

Report by DCL on Summer Resurvey,  
Stirling County 1962

My first move was to go to interview Dr. Armstrong in the Clinic to see what space there was available there for our work, and if there was not sufficient space, what suggestions he might have for working space. The Clinic is housed in a second floor apartment which is fully occupied by the Clinic itself. Except for a small backroom which is virtually full of Cornell research material, very neatly arranged, perfectly available and well catalogued for the most part. There is however no space for meetings or even for individuals to do paper work. Dr. Armstrong was very regretful but there was nothing he could do under the circumstances. When I asked him whether he thought some of the Churches or the school might be able to supply us with space he thought the school would be the better choice.

Wednesday morning has been determined as the meeting time for the weekly seminar. The Clinic staff has been planning for this so that no patients are scheduled for that time. In order to facilitate their participation we will have the work session of the seminar at the beginning with discussions of problems connected with the interviewing afterwards. Dr. Armstrong reports that the Clinic Staff is enthusiastic about learning more what should be done in the way of personality studies. But this will have to be put off until the return of Stan Moldovan and until

Hubert Deveau gets back from his vacation which takes place during July.

Dr. Armstrong has read over the Bellak chapter and showed it to a friend from Australia who came through. We will discuss this at some appointed time. He said that at a recent meeting of the hospital board some hope has been held out that the Clinic might possibly find space after the new hospital is built.

Following my visit to Dr. Armstrong, I went to see Mr. Purdy the Superintendent of the rural high school district. He was very cordial and hospitable and offered us the conference room near his office which has a long table, a number of chairs and plenty of space for blackboards. He said if we needed one he would find us a typewriter that we could use and he would give us a key to the outside door so that we can come in and out as required. He is quite willing to furnish anything else that we require. Dr. Armstrong suggested inviting Mr. Purdy to the Wednesday seminars and it seems appropriate also to extend an invitation to Victor Cardoza and Edgar McKay. However we will defer this until we see how the seminars shape up. In the evening Tom Stone came out to the house to talk about the plans and we discussed the above.

In order to have some control of interviewer effect on the interviewing in the Depressed Areas we decided to ask Hubert Deveau to do some questionnaires in Ashmore and Plympton Station. AHL saw him soon after this and he expressed willingness. Along the same line it will be important not to have one interviewer do all the work at Freeport.

If Landeen goes to Freeport first, then after he has finished about half the people there he should change places with Lynn. Since Tom has already done a sociological study in Ashmore it seems that is the place to start for the Depressed Areas. Feinstein and Lynn will begin there. When they finish, they can move on to Burma Road saving a few interviews in each place for Hubert Deveau to do. Delaguard and Sampson will of course be in Belliveau's Cove, and if they finish this, they will then move on to a non-focussed French community.

On Thursday, June 28 the two French interviewers arrived (Roger Delaguard and Marcel Sampson). Delaguard comes from an Acadian area of New Brunswick while Sampson comes from the country south of Montreal. They moved into the same rooming house where Tom was staying, and he began to instruct them in what they would be doing this summer.

On the 29th one of the Cornell students, Morton Lynn, arrived and joined the party. On the 30th John Landeen drove up on his motor scotter and also moved into the same rooming house. On the 30th also, the Feinsteins and ALL arrived. On Sunday they all gathered at the Leighton house for a social evening to get acquainted.

Although Monday, July 2nd was the official Dominion Day Holiday because the 1st had fallen on a Sunday, we met in any case in the morning at the school. After some preliminary instructions on where keys were kept, the use of the school, the use of the Clinic for location of books, questionnaires and paper supplies, we went through the questionnaire item by item. Although a number of exceptions were taken to the form of content

of the questions in the questionnaire schedule everyone seemed quite amiable to the thought that we had to try it out this way, partly to see if it would work, partly because we needed to compare this interview effort with that of 1952. Following this discussion, which took quite a long time, Alice Longaker interviewed DCL using the Questionnaire. This gave rise to a few more questions but it evidently served to provide these students with a much clearer idea of what the interview situation would be like.

We quit about 12:30 when we saw the floats of the Dominion Day parade arriving at the school and after lunch Alice, Tom and DCL went to see Dr. Armstrong regarding a place for us to do practice interviews. It had seemed to us that Bridgetown would be far enough away, that is about 35 miles, and it was a great convenience that the Psychiatric Clinic had an office there which we could use as headquarters. We assigned to the interviewing students for the afternoon or evening that they should interview one another or somebody, not anybody in Digby but they could come and interview the staff if they preferred it. On Tuesday, July 3rd, we met in the school again and discussed their experiences with their interviews as well as questions that had occurred to them regarding the whole procedure.

