

sidère que Radio-Canada est co-éditeur du livre — met en doute toute l'entreprise. De plus, en écartant les interprétations sévères faites du nationalisme québécois, en ignorant le travail fait au Québec, au Canada, et surtout en France et aux États-Unis sur la nature et la sociologie de l'idéologie nationaliste, le vrai mandat du livre est mis en relief : légitimiser le projet du Parti québécois.

L'importance de ce livre sera donc plus évidente aux historiographes qu'aux historiens. Il représente un exemple d'intellectuels au service des politiciens. Il n'y a rien de mal en soi à être engagé pour le bien de la réforme et pour l'amélioration de la société, mais il s'impose de conclure que la télévision publique au Canada a, une fois de plus, bien mal rempli son mandat d'instruire et de faire connaître.

Patrice Dutil

Literary Review of Canada

Roderic Beaujot — *Population Change in Canada: The Challenges of Policy Adaptation*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991. Pp. 379.

Between 1991 and 2036, if demographers' projections hold and unless there is a substantial increase in fertility, Canada's population growth will have ceased completely, with immigration becoming the only component of growth after 2020. The average age of the population will have increased from 32 to 45 years, and the proportion aged over 65 will have risen from one in ten to one in four. "These are rather different scenarios than those we have known in the past," Roderic Beaujot argues, "making it difficult to anticipate the impact on the society" (p. 307).

This book represents an attempt, based on the best available demographic scholarship, to examine these "scenarios". To do so, the author sets himself three goals: to present demographic trends in both their historical and contemporary contexts, to interpret those trends by placing them in a larger context, and to discuss related policy issues (p. 27).

We should be doubly grateful that Beaujot has chosen to take on such a challenge. First, few are better placed than the author to undertake the task. Roderic Beaujot is one of Canada's most accomplished demographers, a past president of the Federation of Canadian Demographers, and former director of the Population Studies Centre at the University of Western Ontario. Secondly, the task is a daunting one. Indeed, as Beaujot notes, "it is one purpose of this book to provide a summary of the 167 reports sponsored by the *Review of Demography and Its Implications for Economic and Social Policy*, the major inquiry into Canada's demographic situation set up by the federal government in 1986" (p. 24). With over 40 pages of references, the author clearly set himself the task of summarizing all of the latest scholarship.

To meet his goals, to organize this abundance of material and to marshal the variety of findings therein contained, Beaujot divides the book into two parts. These correspond to the basic alternatives advanced by demographers when constructing policy options in the face of the future they foresee, which are "either

try to change the population dynamics or to adapt to a changing population” (p. 198). Thus, chapters 2 through 5 examine policies that might influence demographic trends, in their discussion of mortality and health, fertility and reproduction, immigration, internal movement, and the distribution of the population. The alternative strategy, that of developing policies that recognize and work with the reality of current demographic change, are examined in chapters 7 through 10. These consider aging, family and household change, “socio-economic” issues (education rates, labour force participation, gender disparities, and questions of income security), and those of “socio-cultural” concern (essentially demographic vignettes of the First Nations, ethnic and visible minorities, and Canada’s official language populations).

A conclusion endeavours to draw the previous chapters together by focusing on key areas that Beaujot argues will require attention from public policy analysts. These are, he suggests, the economic, family, and social changes consequent upon Canada’s aging population, its lower fertility, and its slow-down in growth (pp. 306–307). Thus he argues that changing productivity and consumption patterns induced by aging and the associated need for a greater government role in the economy require major initiatives. With regard to the family, he identifies the growing impact of isolation (a product of increasing rates of widowhood and single-parentage in the population) as the main issue. Third, at the social level, Beaujot pinpoints social security as an area of key concern. Mounting health care and pension costs of an aging population jeopardize Canada’s current system, and declining fertility suggests much less intergenerational support for the elderly will be available in the future.

What is to be done? Beaujot suggests there are three main policy alternatives with which to address these problems. First, that Canada adapt to an aging population by improving the transfer of resources to the elderly and by restructuring key aspects of its labour force policies (by retraining and extending the productive life of older workers). Second, that Canada confront demographic trends through the increased use of immigration. Third, that Canada promote fertility increases.

Which of these strategies offers the best approach at this time? Beaujot carefully weighs the advantages and disadvantages of each. Thus, increased immigration may be able to counter some of the effects of an aging population by importing new individuals into the work force, but it also involves the heavy costs of language training and integration if it is to be fully successful and avoid exacerbating anti-immigrant sentiments. The provision of baby bonuses (as in Quebec) or publicly funded daycare may well increase fertility rates, but such strategies also must face what the author calls “the incongruities of individual and society needs” and must rationalize why a declining group (the young) should successfully compete for diminishing public resources with an increasing group (the elderly). In sum, although Beaujot argues that “given the balance of costs, a case can be made for entertaining all of the major alternatives”, his own vote (made on four occasions in the book) is evidently for the promotion of fertility (pp. 201, 234, 310, 313). “Children ... are”, he argues, “ultimately the most important investment in the long-term future of the society” (p. 310).

