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**Guido Alfani, Philippe Castagnetti, Vincent Gourdon** (eds.). (2009). *Baptiser. Pratique sacramentelle, pratique sociale (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles).* Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne (reviewed by Mihaela Mehedinti)

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International Conference of Historical Demography and Family History, August 2010, Amsterdam, The Netherlands

# **Transition to Adulthood and the Postponement of Childbearing: the Case of Transylvanian Hungarians from Romania\***

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**Abstract:** The purpose of this paper – while taking into account the social and ethno-cultural background, as the ethnic minority status – is to see how Romania, especially the western part called Transylvania, goes through economic and demographic transformations and how this is reflected in young generation’s life strategies, prolonged youth lifecycle, grounding a family and the prolonging of events that are attached to it, especially shifting the age of childbearing. The empirical sources of the paper came from a survey realized in 2006-2007 in West Romania of a 2930 randomly selected representative sample between 19-45 years old, who belong to ethnic Hungarian minority community. According to our findings, we may assert that the dates of the transition to adulthood are postponed to older ages in the case of younger cohorts, but there are significant differences among different social groups. Thus, it may be seen that successive cohorts postpone to increasingly later times their moving out of the parental home in Transylvania, starting with the cohorts born in 1967. Postponing is more significant among women and at all ages a higher proportion of women live separately from their parents and they leave the parental home earlier than men. We may not only speak about postponement of the age of leaving home, but the heterogeneity of life courses has also increased. It seems that there are no unitary and socially expected practices for the establishment of individual households.

**Keywords:** adulthood, youth, postponement, leaving home

\* This study is part of a larger comparative research report about demographic behaviour of Transylvanian Hungarians and population from Hungary. I would like to thank Murinkó Livia and Spéder Zsolt for common research work and for theoretical and methodological help.

### **1. Introduction**

The purpose of this paper is to see how economic and demographic transformations take place in Romania, especially in case of ethnic Hungarian minority population from Transylvania, and how this is reflected in the life strategies of young generations, in the prolonged youth life cycle, in grounding a family and postponing events that are attached to it, especially shifting the age of childbearing.

The Empirical sources are:

- The 2006-2007 research: *Life course events in Transylvania*<sup>1</sup>, covering fourteen of Romania's western counties which have a consistent Hungarian minority (19% out of Transylvania region's population), carried out among the 18-45 years old population. The research draws its methodology from the first wave of the International Generations and Gender Programme research of a 2930 randomly selected representative sample.
- Vital statistics data from Romania, 1990-2006, National Institute of Statistics.

We are searching for answers to the following questions in relation to three events out of the life course events related to becoming an adult:

- The circumstances of leaving the parental home, when and at what age it takes place.

Under what circumstances and at what age do young people finish their studies and get their first job, and how do social-demographic factor determine this?

When do they have their first child?; For which age group is postponement characteristic and to what extent? As a result, what is the desired and actual number of children?

### **2. The theoretical framework of the research**

The transition between young age and adulthood has an extensive sociological literature around the world. We chose as our frame of interpretation the population-based approaches. These can be distinguished in three main areas: the timing of transition, the stages of transition, and transitions as determinants of life path. We analyse the timing of passing from one cycle of life to another with focusing on the medium age when great life events generally occurred or occur to the population. The different changes between age groups occurring in the timing of transition can be observed by making comparisons on cohorts as well as between them. Linda K. George has pointed out, that the transition/passage to life events characteristic of adulthood in the twentieth century

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<sup>1</sup> The research is supported by the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund (OTKA), research project no. 49066, conducted by Zsolt Spéder.

occurs later for younger cohorts, in what concerns finishing school and enrolment in the first job. In the USA the last two-three decades the average age of marrying has been prolonged to a later period (George 1993: 359). They observed however that for those belonging to the same cohort, differences of social status prevailed: for those young people who were coming from lower class families, especially those with African American, Latin American origin, and those in the rural areas, the transition/passage to adulthood occurs earlier ((Hogan and Ashtone 1986), this being supported by Zinnecker (1986) and Chisholm (1990) observations on Europe).

Hogan and Ashtone point out that the length of youth life cycle and the timing of passage to adulthood differ a lot in the USA according to social stratification, but there that can be delimited on ethnic-racial grounds too. They have shown that the majority of young women (non-married) in Detroit who got pregnant before marriage would come from a disadvantaged background. Among African American young women the rate of this early pregnancy and child rearing is unusually high, thus they enter adulthood directly from childhood (Hogan and Ashtone 1986: 125-126). We will try to test this hypothesis ourselves.

According to our hypothesis, ethnic belonging plays a less significant role in the timing of major life events, while social status, or broadly put, the position in the social structure (the type of settlement they inhabit) and the educational level play the bigger role. The transition from childhood to adulthood is filled out by a number of life events. These can be connected to the phases of becoming independent, and to demographic life events in broad terms, such as establishing relationships, the first love, the first sexual experience, the (first) marriage or beginning of a stable relationship with a partner, conceiving the first child etc., and all these life events occur generally when between 15 and 29. The question, at what age do young people actually go through these events, belongs in the area of more complex approaches to youth life stage change. The youth life phase in Western Europe has gone through a considerable expansion that has more components, among them the analysts highlight the lengthening of schooling, the alteration of social reproduction, as well as the over-valuation of school-based knowledge. The direct surveillance institutions (family, work) regarding youth are in turn replaced by indirect ones like media, consumption industry, or at least there is a shift in tonality (see Gabor 1996: 13). Another important component of this cycle change is introduced by the prolonged age at which young people leave home, marry and the age of parents when rearing the first child. In the literature all these changes are called the second demographic transition,

labelled by the name of D.J. van de Kaa, and can be summed up as follows: (1) the 'golden age' of marriage is replaced by the 'dawn of living together'; (2) the child-centric family model goes through transformations, now centred around the relationship itself; (3) the preventive use of contraception is replaced by the self fulfilling contraception; (4) the united family model is being pluralized, more family models coexist, accepted in the same society. The beginning of this transformation can be dated back on average at around 1965 in Western Europe (Van de Kaa 1987). These transformations have strong effects on the value changes that concern marriage, childrearing, and sexual life. Van de Kaa found similarities between these transformations and the shifts going from material values in the direction of post material values coined by Inglehart. The first sexual experiences occur earlier, while childrearing is being prolonged in the case of both sexes, towards the age of thirty (the difference between sexes are still there). Child rearing outside marriage increases, and cohabitation replace the institution of marriage. But these processes did not occur at the same time or with the same intensity in all European Countries. In East-Central Europe the anachronistic population politics of Communist regimes did not support the evanescence of these processes. Moreover, in the background of family planning one has to note the profound social changes that could only emerge at the dawn of the nineties in the ex-communist countries, like mass education, getting acquainted and interiorizing modern family planning culture, the rise of the post material value system etc. At the dawn of the nineties in East-Central Europe the demographic processes related to the family have rapidly changed. Especially fertility rates began to sink, and this on a larger scale than it would in the seventies in Western Europe. Together with this, the first marriage age and age of first childbearing has also been prolonged. Between 1970 and 1984 the average age of getting married for women was 27,3 in Sweden, 24,4 in West-Germany, 23,9 in France, 21,1 in Czechoslovakia, for the other eastern countries this ranged from 21 to 22. There were similar differences of age in bearing the first child.

The conditions and context of the transition to adulthood have significantly changed in Romania as well during the last decades. The regime change has brought fundamental transformations in both societies: restructuring of the economy from the point of view of ownership, reducing jobs in industrial branches at loss. Due to the emergence of unemployment, the first stages in becoming an adult – moving out of the parental home, the first job – have been postponed for many graduates. As a response, young people tried to stay for longer in the education system, which was possible for many of them due to the expansion of higher education, therefore the studying



stage became longer. In Romania as well the age of founding a family has also been postponed, cohabitation has also become more frequent among young people, fertility has dropped (Spéder 2005). After the regime change, once the socialist apartment building structure disintegrated, the chance of buying an apartment had narrowed, the system of apartment allotment had ceased, apartments owned by local administrative authorities had been privatized and credit possibilities had narrowed. These changes made it very difficult for young people to establish separate and independent households.

In other countries of the region the situation is similar. In Hungary, for example, young people who started to work after 1990 had to face increasing difficulties. Employment conditions for young people searching for their first jobs have also become more flexible. The proportion of those who only work on temporary labour contracts because they have not found a permanent job is much higher than earlier. Flexible career start also exerts a significant influence on other, non demographic elements of the transition to adulthood. Also due to insecure employment conditions, a much higher proportion of young people choose cohabitation. Occasional, contract jobs and the danger of unemployment do not allow young people to get married officially. Insecure labour market conditions exert an even stronger influence on childbearing. For contract job employees and self-employed it is more difficult to have children than for those who have stable labour market positions and perspectives (Róbert and Bukodi 2005).

### ***3. Leaving home***

One of the main stages in the transition to adulthood is leaving the parental home. The literature differentiates between two fundamental types of leaving home (Buck and Scott 1993). The first one refers to the situation when a new household is established by moving out; this is what we call „leaving home”. The other type refers to the situation when the establishment of a new household is associated with moving together, either under the form of cohabitation or under the form of conventional marriage. There are also subtypes according to the following: this moving out takes place into one’s own apartment, into the apartment of one’s partner or into a rented home. We have analysed the first type.

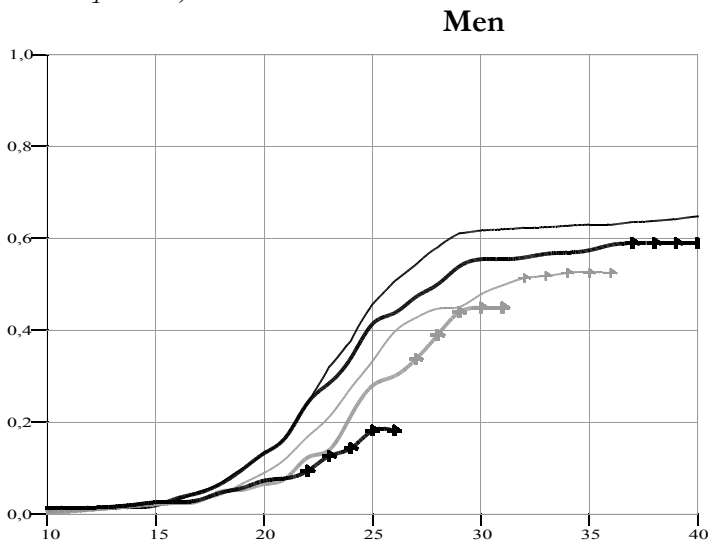
From the point of view of operationalization, our questionnaire included the „When did you first leave the parental home?” question. In the following we will use this question to analyse the date of the establishment of a separate, independent household.

Data related to the timing of leaving the parental home are retrospective – in a double sense. On the one hand, these are data collected retroactively: respondents have to recall the date of a past event from the perspective of many years or sometimes decades. On the other hand, there is also retrospection if we take into consideration that respondents have to recall and evaluate past events through their present experiences. This is especially important as during the retrospective construction of one’s life course these temporary moving outs, partial endeavours for independence may be re-evaluated from the present perspective, their importance may decrease in time.

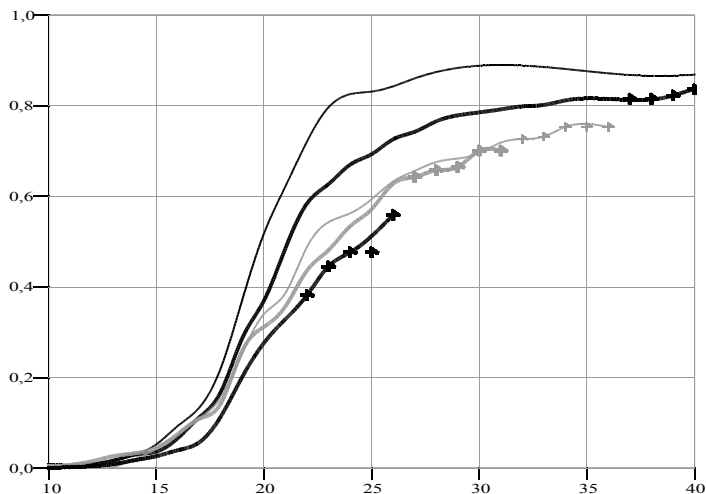
The chances of acquiring information related to these short moving outs, ending with moving back or considered as insignificant later are small due to this double retrospective character of our data (Buck and Scott 1993).

In the following, we analyse the timing of the first moving out of the parental home, the differences according to gender and age group, as well as the relationship between leaving home and other important life course events. Socialization and later on maturing of successive age groups is embedded in different historical, social and economic contexts, therefore cohort influence is an important element in our analysis.

Figure 1. The average age of leaving the parental home according to specific ages by cohort (in cumulated percent\*)



## Women



Legend:

\*Results of Kaplan-Maier estimations, one-minus cumulated survival functions, + indicates censored cases (see Murinkó and Veres, 2009)

*Source:* Turning points in our lives in Transylvania, 2006

The age limit above which every fourth respondent already lives in a separate household has increased relatively slightly. That is, a portion of the population has not been affected by this postponing attitude of the majority and they have left the parental home at a relatively young age. For comparison, in Hungary, the age limit when a quarter of a those who belong to a given cohort already live in a separate household has increased from 21 to 24 in the case of men, and from 19 to 21 in the case of women (see Murinkó 2009: 113-114). In Transylvania, the values for men are higher (age 23-25), while those for women are lower for those born after 1974 (age 19-20), than in Hungary.

