SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE CANADIAN FAMILY

THE SIZE AND COMPOSITION OF THE CANADIAN FAMILY

with special reference to

SAMPLE AREAS OF THE METROPOLITAN REGIONS

in

CENTRAL CANADA

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-by-

Oswald Hall

Department of Sociology,
McGill University.

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PREFACE

This study of the Size and Composition of the Canadian Family forms part of a programme of research undertaken by the Department of Sociology as a phase of the Social Research Programme at McGill University. The undertaking was made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation during the past two years.

The data for the study were made available through the courtesy of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics at Ottawa. Dr. Coats generously granted access to the unpublished Census schedules, and from these samples were taken for various areas. Besides providing access to the material, Dr. Coats, Mr. Pelletier and other officials in the Census branch co-operated in making the work of sampling pleasant and effective. Without their assistance and co-operation the materials could not have been gathered.

The study has been under the direction of Professor Dawson. His guidance, sympathy and criticism have been unstinted. Professor Marsh, Director of Social Research, provided facilities for the study, and he and his assistants have been generous with their time and advice.

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INTRODUCTION

From the standpoint of social change the most significant process of the present is the rapid industrialization of new areas like the central area of Canada. In the development of this new type of economic and social organization, people are being mobilized into vast new aggregates; in the course of this they are cut away from their moorings, whether these be thought of in terms of birthplace, social position or established customs and traditions. Such an upheaval leaves few areas of human life unchanged. The present study attempts to describe what is happening to the size of the family as it adjusts to these new conditions.

In order to discuss effectively any such change it is necessary to have some conception of the total field in which these industrializing, urbanizing forces are acting. Quite evidently the growth of the cities is in part at the expense of the rural areas. But these latter areas are not left unchanged. One product of the process has been a new integration of the urban centre with its rural hinterland. Both are becoming interconnected in a manner which modifies the characteristics of each. Rural and urban are being bound together in a new unity which makes it essential to discuss them as parts of a total situation. This total situation is referred to as the "region".

The centre of sensitivity in the region, or the focal point of change, is the metropolis itself. Within it changes take place that extend to, and have repercussions on, the outlying territory. For this reason the metropolis is designated the "centre of dominance".

Much of the significance of the data of this study will be lost, unless it is interpreted from a regional point of view. The concept of the region is one that has been developed by sociologists in their attempts to describe and understand the processes involved in the development of an area.

In general, what we have at first is the physiographic region. In such areas the main occupation, for a time, is agriculture, with its varying degrees of specialization. From such areas, eventually, the commercialized towns have sprung, providing the basic trading services and credit facilities for the area. The main markets have been, in part, the large cities, developed about industry and a higher specialization in trade. Among the cities there has been a division of labor, since each was not self-sufficient. The dependence of each on the industries of the other was compensated for by the lines of communication. The development of the steam railway extended possibilities of transporting goods, linked these cities together in a fashion which was equivalent to shortening the distance between them, and allowed cities to develop far inland, where before they were restricted to areas where water transport was feasible.

This process has resulted in an interconnected system of cities, each specialized in certain directions, and each playing a part in the division of labor for the country as a whole. Each has played the role of focal centre for the surrounding rural territory.

Cities are aggregates of population, but do not produce all their own members. This is especially true of cities on this continent, with their rapid and recent growth. Growth takes place by attracting persons from other areas. Certain groups, such as the young and propertyless, are much more easily attracted than are others; hence it happens that a

selectivity is exercised in drawing people to the city, and this shows itself by the age distributions, which vary as between city and rural area, and between different districts within the city. This is readily seen in the data of this study, and determines in part the sort of family life that will exist in any area.

The people who are transplanted from the rural to the urban conditions of living do not remain unchanged during the process. Hence we have what are recognized as rural and urban types, and rural and urban attitudes. Distance, and isolation from each other, allow these different types to persist, while the different conditions of each area further the development of distinctive features in the group living within it.

Such a picture of rural and urban characteristics has been seriously altered by new means of communication. It is the newer developments in communication, with their resultant effects on the areas involved, that have caused the sociologist to seek more accurate terms to describe this new situation. The branching out of a net-work of highways, plus the development of motor transportation has changed the spatial relationships formerly existing between rural and urban areas. This has gone on, until the two have become linked in a fashion which upsets the old equilibrium. The supports of this new relationship are specialization and communication.

The new development has brought the rural areas under the dominance of the large cities. For this reason the latter are referred to as centres of dominance. The rural area has become a market for the specialized goods and services of the dominant centre. The advertising agency and the travelling salesman are but a part of the organization which is making the two areas more dependent on each other. The rural area comes to use the

specialized goods and services of the centre, as evidenced by the changing standard of living. In reciprocal fashion, the rural area and urban area react on each other, so that the goods and services offered to the new area, in time come to be demanded by it. Concurrently the activities of the rural area are modified to take greatest advantage of the new relationship to the city. This modification can be traced by noting the specialization in production that is carried on in the concentric zones of territory surrounding a large city.

The description of the rural and metropolitan areas does not include all the population groupings that are found in a region. The others may be classified in two groups. The towns that grew up to supply the basic institutional services within rural areas are not disappearing with the growth of the large metropolitan centres. They are losing some of the functions they had in the horse-and-wagon days. But they are taking on new specialized functions, as well as remaining the centres of local trading. It would not be conclusive to compare the growth in population of these commercial areas with that of the metroplitan centres. The rates of growth of these two, and of the rural population, all follow different paths.

A more characteristic product, of the urban-industrialized development that is taking place, is the industrial town. With the spread of good roads and speedy communication, industry is in many cases moving away from populous centres into relatively rural areas. If the earlier trend of capitalism was for the foot-loose worker to be drawn into the large centres, where capital and managing ability were centralized, the tendency at present is for capital and management to ferret out areas where the labor supply has not yet been tapped. The textile industry in

the province of Quebec is typical of this development . Machinery is easily moved, and the growth of flourishing plant towns is quite rapid. This is possible only through a mobilization of the rural population into the industrial environment. Here again the type of population the town acquires depends on the particular groups that are attracted. The evidence shows that young people are chiefly wanted, with the result that for the first years there is a high proportion of young parents in the population. There is considerable homogeneity of occupation in such specialized towns. The people so thrown together seem to throw off very quickly their traditional ways, and the rural type of family is seldom met with, regardless of the source of the population.

The description given of the metropolis itself, the centre of dominance, was purposely simplified. A detailed description of it would involve a discussion of the specialized areas found within a large city. Some of these, such as the down-town business section, and the industrial suburbs are ignored here. One fairly distinct area is that of workingmen's homes. This area is determined in part by the location of industry in the city. Proximity to this is usually a factor in deciding where such homes are found.

Better-paid people manage to evade the noise and other inconveniences of the city, and their residences are in a belt further removed from the centre. Distance is not such a handicap where hours are shorter, purses longer and social position higher. Fairly precise boundaries can be established for these areas on the basis of such indices as income, rental, and population density, to mention only a few.

In the central area of Canada, Montreal and Toronto are the centres of metropolitan regions. They are both young centres, for at the turn of

the century each was a mere fraction of its present size. Each represents an aggregation of population, dependent on secondary industries, achieving dominance over a large extent of surrounding territory.

The significance of a region extends beyond a description of economic organization. Culture, and the life of a people, are only partly measurable in terms of the goods they use. The word "communication" was used earlier, to refer to this aspect of life within a region. Communication involves the contact, stimulation and interpenetration of ideas, opinions, fashions, beliefs and so forth. Along with the extension of communication possible through highway travel, there has been a marked development of radio, telephone and newspaper. In many ways all four are related, and react on each other. Such media of communication reduce the degree of isolation previously existing between the rural and urban areas. In this situation, ideas, fashions and propaganda can achieve a new level of homogeneity. The communication of ideas effectively modifies traditions and customary modes of thought, especially during those periods in which people are being uprooted from habitual surroundings.

The specialization and communication, which are integral features of regional development, have significant repercussions on the family. Their effect is two-fold. In part it comes from the ecological situation of the family, and in part from the current ideas and notions about the desirable size of a family. In chapter II there is a discussion of the features of rural life that favor a larger family than city living conditions warrant. The above analysis reveals one manner in which the rural order of life is being modified. Its activities are being specialized and its institutions modified through this extension of contact. Hence the traditional rural

family, which was adjusted to one sort of life, is having to readjust to another which travels at a quicker pace, has more contacts with urban culture, and offers choices, rather than traditional patterns, of behavior.

Although specialization and communication describe two features of the region, they tell little about the nature of urban life. Industrialization and urbanization go hand in hand, and represent the most significant processes going on in our social world. Only two features of urbanization are noted here; specialization of function, and the typical attitudes developed.

In the urban area specialization has multiplied the number of fields of activity. By a continuous process old fields, e.g. medicine, become differentiated to yield newly specialized fields. Within each field specialization is going on, which gives to the city its varied and complex occupational structure. An example, such as the radio, which has about it technicians, research workers, professional entertainers, selling agencies, government inspecting and licensing officials, to mention only a few, illuminates the manner in which specialized functions develop. It is hardly necessary to mention the fact that such specialization differentiates the experience of people, and multiplies the number of types and variety of contacts.

Although the structure of the urban area appears varied, certain universal attitudes are found within it. The crowds of people that make up a city population are composed of individuals, each trying to achieve a satisfactory status, and to play a significant role. This is more evident here than in rural areas, because our cities are the habitat of a "climbing society". Traditional values are not rated highly. There is a continuous scramble for a new and higher status, more marked when one enters the clerical and white collar occupations.

While a satisfactory status marks the goal of urban living, it is likewise true that the means of achieving it can be described as secular. Traditional methods have little place in urbanized life. It is marked by choice and rationality, as opposed to tradition and custom. There is a heavy emphasis on technique. Where people are conscious of the ends they seek, they come to employ the most appropriate means to achieve them. Conscious, rational methods of achieving objectives are referred to as "techniques". No one word describes more adequately the attitudes developed in urban surroundings than to call them "secular".

What has been said in regard to urbanization refers to the whole range of life in the city. It is quite easy to narrow it down to the problem of the family. When those processes of urbanization are considered in terms of the individual, they prescribe the following sort of life for him. The city itself is a growing, changing physical structure. The individual must change his area of work to compete most effectively in this changing structure. As specializations develop he must be ready to desert a waning field and enter one which is attracting newcomers. He must change his area of residence as the city changes; he must do the same as his social position changes Moreover a change in his social position often means a complete readjustment in his scale of living.

It is immediately obvious how precarious the position of the family is, in such a case. A family is only one among many of the possible achievements of an urban dweller. One's vocation, travel, recreation, or any of a dozen interests conflict with it. A family immediately immobilizes a person in an environment that puts a premium on mobility. An urban family is an economic liability, while a rural family may be a distinct asset.

The forces acting unfavorably on the family tend likewise to reduce its size. Mobility and communication are achieved in a city, in part, by sacrificing space. Children do not harmonize with the crowded living conditions of urban life.

While the conditions of urban living are inimical to traditional family life, the attitude of rational choice allows one to seek alternatives. Emancipation of women has gone on to the place where many prefer a work-career to married life, and the bachelor apartment allows them to live an individualized life. It is inevitable that a secular attitude in people would result in their experimenting with contraceptive methods. Where children conflict with one's attempts to achieve a coveted status, this phase of family life comes into the realm of rational control and technique.

CHAPTER I

BIOLOGICAL FACTORS IN THE SIZE OF THE FAMILY

Until the beginning of this century, families in Canada had been predominantly rural in type. Even today the majority can be characterized as such. It seems logical therefore, in beginning a description of the Canadian family, to deal with that type first.

Rural Families; the Hinterland of a Region.

The families selected for study here were chosen from three rural areas. All three are far removed from the influence of a large metropolitan centre. Two of them lie up the Ottawa river near Renfrew. The other lies down the St. Lawrence, across the river from Three Rivers. A sample was selected from each area, and these were combined to give a sample which was representative of all three areas. The total figure was 1,082 families.

For the purpose of the main analysis, only a certain group of the families was used. In order to keep the samples uniform in type, only those were retained which had both parents living at home, and in which the mother's* age ranged between twenty-one and fifty years. This selected group totalled 584 families.

The composition of the total sample appeared as follows:

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* Among "mothers" are included wives in those families where there are no children.

Table I. Selected Rural Families Classified According to Type, Ontario and Quebec, 1931.

Type of Family	No.	P.C.
Mother 21-50 years of age.....	584	54.0
Mother under 21 years of age.....	10	0.9
Mother over 50 years of age.....	307	28.4
Broken families*.....	181	16.7
Total	1,082	100.0

Source for this, and all other tables in the text: Unpublished Census Data, 1931.
* Broken families are those with only one parent living at home.

These figures have little significance unless some comparison can be effected. In this analysis, comparison has been made with the sample from the highly urbanized metropolitan areas. These areas show the strongest contrast, and seem to indicate the goal toward which the other areas are tending. To make the comparison apparent, the data for both areas will be carried forward simultaneously.

Metropolitan Families; the Centre of a Region.

The metropolitan samples were chosen from Montreal and Toronto.** In each case two samples were taken; one from a well-to-do residential area, and the other from a working-class section. By combining the four individual samples, a total of 1,849 families was secured. When these are arranged in order, they yield the composition shown in Table II.

** "Metropolitan", rather than the simpler term "urban", is used throughout to refer to these areas. The latter is a Census term, and has been given a broader definition than is here desired.

Table II. Selected Metropolitan Families Classified According to Type, Montreal and Toronto, 1931.

Type of Family	No.	P.C.
Mother 21-50 years of age.....	1139	61.6
Mother under 21 years of age.....	13	0.7
Mother over 50 years of age.....	401	21.7
Broken families.....	296	16.0
Total	1,849	100.0

When the two areas are compared, one feature stands out. The rural area has a larger percentage of older parents than has the metropolitan area. The significance of this marooning of older parents in rural areas is not a feature of this study; but it raises the question as to whether the group of families of mothers 21-50 is homogeneous in each area. It may be that the ends of the group are weighted differently in either case. The following table is constructed to show the composition of those two groups.

Table III. Selected Rural and Metropolitan Families Classified According to Age of Mother, 1931.

Area	Rural		Metropolitan	
Age of Mother	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
21-30 years	140	24.0	286	25.1
31-40 years	229	39.2	445	39.1
41-50 years	215	36.8	408	35.8
Total	584	100.0	1,139	100.0

A comparison of the percentages in each ten-year age group reveals no pronounced differences between the rural and metropolitan areas. Reference to the individual areas sampled, however, suggests that the metropolitan group is not homogeneous in this respect. The residential areas contribute more than their share of the 41-50 age group, while the working-class areas contribute a larger share of the 21-30 group. Since each is weighted about equally they fail to represent the city as a whole, in which the working-class areas are more extensive. They do, however, represent typical areas in the city, which is the aim of this study. The fact that the rural and metropolitan 21-50 age groups are almost identically constituted makes the task of comparison much easier.

In making a first crude comparison of the sizes of the families, the arithmetic average can be used for each area. In the metropolitan sample there was a total of 2,435 children. Distributing these equally among the mothers 21-50 gives a figure of 2.14 children per family.

In the rural sample there was a total of 2,307 children; the average size of family here was 3.95 children.

Since large variations are likely to exist in the sizes of families of mothers 21-30 as compared to those of mothers 41-50, it is obvious that the arithmetic averages for <u>each age group</u> would more faithfully represent the size of the families. These appear in Table IV.

Table IV. Average Number of Children in Selected Rural and Metropolitan Families Classified According to Age of Mother, 1931.*

Age of Mother	Rural	Metropolitan
21-30 years	2.50	1.22
31-40 years	4.48	2.37
41-50 years	4.35	2.55

* In this and following tables, "Children" refers to all children living at home.

The differentials mentioned in the introduction are quite marked in each age group. In the younger age group the rural family is over twice as large as is the metropolitan. These differentials persist for each group, though they are less pronounced for the older groups. If the rural birth rate were an increasing one, while the metropolitan was a decreasing one, the behaviour of the differentials is exactly what would be expected. In the metropolitan area the families enlarge progressively with the increasing age of the mother. This does not happen with the 41-50 age group in the rural area. Apparently children leave home at an earlier age in the rural area. This, of course, would reduce the size of families of the older mothers, especially those 41-50. Two factors, the age differences at home leaving, and the decreasing birth rate in the metropolitan section, combine to explain the behaviour of the above sets of averages.

The same facts are brought out by presenting the data in the form of a distribution. In the following table, the number of mothers having each a given number of children is presented. The table is telescoped to make comparison easier.

Table V. Selected Rural and Metropolitan Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, Classified According to Number of Children per Family, 1931.

Area	No. / P.C.	Total	Families having the following number of Children					
			None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+
Rural	No.	584	58	151	150	122	65	38
	P.C.	100.0	10.0	25.8	25.7	20.9	11.1	6.5
Metro-politan	No.	1,139	272	476	260	88	29	14
	P.C.	100.0	23.9	41.8	22.9	7.7	2.5	1.2

The differences suggested by the averages are more explicit here. The smaller metropolitan average is obviously due in part to the greater proportion of families with no children. The primary data show that these no-child families are fairly evenly distributed among all three age groupings. Therefore, the large number of no-child families in the metropolitan area does not signify postponement of children, but rather means a greater number of families in which there never will be children. The difference is considerable; the percentage in this class in the metropolitan area is two and one half times as great as in the rural area.

