

Enid Charles 1894-1972

## A socialist, feminist demographer and her analysis of the timing of birth

Alison Macfarlane City, University of London

# **Plan of talk**

# Enid Charles' life and contributions to demography

Based on the work of Canadian demographer, Sylvia Wargon

### Analysis of birth and its timing

As described in her own papers.

# **Education and marriage**

1894 Born in Denbigh, Wales

1913 -1916 Studied mathematics, economics and statistics at Newnham College, Cambridge

1916 Went to Liverpool for a one year diploma course in social science

1917 Returned after 10 months to live with Lancelot Hogben.

1918 Despite opposition to marriage, married Hogben as expecting their first child, Sylvia. Kept her own name.



Followed Hogben from job to job Had three more children, Adrian, Clare and David.

1925-27 Canada , McGill, Montreal 1927-30 South Africa, University of Cape Town PhD in physiology followed by papers Left South Africa with threat of apartheid growing

### LSE, 1930-37

Research fellow in Department of Social Biology where her husband was Professor of Social Biology.

#### Social biology defined as

' the application of biology to human society, to cover such topics as variation and heredity in man, selective immunity, relative importance of environmental factors in social structure and changes, questions of race and class in relation to hereditary endowment, economic and biological tests of fitness... Through vital statistics, social biology would connect with public health'

# LSE, 1930-37

Enid Charles' Interest switched to human populations Among the first demographers to challenge eugenics

Became associated with the work of the Population Investigation Committee, founded in 1935

'to examine the trends of the population in Great Britain and the Colonies and to investigate the causes of these trends, with special reference to the fall of the birth-rate.'

Initially founded by the Eugenics Society but moved away from it.

## LSE 1930-37

Charted declining birth and marriage rates in the 1930s Derived population projections for the future based on data up to the 1930s.

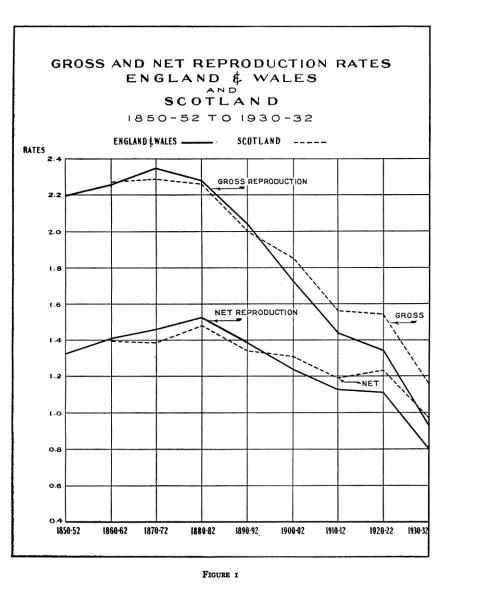
'The practice of birth control: an analysis of the birth control experiences of 900 women.' 1932

'The twilight of parenthood: A biological study of the decline of population growth.' 1934

Republished as

'The menace of under-population: a biological study of the decline of population growth.' 1936

#### **Trends in reproduction**



CRUDE MARRIAGE AND BIRTH RATES, ENGLAND & WALES ANÓ SCOTLAND 1901 - 1945 (Marriage rate advancedone year) RATES 30 28 LIVE BIRTHSper 1000 TOTAL POPULATION SCOTLAND 26 24 LIVE BIRTHSper 1000 TOTAL POPULATION ENGLAND & WALES 22 20 a١ 18 PERSONS MARRIED per 1000 TOTAL POPULATION ENGLAND & WALES 16 14 PERSONS MARRIED per 1000 TOTAL POPULATION SCOTLAND 12 10 1111 BIRTHS 1900-02 1905 1910 1915 1920 1925 1930 1935 1940 1945 MARRIAGES 1901 1904 1909 .**19**14 1919 1924 1929 1934 1939 1944

FIGURE 2

Charles E. 'Post-War Demographic Problems in Britain', 1946

# **Population projections, 1934**

... the population of England and Wales which was 40.6 million in 1935, would fall to 17.4 million in 2000 and to 4.4 million in 2035, if age-specific mortality and fertility rates were to continue to fall at the rate at which Swedish age-specific fertility rates had fallen between 1921 and 1931.'

