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FAMILY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The Household as Process
in an Industrializing Context,
Tilburg 1840-1920

A.A.P.O. Janssens

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FAMILY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

The household as process in an industrializing context,
Tilburg 1840-1920

een wetenschappelijke proeve op het gebied van de letteren,
in het bijzonder de geschiedenis

Proefschrift

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aan de Katholieke Universiteit te Nijmegen,
volgens besluit van het college van decanen
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Promotor: Prof. dr. P.M.M. Klep

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PREFACE

Until recently, the field of family history was heavily dominated by work on the British, French or American family. In the last few years other countries, for instance in the south or east of Europe or even Asia, are speedily catching up with the pioneers. The Netherlands, however, appear to be suffering from a persistent time lag in the study of the family and the household. This is regrettable when we consider its regional variety in social, economic and cultural development combined with the exceptional richness of its sources. In particular the population registers, which were in use in The Netherlands from 1849 onwards, are of great value to the historian of the family. These registers allow us to observe households and families, even those belonging to the poorest section of the population, on a day to day basis over long time spans. They therefore allow the historian to meet the widely proclaimed requirement of a longitudinal perspective on family and household. However, the registers not only provide vital demographic information but when combined with additional sources they also yield a wealth of social and economic data on individuals and families.

This dissertation is a first attempt to analyze the structure and composition of the household during industrialization in the Netherlands from the population registers. It attempts to provide an insight into the effect of macro-level changes on micro-level processes involving the family. Or stated differently it seeks to assess the strength of the bonds between families and their extended kin as well as those linking parents and children in times of turbulent social and economic change. To borrow a phrase from Charles Tilly, I have tried to answer the question which in a more general form is basic to social history: How did these families live through the big changes of their time? I hope to have made clear in this book that families and individuals are not just cast and moulded by the great forces of history, or ruled by economic principles of behaviour as social scientists sometimes seem to think. They bring something to it of their own. Hopefully this study will produce some enthusiasm among Dutch historians for the use of this type of data so that in retrospect it will only prove to be the first in a long line of longitudinal family studies based on the Dutch population registers.

This dissertation is a continuation of work which I began as a graduate student at the department of Social and Economic History of the University of Nijmegen. Dissertation projects are usually rather solitary enterprises and the present one is no exception to that rule. Nevertheless, it owes a great deal to several people for its successful completion. I

would like to thank NWO (Nederlandse organisatie voor wetenschappelijk onderzoek) for the provision of financial support for the four years that I was in their service; thanks are also due to Piet van Slooten who has been a valuable source of practical help and advice over the years. However, it is no exaggeration to say that without the encouragement of my research supervisor Professor Paul Klep I would not even have begun this work. During the course of this project I have benefitted considerably from his advice in pointing out the various pitfalls in my reasoning. Onno Boonstra at various stages offered essential help: he advised me on data-file structure and wrote some of the more complex programs I used to analyze the data. The staff of the Nederlands Textielmuseum in Tilburg have been generous with their facilities. Jan Esman, P.J.M. van Gorp and Ton Wagemakers all played an essential role in my efforts to unravel the various mysteries of the Tilburg weavers' books. The Tilburg Gemeentearchief generously offered facilities and hospitality for many a day in the past few years; my thanks in particular go to Frans van Zutphen for his continuing advice and assistance. Ali de Regt and Theo Engelen read parts of the manuscript and provided me with helpful comments. Chris Gordon read several chapters conscientiously, his comments led to various improvements of the text. Richard Wall spent many hours reading the manuscript. He kindly let me have his thorough comments on matters of style and language. One of my greatest debts however is to my parents without whose family history all this would not have been possible. Thanks are due not only for their continued trust and support, but also for their active involvement. My father painstakingly carried out a check of the population registers for missing births in almost 200 family histories and my mother helped me to master the hundreds of copies of the population register with which I on several occasions returned from the archive. I finally owe a debt to the crucial support given to me by my co-residential non-kin fellow-in-life who has throughout the entire research remained convinced of its successful outcome.

CHAPTER 1 FAMILY AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

In this chapter we shall discuss the old myth of the adversative relationship between the traditional extended family and the industrialization process. We shall do so by focusing on the origins of this idea and the contributions to it by the great theorist of structural-functionalism, the American sociologist Talcott Parsons. We shall then try to trace the formulation of new hypotheses and the emergence of some new myths resulting from empirical historical research concerning the relation of family to industrial society. After that we proceed to the formulation of the questions that have guided the present research.

1.1 Traditional family theory

Until the end of the 1960s historians and sociologists were brought up in the popular tradition of the large preindustrial extended family.¹ Before industrialization and urbanization, it was believed, people lived together in large households with great numbers of relatives and servants. The world we lost as a result of industrialization consisted of households engaged in a wide range of functions of which the economic function was most important. The household was the locus of many productive activities in which all household members participated. Individual aspirations in the traditional household were made subject to the stability and the material interests of the family group. Industrialization then resulted in the disintegration of the family group into smaller units of nuclear families consisting of parents and their unmarried children. The family was robbed of all of its productive economic functions to become a unit of consumption. Romantic love replaced economic calculation between husband and wife. The ideology of individualism replaced patriarchy; thus greatly affecting the relationship between generations.

¹ Unless stated otherwise, the terms 'family' and 'household' are used alternately in this text to refer to the same phenomenon: a co-residential group sharing in a number of important activities (e.g. production and consumption) and consisting for the most or the entire part of people related by blood. By 'nuclear family' or 'nuclear family household' is meant a household consisting of one or two parents with or without their unmarried offspring. 'Extended family' or 'extended family household' refers to those households that next to nuclear family members contain any other kin. Both types of household may be augmented by live-in servants or other unrelated individuals.

One of the first writers on the demise of the preindustrial extended family in Europe was Frédéric Le Play, who may be considered to have been one of the founding fathers of modern empirical social science.² Writing in the second half of the nineteenth century he described three ideal family types which succeeded each other in degree of stability. The patriarchal family type, which was found according to Le Play among nomadic communities in the East, encompassed at least all male descendants of the family head. They all lived and worked together as a unit under the absolute authority of the father who represented the interests of the family as a whole. The patriarchal family laying great emphasis on authority and lineage was dominated by a spirit of tradition which stifled change. The second family type elaborated by Le Play was the stem family, which he considered typical of some European peasant communities. It consisted of the parents, the unmarried children and the family of one married son, the heir, chosen by the father to continue the family property after his death. The heir's siblings had the right to stay on in the household of their brother as long as they remain unmarried, or they could leave and strike out on their own. In this way a balance existed between paternal authority and the freedom of the children, between stability and mobility.

Le Play painted a rather nostalgic picture of the stem family in which harmony ruled and all members worked together in a shared sense of solidarity and self-sufficiency within the family. However, industrialization and commercialization destroyed the stem family because its economic basis, the family property, had been removed. Family life disintegrated because children were no longer prepared to stay on in the parental household and left at early ages leaving ageing parents to fend for themselves. This was further aggravated by the abolition of impartible inheritance, leading to the disintegration of the family property which had to be parcelled out equally among all children. These developments created the unstable family type which was centered around the marital couple: it is created at their marriage and dissolves again upon their death. Children left the household when they marry or possibly earlier. The bonds between generations had been lost, thereby threatening the stability of the entire social order.

² Frédéric Le Play, L'organisation, see pp. 3-28; for further information on Le Play, as well as translations of some of his work, see: Catherine Bodard Silver, Frédéric Le Play, pp. 76-80 and 259-280; M. Anderson, Approaches, pp. 22-23; Els Kloek, Gezinshistorici, pp. 21-22. Le Play was not the only writer at the time. Similar notions were found with Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, Die Naturgeschichte, see vol. III, pp. 145-165.

Although Le Play had nowhere actually stated that the stem family had been the predominant family form in preindustrial Europe his writings gave rise to the idea that the history of the family in Europe involved a linear development of large extended family households towards a small nuclear family unit isolated from kin and community. Most social scientists cited urbanization and industrialization as principal factors to account for this development of 'progressive nuclearization'.³ This development created a sharp dichotomy between the preindustrial or agrarian family on the one hand and the industrial or modern family on the other.

In the 1950s influential structural-functionalist theories were formulated on the basis of these traditional convictions within family history and sociology.⁴ These theories have tried to explain the historical development of the family in terms of a process of structural differentiation. A society undergoing modern economic change will necessarily differentiate its kinship-based social structure. Non-kinship structures like the state, the church, schools, factories and labour unions will take over functions that were traditionally maintained by the kinship system.⁵

The family system, itself part of the process of functional specialization, develops towards a system of small nuclear family units. This modern type of family is considered to be structurally isolated from kin and neighbours, to have an intensive, hot-house type of family life, and to observe a strict role-segregation between husband and wife. Only two functions have been left to the modern family.⁶ First, the family is the main socializing agent of new members of society. The seclusion of the

³ L.K. Berkner, 'Recent research', see especially p. 401.

⁴ D.H.J. Morgan, Social Theory, contains a chapter on the varieties of functionalism. Most of the following is based on the writings of Talcott Parsons: T. Parsons, The Social System; T. Parsons, R.F. Bales, The family; T. Parsons, 'The Kinship System'. A short summary on the nature of the modern family and its relation to the social structure can be found in T. Parsons, 'The Social Structure'. For a short discussion of Parsons' family theory see: H. Rodman, 'Talcott Parsons' view'.

⁵ T. Parsons, R.F. Bales, The family, p. 9. The process of change of the social system conforms to the principle of structural differentiation. Change in the social system initiates changes in social subsystems like the family. All of those processes of change take the formal shape of a process of structural differentiation. For a historical application of this theory see: N. J. Smelser, Social change.

⁶ T. Parsons, R.F. Bales, The family, pp. 16-22.

nuclear family guarantees a slow, step-by-step socialization process through which the child is prepared to cope with a complex, functional, and fragmented type of society. The family's second function is to regulate the emotional stability of its adult members by offering a safe harbour from the hostile world outside. This has become necessary because of the breakdown of extended kinship relations and the tensions which result from functioning in a complex world.

For structural-functionalists like Talcott Parsons the family's main characteristic is to be found in its structurally isolated position in relation to more extended kin.⁷ All rules of modern industrial society provide for the formation of nuclear families only. People may actually want to form all sorts of extended family groups, but they get no help from the rules governing the social system. Moreover, Parsons states that the most stringent kinship obligations are restricted to the nuclear family, thus isolating it in a relative sense from wider kinship units.⁸ In other words, kinship obligations to the nuclear family take precedence over obligations to kin outside it.

Crucial to structural-functionalist thinking is the supposed 'structural fit' between the nuclear family and industrial society. By virtue of its particular characteristics the modern family is thought to be functionally adapted to the demands posed by the industrial system. Or to state it more clearly, the modern economic system necessitates the isolated nuclear family.

Why is this so? One of the most important characteristics of modern industrial society is its need for relatively high rates of social and geographical mobility of individuals. The adult male worker must be free to move at the behest of the economic system. While on the one hand individual social and geographical mobility is hampered by extensive family solidarity, it is also believed that extensive family ties will be weakened or destroyed with the social and geographical mobility of individual family members.⁹

In traditional societies the family group coordinates a number of shared economic and productive activities, in which case the individual is tied to his family group through mutual occupational, property and status interests. Thus, in order to make possible the mobility of the individual it was necessary not only to limit kinship obligations to nuclear family members, but the family group also had to be stripped of its economic functions. Only after production had been taken away from the household could the segregation of the modern family from the economic system be achieved. Parsons counted the farmers among one of

⁷ T. Parsons, R.F. Bales, The family, pp. 10-11.

⁸ T. Parsons, The Social System, p. 186.

⁹ T. Parsons, 'The Social Structure', pp. 192-193.

the notable exceptions in post-war America to his ideal family type precisely because they had not yet fully realized the segregation between the family and the occupational sphere.¹⁰

This segregation of the modern family from the economy is related to the existence of opposing value systems in both. The successful growth of the industrial system was made possible by the adoption of values which Parsonian theory calls 'universalism' and 'achievement'.¹¹ Achievement refers to the belief that people should not be categorized on the basis of qualities inherent to them or on the basis of their relationship to a particular person. Rather, people should be differentiated between in terms of their achieved qualities. Universalism tells us to treat all members of a particular social, occupational or any other category, irrespective of their relationship to you. For instance, we think that taxi drivers should not distinguish between passengers who are kin and those who are not in the fares they charge.

It is evident that within the family system other values prevail. A father treats his own daughter differently from all other daughters, which means that the father acts upon 'particularistic' values instead of universalistic ones. Also his behaviour towards his daughter is solely dependent upon her inherent quality of being his daughter, and should not turn on achieved qualities such as her education or on the social position she has achieved. Which means that he is behaving on the basis of 'ascriptive' values.

The 'conflict of values' which would ensue between the family system and the occupational system is solved by means of the double segregation of the nuclear family.¹² First of all, the nuclear family is segregated from the wider extended kin group, and, second, within the family there is the role-segregation between the husband-worker and the wife fulfilling the family oriented role. Interference between the two conflicting value systems is avoided by limiting family solidarity to the nuclear family in which only one person, the husband, is supposed to assume roles in both the economic and the family system. In this way family values do not interfere with the world of work while economic values can not intrude into family life. By differentiating sharply between the world of work and the world of family life Parsonian theory contributed strongly to what is now believed to be 'the myth of separate worlds'.¹³

All this renders the nuclear family functionally adapted to industrial society, or in other words there exists a 'structural fit' between the family and the economic system.

¹⁰ T. Parsons, 'The Kinship System', p. 185.

¹¹ T. Parsons, The Social System, pp. 182-191.

¹² T. Parsons, The Social System, p. 186.

¹³ E. Pleck, 'Two Worlds'.

Families organized on structural-functionalist terms are best fitted to meet the requirements of the industrial system. Consequently, these families will do better, career-wise, than for instance extended family groups. Individuals and families most mobile and successful in social and economic respects will be forming nuclear type of households. Conversely, those individuals living in nuclear family units will be best equipped to reach the higher placed positions in life. A functionally adapted family system will also permit individuals to be mobile in a geographical sense. Hence, geographical mobility and extended family groups are considered to be mutually exclusive. Geographically mobile individuals will not, and cannot, be living in extended family households while those living in nuclear family households will be free to move to where the economic system needs them.

These ideas have also reached Dutch empirical sociology. In his article on 'The extended family in transition' P. Taietz examines the frequency of social visits to their parents of farmers' sons who were socially and/or geographically mobile and sons who were not.¹⁴ This research was carried out in 1958 in the Eastern part of the Netherlands, which at that time was still strongly characterized by kin co-residence among agrarian households. Socially mobile sons, when also still living in their native village, appeared to have a reduced frequency of visits. Social mobility, however, did not influence results for those sons who had moved away to other places. Geographical mobility diminished the frequency of social contacts between parents and sons regardless of the latter's social or occupational mobility.

It will be clear that structural-functionalist theory values the functional adaptation of the family system to industrial society as being a positive one. Functional family adaptation has made possible industrial development, which leads necessarily to the conclusion that residential extended family groups would slow down or perhaps even prevent modern economic change.¹⁵ Although today only few adherents of the traditional point of view in family history remain, the influence of Parsonian ideas remains strong.¹⁶

Structural-functionalist family theory has been heavily criticized from various angles.¹⁷ Of direct interest to the

¹⁴ P. Taietz, 'The extended family'.

¹⁵ T. Parsons, 'The Social Structure', p. 192.

¹⁶ See e.g. Carl Degler, At Odds. See also T.K. Hareven's review of this book in the Journal of Social History, 17 (1983-1984), pp. 339-344; David I. Kertzer, Andrea Schiaffino, 'Industrialization', pp. 371-372.

¹⁷ For a discussion of the various issues see: C.C. Harris, The Family; and D.H. Morgan, Social Theory, pp. 39-48.

present research is the opposition concerning the structural isolation of the nuclear family in modern society. Post-war sociological research among American and British families discovered elaborate patterns of aid and assistance between the respective nuclear families of parents and their married offspring.¹⁸ Moreover, it was not possible to establish a clear negative influence of social or geographical mobility, although the latter did appear to lessen the frequency of social contacts between parents and children. Structurally speaking, the modern family conforms to the nuclear type, but when focusing on family relations the kinship system allows for elaborate or intensive extended family networks. Some researchers used the term 'modified extended family' to describe the family patterns they had found."

However, this type of criticism only involved minor adjustments to Parsons' theory. The 'classical extended family' (which refers to the traditional residential extended family) was still thought of as being irreconcilable with the industrial system. As could be expected Parsons never saw any immediate cause in these criticisms to change his theoretical views. In his answer to his critics he stressed that the help patterns they found between parents and the families of their children were not contradictory to his proposition of the relative structural isolation of the nuclear family.¹⁹ Most cases, Parsons indicated, concerned financial aid from parents to children which remained strictly limited to the private sphere. Hence, the segregation between the economic system and the family system was not broken down.

It would seem to follow logically from Parsonian theory that those social classes or groups which are best adapted to the industrial system reflect most closely the ideal of the nuclear family.²¹ Obviously, in the modern industrial system the middle and upper classes are by definition more successful; they dominate the system and direct its future. However, the structural-functionalist sociologist William J. Goode has already pointed out that in most societies family behaviour among the higher social classes is less close to the ideal than among the lower social classes.²² Higher social classes maintain the most elaborate extended kin network, they exercise most control over the career and

¹⁸ E. Litwak, 'Occupational mobility'; E. Litwak, 'Geographical mobility'; M.B. Sussman, 'The Isolated Nuclear Family'; M.B. Sussman and L.G. Burchinal, 'The kin family network'; M. Young and P. Willmott, Family.

¹⁹ Used by E. Litwak. See previous note.

²⁰ T. Parsons, 'Reply'.

²¹ On deviant cases in different social groups see: T. Parsons, 'The Social Structure', pp. 180-181.

²² See chapter 1 of W.J. Goode, World Revolution; W.J. Goode, 'Industrialization'.

marriage choices of their children and are most likely to give and to receive aid and assistance from relatives. The lower class family pattern is that of the nuclear family. They are the most free from extended family relations, enjoy less family stability and family-based economic and material security. Goode compares their freedom from kin to their 'freedom' to sell their labour in the market. They are not hampered by the weight of extended kin relations because there are no kin who will interest themselves sufficiently in their actions. The higher social classes, on the other hand, have the most to lose; they are backed by a resourceful kin network and will therefore resist the system's undermining pressures. It is precisely this network that enables them to make the most of the opportunities offered by industrialization. Consequently, they will let go of their family ties more slowly, so that changes in upper class family patterns will occur in a later phase of the industrialization process.

Parsons himself considered the modern nuclear family to be most conspicuously developed among the urban middle classes of post-war America. This particular social group in his view was the clearest representative of that modern and mobile industrial society with which the nuclear family was in such close structural harmony. Among the exceptions Parsons listed agricultural families in which as we have seen the segregation between the family and the occupational system was still incomplete. Some lower class families, characterized by instable marriages and a mother-centered family structure, constituted a second type of deviance from the main pattern. Finally, Parsons considered some elite groups to form the third exception to his rule. In these aristocratic-like families the importance of ancestry and lineage, and the ancestral home were thought to promote continuity of intergenerational kinship solidarity.²³

The idea that the history of the family can be adequately described in terms of a unilinear development from large extended family households towards the small household of the nuclear family is also found among historians. One of the earliest and most prominent of them was Philippe Ariès, who wrote a history of childhood.²⁴ In this book he also applied the idea of differentiation or specialization of the family, albeit implicitly. Ariès depicted an idyllic image of the traditional household in which no distinctions were made between family members or kin, visitors or servants. These traditional households were busy centres of a rich social life in which people of different social standing could meet and which formed an ideal place in which to socialize children.

²³ T. Parsons, 'The Kinship System', pp. 185-186.

²⁴ Ph. Ariès, L'enfant; English edition: Centuries.

Ariès saw the rise of the modern nuclear family concurrent with the emergence of a prolonged childhood and the institutionalization of education. The modern family was 'closed-off' from society so that an isolated and intensive family life could come into existence. However, from Ariès' point of view the modern family deprives the child of the possibility to take part in grown-up life from an early start. The child is denied a wealth of life experience, necessary to function optimally in the adult world. This makes the nuclear family less fit to function as a place of socialization. Through Ariès' eyes we witness a process of disintegration taking place rather than one of positive adaptation. Like most historians of the school Ariès belonged to, which was named the 'sentiments approach' by Michael Anderson, he placed this development first among the higher social classes after which it slowly trickled down to the working classes.²⁵

It may be clear that Ariès' position is diametrically opposed to the Parsonian when it comes to the functionality of the modern family. Its virtues to Parsons are vices to Ariès. The family's specialization and separation from the outside world, with Parsons a necessary condition to realize a step-by-step socialization of children, imposes serious limitations on human possibilities with Ariès.

Inspired by the conflicting opinions of Parsons and Ariès, the American sociologist Richard Sennett investigated a number of middle class families in Chicago in the second half of the nineteenth century.²⁶ These families all lived in one particular neighbourhood of Chicago in a period of great industrial and urban expansion. Sennett examined their family life and the social and economic circumstances they had to cope with. It is his contention that the rapid process of transformation the city was undergoing at the time promoted an intensive, hot-house type of family life within the group of nuclear families. Family members fled into the safe harbour of their own family life from fear of the rapidly changing and competitive world outside. Sennett argues that the smaller nuclear family type offered a better breeding ground for this defensive reaction against the city than the larger extended families. The latter were characterized by a more 'open', competitive character: most of them had more working adults present, which made it difficult to prevent outside values from penetrating into the family. The nuclear family however made it possible for the husband-breadwinner, being the sole person with connections to the occupational world outside, to retreat from the competitive sphere of work and submerge in the warm

²⁵ M. Anderson, Approaches, pp. 39-64. Major works in this area besides Ariès' Centuries of childhood are: E. Shorter, The Making; L. Stone, Family; J.L. Flandrin, Families.

²⁶ R. Sennett, Families.

bosom of the family, in which he could negate the necessity to compete and strive upwards.

Thus, the nuclear family became a defence mechanism against the city with severe consequences for those involved. The heads of nuclear families were not able to maintain or improve their social and economic position because they had virtually retreated from what they considered to be the frightening and hostile world outside. This made them unable to fulfil a model-role for their children. The children in these closed, introverted families were raised in a climate which was antithetical in its values in relation to the rest of society. Non-competitive, ascriptive values were characteristic of the family while 'outside' competition and universal values were dominant. This situation made them ill-prepared for adult life. In their turn the children had some difficulties in getting ahead in life. The non-competitive, hot-house family life of the nuclear family was responsible for its inadequate operation in society. On these grounds Sennett dismissed the functional relation between the nuclear family and industrial society.²⁷

1.2 Historical revisionism

A few years before Sennett published his Chicago research another myth in family history had been exposed. In 1972 Peter Laslett and his colleagues from the Cambridge Group published their Household and Family in Past Time.²⁸ On the basis of English census listings from the period 1574-1821 these scholars asserted that the nuclear family had been the dominant family type long before any industrial development came along. Laslett and his colleagues reacted against generations of social scientists who on the basis of the writings of Le Play presumed the stem family to have been the predominant type of family form for centuries before the onset of industrialization.²⁹ The scholars of the Cambridge Group insisted on a small European family of simple structure from the Middle Ages onwards. Consequently, major shifts in the past centuries like industrialization and urbanization were thought to have had no effect whatsoever on the structure of the family and the household. The old

²⁷ In a review of this study (by R. Lubove in the Journal of Social History 5 (1972), pp. 388-391) Sennett was criticized for not having substantiated in any way the objective basis for the fear against the city. In other words, Sennett was too heavily relying on unproven psychological assumptions in trying to make his case against the nuclear family.

²⁸ P. Laslett, R. Wall (eds), Household.

²⁹ See P. Laslett's introduction in Household, specifically pp. 1-23.

hypothesis of the unilinear development from preindustrial extended family households to industrial family nuclearization was replaced by a new one stressing continuity in family form and structure over many centuries. In doing so they created at the very least 'an imbalanced emphasis.'³⁰

The Cambridge Group research was the take-off for a long line of studies undermining further all previously accepted tenets concerning the preindustrial European family. One of these studies by Van der Woude indicated that as early as the seventeenth century the family in the Western provinces of the Dutch republic had been extremely small and simple of composition. While Laslett had found co-residing kin in about 10% of the English households, this was the case for only 3.6% of the households in the Noorderkwartier. The mean household size in the province of Holland was found to have been 3.7 compared to 4.7 for England.³¹ Van der Woude related the small numbers of extended families he found to the fact that livestock farming, the predominant economic activity, in contrast to arable farming was labour-extensive and favoured an individualistic spirit. The overwhelming evidence for the long history of the nuclear family contained in these and other studies led some researchers to proclaim the nuclear family to be one of the necessary conditions for processes of modernization or industrialization.³² This line of reasoning implicitly finds its roots in structural-functionalist notions concerning the relation between family and industrial society. Here again the nuclear family is associated with the dynamics and the mobility of the industrial system.

Laslett and his colleagues received a considerable amount of criticism.³³ To begin with it concerned methodological aspects.³⁴ Laslett's concept of the household relegated it to a static phenomenon. His critics pointed out that the developmental cycle of the household had to be taken into account as this played a crucial role in determining a

³⁰ D. Levine, 'Industrialization', especially p. 169.

³¹ A.M. van der Woude, 'Variations', pp. 309-313.

³² S.M. Greenfield, 'Industrialization'. This idea can also be found in the work of a number of Dutch historians. See H. Peeters, L. Dresen-Coenders, T. Brandenburg (eds), Vijf eeuwen gezinsleven, especially p. 14.

³³ Critical reviews may be found by R.T. Vann in the Journal of Social History 8 (1974-1975) pp. 105-118 and T.K. Hareven in History and Theory 14 (1975) pp. 242-251. See especially L.K. Berkner, 'The use and misuse'; and M. Anderson, 'Some problems'. A useful critique of methodology can also be found in the appendix of D. E. Kertzer, Family Life, pp. 199-210.

³⁴ Methodological problems will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

household's structure. Next, Laslett had not considered the influence of demographic factors, such as the structurally high level of mortality in preindustrial Europe. A mean life expectancy of forty combined with first marriage at the mean age of twenty would severely reduce the chance of finding extended family households. Furthermore, social and economic factors had been disregarded. A household's social standing, the head's profession, the specific social and economic context in which families operate were thought to have far-reaching effects on family structure.

More importantly even, Laslett and colleagues lost themselves in technological innovations and empirical matters of great detail without considering theoretical criticism. They went ahead with great zest to empirically undermine all the previous theoretical frameworks of traditional family historians and sociologists, but they had nothing to replace them with. Are we really to believe that the family remained unchanged until the twentieth century? That all major social and economic changes of the past centuries left the family untouched? Could it be possible that the family played a structural role in the bringing about of these changes? Hans Medick perhaps best voiced these concerns when he wrote that Laslett convincingly refuted the old hypothesis of the preindustrial extended family, but that this:

'... did not lead him to the construction of a substantial theory which would have allowed a more precise location of household and family as functional elements and social-structural factors in the genesis of industrial capitalism.'³⁵

The work of the Cambridge Group in its turn prompted a considerable number of studies showing that the European peasant family experience was not as uniform as was originally suggested by Laslett. Family forms in eastern Europe were widely different from the ones found in the north west, while even within what is considered to be western Europe a great deal of regional variation existed.³⁶ Also within such a small country as the Netherlands regional variation in family forms was extensive for quite a long time, even until after World War II.³⁷ As Kertzer has shown family practices in a number of regions in southern Europe

³⁵ H. Medick, 'The proto-industrial family economy', pp. 292-293.

³⁶ See e.g. the contributions in R.McC. Netting, R.R. Wilk, and E.J. Arnould (eds), Households; or P. Czap, 'The Perennial Multiple Household', on household structure in Russia.

³⁷ P.M.M. Klep, 'Het huishouden'; A.M. van der Woude, 'Variations'; E.W. Hofstee, G.A. Kooy, 'Traditional Household'; K. Ishwaran, Family life, p. 39.

are different again from the ones found elsewhere. His book on the Italian family provides an effective challenge to Laslett's thesis that western Europe has been characterized everywhere by small and simple households.³⁸ However in southern Europe too family forms did not follow uniform patterns.³⁹ In fact, the diversity in household forms in different areas and periods of European history has proved to be so great that no single law or mechanism governing family behaviour can be detected.

In 1983, in a new collection of articles on the historical household Peter Laslett and colleagues acknowledged most points of criticism and sought to adapt their approach accordingly.⁴⁰ For instance, much more attention is given to the influence of occupation on household structure and to the variations in the European social structure of past times. Also, many contributors to this volume have attempted to incorporate in one way or another a dynamic perspective in their work. As Sieder and Mitterauer argue the 'importance of the developmental approach to the history of family life and to the changing structure of the individual family during its life cycle would now appear to be undisputed.'⁴¹ However, they also show that the dynamic perspective is not without its problems. We will return more extensively to these and other methodological issues in chapter 2.

Important new insights concerning the role of the family during industrialization, an important problem already indicated by Medick, were gained from Michael Anderson's study of family structure in nineteenth-century Preston, Lancashire.⁴² This study originated from criticism of those structural-functionalist and modernization theories that connected the formation of nuclear family structures to the process of industrialization. Anderson felt this to be contradictory to the finding that large sections of the modern British labouring class maintained an elaborate and intensive family network.⁴³ His case study, chiefly based on census material, shows that industrialization can actually lead to an increase in the incidence of extended families.

Anderson found that the interdependency between kin members as well as the possibilities to live with kin increased during industrialization and urbanization. In contrast to the rural situation people were more dependent

³⁸ D.I. Kertzer, Family life.

³⁹ See the articles on the Iberian family in the first number of the 13th volume of the Journal of Family History.

⁴⁰ R. Wall, J. Robin, P. Laslett, Family Forms; criticism remained, see: D.I. Kertzer, 'Future Directions'.

⁴¹ R. Sieder, M. Mitterauer, 'The reconstruction', p. 309.

⁴² M. Anderson, Family structure; review by M.B. Katz: Journal of Social History 7 (1973-1974), pp. 86-92.

⁴³ M. Young, P. Willmott, Family; E. Bott, Family.

on kin in order to face up to a number of 'critical life situations'. Among these were the obvious problems associated with urban industrial life, like illness, old age and death, lack of employment or housing. Also, young mothers working long hours in the Preston textile factories had to rely on kin for child-care services during their working hours. These and other industrial hardships promoted the formation of extended family households, especially among young couples and the elderly of the working classes.

In his book Anderson makes use of the exchange theory. This specific theoretical orientation 'postulates that people engage in a kind of mental bookkeeping before they enter into relations.'⁴⁴ In Preston kin relations were taken up and maintained because it was felt to be beneficial to all parties involved. Indeed, nineteenth-century Preston offered no alternative other than kin relations to help to adapt to the tremendous impact of the process of social change. Kin relations actually appeared to be highly functional. Young migrants to the city making use of kin relations were quicker to find steady jobs than migrants who did not. In Anderson's account of family and industrialization the extended family features as a positive and functional adaptation to industrial life instead of being a dysfunctional, deviant case.

Anderson's claim that the rise of the extended family in the nineteenth century was related to the hardships of industrial city life has recently been challenged by Steven Ruggles.⁴⁵ In his Prolonged Connections he argues that extended family living arrangements in the nineteenth century were strongly related to a higher social and economic position. We must therefore consider the formation of extended family households to be a luxury affair. His conclusion is based on a statistical analysis of five samples taken from American and English census manuscripts at different points in time throughout the nineteenth century.

Next, on the basis of computer simulations Ruggles demonstrates the decisive impact of demographic factors on the increase in the number of extended family households during the nineteenth century. Declining mortality and an earlier age at marriage provided the necessary demographic conditions which, combined with a rise in the standard of living, enabled people to form extended family households more frequently than before. Moreover, he also suggests that the relative absence of extended family households in eighteenth-century England must be attributed to demographic

⁴⁴ M.B. Katz, 'Essay Review', in: Journal of Social History 7 (1973-1974), pp. 86-92.

⁴⁵ S. Ruggles, Prolonged Connections. See the critical review by: J.E. Smith, 'Method and Confusion in the Study of the Household', in: Historical Methods 22 (1989), pp. 57-60.

constraints. High levels of mortality prevented the formation of household structures other than the nuclear family, which conclusion is based on demographic microsimulation modeling. By taking this stand Ruggles challenges the results of the advanced statistical study by Wachter and others which had indicated that whatever residency rules were adopted in past societies they cannot in any way have been dependent on demographic constraints.⁴⁶ But, we are cautioned about the results produced by Ruggles' simulation model which contains some potentially serious flaws.⁴⁷

Ruggles' analysis might suggest that from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century residential preferences had not changed. After all, in both periods people preferred living in extended family households; it is only the eighteenth-century demographic regime which made it impossible or difficult to realize. However, this is not the case. Residential preferences⁴⁸ probably did change, according to Ruggles, in the sense that the incentive to form extended family households in the nineteenth century was different from the preindustrial period. Preindustrial extended families were formed to ensure the preservation of the family property and a steady supply of labour to work the farm. While the shift of employment away from agriculture towards industrial wage labour not only removed the economic incentives towards extended family formation, it also diminished earlier economic constraints: the low level of real incomes. The shift in employment patterns and the resulting higher real incomes enabled people to afford the luxury of extended family households.

As Ruggles himself rightly remarks, this does not tell the whole story. His analysis provides information on structural changes creating the conditions that made extended families possible. But we do not know why nineteenth-century families did form extended households once they could afford to do so. The answer to this question cannot be found in explanations based on demography or economy, Ruggles asserts. Instead we must look for traces of a process of cultural change to explain the rise in extended families. Whether in his opinion this process of cultural change is autonomous or in any way related to processes of

⁴⁶ K.W. Wachter, E.A. Hammel, P. Laslett, Statistical Studies.

⁴⁷ See the review of Ruggles' study cited in note 45.

⁴⁸ The phrase 'residential preferences' is rather confusing here. Ruggles does not refer to an individual's personal preference for a certain residential arrangement. Residential preferences relates to all influences, cultural, economic, social, political or psychological, on residential arrangements with the sole exception of demographic determinants.

economic or social change he does not state explicitly. But he will most likely not think so. On the whole Ruggles has a clear dislike of economic explanations because of their functionalist character.

The work of Tamara Hareven on migrant families in the textile community of Manchester, USA, during the first three decades of this century is very similar to Anderson's Preston study.⁴⁹ Hareven also set out to disprove structural-functionalist notions of family and industrialization. She encountered the existence of large and intensive family networks among the French-Canadian migrants to the city. In Canada a system of extended family households had remained alive, of which many features survived after relocation to Manchester. These migrants used their kin relations as an important tool in the battle for daily life. They helped each other out with jobs, child care, illness and death. The family network also functioned as a migration agency, providing stepping stones for new arrivals from Quebec. Family and factory were in constant interaction with each other. The kin group was the main organizational unit in the factory. The extended family functioned to allocate jobs, to socialize new workers and to mediate in case of any grievances between workers and company. The retarded unionization of the mill Hareven investigated confirms the effectiveness of the family system in these matters.

Hareven's work was severely criticized.⁵⁰ Almost without exception this criticism concerned the romantic image she evoked of family and factory life. The relationship between the two is too harmonious to be convincing. This flaw in her work resulted mainly from a rather uncritical use of the technique of oral history. Another critical note made by Smelser and Halpern is of direct interest to the present research.⁵¹ They pointed out that the French-Canadian extended family system could only survive because the factory offered no opportunity for occupational or social mobility. In this Smelser and Halpern conform to the Parsonian axioms that the extended family system is disrupted in the face of social mobility.⁵²

⁴⁹ T.K. Hareven, Family Time.

⁵⁰ See reviews in: Journal of Family History, 10 (1985), pp. 196-205; Journal of Economic History, 43 (1983), pp. 337-338; Journal of Social History, 17 (1983-1984), pp. 513-515.

⁵¹ N.J. Smelser and S. Halpern, 'The Historical Triangulation', p. 292. In this they responded to an earlier publication by Tamara Hareven on Manchester which was published in the same volume: 'The dynamics of Kin'.

⁵² Smelser in general adheres to the traditional structural-functionalist points of view although he also acknowledges the fact that the decline of the extended family system is a complex one. He agrees that traditional family structures

Hareven's position on the matter of family change and social change may be summarized as follows. Preindustrial values stressed the importance of family life and family solidarity. The process of industrialization and urbanization does not destroy these central values, rather, people use them in a very active way to adapt to the economic and social changes. This means that they may recruit kin members as new workers in the industrial system, provide domestic services for those family members working in the factories - in the process of which they may form extended family households - or that the familial organization of work is carried over into the factory. Traditional familial values thus continue to operate under quite different structural circumstances.

This same notion is stressed by other scholars. In his oral history of family and work among East-European immigrants in Pennsylvania, USA, John Bodnar makes it clear that these concepts are closely integrated in daily life.⁵³ Strong family commitments dominated all social, economic and personal activities. The collective needs of the family determined where and when the individual was launched onto the labour market. Conversely, the kinship system was used to facilitate the process of migration and to acquire stable jobs. The mutual influence between the private and the economic sphere is also observed among Italian immigrants into the USA.⁵⁴ Despite the confrontation with the modern economic system of the US these rural migrants successfully maintained their extended kinship system.⁵⁵

The fact that industrialization does not necessarily entail the breakdown of complex family co-residential arrangements has also been supported by research on contemporary industrializing populations in various parts of the world. The 'joint family' in India continues to coexist with modern urban-industrial structures. The traditional Japanese 'ie' preserved many of its features during the rapid process of social change in post-war Japan. Although sons do not follow the traditional course anymore of marrying into their parental household, a great majority of the parents are received into their sons' households upon ageing. Likewise, in Latin America the extended family

may survive industrialization for a long time. See:
N.J. Smelser, 'The modernization', p. 124.

⁵³ J. Bodnar, Workers' World.

⁵⁴ V. Yans McLaughlin, 'Patterns of Work'.

⁵⁵ Even on a higher level of aggregation figures indicate a coexistence of extended family living and industrial economic structures in nineteenth-century USA: R.R. Seward, The American Family, pp. 130-131. The most industrialized areas in the North-East appeared to have the highest percentages of extended family households.

system is used in the process of adaptation to new social and economic circumstances."

Before proceeding we should like to sum up our discussion of the relevant literature in our field of study. We could begin to state that the research conducted and initiated by the Cambridge Group successfully demonstrated the untenability of the close association between the extended family household and preindustrial Europe. Centuries before the coming of industrial society large segments of the population were living in relatively small households of simple composition. However, we should not go from one extreme to another by declaring the nuclear family to have been the universal norm in preindustrial Europe with extended family households virtually non-existent. Preindustrial European family life was endlessly more varied, between different times and places, than that. This also indicates that families and households are moved and molded by a great deal of other forces apart from industrialization or urbanization. As for the nineteenth-century experience research demonstrates that extended family households may perhaps have risen in frequency under the pressures accompanied by the process of industrialization. In addition, researchers suggest that extended households came to be a feasible option in the nineteenth century because of rising incomes and declining death rates. Finally, there is some evidence which suggests that 'traditional' extended family ties are activated in order to adapt to processes of change. Research in this direction seems to be indicating that extended family networks, and perhaps even the residential extended family, instead of being marginalized in industrial society were highly functional to the individuals concerned.

1.3 Towards a historical model of social change

The way traditional values operate in new environments has been given a new theoretical perspective by Joan Scott and Louise Tilly in their studies of women workers in nineteenth-century Europe. These scholars advanced the hypothesis that the increasing participation of women in the labour market was strongly related to the traditional values of the 'family economy'. The preindustrial family economy expected all its members, including women, to work in the interest of the family. As most economic activities went on within households men and women worked together in a

⁵⁶ G.H. Conklin, 'The household'; G.H. Conklin, 'Family Modernization'; Fumie Kumagai, 'Modernization'; F.M. Cancian, L.W. Goodman, P.H. Smith, 'Capitalism, Industrialization'; Carmen Diana Deere, 'The differentiation'; T.K. Hareven, 'Postscript'.

familial setting. When structural changes created new opportunities daughters were sent by their families to work for wages outside the household. These families responded to new opportunities in accordance with values prevailing in the preindustrial setting. The growing participation in the labour market of young unmarried women in the nineteenth century, Scott and Tilly point out, does therefore not reflect a shift away from family values towards increased individualistic patterns of behaviour on the part of these young women. Rather daughters continued to work in the interests of the family group.

Continuity of traditional values is apparent in the strong familial orientation of young women workers, sometimes living and working faraway from home. Despite their new economic roles they continued to define themselves as members of the family enterprise. It did not bring them economic independence resulting in increased sexual activities as Shorter wants us to believe. Instead most working daughters handed over all or a considerable portion of their earnings to their families. In addition, timing and allocation on the labour market were familial affairs.

Scott and Tilly react in this to William Goode's contention that the relatively high labour participation of women in the Western world should be attributed to the individualistic Protestant ideology of equality. The Protestant ethic undermined traditional views about women's place in the home. However, Scott and Tilly not only want to oppose Goode's analysis, they also want to challenge his model of social change. Goode directly links structural, ideological and behavioural changes. In conformity to his structural-functionalist background he assumes changes in one field to lead directly and necessarily to changes in another field.

Under Scott and Tilly's analysis behaviour is less the product of new ideas than of the effects of old ideas operating in new or changing contexts. Social structural change does not result in immediate changes in attitudinal and behavioural patterns. Rather, as Scott and Tilly note:

'Old values coexist with and are used by people to adapt to extensive structural changes. This assumes that people perceive and act on the changes they experience in terms of ideas and attitudes they already hold.'⁵⁷

Scott and Tilly demonstrated an elaboration of their model in their much cited Women, Work, and Family. In this book they distinguished three types of domestic organization. Each type of family organization was related to different modes of production. Thus, the family organization of the 'family economy' corresponded to the domestic organization of production. When economic activities still largely went

⁵⁷ J.W. Scott, L.A. Tilly, 'Women's work', p. 42.

on within the context of the household, family organization and family relationships were determined by the household's labour needs and subsistence requirements. The industrial mode of production created the 'family wage economy'. Families no longer needed to organize a productive process; instead all family members had to enter the labour market for waged work. The family now had to balance those family members engaged in waged work with those that were not. Continuity in familial values existed in that both the family economy and the family wage economy expected all its members to work in the interest of the family under penalty of disintegration or pauperization of the household.

In processes of change old values and attitudes will be transformed slowly and gradually before finally disappearing altogether. In other words, a 'time lag' exists between the processes of social and economic change and changes in behaviour and mentality. In the development of their theoretical model Scott and Tilly let themselves be inspired by the sociologist Bert F. Hoselitz who pointed out the role of traditional behaviour in times of social change. Although, according to Hoselitz, traditional behaviour will retard economic change, 'the persistence of traditions in social behavior may be an important factor mitigating the many dislocations and disorganizations which tend to accompany rapid industrialization and technical change.'⁵⁸

Most authors seem first of all to stress that the preservation of traditional behaviour is used as a positive tool in processes of adaptation to changing circumstances.⁵⁹ The retention of traditional behaviour however may also thwart development and adaptation of specific social groups and thereby social and economic development in general. Hoselitz is not the only writer with second thoughts on the merits of traditional behaviour. Paul M.M. Klep also indicates that the persistent adherence to the traditional system of familial production among small rural producers in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Belgian Brabant turned out to be a trap leading to extreme processes of exploitation of the households concerned while seriously retarding the transition to more advanced centralized means of production.⁶⁰ Proto-industrial and mixed agrarian households simply refused to be driven to the factories as long as they could squeeze meagre incomes out of their familial production unit. In order to preserve the traditional organization of work and family they were prepared to pay high rents and work long hours in exchange for continually declining piece rates.

A comparable approach to the one applied by Scott and Tilly is chosen by Virginia Yans-McLaughlin in her study of

⁵⁸ B.F. Hoselitz, W. Moore, Industrialization, p. 15.

⁵⁹ V. Yans-McLaughlin, Family, p. 22.

⁶⁰ P.M.M. Klep, Bevolking, pp. 299-308.

family forms among nineteenth-century Italian immigrants to the USA. She has founded her case on the writings of a number of anthropologists who have concerned themselves with the historical transition from traditional to modern societies. Following their example Yans-McLaughlin argues that social change 'does not necessarily imply the dissolution of traditional family forms or a systematic fit of institutions.'⁶¹ She continues by stating that the relationship between the old and the new is dialectical in nature.

The dialectical nature of the time lag is also apparent through its resemblance to the Marxist notion of 'gleichzeitige Ungleichzeitigkeit' or 'synchronous anachronism'. This concept specifically marks out household and family as bearers of residual traditional structures in relation to the large processes of social and economic transformation. To Medick this is the only theoretical context in which 'the structural function of household and family in the transition from traditional agrarian society to industrial capitalism can adequately be assessed.'⁶² His proto-industrial family economy thus formed 'part of the long post-history of peasant society to the same extent that it formed a part of the pre-history of industrial capitalism.'⁶³

The model of social change offered by the concept of the time lag certainly appears to be more attractive to historians than the one proposed by structural-functionalism. Functionalist theory assumes a direct, one-to-one causal relationship between different subsystems and the social system, and among the subsystems themselves. All parts of the social system are mutually and in relation to the whole functionally adapted. The social system will constantly try to maintain this state of functional equilibrium. Therefore, if changes occur in one part of the social system, all other parts will have to adapt themselves, as all functional relations between them necessarily have to be in harmony for the social system to function successfully.

Thus, Parsons expects family and kinship to adapt to changes in the economic or occupational system. The family as a social subsystem will have to change, and in addition subsystems within the family, in particular the role-segregation between husband and wife. According to Parsons:

'... from the perspective of the
institutionalization of a universalistic
achievement value system the kinship structure

⁶¹ V. Yans-McLaughlin, *Family*, p. 22.

⁶² H. Medick, 'The proto-industrial family economy', p. 293.

⁶³ *Ibidem*, p. 310.

and the patterning of sex roles should be considered primarily as adaptive structures.'⁶⁴ If these adaptations do not take place modern economic change, or in Parsons terminology 'the institutionalization of a universalistic achievement value system', may not be possible. For he continues:

'There is ... every indication that they are of such crucial significance to the motivational economy of the occupational system itself that their institutionalization is of high strategic importance.'⁶⁵

Functionalism thus presents us with a rather static and ahistorical explanatory model.⁶⁶ It is ahistorical and static because Parsons leaves no room for contradictions and discrepancies between various components of the social system. This results from a total exclusion of the time factor. Parsons simply compares the features of the nuclear family with the requirements of the social system and argues that they fit. He is unable to show how the family was affected in different stages of the industrialization process. Parsonian theory is also static because it ignores human potentiality for change, as D.H. Morgan has put it.⁶⁷ After all, family and kinship patterns in modern society will and must inevitably be of the type described by Parsons. Such an approach not only strongly legitimizes the existing family and economic system, it is also basically unable to explain the vast amount of empirical variation in family patterns. Furthermore, historical studies have made us aware of the fact that the family must be considered as a process. Parsons' use of the concept of the family however is a static one. He never poses the question whether a family's needs and functions may differ during subsequent phases of its cycle, while its relation to the social system is viewed as a constant.

Historians will regard the above considerations as serious disqualifications. Family historians, however, will most likely come up with at least one other point of criticism. From the above quotations the family emerges as a passive 'agent of change' which unresistingly responds to the great forces of macro economic change. Recently, under the influence of the 'historical revisionism', family historians have begun to question the causal relationship formerly posed between family and economic change.⁶⁸ These

⁶⁴ T. Parsons, The Social System, p. 187.

⁶⁵ Idem.

⁶⁶ For partly opposing views on this see: C.C. Harris, The Family, pp. 60-62; and D.H. Morgan, Social Theory, pp. 42-43.

⁶⁷ D.H. Morgan, Social Theory, p. 43.

⁶⁸ The phrase 'historical revisionism' is used by David Kertzer and Andrea Schiaffino to indicate those studies that

researchers would rather look upon the family as a 'mediating unit' between the individual worker and the economic system." Decisions about the reproduction of labour were made in the context of the household. In this decision-making process families brought with them their own traditions, values and interests. A good illustration of this perspective may be found in Laura Struminger's article on artisan's families in Lyon. When confronted by the pressures of economic and political change these families reacted 'largely through the filter of family life, which provided the basis for the strategies they adopted to deal with those changes.'⁷⁰

The Scott-Tilly model, which we shall hereafter refer to as the 'time lag model', enables us to consider family and household as relatively autonomous phenomena. After all, those 'ill-adapted' households that continue to react to vast economic changes on the basis of traditional values appear to have their own rationality. They resist the pressures exercised by the process of change and in their turn may influence its course. Such an approach may explain variations in household formation between areas, classes, occupational or ethnic groups since it relates family patterns to pre-existing values and attitudes guiding the family behaviour in each group.

Summarizing we may begin by stating that the Parsonian model seriously disqualifies itself for the historical study of the family. The approach is much too formalistic and reduces the historical development of the family to a set number of separate stages. It fails to explain how and why the family evolved under specific historical conditions of the process of industrialization. It is not at all concerned with explaining variation in family forms between different times, places or social groups. In contrast, the time lag model provides a much more complex and historical way to look at families. The idea that family forms and behaviour do not just give way to the pressures of changing social and economic structures, but are rather used as tools of adaptation, may explain specific historical developments in family forms and the vast amount of historical variation that is found. Materialist explanations of family patterns are not excluded by this approach. There may even be a close relationship between social and economic change and family organization. However, family patterns did not change quickly or easily. Different social groups adopted different and complex strategies in an attempt to preserve customary

have questioned the traditional view of the impact of industrialization on household and family patterns: D.I. Kertzer, A. Schiaffino, 'Industrialization'.

⁶⁹ L.A. Tilly, 'Occupational structure', p. 110. See also: T.K. Hareven, 'Family Time', especially p. 188.

⁷⁰ L.S. Struminger, 'The artisan family', especially p. 211.

practices. In this way the dangers of simple reductionism may be successfully avoided.

1.4 Objectives and organization of research

In this research we shall confront the structural-functional view concerning family and industrialization with the model of social change formulated by Scott and Tilly. In the process of this confrontation crucial elements in Parsonian theory concerning the relationship between the family and industrial society will be discussed. Employing a dynamic perspective on family and household we shall examine changes in family life-cycle patterns occurring under the influence of the early stages of the industrialization process. The essential question is did households develop by means of a 'process of adaptation' from a traditional family system characterized by cohesive kinship ties into the more loosely structured system of nuclear family units qualified by individualism and independency between generations? And, if they did, to what extent did this happen and among which social or occupational groups?

Of course, Parsonian theory relates the nuclear family to a kind of industrial society characterized by high levels of social and geographical mobility, high levels of job differentiation and a high degree of skill required. In other words, it concerns a fully developed industrial system. However, consensus on this issue appears to be lacking. One of Parsons' major critics stated that: 'Parsons' hypothesis tends to be valid only during periods of emerging industrialization.'⁷¹ Nevertheless, it is not the purpose of this study to relate family patterns to advanced processes of industrialization. Rather, it is our contention that in order to understand fully the relationship between the nuclear family and industrial society proper, we should begin by trying to understand what happened to family and household during the early phases of the process. However, for this to be possible we need to be aware of what the changes at that stage precisely entail. What we are interested here is the way in which family behaviour was affected during an ongoing process of transition from a mixed urban economy of artisanal and proto-industrial workers towards a more centralized and mechanized system of production, in what we could call an industrializing context. This transitional phase was characterized by structural shifts in the economy, involving a process of proletarianization and the introduction of the family wage economy as well as by accompanying processes of increases in the population density and decreases in the level of mortality. This study seeks not only to describe family

⁷¹ E. Litwak, 'Occupational mobility', p. 9.

patterns during a specific and unique historical process of change but it also aims at advancing our theoretical understanding of the relationship between family change and social change.

We can only hope to gain an insight into the complex relationship between the family and social change on the basis of micro-level studies in which a careful selection of geographical area, and social or occupational groups has been made.⁷² Geographically, this research focuses on the textile town of Tilburg in the south of the Netherlands during the period 1840-1920. The town was selected because it could meet the theoretical requirements for this research. In the latter part of the period the town was undergoing an extensive process of industrialization, thereby decisively transforming its traditional social and economic structure. At the same time, the southern part of the country, like the east, is supposed to have been characterized until only recently by strong normative kinship ties and more in general by a collectivist outlook on life.

This study hopes to make a new contribution to the study of the family in the field of methodology. As was outlined above the household must be considered as a process. In trying to adapt to the demands of a dynamic approach historians have met with problems not only concerning empirical data but also concerning analytical requirements. In this study we will make use of the Dutch population registers providing us with longitudinal data on individuals and households. These registers make possible a fully dynamic view of the household. This will enable us for one thing to answer the question what it may mean when in a given population at a specific point in time 10% of the households is found to be extended. Does that indicate the marginal significance of the phenomenon or could it still be that a large majority of the households is undergoing at least once a stage at which kin form part of the household? As yet few studies have employed longitudinal data of a similar nature while pursuing similar research goals, which implies that analytical tools were hardly available and had to be devised during a difficult process of trial-and-error during the course of this research project.

Four different strategies are employed to carry out the analytical goal which was set. First of all, changes in family and household patterns over time are considered. Parsonian theory assumed industrialization to cause a positive adaptation of the family system to the economic system. The process of structural differentiation mirrored itself in the specialization process of the kinship system.

⁷² H. Medick, 'The proto-industrial family economy', pp. 293-294.

As a consequence the extended family system broke down into smaller units of nuclear families. From the work of the Cambridge Group we know that the preindustrial family was not always and everywhere large; nor was it extended. Empirical evidence, however, indicates that in some areas of agricultural Europe or within certain social groups extended family living was the dominant cultural norm during some stages in the development of the household. In addition we also have ample evidence showing that industrialization in some instances favoured extended family co-residence. Many textbooks continue, however, to advance the traditional functionalist view of the rise of the nuclear family as a result of industrialization or the forces of the market let loose by modernization.⁷³

The first strategy therefore must involve the question of whether the industrialization process in Tilburg during the nineteenth century led to any significant change in family patterns. To what extent do we find differences in the structural evolution of the household of successive generations of households during the second half of the nineteenth century? If family patterns changed, what was the direction of this change? Were nineteenth-century Tilburg families loosening their kinship ties or did they perhaps activate their extended kin network in the face of industrial turmoil? In short, was industrialization accompanied by a development from a less to a more intensive extended kinship system, or should we rather think of it the other way around? Changes in the degree of kin cohesion will be examined by looking for changes in the frequency with which households were taking in extended kin members. Another important indicator of the strength of family ties we will be looking at is the relationship between parents and children. Did this change over time towards more or perhaps less autonomy and independence?

In addition, we shall want to know the nature of the causal relationship between industrialization and family change. If family change occurred what was the reason for it? Did the Tilburg families respond to the changes surrounding them in a direct way, as structural-functionalism would have us believe? Were they indeed merely 'adaptive structures' or were they on the contrary pursuing their own traditions and goals in life, thereby hindered to a lesser or greater degree by the process of change surrounding them? In other words, to what extent did a time lag exist between family change and social change, and to what extent should we speak of a one-way relationship between them? In order to shed more light on these questions we shall need to make careful distinctions in family patterns between different social, economic or occupational

⁷³ H. Peeters, L. Dresen-Coenders, T. Brandenburg (eds), Vijf eeuwen gezinsleven, p. 14.

groups, which will be attempted by the following three strategies.

The second strategy we wish to pursue is aimed at the very heart of Parsonian family theory, which is its proposition of the 'structural fit' between the nuclear family and industrial society. The nuclear family is considered to be best adapted to industrial society and to be most functional to its members because it enables a high degree of social and geographic mobility. The middle and upper social classes in industrial society therefore should approach most closely the ideal family type. In this context family patterns of different social classes will be analyzed over time. We shall examine the extent to which the process of adaptation of family patterns followed different courses for different social classes. Do some social groups adapt more quickly while others perhaps experience a time lag? What is the precise relationship between family and social class, and does this relationship change under the influence of the process of social change? Does a given family structure at some point in the development of the family have the same meaning and function for higher class as well as lower class families? More importantly even, the matter of social mobility will be given attention. Do nuclear families enable individual members to achieve a higher degree of social mobility when compared with extended families? To what extent do, conversely, socially mobile individuals dispose of their most inconvenient extended kinship ties?

In empirical research the relationship between family and class in an urban-industrial context has proved to be a complex one. Most of the scholars adhering to the thesis of an increase in extended family arrangements during industrialization, like Anderson and Hareven, have stressed that the extended family arose out of and was functional in 'critical life situations'. As a result the nineteenth-century extended family came to be associated with the working classes and their attempts to cope with poverty and other industrial misfortunes. The working-class extended family thus 'primarily functioned as a private institution to redistribute the poverty of the nuclear family by way of the kinship system.'⁷⁴ This would appear to confirm the functionalist association of the extended family with the unsuccessful margin of industrial society.

We have already seen that on the other hand William Goode believes the middle and upper classes to maintain the most extensive kinship relations. We have some empirical historical evidence sustaining this view. Here the family seems to have functioned as a means to continue control over economic resources and to uphold the family's social status

⁷⁴ H. Medick, 'The proto-industrial family economy', p. 295.

when providing care for less fortunate kin members."⁷⁶ Recently, Steven Ruggles confirmed this idea when he proclaimed the nineteenth-century extended family household to be a luxury affair. In rural societies the relationship between family and social class takes a rather simple and straightforward shape. Large extended family households were clearly related to a higher position in society and above all to the presence of family property in the form of land and farm.

Our third strategy concentrates on migrant households in Tilburg. The process of industrialization in Tilburg was accompanied by periods of heavy immigration from the surrounding countryside, as was the case for most nineteenth-century industrial towns. Following structural-functionalist reasoning we would expect migrant families to display less family cohesion and form extended families to a lesser degree than do non-migrants. Geographical mobility and extended family living would be two mutually excluding elements.

We shall therefore carry out a comparative analysis of the structural evolution of migrant and non-migrant households. The following questions are central to this part of the analysis. Did migration indeed loosen the bonds between extended kin members? Did migrant families as a result more often display a tendency towards nuclearization of the household? We have seen that some groups of migrants managed to keep their extended kin network alive and adapt it to the exigencies of a new social and economic context. In empirical historical research, however, it has not always been possible to establish a positive relationship between migration and extended family networks.

Most of these Tilburg migrants in the present research will have migrated into town from the surrounding countryside which at the time was still dominated by a traditional peasant culture. If we ought to look upon households as resilient bearers of traditional structures, instead of responsive and adaptive agents of change, these Tilburg migrant families would pre-eminently have to be characterized by traditional elements. Did this time lag occur in the case of the migrant families? In the analysis of the relationship between migration and family structure we shall keep in close touch with the aspect of social class. Social class may well have acted as a mediating factor between the two, resulting in different family patterns for lower and upper class migrant families or specific occupational groups.

⁷⁵ J. Kocka, 'Familie'; S. Griffen, C. Griffen, 'Family'; D. Crozier, 'Kinship'.

The final strategy employed in this analysis concerns an aspect of the relationship between family and social change to which not only structural-functionalists attach great importance. According to Parsons, the nuclear family could only emerge after the segregation between the family system and the economic system had been successfully realized. This segregation depended upon the removal of the economic functions from the household. Most historians would agree with the idea that the loss of economic functions constitutes a breaking point in the history of the family. The productive unit of the household provided an incentive for strong kinship ties; family members were tied together in shared productive and propertied interests. Nuclearization and the weakening of extended kin relations occurred once the family had to rely on wage labour for a living. The most recent historical contribution stressing the importance of the productive functions of the household has come from Scott and Tilly.

The last part of the analysis is therefore devoted to a structural comparison of the households of proto-industrial cottage weavers with those of industrial wage workers. Those Tilburg cottage weavers who were still active in the second half of the nineteenth century were the last and in some respects the most tenacious representatives of a preindustrial domestic mode of production. What did the structural evolution of these households look like when compared with the households of industrial wage workers? To what extent did the involvement with industrial wage labour alter the life cycle of the household? The introduction of (industrial) wage labour is believed to have affected generational links; it increased the autonomy of children who were no longer dependent upon their parents for economic opportunities. Can we find any evidence of this in the household histories of the industrial workers in Tilburg and their children? The work of Scott and Tilly would suggest a continuation of familial values and a prolongation of filial attachment to the interests of the family as a result of a time lag.

The analysis involves first of all two large samples of households consisting of almost 400 households each. Of both groups complete household life histories are reconstructed with the help of the town's population registers. The first group covers the period 1849-1890, the second one runs from 1880-1920. The first three strategies, as explained above, will be employed using these two samples of households. Chapter 4 contains the results of the comparative analysis of family structure over time. Chapter 5 examines the issue of social class and social mobility in relation to family structure, while the matter of geographical mobility and family structure is raised in chapter 6. Finally, chapter 7 contains the comparative analysis of the structural development of the households of cottage weavers and

industrial wage workers. For this part of the study two separate samples of about 90 households each were collected with the help of wage registers from a number of textile factories, the population registers and the civil registration records. Sources, data collection and data processing are extensively discussed in the chapter following this theoretical introduction. The same chapter also deals with a number of relevant methodological issues in the field of quantitative family history which we have only briefly referred to here. The third chapter then is reserved for a short excursion into the history of nineteenth-century Tilburg covering the main features of its economic, demographic and social development.

CHAPTER 2 SOURCES AND METHODS

In this second chapter we discuss the source on which this study is based, the nineteenth-century population registers and we outline the construction of the different samples of households used for analysis. In addition a number of methodological and analytical problems involved in the analysis of longitudinal family histories are dealt with. The chapter closes with a brief description of the computer methodology.

2.1 Static versus dynamic

Within family history the notion has been stressed for some time now that the family should be considered as a dynamic concept. In the last volume of articles of the Cambridge Group Sieder and Mitterauer therefore concluded that the importance of a dynamic approach in the historical study of family and household is no longer disputed.⁷⁶ When studying aspects of family and household the developmental stage of the household should be taken into account. With respect to methodology, the realization of this goal is not always easy. Family historians are considerably hampered by the static character of their source material. Mostly historians are forced to rely on census listings which only render a frozen image of the household. As Laslett and Wall put it in their introduction to Household and Family in Past Time: 'We find ourselves for the most part forced to discuss a process as if it were in fact a state.'⁷⁷ The cross-sectional approach misses the essential processes that produce the particular manifestations of household composition as presented by the census.

However, the advocates of the dynamic view have unfortunately not yet been able to devise a satisfactory methodology. In an attempt to break away from the static approach most scholars have employed the synthetic cohort method which relates the structure of the household to the age of its head. This method, which was first introduced by Lutz Berkner⁷⁸, appears to present people's co-residential experiences in a life-cycle format but it remains unclear to what extent it covers the actual experiences of any individual or cohort over its life time.⁷⁹ Clearly, the synthetic cohort method is based on the ahistorical

⁷⁶ R. Sieder, M. Mitterauer, 'The reconstruction'.

⁷⁷ P. Laslett, R. Wall, Household, p. 34.

⁷⁸ L.K. Berkner, 'The stem family'.

⁷⁹ See for an elaborate discussion of these problems: D.I. Kertzer, A. Schiaffino, 'Industrialization', pp. 364-369.

assumption that co-residential processes remain unchanged over generations. Studies of the life cycle based on single cross-sectional listings are therefore highly unsuitable for the purpose of relating family change to macro-level historical forces such as the process of industrialization.

In trying to escape from the severe limits of cross-sectional data some historians have embarked upon the laborious road of linking households and individuals from one census to the next. Katz's study of Hamilton is a good example of this approach as he linked households from the census of 1851 to the next in 1861.⁸⁰ The more recent volume of writings of the Cambridge Group also contains three studies using this technique by Andorka and Faragó, Danhieux, and Sieder and Mitterauer.⁸¹ This approach represents an improvement over studies based on a single enumeration, in particular if the intercensal periods are relatively short such as is the case in the study by Sieder and Mitterauer who worked with yearly censuses. Nevertheless, problems remain. Not only is this type of record linkage extremely time consuming, there is also the problem that data are lacking for the period in between the censuses. Then there is the problem of deciding what unit in the second census is to be regarded as the continuation of the household found in the first, to which issue we will return later on in more detail.

The Dutch nineteenth-century population registers however enable the historian to develop a genuinely dynamic approach. On the basis of these continuous registers, which mostly run up to 1910 or 1920, it is possible, in theory, to follow the development of a large number of households from day to day at the level of a single community. They enable one to unravel the intricate dynamics of family life and the underlying processes producing different types of household structures and compositions. The richness of this type of longitudinal records was already demonstrated for Belgium by Van de Walle in his study of marital fertility in La Hulpe, in mid-nineteenth century and, more recently, by George Alter in his study of the female life course in Verviers.⁸² Yet, the Dutch population registers are hardly being used. In those cases in which researchers do make use of them, the unique potential of the registers is not fully exploited.⁸³

⁸⁰ M.B. Katz, The people.

⁸¹ R. Andorka, T. Faragó, 'Pre-industrial household'; L. Danhieux, 'The evolving household'; R. Sieder, M. Mitterauer, 'The reconstruction'.

⁸² E. Van de Walle, 'Household dynamics'; G. Alter, Family.

⁸³ We consider the real potential of the registers to be that they permit the reconstruction of entire life courses of large groups of people who usually did not leave behind any other concrete evidence of their existence. Also see M.P. Gutmann, E. Van de Walle, 'New sources'.

Apart from a lack of interest on the part of Dutch historians for individual and family life histories this may be due to the complex, longitudinal organization of the registers themselves and the tremendous amounts of data they contain.⁸⁴

In our study of family life in nineteenth-century Tilburg we will be making use of the town's population registers while trying to adopt a dynamic perspective on family and household. This involved a new way of thinking about households and families, and in addition a search for new techniques in order to grapple with the ever-changing complex process of the family. To begin with, a completely new and dynamic definition of the household was required. In the following sections we will first discuss the most pressing conceptual and analytical problems involved in longitudinal research on the family. After that we will shortly outline the nature of the population registers, the problems they posed and the samples of households that were used for analysis.

2.2 A dynamic definition of the household

What does the concept of the 'household' entail, and even more important, when does in fact a household start and when does it end? Most researchers in the field of family and household history do not have to concern themselves with the second part of this question. More or less forced by their sources they use a cross-sectional approach, at best asking themselves what at a specific moment in time constitutes a household. The longitudinal study of the family requires a dynamic definition of the concept of the household.

In theory there may be various possibilities to define the concept. It is evident that a definition of the household that bears no relationship to the historical reality of the households in question, turns this concept into an empty and useless instrument.⁸⁵ Yet, the source material itself also stipulates a number of conditions, a definition of the household as a unit of consumption for instance is not

⁸⁴ Apart from this, the association with problems due to inadequate and or insufficient registration will play an important role. There are periods of bad or minimal registration in population registers, some elements even suffer permanently from underregistration, so that it becomes necessary to consult other sources such as the civil registration and the income taxation registers for the benefit of correction. See for this also the Gutman/Van de Walle article, mentioned in the previous note.

⁸⁵ We must realise however that such a cultural embedding of the concept household will impede possibilities for comparative historical research.

feasible on the basis of population registers only. Taking these considerations into account we arrived at a definition of the household which is based on two elements. First, the household is defined as a co-resident domestic group, living at one particular address. This should not run us into too much trouble as the primary structuring principle of the population registers is based on address.⁸⁶ It however does not discharge us of the need to remain sensitive to the possibly distorting influence of the opinions of the civil servants who went through the town deciding who was living with whom at a certain address. The second element in the definition is constituted by the concept of the conjugal family, the family unit of parents and their unmarried offspring. Such a unit, more or less complete, did actually form the core of all nineteenth-century households in Tilburg. Households consisting of unrelated co-residing individuals hardly existed. Of course single person households did exist, but they are to be considered as households of individuals who were the last surviving members of the conjugal family they belonged to. In most cases these concern households of widows or widowers.

Following this definition a household begins with the independent establishment of a married couple indicated to be heading the household at a certain address. During the period in which the household exists co-resident kin, servants, lodgers and others may be part of it, in so far as they are registered on the same address. The conjugal unit of this couple and their unmarried offspring heading the household may be called the primary conjugal unit. The household is considered to remain in existence as long as the function of head of the household is performed by those persons belonging to this conjugal unit; at first this will be the husband, after his death it will be passed onto the wife, and after the death of both parents onto the remaining unmarried children.

Other, and therefore secondary conjugal units, may temporarily reside in the household. It is possible for instance for a son or daughter to marry while remaining a resident within the parental household, together with his or her partner. The parental household obviously remains existent, provided that one of the parents is still registered as household head. If, for whatever reason the son or daughter that married into the parental household takes over the control over the household to become the new head, the parental household is considered to have ended while that of the child has just started. The parents in their turn now constitute a secondary unit in the new

⁸⁶ Simple as this criterium appears it may nevertheless not be easy to apply in certain areas of Europe. See for instance R. Wall in his introduction to Family Forms in Historic Europe, pp. 6-13.

household of their child. Another example may further clarify the working of the definition. In the case of the death of both parents, the remaining unmarried children usually keep on living together under the charge of the eldest brother or sister. After a short while however the eldest child decides to marry and to bring his or her partner into the household, while the younger brothers and sisters remain resident. At that moment the history of the independent conjugal unit of the child that marries begins while that of the parents' ends. Thus, our definition of the household is based on the history of the independent household of one conjugal unit of parents and their unmarried offspring living at one and the same address.

But this does not end our problems. What are we to do when one of the parents decides to get married after his or her partner has died? The following rules were decided upon to deal with this type of situation. If the remaining parent decides to move, possibly with children, in order to form a new household together with his or her new partner at another address, then the original household is taken to have ended. But should the new spouse simply move in with the remaining parent, then this is considered to constitute a continuation of the original household.

The difficulties involved in deciding what constitutes one and the same household over a period of time have led a number of scholars to renounce the household as the appropriate unit of analysis in family history, mostly in favour of the individual life course.⁸⁷ They argue first of all that when linking census listings over time it is impossible to decide what household in the second census is to be regarded as the continuation of the household in the first listing. Just an example: in one census we find two married brothers co-residing together with their respective families, in the intercensal period the brothers decide to split households for some reason so that in the next census they will appear as two separate households. Which of the two households should be regarded as the continuation of the original household of the two brothers?

Continuous population registers enable one to avoid these pitfalls in that they actually tell you who moved out of whom, but they do not automatically dissolve all difficulties. The historian is still required to decide on when each household ends and the other begins, which may leave room for argument. Households of two co-residing

⁸⁷ See for instance D.I. Kertzer, A. Schiaffino, 'Industrialization'. Sieder and Miterauer ('The reconstruction') opt for the use of the individual farm or property as the longitudinal unit of analysis, which however would lose its efficacy in the urban context where most of the property is more or less continuously sold to strangers, or divided and dissipated.

married brothers and their families did not exist in Tilburg but a similar case may arise where an ageing couple in a household under study co-resides with married children for some time after which the two units split up and each moves to a new address. Following our definition of the household we would consider the unit headed by the parents, which would be the primary conjugal unit we had started off with at the beginning of the period of observation, to be the continuation of the original household. Of course, the same principle might be applied to the case of the frèrèche as described above; it is only dependent upon the possibility for the historian to decide in all cases who is the head of household.

Another apparently more serious problem facing the household as unit of analysis is the claim that it obscures the individual and the extent to which they pass through certain life course transitions such as marriage and headship of a family or parent- and widowhood.⁸⁸ Surely, if one wanted to examine the extent to which individuals experienced these stages in their lives one should clearly incorporate the individual level, which is merely a matter of trimming the research to the questions that are being asked. However, more generally it is incorrect to assume that individual lives are the result of individual decisions, not even under conditions of increasing individualism, rather they are embedded within a familial context without which they are impossible to understand.⁸⁹ As Tamara Hareven rightly points out the life-course approach should not lead historians to focus on the individual to the exclusion of the family.⁹⁰

Moreover, in our study of the strength of kinship ties in nineteenth-century Tilburg families we hope to demonstrate that household-based co-residential analysis needs not necessarily lead to the obliteration of the individual. This study includes both levels of analysis as we not only examine the household constituted by the unit of parents and their children but also reveal individual patterns such as the departure of children from the home or the extent to which parents were forced to give up headship of their household in old age. We believe that to study the extent to which parents and children maintained relations with their extended kin and with each other may present the strength of nineteenth-century family life in a meaningful and coherent connection. The unit of analysis in this study are adequately suited to answer the questions we are seeking to answer.