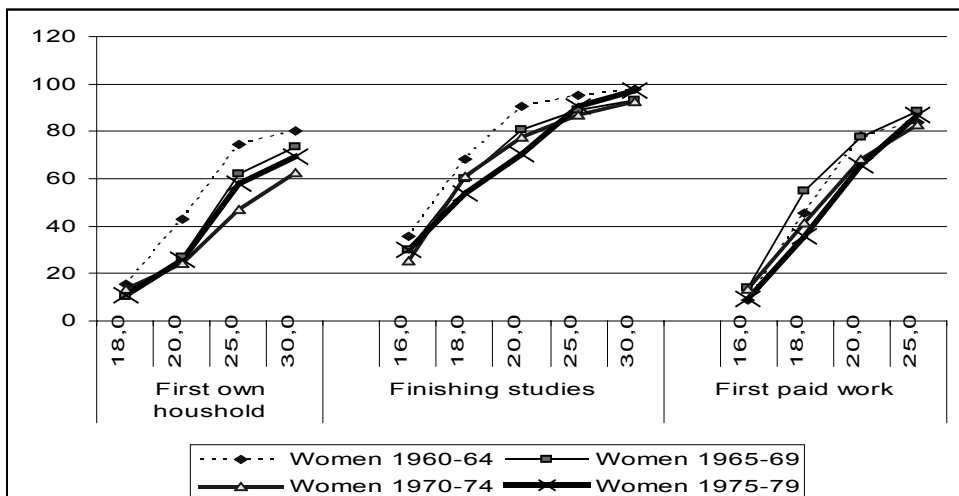
In Romania, distortions in the age structure yielded by the introduction of the prohibition of abortion have fundamentally influenced the life course of the members of big cohorts: limited positions have limited their possibilities, therefore continuing one's studies, obtaining one's first job, buying an apartment have become more difficult and they have even influenced partner selection and childbearing. For example, for women born between 1967-72 the population of 3-4 years older men is significantly smaller because the cohorts born before 1967 are approximately half in size compared to those born after 1967, thus there are less potential partners to choose from. The difficulty of

finding a spouse is also shown by the fact that, on average, age differences between spouses have become higher between 1967 and 1972 than before 1967. Thus, in Transylvania the postponing partner selection and childbearing attitude of Hungarian women born between 1965-69 is rather the result of a forced situation caused by a cohort influence, namely a sudden and significant increase in the number of births. This was rendered more difficult by a specific period influence as well: the members of the cohorts were trying to enter a narrowing labour and apartment market in the second half of the '80s and at the beginning of the '90s.

#### 4. Family independence and family planning

After analysing the timing of leaving home we will approach the events that took place at the same time (during the same year) as leaving the parental home, those that leaving home preceded and those that it did not. When analysing life events in pairs we also gather information on the extent to which leaving home is connected to material independence and establishing stable relationships etc., or to what extent it is independent of those. Figures 2 and 3 illustrate the tendencies by cohort.

Figure 2. Average age of gaining material independence (own household, school, first job), by cohort and gender



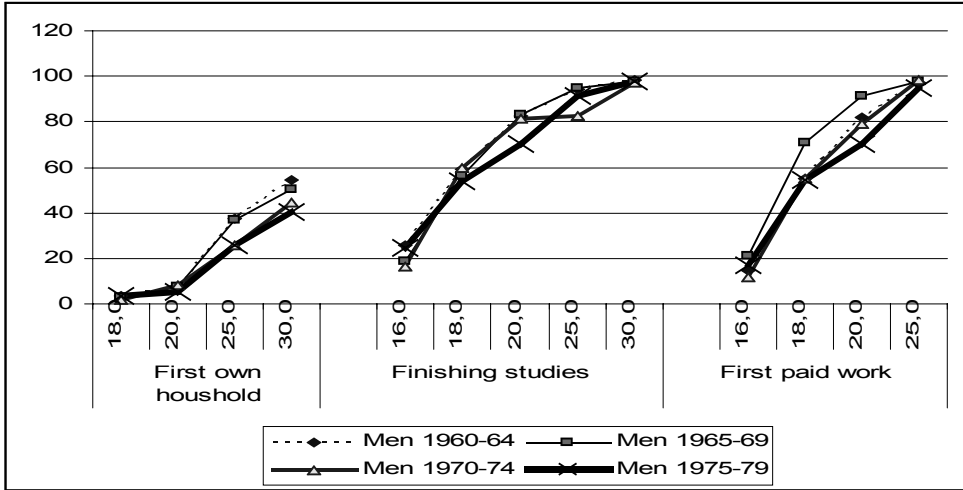
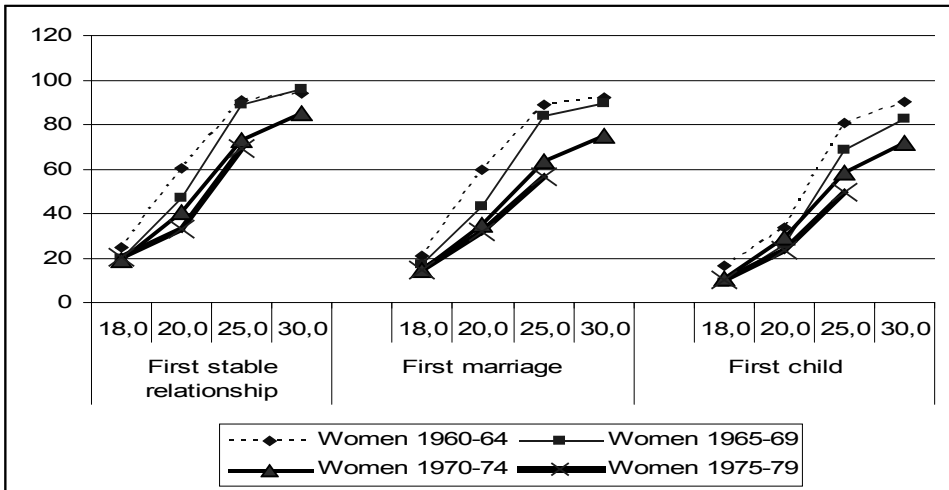


Figure 3. Average age of becoming an adult and family planning (cohabitation, marriage, first child), by cohort and gender





Source: Turning points of our lives in Transylvania, 2006

More than two thirds of young people already live separately from their parents when their first child is born. Childbearing and leaving home are more often connected for women. The succession of life events shows that for half of our respondents leaving home only precedes childbearing by one or two years. Most frequently in every fourth case leaving home takes place the calendar year preceding childbirth, when the couple is most likely aware of the pregnancy or has plans about it.

According to cohorts, in Transylvania an increasing part of men still live with their parents when their first child is born: this proportion is 8% in the oldest cohort and 21% in the youngest cohort.

The special situation of women from Transylvania born between 1967-1972 may also be observed here. In this cohort most frequently women were still living in the parental home when they established a relationship or got married (28%). For only 15% leaving home coincides with the birth of their first child, which is relatively a small proportion. It is this cohort in which the proportion of women whose first child was born before leaving home (16%), who started to work before leaving home (75%) and who left home before buying their own apartment (40%) is the highest, therefore getting an apartment and leaving the parental home was especially difficult for them.

Analysing the timing of other life events related to the transition to adulthood, we may see that in their case not only leaving home has been postponed to a much later time. As compared to persons born earlier and later,

the proportion of those who could have their own apartment at a relatively young age is smaller. The duration of studying had barely changed, but those born in the second half of the 1960s started to work at an earlier age than any other cohort. The throughput of the education system has not increased and young graduates have been absorbed by the labour market. This was also the case with men. Moreover, characteristically women from the 1965-1969 cohort got married or established relationships at an older age than those born in the first half of the 1960s. As we have already pointed it out earlier, changes in the marriage market had a different effect on men and women: a higher proportion of men born between 1965 and 1969 got married and at younger ages than elder men. The birth of the first child had also been postponed for women from the analysed cohort and as compared to women born at the beginning of the '70s, a smaller proportion gave birth by the age of 20. On the whole, the relationships of women from the numerous cohort of 1965-69 had not only been postponed by a relative lack of men, but also by the difficulties of getting an apartment. As a result, childbearing was also postponed. In many ways this phenomenon is also similar to the situation from Hungary (see also Murinkó 2009).

### ***5. Graduation and the timing of the first job***

In both countries the average age of finalizing the highest educational degree is below 19 among the 20-46 year-old population and half of the respondents finish their studies by the age of 18. The elimination of women's discrimination in education is a relatively new phenomenon because the average age of getting the highest degree is smaller than for men, although the difference is not significant. For women, dispersion is also higher than for men, which shows that postponing their studies, coming back to school after shorter or longer interruptions is more characteristic to women (Table 1).

*Table 1. Timing the finalization of the highest educational degree*

		Age of achieving the highest educational degree				
		Mean	Dispersion	Median	Range	N
Gender	Men	18.8	3.9	18	3	1041
	Women	18.6	4.4	18	4	966
	Total	18.7	4.1	18	3	2007

*Source:* Turning points in our lives in Transylvania, 2006

We have operationalized the average age of getting one's first job by means of the question: „When, in which year did you begin your first regular paid job?” According to the answers the average age is 19. The average age of getting their first job is higher for women from Transylvania (19.4) (Table 2). This difference however may not be traced back to prolongation of the youth period according to Western patterns (Zinnecker 2003), but to the timing of childbearing. The first child is born earlier in Transylvania, which often delays the entrance of women into the labour market. Higher dispersion values within women also lead to this conclusion.

*Table 2. Timing one's first regular paid job*

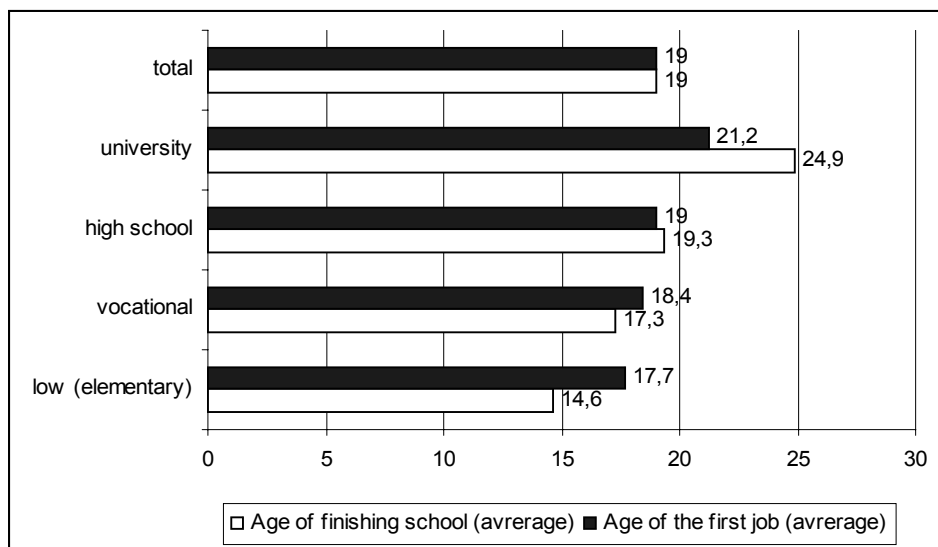
		Age of starting the first regular paid job				
		Mean	Dispersion	Median	Range	N
Gender	Men	18.6	3	18	3	1089
	Women	19.4	3.6	19	2	938
	Total	19	3.3	18	3	2027

*Source:* Turning points in our lives in Transylvania, 2006

The timing of the first job is in accordance with finalizing one's studies: both the average age of obtaining the highest educational degree and getting the first job happen around 19. Interestingly enough, it is especially characteristic to university graduates to begin to work before obtaining their highest educational qualification. This could mean that they regularly undertake supplementary work besides studying in order to pay their expenses, but supposedly more frequently they turn back to school besides having a full time job to participate in distance or night education, thus improving their labour market chances. Those with maximum basic education can enter the labour market well after finishing school, on average three years later: at the age of 17. (However, it is possible that some of them continue their studies in high schools or vocational schools after finishing gymnasium, but eventually they do not obtain a diploma, they drop out.) The average age of finishing school for skilled workers and high school graduates (who have sustained their final examination) is relatively close (Figure 4).



Figure 4. Finishing school and the average age of the first job according to level of education

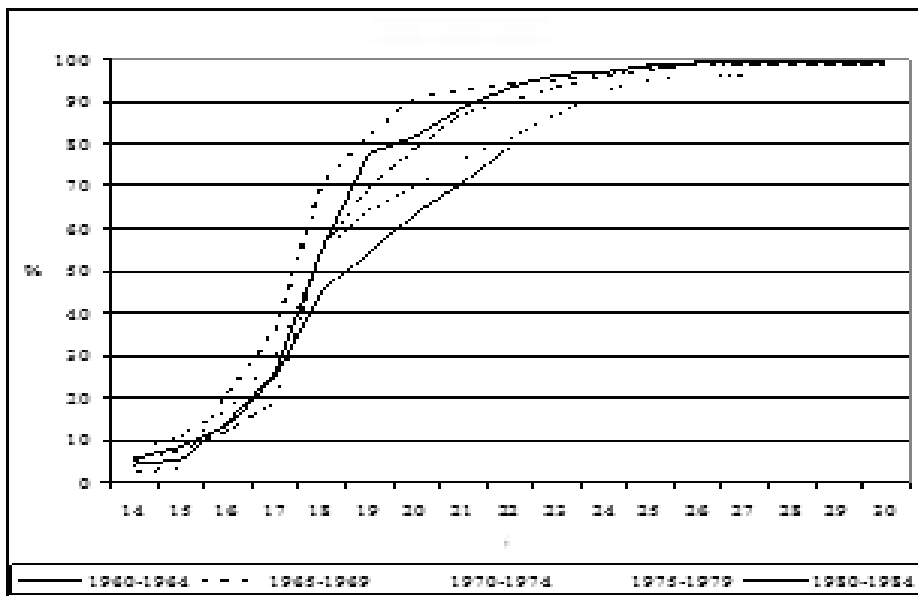


Source: Turning points in our lives in Transylvania, 2006

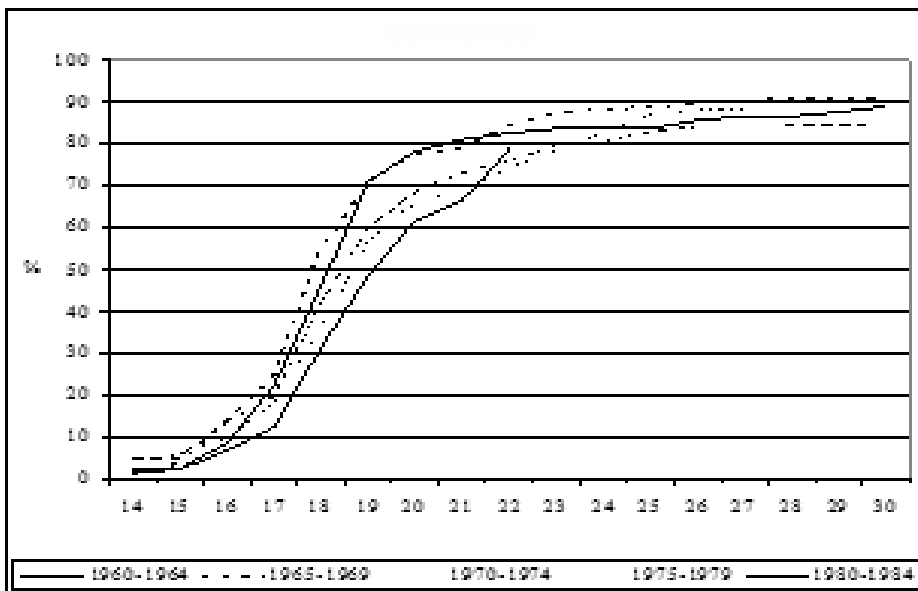
In order to grasp changes in time, we have analysed the timing of the first job from the point of view of cohorts as well (Figure 5). In Hungary, we may observe postponement in timing the first paid job, especially for those born after 1975 and the level of employment does not reach the level characteristic to older cohorts. While 70-75% of the oldest respondents have already started to work by the age of 18, this percentage is only 40-46% in the case of the youngest respondents. In Transylvania the tendencies are less unequivocal: those born between 1965-69 started to work at the youngest ages and in the greatest numbers. After this period a small postponement may be observed, especially within the two youngest cohorts. By the age of 18, 54-55% of men had started to work, except the 1965-69 cohort, where this percentage is 71%. 46% of women from the oldest cohort, 55% of women born between 1965-69 and only 36% of women from the youngest group had already worked at the age of 18.

