.

The most significant implication in all the above figures is that the present state of welfare needs is not going to "naturally" correct itself; there is not going to be a reversal of trends unless there is a conscious effort to effect some changes. A combination of demographic, economic and welfare indices will be necessary to chart the path, and suggest policy changes.

CHAPTER IV

Implications of Regional Measurements

Social and Economic Changes in the Region

It has been shown that the area of the province known as Region VI has undergone great changes in terms of construction and population increases. There is every reason to believe this will continue. All forecasts point to continuing movement and growth up into the Fraser Valley. At the present time, there seems to be two kinds of new residents moving into the area. There is the group that is moving into new housing developments. These are typically, middle-income or high paid wage earners who require only a few of the social welfare services that are under the jurisdiction of the Department of Social Welfare. They do require schools, recreation and related facilities. However, it must be kept in mind, particularly where zoning or other planning controls or policies are negligible, much of this home building is not of the best quality and twenty years hence some of these suburban fringes could become run-down areas. The other group of persons moving "up the Valley" are marginally skilled and sometimes marginally employed who are attempting to "keep ahead of the big city" or at least the higher cost of

facilities it brings with it. Region VI has a disproportionately high rate of socio-economic change and the dislocation that accompanies it. Correspondingly, there is a disproportionately high number of marginal families who have moved in and settled temporarily. It is likely, however, that as these latter persons resume their migratory pattern, they will continue up the Valley and thus present the same problems in a slightly different location. One concludes that both in the forefront and gradually behind the locus of urbanization, there will be high-incidence areas of "problems" requiring social welfare attention.

It is clear that the nature of the economy is shifting in the Fraser Valley. Three major trends are discernible. The urbanization process is claiming an ever-increasing proportion of the labour force to commute to the tertiary pursuits of the metropolitan centre. At the same time, light industry expansion is moving out into the Valley and in time will require a pool of artisan and white collar workers of its own. While the agricultural part of the Valley economy has had to make way for these changes, the population expansion continues to require a ready food supply. Fraser Valley agriculture has now less economic predominance but will still continue to be important.

These changes vitally affect the lives of the Fraser Valley residents in countless ways. They also affect the structure

of social welfare caseloads and the nature and direction of remedial action. Because the underlying importance of such an understanding is so basic to public welfare policies, an extended and comprehensive study of this matter is essential. It is here suggested that this would be the next step in any intensive planning undertaken.

Present Caseloads and Services

The percentage increase in numbers of cases to be carried in Region VI seems to be inordinately high. However, when the percentage increase of cases is juxtaposed with the percentage increase of workers between the years 1951 and 1961 (see Table XVII) it is evident that the proportionate increase in workers has almost kept pace with the caseload increases. However, this sets up a fallacious case. The year 1951 is used as the base year and the sizes of caseloads certainly were not ideal at that time. The average caseload in 1951 was 275.4 cases and the average caseload in 1961 was 310.9 cases per worker. Interestingly, taking the Province as a whole, the average caseload for the Department in 1951 was 274.4 cases per worker and in 1961 the average was 339.8 cases per worker. In numbers of cases per worker, Region VI is representative of the provincial situation.

In at least one respect, caseload figures give an

TABLE XVII: PERCENTAGE INCREASE OF CASES AND WORKERS FOR REGION 6

- Years 1951 to 1961 -

Year	Percentage Increase of Cases (1951 = 100)	Percentage Increase of Workers (1951= 100)
1951	100.0	100.0
1952	115.7	105.6
1953	124.9	127.8
1954	134.1	122.2
1955	142.2	127.8
1956	143.9	150.0
1957	167.9	166.7
1958	175.7	166.7
1959	191.7	172.2
1960	210.7	183.3
1961	228.3	200.0

TABLE XVIII: NUMBER OF WORKERS AND AVERAGE CASELOADS IN MAIN
SUB-DISTRICTS, 1951-1961

(All figures relate to month of December in the year stated)