The other end of the table has been left open. In the rural area the largest family sampled showed seventeen children living at home. In the metropolitan area the largest was thirteen. But the relative proportions having large families diverge sharply. In the class of families having over seven children, the proportion in the rural area is five times as large as in the metropolitan area. Only of the families having 3-4 children are the percentages nearly equivalent.

Considering the areas as wholes, it is apparent that the distribution

of large and small families differs radically. In neither case is there a modal group. In the metropolitan area, the families with no children, with one child and with two children each contribute approximately twenty per cent of the total. In each succeeding class there is a sharp decrease in the percentage. In the rural area, each of the first seven groups contributes approximately an equal percentage, in the neighborhood of ten per cent. Metropolitan families fall into the 0-2 child classes; rural families fall into the 0-6 child classes. If the areas are considered in terms of a range of sizes within a distribution, rather than a modal average, or an arithmetic mean, then the contrast between the two areas stands out quite sharply. The classes having four or less children comprise 88.6% of the metropolitan families, but only 61.5% of those in rural areas. Thus while the metropolitan area overshadows the rural in the matter of the no-child family, it is equally obvious that the large families are concentrated in the rural areas.

Earlier, where the average size of the family in each area was compared, the figure was given for each age group. The analysis of distributions can also be extended to show the variations in size of family that are associated with age differences of the mothers.

The data of Table VI are presented in the Appendix; for sake of brevity only the percentages appear here.

Table VI. Per Cent Distribution of Selected Rural and Metropolitan Families Classified by Age of Mother and Number of Children, 1931.

Area	Age of Mother	Total	Families having the following number of children					
			None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+
Rural	21-30	100.0	16.4	42.9	26.4	9.3	4.3	0.7
	31-40	100.0	4.8	19.6	30.6	23.6	14.9	6.5
	41-50	100.0	11.2	21.4	20.0	25.6	11.6	10.2
Metro-politan	21-30	100.0	36.7	48.3	12.9	1.7	0.4	
	31-40	100.0	19.3	41.1	26.5	9.7	2.3	1.1
	41-50	100.0	19.9	38.0	25.7	9.8	4.4	2.2

Source: Unpublished Census Data, 1931. See Appendix Tables.

This refined data emphasizes what has been said about the concentration of families of a certain size in the respective areas. If the 31-40 age group is examined, it is evident that in the rural area over 75% of these families have three or more children. This holds for less 40 per cent of the metropolitan families. Among the young mothers the same condition obtains. In the 21-30 age group, families of three or more children for the rural area contribute over 40 per cent of the total, while in the metropolitan area the corresponding figure is 15 per cent.

One feature of the rural area is the sharp increase in the number of no-child families in the 41-50 age group as compared with the 31-40 group. No such rise occurs in the metropolitan area, while in the rural area the figure climbs from 4.8% to 11.2%. This apparently marks a tendency for children to remain home to a later age in the metropolitan areas, and to leave the home in the rural areas. This supports the conclusion arrived at in discussing the averages for each area.

It is not intended here to suggest the factors responsible for the differentials in size in the rural and urban families. The differentials can be briefly summarized;

(a) The marked difference in the number of no-child families as between two types of areas.

(b) The heavy concentration of the no-child, one child and two child families in the urban area and the slighter concentration among the rural families of families ranging from 0-6 children.

(c) The frequency with which families of more than seven children appear in the rural area, and their relative absence in the urban centres.

The above analysis has drawn attention to the regional differences in the sizes of families. Of co-ordinate importance is the age of the mother as the significant variable in determining the size of the family.

T he number of children corresponds in crude fashion with the age of the mother. It would correspond more closely with the number of years exposure to child-bearing for each mother. This figure could be secured approximately by subtracting her age at marriage from her present age, if such data were available in each case.

On the other hadn, advancing age on the part of the mother is usually accompanied by children leaving home, and hence a smaller sized family. The effect of the age of the mother on the size of the family is to that extent ambiguous.

Broadly speaking, mothers of 21-30 show smaller families than do those of 31-40. Between the latter group, and the group 41-50, age of mother is not a significant factor. Apparently the number of children born after mothers have reached the age of forty is offset by those leaving home.

This would explain the close congruence of the percentages in each of those groups in the urban areas. For the city they are almost homogeneous; in the rural area they diverge, though not significantly.

Before leaving these two groups, it can be pointed out that the 21-30 age group in the rural area is almost identical in composition of size of families with the 31-40 age group in the urban setting. Hence, although age of mother is accompanied by significant variations in the number of children per family, such variations are less pronounced than are those relating to the particular area in which the families are located.

The Families of a Commercial Town.

It has been suggested that the rural area and the metropolis are at opposite ends of a series of situations in which families are located. Other members of this series are the Commercial and Industrial towns. The former comprise the small towns, outside the direct influence of large centres, which provide the elementary services to the rural hinterland. The latter represent the impact of modern industry on semi-rural areas, which consequently experience a rapid aggregation in population. In each case the population has a quite different occupational and social composition. Each of these areas will be discussed in turn, and compared with the metropolitan areas.

The commercial towns selected were Nicolet, Megantic, Iberville and Riviere du Loup in Quebec, and Arnprior, Pembroke and Renfrew in Ontario. A sample chosen from these towns yielded 666 families. The composition of the sample is shown in Table VII.

Table VII. Selected Families from Commercial Towns, Classified According to Type, Ontario and Quebec, 1931.

Type of Family	No.	P.C.
Mother 21-50 years of age.....	414	62.2
Mother under 21 years of age.....	2	0.3
Mother over 50 years of age.....	160	24.0
Broken families.....	90	13.5
Total	666	100.0

Two features appear when this table is compared to the corresponding one for the metropolitan area. There are less broken families here than in the metropolitan centre. And there are more of the older mothers, those over fifty. The differences are by no means as marked as they were for the rural area.

The large group of mothers 21-50 was broken down into ten-year age groups. The figures and percentages appear in Table VIII.

Table VIII. Selected Commercial Town and Metropolitan Families Classified According to Age of Mother, 1931.

Area	Commercial Town		Metropolitan	
Age of Mother	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
21-30 years	89	21.5	286	25.1
31-40 years	151	36.5	445	39.1
41-50 years	174	42.0	408	35.8
Total	414	100.0	1,139	100.0

When the rural metropolitan comparison was made, it turned out that both groups had a similar composition. Such is by no means the case here. The parent population in the commercial towns is decidedly older. While there are 25.1 per cent of the metropolitan families in the group whose mothers are 21-30, in the commercial town area the percentage is only 21.5. For the older group, of mothers 41-50, the percentages are 42.0 per cent for the commercial towns as opposed to 35.8 per cent for the metropolitan area.

This sample is representative of the whole commercial town area. For that reason, it is probably safe to say, that the composition of the group of families of mothers 21-50 resembles the same group in the metropolitan residential section, but differs significantly from the working-class section.

Since the ten year age groups are unequally represented in the two sets of figures, the arithmetic averages are scarcely comparable. In their place, the average number of children per family in each ten year age group is given.

Table IX. Average Number of Children, in Selected Commercial Town and Metropolitan Families Classified by Age of Mother, 1931.

Age of Mother	Commercial Town	Metropolitan
21-30 years	1.87	1.22
31-40 years	3.48	2.37
41-50 years	3.93	2.55

Two features of the comparison are obvious. The commercial town shows considerably larger families than does the metropolitan area. It comes closer to resembling the rural pattern of family size.

In each case the increase in size is continued for each succeeding age group. This was not the case for the rural area. This would suggest that the age at leaving home is much the same in the commercial towns and in the metropolitan area. The sets of averages are almost completely comparable, with the commercial town standing 50 per cent higher than the metropolitan area.

The data for the commercial towns are likewise presented in the form of a distribution, similar to that for the rural and metropolitan areas. As before the table is telescoped and also reduced to percentages.

Table X. Selected Commercial Town and Metropolitan Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, Classified According to Number of Children per Family, 1931.

Area	No. P.C.	Total	Families having the following number of children					
			None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+
Commercial Town	No.	414	62	126	99	74	33	20
	P.C.	100.0	15.0	30.4	23.9	17.9	7.9	4.9
Metropolitan	No.	1,139	272	476	260	88	29	14
	P.C.	100.0	23.9	41.8	22.9	7.7	2.5	1.2

The metropolitan percentages are included for comparison. As in the earlier comparison, the 3-4 child families are approximately equally represented in each area. The no-child families are more numerous in the commercial town than in the rural area, but much less so than in the metropolitan.

The large families, those with five or more children, comprise over 30 per cent of the families in the commercial towns. This is in decided contrast to the similar figure for the metropolitan area, 11.4 per cent.

Inspection of the above table reveals that there is no one size of family representative of the commercial towns. Broadly speaking, each of the first five classes has an equal claim to be called the representative size of family. In each there is approximately 15 per cent of all families. Referring to the earlier comparison, it will be seen that the no-child, one-child and two-child classes in the metropolitan area contributed approximately 20 per cent of the families. From this it appears that the commercial town stands midway between the rural and urban areas.

Since the composition of this sample differs from that of the metropolitan area, a comparison of the distributions for each age group is more reliable. These appear in Table XI. The percentages only are shown; the remainder of the data is in the Appendix.

Table XI. Per Cent Distribution of Selected Commercial Town and Metropolitan Families Classified by Age of Mother and Number of Children, 1931.*

Area	Age of Mother	Total	Families having the following number of children					
			None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+
Commercial Town	21-30	100.0	23.6	43.8	24.9	6.6	1.1	
	31-40	100.0	13.9	25.2	27.8	19.9	9.9	3.3
	41-50	100.0	11.5	28.2	20.1	21.8	9.8	8.6
Metropolitan	21-30	100.0	36.7	48.3	12.9	1.7	0.4	
	31-40	100.0	19.3	41.1	26.5	9.7	2.3	1.1
	41-50	100.0	19.9	38.0	25.7	9.8	4.4	2.2

* For basic data, see Appendix Tables

This table reveals unambiguously the differences in sizes of families between the two areas, as well as the variations in size of family that accompany increasing ages for the mothers.

The consistently larger size of the commercial town families is apparent at first glance. Considering the families of two or less children in the families of mothers 21-30, the areas compare thus; metropolitan 85 per cent, commercial town, 67.4 per cent. This contrast is mirrored when the families of five and more children in the 41-50 group are compared. For the metropolitan area the percentage is 16.4, while for the commercial town it stands at 40.2.

From the above it is clear that a rural-urban classification of families conceals many of the facts about size of family. Although classed as urban, the commercial town is far more closely related in this regard to the rural area, than it is to the metropolitan centre.

The task remains of outlining the changes in size of family that accompany increases in the age of the mother for families in this area. In general, the families consistently increase in size with an increased age of the mother. This suggests that children do not leave home here as early as they do in the rural areas. In the rural area, the maximum size for families lies in the 31-40 age group. In these towns, it has risen into the 41-50 age group. This may either be due to the home-leaving age being higher, or to a decreasing birth rate.

The age of the mother does not appear to explain any of the differentials existing between the commercial town and the metropolitan centre. The point here is that families increase in size with the increasing age of the mother, but in the commercial town area, the increase is added to a family

which, in the 21-30 age group, is already much larger than is the corresponding metropolitan family.

Families in an Industrial Town.

The fourth member included in the series of typical situations is the Industrial town. In the main, it is characterized by the concentration of certain occupational and social groups in an area where the aggregation of population is rapid. In this it stands in vivid contrast to the slowly maturing commercial towns.

Two of these towns were sampled; Ste. Hyacinthe in Quebec and Oshawa in Ontario. The combined sample from the two yielded 769 families. The composition of this sample follows in Table XII.

Table XII. Selected Families from Industrial Towns, Classified According to Type, 1931.

Type of Family	No.	P.C.
Mother 21-50 years of age.....	533	69.3
Mother under 21 years of age.....	9	10.0
Mother over 50 years of age.....	150	1.2
Broken families.....	77	19.5
Total	769	100.0

The industrial town areas show the most divergent composition of families. There is the smallest percentage of broken families, and the smallest percentage of families of mothers over fifty, of all four groups considered. The data suggest that this is an area of young parents. The analysis of the 21-50 group into ten-year age groups brings this fact out clearly.

Table XIII. Selected Industrial Town and Metropolitan Families Classified According to Age of Mother, 1931.

Area	Industrial Town		Metropolitan	
Age of Mother	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
21-30 years	166	31.1	286	25.1
31-40 years	209	39.2	445	39.1
41-50 years	158	29.7	408	35.8
Total	533	100.0	1,139	100.0

The central group maintains the same proportion in each area. But each of the other age groups differs by approximately one fifth. It seems fair to state here, that if the commercial towns resembled the residential section of the metropolitan area, the industrial town resembles the working-class section. Among the four areas studies, this one presents the youngest parent population.

In the area there were 1,202 children in the sample of families of mothers 21-50. Distributing these among the 533 families gives an average figure of 2.26 children per family. The corresponding figure for metropolitan areas was 2.14 children. The occurrence of so many young parents in the industrial town suggests that the average figure is scarcely a reliable comparison.

When the average is computed for each ten-year age group, the comparison appears as in Table XIV.

Table XIV. Average Number of Children in Selected Industrial Town and Metropolitan Families Classified According to Age of Mother, 1931.

Age of Mother	Industrial Town	Metropolitan
21-30 years	1.51	1.22
31-40 years	2.35	2.37
41-50 years	2.91	2.55

From the above table two features emerge. In the young age group, the families are approximately 20 per cent larger in the industrial town. This differential disappears in the 31-40 age group. Apparently industrialization and urbanization have a salutary effect on the birth rate. At any rate the size of the family dips more sharply in this area than in any other.

For the 41-50 age group the same feature does not continue. The size of the family rises more rapidly, and to a much higher point than in the metropolitan area. Examination of detailed data on the age of the children involved clears up the apparent contradiction. The birth rate has decreased considerably and sharply. The families of mothers 41-50 reflect the birth rate of an earlier period; quite likely many of these families were filled to their present size when they came to the area. The distribution of children into age groups supports the above explanation. The increase in size of families shown by the 41-50 age group does <u>not</u> mean that children have been postponed until the later part of the child-bearing period.

This sample illuminates the effect of an industrial environment on the size of the family; it also demonstrates how quickly the rural pattern of family size can be modified, given the industrial conditions.

Table XV shows the same data in the form of a distribution. The urban

percentages are included for comparison. They can be used here only with caution, because of the differences in the age composition of each group.

Table XV. Selected Industrial Town and Metropolitan Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, Classified According to Number of Children per Family, 1931.

Area	No. P.C.	Total	Families having the following number of children					
			None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+
Industrial Town	No.	533	97	242	128	40	20	6
	P.C.	100.0	18.2	45.4	24.0	7.5	3.8	1.1
Metropolitan	No.	1,139	272	476	260	88	29	14
	P.C.	100.0	23.9	41.8	22.9	7.7	2.5	1.2

The significant differences here lie in the number of families having no children, and those having one and two. The differences approximately balance. From the above it appears that the industrial area comes closest of all to having a modal family. In the area, 45.4 per cent of all families appear in the one and two child classes. Such a concentration has not occurred in any other area.

Apart from that mentioned above, there are no pronounced differences between these areas as shown by this table. An analysis by age groups, however, reveals further characteristics of the industrial town.

Table XVI. Per Cent Distribution of Selected Industrial Town and Metropolitan Families Classified by Age of Mother and Number of Children, 1931.*

Area	Age of Mother	Total	Families having the following number of children					
			None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+
Industrial Town	21-30	100.0	22.9	59.6	15.1	2.4		
	31-40	100.0	16.3	44.0	25.8	8.1	4.8	1.0
	41-50	100.0	15.8	32.3	31.0	12.0	6.3	2.6
Metropolitan	21-30	100.0	36.7	48.3	12.9	1.7	0.4	
	31-40	100.0	19.3	41.1	26.5	9.7	2.3	1.1
	41-50	100.0	19.9	38.0	25.7	9.8	4.4	2.2

* For basic data, see Appendix Tables

The differences appearing above are chiefly these. The no-child family appears more often in the metropolitan centre. In the industrial town, a larger percentage of families are limited to one or two children. This is at once apparent from an inspection of the 21-30 age groupings. That group in the industrial town comprises almost 60 per cent of the total for that age of mothers. The same size of family is heavily represented in the 31-40 age group, contributing 44 per cent of the total.

Apart from those differences, the two younger groups are almost idential in the two areas. If families of the mothers 31-40 are divided into three classes, two and less, three and four, five and more, it appears that in no case do the two areas differ by as much as 1 per cent of the total.

It remains to trace out the relation between age of mother and size of family. In the discussion of the metropolitan families it was pointed out that the 41-50 group hardly differed from the 31-40 group. This is by no

means the case for the sample from the industrial towns. It seems clear from a further study of the data, that the larger families in the 41-50 group represent an early rural infiltration, and are not the typical products of an industrial environment.

T he heavy concentration of families in the one and two child classes has been mentioned earlier. There is a corresponding scarcity of families with more than three children. In the industrial area, of the families of mothers 21-30, the percentage having three or more children is 17.5 per cent. For the 31-40 group the corresponding percentage is 39.7. The difference between the two is only 22.2 per cent. For this group, not much child-bearing is occurring after the age of thirty.