Figure 5. Timing the first regular job by cohort (average age, cumulated percent)

**Men**



**Women**



Source: Turning points in our lives in Transylvania, 2006

Characteristically, Transylvanian women born before 1975 entered the labour market later and in less numerous numbers than for example their counterparts from neighbouring Hungary. On the one hand, this is due to the fact that while in Hungary the level of employment approaches 100% (out from related cohorts), in Transylvania this is maximum 90% even by the age of 30, therefore maybe one tenth of women never enter the labour market but they become housewives or mothers.

**6. Having the first child within the context of prospective events**

We have examined the mean age of having one’s first child within the context of the main events within the process of transition to adulthood by both sexes. We have examined the answers by age groups of 5 years, and we have received the following results.

*Table 3. At what age did these life-events happen for the first time?*

Life event	Gender	Age group				
		18-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-45
In which age did you receive the highest degree of education?	Men	18.2	19.4	18.7	18.6	19.0
	Women	18.6	19.0	18.5	18.9	18.3
In which age did you start to have a job?	Men	18.5	19.1	18.6	18.2	18.5
	Women	19.0	19.6	19.5	19.1	19.7
In which age did you move together with a permanent partner?	Men	19.6	20.6	22.2	26.8	26.5
	Women	18.8	20.8	21.5	27.1	21.8
The age of your moving from parental home	Men	19.5	23.0	24.1	23.4	23.7
	Women	19.5	20.7	21.0	21.9	20.4
The age of the marriage	Men	22.2	24.1	25.0	24.6	25.1
	Women	19.8	21.4	21.6	21.5	20.3
The age when had the first child	Men	21.1	24.7	25.7	26.3	26.4
	Women	20.2	22.3	22.8	23.0	23

*Source:* Turning points in our lives in Transylvania, 2006

According to the answers – first we have looked at the life events that have already happened – the actually highest school education was completed at the age of 18 and 19 in each age group, but we should mention here that among the 18-24 year-old respondents half of the age group is still studying. This well

illustrates the fact that the schooling life phase has been prolonged in Romania as well. As for starting to work, which also takes place around the age of 18-19, the difference is not big either, but there is a difference regarding the fact that about half of the 18-24 year-old respondents are still studying besides work. But the starting point of living together with a life partner has been transferred to a much earlier age, which reflects a higher degree of individualization and sexual freedom. The year of moving from the family is also transferred earlier, though we have to observe that the majority of the 18-24 year-old respondents has not left the family house yet, thus the answers only summarize a part of the population (see Table 3).

Our survey also included opinion questions related to the prospective time of different phases of the transition to adulthood. The questions referred to the age of marriage for women and for men separately, as well as to the “best” age recommended for having the first child. The answers reflect the postponement of these life events to a later age among members of younger generations.

*Table 4. Perceptions about the ideal age of the first marriage and childbearing*

	Gender	Age group				
		18-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-45
What is the best age to get married for a women?	Men	23.7	23.3	22.5	22.8	22.6
	Women	24.0	24.0	23.7	23.6	22.5
What is the best age to get married for a men?	Men	26.5	26.5	25.7	25.6	25.4
	Women	26.6	27.0	26.5	26.8	25.5
What is the best age to have the first child for a women?	Men	25.3	24.6	24.2	24.0	23.7
	Women	25.0	25.1	24.4	24.6	23.8
What is the best age to have the first child for a men?	Men	27.8	27.6	27.1	26.7	26.6
	Women	27.7	28.1	27.4	27.8	26.7

*Source:* Turning points in our lives in Transylvania, 2006

The biggest difference may be observed in women’s answers related to women: the most favourable average age of marriage for women is 22.5 years according to 40-45 year-old women, 24 years according to 18-24 year-old women, and this is similar to the answers of 25-29 year-old women. As for the most favourable average age of having the first child for women, out of the

respondents of both sexes, the oldest examined age group considers that this would be the age of 23.7 while the youngest age group consider that the best age for having the first child is 25 years, the difference being about two years.

In the case of men, the differences regarding the most favourable average age of having the first child is smaller, 1 year, and there are no significant differences between the sexes either (see Table 4).

## ***7. Conclusions***

Based on the results of our analysis we may assert that the dates of the transition to adulthood are postponed to older ages in the case of younger cohorts, but there are significant differences among different social groups. Thus, it may be seen that successive cohorts postpone to increasingly later times their moving out of the parental home in Transylvania, starting with the cohorts born in 1967. Postponing is more significant among women and at all ages a higher proportion of women live separately from their parents and they leave the parental home earlier than men. This is probably due to age differences between female and male members of different couples as well as to the fact that traditionally young couples move to the families of men if they cannot establish individual households. However, as schooling for women and men started to become more and more similar and traditional female and male roles started to weaken, differences between sexes related to leaving the parental home begin to decrease.

We may not only speak about postponement of the age of leaving home, but the heterogeneity of life courses has also increased. It seems that there are no unitary and socially expected practices for the establishment of individual households. Even more, there is no standard age for leaving home within younger cohorts from Transylvania.

In Transylvania, the life course of women born after 1967 was fundamentally influenced by being members of especially numerous cohorts. Due to difficulties in getting an apartment and the narrowing of the marital market, marriage and leaving the parental home have been postponed as compared to members of older cohorts.

The average age of getting the first job is 19 for Hungarians from Transylvania and for the entire Romania. Although the duration of their studies is similar, on average women from Transylvania get a job a year later than men and their level of employment is also lower by almost a tenth. This is due to the fact that a part of the women from Transylvania start to search for a job only after childbearing at a relatively young age. A smaller group remain permanently housewives, never entering in the labour market.

During the last decades the beginning of regular jobs has been somewhat postponed in Transylvania, especially for those born after 1975. We explain this by the expansion of education and the narrowing of the labour market at the beginning of the 1990s.

The average age of childbearing for the youngest persons as compared to the oldest analysed cohort has been delayed to different degrees according to sexes: 2 years for women and 1 year for men.

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# Changes of Spatial Structure in Cluj-Napoca after 1989

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**Abstract.** The following papers examines the changing spatial structure of an extremely dynamic Romanian city, the regional centre of Transylvania, Cluj-Napoca. Two main questions are analysed. First, we examine the natural and historical factors of the city’s development, and, second, the changes in the spatial structure of the present-day city, emphasising the question of the residential zones. The study reveals that the city has strengthened his tertiary functions after 1989, especially the educational, cultural, medical and financial functions. It has hugely contributed to the further social differentiation of the city’s population, and to the expansion of the residential areas.

**Keywords:** urban development, residential areas, spatial structure, functional zones

## *1. Introduction*

The main objective of the research is to analyze the spatial structure of Cluj-Napoca, being the largest and the most complex urban centre of Transylvania. The emphasis is on the residential areas of Cluj-Napoca in the mirror of the new challenges following the period of transition from communism to capitalism: social mobility, social polarisation, suburbanisation, spatial diffusion of the residential function. The topic is of particular interest because the city’s inner differentiation is primarily determined by the characteristics and functions of the residential areas.

The paper is divided in two major parts. In the first part we examine the natural and historical conditions of the city’s development. More precisely we try to find the natural and historical factors which has influenced the development of the spatial structure of the city. In the second part of the study our target of analysis are the territorial dynamics and the diffusion of the residential zones after 1989, and also the characteristics and spatial trends of the suburbanisation process. Our fundamental hypothesis is, that after 1989 the change of the local economy affected the social mobility. More specifically





the shift towards a service-based economy entails the strengthening of the upper and middle classes on the one hand, and on the other hand it also induced the marginalization of social groups. All these determined the dynamics of the residential zones: the evolvement of new housing estates, the revaluation (up- or downwards) of building estates, the process in which the surrounding settlements became the residence of the urban population.

## ***2. The natural conditions of the development of the residential functions and residential zones***

Cluj-Napoca structurally was built on the axis of the Someșul Mic River where three small landscapes meet complementing each other's advantages and disadvantages: in the south the Feleac Hill, in the east the Transylvanian Plain, and in the north and west the Hills of Cluj. So the city has a good potential energy, lying at the confluence of the Someș and Nadăș Rivers, and also of important routes. An erosive pool took shape here delimited by high hills: in the south the Feleac (around 800 m), in the north the Lombului Hills (around 600 m). Beneath the city's territory, on the watershed of Someș- Nadăș there are Eocene layers (clay, marl, limestone), above that there are Oligocene layers which do not crop over at the Hoia Hill and Cetățuia. The Feleac Hill is covered with Sarmatian layers (sand, sandstone). On the Lombului Hill and Hoia there are tuff layers, while at Someșeni diapirs appear. The above mentioned stratification allows the large development of the landslides, which represents one of the restrictive factors of the urban expansion. The evolution of the slopes is in advanced state. The Paleogene and Neogene strata are not folded; they slightly incline towards Transylvanian Plain that is why the slopes are asymmetrical in the south: towards Feleac the gradients are between 5 and 10 degrees, towards north they are between 25 and 30 degrees, which is an important factor regarding the expansion of the built-up areas.

Other important conditioning natural factors are the number, the size and the geographical position of the river terraces. These are almost completely absent on the left side of the Someș valley, except the one of 60 meters, which is at the same time the watershed between the Someș and Nadăș Rivers. On the right side there are seven terraces: on the first one (4-6 m) lay the Grigorescu (Dónát) district, the Central Park, the Nadăș-Someș industrial zone, the Inner City, the Mihai Viteazul Square and the Iris district. Its phreatic water level lies at 1-2 meter depth that is why initially only those parts were used where this level was at 4-5 meter. Of the second terrace (10-16 m) only smaller fragments remained in the area of the Între Lacuri, Mărăști Square, Cipariu Square, Unirii Square and around the beer factory. On the third terrace

(22-24 m) are laying the area around the Calvaria Church in the Mănăştur district, the Avram Iancu Street, and the Nicolae Titulescu Boulevard of the Gheorgheni district. The fourth terrace (30-40 m) can be found in the well-developed Gheorgheni district, the Andrei Mureşanu district, and partially in the Clinicilor Street, the area of the Hajongard Cemetery, the Mănăştur and Dâmbul Rotund districts. The torrents and the creeps endanger the most intensively this terrace level. On the fifth terrace (60-75 m) is located the Cetăţuie, the upper part of the Andrei Mureşanu district and of the Republicii Street, while on the sixth terrace (100-110 m) are laying the Zorilor district the Mănăştur Forest. The last one, seventh terrace (128-140 m) provides place for the upper part of the Mănăştur Forest and the Jewish cemetery.

## ***2. The historical development of the city's spatial structure***

### **2.1. Medieval urbanisation**

In the Middle Ages the city received the name “Treasure City”, referring to its rich craftsmen and tradesmen population. The royal castle of Cluj is mentioned in a certificate in 1213 (7 ha), while the Kolozsmonostor abbey in 1267. It is totally destroyed at the time of the tartar invasion of 1241; after this István V. installed Saxons and Hungarians to the area around the old castle, and subordinated them to the bishop of Alba Iulia for a while. At that time Cluj-Napoca had not have urban rank, the settlement was defined by the presence of a castle-village complex. In the 14<sup>th</sup> Century the guilds started to develop, especially the guilds of the goldsmiths (“Treasure City”), after it Cluj-Napoca obtained the urban rank (“civitas”) from King Charles I. It became independent from the bishop of Alba Iulia, it became qualified to elect judges and chaplains, gained the right for free trade, independent taxing and jurisdiction. The decret of King Sigismund in 1405 authorized the city to build a fortress. As a result the Újvár (45 ha) (New Castle) took shape, from which or more specifically in which evolved the historical inner city. Cluj-Napoca became one of the most important commercial and handicraft centres of Transylvania (among Braşov, Sibiu and Bistriţa). Its functional rise was accompanied by expansion: in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century it reached 135 ha, then the 17<sup>th</sup> Century is economically stagnant because of the wars and disasters, after which came again another period of growth and until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century its area reached 151 ha.