Eugene Grebenik, 'Demographic Research in Britain, 1938-1986', 1991

# From a review of 'The twilight of parenthood'

'Miss Charles writes with vigor and cogency, and has at hand whenever she wants to use it a caustic humor that affords many a pungent sentence'

New York Times, August 26 1934

# **Aberdeen 1937-40**

Leverhulme Research Fellow, Department of Natural History.

Contributed to *'Political Arithmetic'*, 1938, edited by Lancelot Hogben.

Accepted invitation to go to Canada in 1940 to do a study of differential birth rates in Canada.

Hogben invited to spend a semester as visiting professor, University of Wisconsin. Returned 1941

## Canada 1940-46

Stayed until 1946, working for Dominion Bureau of Statistics, now Statistics Canada.

Instrumental in developing demography in Canada.

Analysed data from new questions on nuptiality, fertility and internal migration in 1941 decennial census.

Contributed to evaluation of Canadian census and vital statistics.

Lectured at Carleton College, later Carleton University.

# Birmingham 1946-53

Joined Hogben who had moved to Birmingham, 1946 No job lined up.

- Birmingham City Council Statistical Office, 1947
- Reader in Demography and Vital Statistics, University of Birmingham, 1948

Chief Statistical Officer, two Birmingham hospitals, 1949

Joined RSS in 1947

# **Developing Birmingham's Maternity and Child Welfare records**

Brit. J. soc. Med. (1951), 5, 41-61

#### STATISTICAL UTILIZATION OF MATERNITY AND CHILD WELFARE RECORDS

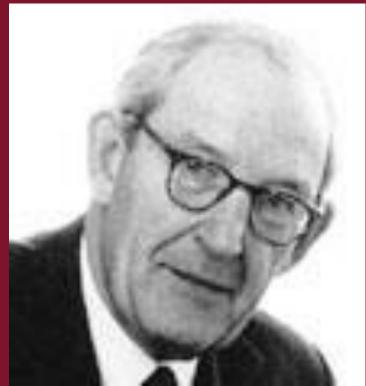
BY

#### ENID CHARLES

From the Central Statistical Office, City of Birmingham, and the Department of Social Medicine, University of Birmingham

# Aberdeen Maternity and Neonatal Databank

Started by Prof. Sir Dugald Baird in 1950 in collaboration with the MRC Medical Sociology Unit



#### From punched cards and knitting needles to tapes.....to SiR ......to SQL

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#### **Data entry and processing in the 1950s**

#### Punched cards, punched tape and Cope Chat cards with

needle



Basic card punch



# Close up of 80 column punched card, as adapted for entering Fortran code in the 1970s

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# Developing a mechanised system of health visiting records

Aim

Redesigning health visiting records to bring together information about

The family and its circumstances

Antenatal care

Details of birth

Information recorded by health visitors in the first five years of the child's life.

# Birmingham health visiting record, 1948

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Birmingham.

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#### Page 1 of redesigned record, 1950