NO. OF WORKERS	1951	1953	1955	1957	1959	1961
<u>Eastern Section:</u>						
Abbotsford	4	5	5	5	5	6
Haney	3	3	3	4	4	4
Chilliwack						
District	2	4	3	3	6	8
Township(a)	1	1	2	3	(-)	(-)
<u>Western Section(b):</u>						
Langley	2	3	3	5	5	5
Surrey	6	7	7	8	9	11
 AVERAGE CASELOAD	 1951	 1953	 1955	 1957	 1959	 1961
<u>Eastern Section:</u>						
Abbotsford	240.5	236.8	272.4	308.4	394.8	374.8
Haney	173.3	213.3	237.7	206.0	234.2	322.5
Chilliwack						
District	292.0	183.7	242.3	258.3	321.5	270.3
Township(a)	374.0	441.0	335.5	267.7	(-)	(-)
<u>Western Section(b):</u>						
Langley	342.5	309.7	296.7	265.4	240.6	259.6
Surrey	306.8	309.3	346.4	319.7	326.2	327.2

(a) Amalgamated with District, 1958.

(b) White Rock a separate office from 1957; 2 workers;
average caseloads were 275 in 1957 and 278 in 1961.

incomplete picture because some workers do carry "specialized" caseloads, i.e., all Social Allowance, all Unemployed Employables, or all Child Welfare. Sometimes the numbers of cases are less - sometimes they are greater - in these loads. This is recognition that some types of cases, i.e., Child Welfare, consistently take more time per case than some other types, i.e., Pensions, and, therefore, a worker can carry a fewer - or greater - number of cases if his load is made up from one service category only. This measure has been called "weighting" caseloads. However, to date, this has been feasible only where there are concentrations of population and it is mainly a concession to expediency rather than to service. Although, of course, the service also may gain. Here, with all due respect to the palliative measures that have been invoked, the consideration is, in terms of service to be given and work to be done, what would be most effective? Nothing takes the place, or removes the need, for adequate staffing together with the wisest possible deployment.

A great deal has been written recently about public welfare services and "multi-problem" families. The emphasis has been on how these relatively few persons, who consume a high proportion of available service, can be best served. Almost inevitably this leads to a discussion of what kind of service the non-multi-problem family shall receive. This opens the door to the many problems of staffing and caseloads in a public welfare agency. The subject is not new; nor are the problems. One thing

the years have proven is that time alone will not resolve the problems. The problem seems to be common to most communities on this continent. The issues have been examined by Maimo Sopp in a recent thesis, Optimum Professional Staffing of a Municipal Social Welfare Department at the Caseworker Level.¹⁶ She reviews several research programs in the United States and Canada and proposes a pilot project for Vancouver. The projects reviewed, although geographically widely separate, disclose certain common conclusions: large caseloads will continue in public welfare; the majority of public welfare social workers will not have degrees from graduate schools of social work; and, some method needs to be devised to cut down on the time-consuming routines of establishing eligibility, and so on. Classification of cases and, subsequently, classification of workers is the most common resulting theme that comes out of these studies. Cases are classified according to the kind of service they require: straightforward material help, systematic help for more complex problems, and skilled help for problems of special difficulty. Workers are classified as assistants to social workers to deal with the straightforward situations, workers with graduate training for

¹⁶ Maimo Sopp, Optimum Professional Staffing of a Municipal Social Welfare Department at the Caseworker Level, Master of Social Work thesis, University of British Columbia, 1961.

the complex cases, professionally trained and experienced social workers to undertake casework in problems of special difficulty. Two-fold classifications have also been suggested.

Any applied scheme would have to be adapted to the particular area where it was to be used. The important lesson that emerges is that it is not possible to differentiate caseloads without considering the type and character of the problem any particular kind of case presents. "In all major studies to date, one hundred "difficult" cases would be considered a completely overwhelming number for one worker to handle on more than a superficial basis and it is questionable whether the small gains - not to mention the possible losses - likely to result from this redistribution justify the major administrative changes involved." ¹⁷ In selected caseloads of "difficult" cases, demonstration projects have had from fifteen to fifty cases carried by each worker. (In the St. Paul Study the permanent workers each carried twenty cases.) In family service type agencies the usual number of cases is around twenty-five. There is no reason to suppose the cases in these special instances take any more skill or time or effort than those on the public welfare caseloads.

By these standards, and by the statements of workers

17 Ibid., p.79.

who feel unable to cope adequately with the "routine work", to say nothing of family service and child welfare, the undifferentiated caseloads in Region VI are too heavy. The same conclusion applies to the provincial situation.

Regional Boundaries

The general case for precision would not be so strong if it represented an inordinate amount of re-organizing of the methods of gathering and compiling data. The basic data is already gathered by both bodies but it is not presented for the benefit of either. If the time was allotted for research it would be easy to follow-up the leads which have arisen at various points in this exploratory study. The present data will indicate how many families there are; where most of them are, though not perhaps where they all are; facts about family structure, ethnic backgrounds, employment, income, and so on, for large heterogeneous areas - notably provinces. But if the vast amount of data now publicly collected is to be useful, boundaries must coincide reasonably well with the "working" areas of other official bodies. School Districts and Public Health Districts are fairly synonymous, but when welfare districts, voting districts and technical survey districts are added, the picture is no longer straightforward.

At many points in this review, the attempt to utilize census statistics along with Department of Social Welfare statistics

for Region VI has highlighted the major problem stated in the beginning: the boundaries decided on for the "region" do not exactly correspond. By various kinds of manipulation they have been brought close. But they are not close enough. What is more important, it is questionable whether the Welfare Department's region is logical. If a "region" is understood to be an area with homogeneous characteristics, and not merely an administrative and transportation convenience, Surrey is now "like", and a part of, Metropolitan Vancouver. It is now unlike the rest of the Fraser Valley. This suggests that the problems it presents - administratively and socially - can be expected to be similar to those of Metropolitan Vancouver and, therefore, its welfare administration should be from the Vancouver area and not the Fraser Valley.

Measurement of Cases and Services

The Department of Social Welfare and its referral offices collect their own wealth of data. Most of it depends for analysis on the Victoria resources. The Research Department has compiled some very interesting facts in recent years but more staff would make possible better use of this data in relation to other materials. Comparison with the referral data of other Province's departments is also needed.

Information could be used in the District offices to

further service. It is not enough to use it to bolster worker morale, because of the sheer volume of work and the severity of the problems handled. Some vital statistical developments are needed in this direction. It is time for Welfare personnel to stop thinking in terms of "cases" and to start thinking in terms of people and units of service. The Public Welfare Division of the Canadian Welfare Council has been working on the standardization of minimum public welfare statistics for some time, and has consulted provincial departments as well as Schools of Social Work.¹⁸ One "case" may contain many units of service. It is losing sight of the welfare facts if one social allowance case with an unemployed father, a disabled mother and six children has to be recorded as one unit of service. It is not only significant for the administration to know how many persons an agency is dealing with: it gives much more practical indications of workloads, of staff time, and of specialized skills or facilities needed.

Of course the actual numbers are important, but it is the characteristics they represent that are most relevant. How many persons are married, single, widowed, divorced, separated? How many children in receipt of social allowance have fathers in their home? How does this relate to the regional population

18 The University of British Columbia School has made strong representations on the need to replace "cases" by family units and individual persons; but at the time of writing it is not known whether such a change has been put into operation.

pattern? Questions of this kind make the difference in planning. They must be continuously answered, and comparative analyses made, if knowledge of human behavior is to be brought to bear on what these statistical inferences mean for health and welfare. Sometimes the appropriate data is already being gathered and no new questions necessarily need to be added. It is a question of pulling together and using the information.

One development worth consideration is to give Regions more opportunity to examine their own data after it has been given some standard compilation. Personnel working in a region know their area, and can attach the appropriate significance and interpretation to data which a "stranger" cannot always do. Furthermore, workers in the field know "what they need to know". While this may, and perhaps should, differ to some extent between regions, some similar measurements, especially if continuous, will give food for thought and comparison, throw more light on standards, and aid more enlightened operation generally.