Its population can be established based on the tax assessments of this period. The first known census originates from 1453 (Csetri 2001) in which 530 hungarian tax paying heads of family were reckoned up. Based on this, Elek Csetri estimated Cluj-Napoca's population to be 5400, supposing that the

number of families not paying tax was 70, there were a same number of Saxon families and the average family size was 4.5 persons. The next tax assessment originates from 1593. Based on this Cluj-Napoca's population was estimated to be around 7500-8000, namely the city's demographic development remained constant despite the changed geopolitical relations. The foundation of the Transylvanian Principality with Turkish dependence –after Csetri – marked the beginning of city's golden age. In the time of the Principality Cluj-Napoca gave place to 37 national assemblies, which indicated a vigorous political function, beside the fact that the capital at that time was Alba Iulia. Its cultural function evolved at this stage of its development, through the founding of the Jesuit University by István Báthory (ruled 1571-1586), and followed by the founding of the Reformed College supported by protestant sovereigns. The city reached the peak of its medieval development during the reign of Gabriel Bethlen (1613-1629) and György Rákóczi I (1630-1648): 2147 tax paying residents are compiled in 1660, that – with a rate of 4.5 – means around 9000 residents. This indicates a mild increase of population besides the unsuccessful campaign of György Rákóczi II in 1657, followed by Turkish revenge and destruction. The historians explain this increase by the immigrations of the Hungarian population from the areas occupied by the Turkish (especially after the occupation of Oradea in 1660). Following this the demographic development of Cluj-Napoca was blocked which can possibly be connected to the consequences of several events: the plague of 1661, the Turkish siege in 1662, the Austrian occupation and military tribute of 1687, conflagrations (1689, 1697), and last the Rákóczi Uprising (1703-1711). As a result of these at the time of the 1711 census from among the 2326 taxable plots 822 were empty, meaning that the city's population might not exceeded the number of 7000, which is less than it was in 1593. Henceforth the positive demographic evolution of Cluj-Napoca was only slowed down by the plague of 1738-39 (860 people). Based on the first official census the population of Cluj-Napoca reached 13.928, and so it became the third most densely populated city of Transylvania (after Braşov and Sibiu). Besides, at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century (around 1790) began a new process of function cumulation. At that time was transferred the seat of Transylvanian Gubernium from Alba Iulia to Cluj-Napoca. Following this, the cultural function of the city went through a consolidation: since 1792 it had regular theatrical activity, and in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century it became a higher education centre.

## 2.2. The period of modern urbanisation

Until the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century after Braşov Cluj-Napoca was the second most populous city in Transylvania. Its development speeded up after 1790, after regaining its administrative function and until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century (especially after the foundation of the University in 1872) it became the most important economic and intellectual centre of the historical Transylvania.

The modern urbanisation period of Cluj-Napoca started in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and its most intensive phase was reached in the socialism. Its most important process was the industrialization, a result of which the population increased, the proportion of the inbuilt areas grew, the local economic structure changed, new functional zones became separated, urbanistic / planning changes took place. The city's inner administrative division also played an important role in the development of the districts. The roots of it are related to the medieval municipal tithes. From 1888 the city was divided up into five districts: Belváros (The Inner City), Alsóváros (the suburb which took shape in the eastern direction from the medieval city centre), Kétvízköz, Hídelve and Felsőváros (the suburb which took shape in western and southern direction from the medieval city centre) (Pillich 2001), which were joined by the village of Mănăştur as a separate district in 1894.

The spatial growth of Cluj-Napoca was intensive and spatially selective in this period: the city primarily grew in a west-eastern direction which later on led to several dysfunctions. As a result the city reached the area of the adjacent settlements, but the only two settlements were annexed: Mănăştur in west and Someşeni in east, which was the source of new problems. The dynamical family-house building process after the change of regime decreased the number of the constructible plots in the city, which led to the appearance of the highest plot price in Romania. This causes serious development problems nowadays. All this could have been moderated if the administrative annexation of other settlements had occurred in time. Two sections of modern urbanisation can be separated in the case of Cluj-Napoca: an early capitalist one (the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century) and a socialist one.

### 2.2.1. *City development in the early capitalism*

At the beginning of the period the structuring function of the avenues and boulevards emerged along the demolished medieval city wall. The city's development speeded up after 1790, after the repossession of the administrative function (the government moved here from Sibiu), and at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, especially after the foundation of the university in

1872 it turned into the most considerable economic and intellectual centre of the historical Transylvania. In 1894, after the annexation of Mănăştur village the city's area grew to 770 ha, in 1930 it reaches the value of 1862 ha and in 1948 already the value of 2007 ha.

### *2.2.2. The socialist urban development*

The fundamental aim of the socialist urban planning was the development and functioning of a residential supply that moderates the social differences and prevents their reproduction. Practically, the state played an unlimited role in the development of residential functions (after the nationalization the private properties were rolled back): neither the real estate prices, nor the purchasing power played role at the time of housing. In addition, there can be observed the development of a compact city construction appearing in the form of tower block quarters on the city's peripheries, intending to make the collective infrastructure, service and the public transport accessible and plannable on the lowest possible price level. According to this the average area of the flats built after 1970 was 48-50 m<sup>2</sup>, the area calculated per capita being 10-11 m<sup>2</sup>. In Cluj-Napoca it was scheduled a 500-1000 people/ha density which meant 5000-8000 m<sup>2</sup> residential area/ha.

It was a Romanian characteristic that the means of urbanisation and urban planning was not the urban-development plan. In the case of Cluj-Napoca practically it was inexistent; in the political institutions the county's decision-makers simply just assigned the constructible areas. The suburbanization process was completely missing.

In the socialist urban-development concept it was assigned an emphasized role to the Inner City as the centre of the political authority and representation. The political, administrative, educational, public health and cultural functions were concentrated here, at the same time in every city it was assigned a central square to serve as a staging and power-exercising area for the socialist ideology. Differently from the medium-sized county centres and from the bigger old-Romanian regional cities, in Cluj-Napoca an area outside the historical inner city was designated to serve as staging area: with the geometric adjusting and increasing of the area of the earlier Szentgyörgy Square (then Peace Square, nowadays Lucian Blaga Square). There was also built a representative building: the Student House.

In this period, in spite of the fact that Cluj-Napoca conserved its traditional tertier functions resulting of the vigorous industrialization, the significance of the tertier sector decreased, while the rationalisation of the public services induced primarily the underdevelopment the household-

oriented services. The state got the most important role in the development of the urban space structure, while the role of the local initiatives was practically insignificant. The state distributed the apartments administratively, being the largest investor, so the market mechanisms can not prevail. That is why the scarce resources may not have made the development of the infrastructure possible; it was considered a deficit, not an investment. The significance of the real estate prices and the rents decreased as a result of the nationalisation of the building stock and evolved a wasting space usage and irrational functional structure. On the other hand, the low rents and the corporate allocation of the housing stock caused moderated residential segregation; the ownerships, the plot prices had little effect on the differentiation of the urban society and social space. The housing estates constituted the most important structural elements of the socialist type technocrat planning (Gheorgheni, Mănăştur, Grigorescu, Zorilor and Mărăşti districts). These areas were usually built up with tall housing blocks of which apartment stock showed little variety. Furthermore, the small distances between the blocks caused high built-up density, especially in the case of the Mănăştur, Mărăşti and Grigorescu districts. As a result of the intensive socialist urban planning the sectorial structure model was replaced by a multi-core model, where the big housing estates' central places played a determining role. At the same time, an unequal relationship evolved between the labour force provider new districts, the industrial zones and the centre (especially in the case of Mănăştur), resulting several problems of traffic, infrastructure and supply.

The suburbanisation before 1989 practically was inexistent. That can be explained by the fact that the territorial processes were subordinated to a strong planning of which regulations did not allow the firms and individuals to choose the plots or residential areas independently. There were other contributing factors too: the restrained action space of the individuals, the weakly developed infrastructure in the rural settlements, low purchasing power, low and overseen supply in the commerce and services. In the eighties, following the introduction of the closed-urban system, a hidden suburbanisation process appeared. As a result the population of some suburban settlements grew (Baciu, Floreşti, Apahida), but not according to the classic model, caused by a mobility from the city's core areas, instead caused by the migration from the rural to the urban areas.

### ***3. The functional space structure of the city***

Further significant changes affected the functional space structure of the city: following the socialist industrialisation the industrial areas and the residential zones expanded measurably, moreover the cityscape changed, primarily in the outskirts areas.

#### **3.1. The population density**

The population density values showed a slower progress and smaller decrease until the beginning of the industrialisation (59 people/ha in the 15<sup>th</sup> Century, 45 people/ha at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, 59 people/ha in 1787 and 78 people/ha in 1870) (Susan 1972). At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century it reached the value of 100 people/ha, and then interestingly it dropped to 54 people/ha in 1940 as a result of the territorial expansion in form of one- or two-storey houses. The most intensive periods of the increase were recorded in the socialist period: 64 people/ha in 1956, 87 people/ha in 1969. In 1989 it reached the record value of 160 people/ha, then it showed a decline because the spreading of the family houses and suburbanisation. The internal differentiation of the values was determined by the district's urbanistic characteristics and functions (Table 1).

Mănăştur is the most populous district of Cluj-Napoca (300-400 people/ha). In the 19<sup>th</sup> Century a small village, Mănăştur has undergone a huge development in the socialist period, especially after 1971, when it was turned into a housing estate.

The residential area of Gheorgheni has developed at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century in form of family houses. It was expended in the sixties of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, on the third and fourth terraces of the Someş, reaching considerable population density values (200/300 people/ha). It is organised in three microdistricts around small shopping centres. It has wide green spaces, but without car parks and corresponding traffic infrastructure. The same density category includes the Mărăşti and the Aurel Vlaicu panel districts.

The Grigorescu district has high density mean values nowadays too (160 people/ha) and A part of the district's originally family houses were demolished and replaced with four-storey panels in the sixties of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, then between 1971 and 1975 the existing panels were enlarged with further four- and ten-storey panels. The part from the direction of the Inner City preserved its basic morphology and its low density values (50-70 people/ha). Similar mean values has the Zorilor district too (170 people/ha).

The rest of the residential areas have smaller density values: Gruia (75-100 people/ha), developed in connection with the building of the railway



station, Andrei Muresanu, Student District, Dâmbul Rotund, Iris (30-60 people/ha). The smallest values are characteristic for the Someșeni district (below 30 people/ha), which belongs to Cluj-Napoca from 1952 and it has preserved its traditional rural settlement structure.

### 3.2. The urbanistic properties of the residential zones

As it can be seen in Table 1 there are huge differences between the districts, furthermore considering the small size and low population density of some areas it is doubtful to deal with them as separate districts.

Table 1. The basic urbanistic indicators of Cluj-Napoca's districts in 2006

Nr.	District	Population		Area		Urbanistic indicators				
		Person	%	ha	%	Residential function	%	Residential zone	Density Resident/ha	Nr. of apartments/residential zone
1.	Cordești-colony	1,345	0.4	47.4	1.6	33.1	69.8	246	28.3	14
2.	“Bună Ziua”	0	0	320.6	10.6	85.6	26.7	0	0	0
3.	Inner City	26,710	8.1	341.1	11.3	226.4	66.4	85	78.3	41
4.	Dâmbul Rotund	8,258	2.5	223	7.4	148.1	66.4	179	37.03	19
5.	Gheorgheni	43,375	13.2	144.1	4.8	121.3	84.1	28	301	123
6.	Grigorescu	26,435	8	164.9	5.5	140.4	85.1	53	160	64
7.	Cetățuia	7,301	2.2	101.9	3.4	85.1	83.5	117	71.6	29
8.	Industrial quarter	4,590	1.4	92.6	3.1	63.2	68.2	138	49.5	25
9.	Iris	7,432	2.3	132.8	4.4	101.1	76.1	136	55.9	25
10.	Mănăstur	83,324	25.3	225.6	7.5	164.9	73.1	20	369.3	174
11.	Mărăști district	43,570	13.2	186.7	6.2	142.2	76.1	33	233.4	105
12.	Andrei Mureșanu	9,265	2.8	159.7	5.3	139.8	87.5	151	58	23
13.	Chinteni colony	621	0.2	71.1	2.4	52.3	74.5	841	8.7	4
14.	Plopilor	6,515	1.2	26.22	0.9	20.7	78.9	32	248.5	108
15.	Someșeni	4,108	1.2	177.8	5.9	144.6	81.3	352	23.1	10
16.	Între Lacuri	30,790	9.4	121.5	4	92.4	81.3	30	253.6	115
17.	Zorilor	25,072	7.6	146.8	4.9	125.4	85.4	50	170.8	69
18.	Făget colony	268	0.1	333.6	11.1	149	44.6	5563	0.8	1
	Total	328,898	100	3018	100	2035.6	67.4	62	108.9	56

The proper name for the districts having low population values should be “colony”. Some of them came to existence in industrialisation period, like the Baci and Chinteni colonies, others after the change of regime („Bună Ziua”). The Făget colony functioned as a small, peripheral agrarian-like colony during the socialist era, then after the change of regime it revalued in an exceptional manner and became the most popular target of the residence changes and villa buildings. So in these cases we can talk about colonies with residential areas of different values and quality.

The other territorial units correspond to the district-definition, though considerable differences can be observed regarding the population. A group of districts was detached from these, which had a relatively low population (4-10.000), but also a large area and low population-density, and so their residential quality improved: Dâmbul Rotund, Cetățuia, Industrial district, Iris, Andrei Mureșanu district, Plopilor and Someșeni. Their common problem is the lack of central areas and the low quality furnishing with different supply units. In addition it can be mentioned the social status as an essential differentiating factor: while the A. Mureșanu district and partially the Cetățuia are districts of high status (lack of industrial units, distance from the roads of intensive traffic, high percentage of green belts, dominated by family houses with gardens), the other districts are of lower status or of high density of population (Plopilor). The most disadvantaged of them is the Industrial district which is the so called ”rust-zone” of Cluj-Napoca with a wide area, worn-out factory buildings, where because of the low density of population and high territorial diffusion of the residential functions it is almost impossible to form a central area.

The next group of dimension consists of the Inner City, Între Lacuri, Grigorescu and Zorilor districts (25-30 000 inhabitants). Here can also be observed the social status differences as in the case of the previous group: evidently the Inner City has the highest social status, the best supply furnishing of all; the real estate prices and rents here are the highest in spite of the fact that the quality of the housing stock gradually ran down: in this quarter can be found the oldest buildings without major hygienic improvements in most of the cases. Besides it can be mentioned the negative effects caused by the intensive traffic. We should mention the Inner City includes not only the traditional historical city-core (the Old Castle and the square-shaped area delimited by the medieval castle walls), but the supply dynamics and the growth of the city’s population it expanded to a 1-1,5 km zone. Henceforward, the high functions are concentrated in the centre of Cluj-Napoca: government offices, public administration, jurisdiction, public health, education, corporate

centres less, special services (advisory offices, lawyer's offices, advertising agencies and real estate agencies), host industry (restaurants, hotels), finance (banks, insurance companies), luxury shops, culture (museums, concert halls, exhibition halls, theatre, opera, libraries), handicrafts, retail trades. It is a fact, that after 1989 several functions developed or strengthened: business offices, financial services, which with their growing space needs affected the cityscape and land usage of Cluj-Napoca in two ways: first, they changed the existing built environment and broke the former architectural consistency of some places, ruining their aesthetic value; second, at new places they created new functional spaces.

After the Inner City come the Grigorescu- and the Zorilor district having average values of population density and being socially relatively heterogenic which means that on their area can be found parts with family houses and villas of high status but parts with panels, too. In addition there is a relatively badly developed traffic network; both districts can be reached by buses which ply on one or on two routes. The Zorilor district was built at the end of the eighties, in 1989 it remained urbanistically unfinished, because of which several empty, unbuilt area remained there. Its centre is ruled by a high-rise building as a central symbol. The Dónát district was renamed to Grigorescu district in 1964, it can be divided into three parts (from east to west): a) a part consisting of family houses with gardens and villas, b) a heterogeneous panel part came into existence with the expropriation of the plots and the demolition of houses: the four-storey blocs are dominant mixed with tower blocs and family houses which survived the demolition of the former district; that is why the side street network is not geometric c) a panel part with dominant tower blocks, with edged-in four-storey blocks. Here can be found huge housing units with long facades and counting up to 2000 residents. And last the Între Lacuri is a panel district with high density of population, which belongs structurally to the homogenised socialist districts.

At the end the big districts (40 – 84.000 residents): Mănăştur, Mărăşti and Gheorgeni districts. The last one has a relatively high status as a result of the family houses which remained untouched after the demolitions, while the first two have the highest population density values and the lowest social status in Cluj-Napoca. The Gheorgeni district was planned between 1962 and 1965 and it was built between 1964 and 1977. It is a soviet-type high-rise building district: on 64 it was planned and built 6200 apartments for 19500 people. The buildings are forming standardized, but differently coloured and on one side tiled, with differing entrance-type block groups with proper infrastructure (playground, dump). The “Mercur” shopping centre counts to be a typological

peculiarity: It lies on the main traffic road for the buses and trolleys. The most important of its dysfunctions is that it was built in opposition to the traffic principles: the blocks are in a park, while the road network is not suitable for the motor-car traffic. This corresponds to the modern principle „to live in a park” with pedestrian traffic lines, on the other hand these were transformed into streets as a result of the motorisation, without pedestrian pavement and with parking difficulties. It is an advantage that there were no further concentrations; the height of the buildings is systematically and diversely differentiated. The Mănăştur district started its development at the beginning of the seventies, when 3000 apartments were planned to the place of the annexed village (1894) for 100.000 people. The 1-2 room apartments are dominant, with an average area of 25-40 m<sup>2</sup>. Originally it was planned as a separate city, but they renounced because of the impossibility of developing the industrial function there. As a result the district has a large variety of supplies, but no factory workplaces. The traffic infrastructure of the district considerably improved, this is the only district where all three public transport networks are established: tram, bus and trolley. Several secondary central places developed with wide-range of supplies, furthermore the real estate prices in this part of the city are the lowest, which make it attractive for those who want to settle in Cluj-Napoca and who got a lower level of incomes. The Mărăşti district as well as the Zorilor district architecturally was not finished, in spite of the fact that its development began earlier, at the end of the seventies. Several empty plots were built-up after 1989 to improve the supply functions. In the quarter's central part are characteristic the panels with facades of 1.5 km, in which even a medium-sized village's population would fit: an average of 600 flats and 2000 inhabitants are at their disposal.

#### **4. Conclusions**

As a summary we can state that after the change of regime the development of Cluj-Napoca's the residential zones was primarily determined by the following factors: the evolvement of the private sector in the commerce and supplies; the direction of the infrastructural development; the lack of the urban development plans and strategies; the commerce's migration towards the important traffic routes; the beginning of the downtown's function-change; the social mobility. All these had positive effects on the territorial diffusion of the residential zones and the development of suburbanization. At the same time, Cluj-Napoca's structure-changes were powerfully differentiated after the change of regime.

The centre's development was exceptionally dynamic economically, it went through a considerable function transformation on the course of which the residential function dropped and the supply functions (banks, office blocks, hotels, restaurants, cafes, church institutions, money-changer offices, lawyer's offices, physician's offices, real estate agencies, etc.) drew a considerable diffusional orbit horizontally and vertically. Its further development is impeded by the lack of plots of suitable size (20 000 m<sup>2</sup> for commercial centres, parking lots, and services with bigger space needs), by the high rents (50 EUR/m<sup>2</sup>/month) and real estate prices (300 EUR/m<sup>2</sup> in the Inner City, on peripheries with a good position 100-150 EUR/m<sup>2</sup>, on a periphery, without a public-utility infrastructure 30-50 EUR/m<sup>2</sup>). According to the data of real estate agencies the supply-demand relation on the real estate markets in the first half of 2005 were disadvantageous; 5:1 that is only 20 manage to get a real estate from among the all 100 person looking for real estates.

The peripheral zone improves in an increasingly dynamic manner from the nineties regarding the residential functions (residential parks), the economic functions (shopping centres, exhibition halls, logistic centres, commercial areas).

In the transition zone three sub-zones can be separated, all of them with low developmental dynamics: the rust zone (the former industrial zone), the panel zone, and some family house districts, where the social and physical degradation is substantial.

Though after the change of political regime can be observed a tendency towards spatial decentralization (suburbanization) but the city core did not lose its function. Besides, a considerable demand appeared to build/obtain bigger comfortable family houses which occasionally affected harmfully the natural environment.

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# Avec deux, ne faire qu'un: couple et cohabitation hors mariage dans le postcommunisme roumain

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**Abstract:** In an age when marriage is no longer considered the final step in a couple's life, living together outside marriage is considered common place in Western societies, in social behaviours and interpretations alike. Is this the case in Romania as well? For lack of a local ethnographic literature of contemporary couples, scholars tend to work in their analysis of change with Western concepts, although there is always the question to what extent these can cover specifically Romanian cases. This article aims to reveal the meanings given to free unions by young people from Bucharest, based on a qualitative research. The current investigation allows an insight into the current changes in couples' lives in Romania, how this category is being (re)defined while closing the gap with the trend in modern societies on a wider level.

**Keywords:** couple, cohabitation, mariage, postcommunisme, Roumanie

Affaire privée, affaire publique (Commaille 1998)<sup>1</sup>, comment définir *le couple* à l'époque où ses critères mêmes en deviennent «flous»? Si le *mariage* n'est plus depuis longtemps la référence du couple, la *cohabitation* à son tour ne suffit point pour le définir dans un contexte où les relations peuvent bel et bien se nouer et durer hors toute communauté de toit.

«Tout se passe comme si l'entrée en couple se produisait désormais suivant plusieurs modalités possibles. Par l'institution, par le partage d'un même logement, mais aussi, par l'échange interpersonnel, par la mobilisation cognitive et le lien affectif. En outre, une frontière nette ne distingue plus la vie en couple de la vie hors couple.» (Kaufmann 1993: 49).

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<sup>1</sup>Commaille (1998: 9-15): à partir de l'axiome de l'inséparabilité entre *le public* et *le privé*, l'auteur construit son exposé autour de trois volets du couple: le couple est à la fois *une affaire de sentiment*, *une affaire sociale* et *une affaire d'État*.

En France le couple et la vie familiale font l'objet d'un éventail très large d'enquêtes démographiques et d'études sociologiques, dont l'«Enquête Famille» est régulièrement menée par l'Insee et l'Ined dès 1954 (Desplanques 2005). Ainsi, les bouleversements de la conjugalité contemporaine sont particulièrement visibles dans l'enquête portant sur les évolutions familiales des années 1960 aux années 1985. Cette enquête fait l'objet d'un ouvrage de référence publié par l'Ined en 1994 (Leridon, Villeneuve-Gokalp 1994) dont les auteurs se penchent notamment sur l'étude de la *cobabitation* afin d'en déceler en profondeur la montée spectaculaire enregistrée après les années 1970. Aujourd'hui, le thème de la *cobabitation* semble avoir perdu son importance, même si les chercheurs continuent d'accorder une attention particulière aux situations de fait: «Cela témoigne de la *banalisation de ces comportements*, du point de vue statistique pour les démographes, comme du point de vue normatif pour l'ensemble de la population.» (Paris 2005: 2). Cette banalisation se reflète également au niveau linguistique: on continue à utiliser toujours les mêmes mots (*cobabitation*, *concubinage*, *union libre*) pour désigner la réalité sociologique du *couple cohabitant non marié*. En ce sens, les explications données par Henri Leridon et Catherine Villeneuve-Gokalp en 1994 sont encore d'actualité:

«Lorsqu'une réalité sociale est en plein changement, les mots employés pour la décrire peuvent comporter des pièges. Nous avons utilisé jusqu'ici indifféremment les mots 'cohabitation', 'concubinage', 'union libre', ou 'couple non marié'. Étymologiquement, ils ne sont pourtant pas synonymes. La *cobabitation* implique simplement que l'on réside dans le même logement (ou dans le même ménage, puisque la définition statistique du ménage coïncide exactement avec celle de la résidence principale); un 'couple cohabitant' pourrait donc aussi bien être marié que non marié, et c'est seulement par pure convention de langage que l'on désigne habituellement ainsi un couple non marié. Le *concubin* est celui 'qui couche avec' ou, si l'on préfère, qui 'partage la couche de' la concubine; on admet que ce partage vaut cohabitation et vie en couple. Enfin, *union libre* désigne une forme de vie en couple sans mariage, mais rien n'indique qu'elle implique forcément cohabitation.» (Leridon, Villeneuve-Gokalp 1994: 18-19).

Si les enquêtes Famille réalisées par l'Ined en 1985 et en 1994 ne définissent pas d'emblée ce qu'il faut entendre par *couple* (Prioux 2005: 202-203), l'enquête EHF de 1999 porte sur une telle définition: «**Vie en couple**: on entend par vie en couple la vie commune sous le même toit, pendant 6 mois au moins, avec ou sans mariage.» (EHF-1999 2004: 9) Or, cette définition impose non seulement une condition de durée, mais aussi et surtout une condition de *résidence commune*. Cependant, il ne s'agit aucunement



d'un retour de l'intérêt porté sur la *cohabitation*, mais tout simplement d'une limite méthodologique de l'enquête, délibérément assumée à l'époque où partout en Europe les spécialistes de la famille n'ignorent point la catégorie du LAT (*living apart together*) (Héran 2005: XXII). Jean-Claude Kaufmann souligne aussi la multitude de difficultés que l'on rencontre dans la définition du couple dans un contexte marqué par toute une pluralité des manières de le former, qui correspondent à leur tour à différents degrés d'intégration des partenaires en son sein (Kaufmann 1993: 49).

Pourtant, dans ce désordre apparemment impossible à cerner, une vision sur le temps long (Théry 2001) permet d'apercevoir les métamorphoses contemporaines du couple sur un angle différent. Au lieu de chercher ses spécificités à l'intérieur de la relation – les aspects affectifs, sociaux, matériels, etc. – Irène Théry met en exergue la façon dont les personnes mêmes changent le *sens* qu'elles donnent à leurs liens. À partir de la lecture de l'essai de critique cinématographique de Stanley Cavell (1993), l'auteur reprend l'observation de l'écrivain américain: «Si les liens conjugaux ne cessent d'évoluer, les refondations du mariage dans l'imaginaire collectif ne sont pas si fréquentes.» (Théry 1999: 138). Face et pile de la même pièce (Carbonnier 2001: 262), les redéfinitions du mariage traduisent en fait l'émergence de l'idéal du couple égalitaire, à deux voix. Chronologiquement, avant 1804 le mariage «pacte de famille» (fondé sur la puissance paternelle et sur l'alliance des familles et de l'Église) est la norme de référence. Tout au long du XVIII<sup>e</sup> rien n'est plus désirable pour les couples que de se marier d'amour, selon l'idéal du *couple fusion* fondé d'abord et surtout sur le libre choix du conjoint. Le couple se redéfinit ainsi autour de l'unicité: *comment avec deux, ne faire qu'un*, une entité à part entière, libérée des devoirs familiaux, et dont l'histoire s'achève par la conclusion du mariage (*ils se marièrent et eurent beaucoup d'enfants*) (Théry 1999: 138-140). Plus tard, les comédies du remariage des années 1930 attestent l'émergence, dans l'imaginaire collectif comme dans les pratiques réelles, d'un autre idéal du *couple duo* fondé sur l'égalité comme «promesse d'une libre altérité» (Théry 1999: 142):

«Car il s'est ainsi fait l'écho d'une transformation majeure dans l'idéal du mariage. Désormais, les couples ne sont plus prêts à s'effacer pour devenir 'famille'. Ils cherchent ensemble le bonheur et l'aventure; ils veulent produire ensemble le récit, l'histoire de leur amour. À l'occasion de la menace du divorce, les couples de ces comédies remettent en cause la validité du mariage. Au fil de leurs conversations, ils découvrent une nouvelle façon de s'entretenir dans et de l'amour, en s'éduquant mutuellement. Car les conversations entre l'homme et la femme, dans ces films, transforment les héros et donnent

naissance à un nouvel idéal du mariage comme conversation.» (Domenach 1999: 150).

*Ils se marièrent et remarièrent et remarièrent* (Théry 1999: 141-145), l'idéal du *couple duo* - résumé dans la célèbre formule *comment, avec un et un, faire deux* - est en fait le socle culturel, l'idée fondamentale de ce qu'est un couple pour une certaine culture moderne. Aux temps du *démariage* (Théry 1993)<sup>2</sup> on assiste à toute une variété d'incarnations possibles de cet idéal.

Le *couple*, qu'en est-ils en Roumanie? Quel est le sens qu'on lui donne et quelle est la place de la cohabitation en son sein dans le cotexte actuel marqué par la visibilité (au moins) de l'union libre? En Roumanie comme ailleurs, les catégories démographiques sont largement déterminées par es catégories juridiques (Freszel-Lozey 1992: 738). Or, dans la présence d'un décalage accru entre les normes juridiques et les pratiques sociales (Dohotariu 2006), en quelle mesure les catégories démographiques usuelles sont-elles susceptibles de traduire la diversité réelle des parcours conjugaux? Réalisé dans une perspective sociologique maussienne du symbolisme et de l'institution, cet article s'appuie sur une recherche qualitative auprès des jeunes qui vivent à deux hors mariage. Il se propose ainsi de déceler en profondeur le sens et les significations que les personnes mêmes donnent au couple et à la cohabitation.

### ***1. Choix méthodologiques et présentation générale du terrain***

Mon enquête essentiellement qualitative<sup>3</sup> se propose de déceler en profondeur les métamorphoses contemporaines du lien de conjugalité. Plus précisément, ma visée est d'observer comment se redéfinit aujourd'hui la catégorie du couple, et en particulier la façon dont les représentations, les pratiques et les valeurs intègrent la question de l'égalité de sexe, et comment les transformations en cours témoignent de l'inscription de la Roumanie dans un certain sens de l'évolution de la modernité contemporaine.

La recherche est menée à Bucarest auprès desjeunes qui vivent en couple cohabitant de sexe différent et qui ont des études supérieures (au moins le Bac plus quelques années). Il s'agit de 47 entretiens individuels et semi-directifs réalisés en deux étapes: 21 interviews en juillet – septembre 2005 et 29 en janvier – août 2006. Dans 10 situations les deux membres du couple ont été interrogés successivement, pour le reste des entretiens l'enquête étant déroulée auprès d'un seul membre de l'union.

<sup>2</sup> Théry 1993, 14: pour plus de détails concernant les origines et l'étymologie du mot, voir p. 14 et 15. Selon la définition de l'auteur, le *démariage* représente le mouvement profond à l'époque duquel le fait de choisir ou de rompre le mariage relève de la conscience personnelle.

<sup>3</sup> L'enquête est réalisée dans le cadre de ma thèse de doctorat en cours de rédaction sous la coordination d'Irène Théry, directrice d'études à l'EHESS.

*L'entretien individuel semi-directif* ainsi la méthode la plus adéquate me permettant de saisir et comprendre en profondeur la vie en couple hors mariage dans sa dynamique et dans ses significations. Seule cette technique pouvait assurer une cohérence des données de sorte que, quels que soient le déplacement du regard et la reformulation des hypothèses, tous les récits recueillis en début et en fin d'enquête soient également utilisables. Plus précisément, ce choix méthodologique présente le grand avantage de faciliter un aller-retour continu entre le terrain et la perspective théorique choisie. Ainsi, le long de l'achèvement du terrain de nouvelles questions se présentent. Je les ai fait rentrer dans mon guide sans pouvoir «insérer» ces questions dans les entretiens réalisés précédemment. Si je n'avais pas utilisé la méthode de l'entretien semi-directif ça aurait été sans doute une limite de mon étude. En outre, les extraits d'entretien sont suivis par le prénom de l'interviewé cité, délibérément remplacé par un prénom fictif en vue du respect de la confidentialité des récits.

Enfin, aucune des hypothèses formulées à partir de l'analyse des extraits d'entretiens n'a la moindre prétention de généralité. Ces hypothèses concernent en exclusivité mon échantillon qualitatif et représentent des pistes de recherche dans les travaux à venir. De même, le traitement thématique du discours est réalisé selon des choix que j'assume, dictés surtout et d'abord par la problématique de l'analyse. Les mêmes discours peuvent être interprétés sous différents angles. À titre d'exemple, lorsque l'on formule une question relative aux projets de vie, l'interviewé peut commencer sa réponse par donner des détails significatifs concernant sa situation familiale. En outre, la traduction du Roumain en Français ne peut pas reproduire en entier le sens et les significations des morceaux en original<sup>4</sup>. J'ai fait moi-même ces traductions, au risque volontairement assumé de ne pas toujours trouver les équivalents linguistiques les plus adéquats de la même façon dont le ferait un natif de langue française. J'ai intégré pourtant ces traductions dans le corpus de l'analyse. Cette option est à mon sens indispensable dans l'effort de mettre en exergue de mieux possible les particularités des réalités roumaines, tel qu'elles sont décrites par les interviewés.

## **2. Le couple: „Avec deux, ne faire qu'un”**

Après avoir invité les jeunes enquêtés à me raconter comment ils se sont rencontrés, j'ai formulé plusieurs questions explicites relatives au *couple* afin de

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<sup>4</sup> Toutes les expressions en roumain chargées de significations mais intraduisibles en français ont été conservées et reproduites dans les notes de bas de page.

saisir quelle est la définition qu'on lui donne. Pour 13 sur 40 interviewés<sup>5</sup> (dont 7 hommes et 6 femmes) la relation de couple commence avec le premier baiser ou la première sortie ensemble; pour 15 (dont 7 hommes et 8 femmes) avec la première relation intime, pour 3 interviewés (dont 1 homme et 2 femmes) avec la cohabitation, 6 personnes (dont 4 hommes et 2 femmes) se considèrent en couple depuis le moment où l'entourage en est au courant, 2 femmes considèrent que la relation est le résultat d'une décision délibérée et enfin 1 homme identifie le couple et l'engagement. Ainsi, les jeunes qui associent le couple aux relations intimes sont majoritaires, ce qui suggère une tendance nette à dissocier la sexualité de la relation amoureuse.

Marian fait la connaissance de sa copine à l'occasion d'une soirée, ce qui encourage Marina dans sa décision de rompre une relation précédente qui «ne marchait plus». Un mois plus tard, les deux «sont ensemble». Marian aime bien donner une allure «compliquée» aux débuts de leur relation: «Le début de notre relation ... rien de compliqué. Mieux dire, c'est moi qui aime bien croire qu'il a été assez compliqué, tu sais, c'est-à-dire, je préfère lui donner une allure plus romantique.» L'interviewé ressent ainsi la «normalité» de leur première rencontre. Comme la majorité des autres jeunes, il fait la connaissance de Marina à l'occasion d'une soirée, c'est-à-dire par un groupe de sociabilité commun. Cependant, il affirme le besoin de donner à cet événement une allure plus «compliquée», une allure «romantique». C'est ainsi que son histoire d'amour est *différente*, elle commence par une intrigue dont le dénouement est heureux: ils se rencontrèrent et finalement furent ensemble. Autrement dit, la finalité de l'histoire n'est pas la conclusion du mariage, mais tout simplement la formation du couple dont on ne connaît pas l'avenir. De même, Marian ajoute spontanément qu'une relation à deux repose surtout sur l'amour. À son avis, la cohabitation s'y ajoute tout simplement, sans être indispensable en début de relation.

Marian et Marina définissent le couple par le même syntagme largement repérable dans les discours des jeunes en Occident: *faire des choses ensemble*. Autrement dit, à Bucarest on retrouve la même idée du couple à deux voix autonomes et liées à la fois. Cependant, une différence de nuance attire particulièrement l'attention. Si ailleurs les jeunes insistent sur leur besoin accru d'autonomie personnelle, les interviewés à Bucarest, au contraire, insistent sur leur besoin de fusionner. Le couple est ainsi synonyme pour l'investissement personnel: s'investir sans forcément s'engager. Par ailleurs, Marian et Marina

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<sup>5</sup> Par convention la quantification des réponses repose sur 40 entretiens au lieu de 47; le nombre des femmes et des hommes est ainsi équilibré, le reste des 7 interviews étant analysés seulement de manière qualitative.

sont un des exemples les plus éloquents de ce qu'on pourrait appeler un «couple duo fusionnel».

Si Marian et Marina suggèrent cette idée du couple fondé, au moins au début, sur le fait de «s'investir sans forcément s'engager», l'entretien avec Andreea va plus loin. Elle raconte n'avoir eu qu'une seule relation de couple précédente, une relation à distance (elle vit à Bucarest et lui à Constanța) qui dure trois ans. Invitée à comparer les deux relations de couple dans sa vie, elle tient à souligner le sérieux de son lien avec Cornel. À son avis, le couple est synonyme pour l'engagement.

Une autre jeune enquêtée et son copain installés à Bucarest suite à leurs études universitaires habitent à deux pour la première fois dans la vie. C'est une cohabitation par nécessité : partager le loyer est beaucoup plus convenable et faisable que le payer seul. Au moment de l'enquête, ils vivent ensemble depuis quatre ans. Plus important encore, pour Corina le couple signifie d'abord le fait de cohabiter: «On s'est rencontré et un mois plus tard on s'est installé ensemble. Nous avons trouvé des boulots à Bucarest et donc on devait aménager, trouver un logement. Je ne pouvais plus vivre en colocation, nous devons faire quelque chose, trouver une solution. [...] Je n'ai eu aucune autre relation de couple précédente, là c'est la première fois. J'ai pourtant eu un ami avant, mais on n'habitait pas ensemble, on était de simple amis.»

Sorina, âgée de 31 ans, habite avec conjoint depuis 5 ans. Au moment de l'enquête elle est enceinte en cinq mois de grossesse. Elle n'a jamais été mariée et elle n'a pas d'autres enfants. Son conjoint est divorcé, il a une fille du mariage antérieur, mais, d'après ses affirmations, il refuse l'entretien en dépit de mes insinuations: «Tu sais, ce genre de choses, les hommes n'en parlent pas!» Sorina est l'interviewée qui raconte avoir fait la connaissance de son conjoint dans le tramway. La singularité de la situation ne caractérise pas seulement leur première rencontre, mais aussi la façon même de vivre la relation. Ce discours renvoie à la situation d'un amour affolé. Pour l'interviewée la relation de couple commence à partir du moment où elle tombe amoureuse. Cependant, contrairement aux attentes, elle affirme ne s'enamorer qu'un an après avoir fait la connaissance de son partenaire. Comme je l'ai montré plus haut, la majorité des jeunes à Bucarest renvoient la formation du couple à leur première relation intime. Néanmoins, cette tendance n'est pas unanime. Par exemple, Claudiu se souvient d'«un intervalle à compter» entre le soir où ils «se retrouvent seuls dans une chambre» et le moment où ils deviennent un couple. Deux jeunes interviewées font plutôt des allusions aux relations intimes, elles ne lient pas de manière explicite le début de leurs relations de couple au début des relations sexuelles avec leurs partenaires. Carmen fait la connaissance de

son copain lors de la rentrée en première année du troisième cycle d'études. Son petit ami est en fait le frère d'une colocataire dans la chambre du foyer universitaire à Cluj. Après la fin de la faculté, Carmen et son copain trouvent du travail à Bucarest et ils arrivent à habiter en colocation à quatre: deux filles et deux garçons dans un deux pièces. Autrement dit, les deux cohabitent avant d'être en couple: «Aux premiers débuts, nous n'étions pas ensemble, mais on dormait ensemble.» De toute évidence, l'interviewée occulte d'une manière plus ou moins délibérée la question de la séduction et l'attraction physique afin de suggérer que, pour «être ensemble», la relation sexuelle est indispensable. Sinon, deux personnes qui dorment ensemble tout simplement ne nouent qu'une relation d'amitié. À son tour, Simona rencontre son petit-ami à l'âge de 16 ans, chez ses grands parents à la campagne. Elle affirme ne jamais avoir eu d'autres relations et, lorsque le sujet est abordé, elle précise avoir commencé sa vie sexuelle à 19 ans. Ainsi elle se considère en couple à partir du moment où elle s'implique à tous les égards dans cette relation singulière dans sa vie.

Enfin, les discours relatifs à la définition du *couple* permettent d'observer la tendance générale de privilégier l'idéal des relations fusionnelles. Pourtant, il ne s'agit aucunement d'une incarnation du *couple fusion* réglementé en 1864 par le premier Code civil de la Roumanie. De même, il ne s'agit non plus du *couple duo* dont l'un des aspects essentiels est l'autonomie personnelle des deux amoureux. Tout au contraire, les personnes enquêtées en Roumanie se représentent plutôt un idéal d'un *couple duo fusionnel*. L'entretien avec Tudor en est une des incarnations possibles: «Je voudrais qu'un emprunt bancaire soit possible ... sur la base d'une déclaration personnelle sur l'honneur qui atteste qu'on est une seule entité et non pas deux entités séparées, je voudrais que la banque nous prenne en considération ensemble et non pas séparément. Ils disent que ... «si un couple rompt, qui prend en charge la dette?». Mais la dette appartient aux signataires qui demandent l'emprunt Donc je ne comprends pas trop qu'est-ce que l'ainsi dite immuabilité du mariage pour les banques. [...] Mais tiens, il y a aussi un aspect positif de notre situation: lorsque je parle avec mémère au téléphone, parce que j'ai l'impression que *c'est elle qui nous perçoit le mieux comme deux, et non pas comme un et un, et le fait que si on fait quelque chose de plus sérieux, on le fait toujours ensemble.*»

D'une part, à la différence d'autres interviewés, Tudor affirme son désir de faire reconnaître juridiquement et socialement sa relation, dans les conditions où en Roumanie il n'y a pas de notion juridique de *couple*. D'autre part, il exprime à sa façon la célèbre formule «avec deux, ne faire qu'un» (Théry 1999: 138-140) et il est fier de s'y identifier. Pourtant, cet idéal fusionnel coexiste avec des pratiques et des conceptions égalitaires: Tudor cuisine parce

que sa partenaire n'a tout simplement pas envie de le faire, il se comporte comme dans un couple formé de deux êtres libres et égaux à la fois.

3. La cohabitation: «Vivre ensemble, c'est normal»

Il y a à peine 30 ans, la *cohabitation* était une dimension inhérente à la vie à deux. Aujourd'hui, bien qu'elle ne le soit plus, la *cohabitation* continue pourtant à y jouer un rôle essentiel. Qu'en est-elle chez les jeunes à Bucarest?

Les débuts de la cohabitation sont divers. Plusieurs cas de figure se dessinent en ce sens. 18 sur 30 cohabitations commencent de manière «informelle», selon le modèle classique de la brosse à dents (Nadaud 1980), 9 cohabitations sont le résultat d'une décision à priori délibérée, dans 1 seule situation la femme vit en colocation avant d'être en couple, et enfin, dans 2 sur 30 situations le début de la cohabitation est vécu plutôt comme une contrainte matérielle. Au total, la majorité des cohabitations commencent petit-à-petit, de façon presque imperceptible, suite à des négociations plutôt implicites. Mais en même temps, dans 2 situations les interviewés décrivent le début de leurs cohabitations comme une contrainte financière ou locative: il est plus facile de «se débrouiller» à deux que de vivre séparément et de payer deux loyers. Dans le même ordre d'idées, 10 sur 40 interviewés décident de s'installer avec leurs partenaires *à la fois* pour vivre avec et pour des raisons matérielles<sup>6</sup>.

Plus important encore, dans 3 sur 30 situations rencontrées les interviewés habitent en couple chez les parents. Ainsi, la distribution selon les groupes d'âge montre qu'il s'agit de 2 femmes de 21 à 30 ans et d'une autre de 31 à 40 ans en situation de cohabitation intergénérationnelle. De même, la durée de l'union de chacune de ces 3 femmes varie de 1 à 2 ans, de 3 à 5 ans et aussi de 6 à 10 ans ce qui suggère qu'en Roumanie la cohabitation intergénérationnelle peut être temporaire mais également un choix de mode de vie durable. En outre, si la cohabitation intergénérationnelle n'est pas une question d'âge, la colocation est plutôt un mode de cohabitation de la jeunesse.

Rester tantôt chez soi, tantôt chez le partenaire, cette situation est compatible avec une relation de couple, mais elle ne vaut pas pour une *cohabitation*. Cette dernière est donc le fait d'être installés ensemble, de vivre ensemble. Mais à partir du quel moment on est vraiment installé dans une location, vu la mobilité territoriale (des jeunes) aujourd'hui? Dans les conditions où rien ne peut empêcher aucun des deux membres du couple de partir à tout moment, ce n'est qu'au couple même de décider du début de la cohabitation.

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<sup>6</sup> À leur tour, les «raisons matérielles» peuvent être dictées par les possibilités limitées ou bien par le désir de ne pas gaspiller. Pourtant, non seulement que le traitement statistique des données n'est pas utile dans une telle approche, mais le développement de cette observation pour l'instant hypothétique dépasserait les cadres de cette analyse.

La majorité des jeunes à Bucarest commencent ainsi par passer la nuit tantôt chez l'un, tantôt chez l'autre. Ensuite, «atigués» de se «balader» ou de «voyager»<sup>7</sup> d'un logement à l'autre, ils décident de mettre fin à cette «souffrance» et s'installent ensemble. Ou bien ils le font sans même prendre une décision explicite. Ainsi, plusieurs interviewés évoquent le moment où ils se voient «enregistrés sur la liste des locataires» du bâtiment où ils s'installent. Il s'agit d'un fait administratif chargé de significations, qui rend le couple «officiel». Désormais, vivre à deux n'est pas seulement une question personnelle, mais il s'agit aussi d'une relation qui existe aussi dans le regard des autres. Par exemple, Miruna poursuit ses études universitaires et continue d'habiter chez ses parents, alors que son copain vit seul dans l'appartement que sa mère lui avait laissé par voie successorale. C'est ainsi qu'il lui propose de venir chez lui, au moins pour la session d'examens, pour les préparer tranquille. Mais après cette session, Miruna s'y installe, petit-à-petit, pour de bon: «aujourd'hui une blouse, demain autre chose, et j'ai fini par m'installer chez lui. On m'a enregistrée sur la liste des locataires<sup>8</sup>, et puis c'est tout.»

Habiter chez les parents, habiter seul, passer les nuits chez l'autre, s'installer avec lui, tout se passe comme si la cohabitation était un aboutissement de la relation, qui implique une certaine «officialisation». On ne peut pas avoir une relation en cachette avec une personne avec laquelle on vit et on partage le toit (et implicitement la table et le lit). Et pourtant, rien n'empêche de continuer vivre au présent, même après une longue période de temps. C'est le cas d'Eugenia qui, après «autant d'années», préfère de ne pas se lancer dans des projets de vie.

À son tour, Lorena commence sa relation toujours par une cohabitation progressive dont l'achèvement n'est pourtant pas sanctionné par un événement particulier. Pourtant, elle décrit le début de sa cohabitation comme un élément intrinsèque à sa relation, ce qui n'est pas le cas pour Diana. Enceinte en 6 mois de grossesse, Diana raconte son histoire de couple d'une manière très détachée. D'une simple aventure dépourvue de tout avenir et de toute implication personnelle, cette union se solde par une cohabitation pas

<sup>7</sup> Comment «voyager» de chez soi chez l'autre et de chez l'autre chez soi, sinon avec une valise ou au moins un sac à dos, avec le pyjama, la brosse à dents ...

<sup>8</sup> L'expression en roumain «a fi trecut la întretinere» n'a pas d'équivalent en français. Littéralement elle signifie «être inscrit sur la liste des locataires». Mais, au-delà de la référence aux aspects purement administratifs, l'expression désigne un fait social. «Être sur la liste des locataires» signifie que la personne habite dans le bâtiment respectif de manière «officielle», et donc socialement acceptée et reconnue par la personne concernée. Plus important encore, les registres des personnes chargées avec l'administration des associations des locataires pourrait être un terrain inestimable qui permettrait de compter avec de la certitude les durées des cohabitations hors mariage.



vraiment attendue, pour aboutir plus tard à l'engagement le plus profond, l'enfant.

En outre, la résidence commune n'est pas censée être linéaire, elle peut comporter des périodes de non-cohabitation. En ce sens l'histoire d'Elena ne présente rien d'extraordinaire concernant la cohabitation. Pourtant, elle renvoie à la question de la mobilité territoriale des jeunes en Roumanie. Avant 1989 cette mobilité (changement de localité de résidence, voyages en intérêt professionnel, personnel, etc.) est politiquement contrôlée. L'après 1989 se voit ainsi dépourvu de l'héritage d'une éventuelle culture des voyages et des échanges. La majorité des jeunes qui poursuivent leurs études le font dans la ville universitaire la plus proche, ou bien, le cas où ils ont la possibilité de faire la faculté dans la ville natale, il est plutôt rare qu'ils la quittent. Néanmoins, après la chute de l'ancien régime la mobilité territoriale a changé radicalement. Eugenia, Marian, Dana et beaucoup d'autres interviewés participent à des échanges universitaires ou reçoivent des bourses leur permettant de vivre ailleurs, ou tout simplement passent leurs congés à l'étranger.

Plusieurs raisons à la fois peuvent dicter la décision d'habiter en couple. Marian est en ce sens un exemple éloquent pour la façon dont les jeunes sont à la recherche des solutions convenables selon différents points de vue: «[La décision d'habiter ensemble?] Au début, c'était surtout pour passer du temps avec l'autre le plus que possible, et à l'époque j'habitais dans la cité universitaire, et elle louait un appart assez loin de moi. Et on faisait régulièrement le même trajet, aller-retour entre chez moi et chez elle. Et aussi, pour des raisons financières. C'est-à-dire nous avons fusionné nos possibilités matérielles et nous avons loué un appartement à nous deux, et de plus, on voulait vraiment vivre ensemble.»

À l'époque de l'«arasement des seuils», un des changements dans les valeurs de référence est lié à cet art de négocier les virages de façon imperceptible, de négocier des changements sans seuil marqué. Donc «aujourd'hui le pyjama, le lendemain la brosse à dents» suggère en fait l'image de cette négociation d'une vie sans seuils marqués, l'art étant de changer en ayant l'air de ne jamais le faire. Par ailleurs, les affirmations de Cătălin montrent à quel point la fameuse histoire du pyjama est devenue une *représentation* dans laquelle les jeunes s'y retrouvent ou au contraire, ils en prennent de la distance.

Ainsi, les entretiens réalisés à Bucarest donnent souvent l'impression d'une photographie d'un changement en cours, comme si l'image captée transmettait à la fois les voix du passé, l'allure du présent et l'odeur de l'avenir. Sauf que, l'écart entre le passé et l'avenir semble être sans précédent. Aurora en

est un exemple très éloquent. Pendant les études universitaires, elle a une relation de presque 7 ans – une relation affective et sexuelle dont l'histoire se déroule hors toute tentative de cohabitation. Finalement, elle se retrouve quittée sans explication, ce qui apporte une transformation majeure dans sa vie. Non seulement que l'interviewée renonce aux anciens principes traditionnels (mariage, suivi par la cohabitation et les enfants), mais elle vit l'expérience de plusieurs relations au présent avant de se lancer dans une relation durable *hors mariage*. Elle décide de devenir mère en dépit du «risque» réel de ne jamais se marier.

Enfin, une autre question relative à la cohabitation est censée faire parvenir à plus de détails concernant non seulement les pratiques mais aussi les représentations relatives au fait d'habiter en couple hors mariage: «Est-ce que la cohabitation renforce la relation de couple?».

Pour Iulia ainsi que pour bon nombre des interviewés, la cohabitation est le signe, sinon pas de la durabilité, mais au moins de la stabilité de la relation. Corina à son tour partage cette opinion et souligne que la proximité physique dans la vie quotidienne permet de connaître mieux le partenaire. Cependant, dans ce vaste tableau assez classique, l'air des métamorphoses attire de nouveau l'attention. Vivre ensemble, ça fait parfois rentrer dans la routine. Et comme l'effervescence de la jeunesse paraît par définition incompatible avec la nature statique de la routine, Corina réclame son désir et son besoin d'y échapper: «Je ne sais pas, un problème de routine, tu as l'impression que tu n'as plus d'espace, tu as l'impression que tu n'as plus de vie personnelle ... Mais on en a parlé, on en a discuté longuement et on s'est rendu compte que c'était normal: rentrer le soir, avoir des habitudes régulières ... et cela m'énerve et me fatigue à la fois! je me suis dite: «tiens, j'ai la vie d'une vieille retraitée!?» [rires] Tu sais? Quelque chose comme ça ... néanmoins je pense que la cohabitation renforce la relation, et plus encore, ça permet de mieux connaître le partenaire, avec des hauts et des bas ...».

Plus important encore, Radu tient à souligner que «vivre ensemble, c'est rien d'extraordinaire», mais cette affirmation ne renvoie pas à une banalisation du phénomène en Roumanie, mais à l'adhésion personnelle à la norme: dans l'otique de l'interviewé, toutes les relations «normales», dont les partenaires s'investissent dans leur lien, aboutissent à la cohabitation et ensuite au mariage. La cohabitation est ainsi une preuve du «sérieux» de la relation, autrement dit, une preuve de l'engagement.

#### 4. *En guise de conclusion*

À l'époque où le mariage n'est plus l'acte fondateur du couple, la diversité des liens peut être cernée par le prisme de *l'engagement* avec lequel les personnes s'investissent dans leurs relations amoureuses. D'une part, certains couples vivent «au présent». Loin d'être jugés comme immorales, ces relations sont vécues comme des expériences prenant sens en elles-mêmes, les éventuelles ruptures n'ayant pas la gravité de l'échec d'un projet à long terme. D'autre part, certains couples se lancent dans l'aventure de la vie commune. La grande majorité finit par se marier. D'autres ne le feront pas. Mais dans le très vaste tableau d'incarnations possibles de l'idéal du couple duo (dont les membres sont autonomes et liés à la fois), la différence essentielle est donnée par le *sens* que les personnes mêmes donnent à leurs liens.

Au-delà des métamorphoses lentes mais profondes de la conjugalité en Roumanie, les entretiens réalisés témoignent du *décalage* entre le besoin d'autonomie (un besoin en train d'émerger – à peine) et la souscription omniprésente à la *norme*. Autrement dit, une des caractéristiques majeures de l'échantillon à Bucarest est mise en exergue par le *décalage* entre les *pratiques démocratiques* concernant la vie à deux et entre l'adhésion massive à la *norme familialiste*. Si en Occident rien n'est plus rependu que de souligner une vie à deux «naturelle mais atypique», à Bucarest en revanche rien n'est plus commun que de faire référence à *la norme*. Plus important encore, cette référence est souvent implicite, et seule l'analyse du discours de plusieurs entretiens permet d'observer son caractère répétitif (de même qu'en France les jeunes font référence à *la nature*). Pourtant, il ne s'agit aucunement d'une dichotomie artificielle entre la norme plus ou moins naturelle et la nature plus ou moins normative. Il s'agit tout simplement d'un révélateur de deux repères qui coexistent dans une société démocratique dont le passé totalitaire n'est pas, au moins pour l'instant, aussi lointain. Ainsi, parmi la grande majorité des jeunes roumains qui se réclament de la normalité (ils ne la revendiquent point!) il y en a aussi qui se réclament de la naturalité: «Depuis le début, j'ai eu la sensation de nature», ou bien «Les divergences dans un couple, c'est naturel<sup>9</sup> d'en avoir ...», par rapport à «Le mariage est un pas qui suit aux autres. C'est normal.», ou encore «tout simplement, on est deux personnes normales, deux personnes intègres, on habite ensemble...». Cependant, une des spécificités majeures chez les jeunes roumains est le fait que, à Bucarest, *la revendication* du changement est très peu visible, voir inexistante. Et en ce sens on peut faire l'hypothèse que cette absence de revendication n'est rien d'autre qu'un héritage du passé

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<sup>9</sup> En roumain l'adjectif ou l'adverbe «firesc» renvoie, de manière étymologique, toujours à la *nature* («fire»).

totalitaire (Mezei 1997)<sup>10</sup>. Avant 1989, tout ce qui était *bors la norme* devait être puni, sanctionné, stigmatisé, car ne parvenait pas à se soumettre à la *norme de l'indifférenciation*. Aujourd'hui, les allusions à la *norme* ne sont pas faites de manière consciente<sup>11</sup>. Plus précisément, la référence idéologique à la norme est pratiquement incorporée dans l'oralité quotidienne.

Au total, dans l'absence d'une littérature documentée qui porte sur la période communiste en Roumanie, ces hypothèses n'ont point de repères. Elles concernent en exclusivité mon échantillon, même si elles sont en concordance avec une intuition sociologique partagée dans des discussions informelles. De même, l'explication possible par l'idée de l'héritage du passé totalitaire n'exclut en rien une autre hypothèse d'un changement en cours, timide mais néanmoins visible, dont l'avenir reste pour l'instant un pari à gagner ou à perdre. Plus précisément, je n'oppose point le passé roumain et l'avenir occidental, comme si la société roumaine tributaire du passé n'avait qu'une seule option, celle de la voie proposée par l'Occident. Tout au contraire, ces hypothèses souscrivent à l'image d'une *modernité diverse*, dans laquelle chaque pays incorpore à sa façon les valeurs démocratiques.