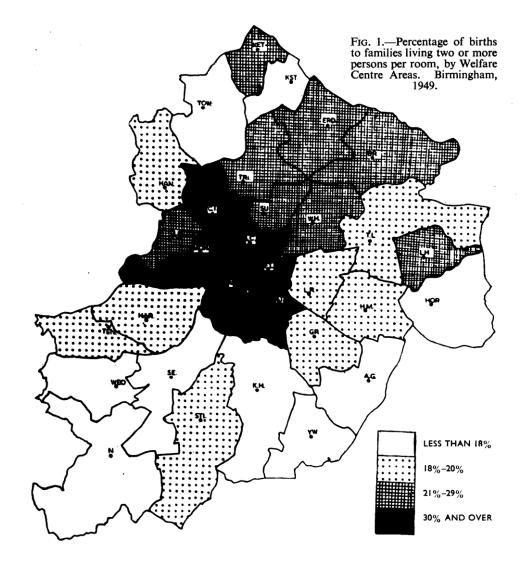
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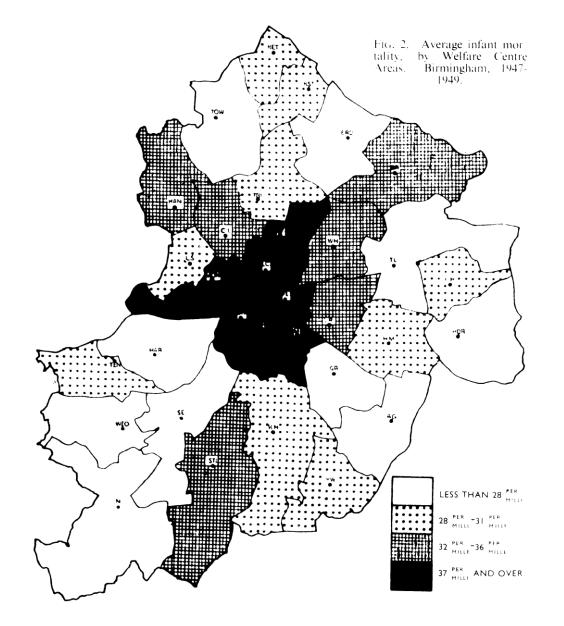
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# Percentage of births to families living with two or more persons per room



#### **Infant mortality rates**



### Hour of birth

Brit. J. prev. soc. Med. (1953), 7, 45-59

#### THE HOUR OF BIRTH

#### A STUDY OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF TIMES OF ONSET OF LABOUR AND OF DELIVERY THROUGHOUT THE 24-HOUR PERIOD

BY

#### ENID CHARLES

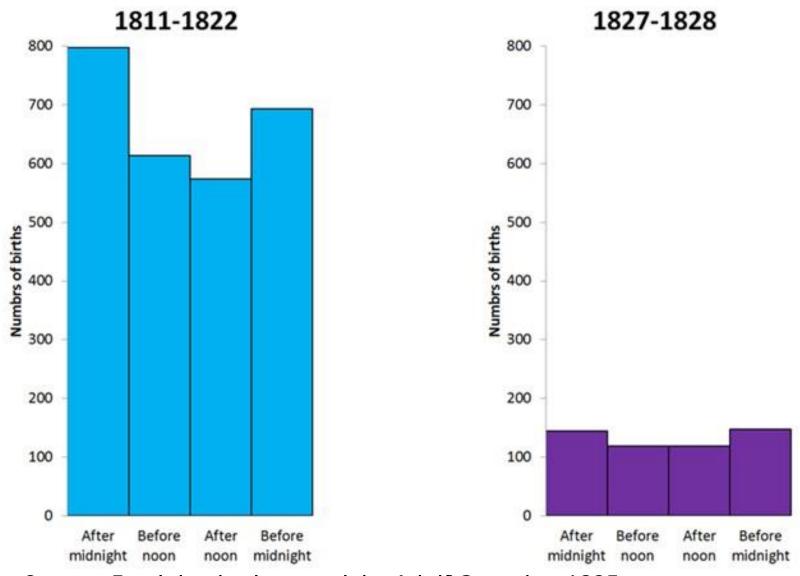
Department of Medical Statistics, University of Birmingham, and Queen Elizabeth Hospital, Birmingham

#### Births by time of the day, Hôpital St Pierre, Bruxelles 1811-22, 1827-28

| HEURES.                  | NAISSANCES.<br>1811-1822. | morts-nés.<br>1811-1822. | NAISSANCES.<br>1827-1828 |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Après minuit.            | 798                       | 53                       | 145                      |
| Avant midi<br>Après midi | 614<br>574                | 51<br>59                 | 119                      |
| Avant minuit.            | 694                       | 55                       | 148                      |
| Totaux                   | 2680                      | 218                      | 53 r                     |

Source: Essai de physique sociale, Adolf Quetelet, 1835

#### Births by time of the day, Hôpital St Pierre, Bruxelles 1811-22, 1827-28



Source: Essai de physique sociale, Adolf Quetelet, 1835

# **Background to Enid Charles' analysis**

Analyses up to the mid twentieth century showed similar patterns, with births being more common at night and in early hours of the morning.

Correspondence in the British Medical Journal in 1952 showed that some analyses of births in the mid twentieth century found similar patterns while others did not.

# **Birmingham analysis**

Time of onset of labour Recorded by parents rather than clinical staff Risk of digit preference, described as 'clumping' Differences in definitions Time of birth

Neither of these items were punched onto cards, so analysis of 12,359 births was done manually using data from delivery records.

# **Purpose of analysis**

'To clarify processes which initiate health parturition' Exclusions:

a) stillbirths

b) second twins, second and thirds stillbirths

c)specified antenatal complications

d) medical or surgical induction or delivery

e) all presentation other than vertex

f) 'all congenital malformations of the infant'

If the purpose had been administrative, all births would have been included.

# **Sources of diurnal rhythms**

'Physical events such as light and temperature impose on the *material* environment a diurnal rhythm ...

The normal routine of work, meals and sleep imposes a diurnal rhythm on the *social* environment.'

'Superimposed on each diurnal pattern of external change are seasonal regularities ...'

# **Tabulations of times of onset and birth**

Place of birth – domiciliary / institutional

Season – analysed births in one month periods surrounding equinoxes and solstices

Additional analyses by parity

Remaining births from August 1 to September 7 and from November 1 to December 7 tabulated by parity extracted from health visiting cards.