After lunch in town we all went to Bridgetown. Since Tom Jones came to greet us as we walked into the Clinic rooms, we asked his opinion as to which part of town to start in, and he said right around the Clinic in both directions, there were plenty of people living, so

we sent the people off telling them to interview in each third house and divide it, one going up one side of the street and another up the other side of the street. They went to several different starting points two by two. The first one to return got back in about one hour and a half and the rest trickled in at varying intervals thereafter, most of the delay having been caused by not finding a respondent on the first knock. They had obviously felt quite uncomfortable about the whole proposition before interviewing, but as a whole they had enjoyed their experience very much and felt very happy about the results. After a free discussion session of their experiences, without particular reference to the details of the questionnaire, we went home for the evening. DCL retaining the interviews and going over them with a red pencil to mark places where there were omissions or where improvements could have been made.

Going back a step, they reported on Tuesday morning that some pages of the French questionnaire which Gustav Doucette had prepared, was translated for us, had not come through the duplicating machine well, so that they were barely legible and in a few places insufficient space had been allowed for writing down the answers. The two French interviewers therefore proposed to cut new stencils for these particular pages, about 7 in all I believe, and to have them hectographed at the Clinic. On the morning of Wednesday, July 4th, they proceeded to do this, that is to fix the questionnaires and at 2 o'clock on Wednesday, we held a discussion session of the interviews that they had done in

Bridgetown. At about 3 o'clock Gustav Doucette and Tremblays' two students from Weymouth arrived as did AHL to start the seminar. He has the detailed notes on this. In general we can say that the students from Weymouth doubted that they could take time for the seminar, since it was somewhat tangential to their particular interests and since they are gathering thesis material. However they left the final decision open until Tremblay returns on Sunday.

The main core of the seminar is envisioned to Tom Stone and our four interviewers, so considerable time was spent trying to find out what they would like to have particularly discussed. One of the things mentioned was the history of the project and the reasoning behind the kind of subjects that we tackle in the questionnaire. It seems likely on the whole that either volunteers for reading particular things and reporting them or else the assignment of some of the books and articles will be a good thing for this seminar to do at points.

We disbanded at 4:30 and came out to the Leighton house where we all had a picnic with a number of additions such as the Armstrong family and the Feinstein children, the Cardozas, Edgar McKay and Guy Henson from Halifax.

On Thursday, July 5th, we met at 9:30 and began by DCL showing how a psychiatric evaluation is made, using one of the Bridgetown interviews. This was the interview of a woman with multiple symptoms, but at the same time it offered considerable scope for pointing out what hadn't been collected in the way of information. It might just as

well have been, if only it had been realized by the interviewer that the information would have been helpful. The students all expressed interest and surprise at some of the things that turned out to be useful. Following this, Tom Stone gave a short discussion on sampling on the master lists and how they must be kept up as a record of the interviewing and on the sociological part of the questionnaire. He was interrupted briefly by a question as to what key informants are and he answered this very satisfactorily. He pointed out that the questionnaire was aimed at getting normative behavior, as well as features of disintegration which include high frequency of broken homes both physically broken and psychologically broken, the presence of few and weak leadership, few associations, hostility, crime and delinquency and poor communications. The third thing we are looking for are antecedents of disintegration, namely poverty, experience of disaster, cultural confusion, secularization, extensive migration and rapid social change. He then demonstrated a scale formation by going over secularization as the table appears in the back of "Cove and Woodlot." He then gave an excellent discussion, brief and from the lay point of view, of the Barker and Wright behavior setting ideas that we hope to do some work on this summer. We gave everybody a map of the county left over from 1952, the kind which is mostly outlined, but which shows many of the roads that are not in detail on the available gasoline road maps.