⁸⁸ D.I. Kertzer, A. Schiaffino, 'Industrialization'. p. 365; G.H. Elder, Jr., 'Families'.

⁸⁹ See for instance: M. Segalen, 'Life course patterns'.

⁹⁰ T.K. Hareven, 'Family history', p. xiii-xv.

Are there disadvantages inherent to the definition of the household as applied in this study? It is obvious that some crucial information is lost. When co-residing married children take over headship of the parental household it ends, and we consequently lose sight of the parents. What happens to them? Do their children lovingly look after them or do they get rid of them by sending them to another household or some old peoples home? When studying the functioning of a kinship system, questions like these can not be easily disregarded. In fact the same holds for those children who leave the household, we may know where they go to, but what happens to them after that remains unknown. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that these problems do not arise from the defects inherent in the definition itself. They merely result from the fact that we have to confine ourselves to samples of households. If the entire population residing within the town could have been included, departing parents moving to their childrens' households, or alternatively parents handing over the headship of the household to their married children, would from that moment onwards have been included into the latter's household life history which would thus seamlessly be joined to the household history of the parents. Not one of the household constructions found in nineteenth-century Tilburg, or, to put it otherwise, not a single period of time in the life of an individual, would therefore have to fall outside the scope of our dynamic definition of the household if applied to the entire population.⁹¹ It would then become possible to trace individuals on their march over time through subsequent household life histories.

For the reasons explained above, it was decided to keep track of departing parents and children in a limited fashion without necessarily including all of the other households. Moreover, another research requirement necessitated at the very least the recording of the whereabouts of departing sons. For the analysis of social mobility patterns of the fathers and sons their occupations and income needed to be tracked down in municipal income taxation listings. These listings are accessed by address, thereby requiring information on all addresses the sons ever moved to within Tilburg while residing outside of their parental home. In addition to these addresses various other types of information were recorded with it while the same was done for daughters residing outside the parental home.

⁹¹ That is with the exception of the time people resided in institutions such as convents and prisons which could not in any way qualify as households.

2.3 The analysis of longitudinal household data

However, how does one analyze the intricate dynamics of the household when we are concerned, as in the present case, with a large number of these life histories? In their examination of longitudinal data on nineteenth-century Austrian peasant families Sieder and Mitterauer charted and discussed the individual development of thirteen households over time.⁹² The way they presented their material is very similar to the representation of the life history of one of the Tilburg families in figure 2.1. It would evidently be impossible to present all 900 or so life histories we collected in this way and discuss the peculiarities of each household's development. We would in no time lose ourselves in the 'morass of detail and small numbers' envisaged by Richard Wall to be all too easily the result of dynamic household studies.⁹³

What concepts and techniques do we then employ to the study of a large amount of longitudinal household data? Only few examples exist today of studies in which households are analyzed dynamically with reference to comparable research questions. Clearly, the methodology of analyzing longitudinal household data is still highly underdeveloped. Hence, a great deal of energy and time had to be devoted to think out appropriate ways, and subsequently to develop the corresponding computer programs, which would provide an effective understanding of the development of nineteenth-century households. The concepts and methodology employed in this study should be looked upon as a first effort towards a more comprehensive and efficacious methodology for the longitudinal study of the household, in the search of which we hope to be joined by many others.

The primary analytical concept which we finally decided upon in the present study is that of the family life cycle. The sociological concept of the family life cycle was introduced in the seventies in order to initiate the dynamic element to the historical study of the family. Traditionally, the family cycle provided a sequential perspective on the development of the family whereby the family would move through a number of fixed stages of parenthood, beginning with the marriage of the couple, the birth of the first child and so on to the post-parental, ageing family.⁹⁴ However, historical families do frequently fail to correspond to the concept of the life cycle as applied to the developmental history of these Tilburg nineteenth-century families however is not based on the

⁹² R. Sieder, M. Mitterauer, 'The reconstruction'.

⁹³ R. Wall, 'Introduction', p. 3.

⁹⁴ See e.g. R. Hill, R.H. Rodgers, 'The developmental approach'; M. Anderson, Family structure, applied the life cycle model in this way to Preston families, p. 49.

sequential model with predetermined stages in the life of a household or a family. The family life cycle in this study serves to depict the trajectory through time which is

FIGURE 2.1 THE LIFE HISTORY OF A HOUSEHOLD

HHNR 267

ppnr:

date of birth

3125	driessen, martinus bern	14-02-1845
3126	oostendorp, maria	24-11-1848
3127	driessen, gerardus bern	19-05-1873
3128	driessen, theodorus herm	14-06-1876
3129	driessen, wilhelmus mart	11-11-1878
3130	driessen, johannes mart	27-09-1881
3131	driessen, johanna ma	28-10-1883
3132	driessen, hermanus mart	10-04-1885
3133	driessen, antonia ma	28-09-1886
3134	driessen, gerarda joh	20-06-1888
4267	driessen, dina sus	08-04-1890
4530	v lieshout, henricus jos lamb	17-09-1887
4531	v lieshout, maximinus mart ma	20-07-1917
4532	v lieshout, maria cath ant	09-08-1918
4533	v lieshout, catharina jos ma	04-10-1919

	1880	1890	1900	1910	1920					
	-----*	-----*	-----*	-----*						
3125	S-----				E	husband				
3126	S-----				E	wife				
3127	S-----	O				son				
3128	S-----	O	I-----	O	I-----	O	son			
3129	D					son				
3130	B-----		D			son				
3131		B-----		O	I-----	M-----	E	daughter, married 1916		
3132		B-----		O	I	O		son		
3133		B-----		O	I-----		E	daughter		
3134		B-----		O	O	O	I	O	IO	daughter
4267		BD						daughter		
4530				N-----		E		son-in-law		
4531				B--		E		grandson		
4532				B-		E		granddaughter		
4533				BE				granddaughter		

Explanation of symbols:

S = present at start of register	O = exit through migration
E = present at closing of register	I = entry through migration
B = entry by birth	M = marriage
D = exit by death	N = entry through marriage

Note: when successive entries and exits occur within a single year only the final move is displayed in the graph.

followed by the conjugal unit of parents and children after their establishment as an independent household. As such the family life cycle indicates the passing of time within the life of a cohort of parents, and their children, during the period they are heading their own households. The use of this concept made possible a stylized representation of the co-residential experiences of a cohort of families.

Certain events, such as the entry of extended kin members or the departure from home of sons and daughters, are charted along this trajectory to determine their timing. But also, in counting the number of times a certain event occurred throughout the entire cycle, their frequency may be established, or alternatively we may measure their duration, e.g. the length of time extended kin members spent co-residing in the household. This time-based perspective is supplemented by a cross-sectional type of analysis in attempts to illuminate the reasons for some household structures to arise. Thus, we may examine the structure of the household at the time when married children entered the household of their parents at any point along the household's cycle. In applying the family life cycle approach in this way we hope to reveal some of the mechanisms that underly nineteenth-century household formation.

2.4 The population register and the generation samples of households

Continuous population registers in the sense of bound documents with non-removable pages were prescribed in the Netherlands by Royal Decision of December 22, 1849. The registers were to record the population legally residing within the community, which regulation was changed in 1861 to the extent that from then on the registers were to record the 'de facto' population.⁹⁵ In most communities population registers in the traditional sense remained in use until 1910 or 1920, after which date a new form of continuous registration system was introduced consisting of loose sheets, the so-called 'gezinskaarten' (family-cards), based on the registration unit of the family as opposed to the household.⁹⁶ In Tilburg the registers continued to be used up to and including 1920.

The census taken on November 19, 1849 served as a starting point for the first population register. The communal authorities copied the census returns onto the population register in which from then on all changes occurring in the resident population in the next decade was to be recorded. With each subsequent census the procedure was repeated so

⁹⁵ Geschiedenis, p. 82.

⁹⁶ For this period see: T. van den Brink, 'The Netherlands'.

that every single register covers a time span of ten years in between the different censuses. Each household was entered on a double folio page, with the head of the household first and his wife, children, relatives and other members of the household, such as servants or lodgers, following. For each individual the register recorded a number of items of information: date and place of birth, relation to the head of the household, sex, marital status, occupation and religion. Additional columns were provided for to record information on in-migrants (former residence and date of arrival), out-migrants (future residence and date of departure) as well as on date of death. New household members arriving after the start of the register, through in-migration or birth, were added to the list of individuals already recorded on the page in the order of arrival, while those moving out or those that had died were simply crossed out with reference to place and date of migration or date of death. In case someone moved in who had already been there before, he or she was always entered once more together with all personal information at the bottom of the list. Finally, the register also recorded the address the household resided at.

The population register thus combines census listings with vital registration in a superior form. It presents information on demographic events in an already linked format on the entire population, even the very volatile among them, and it enables the computation of a wide range of demographic rates. The population register further enables the historian to follow the evolution of the family and the household on a day-to-day basis throughout the entire period 1849-1920. This is possible by linking the entire series of registers by way of alphabetical indexes existing to each separate register, which indexes list all individuals with full name reference, their year of birth and all volumes and pages on which information concerning this individual may be found in that particular register. Another interesting aspect of the registers is that they may be used in combination with other sources which may greatly expand the amount of information available. In this study we have used the registers in conjunction with municipal income taxation listings and militia registers in order to increase our knowledge of the social and economic position of the household and certain individuals within it.

How accurate and complete were the Tilburg population registers? In the following we will discuss the registers' strengths and weaknesses such as they have become apparent in the course of this study. There is first the problem of the lack in accuracy in the registration of occupations which is generally acknowledged to be the case for all Dutch population registers. Usually occupations were recorded upon entry into the register but they were not updated afterwards. In quite a number of cases the only occupation entered concerned the head of household; the

wife's occupation would only seldomly be recorded, while registration of childrens' occupations was very erratic. Apart from the possibility that some of the occupations were out of date at the time of entry into the register there is also the problem of vague categories: the entry 'merchant' may at the same time refer to a very rich and successful businessman and a marginal trader barely able to keep the family out of Poor Relief. Additional information concerning occupation and above all income therefore is in most cases necessary.

Information concerning the relationship of the individual to the head is always stated clearly and correctly, with the exception of the first register covering the period 1849-1859 which did not include the separate column on relationship. However, inferences about the most likely relationship to the head of household were in almost all cases relatively easy to make on the basis of such elements as order of registration, sex, and name and age. The fact that married women were always registered by their maiden name greatly facilitated some identification procedures and for others recourse had to be taken to the vital registration. The good quality of the registration of relations in the later registers does however not rule out the possibility that some more distant kin relations may falsely have been passed off as servants. The relationships between individuals is often implicitly but sometimes also explicitly recorded, such as in those cases where a married couple not heading the household is present: the two individuals concerned are always explicitly indicated to be man and wife.

Internal migration is heavily underregistered in the registers prior to 1880 but only as far as movements of households between addresses is concerned.⁹⁷ Individuals moving between households were normally accurately recorded although some unrecorded cases did exist in the final years of some registers of young people moving to other households in order to become servants. However, internal migration of individuals not accompanied by demographic events such as marriage was registered without reference to a date, so that the timing of the move had to be inferred from other entries on the page.⁹⁸ Internal migration of individuals resulting from a marriage and the establishment of a new household was however always accurately recorded, date included, which by

⁹⁷ Until 1910 the address stated did not refer to a specific street or house number. All households were simply numbered sequentially within their neighbourhood, which 'address' was also used in other sources such as the taxation listings.

⁹⁸ In these cases fictitious dates were given, see also note 101.

contrast does not appear to have been the case in the Belgian registers of La Hulpe."⁹⁹

Then there is the more serious problem of a general underregistration of new arrivals as well as of people moving out either by death or migration. The problem is most urgent in the case of the most transient segment of the population, domestic servants and lodgers. In all probability a large number of all in-migrating servants were not recorded at all while in particular subsequent moves within the town of those that were entered may have remained unrecorded either because of a lack of interest on the side of the registrars or the failure to report the move on the side of the population. This aspect is of some importance to the present study in that it relates to the timing of exit from the parental household by children; underregistration of children leaving the household to become servants in other households within the town would cause an upward bias in the mean age for leaving home. The only way to positively identify underregistration of this type occurs when children disappear at the start of a new register or turn up in other people's households without being crossed out in the household of the parents. Fortunately, only few such cases were encountered. By making use of the information available on the household concerned inferences were generally easy to make as to the timing of exit. Sometimes acceptable estimates of the timing of exit were possible by checking the annual taxation listings which recorded the number of children present under the age of 16. Nevertheless, the possibility remains that the early exits of some children went unnoticed, but we assume their weight in the large number of observations to be only small.

Underregistration of co-residing extended kin members was also apparent in a few sudden appearances and disappearances between registers, but the small number of cases left us safely assured of the fact that underregistration of extended kin was a considerably less pressing problem. Some of the unrecorded exits of extended kin, which mostly occurred during the final year of the existing register, could be resolved by checking the death registers, for instance in the case of disappearing grandparents this usually provided correct dates and types of exit. We should however consider some of the percentages presented in the following chapters on the frequency of extended family households as a slightly downwardly biased figure. In addition to the vital registers the annual taxation listings could be used to check the population registers on the presence of adult co-residing extended kin. The municipal income-taxation listings usually recorded the head of the household as well as those adult members not belonging to the head's immediate family who were considered to be

⁹⁹ M.P. Gutmann, E. Van de Walle, 'New sources', p. 136.

responsible for their own upkeep. This would include the head's parents or parents-in-law and siblings of the head and his wife, regardless of their age, sex and the amount of income they actually earned. In a few cases the taxation listings were successfully consulted in an attempt to date entries and exits of kin more accurately, although these listings did clearly not record all cases of kin co-residence.

In general we assume that the registers were fairly accurate in reporting demographic events such as births, deaths and marriages, but were a little less accurate in reporting migration. This becomes understandable when we consider the fact that the reporting of births, deaths and marriages necessitated registration in the vital registers, which were far more conscientiously kept up to date, on which occasion it required probably less of an effort to realize registration in the population register as well. Little notes arriving at the registrar's office reporting the out-migration of individuals were easy to let slide, resulting in delays in registration in the register and ultimately leading to the failure to record at all. The practice of entering births, deaths and marriages simultaneously into the vital registers and the population registers is evident from the fact that mostly the events in the population register are assigned the date of the certificate which in the case of births and deaths usually differs from the event itself by one day.

The high quality of the population registers in recording demographic events such as births is indicated by a check up of the registration of births in the population register against the birth registers for the two smallest samples of households used in this study. Results are presented in appendix 2.1. In 'normal' times at the most 0.2% of all births occurring within the decade were not entered in the population register, which cases all concerned children dying soon after birth.¹⁰⁰ However, the table in appendix 2.1 also indicates the period in which a serious crisis affected the system resulting in a total neglect of the population register. The 7 births that went unrecorded in the decade between 1860-1870 all fell in the few years between 1865 and 1868, marking beginning and end of the authorities' failure to keep the register updated. A final judgment as to the reasons for this failure is impossible; however, it is most conspicuous that the crisis coincided with the heavy influx of migrants during the second half of the decade. The immigration of the sixties, of a scale unrivalled before as well as since, may have given the registrar difficulties to fulfil all of his administrative duties. The absence of hig-

¹⁰⁰ This is considerably better than the La Hulpe registers in which 9.2% of the births in average remained unrecorded, see: M.P. Gutmann, E. Van de Walle, 'New sources', p. 140.

quality accurate registration was self-evident, even without compiling the appropriate statistics, in the otherwise complex and minute recording of the registers. In order to compensate for this serious underregistration we ran a systematic check of all households under study for the entire period 1860-1869 by way of the annual income taxation listing to detect underregistration of kin and missed exits of children under the age of 16. The difficulties in this period led to a relatively high percentage of events of which the date could not be established with complete certainty.¹⁰¹ For figures concerning the number of events for which dates were uncertain in all samples see appendix 2.1.

The final register, covering the period 1910-1920, presented a different problem to the study of households which had until then remained quite unnoticed. It seems as if in this period the registrar was already experimenting with a family-based registration system which after 1920 was to replace the household-based system of the registers. The 1910-1920 register initially recorded all those co-residing in one household together on the same page as was usual.¹⁰² However, some of the mutations occurring after 1910 were recorded on the basis of the nuclear family as the primary administrative unit. While processing the households of the 1880-1920 generation and their children it became clear that some of the married children, although recorded on different pages in the register, were actually living at the same address as their parents. Consultation of the income-taxation listings confirmed the co-residence in all cases.¹⁰³ This discovery necessitated a check of all addresses of parents against those of their children revealing a large number of temporary extended family arrangements. The new set-up of the 1910 register inevitably means that we may have missed some incidences of co-residence in those cases

¹⁰¹ In those cases in which dates were uncertain or unclear from the registration in the register estimated dates were used. The following guideline was followed. If there is no certainty as to month and day, the fictitious date of 31st June is recorded; should the date be completely unknown, then the estimated year is recorded, with the entry 00 for both day and month. When analyzing the information contained in the database these uncertainties may be taken into account, if considered appropriate.

¹⁰² With the exception of servants and lodgers for which a separate register was started in 1910, no doubt in relation with the forthcoming introduction of the family-based registration system.

¹⁰³ The taxation listings were then also used to determine which of the two couples, the parents or the married children, were heading the household. We assumed the first name entered to be the head of household.

where the ageing parents of the 1880-1920 generation co-resided with relatives other than their own married children and grandchildren. However, for various reasons co-residence with more distant kin was rather exceptional in all stages of the developmental cycle of the household, but it may be considered to have been rare in the final stages of that cycle. We therefore assume that only a tiny fraction of the co-residing kin in that period fails to appear in our database.

To conclude we would like to stress that the overall quality of the register and the elaborate attempts at correction wherever necessary leave us sufficiently confident of the data to embark upon their analysis.

The core of the study is formed by two generation groups of households headed by couples who at the start of each period of observation, 1849 and 1880 respectively, were in the age range of 30-35 year-old and of which both husband and wife were either born within the town or outside it. Households headed by married couples formed the overwhelming majority of all households in and below this age range, see appendix 6.1. Couples of mixed geographical descent were excluded. The first generation group of households covers the forty year period between 1849 and 1890, and consists of 361 households of which only 51 had co-residing kin present at the end of 1849. The entire cohort of parents, being relatively small, was used for analysis. The following generation was to consist of households of which the couple was aged 30-35 in 1880, and whose life histories were to be traced until at the most the end of 1920. Considering the size of the town's population in 1880 the use of a sample for this second generation group was required; and considering in addition the few absolute cases in which extended kin were present in 1880 it was decided in favour of a disproportionately stratified sample in the sense of an overrepresentation of extended households. Thus, all 86 households extended in the beginning of 1880 and belonging to this cohort group of parents were accepted into the research group while the nuclear households were sampled. The sampling was carried out in two steps. A first round of sampling, one in every three migrant households and one in every five of the native households¹⁰⁴, was executed for the purpose of a preliminary study of family and household in Tilburg.¹⁰⁵ In order to increase the absolute number of

¹⁰⁴ For sampling all households were listed in the order of their appearance within the register which recorded households by neighbourhood. This ensured a sample representative of all the different neighbourhoods at the time.

¹⁰⁵ See: A.A.P.O. Janssens, 'Industrialization', p. 39. In the first round of sampling households that could not be

observations for the present study a second round of sampling was implemented: of the remaining nuclear households of migrants every second household was added to the existing sample and every fourth of the native nuclear households. This made the total number of 389 households in which the weight of households in which kin were present in the beginning of 1880 was almost doubled. For some parts of the analysis therefore this group was corrected by randomly excluding the required number of households of the latter type, resulting in a total group of 343 households of which 40 households had co-resident relatives present.¹⁰⁶ The final part of the present study makes use of two smaller samples which were headed by domestic weavers and factory workers. The way these two latter groups of households were constructed is explained in detail in chapter 7.

2.5 Computer-based storage of household life histories

For the purposes of this study a methodology was developed which enables computer-based storage and processing of population register data while utilizing the principle of 'direct-entry'.¹⁰⁷ This concept refers to the fact that data are fed directly from the source into a micro computer without any intermediate processing by hand. This then enables the historian to visit the archives, carrying a portable pc. The methodology is of course highly influenced by the specific questions informing this project, however, with slight adaptations the basic principles may be applied

observed continuously for at least ten years were excluded. For the present study this rule was dropped while the few households that had been excluded in that way in the first round were re-admitted to the sample in exchange for their former replacements.

¹⁰⁶ Survey of the 1880 research cohort of households headed by 30-35 year old parents of either native or migrant origin:

Total cohort	:	total households	:	747
		nuclear	:	661
		extended	:	86 (11.5%)
Uncorrected sample:		total households	:	389
		nuclear	:	303
		extended	:	86 (22.1%)
Corrected sample	:	total households	:	343
		nuclear	:	303
		extended	:	40 (11.6%)

¹⁰⁷ A much more elaborate explanation of the computer methodology used in this research is found in: A. Janssens, 'Een direct-entry methodology'.

successfully in other longitudinal studies based on the same source.¹⁰⁸

When storing data from continuous population registers one encounters a number of methodological problems. First of all there are the various, intertwining analytical levels in the register. The register not only divides the entire population into households, one page per household, but within each household it also lists a collection of separately registered individuals. Naturally, both units have to be retained in computer files as we will want to ask questions on both the level of the household and the individual. Then we must also take into consideration that events at the level of one individual may affect the entire household as well as other individuals present in the household. The death of one person for instance changes the marital status of a possible partner, while it also has a certain influence on the structure of the household. Or, in a much more complex situation, when the parents die, an important change occurs in the status of co-resident married and single children who may still be present in the household, next to other relatives of the original heads. This complex, interrelated jumble of events and relationships should ideally have to be kept intact in the database in all its complexity.

The element of time constitutes the most important complicating factor in the population registers. Through time the household consists of continually changing combinations of individuals. Households do not all follow the same course or display the same number of structural changes. That is why the history of one household may amount to a mass of information whereas the history of another household is told in only one or two lines. At the level of the individual a similar problem occurs. In the registers the arrivals and departures of each individual are recorded as well as his movement through various households. With every move we gather a mass of ever changing personal information on the individual concerned, mostly regarding occupation and marital status. This results in data sets which are different in size as well as character for each individual. While one person enters a household at birth in order to exit after a short while through death, another person can be observed for a long period of time and hence add an enormous amount of information to the system. One person may have five different entries concerning his occupation and no information on marital status, for a second person on the other hand a marriage is recorded twice but no information is available on occupation. Population

¹⁰⁸ It in fact has already been used by two other researchers who both focused on the co-residential experience of elderly people, see E.A.M. Bulder, Household structures and C. Gordon, The bevolkingsregisters.

registers create problems not so much by a shortage of historical data but rather more by its irregular surplus of information.

In order to cope with these problems we have made use of an event-based storage of information at the level of the individual.¹⁰⁹ The core of the system was formed by two separate data-entry files which enabled the distinction between two different types of information offered by the population register: on the one hand fixed information which only needs to be entered once, and on the other hand variable information whose size cannot be properly established beforehand. The data are entered from the perspective of the individual, giving each household and each individual a unique identification number.¹¹⁰

The first file contains all fixed, or in other words, all static information on household members: household and person identification codes, date and place of birth, and the person-codes of both parents. All persons who at any given time were present in the household are listed once in this static file. The second, dynamic file can best be described as an 'event file', everything that happened to a person in the course of the life cycle of the household is entered here. These can be real events, such as a person's death or birth, but also pseudo-events, for example becoming a widow, or changes in the relationship to the head. The file therefore contains information as to the type of event which is recorded.

The most important type of event in the dynamic file records a person's entrance in and departure from the household. These so-called demo-events also contain a reference as to the cause of the entry or exit concerned, for example 'exit marriage' indicates that the person is leaving the household on the occasion of his or her marriage. Another important event indicates the person's relationship to the head, which of course may change over time as well. Apart from such categories as servants and lodgers, all members of the household are recorded in terms of the genealogical relationship to the male household head. Remaining event-types relate to a person's marital status, the address of the household¹¹¹, a person's occupation and to the person code of spouses. This latter type of event may be used to connect spouses residing in the household other than

¹⁰⁹ The dBase III database management programme was used for data-entry.

¹¹⁰ This household and person code is decided upon by the order in which they appear in the database.

¹¹¹ Of course, this is really not individually-related information. However, in order to avoid unnecessary complications the address of the entire household is recorded under registration of the head's individual and household codes.

the head and his wife.¹¹² All events are recorded under reference of the household and person code, and of course the date at which the event occurred. For an illustration of the two data-entry files see appendix 2.2.

With the use of the household and person codes both files could be linked to bring together all information pertaining to one individual or one household. Linkages during the data-entry stage were necessary in order to work through successive population registers¹¹³ and to process other sources such as the municipal income taxation and the military enrollment registers. Information on incomes and occupation from these sources was stored in separate files together with the appropriate household and person codes.

As was indicated earlier on a number of considerations necessitated registration of various members of the family after their exit from the parental household, in so far as they remained living in Tilburg. First of all, the research into the intergenerational mobility of sons required the registration of all of the sons' addresses. The addresses were needed to access the municipal taxation registers. Secondly, when registering children outside the conjugal unit one remains informed about the locally available kinship system of the parents. Finally, in this way it is possible to overcome the constraints on the registration of parents as set by the definition of the household. It is of course always possible to incorporate these other, new households (of departing children and parents) into the research. This however would expand the research group enormously, which is the reason why a limited type of registration was chosen. As soon as a child or a parent left the household, the household code was dropped. From that moment onwards, registration would take place under household code 0, and would only be linked to the person code. In this way all addresses were recorded together with the type of household in which he or she was living.

After all the data had been entered a number of programs were run to check the files on missing data and internal logic. The data-entry files were then transferred onto a mainframe to be processed and analyzed by means of programs written in SAS.

¹¹² Mostly used for co-residing married children and their spouses.

¹¹³ The use of sample groups in a study of this scope entails by definition, and most certainly in a town of average size such as Tilburg, that linkage between different registers is most easily done by hand, by means of the indexes on the population register. Automatic record linkage makes data storage even more complex and requires quite a bit of programming. Therefore no facilities were created for automatic record linkage in this methodology.

CHAPTER 3 THE INDUSTRIALIZING CONTEXT: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY TILBURG

The geographical focus of our study into the relationship between social change and the family is the town of Tilburg situated in the southern province of Noord-Brabant. In the course of the nineteenth century the town developed, at times rapidly, from a rural community of several dispersed hamlets engaged in farming and the domestic production of woollen cloths to a medium-sized town with an industrial character of a very typical blend. This chapter outlines the major features of the town's social, economic and demographic development in that period. It will be clear that a comprehensive survey is not offered here, we rather intend to touch upon those aspects which are most relevant to the purposes pursued in this study and which most clearly highlight the town's peculiarities.

3.1 Population

When Tilburg was awarded the formal city status in 1809 this was not on account of the impressive size or density of its population. At that moment the town counted only 9400 inhabitants which population was scattered over 12 little hamlets. These hamlets, at a mutual distance of a fifteen-minute walk, were connected to each other by sandy tracks along which in the course of the period ribbon building took place. In the middle of the century the result of this very particular 'urban' development occasioned surprise with visitors; the town was still described in 1851 as being 'a collection of dispersed hamlets, of unconnected groups of buildings which were thrown unto the earth crosswise and at oblique angles'.¹¹⁴ Even in the seventies after a period of intensive growth the town made the impression of an 'American city' because of its spacious character.¹¹⁵

During the first half of the nineteenth century the population of Tilburg grew slowly but evenly, mostly as a result of an excess of births over deaths rather than as a result of migration. The high level of infant mortality during the twenties and thirties was the main factor contributing to the slow rate of growth during this period.¹¹⁶ The steady pace of growth was however interrupted by a period of stagnation in the decade following 1840 during which the Tilburg population in some years even declined in

¹¹⁴ P.C. Boeren, Het hart, p. 71.

¹¹⁵ A. Sassen, 'Een blik', p. 234.

¹¹⁶ C.A.M.M. van de Put, Volksleven, p. 146; M.D. Simons, 'De armoede', p. 193.

total numbers. This stagnation, which made itself felt throughout the country, was a consequence of the economic crisis of the forties leading to the postponement of many marriages¹¹⁷, a fall in the number of births as well as an increase in the level of mortality and a negative migration balance. In the next decade the growth rate recovered itself again to return to its previous level.

TABLE 3.1 POPULATION DEVELOPMENT TILBURG, 1811-1919

period	total inhabitants	total growth %	birth surplus %	migration surplus %
1811-1819	9,416-10,297	9.4	9.8	-0.4
1820-1829	10,297-11,726	13.9	14.0	-0.1
1830-1839	11,726-13,348	13.8	12.3	1.6
1840-1849	13,348-14,373	7.7	10.4	-2.7
1850-1859	14,373-15,854	10.3	8.4	1.9
1860-1869	15,854-21,523	35.8	18.4	17.5
1870-1879	21,523-28,390	31.9	21.6	10.3
1880-1889	28,390-33,905	19.4	17.9	1.6
1890-1899	33,905-40,628	19.8	19.1	0.8
1900-1909	40,628-50,405	24.1	22.9	1.2
1910-1919	50,405-61,557	22.1	18.5	3.6

The 1860s mark a clear break in the town's population development; from that decade onwards the flight out of the town was stopped and the birth surplus rose to a higher level maintained throughout the period. Most conspicuous however is the high level of migration during the sixties which to a lesser extent continued into the seventies. From 1865 onwards until the beginning of the next decade in-migration peaked to amazing levels because of the large numbers of young families flooding into the town. This heavy in-migration resulted from the expanding economic opportunities in the local textile industry which affected the entire Tilburg economy. As a consequence of the American Civil War shortages in cotton supplies had accumulated and prices had soared which greatly pushed up demand for woollen textiles.¹¹⁸ Throughout the remainder of the period in-migration declined to more modest levels leaving again the natural increase to be the main factor in the town's rate of growth. In the final decade of our period, the 1910s, in-migration again increases due to the rising demand for labour during the World War I boom in woollen textiles.

¹¹⁷ G.A.B. Frinking, F.W.A. van Poppel, Nuptialiteit, pp. 29-30, 34-35.

¹¹⁸ J.P.M. Peters, 'De migratie'.

The capacity for natural growth was high in Tilburg in the second half of the century, in comparison to provincial as well as to national figures, due to both the low level of mortality and the high birth rate.¹¹⁹ Compared to mortality in the province of Noord-Brabant figures for Tilburg continued to remain relatively low throughout the nineteenth century upto 1920. This is generally related to the rural character of the town; the relative dispersal of the population decreased the risk of infectuous diseases spreading quickly. However, around the turn of the century Tilburg started to lag behind in the substantial decreases in the national death rate caused by the lowering of infant mortality. Improvements in child care and medical facilities had brought down the level of infant mortality in other urban areas in the country. In Tilburg however rates continued to be high and had even increased again compared to the middle decades of the century. The rural mentality of the town, as expressed by a general disposition towards innovations, prevented improvements in hygienic conditions of infant-care and the integration of the modern medical sector into society.¹²⁰ Nevertheless, the average age at death in Tilburg, infant mortality excluded, increased between 1865 and 1915 from 38 to 50.¹²¹

Little is known about the marital pattern of the Tilburg population but it is clear that the province of Noord-Brabant, in which Tilburg is situated, had the lowest proportion of married men and women in the age category of 40-44 during the entire nineteenth century. In 1849 only about three-quarters of the men and women in the 40-44 age group were or had been married, and in 1909 figures were only little higher.¹²² It is hardly likely that marriage was as infrequent in the Brabantine towns as in the surrounding countryside, but there is no reason to expect that marriage frequency in Tilburg was as high as in the urban areas in the north and the west of the country. The ages at which the men and women of Tilburg married were rather low compared to rural areas in the province. In the following chapter we will see that the median age at first marriage in Tilburg remained remarkably stable during the century: 26 for men and 25 for women. In Breda, one of the few other towns in the province, the timing of marriage of both men and women corresponded exactly to the pattern found in Tilburg.¹²³ In the rural communities in the area marriage was quite late,

¹¹⁹ H.L.H. Derks, 'De bevolkingsontwikkeling', p. 142.

¹²⁰ C.A.M.M. van de Put, Volksleven, pp. 146-147.

¹²¹ C.A.M.M. van de Put, Volksleven, p. 267.

¹²² E.W. Hofstee, Korte demografische geschiedenis, pp. 128-129.

¹²³ Th. Engelen, J. Hillebrand, 'Vruchtbaarheid', p. 258.

often around the age of 31 or 32 for men and 27 or 29 for women.¹²⁴

3.2 Economy

Throughout the period of our research the local economy remained heavily dominated by the woollen textile industry. Traditionally, as far back as the Middle Ages, the people of the province of Noord-Brabant had combined small scale peasant farming with domestic industrial activities such as spinning and weaving. Until the eighteenth century the Brabantine domestic textile industry was primarily producing in commission for the textile entrepreneurs in the west of the country, operating from textile cities such as Haarlem and Leiden. Due to the economic decline of the textile cities in the west the agents and entrepreneurs started to transfer the entire textile production towards the province of Noord-Brabant, the process being stimulated by the low wage level in the latter province.¹²⁵ Tilburg benefited most of this geographic shift in economic activities despite its rather unfavourable transport and communications system. In the course of the nineteenth century Tilburg managed to develop into the country's major wool-producing centre.¹²⁶

Already at the beginning of the nineteenth century the textile industry had become the town's primary means of subsistence. In 1810 4650 workers were employed in the production of woollen cloth on a total population of 9676.¹²⁷ In the previous year the town had counted 30 independently operating woollen cloth factories, another 75 which were producing in commission for other manufacturers and in addition to these there were 300 small independent weaving shops. In the same year mechanical spinning was first introduced in the factory of Van Dooren en Dams after which in subsequent years it rapidly superseded home-spinning. Apart from the spinning the woollen and worsted factories in the first half of the century mainly concentrated within the factory walls activities such as fulling and dying. Weaving in particular continued to be concentrated within the domestic family economy until the very end of the century. Steam power began to be used from 1827 onwards but for a long time it remained supplemented by horse power.

¹²⁴ P. Meurkens, Bevolking, p. 189; J. van Lieshout, B. Rikken, 'Geen lusten', p. 38; C.G.W.P. van der Heijden, 'Gezin', p. 139.

¹²⁵ W.A.J.M. Harkx, De Helmondse textielnijverheid, pp. 61-64.

¹²⁶ At the beginning of the twentieth century 75% of the Dutch woollen industry was situated in Tilburg. See: H.F.J.M. van den Eerenbeemt, Ontwikkelingslijnen, p. 136.

¹²⁷ A.W.M. Keune, 'De industriële ontwikkeling', p. 11; H.L.H. Derks, 'De bevolkingsontwikkeling', p. 130.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the woollen industry expanded and mechanized only slowly. For its welfare the industry relied heavily on its ability to acquire Dutch military orders in the absence of a stable set of national and international markets. Stagnation in this period resulted from the heavy British competition which made itself felt soon after French domination had ended, but also from the loss of the Belgian market in the thirties and the general crisis of the forties. In 1845 52 woollen and worsted mills were in operation of which only 13 were using steam power.¹²⁸ Home-spinning had almost completely disappeared by that time, but in 1853 still as many as 2100 workers were reported to be employed in domestic weaving and burling.¹²⁹

The fifties marked a period of growth under the influence of a modest relaxation of protective policies stimulating textile manufacturers towards substantial improvements and innovations in the production process. In 1857 the number of woollen factories had increased to 88 of which 27 were driven by steam power. Also in 1856 the first power looms were introduced, namely in the company of Diepen. During the later sixties and early seventies the Tilburg textile industry experienced a boom resulting from the crisis in cotton, already discussed above, and the large military orders at the time of the French-German War. The number of woollen textile mills continued to expand until it reached its height in the middle of the seventies with about 142 mills of which 55 were driven by steam. Demand for labour increased enormously in this period because manufacturers rather than investing in labour saving technology were inclined to apply more of the same. The boom of the sixties and seventies was to a great extent also made possible by the connection onto the national railroad network, which finally brought the town out of its isolation.

In the eighties expansion came to an end as a result of the protectionist policies implemented by the French and the German governments. Production further broke down as a result of decreasing opportunities on the internal market for heavy cloths, in which the Tilburg industry had come to specialize, because of the agricultural crisis and a shift in demand towards the more refined qualities and cotton.¹³⁰ The stagnation of the eighties finally forced the larger mills to thoroughly modernize their weaving departments.¹³¹ In this period they were still employing surprisingly large numbers of domestic weavers. It is estimated that in 1887 the minimum of 2200 to a maximum of 3000 workers were

¹²⁸ A.W.M. Keune, 'De industriële ontwikkeling', p. 37.

¹²⁹ A.W.M. Keune, 'De industriële ontwikkeling', p. 41.

¹³⁰ J.A. de Jonge, De industrialisatie, p. 91; A.W.M. Keune, 'De industriële ontwikkeling', pp. 51-53.

¹³¹ H.F.J.M. van den Eerenbeemt, Ontwikkellingslijnen, p. 135.

employed within the domestic weaving economy.¹³² The smaller companies being unable to make the necessary investments did not survive: in 1889 the number of textile factories had already been brought back to 116. After 1895 the economic tide improved again, the agricultural crisis had passed and export opportunities increased again. But it was mainly the larger manufacturers who were able to benefit from the economic revival which was to continue until the thirties in the following century. Not even World War I turned out to have negative effects, quite on the contrary, large orders for military cloth created a boom in the woollen industry and shortages on the Tilburg labour market. By that time the textile trade had finally become fully mechanized and concentrated within the factory walls.

Thus, from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards Tilburg had become one of the few major industrial centres in the country which was otherwise only slowly embarking upon the path of industrialization.¹³³ Tilburg differed however in important respects from most industrial cities in the country, or abroad for that matter. Industrial growth in Tilburg had above all expressed itself in a growing number of factories being erected rather than in increases in scale of the existing companies; factories employing hundreds of workers at the same time were non-existent. The prolonged existence of domestic textile activities was another typical element of Tilburg industrialization. Indicative of both aspects are the figures relating to male workers of the Brouwers, Van Dooren & Dams, and Diepen mills. These three companies, of which we will be examining some weavers in chapter 7, were employing in total 150 male adult workers within the factory walls in 1887, but they were also reported to have had another 248 at work within the domestic industry.¹³⁴ These latter workers can hardly have been engaged in anything else but domestic weaving.

The remarkably slow decline of the domestic textile economy in Tilburg is also reflected in the following figures. At the beginning of the century about 4400 domestic workers were engaged in both spinning and weaving. For 1855 the number of domestic weavers, spinning was now exclusively concentrated in the mills, is estimated at about 2000, which declined to about 1500 in the late eighties.¹³⁵ As late as 1890 the total number of 1355 hand-loomers were reported to be

¹³² T. Wagemakers, 'Over buitenwevers', p. 118.

¹³³ See J.A. de Jonge, 'Industrial growth'.

¹³⁴ In addition the three mills were employing 18 women, 26 boys and only 4 girls between the ages of 12-18 within the factory walls, and another 112 women, 40 boys and 12 girls who were all working at home. G.F.A. de Jong, 'Enige sociale aspecten', pp. 186-187.

¹³⁵ P.M.M. Klep, 'Over de achteruitgang', p. 36.

in operation in the homes of domestic weavers.¹³⁶ Then, between 1890 and 1910, the total collapse of domestic weaving takes place: from 1500 in 1890 to 350 in 1910. The majority of the few remaining weavers at that time were of middle age.¹³⁷ By contrast, in the cotton towns in the east of the country, where power-loom weaving had been introduced in the late fifties, domestic weaving was completely superseded by 1870, within the space of ten years.¹³⁸

As has already been made clear, the local economy was heavily dependent upon the textile sector throughout the entire period. In 1815 47% of the young men who were called for military examination reported themselves to be employed in the textile trade, which figure had decreased to 32% in 1870. In the latter year however we should probably have to add those that were entered as being factory workers, which was another 23%.¹³⁹ Of the total working population in 1899 29% were employed within textiles.¹⁴⁰ Some of the other industries were highly dependent on the textile sector, such as the wool washeries and dyers, the engineering works and the woolcard factory. Of those that were not, we might mention the tanneries of which there were 10 in 1816 and 35 in 1870. They were small-scale enterprises however; together the 27 tanneries in 1857 employed about 100 workers. In addition, we must not forget that as late as 1870 still about 6% of all household heads in Tilburg were said to be engaged in agriculture.¹⁴¹ The opening of the national railroad construction yard in 1869 marked an important addition to the local economy. In its initial years it employed about 450 workers which was to rise to 700 or 800 towards the end of the century.¹⁴² In 1909 the national railroad employed as much as 8% of the Tilburg working population.¹⁴³ Also opening in the later eighties and the nineties were two shoe factories as well as two cigar factories.

¹³⁶ H.F.J.M. van den Eerenbeemt, Ontwikkellingslijnen, p. 58.

¹³⁷ Onderzoekingen, III, pp. 23-35.

¹³⁸ J.A. de Jonge, De industrialisatie, pp. 100, 106.

¹³⁹ In 1815 none of the twenty-year-olds was listed as factory worker which category only started to appear from the late forties onwards, see: H. van Doremalen, Arbeid p. 35.

¹⁴⁰ M.J.J.G. Rossen, Het gemeentelijk volkshuisvestingsbeleid, p. 152.

¹⁴¹ H. van Doremalen, Arbeid, p. 145.

¹⁴² A.W.M Keune, 'De industriële ontwikkeling', p. 48.

¹⁴³ M.J.J.G. Rossen, Het gemeentelijk volkshuisvestingsbeleid, p. 153.

3.3 Social conditions

Nevertheless, we may still say that the larger part of the Tilburg population remained dependent on the textile trade for its welfare. The sharp fluctuations in textiles would therefore plunge the entire town in unemployment and misery. In 1840 for instance 2000 people were out of work while in 1838 not one had been registered as such. The rather unstable demand for woollen cloths probably constituted one of the main factors inducing the manufacturers to continue to put out major parts of their weaving to the domestic economy. But even in so-called favourable times the textile workers would have found it difficult to make ends meet. Wages paid out within the textile industry were considerably lower than in other sectors of the economy.¹⁴⁴ In the middle of the century incomes earned in some of the major textile occupations came lowest in rank, together with day-labourers and unskilled workers, in a list of thirty of the most frequently cited trades and occupations.¹⁴⁵

Textile wages, especially those in the domestic economy, it was argued at the time, could be low on account of the fact that most of the workers cultivated small plots of land providing the family with potatoes and some vegetables. In addition the family would sometimes keep a goat and a pig.¹⁴⁶ This low wage level is likely to have played a part in the initial attractiveness of the town in the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century for the textile manufacturers of the west. However, in the final decades of the nineteenth century the Tilburg manufacturers started to pay out higher wages in factory weaving in an effort to entice some of the domestic weavers to factory labour. It appeared to be difficult to discipline the domestic weavers to the rigours of industrial labour. The overseer of one of the Tilburg textile factories explained in 1887 that 'most (of the domestic weavers AJ) do not like to go to the mill. They say: freedom comes first and it is better than being locked up in the mill, where one goes in at seven in the morning in order to leave again in the evening. Many are put off; that is why people in the mill have to be better paid'.¹⁴⁷ The combination of low wages, frequent crises in production and the truck system which was still widespread was responsible for much poverty and misery among the domestic weavers.¹⁴⁸

Working hours in the mills were usually long: throughout the nineteenth century the average working day was 12 to 13

¹⁴⁴ A. Sassen, 'Een blik', pp. 235-236.

¹⁴⁵ H. van Doremalen, Arbeid, p. 34.

¹⁴⁶ G.F.A. de Jong, 'Enige sociale aspecten', p. 176.

¹⁴⁷ Enquete, Tilburg, question 11529.

¹⁴⁸ P.C. Boeren, Het hart, p. 90; M.D. Simons, 'De armoede', p. 203.

hours, from Monday till Saturday.¹⁴⁹ These hours applied to men, women and children alike. However in busy times when production peaked labourers were forced to work overtime which could sometimes lead to the situation where they would be working night and day for months at a stretch.¹⁵⁰ The labour inquiry of 1887 also indicated that some factory owners actually extended the working day to as much as 16 hours.¹⁵¹

The town may be said to have escaped some of the more extreme miseries generally associated with industrial towns in that period such as the relentless exploitation of child and female labour in the mills. To be sure, labour of very young children had been an integral part of the domestic economy during the entire nineteenth century. Moreover, the increased mechanization and the gradual disappearance of the domestic industry from the middle of the century onwards indeed only served to increase the number of children at work within the textile industry. However, contemporaries liked to state that the children working in the mills were almost all above the age of 11 or 12. That this was not completely true was revealed by an inquiry into child labour held in 1867 which indicated that 35% of the 200 male factory workers, at the time aged 20 or over, had started work before the age of 12. However, 76% of the male workers under the age of 20 had begun their work in the mill at the age of 11 or 12, so that it seemed as if conditions had recently started to improve. Girls in general appeared to be admitted to the mills at considerably older ages: 80% of the female labourers in 1867 said to have started work after their fourteenth birthday.¹⁵² That a growing number of children were involved in the textile industry in the entire province is also indicated by their increased share in the working population in the sector: in 1819 children had made up 16% of all textile workers and by 1871 this had risen to 37%.¹⁵³

In 1874 the national government issued a child labour law prohibiting child labour under the age of 12. Thirteen years later in 1887 a state inquiry was undertaken into the extent to which the child labour law was evaded as well as into future possibilities to extend the working of the law to children under the age of 15 or 16. Tilburg was one of the places visited by the inquiry committee. The interviewees, all representatives of the industrial and administrative middle and upper classes in Tilburg, maintained that child

¹⁴⁹ G.F.A. de Jong, 'Enige sociale aspecten', p. 174.

¹⁵⁰ J.P.A. van de Dam, Arnold Leon Armand Diepen, p. 84.

¹⁵¹ Enquete, Tilburg, question 11034.

¹⁵² G.F.A. de Jong, 'Enige sociale aspecten', p. 193.

¹⁵³ G.F.A. de Jong, 'Enige sociale aspecten', p. 195.

labour under the age of 12 had completely disappeared.¹⁵⁴ It was claimed that the local clergy had played a major role in the early renouncement of child labour even before 1874.

Untroubled by the absence of conclusive evidence and the biased composition of its group of witnesses the committee concluded that child labour under the age of 12 had disappeared entirely both in the mills and in the domestic industry. There is every reason to doubt the correctness of the committee's conclusion. In 1885 as many as 142 boys and another 142 girls were actually leaving school permanently, which figures were substantially higher than in non-textile towns of comparable size in the area.¹⁵⁵ As late as 1896 the provincial authorities reported that school attendance in Tilburg was problematic in particular because of the involvement of children under the age of 12 in the domestic textile industry.¹⁵⁶ We may therefore safely assume that although the labour of very young children had started to disappear from the mills in the late seventies and eighties they continued to be employed within the home throughout the entire period. Of course the textile mills were employing large numbers of boys and girls between the ages of 12 and 18: in 1887 in some of the larger woollen mills 16% of the work force was made up of boys and another 3% of girls in that age category.¹⁵⁷ In 1901 compulsory education was instituted for children under the age of twelve, but in 1913 an inquiry by the Child Welfare Office indicated that large numbers of children were engaged in domestic industrial activities before and after school hours.¹⁵⁸ It is most likely that this was common practice also in Tilburg where the textile industry at that time still provided ample opportunities for domestic work.

The textile industry has traditionally been one of the major employers of female labour, and this was no different in Tilburg. In the fifties and sixties of the nineteenth century 30 to 40% of the town's working population in textiles consisted of women¹⁵⁹; for 1887 and 1899 the share of female labour in this sector was reported to have been 40% and 46% respectively.¹⁶⁰ Other trades and occupations in which women were employed were of course domestic service and the

¹⁵⁴ Only one violation of the law was established; in the local stone factory children under the age of 12 were said to be employed in the carrying of pieces of stone.

¹⁵⁵ H. van Doremalen, 'Tilburg', p. 81.

¹⁵⁶ T. Wagemakers, 'Over buitenwevers', p. 119.

¹⁵⁷ These figures may only be used tentatively; they are based on the information provided by the labour inquiry of 1887 on 16 of some of the major mills. See G.F.A. de Jong, 'Enige sociale aspecten', p.186.

¹⁵⁸ A. de Regt, Arbeidersgezinnen, p. 111.

¹⁵⁹ H. van Doremalen, Arbeid, p. 59.

¹⁶⁰ G.F.A. de Jong, 'Enige sociale aspecten', pp. 198-199.

needle trades. Quite a few of the married women were contributing to the family budget by running small shops.¹⁶¹ In general women were used in the textile mills for activities such as burling, mending and fluffing or the more heavy work in the drying rooms. The percentage of female labour in textiles might have been higher in Tilburg had women been allowed to work at the loom.¹⁶² The inquiry of 1887 indicated that there was only one mill employing exclusively female weavers. All industrialists or factory overseers, when questioned on the issue, replied that female weavers were not found in any of the other mills on account of the fact that they would not be able to deliver good quality.¹⁶³

From the above it already became clear that most girls were going to the factories at a somewhat later age compared to boys, most of them from the age of fourteen onwards. This is no doubt related to the fact that girls could more easily be put to productive work within the home, assisting their mothers in textile work, until that age than were boys.¹⁶⁴ Of all 12-18 year old girls employed by 16 major textile mills in 1887 it is likely that as much as 67% of them were employed within the home, while for boys this was only 12%.¹⁶⁵ However, it is clear that towards the end of the century factory work for girls became more frequent. In 1890 18% of all adolescent textile workers were girls, which had risen to 28% only a decade later.¹⁶⁶ Girls were expected to leave the mill again at the time of their marriage.¹⁶⁷ As in the case of child labour this is often related to the beneficial influence of the local clergy requiring the mills not to admit married women. No doubt the stand taken by the priests would have had a powerful influence in the Tilburg community which was almost entirely Catholic, but in a realistic account other elements should not be overlooked. For one thing, the Tilburg manufacturers could afford to do without

¹⁶¹ H. van Doremalen, Arbeid, p. 145; see also the additional incomes of the wives of domestic weavers in 1910: Onderzoekingen, III, p. 33.

¹⁶² On the provincial level only 28% of the textile workforce in 1853 were women. It is suggested that this was rather lower than the figure for Overijsel, where 36% of the population in the cotton industry was female, because in the province of Noord-Brabant women were not allowed to work on the loom. See: W.N. Schilstra, Vrouwenarbeid, p. 35.

¹⁶³ Enquete, Tilburg, questions 10852, 11451.

¹⁶⁴ J.P.A. van den Dam, Arnold Leon Armand Diepen, p. 85.

¹⁶⁵ G.F.A. de Jong, 'Enige sociale aspecten', p. 187.

¹⁶⁶ J.C.M. Sterkens, 'De zorg', p. 221.

¹⁶⁷ Married women engaged in factory work or indeed in any other line of trade have not been a frequent phenomenon in the Netherlands in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. See for instance: A. de Regt, Arbeidersgezinnen, pp. 54-55.

married women in the mills because they were most lucrative as a cheap and flexible supply of domestic workers in burling and mending. In addition, domestic textile work enabled married women to contribute to the disciplinary training and reproduction of the male industrial workers. As the masters indicated, a married woman at the mill would only induce the husband to alcoholism.¹⁶⁸

Female factory work in general, also for unmarried girls and women, was disapproved of by many contemporaries and especially the clergy. Young and adult male and female labourers working side by side in one and the same room was considered to endanger female morality. Especially during lunch breaks it was considered almost impossible to keep the girls from losing their innocence. In addition factory work would ruin a girl's opportunities at becoming a good mother and housewife because of a total lack of domestic training.¹⁶⁹ The clergy however also realized that economic interests hindered the total renouncement of all female industrial labour. They therefore aimed at improving the situation in the mills, which in practice meant establishing a sexual segregation at the workfloor. Women and girls would have to be employed in separate rooms and afforded separate canteens during lunch. These requirements probably also prevented the introduction of female weavers within the mill. The idea of the inappropriateness of men and women mingling at the work place or any other situation which was not supervised by the family had strong roots in the Brabantine rural culture.¹⁷⁰ Most of the Tilburg manufacturers seemed to support these views; conditions in French textile cities at the time, women and men working together, occasioned wonder and disapproval.¹⁷¹

The factory owners clearly assumed it to be their task to watch over the moral and spiritual well-being of their workers as befitted a good patriarch. This also expressed itself in the measures regarding unwed mothers. In the case of an unmarried girl becoming pregnant the assumed father was summoned by the mill owner, and if he admitted to being the father he was given the choice to either marry the girl or leave the mill. In the latter case however the young man would be banned from all other mills.¹⁷² Whatever the effect of these and other measures may have been, it is evident that in the nineteenth century illegitimacy in Tilburg was

¹⁶⁸ This opinion was often voiced by the manufacturers questioned by the inquiry of 1887. See for instance: Enquete, Tilburg, question 11089.

¹⁶⁹ Enquete, Tilburg, questions 10550, 10636, 10705, 10825, 10996, 11023, 11089, 11238; see also: A. van der Veen, Zij telt, pp. 60-85.

¹⁷⁰ Will van de Ven, 'Geloof'.

¹⁷¹ Enquete, Tilburg, question 11023.

¹⁷² J.C.M. Sterkens, 'De zorg', p. 220.

rather low compared to other major towns in the same province.¹⁷³ Moreover, the Tilburg children born outside of marriage were more likely to be legitimated eventually by their parents' marriage.

3.4 Housing conditions

Deplorable housing conditions are one of the other inevitable associations which nineteenth-century towns usually evoke. No doubt the housing situation of the Tilburg working classes, particularly considering their low standard of living, must have been poor and unhygienic. As late as 1902 the health authorities reported: 'Not seldom one sees 8 to 10 persons in one single filthy room, where they live, sleep and work.'¹⁷⁴ Some of the persons questioned by the inquiry committee in 1887 maintained that housing conditions were generally better for domestic weavers than for those working in the mill. Most of the weavers, it was reported, would own their own houses which in addition provided more room, air and light.¹⁷⁵ Some of them added that this applied in particular to those workers living on the outskirts of the town.¹⁷⁶ Domestic workers, in contrast to factory labourers, were also described as having of small plots of land next to their houses.¹⁷⁷ Yet, the evidence offered by the 1887 inquiry is scanty and probably to some extent biased.¹⁷⁸ Some more concrete evidence is found in the national inquiry into the conditions in the domestic industry of 1910. This report indicated that the majority of the 344 domestic weavers that were still left at the time in Tilburg were living in two or three-roomed houses and 39% of them owned their own homes.¹⁷⁹ It was also stated that nearly all cottages had a small strip of land used for the cultivation of potatoes or the raising of some cattle.

The crowding of large numbers of families in run-down districts enclosed within the narrow confines of city walls has definitely not been characteristic of the nineteenth-century development of Tilburg. The town's spacious lay-out

¹⁷³ K.J.G.M. Vermunt, 'Buitenechtelijke geboorten'. Quite intriguing in this connection is that J. Humphries ('...The Most Free') demonstrated that a close statistical relationship exists between the rate of illegitimacy and the degree of sex-segregation at work in nineteenth-century England.

¹⁷⁴ Cited by C.A.M.M. van de Put, Volksleven, p. 3.

¹⁷⁵ Enquete, Tilburg, question 10671.

¹⁷⁶ Enquete, Tilburg, question 10205.

¹⁷⁷ Enquete, Tilburg, question 10706.

¹⁷⁸ The questions were framed rather tendentiously. See also: T. Wagemakers, 'Over buitenwevers', p. 122.

¹⁷⁹ Onderzoekingen, III, p. 35.

provided ample space for building. This may have been the main reason why, despite its growth during the second half of the nineteenth century, the housing situation at the end of the century was still relatively favourable in quantitative terms.¹⁸⁰ Rents and the prices of land were still low in 1890. Nine years later 23% of the Tilburg population was reported to be living in single-room houses. This proportion was somewhat higher in some of the towns in the north and the west of the country: 58% for both Groningen and Rotterdam, and 38% for the Amsterdam population.¹⁸¹ Other towns in the province of Noord-Brabant also appear to have had a larger proportion of the population packed away in single rooms. In 1909 the single- and two-room housing in Tilburg had even declined further.¹⁸² Of course these figures do not provide us with conclusive evidence that prior to these dates, especially during the heavy immigration of the sixties and seventies, housing shortages did not occur. However, this is not likely to have been the case when we consider the fact that the annual municipal reports of that period, while referring to the tremendous growth of the community's population, stated that the sharing of houses by more than one family did not occur.¹⁸³

Nevertheless, in the 1910s a serious shortage in the housing market did occur due to the continued increase in the number of families and the collapse in private building.¹⁸⁴ World War I in addition brought a large number of military and Belgian refugees into the town, but they were only of minor influence on the total shortage.¹⁸⁵ A municipal inquiry into the situation held in 1917 indicated that a 10% shortage in houses existed and that in 11% of all cases at that time two or more families were sharing house.¹⁸⁶ The shortage occurred throughout all of the rent-categories but was highest at the bottom of the scale. Towards the end of the decade the authorities started to develop a municipal building program which was to eliminate the deficit on the

¹⁸⁰ M.J.J.G. Rossen, Het gemeentelijk volkshuisvestingsbeleid, p. 122, 272.

¹⁸¹ J.P.A. van den Dam, Arnold Leon Armand Diepen, p. 73.

¹⁸² M.J.J.G. Rossen, Het gemeentelijk volkshuisvestingbeleid, p. 272.

¹⁸³ Cited in J.P.A. van den Dam, Arnold Leon Armand Diepen, p. 78.

¹⁸⁴ M.J.J.G. Rossen, Het gemeentelijk volkshuisvestingsbeleid, p. 279.

¹⁸⁵ C.A.A.M. van de Put, Volksleven, p. 18.

¹⁸⁶ Only co-residing couples (with or without children) or a co-residing one-parent family with children were included in this count. Such cases as a co-residing widowed grandmother were not regarded as an expression of a housing shortage. See: M.J.J.G. Rossen, 'Het Tilburgse volkshuisvestingsbeleid', note 14.

housing market. Until that time building had been entirely private.

3.5 Labour relations

A Dutch sociologist once described relations between the Tilburg industrialists and their workers in the nineteenth century as being characterized much more by the awareness of solidarity rather than by the awareness of opposition.¹⁸⁷ The rather secluded Brabantine society of the nineteenth century continued to be based on the traditional principles of class in which a capitalist type of class struggle would simply not fit. Most industrialists were not merely distant providers of capital, they were visibly involved in the mill's productive activities on a daily basis. The small scope of the average enterprise, which enabled a much more personal relationship between the mill owner and his labourers, and the strong influence of Catholicism, stressing the moral responsibilities in the divinely ordained social order, further worked towards the continuation of traditional paternalistic relationships. This description may be said to still apply to the Tilburg situation in the second half of the century despite all industrial developments that had taken place.¹⁸⁸ It is best illustrated by the comment one of the overseers of the railroad construction yard provided in 1887: 'In Tilburg it has the character of one big family. Workers remain with one patron and by inheritance continue in the same family's service. The patrons I know are like fathers to their workers.'¹⁸⁹

Whatever the truthfulness of these and other suchlike statements may have been it is clear that they do not reflect an atmosphere in which labour unions and socialist ideologies would easily take roots. Social protest and collective workers action has therefore remained a largely unknown phenomenon within the Tilburg society until well into the twentieth century. Only few cases in the local history are found that may possibly be described as instances of workers resisting a deterioration in working conditions or standard of living in any organized way.¹⁹⁰ It

¹⁸⁷ A. van de Weijer, De religieuse praktijk, p. 153.

¹⁸⁸ H.F.J.M. van den Eerenbeemt, Ontwikkelingslijnen, pp. 95-96.

¹⁸⁹ Enquete, Tilburg, question 11235.

¹⁹⁰ Some social unrest is reported to have accompanied the introduction of the first steam-engine in 1827, but machine-breaking did not occur. In 1855, 1864 and 1872 some minor wage disputes arose leading to short one-day strikes. Only the first of these conflicts applied to the textile industry, the other two concerned bricklayers and

took until 1917 before strike and collective action were first introduced to the Tilburg textile industry.

A very early attempt to initiate the Tilburg workers to socialist ideologies took place in 1871. Three workers of the railroad construction yard, all three recent migrants from Utrecht and members of the International Workers Association, were caught while canvassing for support among their fellow workers. They were dismissed instantaneously. The incident relates to one other important element responsible for the continuation of traditional relations: the 'foreign' element in the town's population was weak or nearly missing. Whereas other nineteenth-century industrial towns had experienced heavy inflows of migrants from all parts of the country, in Tilburg the native-born made up the greater part of the population. At the turn of the century 75% of all Tilburg inhabitants was born and bred there.¹⁹¹ The introduction of new ideas and attitudes could thus only proceed slowly.

From 1895 onwards trade unions were being established in Tilburg which aimed at the improvement of working conditions. At first they met with strong opposition from employers and clergy alike. It is significant again that the Catholic weaver's union could only come into existence due to the activities of an outsider, a German immigrant who, being a worker at the national railroads yard, was not subject to the measures of disqualification of the textile employers. However, part of the clergy in time realized that they needed to take the lead and work towards the creation of a solidly Catholic social movement throughout the principally Catholic provinces of the south of the Netherlands.¹⁹² They knew quite well that this was the only way to prevent the Church from losing its hold over the mass of the working population. It is the combination of the elements described above that effectively prevented a transformation of social economic relations in Tilburg along more capitalist lines.

carpenters. See: H. van Doremalen, 'Sociale onrust'.

¹⁹¹ M.J.J.G. Rossen, Het gemeentelijk volkshuisvestingsbeleid, p. 150. This could also explain the diverging experience of Eindhoven, also situated in Noord-Brabant, where the large-scale immigration of workers to the Philips factories favoured the early foundation of socialist parties, see: J.P.A. van den Dam, Arnold Leon Armand Diepen, p. 132.

¹⁹² Nineteenth-century Tilburg was a solidly Roman-Catholic community: throughout the century 96 to 97% of the population described themselves as such.

3.6 Concluding remarks

In summarizing then we will try to assess the nature and the extent of the changes transforming nineteenth-century Tilburg. To what extent are both change and continuity present within this process of transformation and to what extent did this development conform to the pattern found in other industrial centres? The industrial town that had come into existence by the beginning of the twentieth century was the tenth city in size in the Netherlands but it did not resemble in any way the classical concept of a nineteenth-century industrial city.

First of all, it lacked any degree of compactness and density. Towards the end of the century the pattern of the many little hamlets from which Tilburg had developed was still greatly visible. Due to its special urban genesis the town preserved a kind of rural atmosphere until the beginning of the next century despite the industrial developments and the considerable growth rate of its population in the second part of the century. City airs and style were fundamentally absent. There was no recognisable city centre in which political, economic and social functions were concentrated, rather the town consisted of a series of smaller centres which continued to be the primary focal points of its inhabitants. In this context related urban turmoil such as overcrowding, and appalling sanitary and health conditions were either non-existent or much less extreme.

Secondly, the town had largely developed from 'within': at the end of the nineteenth century three-quarters of its population was of native origin. Transiency and high rates of population instability were fundamental characteristics of most other industrial centres at the time. For instance in Enschede, a cotton mill town in the east of the country, only 44% of its population in 1899 was of native origin. In mid-nineteenth-century Preston, just to mention an industrial town for which family patterns have been extensively researched, as many as 70% of the resident population consisted of migrants. The modest share of migrants in the total Tilburg population must have greatly contributed to the sense of continuity and cohesion of its inhabitants. Most likely it was also responsible for the slow transformation of social economic relationships in a direction which effectively excluded the introduction of socialist ideologies.

Thirdly, although the town's productive structures had undergone a slow, but nevertheless fundamental change over the century these changes at the same time incorporated important elements of continuity. The industrialization that had taken place was of a small-scale character: massive concentrations of workers in huge industrial plants did not exist. The Tilburg mills were indeed a far cry from for instance the Amoskeag mill in Manchester USA employing

thousands of workers at the same time, or indeed even from the textile mills in the east of the Netherlands. Moreover, the transformation of economic structures was only partial; during the entire century traditional domestic production continued to occupy an important position within the textile industry. It is likely that throughout the period under study considerable sections of the Tilburg working population retained the outlook of small property holders as a result of home-ownership and the possession of small plots of land. Thus, industrialization in Tilburg was not accompanied by a thorough and rapid process of proletarianization transforming its working-class population into a mass of propertyless, unskilled factory labourers with few roots in the local community. The large numbers of men, women and children involved in the domestic weaving economy retained important ties with a preindustrial culture in which work and family had overlapped, a culture in which the family had combined subsistence-farming with domestic industrial production.

The minor importance of female factory work may conveniently be listed as a fourth element distinguishing Tilburg from other industrial nineteenth-century towns, and in particular from other textile towns in the period. As was pointed out before this is strongly related to the continued importance of the domestic industry which provided young girls and in particular married women with abundant opportunities to contribute financially to the family budget. This dual local labour market may easily have led to a large number of families combining industrial wage work, for instance by its chief male breadwinner and some adult children, with domestic industrial activities employing the wife and the family's younger children. Employment patterns of this type are undoubtedly of considerable consequence for family life and family composition.

It would seem then that both change and continuity were integral parts of the process of transformation taking place in nineteenth-century Tilburg. It is likely that a strong sense of continuity enabled the working classes of Tilburg to cope with those discontinuities that did occur. How did all this affect family life? Was family life dominated by continuity? We might speculate that this particular industrializing context may have been highly favourable to the continuation of normative kinship relations. Strong family and community values originating from a small peasant culture may have continued to shape people's lives in spite of the large number of factory chimneys arising throughout the town and affecting the lives of many. However, change was evident, and it did offer new opportunities to individuals. Did young men and women not hesitate to seize upon these opportunities with both hands? Or did family values continue to prevail? If industrial turmoil was largely absent and households continued to be embedded in a strong local family and community network, what effect did

this have on family patterns? Less 'critical life situations' extensions? Stable nuclear families in which children continued to care for elderly parents until they died? Perhaps normative family values were shaped into new family patterns better suited to fit the demands and opportunities offered by the changing context? How indeed did nineteenth century Tilburg families live the small and big changes of their times?

CHAPTER 4 FAMILY STRUCTURE THROUGH TIME

In this chapter results will be presented of the comparative analysis of the developmental family life cycle of two generations of households in nineteenth-century Tilburg. As such it represents the first of four strategies to tackle the problem of the relationship between developments within the family and the process of social change. We will concentrate on the question to what extent the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth witnessed a decline in family cohesion, as expressed in the relative occurrence of extended kin in the household and the strength of generational links between parents and children. Methodologically, the dominant perspective is a dynamic one: family co-residential arrangements will be analyzed over the course of the family life cycle.

4.1 Family structure along the life cycle

As has extensively been discussed in the first chapter, traditional family theory assumes the process of industrialization to have a disruptive effect on kinship relations beyond the nuclear family. The internal dynamics of the industrial system required an occupationally and geographically mobile reservoir of workers. Hence, family solidarity in industrial society necessarily had to be restricted to the members of the nuclear family only. This was realized by segregating the family from the economic system. Thus, the process of industrialization necessarily implies a process of nuclearization of the family group. Competing theories suggest either a continuation of existing family patterns, or even a rise in traditional complex family households. Families do not just passively adapt to the social and economic changes surrounding them, they actively make use of traditional family patterns to cope with 'critical life situations' created by the process of change. Thus, people act on traditional values in their confrontation with modern problems.

As stated above, this chapter is concerned with the question of a possible decline in the degree of cohesion among nineteenth-century Tilburg families. This will be done, first of all, by measuring in various ways changes in the extent to which families received extra-nuclear kin members into their homes. In addition, attention will be given to the question what caused families to live with kin, and what functions extended family structures may have had. Next, we will examine changes in the generational relationship between parents and children. A strong, normative link between generations may conveniently be regarded as the linchpin of the extended family system. If

the relationship of children towards their family of origin permits a greater autonomy of the child one major force making for extended family co-residence will be removed.

In this section we will first be looking at the frequency with which families in Tilburg co-resided with kin. So far the enormous amount of studies into household structure in north-west Europe have produced frequencies of extended households ranging from about 10 to about 20%. Tilburg seems to fit into this regional pattern perfectly well with an overall percentage of extended households of 10% in 1849 and 9.7% in 1880.¹⁹³ Dutch household structure in the nineteenth century however seems to resemble much more the situation in preindustrial England, for which Laslett established a frequency of 10%¹⁹⁴, than the English urban-industrial household pattern. For Rotterdam and Groningen in the second half of the century for instance figures were produced ranging from 6 to 13% for the former and 11 to 14% for the latter town.¹⁹⁵ These are all much lower than the 23% for Preston and 21% found for York in the same century.¹⁹⁶ Finally, extended households in nineteenth-century Tilburg appear to be as frequent as in the rural Brabantine areas a century earlier. Klep found 10% of the households in late eighteenth-century West-Brabant to be co-residing with kin¹⁹⁷.

However, in this chapter we will try to move away from static approaches to the issue of household structure by looking at kin co-residence from the perspective of the developmental cycle of the household. For this purpose we will be using the two generation samples of households covering complete forty-year life-histories for each group. The first group spans the period from 1849 to 1890 and contains 361 households, while the second group of 389 households runs from 1880 to 1920. For reasons connected with the sampling procedure, see chapter 2, the latter group will for several parts of the analysis be restricted to 343

¹⁹³ These percentages should be handled with care on account of the fact that they pertain exclusively to households headed by marital couples. Solitaries and households headed by unmarried individuals or those widowed were excluded. Households headed by widows or widowers may have contained quite some cases of kin co-residence so that the total number of extensions is biased slightly downwards. For survey of household structure in 1849 and 1880 see appendix 4.1.

¹⁹⁴ P. Laslett, 'Mean household size', p. 149.

¹⁹⁵ H. van Dijk, Rotterdam, p. 284; P. Kooij, Groningen, p.

26.

¹⁹⁶ M. Anderson, Family structure, p. 44; W.A. Armstrong, 'The interpretation', p. 72.

¹⁹⁷ P.M.M. Klep, 'Het huishouden', p. 73.

households.¹⁸⁸ This will be indicated in the text. The couples heading these household were all aged 30-35 at the moment at which we begin our observation in 1849 and 1880 respectively, which makes the two groups as it were two successive generations of households. The heads and their wives of 1880 could well be the children of the ones heading the households of 1849 and for some this actually proved to be the case.

That in Tilburg the developmental stage of the household was at least of some importance to its structure is reflected in the slightly higher frequency, compared with other age groups, with which the two generation groups we will be studying here were living with kin in 1849 and 1880: 14.1% for the elder generation and 11.5% for the younger one.¹⁸⁹ What happened to family structure after these two initial points in time? In our efforts to outline the relative importance of kin co-residence in a longitudinal perspective we will be using a number of different approaches, which may roughly be divided in those relating to frequency and those relating to duration. To begin with let us have a look at the problem of frequency. Just as we have measured the percentage of extensions in the initial year, 1849 and 1880, we may chart the number of percentages occurring in all of the following years throughout the entire cycle; this would yield the number of extensions by life cycle year. This procedure would be able to indicate sudden falls or rises in the number of those living with kin and may for instance be used to detect relations with historical events intersecting with the life history of the household. Important as this technique may be, it does not properly inform us on the crucial question how many of the families were actually sharing certain co-residential experiences. We therefore add observations on the number of families that had ever received extended kin into their homes. Finally, the same principle may be applied to different stages in the development of the household, for instance when the number of households ever co-residing with kin during the first ten or twenty years of the cycle is computed. This then indicates the number of families sharing a particular co-residential experience at particular stages of the cycle. Before we proceed to the issue of duration we will first have a look at the various measures of frequency.