What can be said about this conclusion is true of the book as a whole: its strengths are those of demography in general, but those qualities are also its weaknesses. By this I mean, first, that demography's overwhelming attention to proximate causes robs it of any sense of fundamental background causes, whether they be social, cultural, or political. It is therefore hardly a surprise that Beaujot's account of the all-important factor in Canada's aging, the long-run decline of fertility, while it is strong on how, gives the reader no clue as to why this decline might have happened. Yet without such knowledge, we have little hope of understanding the radical swings fertility has experienced in the last 50 years (the post-war Baby Boom, which no demographer foresaw, and the subsequent Baby Bust). Similarly, scant attention to the forces of economic globalization and restructuring (p. 265) robs the book of the context Beaujot seeks.

Second, we have to beware of demography's tendency to see all the world's problems as ultimately caused by demographic change — an understandable foible but one that nevertheless has tended to lead demographers to overplay their hand. Thus, after the briefest of considerations in chapter 6 (in which economic, environmental, and even national security issues are raised), Beaujot accepts the assertion that an aging, smaller population will be a problem for this country. There are equally compelling grounds to suppose that it need not be, as we have told the Third World in our promotion of birth control and family limitation abroad. Why should Western countries be exempt? That the West should fear being overrun by such countries says little for its military capability on which so much has been spent and is, of course, ultimately a racist notion, as Beaujot notes (p. 192). Certainly, the local and global environment will gain if there are fewer Canadians, for we are the world's most profligate consumers of energy. Nor are demographic responses necessarily the only solutions. As David Foot has suggested, increased productivity and foreign trade may more than compensate for any reductions in the size of the work force. Similarly, efforts made to recruit the currently unemployed or to pay women more would seem to offer a more practical and immediate response than promoting an increase in fertility — a strategy which may well be, at best, simply incorrect or, at worst, wrong-headed.

Generally, Beaujot has not been well served by his publishers. This is a poorly edited book, replete with grammatical infelicities (see, for example, p. 55). It has been cheaply produced and, surprisingly for such a work, is inadequately illustrated with tables and graphs (this would help many explanations such as that on p. 57 concerning life expectancies). While generally comprehensive in coverage, the book omits any discussion of senile dementia (on which there is a substantial literature), a surprising oversight given that this will become a leading factor in health care costs for the growing numbers of elderly. The lack of attention to issues such as euthanasia and reproductive technologies is perhaps less surprising, given the dearth of demographic literature on these topics, but their omission and the failure to consider ethics and changing mores are troubling in a book of this kind.

The claim by Monica Boyd, on the back cover, that "this is the first Canadian book of its kind" overlooks the work of scholars such as McDaniel, Foot, and Wigdor. What Beaujot has produced, however, is no less worthy for that. His

comprehensive analysis undoubtedly stands as a benchmark and is now the first place to look to take Canadian demography's measure of this country.

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Sarah E. Newton — *Learning to Behave: A Guide to American Conduct Books Before 1900*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994. Pp. xiv, 216.

The propensity to tell other people how to live their lives may well be an inescapable human characteristic. Sarah E. Newton's careful study of conduct books circulating in the United States prior to 1900 demonstrates that generations of ministers, doctors, teachers, parents, and other interested onlookers have offered their advice and opinions in print as to what makes a well-rounded individual. Although authors of conduct manuals often gave the impression that their advice was timeless and universal, Newton's research in scores of archives and libraries reveals that in fact prescriptions for behaviour were deeply culture-bound. In this literature of character-formation and self-improvement, Americans from the seventeenth century onwards articulated prevailing expectations for the behaviour of children and of men and women. For this reason, they provide a window on the cultural milieu of each stage in the development of American society.

Learning to Behave consists of four thoughtful essays and an extensive, annotated bibliography of almost 600 conduct guides. Newton begins with a descriptive analysis of conduct literature as a genre. Although some readers will find her definition of the category rather narrow, Newton's careful exposition sheds light not just on her own field of interest, but also on the whole range of prescriptive literature. Works such as *How to Be a Man* (1851) and *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters* (1779) aimed to foster the internalization of positive behaviours in regard to key issues in childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood, behaviours likely to result in a successful life. These were almost invariably gendered except where very young children were addressed and were delivered in the voice of an interested and experienced friend or relative. The conduct book was not simply a guide to etiquette, but went beyond that to "codify society's idealized expectations with regard to proper behavior in life, as opposed to behavior in society" (p. 4).

In discussing prescriptive literature for children, Newton reminds us that virtually all children's literature during this period was didactic to some extent. Conduct guides for children often situated themselves in what modern educators would call "teachable moments". Thus the deathbed of a beloved parent or of a particularly saintly child became an opportunity to expound on right living and Christian morals. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries biographies of children functioned as models of virtue or cautionary tales in guides oriented more to the next world than to this. By the nineteenth century evangelicalism and the Enlightenment had combined to moderate ideas of infant depravity and by extension childrearing practices. In addition, advice on good behaviour was increasingly framed in secular terms: