### THE DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY OF THE NEGRO POPULATION, HOUSTON, TEXAS, 1940-1950

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ESEARCH on differential fertility has provided knowledge of current trends in the United States remarkablv well in recent vears. Less effort has been directed, however, at racial and ethnic group differentials than at socioeconomic differentials. The purpose of this paper is to add to knowledge of recent trends of the differential fertility of urban Negro populations. Data for Houston, Texas, are used for comparisons of changes in the patterns of Negro and total white (or Anglo and Latin-white) fertility from 1940 to 1950. The comparisons of the trends of change in Negro fertility involve: (1) analysis of birth rates by age and birth order for the total white and Negro<sup>2</sup> women 15-44 years of age during 1940 and 1950; (2) analysis of birth rates by age and birth order for the white and Negro married women 15-44 years of age during 1940 and 1950; (3) analysis of birth rates by age for the Anglo-white,<sup>3</sup> the Latin-white,<sup>4</sup> and the Negro women for 1940 and 1950; (4) analysis of birth and birth order rates by age for socio-economic groups of the Negro and Anglo-white populations for 1940 and 1950.

Prior to the main discussion, certain limitations of the research must be noted. One potentially serious limitation is that the data are for the Central City of Houston. Data were not available for the Houston Standard Metropolitan Area.

<sup>1</sup> Texas College of Arts and Industries. Materials for this paper were taken from the writer's "Differential Fertility in Houston, Texas, 1940–1950: A Study of Recent Trends" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas, 1955). <sup>2</sup> Although the data used in the computation of rates are for nonwhites, the term Negro is used because in Houston in both 1940 and 1950 the nonwhite popula-tion was almost exclusively Negro. In both 1940 and 1950 Negroes comprised over 99 per cent of the nonwhite population of the City.

<sup>3</sup> The Anglo-white population includes all white persons who do not have Spanish surnames.

<sup>4</sup> The Latin-white population includes all white persons who have Spanish surnames.

This limitation is mitigated somewhat by a fortunate circumstance. In December, 1949, an extensive annexation occurred which brought most of the Urbanized Area of the Houston Standard Metropolitan Area within the corporate limits of Houston. Data for 1950, therefore, include most of the fertility records of urban Houston. In 1940 Houston did not have an unusually extensive fringe development.

The data from which fertility rates were computed for 1940 were less satisfactory than the data used in computing rates for 1950. Rates for 1940 were computed from a 33.3 per cent sample of births for the year. Rates for 1950 were computed from the three-year averages of all births for 1949, 1950, and 1951.<sup>5</sup> All births used in the computation of rates were by place of occurrence; however, births to non-residents were excluded in all instances. It is unlikely that births to residents of Houston which occurred outside the City constituted an important fraction of the total births to residents.

#### DIFFERENTIALS IN AGE-SPECIFIC AND BIRTH ORDER RATES

The age-standardized birth rate (number of births per 1,000 women 15-44 years per year) for the Negro population of Houston increased more rapidly and became greater than the same type of rate for the total white population from 1940 to 1950 (Table 1). There were marked changes in the pattern of differentials in age rates during the decade. In 1940 the chief differences between the age patterns of white and Negro fertility were the greater concentration of Negro births in the younger age groups and the correspondingly greater concentration of white births in the older age groups. In 1950 the chief differences were a greater concentration of Negro births in the older age groups and a correspondingly greater concentration of white births in the younger ages. The fertility rate of Negro women of the youngest age group was still greater

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Special acknowledgement is due Mr. W. H. Alban, Director of the Bureau of Vital Statistics, Houston Department of Health, for the cooperation given to the writer and for the excellent birth records which are maintained by the City of Houston.

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Negro and Higher 5.8 14.8 11.6 4.8 **1**.8 2.5 4 <sup>1</sup> The rates for whites are corrected for an estimated 4 per cent under-registration of births in 1940 and 2 per cent in 1950. The rates for Negroes are corrected for an estimated 15 per cent under-registration of births in 1940 and 3 per cent in 1950. The set distribution of all women 15 to 44 years old in Houston in 1950. Computed from United States Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1950, Vol. 11, CEARACTERISTICS or THE POPULATION, Part 43, Trass, Table 57. White 4.8 2.2 4 3.2 6.<del>4</del> 3.2 **2**.8 **3**.8 ~ Negro | 3.2 6.4 7.0 3.8 8.6 1.4 6.8 2.4 9 White 1.2 œ 4.6 3.6 2.4 1.6 . |Negro| 2.0 8.4 8.6 14.0 3.2 8.8 6.4 8 1.0 S White 2.6 4.9 2.4 4.0 6.0 4.4 4 ∞ Negro 10.8 18.6 6.4 20.8 3.2 11.8 BIRTH ORDER 2.8 3.6 4.0 9.4 1.0 4 White 6.6 10.8 7.2 ×. 2.8 4.8 4.8 4 ∞ |Negro 5.8 14.4 6.8 14.2 25.2 38.0 **1.4** 9.6 1.4 0. 0 14.23. 3 White 3.0 15.0 25.2 14.8 30.6 8.0 19.4 40 1.2 Negro 30.8 41.6 41.2 51.8 10.8 33.8 7.0 1.8 8.0 œ 2 White 14.0 21.4 40.8 64.2 32.4 48.4 16.4 22.8 5.6 1.6 Negro 11.6 24.8 2.0 9.6 2.0 4.0 04 1.2 83.8 44. White 55.6 76.4 72.4 82.4 37.2 34.0 14.2 12.8 **4**.8 8.4 4. 7. Negro 123.4 122.8 143.0 65.0 133.4 30.8 83.4 16.2 59.0 5.2 14.6 Age-standardized Birth Rate<sup>2</sup> 60.8 102.2 AGE RATE White 70.8 95.4 72.6 131.0 8.8 8.6 99.8 138.6 31.8 32.4 0 4 2.6 YEAR AGE AND [5-191940 1950 1950 1940 1940 1940 1950 1940 1950 1940 1950 1940 1950 1950 1940 1940 1950 1950 <del>10-44</del>

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than the rate for white women of the same age group in 1950, but the difference in rates for this age group was less than in 1940. The fertility of white women was greater for only the two age groups in the 20–29 year span in 1950. During the decade Negro fertility rates increased proportionately more for the age groups above 25 years than for younger women. In contrast, white fertility rates increased more for the age groups under 25 years.<sup>6</sup>

The different trends of change in fertility rates for age groups of Negro and white women were associated with different trends of change in birth order rates by age. From 1940 to 1950, increases in third, fourth, and fifth order births were pronounced for Negro women of the age groups in the 20-39 span. Increases in sixth and seventh and higher order births were notable for the age groups in the 20-44 span. Second and third order births increased for the age group 15-19 years. In comparison, white women of the age groups in the 20-34 span experienced the greatest increases for second through fourth order births, with smaller increases for fifth order births, and generally declines for sixth and seventh and higher order births. White women in the two age groups in the 35-44 span experienced declines in fifth and higher order births and either small increases or little change in lower order births during the decade.

Marital rates, which are more refined because unaffected by the proportion married in each age class, in general show the same trends for age rates from 1940 to 1950 for Negro and white women that were indicated by the general age rates (Table 2). It should be noted, however, that marital fertility decreased sharply for Negro and slightly for white women in the 15–19 age group during the decade. The increase in the general rates for both Negro and white females of this age group shown in Table 1 was, therefore, the result of greater proportions married in this age group in 1950.

<sup>6</sup> There were not similar changes in Negro and white differentials in age rates in Detroit from 1940 to 1950. Although Negro total fertility increased more and came (Continued on page 271)

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1940   130.6   91.4		49.2	15.2	42.0	15.6	19.4	21.6	9.4	9.2	3.2	12.0	3.2	8. 8.	4.0	8.8
163.0		40.0	31.4	57.0	41.2	36.0	27.2	15.6	24.4	7.6	16.4	4.0	8.4	2.8	11.6
30-34															
1940 75.0 44.2		18.0	5.2	18.8	9.0	10.2	8.0	8.2	4.4	5.2	4.4	4.6	5.2	10.0	8.0
90.4		15.2	12.0	26.6	18.6	22.8	17.4	12.4	14.2	6.6	10.4	3.2	10.4	3.6	17.6
35-39															
40.0	23.6	6.2	3.0	7.2	2.8	4.4	2.2	2.8	6.0	5.4	∞.	3.2	2.0	10.8	6.8
38.8	.4	5.6	8.6	8.8	9.6	9.6	11.2	6.0	11.0	3.4	7.4	1.8	8.0	3.6	13.6
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2	8.0														
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## The Differential Fertility of the Negro

Changes in marital birth order rates by age groups for Negro and white women from 1940 to 1950 were similar to the changes indicated by the general birth order rates with only minor exceptions. Marital birth order rates for Negro women increased for second and all higher order births for all age groups in the 20-39 span. For age groups in the 20-29 span increases were greatest generally for second, third, fourth, and fifth order births. For the age group in the 30-39 span increases were marked for sixth and seventh and higher order births as well as lower order births. Marital birth order rates for white women in age groups in the 20-34 span increased for second. third, fourth, and fifth order births (with somewhat less increase for fifth order births) and either changed little or decreased for sixth and seventh and higher order births. Marital birth order rates for white women over 35 decreased for sixth and seventh and higher order births and changed little for lower order births.

The comparison of general and marital rates by age for Negro and white women shows that the increases in fertility for both groups from 1940 to 1950 were largely the result of increases in the proportion married. However, increases in marital fertility were responsible for part of the increase in the birth rate of both groups. For the Negro women the increase in the birth rate from 1940 to 1950 was largely the result of larger proportions married in the younger ages together with increases in marital fertility in the middle and older age groups. For the white women the increase in the birth rate was largely the result of larger proportions married in the 15-19 and 20-24 age groups together with increases in marital fertility for ages 20-34. For ages over 35 years, white marital fertility declined slightly. The greater over-all increase in Negro birth rate from 1940 to 1950 in comparison with the increase in white birth rate was the result of greater increases in the proportion of Ne-

to exceed white total fertility from 1940 to 1950 for Detroit, Negro fertility continued to exceed white fertility only in ages 15–24 in 1950. See Mayer, Albert and Klapprodt, Carol: Fertility Differentials in Detroit: 1920–1950. Population Studies, November, 1955, 1x, No. 2, pp. 148–158.

gro women married rather than greater increases in marital fertility.

The age-standardized birth rate for the Latin-white population<sup>7</sup> of Houston was greater than the age-standardization birth rate for the Negro population of Houston in both 1940 and 1950. During the decade, however, the differential was reduced. Trends of change in the age patterns of fertility of the two ethnic groups were different (Table 3). Although age rates for Latin-white women were greater for every age group for 1940 and 1950, the trends were toward narrowing the differentials for each age group except those in the 20-29 span.

Age Group		Age Rates						
AND YEAR	Negro	Latin-White	Anglo-White					
15–19								
1940	122.8	195.0	57.6					
1950	143.0	143.8	92.2					
20-24								
1940	123.4	210.0	123.6					
1950	162.8	305.2	152.0					
25-29								
1940	65.0	196.0	91.4					
1950	133.4	258.4	118.8					
30-34								
1940	30.8	199.2	53.6					
1950	83.4	170.8	70.2					
35-39								
1940	16.2	136.2	27.0					
1950	59.0	84.8	27.2					
40-44								
1940	5.2	47.0	7.6					
1950	14.6	36.0	8.2					
Age-standardized Birth Rate <sup>2</sup>								
1940	60.8	167.8	64.0					
1950	102.2	176.8	82.2					

Table 3. General fertility rates	by age for the Neg	ro, Latin-white and Anglo-
white populations of Houston, To	exas, 1940 and 1950	),1

Rates corrected for under-registration of births. (See note, Table 1).
 Standardized by age distribution of all women 15-44 in Houston, 1950.

<sup>7</sup> In computing rates it was necessary to estimate the number of Latin-white women 15-44 years for Houston for 1940 because of lack of census data. The estimate was based upon data contained in a survey of housing in Houston in 1939 in which dwellings were classified by ethnic group identity of inhabitants and by number of occupants.

Age-specific rates decreased for the youngest and oldest age groups for the Latin-whites as opposed to increases in Negro rates for all ages. The fertility of Latin-white women became more concentrated in ages 20–29 while the fertility of Negro women became more evenly distributed through all ages.

The rates given in Table 3 are not standardized for marriage. Marital rates could not be computed for Latin-white women. It is not possible, therefore, to ascertain the effects of changes in proportions married for the age-specific rates of the Latin-white population. It appears likely, however, in light of the decrease in rates for ages 15–19 and the large increase in rates for ages 20–29 that there was a trend toward later marriage for Latin-white females during the decade. This trend would contrast with the trend toward marriage at younger ages for both Negro and Anglo-white women.

Comparisons of Negro and Anglo-white age-specific rates for 1940 and 1950 reveal similar differences as did the comparison of Negro age rates with the age rates for the total white population (*see* Table 3). The rates for the Anglo-white population were greater for all ages above 25 years in 1940. In 1950 Negro rates were greater for all ages. There were less differences in rates in 1950 for age groups in the 20–35 span. Anglo-white rates increased proportionately more for women in the 15–35 age span while Negro rates increased more for women in the 25–44 age span. Birth order rates for Negroes increased most for fourth and fifth order births with notable increases also for higher order births. In comparison birth order rates for Anglo-whites increased for third, fourth, and fifth order births and decreased for sixth and higher order births.

# TRENDS OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC DIFFERENTIALS

The trends of change in socio-economic differentials for the Negro and white populations, as indicated by general fertility rates by age and by order of birth, were dissimilar between 1940 and 1950 (Tables 4 and 5). Although, in general, fertility is indicated to have been inversely related with socio-economic rank for both Negroes and whites for 1940 and 1950, some

	Socio-Economic Rank							
Age and Birth Order Classes	I (H	ligh)	]	I	III (	(Low)		
	1940	1950	1940	1950	1940	1950		
15-19 1 and 2 3 and 4 5 and 6	98.2 91 9	160.6 89 11	85.8 87 13	160.8 86 13 1	94.2 100	168.4 83 17		
20-24 1 and 2 3 and 4 5 and 6 7 and Higher	98.8 80 17 3	173.4 58 33 8 1	112.2 57 43	179.2 57 35 8	126.8 80 15 5	200.6 52 39 9		
25-29 1 and 2 3 and 4 5 and 6 7 and Higher	61.0 48 29 16 7	116.0 34 38 21 7	59.0 28 36 26 10	115.0 32 34 22 12	68.8 37 20 37 6	150.6 32 33 22 13		
30–34 1 and 2 3 and 4 5 and 6 7 and Higher	20.2 43 21 7 29	68.4 26 33 25 16	38.2 15 38 11 36	71.6 22 19 23 26	32.2 50 50	101.4 18 32 27 23		
35-39 1 and 2 3 and 4 5 and 6 7 and Higher	12.0 37 37 26	28.2 24 24 23 29	15.8 33 42 9 16	32.4 16 26 26 32	22.0 50 50	61.8 19 16 28 37		
40-44 1 and 2 3 and 4 5 and 6 7 and Higher		8.6 11 22 22 45	7.6 100	6.8 15 14 29 42		18.2 11 89		
Age-standardized Birth Rate <sup>2</sup>	49.0	94.4	54.4	96.2	59.0	120.0		

Table 4. Births per 1,000 Negro women by age and socio-economic rank, and number of births of given order expressed as percentages of all births to women of given age and socio-economic rank, Houston, Texas, 1940 and 1950.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rates are not corrected for an estimated 15 per cent under-registration of births in 1940 and 3 per cent in 1950. Approximately 9 per cent of the Negro population in 1940 and 10 per cent in 1950 were not included in any of the three socio-economic groups because they did not reside in predominantly nonwhite areas of Houston.
<sup>2</sup> Standardized by age distribution of all women 15-44 in Houston, 1950.

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notable differences in the over-all pattern of socio-economic differentials are disclosed.

Table 5. Births per 1,000 Anglo-white women by age and socio-economic rank,
and number of births of given order expressed as percentages of all births to
women of given age and socio-economic rank, Houston, Texas, 1940 and 1950.1

A				Socio	-Есои	оміс ]	Rank			
Age and Birth Order Classes	I (H	ligh)	I	I	I	I	I	V	V (I	.ow)
CLASSES	1940	1950	1940	1950	1940	1950	1940	1950	1940	1950
15-19 1 and 2 3 and 4 5 and 6 7 and Higher	15.6 100	38.2 96 3 1	41.4 96 4	81.2 98 2	64.6 85 15	109.6 97 3	66.2 93 6 1	117.0 95 5	92.2 94 6	135.8 96 4
20-2 1 and 2 3 and 4 5 and 6 7 and Higher	80.0 96 3 1	148.2 88 11 1	119.8 95 5	157.0 88 12	108.8 89 11	177.0 81 19	124.0 85 13 2	197.0 78 20 2	149.2 79 19 2	219.2 77 21 1 1
25-29 1 and 2 3 and 4 5 and 6 7 and Higher	93.8 93 6 1	144.2 71 25 3 1	69.6 80 15 2 3	126.4 70 27 3	70.0 77 21 2	120.0 56 36 6 2	100.2 55 33 8 4	133.6 56 36 8	98.8 59 30 10 1	140.8 48 39 11 2
30-34 1 and 2 3 and 4 5 and 6 7 and Higher	52.8 73 23 1 3	83.4 54 40 5 1	48.2 72 25 3	74.6 56 38 6	46.6 63 26 9 2	69.8 44 41 12 3	48.4 41 24 19 16	74.4 43 38 14 3 5	56.0 21 14 23 42	85.0 34 41 19 6
35–39 1 and 2 3 and 4 5 and 6 7 and Higher	18.6 46 42 4 8	34.0 43 44 9 4	13.6 70 20 10	32.2 43 40 14 3	21.6 57 9 30 4	28.4 36 43 15 6	30.8 30 21 20 29	2.4 35 42 16 7	46.4 18 14 24 44	33.6 35 37 18 10
40-44 1 and 2 3 and 4 5 and 6 7 and Higher	2.8 100	8.0 47 33 14 6	5.0 34 35 31	6.4 46 31 12 11	6.0 21 22 57	6.8 38 22 12 28	13.6 34 66	9.4 28 26 25 21	11.2 5 7 23 65	8.4 26 16 34 24
Age-standardized Birth Rate <sup>2</sup>	48.6	83.2	53.2	84.6	55.4	89.4	67.6	98.6	78.8	108.6

Rates are not corrected for an estimated 4 per cent under-registration of births in 1940 and 2 per cent in 1950.
 <sup>2</sup> Standardized by age distribution of all women 15-44 in Houston, 1950.

There was no indication of diminution of socio-economic differentials in the fertility of the Negro population from 1940 to 1950. During the decade, Negro fertility increased markedly but the increase was largely proportional among the three socio-economic groups.<sup>8</sup> There were some changes in the relative differentials between age groups of the three socio-economic classes. In 1940 the fertility of the middle-rank group was greater than the fertility of the top-rank group mainly because of higher rates for the age groups above 30 years. The greater fertility of the lowest rank group in 1940 was mainly the result of the greater fertility of the ages 20-29 years. In 1950 the greater fertility of the middle rank group over the top rank group was still the result of higher fertility in the age groups over 30 years but the fertility of the lowest rank group had become greater for all ages. It is to be noted that the rates increased for all ages of all three rank groups, but the increases in rates for the older ages were greatest for the lowest rank group.

The proportion of third and fourth, and fifth and sixth order births increased for the ages 20–29 years for all three rank groups. The proportion of third and fourth, and fifth and sixth order births also increased for the ages 20–29 for all three rank groups. The proportion of third and fourth, and fifth and sixth order births also increased for ages 30–34 for all rank groups together with some decrease in the proportion of births higher than sixth order. There was no major change in the proportionate composition of the age rates for women above 35 years.