To begin with, we will investigate the relative incidence of extended households by life cycle year. To this end the number of extended family households was plotted as a percentage of all households present for each year of the

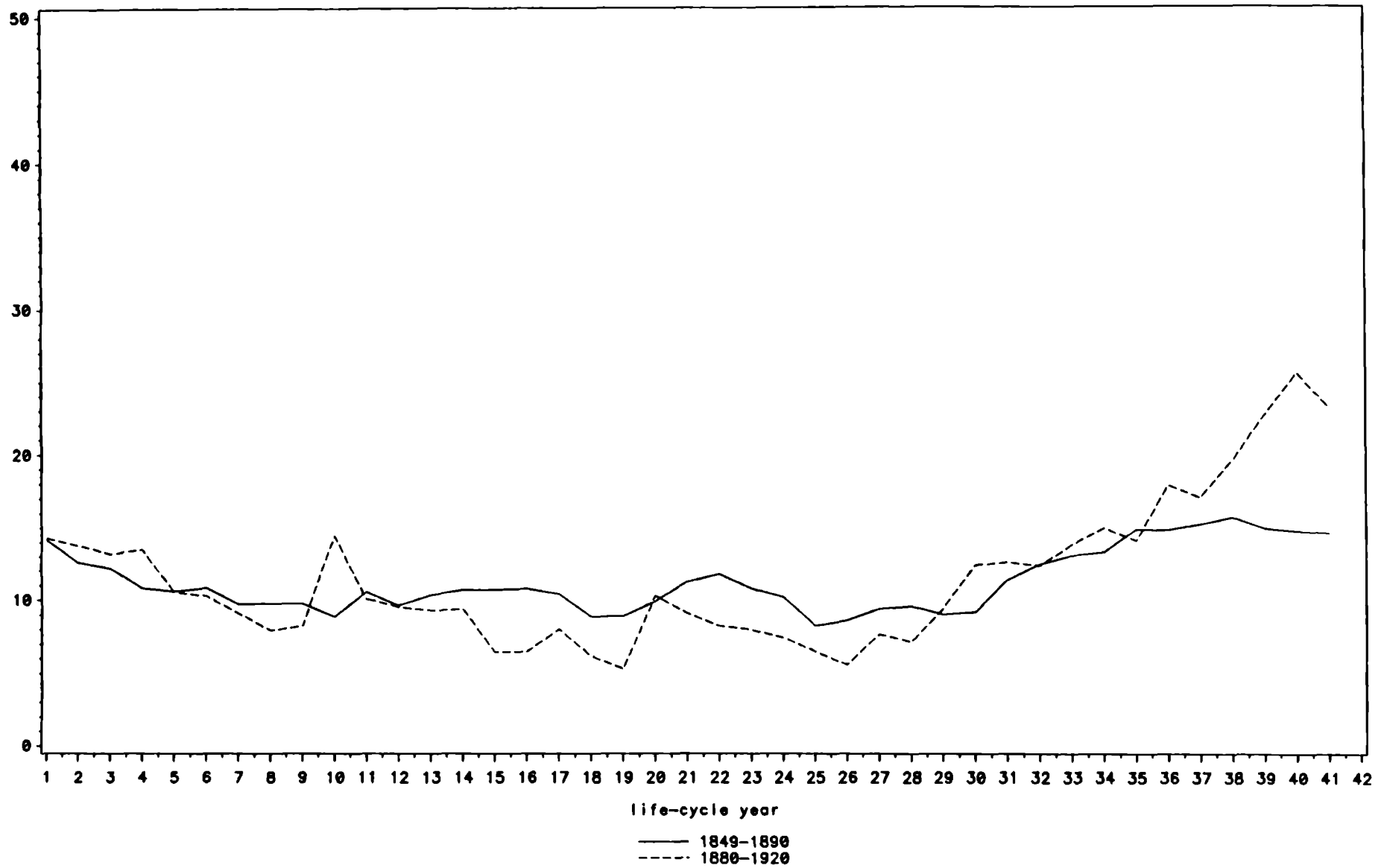
¹⁸⁸ For further details on data collection, sampling procedure, and other methodological and conceptual issues the reader should turn to chapter 2.

¹⁸⁹ See appendix 4.1. for survey of household structure in 1849 and 1880.

family life cycle for both groups. The count in this procedure was 'optimistic' in the sense that the household was considered to be extended for a particular year when at some time during that year a relative had been present, even if it were only for some months. The result is presented in figure 4.1. Throughout the first thirty life-cycle years the 1849-1890 generation, starting off from the level of 14%, displays a remarkably stable number of extensions by year: only just above the level of 10%. Only towards the end of the cycle we witness a gradual rise in the number of extensions to at the most 16% in some of the final years. It is clear that the proportion of extensions by year is very modest indeed for this generation group. What is perhaps more interesting is its stability, particularly in respect to the period between the fifteenth and twenty-fifth year of the cycle which coincided with the period of heavy immigration of the late sixties and early seventies. The absence of increases in the number of extensions may for one thing mean that indeed housing shortages did not occur at the time. But we must also realize that in this period the elder sons and daughters of these households were reaching the marriageable age. If housing shortages did occur due to the influx of young migrant families the results of figure 4.1 may be taken to indicate that the sons and daughters in the elder generation were postponing marriage rather than marrying into the parental household. Finally, the fact that the number of extensions for this generation hardly rose at all during the final years of the life cycle would appear to suggest that kin co-residence did not become anymore frequent as parents reached old age.

The younger generation of households deviates only slightly from the level of their predecessors during the first thirty years in which period the number of extensions tends to fall slowly to 5 or 6%. There are however two conspicuous little peaks in this period, one in the tenth and the other in the twentieth year which are both coincidental with the start of new registers. As each new population register started off on the basis of the census returns these peaks clearly indicate incidences of underregistration occurring towards the final years of the previous register. The two peaks suggest that perhaps the number of extensions for this group in reality remained as high as 14-15% during the first ten years after which it slowly fell to the level of 10% during the second decade. It is odd and unfortunately difficult to explain that, given the assumption that the earlier registers were of lesser quality than the later ones, these peaks do not appear in the 1849-1890 generation. Towards the end of their cycle the families in the younger generation experience a steady rise in the number of extensions up to the level of 25%. In this period, between the thirtieth and fortieth life-cycle year, parents were reaching old age, they were beyond sixty, and it is likely that almost all of their children will have

FIGURE 4.1 PERCENTAGE OF EXTENDED FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS BY LIFE-CYCLE YEAR FOR TWO GENERATIONS
TILBURG, 1849-1920



corrected sample for 1880-1920

left the parental home. In addition, this life-cycle stage coincides with the severe shortages in the housing market arising after 1912. Obviously, these considerations would suggest that quite a few elderly parents started to co-reside with their married children who in this way were resolving their housing problem. Before we proceed it is important to stress that the different historical experiences these families were undergoing during their life history did not result in widely diverging levels of extensions by year or entirely different courses over their life cycle.

The level of extensions as represented in figure 4.1 is determined by both the number of households in which kin entered and by the duration of the time these households subsequently continued to remain extended. As a consequence the two relatively similar curves may be the result of a very dissimilar number of households ever going through the experience of household extension. One curve may be the result of a marginal group of households who are more or less continuously co-residing with relatives, while the other relates to large numbers of households in which kin co-reside only once and for only short periods of time. In other words, the graph does not inform us as to the relative distribution of the tendency to live with kin throughout both generations. The percentage of households ever extended by decade may help to provide an indication for the relative distribution of the phenomenon of kin co-residence during different periods of the life cycle. It is computed as a percentage of all households present at the beginning of that particular decade.

TABLE 4.1 EXTENSION BY KIN ALONG THE LIFE CYCLE BY DECADE FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

	1 dec	2 dec	3 dec	4 dec
1849-1890				
N=	361	339	317	275
%				
Extended	17.5	18.0	19.9	21.5
1880-1920				
N=	343	330	320	257
%				
Extended	24.8	18.6	21.6	42.0

Table 4.1 presents the resulting figures for this operation.²⁰⁰ It confirms the moderate importance of extended family co-residence for the generation of households from 1849-1890. Per decade the percentage of extensions in this group ranged from 17 to 21 for all households present. In the next generation kin co-residence during the first ten years of the life cycle appears to be a little more frequent: almost a quarter of all households were extended. On the whole, their cycle only begins to diverge significantly from the former generation's cycle towards the end. During the final decade 42% of all households still present at the beginning of that decade experienced a phase of extended family living. As they grew older parents of the 1880-1920 generation took in relatives much more often than did parents belonging to the earlier generation. Compared with their parents' generation they doubled the percentage of extended family households during the later years of their household's developmental cycle. We already indicated that this may have been connected to the shortages in the housing market arising after 1912. Other family history studies have suggested that households are most likely to be extended in both their early and later years.²⁰¹ For the elder generation of households in this study such a clear dichotomy with household complexity peaking at beginning and end of the cycle did not exist. Kin co-residence was spread more or less evenly over the entire life cycle. This is, however, not the case for the 1880-1920 generation. In this group households were likely to experience extensions in the first but in particular the final decade of observation. A considerable proportion of these younger generation parents only started having extended households during the last ten years of their household's cycle.

What the above figures come down to is that, when all extensions are taken into account, a majority of the households in the 1880-1920 generation passed through an extended phase at some point along the household's life

²⁰⁰ Some examples may clarify the construction of this table. All households attaining an extended structure during the first ten years of observation contribute to the percentage of extensions in this period. If, however, one of these households became extended for a second time within the same period it still contributed only once to the number of extensions occurring in the first decade. Finally, in the case of kin members entering the household during the ninth year in order to leave again in the twelfth year of observation this specific household would contribute to the number of extensions in both the first and the second decade of observation.

²⁰¹ E. Van de Walle, 'Household dynamics'.

cycle.²⁰² Of all 343 households in this group 56.9% had ever co-resided with kin.²⁰³ The generation of their parents did so to a lesser degree: 39.1% of all households in this generation received kin into their homes at least once. These diverging percentages are mainly the result of the much larger number of households in the younger generation extending themselves to include kin in the final decade of their life cycle. To some degree the number of extensions in the elder generation may be biased downwards somewhat as a result of incomplete registration prior to 1890. As was indicated in chapter 2 it seems that failing registration should mainly be located in the sixties and early seventies of the nineteenth century. However, to our estimation it is doubtful that underregistration of co-residing kin could account entirely for the difference in total number of extensions ever found between the two groups.

The conclusion that 40-60% of all households did at some time experience extension is of some importance. It indicates that kin co-residence was by no means an experience to be lightly passed off as marginal to nineteenth-century family life. In addition these results should warn us against rash conclusions on the basis of static measurements of household structure showing percentages of only 10% of extended households.

As we have only few studies available that are based on longitudinal material, there are also few possibilities for comparison. We do have some longitudinal figures on Italian and Spanish family structure, however. In the eighteenth-century South-Italian town of Agnone William Douglass found

²⁰² This echoes Berkner's conclusion in his study of the eighteenth-century peasant household in Austria (L.K. Berkner, 'The stem family', p. 406).

²⁰³ In an article on previous work on the 1880-1920 generation the number of households ever extended in this generation was estimated to have been 64%. (See A.A.P.O. Janssens, 'Industrialization'.) This percentage is higher than the one computed here because of the different cycles used. The article makes use of the parental life cycle instead of a household cycle because at the time we could not for all families distinguish between households still headed by the parents we had started off with in 1880 and those households in which married children had become the new head of household. Further archival research made possible the distinction between the different types of households. See chapter 2 note 103. On the basis of new calculations our previous estimation concerning extensions during the parental life cycle proved to be correct. In the 1880-1920 generation 67.3% of all parents experienced kin co-residence at least once at some time during their life in their own or their children's household. For parents in the earlier generation this percentage amounted to 42.9.

74% of 382 households to attain an extended structure at some time during the course of a 34 year period. Douglass also traced twenty Basque households over the lengthy period of 118 years with 10-15 year intervals between 1842 and 1960.²⁰⁴ He only found one household failing to extend beyond the nuclear family at some point in time. Probably in both cases, but definitely in the latter, the concept of household was defined in a way different from the one used here. Undoubtedly, the life-histories of the 20 Basque families could easily span the household cycles of at least three successive marital units. We must therefore handle these results with care. In addition, the examples cited above were concerned with households in an agrarian setting. The presence of landed property and the labour requirements of agrarian households are generally believed to have stimulated the formation of traditional family structures. Family property, and to a lesser extent labour requirements, may also have exercised a decisive influence on the household's cycle in an industrializing context. In this study these relationships will be examined in chapter 5 and 7.

TABLE 4.2 FREQUENCY OF PHASES OF EXTENSION BY KIN FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

number of phases	1849-1890	1880-1920
0	60.9	43.1
1	32.4	35.0
2	5.5	12.2
3	1.1	6.7
4	-	2.9
5		
6		
N=	361	343

In accordance with results we have been looking at so far, we find that in the 1880-1920 generation a greater number of households go through extended phases more often than once. Some of them are not only extended in the beginning of the cycle but also at some point in the final years. Table 4.2 presents figures concerning the number of times households were extended. If the 1849-1890 generation of households

²⁰⁴ W.A. Douglass, 'Cross-sectional'; and: 'The Basque Stem Family'.

came to be extended this happened in general only once.²⁰⁵ No more than 6.6% of all households did so for a second or third time. This provides a clear contrast with the younger generation in which 21.8% lived with kin for a second or a third time, or even still more frequent than that.

As was explained earlier in this section the longitudinal perspective on household structure allows measurements of duration in addition to measurements of frequency. Duration of kin co-residence is not only important because it provides further evidence of the relative importance of the phenomenon itself but also because it may suggest its place and meaning in the lives of those concerned. Again different possibilities are at hand, we may want to look at not only the duration of the time individual kin members resided in the household, but also the total time the household spent in extended structures over the entire cycle. The latter result may then be related to the 'period at risk', i.e. the period during which the household could be observed, which yields a relative measure of 'time spent extended' by the households concerned.

TABLE 4.3 MEAN LENGTH OF TIME OF TOTAL EXTENSION BY KIN FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

length of time	1849-1890	1880-1920
< 12 months	8.5	24.1
1 - 4 year	30.5	38.5
5 - 9 year	19.1	22.6
10 - 19 year	33.3	10.3
20 - > year	8.5	4.6
mean in years	8.2	4.9
N=	141	195

In general, not only frequency but also duration of kin co-residence will have been determined by a great number of variables upon two of which we shall dwell briefly here. First, there are functional characteristics of the extended structures to consider. Families may, for instance, co-reside with kin in order to pass over family property from one generation to the next; on the other hand extension may also occur as the result of the addition to the household of young migrating individual kin members looking for jobs. The

²⁰⁵ Separate phases of uninterrupted extension are counted, which do not coincide with number of individual relatives. If two kin members are present in the household during partially overlapping periods of time, only one phase of separate extension is the result.

length of kin co-residence is likely to vary considerably between these two examples. Second, demographic characteristics of the population concerned may exert a decisive influence. The combined influence of high levels of mortality and a fairly advanced age at first marriage will create short phases of extension, if any at all, in our first example. With these considerations in mind we turn to the question of the total duration of extension for which data are presented in table 4.3.

It is evident that the extended households from the 1849-1890 generation were more 'solidly' extended in the sense that this group contained a relatively large number of households which were extended for a long time. More than 40% of them were extended in all for 10 years or more, some even for more than twenty years. This rarely happened in the second generation of households. In this latter group most extensions occurred for only a short period: for almost a quarter of all extended households even less than 12 months. All this is clearly reflected in the mean duration of total extension for all households. The time spent extended for the elder generation is almost double that of the younger generation. The same pattern results when only separate phases of extension are considered: a mean of 7 years for the 1849-1890 generation and 3.2 years for the younger generation. The lower mean for the younger generation is heavily influenced by the much larger proportion of households that experienced extension by kin in the final years of their cycle. A note of warning however is appropriate here. The underregistration which was a more frequent problem in the earlier registers may have upwardly influenced the duration of extension in the first decades. It is likely that differences in duration were a little less extreme.

To some extent the longitudinal perspective on household structure may have been leading us astray so far. It is for instance possible that the extent to which families in the older generation realized extended family households was underestimated due to a shorter period of observation? It is not unlikely for life expectancy for parents in these two generations to be quite different, with the effect of shortening the period of observation for households in the elder generation. In other words there might be a difference in 'period at risk'. This indeed proved to be the case, although the difference is only small.²⁰⁶ In order to take into account differences in 'period at risk' between the two groups a 'rate of extension' was constructed which indicates the relative duration of the time the household spent in

²⁰⁶ The households in the elder generation were under observation for a mean number of 24.5 years, against 25.4 years for the younger generation.

extended structures.²⁰⁷ Despite the fact that the 1849-1890 generation counted fewer households-ever-extended as well as a slightly shorter period at risk, this group had a slightly higher rate of extension compared with the younger generation: 9.6 against 8.8. This result could be read as follows: the elder generation spent 10% of its total period at risk living with kin, and the younger generation did so for about 9% of its total period at risk. The rate of extension conveniently reflects the shift between the generations of a restricted group of households characterized by rather long periods of extension towards a larger number of households in the younger generation which is increasingly characterized by short periods of extension realized mainly at the end of the household's developmental cycle. In our following section on co-residing kin we will discuss some of the factors which may have been responsible for this effect. Finally, the time these Tilburg households spent in extended structures appears to have been somewhat shorter than was found in eighteenth-century Alphen, a rural community in Brabant near Tilburg, where households spent 16.2% of their time in expended structures.²⁰⁸

These first explorations into the development of nineteenth-century Tilburg households seem to justify the tentative conclusion that extended family living in this nineteenth-century textile community was certainly not a marginal phenomenon. Two-thirds of the households in the younger generation and almost half of the households in the elder generation lived with kin at some point in time. The younger generation comprised an increasing number of households which were extended only briefly in the final stage of the household's cycle. As a result we found a larger proportion of households in this group to have ever been extended. Furthermore, it is important to consider the evidence in the light of the rather different social and economic contexts these families were operating in, which was outlined in chapter 3. The first generation of families was still very much confronted with a traditional and economically unstable rural-type of community which was only just beginning to move away from a primarily home-based production and slow rates of demographic growth. Remarkably, one of the upheavals this generation experienced as a group was the heavy in-migration of the late sixties and early seventies which was not reflected in higher levels of extension. Did problems simply not arise because of sufficient housing opportunities, or were some of the youngsters in the community at that time postponing marriage because of the pressures resulting from the influx of migrants? The families in the second generation were much

²⁰⁷ Rate of extension: (number of days of extension/number of days at risk)*100.

²⁰⁸ A. Lindner, 'De dynamische analyse', p. 81, note 17.

more operating within the context of a period in which finally the community embarked upon fully fledged industrial production and the completion of the process of proletarianization. But it was also a period in which the town experienced vigorous demographic growth rates and was slowly and cautiously shaking off its geographic isolation. In our next section we will see that some of the dynamics released by this process of change were responsible for the considerable increase in the number of extensions occurring in the younger generation of households.

4.2 Co-resident kin

Understanding extended family arrangements must necessarily include a closer look at the relatives involved and the mechanisms by which kin co-residence was brought about. One of the great advantages of the dynamic perspective of the population registers is precisely that this can be done. In this section we will describe some of the elementary characteristics of the kin found to be co-residing in the Tilburg households. Their relation to the household head, their age and marital status, the way they entered and left the household and so on, may possibly inform us on the reasons people had for co-residing with relatives. This type of information is crucial when we eventually get to the question of the function of kin co-residence in the nineteenth century and the relationship between family structure and social change.

The ties between members of the nineteenth-century primary family were certainly very strong ones. The relatives found to be co-residing in the households of both generations almost all belonged to either the family of origin of husband and wife, or to their own family of procreation. A survey of which kin members entered the households of both generations at various stages of the life cycle is provided by figure 4.2. It informs us not only on the type of relationship of the co-residing kin member to the head of the household but also on the timing of their entrance into the household, and, most important, on the percentage of households experiencing entries of a particular kind of kin during different periods of the cycle.²⁰⁹ For instance, of all households of the younger generation who were present during the first four life-cycle years 8% experienced at least once the entry of co-residing parents of the head or his wife, while in another 7% a co-residing brother(in-law) or

²⁰⁹ Separate entries instead of individuals were counted, so that when one and the same individual kin member entered the household twice but during different life-cycle periods, this contributed to the count of entries in both these periods.

sister(in-law) entered the household. This may have occurred partly within one and the same household and partly in different households. For instance the co-residence of married children and grandchildren will mostly have concerned the same households.

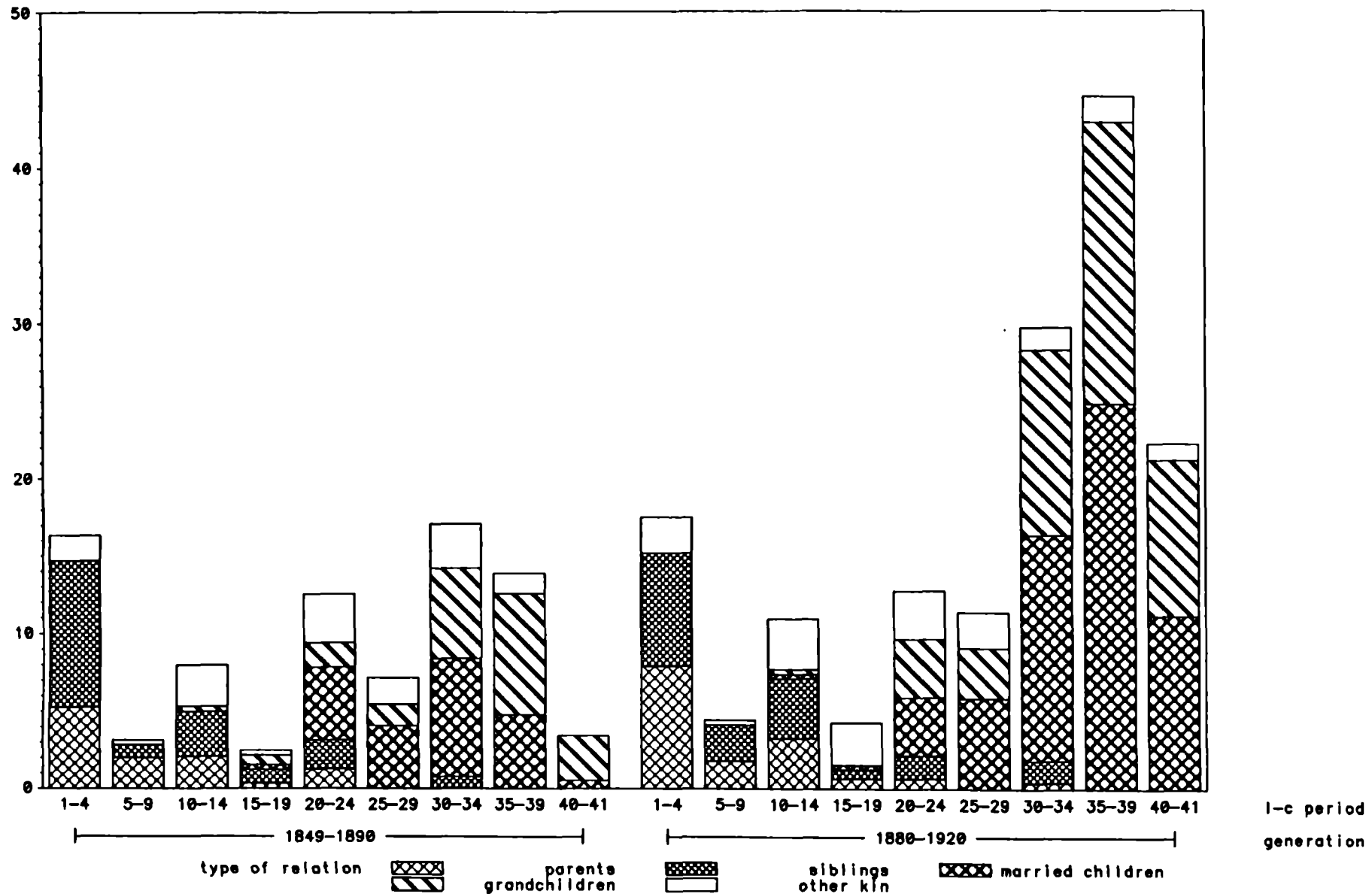
In both generations parents and siblings are the two main categories of kin during the first twenty years or so, after which period married children and grandchildren rapidly take over. In the elder generation relatives are spread more or less evenly over the different life cycle stages, and over the different categories of kin. On the whole there is no sharp dichotomy in the occurrence of kin co-residence between the first and the last half of the life cycle such as we find for the households belonging to the 1880-1920 generation. Clearly, in the younger generation group the great bulk of co-residing kin was formed by married children and by grandchildren entering the household during the second half of the cycle. The above figure thus strongly reflects the substantial rise of extended households in the 1880-1920 generation during the last ten years of their household's history rather than a shift in the preference for a certain type of kin to live with. For both generations it is evident that if families lived with kin, they lived with immediate family members: parents and siblings, and married children and grandchildren. (See also appendix 4.3.)

Almost all of the parents that we see entering during the first two decades of the life cycle in both groups of households were widowed and well into their sixties or even seventies. Mothers (in-law) were more common than fathers (in-law) in the households of the 1880-1920 generation in contrast to the experience in the earlier generation (see appendix 4.4). Co-residing parents were in general present for a considerable number of years and if they exited from the household this was on account of their death. In this respect there were no major distinctions between the two generations.

Brothers and sisters constituted the second main category of kin with which people lived in the first half of the household's cycle.²¹⁰ Co-residing siblings in both generations were single and mainly falling within the age-groups 20-29 or 30-39 years old. Co-residing siblings could be of either sex, though there was a clear preference for brothers and brothers-in-law (see appendix 4.4). In the households of the 1849-1890 generation some of the brothers and sisters were present for a rather long time: 54% for 10 years or more. In the younger generation 70% of the siblings had left before their fifth year of co-residence. About the same proportion of all siblings in this generation left through migration to other households in or outside the town. This seldom happened in the earlier group where brothers and sisters

²¹⁰ See also appendix 4.3.

FIGURE 4.2 PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH ENTRIES BY KIN BY LIFE-CYCLE PERIOD FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS



corrected sample for 1880-1920

either exited from the household because they got married or because they died.

What caused families in both generations to live with a widowed parent or unmarried sibling? Did families try to attract kin members in order to share poverty or pool resources? Were they in need of baby-sitters? Or were co-residing kin present because they needed the care and support of these families? In the case of the co-residing grandparents it is difficult to think of anything else but the need for care in old age which provided the stimulus to live in the households of their married children. As we have seen, the grandparents concerned were well above 60 years old, in both groups the majority was even over 70 years of age at the time they entered the household. It is likely they did not hold an occupation at that time.²¹¹ Even if we assume that all grandparents did work, their economic contribution to the family, considering their advanced age, can only have been small.

Co-residing grandparents may, however, also have enabled both husband and wife to go out to work for wages in that they provided child-care facilities. Both Hareven and Anderson opt for this line of reasoning and it seems this has indeed also been the case in a number of Dutch factory towns.²¹² In Enschede and Maastricht married women working in factories were taking in their mothers (in-law) to help them with household duties and child care. Day-care centres did not exist at all in industrial centres so that support from relatives and neighbours was a prerequisite for married women to enter into factory work.²¹³ In Tilburg, however, we do not always find a clear preference of grandmothers over grandfathers. This was certainly not the case in the 1849-1890 households: only 57% of all grandparents concerned the mother of either husband or wife. For the next generation we do find a majority of grandmothers over grandfathers: two-thirds of all co-residing grandparents.

Still, it remains doubtful to assume that these grandmothers were taken in by their children to provide child care so as to enable the mother to go out to work. In Tilburg married women hardly ever worked for wages outside their household. In Chapter 3 we described the strong opposition within the Tilburg community against factory employment of married women. Factory work was commonly

²¹¹ The defective registration of occupations in the population registers makes it problematic to use these entries in even the most tentative way: for 86 and 96% of the co-residing grandmothers and 63 and 61% of the grandfathers in the two respective generations there was no occupational entry at all.

²¹² M. Anderson, Family structure; T.K. Hareven, Family Time.

²¹³ A. de Regt, Arbeidersgezinnen, p. 58; L.E. van Rijswijk-Clerkx, Moeders, pp. 46-89.

considered to be a threat to the moral health of married and unmarried women alike. The population registers record occupations for only 63 of all 406 wives in the elder generation, while 53 of 366 next generation wives have a recorded occupation. This is not to say they did not do any productive work, the population registers excelled in the underregistration of women's occupations. In general, we may assume that most wives in the lower social classes contributed to the family budget by doing outwork like darning for the textile factories or by running a small shop. The productive work in or nearby the household made it possible for these wives to raise their family's standard of living, while at the same time minding household and children. Although a co-residing grandmother could still be very useful in these circumstances they were not as crucial to the working mothers of Tilburg as they probably were for working mothers in Preston. Finally, we must point out that the effects of a higher age-specific life expectancy for elderly women as compared with men, as well as a lesser tendency for elderly widows to remarry, created a larger number of 'grandmothers at risk'. This may explain the preponderance of co-residing mothers over fathers in the second generation of households. We will however discuss this issue further in chapter 6 on households and migration.

Co-residence with siblings, though, could effectively improve the family's balance between consumers and producers during the first formative years of the household. At this stage almost all households had many unproductive mouths to feed, while the mother had less time to spend on paid work. We have seen that co-resident siblings fell either in the 20-29 or in the 30-39 age group, economically an individual's most productive phase in life.²¹⁴ However, there are additional considerations directing our conclusion away from the assumption that co-resident siblings were recruited by the household solely for the purpose of their economic contribution. Especially for the elder generation we must bear in mind that brothers and sisters co-resided in the household for quite a long time after which they eventually exited either because of their marriage or death. Combined with the very low marriage frequencies for men and women in the province of Brabant in the beginning of the century, this suggests strongly that these siblings were taken in because of the fact that they were on their own and not yet married.²¹⁵ The economic crisis of the forties which had seriously slowed down demographic growth, in Tilburg as well

²¹⁴ Still, of all co-resident brothers (in-law) 19 to 34%, for respectively the younger and the elder generation, had no occupations recorded. As could be expected, for co-residing sisters these percentages are very much higher: 75 and 58% respectively.

²¹⁵ E.W. Hofstee, De demografische ontwikkeling, p. 203.

as elsewhere, will undoubtedly have created a much larger reservoir in the fifties of men and women not yet married. If in addition their parents had died before finally marriage became feasible again they were on their own. Cultural values and economic constraints made it largely impossible, especially for women, to live independently outside of any familial context. Unmarried men and women, if they could no longer live with their parents, thus lived with their married siblings whenever possible. The same pattern is revealed to have existed in Verviers, Belgium, by George Alter when described the experience of unmarried women.²¹⁸ For the younger generation of households co-residing siblings were apparently a more mobile group. They did not stay that long, and the large majority moved out again to other households in or outside of Tilburg. Here the material suggests the image of young unmarried individuals using the households of their married siblings as stepping stones to facilitate migration. An increase in siblings using the households of their kin for migratory reasons probably offset the decline in siblings needing the households of their kin as a result of the postponement of many marriages. For the moment we will leave it at this observation, we will consider these particular co-residing kin again in chapter 6.

Another way to approach the question of why people co-reside with kin is to try to assess the consumer-producer balance within the household which is mostly done by computing the ratio of the number of family members with and without occupation. This approach is based on the idea that families facing the necessity of raising large numbers of children will try to attract adult kin members able to make economic contributions to the household. The defective registration of occupations in the population register however would make such an exercise extremely unreliable in our case. We already stressed that it was not common to list occupations for (married) women or for co-residing elderly people, nor was it frequently done for children under the age of about twenty. Therefore, we will have to satisfy ourselves with a rather crude measure based on a comparison of the number of children in households in which kin co-resided during the first twenty years of the life cycle to the number of children in all other households. For working class parents this was definitely the worst period, their families grew to its full size and counted a large number of small children. Only by the time they reached the tenth-year of observation could one or two of the eldest children begin to contribute modestly to the well-being of the family. If many mouths needed to be fed a co-residing parent or sibling could either be welcome to bring in additional income or enable the mother, by relieving her of some of her household

²¹⁸ G. Alter, Family.

FIGURE 4.3 MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN PRESENT IN HOUSEHOLD BY LIFE-CYCLE YEAR
FIRST-PHASE NUCLEAR AND EXTENDED FAMILIES, TILBURG 1849-1890

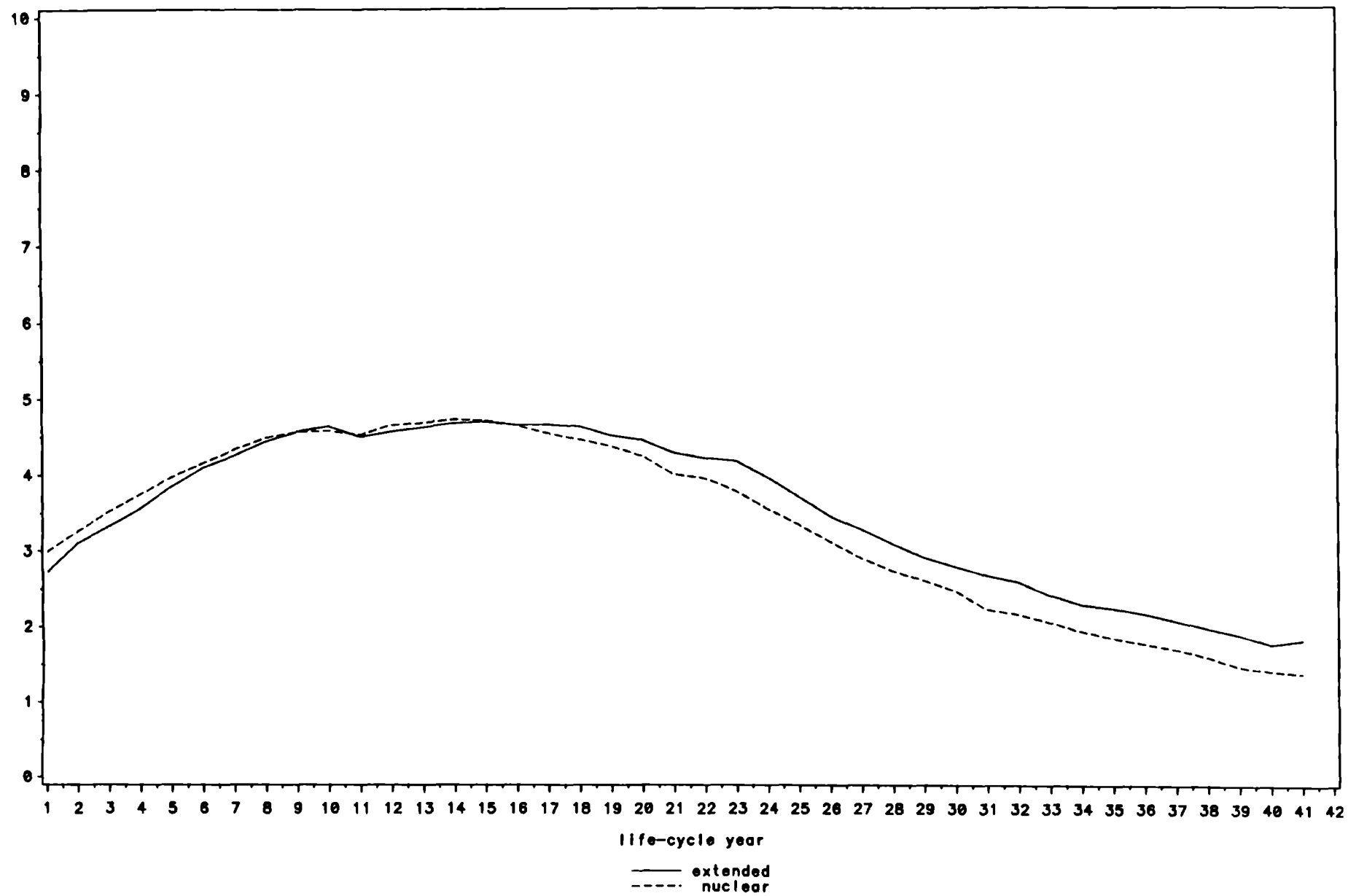
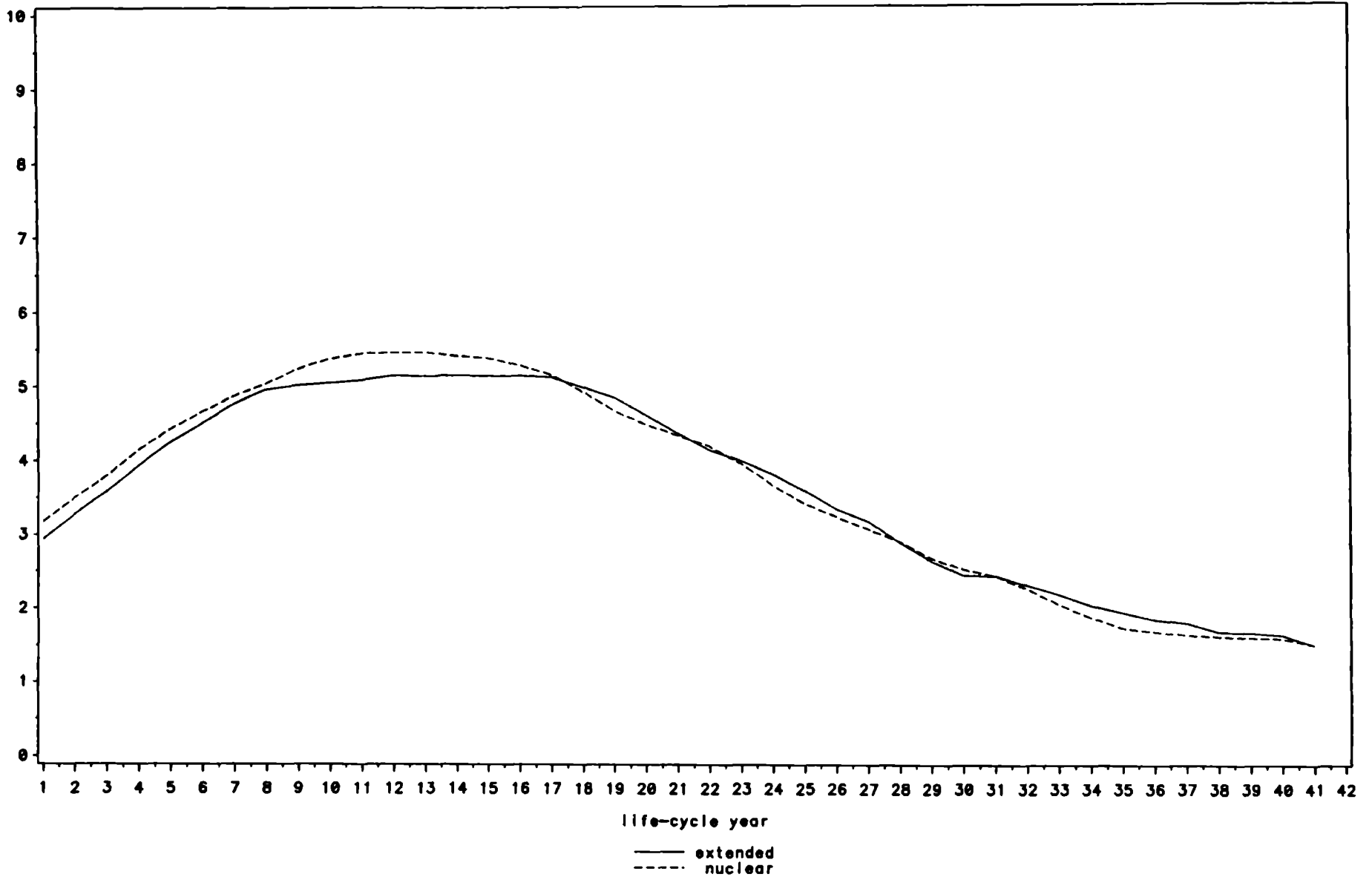


FIGURE 4.4 MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN PRESENT IN HOUSEHOLD BY LIFE-CYCLE YEAR
FIRST-PHASE NUCLEAR AND EXTENDED FAMILIES, TILBURG 1880-1920

91



duties, to acquire additional income in domestic production.

However, if we consider the total number of children ever born to a family there are no observable differences between households with and those without co-residing parents and siblings. Both nuclear and extended families in the elder generation had the median number of 6 children born to them, which had risen to 7 for the younger generation, again for both nuclear and extended households. Still, some families may have been more successful than others in the boarding out of children at a relatively young age, thereby crucially influencing their consumer-producer balance. Or, more sadly, some families may have had higher levels of infant or child mortality than others. A comparison of the mean number of children who were actually present in the household by life cycle year for all first-phase extended and nuclear households might be the way out of this problem. Figure 4.3 and figure 4.4 however only confirm our earlier conclusion; in both generations families with co-resident parents or siblings during the first twenty years were not necessarily those with a large number of unproductive mouths to feed. Other researchers have come to similar conclusions. Among them are M. Katz and colleagues, who found the number of relatives and boarders in households in Hamilton to be largest among families with no children at all or with working children.²¹⁷

Regrettably, on the basis of this material this is as far as we can get towards answering the question why families should co-reside with their ageing parents and unmarried siblings. It would seem then that although the material contributions these kin members would be making to the receiving household were no doubt very welcome in most cases, they were probably not decisive in the sense that they had been the reason why kin were invited into the household in the first place. Although clearly material advantages may have arisen out of the situation for both parties concerned.

We will now focus our attention on those kin members co-residing in the later stages of the household's cycle. Figure 4.2 indicated that for both generations of families married children and grandchildren were the main categories of kin present at this stage. The graph shows this type of kin co-residence to be far more frequent for the families in the younger generation as a result of the larger number of extended families during the final years of the cycle.²¹⁸ There is, however, an additional factor contributing to the

²¹⁷ M.B. Katz, M.J. Doucet, M.J. Stern, The social organization, pp. 293-296.

²¹⁸ We should be aware of the fact that of course the households in which married children enter do almost all overlap with those in which grandchildren enter. But then, this is so for both generations.

sharp dichotomy in the 1880-1920 group. The procedure for figure 4.2 involved a count of all entries of kin irrespective of whether it concerned the same individual or not. Co-residing relatives who were coming and going frequently contributed to the count every time they entered the household provided these entries occurred in different periods of the life cycle.

Coming and going, while staying only for a short time, was exactly what some of these married children in the 1880-1920 generation were doing in the last two decades of their parents' households. As we shall see later on, most children of the younger generation left their parents' household for migratory reasons and by way of marriage. For some reason many of them returned to their parental household after their marriage, mostly with spouse and children, and some did so more than once. Of all co-residing ever-married sons and daughters in this generation 13% entered their parents' household on more than one occasion. About half of all married sons and daughters did so for migratory reasons. As table 4.4 shows, a large proportion of all married children in this generation entered by way of migration. While their mobility was much greater when compared with the sons and daughters of the elder generation, the time they spent living with their parents was relatively short. A near 40% of co-residing married children left within the same year and only 5% stayed on for 5 years or more. They left in order to migrate (again) to other places (23.8%), or they left in order to establish an independent household of their own (38%).

TABLE 4.4 TYPE OF ENTRY OF CO-RESIDENT MARRIED CHILDREN FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

entry	1849-1890		1880-1920	
	sons	daughters	sons	daughters
migration	16.7	7.7	46.3	46.8
marriage	83.3	92.3	53.7	53.2
N=	12	26	67	79

If married children resided in the households of the 1849-1890 generation they did so only once and resulted in almost all cases from their marriage into their parents' household.²¹⁹ They stayed for a number of years after which they either became the new head of household or left to form

²¹⁹ Of all co-residing married children in the generation 1880 two-thirds had entered the household by way of migration and the remaining one-third did so by way of marriage. For the elder generation this ratio was exactly the reverse.

a household of their own.²²⁰ Accordingly, the great majority of the 1849-1890 generation's grandchildren were born into the household, whereas most grandchildren in the following generation in-migrated in the company of their parents.²²¹

Figure 4.2 already indicated that married children started to enter their parents' household during the later periods of the life cycle. This might suggest that co-residence came about in order to assist elderly parents who were increasingly being confronted with problems resulting from old age. For the elder generation this may indeed have been the case. When married children entered the household this was in the majority of cases at a time when there was only one surviving parent left, see table 4.5. There can be little doubt as to the precarious situation of (elderly) widows and widowers living by themselves in the nineteenth century. Research into nineteenth-century Poor Relief in Alkmaar indicates how crucial the presence of wage-earning children in the household could be for this group.²²² Finally, if we assume for a moment that indeed parents needed the support of their married children and at the same time valued their independence, their position was still such that they could make their married children come and live with them instead of the other way around. The experience in the 1880-1920 generation, however, was rather different. One half of all married children in this generation came in when one of the parents had already died, but the other half had both parents still alive at that moment.

The results of table 4.5 are directly related to two different developments. For one thing, the life expectancy of parents in the elder generation was lower compared with the younger generation. The median age at death for heads and their wives was 61 and 58 in the elder generation, and 63 and 61 for the younger, while also survival rates were much higher in the younger generation of parents.²²³ Accordingly, the 1849-1890 households stood a greater chance of having lost one of both parents at the time of entry, for whatever reason, of married children. Further on in this section we will see that most parents in this generation indeed came to die before their household's life history had ended. Second, and probably more important, married children in the 1880-1920 generation were using their parental households partly for their own migratory reasons. We have

²²⁰ Most married children stayed for a period of 1-5 years, while one-third stayed on for more than 5 years.

²²¹ For the elder generation 75% of all grandchildren was born into the household, which was the case for only 29% in the generation of households of 1880.

²²² L.F. van Loo, Armelui.

²²³ At age 70 for heads in the elder and younger generation: 38.6% and 55.5% respectively. Of the wives at age 70 36.3% and 47.5% were still alive.

already seen that about half of them entered the household by way of migration, while a considerable proportion of them either left again for migratory reasons (23%) or for the purpose of establishing their own household within Tilburg (38%). To put it more strongly, married children in the younger generation were using their parental homes more or less like boarding houses and stepping stones in their quest for better opportunities. In these cases the structure and thus the needs of the parental household will have played a minor role, if at all, in the decision to co-reside with parents on the part of these children.

TABLE 4.5 STRUCTURE OF HOUSEHOLD AT TIME OF ENTRY OF MARRIED CHILDREN FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

	1849-1890		1880-1920	
	sons	daughters	sons	daughters
1 parent only	8.3	3.9	1.5	7.7
1 parent + sibling(s)	66.7	65.4	55.2	42.3
2 parents only	-	-	13.4	6.4
2 parents + sibling(s)	25.0	30.8	29.9	43.6
N=	12	26	67	79

The mobility of the sons and daughters of the younger generation, taking place between 1910 and 1920, is one of the consequences of the gradual lifting of the isolated geographical position of the town which had continued throughout the entire nineteenth century.²²⁴ Only around the turn of the century did Tilburg begin to link up with larger networks of labour mobility. Especially during the 1910s both in-migration and out-migration surpassed earlier levels.²²⁵ Some of these sons and daughters were even taking part in the boom in overseas migration occurring in the later 1910s²²⁶; they were migrating to Canada or the US. At that time the local economy was rapidly expanding due to the large orders for military cloth issued in preparation for World War I. These migrating sons and daughters and their families were clearly not pushed out by a downward economic trend. What is more likely however is that the failing housing market in this period prompted quite a number of these young families to search for independent family housing elsewhere. The booming local economy of the later 1910s may have enticed a number of them to return to Tilburg, for which return-migration they were conveniently

²²⁴ A. van de Weijer, De religieuze praktijk, p. 130.

²²⁵ A. van de Weijer, De religieuze praktijk, p. 114.

²²⁶ E.W. Hofstee, 'Demografische', p. 91, see graph 9.

making use of the services of kin-related households. Whether they were on the move to acquire jobs or housing, it is clear that some of these co-residing married children were using the (grand)parental household as a baseline from which to prepare for migration or to fall back on for support in case of problems.

From table 4.5 it may already have become clear that the elder generation of households displayed a clear preference for co-residence with a married daughter and her family (68.4%) as opposed to co-residence with a married son. In the younger generation however the difference had become minimal, 54.1% concerned an entry by a married daughter. In addition to married children there were also a number of widowed sons and daughters entering the households of both generations. In both cases these widowed children turned out to be mainly sons instead of daughters. See appendix 4.5. The entry of these young widows and widowers needs no elaborate explanation, often faced by the difficult task to raise a number of very small children on their own the widowed sons in particular were in need of domestic support. And they had simply nowhere else to go. Gender differences in kin co-residence did thus exist, sometimes as a result of domestic and practical impossibilities as in the case of widowed sons, and at other times as a result of perhaps an emotional preference as in the case of married daughters. It has been advanced that in urban industrial society kinship links were primarily maintained along the female line due to the continuity in activities between mothers and daughters.²²⁷ Occupational mobility and differentiation, and we might add proletarianization, had by contrast lead to an increasing number of fathers and sons who no longer shared occupational or property interests.

From table 4.6 it is clear that parents in the younger generation co-resided with married children a great deal more often than did the elder generation. If we include co-residence of parents with married children in either their own household or the household of their children we find that in 48.1% of all 1880-1920 generation households parents lived with married children at some point in time. For the elder generation this happened to be the case for only 16.7% of all households. This increase resulted not only from a rising number of parents taking married children into their own household, for which the percentage had risen from 11.9 for the elder generation to 31.7 for the younger generation, but even more strongly from a rising number of parents moving to one of their married children at the end of their household's history.²²⁸ This development marks an important

²²⁷ M. Young, P. Willmott, Family, p. 43.

²²⁸ It is also reflected in the increasing number of children of the second generation living with kin in the first stages of their household's cycle: 12.7% for the elder generation's

break in the life-course experience of parents during the nineteenth century. In only 5.4% of all households did parents eventually face the necessity to move over to the household of the child. In the following generation this had risen to as much as 27.9% which is a direct consequence of the fact that more parents in the elder generation survived their own household. The increasing number of parents in the younger generation surviving until the end of their household's history is clearly born out by table 4.6. Subsequently, a larger number of ageing parents were confronted with the departure from home of the last of their children.

TABLE 4.6 LAST EXIT FOR PARENTS AGED 60 AND OVER FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

type of exit	1849-1890		1880-1920	
	fathers	mothers	fathers	mothers
death	85.7	82.2	61.8	56.7
to child	2.9	5.9	17.4	19.1
change head	0.7	1.7	7.9	8.3
to kin	-	-	0.6	-
to others	-	-	4.5	2.6
migration	3.6	2.5	5.1	8.3
to institution	2.9	2.5	2.8	3.8
marriage	2.1	0.9	-	1.3
unknown	2.1	4.2	-	-
N=	140	118	178	157

What did elderly parents do when they saw their household's developmental cycle come to an end? In the 1849-1890 generation we see a slight preference on the part of parents, mainly for the mothers, for moving over to one of their married children or for inviting children into their own household after which the son (in-law) became the new household head (change head). The rest mainly migrated, 'unknown' exits must in this case also be considered as migratory exits as they cannot be anything else. In the younger generation we find that the growing number of cases in which parents 'survive their own household' do not distribute themselves evenly over the options available. There is virtually no increase in parents who are put away in (religious) institutions for the old and the infirm,

children, and 30.2% for the younger. The share of (grand)parents in these cases of co-residence increased from 29% to 33%. Differences cannot have resulted from a shorter period at risk for the children of the elder generation: 13.5 as opposed to 12.3 years.

while we find a modest increase in the number of parents who are forced to move to unrelated households. The greater part of these surviving parents move in with children or hand over their household to children moving in with them. In the course of the nineteenth-century, we may already conclude here, children have clearly become more important to ageing parents as a result of increases in life-expectancy²²⁹.

In summarizing this section we begin by stating that kin co-residence in nineteenth-century Tilburg was mainly restricted to the members of the immediate family. Widowed parents and unmarried siblings were present roughly speaking during the first twenty years while married children and grandchildren started to enter during the last ten or twenty years of the developmental cycle. This pattern existed for both generations. Economic necessities on the side of the receiving household do not appear to have been the primary motive for co-residence with parents and siblings. We assume that unmarried siblings were primarily taken in because of the economic and practical impossibilities related to independent living. In addition, and this was much stronger where it concerned women, cultural values required familial supervision for young unmarried individuals.²³⁰ Young adults residing outside of any familial context were simply rare in nineteenth-century Tilburg. In 1849 only 1.2% of all households was headed by a solitary under the age of thirty, in 1880 this had fallen to 0.5%.²³¹ For the elder generation of households it is probable that the number of unmarried siblings available for co-residence was much greater than later on in the century due to the crisis of the forties. The co-residing siblings in the younger generation it was

²²⁹ Between 1865 and 1915 the average age at death in Tilburg rose from 38 to 50, from which figures infant mortality is excluded. See C.A.M.M. van de Put, *Volksleven*, p. 267.

²³⁰ In 1906 Amsterdam housing authorities still voiced the opinion that women belonged with their families and therefore did not required independent housing. See: M.J.J.G. Rossen, 'Huize Lydia', p. 101.

²³¹ See appendix 6.1. Solitary here refers to single or widowed persons heading their own household; other household members might be present and mostly were. The mean size of 'solitary' households of which the head was under age 30 was 2.2 in 1849 and 3.1 in 1880. They will most likely have been the households of either widows or widowers with kin or others, or households consisting of co-residing unmarried brothers and sisters. In the northern and western parts of the Netherlands solitary households appear to have been more common than in the south (see: A.M. van der Woude, 'De omvang', p. 227; P. Kooij, *Groningen*, p. 19). Klep already established this Brabantine tendency towards 'family households' for late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century rural areas (P.M.M. Klep. 'Het huishouden', p. 64).

suggested were in addition more often present as they migrated. For the co-residing elderly in the households of both generations it is most likely that they had found it impossible, because of failing health or finances, to continue solitary households any longer. Towards the end of the developmental cycle the scales started to turn: kin co-residence, mainly with married children, increasingly served to strengthen the economic basis of the receiving household. This was most clear in the households of the elder generation where married children mostly entered after the death of one of the parents. In the younger generation quite a number of the co-residing married children were present also for their own reasons; they were in need of a secure basis from which to venture out into the world or to return to in case of failed migration. Co-residence of parents and their married children further increased as an effect of rises in life-expectancy. In the elder generation only very few parents had been faced by the necessity to move out of their household in old age. Most of them died before that time. In addition, the element of housing facilities will have played an influential role in the households of the younger generation prompting co-residence with married children during the final years of the household's cycle. Only in this section have we begun to taste something of the effects of changing social, economic and demographic circumstances on kin co-residence. It is as if a more dynamic society arising towards the end of the century created a more dynamic complex of mobile individuals relying more heavily, but only temporarily, on co-residential assistance of kin.

4.3 Generational links between parents and children

Industrialization is often thought to have loosened generational links between parents and children. Growing economic opportunities in the labour market created a possibility for the child to acquire a living independent of his or her parents. For some families industrialization destroyed the connection with the land or the family enterprise. In other words, their family economy was, slowly perhaps, being transformed into a family wage economy. Therefore, the argument continues, industrialization undermined the complex of interrelated familistic, economic and property interests which had tied all members of the family group together. According to structural-functionalist theory this enabled the young man and woman to leave the parental home to set up their own family to which all future solidarity will be confined. A growing autonomy of children in relation to their parents will thus inhibit the formation of extended families. Children will no longer feel any responsibility towards parents and siblings to help them cope with poverty, old age or other hardships of life.

For historians like Edward Shorter the growing opportunities for waged work outside the household carried with it not only a growing independence of young people towards their parents. In his view this development also led to a sexual 'liberation' of young women, who were escaping traditional family control, and a consequent rise in the level of illegitimate births.²³² Similarly, Michael Anderson believed industrial city life created changing relationships between parents and children in Preston. It introduced a calculative element in generational links, making youngsters either bargain or leave, when for instance they felt parents were charging too much for board and room.²³³

Other opinions have been voiced. Although he believes industrialization to have seriously undercut relations between parents and children, R. Braun also insists on some important nuances to this view.²³⁴ The preindustrial labour market, he writes, often forced family members to find work many miles away from home, even at a tender age. By creating job opportunities in home town and village, proto-industrialization and industrialization proper perhaps have prolonged the period unmarried children spent in their parental home. This is precisely what Katz and Davey found to have happened during the early industrialization of Hamilton, Canada.²³⁵ Between 1851 and 1871 the age at which half of all young men had left home rose from 17 to 22, while correspondingly the age for women increased from 17 to 20.

In her book on Dutch working class families in the period between 1870-1940 Ali De Regt concluded that the moment children started contributing to the family budget through independent wage work the balance of power between parents and children will inevitably be influenced in favour of the child. Parents will lose part of the power they had over their children, whose contributions were often essential to the family's survival. De Regt suggests that the idea that once children earned a fair wage they would leave parents to their fate may also have caused parents not to opt for extended schooling for their children.²³⁶ However, patterns of continued solidarity of sons and daughters with their families were found by many scholars, such as John Bodnar who stressed that children were forced to sacrifice individual ambitions to the well-being of their families.²³⁷

²³² E. Shorter, The making, pp. 79-119; E. Shorter, 'Illegitimacy', pp. 250-251.

²³³ M. Anderson, Family structure, p. 135.

²³⁴ R. Braun, 'The Impact', p. 64.

²³⁵ M.B. Katz, I.E. Davey, 'Youth', p. 91.

²³⁶ A. de Regt, Arbeidersgezinnen, pp. 118, 130-135.

²³⁷ See for instance T.K. Hareven, Family Time; J.W. Scott, L.A. Tilly, 'Women's work'; G. Alter, Family; J. Bodnar, Workers' World; G. Cross, P.R. Shergold, 'The family

When tensions arose from it the children were frequently the ones who got the worst of it, so Bodnar assures us.

Even if children did leave home earlier than before industrialization, it did not necessarily involve increased autonomy for the child. As Tilly and Scott, and many others have confirmed children, in any case the daughters, continued to feel a strong responsibility and attachment to their families of origin. They actively tried to keep up family ties and handed over a considerable part of their hard-earned wages to their mothers. Family values that had taken shape long before industrialization thus continued to define individual behaviour. By raising this point Scott and Tilly have rightly indicated that failure to co-reside should not be simply equated with failed family responsibility.

To what degree did industrial developments in Tilburg alter the relationships between parents and children? Late nineteenth-century parents often voiced their fear of wage earning children walking out on them.²³⁸ How justified were their fears? Did children in Tilburg actually abandon their parents earlier and more frequently than they had done before because of the expanding labour market? There can be little doubt as to the fact that the children of the second generation of households were surrounded by many more opportunities for industrial wage work than the children of the previous generation. One of the crucial changes which was completed during the life course of the younger generation's children is the almost total disappearance of the domestic weaving economy. During their life time textile production was finally removed from the home into the factory. Partially, darning and burling continued to be done for a long time within the domestic economy, but this mainly provided employment to married women. To the male adolescents and young adults of the second generation factory employment increasingly offered attractive opportunities. Especially at young ages factory work provided rather high wages relative to artisanal work. What effect did the changing labour market of the community had on the behaviour of these youngsters?

We will try to assess changes in generational links by looking at the ages at which children left home, and the extent to which they continued to co-reside with elderly parents. Age at marriage may also be regarded as an important indicator of the strength of generational links. As long as children remained unmarried, whether they were still living at home or were in service faraway from home, parents could exercise their power to extract all or most of the children's wages. The marriage of a child, however, often meant a severe financial loss to parents. Marriage

economy'.

²³⁸ A. de Regt, Arbeidersgezinnen, p. 118.

FIGURE 4.5 TIMING AND TYPE OF EXIT FROM PARENTAL HOUSEHOLD FOR SONS
BY GENERATION OF HOUSEHOLD AND AGE GROUP

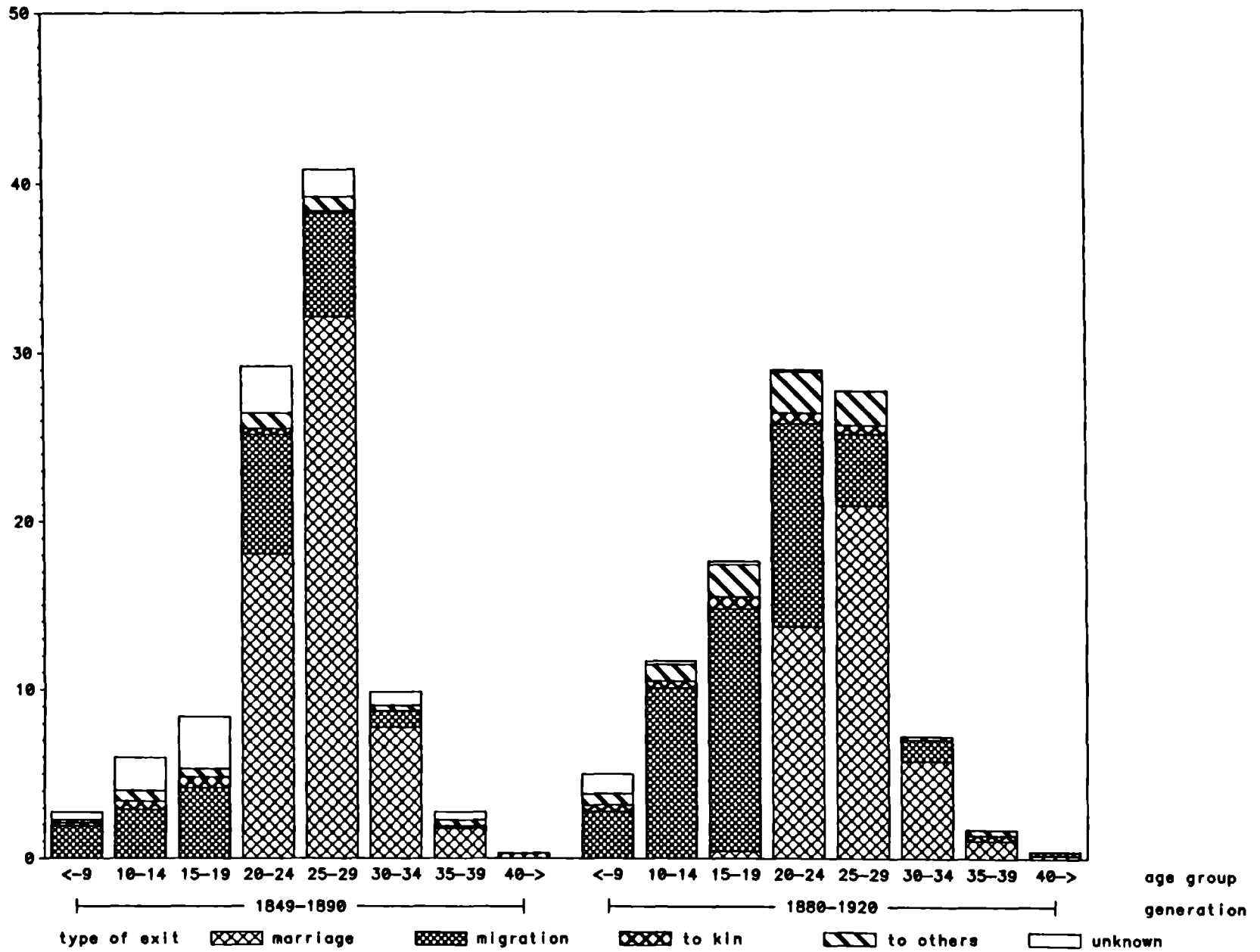
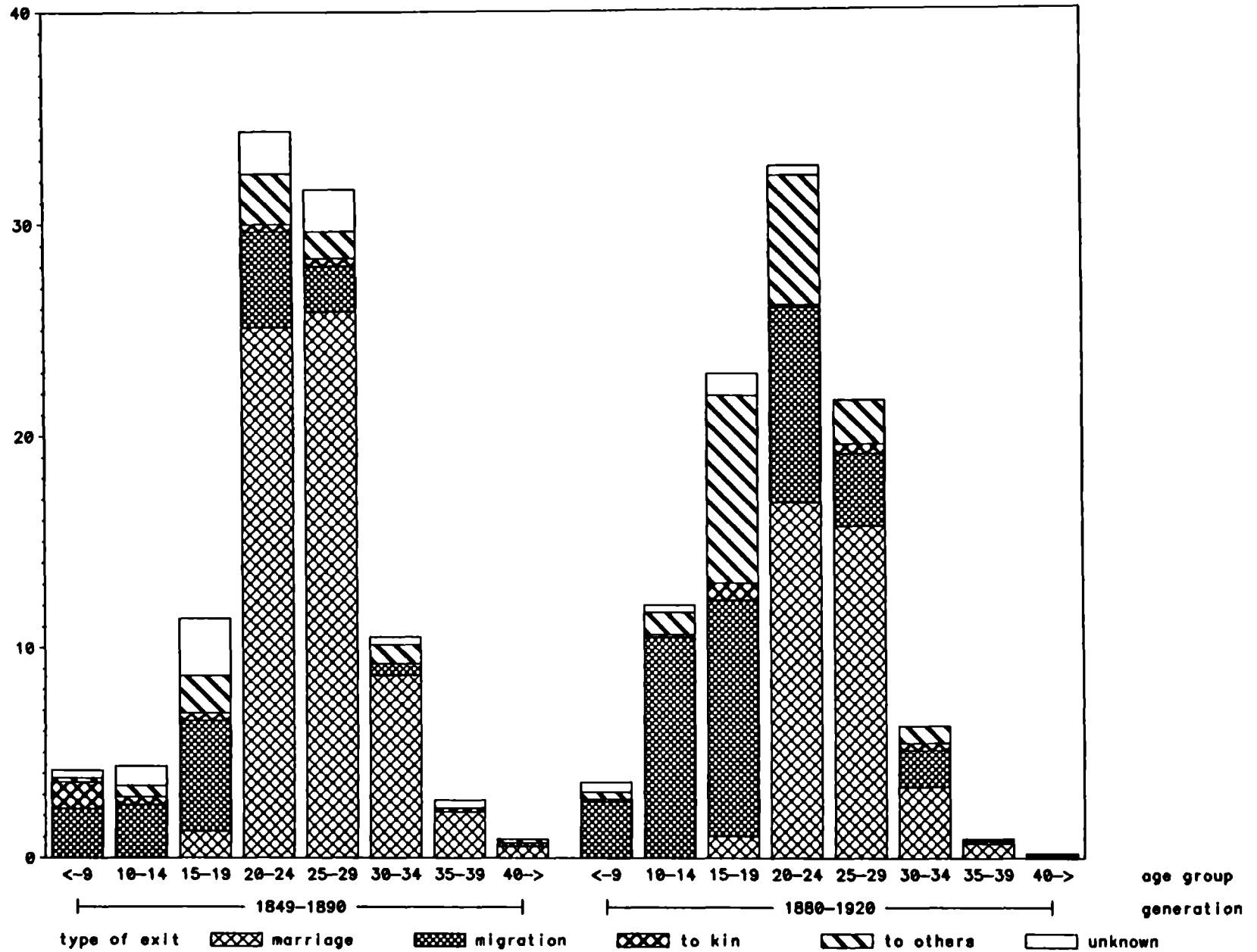


FIGURE 4.6 TIMING AND TYPE OF EXIT FROM PARENTAL HOUSEHOLD FOR DAUGHTERS
BY GENERATION OF HOUSEHOLD AND AGE GROUP



removed the child from the parental home and transferred his or her financial obligations unto a new family, all this occurring at a time when the child had reached his or her full earning potential. Parents will consequently have dreaded the marriage of the last of their remaining children. The well-known observer of late nineteenth-century family life in Brabant P.A. Barentsen also mentioned the fact that parents feared the loss of income through early marriages of their children.²³⁹ This was one of the motives for parents to subject in particular their daughters to a strict discipline. Did parents in Tilburg try to keep their children from marrying early? For working class children on the other hand early marriage must generally have been an attractive alternative; marriage brought with it the possibility to apply hard earned wages to his or her own use.

We will first examine the age at which children left home for a first time. In the following calculations we excluded those exits by children caused by death as well as those coinciding with the end of the household's life cycle. In this way all cases remained in which a son or daughter departed and left behind parents and siblings, thus representing a break away from the family of origin. In nineteenth-century Tilburg children left their parental home at quite advanced ages when compared with present day patterns. On the whole the following tables and graphs show the tremendously strong ties which bound sons and daughters to their families of origin. In this they reflect an experience which is quite similar to the one described by George Alter for the women of Verviers, Belgium. Alter cites Janet Salaff when he concludes that 'Each woman reconciled her obligations to her family with the pull of nonfamilial opportunities in a different manner, yet each did so in favor of the family'.²⁴⁰ With this he could well be describing the past experience of sons and daughters in nineteenth-century Tilburg.

In the course of this period, however, sons and daughters did begin to leave the parental home earlier. The median age for first exit from home for sons fell from 25 for the 1849-1890 generation of households to 22 for the next generation. Between the two generations the timing of first exit for daughters also fell by three years: from 24 to 21 years old. Figures 4.5 and 4.6 illustrate the distribution of first exits of children over the different age categories and the type of exit concerned. In the first generation there were two major periods in which both sons and daughters started to leave their parental homes. A little over 40% of the sons left home between the ages of 25 and 29; together with the

²³⁹ P.A. Barentsen, 'Het gezinsleven', p. 29.

²⁴⁰ G. Alter, Family, p. 162. J. Salaff, Working daughters, p. 120.

ones leaving in the age group 20-24 years old they made up 70% of all first exits for sons. In the next generation first exits by sons in the age groups 10-14 and 15-19 more than doubled, while those leaving between 25-29 years old only constituted 27% of all exits. For the daughters we find comparable patterns. The number of daughters leaving between the ages of 10-14 and 15-19 doubled, while the percentage for those leaving from the age of 25 onwards fell from 45 to 29.²⁴¹ On the whole daughters in both generations left a little earlier than sons. First generation sons and daughters for the greater part stayed home until they married. As table 4.7 shows for respectively 60 and 63% a first exit from home involved at the same time a marriage.

TABLE 4.7 TYPE OF FIRST EXIT FROM PARENTAL HOUSEHOLD FOR SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

type of exit	1849-1890		1880-1920	
	sons	daughters	sons	daughters
unknown	11.0	8.6	1.7	2.3
to others	3.7	7.2	8.5	19.2
to kin	1.8	2.9	3.1	2.1
migration	23.2	17.4	44.8	38.8
marriage	60.4	63.8	42.9	37.7
N=	626	556	946	872

In the next generation most children left to join other households, either inside or outside of Tilburg. Even if we consider all 'unknown' exits for all groups to be exits because of outmigration, which they probably were, there still is a significant difference.²⁴² The difference is especially remarkable for the girls: in the first generation 63.8% of them left because they got married, while thirty to forty years later this had fallen to only 37.7%. The rest either outmigrated or went into service in other Tilburg households.

How should we interpret these figures? Are they the result of the gradual disappearance of the family economy which made it more difficult to employ children at home? Economic prospects facing the children of the two generations were entirely different. The children of the first generation, in particular the elder ones born between 1840-1850, were

²⁴¹ For table see appendix 4.6.

²⁴² 'Unknown' exits may for one part be exits to other households in Tilburg and for the other part the result of outmigration. They cannot be exits because of marriage. These would have been detected in all cases in which the young couple decided to take up residence in Tilburg.

reaching the ages of 15 to 20 at the time when local employment opportunities were rapidly expanding. By contrast, the tight economic circumstances of the late eighties and early nineties may have necessitated the children born between 1870 and 1880, of the second generation of parents, to find employment elsewhere. An alternative explanation could be that the second generation of parents found it impossible to accommodate them any longer in the crowded family home and were forced to send out some of their children to other households. The latter motive is suggested by the fact that the second generation of families were in average blessed with many more children.²⁴³ Although the higher percentages of infant and child death in the younger generation already helped to redress the balance the mean number of children present by life cycle year (see appendix 4.8) indicates that younger generation families still had a larger maximum number of children.²⁴⁴ Parents may have welcomed rather than feared the early exits of elder children. Of course, both economic circumstances and the increase in the number of children born may have worked to create the pattern of earlier exits established for the second generation's children.