In the metropolitan area, for the 21-30 group, the families with three or more children contributed 15 per cent. In the 31-40 age group those families comprise 39.6 per cent. The difference here is 24.6 per cent.

Such analysis shows the correspondence between these two areas. In size of family, and in tendency of mothers to concentrate births in the 21-30 year span, the two areas are strikingly similar. Industrialization and urbanization may not be destroying the family; but they certainly are developing a different size pattern from that found in the rural areas.

Families in the Past.

If the families in the industrial towns, commercial towns and rural areas are approaching the metropolitan as a pattern, that fact should be discernible in an historical study of the family.

This chapter began with a description of the differentials in size existing between rural and metropolitan families. A mere picture of static differences, however, would be misleading. The metropolitan area

is increasing in relation to the rural, and more families are coming under its influence. The main thesis of the study, however, is that the effects of urbanization are filtering out to all the other types of areas. Hence, what we have is not a static picture of families of different sizes, but a dynamic picture of urbanizing forces affecting families wherever they are located.

If this is so, then trends should be traceable in these other areas. For that purpose, data were compiled showing the sizes of families at earlier dates. T he main data are from the Census of 1931. The supporting data are for 1901, to enable the changes over a thirty-year period to be studied. Unfortunately, such data cannot be secured for the metropolitan areas. The large metropoli have grown so rapidly, that the typical areas of today had no populated existence in 1901. Areas that were typically residential then have since become slums, or are industrialized. The historical study is thus restricted to the other types of areas. Here the same trouble is experienced, though in a lesser degree. Broadly speaking, the picture is this. The rural areas have decreased in population per unit of territory; hence comparison is easy. In the commercial towns there has been a steady increase in population, but not great enough to render the areas incommensurate at the two dates. The industrial towns have had a rapid population growth, so that comparison there is difficult. In 1901 Ste. Hyacinthe was large enough to compare with its 1931 population; Oshawa was so much smaller, that for the earlier date it was combined with Woodstock to provide a sufficiently large sample.

For a time comparison, such an analysis as that attempted with the 1931 data would prove cumbersome. Only an abridgment of it is attempted here. In each of the four areas previously examined, the families of

mothers 31-40 turned out to be the most illuminating group studied. For the time comparison, attention will be restricted in the main to these families. T his will obviate the necessity of making adjustments for the differences that may occur in the age composition of each sample. For the purposes of this comparison, it will be assumed that the 31-40 groups are homogeneous as to age composition in each area compared.

In each case here, the comparison will be with the same area for the two different dates; only oblique reference will be made to the metropolitan area.

The industrial areas are considered first. The sample for 1901 totalled 489 families. The unbroken families of mothers whose ages ranged from 31-40 were sorted out. These totalled 123. For 1931 the corresponding sample totalled 209, which reflects the growth in population of these areas. Children in the area totalled 351. The average size for this group of families was 2.85 children per family. This bears out the conclusion expressed earlier that the industrial areas are moving in the same direction as the urban areas have already gone.

The distribution of families is likewise added for comparison, in Table XVII.

Table XVII. Selected Industrial Town Families, of Mothers 31-40 Years, Classified According to Number of Children per Family, 1901 and 1931.*

Year	No. / P.C.	Total	Families having the following number of children					
			None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+
1901	No.	123	14	46	39	16	7	1
	P.C.	100.0	11.4	37.4	31.7	13.0	5.7	0.8
1931	P.C.	100.0	16.3	44.0	25.8	8.1	0.8	1.0

* Unpublished Census Data, 1901 and 1931.

This table amplifies the conclusions suggested by the average for each date. When the industrial area was compared with the urban, the significant features were the larger percentage of no-child families in the urban area, and the high concentration of one and two child families in the industrial area. When the latter area is traced back thirty years, it is evident that these are developing trends. No-child families have increased in importance; and in general the tendency is for the families of two and fewer children to be more heavily represented, while all the larger sizes of families are proportionately diminished. This evidence suggests that the urban pattern of family life is following close on the heels of industrialization. The people that industry mobilizes in these new centres are singularly responsive in adjusting the size of their families to the new conditions of life.

A similar analysis can be applied to the commercial towns. In 1901 a sample, taken on the same basis as the 1931 sample, yielded 410 families. The group of unbroken families of mothers 31-40 totalled 121. The

corresponding group for 1931 numbered 151. The increase represents the growth in population of these areas during three decades. The growth was much more modest than that of the industrial areas considered previously.

The children of this group of families totalled 475, so that the average number of children in 1901 was 3.93 per family. The corresponding average for the later date was 3.48 children. As in the industrial towns, the decrease is quite marked. The reduction is not as large proportionately in the commercial towns as it was in the industrial area, but it seems safe to say that the effects of urbanization here, too, are apparent.

The distribution of these families by size, Table XVIII, suggests the same conclusion.

Table XVIII. Selected Commercial Town Families, of Mothers 31-40 Years, Classified According to Number of Children per Family, 1901 and 1931.*

Year	No. P.C.	Total	Families having the following number of children					
			None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+
1901	No.	121	16	21	37	27	15	5
	P.C.	100.0	13.2	17.4	30.6	22.3	12.4	4.1
1931	P.C.	100.0	13.9	25.2	27.8	19.9	9.9	3.3

* Unpublished Census Data, 1901 and 1931.

The change reflected in the average is here seen to be distributed over the whole range of families. In contrast to the industrial area, there has been little change in the percentage of no-child families. The chief change lies in the group having one or two children. This group

has increased by almost 50 per cent during the three decades. Each class, of families larger than the above, has had a smaller, though noticeable decrease.

It was remarked earlier that in the commercial towns, in 1931, families having from 0-4 children were approximately equally represented. This is in contrast to the 1901 situation. At the earlier date the three and four child families could be termed modal, with the families of five and six children occurring more often than those with one and two children.

All the above tends to verify the thesis that what is termed the urban size of family is a dynamic trend operating among families far removed from the large urban centres.

It remains to examine the data for the rural areas for the earlier period. In this case the evidence is by no means clear. In general the rural population has decreased over this thirty year period. In all three areas studied, the number of families had decreased. Population, and number of families have not decreased at equal rates.

T he total sample secured from the same three rural areas, for 1901, yielded 1,409 families. Of these, 350 fell in the class of unbroken families of mothers 31-40. When this is compared with 229 families in the same grouping in 1931, it is obvious that there has been a substantial decrease in the number of families over the three decades. The extent of the decline in number of families, or the factors causing it, are not features of this study; they are mentioned because they complicate the perspective in which the family is seen.

These 350 families comprised 1,398 children, an average of four per family. For 1931 the figure stood at 4.48. In this case the average

size of the family has increased over the thirty year period. These facts are totally at variance with the data from the other areas.

A distribution of these families by sizes shows more precisely where the changes are occurring. This is shown in Table XIX.

Table XIX. Selected Rural Families, of Mothers 31-40, Classified According to Number of Children per Family, 1901 and 1931.*

Year	No. P.C.	Total	Families having the following number of children					
			None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+
1901	No.	350	28	58	106	88	53	17
	P.C.	100.0	8.0	16.6	30.3	25.1	15.1	4.9
1931	P.C.	100.0	4.8	19.6	30.6	23.6	14.9	6.5

* Unpublished Census Data, 1901 and 1931.

A comparison of the percentages for the two periods reveals that the classes of families with two or fewer children, those with three or four, and those with five or more contribute the same proportion in each year. The differences lie inside these groups and may be summarized as follows.

No-child families have decreased, and are replaced by families of one and two children in the 1931 sample. Families of nine or more children have increased at the expense of families of five and six children.

Analysis of the ages of the children in each period demonstrates that the age distribution of children has varied little. There has been an increase in the numbers of children of all ages. This refutes the hypothesis that the larger families of 1931 are due in part to the return of older children during the hard depression years.

From the above it would appear that only when people are removed from the rural area does the size of the family change. This is not completely true. In the first place, health conditions have improved over this thirty year period. A lower mortality rate may easily counteract the trend toward smaller families. And again, the rural area is not homogeneous ethnically. In this respect, a figure covering all three rural areas conceals what is happening in each separate area. These differences will be discussed later. For the present it is apparent that while the urban trend is toward smaller sized families, for part at least of the rural area, the trend is in the opposite direction.

CHAPTER II

THE FAMILIES OF OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

The families discussed in Chapter I were analysed on a regional basis; that analysis revealed the size differentials existing between the various areas of the region, and gave an opportunity of considering the age of the mother as one of the factors determining the size of the family.

The present chapter makes use of the same data, tracing the relation between size of family, and the occupation of the male head of the family. The general hypothesis is that the size of the family varies with the different grades or types of occupations. If occupations could be ranged in a series, according to social contacts and standard of living, then it is argued that the size of the family would show a progressive decrease throughout the series. In this chapter the data are analysed to reveal (a) the differences in size of family in the various occupational groups; (b) the variations in size of family in the same occupational group in different areas within a region.

The general scheme of the last chapter is repeated; the rural area is analysed first, and the urban area is referred to for comparison.*

*"Urban" refers to industrial and commercial towns, as well as metropolitan areas.

A. The Rural Area vs. the Urban Area.

Any attempt at comparing the families in rural and urban areas, on the basis of occupation, reveals a profound contrast in occupational structure. The complex occupational pattern of a city population emphasizes the fact that specialization has been carried to great lengths. The rural area, in its turn, shows a relative homogeneity of occupational status. Urban workers can be conveniently segregated into broad occupational classes such as professional, managerial, clerical, supervisory, skilled, personal service and unskilled. In the rural areas there is little of such specialization of function. With the exception of the rural teacher, the vast majority of rural people would be classed as farmers. Hence, although occupation is a basis for classifying the people of urban areas, the undifferentiated rural population cannot be analysed in such terms.

I. Specialization in the Urban Area.

The most significant rural-urban distinction lies in the fact that specialization is the key-note of the economic life of the city. This specialization is much broader than the often used "division-of-labor" concept. It is often true that a city depends heavily on one industry, with its special group of occupations. But around such occupations cluster a great variety of supplementary occupations. To name the specialized activities of education, medicine and recreation is to mention only a few. In the rural area there is a one-occupation pattern of living. Farming is not surrounded by a group of auxiliary rural occupations. From a social point of view this constitutes one of the most deep-rooted of differences. The extensive specialization of function

found in urban centres has immediate significance for the size of the family. For the urban areas these will be discussed under four headings.

(a) In the first place, specialization of function divides people into visible classes. Persons in the same occupational group become conscious of their own class or group. They tend to live up to a certain standard of living, which becomes one of the badges of their group. Along with that standard of living are associated the ambitions and behavior "right and proper" to such a place in society. One way to maintain a standard of living is to limit the number of children sharing one income. Hence, in cases where people are proud and conscious of their standard of living, the size of the family is not an accidental matter.

(b) The specialization of function is also characterized by mobility and increase of social contacts. Mobility does not merely refer to the daily round of activites, nor do contacts refer only to those met during the day's activities. Professional life is usually characterized by changes of residence that are unheard of in rural life. This leads to a greater range of contacts, as well as a greater number of them; it also allows one to see a great variety of patterns of family life. In part this frees one from the traditions of his own local group.

Our society has been typified as a "climbing society". Groups of people are anxious to better their positions, to get a step higher. Mobility allows them to see and sample the patterns of living of a wide variety of types.

(c) Mobility, whether it be in space, in occupation, in social class, or what-not, puts a premium on an individual pattern of life. A family, and especially children, place a handicap on the urban dweller. Robbed of his individual mobility, he is at a disadvantage in competing in

urban life. The possible results on the sizes of urban families are obvious.

(d) Finally, specialization of functions leads to a secular attitude of life. Individuals become more interested in the means of attaining objectives than in seeking prescribed ends. Technique, and methods of control, become the characteristics of a specialized mode of life. More activities come to demand rational decision; the arrival and spacing of children are by no means exempt.

Although at first glance the specialization of function, which characterizes urban life, and the question of the size of the family seem remote from each other, a little consideration shows how integrally the one is related to the other.

II. Families in the Rural Area.

Earlier in this chapter it was stated that the rural area is a one-occupation area. It was this that lent significance to much of what was said about specialization in the urban areas. In the rural area specialization is found in only the most rudimentary form.

Moreover, the occupation of farming is unique in one respect. It is a family occupation. In general, farming depends on the presence of a supply of unpaid family labor. At quite an early age children are an asset in a farm home. A farm without children is not a successful economic establishment. From the point of view of labor supply, the large rural family suits the general conditions of farm life.

The reasons for the existence of larger families in rural areas cannot all be traced to economic or ecological causes. Much of family behavior owes its inception to culture and tradition. In the rural area,

and in farm life particularly, much of behavior is governed by custom. In this it differs significantly from the urban centres. On the farm it is right and proper to marry fairly early, and to have a good-sized family. A family of six or eight children is a creditable achievement in a rural area, while in the city such a family is hardly "respectable". Size of family in the country is more a matter of fate than of rational control.

However, if rural life came under the sway of rational control and technique, rather than custom and tradition, it does not necessarily mean that rural families would be smaller in size. The discussion in the preceding paragraph shows that there are logical grounds for large families on the farm, as well as for small families in the urban areas.

It is apparent from the above discussion that some part of the difference in the sizes of families in the rural and urban areas is related to these differences in the ecology of each area. The average size of the rural families was 3.85 children per family, while for the metropolitan area it stood at 2.14 children. It is not possible, however, to isolate the factors responsible for such a difference. The characteristics of each area cannot be contrasted in any quantitative fashion. All that can be done here is to enumerate the characteristics of each area, and to indicate the size of family found in such areas.

B. Occupation and Size of Family.

In the other than rural areas of the study, a more precise analysis is possible. In these three areas the various occupations can be ranged in a series, in terms of income, status and social contacts, and the series divided into a few broad classes.

To simplify the analysis, only the "wage-earning" portion of the sample was utilized. The rest of the "gainfully employed" comprised only a small fraction of the sample. The wage earners were grouped under five headings, which are listed in order.

Managerial (and Professional)

Clerical (Supervisory and Commercial)

Skilled

Intermediate (Semi-skilled and higher grade Personal Service)

Unskilled (and lower grade Personal Service)

I. In the first analysis the data for all three areas are combined, and the size of family for each occupational group is investigated. As before, only the unbroken families of mothers 21-50 years are used for this analysis. Of the families who listed their occupations with the Census enumerator, 353 were classified as managerial. There were 679 children in their families. The average size of family of men who held managerial or professional positions was 1.92 children.

II. The group of families whose heads were engaged in clerical, commercial or supervisory positions totalled 360 families. In these there were 890 children, giving an average of 2.47 children per family. These families are over one-fourth larger than those in the managerial group.

III. The skilled workers in the three areas accounted for 404 of the heads of families. In these families, the children totalled 1,039; the average size was 2.57 children per family. The increase in size is less marked here.

IV. For the intermediate group the average topples back. This

occupational group formed the largest class, 439 families. These families comprised only 989 children. In this case the average is 2.25 children per family. Such a decrease in the size of the family, as compared to the other areas, is confusing; further analysis, on the basis of the various occupations included in this group, might show certain occupations with exceedingly small families; such extended analysis was beyond the scope of this study.*

V. In the unskilled group there were 314 families. In these there were 872 children, an average of 2.78 per family. The group placed lowest in the occupational scheme shows the largest number of children of any group.

The differentials existing between families in the various occupational groups are summarized for comparison.

Managerial Class.....	1.92 children
Clerical Class.....	2.47 "
Skilled Class.....	2.57 "
Intermediate Class.....	2.25 "
Unskilled Class.....	2.78 "

With the exception of the Intermediate class, the variations in size of family are in the direction expected. In extent they are not impressive. There is a difference of only 0.86 children between the largest and smallest family. The small size of all families here is due to the fact that rural families are excluded.

* For details of the occupational classification see Appendix

The notable feature of the comparison is the relative homogeneity of the averages when the managerial group is omitted. The line between the professional and managerial class on the one hand, and all other occupations on the other, marks the significant difference in size of families here.

C. Regional Distribution of Occupations.

The differences noted are by no means as great as those existing between the different areas in the region, as revealed in the previous chapter. However, they are sufficient to account for some of that regional variation in size of family. If there are variations in the structure of these three types of areas, from the point of view of occupation of the head of the family, that fact would account for some of the variation in family size shown by the areas.

The next step is to describe the occupational pattern of each area, to discover how each class is represented.

Table XX. Distribution of Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, Classified According to Occupation of Male Head of Family and Type of Area, 1931.

Area	Families, the occupation of whose male head is classified as:					
	Managerial	Clerical	Skilled	Intermediate	Unskilled	Total
Metropolitan	246 24.4	215 21.4	188 18.7	202 20.1	155 15.4	1,006 100%
Industrial Town	64 12.8	79 15.8	124 24.8	142 28.4	91 18.2	500 100%
Commercial Town	43 11.8	66 18.1	92 25.3	95 26.1	68 18.7	364 100%

Table XX reveals structural differences existing in these various areas. The most significant is the massing of the managerial and professional group in the metropolitan area. This bears out the statement made earlier, that the metropolitan area supports a higher development of the division of labor and specialization of function. Broadly speaking, this group contributes twice as large a proportion in the metropolitan as in either of the other areas. The metropolitan differs from both the other areas, too, in the size of the clerical group. This white collar, well paid group is an index of the commercialized nature of metropolitan life. In the other three occupational classes, the metropolitan area ranks lowest.