In contrast to the maintenance of socio-economic differentials in Negro fertility, Anglo-white socio-economic differ-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> An index based on educational attainment, condition of housing, and rent (1940) or income (1950) was used to establish three socio-economic groups for the Negro population. The index weighted equally the percentile scores for each census tract which were computed from each tract's proportion of persons 25 years and under with only grade school education or less, proportion of dwelling units which were without running water or dilapidated, and either average rent per capita (1940) or median income of families and unrelated individuals (1950). This index was substituted for the Shevky-Williams index because it was believed that the occupational component of the Shevky-Williams index made it unreliable for the Negro population.

entials were indicated to have diminished between 1940 and 1950. Fertility remained, in general, inversely related with socio-economic rank for the Anglo-white population in 1950, but the rate of increase for the top rank group exceeded the rate of increase of the lower rank groups from 1940 to 1950. The trend toward elimination of socio-economic differentials within Anglo-white fertility was the result of changes in differentials between several age groups of the five socio-economic groups.<sup>9</sup>

In 1940 the higher fertility of the lower rank groups was mainly the result of higher fertility in the ages 15-24 and higher fertility in ages 35-44 without there being great difference in the fertility of the middle-age group (25-34). In 1950 fertility remained in general in inverse relation with socio-economic rank because of the continued greater fertility of the lower rank groups for ages 15-24. The socio-economic differentials were reduced because of the greater gains in the fertility of ages 25-44 for the higher rank groups together with slight decreases in the rates for the older age groups for the lowest rank group. It is notable that there was a reversal of the inverse relation between fertility and socio-economic rank for the ages 25-39 and only a partial inverse relationship for the oldest age group. The continuation of the over-all inverse relationship was solely the result of the greater fertility of the lower rank groups for ages 15-25.

The proportion of third and fourth order births increased for the ages 20–24 for all five socio-economic rank groups. Rank groups I, II, and III, the higher rank groups, showed increases in the proportions of third and fourth order births for ages 20–34. Rank groups IV and V showed decreases in the proportions of fifth and higher order births for the age groups over 25 years.

<sup>9</sup> The Anglo-white population of each of the City's census tracts was given a social rank score using the Shevky-Williams index of social rank. Five socio-economic groups were established by combining the populations of census tracts with approximately the same social rank scores. For 1950 the index was modified in that median income for families and unrelated individuals was substituted for the rent component of the index.

It would be desirable to have marital rates to compare with the rates by socio-economic rank group given in Tables 4 and 5. Undoubtedly differences in the proportion of women married among the socio-economic groups account for part of the differences in rates indicated. If the plausible assumption is made that the proportion of women married in ages 15–24 is greater for the lower socio-economic rank groups and that proportions married differ most for the younger ages, marital rates would indicate greater differences in the patterns of Negro and Anglo-white socio-economic fertility differentials. For 1950, with one exception, Negro age rates were inversely related with socio-economic rank for the ages above 25 years. For 1950 Anglo-white age rates were generally directly related with socio-economic rank for ages above 25 years.

#### Conclusions

The idea that Negro fertility is tending to approximate more closely the pattern of fertility of the white population has appeared tentatively acceptable in recent years. There exists some evidence that color differentials have diminished for urban populations in recent years.<sup>10</sup> The trend of the pattern of Negro fertility for Houston from 1940 to 1950, however, does not wholly support the hypothesis of converging fertility patterns between color groups.

Although the sharp decline in Negro marital fertility for ages 15–19 between 1940 and 1950 does represent a trend toward reduction of differentials, changes in the fertility rates of other age groups of Negro women tended to increase differentials. While white fertility became more concentrated in ages 20–34 from 1940 to 1950, Negro fertility became more evenly distributed through all ages because of increases in the rates for women over 30 years.

Socio-economic differentials for the Negro population were more pronounced in 1950 than for the Anglo-white population.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See Westoff, Charles F.: Differential Fertility in the United States: 1900 to 1952, American Sociological Review, October, 1954, XIX, No. 5, pp. 550-554; Mayer and Klapprodt: op. cit., pp. 151-153.

Negro socio-economic differentials were maintained from 1940 to 1950 while Anglo-white socio-economic differentials were diminished.

The increases in marital rates for fifth and higher order births for Negro women 20 years and older appears to indicate at least a temporary trend toward larger size of family. In contrast, the decrease in marital rates for sixth and higher order births for white women over 25 years together with the increases in marital rates for fourth and fifth order births for white women in the ages 20–34 appears to indicate offsetting trends toward increase and decrease in average size of family.