On Friday, July 6th we had a rather short meeting in the morning at which the final details of where everybody would work and exactly how they would get started was discussed. Howard Feinstein and Lynn will begin with Ashmore. Tom has already introduced Lynn around Ashmore and he will continue doing this for Feinstein. They will divide the houses approximately in half beginning more or less at each end of the area and working towards the middle so that they will not have to keep running back and forth to make sure that the other one hasn't interviewed where they next want to go. John and Tom will go to Freeport this afternoon. Tom went down yesterday afternoon and called on Florence Blackford who was perfectly friendly herself but did not want to be involved in the research because of the unfavorable publicity which this has received recently. The latest knock came from a Freeport emigrant who is a minister in Syracuse and who after delivering a sermon to a packed church went into some detail on all the things in "Cove and Woodlot" of which he did not approve. This rather set Tom back on his heels and we are all a little uncertain as to just what this means in the way of difficulty at Freeport. However, Friday afternoon he intends to go down to see somebody else in Freeport and perhaps he will have better luck. I recommended to him the Birpy Campbell family, and he is going to try them to see how they feel about the research.

The French interviewers have completed cutting the stencils but to date it has been difficult to get paper for the mimeographing. However, they expect it to arrive and will complete the questionnaires



this afternoon. They will then go to Yarmouth to try out the French version of the questionnaire, returning to DCL to discuss any difficulties that they find. They are using the project car. Marcelle Sampson has a driver's license, though Roger Deleguard does not drive. John Landeen and Tom Stone will move to Freeport Saturday or Sunday. and Sampson will move to Belleveau's Cove Saturday or Sunday. Feinstein stays put at Harbour View and Lynn is not certain whether he will find a boarding house or whether he will move in with Stan Moldovan when the latter returns. In any case they will start interviewing in their areas as soon as possible and will bring their results to the seminar meeting on Wednesday after which DCL will review the questionnaires and make appointments to discuss them with the interviewers. It turned out on Friday that the brochure of questions and answers about the Cornell project was not quite ready, but they hoped to get this completed by Saturday noon, so that early interviewers can have copies to take with them if anyone would like one. In Bridgetown since the respondents knew nothing about the project, there was considerable interest in having a brochure and in these cases they will be mailed to the respondents. So ended a busy week.

The first seminar for the students interviewing was held on July 11th, Wednesday at the High school--Dr. Armstrong and Ade Tremblay were present, as well as the students.

AHL first inquired what books the students had been reading--that they found interesting. Morton Lynn said he is reading Hall and Lindsay's

theories of Personality. John Landeen is going to read "Gregorio," Marcell Sampson is going to read "An Introduction to Social Psychiatry," Roger Deleguard is going to read Ralph Linton's Cultural Background and Personality. Doreen is going to read Kluckhohn Chapter \_\_\_\_\_ in the handbook of Social Psychology.

Next week Landeen will report on Gregorio--the following week Sampson will report on his book and the third week Roger and Morton will raise questions about "My Name is Legion." After discussing books, questions were invited. Roger said he would like to know something about the structure of the questionnaire, how the various parts of it were linked to theory and content. Marcell inquired if you can find a whole community which is affected by the same kind of mental illness, he thought perhaps social psychiatry might be a group phenomenon. Morton wanted to know if arthritis was a common symptom in this area and how it compared with others, and also whether the belief that nose-bleeds are good for a person. Is both prevalent and true?

Howard raised the question about the structure of the questionnaire in terms of what follows what, and feels that it does not seem to build up the kind of picture that a psychiatrist gets after interviewing a patient for the length of time that the questionnaire takes. There is never any building up of the relationship, he feels, and you always seem to be at the beginning. Tremblay answered Howard's question at some length, to the effect that the questionnaire is purposely structured to keep any personal relationship between respondent and interviewer from

developing so that it will only be response to the questions themselves rather than response to the interviewer that is recorded.

AHL replying to the questions about nose-bleeds said that generally speaking that it is quite striking the lack of superstitious beliefs that we have been able to find in this county. There is some \_\_\_\_\_ but relatively little. This is an area which had a great deal not too long ago. There was a witchcraft murder in Westport within the last few years, and there have been several reports of superstitious and witchcraft beliefs in the German settlements on the south shore. One of the Lunenberg family in Smith's Cove has the reputation of getting out in left field when the moon is full. They are somewhat paranoid and they get worse with the full moon. Trading stories was a main form of entertainment before the modern era but are now scant. Looking at our material though you probably could unearth some if you poked, Tremblay added that E. Doucet gathered old beliefs as a thesis and was surprised to find how few stories he could get here. He has a copy of the thesis which he would be willing to leave in the library here. AHL added that the story of the treasure on Bear Island is a source of more stories. Something supernatural always seems to interfere when people go to dig it up. You have to dig at very low tide. One story was that after digging a hole, the diggers stood up to stretch and saw a big sailing ship approaching without wind to blow it or water to float it. The nose bleed belief is very old and probably underlies phlebotomy. It goes back to ancient ideas of bad humors in the blood.

Tremblay thinks he has seen the advantages of losing some blood as a way of purifying the body, used as an encouragement for possible blood donors. AHL adds that blood letting is still used in congestive heart failure. Arthritis is very common here though Dr. Armstrong says not as common as it is in England. On the questionnaire we don't distinguish between arthritis and rheumatism. It seems to be somewhat commoner than in Nigeria or in the Southwest and less common than in the Eskimo data.

The history of the Stirling County Study was then begun a little by AHL who said that the FLS questionnaire was designed with a great deal of thought but a number of conflicting views. Clinicians wanted to keep topics together and have a logical development. Social scientists wanted to scatter them so as to reduce the halo effect. You don't get the feeling of getting as much of a picture from one hour and a half as you do with a patient for this reason. The purpose in a clinical interview is to get at the life story and the underlying factors that aid in understanding, whereas the interview, the questionnaire interview just gets its symptoms. It is very important to keep in mind that the central purpose of the questionnaire is very different from a clinical interview. It amounts to standard information on a large number of people. Its vice is superficiality and its virtue is its comparability. We have found that clinical work records are just not comparable at all. They are quite adequate for therapy but they are not very good for research. On the board AHL

then wrote the various things that the questionnaire was aimed at.

- 1.) The presence or absence of symptom patterns and what kinds.
- 2.) The degree of impairment.
- 3.) The HOS which was a psychological screening device and is probably about 80% accurate.
- 4.) The general social background of the respondent.
- 5.) Indices of integration and disintegration.

He then expanded on point 5, the indices of integration and disintegration. These included <sup>(a)</sup>poverty affluence and he explained how the communities were discussed and assigned positions on this scale, (b) cultural confusion which here means being caught between Acadian and English culture, (c) secularization which seems to be fairly far advanced even in the Roman Catholic sections of the county, (d) broken homes which we limit to families of procreation of the respondent, (e) associations, (f) leadership, (g) communications, (h) migration and (i) social change. All of these points can be analyzed independently or can be used as indicators of integration and disintegration. You can use them also in various combinations to determine social class, social change and such things. Our present conclusion is that the best indicator of the state of psychiatric disorder is the person's address, the kind of community that he comes from. This makes more difference than whether he is high or low economically. Cultural differences are not very striking. Dr. Armstrong noted that they do not get very many patients at all from the French shore.

After a good many questions and answers on this kind of thing, AHL then started on the history of the project, somewhat as follows: When training at Johns Hopkins he became interested in how people who were not patients handled the same problems that seemed to floor the patients. Our training in psychiatry included a good deal of emphasis on the current situation. The idea was that psychiatric disorder is a result of hereditary tendencies, plus early experiences, plus current pressures. We never could see anything about normal controls. We just compared patients with each other and used retrospective recollections rather than life long observation. We got the idea perhaps from the Anthropologist, Malenousky, that we should study the relationship between culture and personality beginning in someone else's culture first and then proceeding to our own. So we studied, first the Navaho, and then the Eskimo and collected life histories on non-patients. We focused our attention more on why is this man a healer for instance, than on what was wrong with him.

Then the war came and drew AHL into the Japanese re-location work first and later into the analysis of Japanese morale, then into the bombing survey and analysis of the war at Hiroshima. After the war, there were two summers here making preliminary surveys of the county as ground work, and in 1950 we applied and received a grant for an epidemiological study, partly from Carnegie, partly from Milbank, partly from the Dominion Provincial grants. We found that there were many diverse theories in both psychiatry and social science as to how such a study should be run.

In 1950 and 51 an academic seminar was conducted at Cornell among the faculty members to discuss the question of how we were going to study the environment as a cause of psychiatric disorder. How could we have a theoretical frame work and still avoid a cul de sac? Psychiatry and social science appeared to be about like the physical sciences 100 years earlier. The result of this seminar is largely seen in "My Name is Legion." The epidemiology study resulted. We had thought first of parallel studies of groups of patients and of well people, but it became more and more clear that it didn't given an adequate base, unless you knew what your groups were a sample of. No one could answer the question, "How much psychiatric disease is there in a population."? Selective Service and similar experiences had made it clear that there was much more in the population than ever came for treatment. We decided that we needed a sample to get an idea of the epidemiology and distribution and that this would serve as a crow-bar in getting at the cause. If cases cluster in some particular sector of the population, then you can study that cluster.

So we decided to make a prevalence study of the county. Studying the social environment itself opened up a wealth of problems. In the first place, there had been very little done in the ways of studies of epidemiology. There were a few in Europe of psychotics and the idea was beginning to be used here in such places as Wellsley, among the Hunterites, at Yale and a little later in the Midtown Study, but we had to invent a method. In the second place, the study of the social environment was

not very well planned. How could you quarter the social picture into psychiatrically meaningful sections? Socioeconomic status was one possibility, so were cultural differences and, later, integration and disintegration which had been derived from the morale studies in the effects of the war. We had found there that military units with good morale were integrated whereas military units with poor morale, you could call disintegrated. We decided to use both the questionnaire and anthropological observers. In the seminar there had been sociologists, psychologists, statisticians and many others all trying to solve these problems. They represented Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Moslems, Negroes and Whites. The difficulty was much more in the direction of integrating academic discipline than in integrating the other possible sub-divisions of this group.

At the July 18 seminar, AHL showed the Marshall article about Nova Scotia Mental Health Clinics which Jane had sent up in some magazine that her brother had given her. Dr. Armstrong had seen it and said that on the whole it gave a pretty good picture of conditions in the Clinics in Nova Scotia, except that in some cases it was their hopes rather than their accomplishments. He went on to say that the Wolfville Clinic is the show place with a new \$45,000 building and more and better equipment from the Province than any of the other Clinics have been able to secure.



After this, John Landeen gave his impressions of Gregorio, **The Hand-Trembler**. He made more of the theoretical aspects of this book than the details of the life story. He went on particularly to talk about the idea of equilibrium which led to some discussion and questions from others in the group. Roger Deleguard wanted to know what AHL had meant last week about gaps in information and also something about what was meant by the term psychobiological. Ade Tremblay interjected some remarks about the discussion between Oscar Lewis and Robert Redfield as to the two different aspects of the dynamic equilibrium in the Guatemalan village of Tepoztlan. The point there being that Redfield has looked almost exclusively for things that were working well where Lewis had been looking for hostility and difficulties. There was then something of a discussion of scientific method consisting as it does for one thing of measurement which yields data on reliability and validity, and on the other hand description of patterns which often leads to classification and understanding. No science makes progress unless its methods are appropriate to its problems. Psychology has been beating its head against measurements, very careful measurement of things that are often quite insignificant.

Finally, AHL continued the history of the Stirling project. Last time we had brought it up to about 1950, this time he described work in the Burma Road community and then went on to describe some of the things that had resulted from this study, such as the eventual inclusion of the Plympton Station road district in the Digby school. He pointed out that

the 1952 survey of this area came before the changes which had resulted from Macmillan's study took place and that this year we are in a position now to see if the education and other things that led up to it have caused a change in the Mental Health and in the conditions of life in the Plympton Station road. This is a very brief description of the seminar. **More** notes are available if anyone is interested.

The seminar of July 25th started out with some colorful descriptions of excitement at Freeport and excitement in Belliveau's Cove. The main part of the meeting was concerned with a beginning discussion of "My Name is Legion." Roger made a few remarks about the general organization of the book, and then raised a few questions. His first one was "What do we mean by psychiatric?" and his second one was, "What is the life arc as shown in that diagram?" This led to quite a bit of discussion by various people present on the whole business of cross-section of the moment and whole life arc, and Dr. Armstrong added some from his experience with the myerian conceptions of the parts played by various bodily systems in development. The upshot was that neither the cross-section nor the longitudinal aspect of life are of greatest importance. Both are important. Kurt Lewin calls these two aspects one Gallilean after Gallileo which he says is an interaction of vectors at a particular moment, and the other historical, similar to Darwin's explanation of the evolution of the species explaining the present by a series of events in the past. Polly Bunting contributed the thought that the process of differentiation among micro organisms shows that both aspects are important.

Roger then went back to his question of what is a psychiatric case, where does the change take place, between being a case and not being a case, and this led to considerable discussion with everybody contributing a little of their general ignorance. We interrupted the seminar then to look at the Nigerian Movie and after about an hour of mechanical difficulties we finally got a look at it. This account also is very much abbreviated and fuller notes are available.