Social Planning and Statistical Development

All of the above material raises the case for physical as well as social planning. Senior students of land-use, population growth, the demands on agricultural and natural resources in the Valley support the case for "green belts" to be established at strategic points in the Lower Mainland Area. "Green belts",

fundamentally, are areas in which the building of housing and factories, etc., is prevented. Such areas may be zoned for farms, parks, lake and water with side recreational use, and even airports. This foresighted effort to set aside sizable pieces of land for the future, before it is too late, is not as yet receiving much support. Surrey offers man's example of what can happen without planning. Some fine agricultural land, which is rare in British Columbia - and precious for food supply - has been built upon. There are case examples of "urban sprawl". The main roadways through and between the municipalities have been accompanied by "ribbon development" of residences, stores, signs, and so on; one of the most unsightly, as well as economically dislocating, outgrowths of the front-runners of urbanization. It is too easily forgotten that "urban sprawl" and "ribbon development" are not only unsightly. They may be the accompaniment of marginal living; a peripheral ring of people seeking low-cost living arrangements, which at the same time are close to employment sources.

There seems to be little doubt that, in the immediate future at least, welfare demands are going to increase. In Region VI, 10 per cent of the population are being directly affected by the services of the Social Welfare Department. This is neither a small nor an isolated group. Further, there are

more families being served than previously. This has implications for the present and for the future. If a hold-the-line policy is adhered to, more staff will be required to merely maintain services. If there are to be any additional "casework" services to cover the cases now known to Offices, much planning and re-allocation of staff time, plus additional staff is necessary. It seems likely that there will be increased numbers of social allowance and pension cases. What about the family service and adoption cases? Are they to receive still less time than they now do?

In developing a program, certain questions in public policy need to be answered. Is the Social Welfare Department actually responsible only for maintaining families or does it have a rehabilitative role also? Presently its rehabilitative attempts are kept to a minimum because of the pressure of day-to-day work. Is rehabilitation a function to be left to private agencies? It is not likely that many welfare officials or professional social workers would accept this as a desirable principle. Yet, it is not always pointed out that differential social service is available to persons living in large population centers. Of course, this is always true to some extent, but the current dearth of any but maintenance services is very unevenly distributed.

This is not to suggest that all people who enter social welfare offices require "casework". The categorization of "kinds" of cases by degree of difficulty and the categorization of "kinds" of social workers or assistants by degree of competence, acknowledges the fact that differential cases require differential treatment. What is suggested is that social workers and welfare officials use what they know in order to effect the best service for clients.

Only the most basic measurements have been reviewed and brought together in this study. However, "cases" and numbers of people served are not the only indices of measurement of service. Interviews, kinds of interviews, visits, miles travelled, letters written, and so on, can be used - and are by some agencies. The Family Service Association of America have a highly developed system of collecting, tabulating and relating their statistics. One of the most interesting and "basic" collections they make is to differentiate in Intake cases between "new"; "reopened, last closed prior to this year"; and, "reopened, last closed within this year". Some of these same figures are being systematically collected by the Social Welfare Department; in some provincial offices additional figures are collected because an individual feels they are valuable and useful. But what is done with most of the data collected?

Perhaps the first question that needs to be answered by a research study is: Who are the people who visit welfare offices? What are their common - and dissimilar - characteristics? How do they earn a living when they can? Where do they come from? What are their backgrounds, social and educational? Where do they want to go themselves? How do they compare with the general population? A great deal of this kind of compilation is being done by the Research Department particularly with regard to pensioners, but they are now less than half of the cases handled.

Another aspect to be examined is: What kinds of problems or "types" of cases do social workers handle in the District offices? Can they be classified? Although perusing a representative sample of cases would give some more precise ideas, some beginning classifications might be according to: the amount of service given in terms of numbers of contacts; the duration of the service in days, months, years; the number of hours of service; the type of problem (economic, social, educational, etc.); or, according to the number of people directly served by each worker and/or each office.

The importance of "measurement" becomes more obvious with the increased emphasis on rehabilitation which is currently sweeping North America. To measure where "treatment" of any

kind has taken an individual, or group of individuals, it is necessary to know what they brought to the service and the nature of the treatment, before it is possible to "measure" where they went. No one has been able to do a comprehensive and complete measurement study to date, although there are
19
many encouraging beginnings.

The Welfare personnel in the Lower Mainland area have an extra, perhaps unique, opportunity in the field of planning because this area is being slowly but effectively understood and developed as a region. There are many implications for welfare in urbanization: the economic and job situation, where and how people move, ribbon developments, and fringe area consequences. The "positives" and "negatives" of urban expansion, open space, the preservation of farming, all need to be better understood.

The Lower Mainland Planning Board have some of the answers to what is going on and to what is likely to happen. Further, they know how to go about finding out some of the other answers. Planners and welfare officials should co-operate more and should use one another as resources. Welfare personnel could also provide planners with important facts.

The entire case for planning and statistical review

19 B. Buell and Assoc., Community Planning for Human Services, New York, Columbia University Press, 1952 and the associated work with the St. Paul Studies is one of the most frequently cited references in this regard.

rests, of course, on the assumption that planning is not only useful but necessary. Lack of planning is wasteful, not only of resources but of human beings. There is much room for co-operation with planners and with other departments - as there is for regional initiative. When the picture is more fully drawn, the people of the region, and the service workers from many areas (including health and education as well as welfare), could make a creative contribution in this whole area of endeavor.

The Case for Further Studies

This has been a study of only one region. To get a comprehensive and better differentiated view of the entire province, each Welfare Region requires a similar study. In such a diverse province it is necessary to know the special features of each area because, although there are some basic similarities, there are many differences in the needs of the people in the various areas. It is perhaps not yet recognized how each region can profit from the study of every other region. To be valuable, research needs to be comprehensive, continuous and comparative. The present study has been an attempt to open up the subject and to stimulate others by showing what might be done.

APPENDIX A: Auxiliary Statistical Tables

TABLE XIX: POPULATION by AGE GROUPS for Region and Component
Municipalities over 10,000 1951-1961

AGE	Region 6	Met. Van.	Div. 4	Maple Ridge	Surrey	Langley	Matsqui	Chilliwack
Total 1951	109,999	520,993	649,238	9,891	33,670	12,267	10,308	13,677
1961	188,330	719,327	907,531	16,748	70,838	14,585	14,293	18,296
% Increase	69	40	39	69	110	18	38	33
0-4 1951	12,852	51,185	66,009	1,160	3,776	1,211	1,248	1,655
1961	24,011	72,545	96,556	1,860	10,244	1,670	1,651	2,286
% Increase	86	41	46	60	171	37	32	38
5-9 1951	11,204	39,631	52,435	951	3,310	1,263	1,136	1,392
1961	15,457	74,325	89,782	1,824	9,118	1,698	1,679	2,313
% Increase	37	87	71	91	174	34	47	66
10-14 1951	9,706	29,273	40,156	830	2,754	1,134	1,090	1,269
1961	19,415	60,787	80,202	1,733	6,997	1,633	1,545	2,019
% Increase	100	107	100	108	154	39	41	59
15-19 1951	7,833	27,740	36,457	608	1,980	881	915	1,137
1961	16,081	46,363	60,448	1,397	4,387	1,184	1,303	1,548
% Increase	105	67	65	129	121	34	42	35
20-24 1951	6,441	35,239	42,824	552	1,607	560	640	1,045
1961	12,399	38,842	51,241	895	3,589	614	764	1,019
% Increase	92	10	19	62	114	9	19	-2
25-34 1951	14,864	85,648	103,256	1,233	4,412	1,405	1,303	1,994
1961	23,487	96,663	120,150	1,928	10,224	1,472	1,403	2,341
% Increase	58	12	16	56	131	4	7	17
35-44 1951	14,122	79,848	96,541	1,309	4,132	1,546	1,233	1,718
1961	24,525	105,163	129,688	2,122	9,579	1,843	1,518	2,353
% Increase	73	31	34	62	131	19	23	36
45-54 1951	11,500	58,052	71,404	1,076	3,518	1,369	1,042	1,320
1961	18,701	88,783	107,484	1,787	6,207	1,528	1,631	1,797
% Increase	62	52	50	66	76	11	47	36
55-64 1951	9,645	52,198	64,368	1,036	3,636	1,318	888	1,148
1961	13,516	58,579	72,095	1,288	4,335	1,295	1,217	1,248
% Increase	27	12	12	23	19	-2	37	8
65-69 1951	5,241	25,887	31,924	480	2,059	693	400	437
1961	6,027	24,203	30,230	600	2,018	569	523	514
% Increase	14	-6	-5	25	-2	-17	30	17
70+ 1951	6,591	36,190	43,858	656	2,486	887	413	562
1961	12,212	57,443	69,655	1,323	4,140	1,079	1,059	858
% Increase	85	58	58	101	66	21	156	52

TABLE XX: PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION OF CASELOADS BY CATEGORY,
for Surrey District Office - alternate years 1951-61

Category	1951	1953	1955	1957	1959	1961
Pensions	66.5	67.9	65.9	68.2	59.6	49.5
Social Allowance	21.4	16.7	20.4	18.7	26.1	37.8
Family Service	3.2	5.2	2.6	1.7	1.8	1.5
Child Welfare	7.3	8.3	9.2	10.3	11.7	9.9
Health & Institutional	1.6	1.9	1.9	1.1	.8	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE XXI: PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION OF CASELOADS BY CATEGORY,
for Chilliwack District Office-alternate years 1951-61

Category	1951	1953	1955	1957	1959 [*]	1961
Pensions	48.1	53.6	57.2	60.9	51.9	46.4
Social Allowance	17.6	11.6	19.5	20.9	31.7	38.3
Family Service	8.6	8.6	6.6	3.9	3.2	2.5
Child Welfare	21.1	23.1	15.6	13.0	12.3	12.1
Health & Institutional	4.6	3.1	1.1	1.3	0.9	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* Chilliwack Township amalgamated with the District Office
in 1958.

TABLE XXII: PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION OF CASELOADS BY CATEGORY,
for Abbotsford District Office-alternate years 1951-61

Category	1951	1953	1955	1957	1959	1961
Pensions	57.2	59.2	66.2	67.4	60.8	57.4
Social Allowance	18.6	18.8	19.5	19.5	27.0	32.2
Family Service	6.1	4.4	1.9	1.9	1.0	0.9
Child Welfare	16.4	15.4	10.9	9.7	10.2	8.4
Health & Institutional	1.7	2.2	1.5	1.5	1.0	1.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE XXIII: PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION OF CASELOADS BY CATEGORY,
for Haney District Office - alternate years 1951-61

Category	1951	1953	1955	1957	1959	1961
Pensions	60.3	61.4	56.7	66.0	57.8	45.9
Social Allowance	18.0	15.0	19.5	17.5	26.4	39.7
Family Service	3.3	4.1	3.5	1.8	1.4	1.8
Child Welfare	17.4	16.7	17.8	12.9	13.2	11.4
Health & Institutional	(-)	2.8	2.5	1.8	1.2	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE XXIV: PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION OF CASELOADS BY CATEGORY,
for Langley District Office-alternate years 1951-61

Category	1951	1953	1955	1957	1959	1961
Pensions	73.3	73.8	67.7	66.1	57.4	50.2
Social Allowance	18.0	10.5	10.6	15.1	23.9	35.9
Family Service	2.9	1.9	3.1	1.9	2.8	1.3
Child Welfare	4.2	12.7	18.0	16.5	15.4	13.0
Health & Institutional	1.6	1.1	0.6	0.4	0.5	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

TABLE XXV: PROPORTIONATE DISTRIBUTION OF CASELOADS BY CATEGORY,
for White Rock District Office-alternate years 1951-61

Category	1951	1953	1955	1957	1959	1961
Pensions	(-)	(-)	(-)	79.1	71.4	65.5
Social Allowance	(-)	(-)	(-)	16.3	20.7	25.7
Family Service	(-)	(-)	(-)	1.1	1.1	0.5
Child Welfare	(-)	(-)	(-)	2.2	4.4	7.2
Health & Institutional	(-)	(-)	(-)	1.3	2.4	1.1
Total	(-)	(-)	(-)	100.0	100.0	100.0

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