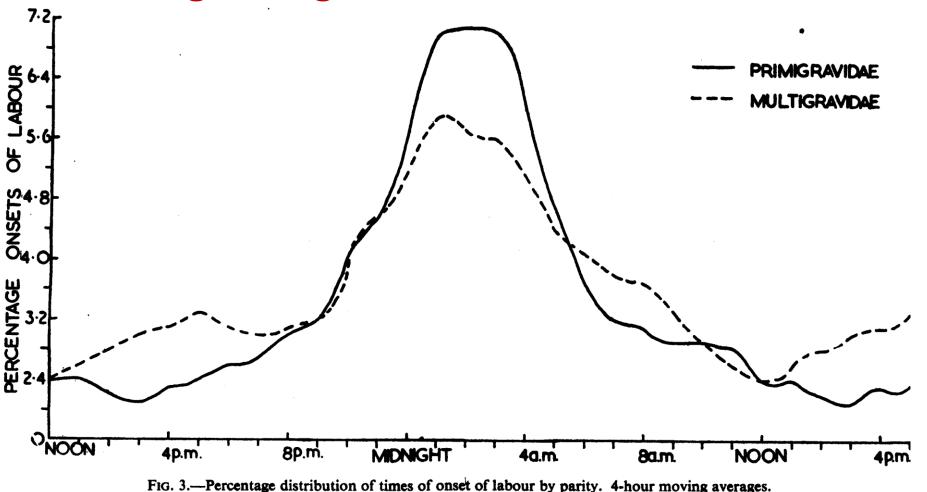
#### **Results - extract from summary**

Appendix Table A TIME OF ONSET OF LABOUR-SELECTED CASES, BIRMINGHAM, 1950, 1951

|  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | _  |  |   |  |  |   |
|--|--|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|--|--|---|
|  |  |  |   |  |  |  |  | Date of  | of Birth   |  |  |  | ·  |   |  |  |   |
|  |  |  | D   | omicilia   | ary Birt   | hs   |  |  |  |  | In   | stitutio   | nal Birt   | hs  |  |  |   |
| Time<br>of Day   | 4 to   | s to   | Aug.<br>Sep   | 1 to<br>t. 7   | s to   | Nov.<br>Dec  | 1 to<br>c. 7   | 5  | 4 50   | s to   | Aug.<br>Sep  | 1 to<br>ot. 7  | s to   | Nov.<br>De  | . 1 to<br>c. 7   | 4 to   | All<br>Births   |
|  | March 8<br>April 4   | June 8 t<br>July 5   | Primi-<br>gravidae  | Multi-<br>gravidae   | Sept. 8  <br>Oct. 5  | Primi-<br>gravidae   | Multi-<br>gravidae   | Dec. 8<br>Jan. 4   | March 8<br>April 4   | June 8  <br>July 5   | Primi-<br>gravidae   | Multi-<br>gravidae   | Sept. 8 .<br>Oct. 5  | Primi-<br>gravidae  | Multi-<br>gravidae   | Dec. 8 t<br>Jan. 4   | Dirtits   |
| 12 Midnight<br>1 a.m.<br>2 a.m.<br>3 a.m.<br>4 a.m.<br>5 a.m.<br>6 a.m.<br>7 a.m.<br>8 a.m.<br>9 a.m.<br>10 a.m.<br>11 a.m.<br>12 Noon | 52<br>73<br>89<br>88<br>68<br>47<br>58<br>47<br>58<br>47<br>48<br>53<br>47<br>34<br>21 | 61<br>77<br>91<br>70<br>72<br>32<br>48<br>51<br>45<br>32<br>31<br>32<br>25 | 14<br>28<br>30<br>23<br>8<br>10<br>9<br>11<br>6<br>9<br>6<br>8<br>5 | 45<br>64<br>82<br>52<br>51<br>34<br>59<br>39<br>44<br>36<br>32<br>23<br>22 | 36<br>66<br>82<br>64<br>59<br>41<br>62<br>38<br>45<br>29<br>29<br>29<br>26<br>27 | 10<br>11<br>21<br>8<br>15<br>9<br>10<br>4<br>8<br>6<br>5<br>4<br>5 | 55<br>64<br>64<br>55<br>64<br>40<br>31<br>37<br>41<br>32<br>24<br>28<br>21 | 32<br>57<br>72<br>47<br>52<br>39<br>45<br>34<br>45<br>31<br>27<br>23<br>22 | 59<br>55<br>54<br>55<br>52<br>26<br>41<br>30<br>25<br>29<br>25<br>29<br>36 | 44<br>71<br>64<br>56<br>46<br>39<br>44<br>38<br>24<br>24<br>21<br>22<br>33 | 28<br>45<br>34<br>38<br>24<br>18<br>25<br>15<br>20<br>21<br>20<br>20<br>16 | 28<br>31<br>51<br>35<br>29<br>29<br>28<br>28<br>28<br>26<br>20<br>23<br>16<br>18 | 57<br>63<br>49<br>51<br>46<br>44<br>34<br>34<br>24<br>23<br>18<br>19<br>29 | 25<br>30<br>35<br>34<br>24<br>17<br>13<br>15<br>6<br>22<br>20<br>15<br>14 | 42<br>34<br>30<br>27<br>26<br>17<br>24<br>26<br>17<br>21<br>13<br>19<br>21 | 56<br>42<br>62<br>51<br>50<br>33<br>27<br>35<br>27<br>36<br>29<br>28<br>16 | 644<br>811<br>910<br>754<br>686<br>475<br>558<br>482<br>451<br>424<br>370<br>346<br>331 |

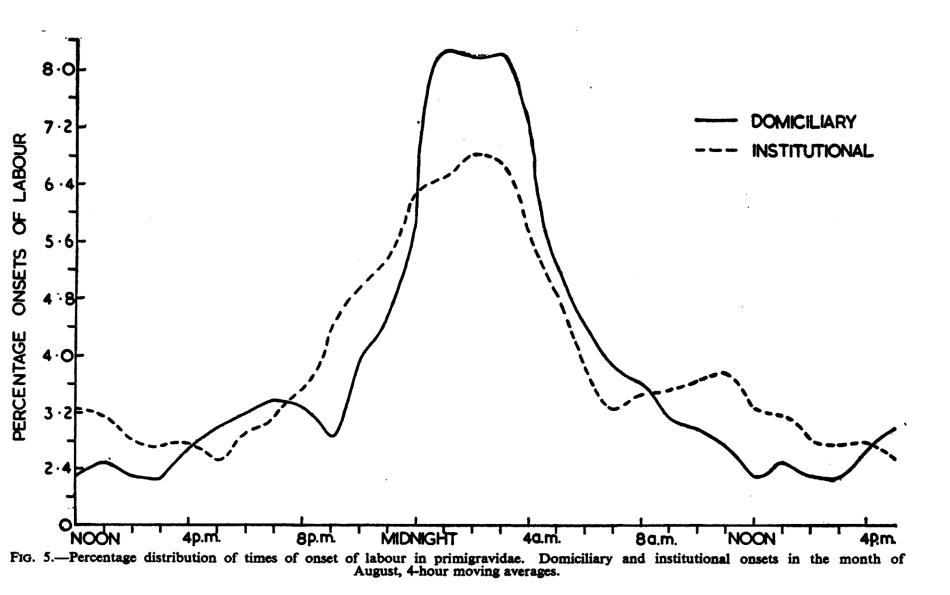
Source: Enid Charles, Hour of birth. Br J prev soc Med.1953

# Timing of onset of labour by parity, 4-hour moving averages



Source: Enid Charles, Hour of birth. Br J prev soc Med.1953

#### Timing of onset of labour by place of birth, 4hour moving averages



### Timing of onset of labour by season

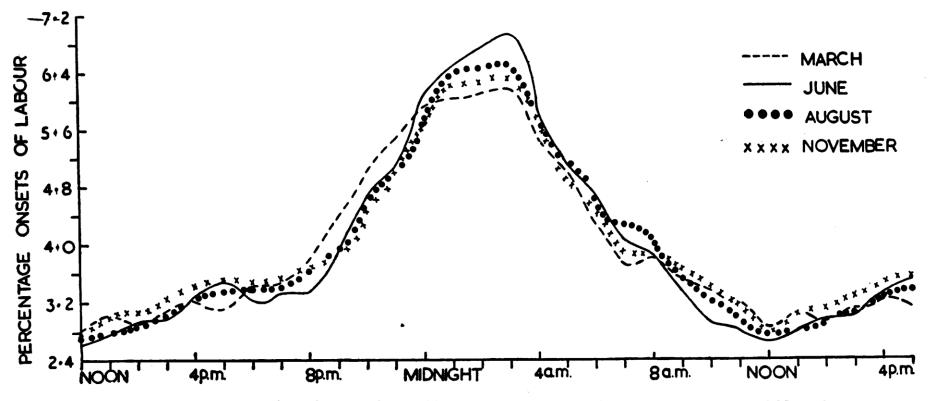
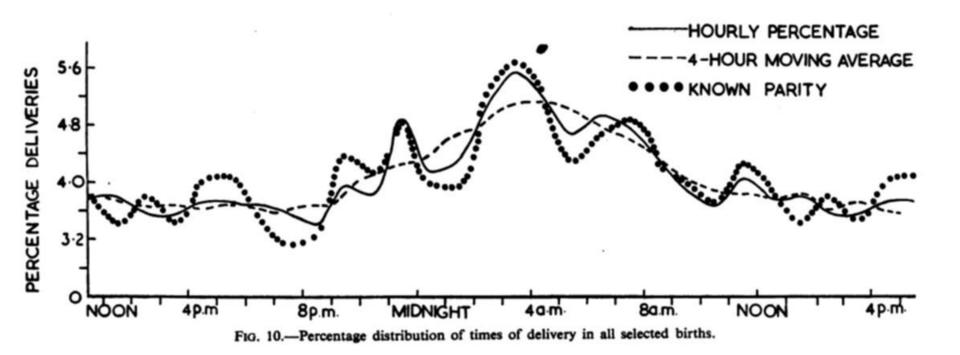


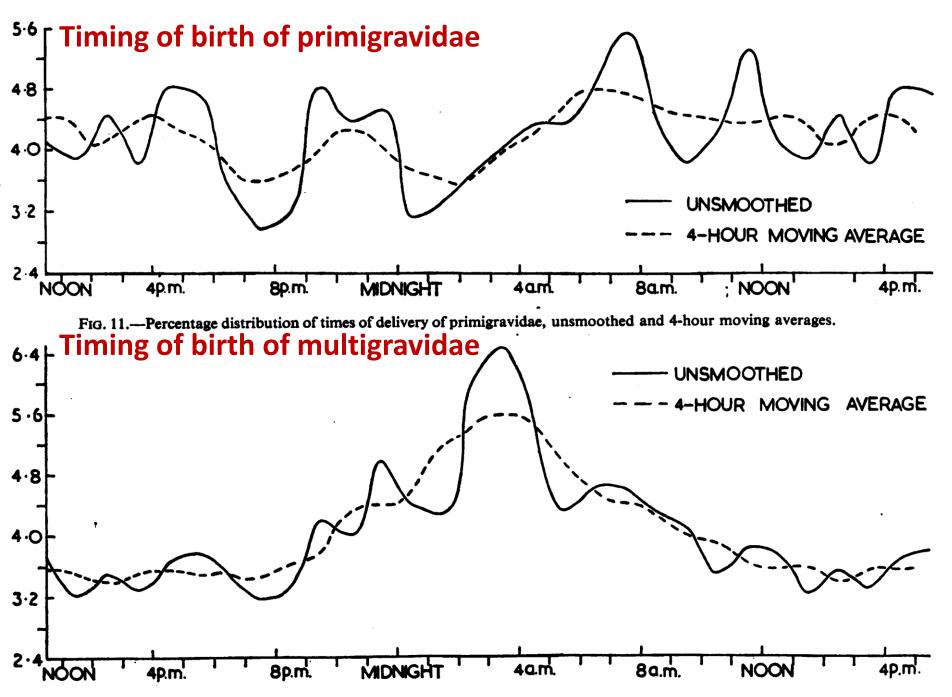
FIG. 7.—Percentage distribution of times of domiciliary onsets of labour in March, June, August, and November.

Source: Enid Charles, Hour of birth. Br J prev soc Med.1953

### **Timing of all births**



Source: Enid Charles, Hour of birth. Br J prev soc Med.1953



Fronta Demonstrate distribution of times of delivery of multiprovides unsmoothed and A-bour moving averages

# Distribution of duration of labour of primigravidae by onset

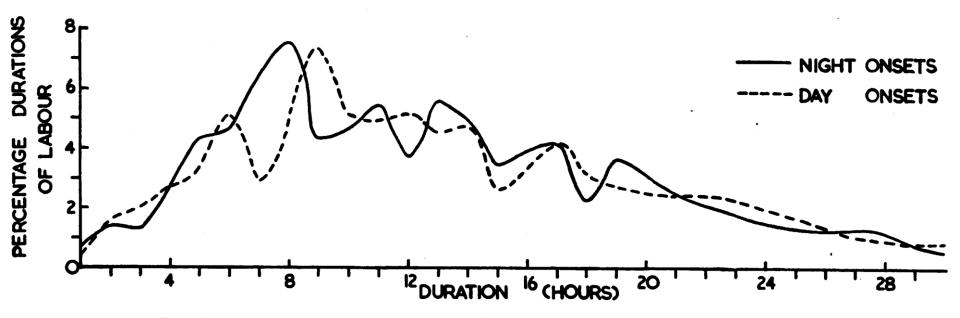


FIG. 13.—Percentage distribution of durations of labour by day and night onset in primigravidae.