Did the earlier exits from home of the children in the second generation offer them earlier independence from parents? The answer is probably not: the first exit from home did not entail a final break with parents and siblings for these second generation sons and daughters. Boys and girls in the second generation showed themselves to be a lot more mobile than those in the first. They not only left home at an earlier age to migrate, they also frequently came back, in order to leave again. First generation daughters seldom returned: for 90% of them their first exit was also their last. This percentage had fallen to 70 in the next generation, while almost 10% of the younger generation's daughters made 3 exits or more. The same picture emerges for sons. Of the sons in the elder generation 83% left home only once, never to return again; this happened to only 65% of the younger-generation sons.²⁴⁵

Although children started to leave their parental home at an earlier age than before, this would in general not have

²⁴³ In the elder generation of families the mean number of 6 children were born, in the younger generation this had risen to the mean number of 7.2 children.

²⁴⁴ Cumulative percentages of deaths of children by age group:

age	1849-1890	1880-1920
< 1	4.2	9.6
< 5	10.0	15.9
< 10	13.0	17.7
< 15	15.0	18.8

²⁴⁵ For table see appendix 4.7.

involved an immediate loss of the financial and practical support of the child concerned. In between jobs and migratory moves children kept coming back, and it is likely that they continued contributing financially to the parental household. Hard evidence concerning the Tilburg situation however is not available except for a few stray remarks of contemporaries. In 1887 for instance a local physician commented upon the quality of the relationships between parents and children: 'In Tilburg there is a good spirit; the children hand over their wages to the parents..'.²⁴⁶ There can be no doubt that parents expected children to contribute to the family income until their marriage, even if the child worked away from home.²⁴⁷ The extent to which they did is unclear. However, when children in the younger generation finally left for a last time, they did so at an age which was comparable to experience in the first generation. The median age for last exit from home decreased between the two generations by only one year for both sons and daughters. First generation sons and daughters finally exited from their parental home at the ages of 26 and 25 respectively, for the next generation these figures were 25 for sons and 24 for daughters. Departure from the parental home in Tilburg, if anything, proved to have been a very gradual process in the nineteenth century.²⁴⁸ There was no set age for this life course transition, which could occur at the age of fifteen but equally well at the age of thirty. Additionally, the ones that had left early might return to the parental home, as happened in the case of the second generation's sons and daughters, in order to leave permanently at some later date.

The age at leaving home may, however, be not very instructive in this case. If children died before they could leave home or if children did not leave at all but stayed home until the end of the period of observation they did not contribute to the above calculations. Especially those latter cases may have contained many instances of one or two sons or daughters postponing their independence in order to take care of their by then elderly parents. In an attempt to trace patterns of this type, the proportion of sons and daughters was computed who were still at home at different ages, both before their first and final exit from home. Results are presented in appendix 4.9.

Compared with our twentieth-century families children did not leave home at an early age. Even when only looking at first exits we find that 17% of the sons and 20% of the daughters in the older generation were still living with their parents at the age of 30. They had not even once lived

²⁴⁶ Enquete, Tilburg, question 10717.

²⁴⁷ A. de Regt, *Arbeidersgezinnen*, p. 130.

²⁴⁸ See also R. Wall, 'The age'; J. Modell, F. Furstenberg, Th. Hersberg, 'Social change'.

away from home before. The final break from home came at an even later age; at age 30 nearly one-quarter of both sons and daughters had not yet broken away permanently from their family of origin. In the second generation this had changed to a certain extent. It had clearly changed in the sense that children were leaving home for a first time in much larger proportions. A first break at the age of 30 had not yet occurred for only 10 to 11% of children in the younger generation. Of all 20 year-olds almost half of all sons and daughters had already been away from home before, which is considerably higher compared with the previous generation's experience. However, as far as final exits are concerned the differences are a little less pronounced. While almost one-quarter of all children in the older generation had not yet left permanently at the age of 30, this had fallen to 19% and 21% for sons and daughters respectively in the following generation. For all 25 year-olds we found a decrease of only 6-7% in the proportion of sons and daughters still living at home. Although the process of breaking away from the parental home did undeniably start at much early ages towards the end of the nineteenth-century and must have enhanced the risk for parents of a lonely old age, the damage appears to have been restricted.

The earlier age at which boys and girls in the second generation of households started to leave home may have generated the wish for more autonomy in these children. Most outmigrating boys would probably have lived with other families as boarders or co-resident kin.²⁴⁹ When the girls left home however, they went into domestic service in other households. In almost all of the exits by daughters to 'others' within Tilburg and the larger part of the exits by migration this will have been the case. Despite the familial context in which both boys and girls continued to reside after they left home, this may have involved a relaxation of paternal supervision. If we add to this the much improved economic prospects around the turn of the century and the increased opportunities for industrial wage work we might expect marriage frequencies to rise and the age at first marriage to fall in the younger generation of sons and daughters.

However, this did not happen. Between the two generations sons and daughters married at comparable ages and, as we shall see later, in comparable frequencies. The median age at first marriage was 25 for women, and 26 for men in both

²⁴⁹ These two forms of residence were in practice the only possibilities. In the nineteenth-century period in Tilburg there were no large boarding houses in which young people resided in great numbers without any form of familial supervision. A few exceptions set aside, this will have applied to most of the smaller and middle-sized towns in the Netherlands.

generations. Mean ages are 27.0 for sons in both generations, 26.1 for daughters in the younger generation and 26.2 for those in the elder generation. See also appendix 4.10. Clearly, there does not seem to have been any trend towards a lowering of the age at first marriage for both women and men. Compared with the countryside of the province of Noord-Brabant marriage in Tilburg was quite an early phenomenon in the life of men and women. In a number of villages in the eastern part of the province marriage came at the age of 31 for men and 27 for women in the later parts of the century. In Nuenen, a village not far from Tilburg, farmers married at the age of 32.6, while their wives were 29.5 years old.²⁵⁰ In the still rural community of Eindhoven the median age of marriage in the nineteenth century was 29 for men and 27 for women in the same period.²⁵¹ Town life in general in this southern province, independent of the economic specifics of the town concerned, appears to have stimulated a lower age at first marriage. Men and women in Breda for instance, a town not characterized by any industrial development, married at exactly the same age as found in Tilburg.²⁵² For the country as a whole, the mean age at first marriage declined in this period by about one year for men and two for women. Men born between 1810-1814 married at the mean age of 28.8, women born in the same period did so at the mean age of 27.4. For the cohort group 1895-1899 these figures had fallen to 27.4 and 25.7 respectively.²⁵³ Consequently, in a comparative perspective it would appear that age at marriage in Tilburg had already fallen considerably in the first half of the century. During the following decades it did not decline any further so that towards the end of the century national and town averages converged.

We have already mentioned that there were no major shifts in the frequency of marriage between the sons and daughters of the two generations; the proportion married rose only very slightly for sons and daughters of the younger generation. In particular differences in frequencies for sons were fractional. See appendix 4.11. The largest difference was found for the age of 34 when 21% of sons and 23% of daughters in the younger generation group had not yet married, as opposed to 25% and 28% for the elder generation. At the age of 49 almost 10% of the elder generation's daughters were still single, whereas daughters in the younger generation by then had all married. For sons at the age of 49 these percentages were: 6.7 and 8.3. Marriage frequency in Tilburg was considerably higher compared with

²⁵⁰ C.G.W.P. van der Heijden, 'Gezin', p. 139.

²⁵¹ O.W.A. Boonstra, 'De dynamiek', pp. 95-96.

²⁵² Th. Engelen, H. Hillebrand, 'Vruchtbaarheid', p. 258.

²⁵³ G. Frinking, 'Demografische analyse'.

other towns in the south of the country.²⁵⁴ It must also have risen substantially when compared with earlier cohorts from the beginning of the century. However, apart from some minor differences we must conclude that in a general sense marriage patterns between the two generations were remarkably stable. Neither the greater mobility of young adults and adolescent children, the rising level of incomes, nor the expanding industrial labour market of the town had discernable effects on marital behaviour. It is remarkable that the different economic prospects facing the respective birth cohorts of 1850-1859 and 1880-1889 were of no influence on age at marriage and hardly at all on marriage frequency. Men and women born between 1850 and 1859 were confronted by the slump of the late seventies followed by the crisis of the eighties at the time they reached their twenty-fifth birthday, the cohort born between 1880 and 1889 by contrast was able to profit by improved economic conditions and expanding employment opportunities in the textile mills.

If we are right in assuming that the second generation sons and daughters could have married earlier it remains difficult to say why they didn't. Were they consciously postponing marriage so that they could continue to co-reside with and support their parents? They could equally well have solved that problem by combining marriage and continued co-residence in the parental household. In addition, if continued support of elderly parents was their motive they should have postponed marriage even longer than they already did. After all, parents in the second generation increasingly grew older than before and with increasing departure rates of children many more of the parents came to reside on their own. Of course, the cohort born between 1890-1899 may have found it difficult to find a family home considering the shortages in the housing market, but this obstacle can hardly have applied to the two previous cohorts. Perhaps, considering the fact that the age at marriage in Tilburg had already dropped considerably in earlier decades of the century, it may be that the sons and daughters of the second generation were only unconsciously sticking to generally accepted cultural, or Catholic, values concerning the appropriate minimal age at marriage.

The conclusion that marital patterns had not changed is of some importance here. It may not only indicate the continuing strength of ties between parents and children in the early stages of industrialization. This conclusion also means that the rise of extended households towards the end of the life cycle cannot have resulted from a change in marital patterns of sons and daughters. After all, given the fact that extended households partly arise out of the need to take care of elderly parents who are living alone, a fall

²⁵⁴ F.W.A. van Poppel, Stad.

in the age at marriage and/or a rise in the frequency of marriage of children may have influenced the number of extended households occurring in the final stages of the household.

Children were indeed of the utmost importance to parents. For both generations of households we may say that children were generally present in the parental household until the very end. In general, parents succeeded in keeping their children living with them until they died or until the very end of their household's history. This was also the case for parents in the younger generation. The combined effects of a larger total number of children born to this generation of parents, a higher child mortality rate and higher departure rates for children, and in addition a longer life expectancy of parents created an only slightly higher percentage of households in which parents came to reside on their own in old age. Most of the parents were still living with one or more children in the last phase of the household's cycle. For all heads and wives in the elder generation who had ever had children born to them, only 27.2% ended up living on their own, for the younger generation this was 33.7%. If parents were not living with their children, they either had a spouse, other kin or unrelated persons present in their household. In only 17.9% and 22.4% of all cases in the elder and the younger generation respectively did we find a parent living on his/her own at the end of his/her household's history.²⁵⁵ Now it might be suggested that the higher percentages for the younger generation reflected a development towards neglect of elderly parents on the part of their children. The larger number of parents living without children however is merely the result of the larger number of parents living to see their children leave home. And, we already know from the previous section of this chapter that most of the parents who survived their own household after a longer or shorter period moved over to the households of their married children, or migrated to other related households.

Thus, elderly people were largely being cared for by immediate relatives, if they had any. It would appear as if the words of one of the local physicians carried at least some truth when he claimed that 'when the father or mother stays behind on their own, if all other children have left, the remaining child many times assumes responsibility and stays with his parents when they need him.'²⁵⁶ All this is not to say there were no frictions between parents and children as a result of which parents may have been neglected or had

²⁵⁵ The percentages offered here apply to parents with children ever born and whose households were observed for at least 15 years. These figures relate to the household headed by the parent only.

²⁵⁶ Enquete, Tilburg, question 10717.

to fend for themselves in their old age. For instance, among the younger generation of households we do find some parents who were being passed on very quickly from the household of one married child to that of another more often than once. The fact that married children were taking in a widowed parent does not tell us anything about whether they actually liked doing so. Cases are recorded in Tilburg of children trying to have their old parent put away in a mental institution at the expense of public funds.²⁵⁷ Children taking care of elderly parents also seems to have been the rule in the Devonshire parish of Colyton, England. Here too, we find elderly people in their sixties and seventies co-residing with above all unmarried children, and if not with spouse or married children. The same applies to late nineteenth-century Bertalia, one of the parishes of Bologna, where virtually no widows or widowers of sixty-five years and over were living without at least one of their children.²⁵⁸ Other material on elderly people in the Netherlands in the first half of the twentieth-century strengthens the idea of the representativeness of the Tilburg pattern. Although elderly people of sixty years and over in Groningen and Limburg could for some time during their life be found living alone, they eventually came to co-reside with their (married) children.²⁵⁹

4.4 Conclusions

Family life in Tilburg clearly showed no sign of weakening under the pressures of the town's changing social and economic structure. The breakdown of traditional productive structures which had accelerated in the final decade of the nineteenth century appears to have had no major impact upon family behaviour in general. The expansion of industrial wage work and the improved economic conditions around the turn of the century might have tempted individuals to loosen the bonds between family members. This did not happen in any observable way. Families continued to receive extended kin into their homes and the majority of children were not seen to abandon parents in old age.

In the middle part of the century a considerable proportion of all households were taking in kin members at some point in their developmental cycle. In this period households found to have been co-residing with kin generally embarked upon a commitment lasting for quite some time, especially in those cases in which parents and siblings were taken in. Throughout the period under study, if households were augmented with co-residing relatives, these were only

²⁵⁷ C.A.M.M. van de Put, Volksleven, p. 73.

²⁵⁸ J. Robin, 'Family Care'; D.I. Kertzer, Family life, p. 97.

²⁵⁹ E.A.M. Bulder, Household structures.

their immediate kin. Parents and siblings were found to be present in the first twenty years, while ever-married children and grandchildren entered the household during the last two decades. In the later part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth kin co-residence came to be a more frequent phenomenon in the lives of the Tilburg families. A majority of the households that started off on their developmental cycle somewhere in the 1870s appeared to have been extended at some point in time between 1880 and 1920. Of course, we must bear in mind that some families may also have been extended before and after the period of observation, so that the percentages of households ever extended cited in this chapter must be considered a minimum. The increase in the frequency of kin co-residence resulted from a larger number of parents co-residing with their married children towards the end of the developmental cycle.

Household extension in the period under study could serve different purposes. During the first part of the developmental cycle of the household kin co-residence primarily served the function to provide for the young and the old who had lost the support of their own families. Co-residence of unmarried brothers and sisters of the head or his wife resulted from restrictions concerning independent residence of young adults, in particular for women. Economically unfavourable periods characterized by low marriage frequencies and relatively high mortality rates could thus result in larger numbers of young men and women seeking accommodation with their married siblings. This was more often the case in the households of the elder generation and to some extent also in the younger generation. Offering accommodation for those without the support of their family more or less also applied to widowed parents; a general inability to form economically viable independent households would have necessitated these elderly co-residing with their married children.²⁸⁰ Families did in any case not appear to be taking in their parents and siblings in order to redress the balance between the number of producers and consumers, although admittedly hard evidence was not available on this issue. Nor is it likely, considering the particular local circumstances, to assume that parents or siblings were present so as to enable the wife to go out to work for wages.

Towards the final stages of the household the balance of dependency started to change. At the point in time when almost all of the children had left the household, and when in addition one of the marriage partners had already died, it was the receiving household instead of the incoming relative which was most in need of support. The parents in the elder generation almost all died before the last of

²⁸⁰ See M. R. Haines, 'Industrial work'.

their children had left the household as the combined result of high levels of mortality, high ages at marriage and low marriage frequencies, and a protracted time span of child bearing. If, however, parents did end up living on their own, they eventually arranged to co-reside with one of their married children. It is important to stress that these extensions came about in the parental household. Ageing parents clearly preferred to ask their married children to come and live with them rather than to move over to the household of the child. Parents probably valued the independency this afforded them and tried to retain headship of their own household as long as possible.²⁸¹ This probably still held for the younger generation of parents except that they more frequently ran into the problem of solitary living. More of the parents in the younger generation survived their own household, and despite their larger number of children more of them saw the last of their children leave due to higher mortality and departure rates. This development apparently necessitated a rapidly increasing number of parents to give up their own household and move over to the household of a married child.

While the process of industrialization gained momentum, kin co-residence seemed to have served a second and quite different purpose. Among the households of the second generation extended family structures also came about as one step in the migratory process of individual kin members. This is likely to have been so for some of the co-residing siblings present in the first decades who frequently moved out again after a short time in order to migrate to other places. In chapter 6 we will discuss these kin members in more detail. However, increased levels of migration were clearly responsible for a large number of the extensions occurring in the final decade of the second generation's cycle. We found quite a number of married children in this stage of the developmental cycle of the household were migrating in and out of their parental homes. After 1910, these migratory moves not infrequently concerned international migration to countries like Canada and the U.S. of entire families, sometimes giving rise to quite complicated patterns of exchange of individuals between kin-related households. Finally, there can be little doubt that the shortage in the housing market occurring after 1912 reinforced the necessity for these mobile individuals and families to seek co-residential help from parents. Apart from the married children who were using their parental household as a stepping stone for migration, some of the

²⁸¹ De Regt mentions the fact that co-residing elderly parents highly valued the introduction of a state pension, for those over the age of 70, in 1913. Now they could contribute to the family budget which increased their sense of independence. See A. de Regt, Arbeidersgezinnen, p. 133.

other children may of course have been co-residing to assist their parents in old age.

Within our research period we have witnessed an increase in the relative frequency of extended households in Tilburg. Two separate processes are believed to have been at work. With marriage patterns remaining largely constant during the period of observation, with departure rates of children rising and the life expectancy of parents increasing, many more parents ultimately came to face the economic insecurity of the 'empty nest'. As a result parents increasingly had to resort to co-residence with married children, either in their own or in their children's household. But also, the longer time span of the parental life course increased chances for parents to co-reside with married children if necessary, for whatever reason. The Tilburg households thus confirm findings and assumptions of Ruggles and Hubbard who both stress the influence of demographic factors when accounting for the rise in nineteenth-century extended households.²⁶² Yet, other influences were at work. The emergence of industrial structures may also account for the growing number of extended households, as they were necessarily accompanied by an increase in opportunities for communication and mobility. Accordingly, not only the mobility of married children increased, but we also saw young unmarried sons and daughters in their teens to migrate more than did their predecessors. While the mobility of individuals rose, it is unlikely to assume a corresponding increase in the number of resources mobile individuals could turn to in order to facilitate migration, acquire jobs and secure appropriate housing. In the nineteenth century kin relations still provided the main network for aid and assistance, not only for the aged and the lonely, but also for the mobile.

A dissolution of kin ties as a result of industrialization could also not be established when focusing on relations between parents and children. In the majority of households children were present until the end of the household's cycle. In the course of the century young people started to leave the parental home at an earlier age than before, and also migrated to a larger extent than before. They may have been expelled from the household by their parents to earn a living elsewhere or to make room in the family home; for the moment it is difficult to be decisive on this question. They may even have gone out of their own free will. Whatever their motives may have been, the important thing to stress here is that their greater mobility did not result in large numbers of solitary, uncared for parents. The proportions of sons and daughters who had not yet left permanently at the age of 25 or 30 remained high, although it did show a tendency to fall.

²⁶² S. Ruggles, Prolonged; W.H. Hubbard, 'Forschungen'.

Breakdown of the family was also not suggested by the examination of age at marriage and marriage frequency. The changing economic tide towards the end of the nineteenth century, the gradual expansion of the industrial labour market and increased levels of mobility in the final decades did surprisingly little to change overall marital patterns. Children married at very much the same ages as they had done before and almost in the same frequencies. It appeared to be difficult to suggest a plausible reason for this remarkable stability. However, before speculating further on marital patterns we would first like to deal with the aspect of class in our following chapter. Nevertheless, at this stage it appears as if economic developments had not that easily and quickly managed to foster individual aspirations in young adults so as to change marital and family patterns. Moreover, we also have to consider the relatively large number of parents who moved into the households of their married children. That these married children were taking in their parents strongly suggests the survival of a kin support system until at least the twenties of this century. These sons and daughters effectively challenge Peter Laslett's doubts about family care for the elderly before our present day."³

Summarizing the results from our first analytical strategy we must conclude that industrialization in its early stage did not appear to have weakened kinship ties in Tilburg. Structural-functionalist theory expects the mobility of individuals, which is so vital to the establishment of industrial society, to be contradictory with the maintenance of extended kinship ties and thus the formation of extended families. Therefore it is all the more remarkable that at this stage the increased dynamic behaviour of young people in Tilburg appears to have stimulated rather than inhibited the formation of extended households. However, we would like to present these conclusions as only preliminary. In our next chapter we will introduce the important element of social class which may greatly have affected family patterns. An examination of the influence of social class on families and individuals may perhaps help to resolve some of the issues that have remained unresolved in this chapter.

²⁶³ P. Laslett, Family life, see chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5 FAMILY LIFE AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

This chapter is concerned with the second of our four research strategies: the study of the relationship between the family and the social structure of an industrializing society. Through examination of class position in relation to the structural evolution of the household we hope to gain a better understanding of the relationships between the macro-process of social change and the micro-process affecting the family. Again the perspective employed is a dynamic one. This is not only because different aspects of the family along its development cycle are involved, but also because the relationships between the family and the social structure are analyzed through time. To begin with we will look into the issue of social class and family structure. Next, the relationship between parents and children is discussed again, this time taking into account the social background. The final section of this chapter deals with family structure and social mobility.

5.1. Family and social class

In the previous chapter we dealt with family and household disregarding social and economic variables. However, the historic evolution of the family cannot be fully understood in isolation from the social and economic structure of the society of which it is part. This by now widely accepted point of view in fact constituted one of the major points of criticism on the earlier work of the Cambridge Group which tended to abstract households from their social and economic context.²⁸⁴ The need to distinguish between different social-economic groups becomes especially urgent when examining the interrelationships between the family and the processes of change. Class position may be looked upon as an intermediary variable determining not only direction and strength of the influence of the changes but also the way people interpret them and act upon them.

As we explained in the introductory chapter the relation between the family and the social structure is right at the heart of structural-functionalist family theory. The modern family is given its specific shape and structure through the effects and demands made upon it by the social structure of industrial society. The theory indicates that high rates of social, occupational and geographic mobility necessitated the emergence of the nuclear family form which allows the

²⁸⁴ M. Anderson, 'The study', p. 50; L.K. Berkner, 'The use and misuse', pp. 734-736; H. Medick, 'The proto-industrial family economy', p. 295.

individual freedom to move. The nuclear families in industrial society have realized most completely the supposed 'structural fit' between family and society; they have adapted themselves best to new demands made upon the family and will hence also be the ones most successful in terms of social and economic position and occupational or social mobility. Thus, following structural-functionalism, with the onset of industrialization we may expect the middle and upper classes, who are by definition the most successful social groups, to be the first to adopt new family patterns. As the process of social change continues and more groups are effectively integrated into the industrial system the ideal of the nuclear family will be spreading with it.

Paradoxically, however, empirical evidence suggests that in fact higher social classes in most societies conform to this ideal type of the nuclear family less than do other social groups. The functionalist sociologist William Goode regards this as one of the strains, or disharmonies, between the nuclear family system and industrial society.²⁶⁵ Higher class families in all societies, Goode observes, not only have the resources with which to resist the undermining pressures of industrialization on their kinship ties, they also have most to lose by relinquishing them. For example, middle and upper class parents may successfully lay some heavy claims on their children's loyalty when providing capital for extensive professional training. Vice versa, these youngsters would have a considerable interest to keep intact such an active and useful family system. For the lower classes all this operates in exactly the opposite way: if anything, they have something to gain from letting go of kinship ties. Consequently, William Goode assumes that in an industrializing process both the peasant and the proletarian 'are forced to adjust their family patterns more swiftly to the industrial system, and find at least more immediate opportunities in it'.²⁶⁶

This contrasts sharply with those historians who believe the nineteenth-century urban extended family household to have been related to the economic pressures of the industrialization process on the lower economic strata of society. Extended family households in the industrial city were no longer an expression of wealth of resources and an instrument to preserve family property such as it had been in agrarian societies, they now came to reflect the need to cope with the hardships of proletarian family life. The dangers and uncertainties of industrial wage labour, high levels of migration, mortality and fertility, the lack of formal institutions providing aid and services meant an increased dependence upon kin among working class people. Modern urban economic development may thus have been

²⁶⁵ W.J. Goode, *World revolution*, pp. 12-15.

²⁶⁶ W.J. Goode, 'Industrialization', pp. 244-245.

accompanied by family patterns considered to be traditional by the prophets of modernization theory.²⁶⁷

This discussion also raises the important issue of possibly diverging meanings of apparently uniform household structures. The same type of family pattern may have one meaning or purpose for the proletarian family, but yet quite a different one for the peasant family or middle and upper class bourgeois families. Thereby we are again urged to be very perceptive about the specific social setting of the households involved and, although this is much more difficult to unravel, be aware of diverging meanings and purposes of the family patterns established.²⁶⁸

Thus, we will continue our study of the cohesion of kin relations under the pressures of early industrialization with a careful examination of family patterns among different social groups in nineteenth-century Tilburg. The question which we will look into in this chapter is the way in which the dynamic process of the family in various social strata interacted with the transformation of the town's social structure in the course of our period of observation. Through the comparative perspective on two generations of households we will study the possibly changing relationship between the process of the household and a household's position within the social structure.

For this purpose we will have to socially stratify both samples of households. The construction of a nineteenth-century model for social stratification was a much debated subject in Dutch historiography for some time in the seventies, involving both theoretical problems and practical ones.²⁶⁹ The key question of this debate concerned the issue whether we should distinguish status or social rank categories or make use of the (neo-)Marxist concept of class, or perhaps construct a combination of both. For those researchers who preferred to stratify on the basis of social status the question remained of the number of status categories. Should mid-nineteenth century Dutch society be divided in two social ranks, of the rich and the poor, or do

²⁶⁷ E.A. Wrigley, 'Reflections', p. 81; M. Anderson, Family structure, pp. 162-169; T.K. Hareven, Industrial Time, pp. 85-119.

²⁶⁸ M. Segalen, 'The family cycle', p. 227; M. Anderson, 'The study', pp. 47-81; H. Medick, 'The proto-industrial family economy', p. 295.

²⁶⁹ The debate in chronological order: J. Giele, G.J. van Oenen, 'De sociale structuur'; Th. van Tijn, 'Voorlopige notities'; H. Diederiks, 'Klassen'; J. Giele, G.J. van Oenen, 'Wel discussie'; J. Lucassen, Th. van Tijn, 'Nogmaals'; J. Giele, G.J. van Oenen, 'Theorie en praktijk'; J. Lucassen, Th. van Tijn, 'Naschrift'; J. de Belder, 'Beroep of bezit'.

three, four, five or even more yield a better model of stratification? And, in addition, on the basis of what criteria do we decide to include people in one of the status categories decided upon? Professional prestige, income, consumption, political power and so on? Unfortunately, the debate never ended in any conclusive way, enabling some scholars to speak of a total mess where others nevertheless discerned some progress. In practice social historical researchers in the Netherlands invariably make use of models implying a combination of class and social rank categories, distinguish between an upper bourgeois class of bankers, merchants and industrialists, a middle class of self-employed artisans, shopkeepers and schoolmasters and a lower class of labourers.²⁷⁰ In between which they may insert one or more other groups, like e.g. a lower-upper class of academics, higher civil servants and smaller merchants, and a separate class of skilled workers in between the lower and the middle classes. Placement in one of the categories employed usually proceeds on criteria such as profession, income or property, or sometimes the number of servants.

In this research we will likewise make use of a model of social stratification combining elements of social status, in this case professional prestige, with level of income on the basis of data on taxation. The latter criterion is used in order to categorize correctly vague occupational entries such as 'koopman' (trader). Additional corrections were necessary for other occupations which had been affected by changes in social status or financial rewards towards the closing of our period of observation.²⁷¹ For an elaboration of the criteria for social stratification as they have been used in this research the reader should turn to appendix 5.1. The model that emerged involves the following social and economic groups:

Class I and II: UNSKILLED LABOUR and SKILLED LABOUR

Contains the working classes, of which the first consists mainly of day labourers and unskilled factory workers while class II includes artisanal workers and skilled factory labourers.

Class III: MIDDLE CLASS

²⁷⁰ See e.g. H. van Dijk, Rotterdam, chapter 3; for a good summary of debate and research practice see also P. Kooij, Groningen, pp. 27-33.

²⁷¹ This was the result of the combined effects of structural shifts in the Dutch economy and a general rise in the level of incomes, both observed to have been national trends (see Th. van Tijn, 'Het sociale leven', pp. 306-314) and the emergence of new and lucrative possibilities in some professional sectors of the Tilburg economy.

Largely restricted to self-employed artisans, shopkeepers but also including school masters, foremen and overseers, and lower qualified administrative personnel.

Class IV and V: UPPER CLASSES

Consisting for the most part of factory owners, merchants, and the professions.

Families were placed in one of the above categories on the dual basis of the occupational status of the head of household and the family's income, both of which were usually derived from municipal taxation records. Placement in category III was conditional upon being above the tax threshold, except for schoolteachers, so that marginal shopkeepers and tradesmen were excluded and relegated to class II. Further income criteria were used for categories IV and V. An elaborate explication of procedures involved and the nature of the sources is offered in appendix 5.1. This stratification will be used for all following measures of social class and social mobility.

In all, five separate measurements of social class have been carried out. Two of them concern the heads of household, of which the first indicates the head's social and economic position at the start of his household's cycle in 1849 and 1880 respectively, when they were at about the age of 35. The second measurement was taken when the heads turned fifty. These two measurements of social class will hereafter be referred to as the heads' initial and final class position. The remaining three measurements affect the sons' social position; they will be used to assess the degree of intergenerational mobility which we shall be dealing with in the final section of this chapter.

In the following section a number of aspects of the developmental cycle of the household will be related to social class. In order to permit statistical analysis we have to create some orderly categories of households out of what look like chaotically dynamic household cycles. The principal categories we propose to use where household structure is concerned are 'first-phase household structure' and 'second-phase household structure', which simply refer to the first and second twenty years of the household's cycle. In the previous chapter we have seen that these are the two most 'natural' periods to be distinguished when discussing kin co-residence. Thus, when examining the relationship between social class and household structure we may relate the household's first-phase structure to the head's initial social class. Likewise, when looking at social mobility patterns of the heads of nuclear or extended household structures, all households will be divided according to structure during the first twenty years of the

household's cycle.²⁷² This coincides with the time period for which the heads' social mobility is measured. In addition, when discussing social mobility patterns an extra check on the relation between social success and family structure is introduced by distinguishing between all first-phase extended families and those that were extended for at least 5 years. In almost all statistics presented in this chapter concerning household and social class we will be using the household's initial class position instead of the final one. Whenever the use of final social class rather than initial class position yields completely different results this is indicated and discussed in the text.

Around the middle of the nineteenth century extended household arrangements in Tilburg were certainly not an affair mainly affecting the lives of those in the working class. As table 5.1 indicates, if families co-resided with kin they were first and foremost to be found among those belonging to the middle strata of society.²⁷³ Extended family households were a typical component of middle class family life in Tilburg throughout the nineteenth century. Middle class households in the 1849-1890 generation were twice as likely to be living with extended kin as compared with skilled or unskilled labourers. There is however no simple linear relationship between social class and kin co-residence in the sense that extended households become more numerous when the household's social standing rises. Upper class households co-resided with kin only slightly more often than do unskilled labourers, almost a third lived with kin during the first twenty years of their domestic cycle. In the first generation skilled workers are the least likely to be living with kin at all at that stage.

Considering the fact that especially in the first generation the middle classes were almost entirely made up of self-employed artisans, shopkeepers or small entrepreneurs, it would be obvious to suggest that extended family living arose out of the need for additional cheap family labour. At a later stage in this chapter, however, we will produce some evidence that suggests that this explanation may perhaps be too simple.

²⁷² The sample of households covering the period 1880-1920 contained an overrepresentation of households that were extended in 1880. For some analyses in the present chapter the entire sample is used in order to increase absolute numbers for the group of extended households, while other parts of the analyses cover only the corrected sample for this group. If the latter is the case a reference of this is made in the text. For further details on this problem see chapter 2 pp. 48-49.

²⁷³ For the 1880-generation in table 5.1 the corrected sample was used.

TABLE 5.1 NUMBER OF EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS DURING FIRST-PHASE OF THE HOUSEHOLD'S CYCLE BY INITIAL CLASS OF HEAD FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

class	1849-1890 %	1880-1920 %
unskilled labour	24.5	23.4
skilled labour	18.0	30.8
middle class	51.0	53.7
upper class	29.2	31.6
N=	361	343

In the second generation roughly the same pattern relating to family and social class reappears, although not without some modifications. Again the middle classes display most clearly a tendency towards extended family living during the first twenty years of their developmental cycle. Largely due to a remarkable rise in the percentage of extended households among skilled labourers, a slightly less polarized picture emerges with as many extensions among skilled workers as among upper class households at this stage. Nevertheless, we must conclude that kin co-residence was not primarily a working class affair for either generation of households.

Within the agrarian setting a clear and definite relationship between family and social class appears to have existed. The larger the farm and the greater the wealth, the larger and more complex the household would be. This relationship was not only established by Berkner when writing about eighteenth-century Austrian households, but also by a number of other scholars for nineteenth-century American and English agrarian households.²⁷⁴ In addition, we also know that household size and complexity were positively correlated with social class in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century agrarian households in the provinces of Holland and Brabant.²⁷⁵ But, while large farmers and other upper class households in the countryside around Nottingham in 1851 took in extended kin more often than did the lower classes, the same relationship could not be established for the textile town of Nottingham itself.²⁷⁶ Perhaps, for urban communities we are dealing with a more complex relationship between the two variables. Very much like Smith's results for

²⁷⁴ L.K. Berkner, 'The stem family'; B. Laslett, 'Social change'; R.J. Smith, 'Early Victorian'.

²⁷⁵ A.M. van der Woude, 'Variations', p. 316; P.M.M. Klep, 'Het huishouden', p. 84; G.J.M. van den Brink, 'De structuur', p. 40.

²⁷⁶ R.J. Smith, 'Early Victorian'.

Nottingham, Hubbard could find only a weak positive relationship between a higher social status and complex household structure for the town of Graz in 1857.²⁷⁷ However, Steven Ruggles insists that nineteenth-century extended families were unambiguously associated with the higher social strata, not only among Erie County farmers in the US but for town and city dwellers in the latter area and the Lancashire textile towns as well. He finds a clear linear relationship between the two, with the percentage of persons residing in extended families steadily decreasing with the social status of the head. In addition, Michael Katz observed the same relationship to have existed in nineteenth-century Hamilton, Canada.²⁷⁸ The Tilburg case seems to provide only a partial confirmation of the findings of both Ruggles and Katz when looking at extended households during the first half of the cycle. Extended family arrangements in Tilburg should in the first place be associated with middle class family life.

TABLE 5.2 NUMBER OF EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS DURING SECOND PHASE OF THE HOUSEHOLD'S CYCLE BY INITIAL SOCIAL CLASS FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

class	1849-1890 %	1880-1920 %
unskilled labour	26.7	46.7
skilled labour	29.2	42.7
middle class	42.5	45.1
upper class	15.0	42.9
total	317	320

The pattern changes though when we take into consideration household structure during the second half of the cycle and relate it to the head's initial social position, results of which are presented in table 5.2.²⁷⁹ Middle class parents belonging to the 1849-1890 generation of households do still significantly more often than other social groups co-reside with extended kin, who, as we have seen in the previous chapter, in this stage of the household's cycle mostly belong to the categories of married children and grandchildren. Results for labour and upper class households do not differ greatly in this group. Quite surprizingly perhaps, we see class distinctions almost entirely

²⁷⁷ W.H. Hubbard, 'Städtische Haushaltstruktur'.

²⁷⁸ S. Ruggles, Prolonged, pp.31-42; M.B. Katz, The people, pp. 232-236.

²⁷⁹ This table again includes only the corrected sample for the 1880-1920 generation.

disappearing for the second generation of households. For all social groups almost half of all households take in extended kin at some point during this stage. This suggests that in the final half of our period under study the extent to which married children are taken into the household when parents grow older was not as clearly determined by social class as it was before.

However, we should not be too confident about the latter statement. In the first place, when the head's final social position is used in table 5.2 instead of the initial one the difference between social classes in the first generation largely disappears. The upper classes would then have about 34% of extended households while results for lower and middle classes remain largely unchanged. For the younger generation there is no such effect at all, results do not substantially differ when the final class variable is introduced. Then there is a second reservation to make, this time concerning the high percentage of extensions for upper class households in the younger generation during the last twenty years. This was not the product of an increase in upper class parents taking in married children, e.g. in order to tackle problems of old age, these parents were in fact co-residing with kin beyond their immediate family. However, we will return to this when discussing further results.

TABLE 5.3 NUMBER OF EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS EVER BY INITIAL CLASS OF HEAD FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

class	1849-1890 %	1880-1920 %
unskilled labour	37.2	55.9
skilled labour	35.6	54.7
middle class	59.2	72.2
upper class	33.3	36.8

We now first consider the percentage of extended households ever, in other words households in which extended kin were present, if only once and/or for a short time in whatever stage of the life cycle. The strong tendency for households to ever become extended among the middle classes is clearly born out by table 5.3.²⁸⁰ In both generations the middle classes provide the highest percentage of extensions, which in the younger generation results in almost three-quarters of households in this group becoming extended for some time. This figure is very high and conveniently summarizes the enormous importance of kin co-residence for

²⁸⁰ Corrected sample was used for the 1880-generation group.

this particular social group. Household extension by kin in nineteenth-century Tilburg is structurally a middle class experience. But, we must not overlook the fact that the incidence of extended households among the working classes also rose considerably. While in the first generation only about one-third of working class households came to be extended, in the younger generation this had increased up to the level where one in every two households co-resided with kin at some point in time. Finally, we should stress that households in the upper strata of society were the least inclined to be ever extended which pattern they succeeded in maintaining throughout the period.

The above tables 5.1 and 5.2 were designed to convey the degree of diffusion of the tendency towards household extension within each social rank. Table 5.1 e.g. answers the question how many households within a certain social rank ever realized extension during the first twenty years of their existence. In addition to that perspective, figures 5.1 and 5.2 examine the number of extensions occurring within each social group for every single year of the household's cycle. These two graphs first of all indicate the distribution of household extension over the life cycle for different social groups. Furthermore, these figures indicate what the chances were to catch Tilburg households in different social groups to be co-residing with kin had only a static approach been adopted, as when one would be taking snap-shots at several points along the cycle.

The two graphs generally confirm above findings, but figure 5.2 also indicates why table 5.2 might in some respects be somewhat misleading. We will however first present a discussion of both graphs. Figure 5.1 again substantiates the importance of extended kin co-residence for middle class households for every single year of the household's developmental cycle in the first generation.²⁸¹ Compared with both lower and upper class households the percentage of extensions by year is rather high, hovering mostly between 20 and 30% within the first twenty years while stabilizing at a little under 20% during the last period of twenty years. Upper class households in this generation were slightly more likely to be extended than were those of the working class in the first half of the life cycle, after which period the number of extensions becomes negligible and falls below the level for working class households. As we shall see later on this is directly related to the small number of ageing upper class parents taking married children into their households. The group of working class households in this generation displays an extreme stability in the number of extensions by year. It centers around 10% while it slowly rises towards 15 during

²⁸¹ Household structure for both figure 5.1 and 5.2 is measured by the head's initial social class.

FIGURE 5.1 PERCENTAGE OF EXTENDED FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS BY INITIAL SOCIAL CLASS AND LIFE-CYCLE YEAR, TILBURG 1849-1890

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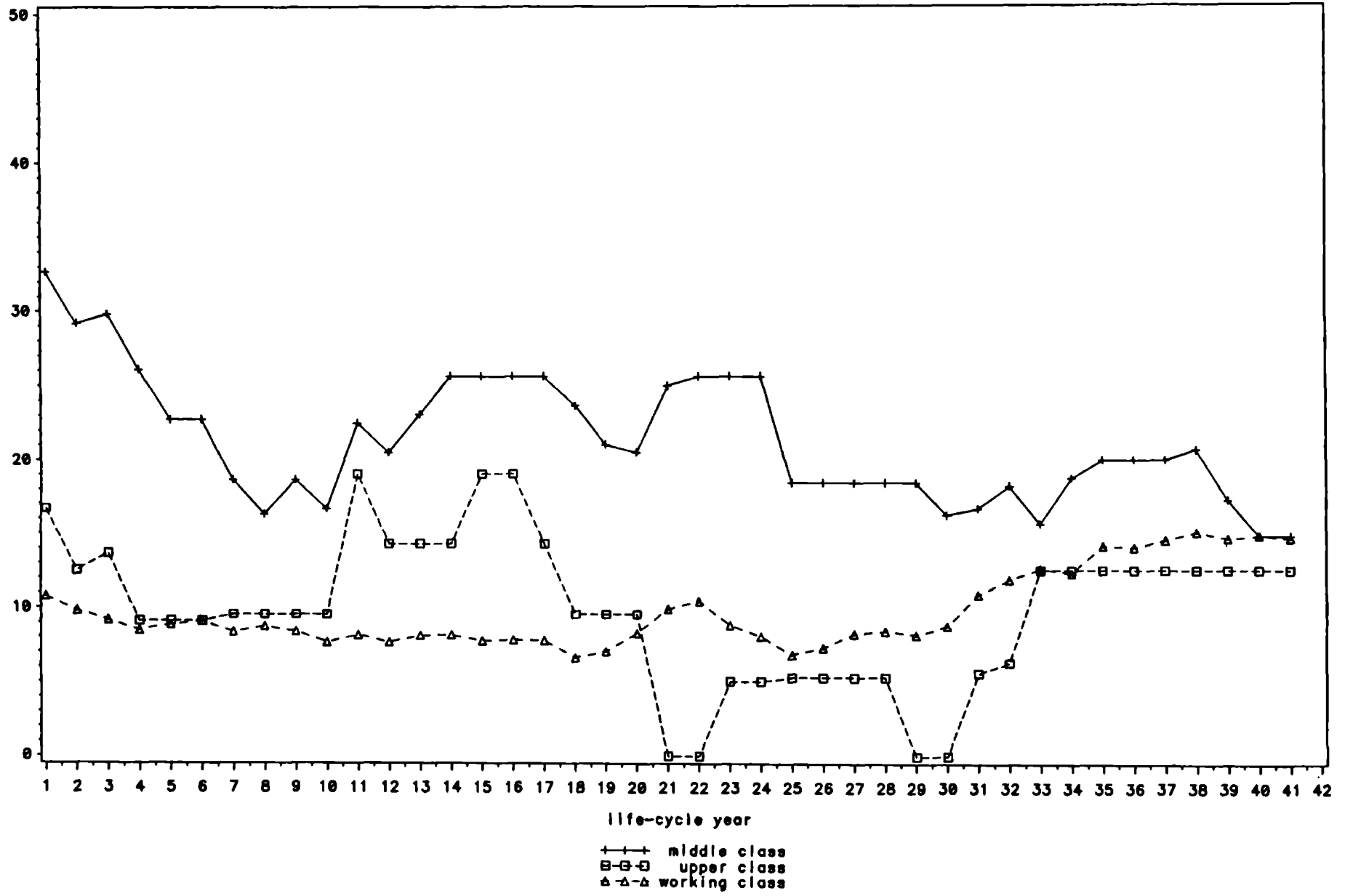
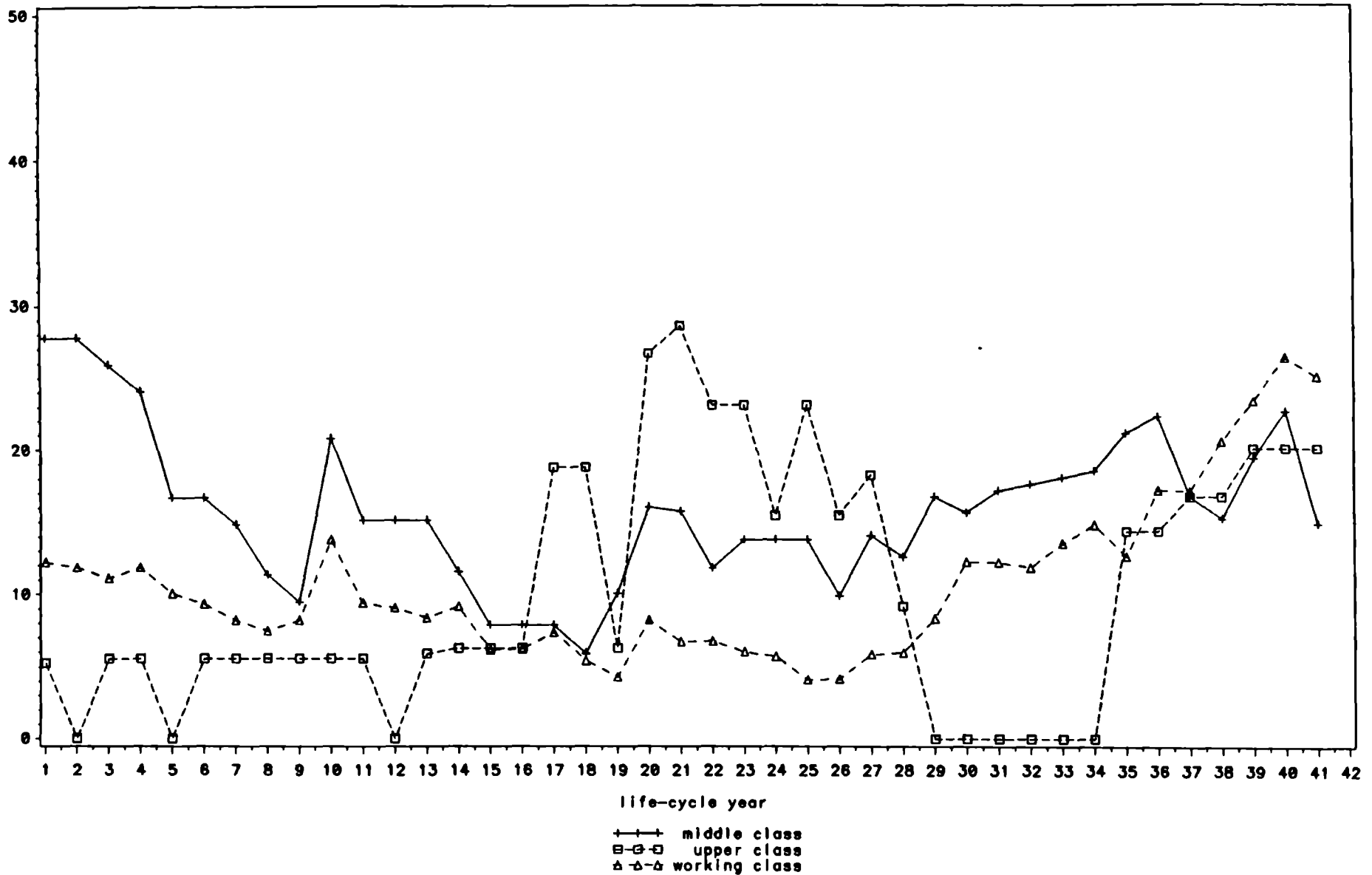


FIGURE 5.2 PERCENTAGE OF EXTENDED FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS BY INITIAL SOCIAL CLASS AND LIFE-CYCLE YEAR, TILBURG 1880-1920



corrected sample

the last decade. The greater stability of the pattern for working class households as compared with the other social groups is of course related to the larger absolute numbers involved. However, the conclusion is inescapable that for both working and middle class households extension in this generation is not at all life-cycle specific. In respect to the small number of upper class households we have to maintain a fair amount of caution about this group and restrict ourselves to suggest that household extension in this group was for the greater part related to the first half of the cycle and was nearly absent in the second half. (For a survey of absolute numbers of households for some years along the life cycle of both generations see appendix 5.17.)

From table 5.1 we know that in the younger generation the tendency towards extension among upper class households was about as strong, or weak if you will, as it was among the working classes. When measured by year, as in figure 5.2, upper class households were less likely to be extended when compared with working class households. This fact implies that although working- and upper class households may realize extensions in the same degree, working class households when once extended remain that way for a much longer time. Kin co-residence among the upper classes is apparently a more volatile experience, resulting in lower percentages of extended households at any one point in time. Comparable to the experience of the first generation, middle class second generation households showed themselves to be very prone towards co-residence with extended kin. The overall level however is slightly lower than it was before, which must be explained by the fact that more households, see table 5.1 and 5.2, experienced shorter phases of extension.

Returning our attention again towards the younger generation's upper class households in figure 5.2, we notice the high peak in extensions between roughly the 17th and 27th year of the cycle. This peak did not result from co-residence with married children but was mainly brought about by more distant kin like cousins, uncles and aunts. This unexpected peak occurring at an odd moment during the household cycle was for the greater part responsible for the large number of upper class extensions during the second half of the cycle, as shown by table 5.2. It is illogical to assume it to have been caused by problems of old age because when time advanced, between the 28th and 34th year, there were almost no extensions occurring at all in this group. The short steep rise during the last 6 years does not remove the difficulty. To explain upper class patterns for this generation we can only advance the hypothesis that extension in these households was not determined by life cycle crises such as old age. Rather, it was the need of the individual kin member, the loss of his or her own family household or the temporary inability to co-reside in it, as opposed to

the need of the receiving household, which caused families to take in relatives. Still, we should be very tentative in this, considering the small absolute numbers of households in this particular social group.

Finally, there is the pattern of the younger generation's working class to discuss. In the first half of the cycle the number of working class extensions is a little higher than it was before, which is in accordance with results from table 5.1, but the percentage is considerably below that of the middle classes and clearly above the one for upper class households. During the first half of the period this group clearly occupies a middle position, but then from a very low level in the third decade it slowly starts to rise towards the high level of 27% in the 40th year. This upward curve during the last decade may help explain the high level of extended households in the second half of the household's cycle reached by lower class families in this generation, as indicated in table 5.2. In particular, the last four years enabled the households of workers as it were to catch up with the others. There can be little doubt as to the reasons for this pattern. The increasing shortage in the housing market after 1912, worsened for lower class people to some extent by the temporary upheavals of World War I²⁸², in all probability contributed heavily to this pattern. These effects may have coincided with physical and financial problems of elderly parents who were increasingly living longer compared with preceding generations.

To what extent these factors were working on middle and upper class households as well is difficult to say. One would be inclined to suggest that more affluent households would not as severely be hit by housing shortages or the effects of the national army's general mobilization during the first world war. Likewise greater financial resources may not only prevent the occurrence of problems of old age, it may also diminish dependency on extended kin. Indeed middle class households do seem to have been less influenced by these developments because of the relatively high level of extensions from the midpoint of the developmental cycle onwards. Small absolute numbers of upper class households render firm statements about their behaviour a hazardous undertaking, although above we nevertheless advanced the argument that the extended households of the upper class were not primarily caused by life-cycle crises such as old age. Nevertheless, results of the 1917 housing count revealed co-residence (of two or more families) to be only a little less frequent among higher rentable value categories than among lower ones.²⁸³ This justifies the conclusion that the upheavals of the final decade did not leave middle and

²⁸² C.A.M.M. van de Put, Volksleven, p. 18.

²⁸³ M.J.J.G. Rossen, Het gemeentelijk volkshuisvestingbeleid, pp. 296-297; C.A.M.M. van de Put, Volksleven, p. 19.

upper class households entirely unaffected. Part of the gradual rise in the middle class curve and the sudden, short rise for upper class households during the final years of the cycle may thus be explained.

Summing up, we must first of all stress that the data do not indicate that in the nineteenth-century living in an extended family was typical of the working classes. When measured from year to year skilled and unskilled workers in both generations were living in extended households less often in comparison to their middle and upper class counterparts taken together. Although the number of extensions among the lower strata of society rose considerably between the two generations, kin co-residence remained an important feature of middle class family life throughout the period. Upper class households however were, like working class ones, not very likely to be co-residing with kin, which tendency was as persistent throughout the entire period as the high levels for middle class extensions. It is important to stress that upper class families did not in any way contribute to the trend towards a higher frequency of household extensions in our period. The upper classes appear the least affected by the processes of change transforming late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century society. Furthermore, while the tendency towards extension did not appear to be life-cycle specific in the first generation for any of the social groups, this was however increasingly the case for second generation lower class households. Towards the close of the life history of households problems of old age in combination with unique historical circumstances may have caused the number of extensions to rise.

Before we go on to an examination of the type of kin members co-residing in these various households we still have to deal with the suggestion raised before that extended family co-residence among middle class households may be connected to the need for cheap family labour. In this assumption household extension would be typical of self-employed heads of household engaged in, mostly small scale, household-based production or commercial activity. This suggestion is furthermore connected to the hypothesis that families functioning as work groups or productive units may distinguish themselves in their particular household structure from those that were not.²⁸⁴ We should add that this issue is closely related to the functionalist point of view on the importance of the separation between the occupational and the familial sphere, without which the modern nuclear family would not have emerged. It may be remembered that Parsons considered American farming families to be a major exception to his model of the isolated nuclear family

²⁸⁴ L. Tilly, J. Scott, Women; P. Laslett, 'Family and household'; R. Braun, Industrialisierung.

precisely because of the strong continued overlap between the two spheres existing in these households. In addition, it might be possible that the need to hand down the family enterprise undivided to successive generations stimulated the formation of extended households in some cases, very much like it had done in agrarian society. The relation between family and property for agrarian households was first advanced by Le Play and since then by many others.²⁸⁵

The lack of appropriate sources makes it extremely difficult to examine these issues in detail. The only option available is to distinguish between heads of household running a family enterprise and those who were wage-dependent among the middle and upper classes, for which procedure we have to rely on the occupational qualifications offered by the taxation listings.²⁸⁶ The data suggest that household extension among the upper and middle classes in Tilburg should not in the first place be seen as related to the issue of the family as a work group or of the family managing a family enterprise. It is unfortunate that we only have a small absolute number of family heads who were wage-dependent among middle and upper social classes. Nevertheless, table 5.4 strongly suggests that we reject the hypothesis of the importance of the family as a work group for the structure of the household.²⁸⁷ Although wage-dependent heads in the 1849-generation do show a slight tendency towards nuclear family living, we find that the next generation of wage-dependent households clearly lived with kin more often than did those who were self-employed.

TABLE 5.4 NUMBER OF EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS DURING FIRST-PHASE OF CYCLE BY INITIAL OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF HEAD FOR MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASSES ONLY FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

status	1849-1890		1880-1920	
	N	%	N	%
self-employed	28	45.2	43	54.4
wage dependent	4	36.4	6	75.0
total	32	43.8	49	56.3

²⁸⁵ F. Le Play, *L'organisation*; R. Braun, *Industrialisierung*; L.K. Berkner, 'Inheritance'; M.F. Nimkoff, R. Middleton, 'Types of family'.

²⁸⁶ For instance, someone described as being a manufacturer is assumed to be (co-)running a family enterprise and to be self-employed. Teachers, overseers and a technical engineer were among those considered to be wage-dependent.

²⁸⁷ The uncorrected sample of the 1880-generation was used for this table. Hence, the percentage of extended households for each occupational group should be compared with the total percentage for that generation group.

One might object to table 5.4 by arguing that the inclusion of upper class self-employed heads of household is not justified as they will for the major part not be engaged in small scale family-based production. Although upper class families may have a clear interest in the continuation of the family enterprise they do not actually function as work groups or productive units. However, upon exclusion of upper class households from the above table the data only strengthen our, what can only be tentative, conclusion. While middle class wage-dependent households in the first generation received kin into their homes as often as when taken together with upper class households, we find that in the following generation all five middle class wage-dependent households co-resided with kin at least once in that stage of their development. Regrettably, this is as far as we can get on the basis of the present data when addressing the question of family property and the family work group among higher social strata. The issue of the family work group and its consequences for the structural evolution of the lower class household will be given extensive attention in the eighth chapter of this book.

Co-residence patterns differed significantly between upper class households and the other social groups when we focus our attention on the type of kin people accepted into their households. Upper class households during the first twenty to twenty-five years of their household's cycle were in almost all cases co-residing with their brothers and sisters instead of with parents, the other major category of co-resident kin during that stage. Table 5.5 shows that between the two generations the proportion of extensions involving parents increased for all social groups.²⁸⁸ This fact is undoubtedly related to the general rise in the age at death, which lengthened the period that parents could co-reside with their children, and possibly also to a fall in the proportions unmarried, thereby reducing the numbers of unmarried men and women who after their parents' death had to be taken in by their married siblings.²⁸⁹ The most important information in this particular table however concerns the fact that the majority of upper class extended households were not extended because of the addition to the household of co-residing (grand)parents. Of all upper class extended households only 12% in the first and 26% in the second generation were actually taking in ageing parents at any one time. Commercial and industrial entrepreneurs in nineteenth-century Tilburg were above all extending their households to include unmarried brothers and sisters.

²⁸⁸ This table indicates the number of households co-residing with parents as a proportion of all households co-residing ever along the life cycle with all types of kin, except (ever) married children and grandchildren.

²⁸⁹ This was already discussed in chapter 4, see page 88-89.

TABLE 5.5 NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH CO-RESIDING PARENTS BY INITIAL SOCIAL CLASS OF HEAD FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

class	1849-1890	1880-1920
	%	%
unskilled labour	29.6	41.7
skilled labour	37.0	43.1
middle class	37.0	43.3
upper class	12.5	26.7
N=	108	165

TABLE 5.6 NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH CO-RESIDING MARRIED CHILDREN EVER BY INITIAL SOCIAL CLASS OF HEAD FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

class	1849-1890	1880-1920
	%	%
unskilled labour	12.4	28.8
skilled labour	13.7	35.5
middle class	9.1	32.2
upper class	8.7	8.3
N=	339	374

This pattern is repeated at a later stage of the life cycle, although only for the second generation of households, when the couple heading the household might co-reside with their married children. Again, from table 5.6²⁹⁰, we notice an overall increase between the two generations in the number of households ever extended through the addition of married children to the household. Such extensions were least evident for upper class households. How should these socially diverging co-residence patterns be explained? Were upper class parents successfully avoiding co-residing with their married children? Or did the necessity to do so simply not occur for both parents and married children in the upper strata of society?

We will return to this question at a later stage, for the present we will confine ourselves to the statement that upper class parents in all probability often did not need to co-reside with their married children because for one thing they had other, still unmarried children still at home. According to this line of reasoning married children entered the household after all or most of the other, unmarried children have already departed, leaving ageing parents more

²⁹⁰ Computed as a proportion of all households in which at least one child was ever born.

and more in need of kin assistance of whatever sort. Or perhaps, when parents wanted to avoid the precarious situation of a lonely old age, the last child to marry would be invited to come and live, with spouse, in his or her parental household. In addition, this table may reflect the much stronger pressures exerted by the housing shortage after 1912 on young lower and middle class married couples, causing more of them to live with parents.

5.2. Parents, children and social class

Did industrialization weaken intergenerational ties? In the previous chapter we concluded that as far as actual behaviour goes this is hardly likely to have been the case. The age at marriage of sons and daughters remained virtually unchanged. Final exits from the parental household did take place at a somewhat earlier age in the second half of the nineteenth century, but do not suggest a breakdown of intergenerational ties. Parents, so it seemed, continued to rely on their children for care and support in old age. To a certain extent though this general trend obscures some important social differences which will be explored in this section.

Goode suggested that working class intergenerational relations would be weak, when compared with those of the upper classes, because working class children had no substantial support to expect from parents, let alone from other kin, which would help advance them socially. Consequently, their children are expected to leave the parental home at much earlier ages and to be less inclined to accept responsibility for elderly parents. Tentative historical support for this hypothesis is advanced by Anderson on Preston. Working class children of poorly paid parents were more likely to leave home earlier than children whose fathers earned more lucrative wages because, as Anderson put it, 'they had most to gain and least to lose by such a step'.²⁹¹ In this, he effectively paraphrased William Goode's position. In conformity with the Preston results, Katz and Davey found in Hamilton that the higher occupational status of the father increased the length of time children resided in the parental home. In addition the timing of marriage in Hamilton appeared to have been influenced by occupational status, those in clerical and professional occupations marrying relatively late and labourers relatively early. Katz and Davey concluded that

²⁹¹ M. Anderson, Family structure, p. 129. Admittedly, Anderson's approach is more sophisticated than this; he also takes into account the wage level of the child concerned. He then suggest that above all well-paid children of poorly paid fathers will leave first.

'if saving and the postponement of pleasure made sense to the clerk or the professional, it had no foundation in reality for the early industrial laborer'.²⁸²

Although postponement of marriage made no sense to young labouring men and women, we must realize that to working class parents it could make all the difference. Working class parents were in general dependent upon the earnings of adolescent and adult children in their later lives, which for some was really the only way to fight off destitution. Quite clearly however, proletarian families had no ways or instruments to exact subordination of the child's individual interests to those of the family.²⁸³ This hypothesis underlies most of the literature concerning the effects of (proto-) industrialization on marital patterns and family structure.²⁸⁴ In addition we have to consider that for working class children, and to a lesser extent also for those in the middle classes, the possibility of continued co-residence in the parental home was largely determined by the local labour market and employment opportunities in other households.²⁸⁵ There is therefore every reason to expect social differences to have occurred in intergenerational relationships in nineteenth-century Tilburg. Also various social groups may have followed diverging patterns over time.

Considerable socio-economic differences did exist, first of all, in the age at which sons and daughters began to break away from home, their first exit from the parental household. From table 5.7 it is evident that, for both generations and for both sexes, children from upper class families left home at a substantially earlier age than did working class children.²⁸⁶ The age variation between social groups is especially large for sons. Most young men from working class parents of the first generation were leaving home at about the age of 24, while upper class sons departed when they were 19 or 16 years old. In the 1880-1920 generation sons from all social groups were leaving at earlier ages. The variation, however, between upper and lower class boys did not change; in the second generation upper class boys left home for a first time at the tender

²⁸² M.B. Katz, I.E. Davey, 'Youth', pp. 102, 113-114.

²⁸³ M. Anderson, Family structure, pp. 91, 123.

²⁸⁴ H. Medick, 'The proto-industrial family', p. 303;

R. Braun, Industrialisierung, pp. 59-89.

²⁸⁵ Employment opportunities in other households gradually declined in rural Brabant between 1750 and 1850, leading to a fall in the number of domestic servants and a rise in the number of children co-residing with parents, see P.M.M. Klep, 'Het huishouden', pp. 66-69.

²⁸⁶ Table 5.7 excludes all exits through death as well as all of those coinciding with the end of the household's life cycle as these were mostly quasi-exits.

age of 14, while most working class sons did not leave until they were 22.

TABLE 5.7 MEAN AGE AT FIRST EXIT FROM HOME FOR SONS AND DAUGHTERS BY INITIAL SOCIAL CLASS OF HEAD FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

SONS

class	1849-1890		1880-1920	
	N	age	N	age
unskilled labour	160	24.3	308	22.5
skilled labour	340	24.6	443	22.2
middle class	72	24.9	146	20.3
lower-upper class	24	19.4	28	14.8
upper-upper class	24	16.6	20	14.4

DAUGHTERS

class	1849-1890		1880-1920	
	N	age	N	age
unskilled labour	141	23.2	311	21.5
skilled labour	291	24.2	386	21.6
middle class	63	24.2	123	18.7
lower-upper class	29	22.4	29	18.2
upper-upper class	29	18.0	20	18.7

In his famous work on Preston Anderson suggested that working class boys would leave home and gain independence at earlier ages than their sisters.²⁹⁷ The fact that in general boys were better paid than girls, which was the case in Tilburg just as it was in Preston, would not only encourage their drive for independence but would also increase opportunities to do so. The data on Tilburg do not tend to support this assumption, but they should not be exclusively related to different degrees of autonomy between boys and girls. Table 5.7 indicates that in both generations daughters with working class fathers actually tended to depart from home at slightly earlier ages than did working class sons. In general it may be said that while the sons were expected to find jobs in the local textile factories or workshops, most parents preferred their girls to find positions as domestic servants.²⁹⁸ This would often involve a move away from the parental household by the girl. Then

²⁹⁷ M. Anderson, *Family structure*, pp. 125-126.

²⁹⁸ See chapter 3, pp. 63-64 concerning the opposition to factory work by women.

these patterns result from different employment opportunities as well as cultural ideals concerning suitable types of paid work for boys and girls.²⁹⁹ While working class girls were on average leaving one year earlier than were working class boys, most likely in order to become a life-cycle servant in other households, girls with more affluent parents stayed home longer than did their brothers. On the whole however, the life-course transition of a first departure from home for girls in both generations did not vary to such a large extent between social classes as it did for boys. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that while in the first generation middle class sons and daughters followed the working class pattern, they clearly distinguished themselves, especially the girls, from the lower classes towards the end of the period.

Such a pattern is initially surprising, contradicting expectations based on theory and historical evidence. Instead of leaving home at much earlier ages, working class boys and girls remained home longer than did upper or middle class children. However, there can be little doubt that this pattern is closely related to new developments in the educational field in the second half of the last century, which in turn were brought about by the changing socio-economic structure of Dutch society.³⁰⁰ Instead of an old-fashioned training on the work-floor, or private tutoring, many more upper class families started to send their sons to boarding schools outside Tilburg to receive not only a modern and advanced but also a proper Catholic education.³⁰¹ In the second half of the century the number of private Catholic boarding schools for both boys and girls increased

²⁹⁹ Richard Wall also opts for the explanation in which variation in age at leaving home between the sexes is related to local employment opportunities (R. Wall, 'Age', pp. 194-195).

³⁰⁰ A completely new type of secondary education was created in 1863, the 'Hogere Burger School' (HBS), mainly aiming at children from the lower bourgeoisie, while the old Latin Schools were being transformed into 'Gymnasia' preparatory to an academic education. For this see: Lea Dasberg et al., 'Het socioculturele leven', pp. 129-144, pp. 361-372; and Ph.J. Idenburg, *Schets*, pp. 156-159. The first HBS was already established in Tilburg in 1866, the first gymnasium opened its doors only in 1899 (C.A.M.M. van de Put, *Volksleven*, p. 112).

³⁰¹ Compare the case of A.L.A. Diepen (1846-1895) who belonged to one of the most important industrial families of the town. Sometime before his sixteenth-birthday he was sent to a boarding school in Katwijk aan Zee, a gymnasium run by priests (see J.P.A. van den Dam, *Arnold Leon Armand Diepen*, p. 149) This type of intellectual training was at that time, 1863, still considered to be somewhat unusual.

at a steady rate, and many of the destinations given in the registers for outmigrating girls and boys from upper class families in fact concern communities in which some of the most popular boarding schools were situated.³⁰² This explanation accounts first of all for the early age of first departure from home for upper class boys in particular; and in addition, it also helps explain the overall upper and middle class development between the two generations.

Another educational trend may have further lowered the age at first exit for upper class boys. After about 1880 Dutch universities started to attract far more students. It is not unreasonable to assume that increasing numbers of leading industrial families were sending their sons to universities, technical colleges like the one in Delft or foreign colleges of textile technology.³⁰³ Modern economic development in this period required more advanced technical schooling of what was to be the next generation of the industrial elite.³⁰⁴

Most upper class boys outmigrated when they left home for the first time, which further supports the assumptions made above. Sons of working class fathers in general tended to remain at home until their marriage, which was the case for 67% of all working class sons in the first generation. Still, the proportion of exits through marriage for working class sons did fall below 50% in the 1880-1920 generation. The shift over time in sons' motives for exit from home was greater among the working classes than it was for the sons of the elite. As in other behavioural patterns middle class boys in both generations occupied the middle position, with also an increase in the number of migrations in the second generation. Whereas before almost 39% of middle class boys left home for reasons of marriage, this had fallen to 25% in the younger generation. For girls we find the same pattern: more migrations, fewer exits through marriage, the increase

³⁰² Elite sons were often recorded to be outmigrating to Sint Michielsgestel in which community a boarding school for boys was situated after 1851. The school was related to one of the religious orders active in Tilburg. In addition the community also accommodated a seminary. Upper class girls were frequently seen to migrate at relatively young ages to Aarle-Rixtel, in which latter community a boarding school, also associated with one of the religious orders active in Tilburg, provided secondary education for girls.

³⁰³ L. Dasberg, et al., 'Het socioculturele leven', pp. 127-144, pp. 359-372; J.M.A. Diepen, eldest son in one of the leading industrial families of the town had been sent to the Städtische höhere Webeschule in Muhlheim am Rhein when he was sixteen years old. At that time, in 1859, he was the first, but others followed after some time (see J.P.A. van den Dam, Arnold Leon Armand Diepen, p. 148).

³⁰⁴ Th. van Tijn, 'Het sociale leven', p. 311; H.J.F.M. van den Eerenbeemt, Ontwikkelingslijnen, p. 127.

being largest for working and middle class daughters, although in both generations we find upper class girls maintain their much lower percentage of exits through marriage. See appendices 5.2 and 5.3 for tables on this topic. While perhaps upper and middle class sons and daughters increasingly left home out of educational motives, the increase in the number of migrations and the lower age at first exit for working class children was most likely determined by the need for the elder children in these families to explore the labour market outside of their home town during the crisis of the late eighties and early nineties³⁰⁵.

TABLE 5.8 MEAN AGE AT LAST EXIT FROM HOME FOR SONS AND DAUGHTERS BY INITIAL SOCIAL CLASS OF HEAD FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

SONS

class	1849-1890		1880-1920	
	N	age	N	age
unskilled labour	157	25.6	299	25.3
skilled labour	340	25.8	428	25.1
middle class	71	26.4	141	24.9
lower upper class	24	22.9	25	24.4
upper upper class	23	21.0	19	23.0

DAUGHTERS

class	1849-1890		1880-1920	
	N	age	N	age
unskilled labour	136	24.6	304	24.1
skilled labour	290	24.7	377	23.6
middle class	63	25.1	120	23.8
lower upper class	28	25.1	24	24.3
upper upper class	29	19.8	19	23.3

Having witnessed the social pattern of first exits over the course of two generations it is remarkable to see in table 5.8 that the analysis of final exits in some respects suggests an opposite trend. Towards the close of the century the timing of final break from home for boys and girls from different social backgrounds came to resemble each other more closely, instead of differentiating further. This was largely the result of the fact that young men and women in

³⁰⁵ A.W.M. Keune, 'De industriële ontwikkeling', pp. 51-55;

the upper and middle classes respectively extended and shortened the time they spent living at home, while the pattern for working class children remained more or less stable.

To begin with, even in the first generation social differences in the age at final break from home had not been as large as for first exits. While middle class boys and girls did not leave home permanently before the advanced mean age of 26 and 25, and working class sons and daughters stayed home until the age of 25 and 24, the age at final break was really only substantially lower for the upper echelons of the elite. One generation later working class sons and daughters were still leaving home at about the same age. Quite remarkably, the much greater mobility in the younger generation had not resulted in an earlier independence from their family of origin. In spite of the fact that they increasingly were leaving their home town in search of opportunities, they apparently continued to be bound to parents and siblings. The industrialization process did not substantially alter this particular life-course experience of sons and daughters in the working class. And, returning again to the issue of sex-related patterns, there are no indications that working class sons could achieve a much earlier independence than girls on the basis of higher wage levels.

For upper and middle class sons and daughters the pattern did change. Although upper class sons especially experienced a first break at a very young age in the second generation their period of dependency actually grew longer. This is in keeping with the result that more of them stayed home until their marriage as we shall see hereafter. Perhaps the protracted period of formal education responsible for many of the earlier first exits from home at the same time lengthened their period of dependency on parents. Middle class sons and daughters succeeded in hastening the timing of independence: they lowered the age at final exit by about two years. This change was brought about by those who migrated out of Tilburg, because the timing of marriage did not change at all for this group of young adults.

Around the middle of the century children of working class fathers were mostly staying at home until they married. This is reflected in the high proportion of final exits by marriage for both boys and girls of the first generation: a little over three-quarters of all final exits concerned an exit by marriage. This is quite a sharp contrast to the 27% of all upper class boys who departed from home permanently because they married and set up a place of their own. For girls the differences were a little less pronounced, only 40% of all upper class girls in the first generation left permanently on marriage. For both boys and girls the middle classes occupied the middle position. (For tables see appendices 5.4 and 5.5.)

In the second generation, because of the increased tendency for the working classes to migrate in adolescence or early adulthood, the chances were that either these migrating young men and women would not return to their home town following their first exit or that they would increasingly find marriage partners outside of Tilburg. In the latter case their final exit will also have been registered as a migratory exit. Results indicate that this is probably what happened. First of all, as far as final exits were concerned we find that there was a considerable fall in the number of working class sons and daughters in the second generation leaving on marriage. Secondly, the age at which this event occurred was not any lower than it was before, while thirdly, the age at marriage for those that married in their hometown also did not change at all. (See for type of final exit appendices 5.4 and 5.5.)