From the above comparison it is apparent how similar the composition of the industrial and commercial towns tends to be. The only significant difference is the greater proportion of the intermediate group in the industrial area, with a corresponding smaller proportion of clerical workers. Since the former comprises the machine tending group in general, and since the commercial town is typified more by the clerical than the manual working group, the difference is in the direction expected.

It is now possible to trace the connections between the size of the family in each occupational group, the relative size of each group in each area, and the variations in size of family in each area which were the subject of the previous chapter.

The variations in size of family between occupational groups were quite modest. The average number of children in the families of professional and managerial people was approximately two-thirds of the number for the unskilled group. The differences are much slighter than many eugenists would have us believe. On the other hand, such a

differential does contribute toward understanding the regional differences in the size of the family. The data show that managerial and professional people constitute a larger fraction of the metropolitan population than they do in the other two areas. It also appears that they have perceptibly smaller families. This tends to lower the average number of children per family for the metropolitan area as a whole.

In regard to the other occupational classes, the structure of the three areas was more nearly similar. In addition, the variations in size of family between them were less pronounced than was true when the managerial class was considered. From the above one can conclude that, with the exception of the managerial class, regional variations cannot be explained in terms of the sizes of families found in different occupational classes.

D. Variations within the Region.

The above discussion has proceeded on the assumption that each occupational group was homogeneous as to size of families within it. The basic assumption of this study, however, is that the most significant variations are those related to position within the region. Following out that hypothesis it is necessary to study each occupation singly, and ask: Do families of the same occupational group differ in size, if they happen to be located in the metropolitan area rather than in a commercial town? The rest of this chapter is devoted to investigating those differences.

The basic data for the comparisons is in the Appendix. For the present discussion, each occupational group is classified according to area. A distribution is worked out, which shows the percentage of families in each area having a stated number of children. The data for the managerial and professional class appear in Table XXI.

Table XXI. Percentage Distribution of Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, in the Managerial Class, Classified According to Area and Number of Children, 1931.

Area	P.C.	Total	Families having the following number of children.					
			None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+
Metro-politan	P.C.	100.0	26.8	44.7	21.6	4.7	1.2	0.8
Industri-al Town	P.C.	100.0	23.4	40.6	26.6	6.2	1.6	1.6
Commer-cial Town	P.C.	100.0	27.9	37.2	16.3	11.6	7.0	

I. The tendency shown in Table XXI is for families within the same occupational class to decrease in size as one proceeds from the outer area to the metropolitan centre. Over 6.0 per cent more of the metropolitan families have "two-or- fewer" children, when they are compared with families in the other two areas. The commercial town and industrial town have a higher percentage of the larger-sized families. But while it is the three and four child families that absorb the excess in the industrial town, in the commercial town it is the families with five or more children.

Although averages for each area do not indicate slight variations such as the above, they are added for sake of comparison. For the metropolitan area it was 1.81 children per family, 2.11 children for the industrial town and 2.26 children for the commercial town. These variations point to the fact that within the managerial group the size of the family varies according to its place within the region.

II. In Table XXII the families of clerical workers are subjected to the same analysis.

Table XXII. Percentage Distribution of Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, in the Clerical Class, Classified According to Area and Number of Children, 1931.

Area	P.C.	Total	Families having the following number of children:					
			None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+
Metropolitan	P.C.	100.0	23.7	45.1	19.5	7.9	1.9	1.9
Industrial Town	P.C.	100.0	32.9	39.2	17.8	6.3	1.3	2.5
Commercial Town	P.C.	100.0	10.6	19.7	30.3	21.2	10.6	7.6

The average figures for the three areas are listed in order.

Metropolitan..... 2.11 children per family

Industrial Town..... 1.88 " " "

Commercial Town..... 4.06 " " "

In this grouping the metropolitan families show a larger average number of children than do the families in the industrial town. The distribution reveals that this is due to the presence of many no-child families in this occupational group, in the industrial area. It will be recalled that the industrial area had a smaller proportion of its total families classified as "no-child" than had the metropolitan area. This table shows that its no-child families are heavily concentrated in one occupational group. Further analysis would be necessary to see if these families are typical of certain special occupations.

The outstanding feature of the table is the unique position of the commercial town. In this area families are almost twice as large as in the other two areas. A comparison of the distributions reveals that approximately 30.0 per cent of these families have two-or-fewer children; in the other areas the percentage is almost seventy. From all this it appears that the families of clerical workers are by no means uniform in size. This occupational group responds to urban conditions of living with a much smaller-sized family.

III. The families of skilled workers are patterned similarly to those of the managerial group. The distribution is shown in Table XXIII. The average number of children in the metropolitan area was 2.15 per family; for the industrial town and commercial town, 2.3 children and 3.8 children respectively.

Table XXIII. Percentage Distribution of Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, in the Skilled Class, Classified According to Area and Number of Children, 1931.

Area	P.C.	Total	Families having the following number of children:					
			None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+
Metropolitan	P.C.	100.0	22.9	43.6	22.4	6.4	2.6	2.1
Industrial Town	P.C.	100.0	12.9	48.5	28.2	4.8	4.8	0.8
Commercial Town	P.C.	100.0	7.6	32.6	20.7	25.0	7.6	6.5

The similarity of families of skilled workers in the industrial and metropolitan areas is at once apparent. The metropolitan area shows a

much larger proportion of no-child families, while in the industrial area the one-and two-child families may be termed modal. The two groups offset each other, so that the averages are nearly similar.

The commercial area again shows distinct characteristics all its own. There are few no-child families. The greatest difference is in the case of families with five or more children. These contribute almost 40 per cent of the total. In each of the other areas, these families comprise approximately 10 per cent. It seems safe to conclude that the skilled worker in the metropolis and the similarly trained worker in a small commercial town show markedly different family patterns. The trend of urbanization is toward a smaller family, and this is visible within each occupational group.

IV. The families of workers in the intermediate occupational class (Table XXIV) were smaller than those in the two preceding classes. The areas stand, for this class, in the same relation as they did for the clerical workers.

Table XXIV. Percentage Distribution of Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, in the Intermediate Occupational Class, Classified According to Area and Number of Children, 1931.

Area	P.C.	Total	Families having the following number of children:					
			None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+
Metropolitan	P.C.	100.0	29.2	37.6	18.8	9.4	4.0	1.0
Industrial Town	P.C.	100.0	19.7	51.4	22.5	5.7	0.7	
Commercial Town	P.C.	100.0	17.9	30.5	23.2	13.7	10.5	4.2

When average figures are computed for the families of the intermediate group, they appear as follows:

Metropolitan Area.....	2.1 children
Industrial Town.....	1.84 "
Commercial Town.....	3.19 "

These averages repeat the same evidence, that the families in the same occupational group differ radically in size, depending on their location within a region.

In this occupational class the industrial town and metropolitan area display wide variations even though the averages show slight differences. The metropolitan area has a large proportion of no-child families. In the industrial area, on the other hand, over half the families have either one or two children. This family size may be termed modal for the industrial town.

Turning to the commercial town, the large families are much in evidence. Over 28 per cent of all families have five or more children in this area. In comparison, the industrial town has only 6.4 per cent of families of that size.

In this class, as among the clerical workers, the industrial town shows the lowest size of family. In the industrial town, this class includes most of the machine operators. It is significant that in this area, where such workers congregate in large establishments, the families show this small size.

Table XXV. Percentage Distribution of Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, in the Unskilled Class, Classified According to Area and Number of Children, 1931.

Area	P.C.	Total	Families having the following number of children:					
			None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+
Metropolitan	P.C.	100.0	20.0	35.5	27.7	12.3	4.5	
Industrial Town	P.C.	100.0	9.9	40.6	25.3	14.3	7.7	2.2
Commercial Town	P.C.	100.0	14.7	29.4	29.4	20.7	2.9	2.9

V. The unskilled group is numerically the smallest in the series. Also, it showed the largest families. They are grouped according to areas in Table XXV.

When the average for each area is computed the following results are obtained:

Metropolitan Area..... 2.46 children per family

Industrial Town..... 3.11 " " "

Commercial Area..... 3.04 " " "

The differences in this occupational group are relatively smaller than in any of the others. One feature of this group is the fact that the industrial town and commercial town are relatively similar, in the composition of family pattern.

Reference to the distribution shows that the industrial town has relatively few of the no-child families. It likewise shows a large proportion of families with seven or more children. This suggests that in the

newly industrialized area a certain proportion of the unskilled labor is drawn in fresh from the adjacent rural area, and brings with it the conventional rural family. This is the most plausible explanation for larger families in this class in the industrial town than were found in the commercial town.

As in the other occupational groups, there are different-sized families found on the fringe and at the centre of the region.

E. In summary, certain conclusions can be briefly stated.

I. There is considerable variation between the areas of a region in the relative numbers in each occupational group. The greatest difference is found in the professional and managerial class; this seems related to the more extended specialization of services found in highly urbanized areas.

II. When occupations are arranged in a series, on the basis of status and income, they show variations in size of family. In general, the higher the status of the members of a group, the fewer children in the family. The managerial group are most clearly marked off in this regard.

III. When the families in any occupational group are considered, for each area in a region, quite noticeable variations in size of family arise. The members of any occupational group have different sized families, depending on the area of residence. Membership in a socio-economic class does not affect family behavior as markedly as does place of residence in a region. The urbanizing forces show their results inside the framework of an occupational class. Each of the occupational groups is under the influence of these forces; the goal is a trend toward smaller families. These variations in size of family demonstrate the necessity for using a "regional" hypothesis in the study of the family.

CHAPTER III

ETHNIC FACTORS IN THE SIZE OF THE FAMILY

In the analysis of the last two chapters, a regional viewpoint has been strictly adhered to. For both age and occupational groupings, the data have been further analysed to show the variations that are peculiarly related to position within a region. In most cases, these variations have been the most significant ones, as far as the size of family of any group was concerned.

In the present chapter, the analysis turns abruptly into a different field. The first chapter investigated the relation of the age of the mother to the size of the family. Such an approach is clearly biological. The second chapter treated the same families in terms of occupation and division of labor; the point of view here is an ecological one, since it searches for the relation between the family and the particular activities and contacts of the family.

There is a third area of forces affecting the size of the family. Families are not isolated entities; they are parts of larger groups. In other words, the family rises out of culture. Culture pervades every area of the life of a group. Every group that has had a sufficiently long period of isolation develops features that it considers unique. It takes a special name, or in other words, becomes a race. Beliefs and practices that are considered vitally important are sanctified in a religion. Much of life becomes grounded into customs and traditions.

These seem right and proper to the group, and what is strange or different is designated as wrong or improper.

To such a group, with its racial and religious characteristics and its customs and traditions, the sociologist applies the name "ethnic group". The members of such a group are not particularly conscious of having the traits that the scientist applies to them. They usually think of themselves as "we," thereby including all like themselves and excluding all others.

No group ever leaves unregulated such important problems as those respecting the family. Marriage recognizes the legitimacy of offspring. Precepts and proverbs put the stamp of approval on a large or a small family. These are the judgments that the group has worked out in regard to this question. Once formulated, such notions travel by their own momentum, as it were. Hence the pressure exerted on a family, by its social position, to restrict the number of children may be offset by a sense of duty towards nationalistic sentiments. Thus it is that various ethnic groups react in substantially different fashion to similar situations. In each case the typically ethnic factors are a real force in the total situation.

The present chapter attempts to analyse the families of the study in terms of their ethnic characteristics. Two sets of questions emerge: How significant are ethnic factors in determining the size of the family? How are these factors modified by the fact of urbanization?

In collecting data the Census officials employ only two of the concepts of culture, race and religion. It is under these two heads that the data are now analysed.

The general facts and argument of this study are these. Only two

racial groups have been investigated, the British in Ontario, and in Quebec the French. The exception was the inclusion in Quebec of the English families in the sample from Outremont. It is possible, by classifying the families on the basis of racial origin, to discover whether each racial group is characterized by a certain size of family. Such statement must be tentative, however, because there are other factors influencing the size of the family, such as those already investigated. The regional hypothesis can be tested for each racial group; if the results are similar in each case, additional light is thrown on the effect of urbanization on the size of the family.

In brief, the argument put forward is that while racial differences may be substantial in the rural areas, as the metropolitan centre is approached the size of the family rapidly diminishes, no matter which race is involved. However, the differentials persist, and will be discussed later.

In the matter of religion the data are not so clearly defined. All of the French families sampled, and a small proportion of the British were Catholic, according to the Census. The rest of the British were split up among a variety of religions. By combining all of them under the caption"non-Catholic" a simplified comparison was possible. When these two classes are compared within a single area, there is a differential in the size of the family. When these differences are compared for each of the four areas in the region, however, they too vary according to location in a region.

From the foregoing, it is obvious that an analysis of size of family only in terms of race, religion, occupation or age of parents leaves out of consideration other important factors. Unless data are analysed on the

basis of a regional pattern, a whole group of variations are quite effectively blanketed. An analysis on a rural-urban basis still permits many of these differences to remain concealed. Within the urban classification, as, for example, between commercial and industrial towns, some of the widest variations exist. Before discussing this further, it is necessary to present the data in regard to the ethnic factors.

A. Race and the Size of the Family.

The two racial groups are unequally represented in each area. Two rural areas were chosen from Ontario, compared with one from Quebec. When the sample was restricted to the unbroken families in which the age of the female head ranged between twenty-one and fifty years, the French group yielded 227 and the British 357 families. In the commercial towns, the numbers were approximately equal, 210 French and 204 British. In the industrial towns, Oshawa had 385 such families as opposed to 148 in Ste. Hyacinthe. Both French and British families were chosen from Outremont; consequently the British families were more numerous in the metropolitan centre, 685 compared with 454 for the French.

The total for French families was 1,039 and for the British 1,631. Averages for such heterogeneous groupings are not very revealing, but they provide a starting point for further analysis. For the French group the average was 3.41 children per family, while for the British group it stood at 2.24 children.

I. Families of French Parents.

In order to show the manner in which this basic figure varies within the areas of a region, distributions showing the number of families each having a stated number of children are presented. The data for the

French families appear in Table XXVI.

Table XXVI. Selected French Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, Classified According to Area and Number of Children, 1931.

Area	No. P.C.	Total	Families having the following number of children: None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+
Rural	No.	227	14	40	50	62	32	29
	P.C.	100.0	6.2	17.6	22.0	27.3	14.1	12.8
Commercial Town	No.	210	24	53	48	41	25	19
	P.C.	100.0	11.4	25.2	22.9	19.5	11.9	9.1
Industrial Town	No.	148	25	47	37	21	12	6
	P.C.	100.0	16.9	31.8	25.0	14.2	8.1	4.0
Metropolitan	No.	454	84	175	108	54	21	12
	P.C.	100.0	18.5	38.5	23.9	11.9	4.6	2.6

The numbers have in all cases been reduced to percentages to facilitate comparison. If the rural area is compared with the metropolitan, it is at once apparent that families vary in size, even though they are of the same race. There are three times as many no-child families in the Montreal area as in the rural area, and twice as many of the one-and-two child families in the former as in the latter. For the three-and-four child families the percentages are approximately equal. Among the larger sized families, the rural area is heavily weighted. Over 54 per cent of all rural families showed five or more children, while for the metropolitan area approximately 19 per cent were of that size.

Similar differentials, though not so pronounced, exist between the commercial town and the metropolitan area. The families having two-or-fewer children in the metropolitan area comprise 57 per cent of the total.

Less than 37 per cent of commercial town families fall in that class. There is little difference noticed in those families having three or four children. In the class of families larger than that, over 40 per cent of all families in the commercial town area occur. The corresponding group in the metropolitan area comprised approximately 19 per cent of all families. As in the rural area the variations in size of family are quite marked.

Between the industrial town area and the metropolitan the differentials are not so noticeable, though they are of exactly similar type. Families of seven or more children comprise approximately 12 per cent of the former area, as opposed to 7.2 per cent for the latter. The metropolitan area compensates by having a larger percentage of families with one or two children; the respective figures are 38.5 per cent and 31.8 per cent.

When all four areas are combined into a single pattern, it is apparent that there is a continuous and significant decline in the size of all French families as one progresses from the outer area to the heart of the city. The no-child families comprise only 6.2 per cent of the rural sample, reach 11.4 per cent for the commercial towns, 16.9 per cent for the industrial towns, going to a high point of 18.5 per cent for the metropolitan area. The one-and-two child families behave in similar fashion. The series here begins at 17.6 per cent for the rural area, reaching 38.5 per cent in the metropolitan area. These show the distribution of small sized families.

The medium sized families are approximately equally represented in all four areas, comprising 22-25 per cent of the total. For the other groups of families the series runs in descending order. In the families of five-or-six children, the rural area shows 27.3 per cent, while the metropolitan area declines to 11.9 per cent. For the group of families having

seven-or-eight children the corresponding figures are 14.1 per cent and 4.6 per cent. All families having nine or more children have been combined to form a single group. In the rural area they comprise 12.8 per cent of the total; in the commercial town area 9.1 per cent; in the industrial towns the figure is reduced to 4.0 per cent; while in the metropolitan these families form a mere 2.6 per cent of the total. When the data in Table XXVI are viewed in this perspective, the regional aspect of the relation of race to size of family is made evident. When combined with similar data for the British families it appears that neither of the great races of the central area of Canada has withstood the attackof urbanization on the size of the family.

II. Families of British Parents.

The data in regard to the British families are summarized for all four areas in Table XXVII. In general, the four areas show the same features as did the corresponding areas of French families. As suggested by the average figure given for each race (2.24 children and 3.41 children) the two tables are quite different in structure. More of the families in the British sample are included in the smaller brackets. This is of less significance here than the distribution for each area. The relation between the areas is substantially the same in each case. That is to say, the effects of urbanization on size of family have been almost idential in each case.

Families having two or fewer children comprise 71.2 per cent of the metropolitan families, but only 43.4 per cent of the rural sample. At the other extreme, the differences are equally marked. Families of five or more children contribute 28.6 per cent of all rural families, but a

mere 6.5 per cent of the metropolitan families. These two comparisons show the rural-metropolitan contrast at its sharpest.

Table XXVII. Selected British Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, Classified According to Area and Number of Children, 1931.

Area	No. P.C.	Total	Families having the following number of children: None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+
Rural	No.	357	44	111	100	60	33	9
	P.C.	100.0	12.3	31.1	28.0	16.9	9.2	2.5
Commercial Town	No.	204	38	73	51	33	8	1
	P.C.	100.0	18.6	35.8	25.0	16.2	3.9	0.5
Industrial Town	No.	385	72	195	91	19	8	
	P.C,	100.0	18.7	50.6	23.6	5.0	2.1	
Metropolitan	No.	685	188	300	153	34	8	2
	P.C.	100.0	27.4	43.8	22.3	5.0	1.2	0.3

The commercial town areas are so similar to the rural, that they hardly need to be discussed. The important difference is in the larger sized families; while families of seven or more children comprised 11.7 per cent of the rural sample, they account for only 4.4 per cent of the sample from commercial towns.

The industrial towns differ from the metropolitan area mainly in the composition of the group of small families. The no-child family accounts for 27.4 per cent of the metropolitan sample but only for 18.7 per cent of the sample from the industrial town. The converse is true for the families having one or two children. In the industrial town 50.6 per cent of all families come in this class; in the metropolitan area 43.8 per cent are listed there. In both of these areas, approximately 70 per cent of

all families are of this small type.

The pattern for all four areas is the same as that for the French families. The no-child families rise in importance from 12.3 per cent in rural areas to 27.4 per cent in metropolitan centres. The one-and-two child families show the same trend, with the exception of the industrial town group already noted. For the three-and-four child families, the series takes on a descending pattern, ranging from 28 per cent to 22.3 per cent. In all families having more than five children the differences are more marked; these large families are almost non-existent in the metropolitan and industrial town areas.

The marked similarity in each area is at once apparent. Whatever the size of the family happens to be, while in its rural habitat, the forces of urbanization are exerted in one uniform direction. Urbanization and industrialization are accompanied by sharp reductions in the size of the family.

III. Race and Family in the Past.

Since data for some of these areas exist for the year 1901, it is possible to compare the sizes of families for two periods. For the reasons described at the end of Chapter I, data are not available for the metropolitan areas. For the other areas, a comparison is carried out, similar to that used for the age groupings in Chapter I. Only the families of mothers 31-40 years of age are included. This reduces the size of the sample in each case, but obviates the difficulty that during this thirty-year period the age composition of some areas had changed radically. Furthermore, only averages are presented here; they indicate less detail than do the distributions, but are also less cumbersome.

(a) Data for both races appear in Table XXVIII. Each will be considered in turn. Among the French rural families there had been a substantial increase in the number of children per family between 1901 and 1931. When the data are examined in detail, it is found that the increase holds for children of all ages. The increase cannot be attributed to the presence of a larger number of older children in the later years. Differential ages at home leaving are not at work to cause this difference.

Table XXVIII. Average Numbers of Children in Selected Families, of Mothers 31-40 Years, Classified by Area and Race, 1901 and 1931.

Race	Year	Average number of children, in families of mothers 31-40 years, in:		
		Rural Area	Commercial Town	Industrial Town
French	1901	5.02	4.29	3.85
	1931	5.85	3.83	3.34
British	1901	3.56	3.42	2.38
	1931	3.71	3.17	1.97

Source: Unpublished Census Data, 1901 and 1931.

For the other areas there had been a decrease in number of children at home, more marked in the case of the industrial town sample than for the commercial town. In other words, each of those in varying degree shows the dynamic effect of urbanization on the size of its families.

(b) The British rural sample shows that families have increased in size, in this age grouping of mothers, since 1901. The increase is not uniform throughout the sample; when it is cross-classified in terms of religion, the two segments differ. This difference will be referred to later in this chapter.

For the industrial town and commercial town the trend is toward a smaller family, with the difference accentuated in the industrial town area. This substantiates what was inferred earlier, i.e. that industrialization achieves an early and marked reduction in the size of the family.

In summary it can be stated that for both races the effects of urbanization on the size of the family show a decided trend. In rural areas the size of the family is responding to other forces; however, in places even the rural family is decreasing, as will appear in the later part of this chapter.

B. Religion of the Parents and the Size of the Family.

The data on the size of the family, in the two religious groups described, can be subjected to an analysis similar to the above. Data on religion and race apply to the same group of families, though in every area the Catholic group is larger than the French for a corresponding area. The reason for this is that while the French families sampled were without exception Catholic, a fairly large number of the British families also belong to that religious denomination. The total for Catholics in all four areas was 1,365 families, while the corresponding figure for non-Catholics was 1,305 families. Hence the total for Catholic and non-Catholic families is the same as for French and British. When these totals are distributed to show size of family, however, certain differences are apparent.

The average number of children per family, for all families, in each religious group is used as a starting point. For Catholic families the figure is 3.43 children and for non-Catholic 2.02 children per family.

By reference to the averages for racial groups, it appears that the addition of the British Catholic group to the French increases the average figure only 0.02 children per family; the deletion of these Catholics from the British sample reduces the average 0.22 children per family. Hence the British Catholics showed a higher average than did the French Catholics; this would be expected, because the British Catholics, because of the manner of selection, were mainly rural.

This data takes on more significance when analysed on a regional basis. In that case, it appears that within each religious group there is a regional trend. Broadly speaking, the trends are similar to those described for the racial groups.

I. Families of Catholic Parents.

The data for the Catholic group appear in Table XXIX. In it the data for all four areas within the region are compared. The families are distributed according to number of children per family, and these groupings are reduced to percentages. As in previous tables, the groups are reduced in number to avoid unwieldy comparisons.

Table XXIX. Selected Catholic Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, Classified According to Area and Number of Children, 1931.

Area	No. P.C.	Total	Families having the following number of children: None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+
Rural	No.	394	35	81	91	94	55	38
	P.C.	100.0	8.9	20.6	23.1	23.9	13.9	9.6
Commercial Town	No.	251	27	64	59	54	28	19
	P.C.	100.0	10.8	25.5	23.5	21.5	11.1	7.6
Industrial Town	No.	170	29	55	44	23	13	6
	P.C.	100.0	17.1	32.3	25.9	13.5	7.7	3.5
Metropolitan	No.	550	100	220	137	58	23	12
	P.C.	100.0	18.2	40.0	24.9	10.5	4.2	2.2

(a) For the rural families it is evident that all sizes of families, up to and including those with six children are approximately equally represented. In each case, each group comprises from nine to twelve per cent of all the families. The larger sized families are well represented, since 23.5 per cent of all rural Catholic families had seven or more children. The no-child families occur in less than nine per cent of all cases.

(b) In contrast to this, in the metropolitan area, there is a concentration of small families. In this area 58.2 per cent of the families have two or less children; for the rural area the corresponding figure was 29.5 per cent. For the very large families, the metropolitan area stands at 6.4 per cent, approximately one-fourth of the figure for the rural area. While the rural families are distributed evenly in all groups of 0-6 children per family, the metropolitan families are concentrated in the group having two or less children.

(c) The commercial town area shows a slight, though consistent, tendency toward smaller families than does the rural area. The difference between it and the metropolitan area is still quite wide. Only 10.8 per cent of the families had no children, as compared to 18.2 per cent of such families in the metropolitan area. Families of seven or more children contributed 18.7 per cent of the total, as compared to 6.4 per cent for the metropolitan area. As in the rural area, the families are approximately equally divided among the families having six or less children; the differences are the slight increase in no-child families and the larger decrease of families with more than seven children.

(d) In the industrial town area the families resemble those found in the metropolitan area. Differences, however, are quite substantial. The no-child families are approximately equally represented in each case. This area differs from the rural and commercial town by virtue of the sharp decline after the three and four child class has been reached. Families with five or more children form 24.7 per cent of the total for the industrial town. When compared with 16.9 per cent for the metropolitan area, it appears that the industrial town stands much closer to the metropolis than to the rural area.

A summary of the data shows a definite pattern existing for the four areas. The group of families with three or four children stands very near the same figure for each area. At either side of this is a well-marked series. The families with no children start at 8.9 per cent and go to 18.2 per cent. The next group start at 20.6 per cent, and reach a high point of 40.0 per cent. For the other groups the series is a descending one. Families with more than nine children range from 9.6 per cent to 2.2 per cent. Those with 7-8 children start at 15.9 and go down

to 4.2 per cent, while the families of 5-6 children begin, in the rural area, at 23.9 per cent, and drop to 10.5 per cent for the metropolitan area.

Such a series duplicates much of what was discovered for the racial groupings. The same features are evident for the non-Catholic group, which is analysed in Table XXX.

II. Families of non-Catholic Parents.

Table XXX is organized on the same basis as the data for the Catholic group. Although the families are smaller, and the data for that reason heavily concentrated into the classes of families with fewer children, a similar pattern is observable to that seen in the Catholic group. In this analysis it is the manner in which families in the same religious group vary from area to area that is of major significance.

Table XXX. Selected non-Catholic Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, Classified According to Area and Number of Children, 1931.

Area	No. / P.C.	Total	Families having the following number of children:					
			None	1-2	3-4	5-6	7-8	9+
Rural	No.	190	23	70	59	28	10	
	P.C.	100.0	12.1	36.8	31.1	14.7	5.3	
Commercial Town	No.	163	35	62	40	20	5	1
	P.C.	100.0	21.5	38.0	24.5	12.3	3.1	0.6
Industrial Town	No.	363	68	187	84	17	7	
	P.C.	100.0	18.7	51.5	23.2	4.7	1.9	
Metropolitan	No.	589	172	255	124	30	6	2
	P.C.	100.0	29.2	43.3	21.1	5.1	1.0	0.3

(a) In the rural area the main body of the families comprised in the class having 1-4 children. It accounts for 67.9 per cent of the total for the area. Very large families are uncommon here, as they comprise only 5.3 per cent of all families. The no-child families contribute 12.1 per cent of the total. Hence although there are fewer large families here than among the corresponding Catholic group, the proportion of no-child families has not altered greatly.

(b) The rural-metropolitan contrast is marked as sharply here as it was in the Catholic group. The families with seven or more children comprise only 1.3 per cent of the total, as compared with 5.3 per cent for the rural non-Catholic group. The no-child families account for almost thirty per cent of the total, while the corresponding rural figure was 12.1 per cent. In the metropolitan area, the families with two or less children comprise 72.5 per cent of the total, which shows a very high concentration of small families.

(c) The commercial town and industrial town stand mid-way between the rural and metropolitan areas, though each leans a different way. In the commercial town the no-child families have risen to 21.5 per cent of the total. Along with the one and two child families they comprise almost 60 per cent of the total families. They differ quite significantly from the metropolitan area in the group of families having five or more children. For the latter area this group stood at 6.4 per cent, while in the commercial town area the figure is 16.0 per cent. Hence large families are rather numerous in this area.

(d) The industrial town, on the other hand, has only 6.6 per cent of families with five or more children. In this it approaches the metropolitan area. However, in the no-child families it lags behind the commercial

town slightly; in this class it has 18.7 per cent of all its families, as compared with 21.5 per cent for the other area. Over half of all families have either one or two children; such a concentration is unique for all areas. In the same group the metropolitan area had 43.3 per cent of all families. However, the larger number of no-child families in the metropolis reduces the average considerably below that of the industrial town.

In summary, the trend in all four areas can be emphasized. With the exception of the rather decided concentration of families in the industrial town, a series is observable which is equivalent to that found among the Catholic families. Urbanization is affecting both groups in the same fashion. The new factor revealed by the non-Catholic group is the pronounced effect of urbanization in an industrial town. Here, more than anywhere else, a small-type of family is sufficiently common to be called modal.

III. Data for some of these areas are available for 1901, and a time comparison is available on that basis. The data have the limitations described earlier, and do not extend to the metropolitan areas.

Such a comparison reveals trends that are precisely similar to those discovered when the data were analysed on the basis of Race. This analysis clears up one point, however, which was left in doubt there. The conclusion arrived at there was, that among the French families, in all except the rural area, the trend is during the past thirty years toward smaller families. The data showed a continuous approximation, both through time and space, to the goal of the metropolitan family. Contrary to this, in the rural area the trend is toward a larger family.

If the data on birth rates and mortality rates were available for such units of territory, the reasons for this increase could perhaps be suggested. In the absence of such data, only the fact can be stated.

For the British families the same conlusions were arrived at. The increase, in the case of the rural families, was so slight that cross-classification on the basis of Religion was attempted, in order to see what was happening to each religious group. The data are presented in Table XXXI.

Table XXXI. Average Numbers of Children in Selected British Rural Families, of Mothers 31-40 Years, Classified According to Religion, 1901 and 1931.

Religion	Average number of children in families of mothers 31-40 years, in:	
	1901	1931
Catholic	3.20	4.24
Non-Catholic	3.93	3.22

As in the previous time comparisons, the data are restricted to the 31-40 year age-group of mothers. For these the average numbers of children per family are given for each year. For the earlier year the Catholic group show smaller families than do the non-Catholic group. Here, however, it is the direction of change that is significant. For the Catholic group the families have increased in size over the intervening years. For the non-Catholic group the families show a corresponding decrease in size. The early conclusion can be modified, to state that for the non-Catholic rural group the forces of urbanization have reached out and are affecting the size of the family.

C. Very little needs to be said in summary as to the regional variations which are related to these ethnic factors. For each racial group the variations from the periphery to the centre of the metropolitan region are in the same direction and quantitatively similar. The same is true when the data are considered on the basis of religion. What is more, the variations in size of family, measured in these terms, are approximately equal to those found when both groups are taken together.

The reason for that is fairly obvious. Each racial group is represented in each area in approximately equal proportions. Because of the way the data were sampled, one region is to all intents and purposes French, and the other British. Each of them show the distinctive family types of a region.

From this one may conclude that the ethnic data and the regional data are independent. Membership in either racial group does not render one immune to the effects of urbanization. Since the French group is totally Catholic, and includes the preponderant part of the Catholic population, the same conclusion holds for the Catholic group.

On the other hand, the occupational group shows lesser variations, partly because there is a functional relation between occupational groups and location in the region. It will be remembered that the higher occupational categories were massed in the central part of the region. Similarly, there is an age selection of younger population elements to the urban areas; the functional relation of these two explains why the regional variations stand out more clearly than do those due to age differences in the mothers.

The emphasis in the chapter has been on the regional aspects of

ethnic factors. The study shows the same trends for French Catholics on one hand and for British non-Catholics on the other. In each case, however, the point of departure is widely different. French rural families are markedly larger than are British rural families, and when the Catholic families are withdrawn from the British sample, the contrast is more vivid. Through each of the other areas these differences persist, although decreasing as the metropolitan centre is reached.

From this standpoint, there is significance in the fact that the French and Catholic rural families are travelling away from the main trend. British rural non-Catholic families are decreasing in size. In the other groups, the British Catholic rural and French Catholic rural, other factors are effectively offsetting the trend to smaller families. It is with the French Catholic group that this contrast is most pronounced.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

Before drawing together the conclusions of the last three chapters, it is useful to define precisely the object of the study. The family in this study is the group living in association, having a marital and/or parent-child relationship. Therefore it is the family remaining after mortality and home-leaving have taken their toll. The family of this study is the survival family.

The study originated in an interest in the biological family. However, the types of data available do not permit one to deal directly with that family pattern. On the other hand, it seems clear that the changes taking place in the size of the survival family are also taking place in the biological family. There are two good reasons for believing that the sort of variations noted in the study would be even more pronounced in the case of the biological family. In general, the groups having the largest numbers of children per family are also the groups with the highest mortality rates. This is true of the occupational groups, the ethnic groups and of the various areas of the region. The groups that show larger families do so notwithstanding their higher death rates. Added to this is the fact that these are the groups in which the home-leaving age is low. Bearing these two facts in mind, it is evident that the differences noted, in the course of the study of the survival family, are genuine differences in fertility. Hence, although the data do not permit one to

study the biological family, the conclusions reached apply to it. If it could have been isolated for study, the variations would have been even more marked.

The foremost feature of the study is the fact of obvious differentials existing between the various areas of a region. When these areas are arranged in a series, it appears that the urban centre of the region is characterized by families of few children. The industrial town shows the same type of family, in less pronounced degree. The commercial towns have families more nearly similar to those in rural areas; the rural families were approximately twice the size of those found in the metropolitan centre.

Some part of these variations is due to the age differences found within the four types of areas. The industrial towns selected a younger parent population than did the other areas. There was a young group in the metropolitan working-class area, though this was offset by an older group in the residential area. The oldest group of parents was marooned in the rural areas.

The proportion of parents of various ages takes its significance from the size of the family in each age group. In the urban areas, each ten-year age group of mothers was associated with a larger sized family than was the preceding younger group. This did not hold for the rural areas. There, mothers 31-40 years of age were associated with <u>larger</u> families than were the mothers 41-50. The difference between rural and urban in this regard hinges on the fact that the rural children were leaving home at an earlier age.

Any time comparison must exclude the newly-developed metropolitan areas. For the commercial towns and industrial towns it is apparent that

the urban tendency toward smaller families has been operative in the past, and these areas have shown a consistent decrease in size of family over the period 1901-1931. For the rural area the evidence is less clear.

Only a small part of the regional variations is due to factors concerning age differences.

The analysis in terms of occupations was limited to the urban areas. Among the rural group, occupation is a homogeneous matter. When the various occupations are ranked according to an arbitrary status-income scale, they show definite differences in size of family. In general, the higher the status, the fewer the children. Families of professional people stand out in sharpest relief in this regard.

When areas are compared, to note the proportions of each occupational group in their populations, the metropolitan shows a unique composition. The professional and higher grade clerical group form a much larger proportion in this area than in the others. The metropolis has advanced far in the specialization of occupation. The other two areas showed a marked similarity of occupational structure. This similarity masks the fact that certain special occupations in the industrial town may have a particularly large proportion of the workers within them. In the commercial towns there was a wider variety of occupations, but when all occupations are ranked into five groups, the distributions within each type of area were quite similar.

The small families of the metropolitan area can be explained in part by the occupational distribution. The professional group shows a high degree of concentration there, and it is the group with the smallest families. Moreover, professional families in the metropolitan area are smaller than those of the same occupational group in other areas. This

statement holds true likewise for the other occupational groups. Between the other two areas, differences in the distribution of occupational groups do not explain variations in size of family, because the two distributions are almost identical.

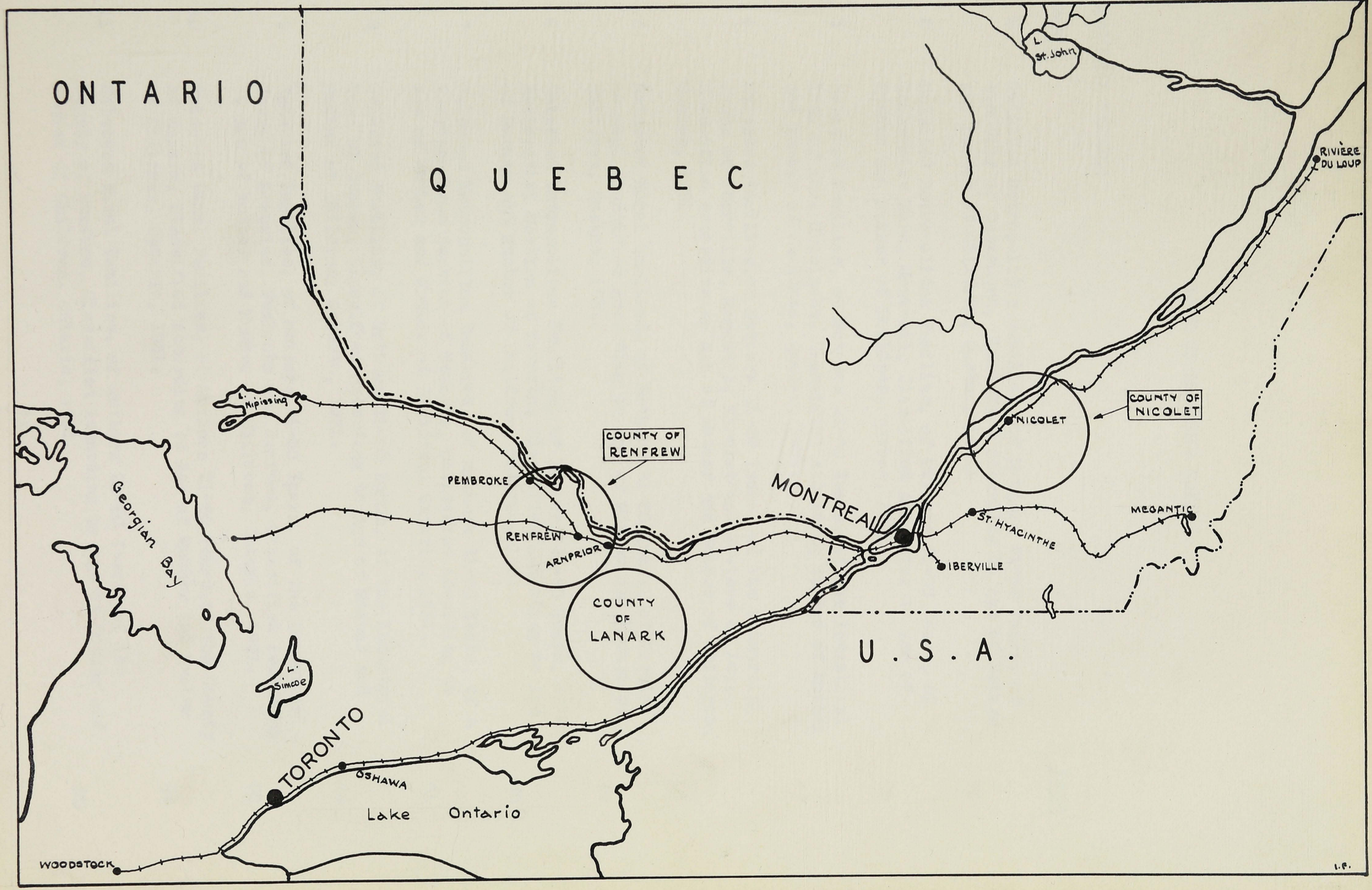
When the ethnic factors were discussed, it was made clear that the method of sampling yields what is equivalent to a French region and a British region. Because of the interrelation of race and religion in Quebec, the French region is also a Catholic region. However, the British region cannot be referred to as a non-Catholic region, because a fraction of the British are Catholic . The data show that the regional differences persist for all ethnic groups. Either racial group, when exposed to urbanization and industrialization, responds with a markedly reduced family. The same result obtains for the religious groups.

On the other hand, there are marked differentials in the sizes of families of different ethnic groups, when these are considered within the same area. In all cases, French Catholic families are larger than British Catholics, and the latter are larger than British non-Catholic families. This is particularly evident in the rural areas, where urbanization has had least effect. The data minimize the differences, because again the areas of largest families are also the areas of highest mortality.

When the ethnic groups are considered, it needs to be emphasized that the two regions described are at different periods in their life cycles. That means that one racial group has been exposed for a longer period to urbanization and industrialization than has the other. This may explain in part why the one group has larger families than the other. Two facts, however, suggest that ethnic factors are important in determining the size of the family. In the most rural areas, the French have larger families

than have the British. And among the British group the Catholics have larger families than have the non-Catholics.

The effect of ethnic factors diminishes as the urban areas are approached. In other words, regional differences work within the framework of ethnic groups. These regional differences will last as long as there is a difference between the rural and urban ways of life.


ONTARIO
QUEBEC
L. St. John
RIVIÈRE DU LOUP
L. Nipissing
COUNTY OF RENFREW
PEMBROKE
RENFREW
ARNPRIOR
COUNTY OF NICOLET
NICOLET
MONTREAL
ST. HYACINTHE
MEGANTIC
IBERVILLE
Georgian Bay
COUNTY OF LANARK
U. S. A.
L. Simcoe
TORONTO
OSHAWA
Lake Ontario
WOODSTOCK
I.F.

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APPENDIX TABLES, REGIONAL AREAS.

Appendix Table 1. Selected Metropolitan Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, of the City of Outremont, Classified According to Age of Mother and Number of Children, Quebec, 1931.

Age of Mother	Total Number of Families	Families with the following number of children:										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
21-25	6	4	1		1							
26-30	44	16	16	7	3	2						
31-35	65	11	13	20	9	6	2	4				
36-40	72	9	19	13	12	11	3	3			1	1
41-45	66	10	13	19	3	11	2	5	1	1	1	
46-50	69	16	8	13	11	11	5	3		1	1	
21-50	322	66	70	72	39	41	12	15	1	2	3	1

Appendix Table 2. Selected Metropolitan Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, of Delorimier Ward, Montreal, Classified According to Age of Mother and Number of Children, Quebec, 1931.

Age of Mother	Total Number of Families	Families with the following number of children:										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
21-25	35	9	15	7	3		1					
26-30	68	19	23	17	4	3	1		1			
31-35	53	4	8	11	10	7	6	6		1		
36-40	55	15	6	7	9	5	5	2	4	1		1
41-45	47	6	8	5	9	5	4	4	2	1		3*
46-50	43	6	11	1	4	4	2	3	5	3	1	3**
21-50	301	59	71	48	39	24	19	15	12	6	1	7

* Including one family of eleven and one family of twelve children. ** Including one family of eleven and one family of thirteen children.

Appendix Table 3. Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, of the Industrial Town of Ste. Hyacinthe, Classified According to Age of Mother and Number of Children, Quebec, 1931.

Age of Mother	Total Number of Families	Families with the following number of children:										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
21-25	16	4	5	6	1							
26-30	23	8	3	5	4	2	1					
31-35	22	3	4	5	5	1	2		2			
36-40	36	4	3	5	5	7	4	2	3	1	1	1*
41-45	28	3	2	5	5	2	2	5	1	1		2**
46-50	23	3	2	2	4	1	2	3	1	3		2
21-50	148	25	19	28	24	13	11	10	7	5	1	5

* A family of eleven children. ** Two families of eleven children.

Appendix Table 4. Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, of the Commercial Towns of Iberville, Megantic, Nicolet and Riviere du Loup, Classified According to Age of Mother and Number of Children, Quebec, 1931.

Age of Mother	Total Number of Families	Families with the following number of children:										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
21-25	14	5	1	6	1			1				
26-30	27	2	6	3	6	6	3		1			
31-35	34	3	2	4	1	9	4	3	5	1	1	1*
36-40	37	9	3	3	7	3	4	2	3	1	1	1
41-45	49	4	6	5	3	3	7	7	2	6	3	3**
46-50	49	1	8	6	3	6	5	5	4	2	4	5***
21-50	210	24	26	27	21	27	23	18	15	10	9	10

* A family of eleven children. ** Two families of eleven and one family of twelve children. *** Including one family of eleven and one family of sixteen children.

Appendix Table 5. Selected Rural Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, of Nicolet County, Classified According to Age of Mother and Number of Children, Quebec, 1931.

Age of Mother	Total Number of Families	Families with the following number of children:										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
21-25	21	5	3	9	1	2		1				
26-30	37	1	5	5	7	7	4	4	3			1
31-35	39		1	2	1	8	9	8	6	4		
36-40	43	2		5	2	4	4	5	5	6	3	7*
41-45	48	5	4	2	5	4	5	5	3	2	5	8**
46-50	39	1	2	2	6	3	8	9		3	1	4***
21-50	227	14	15	25	22	28	30	32	17	15	9	20

* Including two families of twelve and one family of seventeen children. ** Including three families of eleven and one family of twelve, thirteen and fourteen children. *** Including one family of eleven children.

APPENDIX TABLES, REGIONAL AREAS.

Appendix Table 6. Selected Metropolitan Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, of a Residential Section of Toronto, Classified According to Age of Mother and Number of Children, Ontario, 1931.

Age of Mother	Total Number of Families	Families with the following number of children:										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
21-25	17	8	6	2	1							
26-30	41	19	11	8	3							
31-35	39	14	9	9	4	2	1					
36-40	49	12	16	9	6	5	1					
41-45	52	7	17	10	10	5	2		1			
46-50	56	12	10	15	12	2	4		1			
21-50	254	72	69	53	36	14	8		2			

Appendix Table 7. Selected Metropolitan Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, of a Working-Class Section of Toronto, Classified According to Age of Mother and Number of Children, Ontario, 1931.

Age of Mother	Total Number of Families	Families with the following number of children:										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
21-25	30	16	1	5	4	3	1					
26-30	45	14	7	12	8	2	1	1				
31-35	53	10	9	13	8	6	4	2		1		
36-40	59	11	7	14	11	7	4		2	1	2	
41-45	39	11	5	9	6	6	2					
46-50	36	13	4	7	2	4	3	1		2		
21-50	262	75	33	60	39	28	15	4	2	4	2	

Appendix Table 8. Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, of the Industrial Town of Oshawa, Classified According to Age of Mother and Number of Children, Ontario, 1931.

Age of Mother	Total Number of Families	Families with the following number of children:										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
21-25	51	16	17	14	2	2						
26-30	76	10	27	22	9	5	2	1				
31-35	89	18	22	19	19	5	3	1	2			
36-40	62	9	16	18	9	3	3	2	2			
41-45	57	7	13	7	18	5		3	4			
46-50	50	12	10	10	7	7	3	1				
21-50	385	72	105	90	64	27	11	8	8			

APPENDIX TABLES, REGIONAL AREAS.

Appendix Table 9. Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, of the Commercial Towns of Arnprior, Pembroke and Renfrew, Classified According to Age of Mother and Number of Children, Ontario, 1931.

Age of Mother	Total Number of Families	Families with the following number of children:										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
21-25	21	10	6	3	1	1						
26-30	27	4	11	3	5	2	2					
31-35	40	6	10	8	3	7	4	1	1			
36-40	40	3	2	6	7	5	6	6	4		1	
41-45	47	11	7	6	9	3	6	3	1	1		
46-50	29	4	5	6	3	5	3	2		1		
21-50	204	38	41	32	28	23	21	12	6	2	1	

Appendix Table 10. Selected Rural Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, of the County of Lanark, Classified According to Age of Mother and Number of Children, Ontario, 1931.

Age of Mother	Total Number of Families	Families with the following number of children:										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
21-25	21	5	7	4	2	3						
26-30	33	9	6	10	2	3	1		1	1		
31-35	43	2	8	8	11	8	2	4				
36-40	34	1	5	4	4	10	4	3	2	1		
41-45	35	1	3	4	7	7	6	3	2	2		
46-50	24	5	3	8	1	1	5			1		
21-50	190	23	32	38	27	32	18	10	5	5		

Appendix Table 11. Selected Rural Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, of the County of Renfrew, Classified According to Age of Mother and Number of Children, Ontario, 1931.

Age of Mother	Total Number of Families	Families with the following number of children:										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
21-25	7	1	3	1	1	1						
26-30	21	2	4	3	6	2	2	1		1		
31-35	33	1	3	3	7	6	5	3	3	1		1
36-40	37	5	2	4	4	5	5	2	6		2	2*
41-45	33	5	3	7	1	2	2	3	3	4	2	1
46-50	36	7	6	2	3	3	4	5	2	3	1	
21-50	167	21	21	20	22	19	18	14	14	9	5	4

* Including a family of twelve children.

Appendix Table 12. Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, of the Industrial Town of Ste. Hyacinthe, Classified According to Age of Mother and Number of Children, Quebec, 1901.

Age of Mother	Total Number of Families	Families with the following number of children:										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
21-25	14	4	7	2		1						
26-30	23	6	5	4	3	4	1					
31-35	23	3	2	1	9	2	2	4				
36-40	18	1	2	2		5	2	1		4	1	
41-45	24		4	3	4	3	3		3	2	2	
46-50	14	2	2		5	3		2				
21-50	116	16	22	12	21	18	8	7	3	6	3	

APPENDIX TABLES, REGIONAL AREAS.

Appendix Table 13. Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, of the Commercial Towns of Iberville, Megantic, Nicolet and Riviere du Loup, Classified According to Age of Mother and Number of Children, Quebec, 1901.

Age of Mother	Total Number of Families	Families with the following number of children:										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
21-25	18	7	6	2	3							
26-30	23	3	1	9	5		4	1				
31-35	22	3	2	1	5	1	6	1	1	2		
36-40	35	6	3	2	3	4	2	2	4	5	1	3*
41-45	13	1	2	2	1	2	1	3	1			
46-50	23	3	2	5	3	4		3	2		1	
21-50	134	23	16	21	20	11	13	10	8	7	2	3

* Including two families of eleven children.

APPENDIX TABLES, REGIONAL AREAS.

Appendix Table 14. Selected Rural Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, of Nicolet County, Classified According to Age of Mother and Number of Children, Quebec, 1901.

Age of Mother	Total Number of Families	Families with the following number of children:										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
21-25	50	14	14	12	2	8						
26-30	66	8	8	12	12	18	4	2	2			
31-35	47	5	3	5	7	4	6	7	4	1	7	1
36-40	57	3		4	6	6	7	8	8	9	4	2*
41-45	45	1	4	2	3	7	2	7	7	1	7	4**
46-50	43	8	2	1	3	6	3	7	5	2	4	2
21-50	308	39	31	36	33	49	22	31	26	13	19	9

* A family of eleven children. ** Including three families of eleven children.

APPENDIX TABLES, REGIONAL AREAS.

Appendix Table 15. Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, of the Industrial Towns of Oshawa and Woodstock, Classified According to Age of Mother and Number of Children, Ontario, 1901.

Age of Mother	Total Number of Families	Families with the following number of children:										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
21-25	18	7	5	4	2							
26-30	32	9	9	6	7	1						
31-35	28	5	9	6	6	2						
36-40	54	5	9	15	10	5	5	2	2	1		
41-45	33	6	3	8	7	5	3	1				
46-50	36	3	9	6	6	6	3	1	1	1		
21-25	201	35	44	45	38	19	11	4	3	2		

Appendix Table 16. Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, of the Commercial Towns of Arnprior, Pembroke and Renfrew, Classified According to Age of Mother and Number of Children, Ontario, 1901.

Age of Mother	Total Number of Families	Families with the following number of children:										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
21-25	16	3	7	3	3							
26-30	26	6	4	8	7		1					
31-35	34	3	5	4	8	9	3	2				
36-40	30	4	2	2	4	3	7	4	2	1		1
41-45	24	2	3	3	3	1	3	3	3	1		2
46-50	18	2	2	4	3	4	2	1				
21-50	148	20	23	24	28	17	16	10	5	2		3

Appendix Table 17. Selected Rural Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, of the County of Lanark, Classified According to Age of Mother and Number of Children, Ontario, 1901.

Age of Mother	Total Number of Families	Families with the following number of children:										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
21-25	38	11	8	12	5	2						
26-30	47	11	10	11	4	7	3				1	
31-35	59	4	5	7	13	9	10	8	1		2	
36-40	62	4	4	12	8	8	6	9	3	5	2	1*
41-45	47	4	5		3	5	11	4	6	4	1	4**
46-50	48	2	4	4	4	10	8	6	3	3	4	
21-50	301	36	36	46	37	41	38	27	13	12	10	5

* A family of twelve children. ** Including a family of eleven and a family of twelve children.

Appendix Table 18. Selected Rural Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, of the County of Renfrew, Classified According to Age of Mother and Number of Children, Ontario, 1901.

Age of Mother	Total Number of Families	Families with the following number of children:										
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10+
21-25	29	11	8	8	1		1					
26-30	64	8	12	21	14	6	2	1				
31-35	53	5	5	4	13	9	3	6	7	1		
36-40	72	7	5	4	13	10	9	9	8	6	1	
41-45	62	3		7	7	5	7	11	12	4	4	2
46-50	56	3	3	4	4	3	15	6	7	6	2	3*
21-50	336	37	33	48	52	33	37	33	34	17	7	5

* Including a family of thirteen children.

APPENDIX TABLES, OCCUPATIONAL.

Appendix Table 19. Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, Whose Male Head is Managerial, Classified According to Area and Number of Children, 1931.

Area	Total No. of Families	Families with the following number of children:									
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9+
Metropolitan	246	66	56	54	35	18	9	3	1	2	2
Industrial Town	64	15	10	16	13	4	3	1	1		1
Commercial Town	43	12	7	9	6	1	2	3	2	1	
All Areas	353	93	73	79	54	23	14	7	4	3	3

APPENDIX TABLES, OCCUPATIONAL.

Appendix Table 20. Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, Whose Male Head is Clerical, Classified According to Area and Number of Children, 1931.

Area	Total No. of Families	Families with the following number of children:									
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9+
Metropolitan	215	51	51	46	22	20	7	10	3	1	4
Industrial Town	79	26	15	16	11	3	2	3	1		2
Commercial Town	66	7	5	8	8	12	9	5	6	1	5
All Areas	360	84	71	70	41	35	18	18	10	2	11

APPENDIX TABLES, OCCUPATIONAL.

Appendix Table 21. Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, Whose Male Head is Skilled, Classified According to Area and Number of Children, 1931.

Area	Total No. of Families	Families with the following number of children:									
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9+
Metropolitan	188	43	43	39	25	17	9	3	4	1	4
Industrial Town	124	16	35	25	25	10	5	1	4	2	1
Commercial Town	92	7	14	16	8	11	12	11	3	4	6
All Areas	404	66	92	80	58	38	26	15	11	7	11

APPENDIX TABLES, OCCUPATIONAL.

Appendix Table 22. Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, Whose Male Head is Intermediate, Classified According to Area and Number of Children, 1931.

Area	Total No. of Families	Families with the following number of children:									
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9+
Metropolitan	202	59	39	37	19	19	13	6	5	3	2
Industrial Town	142	28	42	31	22	10	4	4	1		
Commercial Town	95	17	19	10	12	10	7	6	4	6	4
All Areas	439	104	100	78	53	39	24	16	10	9	6

APPENDIX TABLES, OCCUPATIONAL.

Appendix Table 23. Selected Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, Whose Male Head is Unskilled, Classified According to Area and Number of Children, 1931.

Area	Total No. of Families	Families with the following number of children:									
		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9+
Metropolitan	155	31	27	28	27	16	13	6	3	4	
Industrial Town	91	9	14	23	12	11	5	8	6	1	2
Commercial Town	68	10	11	9	8	12	11	3	2		2
All Areas	314	50	52	60	47	39	29	17	11	5	4

Appendix Table 24. Selected Metropolitan, Industrial Town, Commercial Town and Rural Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, Classified According to Race and Number of Children, Ontario and Quebec, 1931.

Area	Race	Total No. of Families	Families with the following number of children:									
			0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9+
Metropolitan	British	685	188	149	151	93	60	27	7	4	4	2
"	French	454	84	94	81	60	48	27	27	13	8	12
Industrial Town	British	385	72	105	90	64	27	11	8	8		
"	French	148	25	19	28	24	13	11	10	7	5	6
Commercial Town	British	204	38	41	32	28	23	21	12	6	2	1
"	French	210	24	26	27	21	27	23	18	15	10	19
Rural	British	357	44	53	58	49	51	36	24	19	14	9
"	French	227	14	15	25	22	28	30	32	17	15	29

Appendix Table 25. Selected Metropolitan, Industrial Town, Commercial Town and Rural Families, of Mothers 21-50 Years, Classified According to Religion and Number of Children, Ontario and Quebec, 1931.

Area	Religion	Total No. of Families	Families with the following number of children:									
			0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9+
Metropolitan	Catholic	550	100	110	110	76	61	30	28	14	9	12
"	Non-Catholic	589	172	133	122	77	47	24	6	3	3	2
Industrial Town	Catholic	170	29	24	31	28	16	13	10	8	5	6
"	Non-Catholic	363	68	100	87	60	24	9	8	7		
Commercial Town	Catholic	251	27	34	30	27	32	31	23	18	10	19
"	Non-Catholic	163	35	33	29	22	18	13	7	3	2	1
Rural	Catholic	394	35	36	45	44	47	48	46	31	24	38
"	Non-Catholic	190	23	32	38	27	32	18	10	5	5	

METHODOLOGICAL NOTE

A. Data for a Study of the Family.

In making a survey of the Canadian family one has a sense of breaking new ground. Data are restricted in both quantity and scope. A first excursion into the field shows that very little study has been made of the size of the Canadian family. The records that have been made and kept are chiefly the work of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

One limiting characteristic of the data gathered there is the fact that census records are more interested in individuals than in groups like the family. This is to be expected, because the census has more of a political than a social focus.

Data in regard to families are collected for the whole of Canada at each decennial census. Each year the Vital Statistics Report presents data on birth rates, death rates and marriages. From these reports certain facts about families can be inferred. Such reports have been made uniform for Canada as a whole only since 1927. For similar data for earlier periods one needs to consult the legislative reports for the provinces. Such reports differ widely both in scope and definition.

I. Census Marriage Rates.

From the Census reports two sets of facts can be secured over a sufficiently long period to make some comparisons. One deals with the size of the family, and the other with the marriage rate. The latter shows the rate at which new families are being formed. A lowering of

the rate usually implies an increasing age at time of marriage. Not only is the number of marriages decreased, but the child-bearing period in each is both delayed and shortened. Both the postponement and restriction of the child-bearing period react in turn on the size of the family.

The marriage rate itself is in part a function of the age composition of the population. For that reason it is more precise to use a corrected marriage rate. The rate can be corrected, if the age distribution of the population and the percentage married within each age grouping are known. By using a simple formula, the population at a later date can be distributed in the same proportion among the age groupings as it was at an earlier date. By multiplying these arbitrary quantities by the percentage actually married in each grouping, and totalling the results, a figure is obtained which represents the number of the population who would have been married, had the population maintained the same age-distribution. (This is the formula used by Ogburn in his study of American Marriage and Family Relationships.)

It is usual in expressing a marriage rate, to speak of the percentage of the population fifteen and over, who are married. If the percentage of the total population is used, a larger or smaller number of very young people can introduce a change which has no significance for the marriage rate.

The Canadian census did not present an age distribution of the population until 1921. In that year's census reports the data for 1911 as well as 1921 are presented to show the structure of the population by five year age groups.

For 1911 the percentage married was 53.7 per cent. This figure is

arrived at by taking the number reported married in that year as a percentage of the population fifteen and over. The figure for 1921, arrived at in the same fashion, was 57.9 per cent. The increase was quite marked--4.2 per cent. However, there had been aging of the population in the meantime, so that more people were in the marrying age groups. By adjusting for this, a corrected figure of 56 per cent is secured. Apparently the increase in the amount of marriage was only partially due to a changed age structure of the population. After accounting for that aging, there was still a change of 2.3 per cent to be accounted for.

At the date of writing the Census volume for 1931 is not available. But from published census bulletins the material can be secured. The crude marriage rate for 1931 was 56 per cent.* When this has been corrected for the further changes in the age distribution, it is reduced to 54.5 per cent. Although the percentage married increased in the 1911-1921 decade, this was followed by a decrease in the 1921-1931 decade.

Since the data discu ssed above are classified on a provincial basis, one can discover how uniform the rate is, and whether the trend holds true for the whole of Canada. Restricting our attention to the two largest provinces, we get the following adjusted marriage rates.

Province Year	1911	1921	1931
Quebec	55.2 P.C.	54.9 P.C.	51.5 P.C.
Ontario	54.0 P.C.	55.5 P.C.	56.1 P.C.

Only the trend of change is significant in the above. The absolute

* Census of Canada, 1931, Bulletin XXXII.

variations are in part due to different population distributions in each province. The crude rates for 1921 are 55.4 per cent and 58.5 per cent for the respective provinces. If, however, the population of each province is redistributed in the same proportion as that for Canada as a whole, the Quebec rate is increased from 55.4 per cent to 59.4 per cent, while that of Ontario is decreased from 58.5 per cent to 54.7 per cent. Thus a significant part of the absolute differences is due to a large differential in the number of persons in the 15-24 age group in each province.

II. Census Households and Families.

Census data on size of families are likewise limited to the more recent decades. In discussing marriage rates, there is no problem of definition. Marriage is a legal concept. In a study of the family, it is essential to define the term. The Census of Canada classifies people by "households" and by "private families". The former is a more inclusive term. It refers to a group of people living together in the same dwelling house, who may or may not be related by ties of kinship. Used in this fashion, a "household" includes "private families" and their servants, but also the more impersonal units such as jails, hospitals, asylums, schools, monasteries and so forth.

Since 1921 a narrower classification has been included. "Private family" means "parents and unmarried children living in association". This definition is more valuable from a sociological point of view. From a biological standpoint it is weak; (a) because it excludes married children; (b) because it fails to include any children who have moved away from the home. For the purposes of this study the tabulation is of scant use, partly because the 1931 data are not yet available, and again

because the classification extends back to only the 1921 Census.

The average number of persons per "household" for Canada, as shown in the census records, appears below.

	1901	1911	1921	1931
Persons per "household"	5.03	4.85	4.63	4.57

If "household" and "private family" vary in size in the same direction, it would appear that the latter has decreased in size in the thirty year interval. The corresponding figure for "private families" is available for the year 1921 only; for that year it stood at 4.28. Although it is not possible to state what the trend is in the size of the "private family," it seems safe to say that the figure is lower than that for the "household".

The decreasing size of the "household" takes on more interest when it is related to corresponding figures for the provinces taken separately. The average number of persons per "household" in Quebec and Ontario for each year of the period 1901-1931 appears below.

	1901	1911	1921	1931
Quebec	5.37	5.40	5.34	5.34
Ontario	4.79	4.64	4.30	4.22

One province shows a decrease greater than that for the country as a whole, while the other maintains a steady position varying only one-half of one per cent from its 1901 position. This suggests that the trend for the whole country masks the intensity of the changes that are taking place. The sam e divergencies from the average for the whole country characterize the figures for "private families" in the various provinces. Referring again to Ontario and Quebec, the average size of the "private

family in 1921 for the former was 3.91 persons, and for the latter 4.80. These divergencies illustrate the inadequacy of the arithmetic average as a means of portraying the facts in regard to Canadian families.

B. Data of this Study.

The data just presented regarding marriage rates and sizes of households and families draw attention to the type of detail necessary to facilitate an adequate discussion of the Canadian family. For the type of study entered upon here, the data must have, as a minimum, the following five features:

(1) The data must cover a sufficiently long period to permit one to draw significant conclusions as to the trend in the size of the family.

(2) The data must represent significant natural areas. Political boundary lines such as ward lines are no respecters of the social processes that are going on. The totality of a city or province effectually masks the significant trends taking place in its various areas. Realistic analysis must discover the significant areas and isolate them.

(3) The data must reflect biological facts. The ages of mothers must appear, since the nature and size of the family move through a cycle as the age of the mother increases. The number of children per family, rather than the average for a group, must appear, or else such phenomena as the no-child family remain hidden. The ages of children must appear, or else the changing age of home-leaving for children cannot be established.

(4) The data must permit analysis to be made on the basis of occupation, or else one valuable set of indices is lost. Such classification is necessary to permit one to discuss the ecological conditions affecting the family.

(5) The data must deal with the cultural factors which affect the size of the family. Culture is intertwined with ecology and biology in determining the size of the family. Census data make use of only two of the ethnic factors, race and religion. These factors must be isolated, if the data are to be adequate.

The data of the study are presented here in the light of those criteria. It is more convenient to deal with the criteria in a slightly different order.

(5) The study has been restricted to Ontario and Quebec, the two provinces with the largest populations. Lying side by side, along the St. Lawrence system, they still differ markedly. In the main, each speaks a different tongue. One is predominantly Catholic; in the other, only a fraction of the population are so classified. Through insulation from each other they have preserved different cultures, in spite of the fact that they occupy the same river valley. In each case the family system, the method of transmitting and preserving family property, the career and ambition lines are in strong contrast.

However, although there are these deep contrasts between the two provinces, there are similarities that are equally significant. Both provinces have had a long period of development in which the best agricultural resources have been utilized. Both have progressed beyond the agricultural frontier stage. The unexploited frontier has for long been an adjunct of the farming system. On the farms children have been an asset during their growing years. When these children reach maturity a crisis develops. The farm could not succeed without their youthful help, but it cannot continue to support them. The rural farming scene has required, besides this supply of labor, a reservoir into which it could be

spilled when no longer needed. For a time the frontier supplied this; people moved outward towards new territories. But eventually people come to the end of the frontier. Back-to-the-land movements notwithstanding, for these two provinces the frontier has vanished.

The agricultural frontier is not the only reservoir for the surplus population produced on the farms. With the coming of industrialization a new outlet was found for this excess population. The figures for population growth for Montreal and Toronto tell their own story in this regard. The large cities in Canada are a product of this century. And their populations have been recruited from the rural soil. The spread of an industrial pattern of social organization over both provinces implies that for some time to come the pressing social problems in each area will be the same, in spite of the cultural differences observed between the provinces.

(1) The data cover the two census years 1901 and 1931. A period of approximately one generation should reveal any distinct trends that exist. These years have a special significance for the areas involved. Naturally it was desirable to have the data which show the contemporary picture. Any attempt to push back earlier than 1901 would have met a complicating factor. The effects of immigration would have been noticeable at an earlier date. Immigration produces a population with an abnormal age and sex composition, quite different from that which an area will produce as it settles down. Since immigration has not been of significance in Quebec, this applies mainly to Ontario. There the choice of 1901 for comparisons avoids that pitfall.

It will be apparent from the above two paragraphs that this period coincides with the period of rapid industrialization in both provinces. These dates allow one to put a measuring stick on the size of the family

at the beginning of the industrial period, as well as to see its present composition. Industrialization is here significant because of the forces it unlooses and the changes it initiates throughout the whole of the region. It was during this thirty-year period that Montreal and Toronto grew into metropoli and became centres of dominance for large portions of their respective provinces.

(3) In each case enough data has been secured to trace some of the biological features of the family. The ages of both parents were secured. Although the age of the father has little relation to the size of the family, the mother's age is particularly significant. At a well-defined point in her life reproduction ceases. This is a biological limit on the size of the family. More important for the study of the family is the fact of a life cycle within it. Children grow up and leave home. Hence very young and very old mothers may quite easily have the same sized families, though they are at opposite points in the life cycles of their respective families. There is then a sound reason for having age classes, and comparing only the groups that are equivalent in this regard.