Source: Enid Charles, Hour of birth. Br J prev soc Med.1953

# Distribution of duration of labour of multigravidae by time of onset

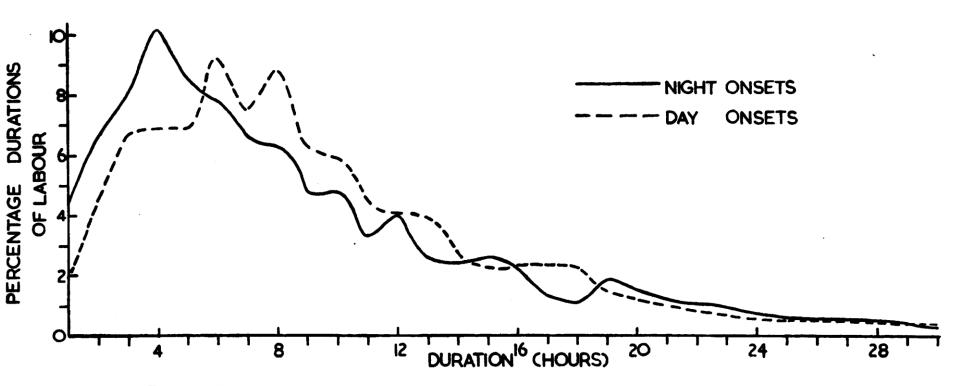


FIG. 14.—Percentage distribution of durations of labour by day and night onset in multigravidae.

Source: Enid Charles, Hour of birth. Br J prev soc Med.1953

### Some summary comments

'With respect to diurnal rhythm, we have seen that it is necessary to draw a sharp distinction between solar time and that of the socially calibrated clock.'

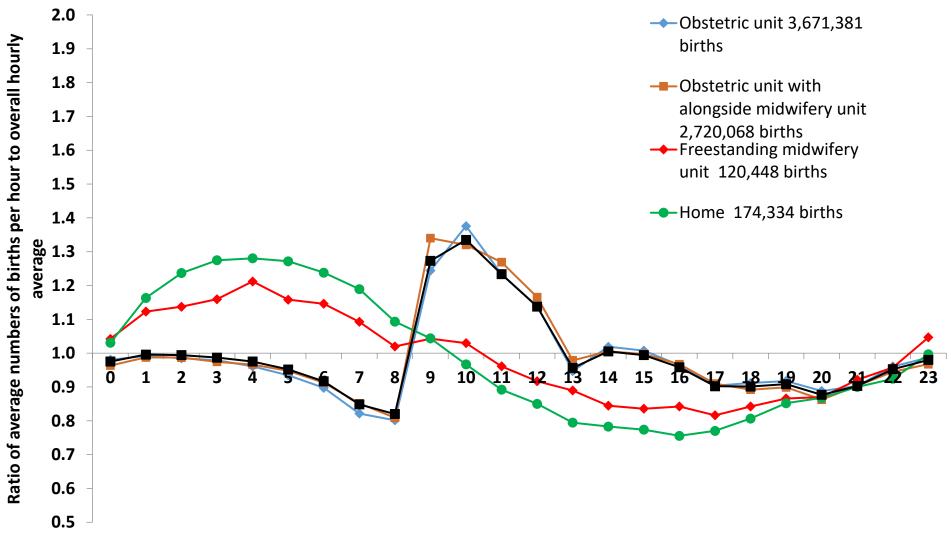
'The results obtained suggest a tendency for normal labour to start more readily when the mother is at rest, if not actually asleep.'

### **Summary comments**

'The author, no less than the reader, is well aware that this inquiry has raised many more questions than its outcome can answer.

One reason for this is to be found in the limitation of hand processes. Owing to the complexity of the phenomena, more comprehensive and decisive conclusions would be justifiable only if based on more elaborate cross-classification, involving recourse to a much larger number of cases. Without mechanization, the labour involved in an inquiry planned on such a scale would be prohibitive.'

# Variations in singleton births by time of day in NHS maternity units and at home, England and Wales, 2005-14



Time, 24 hour clock

# 1953 onwards

1953 Split up with Hogben.

Started work with World Health Organisation in many countries in South East Asia.

Produced many reports, not widely available.

1959 'Retired' to the United States, where her sons and daughters then lived.

Continued to work for World Health Organisation on a consultancy basis until 1962.

Eventually returned to England because of opposition to US policies in Vietnam. Joined a retirement community in Exeter and died in Exeter, March 26, 1972

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