While working class sons and daughters increasingly left home permanently to migrate, there is a reverse movement at the other end of the social scale at least for boys. While in the first generation 27% of all final upper class exits for sons concerned a marriage, this had risen to 40% in the second generation. Daughters from upper class families, like those in the working classes, had a decreasing number of final exits through marriage, but the difference between the two generations was not as large as for working class girls. Considering the rise in age at final exit for upper class sons in the second generation we may safely conclude that more of them were staying home until marriage. Apparently, towards the close of the century the town offered sufficient prospects to young men from the upper classes to keep them from moving away to other places.

Of course, the marriage of a son or daughter was the crucial event in the lives of ageing parents. It determined their economic well-being and their possibilities for continued independence from kin, neighbours and the poor relief authorities. Marriage above all constituted the final break between parents and children; it was almost always accompanied by departure from home. For working class children marriage was probably crucial as well, because, and this will have been particularly so for women, it really offered the only available and generally accepted opportunity for complete independence from parents. Unmarried individuals, if they wanted to leave the parental home to acquire personal independence, were generally restricted to accommodation within a familial setting. Large lodging houses without familial supervision simply did not exist.³⁰⁶ Moreover, towards the end of the nineteenth century

³⁰⁶ In Preston for instance these lodging houses were feasible opportunities for working class children who wanted to escape paternal supervision. M. Anderson, Family structure, p. 125.

a young man of twenty could earn a fair wage in the mills, as one of the Tilburg manufacturers declared in 1887, so that no major material obstacle existed to early marriage.³⁰⁷

TABLE 5.9 MEDIAN AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE FOR SONS AND DAUGHTERS BY INITIAL SOCIAL CLASS OF HEAD FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

SONS				
class	1849-1890		1880-1920	
	age	N	age	N
unskilled labour	26	137	26	238
skilled labour	26	307	26	343
middle class	29	49	29	94
lower upper class	28	12	29	17
upper upper class	28	6	29	8

DAUGHTERS				
class	1849-1890		1880-1920	
	age	N	age	N
unskilled labour	25	134	25	240
skilled labour	26	266	25	301
middle class	28	51	28	64
lower upper class	25	18	24	9
upper upper class	25	10	25	11

It is therefore of some importance to note that the age at first marriage among the working classes between the two generations did not change at all. The median age at marriage for working class children, see table 5.9, continued to be high throughout the period. Table 5.9 however does strongly suggest that the age at marriage and by implication the power of parents over children increase with the social-economic position of the parents. The fact that this is mainly so in the case of sons only enhances the likelihood of such a conclusion. Among the upper classes most girls would not have been required to work for wages in order to secure the economic basis of the household, which makes the timing of marriage for them more open to other influences. Sons however were either bringing in high wages after protracted periods of education, or they were expected and trained to continue the family enterprise. Thus, elite parents had a considerable interest in maintaining a great deal of influence over the timing of marriage of their sons, and they clearly succeeded in doing so.

³⁰⁷ Enquete, Tilburg, question 10561.

This economically based explanation might also serve to explain the high ages at marriage of the middle classes to whom both sons and daughters were no doubt a considerable economic asset, especially when families were running a small scale family business. Although as we have seen before, some of the children coming from a middle class background succeeded in leaving by migration earlier than had been the case before, others stayed on until they married at relatively advanced ages or did so even after marriage.

In the evidence we have looked at so far we have found some important shifts in the life-course experience of some young men and women, but these can hardly be regarded as signs of a serious weakening of intergenerational relations under the influence of a changing economy. Although the majority of sons and daughters began leaving the parental home at earlier ages, the final break between parents and children, as reflected in age at final exit and age at marriage, took place at largely the same age. Social differences in the extent to which parents managed to exercise control over their children were suggested by age at marriage, especially concerning sons. Age at marriage may be considered to be the most important indicator concerning this topic, suggesting an increase in control over children with an increase in occupational status and financial position.

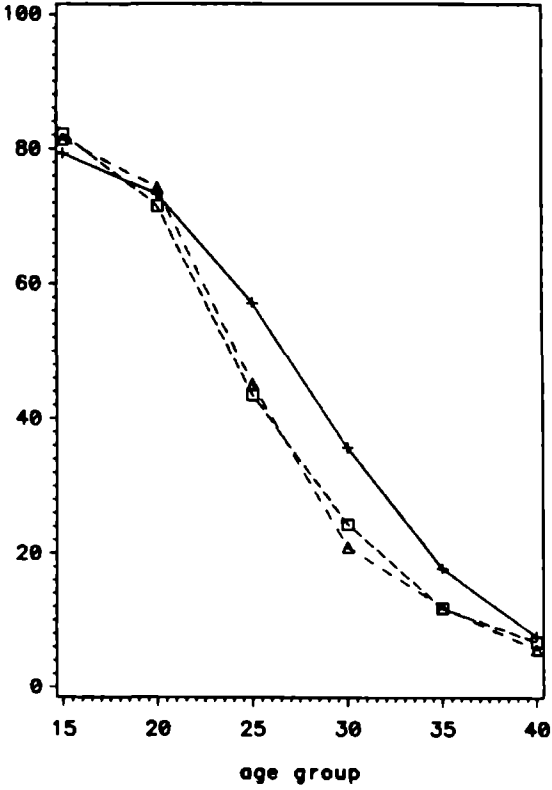
We have yet one more measure left to approach the issue of socially diverging life courses of young men and women in the nineteenth century. In contrast to other indicators the proportion of sons and daughters who had not yet left the parental home permanently, has the advantage of also including those that were never married or did not leave at all. This measure is presented in figure 5.3 which concerns the proportion of sons and daughters, married or single, who had not yet exited permanently from the parental home.³⁰⁸

From the left hand upper panel of figure 5.3 it is clear that in the first generation rather large differences between social groups existed in the rate at which sons departed from home. For working class sons the final break from home occurred within a relatively short time span between the ages of 20 and 30, so that of all 30 year-old sons only about 20% was still living with parents and/or siblings. Although at that age the majority of middle and upper class sons had left as well, we find the remarkably high figure of almost 40% still resident in their parental homes. For girls the pattern was a little different in this generation. The major social gap for girls existed between lower and upper class girls on the one hand and middle class daughters on the other. At the age of 30 21% of working

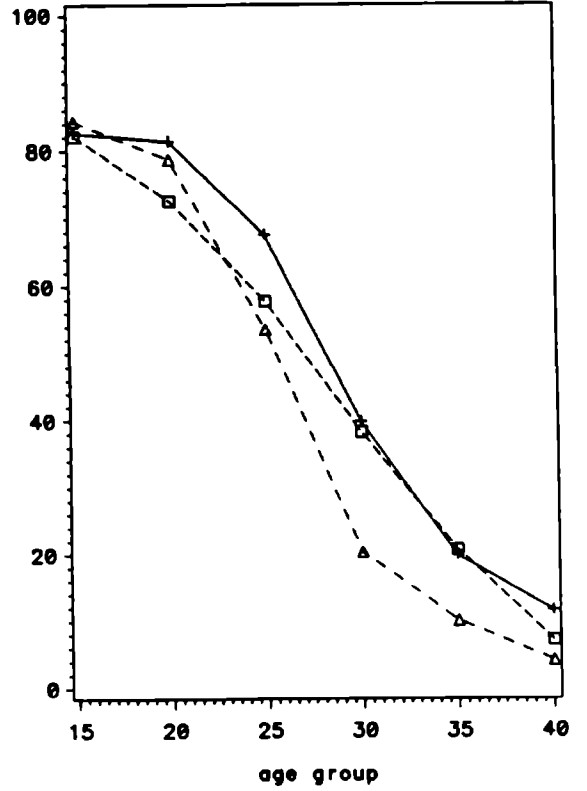
³⁰⁸ All exits made by children, also exits by death, are included. For figures see appendix 5.6 and 5.7.

FIGURE 5.3 PROPORTION OF CHILDREN STILL AT HOME BY AGE GROUP AND SOCIAL CLASS, TILBURG 1849-1920

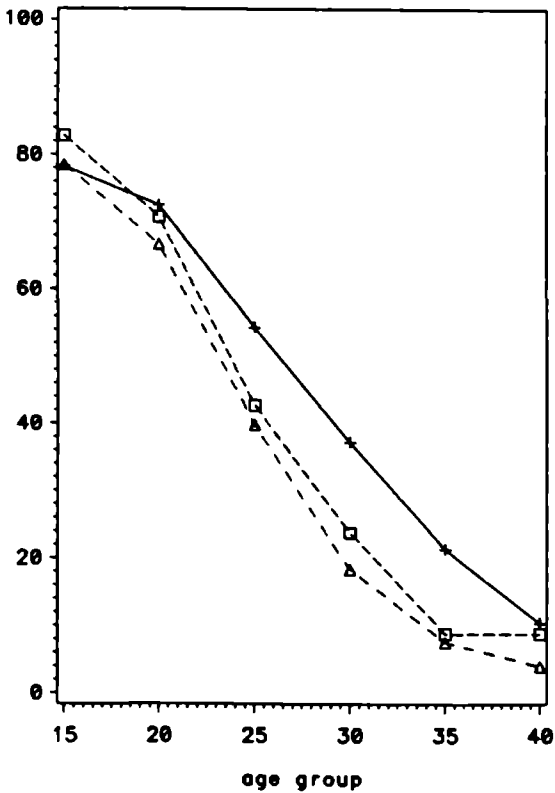
DAUGHTERS, 1849-1890



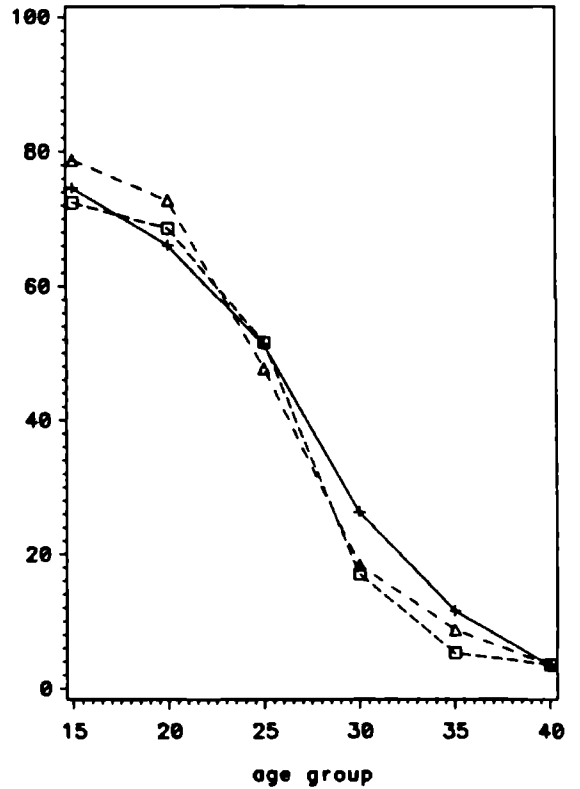
SONS, 1849-1890



DAUGHTERS, 1880-1920



SONS, 1880-1920



+--+ middle class
□-□-□ upper class
△-△-△ working class

class daughters and 24% of those in the upper classes had not yet left permanently, whereas for those in the middle classes as many as 36% were still at home. Middle class parents managed to severely restrict early autonomy for daughters who were probably major economic and social assets to these households.

From the right hand lower panel of figure 5.3 it is clear that middle class parents seem to have lost little of their hold over their daughters. Towards the end of the nineteenth century we still found about 37% of middle class daughters living with parents at the advanced age of 30, which was the case for only 18% for working class women of that age and 24% of those in the upper classes. We further find, upon examination of the lower panel of figure 5.3, that middle class daughters in contrast to their brothers had obviously not broken free of from parental authority. Whereas in the second generation middle class sons were leaving home in larger proportions than before, daughters in this same group were still prevailed upon successfully to remain at home to assist parents in old age. They were not only marrying late compared with other social groups, as by the way did their brothers, but these daughters were also the only ones paying the heavy price of delayed independence for the increased longevity of parents, who no doubt were in their care.

On the whole, class patterns in the life-course experience for young men came to be less pronounced in the second generation. In the younger age groups, 15 and 20 year old, there is only a slight variation in the proportion of sons still at home between the respective social groups. However, at age 30 the gap is still considerable, but the linear relationship between proportion still at home and social class has disappeared. As in the case of the girls, the middle classes were most successful in delaying the moment of final break from home for their sons. Of all 30 year-old sons in this group 26% had not yet departed from the parental household, which stands in clear contrast to the 17% of upper class sons and 18% of all working class sons who were also still at home at that age. Thus, the inevitable conclusion must be that while in the earlier generation middle and upper class parents managed to persuade sons and daughters not to leave the parental household too rashly, in the second generation only middle class parents had maintained strict parental control primarily over daughters but also to a lesser extent over sons.

On balance figure 5.3 leads us to suggest that upper class parents were indeed the big losers in the struggle for independence on the part of their children. Larger proportions of both sons and daughters were breaking away from home than before in almost all age groups. It is especially remarkable to see that upper class parents had to let go of their sons and daughters in comparable proportions to working class parents. Although the age at final exit

from home rose for upper class sons between the two generations, a substantially smaller proportion were prepared to stay home until both parents have died. Further, it is also worth stressing that we observed only modest shifts in working class experience for both sexes between the two generations. The proportion of children still at home at the age of 30 decreased only slightly among working class families, despite heavy increases in migration and profound changes in the local economy.

TABLE 5.10 HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION AT THE END OF THE PARENTAL HOUSEHOLD BY INITIAL SOCIAL CLASS FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

class	with children	with married children	without children	with others only	N=
lower class	66.1	6.3	25.0	2.7	224
middle class	73.5	2.9	11.8	11.8	34
upper class	94.4	5.6	0.0	0.0	18

GENERATION 1880-1920

class	with children	with married children	without children	with others only	N=
lower class	53.0	11.6	33.6	1.9	268
middle class	60.4	15.1	22.6	1.9	53
upper class	63.2	5.3	26.3	5.3	19

Nevertheless, parents were increasingly living longer in the second generation, meaning that, *ceteris paribus*, the number of parents facing the 'empty nest' would increase proportionately. How did parents from different social groups cope with this development while at the same time for some of them their children were leaving home earlier than they had done before? Table 5.10 should be able to answer that question for us. In this table we examine household composition at the time at which parents were last observed to be heading their own household.³⁰⁹ At that moment, shortly before parents either died or moved away, we ask ourselves how many parents were actually living with or without the

³⁰⁹ Excluded from this table were those households in which no children were born at all as well as those that could only be observed for less than twenty years.

support of co-residing children. In addition a separate note is made of the marital status of the co-residing child(ren).

In the earlier generation all of the parents in the upper strata of Tilburg society lived with children until the end of their lives, or at least until their household came to an end, while only a small proportion of these parents were co-residing with married children only. This is in marked contrast with middle class families, but even more so with lower class parents of whom as many as a quarter experienced a phase without children at the end of their household. In general, co-residence with married children in this generation was still rare, as we have already seen in the previous chapter.

The subsequent generation of parents increasingly saw all of their children leave the household while they themselves were still alive and heading their own household. This was the case for all classes, but the change was particularly strong in the case of upper class parents. While the preceding generation of upper class parents had not known the empty nest phase at all, almost a third of all present generation upper class parents ended their household's history without co-residing children. Although many fewer upper class parents co-resided unmarried children, they were still not particularly inclined to have married children living with them. In higher social circles the problem of the empty nest was not solved by inviting married children into the parental household. However, upper class parents most likely would not have felt the need to do so to the same extent as did the working or middle classes. The need did not arise from their financial position which would have made other options available, such as paid services of various kind to solve any remaining problems related to old age.

Another important observation which is called for here, is that while in middle class families in the later generation children left the parental home relatively earlier than children from other social classes, parents did not always manage to avoid the empty nest. However, they had quite some success: unlike the previous generation middle class parents now had the lowest percentage of households without any children present. From figure 5.3 we also know that in this social group daughters were the ones on whom a strong appeal indeed was made to continue co-residence with parents. The lower panel of table 5.10 also indicates that lower and middle class parents tried to cope with the empty nest problem in particular by increasingly inviting married children to come and live with them. In fact, this is the main reason why middle class parents had a lower percentage of households without children when compared with upper class households. While upper class parents clearly continued their stronger hold over sons and daughters so that they had at least one unmarried child living with them,

they did not, or perhaps did not want to, opt for co-residence with married children.

What did parents do when they eventually ended up on their own? In the great majority of cases there was only one parent involved: in 69% of all households without children in the 1880-1920 generation and 77% in the previous one. Of course, some of these couples or widow(er)s without children continued living in their own household until the period of observation ended, at the end of the year 1890 or 1920. What happened to them in the end is unknown. The others ended their households by exiting from it in various ways. In the elder generation we observed 24 'real' exits of parents through which the history of their household came to an end. In only a minority of cases did the parent move in with one of the married children, only 3 parents did so, while 3 others were taken in by the 'gasthuis' (hospital). The remaining parents all died although a few exited in yet other ways, such as outmigration or remarriage followed by a move to another household. A distinction between social classes was not feasible because apart from working class households there were only 6 cases originating from the middle class and none from the upper classes.

In the next generation we again find that parents without co-residing children at the end of their household's cycle were mainly widowed, 69% of all cases. But some things have changed in this generation. If in this generation parents ended their household's life history, they preferred to move in with their married children. Among working class parents 59% did so, with another 8% had married children come in and take over the parental household. Only 33% exited in other ways either as a result of death or migration. Unfortunately, there are only a few cases available for middle class and upper class households, but nevertheless the figures are quite suggestive. While middle class parents also customarily moved into the households of married children, in 3 out of 5 cases of 'real' exits, this never happened with upper class parents. None of the 7 cases in this social class ended with a move to the household of a married child. Instead we found that on two occasions parents asked married children to come and live with them, after which the son or son-in-law became the new head of household. The other 5 cases concerned parents exiting through death.

This result seems to fit in with other figures on upper class extension patterns which principally involved brothers and sisters rather than parents. We have already established the fact that upper class parents were not very likely ever to live with married children. Now it seems we should extend that conclusion and state that in the few cases where they did, these arrangements primarily came about because married children moved in with parents instead of the other way around. While all parents were in general trying to continue headship of their own households, even in very old age, in

order to maintain independency, perhaps only upper class parents were entirely successful in this. Upper class parents disposed of the means to persuade sons in particular to marry late and to have at least one unmarried child staying at home, while in the unfortunate event that all of the children had married and left, they managed to prevail upon one of them to come and live with them. Despite the fact that subsequently the charge of the household was passed on to the son or son-in-law, this arrangement left the parent some opportunity to pose stiff demands if necessary.

Complete dependency upon others, kin or nonkin, which to all appearances may have been the inevitable fate for quite a proportion of working class parents, was thus avoided. More or less the same may be said of middle class parents, who had an even stronger hold over their children resulting in high proportions of adult children still at home, a late age at marriage and only few parents who at the end of their lives had to do without the support of co-residing children. But in their co-residence pattern in old age they more closely resembled the working classes because of the higher frequency of parents co-residing with married children as well as the higher frequency with which they moved into the households of married children.

5.3. Family structure and social mobility

In his study of nineteenth-century Chicago middle class family life Richard Sennett advanced the hypothesis that the nuclear families in his research were unable to cope with the dynamics of urban-industrial life. The vast changes and the sense of dislocation created by the growth of industrial city life caused the heads of these families to retreat into the warm and protective haven of family life. However, this could only work in the intensive and private atmosphere of the smaller, nuclear families. As Sennett himself put it: 'For men confused and scared by the new city, the family offered an intimate world with an internal binding power of its own: both the city and the nature of the family unit would lead men to become absorbed in "home".'³¹⁰ Because within their families these family heads were the only person travelling between the world of work and the world of family life they could 'lock themselves away' from the world into the privacy of their family homes. In their work patterns they held on to what they already had, instead of being competitive and mobile, out of fear from taking risks that could ruin the economic basis of the entire family. Instead of concentrating on the pursuit of upward mobility, these fathers aimed at the alternative path of the strength

³¹⁰ R. Sennett, Families, p. 196.

of family life. The intensive nuclear family unit became 'a weapon of defense against, and refuge from the city'.³¹¹

The heads of extended families however could not according to Sennett use family life as a tool for withdrawal because these families included other adult workers. This made it more difficult to prevent outside industrial, in other words achievement and universalistic, values from seeping into the family sphere. As it brought competition into the home these fathers were stimulated to be more mobile in their occupational patterns. And what is more, the historical experience of the fathers was passed on to the sons. The apprehension nuclear family heads felt about work and city life was passed on to the sons, while at the same time the protective shelter of the family had ill-prepared the sons for the competitive world outside it. In contrast sons from extended families had been introduced to the dominant values of industrial city life by their fathers and other kin members at an early age. In addition, the father's success was a strong incentive on the sons' own road to occupational mobility. Thus, the very segregation between the family and other kin, and between the family and the world of work which Parsons had thought necessary to create dynamic and mobile individuals, had made Sennett's nuclear families unfit to perform in industrial society.

This elaborate exposition of Sennett's Chicago study should not suggest that we intend to pursue his course of extensive psychological interpretation of family patterns in relation to social change. Rather, we wish to carry on from his basic finding that, contrary to Parsonian thought, the nuclear family structure was disfunctional in terms of social or occupational mobility. Sennett's conclusion is intended to refute the element most central to functionalist family theory, viz. the more or less complete 'fit' between familial and societal structures. This also constitutes the issue we wish to explore in this section of the present study. To what extent do the two main family structures, nuclear and extended, permit or inhibit individuals seizing the sometimes very restricted opportunities offered to them to rise on the social ladder? At the beginning of this chapter we established that extended families were not as typical among those at the very bottom of the social scale, perhaps there may even be a cumulative effect with extension arising among those most successful among middle class families. Yet it may still be that a more pronounced, intensive orientation towards kinship relations, reflected in the tendency to co-reside with extended kin, prevented the individual moving out and socially better himself? Or, to put it the other way around, do socially mobile individuals relinquish their possibly inconvenient kin ties? This approach allows us to examine the relationship between

³¹¹ Idem, p. 199.

the family and the social structure from a new and more dynamic perspective on both family and social structure.

For all following measures of social mobility we will again make use of the five-class social stratification model we have employed before. For all family heads we relate social and economic position at the age of fifty to his social and economic position at the beginning of each period of observation in 1849 or 1880 when the heads were around the age of 30-35. For the sons of both groups of households we aimed at three measurements: one at the age of 19, another one at the age of 35 and a last one at the end of each period, 1890 and 1920, for all of those sons who were at that moment 40 years old or more. However, occupational entries in the national militia registers could not be found for all sons for reasons which were explained in chapter 2. When the age range for this measurement was somewhat expanded to include all sons for which an occupation could be found in one of the sources used here prior to their 30th birthday, most sons still alive could be included in this measurement. Likewise, a very strict application of the 35-age norm for the sons' second measurement would needlessly have limited absolute numbers. It often occurred, especially among sons from the youngest generation of households, that sons were absent for a short time period following a migratory move at precisely that moment. It was therefore decided to include all sons in this second measurement for whom social class and economic position could be determined between the ages of 30 and 35. For the assessment of intergenerational mobility we have thus three measurements, which shall each time be related to the father's initial class position. For the heads' social mobility, tables included in the text will only summarize the various measurements, for complete mobility matrices the reader is referred to the appendix, while results for intergenerational mobility are also summarized in the appendices.

Opportunities for upward social mobility in nineteenth-century Dutch society are generally considered to have been very limited indeed. Only in the final decades of the century did the social structure begin to open up, offering new opportunities and new roads to social success.³¹² Still, for those belonging to the working classes prospects were still pretty grim. When we have a look at mobility patterns of the inhabitants of Tilburg we see a similar pattern emerging, with mobility being low for heads in the first generation and significantly higher in the second. On the

³¹² Th. van Tijn, 'Het sociale leven', pp.87-88, 311; H. van Dijk, Rotterdam, pp. 146-156; P. Kooij, Groningen, pp. 72-77.

whole, the roads to social success in Tilburg can be considered traditional and involved for the most part in eventually artisanal workers becoming independent masters. For skilled workers to rise into the group of large industrial entrepreneurs was almost impossible; nearly all large factory owners were recruited from the traditional commercial families. Towards the close of the century new opportunities were created for skilled labourers in Tilburg to improve their social standing and financial situation. New higher-status and better-paid occupations were created, such as in the metallurgical sector at the arrival of the national railroad construction yard; or entirely new routes for social advancement opened up, such as training schools for primary school masters. On the whole though, social advancement within traditionally oriented industries remained the primary road to social mobility. Although the mobility scores presented in this section do give an indication of the general development of social opportunities in nineteenth-century Tilburg we should refrain from applying them as indicators of the overall level of social mobility in this period. The samples used here were not collected with the intention of reconstructing a representative image of social opportunities in Tilburg.

Fathers heading nuclear families are certainly not more mobile compared with fathers heading extended families, as table 5.11 shows.³¹³ (For mobility matrices for these groups see appendix 5.8 to 5.13.) In fact, total upward mobility figures as well as total upward mobility into the middle class indicate, if anything, that the extended family structure accompanied some quite successful social careers. However, results in table 5.11 are not consistent. In the earliest generation of households we find that, although total upward mobility for extended households is a little bit higher than for nuclear households, an extended household structure for the unskilled labourers does not produce a very successful outcome. At the bottom of the social scale it would seem to be more sensible not to be involved with kin beyond the immediate family. The difference in mobility rates for unskilled labourers from different household structures are enormous, which surprisingly enough is also the case at the far end of the

³¹³ We need to consider to what extent these results may have been biased by ambiguous occupational entries in the sources that were used. On the whole it is felt that both heads and sons could be adequately placed in the various categories on the basis of the information available. Those recorded in the sources as factory workers may however in some cases have been incorrectly categorized as being unskilled. (See also appendix 4.1.) Mobility scores pertaining to the latter social group should perhaps be treated with some caution.

social ladder. Class IV, containing the smaller traders and industrial entrepreneurs, also does extremely well while adhering to a nuclear family structure.

TABLE 5.11 UPWARD MOBILITY OF HEADS BY SOCIAL CLASS AND TOTAL MOBILITY SCORES BY FIRST-PHASE HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

class	nuclear families	extended families	extended 5-> years
I	42.9	21.1	18.2
II	6.3	6.3	13.1
III	17.6	45.0	40.0
IV	55.6	0.0	0.0
V	-	-	-
total upward mobility	18.8	19.5	21.2
unchanged	63.9	70.1	69.2
total downward mobility	17.4	10.4	9.6
from class I-II to III-V	4.9	3.9	9.6
N=	213	77	52

GENERATION 1880-1920

class	nuclear families	extended families	extended 5-> years
I	50.6	56.8	63.2
II	15.2	12.9	9.1
III	28.0	38.7	50.0
IV	57.1	71.4	80.0
V	-	-	-
total upward mobility	30.5	32.6	35.6
unchanged	60.5	56.0	50.7
total downward mobility	9.1	11.4	13.7
from class I-II to III-V	10.9	11.1	9.6
N=	220	141	73

In between both ends of the social scale however results indicate the opposite. The social success of middle class extended families is especially conspicuous, while also the results for skilled labourers co-residing with kin are quite favourable. For this last figure and for the total upward mobility into the middle classes we may safely state that they involve the biggest hurdle in the model of social stratification. From the first table in this chapter it may be remembered that in the earlier generation extended families were particularly prevalent among those initially belonging to the middle classes. Now it also seems that for both ambitious labourers aiming at the middle class as well as those stemming from it, that an extended family structure carried the best promise of success. It reinforces the close association between the middle strata of society and the phenomenon of kin co-residence in the middle of the nineteenth century.

In the second generation social success in a relative sense, meaning within separate social strata, appears to be more closely related to extended family structures. For all social classes with only one exception, viz. the skilled labourers, extended families achieved higher upward mobility rates. Differences in upward mobility between the two family forms are especially large for middle- and upper classes. However, upward mobility into class III in this generation, while being generally on a higher level than before, is not exclusively achieved by extended families.

Instead of associating the extended family structure with social success however, what we really should be doing in the first place is state that these Tilburg nuclear families clearly do not substantiate the structural fit between an industrializing economy and the nuclear family structure. The first generation of households could perhaps up to a point suggest a basis for such a fit because of the successful bourgeoisie that had severed extended family ties. But then again, so had the subclass of unskilled factory workers and day-labourers. As the nineteenth century advanced every ground for the structuralist hypothesis is lost. Those families that had managed to make the best of the opportunities offered to them by the evolving industrial structure of Tilburg did not refrain from taking in extended kin members in the first phase of their household's cycle. Or, as phrased from the opposite perspective, heads of extended families had not been restrained in terms of social opportunities by the fact that they were strongly embedded in their extended kin network.

To what extent is this development reflected in the social experience of the sons stemming from various household structures? We will examine the results on intergenerational mobility by age group instead of by generation-group. The first measurement, concerning sons up to the age of 30, revealed the fact that the majority of young men embarked

upon a social career as a skilled labourer or artisanal worker. Regardless of the class position of the father, most sons under the age of 30 can be graded in class II. This holds true for 71% of the sons from nuclear families, and for 77% of sons from fathers heading extended families in the second generation. The previous generation had a comparable experience in that 69% of nuclear family sons, and 71% and 68% of the sons from extended families began their career in class II. Perhaps it may induce some astonishment that sons from middle class and to some extent even upper class fathers were found to be in artisanal work before their 30th birthday. It becomes understandable when we know that most middle class family heads were heading medium to large scale commercial enterprises. Most of the time the sons were placed in the family business, as successors, assisting their fathers. Thus, the son of a wealthy contractor could begin his career as a carpenter in his father's company. This also helps explain the higher level of downward mobility for sons from extended families in this age group, which occurred in both generations, as these families comprised a larger number of middle and upper class families.

However, were sons from extended families more successful or not? It must be said that in both generations sons from extended families frequently rose socially, see appendix 5.14. In the first generation the percentage of sons from class II rising upwards is a lot higher for extended families when compared with sons from nuclear families; the same may be said for total upward mobility scores as well as total upward mobility into the middle class. In the following generation total upward mobility scores do not differ greatly, but upward mobility into class III is again higher for extended family sons which also holds for mobility out of class I and III. It is especially remarkable to see that in the second generation a number of middle class sons from extended families had already risen to class IV or even V before they reached the age of 30.

However, the mobility scores for sons at the age of 30-35 from different household structures are not very far apart anymore. See appendix 5.15. For this age group household structure does not seem to be in any way related in a statistical sense to social mobility. But, if results do diverge between household structures in this age group they often do so in favour of the nuclear families. In the first generation nuclear families among unskilled labourers in class I and among the bourgeoisie in class IV have higher mobility scores, while only middle class sons seem to benefit a little by coming from extended households. It is a rather weak reflection of their father's mobility pattern, which suggests that middle class fathers do not merely hand on the ability to rise on the social ladder to their sons. Total upward mobility scores as well as total mobility into

the middle class for this generation are virtually identical between the family forms.

In the younger generation total mobility scores are again higher for nuclear family sons, especially when compared with sons coming from families in which kin co-resided for 5 years or more. This result is totally brought about by the social success of upper class sons from nuclear families. For other social classes the nuclear family does not distinguish itself by any significant degree of social success.

The data for sons at the age of 40 or above, see appendix 5.16, further confirm the assumption that there is no consistent statistical relationship between the structure of the family and the degree of intergenerational mobility. Although in the first generation class I, III and IV have considerably higher mobility scores for nuclear families, resulting in a higher total upward mobility, this pattern is not repeated in the second generation. Here again, only leaders of upper class nuclear families have successful sons, while for extended families middle class sons seem to have done extremely well in life. No less than three-quarters of all middle class sons from families in which kin had co-resided for 5 years or more managed to rise into the upper classes.

TABLE 5.12 SOCIAL STRATIFICATION FOR SONS AT THE AGE OF 40 OR ABOVE BY FIRST-PHASE HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

class	nuclear families	extended families
unskilled labour	21.1	24.8
skilled labour	57.9	54.3
middle class	14.1	17.8
upper class	7.0	3.1
total	446	129

GENERATION 1880-1920

class	nuclear families	extended families
unskilled labour	9.0	6.6
skilled labour	70.5	58.2
middle class	16.5	20.7
upper class	5.0	14.5
total	501	227

Where did these sons finally end up in the social hierarchy as a result of the rates of differential mobility established above? Had the difference in social position between the two family groups that existed for their fathers been erased? What was the effect for instance of the relatively lower social mobility of extended family sons in the second generation? Examining the class position achieved by sons at the age of 40 or above for both generations we must conclude anew that the data do not consistently suggest that one or either family structure was more functional in terms of intergenerational mobility. Table 5.12 shows more sons from nuclear families in the first generation join the highest strata of Tilburg society, while exactly the opposite may be said for those in the younger generation.³¹⁴ A larger number of sons from extended families of the 1880-1920 generation managed to get into class IV and V. Moreover, assuming that these results were not the effect of statistical chance, it is also worth noting the sequence of the change. As Tilburg society increasingly took on an industrial shape towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century sons from nuclear families began to be less successful instead of the other way around.

5.4. Conclusion

Extended family households were a key feature of middle class family life in nineteenth-century Tilburg. In both generations of households middle class families not only had the highest level of extensions by life-cycle year, but they also had the highest number of households ever extended. More than half of all first generation middle class households were extended at least once along their cycle, which rose to three-quarters in the second generation. Kin co-residence was clearly not an exclusively working class phenomenon: in the first generation lower class households experienced extensions about as often as did the upper classes, while they occupied a middle position in the second generation. Nor can household extension be said to have been associated above all with higher social positions, in fact the higher social classes were the least inclined towards kin co-residence. No linear relationship between social class and family structure could be established.

The second generation of households experienced a general rise towards a higher proportion of families ever becoming extended. A number of converging micro- and macro-level developments were responsible for this result, affecting

³¹⁴ For this tabulation the corrected 1880-1920 sample was used in order to avoid a bias towards sons from upper class fathers.

most of all the lives of those in the working and middle classes. First of all, parents were increasingly living longer, a development which had already set in around the middle of the nineteenth century, thereby creating a larger number of extensions at the beginning of the second generation's life cycle. Towards the close of the life history of these households the problems, of both a physical and economical nature, created by increased longevity became more serious as children either continued to leave the parental household at the time they had done before or even left a little earlier. A larger number of parents at the end of their lives were experiencing a short empty-nest phase as all of their children had left the parental household. Furthermore, this period also witnessed a considerable increase in the mobility of married and unmarried children in and out of their parental households. In view of the growing housing shortage after 1912 this created even further problems. Married children who had migrated were forced to apply to parents and siblings for temporary accommodation. World War I in all probability only served to aggravate the situation: the entire private house-building had collapsed.

Only the more affluent classes were successfully able to resist or to counterbalance the forces promoting extended households, and then only to a certain extent. Upper class households clearly differed from all other social strata in that they did not share in the rise towards a higher level of extensions. They were the least inclined to live with kin, and, if they did, they co-resided with different types of kin as compared with other social groups. During the first phase of the household's cycle they only infrequently lived with grandparents but more often had co-resident unmarried brothers and sisters. This pattern repeated itself at the other end of the cycle when parents only rarely co-resided with married children. The upper classes recognized a far wider circle of extended kin relations and were prepared to take them in if need be. The second generation of households in particular co-resided with a relatively large number of cousins and uncles and aunts during the middle years of the household's cycle.

We would therefore argue that the lower level of household extensions among upper class households is not an expression of a lesser commitment to family and kin, but quite on the contrary, it results from a much larger and more cohesive kin network. To begin with, the upper classes could exercise a much stronger hold over their sons and daughters than could other social groups. In both generations upper class parents showed the highest frequency of co-residence with unmarried children. This enabled parents to escape the necessity of living with married children or other kin during old age, while of course also some of the problems associated with this stage of life were either not existent at all or much less serious because of greater financial

resources. This reduced the number of extensions at the beginning and at the end of the household's cycle. The much larger inclination to co-reside with more distant kin further illustrates the strength of family ties at the top of the social hierarchy. Not only unmarried siblings but also cousins, aunts and uncles, or nephews and nieces were taken into the household when they were unable to reside any longer with their own families. Upper class household extension came about much more as the result of the need of the individual kin member, and to a much lesser extent resulted from the need of the receiving household, which also implies that upper class household structure is much less determined by life cycle conditions.

Nevertheless, the upper classes did not totally escape pressures on parental authority and family cohesion. While none of the upper class parents of the first generation had to live without the support of co-residing children, upper class parents in the second resided much less often with children. Their children were leaving the parental household in about the same proportions as were working class children. This should however not obscure one important difference: a much larger proportion of working class children found to be still at home at the age of thirty were actually married as compared with upper class children. At the end of their lives upper class parents co-resided without children as often as did working class parents solely because they did not live with married children to the same degree. Upper class families display a definite inclination to take care of lone kin members, but there is an apparent hesitation when it comes to co-residence involving two nuclear families.

The upper classes were thus much more able to conform to the cultural ideal of the independence of the nuclear family. Evidently, either out of need or out of choice working and middle class parents did not conform to this family norm. Not only did they open their households to solitary kin members in need of care, such as ageing parents or unmarried siblings, they also took in their children's families at a later stage in their lives. Working class parents were in addition more often forced to surrender their independence and join the households of their children when reaching old age, which is directly related to the fact that they could not to the same degree as could upper class parents exact subordination of their children's interests to their own.

However, the middle classes in this study may be regarded as the true champions of family and kinship. The strength of family life in the middle class milieu is not only evident from the great number of extended families, but is also evident in their strong intergenerational links. Middle class children throughout the entire period married at very late ages, they left the parental home in much smaller proportions and in the second generation often resided with

parents after their marriage. Especially the girls were tied to their families of origin by very strong bonds, sacrificing their independence to the interests of parents and family. Although the data available were imperfect we tried to test the hypothesis that the particular structure of the middle class family is related to the presence of family property in the form of a commercial or industrial family business. However, wage-dependent middle and upper class families appeared to even more hospitable towards extended kin than did those who ran a family enterprise.

There is no evidence here in support of the supposed association of extended family structures with the margins of industrial society or of the supposed structural fit between the nuclear family and industrial society during the initial stages of the process of industrialization. This was further affirmed by the section on intra- and intergenerational social mobility. There were no indications that families which had been extended at some point during the first twenty years of their cycle were in any way impeding the social advancement of the family head or the sons. Although results were not totally unambiguous they may be summed up as follows. As far as intragenerational mobility is concerned, the first generation's nuclear families showed themselves to be more upwardly mobile than the extended families in this group, while the situation reversed in the succeeding generation of households. There was one notable exception: middle class extended family households in both generations were very successful indeed in social respects. Household extension in nineteenth-century Tilburg should therefore primarily, though not exclusively, be associated to socially vigorous middle class groups. The social mobility of sons as measured against their father's class position weakly reflected mobility scores of the heads, with sons from nuclear families being a little better off in the first generation and sons from extended families in the second. The intergenerational mobility scores further helped to dissolve remaining doubts about the functionalist hypothesis: there was no such thing as a structural fit between the nuclear family and early industrial society. If anything, the social success of the extended family structure increased as the process of industrialization transformed traditional economic and social structures.

CHAPTER 6 FAMILY STRUCTURE AND GEOGRAPHICAL MOBILITY

This chapter pursues the third strategy which involves an examination of the household structure of migrant and non-migrant households in Tilburg during the nineteenth century. After a short discussion of the relevant literature we will outline first a number of general characteristics of the migrant households in our two samples. The following section explores household structure of migrant and non-migrant couples, while the final section of this chapter looks at the interrelationships between household structure and geographical as well as social mobility. In this chapter our research efforts address the traditional assumption that geographical mobility will inevitably lead to a breakdown of extended family ties, so that geographical mobility and extended families must be considered as mutually exclusive.

6.1 Migration and family breakdown

Conventional sociological theory has painted a rather grim picture of migrant family life in the nineteenth-century urban arena. According to the theory of social disorganization the transition from rural peasant communities to the industrial urban landscape involved abrupt discontinuities, leading to the uprooting of individuals and families. The transition to industrial work routines and the anonymousities of life in towns and cities resulted not infrequently in stress and anomie. The nineteenth-century migrant was basically a lonely, uprooted individual cut off from the support of extensive family and community networks. R.E. Park and E.W. Burgess were major representatives in a respectable line of scholars adhering to this perspective.³¹⁵

Very much in line with the theory of social disorganization, structural-functionalist sociologists stressed the incompatibility of strong extended kin networks with geographical mobility. It was pointed out that large family groups would necessarily hinder the geographical mobility of individuals which was so vital to the modern economic system. Thus, the smaller nuclear-family unit emerged, facilitating not only individual social mobility but, since the two are thought to be related, geographical mobility as well. In addition to the effects of the family system on the degree of mobility, there is also the effect of migration on the family system to be considered. Once the nuclear-family unit had removed itself geographically from its extended kin members, opportunities and possibilities

³¹⁵ R.E. Park, E.W. Burgess, The City.

for mutual support and aid declined. Along with the weakening of kin ties there would also be a decline in the formation of extended family households.

A large body of historical and sociological research exists to date which effectively questions the validity of these traditional positions. Studies of nineteenth-century migration have shown that it mostly involved a chain process over short distances enabling the migrant to adjust gradually to the urban setting.³¹⁶ As in other European areas this appears also to have been the case in Tilburg and other Dutch communities.³¹⁷ Furthermore, in many instances it was found that migrants retained connections with relatives whom they had left behind.³¹⁸ Whatever the distances travelled migrants were not suddenly stripped of their traditional culture of which they, in fact, actively made use in their process of adjustment.

The family played a key role in the process of migration itself and the subsequent processes of adjustment and acculturation. In many instances the family network functioned as an agency directing and facilitating migration.³¹⁹ The family provided communication links, while in determining their destination migrants would largely follow those kin members that had preceded them.³²⁰ Kin assistance in migration is thought to have been essential for those groups who were socially less resourceful or powerful.³²¹ While many ventured to migrate together with their families of origin, individual migrants would mostly choose to reside within a familial context.³²² Family life also promoted residential stability: single migrants co-residing with relatives were found to have higher permanency rates compared with those living in other arrangements.³²³

It would thus appear that extended family ties could still survive migration. The assumption that geographical mobility and the extended family network would be incompatible is precisely the idea Litwak set out to refute.³²⁴ In post-war America, widely separated kin continued to exchange help and recognize kinship relations beyond the immediate nuclear family. These 'modified extended families', Litwak argued, aided geographical mobility and retained extended family identification in spite of physical distance between them.

³¹⁶ M. Drake, Historical Demography, pp. 119-145; M. Anderson, Family structure, p. 37.

³¹⁷ J.P.M. Peters, 'De migratie', p. 155; P. Kooij, Groningen, p. 186.

³¹⁸ T.K. Hareven, Family Time, pp. 114-116.

³¹⁹ V. Yans-McLaughlin, Family, pp. 55-81.

³²⁰ A.R. Neuman, 'The influence'.

³²¹ C. Tilly, C.H. Brown, 'On uprooting', pp. 116-120.

³²² L.A. Glasco, 'Migration', p. 165.

³²³ J.H. Jackson Jr., 'Migration'.

³²⁴ E. Litwak, 'Geographic mobility'.

Has Litwak thus effectively disproved Parsons' contention on family structure and geographical mobility? Harris points out that this can never be the case as these families were not forming extended family groups in the classical and Parsonian sense of a co-residing domestic group.³²⁵ Parsons would never deny the continued existence of help patterns between dispersed nuclear families related by kinship ties. Harris concludes his discussion on this issue by saying that 'the existence of extended-family groups inhibits differential mobility and adversely affects the assimilation of immigrants'.³²⁶ If migrants do retain extended kinship ties which lead to the formation of extended family groups this will endanger a successful integration into the host society. In other words, there can be no structural fit between migrants huddled together in extended family households and modern industrial society.

In the present chapter on household structure and migration we will therefore compare first of all the incidence of extended kin co-residence in migrant and non-migrant families in nineteenth-century Tilburg to see to what extent geographical mobility did inhibit the formation of extended family households. In addition, we will ask ourselves to what extent migrant extended families were bordering on the margins of society. Did household extension indeed mainly occur with migrants from more 'backward' agrarian areas, who upon arrival in the town occupied and continued to occupy the lower social positions?

6.2 Migrant households in the 1849 and 1880 samples

Both the 1849 and the 1880 sample contained migrant and non-migrant households. When speaking of migrant households we are referring to households where both husband and wife who were heading the household were born outside Tilburg. In non-migrant households both partners were born within the community's boundaries. From chapter 3 we know that the town derived its most powerful growth potential in the nineteenth century from an excess of births over deaths. The low level of migration and the relative isolation of the town is effectively illustrated by the fact that in 1899, and even in 1919, about three-quarters of its inhabitants had been born within the town itself.³²⁷

However, Tilburg did experience one short period of heavy immigration in the sixties, when large numbers from the surrounding countryside were attracted by the town's growing

³²⁵ C.C. Harris, The family, p. 82.

³²⁶ Idem, p. 84.

³²⁷ M.J.J.G. Rossen, Het gemeentelijk volkshuisvestingsbeleid, p. 151.

economic opportunities.³²⁸ The boom in woollen textiles of the sixties induced investments in a great many additional mills based on current technology rather than in more advanced large scale production techniques in the existing mills. Consequently, employment opportunities expanded greatly both in textiles and the artisinal sectors such as building or shoemaking. The inmigration of the sixties therefore may be considered to be the effect of strong pull variables attracting for the greater part young families with small children from the surrounding countryside, rather than the more deprived lone migrant turning up as the effect of push variables.³²⁹ In 1869 51% of incoming migrants were migrating with their families.

In view of the above it is no surprise to find that at the end of 1849 only few migrant families could be found among the Tilburg population. Of all couples heading a household at the time of the 1849 census only 12.7% were of migrant origin, while 31.7% were of mixed origin. Although in 1880 migrant households were still a minority group the percentage had risen considerably. Of all couple-headed households 26.5% contained couples of migrant origin while 28.8% of the couples had mixed, migrant and non-migrant, birthplaces. In 1880 migrant households were very evenly distributed over different age categories of the couple heading the household. The further decline in the already low level of migration during the crisis of the forties explains the fact that migrant couples in 1849 were principally to be found among those over the age of 35. (For figures see appendix 6.1.)

It is unfortunate that the first generation sample of households contained only 51 households headed by a migrant couple (see appendix 6.2). We will still include these households in our analysis, although we will have to rely more heavily on the following generation of migrants for statistically more significant evidence. The second generation group of households counted 169 households of migrant origin. For some statistics in this chapter however we will be using the corrected sample for the 1880-1920 generation, which reduces the number of migrant households to 156, in order to avoid bias.³³⁰ Note will be made of it wherever this is not the case.

The two generations of migrants were to some extent drawn from two distinct migration streams. In the first generation 43% of the migrant households in our sample were headed by couples where at least one originated from places outside the province of Brabant. This was the case for only 29% of

³²⁸ See chapter 3 page 54.

³²⁹ J.P.M. Peters, 'De migratie', pp. 159, 166-167.

³³⁰ See chapter 2 pages 48-49.

the migrant households in the following generation.³³¹ The two groups however showed a similar proportion of rural migrants: only 27% of the households in the first generation and 28% in the second were headed by a couple where either husband or wife were of urban origin.³³² This is typical of Tilburg and is also found for all migrants coming into Tilburg in the sixties.³³³

TABLE 6.1 MIGRATION PATTERN OF MIGRANT FAMILIES BY PLACE OF BIRTH OF CHILDREN FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

Children born in	%
- Tilburg	56.3
- one or more in place of birth parents	12.5
- one or more in yet another place	31.3

GENERATION 1880-1920

Children born in	%
- Tilburg	79.6
- one or more in place of birth parents	9.0
- one or more in yet another place	10.8

Important differences existed nevertheless in the migration pattern of the migrant households concerned. Table 6.1 indicates that a much larger percentage of the migrant households of the first generation had migrated together as

³³¹ Migration over larger distances is probably influenced by different variables than is short-distance migration. Perhaps the absence of strong pull variables in the first half of the century mainly affected the influx from the Brabantine province. Figures for the second generation conform to the pattern found for all migrants to Tilburg in the sixties (J.P.M. Peters, 'De migratie', p. 156) as well as for single migrants to Eindhoven in the second half of the century (A.M. van der Woude, 'De trek', p. 178).

³³² To distinguish towns and villages in the birthplaces of the migrants we classified those places that had 10,000 inhabitants or more at the time of the 1849 and 1879 census respectively as towns.

³³³ J.P.M. Peters, 'De migratie', p. 156.

a family.³³⁴ Almost half of these households contained children who were not born in Tilburg. The couples of the younger generation of migrants had probably all come to Tilburg in adolescence or their early adult years with or without their families of origin, but that we do not know.³³⁵ Of this generation 80% had all of its children born in Tilburg, which makes this group a very stable group of migrants. Only 10% of these families displayed a two-step migration pattern with children born outside Tilburg in places other than the place of birth of either parent.

TABLE 6.2 INITIAL SOCIAL STATUS OF MIGRANT AND NON-MIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

class	non-migrant	migrant
unskilled labour	27.4	17.7
skilled labour	55.5	43.1
middle class	11.0	29.4
lower-upper class	3.9	3.9
upper-upper class	2.3	5.9

GENERATION 1880-1920

class	non-migrant	migrant
unskilled labour	32.1	32.7
skilled labour	52.4	39.1
middle class	14.5	17.3
lower-upper class	0.5	7.1
upper-upper class	0.5	3.9

The fact that the migrant families of both generations had migrated into Tilburg and subsequently stayed could be taken as indicating that they certainly had some success. In fact, table 6.2 shows that these migrant families as a group were doing very well in the Tilburg community. In the elder generation skilled and unskilled labourers were relatively underrepresented, compared with non-migrant families, in favour of the middle class in particular and to a lesser

³³⁴ Uncorrected sample for the 1880-1920 generation was used.

³³⁵ In the 1860s 50 to 60% of all incoming migrants concerned single individuals (see J.P.M. Peters, 'De migratie', p. 159).

extent also upper class occupations. In the younger generation we found fewer skilled labourers among migrant families than among the native-born, and for migrant families a marked overrepresentation in upper class occupations. Both groups of migrants would thus appear to be socially and economically very stable and well-integrated groups. Of course, this must be related to the fact that we are dealing with persisters rather than with more volatile migrants. It would be incorrect to infer generalizations about nineteenth-century migration as such from the characteristics of these families.

6.3 Migration and family structure

The extensive literature today on the important role played by the family and wider kin relations for migrants of all sorts raises certain expectations as to family structure. If indeed migrants were actually using dispersed kin members from their family network as stepping stones in their own processes of migration would that not mean that migrant households more often saw the arrival of extended kin as temporary members of their household? We would then expect to find that families of migrant origin were extended more often over the course of its cycle than others. On the other hand however, it is also true that migrants compared with the native population in general would have had a smaller number of kin available locally and therefore perhaps fewer opportunities of living with them. If the stepping stone mechanism does not outweigh the reduced opportunities for migrant households in kin assistance the net result would be that migrants formed extended family households less often than do the native born. This would lend some support to traditional sociological theory on family and migration.

In most research it has actually proved difficult to establish a clear negative or positive relationship between migration and the incidence of extended households. In mid-nineteenth-century Graz the distinction between migrants and non-migrants did not appear to be relevant in terms of household structure.³³⁶ Natives and non-natives had extended family households in equal proportions. Late-nineteenth-century migrants to Bologna equally included a similar percentage of complex families compared with persisters.³³⁷ Much the same situation existed in the USA for foreign and American-born migrants. Sennett in his Chicago study wondered 'Why should birthplace have counted for so little in the lives of these people?'.³³⁸ He could find no differences in household structure between various ethnic

³³⁶ W.H. Hubbard, 'Städtische Haushaltsstruktur', p. 208.

³³⁷ D.I. Kertzer, Family life, p. 121.

³³⁸ R. Sennett, Families, p. 83.

groups in Chicago in 1880. In Buffalo, New York, however, foreign-born heads of households were co-residing with extended kin considerably less often than were the native-born. In 1855 for instance only 15% of the Irish households were taking in relatives compared with 25% of the native households.³³⁹ Likewise, in London Irish family life was characterized by nuclear family living, despite the strong inclination of Irish immigrants to seek the support of friends and family members after arrival in the city and, moreover despite the fact that extended family links dominated Irish peasant culture at the time.³⁴⁰ Although Irish households included more extra kin members than did the English working class population, the percentage of Irish extended households was not above that of the London middle class areas. In Preston migrant couples were less likely to be living with kin than were non-migrant couples.³⁴¹ Anderson presumed that this was so because they were less likely to have kin in town with whom to live. Thus, international research indicates that migrant households contain kin as often as would non-migrants, or significantly less.

TABLE 6.3 EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS FOR MIGRANT AND NON-MIGRANT COUPLES IN 1849 AND 1880 FOR TOTAL POPULATION AND SAMPLES

	non-migrant %	migrant %
total population in 1849	10.0	12.1
1849-1890 sample in 1849	13.2	19.6
total population in 1880	10.0	7.8
1880-1920 sample in 1880	15.0	8.3

The static data on migration and family structure in Tilburg in 1849 and 1880 only complicate things further. As table 6.3 indicates migrant couples in 1849 were co-residing with kin more often than were those where both husband and wife were born in Tilburg. This was the case for all couples regardless their age, as well as for those aged 30-35. In 1880 the situation had reversed itself. Migrant couples of any age were living in extended family households less often than were native couples of any age. Such an outcome is all the more surprising considering the fact that half of the

³³⁹ L.A. Glasco, 'The Life Cycles', p. 129; on a higher level of aggregation American migrant families do also live with kin less often than do non-migrant families, see R.R. Seward, The American Family, p. 109.

³⁴⁰ L.H. Lees, 'Patterns', pp. 375-380.

³⁴¹ M. Anderson, Family structure, p. 52.

1849 sample-migrants were composed of adult migrants. These might be expected to have had fewer kin available in Tilburg to co-reside with than the sample-migrants of 1880, of whom a substantial proportion had probably migrated as children together with parents and siblings. Results for the 1849 sample could be the effect of small numbers, but figures for all marital couples do support the sample outcome.

We assumed the effect of migration to have been relevant primarily, if at all, during the first half of the household's developmental cycle. The previous two chapters have shown that in general after that period household extension occurs through the addition to the household of married children and grandchildren. There is no immediate reason why geographical origin of the couple should affect the occurrence of co-residence with married children in their later lives, except of course when migrants originate from widely different cultural backgrounds. In fact in the case of Tilburg the occurrence of kin co-residence in the second half of the cycle proved to be irrespective of the birthplace of parents. (See appendix 6.3.) In the following section we will therefore concentrate on the first twenty years of the life cycle of migrant and non-migrant households.

TABLE 6.4 EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS DURING FIRST-PHASE OF LIFE CYCLE FOR MIGRANT AND NON-MIGRANT FAMILIES FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

generation	non-migrant %	migrant %
1849-1890	24.5	27.5
1880-1920	30.5	34.0

When kin co-residence is looked at from a dynamic point of view it is clear that migration and extended family households were certainly not mutually exclusive in nineteenth-century Tilburg. In the first twenty years of their household's cycle a larger proportion of migrant households experienced a transition from a simple family structure towards the more complex structure of the extended family than did non-migrants. Kin co-residence was evidently a more frequent experience for migrant families. This was so for both generations of households, although they had moved into Tilburg from very different areas. Table 6.4 therefore refutes the proposition that geographical mobility diminishes the extent to which family members keep in contact and form co-residential arrangements.

The above table is at the same time a good illustration of the way in which static data on households may lead one astray. It indicates that whatever percentage of extensions

a static approach may yield it is not necessarily representative of family experience over time. In particular in the case of the younger generation of migrant households it was more likely that kin members would be added to the household more evenly over the entire span of the first twenty years of the household's cycle. However, as we shall see their kin would remain for only short periods of time. A static approach would therefore have been unable to capture the full dimension of the household dynamics of this section of the population. It would have led us inevitably to the incorrect suggestion that geographical mobility and extended family households were incompatible, despite the findings for the elder generation. This very constraint may have undermined other results, cited above which indicated a lesser frequency of extended family households among migrants as compared with non-migrants. Of course, it is clear that a static approach may equally well suggest incorrectly that migrants live with kin more often than natives.

Where migrants are frequently found to co-reside with kin it has been suggested that this happens because migrants use the households of their kin as stepping stones in their process of migration. Households of kin are then either used as an intermediary stage on the way to a more distant final destination, or they serve as some sort of a base from which to prepare for independent living after arrival in town. This was often the case with the French-Canadians in Manchester, USA, as well as with migrants to Preston.³⁴² Migrant households in Tilburg may well have served similar purposes in which case we may expect co-residence patterns to be clearly shaped by the demands and peculiarities of the migration process. Most migrants have been found to be young and still unattached adults looking for opportunities at the start of a career. This was also the case in Tilburg where at the beginning of the sixties, shortly before powerful pull variables changed the pattern of migration, two-thirds of all migrants were lone individuals aged 20-29.³⁴³ The existing literature suggests that while male migrants generally had some additional options for accommodation at their disposal in particular by boarding or lodging with other unrelated families, women are most likely to be found living in households headed by kin.³⁴⁴

Thus, in an attempt to understand the nature of co-residence in migrant families we will first seek to identify the characteristics of these co-residing kin members. Table 6.5 describes the relationship of co-residing kin to the head of the household for non-migrant and migrant households

³⁴² T.K. Hareven, Family time, pp. 114-116; M. Anderson, Family structure, p. 155.

³⁴³ J.P.M. Peters, 'De Migratie', pp. 159-160.

³⁴⁴ L.A. Glasco, 'Migration and adjustment', p. 177.

of both generations.³⁴⁵ Included are only those kin members who were present during the first twenty years of the household's cycle with the exception of a few married children who had already entered some households within these twenty years. In order to increase absolute numbers the uncorrected sample was used for the younger generation of households.

TABLE 6.5 TYPE OF CO-RESIDING KIN DURING FIRST PHASE OF CYCLE IN MIGRANT AND NON-MIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

kin relation	non-migrant			migrant		
	female	male	all	female	male	all
parents	50.0	50.0	32.2	66.7	33.3	27.3
siblings	31.7	68.3	47.1	40.0	60.0	68.2
uncles/aunts	60.0	40.0	5.7	-	-	-
cousins	0.0	100.0	2.3	-	-	-
others	45.5	54.6	12.6	100.0	0.0	4.6
N=	35	52	87	11	11	22

GENERATION 1880-1920

kin relation	non-migrant			migrant		
	female	male	all	female	male	all
parents	58.5	41.5	36.6	79.3	20.7	31.9
siblings	45.1	54.9	45.5	38.9	61.1	39.6
uncles/aunts	75.0	25.0	3.6	75.0	25.0	4.4
cousins	33.3	66.7	2.7	40.0	60.0	5.5
others	69.2	30.8	11.6	41.2	58.8	18.7
N=	60	52	112	49	42	91

The households of the elder generation of migrants were clearly receiving only their nearest kin relations into their homes: parents and siblings. Siblings, who were all young and unmarried, constituted the most important group of kin living with the migrant families of the elder generation. In the following generation migrant households attracted a wider range of kin, while the predominance of brothers and sisters disappeared. However, compared with non-migrants in this generation they accommodated a larger proportion of cousins and 'others', the latter being

³⁴⁵ Uncorrected sample was used for the 1880-1920 generation.

principally nephews and nieces, which two categories all include young and single individuals. Still, the differences between the two generations are not overwhelming. The data would suggest that while migrant households were to some extent offering opportunities to young kin to adjust to a new environment, they were also just as were non-migrants providing care and relief for elderly people. Moreover, the same set of functions may have been provided by non-migrant households, only with in different proportions. To a lesser degree perhaps, they were also aiding relatives in processes of migration, offering them a place to recuperate when things were too rough.

The above table, however, reveals some interesting peculiarities when the sex of kin members is considered. In both generations of migrant households a co-residing parent appeared most likely to be the mother of the head or his wife, while in the case of siblings brothers more often than sisters were found to be co-residing.³⁴⁶ In addition, male relatives predominated among cousins in the younger generation of migrants. For the sake of accuracy, however, we should add that much the same applies to non-migrants. There does not appear to be any preference for mothers over fathers in non-migrant households, but as far as cousins or siblings are concerned, the same preponderance of male relatives shows itself (although to a lesser extent for siblings in the elder generation).

How do we explain these patterns? Why are fathers so evidently absent from migrant households, while in many other kin categories men are clearly overrepresented? Taking the latter point first, we have to bear in mind that most young migrating women would have to take jobs in town as domestic servants. Given the fact that domestic servants were expected to reside in their master's household young migrating women were less likely to need to appeal to relatives for board and lodgings. This may explain their relative underrepresentation not only in the households of migrant couples but also in those of non-migrants. As for the pattern concerning co-residing parents of migrants we may advance the hypothesis that widowed women in contrast to men in general experienced more difficulty in maintaining independence in old age after the departure of the last of their children. The economic basis of such a household structure would have become very weak indeed.³⁴⁷ Elderly women

³⁴⁶ Similarly, when Irish immigrant families in London became extended this was most likely to be through the addition to the household of the widowed mother of the household head. See L.H. Lees, 'Patterns', p. 380.

³⁴⁷ This may also be largely responsible for George Alter's finding that in nineteenth-century Verviers, Belgium, co-residence with a widowed mother made a daughter's marriage less likely when compared with co-residence with a widowed

would consequently more frequently be faced by the need to move into other people's households, or to migrate to move in with their married children in the absence of local options. Richard Wall indicated a more or less similar situation to have been the case in nineteenth-century England: co-residential kinship ties for elderly women more often crossed generations while for elderly men ties within generations were the critical ones. Elderly women more often co-resided with unmarried or ever-married children whereas elderly men were more likely to be living with a spouse.³⁴⁸ Widowhood is one of these critical life situations considered by Anderson to have had more severe effects on women than on men, making for strong bonds especially between female kin.³⁴⁹

An additional factor reinforcing this trend is the tendency for women to outlive their husbands, that is once they had survived the dangers of childbirth, thereby increasing the numbers of widowed grandmothers in need of co-residential support.³⁵⁰ Another important factor in this connection may be that elderly widowed women were less likely than were men to opt for remarriage in order to ensure residential independence and stability in comparison to men. In both generations about a quarter of the male heads of household remarried after they had become widowers, while only few of the women remarried after their husband's death. Whatever the precise influences may have been it did result for the country as a whole throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century in a much larger percentage of widowed women at age 50 and over compared with men of the same age.³⁵¹

Surely, all of the above considerations would also apply to the families of non-migrants. The latter would then also have to display a similar preponderance of mothers over fathers. There is however one important difference. The 'native' father would not have to migrate in order to live

father. See G. Alter, Family life, p. 138. Female headed households were much more vulnerable in the past and, sadly enough, they still are today. Even in a place culturally and geographically as far removed as China female-headed households experienced greater instability than did male-headed households. See A.P. Wolf, 'Family Life', p. 289.

³⁴⁸ R. Wall, Relationships, p. 10.

³⁴⁹ M. Anderson, Family structure, p. 169.

³⁵⁰ Figures on age-specific surviving rates of the couples in our two samples do however not at all support this idea strongly. For all heads and wives who had reached the age of fifty 69.3% and 64.0% survived until the age of 65 in the elder generation. For the younger generation these percentages were 71.6 and 73.1 respectively.

³⁵¹ E.W. Hofstee, Korte demografische geschiedenis, pp. 126-127; E.W. Hofstee, 'Demografische ontwikkeling', pp. 66-67.

with his married children. For the 'migrant' father the balance of pros and cons in this decision would be quite different and he may have found problems not great enough to justify the upheavals involved in migration. Admittedly, we cannot at present substantiate this argument. However, it seems likely that the above results demonstrate that in old age men were not forced or perhaps prepared to accept the anxieties of migration in order to procure some additional domestic support. Finally, the higher age-specific life-expectancy of women and their residential vulnerability in old age may also explain the less prominent but still clear overrepresentation of women among co-residing parents in non-migrant households of the younger generation and the preponderance of aunts over uncles found in all households.

Other evidence suggesting that kin co-residence in migrant households served in some cases to facilitate migration is provided by the length of time kin members remained in the households of their relatives. All categories of kin in migrant households co-resided for shorter time periods than did comparable kin in non-migrant households³⁵², which fact applies to both generations of households. The differences between migrants and non-migrants were especially distinct where it concerned co-residing sisters of the head or his wife in the younger generation. While in non-migrant households sisters resided on average 7.1 years in the households of their brothers, this was only 2.5 years for sisters in migrant households. These figures would suggest that female siblings in migrant households were merely passing by in the process of looking for a job in Tilburg or some other town. Their male counterparts likewise stayed for only a short time, although here the difference with those in non-migrant households were very small. Finally we would like to draw attention to the fact that in non-migrant households of both generations male kin members, i.e. fathers and brothers, co-resided for shorter time periods compared with female kin within the same kin category. This implies that these households were also used as stepping stones in migration processes by their male kin members, especially brothers, while female kin were more often in want of a home to stay. (For further details on length of co-residence see appendix 6.4.)

Additional evidence on the migrational aspects of co-residence in migrant households is provided by the fact that almost all (90-100%) of the co-residing kin entered by way of external migration. Kin members in non-migrant households more often entered by way of migration from within the town (25-40%). Most of the young co-residing relatives living in households of migrant origin would eventually migrate again to other places (40-60%), while a minority moved to other

³⁵² With the exception of the categories of married children and grandchildren.

households in Tilburg (10-30%). In native households similar co-residing relatives more frequently moved over to other households in town or married and moved to their own homes, rather than emigrate (0-30%). Elderly kin however as a rule remained living in the household until they died, in both native-born and migrant households. Finally, nearly all of the co-residing kin in migrant households in-migrated individually and sometimes in chains of kin entering one after the other. As many as 40% of migrant extended households in the younger generation had more than one kin member present at some time. However, in only one of these households did we find a co-residential situation which may have reflected a case where the extended family that had existed prior to migration to Tilburg was reconstructed within the new urban setting through the re-unification of the couple with these co-residing kin.

Some of the research describing the continuation of intensive family networks of migrants to an urban industrial context principally deals with rural migrants. In these cases the area or place of origin is known to have been characterized by strong normative family ties and household formations extending beyond the nuclear family unit. Two typical examples of this type of study are Hareven's research of kinship patterns among French-Canadians in Manchester, USA, and the study carried out by Virginia Yans-McLaughlin of the Italian immigrant families in Buffalo, also situated in the US.³⁵³ Both studies demonstrate how immigrant families adapted their pre-migration or 'traditional' family patterns to meet new industrial conditions. In the course of this process specific family practices might be eroded, but they were succeeded by new ones making for the continuation of cohesive family networks while in some ways even reinforcing family ties.³⁵⁴

Studies like the two mentioned above create certain expectations concerning household structure among migrant families in Tilburg. Especially in the younger generation most migrant households originated from rural areas in the province of Noord-Brabant, which rightly or not is associated with a traditional familistic culture.³⁵⁵ Of course, we do have some modest evidence indicating that extended family households were very frequent indeed for farmers and domestic workers in the Brabantine countryside.³⁵⁶ In some villages in the eastern part of the province 16-19% of the households had co-residing kin present in the second

³⁵³ T.K. Hareven, Family time; V. Yans-McLaughlin, Family.

³⁵⁴ T.K. Hareven, Family time, p. 117.

³⁵⁵ Even in more modern times (the sixties of our century) sociologists claimed remnants of the extended family system to be alive still in the east and the south, areas described as 'under-developed'. See K. Ishwaran, Family Life, p. 40.

³⁵⁶ C.G.W.P. van der Heijden, 'Gezin'.

half of the nineteenth century.³⁵⁷ Clearly, within the province, variation existed in the occurrence of kin co-residence, due to differences in the socio-economic structures of the areas.³⁵⁸ The more farmers, the higher the percentages found of extended households. Nevertheless, it does give us some reason to assume that kinship ties in the Brabantine countryside in general will have been strong, dominating many aspects of everyday life. Therefore the migrant families in Tilburg offer an excellent opportunity to assess the extent to which rural migrants adapted their family patterns to fit the industrial context as expected by Parsonian theory. Perhaps a situation existed similar to the one found by Hareven in Manchester, so that kin co-residence was above all a feature of the family life of rural migrants who kept in touch with the family network in their place of origin? With this in mind we turn to an examination of household structure in relation to geographical origin of migrant households.

The outcome of this procedure, presented in table 6.6³⁵⁹, is somewhat surprising. Unfortunately, the data on the elder generation are too scarce to draw any conclusions from them, they are principally presented by way of illustration, but for the younger generation we have available somewhat larger absolute numbers. The first notable feature of the above table is that it is not only families with roots in the province of Brabant that co-resided with kin in the first half of the household's cycle. There even seems to be a slightly larger preference for extended family living on the part of families coming from other provinces of the country. However, the differences are more marked when the rural-urban distinction is considered yielding the surprising result that couples coming from an urban background were more likely to receive extended kin into their homes than were rural migrants. Although here numbers become very small again inevitably the impression is left that it was the few town to town movements within Brabant that made use of kin

³⁵⁷ P. Meurkens, *Bevolking*, p. 164.

³⁵⁸ P.M.M. Klep, *'Het huishouden'*, p. 84.

³⁵⁹ This table has been constructed in the following way: in the case of couples, where one of the two partners was born outside of Noord-Brabant they were both assigned to the category 'other areas'. If either of them was born in an urban community they were classified as 'urban'. This implies that when either husband or wife was born in a town outside Noord-Brabant the couple was classified as 'other urban areas'. The criterium to distinguish between rural and urban for the two generations of households was derived from the 1849 and 1879 censuses respectively, ranking communities of 10,000 inhabitants and more as urban. See *Uitkomsten der derde* and *Uitkomsten der zesde*. For this table the uncorrected sample was used for the 1880-1920 generation.

TABLE 6.6 FIRST-PHASE HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE FOR MIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS BY GEOGRAPHICAL ORIGIN OF COUPLE FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS *

GENERATION 1849-1890

	nuclear families %	extended families %	N=
Brabant	65.5	34.5	29
other areas	81.8	18.2	22
villages	70.3	29.7	37
towns	78.6	21.4	14
rural Brabant	68.0	32.0	25
urban Brabant	50.0	50.0	4
rural other areas	75.0	25.0	12
urban other areas	90.0	10.0	10
all	72.6	27.5	51

GENERATION 1880-1920

	nuclear families %	extended families %	N=
Brabant	62.2	37.8	119
other areas	58.0	42.0	50
villages	66.1	33.9	121
towns	47.9	52.1	48
rural Brabant	66.4	33.6	104
urban Brabant	33.3	66.7	15
rural other areas	64.7	35.3	17
urban other areas	54.6	45.5	33
all	61.0	39.1	169

* Uncorrected sample was used for 1880-1920 generation. The total percentage of extensions in this group is therefore somewhat higher than the figure mentioned in table 6.4.

links. The link between urban origin and extended households is also suggested in the case of households classified as coming from outside the province. However, although the urban background in general appears to promote family ties and contacts, we should also stress that rural migrants, from Brabant or elsewhere, do not seem to be relinquishing their family ties to any considerable degree. Compared with the native population of Tilburg, who may be expected to have many more kin directly available in town, a not inconsiderable proportion of them co-resided with kin at some moment.

The elder generation does not provide any confirmation of the urban-extended connection. It would seem as if in this generation people from outside the province of Brabant were less frequently in contact with relatives elsewhere than were other migrants. Perhaps this reflects the very isolated position of the entire province at the time, in terms of transportation networks, as well as in other respects, diminishing the attractiveness of migrant families already established in Tilburg to their mobile kin members.³⁶⁰ But it remains difficult to advance anything other than mere speculation where the elder generation is concerned given the small number of migrants in the sample.

We conclude this section on migration and family structure by stating that geographical mobility and extended household formation were not mutually exclusive in nineteenth-century Tilburg. Families apparently kept in close contact with geographically dispersed kin members which produced extended family households among migrant couples as often as among non-migrants. Migrant families already established in town appear to have provided not only stepping stones in migration processes to young relations, they also opened their homes to elderly kin in search of relief and care. In this they were showing a marked preference for their female relatives. Somewhat surprisingly, it would appear that among the younger generation more intensive networks of exchange of household members existed between towns than between town and countryside. In this respect results went against expectations as based on recent historical research in this field. This is however not to say that rural migrants were out of touch with their kin 'back home'. Although we do not know much about kin patterns in the rural communities of origin, the data do imply a strong sense of continuity in exchanges between extended kin even after migration.

This continuity, it must be stressed here, is not necessarily based on a continuity in the mechanisms that produce extended family households or the reciprocal functions that kin may have had. A reasonable assumption is that in the countryside, compared with urban areas, economic considerations would more often have prevailed over others

³⁶⁰ See A. van de Weijer, De religieuze praktijk, pp. 122-129.

in the decisions to co-reside with kin. The peasant family may have attracted kin members at times because it needed the additional labour to work the farm. The ageing farmer and his wife may have decided to co-reside with one of their married sons and the latter's family as part of the process of handing over the family farm to the next generation and because they could no longer work the farm on their own. Kin co-residence in the households of Tilburg migrants clearly was not exclusively related to the labour needs of the household as a work group. Rather it served to facilitate migration of young adults and to offer domestic support to widowed parents. As Hareven put it when describing the family life of rural migrants in Manchester: 'Life in the industrial town added new functions to an already long repertory of kin interaction.'³⁶¹ For nineteenth-century migrant families in Tilburg assistance in labour mobility of young adults was probably one these new kin functions which were added to other perhaps more traditional social functions such as domestic assistance of the old and the sick. Discontinuity was thus as much part and parcel of family life as was continuity.

6.4 Migration, family structure and social success

Earlier in the present chapter it was pointed out that migrant families were generally occupying strong social and economic positions in town. Migrant families in both generations of households were found first and foremost among the solid middle class section of society, and to a lesser extent among the elite. In the remaining part of this chapter we will examine the interrelationships between migration, household structure, economic position and social success.³⁶² We want to know to what extent the migrant families who were receiving extended kin members into their homes were socially successful in the town to which they had migrated. Did the retention of kinship practices considered to be 'traditional' by modernization theorists inhibit their successful integration into the social structure of Tilburg? Was the nineteenth-century extended household for migrants an expression of marginality?

For these purposes we again look at the structure of the household during the first phase of the cycle and relate it first of all to the social mobility of the family heads. Total mobility scores by migration status and household structure, as presented by table 6.7, indicate that migrant families in both generations, while initially positively placed in the social hierarchy nevertheless managed to

³⁶¹ T.K. Hareven, Family time, p. 118.

³⁶² All following statistics make use of the uncorrected sample for the 1880-1920 generation.

TABLE 6.7 MOBILITY OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BY FIRST-PHASE HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE AND MIGRATION STATUS FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

	non-migrant		migrant	
	nuclear	extended	nuclear	extended
total upward				
mobility	18.0	17.7	26.3	33.4
unchanged	65.5	72.1	47.4	55.6
total downward				
mobility	16.5	10.3	26.3	11.1
from class I-II to III-V	5.0	2.0	6.3	50.0
N=	194	68	19	9

GENERATION 1880-1920

	non-migrant		migrant	
	nuclear	extended	nuclear	extended
total upward				
mobility	27.8	27.4	34.0	40.4
unchanged	63.5	61.9	56.4	47.4
total downward				
mobility	8.7	10.7	9.6	12.3
from class I-II to III-V	10.9	9.5	10.8	13.9
N=	126	84	94	57

improve their position substantially over time. The migrant families in our sample consistently had higher upward mobility scores compared with the native population of Tilburg. However, while household structure made less difference to the social success of non-migrants, it had clear repercussions for migrant families of both generations. Extended family households among migrants had the highest total upward mobility scores of all, while in addition they tended to have a higher upward mobility into class III. Socially successful migrants clearly co-resided with their extended kin more often than did those who were socially stable or downwardly mobile. Of course, the small numbers of the elder generation of migrants are much too insecure when taken separately. When viewed in the light of the results for the younger generation, however, they do serve as a still tentative but conspicuous support of the

relationship between migration, extended households and social success.

Class-specific mobility scores (see appendix 6.5) indicate that the higher upward mobility of the migrant extended families principally involved the unskilled workers and the middle classes, with the other social classes having comparable mobility scores between the two family types. For non-migrants of the younger generation upward mobility did not differ greatly nor consistently between the various social groups, thereby affirming the idea that family structure and relative social success were not related in the native population. Class-specific results for the elder generation of non-migrants however convey a much greater diversity of experience between the two household structures, but unfortunately they were not regularly patterned. Nuclear families among unskilled workers as well as among the lower-upper class in this group achieved much higher upward mobility than did extended families. This effect was offset by the higher mobility score for extended families in the middle classes, producing a total upward mobility score comparable to the one for nuclear families. It is again difficult therefore to make a statement concerning the migrant families of the elder generation due to small numbers.

The greater upward social mobility of migrant extended families effectively secured them a place in the upper strata of Tilburg society. As table 6.8 demonstrates at the age of fifty migrant family heads of first-phase extended households were largely found among the middle classes and the elite. Only relatively few households in the younger generation had not succeeded in escaping from blue collar jobs in general and unskilled labour in particular. But, social success was not only reserved for those with extended kin. Table 6.8 illustrates again the economic strength of most migrant households of the younger generation. When discussing the data presented in the previous table we stated that social success and type of family were not related where it concerned the native-born population. For both generations nuclear and extended households obtained comparable total upward mobility scores. However, in a less dynamic fashion the same relationship between social success and extended family households exists for these households as well. Native-born heads of extended households embarked upon their social career from a more advantageous position. In both generations only about 70 to 75% of the native extended households began their careers as part of class I or II, while this was the case for 86% and 87% of the native nuclear families in the two respective generations. (For figures see appendix 6.6.) With a similar mobility rate native extended households consequently ended up far higher on the social scale than did nuclear households, see table 6.8. In both generations a larger number of the native extended families had succeeded in climbing into the upper

strata by the time the heads had turned fifty. Those mobile middle class families that had reached the elite apparently did not discard the strong tendency towards extended family living which was so characteristic of their original social group.

TABLE 6.8 FINAL SOCIAL POSITION OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BY FIRST-PHASE HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE AND MIGRATION STATUS FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

	non-migrant		migrant	
	nuclear	extended	nuclear	extended
unskilled labour	29.9	30.9	36.8	0.0
skilled labour	54.1	41.2	42.1	11.1
middle class	7.7	10.3	10.5	66.7
upper classes	8.2	17.6	10.5	22.2
N=	194	68	19	9

GENERATION 1880-1920

	non-migrant		migrant	
	nuclear	extended	nuclear	extended
unskilled labour	23.8	22.6	24.5	17.5
skilled labour	57.1	47.6	47.9	38.6
middle class	15.1	16.7	14.9	24.6
upper classes	4.0	13.1	12.8	19.3
N=	126	84	94	57

It is time that we turn our attention again to the migrant families in our two samples and and resolve the following issues. How should we explain the apparent relationship between migration, extended household structure and social success? Why should successful migrants co-reside with extended kin, or vice versa, why should those migrants who co-reside with their kin be more successful than those who do not? What hypotheses or theoretical constructions are available that could help us understand the nature of this relationship? Obviously, structural-functionalism is extremely uninformative in this respect: co-residential domestic family groups, probably in particular among migrants, are only expected to inhibit differential social mobility. In opposition to this view a great deal of the literature already cited earlier in this chapter suggests that kin are of value during processes of migration in

obtaining jobs and housing facilities. This was established, just to briefly mention two examples, for nineteenth-century Preston as well as for early twentieth-century Manchester, USA. Newcomers to town were effectively helped out by kin members who had preceded them. Recent migrants to Preston for instance who upon arrival had been staying with kin acquired steady jobs more quickly than did those migrants who had no kin to come to.³⁶³ Our case is however entirely different. These successful migrant families in Tilburg were certainly not new arrivals. They had arrived some time before 1849 and 1880 respectively and continued to reside for many years after that. The relatives who followed them would sometimes stay only short periods of time. They were hardly in a position to further the social position of the receiving household head. Rather, the visiting kin member was the one in need of help and benefitting from it when given.

Richard Sennett explained the high social mobility of extended families in Chicago by arguing that extended families displayed a more 'open' character and were consequently more oriented towards the competitive values of modern industrial society.³⁶⁴ Apart from the fact that it would be impossible to substantiate such a relationship for the Tilburg households in this study, it would also be ineffective. After all, Sennett's psychological explanation is unable to explain the diverging mobility patterns between different types of families of migrants and non-migrants. In Chicago the extended family offered the best opportunities of success for all ethnic groups alike.

Perhaps other intervening variables were at work producing the above results. One of them may perhaps best be labelled the 'urban experience'. Charles Tilly and C.H. Brown suggested that kin links were more essential for those migrants occupying a weak social position accompanied by an insufficient knowledge and skill for dealing with the urban context.³⁶⁵ The data presented in the previous section indicated that extended family households were relatively more frequent among urban migrants than among rural migrants. Following Tilly's reasoning these families with an urban background may have been the ones responsible for the high mobility patterns in this group. Undoubtedly, migrants with a larger 'urban experience' may have had a considerable headstart compared with their rural counterparts. However, the data do not substantiate such a relationship. Migrants with an urban connection in the younger generation were in general a little higher up in the social hierarchy but they

³⁶³ M. Anderson, Family structure, pp. 157-158.

³⁶⁴ R. Sennett, Families.

³⁶⁵ C. Tilly, C.H. Brown, 'On uprooting', p. 115.

were not more upwardly mobile than were those from rural origins.³⁶⁶

Elaborating a little further on the same theme we might assume that the 'combined urban experience' in extended migrant families was increased by the contribution of geographically mobile kin members. Table 6.6 suggested a relatively intensive exchange of related individuals between urban households. In this way migrant households accumulated the urban skills and knowledge of several individuals which may greatly have enhanced the chances at success for working and middle class families. To provide the evidence for such a hypothesis would clearly fall outside the scope of the present research. To begin with one would need more precise information on the life-course experience of the kin members in migrant households prior to the arrival in the household concerned. In addition, our reliance on places of birth to determine the urban origin of the members of the household is far too shaky a foundation for such an undertaking.

At this stage we prefer to advance a more probable and obvious hypothesis concerning the relationship between migration, family structure and social success. The hypothesis is based on the assumption that the migrant families studied were endowed with a relatively large share of the qualities of enterprise and initiative. This is already indicated by the very fact that they had migrated to Tilburg at some time, in all probability in order to improve themselves socially and economically. Considering their persistence in the town and the subsequent rise of many of the immigrant families on the social ladder we may safely assume that they had achieved the goals that had urged them to migrate. This relative social and economic success may be responsible for the presence in these households of extended kin (co-residing brothers and sisters) who were likewise migrating to Tilburg to 'try their luck', or those who were in want of care and assistance (co-residing mothers). For both categories of kin it is not unlikely that they would sooner turn towards those relations best able to provide support. In addition this would conveniently explain why urban migrants more often co-resided with kin than did rural migrants. The higher social position of urban migrants may have increased their attractiveness to kin contemplating co-residence. However, this argument can only partially explain why people originating in urban areas were more likely to extend their households to include extra-kin members. When the relationship was examined by separate social groups the urban factor lost most of its strength in the case of working class families. For middle and upper class families on the other hand, the fact that the family originated in an

³⁶⁶ For the elder generation numbers were too scarce to make such a comparison meaningful even at the illustrative level.

urban area continued to exert a most powerful influence on family structure. (For figures see appendix 6.9.)

Following Goode's line of reasoning concerning the relationship between family and social class we assume that extended kin relations over physical distances were maintained principally when relatives had something to offer to each other.³⁶⁷ This point of view also parallels Anderson's perspective on the relative instrumentality of kin relations.³⁶⁸ One objection to the argument advanced above could be that if kin relations were instrumental to migrant families why was this not also true for the mobile native-born families compared with the less successful native families? It is not our intention to claim that such an instrumentality was totally absent from non-migrant households. This aspect was simply more crucial to the decision to co-reside with kin when it involved at the same time the drastic step of migration and a radical change of social environment. We might say that the element of rational calculation in the attitude of the co-residing kin member in migrant households was in general stronger than in other cases. Obviously, this does not explain what was in the bargain for the receiving household. As Anderson pointed out, assistance between kin was often given without needing an immediate compensation in return.³⁶⁹ To some extent people kept 'in mind' the obligation specific kin members owed them until the appropriate moment or more distressing times came along, making it difficult for us to discover such patterns in the households under study.

The causal relationship posed by Sennett between upward social mobility and extended families has therefore been completely reversed. From Sennett's point of view social skill and social mobility were the result of the 'open', competitive climate in extended families. Here it is suggested that families became extended because of the promise of success or material well-being offered to their migrating relatives. As such these successful migrant families may serve as a good example of the pull which family relations may exercise on migration, for which Kooij could find no evidence in his research on migration patterns in Groningen.³⁷⁰ Finally, in partial support of Sennett's hypothesis and contrary to the structural-functionalist point of view, we should remark that the decision to take kin into their households has not in any way hindered the heads of these families in their realization of further upward mobility.

The functionality of the nuclear family in industrial society in Parsonian theory extends itself to the social

³⁶⁷ W.J. Goode, World Revolution, pp. 12-13.

³⁶⁸ M. Anderson, Family structure, pp. 170-179.

³⁶⁹ M. Anderson, Family structure, p. 158.

³⁷⁰ P. Kooij, Groningen, p. 177.

careers of the children stemming from these families. To close this section on the interrelationships between family structure, migration and social success we will therefore briefly discuss the social mobility scores acquired by the sons. First of all we will examine the extent to which migrant sons continued their father's success, and secondly we will examine whether the close contact of the family with its extended kin constituted an impediment to the sons' successful integration into society.

In both generations migrant family heads had had profitable social careers compared with their native-born counterparts. Naturally, we would expect their sons to derive at least some advantage from their father's success when embarking upon their own career. This indeed proved to have been the case with migrant sons from the younger generation of households, see appendix 6.7, but not so for those of the elder. Apparently, fathers were not always able to transmit further mobility to their children. In the younger generation the higher mobility scores for migrants were mainly the result of the considerable success of sons from working class families. Compared with the native-born, many more sons from migrant working class fathers managed to reach respectable middle class or sometimes even upper class positions. Why should results for the two generations diverge? Probably small numbers are confusing the issue concerning the elder generation. Nevertheless, it is a reasonable assumption that migrant sons in the younger generation were in some ways in a better position to make the most of new opportunities offered by the developing economy of the town than sons from native-born families. Towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth the process of industrialization created more medium and high skilled jobs in industry than it had done before. In addition, the intensification of the process of industrialization after the 1880s generated greater purchasing power of which in particular shopkeepers, traders, builders and other servicing industries profited greatly. Sons of migrant fathers were in a better position to profit from these developments considering their father's strong initial position in the social hierarchy and their high rates of mobility. The jobs registered by migrant heads and their sons in the younger generation of households do indeed demonstrate the growing opportunities for migrant middle class families. Quite a few heads managed to establish their own firms in carpentry or metal works having worked as labourers for years. Others rose from unskilled day-labourers to blacksmiths or fitters. Some of their sons entered the higher skilled trades, above all in the metallurgical sector, or even white-collar jobs in teaching or clerical work, while others took over the family enterprise and embarked on major expansion. These migrant heads and their sons were clearly seizing the new

opportunities for upward mobility that were offered by a developing and diversifying economy in this period.

TABLE 6.9 TOTAL UPWARD INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY BY AGE GROUP, FIRST-PHASE HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE AND MIGRATION STATUS FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS *

GENERATION 1849-1890

age group sons	non-migrant		migrant	
	nuclear	extended	nuclear	extended
< 30	13.7 (561)	21.5 (172)	8.2 (49)	8.3 (24)
30 - 35	18.3 (498)	21.0 (143)	17.1 (41)	10.0 (20)
40 >	28.2 (418)	25.0 (116)	21.4 (28)	23.1 (13)

GENERATION 1880-1920

age group sons	non-migrant		migrant	
	nuclear	extended	nuclear	extended
< 30	22.7 (409)	24.8 (172)	34.1 (229)	27.4 (135)
30 - 35	33.2 (401)	30.9 (249)	45.7 (221)	34.4 (128)
40 >	43.2 (343)	44.4 (223)	57.0 (158)	42.9 (84)

* Absolute numbers of observation given in between brackets

Finally, table 6.9 introduces the element of family structure. The table may at first sight present a somewhat confusing picture, but in our view it indicates that on the whole family structure was of no decisive importance in determining a young man's social advancement. In both generations mobility scores for non-migrants differed little between the two family types, with sometimes extended families registering the higher percentage of upward mobility and at other times nuclear families. Numbers of migrant families in the elder generation become perilously small again, making it impossible to say anything other than that differences between family structures were slight. In the younger generation, surprisingly enough, migrant sons from nuclear families were extremely successful, especially in the higher age groups. How should we interpret this? Is it a sign of the greater adaptability of the nuclear family to industrial society? If this is so, why is the effect totally absent for non-migrants? Let us suppose for a moment that a heavy involvement in kin networks, producing a higher incidence of extended families, would only influence the social mobility of migrants. The above results would then be the effect of the much stronger orientation of migrant

extended families to their kin outside Tilburg which impeded their ability to integrate into Tilburg society. This relationship in fact was implied by Harris when referring to the problem of the integration of migrants crowding together in extended families.³⁷¹ Tilly and Brown tested a similar hypothesis on twentieth-century material but they quite unfortunately failed to establish definite links.³⁷² However, if this assumption has any truth would it not follow that sons from migrant extended families should have much lower mobility scores compared with all other groups, while those from nuclear families enjoyed comparable success to the native-born? As we can see from the above table migrant extended family sons had not done badly at all, leaving the explanation for the much higher upward mobility of their counterparts from nuclear families unresolved. To complicate the issue further we would finally like to stress that the higher upward mobility of migrant nuclear family sons mainly applied to the upper classes. Working and middle class sons on the whole produced better mobility results when they came from extended families. Moreover, the social stratification of migrant sons in the age groups 30-35 and 40 and over indicate that sons from extended families were overrepresented in the middle and upper classes compared with those from nuclear families. Perhaps in relation to their fathers they had not been so successful, but when considered on their own they can certainly not be looked upon as social failures. (Appendix 6.8 contains detailed figures on class specific social mobility and stratification of migrant sons in the 1880-1920 generation referred to above.)

All this however still does not explain the higher mobility of sons from migrant nuclear families. The observations advanced above only have the effect of applying some nuances to the greater relative success of migrant nuclear family sons. We might however advance the following speculation as a possible explanation for the bold careers of these sons. We have already seen that most migrant family heads were ambitious and successful. The main road towards success for these migrants consisted in the setting up and expanding medium-scale enterprises within the service sector of the economy. The extended family heads in the lower-upper classes may only have been able to do so at the expense of the future fortunes of some or most of their sons. Perhaps the extended family heads not only neglected to invest in their sons' education and training, but they may also not have been willing to make family capital available for sons other than the heir and successor in the family enterprise. All resources thus came to benefit the one son who was to succeed the father. Of course these considerations do not

³⁷¹ See note 326 above.

³⁷² C. Tilly, C.H. Brown, 'On uprooting', pp. 128-129.

exceed the level of speculation but they rightly reflect the importance of family support in the achievement of further social mobility for elite sons. They also indicate one way in which in elite circles individual interests could be made subordinate to those of the family group. However, the somewhat lower rate of mobility of lower-upper class sons did not prevent the migrant extended family sons moving further up the social ladder eventually. Even in the second generation migrant extended families retained their prominent position within society.

In summing up, we stress again that given the absence of any consistency in the data it seems incorrect to see any particular relevance in the idea of the functionality of the nuclear family in terms of intra- and intergenerational mobility. Extended families quite frequently were successful and sometimes even extremely so. Extended family heads and their sons often came to occupy leading positions in the local social hierarchy. But for working and middle class families also the retention of extended family ties did not in any way inhibit the social success of fathers and sons. On the contrary, social success and extended family living appeared to be strongly related in the case of migrant families whose strong economic position probably attracted extended kin members.

6.5 Conclusion

Nineteenth-century migration did not necessarily lead to the breakdown of extended family relations as suggested by the proponents of structural-functionalism. Both generations of migrants were found to be receiving extended kin members into their homes slightly more often than were native-born families. This fact was all the more surprising in the case of the elder generation of migrants which contained a large proportion of adult migrants. In trying to establish links between migration and family structure the longitudinal approach followed in this study proved indispensable to capture the full dynamics of migrant extended families in the younger generation. These results pinpointed a serious shortcoming in the existing literature on the historical relationships between family and migration. Migrant families were co-residing with their nearest relatives at various times throughout the first half of their household's cycle: co-residence in this group was therefore less life-cycle specific than for native-born families. Migrant families were usually extended for only short stretches of time with some relatives flying in and out quickly, mostly in the course of their search for jobs.

To some extent the distinction between migrants and non-migrants proved illusive. In both groups extended households occurring during the first twenty years of the cycle were functioning as places for relief and care for elderly people

while at the same time offering young people engaged in the risky business of migration a stepping stone into Tilburg society or a home to fall back on. The latter aspect however proved to be somewhat more important to household heads and their wives who at one time had been migrants themselves. They co-resided more often with 'relatives-on-the-move': mainly young and unattached siblings, nephews and nieces or cousins. Quite remarkably, the elderly people taken care of by migrant households turned out to be nearly all widowed mothers or aunts of the couple heading the household. It was argued that this resulted from the greater residential instability and more precarious economic basis of households headed by single elderly women, possibly reinforced by the higher age-specific life-expectancy of women and a lesser propensity for women than men to remarry. More elderly women would therefore be compelled to move in with relatives or to migrate in order to do so. Extended household structures were thus more important for women than for men in the final phase of their life course.

Recent historical writing on family and migration has connected surviving extended family networks in an urban context to the rural origins of the migrant population concerned. At the outset of this study we therefore expected extended households to occur first of all among those who had originally come from the rural areas of Brabant. These rural migrants provided an opportunity to study the survival of their extended kin network after their arrival in the urban context. The data indicated that rural migrants did not appear to be losing touch with their extended kin members. Parents and siblings might often follow them to Tilburg or at least pass through on their way to other destinations. By facilitating labour mobility these rural migrant families had come to be engaged in a new type of kin function, additional to the old ones, such as taking care of widowed parents. However, contrary to expectation, migrants coming from an urban background were far more likely to receive kin into their homes than were rural migrants. It appeared that the more intensive networks of communication and interchange between towns were also facilitating a more frequent exchange of extended kin members between households.

An additional explanation for the urban connection offered itself after examination of the relationship between family structure, migration and social success. A statistical relationship between social success and extended family structure was established in the case of the migrant families in our sample. Migrant families who had also at some time during the first twenty years of their household's cycle co-resided with their extended kin were socially far more successful not only than other migrant households but also than all other native-born families irrespective of their household structure. This result was particularly associated with the working and middle class families within

this group of migrant households, which further supports the assumption of the enormous importance of kin relations to the non-elite in processes of migration. After a short discussion of possible explanations for the relationship we suggested that these migrant families had become extended precisely because of their good fortune. Their relative prosperity, or perhaps even only a promise for the future, attracted kin who were either looking for a home or a place from which to venture out into Tilburg society. We believe these kin members acted in a very simple but sensible way. In weighing the pros and cons as to whether to migrate, and of course at the same time the choice of a destination, they also considered the relative social position of the potential host household. Moreover, the success of their kinsmen may have prompted some individuals to move, who would otherwise not have done so. Thus, we found a partial explanation why families from an urban background were more likely to become extended more often than did those from rural parts of the country. People originating from towns more often belonged to the middle and upper social classes, which increased their attractiveness to kin. Nevertheless, the urban factor still proved to have an independent influence of its own mainly for those at the top of the social scales.

We therefore assume that a fair amount of 'rational' economic calculation influenced in the way extended households were formed when geographical distances had to be bridged. In this we align ourselves with the position taken by Michael Anderson and William Goode. To a certain extent kinship relations were entered into and maintained when relatives had something to offer to each other. While economic considerations may have played a minor or lesser role in the decision to co-reside with kin who either lived in the same or the native town, these aspects will certainly have been given more elaborate thought when it involved a move to an entirely new social context. For migrating individuals in the lower and middle social classes of society the social and economic resources of their kinsmen will have had relatively far-reaching effects.

Finally, the smooth careers of the heads of the migrant extended families in our study testify to the lack of any structural fit between the nuclear family and industrial society. As Tilburg industrialized contacts were maintained by geographically dispersed kin members, while such links may even have been highly functional in economic terms to some. Moreover, the interaction between the family and the occupational system which was of great importance to most social classes in a context in which few other sources were available, expressly worked towards the creation of extended family structures in the case of migrants. In addition, it is important to stress that involvement in extended family structures had not in any way impeded the further social mobility and the successful integration of these families

into the Tilburg society, neither for migrant families nor for the native born. On the contrary, kin assistance in quite a few cases may have been crucial, and not only for working class families. We have suggested one particular way in which the withholding of family support may have decisively affected the lives of those in the elite.

CHAPTER 7 HOUSEHOLDS AND PRODUCTION

The final issue to be considered concerns the examination of the relationship between changes in family dynamics and the transformation of the household from a productive unit into the type of household exclusively directed towards consumption and wage-pooling. Structural-functionalist theory considered this segregation between the family and the economy to be crucial to the emergence of the nuclear family in industrial society. In addition, a large number of writers in the field of family history have attached great importance to what is generally referred to as the family's 'loss of productive functions'. The present chapter therefore deals with the effect of this transformation on the working class family in nineteenth-century Tilburg.

7.1 Family and factory

In the previous chapters family characteristics were examined for a number of social-economic groups in what we might call the 'industrializing context' of nineteenth-century Tilburg. However, not all of the households we studied so far experienced in equal degrees the influence of this transformation of economic structures. Some of them were clearly positioned in more traditional artisanal sectors of society, escaping the influence of mechanization and centralization of production until well into the twentieth century. Late nineteenth-century carpenters, butchers and bakers, bricklayers and shoemakers in Tilburg may have lived their working lives very much along the lines followed by preceding generations. They were the least involved in the process of differentiation of their social and economic context. For those employed in the textile industry, the spinners and weavers, the fullers, piecers and wool-shearers the nature and organization of work did change radically. The timing and tempo of these structural changes however differed greatly for some of these occupations. While the spinners were among the first to undertake the transition from home into the factory, the weavers were clearly the last to do so.

In the present chapter we will explore the effect of the loss of the productive functions of the household on the strength of family relations by comparing the life cycle of households headed by domestic weavers and those headed by factory workers. By concentrating explicitly on those workers who had already made the transition to the factory in comparison to those who were still employed within a household-based production process we hope to add more analytical sharpness to our study of the relationships between the family and industrialization and, more

generally, to contribute to the study of the working class family in this period. The main question of this chapter focuses on the consequences for extended family relations and the ties between parents and children of this specific phase in the ongoing process of specialization and differentiation.

One of the central arguments in the evolutionary perspective of structural-functionalist family theory pertains to the loss of economic functions of the household and the resulting segregation of the family from the economic system.³⁷³ In preindustrial society the family and economy largely overlapped in the form of the peasant household or the artisan's workshop, forging strong bonds between family members through common interests in the productive unit of the household, reinforced by the presence of family property. Totally disregarding the fact that wage labour was not exclusively related to industrial production Parsons assumed that the family and the economy became separated under the influence of the rise of industrial society. More specifically, the industrialization process was thought to involve the separation of the family from the economy without which the nuclear family could not have emerged.³⁷⁴ After economic activity was removed from the household the nuclear family as a unit isolated from extended kinship and neighbourhood ties came into being.

Other writers on the history of the family have followed in different ways and degrees this functionalist scheme of increased specialization or differentiation of the family without necessarily adopting the larger functionalist world view. Historians like Ariès and Stone use the concept of specialization to explain the development of other mostly emotional aspects of the family.³⁷⁵ John Demos proclaimed the loss of functions to be the central theme in the history of the family.³⁷⁶ In his account of seventeenth and eighteenth-century family life in the Dutch Republic Donald Haks writes that the concept of the specialization process of society may be usefully applied in family history. He argues that the loss of the family's economic-productive and social-educational functions produced a highly specialized type of family, reducing the need for extended households and family cooperation.³⁷⁷ These writers however do not exclusively associate specialization with the process of industrialization.

The transition from the home to the factory, and the separation between work and family, has for a long time been

³⁷³ See also chapter 1 pages 6-7.

³⁷⁴ See e.g. N.J. Smelser, 'The Modernization', p. 124.

³⁷⁵ Ph. Ariès, *L'enfant*, p. 268; L. Stone, *The Family*, p. 23.

³⁷⁶ J. Demos, *A little commonwealth*, p. 183.

³⁷⁷ D. Haks, *Huwelijk*, p. 3.

a central argument of family historians.³⁷⁸ Despite recognition of the fact that wage labour, and with it the separation between home and work, already made its appearance many centuries before, it is still felt that it 'was the progress of industrialization that relieved the family of its productive functions'.³⁷⁹ Many consequences have been attributed to the separation of work and family taking place in the industrial era, 'including the decline of kinship as the basis of work organization, the loss of power for mothers and children, the revolt of youth against their parents, the emergence of adolescence as a separate life stage, and greater sexual freedom for young women'.³⁸⁰ The decline of parental authority is perhaps most often mentioned by both contemporaries and social scientists alike.³⁸¹ The Marxist historian E.P. Thompson effectively dramatized the effects of the specialization of the family under the influence of the industrialization process, which is best illustrated by the following quotation:

'Each stage in industrial differentiation and specialization struck also at the family economy, disturbing customary relations between man and wife, parents and children, and differentiating more sharply between "work" and "life"... Meanwhile, the family was roughly torn apart each morning by the factory bell.'³⁸²

In their analysis of the historical development of women's work Louise Tilly and Joan Scott offer an interpretation in which a close relation exists between the organization of the family and the mode of production the family was engaged in.³⁸³ The productive unit of the peasant or proto-industrial household created a 'family economy' in which family life and the productive needs of the household were inseparably intertwined. The domestic mode of production, to which all family members were expected to contribute, had important consequences for family organization. The labour requirements of the household defined the work roles of its members while in addition family members were expelled or attracted in accordance with the needs of production. Where families became dependant upon wage labour, consumption and production came to be separated: the household no longer functioned as a unit of production. In the 'family wage

³⁷⁸ E. Klock, Gezinshistorici, pp. 32-50; M. Anderson, Approaches, pp. 75-84.

³⁷⁹ M. Mitterauer, R. Sieder, The European Family, p. 79.

³⁸⁰ E. Pleck, 'Two worlds', p. 179.

³⁸¹ For example: N.J. Smelser, 'The Modernization', p. 125; M. Mitterauer, R. Sieder, The European Family, p. 87; A. de Regt, Arbeidersgezinnen, p. 130.

³⁸² E.P. Thompson, The making, p. 416.

³⁸³ L.A. Tilly, J.W. Scott, Women.

economy' the need for family members to work together disappeared and work roles became increasingly individualized. In contrast to the family economy system no maximum household size, as defined by the peasant holding or the artisan's shop, set any constraints on the number of family members the household could contain at any one moment as long as the number of wage earners and consumers was kept in balance. However, Scott and Tilly also state that a certain amount of continuity existed in that family members continued to be guided by the interests of the family unit on which the individual depended for survival.

In addition, as Tilly and Scott rightly indicate it is incorrect to assume that the domestic mode of production was typical of all households before industrialization. This is also Peter Laslett's main point when he discusses the family and household as work and kin group in what he refers to as 'traditional Europe'.³⁸⁴ Laslett disclaims a necessary relationship between family organization and the status of the household as a work group, but on the other hand he does assume that the proletarian household, not being determined by the imperatives of production, more often tended towards western family characteristics such as neolocality, a simple structure and few resident relatives.

Following Scott and Tilly's model Paul M.M. Klep in his article on the decline of proto-industrial production in Brabant also writes that the transition of a family economy to a family wage economy is essential to the history of the household.³⁸⁵ The transition is considered as having had important consequences for the structure of the household and intergenerational relations. Klep asserts that the proto-industrial household should be regarded as an attempt to continue the 'headstrong familial economy' of the peasant household which will try to maintain its economic autonomy as long as possible.³⁸⁶ The Tilburg domestic weavers are also reported to have been reluctant to switch over to factory work. The weavers preferred their independence and the freedom to work irregular hours, to cultivate their small plots of land or do other odd jobs around the house.³⁸⁷ This implies that a simple transition of the household from home to factory is in most cases very unlikely. More often there would be transitional stages in which household-based production is supplemented with wage labour outside the household in an attempt to secure the domestic production unit.

Thus, in different ways and from different perspectives sociologists and historians assume that the family

³⁸⁴ P. Laslett, 'Family and household'.

³⁸⁵ P.M.M. Klep, 'Over de achteruitgang', p. 30.

³⁸⁶ Cf. G.J. Sheridan, Jr., 'Family', p. 56.

³⁸⁷ P.M.M. Klep, 'Over de achteruitgang', p. 36; see also chapter 3 p. 60.

organization of a wage labourer's household will vary considerably from those households engaged in household-based production. The general tendency with most writers on the subject is that they believe that the proletarian household was characterized by less family solidarity and hence by a lesser degree of household complexity. In the present chapter we will examine the degree of household complexity and family cohesion for households headed by domestic weavers and those headed by factory workers. We are concerned with the effect of economic differentiation upon the structural evolution of these households. Were working class families explicitly involved in the industrial system governed by values distinctly more 'modern', i.e. more individualistic, than those found with any of the other social groups in Tilburg?

Most of the domestic weavers, usually living on the outskirts of the town, owned their own looms and worked a small plot of land which provided the household with some basic agricultural commodities. Perhaps a large proportion also owned the family home. In all probability this was not the case for most factory workers whose households may consequently have been far more differentiated and proletarianized. What were the combined effects of shared productive interests and the presence of family property in the form of house, land and looms on extended family relations and the bond between parents and children? This will be the main theme of this chapter with which we conclude our analysis of the relationships between the family and the process of industrialization. Unfortunately, our sources do not enable us to pinpoint exactly which of the families discussed here were actually in possession of their own homes and plots of land. We are left with no choice but to rely on the assertions of contemporaries stating that by comparison with factory labourers most domestic weavers did do so.³⁸⁸ We will however attempt to measure explicitly the extent to which members in the respective households were indeed sharing productive interests.

Before we embark upon the comparative analysis of the households of factory workers and domestic weavers we will discuss briefly the method of data acquisition and some general characteristics of the samples involved. The next section will discuss and analyze the degree of differentiation in the economic basis of the households under study, after which we proceed to an examination of household structure. A separate section on intergenerational relations concludes the chapter.

Unless one focuses upon small communities in which centralized mechanical production is known to have been

³⁸⁸ See chapter 3 pages 65.

totally absent, it is no small task to isolate individual proto-industrial households for micro-level analysis. Traditional sources used by historians to gather occupational information on individuals do generally not make the distinction between workers inside or outside factories. In the Tilburg population and tax registration for instance domestic weavers and power-loom weavers alike were registered simply as 'weavers'. Therefore a somewhat unusual method was applied to identify a small sample of Tilburg domestic weavers. For this exercise we have made use of a series of so-called 'weavers' books' from the nineteenth-century archives of the Tilburg textile factories of 'Diepen', 'Brouwers', and 'Van Dooren en Dams'. These weavers' books, roughly covering the period 1875-1900, listed every single finished piece of cloth produced in the weaving mill together with the name of the weaver who had produced it. After an extensive treatment of a number of weavers' books and with the help of the town's population and tax registration 89 domestic weavers could be isolated and identified as well as 23 power-loom weavers working inside the factory walls. The latter group was further complemented by adding to it households from the 1880-1920 generation sample of which the head was consistently listed in the population and tax registers as being a 'factory worker'. This produced a group of 95 factory workers of various types which for reasons connected with sampling procedures had to be corrected and restricted to 85 for some parts of the analysis.³⁸⁹ A more elaborate discussion of the source and procedures involved is recorded in appendix 7.1.

For both groups of workers the entire developmental cycle of the household they headed was reconstructed from the beginning of the life history of the household until the end if possible, and if not, until the end of 1920 which date marks the end of the population registers. As was explained in chapter 2 we take the history of a household as beginning with the independent establishment of its primary marital unit. A domestic weaver's household may for instance begin at the time of his marriage and move to a household of his own, or it may alternatively begin some time after the weaver's marriage into the parental household when his parents die or he decides to move out together with his wife to a household of his own. The life cycles presented here therefore deviate from the ones discussed in previous

³⁸⁹ These 95 households could not be used for all analytical procedures on account of the bias towards those households which were extended at the beginning of 1880 in the 1880-1920 sample. See the discussion in chapter 2 pages 48-49. A similar correction as was applied earlier to the entire 1880-1920 generation sample brought the group of factory workers down to the total number of 85.

chapters in the sense that the actual beginning of the cycle is included.

The life cycles of the two samples cover the period 1845-1920.³⁹⁰ The group of households headed by domestic weavers is in two different ways somewhat older than the group of households headed by factory workers. The domestic weavers set off on their household's life histories a little earlier on in the period of observation, while the weavers themselves were also a little older at that point in time compared with the factory workers. The bulk of the factory workers were 25-29 years old at the beginning of their household's life cycle, while a considerable number of the domestic weavers were already past the age of thirty. Most of the household life histories of the domestic weavers pertain to the period 1865-1900, while most of the factory workers' households belong roughly to the period 1875-1905. Appendices 7.2 and 7.3 contain tables on these issues. Almost all factory workers and domestic weavers followed the principle of neolocality, so typical of the western European family system. Only 2.5% of the factory workers and 6.8% of the domestic weavers married into his own or his wife's parental household. In a minority of cases this accompanied the handing over of the headship of the household to the younger generation.³⁹¹ In the remaining cases the weaver or factory worker concerned co-resided in the parental

³⁹⁰ One of the domestic weavers actually began his household's life history in 1845 before the beginning of the continuous population registers at the end of 1849. To bridge the gap the civil registers were used to check for births and deaths, while the tax registers were consulted for the co-residential situation of the weaver concerned which at the very least made it possible to determine whether the weaver came to head his own household upon marriage. On the use of the tax registration for these purposes see appendix 5.1.

³⁹¹ In the sample of households of factory workers, 1 of the 2 young couples married into the parental household of the bride after which they took over the household. The other case is rather similar except that the couple did not immediately take over the headship of the household. In this group there were also 4 households migrating into Tilburg after marriage, which makes it impossible to determine the way they started their own household.

In the group of domestic weavers, 5 couples married into their parents' households, three of them without taking over the household, while in the other two cases the weaver and his wife became the new heads of household. All five concerned the parental household of the bride. A sixth couple married into the household of other kin while taking over the headship of the household. The single case of a migrant household in this group could not be included.

household for a short number of years only to leave for a household of his own after the parents had died or left.

7.2 Economic differentiation of the household

Before we rush into a discussion of the structural development of the household in the two samples, we will deal first with the issue of the degree of differentiation in the economic organization of the households in both groups. We will do so by examining the occupational diversification of the household which at least may give us some idea of the extent to which the productive unit of the domestic weaver and his household coincided. If the proto-industrial activities were marginal to the family economy of these households and household members were dispersed over a great number of economic sectors we may consequently expect a much less powerful influence on its family organization. In his reaction to the Tilly-Scott model of the family economy and family wage economy Richard Wall argued that indeed most households would try to diversify their sources of income in order to reduce economic hazards.³⁹² Households engaged in proto-industrial activities for instance would send out some of their members into wage labour outside the household in different sectors of the economy. Vice versa, households headed by wage labourers might supplement the family budget by having women and children employed at home in proto-industrial production. This tendency, Wall indicates, would turn the household of the family economy into a Weberian ideal-type lacking firm ground in historical reality.

It is highly probable that towards the final decades of the nineteenth century the Tilburg domestic weavers came to resemble Wall's model of the 'adaptive family economy'. In particular after the 1880s, employment opportunities in the proto-industrial sector declined rapidly due to an accelerated pace in the mechanization of weaving.³⁹³ Moreover, the low wage levels in home weaving after 1890 certainly made this line of work unattractive to the younger generation. In addition, expanded opportunities in industrial and artisanal wage labour enabled sons and daughters of proto-industrial producers to acquire incomes outside of the household's productive unit. An illuminating comment on the status of domestic weaving around the turn of the century was given by the Tilburg weaver Jaonneke Janssens when asked why he had not wanted to weave at home. He said that by that time domestic textile work had become appropriate only for young girls, widows and old men.³⁹⁴

³⁹² R. Wall, 'Work'.

³⁹³ See also chapter 3 pages 58-59.

³⁹⁴ See: T. Wagemakers, 'Excellente arbeiderscultuur', p. 60.

Thus, nearly all of the domestic weaving economies studied in this chapter may have encountered great economic difficulties in the final stages of the developmental cycle of the household as a result of the sharp decline of their trade after 1890. In chapter 3 we discussed the tendency of the Tilburg domestic weavers to hang on to their freedom and independence; however to what extent the weavers in our sample managed to keep themselves in domestic weaving after the early 1890s is beyond our knowledge. Nevertheless, it is very likely that for the domestic weavers the final stages of their household were increasingly periods of distress, in particular because the economic decline of the domestic sector coincided with advancing age and declining work power. All this may have drastically influenced the development and composition of the household, so that the cycles of our sample may not be at all representative of earlier generations of domestic weavers.

However, we will first attempt to determine the degree of occupational diversification within the households of domestic weavers and factory workers. To begin with, all of the occupational information concerning the heads and their sons and daughters, from population registers or taxation listings, was used to classify households into three separate categories: households containing a son or daughter having the same occupation as the father, those with sons or daughters holding an occupation which was complementary to the head's occupation, while the last category contained households in which sons or daughters all held occupations which were dissimilar from the head's.³⁹⁵ This procedure produced some striking results which are presented in table 7.1.

The majority of the domestic weavers appears to have had one or more sons who were themselves registered as weavers. In addition, a considerable proportion of them had at least one daughter at home registered as a weaver. Apart from this many of the weavers had sons or daughters employed in textile occupations which were complementary to his own. These sons were in occupations such as sizers, piecers or raisers, while the daughters were registered as dressers, burlers or darners. The position of domestic weaving in

³⁹⁵ Generally the occupational entries in the population registers are regarded as not always very reliable or unambiguous. For the heads and most of their sons however we also disposed of entries in the far more accurate municipal headtax registers, the 'Kohieren van de hoofdelijke omslag'. For description of this source see appendix 5.1. Unfortunately, for the daughters there was no choice but to rely on the entries in the population registers. For almost all of the sons and most of the daughters several entries over a number of years were available making classification feasible in all cases.

Tilburg would thus appear to be quite different, more viable perhaps, from the situation which existed in the much more advanced industrial town of Preston where the sons of hand-loom weavers were not very likely to follow in their father's trade.³⁹⁸ It seems the higher wage level in the mills was the main reason why the younger generation abandoned home-weaving.

TABLE 7.1 OCCUPATIONAL DIVERSIFICATION IN HOUSEHOLDS OF DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS: SONS AND DAUGHTERS WITH SAME OCCUPATION AS FATHER *

households with	domestic weavers	factory workers
sons with same occupation	66,7	19,8
sons with complementary occupations	20,0	15,1
only sons with other occupations	24,7	70,9
N=	81	86
daughters with same occupation	29,2	1,4
daughters with complementary occupation	38,5	27,5
only daughters with other occupations	43,1	71,0
N=	65	69

* Measured as the number of households with sons and daughters having the same occupation as the father or a complementary occupation, mostly textiles.

The households headed by factory workers on the other hand are characterized by a remarkably high level of occupational diversification. The majority of family heads in this group had no son sharing his father's occupation. Surprisingly often the sons of these factory workers were employed not in industrial work like their fathers but in skilled trades such as shoemaking and carpentry. For daughters the level of occupational diversification does not vary greatly between the two groups of households. For both samples we found most of the daughters contributing to the family budget as domestic servants. What remains hidden however in table 7.1

³⁹⁸ M. Anderson, Family structure, p. 122. However, it is unclear whether some of the sons of hand-loom weavers had become power-loom weavers in the mill.

is the fact that the factory workers reported to have had at least one son in the same occupation nearly all concerned weavers. This was so for 15 of all 17 cases in this category. It would therefore seem that the occupational homogeneity of the domestic weaver's household is not necessarily related to its status of a unit of production.

The tendency towards homogeneity among weavers was reproduced again, albeit in a somewhat weakened version, in tables on the occupational diversification of their fathers and fathers-in-law.³⁹⁷ A small majority of the domestic weavers appeared to be themselves sons of weavers (57%), while all factory workers were in different occupations from their father's except for the power-loom weavers whose fathers were all weavers. The same result, though less marked, was produced when the focus shifted towards the occupations held by these head's fathers-in-law. The occupations of the spouses, such as listed in the marriage registers, indicated that a larger proportion of factory workers' wives had been engaged in (industrial) textile work prior to their marriage, while a relatively high percentage of the domestic weavers' wives were reported as having had 'no occupation'. It is difficult to say what these latter wives were really doing before marriage, but it would seem most plausible to suggest that they were engaged in textile production within the household and/or domestic service. For both groups of households the largest single category of employment of spouses concerned 'textiles, including factory workers', which category will most likely have been almost entirely composed of textile occupations considering the fact that there were few opportunities for female industrial labour outside this particular sector of the economy. See appendix 7.4 for tables on these issues.

What do these figures on occupational diversification tell us? First of all they reflect the extent to which the weavers managed to monopolize production and restrict participants inside as well as outside the factory walls to members of their own families. The importance of kinship for obtaining employment in weaving was already indicated by the frequency with which the study of weavers' books showed these weavers to be interrelated. It is also reported by the Tilburg weaver Jaonneke Janssens in his account of his work experience as a power-loom weaver during the period 1907-1914.³⁹⁸ The informal work culture in the weaving mills which existed right up to this period may have enabled the weavers to continue their (partial) control over production.³⁹⁹ What

³⁹⁷ Information on father's and father-in-law's occupation, as well as the wife's occupation, was gathered from the marriage registers.

³⁹⁸ T. Wagemakers, 'Excellente arbeiderscultuur'.

³⁹⁹ This is very much like the situation described by Tamara Hareven in her book on the workers of the Amoskeag Company in

in fact the weavers managed to do was to transfer their family economy into the factory while at the same time extending its connections to include other possibly related households.

It is difficult to decide whether the occupational homogeneity among weavers is a typically Tilburg phenomenon, although we do have some evidence concerning the French textile industry indicating that in the beginning of the twentieth century kinship relations were far more frequent in the weaving mills than among other textile workers.⁴⁰⁰ Of course, the fact that traditionally one was educated in the weaving trade at home at an early age will have stimulated the handing down of the trade from one generation to the next.⁴⁰¹

Despite their low level of occupational diversification the data presented in table 7.1 are of course no direct evidence of an accordingly high level of overlap between the productive unit of the household and the family of the domestic weaver. Almost all households combined their proto-industrial activities with wage labour, which was primarily regarded to be a task for the sons and daughters. In 60.5% of all families with sons of working age one or more of these sons was sent out to acquire an income in different occupations from their fathers. Also, it is unclear whether the sons recorded as weavers worked within the productive unit of their parental household, or were employed within the factory. The same applies to those sons and daughters holding complementary occupations. It is generally assumed that unmarried women employed as dressers, burlers and darners were at work inside the factory, while married women by contrast would be at work within the home. Nevertheless, these sons and daughters may have combined their factory work with proto-industrial labour at home in busy times. However, the presence of female weavers in the domestic

in Manchester, USA (T.K. Hareven, Family time.) The paternalistic policies of the Amoskeag mill allowed its overseers, who were often related by blood to the workers they were supervising, considerable freedom to decide on new recruits, in what workroom a worker would be placed or the quality and quantity of the work to be allocated. Under these conditions kinship ties could be used to control the labour process.

⁴⁰⁰ W.M. Reddy, 'Family'.

⁴⁰¹ The proto-industrial iron workers of the Liégeoise Basse-Meuse (Belgium) in the second half of the nineteenth century likewise displayed a lower level of occupational diversification compared with the coalminers engaged in industrial wage work (see René Leboutte, 'Household dynamic', p. 12). Here too the sons of gunsmiths used to adopt their father's occupation in which they were probably also introduced at early ages within the home.

weaving economy is unmistakably proof of proto-industrial activities which household members shared together; female weavers, as was already discussed in chapter 3, were not allowed to enter the weaving mill. Apart from these there were also a few households of domestic weavers in which the wife also appeared to be weaving or was recorded as having a complementary occupation.

Conversely, the factory workers' families were undeniably highly differentiated in their sources of income. In 89.5% of all families with sons there was at least one son holding a different occupation from his father, while for as many as 70.9% not one of the sons appeared to be within his father's line of work. Considering the nature of the occupations recorded for these families, there may have been only one or two cases in which proto-industrial activities went on in the home. Only two households contained a female weaver, while there were hardly any women recorded as fluffers, burlers or darners present. We have to be a little careful though because it may be quite possible that in a number of these households the wives and the younger daughters were engaged in domestic textile production. For a long time some of the mill workers continued to bring home domestic textile work for their wives to do.

We must therefore conclude that the households of factory workers in this sample should almost all be regarded as income pooling, highly differentiated economic units. Kinship did clearly not constitute the basis of work organization in these families. Although the individualization of work roles and the dispersal over different sectors of the economy probably acted to lessen the interdependence of family members, it also reduced opportunities for mutual assistance in times of economic crisis. This discontinuity in the households of industrial wage labourers may well have severed the ties between successive generations and broken the bonds uniting parents and children. However, for factory workers possibilities retained the ability to procure employment for family members within the same mill.⁴⁰² Fathers may not have been able to work side by side with their sons and daughters anymore, but some of them may still have been united in their bond with one particular company. This may have cushioned the break between the generations.

The households of domestic weavers by contrast displayed a tremendous amount of occupational continuity over successive generations. Undoubtedly, not all family members shared in the productive tasks of the household all of the time. This would exceed the limits of the family economy of the average Tilburg domestic weaver, who mostly operated only one loom. But, it is difficult to see how successive children would not be set to work within the home in their teens, first of

⁴⁰² T. Wagemakers, 'Excellente arbeidesrcultuur', pp. 64-66.

all to be taught the trade and in addition to provide the extra labour needed by the household.⁴⁰³ Some or most of these children would yet eventually enter the factory, but perhaps one or more of the adult sons would succeed his father on the loom when with increasing age the father's working abilities declined. Thus, during the early stages in the lives of these households the family economy of the weaver and his wife and their household will have been coterminous. In addition, the domestic weaving economy allowed some time for other home-based productive activities in which the family shared, such as the growing of vegetables and the raising of a few cattle, or perhaps the running of small shop. During the final stages of the cycle with an increasing number of adult children still residing at home the household came to function as a combination of family economy and family wage economy⁴⁰⁴, only to return to its initial position with the departure of most or all of the children.

7.3 Extended family relations along the life cycle

We now need to consider whether the economic differentiation and involvement with industrial wage labour led to a collapse of extended family relations and a relative decline in the incidence of extended family households as a number of writers on the subject would have us believe? Was the family really torn apart by the factory bell? In this section we will again employ the by now familiar techniques to assess the strength of extended family relations along the life cycle in the households of domestic weavers and factory workers. For most parts of the analysis the uncorrected sample of factory workers is used, if however this is not the case it is indicated in the text.

From the point in time at which the domestic weavers and factory workers embarked upon the history of their own household we followed their households through all of the successive stages of their development. As we have already seen, almost all of the weavers and factory workers set up

⁴⁰³ In the labour inquiry of 1887 contemporaries indicated that children of domestic weavers would start working at the loom at the age of 11 to 12 (Enquete, Tilburg, question 10603). It is also mentioned that children were trained at the loom after they returned from school in the afternoon before the age of 12 (Enquete, Tilburg, question 11479). In his article on the Tilburg domestic weavers Ton Wagemakers concludes that domestic weaving 'was inextricably bound up with family labour' and therefore with child labour, which situation in his opinion still existed in 1887 (T. Wagemakers, 'Over buitenwevers', p. 119).

⁴⁰⁴ For examples see Onderzoekingen III, p. 33.

their own households on marriage. Very few indeed of the weavers and factory workers continued to co-reside with parents after their marriage, and if they did, it was only for a very limited number of years. If from that moment onwards we survey the entire life cycle of the households in both samples and tally the number of households in which extended kin were ever present, the similarity of the pattern is striking. Of the domestic weavers 62.9% of the households co-resided with kin at least once during its history, while 61.2% of the factory workers did so.⁴⁰⁵ In addition, the overall mean household size along the life cycle of 5.3 for both groups only strengthens the idea of complete symmetry.⁴⁰⁶

There are however differences to be detected in the structural evolution of these households which are not unimportant to the analytical aims of this chapter. If the percentage of extended households in both groups is charted by life cycle year (figure 7.1) we see that during the first twenty five years in their household's cycle the domestic weavers included a considerably lower incidence of kin co-residence than did the factory workers.⁴⁰⁷ In these years between about 5% to 10% of the households of domestic weavers might be extended at any one point. The percentage of extended households among factory workers on the other hand rises slowly but steadily to a maximum of about 18%. During the first half of the life cycle, therefore, the households headed by factory workers appear to have been more complex than those headed by domestic weavers. The pattern for the domestic weavers in this stage of the cycle appears to correspond more or less to the level found among all working class households in Tilburg both for the 1849 and the 1880 generation, see figures 5.1 and 5.2. The factory workers however do clearly exceed these levels.

During the final fifteen years of the life cycle the proportion of extended households increases rapidly in both groups. This rise occurs firstly and most steeply among the households of the domestic weavers. The domestic weavers, after their steep ascent, stabilize the level of extensions at around 20% during a ten year period, while over the same time span the proportion of extended households among

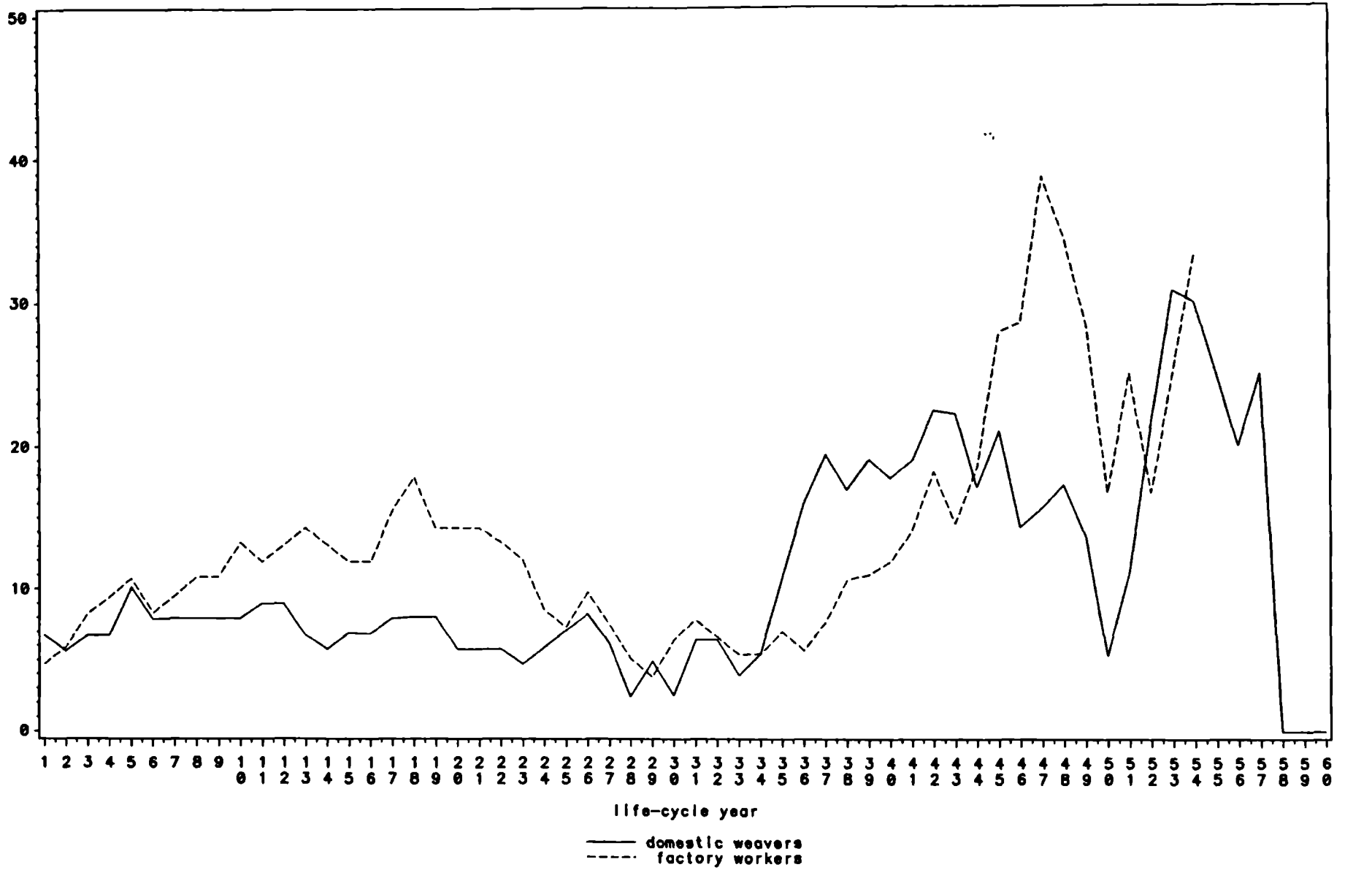
⁴⁰⁵ These latter percentages are only modestly higher than for working class families of the 1880-generation, see chapter 5, on account of the fact that total cycles were examined for factory workers and domestic weavers. It would seem then that the experience in factory workers' and domestic weavers' families corresponded to general working class patterns.

⁴⁰⁶ These figures were based on the corrected sample of factory workers.

⁴⁰⁷ For absolute numbers of households present for some years of the life cycle see appendix 7.5.

FIGURE 7.1 PERCENTAGE OF EXTENDED FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS BY LIFE-CYCLE YEAR
FOR DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS

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corrected sample for factory workers

factory workers gradually climbs towards a peak of 38% in the 47th year of their cycle. After the fiftieth year the level of extensions again rises sharply among the domestic weavers before falling to zero during the final three years. We should however not attach great value to the curve during these last few years considering the small number of observations for these years. See also appendix 7.5.

TABLE 7.2 EXTENSION BY KIN ALONG THE LIFE CYCLE FOR DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS BY DECADE

	1 dec	2 dec	3 dec	4 dec	5 dec
DOMESTIC WEAVERS					
N=	89	89	87	78	58
%					
Extended	14.6	16.9	16.1	32.1	37.9
FACTORY WORKERS					
N=	85	84	84	77	57
%					
Extended	22.4	25.0	25.0	18.2	36.8

Figure 7.1 thus indicates that household extension in the households of domestic weavers mainly occurred during the final phase of the household as the head and his wife began to reach old age. The extent of the differences in the early stages of the household between the two groups is further illustrated by table 7.2 which sets out the number of extended households by decade.⁴⁰⁸ Within the group of factory workers about one-quarter of the households present received extended kin into their homes during each of the first three decades. For the domestic weavers it never rises higher than 16% per decade. Then, during the fourth and fifth decades the percentage jumps to 32 and 37, respectively, thereby effectively marking the dichotomy in the structural development of the households of domestic weavers. Although the differences are less pronounced within the group of factory workers, extended kin co-residence was also more frequent during the final stages of the household's cycle rather than the initial ones. In the fourth decade of the household's development the percentage of extensions falls to 18 before rising during the final ten years to a level comparable to that of the domestic weavers. Of all 57 households of factory workers present at the start of the

⁴⁰⁸ Corrected sample of factory workers was used for this table.

fifth decade 36% came to reside with extended kin during this period.

It is interesting to note that the frequency with which domestic weavers in the countryside of Noord-Brabant co-resided with kin was very comparable to the frequency with which the Tilburg domestic weavers did so. Whilst the percentage of households ever extended among the latter group was 62.9, it appeared to be 64% among domestic weavers in the village of Nuenen.⁴⁰⁹ Of the four decades following their marriage these rural weavers were particularly likely to experience extension during the first and fourth decades of their existence: when 35% and 56% respectively of all households were extended. However, in this study no distinction was made between the weaver's parental household, his own or perhaps the household headed by his married children in which the weaver came to reside during old age. This may have greatly inflated the number of extended households at either end of the cycle and the number of households ever extended, but to what extent is unclear.

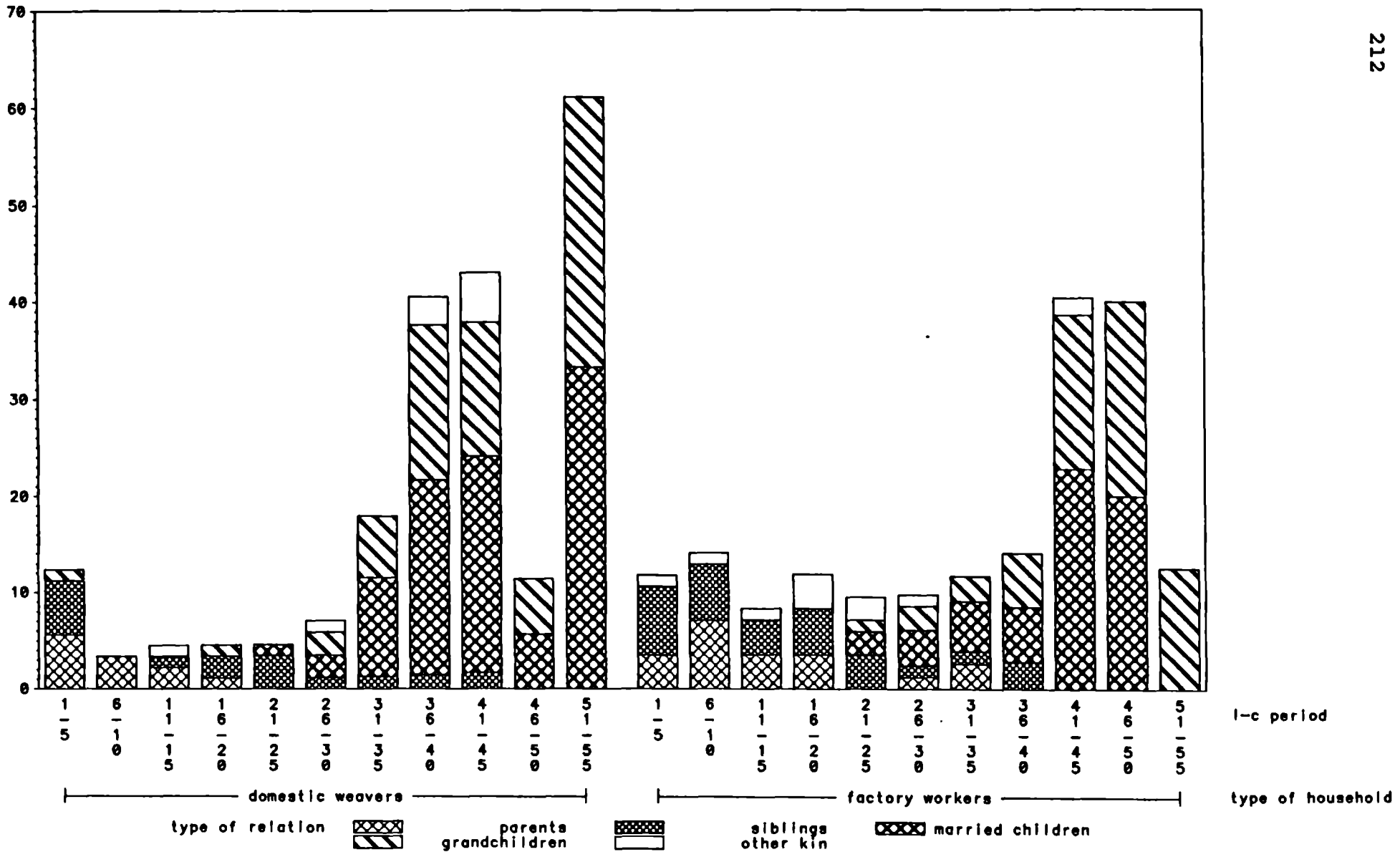
From the above it would seem then that the phenomenon of extension over the life cycle between the two groups of households differed in two respects. First, households of factory workers were more likely to be extended in their initial years, and secondly, extension towards the end of the cycle occurred much earlier among the households of domestic weavers. In order to shed more light on the reasons behind these differences we need to consider in detail the type of kin who were responsible for these extensions.

Figure 7.2 indicates that in both groups widowed parents and unmarried siblings were the most common co-residents during the first twenty years. But clearly, factory workers co-resided more often with these relatives, in particular with siblings, than did domestic weavers. (See also appendix 7.6.) Had the domestic weavers' parents all died by that time, considering the higher age at which the weavers began their household? We do not know and besides, age is not the only critical variable; what is also relevant is the individual's birth order within the sibling group. A first or second born child who marries relatively late does not reduce the opportunities for co-residence with parents to same extent as does a last born child who also marries late. Moreover, the main difference between the two groups arises from the larger number of co-residing siblings. Important differences involving the types of co-residing relatives were not found except for the fact that in the factory workers' households a higher proportion of siblings and even widowed parents outmigrated than did siblings and parents from the domestic weaver's household.

Were these extensions the effect of the geographical

⁴⁰⁹ C.G.W.P. van der Heijden, 'Gezin', p. 137.

FIGURE 7.2 PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH ENTRIES BY KIN BY LIFE-CYCLE PERIOD FOR DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS



corrected sample for factory workers

origin of some factory workers' families? After all, a large part of the factory workers sample was drawn from the cohort group 1880-1920 containing a certain number of migrant households. From the previous chapter we know that at least some migrant households were highly attractive to kin and were more often extended than native households. Indeed some of the factory workers were migrants, in all, 14 cases. However of these only 2 were extended sometime during the first twenty years of the cycle.⁴¹⁰ The higher level of extensions in the households of factory workers during the first two decades can therefore not be the result of migrants receiving a disproportionate number of extended kin.

Finally, generational influences may have distorted our observation. The domestic weavers were much more spread out over different generation groups in comparison with the factory workers who were by contrast more heavily concentrated in the generations belonging to the period 1870-1880. See appendix 7.2. However, examination of those families which had begun on their household's cycle between 1860-1880 still revealed a higher level of extensions for the households headed by factory workers, as is indicated by appendix 7.7.

Of course, there is no reason why the productive unit of the hand-loom weaver's household should have set limits to the number of relatives who could be present at any one time. Even if additional workers could not be used to assist in the household's productive work, relatives could always have been sent out to work for wages or enable the wife to do some (more) productive work of her own. Moreover, the domestic weavers may even have had more room in their cottages to accommodate relatives, compared with the factory workers who less often lived on the outskirts of the town. If work was slack, co-residing relatives working for wages would have been very welcome; but also when ample opportunities in domestic textiles existed this could have been a reason to attract kin in order to raise production. Consequently, the economic trend offers little hold in this issue.

However, in comparison with the factory workers the domestic weavers may have had larger proportions of other household members present, viz. boarders or lodgers and adolescent children, assisting the weaver and his wife not only in weaving or burling, but also in working the plot of land or other productive tasks. This did not prove to be the case. Neither the average number of children present, nor the number of lodgers or boarders co-residing in the weavers' households exceeded the level found for the factory workers' households. (See appendix 7.8 and 7.9.) Instead,

⁴¹⁰ In addition, one of these two was excluded from the corrected sample of factory workers.

extended kin, boarders and lodgers taken together were still less frequent in the households of domestic weavers during the first twenty years. It would be unreasonable to assume, therefore, that the diverging pattern of extension in the initial stages of the household was related to diverging structural characteristics of the households themselves. Later on in this chapter we will return again to this issue and suggest a possible explanation.

A second feature of the domestic weavers household that needs explaining concerns the much earlier entry into the parental household of married children which is again born out by figure 7.2. Is this the effect of a greater attractiveness of the household of the domestic weaver to his married children? Did the domestic weaver have more to offer the next generation? Or rather, did the households of domestic weavers experience greater hardship on account of the decline in domestic weaving after 1890 which the weavers subsequently tried to counter by attracting more workers? First of all, we need to remember that on average the domestic weavers were a little older when they began their household's cycle. See appendix 7.3. This may have resulted in more compact household cycles and the presence of married children earlier in the parental life cycle. However, one might also argue for the pre 1890 period that when these extensions occurred they reflected the greater economic assets of the productive unit of the domestic weaver in comparison with that offered by the households of the industrial wage labourer. The domestic weaving economy may still have had easily available employment to offer to the next generation and in addition there would be the loom and the house which may have attracted married children. But, we will argue below that this is not likely to have been the case.

TABLE 7.3 STRUCTURE OF HOUSEHOLD AT TIME OF ENTRY OF MARRIED CHILDREN FOR DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS *

	domestic weavers		factory workers	
	sons	daughters	sons	daughters
1 parent only	7.7	7.1	0.0	9.1
1 parent + sibling(s)	53.9	28.6	62.5	27.3
2 parents only	0.0	0.0	12.5	4.6
2 parents + sibling(s)	38.5	64.3	25.0	59.1
N=	13	28	8	26

* All single entries by married children were counted. Uncorrected sample of factory workers was used.

First of all, the structural characteristics of the household of the domestic weaver and the factory worker at the time of entry of a married child and spouse corresponded very closely (see table 7.3). For both groups of households it appeared that married daughters, who by far constituted the largest group of co-residing married children, entered in 64 to 63% of all cases when both parents were still alive, while sons in both groups mainly entered when one parent had already died. Were sons only asked in when the household needed a replacement for the breadwinner it had lost? Daughters apparently did not rush to assist lone parents in old age. Of course a comparable appeal would also have been made to them - about one-third of these married daughters likewise entered the household of a widowed parent - but most of the married daughters resided, perhaps we should say were allowed to reside, in the household of their parents for other reasons which, we may assume, can only have been connected to their own needs. However, more important for our present argument is that this pattern was the same for both groups of households. In addition, the age of the parent(s) at the time married children entered were also very close. Three-quarters of the fathers present at the entry of a married child were above the age of 60 and 63 respectively for factory workers and domestic weavers, as were 60 and 58 of the mothers present.

Nor could other differences be found related to co-residence of married children. In both groups married children entered in one half of all cases because they married and brought their spouses into the household, whereas the other half migrated into the household after having resided in other households, mostly their own, subsequent to their marriage. This situation applied to both sons and daughters in both groups. In general married children remained just a few years in the households of their parents after which most of them left again. Again in both groups only a minority stayed on in order to take over the headship of the household shortly before or after the death of both parents.⁴¹¹ In addition minor differences in addition occurred between the two groups as to the place of residence of married children after their marriage. For almost all of them marriage coincided with the exit from the parental household and the establishment of a new one. For sons only 5.2% and 3.8% for domestic weavers and factory

⁴¹¹ The following number of co-residing married sons and daughters of domestic weavers eventually took over their parental households: 25% and 18.2%; for sons and daughters of factory workers the comparable percentages were: 57.1% and 20%. Not too much importance should be attached to the high percentage of factory workers' sons taking over the parental household as the total number of observation in this group was only 7.

workers respectively continued to reside in the parental household after their marriage; for daughters these percentages were also low but conspicuously higher than for sons: 10.2% and 9.8% of all first marriages were followed by continued residence in the parental household.

Finally, when we relate the timing of entry of married children in the households of their parents to historical time it is obvious why these co-residential arrangements arose. Almost all married children in both groups of households were present sometime during the period 1910-1920: 83% of the group of domestic weavers and 81% of the factory workers. All remaining married children entered their parental households in the decade prior to 1910. The combined effect of the parents being slightly older as well as a broader spread across the generations of households, see respectively appendix 7.3 and 7.2., resulted in more domestic weavers experiencing the entry of married children at an earlier stage in the household's cycle. For instance, those domestic weavers and their wives marrying at relatively high ages, 30-39, and beginning their household's cycle in the period 1880-1890, or even 1890-1900, would encounter old age sooner, as well as the problems associated with the period 1910-1920. If we exclude part of these effects and limit analysis to the generation of households embarking upon their cycle between 1860-1880, results of which are presented in appendix 7.7, it is clear that both patterns began to resemble each other closely as far the final half of the cycle is concerned. It is therefore not unlikely that household extension of married children for both domestic weavers and factory workers principally came about as a result of the higher mobility levels and shortages in the housing market which were characteristic of the 1910-1920 decade.⁴¹²

But, the figures presented above may already have suggested the idea that on balance many more domestic weavers and their wives co-resided with their married children when compared with the factory workers. And this indeed proves to be the case. For the domestic weavers 38% of the couples who had ever had children born to them came to co-reside with their married children in their own households at some point in time, as opposed to 26% of the couples in the sample of factory workers.⁴¹³ In the following section we will see that the domestic weavers were not more to have been abandoned by their (unmarried) children which may have necessitated them attract married children instead. Were economic conditions more harsh for the domestic weavers who by 1910 belonged to a seriously outdated and perhaps

⁴¹² For a discussion of labour mobility and the housing market and their effect on households see chapter 4 pages 95-96.

⁴¹³ These percentages apply to households whose developmental cycles commenced prior to 1880.

also impoverished occupational group? On the other hand, the domestic weavers and their wives may still have managed to squeeze meagre incomes from some occasional domestic weaving, burling or darning. In addition, most of them had their plots of land and cattle providing them at the very least with some basic foodstuffs. They may well have been better able to support themselves, despite the collapse of domestic weaving, than factory workers of comparable age.

It is perhaps more reasonable to suggest that the domestic weavers, most of whom probably owned their own homes on the outskirts of the town, had more and better accommodation to offer to married children having difficulties in procuring appropriate housing after 1910.⁴⁴ Might the weavers have used the house and land that was theirs as an inducement to attract their married children? Perhaps, but that should have led to more children taking over the parental house and household eventually, and that did not happen as we shall see in the following section. Perhaps domestic weavers' children married in larger proportions, and if they also migrated out of town less often this could have created a larger reservoir of young families confronted by the housing problem of the 1910s. However, the domestic weavers were less likely to marry early, and migration as we know frequently led to more rather than less kin co-residence. We therefore conclude discussion of this issue by stating that similar difficulties probably promoted the co-residence of married children in the households of domestic weavers and factory workers, but that the former had more children co-resident as they had better facilities to offer.

This conclusion is strengthened by the overall figures on the numbers of working class parents of the 1880-1920 generation co-residing with married children, see table 5.6. A strong overlap exists between the various groups. Many of the skilled labourers shared the family experiences of the domestic weavers, while many of the unskilled workers shared those of the factory workers. Also, the domestic weavers co-resided with married children only slightly more often than did the middle classes of the second generation group of households. And these should certainly not be regarded as families in distress.

On the basis of figures presented so far one might suggest that the most important conclusion to be drawn should be that, while acknowledging the structural differences along the household's cycle between the two samples, in the end the pattern of kin co-residence was the same regardless type of family economy. This conclusion however would obscure the fact that the households of factory workers experienced far greater complexity than did the households headed by domestic weavers. After all, table 7.2 also implies that

⁴⁴ Average family size of domestic weavers in this period differed little from that of factory workers.

household extension was more likely to have occurred at least twice along the life cycle of the households of factory workers. Of all factory workers who had ever lived with extended kin, 44.2% had done so on more than one occasion, as against only 28.6% for the domestic weavers. Unlike the households of domestic weavers, extended kin more often resided in the households of factory labourers in both the initial and the final stages of the household's cycle. The total period that these households were extended was also longer: 6.3 years as opposed to 4.4 years for the households of domestic weavers. Strikingly enough, a similar situation was found by Leboutte in nineteenth-century Belgium; although differences were small, households headed by proto-industrial gunsmiths co-resided with kin less often and for a smaller time span than did households of coalminers.⁴¹⁵ In mid-nineteenth-century Preston, however, self-employed hand-loom weavers were apparently not less likely to be taking kin into their homes when compared with factory workers.⁴¹⁶

To sum up, factory workers' households were not characterized by the absence of strong and intensive extended kinship relations. That is to say, not if we have to go by the frequency with which they were taking extended kin into their households. It appeared that extended kin were even more frequent during the early stages of the cycle in the households of factory workers as compared with households headed by domestic weavers. Compared with working class households in general, factory workers also had a higher level of extensions during the first half of their cycle. Domestic weavers seldom co-resided with parents or siblings, but their households appeared to have had a far stronger attraction to married children. Kin co-residence in the households of domestic weavers was clearly a phenomenon confined to the final stages of the household in which married children, their spouses and grandchildren were temporarily added to the household. In both groups married children entered the household partly to assist widowed parents and partly for reasons of their own. No entirely satisfactory explanation is available as to why co-residence by married children was more frequent in the households of domestic weavers as compared with the household of factory workers, but it was suggested that this was related to better housing facilities the domestic weaver had on offer.

7.4 Parents and children

In this section we will explore in detail the strength of the ties between parents and children in both the domestic

⁴¹⁵ R. Leboutte, 'Household dynamic', p. 9.

⁴¹⁶ M. Anderson, Family structure, p. 123.

weaving economy and the wage economy of factory labourers. As was suggested earlier, the occupational discontinuity between generations observed in the households of factory workers may have broken the bonds between parents and children and in particular between the father and his sons. In these households the unity of family, property and labour had completely vanished, although of course the family still may have owned the house it lived in as well as a small plot of land.⁴¹⁷ However, with the exception of the factory weavers, the family clearly no longer possessed the means to function as an economic unity and educate the next generation in the trade of their fathers and grandfathers. It seems reasonable to think this may have led to a growing independence on the side of the younger generation or at the very least it may have reduced opportunities for fathers and sons to assist each other in the sphere of work, which in turn may have prompted earlier independence. Of course, as we have seen, economic differentiation was not wholly absent from the households of the domestic weavers; not all sons would have been persuaded to remain at home to assist their fathers on the loom. However, the household did in principle offer opportunities for both adolescent boys and girls to be set to work, and indeed the family will have been in need of the labour of some of its children. This and the property belonging to the family economy of the domestic weaver may have caused individual life course patterning to vary to some extent. Yet perhaps the moral obligations between parents and children may have overruled the economic aspects of their relationship.⁴¹⁸

Contemporaries were often somewhat critical of the influence of industrial wage labour on the relationships between parents and children. In an attempt to postpone children's early autonomy from working class parents were sometimes offered assistance where it was not wanted. In an effort to help preserve parental authority in the families of factory labourers some of the cotton mills for instance in Hengelo, in the east of the Netherlands, began paying part of the wages of their adolescent workers to the fathers.⁴¹⁹ Parents rightly protested against this violation of their authority over their own children following which most regulations were abolished. Naturally, the parents'

⁴¹⁷ In Sozialer und Kultureller Wandel R. Braun assumes that those families with no property and characterized by weak family ties would be the first to enter the factories. Consequently, those to enter last were the ones whose material ties had been strongest and who had been most skilled in their trade. In other words the transition to factory labour involved a negative process of selection. (pp. 26-36).

⁴¹⁸ As is suggested by G. Alter, Family, p. 160.

⁴¹⁹ A. de Regt, Arbeidersgezinnen, p. 131.

most anxious concerns focused on the possibility that the child would leave home at an early age, thereby severely reducing the family's standard of living. We will therefore in this section explore the extent to which parents in the two samples of households managed to restrict their children's autonomy and keep them from leaving home.

Families headed by factory workers were blessed with many children, even more so than were families headed by domestic weavers. Factory labourers and their wives had a median number of eight live-born children as opposed to the seven of the weavers. A considerable number of these children died before they reached the age at which they could start contributing to the family purse; and child mortality was particularly high for the daughters of families of factory workers.⁴²⁰ Then shortly after children had reached working age they began to leave the parental household for a first time.⁴²¹

As is apparent from figure 7.3 for the majority of weavers' sons this life course transition occurred between the ages of 20 and 29: 66% of sons whose father was a domestic weaver left home for a first time within this age group. Sons whose fathers were engaged in factory labour started to leave home earlier. Whereas only 10% of the domestic weavers' sons left home within the age group of 15-19 this applied to 18% of factory workers' sons. The same issue may be stated differently, perhaps in a more concise way: 41% of all first exits of factory workers' sons took place only after the age of 24, whereas 53.9% of sons of domestic weavers left this late. The different distribution of the timing of first exit from home for sons reflected itself in a lower mean age for this event: 21.9 years for factory workers' sons as opposed to 24.0 for weavers' sons. Broadly, the same may be said for the daughters of both groups of families, see figure 7.4, but differences are less marked. Girls were clearly leaving home much earlier than their brothers which applies to both groups. Not inconsiderable proportions of girls, 15% and 20% of the daughters of domestic weavers and factory workers respectively, were leaving home between the ages of 15-19, and for factory workers' daughters there is another 10%

⁴²⁰ Of all daughters of factory workers 13.1% died before their first birthday, compared with 10.1% of the boys; for domestic weavers these figures were 10.5% and 11.5% respectively. The percentage of children dying before the age of 10 for the same categories of children were 22.7 and 17.9, 19.3 and 18.8.

⁴²¹ All following data on the timing of break away from the parental home concern exits occurring before the end of the household's life history in order to exclude those breaks forced on the child, for instance by the death of his or her parents.

FIGURE 7.3 TIMING AND TYPE OF EXIT FROM PARENTAL HOUSEHOLD FOR SONS
BY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD AND AGE GROUP

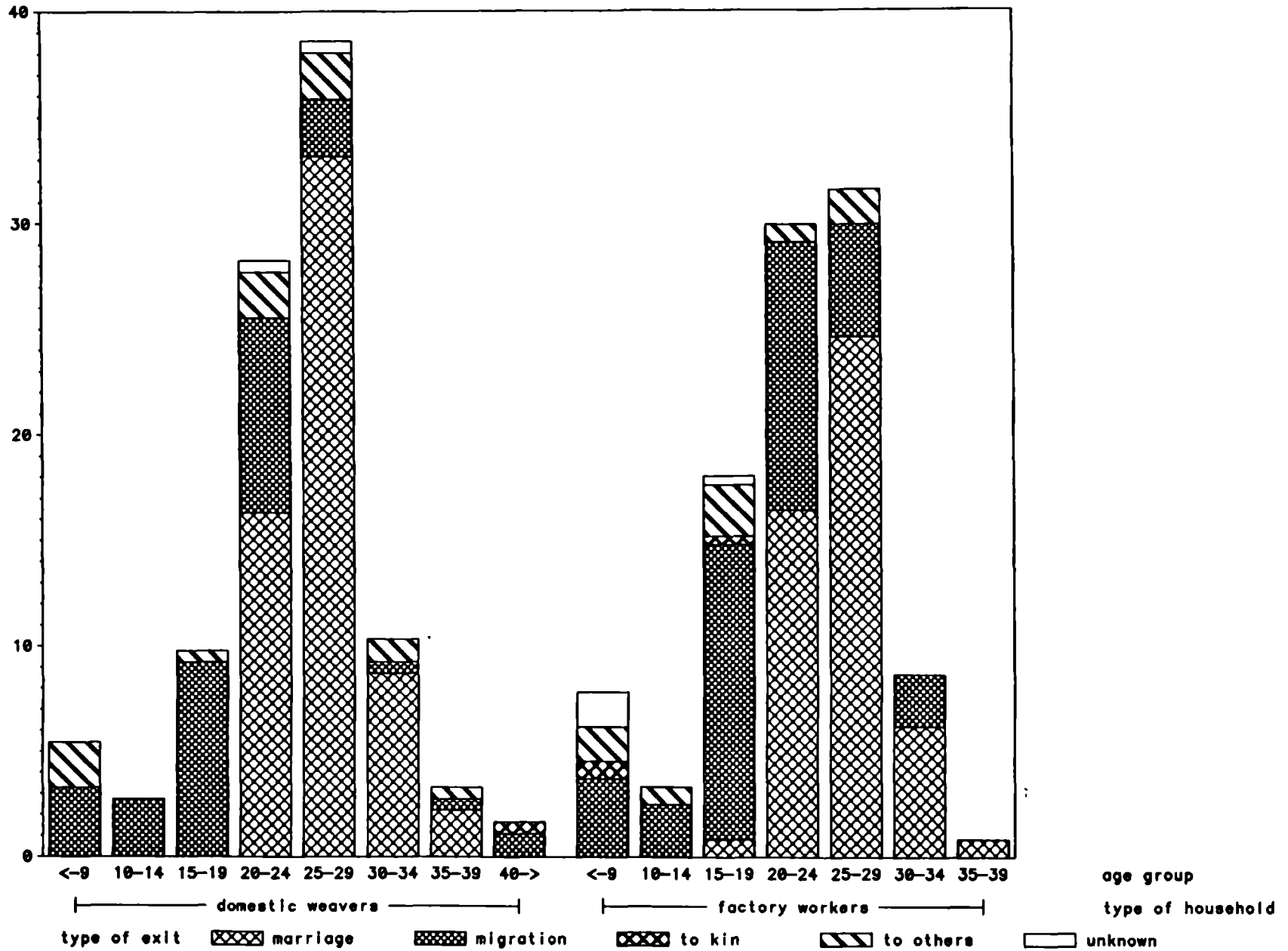
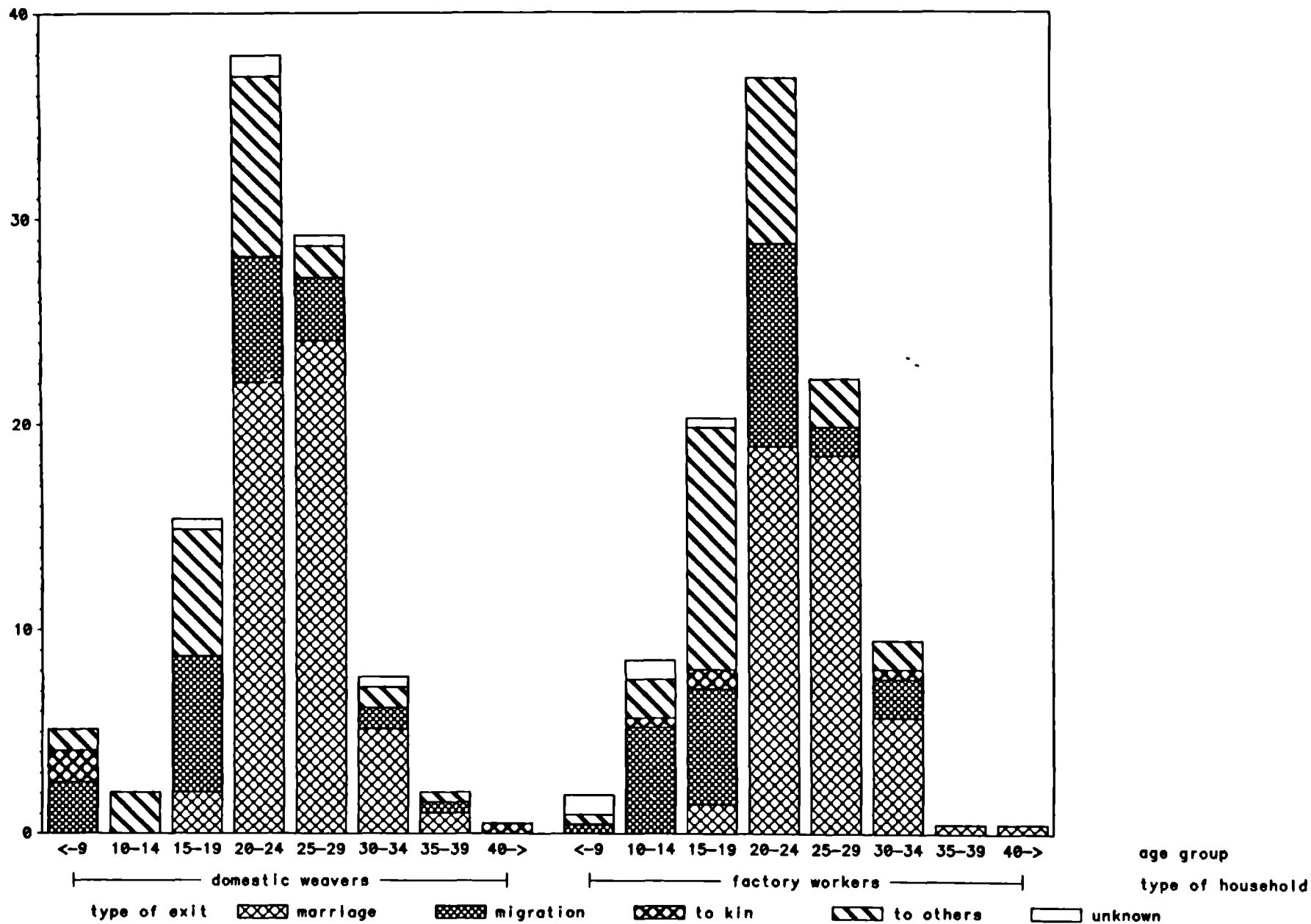


FIGURE 7.4 TIMING AND TYPE OF EXIT FROM PARENTAL HOUSEHOLD FOR DAUGHTERS
BY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD AND AGE GROUP



leaving even sooner than that. But, differences are small: 32.5% of the exits of factory workers' daughters occurred after the age of 25, not far short of the percentage of 39.5 for daughters of domestic weavers.

It may be clear that while sons in both groups of families could be retained more easily in the household until their early twenties, due to the fact that preferred occupations for sons did not mitigate against continued residence at home, this was not the case for girls. In general employment opportunities for girls were heavily concentrated in either textiles or domestic service. If the family failed to procure domestic textile work, which in this period was in decline, it could either decide to send its daughters to work in the factories or into domestic service. For about 18% of domestic weavers' daughters and 28% of factory workers' daughters the parents decided in favour of domestic service which for the girl involved her early departure from the home.⁴²² It is clear that families could not resist the strong pull exercised by the textile factories on adolescent labour because the largest proportion of daughters remained at home until well into their twenties, during which time we must assume these girls were either employed within the home or engaged in factory work. The proportion remaining at home at least until their twentieth birthdays was slightly larger for domestic weavers which may have been the result of the greater employment opportunities for teenage girls within the domestic weaving economy. In the mean age for first exit from the home however these differences are not clearly reflected: 22.0 and 21.9 years for daughters of factory workers and domestic weavers respectively.

At this stage it is appropriate to draw attention to the fact that nineteenth-century working class children from urban families were able to reside with their families until very advanced ages when compared with data on rural families a century before. The mean age at which children started to leave home in late eighteenth-century Alphen, a small agricultural community in the province of Noord-Brabant, was only 15.8 for boys and 15.2 for girls.⁴²³ These boys and girls left home to become, what Peter Laslett has termed, life-cycle servants, which marked such a distinctive stage in the individual life course before the nineteenth century.⁴²⁴ The early departure from home in Alphen may well be related to the lack of employment opportunities for young people in or

⁴²² These percentages include those leaving before the age of 20 because of 'migration', 'to kin' and 'to others' (other households in Tilburg) minus the few who left for marriage. See figure 7.4.

⁴²³ A. Lindner, 'De dynamische analyse', p. 69.

⁴²⁴ P. Laslett, *Family life*, p. 34. In some preindustrial European communities the age at leaving home was even much lower than that, see e.g. R. Wall, 'The age'.

near the parental home in these eighteenth-century rural communities.⁴²⁶ Towards the second half of the nineteenth century, however, this aspect of the life course pattern had apparently also begun to change considerably in the countryside.⁴²⁶ It is reported that in the eastern part of Noord-Brabant 41 to 44% of all lower class children remained at home until at least the age of 25, which percentage is remarkably, little higher than the figures presented above concerning Tilburg working class sons in the later half of the century.⁴²⁷

In nineteenth-century Tilburg it would seem that sons, but also daughters, with fathers engaged in factory labour departed from their parental homes at earlier ages. However, these youngsters did return, sometimes after only a short period away from home, in order to experience in the end a final break at comparable ages to sons and daughters in the domestic weaving economy. The final exit from home for sons and daughters of domestic weavers took place at the advanced mean ages of 26.9 and 25.0 respectively, while parents in the sample of factory workers saw their children ultimately leave their household at the ages of 25.0 for sons and 24.2 for girls. Clearly, differences in the timing of final break away from home had become very small. Of all final exits of domestic weavers' sons 66.5% took place after the age of 24, compared with 59.6% of sons in the sample of factory workers; for girls these percentages were 54.1 and 47.2 respectively (see appendix 7.10).

The above implies that sons and daughters of factory workers were a lot more mobile than were the sons and daughters in the domestic weaving economy. The former came and went more often, and they did so more often for migratory reasons; sons and daughters of domestic weavers, but especially sons, continued to reside in their parental homes longer and more often until their marriage. This follows from the fact that 60.3% of the domestic weavers' sons exited from the parental household for a first time when they married, only 29.3% did so for reasons of migration. By contrast, 48.8% of the sons of factory workers left their parents for a first time to marry, while 40.6% of the sons in this group left because they migrated out of Tilburg. For girls the same pattern was found as to reason for first exit, albeit a little less pronounced: 54.4% and 45.3% of domestic weavers' and factory workers' daughters respectively left for a first time in order to marry and set up a household of their own. Although compared with first exits differences between the two samples in reasons for final exit from home were bound to be smaller, the same

⁴²⁵ R. Wall, 'The age', p. 195.

⁴²⁶ See also P.M.M. Klep, 'Het huishouden', p. 58.

⁴²⁷ P. Meurkens, Bevolking, p. 160.

pattern is nevertheless visible, in particular for girls. (See appendix 7.11).

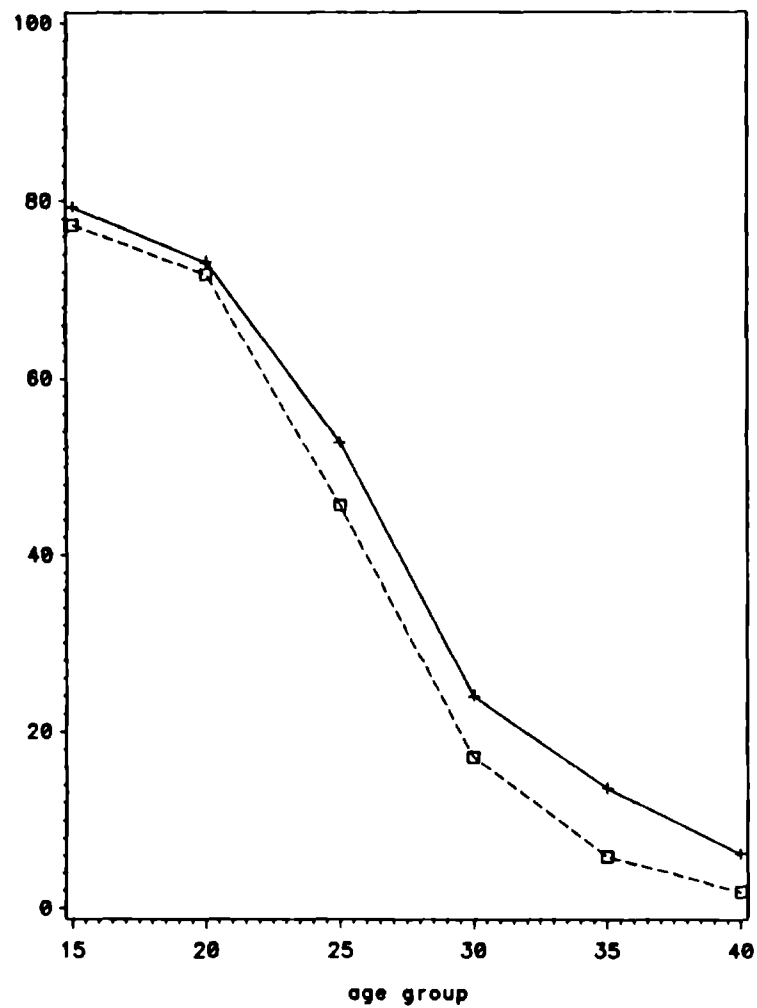
So far, the data indicate that in the domestic weaving economy boys were retained in the home longer in comparison with them whose father was employed in industrial wage labour. However, these data concern only those youngsters whom we have actually seen exiting from the home, those who continued to reside in the parental household until its dissolution were excluded. Figure 7.5 therefore charts the percentage of sons and daughters who had not yet left permanently including those children staying on until the household ended or those dying. In this graph the proportion indicated to be still at home at a certain age may well have been away for some time prior to that moment, or indeed at precisely that very moment, but if the child ever returned to the parental nest he or she is counted as not yet having left permanently.⁴²⁸ The graph confirms our earlier assessment that in the age range of 25 to 35 a somewhat larger proportion of the domestic weavers' sons were still residing with their parents than were sons whose fathers were in factory work. At the age of 35 13.6% of the domestic workers' sons had not yet left permanently, as opposed to 5.9% for sons from factory families.⁴²⁹ Indeed figure 7.5 also validates our earlier conclusion that occupational influences on the life course pattern of girls, that is

⁴²⁸ See appendix 7.12 for percentages concerning those who had resided in the parental home continuously at different ages.

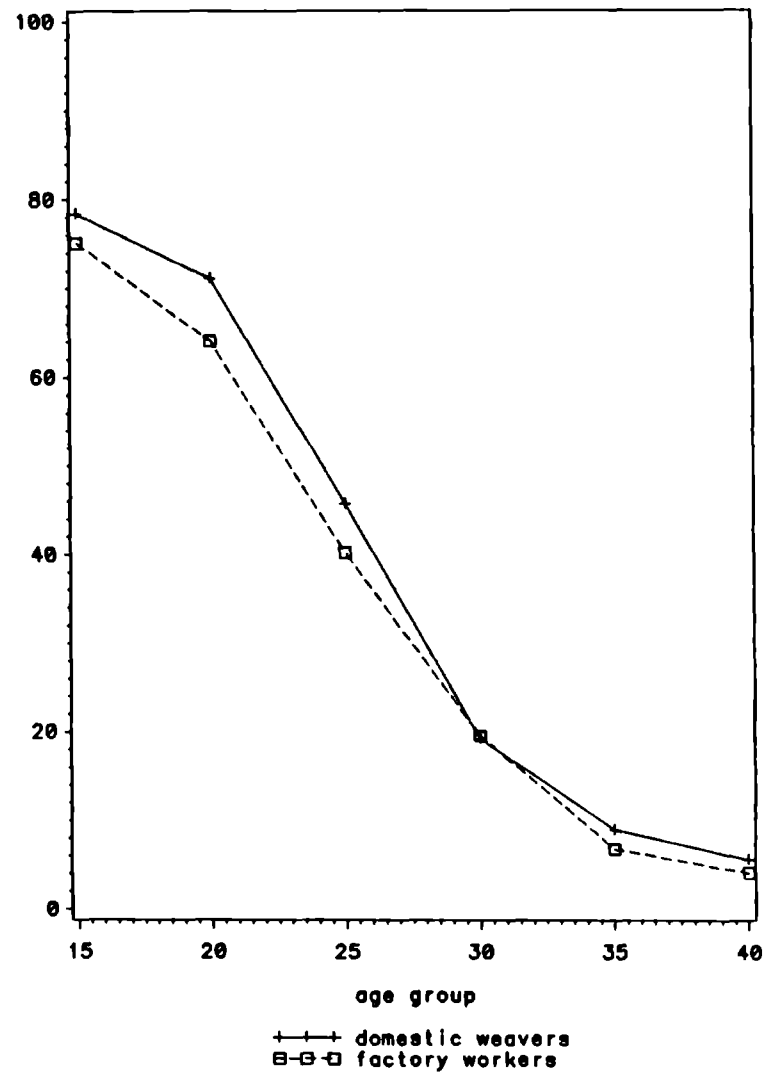
⁴²⁹ It is however possible that these differences are occasioned by generational patterns rather than through the effect of the two different family economies. Households of domestic weavers were slightly older and their children accordingly were more likely to belong to older generation groups. We therefore computed again the age at first exit and the proportion not yet away from home permanently while excluding sons born before 1870. This showed that sons of domestic weavers left home the first time at a mean age of 23.4, 0.6 years earlier than did the entire group of such sons, but still later than did the sons of factory workers who left home for the first time when aged on average 21.9. Also the age at which domestic weavers' sons born after 1870 departed from the parental household permanently was still higher compared with sons of factory workers, 26.3 and 25.0 respectively. Moreover, the proportion of sons still residing at home in certain age groups remained higher for domestic weavers than for factory workers. At the age of 35 there was still a considerable difference in the proportion not yet away: twice as many sons of domestic weavers were still at home as were sons of factory workers of the same age. (See for full table appendix 7.14.) The effect therefore can not be attributed to generational patterns only.

FIGURE 7.5 PROPORTION OF CHILDREN STILL AT HOME BY AGE GROUP
FOR DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS

SONS



DAUGHTERS



concerning the final break with parents, appeared non-existent.

The differences in timing in the break from home between the two samples had no consequences at all for the timing of marriage. In earlier chapters we have already established the fact that the age at which working class people married, but also those from higher social classes, was relatively stable throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. The same may be said for the sons and daughters of domestic weavers and factory workers. Sons and daughters of domestic weavers and factory workers timed their marriage very much as did working class sons and daughters in the two generation samples and discussed in chapter 5. In both groups sons were marrying at a median age of 26 and daughters at an age of 25. Age at marriage for these sons and daughters came early when compared with marriage in the rural areas of the province. Domestic weavers in the countryside during the same period for instance were marrying at the mean ages of 29.8 for men and 28.2 for women.⁴³⁰ However, not all of the sons of domestic weavers did actually marry, nor did all of the daughters and, more importantly, for both the proportion remaining unmarried was higher at various ages than was the case with the sons and daughters of factory workers. Whilst at the age of 39 15.9% of the weavers' sons were still unmarried, this was so for only 7.7% of the sons with fathers in factory work. Here again the pattern for daughters differs only slightly: the frequency of marriage for working class women was not influenced by the occupational background of their families of origin. For full table see appendix 7.13.

Before we may reach a conclusion on the strength of intergenerational ties in the respective families of domestic weavers and factory workers there is still the fate of parents to consider. What did the final stages of their households look like, and if their households were dissolved, in what ways did this come about? Do the above figures mean that parents heading families who were engaged in industrial employment would more often end their lives without the assistance of at least some of their children? Of all couples who had ever had children born to them and whose households had commenced before 1880, about one-third ended up on their own at the end of their household's life cycle : 30.6% of domestic weavers and 33.8% for factory workers. These percentages correspond with those found for all working class households of the second generation.⁴³¹ Similar proportions of domestic weavers and factory workers had married children present: 20.9% and 20.3%. The main

⁴³⁰ C.G.W.P. van der Heijden, 'Gezin', p. 139.

⁴³¹ For parents who had ever had children and who had at least one of these children still residing in town only 25.6% and 27.5% respectively lived without any children.

difference concerned the number of households in which parents had already died before the last of their children had left the household. In 16.1% of the households of domestic weavers, unmarried children were still present at the end of the life cycle without their parents. For households headed by factory workers this was so for only 8.1% of all households launched before 1880.

There was thus a slightly larger proportion of factory workers and their wives who lived to see all of their children leave the household. But, not all of these lone parents were actually being abandoned, cruelly, in the face of old age and death. In general it may be said that as long as both parents were still alive they preferred to continue to head their own households; moves to other households were mainly contemplated by widows and widowers. All 9 couples in the group of factory workers whose households had started before 1880 and who found themselves on their own, continued to head their own household until the end of the period of observation; none of them was observed to exit to other households.⁴³² Of all 16 cases involving a widowed parent only 5 were observed to be still heading their own household in 1920, but most of them had mostly been on their own for one to three years. Of the remaining 11 parents who were seen to exit from the household 1 died, 7 decided to move to the household of a married child, 2 outmigrated and the last moved into one of the institutions for old people. A similar pattern existed in the households of domestic weavers: of 14 widowed parents exiting from the household 6 moved to a married child while 3 exited through death. We may therefore say that most of the ageing parents who came to reside on their own frequently decided to move into the household of one of their married children. The pattern appeared to be the same in both groups of households.

However, not all parents came to reside on their own in old age. Some parents chose or were forced to move out shortly before all of their children had left them. If that moment arrived, where did parents go and, could parents in both groups make an equal appeal for assistance to their married children? Table 7.4 therefore presents the way parents exited from their households. The table excludes those parents who were still heading their own households at the end of 1920, who were consequently not observed to exit at all, as well as those who die early. Table 7.4 reveals that most parents of 60 and over resided in their households until death, and we again note that this was more frequent for men than for women, but it was also more frequent for domestic weavers than for factory workers. Most of the

⁴³² For the group of domestic weavers there were only 2 cases available in which both parents were still alive and on their own at the end of the household's cycle, making comparison impossible.

couples in the households of factory workers, in contrast to those in the domestic weaving economy, were forced to move out of their households, which undoubtedly reflects the fact that unmarried children were departing from these households a little earlier. Moreover, the younger age at which these factory workers had begun their household's life cycle will have increased the likelihood of the final 'empty-nest phase' occurring during their life time, thereby facing widowed parents with the necessity of moving out of their households. Of those who actually decided to give up headship of the household in both groups the largest proportion moved into households of married offspring while only few of them invited married children to come to live with them, after which the headship of the household was passed on to the next generation (change head).

Surprisingly, this type of household continuity, which was more frequent for men than for women, was also more frequent for factory workers than for domestic weavers. If anything, we would expect the family economy of the weavers, and their albeit modest family property, to have generated more family continuity over generations rather than less in comparison with factory workers. However, in both groups it is a marginal phenomenon; in general parents remained heading their own households as long as possible, and if they could no longer sustain an independent household their first choice would be to move in with their married children.

TABLE 7.4 LAST EXIT FOR PARENTS FOR DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS THOSE AGED 60 AND OVER

type of exit	domestic weavers		factory workers	
	husbands	wives	husbands	wives
death	72.6	64.3	61.1	54.6
change head	3.9	2.4	11.1	6.1
to child	11.8	23.8	19.4	24.2
to institution	2.0	-	5.6	9.1
to kin	-	4.8	2.8	-
to others	7.8	-	-	3.0
migration	2.0	4.8	-	3.0
N=	51	42	36	33

In conclusion we may say that there were strong intergenerational ties between parents and children on the behavioural level in the factory workers' families, despite their involvement in industrial wage labour and despite their economic differentiation. Children's connections to their parental households were maintained well into adulthood in both groups of households. At the moment at which children finally departed from the household, most of

them were well into their twenties. In addition the age at marriage did not appear to change at all as a consequence of the different types of labour with which the family was involved. However, some not unimportant differences in the relations between parents and children did occur between the two family economies. Daughters but especially sons of fathers engaged in factory work left home for a first time somewhat earlier than did children in the domestic weaving economy. The former were rather more mobile and were migrating more often, while the latter continued to live with parents in larger proportions, mostly until marriage, just as they were also more likely to remain unmarried. Perhaps the families engaged in factory work could afford to let more of their children leave, and at earlier ages, because they had more children to take care of. Alternatively, these parents may well have been forced to send more of their children out to contribute to the family budget away from the home. Whatever the precise motivation may have been for young people to move out of the parental household at early ages, it did increase chances for parents to be left on their own in old age. However, this in turn led to a situation in which parents in the sample of factory workers more often arranged to co-reside with married children at the end of their household's life history.

7.5 Conclusion

Clearly, the factory bells did not toll to the disintegration of family life in late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Tilburg. Although industrialization and the processes which accompanied it may have worked to change some of the structural aspects of the developmental cycle of the household, these changes in all probability only served to increase the incidence of extended households rather than stimulating a more 'modern' development towards individualism and household nuclearization. This development occurred, it must be stressed, despite the fact that industrialization had clearly altered the economic basis supporting the family economy of the industrial wage labourer. The factory workers' families in our sample undoubtedly demonstrate that economic specialization, and the separation between work and family did not immediately bring about the destruction of the bonds uniting parents and children, and brothers and sisters. Not only in the domestic weaving economy, but also in the households of factory workers, family values were shaping family patterns. Results confirm the high degree of continuity between the family economy and the family wage economy that was posed by Tilly and Scott.

The examination of the sources of income available to families revealed the fact that the households headed by factory workers, power-loom weavers apart, were

characterized by an enormous amount of occupational discontinuity. None of these factory workers had sons employed in the same occupation; none of them could consequently have experienced a situation of working side by side with the generation succeeding them; none of these fathers apparently was in control of employment opportunities to the extent that employment could be secured in favour of their sons. However, we should beware of exaggeration because these wage-pooling families may still have shared additional domestic production, brought home in the evenings by the father, as well as strong bonds to one and the same employer.

Occupational discontinuity is assumed to have a negative effect on family relations, reducing the ability of the family to find employment for relations and thereby the attractiveness of kin relations and the willingness on the part of the individual to submit to family interests. In other words, economic differentiation would dissolve family ties. But it did not. In fact, during the initial stages in which the household was still expanding through the regular addition of another new-born infant, extended family members were relatively common in the households of those engaged in industrial wage labour. More common than in either the households of domestic weavers or the households of working class families in general.

In accordance with extension patterns for working class households established in chapter 5, extension at the initial stages only came about through co-residence with widowed parents and unmarried siblings. This was the same for both domestic weavers and factory labourers. But why should extension of this type be more frequent in the households of the latter as opposed to the former? We will not be able to provide a definite answer here, but we might suggest the following. Widowed parents and unmarried brothers and sisters would in general only appeal to their married children and siblings when they found it impossible to reside in their own households. If the differences in mobility and departure from the home of sons and daughters between the two groups were greater in the generation preceding the households studied here, it would have resulted in the relatively early dissolution of the paternal households of the factory workers themselves. As a consequence these factory workers would be more likely to be asked to provide a home for widowed parents and unmarried siblings on the move.

During the final stages of the life cycle, during which the household gradually decreased in size, differences in extension patterns between the two samples became less pronounced. In both groups the level of extensions rose as elderly parents came to co-reside with their married children. For both groups it is assumed that similar factors were responsible for these extended family arrangements with married children: the old-age of the parents, and assistance

to children with mobility and housing problems. Extension of this type however was more typical of domestic weavers in whose households this pattern was also visible at a much earlier stage as a result of more compact household cycles. As argued before it would seem that the domestic weaving economy disposed of a somewhat stronger pull on the families of married children as a result of their greater material assets. In this respect they clearly resembled other skilled workers and the middle classes who attracted equal proportions of co-resident married children in the decade following 1910. This consolidates our assumption that the depression in domestic weaving did not leave these parents deprived and destitute; they still had something to offer to their children.

In general, the domestic weaving economy seemed to exercise a somewhat stronger hold over their children which was apparent in the late age at which especially sons were leaving the household as well as the higher proportions of sons still unmarried and still residing in the parental home. It is not at all unlikely that the domestic weaving economy could retain its children until later ages due to the continued ability of the father to provide employment opportunities within textiles, either within the mill or at home, for members of his family.⁴³³ The question further remains as to what extent these family patterns are related to differences in family property, in the sense that domestic weavers more often will have owned the family home and a patch of land.⁴³⁴ By comparison, sons and daughters of factory workers were more mobile: they departed from home more often and at earlier ages. Combined with their higher marriage frequency this would appear to suggest that factory workers' children had acquired more and earlier autonomy. We should take care not exaggerate this considering the fact that parents were no more left alone than in the case of the domestic weavers. True, factory workers more often found themselves living on their own in the final stages of their life course, they more often saw the last of their children leave the household. But the data indicate that many more of them as a result were eventually taken into the households of their married children or arranged for the latter to come and live with them.

To conclude, economic specialization and differentiation in the nineteenth century did not as strongly foster a spirit of individualism as some theorists would have us believe. Theories stressing the disruptive effects on the family of the shift from home to the factory do not sufficiently recognize the continued importance of family relations for nineteenth-century working class families. If

⁴³³ Compare e.g. R. Wall, 'Work', p. 272, who indicates such patterns existed in Colyton, England.

⁴³⁴ See also footnote 417.

indeed industrialization had diminished the importance of the father and the family economy for obtaining employment so that children were forced to look elsewhere, this does not preclude the possibility that family relations could be beneficial or even crucial in many cases. Widowed parents could find domestic support in the families of their married children, brothers and sisters could find a place to repose between jobs or a substitute for their family of origin, and clearly young married couples who were unable to find a family home were able to find at least a temporary shelter in the parental home. Family historians and sociologists should take care not to attach too great value to the impact of the loss of productive functions on nineteenth-century family life.

CHAPTER 8 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this study we have attempted to trace the impact of the process of industrialization on family life in nineteenth-century Tilburg. In the mid-nineteenth century the town still consisted of a group of small hamlets whose population for the greatest part lived off the returns of small-scale domestic production and some small-scale farming. The textile mills and smoking chimneys at that time already scattered throughout the town's spacious landscape had not yet decisively affected the rural outlook of a large part of its population. By the beginning of the twentieth century, however, major changes had occurred. Domestic textile production had almost completely disappeared or was at best relegated to the margins of the family economy; industrial production had assumed its dominant place. Labour had been removed from the household and centralized in the mills. In 1910 the town had become the tenth city in size of the Netherlands, accounting for the major share of the national production of woollen textiles. These were certainly big changes. They were changes which may have removed the structural forces underpinning the community's traditional family system.

In our analysis of the impact of these changes on the strength of kinship ties we were lead by structuralist family theories stressing a necessary development towards a nuclear family system in industrial society. Industrialization, these theories claim, would not only lead to a dissolution of extended kinship relations; the nuclear family, being best adapted to the mobility demands of industrial society, would also be the socially superior family form when compared with more 'traditional' types such as the extended family. Unencumbered by restricting family ties the individualistic nuclear family would be best able to parachute its members upwards on to higher places on the social scale. The removal of the central role of the family group in production and the shift towards individual mobility in industrial society had created the nuclear family and weakened family ties in general, or so these theories claimed.

Basically, the structuralist perspective assumes that family behaviour and attitudes may be adapted easily and immediately to fit any new economic roles people have assumed. Recent social historical writings have suggested the incorrectness of such a direct causal relationship between economic structures, behaviour and attitudes. A strong acceptance on family values would not be shaken off instantly as though one were changing costumes, it is argued. Individuals perceive the structural changes surrounding them on the basis of values they already hold and they continue to act according to these values. Patterns

of behaviour arising in changing circumstances are then the result of individuals relying on old values to formulate answers to completely new problems. Of course, attitudes and values do change, they are no rigid entities, but the process of change is slow and creates complicated transitional patterns of behaviour. In the course of this process 'old' values may lead to a temporary intensification of 'traditional' behavioural patterns as a result of reactions to entirely new problems.

These competing perspectives on family behaviour in periods of structural change have informed the present study. Through an analysis of two successive generations of families we have attempted to measure the extent to which family ties were affected or relinquished. The strength of kinship bonds was assessed first of all by looking at the extent to which families were co-residing with their extended kin. In addition we looked at the relation between parents and children; the readiness with which children abandoned their parents or their willingness to postpone independence for the sake of lending domestic support to elderly parents.

One may argue about the appropriateness of these indicators of the strength of kinship ties. If families did not co-reside with ageing grandparents but preferred to live next-door to them so that they could assist them in domestic matters they could hardly be accused of relinquishing family ties.⁴³⁶ Unfortunately, the Tilburg population registers do not permit the study of the geographical propinquity of kin prior to 1910. On the other hand, if families did co-reside with their extended kin and continued to do so for whatever reason we must assume that the presence of kin in the home on a daily basis inevitably brought with it a strong involvement in family affairs. Kin co-residence remains the most drastic and extreme manifestation of family cohesion that the family historian is able to pursue and therefore much suited to fit our research purposes.

The issue of the relationship between parents and children appears to be more straightforward. If it is clear that despite increased opportunities for early independence, adolescents and most young adults did not abandon middle-aged and elderly parents, this can only mean that family values continued to be strong. However, we should also stress that this study can only offer insight into behavioural patterns, it cannot by definition lead to conclusions concerning the way these families actually felt about their kin. The fact that a grandmother was taken in as a co-residing relative does not necessarily indicate that

⁴³⁵ In twentieth-century British working class families many young married couples did not want to live with parents but they preferred to live near them, see: M. Young, P. Willmott, Family, p. 20.

she was welcomed and cared for as a much respected member of the household. Also the son who remained with his parents until they died may have done so as a result of a bargaining process rather than a disinterested wish to take care of the elder generation. Nevertheless, we believe that kin co-residence and co-residential support of elderly parents by their children do express a continued adherence to the idea that kin should take care of each other, and as such it indicates a sense of duty and responsibility towards kin. Taken together we believe that these indicators are sufficiently reliable as a basis for an analysis of the strength of kinship ties.

The longitudinal perspective adopted in this study has proved of great importance. It has enabled us to outline the tremendous importance of kin relations in general and kin co-residence in particular in a coherent and systematic way. It has been crucial in establishing the great significance of kin co-residence for some social groups, and most notably in the lives of migrant families in nineteenth-century Tilburg. Our results indicate that statistics describing family structure at isolated points in time, irrespective of the fact whether they include the age of the household head, may be totally inadequate as measures of certain household structures. Moreover, this perspective allowed more precise consideration of the mechanisms bringing about specific patterns of kin co-residence because it was possible to determine who moved in with whom, in what way, and at what time and what the other structural characteristics of the household looked like. Also, the dynamic approach has enabled us to reveal the strong bonds between parents and children over the parental life course. It was possible to describe in detail the process by which children broke away from home and to trace important discontinuities in the lives of parents. Finally, the population registers not only facilitated a rigorous and consistent implementation of the principle that the family should be considered as a process; they also allowed us to collect additional socio-economic information on the families concerned. Families could therefore be located more precisely in the local social hierarchy.

How strong then were kinship ties in Tilburg, and to what extent were they affected by the process of transformation of this community? Did individualism rise to destroy cohesive family bonds? Quite the contrary, our data indicate that the experience of nineteenth-century family life in Tilburg is quite at odds with the themes of individualism and the decline of family cohesion. Kinship ties remained of considerable importance to families and individuals in the industrialising context. Our conclusion therefore is that it is incorrect to assume an immediate and imperative causal relationship between industrialization in its emerging stages and the weakening of family relations. Extended kin

were not increasingly excluded from the inner-circle of the family, and quite clearly the bonds between parents and children were not severely weakened to the detriment of the elder generation.

Surely, family patterns did change, under the influence of concomitant processes such as a rise in life expectancy, the community's connection to larger networks of geographical mobility, and the increasing pressures on the housing market. However, the exigencies created by these processes in fact rather tended to promote more complex or so-called traditional family patterns than the simple pattern of the nuclear family. Individuals reacted to the problems created by these changes in such a way that would seem to indicate continued adherence to family commitments and obligations. Our conclusion then would be that family bonds retained a considerable durability and were used actively and in an overall rational way in an attempt to overcome some of the problems facing nineteenth-century families. Moreover, extended family arrangements, rather than being disrupted, appeared to have been promoted in some instances by the social and geographic mobility engendered by industrial society. We will now elaborate more specifically on the general conclusion offered here and relate its elements to some of the most important results of this study. In addition we will attempt to provide an explanation for the continuities and discontinuities that were found.

First of all, the analysis of family structure over time, of which results were presented in chapter 4, made clear that kin co-residence over the life cycle of the household did not become less frequent between 1849 and 1920. Many families did actually receive an extended kin member at some point along their developmental cycle. During the first ten or twenty years of this cycle the extended kin who were present in these Tilburg families consisted of the nearest relatives of the couple, widowed parents and unmarried brothers and sisters. In the latter half of the family cycle we witnessed the entry of married children and grandchildren. The frequency with which families co-resided with kin rose significantly between the two generations of households that were analyzed. In the second generation the number of families that had ever received extended kin into their homes increased to the extent that a large majority, at least once, went through a phase of extended family living. This rise in kin co-residence was caused by a growing number of parents ever receiving married children into their homes.

The extended family arrangements that arose through the addition to the household of widowed parents and unmarried siblings most likely served to offer domestic support to those who had lost their own families. It appeared implausible to argue that these arrangements came about in order to enable the mother to work for wages outside the home, nor did these extended kin appear to be added to the

household to redress the balance between the number of producers and consumers. These may have been advantages included in the bargain for the receiving family but they did not constitute the primary cause in bringing them about. Between the two cohorts of families, no differences were detected in this connection.

The mechanisms underlying the entrance of married children in the later stages of the household's cycle however did change. In the earlier generation, married children primarily entered their parental household after the death of one of their parents, quite clearly to assist the remaining parent in his or her final years. Married children in the second generation also came to co-reside with their parents for their own reasons. Housing at the time was in short supply, while in addition some of these children were taking part in migratory flows within regional, national also even international networks. The parental household was used by these married children as a place from which to venture out into the world, a safe place to retreat to, or as a temporary accommodation until an appropriate family-dwelling had been acquired. Thus, specific local or regional historical circumstances were responsible for the rise in the number of extended families occurring in the second generation of households.

But other processes quite surpassing the local level were crucial as well. Parents in the second generation generally lived longer, which increased their chances of experiencing the entry of married offspring into their household. However, their longer life-expectancy also had the effect that more parents might eventually end up on their own, without the assistance of spouse or children. For many parents this would mark the time when they moved into the households of their married children. The experience of having to give up independent living and headship of the household constituted a break in the historical patterning of the parental life course; the majority of the previous generation of parents had already died before their co-residential situation would have forced them to give up their independent position.

The fact that these elderly parents eventually ended up living alone in the beginning of the twentieth century was not the result of children moving out of their households at earlier ages. The children of the second generation of parents did indeed start leaving home earlier, yet many returned in order to marry or leave permanently at much the same age as had previous generations of children. The children of the second generation continued to meet familial obligations. This was not only demonstrated by the fact that they did not marry at younger ages and thereby shift their financial support away from parents, although this had definitely become feasible economically for the younger birth-cohorts. However, we have also seen that when necessary they took parents into their homes. For this has

become quite clear, elderly, widowed parents were not often abandoned on their own.

Thus the general direction of family change in this emerging industrial community did not at all point towards the loss of family cohesion and the drifting apart of family members. This conclusion applies a fortiori to the Tilburg middle classes who were in all respects the champions of family life. A large majority of the Tilburg middle classes did at one time co-reside with their kin; they had the highest number of co-residence with kin both in the initial and the final stages of the household of all social groups. However, the linchpin of middle class family life was formed by a remarkably strong connection between parents and children. Middle class parents were most able to postpone the timing of departure of their children from the household and to delay the anxieties of solitary old age. Daughters in particular were persuaded to remain single and co-reside with their families until very advanced ages.

Some of the results both for the unskilled labourers and the local elite seemed to indicate that families on either side of the social scale were surrounded by considerably less tight-knit family networks. For the elite, however, this was only a matter of outward appearances, they were simply better able to live up to the cultural norm of simple family households. Fewer upper class families co-resided with extended kin, but the type of kin found in these households indicated that upper class families recognised and felt responsibilities to a far wider circle of kinship than did other social groups. Their material assets had the further effect that they could exercise a considerable influence over the timing of marriage and departure from home of their children.

It is particularly significant that in the elder generation of households all upper class parents still had single children at home at the end of their household's cycle. This enabled them to avoid having to move into the households of their married children which explains the relative absence of co-residing grandparents in the families of the elite. The upper classes, however, could not totally escape developments which increasingly stimulated the occurrence of the empty-nest phase at the end of the household's cycle. But when solitary old age did arrive for upper class parents in the second generation, unlike the working and middle classes, they still did not as often as did parents from other social classes, move in with their married children. Instead they preferred to continue living on their own or to ask married children to come and live with them. This indicates that elderly parents generally valued domestic autonomy but that lack of resources forced some working and middle class parents to sacrifice their independent position eventually in exchange for domestic support.

These results confirm earlier suggestions by those scholars who assume a positive relationship between social class and family cohesion, with the latter increasing with a family's position in society. To this we should add the crucial remark that it was precisely the greater cohesiveness of family relations at the top of the social hierarchy, in addition to their greater resources, that enabled families to avoid frequent occurrences of extended family living arrangements. By contrast, the skilled labouring and middle classes due to their lesser financial resources were more dependent upon kin, for instance in old age or in the acquisition of employment, but their material assets were still adequate enough to be able to attract kin for the purpose of domestic support.

The fact that extended families in nineteenth-century Tilburg did not only arise amongst those occupying a marginal economic position would seem to discredit Parsonian theory and its proposition of the social superiority of the nuclear family in industrial society. However, the functionalist position was further and much more seriously undermined by our finding that families who actually co-resided with kin were not at all hampered in their efforts to improve their position within the social hierarchy. Various measurements of social mobility indicated that there was no ground at all for the Parsonian proposition of a structural fit between the nuclear family and society during the initial phases of the process of industrialization. Neither fathers nor sons from nuclear families showed themselves to be structurally more fit to operate successfully in industrial society.

The data on migrant families in Tilburg further revealed that social success or its promise might in some cases only serve to attract co-residing kin. Migrant families who had been living with extended kin at some time during the first twenty years of their household's life cycle experienced high rates of social mobility. They proved to be extremely successful in life. For native families this effect was totally absent. We suggested that in contrast to kin who were taking the far less drastic step of moving in with locally available related households, kin who in addition had to change their social environment were more inclined to pick upon their more promising relatives. This is obvious if we further assume that most of the relatives residing in migrant households had migrated in order to actively try to improve their situation, and some of them may actually have been particularly ambitious. Migrant families were principally providing accommodation and assistance for young migrating brothers and elderly widowed grandmothers. The brothers were most likely to have been searching for more favourable employment opportunities. In such a situation it is surely logical to take into account the economic position of the relative who will provide aid and support. Quite likely the co-residing grandmother would act along similar

lines except that her motivation was directed towards a well-cared-for old age.

The migrant families in our samples effectively helped undermine the functionalist idea of the disruptive effects of geographical mobility on extended kin relations. Compared with native families many more migrant couples were taking in their parents and siblings, but it required a longitudinal perspective to discover this relationship. Cross-sectional analysis is clearly most inadequate when we are trying to capture patterns of the most quickly changing and dynamic families within a certain population. These migrants also indicated that we would be mistaken to reject the association between what is usually considered to be the more dynamic urban scene and extended family contacts and living arrangements. Extended family households were not pre-eminently found among rural migrants, of whom perhaps a still strong normative orientation on extended family relations might be expected. Quite on the contrary, a more frequent exchange of co-residing relatives between the urban areas appeared to be in operation than between rural-urban areas. The urban milieu may perhaps also have promoted, through having stimulated greater geographical mobility, the formation of extended family households as kinship constituted simply one of the major vehicles for nineteenth-century migration.

Family cohesion among the Tilburg working classes was rather less in evidence on the behavioural level when compared with that in the middle class family. This may be attributed, as is suggested by many scholars, to the fact that in the latter group, work and the family still overlapped in the form of the artisan's workshop or the small-scale commercial enterprise. The significance of this overlap within the family economy for the working classes was analyzed in this study by a comparative examination of the households of factory workers and domestic weavers. Domestic weavers' families were indeed generally not only much less diversified in their sources of income by contrast with factory workers but they were also characterized by a productive unit being the core of their family economy.

However, despite the occupational discontinuity, the probable absence of family property and the greater specialization of the factory worker's family, differences between the two groups of households were only minimal. The departure rate of children and their marital patterns did not exhibit any marked dissimilarity. Yet, two diverging patterns of behaviour could be detected between the two groups. First of all, the factory worker's household was characterized by a higher level of extensions in its initial stages while, secondly, the domestic weaving economy experienced a larger number of co-residential arrangements involving married children in the later stages of the household. This, however, was quite similar to the pattern found among skilled workers in general. These married

children were entering the households of domestic weavers at the time of the housing shortages of the 1910s. Despite the total decline of the domestic weaving economy in this period the parental household of the ageing domestic weaver still had something to offer to the younger generation, viz. a family home. We suggested that domestic weavers and their wives more often experienced the entry of a married child in this period because they had more and better accommodation to offer in their homes. The domestic weavers probably occupied and sometimes owned the more spacious homes situated on the outskirts of town.

The two different patterns described above kept each other in balance: considered along the entire life cycle of the household kin co-residence was as frequent in the households of factory workers as in the households of domestic weavers. It would thus seem that the greater specialization of the family, the loss of economic functions and the absence of real property in the Tilburg context did not create greatly diverging family patterns among the working classes, at least not to the extent that it is justified to speak of the loss of family bonds. The factory workers and their children demonstrate that family behaviour is not merely and passively formed as a response to changing economic conditions. The different economic basis of the factory worker's household did not lead to a disintegration of family life, basic family values did just as much inform the behaviour of the members of the factory worker's family as it did in the case of the domestic weavers.

What is the source of this continuity? Is it a manifestation of inertia as a result of the partiality of the structural changes of the local economy? Why did developments not lead to a weakening of kinship ties during the last four decades of our period under study? Why did working class sons and daughters of the second generation remain with their families for so long? They could have married and thereby achieved individual autonomy at earlier ages than before. And what made them after marriage take in and provide services to elderly parents and unmarried siblings? The same questions may apply to the middle class families in our second generation sample, who were exercising an extremely strong hold over their daughters and were frequently co-residing with relatives. Also, what provided the cohesion in the families of the factory workers? How could strong family relations and values survive in this community in the face of structural changes in its economy? In other words, what produced the time lag in family change? Or is family change by definition slower than social structural change irrespective of the context, so that a time lag will always occur?

In his study of life course patterns of women in nineteenth-century Verviers George Alter concluded that the bond between parents and children remained strong because

parents 'maintained a moral authority rooted in culture and supported by the urban community'.⁴³⁶ However, without reducing family relations to purely economic relations of exchange, it is clear that economic factors can have a considerable effect on the family, affecting its bargaining power and attractiveness to children and extra-nuclear kin. Indeed the strength of family bonds increased with the family's resources; this was so in Tilburg but also in Verviers where elite daughters generally remained living at home much longer than did other girls. We might therefore also expect some influence on family patterns when economic processes started to remove the structural factors underpinning familial interdependency.

In nineteenth-century Tilburg several factors may have retarded the undermining effect of the industrialising context on family patterns. First of all, the town retained a somewhat isolated position until the end of the nineteenth century despite its connection to the railway network in the sixties. The influence of the larger industrial centres in the West of the Netherlands or the Ruhr-area in Germany were filtered as it were by the towns on either side of Tilburg. To the north it was closed off by the natural boundaries of important waterways while towards the south there was the Belgian border. This geographically marginal position also expressed itself in the still enormous homogeneity of the community by the beginning of the twentieth century. The overwhelming majority of the Tilburg population had been born and raised within the city. The absence of continuous and substantial flows of migrants left untouched the social fabric of the community with its tight-knit network of highly intertwined neighbourhood and family relations and the values and attitudes on which people based their lives.

In these circumstances the community may still have been able to enforce observance of family obligations which, and this is important to realize, were clearly still of interest to most people and in particular to parents and elderly persons in general.⁴³⁷ In addition, the influence of the clergy in this homogeneous Catholic community may have provided a great deal of continuity in family patterns irrespective of whether they were actually explicitly propagating family obligations. Other researchers have already outlined the role of Catholicism in retarding the acceptance of modern patterns of fertility restriction.⁴³⁸ It is certainly clear that the clergy did not try to avoid far-reaching interference with private and family affairs

⁴³⁶ G. Alter, *Family*, p. 202.

⁴³⁷ Similar factors were indicated by Michael Anderson as helping maintain strong commitments to family obligations in Ireland and the countryside of Lancashire. See: *Family structure*, pp. 86-90.

⁴³⁸ Th.L.M. Engelen, *Fertilititeit*.

wherever this was deemed necessary and that they could initiate at command sanctions against those who did not abide by still commonly accepted rules concerning the family and morality. Individuals grossly neglecting certain duties to parents and siblings may have found their reputation seriously damaged within this tight-knit community and this could affect their opportunities of favourable employment and various types of community assistance.

Other elements also specific to the community's historical development may have played a considerable role in the continuation of parental and familial authority during the community's transition to modern industrial society. Even at the turn of the century, the town had only recently succeeded in definitely shaking off its rural past based on small-scale domestic production. Until the final decade of the nineteenth century traditional forms of textile production continued to exist side by side on an equal footing with centralized mechanical production. Many families in the labouring and lower middle classes may have preserved from this recent past a somewhat rural and propertied outlook. They may have owned a small plot of land, perhaps a family home, and have been involved in some marginal domestic production and petty commerce. It is not unlikely that even the factory worker's households we examined managed to preserve some of these characteristics. A thorough and early proletarianization of the Tilburg working and middle classes had evidently not been one of the ingredients of the nineteenth-century development. Also, most married women because they were not allowed to enter the mill continued to be engaged in household-based production, most likely together with the family's younger children. However weak the element of continuity and however modest its material basis may have been, it can still have afforded a sense of continued obligation to the family economy of parents and children in this sheltered community. Together these factors may successfully have counteracted the disruptive forces of the factory bells.

Finally, we wish to stress that processes of industrialization, in Tilburg or anywhere else, did not take place in a void. In the case of Tilburg we should rather think of it as slowly and unevenly transforming a society which attached great value to family bonds and obligations. This strong family orientation had been shaped in a preindustrial past in which family members worked together in collective dependency in the family economy. This sense of the importance of family solidarity continued to shape the lives of the families that were studied here. Industrialization in its early stages did not destroy these values, rather people made use of them in various ways to address circumstances viewed as problematic or otherwise unacceptable.

Many of the considerations and conclusions presented above and in other parts of the book do not exceed the level of what we regard as the most likely explanation for the patterns that were established. Their value and explanatory power must be assessed through comparative analysis with other Dutch or West-European nineteenth-century communities. It should be of particular interest to Dutch family history to compare the family patterns established in this Brabantine urban community with similar communities in the north or the west of the country. This would enable us first of all to outline the extent of the regional variation in household and family patterns commonly believed to have continued well into the twentieth century. Comparative analysis might perhaps reveal that between regions urban family patterns are not all that different as is sometimes assumed. Alternatively, it might reveal that in different communities people were formulating different answers to similar problems, but which were all similarly products of a large degree of continuity between generations. Further research along this line should also concentrate on the role of property and home ownership in determining family dynamics and the link between generations among the working classes in the urban setting.

In addition, systematic comparative analysis would increase our understanding of the factors which direct or retard changes in the behaviour of individuals and families. The range of conclusions resulting from this type of research would far exceed the immediate boundaries of family history and could be brought to bear upon other aspects of human behaviour, undergoing or resisting processes of change. Comparative analysis then in our view should have to be carried out on a limited number of communities differing in strategic respects from the one studied here: undergoing more thorough processes of proletarianization, faced by larger levels of population turnover and less isolated from 'foreign' influence. This study has indicated, however, that it is imperative that such attempts at comparison whenever possible adopt a longitudinal perspective on individuals and families.

Finally, we wish to remark that quantitative family studies such as the present one are all limited to the effect that they can only offer conclusions on behavioural levels without passing judgement on the quality of family relations or the way people themselves felt about them which limitations can only be surpassed in qualitative research on family relations. Quantitative and qualitative family research should therefore be viewed as being complementary instead of mutually exclusive. However, quantitative research into the family finds its attractiveness and justification in its ability to encompass all social groups within society and to present a behavioural framework within which more qualitative manifestations and expressions of family and kinship may be assessed.

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APPENDIX 2.1

CERTAINTY OF DATES OF EVENTS IN THE POPULATION REGISTER IN PERCENTAGE OF ALL EVENTS *

samples	date		year	N=
	certain	day uncertain	uncertain	
1840-1890 generation	83.5	-	16.5	5753
1880-1920 generation	94.2	-	5.9	9547
domestic weavers	94.7	-	5.3	2224
factory workers	94.3	-	5.7	2441

* Events: migratory moves, births, deaths and marriages.

UNREGISTERED BIRTHS IN THE POPULATION REGISTERS IN THE TWO SAMPLES OF DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS

population register	registered births	unregistered births
1849-1859	11	-
1860-1869	72	7
1870-1879	446	1
1880-1889	498	1
1890-1899	219	-

APPENDIX 2.2

EXAMPLE OF DATA-ENTRY FILES FOR LONGITUDINAL HOUSEHOLD DATA

STATIC FILE:

HHID	PPID	FAMNAME	CHRISTIAN NAME	YRBIRTH	PLCBIRTH	FID	MID
267	3125	driessen	martinus bern	18450214	deventer	0	0
267	3126	oostendorp	maria	18481124	deventer	0	0
267	3127	driessen	gerardus bern	18730519	tilburg	3125	3126
267	3128	driessen	theodorus herm	18760614	tilburg	3125	3126
267	3129	driessen	wilhelmus mart	18781111	tilburg	3125	3126
267	3130	driessen	johannes mart	18810927	tilburg	3125	3126
267	3131	driessen	johanna ma	18831028	tilburg	3125	3126
267	3132	driessen	hermanus mart	18850410	tilburg	3125	3126
267	3133	driessen	antonia ma	18860928	tilburg	3125	3126
267	3134	driessen	gerarda joh	18880620	tilburg	3125	3126
267	4267	driessen	dina sus	18900408	tilburg	3125	3126
267	4530	v lieshout	henricus jos lamb	18870917	tilburg	0	0
267	4531	v lieshout	maximinus mart ma	19170720	tilburg	4530	3131
267	4532	v lieshout	maria cath ant	19180809	tilburg	4530	3131
267	4533	v lieshout	catharina jos ma	19191004	tilburg	4530	3131

DYNAMIC FILE:

HHID	PPID	TYPE	DATE	COMMENT
267	3131	demo	18831028	entry birth
267	3131	rel	18831028	daughter
267	3131	occup	19000000	seamstress
267	3131	demo	19120705	exit migr helmond
267	3131	demo	19130514	entry migr helmond
267	3131	demo	19160912	marriage in
267	3131	rel	19160912	daughter m
267	3131	spouse	19160912	4530
267	3131	demo	19201231	exit observation

APPENDIX 4.1

HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE IN 1849 AND 1880 FOR TOTAL POPULATION AND RESEARCH COHORT *

ALL MARITAL COUPLES IN 1849

age group	nuclear families	extended families
< 30	131 - 92,9	10 - 7.1
30-35	447 - 87.0	67 - 13.0
>35	1235 - 90.9	124 - 9.1
All	1813 - 90.0	201 - 10.0

ALL MARITAL COUPLES IN 1880

age group	nuclear families	extended families
< 30	363 - 91,4	34 - 8.6
30-35	971 - 88.7	124 - 11.3
>35	2629 - 90.7	269 - 9.3
All	3963 - 90.3	427 - 9.7

* Included are only those households that were headed by marital couples.

RESEARCH COHORT IN 1849 AND 1880 **

structure	1849	1880
nuclear	310 - 85.9	661 - 88.5
extended	51 - 14.1	86 - 11.5

** Consisting of households headed by 30-35 year-old marital couples of either migrant or native origin only.

APPENDIX 4.2

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS PRESENT FOR SOME LIFE-CYCLE YEARS FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

life-cycle year	total	extended
1	361	51
11	332	35
21	313	35
31	266	30
41	200	29

GENERATION 1880-1920 (corrected sample)

life-cycle year	total	extended
1	343	49
11	330	34
21	320	29
31	256	32
41	164	38

APPENDIX 4.3

TYPE OF RELATION OF CO-RESIDENT KIN TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD BY DECADE FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1880-1920

relation	decade 1	decade 2	decade 3	decade 4
parents	38.9	7.8	0.0	0.4
siblings	45.1	27.5	3.7	1.9
married children	0.0	5.9	34.6	39.4
grandchildren	0.0	11.8	48.2	55.4
uncles/aunts	3.4	3.9	2.5	0.0
cousins	4.6	2.0	2.5	0.7
other kin	8.0	41.2	8.6	2.2
N=	175	51	81	269

GENERATION 1849-1890

relation	decade 1	decade 2	decade 3	decade 4
parents	34.2	21.1	4.7	0.0
siblings	56.6	34.2	11.1	2.0
married children	0.0	5.3	28.6	25.5
grandchildren	0.0	7.9	30.2	62.2
uncles/aunts	4.0	5.3	0.0	0.0
cousins	1.3	2.6	7.9	4.1
other kin	4.0	23.7	17.5	6.1
N=	76	38	63	98

APPENDIX 4.4

PROPORTION OF FEMALE CO-RESIDENT KIN MEMBERS BY TYPE OF KIN FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

type of kin	1849-1890	1880-1920
parents	56.8	68.5
siblings	36.9	43.6
married children	40.0	51.1
grandchildren	47.0	53.1
uncles/aunts	60.0	70.0
cousins	54.6	38.5
other kin	51.7	50.0
total	45.8	52.6
N=	275	576

APPENDIX 4.5

MARITAL STATUS OF CO-RESIDENT EVER-MARRIED CHILDREN AT TIME OF ENTRY FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

marital status	1880-1920		1849-1890	
	sons	daughters	sons	daughters
married	81.7	98.8	66.7	92.9
widowed	15.9	1.3	33.3	7.1
divorced	2.4	-	-	-
N=	82	80	18	28

APPENDIX 4.6

AGE AT FIRST EXIT FROM PARENTAL HOUSEHOLD FOR SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

age group	1880-1920		1849-1890	
	sons	daughters	sons	daughters
< - 9 year-old	5.0	3.6	2.7	4.2
10 - 14 year-old	11.6	11.9	6.1	4.3
15 - 19 year-old	17.5	22.8	8.5	11.5
20 - 24 year-old	28.9	32.7	29.2	34.2
25 - 29 year-old	27.7	21.7	40.6	31.7
30 - 34 year-old	7.2	6.2	9.7	10.6
35 - 39 year-old	1.7	0.9	2.9	2.7
40 - > year-old	0.4	0.2	0.3	0.9
mean age	21.6	21.0	24.1	23.5
median	22	21	25	24
N=	946	872	626	556

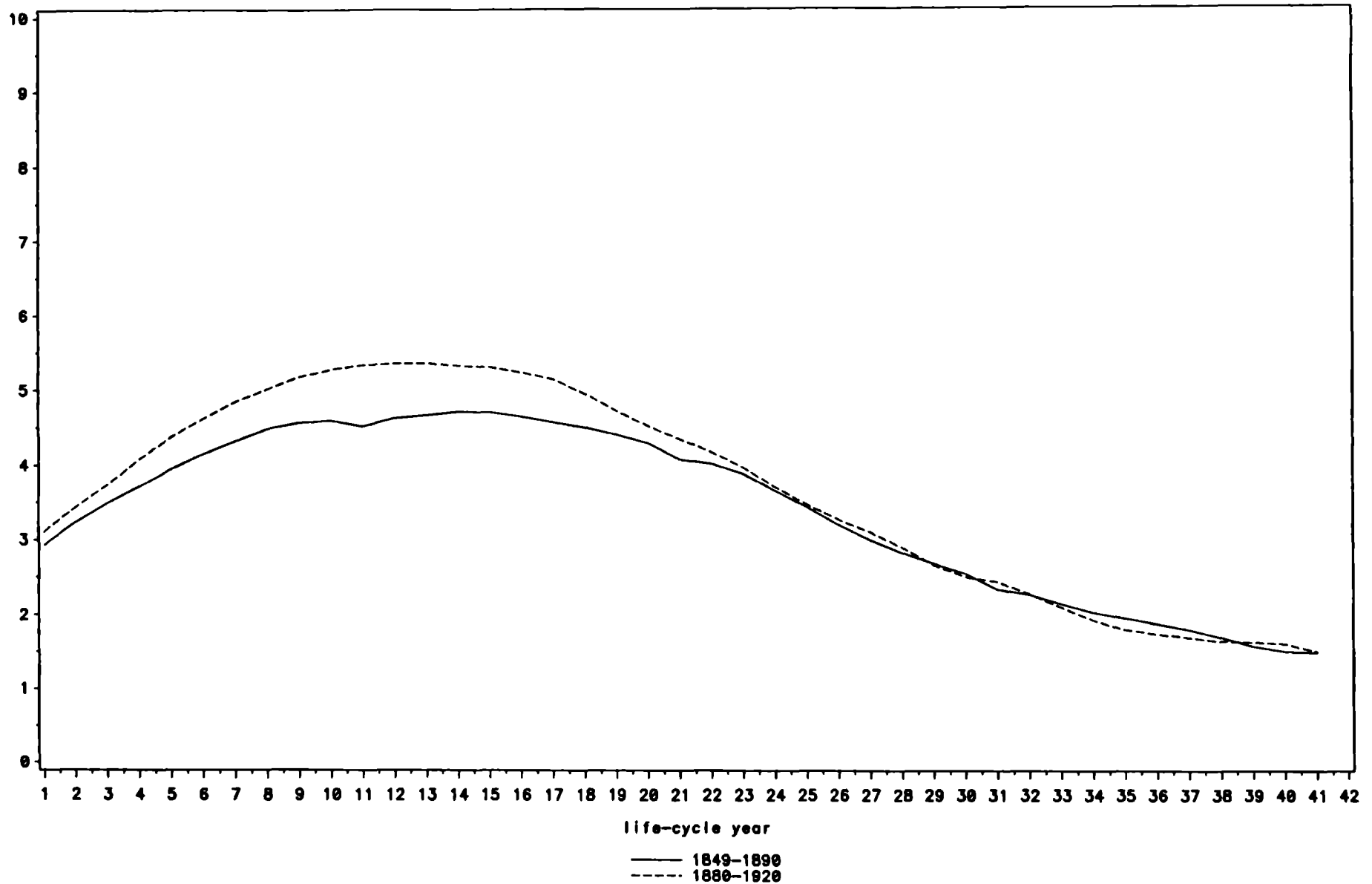
APPENDIX 4.7

FREQUENCY OF EXITS FROM PARENTAL HOUSEHOLD FOR SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

frequency	1880-1920		1849-1890	
	sons	daughters	sons	daughters
1	65.4	70.0	83.4	90.3
2	23.0	21.6	15.2	9.2
3	7.5	6.0	1.1	0.5
4	2.2	1.5	0.3	-
5	0.9	0.7	-	-
6	0.6	0.1	-	-
7	0.2	0.2	-	-
8	0.1	-	-	-
N=	948	872	626	556

APPENDIX 4.8 MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN PRESENT IN HOUSEHOLD BY LIFE-CYCLE YEAR
FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

281



corrected sample for 1880-1920

APPENDIX 4.9

PROPORTION OF SONS AND DAUGHTERS STILL AT HOME BY AGE GROUP FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

BEFORE FIRST EXIT

age group	1849-1890		1880-1920	
	sons	daughters	sons	daughters
15 year-old	78.9	77.9	68.8	69.7
20 year-old	71.7	68.4	54.7	51.8
25 year-old	45.9	42.1	31.4	27.8
30 year-old	17.5	20.5	10.1	11.9
35 year-old	8.6	11.2	3.9	4.7
40 year-old	3.7	5.0	1.5	2.6
45 year-old	1.0	1.2	0.3	0.7
50 year-old	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0
N=	954	955	1349	1269

BEFORE LAST EXIT

age-group	1849-1890		1880-1920	
	sons	daughters	sons	daughters
15 year-old	84.0	81.3	77.8	78.7
20 year-old	78.6	73.9	71.6	67.7
25 year-old	55.6	46.6	48.4	42.0
30 year-old	24.1	23.2	19.5	21.3
35 year-old	12.0	12.7	9.0	9.5
40 year-old	5.2	6.0	3.4	5.1
45 year-old	1.4	1.3	0.9	1.1
50 year-old	0.3	0.1	0.0	0.0
N=	954	955	1349	1269

APPENDIX 4.10

MEDIAN AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE BY BIRTH-COHORT FOR SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

SONS				
birth cohort	1849-1890		1880-1920	
	age	N	age	N
1830 - 1839	27	35	-	-
1840 - 1849	26	244	-	-
1850 - 1859	26	204	-	-
1860 - 1869	25	28	28	15
1870 - 1879	-	-	26	340
1880 - 1889	-	-	26	314
1890 - 1899	-	-	26	31
All	26	511	26	700
DAUGHTERS				
birth cohort	1849-1890		1880-1920	
	age	N	age	N
1830 - 1839	25	21	-	-
1840 - 1849	26	222	-	-
1850 - 1859	25	206	-	-
1860 - 1869	24	30	26	20
1870 - 1879	-	-	25	279
1880 - 1889	-	-	26	290
1890 - 1899	-	-	25	36
All	25	479	25	625

APPENDIX 4.11

PROPORTION UNMARRIED BY AGE GROUP FOR SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

age	1880-1920		1849-1890	
	sons		sons	
	%	N	%	N
19 year-old	99.6	1028	99.9	784
24 year-old	79.3	943	80.9	723
29 year-old	38.9	821	39.2	635
34 year-old	21.0	661	25.1	503
39 year-old	13.9	438	15.1	345
44 year-old	9.8	205	10.9	173
49 year-old	8.3	36	6.7	45
54 year-old	0.0	2	0.0	5
59> year-old	-	-	-	-

age	1880-1920		1849-1890	
	daughters		daughters	
	%	N	%	N
19 year-old	98.1	968	98.8	765
24 year-old	71.1	866	72.6	693
29 year-old	38.4	745	40.8	588
34 year-old	22.8	566	27.8	472
39 year-old	19.5	379	20.3	306
44 year-old	13.0	161	16.0	125
49 year-old	0.0	29	9.7	31
54 year-old	0.0	2	0.0	2
59> year-old	-	-	-	-

APPENDIX 5.1

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION: SOURCES AND METHOD

For the social stratification of household heads and their sons we made use of two different sources: the municipal income taxation registers, the so-called 'kohieren van de hoofdelijke omslag', and the military enrollment registers, the 'militieregisters'. The municipal income taxation ('hoofdelijke omslag') was established in 1851 as a follow up of its predecessor, the 'personele belasting', both of which were used by the municipal authorities to meet local budgets.⁴³⁹ In Tilburg registers were available for our entire research period. The registers were drawn on a yearly basis, listing all male or female household heads residing in the community by neighbourhood and address while specifying occupation and yearly income. Income was, unfortunately, left unmentioned if it did not exceed the tax-free foot. In 1865 the tax allowance was f.175, rising to f.400 in 1874, f.500 in 1898 and f.800 in 1917. Apart from the household head co-residing adult relatives were frequently listed as well, as they were considered to be providing for their own upkeep.