The ages of the children were tabulated, and they provide a two-fold check on other data. From the preceding paragraph it is obvious that the size of the family changes by two different routes. Changes in the birth rate and mortality rate can affect the number in the family. It is equally responsive to the age at which children leave home. Since the family, by definition, refers to the group living at home, the latter is a salutary means of changing the size of the family. If the ages of children are known, it is possible to decide which factor has been at work over a period of time. By dividing children into age groups, and computing the proportion in each group at each period, a decision can be

made as to which factor is changing the size of the family.

The ages of the children are one aid in clearing up the confusion caused by second marriages. For this study, families of such marriages were excluded. The difficulty was to recognize them. Where the mother marries a second time, the fact that the children of her earlier marriage bear a different name makes recognition simple. In this case, the woman has been deprived of a part of her possible child-bearing period. It seems hardly justifiable to include such cases among the normal families. Where the father marries the second time, all the children bear his name and it is not at once apparent what has happened. If the second wife be appreciably younger than the first, this will be discovered by relating her age to the ages of his earlier children. If a man of forty has a wife of twenty-six and a son of twelve and a daughter of two years, it is safe to conclude that he has been married twice. From the biological stand-point, it is hardly justifiable to include such families among the ordinary ones. If he has married, a second time, someone nearly the age of his first wife in terms of the children's ages the matter is not serious; the situation is equivalent to that of the second wife completing the reproductive period of the first. Hence the very occasional family of this nature, which might have been included, could hardly vitiate the results of the analysis.

(4) The Census schedules carry, in most cases, the occupation and income of the head of the family. This permits a classification to be made that has considerable socio-economic interest. The census enumeration of occupations is eloquent testimony regarding the extent to which specialization of function has proceeded in the industrialized, urbanized community. Some simplification is achieved by distinguishing the "wage-earning" group from the "gainfully employed".

With the former group it is possible to combine income with type of occupation and in a general way to work out the social class of the particular worker. The contacts of ones occupational activities, and the particular attitudes and modes of thinking that belong to a given social class, both react significantly on family life.

So far in this chapter, regions and areas have been dealt with in a general fashion. The next few paragraphs will be used to describe the precise areas that have been chosen here as integral parts of a region. It was suggested earlier that a region is a "naturalistic" area, as contrasted with the arbitrary boundaries that enclose political areas. A region takes its shape and features from the fact that a certain form of organization has been extended over an area of territory. The region cannot be confined within arbitrary boundaries. Its boundaries are the marginal areas where the dominance of one centre merges into that of another.

The areas of the two regions discussed here are indicated on the Appendix map. Further data in regard to the areas are found in Appendix tables 1-18. These tables present in detailed form the data on sizes of families of wives or mothers whose ages range between twenty-one and fifty years. In the text, many of these tables were telescoped, or presented in percentage form. The Appendix tables allow the reader to scrutinize the details of each area.

The selection of an area typical of a metropolitan centre meets an immediate difficulty in the heterogeneous, complex structure of a large city. In Montreal there is marked segregation of ethnic and social groups. In order to get a sample representative of the whole city, two separate areas were investigated. One of these was the city of Outremont. Although it

is politically separate from the city of Montreal proper, it is an organic part of the metropolitan centre. It functions as a well-to-do area of residence for both the French and British groups. It is one of the special areas of the city that has been differentiated out from the rapidly growing mass of the city. In 1901 it had not been incorporated; at present the population is over 28,000. Of these approximately 10,000 are French and the same number British. Incomes in this area are much higher than for the city as a whole, and this is reflected in the housing conditions and general standard of living.

To give balance to the metropolitan sample it was combined with a selection of families from Delorimier ward. This ward, too, represents a recent area of growth. It lies in the eastern part of the city, adjacent to the Angus shops and is bounded on two sides by the C.P.R tracks. The population in 1931 was over 42,000. A part of the ward, with a population of 18,873 was chosen for sampling purposes. The area lies beside the C.P.R. tracks, and has a smaller proportion of white collar workers than has the rest of the ward. In 1901 it was unpopulated territory; neither it nor Outremont can be used for making time comparisons. The population is composed to a large extent of skilled and unskilled laborers along with a lesser number of clerical workers.

Although both of these are young areas, they can be called areas of stable settlement. They are areas of little mobility; in the main people wish to remain settled and raise their families.

In contrast with the metropolitan centre a sample was chosen from the rural county of Nicolet. This county lies on the south side of the St. Lawrence, opposite Three Rivers. The county is a mature area of settlement. There are fewer families there now than there were in 1901,

but they boast more children. In its maturation the area is turning from self-sufficient agriculture to a greater specialization in cash crops, such as hay.

The area is distinctly rural and farm. A dozen tiny villages are scattered through it, and one lone town, the town of Nicolet. In 1931 the town had a population of 2,868. Approximately ninety per cent of the families of the county are rural. In the sample, families with as many as seventeen children at home were represented. The population of the area has changed little, quantitatively, in the last thirty years. The boundaries of the area have remained unchanged, and a time comparison is readily made. As yet, industrialization has hardly made itself felt.

In the text there was a discussion of the commercial towns that have developed across the rural area. Wide differences exist between Ontario and Quebec in this regard. The latter province has shown a tendency to go from a highly self-sufficient type of agriculture to the type of town that we have called "industrial". The transition from a rural life to an industrial one is quite rapid. The way in which the two provinces differ is shown quite clearly, if one compares the smaller towns of each, using such indices as invested capital per head of population, proportion of industrial workers to total population and so forth.

This does not mean that there are no commercial towns in Quebec. The town of Nicolet is one which is industrialized only very slightly. Its growth has been slow; from 1901 to 1931 it grew from 2,225 to 2,868. A group of three others was combined with Nicolet. Iberville is only slightly industrialized, partly because industry is centralized in the sister city of St. Jean. This leaves Iberville something of a residential suburb. Since it is only twenty-five miles from Montreal some well-to-do people

have their residences there and commute to the city. They represent only a fraction of the population of the town.

The third in the group was Megantic. It is more of a trading town than are either of the others. Its population has more than doubled since 1901 and now stands at 3,911.

Riviere du Loup is an important divisional point on the Canadian National railway. It is far down the river and its population is isolated by distance from the large urban centres. It is almost as large as all three of the others combined, and in 1931 had a population of 8,499.

With the exception of Nicolet all of these areas have added approximately 100 per cent to their populations in the thirty year interval. In spite of that, the areas were sufficiently populated in 1901 to allow comparisons to be made and conclusions drawn regarding the size of the family.

The last type of area sampled for the Montreal region was the industrial town. As an example of this Ste. Hyacinthe was selected. It lies about fifty miles east of Montreal, sufficiently distant that it cannot be referred to as an industrial suburb of the city. Moreover, it is not a product of the more recent industrialization. In 1901 it had a population of 9,210 and by 1931 had grown to 13,348. Hence its growth has not been as rapid as has that of the commercial towns named. In this it differs from the ordinary industrial town in Quebec. The deciding factor in choosing it was the fact of its early development, thus permitting a time comparison to be made.

Distinctive areas are more difficult to isolate in Toronto than was the case in Montreal. The city is divided into only six wards and necessarily each of them includes several typical sorts of areas. It

was necessary there to establish arbitrary boundaries about areas, using such indices as rentals and density of population in deciding which areas were typical. As in M ontreal, an area typified by residential segregation of the well-to-do was chosen for sampling. It lies north of Bloor Street, which is the northerly main traffic artery through the city. On the west it is bounded by Bathurst Street and on the east by Avenue Road. It extends as far north as St. Clair Avenue and Lonsdale Road. In it are such magnificient homes as that of Lady Eaton. The area had no extensive built-up development in 1901, so the homes are not old. On the other hand, it is no longer the most fashionable residential area for the city. In general the incomes are more substantial than those found in the Outremont sample.

Using the same indices, a poorer section of workingmen's homes was isolated. The population of this area was, like the previous one, almost totally British in racial origin. The housing in this area is much poorer, the houses low and crowded. Children dot the streets, which are their most available playground. The area is much closer to the heart of the business centre and has been invaded by industry. The boundaries of this area are as follows: on the north, Gerrard Street; on the west, Jarvis Street; on the south, Queen Street; and on the east, the Don Roadway.

This area showed one feature not observed in any other area, a good deal of shared housing. Some houses sheltered two, or three or four families. Usually these were small families, and quite often broken families.

The families were almost completely in the semi-skilled or unskilled classes. A certain fraction were skilled, with hardly any in the professional or clerical fields. In the other Toronto section sampled, almost

50 per cent of all the families were either of the professional or managerial class. When the two areas are combined, the occupational distributions compensate for one another.

Oshawa (forty miles east of Toronto) is a highly industrialized town, depending heavily on the automobile industry. It has had an extremely rapid growth. Between 1901 and 1931 its population grew from 4,394 to 23,439. The nature of the industry has drawn a large number of skilled workers to the area, who are almost all British in racial origin. The town at present exhibits the impact of industrialization on a population almost totally British. For a small proportion of the workers there is steady employment; for the remainder there are high wages, but an uncertainty as to period of employment. Such a situation is not conducive to placid family life. The rapid growth of the city has led to considerable residential mobility.

Since the population in 1901 was a mere fraction of its present size, it was combined with Woodstock for that year, to give a sample large enough to be statistically reliable when it was cross-classified. At the earlier date Woodstock was substantially similar in its degree of industrialization. Since then its growth has been quite modest, when compared with Oshawa's almost five-fold increase in three decades. Since the effects of rapid industrialization are so interesting, only Oshawa has been sampled for the later period.

Contrasted with Quebec, Ontario has a large number of commercial towns that have shown a steady, though slow, increase in population as the agricultural areas of the province have matured. As examples of these, three were chosen, quite far removed from Toronto. Arnprior, Renfrew and Pembroke are situated up the Ottawa river, east of the city of Ottawa.

None of them show a high degree of industrialization.

These towns are centres of trade, and provide the basic institutional services for a mature agricultural area. During the last thirty year period they have all increased in population. At the earlier date the combined total was 12,441; thirty years later the population totalled 18,687. This is quite far removed from the spectacular increases in population shown by the industrial towns and large metropoli.

With such a gradual increase in size over the period of the study, the areas lend themselves to a ready time comparison. By the time the 1931 census was taken, there had been considerable infiltration of Polish and German groups into these areas. These were not sufficiently numerous to reduce greatly the size of the sample.

The rural member in the series of areas making up the Toronto region was selected from the same part of the province. Parts of the counties of Renfrew and Lanark were chosen. A unique situation in Renfrew county is responsible for the choice of two rural areas.

In Renfrew county the population is British and a large section is Catholic. This was the only area encountered where British Catholics were segregated. It was decided to include this group, as they make a unique contribution to the ethnic data. The part of the county in which they are most highly segregated was chosen for study. This comprised the five townships of Admaston, Bagot, Bromley, Brougham and Grattan. All British Catholic families in this small area were incorporated into the sample.

In order to have the data comparable, a similar area of British non-Catholics was selected. The Catholic families in Renfrew county occupy the back townships, away from the river. The soil there is poorer, and

the farms reflect this fact. A similar area was required, to indicate the size of families of non-Catholics in similar surroundings. The final choice was a portion of the county of Lanark, lying quite near, and comprising the townships of Darling, Lanark and Levant. As in the Catholic sample, the total of families for the area was included, rather than a sample from a larger area.

For both of these areas there has been a sharp decrease in the number of families living in the area, when measured between 1901 and 1931. This is an interesting side-light on the rapid mobilization of population into metropolitan areas, and suggests the pervasive nature of the processes of urbanization that are at work.

C. Sampling.

In order to obtain representative data a sampling process was resorted to. This was necessary to give the study scope, and keep it within a manageable size.

Access was granted to the enumerators' schedules of the decennial censuses for 1901 and 1931. In choosing the areas of the study an attempt was made to utilize areas with an approximate population of 25,000. Such an area comprises approximately 5,000 families. A selection of every tenth family yields a total sample of 500 families. It was not possible in every case to find a typical area with the desired size of population; this difficulty arose oftenest in trying to secure comparable sample for 1901 and 1931.

When the enumerator's sheets for an area had been secured, it was a simple matter to make a selection. The families are all numbered consecutively, so the sampling was merely a matter of choosing every tenth number.

Whenever sampling is resorted to in a statistical study, the question arises as to whether or not the sample is representative. During this study there were two opportunities to test the reliability of the sample. The first occurred in sampling the data for Outremont. In that case there were equal-sized French and British populations, approximately 10,000 of each. However, the French families are larger than the English families, by a recognizable margin. For equal populations there should be more English families than French families. It is the families, and not the individuals, which are numbered on the enumeration sheets. If a random sample were representative, it means that more English than French families would be drawn. This is precisely what happened. There were 277 British families in the total sample secured, and 235 French families. Moreover, these numbers are in very much the same relation to each other as are the reciprocals of the number of persons per family in each group for that area. This indicates that the sampling process yielded reliable results for at least one of the quantities samples.

An opportunity also arose to test the reliability of the data on sizes of families in the industrial town of Ste. Hyacinthe. Professor E. C. Hughes has been making a detailed study of the industrial town of Drummondville. In the course of that, he has gathered data on size of family for over 2,000 families. These data were not at hand in time to be incorporated into the present study, but some of the results were used in verification. His study concerns a much newer industrial town than Ste. Hyacinthe, and the thesis of this study is that the newly industrialized towns would show larger families than those where the process has been under way for twenty or thirty years longer. In this case, the

sizes of families for the Drummondville area came midway in size between those of the Ste- Hyacinthe area, and those of the commercial towns of Quebec. Since this is the precise sort of results that were expected, it lends further support to the presupposition that the sampling process yielded reliable results.

In the case of the two rural areas in Ontario the sampling was discontinued, since a tenth of the available families would have been too small a sample. However there seem no grounds for believing that the use of all the units of the data would yield results different from those of a representative sample.

One place where the data might be confusing is in the matter of families of persons who have been twice married. Such cases, however, are relatively rare, and many of them were recognized and discarded; for reasons given earlier, it is doubtful if the ones that escaped detection could vitiate the results.

D. Analysis.

The general scheme of analysis used in this study is quite straightforward. It is an elementary cross-classification, using a unique set of areas as the point of reference.

The data have been further restricted at some points. Three groups were deleted in order to make the data more homogeneous. Families in which the wife or mother is less than twenty-one years of age are excluded. The group in which her age is over fifty have also been set aside. The families in which one parent is missing (broken families) likewise are not included.

The reason for excluding the last group is obvious. Removal of one

parent immediately fixes the size of the family. Because broken families are not uniformly distributed throughout all areas, their exclusion is justified.

The other two groups are excluded in order to reduce to a minimum the age variations. Because age of mothers is related to the cycle of family life, the extreme variations have been omitted.

I. By Age of Mother.

At the end of Chapter I some historical data are introduced to show the trend in size of family between 1901 and 1931 for three of the types of areas. In that case, only the families of mothers 31-40 years are considered, for each area for those two years. The families of mothers 21-30 years and 41-50 years are ignored in those comparisons. The reason for choosing the single age group, instead of all three age groups, is three-fold. It simplifies the comparison by dispensing with some data. It obviates a cross-classification in terms of the proportionate numbers of families falling into each of those groups. It happens that in each of those years the composition of the rural groups varies widely. Such variations exert an influence on the sizes of families for the group as a whole. A large number of young parents in 1901 and a correspondingly large number of middle-aged parents in 1931 will explain an increased size of family without invoking other explanations. Rather than adjust the index of the size of family to correct for such age variations of mothers, a smaller age interval was used. This reduces the number in the sample, but avoids the problem of making the adjustment. Finally, the results for each of the three age groups are not completely similar. Hence an adjusted figure would also need to express conflicting types of change in each of the age groups. Since the figure given for the 31-40

year age group did not distort the picture as it exists for all three areas, it seemed unnecessary to present a complicated set of figures.

II. Analysis by Occupations.

When the data are analysed in terms of occupation, the totals do not correspond to those secured in the other types of analysis. The discrepancy comes from two sources. A certain number of people fail to name any occupation to the census enumerator. The reason may be total lack of any regular type of employment, or it may be a hesitancy to name one's type of work.

On the other hand, some occupations were automatically excluded by the classificatory system employed. For the purposes of this analysis, only wage-earners were classified according to occupation. The remainder, those classified as other "gainfully employed," comprised only a small fraction of the total group. To apply to them the same analysis would involve devising a classificatory scheme for all gainfully employed persons.

The analysis by occupations is based on a classification used in a monograph on "Occupational Status of Canadian Workers" prepared by Professor Marsh of McGill University. The census list of occupations runs high in the hundreds. This classification reduces them to ten groups: Managerial, Professional, Commercial, Supervisory, Clerical, Skilled, Service (Intermediate), Semi-Skilled, Service (Lower service),Low Skilled.

The basis for the classification is mainly the earnings reported in the 1931 Census. Period of training, and the responsibility of the position are also considered, but are subsidiary to earnings.

In order to have a manageable classification the above categories were re-grouped in the following order:

Managerial and Professional

Clerical, Supervisory and Commercial

Skilled

Intermediate Service and Semi-Skilled

Low Skilled and Lower Service.

In describing the results of the comparisons, it is evident that occupational status as measured by earnings is not a very reliable index to the size of the family. This is not surprising. The size of the family is also related to ones contacts and social ambitions, and the income of an occupational group is not an index to these. At present there does not seem to be any classification of occupations that is more than passably useful in describing or explaining family behavior.

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