Taxation was based on presumed incomes resulting from rents, interest on capital, occupation or any other source. The municipal regulations stated that incomes were estimated, as in most other communities it remains unclear how, and in case this proved difficult the household's external circumstances and consumption would be taken into account. After initial recording the registers were available for inspection by the public in the town hall and complaints could be lodged in case of disagreement concerning the estimated income. This was frequently done, leading to many upward as well as downward corrections.

The taxation registers are generally believed to yield information on occupation which is reasonably reliable. The frequent corrections concerning income indicate that both the individual citizen and the municipal authorities were closely watching that the correct amount was being established. The registers also contained many corrections concerning migration within Tilburg or outmigration. This suggests that each year a new register was drafted on the basis of the previous one after which people who later on appeared to have moved were crossed out and transferred to their new address. References concerning the old and new address made it possible in most cases to follow people throughout the town thereby providing a check of the population registers.

Problems in the use of the Tilburg taxation registers turned up on several occasions.

- Prior to 1874 the registers instead of listing incomes recorded the number of apportionments on which the person was assessed for taxation. The amount of taxation that was due was mentioned but the level of income remained unclear. Through comparison of the amount of taxation paid by a number of particular persons according to the 1873 and 1874 registers a satisfactory connection could be made between the

⁴³⁹ For further information see the first issue in the series of source commentaries: P.M.M. Klep, A. Lansink, W. van Mulken, 'De kohieren'.

incomes in 1874 and the apportionments of 1873.⁴⁴⁰ A similar procedure for the registers between 1850 and 1873 was conducted so as to ensure a correct assessment of the apportionments over the period.

- In 1898 a tax reduction was introduced based on the number of children in the household under the age of sixteen and from 1916 onwards the income recorded had already been reduced with the appropriate reduction. However, the basis for reduction, the number of children, and the rates used were mentioned as well so that real incomes could easily be computed.
- A more serious problem was created by the fact that after 1907 the authorities stopped recording those heads of household who did not exceed their personal tax allowance so that in some cases occupational information had to be sought elsewhere. However, after 1900 the level of income had risen substantially so that only few households were exempted from taxation. If the registers immediately prior to or following the year for which occupation and income were required did also not mention the person concerned the occupational information in population registers or city directories was used. In this period the recording of occupations in the population registers seemed to have improved somewhat; from 1900 onwards for instance the occupational status of the head, self-employed or wage earner, was consistently and quite correctly mentioned.
- The registers of the period 1910-1913 were inaccessible due to the loss of the alphabetical indexes that were required after 1910. In these cases the registers of 1909 and 1914 were used. The same problem applied to the 1917 register in lieu of which the 1918 register was used.

In addition to the taxation registers the militia registers were used in order to procure occupational information on the sons at the start of their careers. The population registers do usually not provide occupations for adolescents or young adults as long as they are not the head of the household and the family's breadwinner. We therefore made use of the military enrollment registers which yearly and alphabetically listed all 19 year old male inhabitants. The registers record a considerable amount of personal information, among other things the young man's occupation.⁴⁴¹ In addition both parents' names were recorded enabling a correct and swift identification procedure. With a view to the elaborate regulations to which the registers were subject they are considered to be very reliable. But of course, the entry on occupation is based on information provided by the individual himself, thereby introducing a subjective element. However, considering the circumstances under which this information was provided there is no reason to assume that information was frequently and greatly distorted. The only problem encountered in the use of the militia registers concerned those following the year 1901; all registers after this date had been confiscated in 1940 by the German military authorities. For a number of sons reaching the age of 19 after 1901 occupational information was used from the population register.

⁴⁴⁰ By way of the separate collector's registers following a lay-out similar to the taxation registers.

⁴⁴¹ See B.Koerhuis, W. van Mulken, 'De militieregisters'.

The militia registers were used for only one measurement of social position: that of the sons at age 19. (See main text for explanation of the various measurements.) Categorization could therefore proceed only on the basis of occupation. The taxation registers were used for all remaining measurements which enabled stratification on the basis of both occupation and income. The listing below should give some indication of the categorization procedure.

Class I : Unskilled labourers.

This group contained the following occupations: factory worker, day labourer, worker, servant, watchman, piecer, woolsorter, spooler, soldier, porter, farmhand, errand-boy etc. Incomes were always below the tax-free foot so that not one of the persons categorized into class I was able to pay the tax.

Class II : Skilled labourers.

Categorized as skilled worker were: various artisanal workers, skilled textile occupations such as weaver, spinner, loom-fixer, mechanic and all factory workers assessed for taxation. Traders, shopkeepers and other minor commercial occupations if not assessed for taxation. Some of the occupations in this class were earning wages over and above the tax-free foot level but most did not.

Class III: Middle class.

Contained master craftsmen, butcher and baker, clerical worker, salesman, schoolteacher, café proprietor, mill-overseer, chief bench worker, chief train conductor and shopkeeper. Placement in this category was conditional upon being assessed for taxation for at least an income of f.500 or, prior to 1874, for three apportionments. The only exception was made for schoolteachers. Incomes ranged within this class from f.500 to f.1200.

Class IV : Lower upper class.

In this class we find the larger independent producers, academics for instance a physician or a technical engineer, industrial manufacturers or merchants. Income should exceed f.1200 or 10 apportionments and could range up to f.2200.

Class V : Upper upper class.

Contained the local elite: big industrialists and commercial undertakers. Minimum income required for this category was f.2200 or 20 apportionments. In practice the main difference between class IV and V was the level of income.

Most occupations could be placed quite satisfactorily within the scheme outlined above. However, those factory workers who were not assessed for taxation may not always have been correctly categorized in class I. It was quite possible for a skilled mill worker to remain under the level of the tax-free foot. For all such cases we checked with the occupational entries in the population register after which sometimes corrections were made. For the period subsequent to 1910 extensive corrections were necessary in the income range required for class III, IV and V. Incomes started to rise rapidly, also as a result of the First World War, while some sectors of the local economy (metallurgical sector) were more affected by this rise than others (textiles). This had the

effect that the range of incomes within classes began to diverge further while between classes considerable overlap had to be allowed. Minimal income levels in this period required for class III, IV and V were respectively f.1500, f.3000 and f.4000.

APPENDIX 5.2

TYPE OF FIRST EXIT FOR SONS BY INITIAL SOCIAL CLASS OF HEAD FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

exit	lower class	skilled labour	middle class	upper class
marriage	67.5	67.4	38.9	14.6
migration	18.1	18.8	40.3	46.9
to others	2.5	4.1	1.4	8.3
to kin	1.3	1.2	5.6	2.1
unknown	10.6	8.5	13.9	27.1
N=	160	340	72	48

GENERATION 1880-1920

exit	lower class	skilled labour	middle class	upper class
marriage	47.1	47.2	25.3	10.4
migration	41.9	37.5	60.3	85.4
to others	7.8	10.2	6.9	2.1
to kin	2.9	2.7	5.5	-
unknown	0.3	2.5	2.1	2.1
N=	308	443	146	48

APPENDIX 5.3

TYPE OF FIRST EXIT FOR DAUGHTERS BY INITIAL SOCIAL CLASS OF HEAD FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

exit	lower class	skilled labour	middle class	upper class
marriage	70.2	69.8	54.0	27.6
migration	14.2	12.4	20.6	48.3
to others	3.5	8.6	14.3	1.7
to kin	4.3	1.7	6.4	1.7
unknown	7.8	7.6	4.8	20.7
N=	141	291	63	58

GENERATION 1880-1920

exit	lower class	skilled labour	middle class	upper class
marriage	46.0	38.6	22.0	16.3
migration	29.3	33.7	62.6	79.6
to others	20.6	22.8	12.9	-
to kin	1.0	3.1	1.6	2.0
unknown	3.2	1.8	1.6	2.0
N=	311	386	123	49

APPENDIX 5.4

TYPE OF LAST EXIT FOR SONS BY INITIAL SOCIAL CLASS OF HEAD FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

exit	lower class	skilled labour	middle class	upper class
marriage	76.4	76.9	52.1	27.7
migration	14.0	12.8	31.0	44.7
to others	1.3	3.9	-	6.4
to kin	-	0.9	4.2	2.1
unknown	8.3	5.6	12.7	19.2
N=	157	337	71	47

GENERATION 1880-1920

exit	lower class	skilled labour	middle class	upper class
marriage	59.9	59.8	41.1	45.5
migration	26.4	24.5	40.4	50.0
to others	11.0	10.3	12.8	2.3
to kin	2.3	3.7	5.0	-
unknown	0.3	1.6	0.7	2.3
N=	299	428	141	44

APPENDIX 5.5

TYPE OF LAST EXIT FOR DAUGHTERS BY INITIAL SOCIAL CLASS OF HEAD FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

exit	lower class	skilled labour	middle class	upper class
marriage	77.9	74.1	58.7	40.4
migration	8.8	10.7	20.6	40.4
to others	3.7	6.9	9.5	1.8
to kin	3.7	1.0	6.4	1.8
unknown	5.9	7.2	4.8	15.8
N=	136	290	63	57

GENERATION 1880-1920

exit	lower class	skilled labour	middle class	upper class
marriage	55.9	48.0	38.3	32.6
migration	24.0	22.8	46.7	65.1
to others	16.5	24.7	12.5	-
to kin	0.7	2.9	1.7	2.3
unknown	3.0	1.6	0.8	-
N=	304	377	120	43

APPENDIX 5.6

PROPORTION OF SONS STILL AT HOME BEFORE LAST EXIT BY INITIAL SOCIAL CLASS OF HEAD FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

age group	labour class	middle class	upper class
15 year-old	84.3	82.6	82.2
20 year-old	78.7	81.4	72.6
25 year-old	53.5	67.6	57.8
30 year-old	20.3	39.8	38.2
35 year-old	10.1	19.8	20.6
40 year-old	4.1	11.6	7.1
45 year-old	1.1	3.4	1.9
50 year-old	0.2	1.2	0.0
N=	766	115	73

GENERATION 1880-1920

age group	labour class	middle class	upper class
15 year-old	78.8	74.6	72.5
20 year-old	72.8	66.2	68.7
25 year-old	47.7	51.3	51.6
30 year-old	18.3	26.3	17.0
35 year-old	8.7	11.5	6.3
40 year-old	3.4	3.4	3.5
45 year-old	0.9	0.6	1.8
50 year-old	0.0	0.0	0.0
N=	1078	201	69

APPENDIX 5.7

PROPORTION OF DAUGHTERS STILL AT HOME BEFORE LAST EXIT BY INITIAL SOCIAL CLASS OF HEAD FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

age group	labour class	middle class	upper class
15 year-old	81.4	79.4	82.2
20 year-old	74.3	73.3	71.6
25 year-old	45.2	57.3	43.5
30 year-old	21.0	35.8	24.4
35 year-old	12.0	17.8	11.8
40 year-old	5.7	7.6	6.9
45 year-old	1.2	1.1	2.9
50 year-old	0.2	0.0	0.0
N=	744	121	90

GENERATION 1880-1920

age group	labour class	middle class	upper class
15 year-old	78.5	78.3	82.9
20 year-old	66.7	72.5	70.8
25 year-old	39.8	54.2	42.6
30 year-old	18.3	37.1	23.7
35 year-old	7.5	21.3	8.8
40 year-old	4.0	10.4	8.8
45 year-old	1.0	0.8	3.7
50 year-old	0.0	0.0	0.0
N=	1020	180	70

APPENDIX 5.8

MOBILITY OF HEADS OF FIRST-PHASE NUCLEAR FAMILIES, GENERATION 1849-1890

	I	II	III	IV	V	total
I	32 57.1	23 41.1	1 1.8			56 26.3
II	32 25.2	87 68.5	6 4.7	2 1.6		127 59.6
III	1 5.9	3 17.7	10 58.8	1 5.9	2 11.8	17 8.0
IV				4 44.4	5 55.6	9 4.2
V				1 25.0	3 75.0	4 1.9
total	65 30.5	113 53.1	17 8.0	8 3.8	10 4.7	N=213

Total upward mobility - 18.8%
 Unchanged - 63.8%
 Total downward mobility - 17.4%

Mobility of labourers
 into class III - V - 4.9%

APPENDIX 5.9

MOBILITY OF HEADS OF FIRST-PHASE EXTENDED FAMILIES, GENERATION 1849-1890

	I	II	III	IV	V	total
I	15 79.0	4 21.0				19 24.7
II	6 18.8	24 75.0	2 6.2			32 41.6
III		1 5.0	10 50.0	9 45.0		20 26.0
IV				2 100.0		2 2.6
V			1 25.0		3 75.0	4 5.2
total	21 27.3	29 37.7	13 16.9	11 14.3	3 3.9	N=77

Total upward mobility - 19.5%
 Unchanged - 70.1%
 Total downward mobility - 10.4%

Mobility of labourers
 into class III - V - 3.9%

APPENDIX 5.10

MOBILITY OF HEADS OF FIRST-PHASE NUCLEAR FAMILIES, GENERATION 1880-1920

	I	II	III	IV	V	total
I	39 49.4	36 45.6	4 12.1			79 35.9
II	13 12.4	76 72.4	16 15.2			105 47.7
III	1 4.0	5 20.0	12 48.0	3 12.0	4 16.0	25 11.4
IV			1 14.3	2 28.6	4 57.1	7 3.2
V					4 100.0	4 1.8
total	53 24.1	117 53.2	33 15.0	5 2.3	12 5.5	N=220

Total upward mobility - 30.5%
 Unchanged - 60.5%
 Total downward mobility - 9.1

Mobility of labourers
 into class III - V - 10.9%

APPENDIX 5.11

MOBILITY OF HEADS OF FIRST-PHASE EXTENDED FAMILIES, GENERATION 1880-1920

	I	II	III	IV	V	total
I	16 43.2	18 48.7	3 8.1			37 26.1
II	12 19.4	42 67.7	8 12.9			62 44.0
III	1 3.2	2 6.50	16 51.6	6 19.4	6 19.4	31 22.0
IV			1 14.3	1 14.3	5 71.4	7 5.0
V					4 100.0	4 2.8
total	29 20.6	62 44.0	28 19.9	7 5.0	15 10.6	N=141

Total upward mobility - 32.6%
 Unchanged - 56.0%
 Total downward mobility - 11.3

Mobility of labourers
 into class III - V - 11.1%

APPENDIX 5.12

MOBILITY OF HEADS OF FIRST-PHASE EXTENDED FAMILIES, EXTENDED FOR 5 YEARS OR MORE, GENERATION 1849-1890

	I	II	III	IV	V	total
I	9 81.8	2 18.2				11 21.2
II	4 17.4	16 69.6	2 8.7	1 4.4		23 44.2
III		1 6.7	8 53.3	6 40.0		15 28.9
IV				1 100.0		1 1.9
V					2 100.0	2 3.9
total	13 25.0	19 36.5	10 19.2	8 15.4	2 3.9	N=52

Total upward mobility = 21.2%
 Unchanged = 69.2%
 Total downward mobility = 9.6%

Mobility of labourers
 into class III - V = 8.8%

APPENDIX 5.13

MOBILITY OF HEADS OF FIRST-PHASE EXTENDED FAMILIES, EXTENDED FOR 5 YEARS OR MORE, GENERATION 1880-1920

	I	II	III	IV	V	total
I	7 36.8	10 52.6	2 10.5			19 26.0
II	8 24.2	22 66.7	3 9.1			33 45.2
III		2 14.3	5 35.7	4 28.6	3 21.4	14 19.2
IV				1 20.0	4 80.0	5 6.9
V					2 100.0	2 2.7
total	15 20.5	34 46.6	10 13.7	5 6.9	9 12.3	N=73

Total upward mobility = 35.6%
 Unchanged = 50.7%
 Total downward mobility = 13.7%

Mobility of labourers
 into class III - V = 9.6%

APPENDIX 5.14

INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY OF SONS UNDER THE AGE OF 30 BY SOCIAL CLASS
AND TOTAL MOBILITY SCORES BY FIRST-PHASE HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE FOR TWO
GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

class	nuclear families	extended families	extended 5 - >
I	56.2	59.3	57.9
II	1.1	4.9	6.8
III	0.0	0.0	0.0
IV	0.0	0.0	0.0
V	-	-	-
<hr/>			
total upward mobility	13.3	19.9	20.0
unchanged	57.2	43.9	41.5
total downward mobility	29.5	36.2	38.5
from class I-II to III-V	0.8	2.9	4.1
<hr/>			
N=	610	196	130

GENERATION 1880-1920

class	nuclear families	extended families	extended 5 - >
I	66.8	81.3	77.4
II	2.8	3.5	2.3
III	1.6	8.3	13.9
IV	0.0	0.0	0.0
V	-	-	-
<hr/>			
total upward mobility	26.8	25.7	25.0
unchanged	50.9	43.4	50.0
total downward mobility	22.3	30.9	25.0
from class I-II to III-V	1.8	2.9	2.1
<hr/>			
N=	638	389	192

APPENDIX 5.15

INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY OF SONS AT THE AGE OF 30-35 BY SOCIAL CLASS AND TOTAL MOBILITY SCORES BY FIRST-PHASE HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

class	nuclear families	extended families	extended 5 - >
I	59.0	48.9	42.9
II	6.3	10.1	8.3
III	3.9	5.4	9.5
IV	21.4	0.0	0.0
V	-	-	-
total upward mobility	18.2	19.6	17.7
unchanged	59.0	51.5	48.0
total downward mobility	22.8	28.8	34.3
from class I-II to III-V	6.4	6.0	5.3
N=	539	163	102

GENERATION 1880-1920

class	nuclear families	extended families	extended 5 - >
I	80.4	84.6	82.4
II	11.5	13.5	8.2
III	6.8	10.1	6.3
IV	62.5	11.8	14.3
V	-	-	-
total upward mobility	37.6	32.1	28.8
unchanged	48.9	48.5	54.4
total downward mobility	13.5	19.4	16.9
from class I-II to III-V	9.1	13.5	9.6
N=	622	377	184

APPENDIX 5.16

INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY OF SONS AT THE AGE OF 40 OR ABOVE BY SOCIAL CLASS AND TOTAL MOBILITY SCORES BY FIRST-PHASE HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

class	nuclear families	extended families	extended 5 - >
I	73.8	58.5	36.4
II	12.2	13.3	13.0
III	25.5	0.0	0.0
IV	12.5	0.0	0.0
V	-	-	-
<hr/>			
total upward mobility	27.8	24.8	17.7
unchanged	51.8	56.6	56.1
total downward mobility	20.4	18.6	26.8
from class I-II to III-V	11.5	7.9	8.8
<hr/>			
N=	446	129	82

GENERATION 1880-1920

class	nuclear families	extended families	extended 5 - >
I	93.2	95.1	90.9
II	18.2	18.1	16.5
III	19.5	41.3	77.3
IV	83.3	35.7	35.7
V	-	-	-
<hr/>			
total upward mobility	47.5	44.0	46.6
unchanged	42.5	40.7	41.0
total downward mobility	10.0	15.3	12.4
from class I-II to III-V	16.1	21.2	12.2
<hr/>			
N=	501	307	161

APPENDIX 5.17

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS PRESENT AND EXTENDED FOR SOME YEARS ALONG THE LIFE CYCLE BY INITIAL SOCIAL CLASS FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS

GENERATION 1849-1890

year	working class		middle class		upper class	
	total	extended	total	extended	total	extended
1	288	31	49	16	24	4
11	271	22	40	9	21	4
21	253	25	40	10	20	0
31	212	23	36	6	18	1
41	157	23	27	4	16	2

GENERATION 1880-1920 (corrected sample)

year	working class		middle class		upper class	
	total	extended	total	extended	total	extended
1	270	33	54	15	19	1
11	261	25	52	8	17	1
21	255	17	51	8	14	4
31	206	25	41	7	9	0
41	132	33	27	4	5	1

APPENDIX 6.1

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS AND PERSONS INVOLVED IN TOTAL POPULATION BY AGE GROUP AND MIGRATION STATUS OF COUPLE HEADING THE HOUSEHOLD, 1849 AND 1880.

1849

age group	couples non-migrant		couples migrant		couples mixed		solitary heads *	
	hh	pp	hh	pp	hh	pp	hh	pp
< 30	103	348	5	19	33	114	37	82
30-35	310	1521	51	266	153	747	53	155
35 >	707	4198	200	1111	452	2373	944	3125
total	1120	6067	256	1396	638	3234	1034	3362

Total persons: 14059

Total households: 3048

Not included: 161 persons in religious institutions

1880

age group	couples non-migrant		couples migrant		couples mixed		solitary heads *	
	hh	pp	hh	pp	hh	pp	hh	pp
< 30	176	618	92	341	129	451	27	83
30-35	466	2370	281	1365	348	1674	47	113
35 >	1315	8033	794	4463	789	4491	1261	3991
total	1957	11021	1167	6169	1266	6616	1335	4187

Total persons: 27993

Total households: 5725

Not included: 613 persons in religious institutions

* Included in this category are households headed by unmarried or widowed men and women.

APPENDIX 6.2

HOUSEHOLDS OF MIGRANT AND NON-MIGRANT COUPLES IN 1849 AND 1880, TOTAL NUMBER, IN RESEARCH COHORT AND SAMPLE *

Households headed by couples in 1849	
- All households headed by couples	1376
of which migrant	256
- All households in 1814-1819 cohort	361
of which migrant	51
- All households in sample	361
of which migrant	51

Households headed by couples in 1880	
- All households headed by couples	3124
of which migrant	1167
- All households in 1845-1850 cohort	747
of which migrant	281
- All households in sample	389
of which migrant	169

* Excluded in this survey are households headed by couples of mixed migration status. The figures for the 1880-sample concern the uncorrected sample; the corrected sample contains 343 households of which 156 are households headed by migrants.

APPENDIX 6.3

EXTENDED HOUSEHOLDS DURING SECOND PHASE OF LIFE CYCLE FOR MIGRANT AND
NON-MIGRANT FAMILIES FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS *

generation	non-migrant %	migrant %
1849-1890	29.3	30.0
1880-1920	45.3	43.2

* Corrected sample was used for the 1880-1920 generation.

APPENDIX 6.4

MEAN LENGTH OF CO-RESIDENCE IN YEARS FOR DIFFERENT TYPES OF KIN BY
MIGRATION STATUS OF HOUSEHOLD FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS *

GENERATION 1849-1890

type of kin	non-migrant	migrant
fathers (in-law)	5.3	4.5
mothers (in-law)	6.6	5.6
brothers (in-law)	8.8	7.2
sisters (in-law)	11.0	8.1
married children	4.0	5.1
grandchildren	4.0	3.6
other kin	7.2	3.0
all	5.8	5.8
N=	272	39

GENERATION 1880-1920

type of kin	non-migrant	migrant
fathers (in-law)	5.2	5.5
mothers (in-law)	6.8	4.6
brothers (in-law)	4.1	3.0
sisters (in-law)	7.1	2.5
married children	1.4	1.5
grandchildren	2.1	1.5
other kin	5.1	3.8
all	2.9	2.4
N=	469	287

* Uncorrected sample was used for the 1880-1920 generation.

APPENDIX 6.5

CLASS-SPECIFIC UPWARD SOCIAL MOBILITY OF HEADS BY FIRST-PHASE HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE AND MIGRATION STATUS FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS *

GENERATION 1849-1890

	non-migrants		migrants	
	nuclear	extended	nuclear	extended
unskilled labour	42.0	21.1	50.0	-
skilled labour	6.0	3.3	10.0	50.0
middle class	13.3	50.0	50.0	33.3
lower-upper class	55.6	0.0	-	-
upper-upper class	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
N=	194	68	19	9

GENERATION 1880-1920

	non-migrants		migrants	
	nuclear	extended	nuclear	extended
unskilled labour	47.6	52.2	54.1	64.3
skilled labour	14.7	10.0	16.2	18.2
middle class	26.7	28.6	30.0	47.1
lower-upper class	100.0	100.0	50.0	50.0
upper-upper class	-	0.0	0.0	-
N=	126	84	94	57

* Uncorrected sample was used for the 1880-1920 generation.

APPENDIX 6.6

INITIAL SOCIAL POSITION OF HEADS BY FIRST-PHASE HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE AND
MIGRATION STATUS FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS *

GENERATION 1849-1890

	non-migrant		migrant	
	nuclear	extended	nuclear	extended
unskilled labour	25.8	27.9	31.6	0.0
skilled labour	60.3	44.1	52.6	22.2
middle class	7.7	20.6	10.5	66.7
upper classes	6.2	7.4	5.3	11.1
N=	194	68	19	9

GENERATION 1880-1920

	non-migrant		migrant	
	nuclear	extended	nuclear	extended
unskilled labour	33.3	27.4	39.4	24.6
skilled labour	54.0	47.6	39.4	38.6
middle class	11.9	16.7	10.6	29.8
upper classes	0.8	8.3	10.6	7.0
N=	126	84	94	57

* Corrected sample was used for the 1880-1920 generation.

APPENDIX 6.7

TOTAL UPWARD INTERGENERATIONAL MOBILITY BY AGE GROUP AND MIGRATION STATUS
FOR TWO GENERATIONS OF HOUSEHOLDS *

GENERATION 1849-1890

age group sons	non-migrant	migrant
< 30	15.6 (733)	8.2 (73)
30 - 35	18.9 (641)	14.8 (61)
40 >	27.5 (534)	22.0 (41)

GENERATION 1880-1920

age group sons	non-migrant	migrant
< 30	23.5 (663)	31.6 (364)
30 - 35	32.3 (650)	41.6 (349)
40 >	43.6 (566)	52.1 (242)

* Absolute numbers of observation given in between brackets

APPENDIX 6.8

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION AND UPWARD MOBILITY BY CLASS OF MIGRANT SONS BY FIRST-PHASE HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE, GENERATION 1880-1920 *

sons aged 30 - 35	stratification		upward mobility	
	nuclear	extended	nuclear	extended
unskilled labour	15.4	11.7	85.4	82.4
skilled labour	67.4	49.2	16.9	24.0
middle class	13.6	32.0	4.4	10.8
lower-upper class	0.5	6.3	50.0	0.0
upper-upper class	3.2	0.8	0.0	-
N=	221	128	221	128

sons aged 40 >	stratification		upward mobility	
	nuclear	extended	nuclear	extended
unskilled labour	19.0	1.2	87.0	100.0
skilled labour	52.5	53.6	26.6	20.6
middle class	24.7	31.0	23.1	26.1
lower-upper class	0.6	7.1	75.0	0.0
upper-upper class	3.2	7.1	0.0	-
N=	158	84	158	84

* Uncorrected sample was used for the 1880-1920 generation.

APPENDIX 6.9

EFFECT OF SOCIAL CLASS ON THE RELATIONSHIP URBANITY OF BACKGROUND AND
FIRST-PHASE FAMILY STRUCTURE FOR MIGRANT HOUSEHOLDS GENERATION 1880-1920

class	% extended families	
	rural	urban
labour class	30.4	39.3
middle-upper class	44.8	70.0

APPENDIX 7.1

NINETEENTH-CENTURY WEAVERS' BOOKS AND THE IDENTIFICATION OF DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WEAVERS

For this study we made use of the nineteenth-century weavers' books, or weavers registers, of the textile factories of 'Diepen', 'Brouwers' and 'Van Dooren en Dams' with the intention of identifying if possible a large number of domestic weavers and factory weavers who would subsequently be traced in the population registration of the town. For the nineteenth-century period these were the only companies with weavers' registers available. The following series were processed:

- The company of Brouwers: a complete series covering the period 1892-1900 (Municipal Archive Tilburg, depot inventory numbers 189 up to and including 197).
- The company of Diepen: covering three single years 1887-1892-1897 (Municipal Archive Tilburg, inventory numbers 282-283-284, all deposited with the Catholic University of Brabant in Tilburg).
- The company of Van Dooren & Dams: books covering four separate years 1875-1880-1887-1893, (Municipal Archive Tilburg, inventory numbers 1 up to and including 4).

Of all three the company of Brouwers was the only one which registered its domestic weavers separately from the weavers within the factory walls. A remark to this extent was recorded in one of the books on the inside of the cover: one half of the register was said to pertain to the so-called 'buitenwevers', the domestic weavers, whilst the other side recorded the power-loom weavers, the 'binnenwevers'. A check of the weavers book over the year 1892 confirmed this division. The weavers recorded as factory weavers clearly displayed a number of characteristics typical for power-loom weavers. They were paid much lower wages for each ply of wool compared to the domestic weavers while their production exceeded the productive capacity of the hand loom. A comparison of the names on each side of this register further revealed that names did not appear on both sides. Unfortunately however, the registers of this company were sometimes barely legible due to sloppy writing but above all registration of the weavers' names was often too poor for easy and unambiguous identification in the population registration of the town. As a result only a small number of weavers could ultimately be extracted from the registers of the company of Brouwers.

The weavers' registers of the other two companies, Diepen and Van Dooren & Dams, provided no direct clue as to the question of what type of weavers they contained. In his thesis on Armand Diepen, owner of the Diepen mill in the second half of the nineteenth century, the economist Van den Dam assumed the Diepen registers to record only those weavers working within the factory walls.⁴⁴² A comparison of some of the figures provided by Van den Dam himself in his book and a thorough examination of the registers themselves revealed the registers to contain both domestic and factory weavers. It appeared that the total number of woollen cloths produced in the period 1883-1884 by the weavers Van den Dam had handled

⁴⁴² J.P.A. van den Dam, Arnold Leon Armand Diepen.

for his study corresponded almost exactly to the number mentioned elsewhere concerning total production for the same period.⁴⁴³ The obvious conclusion therefore must be that the registers contained all of the weavers working for the Diepen mill. This could then also explain the enormous variation in the numbers of active weavers per month as well as the few recorded female weavers who were most certainly domestic weavers. Finally, this conclusion is more consistent with the small number of looms reported in the factory's stock inventory. For the registers of Van Dooren & Dams the situation appeared to be the same. Here too, female weavers were recorded in the weavers' books, while there was a tremendous amount of fluctuation in the number of active weavers which constantly and amply exceeded the number of looms mentioned in the stock inventories. Thus, for the registers of the companies of Van Dooren & Dams and Diepen, which were otherwise high-quality material with clear and full name references, we next tried to develop a method separating both types of weavers on the basis of the information provided by the books themselves. However, it proved impossible to decide unequivocally for all weavers concerned. In the end only a small number of weavers whose status was clear and unambiguous could be extracted from the weavers' registers following a process of selection which is described in the following.

The weavers' books recorded every single cloth produced by the weaving mill together with the name of the weaver, date of production and the technical specification of the yarn that was used. Automated processing of the registers facilitated the arrangement of the material according to a large number of different criteria. Among others, total production listings were made for the two mills, by month as well as for every individual weaver separately. This information was next supplemented with figures concerning the number of looms placed in the mill to determine the maximum number of weavers which could be employed by the mill at any one moment.⁴⁴⁴ Both mills employed a large number of weavers which could only mean, considering the small number of looms operated in the mills, that the large majority of them would have to be domestic weavers. A simple and straightforward identification of the power-loom weavers on the basis of the volume of their production however was not in all cases possible. Full-scale mechanization of the weaving mills was at that time still very much in its infancy, especially in the Diepen mill, so that a considerable proportion of the few looms were outdated and/or second-hand and could attain only modest production levels. Only towards the beginning of the 1890s did most of the mills undertake a thorough modernization of the weaving process. Therefore, judging solely by their production capacity most of the weavers could well be both domestic weaver and factory weaver.

⁴⁴³ Compare J.P.A. van den Dam, Arnold Leon Armand Diepen, pages 223 and 227.

⁴⁴⁴ Such as was recorded in the factory inventories. For the Diepen mill see: Municipal Archive Tilburg, inventory numbers 406-407, likewise deposited with the Catholic University of Brabant in Tilburg. For the Van Dooren & Dams mill see: Municipal Archive Tilburg, depot inventory numbers 13 and 16.

The next step was to conduct an identification process of all 458 names of weavers extracted from the weavers' books in the population registers of the town and the civil registers on births, deaths and marriages.⁴⁴⁵ Positive identification was assumed if, first, both Christian and last names corresponded and, second, the person was stated to be a weaver. Potential candidates for identification could only be males above the age of eighteen. When more than one candidate was available meeting all requirements positive identification was considered impossible.

Of every successfully identified weaver all occupational entries to be found in the population registers, the civil registers as well as in the yearly taxation registers for the entire period 1880-1900 were collected. Thus, occupational and demographic histories emerged on the basis of which a decision had to be taken concerning the question on which side of the factory walls each weaver was employed. For a limited number of names this decision was easy enough: they can only have been power-loom weavers considering the level of production that was reached in the nineties.⁴⁴⁶ For some of the Diepen weavers the correctness of the decision was confirmed by the fact that these weavers were referred to as working on 'mechanical looms' in two alphabetical registers listing all of the company's weavers.⁴⁴⁷ Other indications provided further justification. After about 1890 these weavers started to receive a lower wage rate due to large increases in the productivity of the looms they were operating. In addition, a few were recorded in the population register of 1890 as a 'mechanical weaver'. This part of the procedure resulted in a limited number of names who were both positively identified as power-loom weavers and also successfully identified in the population registration.

The remaining largest group of weavers were for one part those with a very marginal production, only two or three 'pieces' per month during the two or three months in which production peaked each year, while the other part consisted of regular but modest or average producers throughout the year. Among these latter weavers there were still some who must have been factory weavers because the ones who had already been identified as power-loom weavers did not occupy all of the looms in the two mills. Nevertheless, even from this latter group a number of weavers could be identified to have been domestic weavers. In the first place it appeared that some had been working for both mills, which were actually situated in the same neighbourhood, at the same time. In that case the weaver in question was assumed to be a domestic weaver at work for both employers,

⁴⁴⁵ This number included double-counts due to names appearing in the weavers' books of more than one of the three companies.

⁴⁴⁶ In the assessment of the productive capacity of the looms reported in the factory inventories I received the invaluable help of J. Esman, the master-weaver of the Dutch Textile Museum in Tilburg, and P.J.M. van Gorp, well-known of his many writings on technical aspects of the history of textiles. To determine the monthly production a power-loom weaver could possibly attain, given the working hours of the time, use was made of the technical information available in the museum on the looms these weavers were operating.

⁴⁴⁷ See Diepen archive: Municipal Archive Tilburg, inventory number 289-290.

which practice was not infrequent in busy times. In addition, a number of the Diepen or Van Dooren & Dams weavers also appeared in the registration of the Brouwers company, these were then also accepted as domestic weavers. Finally, all identified weavers of Diepen and Van Dooren & Dams who were marginal and part-time producers were accepted into the sample of domestic weavers. However, the weavers thus collected all had to meet with one other requirement: they had to be registered consistently as 'weaver' in every single year in the taxation listings and the population registers of the period, even the occasional entry of 'factory worker' would disqualify them as domestic weaver. In this way we hope to have excluded all weavers who combined factory labour with home production.

After this laborious and time-consuming process of selection the two samples, of domestic weavers and factory weavers, proved too small for meaningful analysis: the samples counted 73 and 23 weavers respectively. Supplementation of the two samples was therefore sought in a number of ways. To begin with, 72 factory workers were drawn from the 1880-1920 generation sample of households and, quite unexpectedly, another 2 households of domestic weavers. Next, a number of domestic weavers could be obtained from two other research projects. The first concerned a project on the employees of the textile company of J.A.A. Kerstens conducted by T. Wagemakers, while the second involved an oral history research into the conditions in the Tilburg domestic industry carried out by De Bruijn, Ruiter and Strouken.⁴⁴⁸ This finally resulted in a sample containing 95 factory workers and another one consisting of 89 domestic weavers. For all of them the entire developmental cycle of the household they headed was reconstructed with the help of the population registers and, whenever necessary, the civil registers on births, deaths and marriages.

⁴⁴⁸ T. Wagemakers, 'Een levensgeschiedenis'; M.W.J. de Bruijn, H.Th.M. Ruiter, H.T.C.C. Strouken, Drapiers en buitenwevers, which research is still in preparation and will hopefully be published in the near future by the 'Stichting tot Behoud van Monumenten van Bedrijf en Techniek in het Zuiden van Nederland'. Both studies were able to construct a short list of cottage weavers who were still active in the period 1900-1910.

APPENDIX 7.2

DATE OF BEGINNING OF HOUSEHOLD FOR DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS *

decade	domestic weavers	factory workers	
1840-1849	1.1	-	
1850-1859	5.6	-	
1860-1869	28.1	12.9	(13.7)
1870-1879	38.2	67.1	(68.4)
1880-1889	15.7	11.8	(10.5)
1890-1899	10.1	5.9	(5.3)
1900-1910	1.1	2.4	(2.1)
N=	89	85	(95)

* Figures in between brackets concern the uncorrected sample of factory workers. Note of warning: date of beginning of household need not necessarily coincide with date of marriage of husband and wife. See text and note 18.

APPENDIX 7.3

AGE OF HEAD AT START OF HOUSEHOLD FOR DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS

age	domestic weavers	factory workers
20 - 24 year old	25.8	24.7
25 - 29 year old	44.9	60.0
30 - 39 year old	28.1	14.1
40 - > year old	1.1	1.2
N=	89	85

APPENDIX 7.4

OCCUPATIONAL DIVERSIFICATION IN HOUSEHOLDS OF DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND
FACTORY WORKERS: WIVES, FATHERS, AND FATHERS-IN-LAW WITH SAME OCCUPATION
AS HEAD

wife with	domestic weavers	factory workers
same occupation	4.3	1.1
textile occupation	18.1	17.2
textiles, including factory workers	30.9	56.9
seamstresses	16.0	6.4
domestic servants	13.8	11.8
other occupations	5.3	4.3
without occupation	31.9	18.2
N=	94	93

father with	domestic weavers	factory workers
same occupation	57.1	23.5
textile occupation	57.1	23.5
textiles, including factory workers	64.3	56.8
artisanal occupation	16.1	17.6
other occupations	10.1	15.6
without occupation	8.9	5.8
N=	56	51

father-in-law with	domestic weavers	factory workers
same occupation	37.5	18.5
textile occupation	37.5	16.6
textiles, including factory workers	45.8	46.2
artisanal occupation	8.3	27.7
other occupations	37.5	14.8
without occupation	8.3	7.4
N=	48	54

APPENDIX 7.5

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS PRESENT FOR SOME LIFE-CYCLE YEARS FOR HOUSEHOLDS OF DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS

year	domestic weavers	factory workers
1	89	85
11	89	84
21	87	84
31	78	77
41	58	57
46	35	35
47	32	31
48	29	29
49	22	21
50	19	12
51	18	8
52	14	6
53	13	4
54	10	3
55	8	-
56	5	-
57	4	-
58	3	-
59	3	-
60	3	-
61	3	-
62	2	-
63	1	-
64	1	-

APPENDIX 7.6

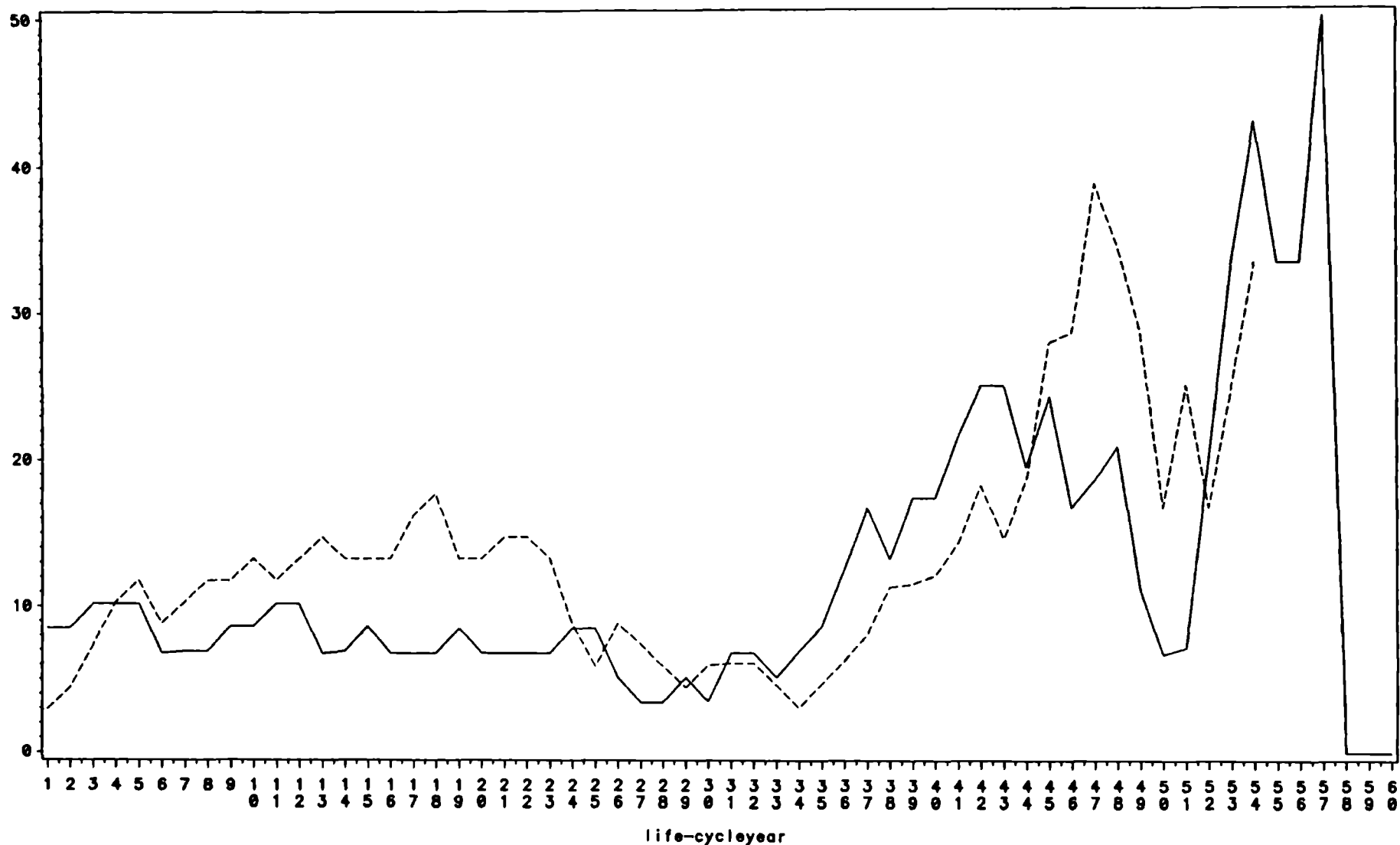
TYPE OF CO-RESIDENT KIN FOR DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS *

relation	domestic weavers	factory workers
parents	7.4	17.1
siblings	9.4	26.4
married children	29.5	21.4
grandchildren	47.6	26.4
uncles/aunts	-	1.4
cousins	0.7	2.1
other kin	5.4	5.0
N=	149	140

* Corrected sample of factory workers was used.

APPENDIX 7.7 PERCENTAGE OF EXTENDED FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS BY LIFE-CYCLE YEAR
 FOR DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS
 HOUSEHOLDS STARTING BETWEEN 1860-1880

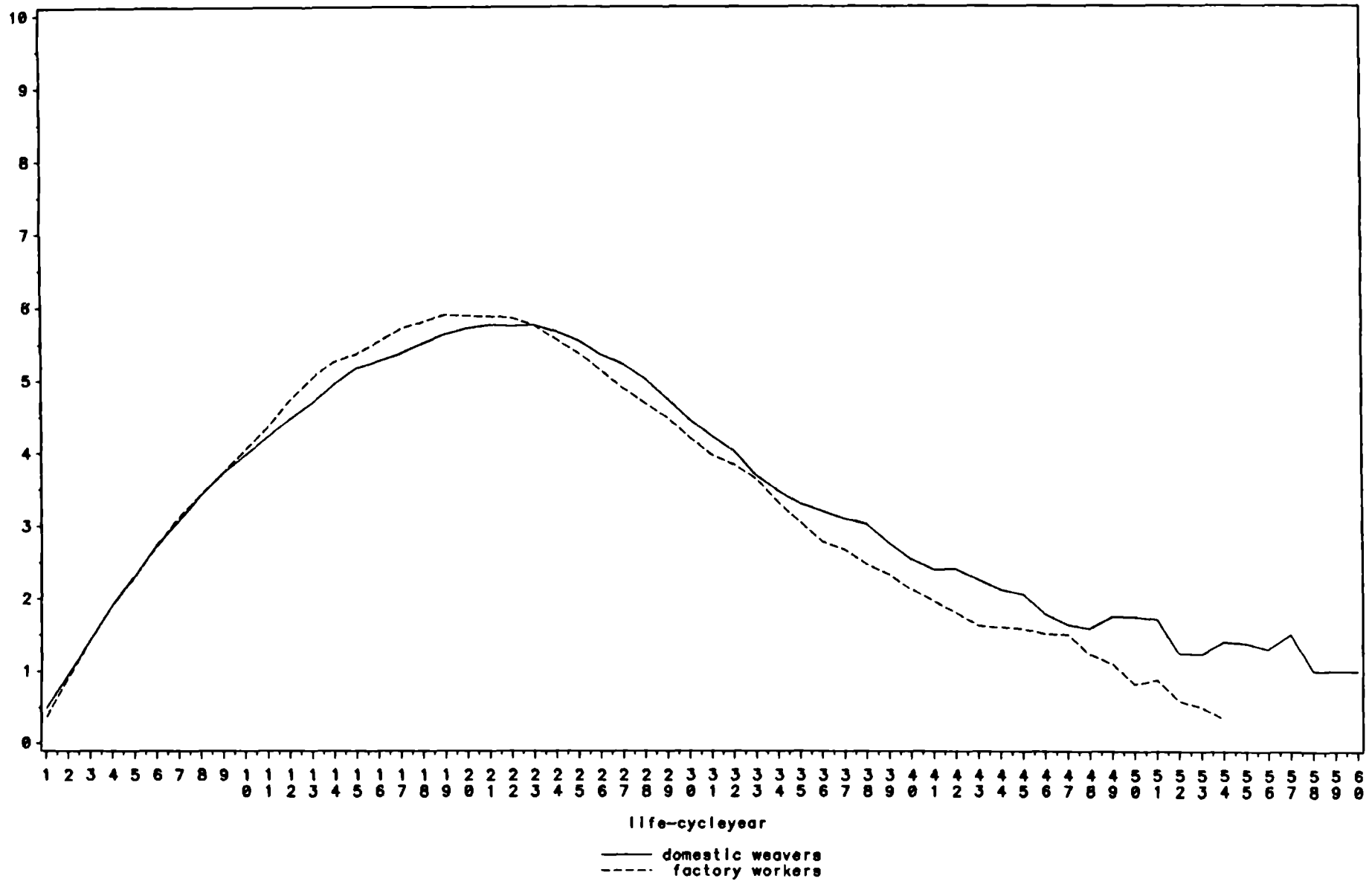
323



— domestic weavers
 - - - factory workers

corrected sample for factory workers

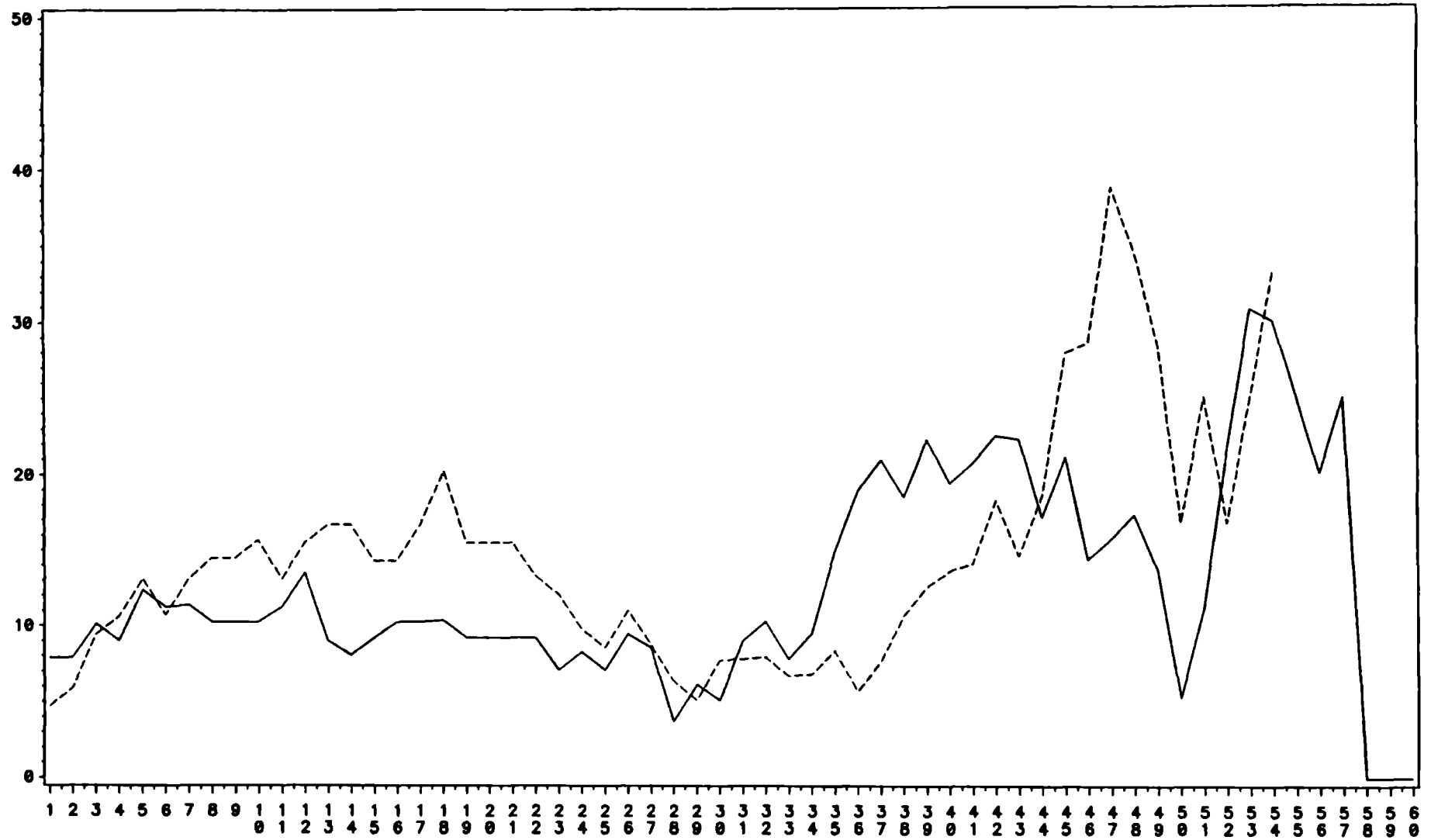
APPENDIX 7.8 MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN PRESENT IN HOUSEHOLD BY LIFE-CYCLE YEAR
FOR DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS



corrected sample for factory workers

APPENDIX 7.9 PERCENTAGE OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH KIN OR LODGERS BY LIFE-CYCLE YEAR
FOR DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS

325



— domestic weavers
- - - factory workers

corrected sample for factory workers

APPENDIX 7.10

AGE AT LAST EXIT FROM PARENTAL HOUSEHOLD FOR SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS *

age	domestic weavers		factory workers	
	sons	daughters	sons	daughters
< 10 year-old	0.0	2.1	3.3	1.4
10 - 14 year-old	0.5	2.1	0.8	3.8
15 - 19 year-old	4.4	7.7	7.5	14.6
20 - 24 year-old	28.6	34.0	28.8	33.0
25 - 29 year-old	41.2	36.1	42.5	30.7
30 - 34 year-old	15.4	13.4	12.5	12.7
35 - 39 year-old	7.1	3.1	2.9	1.4
40 > year-old	2.7	1.5	1.7	2.4
mean age	26.9	25.0	25.0	24.2
N=	182	194	240	212

* Exits not coinciding with the end of the household. Uncorrected sample of factory workers was used.

APPENDIX 7.11

TYPE OF LAST EXIT FROM PARENTAL HOUSEHOLD FOR SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS *

type of exit	domestic weavers		factory workers	
	sons	daughters	sons	daughters
marriage	64.3	60.8	64.2	52.8
migration	20.9	13.4	25.0	21.7
to kin	1.1	3.1	0.8	1.4
to others	12.6	21.1	8.3	22.2
unknown	1.1	1.5	1.7	1.9
N=	182	194	240	212

* Excluding exits by deaths and those coinciding with the end of the household's cycle. Uncorrected sample of factory workers.

APPENDIX 7.12

PROPORTION OF SONS AND DAUGHTERS STILL AT HOME BY AGE GROUP FOR DOMESTIC WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS *

age	domestic weavers		factory workers	
	sons	daughters	sons	daughters
15 year-old	74.1	75.0	72.1	69.9
20 year-old	64.8	61.7	59.2	54.2
25 year-old	44.2	33.8	32.8	29.1
30 year-old	16.5	12.7	10.1	11.9
35 year-old	9.0	6.1	3.0	2.3
40 year-old	4.6	3.6	0.3	1.7
45 year-old	1.2	1.5	0.3	0.7
50 year-old	0.4	0.7	0.0	0.0

* Continuous residence within the home is measured. Sample of factory workers is uncorrected.

APPENDIX 7.13

PROPORTION UNMARRIED BY AGE GROUP FOR SONS AND DAUGHTERS OF DOMESTIC
WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS

age	domestic weavers sons		factory workers sons	
	%	N	%	N
19 year-old	100.0	236	98.9	273
24 year-old	82.4	213	79.6	245
29 year-old	42.0	181	33.2	205
34 year-old	25.5	157	16.4	159
39 year-old	15.9	113	7.7	104
44 year-old	8.8	68	3.9	52
49 year-old	5.9	34	0.0	11
54 year-old	13.3	15	0.0	2
59> year-old	0.0	7	-	-

age	domestic weavers daughters		factory workers daughters	
	%	N	%	N
19 year-old	98.0	246	98.4	246
24 year-old	71.3	216	68.7	217
29 year-old	36.1	180	39.3	186
34 year-old	20.0	135	18.3	131
39 year-old	17.2	99	15.5	84
44 year-old	14.9	67	5.1	39
49 year-old	18.2	33	0.0	7
54 year-old	18.2	11	0.0	1
59> year-old	40.0	5	-	-

* Sample of factory workers is uncorrected.

APPENDIX 7.14

PROPORTION SONS AND DAUGHTERS STILL AT HOME BY AGE GROUP FOR DOMESTIC
WEAVERS AND FACTORY WORKERS, ONLY THOSE BORN AFTER 1870 *

age	domestic weavers		factory workers	
	sons	daughters	sons	daughters
15 year-old	78.4	77.3	77.0	75.3
20 year-old	71.3	70.2	71.3	64.0
25 year-old	51.2	46.4	45.4	40.3
30 year-old	23.8	19.7	17.3	19.9
35 year-old	12.7	8.9	6.1	6.9
40 year-old	5.4	5.4	2.0	4.2
45 year-old	0.9	3.2	0.7	1.1
50 year-old	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0
N=	273	277	352	336

* Those who have not yet broken away from the parental home permanently.
Uncorrected sample of factory workers.

DUTCH SUMMARY

Gezin en sociale verandering. Het huishouden als proces in een industrialiserende omgeving, Tilburg 1840-1920.

Dit onderzoek behandelt de invloed van het proces van industrialisatie op samenstelling en structuur van gezin en huishouden in Tilburg in de periode 1840-1920. Als centrale probleem wordt in nagegaan in hoeverre gezinnen zich door middel van een aanpassingsproces ontwikkelden van een systeem van krachtige en meer complexe verwantschapsrelaties naar dat van het door lossere familiebanden getypeerde kerngezin. Daarbij komt tevens de vraag aan de orde in hoeverre hier sprake is van een functioneel aanpassingsproces aan de eisen van een dynamische industriële samenleving. De kracht van het verwantschapsnetwerk wordt in de eerste plaats onderzocht door na te gaan of en waarom gezinnen samenwoonden met verwanten gedurende de ontwikkelingscyclus van het huishouden. Daarnaast wordt gekeken naar de kracht van de relaties tussen ouders en kinderen; in hoeverre waren kinderen bereid mogelijkheden tot vroege onafhankelijkheid op te offeren om ouders op hun oude dag door middel van samenwoning te ondersteunen?

In het eerste hoofdstuk wordt een uitgebreide theoretische en historiografische inleiding op de onderzoeksvragen gegeven en wordt tevens opzet en organisatie van het boek besproken. Het theoretisch uitgangspunt van het onderzoek wordt gevormd door structureel-functionalistische opvattingen ten aanzien van de relatie gezin en industriële samenleving. De structureel-functionalistische theorie veronderstelt een 'structural fit', een functionele afstemming van het kerngezin op de industriële samenleving. Het moderne kerngezin, zo stellen deze theoretici, is het meest geschikte gezinstype voor een industriële samenleving omdat het zich heeft ontdaan van 'knellende' verwantschapsbanden en daardoor beter kan voldoen aan de hoge eisen die de samenleving stelt aan individuele sociale en geografische mobiliteit. Het traditionele uitgebreide gezin daarentegen, dat typerend geacht werd voor pre-industriële samenlevingen, zou niet te verenigen zijn met een dynamische industriële samenleving. Bovendien gaan deze theoretici uit van een directe causale relatie tussen het gezin en sociaal-economische structuren; het gezin past zich aan zodra zich wijzigingen voordoen in die structuren.

Dit standpunt wordt geconfronteerd met inzichten verkregen in modern historisch onderzoek op het terrein van gezin en huishouden. Historici hebben niet alleen aangetoond dat de voorstelling van een pre-industrieel Europa gedomineerd door grote uitgebreide gezinnen op een mythe berust, zij hebben eveneens bewijzen aangedragen voor een groeiende complexiteit in samenwoningspatronen onder invloed van de

spanningen die gepaard gaan met industrialisatieprocessen. Op grond van dergelijk onderzoek stellen deze historici dat het gezin niet gezien moet worden als een passieve 'agent of change'; zij benadrukken juist de grote mate van continuïteit in verwantschapspatronen. Daarmee sluiten zij aan bij het model van sociale verandering geformuleerd door Joan Scott en Louise Tilly zoals zij dat geformuleerd hebben in hun werk op het terrein van vrouwenarbeid in Europa in de negentiende eeuw. Dit model benadrukt de continuïteit van traditionele waarden in tijden van sociaal-structurele verandering. Scott en Tilly beschouwen gedrag als de resultante van oude waardenorientaties die gebruikt worden in aanpassingsprocessen aan veranderende sociale omstandigheden.

Het onderzoek is gebaseerd op een kwantitatieve analyse van twee generatiegroepen van ieder bijna 400 huishoudengeschiedenissen die gereconstrueerd werden met behulp van de Tilburgse bevolkingsregisters. De eerste groep van huishoudens beslaat de periode van 1849 tot 1890, de tweede groep loopt van 1880 tot 1920. Aanvullende informatie ten aanzien van beroep en inkomen werd verzameld uit gemeentelijke belastingbronnen en militieregisters. Tot slot worden twee kleinere onderzoeksgroepen geanalyseerd van ieder ongeveer 90 huishoudengeschiedenissen; één groep bestaande uit de gezinnen van thuiswevers en een tweede groep uit de gezinnen van fabrieksarbeiders. Deze twee groepen werden verzameld met behulp van loonboeken van een aantal Tilburgse textielfabrieken, de bevolkingsregisters en de registers van de burgerlijke stand.

Het onderzoek wordt gekenmerkt door een dynamische benadering van het begrip gezin en huishouden: gezinnen en hun samenwoningspatronen worden gevolgd door de tijd gedurende de life cycle van het huishouden. In methodologisch opzicht vormt dit onderzoek daarmee een nieuwe bijdrage op het terrein van de gezinsgeschiedenis waarin reeds lang de noodzaak van longitudinaal onderzoek benadrukt wordt. De meest historici worden echter in hun streven te komen tot een dynamische benadering ernstig gehinderd door het statisch karakter van hun bronnenmateriaal dat slechts een cross-sectie benadering toestaat. De verkregen resultaten bevestigen het belang van een longitudinale benadering die onder andere van cruciale betekenis bleek bij het vaststellen van het belang van familiehuishoudens bij migranten in Tilburg. Bronnen, onderzoeksgroepen en onderzoeksmethode worden besproken in hoofdstuk twee.

In het derde hoofdstuk worden kort de veranderingen geschetst die zich op demografisch, sociaal en economisch terrein hebben voorgedaan in de negentiende-eeuwse Tilburgse samenleving. De soms snelle bevolkingstoename kwam vooral tot stand door groei van binnenuit; aanzienlijke migratie naar Tilburg deed zich slechts voor in de tweede helft van de zestiger jaren. De industriële ontwikkeling van de stad

werd volledig gedomineerd door de wolnijverheid. Typerend voor het partiële karakter van het innovatieproces in deze sector is dat nog tot ongeveer 1890 het weefproces in belangrijke mate gebaseerd bleef op de traditionele proto-industriële produktiewijze. Mede door de ontwikkeling vanuit een aantal verspreid liggende gehuchten bleef Tilburg lang het karakter van een plattelandsgemeente behouden.

Het vierde hoofdstuk behandelt de ontwikkeling van samenwoningspatronen in de twee generatiegroepen van huishoudens. De resultaten laten zien dat gezinnen vooral samenwoonden met hun directe verwanten: verweduwdde ouders, ongehuwde broers en zussen gedurende de eerste helft van de cyclus van het huishouden, en gehuwde kinderen en kleinkinderen in de latere fasen. Er wordt beargumenteerd dat ouders en broers of zusters in huis genomen werden omdat een zelfstandig huishouden voor alleenstaanden economisch vaak niet haalbaar en cultureel niet gewenst was. In de tweede generatiegroep van huishoudens nam het aantal gezinnen dat ooit gedurende de cyclus met verwanten samenwoonde toe: meer dan de helft van de gezinnen woonde ooit samen met verwanten. Deze toename was vooral te wijten aan een groter aantal ouders dat tegen het eind van de cyclus met gehuwde kinderen samenwoonde. De factoren die in deze ontwikkeling een rol spelen zijn een hogere levensverwachting van de ouders, een toegenomen mobiliteit van de gehuwde kinderen met hun gezinnen en groeiende tekorten aan woonruimte in het begin van de twintigste eeuw. Hoofdstuk vier laat verder zien dat de banden tussen ouders en kinderen in de tweede generatiegroep niet losser werden in de zin dat ouders op hun oude dag eerder alleen komen te staan. Dit ondanks de toegenomen economische mogelijkheden voor vroegtijdige onafhankelijkheid voor jonge volwassenen rond 1900.

Hoofdstuk vijf geeft aan dat familiehuishoudens en een krachtige relatie tussen ouders en kinderen vooral een kenmerk waren van de middenklassen. Dit gold voor beide generatiegroepen. De hogere sociale groepen in de tweede generatie waren in vergelijking met de arbeiders en de middenklassen beter in staat weerstand te bieden aan de ontwikkelingen die familiehuishoudingen bevorderden. Door ruimere financiële middelen konden ouders niet alleen beter de problemen van de oude dag opvangen, bovendien waren zij beter in staat tenminste één ongehuwd kind lang thuis te houden. De gegevens zoals gepresenteerd in hoofdstuk vijf geven verder aan dat familiehuishoudingen beslist niet onvereenigbaar zijn met een hoge mate van sociale mobiliteit van het gezinshoofd of zijn zonen, zodat getwijfeld moet worden aan de sociale superioriteit van het kerngezin in een industriële samenleving. Integendeel, met het voortschrijden van het industrialisatieproces in Tilburg nam eveneens het maatschappelijk succes van uitgebreide gezinnen toe.

Hoofdstuk zes behandelt de vraag naar de mogelijk negatieve effecten van geografische mobiliteit op de

gezinsstructuur. Het dynamisch perspectief op gezin en huishouden maakte het mogelijk te constateren dat de migrantengezinnen in de beide generatiegroepen iets vaker verwanten in huis opnamen gedurende de eerste fase van hun huishouden dan de autochtone gezinnen. Migrantenuishoudens functioneerden, gelijk de autochtone gezinnen, als opvangplaatsen voor ongehuwde broers en zussen of alleenstaande ouders, daarnaast echter leken zij hun jonge ongehuwde verwanten te assisteren in individuele migratieprocessen. Familiehuishoudingen waren overigens niet beperkt tot rurale migranten. De analyse van de sociale stijging van gezinshoofden en zonen leverde een sterk statistisch verband op tussen migranten, uitgebreide huishoudens en maatschappelijk succes. Een verklaring hiervoor kan zijn dat migrerende verwanten eerder assistentie zoeken van hun meer succesvolle familieleden wanneer ze op zoek zijn naar werk en onderdak, of hulp behoeven op hun oude dag.

In hoofdstuk zeven worden de resultaten gepresenteerd van de analyse van de huishoudens van thuiswevers en fabrieksarbeiders vanuit de gedachte dat verschillende produktiestructuren grote verschillen in huishoudsamenstelling met zich mee kunnen brengen. De gezinnen van de thuiswevers werden gekenmerkt door een geringe mate van beroepsdiversificatie: veel zonen en dochters waren werkzaam in hetzelfde of een aanvullend beroep als de vader. Zoons en dochters van fabrieksarbeiders daarentegen hadden overwegend andere beroepen dan het gezinshoofd. Dit leidde echter niet tot grote verschillen in de ontwikkelingscyclus van het gezin. Huishoudens van fabrieksarbeiders kenden slechts wat meer verwanten in de eerste stadia van de cyclus, terwijl de thuiswevers wat vaker samenwoonden met hun gehuwde kinderen in de laatste fase van het huishouden.

De ervaring van de onderzochte Tilburgse huishoudens toont een grote mate van continuïteit aan in samenwoningspatronen ondanks structurele veranderingen in de plaatselijke economie. Daar waar gezinsspatronen zich wijzigden onder invloed van ontwikkelingen op demografisch of sociaal-economisch terrein kan men niet spreken van een toename van individualisme of het verval van verwantschapsnetwerken. In het laatste hoofdstuk worden een aantal factoren besproken die de continuïteit van sterke verwantschapsbanden in Tilburg kunnen hebben bevorderd. Tot slot wordt geconcludeerd dat de functionele relatie tussen kerngezin en industriële samenleving afgewezen dient te worden. Industrialisatie leidde niet tot een onmiddellijk verval van familiebanden binnen en tussen de generaties. Bovendien bleken familiehuishoudingen niet onvereenigbaar met sociale of geografische mobiliteit.

CURRICULUM VITAE

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