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<sup>10</sup> Mezei 1997: 297-298: parmi les rares publications sur la famille roumaine dans la période communiste, cet article met en exergue le poids lourd de l'héritage du passé dans l'après 1989. L'auteur affirme ainsi «le manque de participation des individus aux affaires publiques» comme trait général de la société roumaine pendant la transition. Malheureusement, cette affirmation n'est pas suivie par d'autres explications.

<sup>11</sup> Par exemple, dans l'entretien avec Radu j'ai pu compter 21 fois le mot «normal» qui apparaît le plus souvent comme adverbe. Cette référence à la norme n'est pas à chaque fois explicite, comme par exemple, dans la phrase suivante: «Il m'a raconté que sa mère est partie le cœur blessé, tu sais, le fils de sa maman, comment était-il possible de vivre dans de telles conditions, et des choses comme ça ... Et c'est *normal*, s'il survit et si on voit qu'il arrive à se débrouiller ... c'est *normal* de se faire des soucis pour le fils aîné., souligné par moi.

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# Denomination and Population Growth before the First World War: The Case of Transdanubia\*

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**Abstract:** The traditional Hungarian historiography believes in long lasting denominational structures, which do not produce much change on short term. If there are relative quick changes, they occurred because of external factors (forced changes), or they are not real ones (falsification of statistics). Usually no demographic factors are mentioned between the components of change. The author tries to make a revision on this picture reconstructing the development processes of religious groups of historical Transdanubia (the Western part of present Hungary and the province of Burgenland in nowadays Austria).

The starting point of the investigation is the conscription of 1722 which is compared with the later sources. The data show the structural change through time: the Roman Catholic Church is gaining dominance during the 18<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> century in Transdanubia while the Protestants are driven back into scattered geographic enclaves of the population. If we look the figures of change by denomination we can see highly uneven growth patterns between the different churches – especially the increase of the Jews and the decrease of the Greek Orthodox population are remarkable.

Beyond the changes of population size, distribution and structure we can see several parallel processes. There are in, out and internal migrations, conversions, and differential patterns in natural increase. These changes together are resulted a growing denominational mix in the population of the single settlements and a general shift toward the Roman Catholicism. The spatial dispersion process of the different religious groups at the same time will decrease the religious separation, causing a growing cultural mix and forms fragmented cultural minorities. While during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century between the elements of structural changes the long term migration and the forced conversion have important role, in the next century the differential fertility, and the internal migration together with the emergence of intermarriages are the most decisive factors in forming the structure.

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The investigations have several results. First it proves the value of early church statistics: the figures about denominational groups give important markers about internal migration and differential fertility well before the beginning of official statistics. Second, the research proves the different growth patterns of the religious groups as well as the mutual interaction between the demographic, religious and regional processes and structures. Finally it underlines the fact that the differences of demographic behavior had decisive role in the changes of denominational structure during the 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries. The aggressive interventions of the politics and the Churches had no sole and exclusive impact on religious composition of the Transdanubian population before the 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

**Keywords:** Transdanubia, denominations, migration, conversion, differential fertility

### ***1. Introduction***

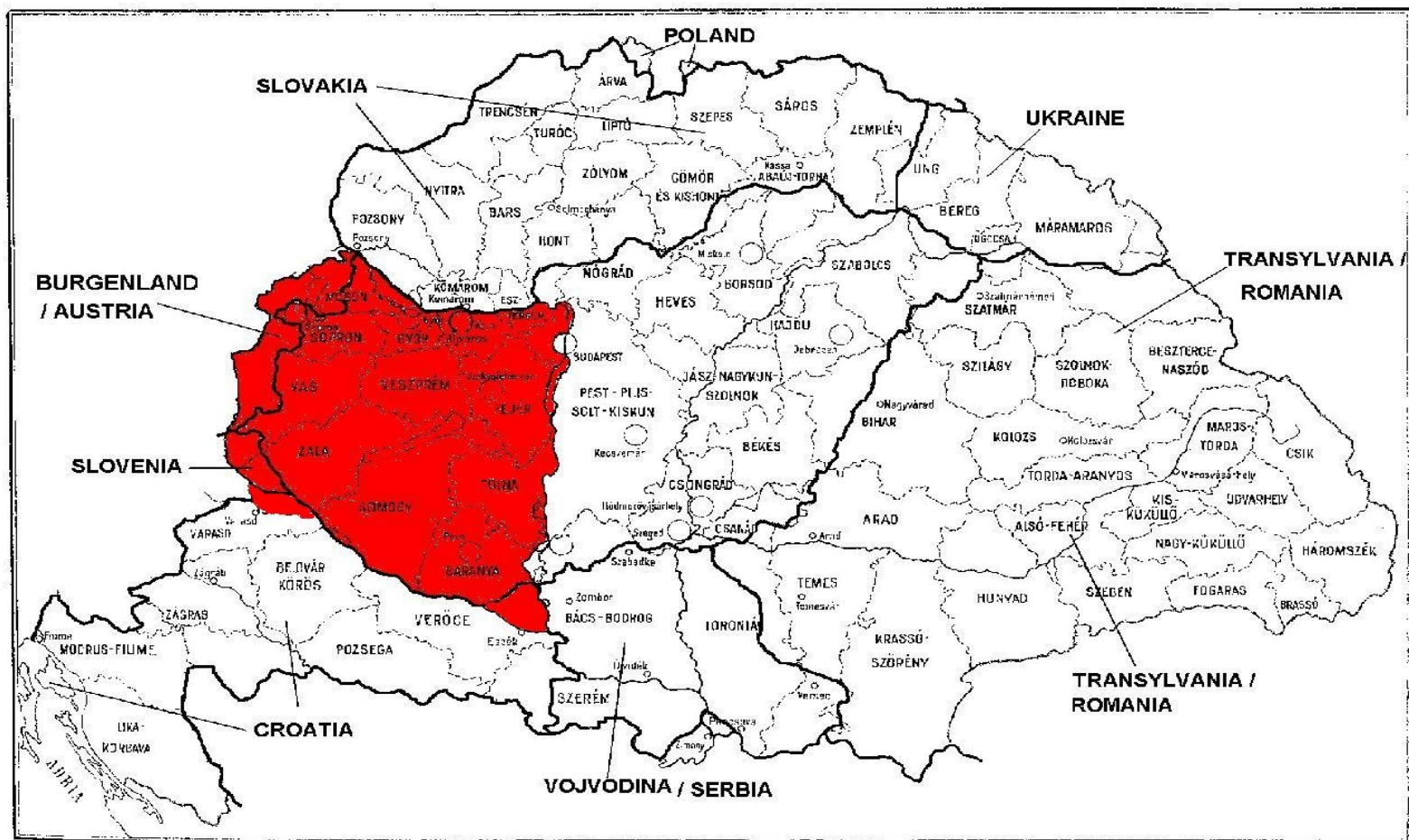
The demographic and historical research of recent decades has not addressed sufficiently, we believe, the problem of the confessional affiliation. If we look at recent studies we shall find that the problem of the denominational structure of the population has been addressed especially from the perspective of social sciences and of the history of mentalities – and, obviously, that of the church history – approaches from historical demography missing from this palette<sup>1</sup>. This reserve, however, is not justifiable. On one hand we must accept the idea that written sources on the numbers of church parishioners, with all related shortcomings, are the oldest written demographic information as they date 50-100 years earlier than the first population conscriptions, initiated by the state in 1770-1780. On the other hand, we should keep in mind that until towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the families and the individuals were more loyal to their confessional identity than to their language affiliation<sup>2</sup>. The data related to their denomination, even influenced by fertility differences, can also provide data on their population movements (usually spontaneous migration, internal and external), which is not the case for the official statistics, however complex, who failed to cover these processes until the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Thirdly, we have to mention that both historical demography and social history repeatedly emphasized the importance of confessional identity for demographic and historical analysis.

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<sup>1</sup>This restraint can be explained by the fact that more frequent inquiries made by amateurs simplify the problem and reduce the demographic research to studying the size of the population, and its ethnic and confessional structure, ignoring the influence of vital processes – fertility, mortality and migration – on population changes.

<sup>2</sup>Differences are clearly shown by official statistics related to mixed marriages by ethnicity and denomination (Bartha 1984: 100).

Map 1. Historical Transdanubia





The confessional affiliation is included as a demographic variable in some researches (Andorka 1987: 199–217, Karády 2000: 375–388) and Zoltán Tóth stressed that in the Carpathian Basin we can dissociate more “confessional blocks”, with own social structures and traditions, which are surviving even in the bourgeois society, for a longer time (Tóth 1991: 118–119, 124). If, however, through researching the relationship between confession and population we want to offer more than the basic facts, we will be in a difficult situation. Often, launching theories is much easier than testing their validity by applying them to actual informational material. The specific literature provides very little data on the first half of the nineteenth Century. Research addressing the confessional themes is mostly descriptive; copying the data related to confessional structures and generally starts from the data collected by an amateur statistician, Elek Fényes (1842) or from the 1869 census. Concerning the previous period, the long eighteenth Century, there are two demographic estimates, those of Gusztáv Thirring and those of Imre Wellmann, but we believe that only Thirring’s data can be useful for research (Thirring 1938: 46–49, Wellmann 1989: 68–70). The data provided by Wellmann start, on one hand, from wrong assumptions concerning total population (Farágó 1991: 323–327) and, on another hand, only provide summarized data on national level, without exposing the methods or the base of its estimation. Consequently, we can not use this data on regional level.

For the period before 1780 the situation of the available sources is even more unfortunate. We have only estimates without a real scientific base, estimates based – directly or indirectly – on the assumptions of previous studies on church history, built both on personal experience and author's beliefs<sup>3</sup>.

The idea and the starting point of this research was provided by a conscription made in 1722, probably compiled by the Hungarian Chamber officials, and published by Carl Czoernig, (Czoernig 1857, III: 7). This source records the number of population able for military service (‘streitbare Macht’) for each of the ten counties of Transdanubia<sup>4</sup>, at the same time providing data

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3 The most reliable summation of the quantitative results made by the previous research can be founded in the work of Károly Kocsis. (Kocsis 1999)

4 The editorial possibilities of this study do not allow a detailed insight of this source; however, we have to offer some brief explanations. Relatively rounded numbers from the source lead to the assumption that the data is largely estimated. An exception to this estimative character is the data related to the number of localities, although the 800 agricultural villages and small towns of the Vas County, respectively the round number of hamlets seem to be estimated, too. However, the source is unique both in terms of contents and date, the authors' approach preceding with at least half a century the first attempts of this kind, making it comparable in importance only to the state censuses and population conscriptions from the years between 1770 and 1790.

for the denominational structure of the population (see Map 1). According to available data, this source provides the earliest information on the demographic and denominational structure of a specific region, with details for each county. The importance of this source is not related only to its oldness. Although there is a remarkable amount of information, since the late 1680s, concerning the internal and external settlers migration, the establishment of new rural habitats, the repopulation of old villages, these movements – especially the arrival of foreign settlers – have stalled or slowed down at least until the peace treaty of 1711, finishing the civil war in the country.

The true reversal of migration coming from the West came with the temporary tax exemption laws in 1723, in which the legislative amendment promised a six year long tax free period for immigrants coming from the Holy Roman Empire. (The immigration was also stimulated by organized recruitment and transfer actions.) It became clear that immigration was a phenomenon with support and assistance from state authorities, because the revitalization of depopulated territories (and, therefore, the insurance of the stability of long-term tax payers number) could not succeed exclusively by redistributing the native population, surviving of the wars with the Ottoman Empire during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Century. Our source was made just one year before this large immigration wave. Therefore this conscription reflects the confessional structure of the population in Transdanubia during the period which preceded the great organized migrations, and even shows the presumable footsteps of the conditions during the 17<sup>th</sup> Century.

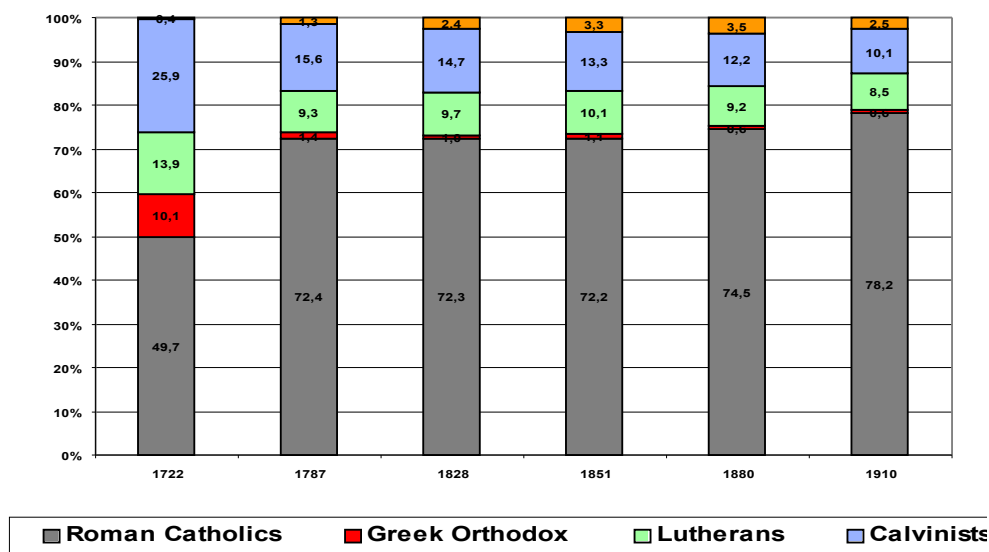
Based on these considerations, we would like to research the following issues:

1. Which was the evolution of the confessional structure in Transdanubia in the period between the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century and First World War?
2. Which are the presumable forces and demographic processes that have influenced the changes in the size and proportions in the denomination groups of the population?
3. Can we talk about demographic behavioral patterns in the case of confessional blocks that Zoltán Tóth talks about? Or, in other words: can the demographic characteristics of different confessional groups be treated in unified models? Can we accept the existence of some demographic patterns specific for certain denominations, generally speaking, or in the case of these groups we can not speak about homogenous demographic behaviors?

## 2. The evolution of denominational structure of Transdanubia between the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century and World War I

We will look primarily at first the original research data. The total population of the 10 counties included in the research can be estimated, in 1722, to about one million people<sup>5</sup>. Data provided by Czoernig show that less than 50% of the population was Roman-Catholic, about 40% Protestant, and a surprising percentage of nearly 10% of Greek Orthodox Serbs (*Figure 1*).

*Figure 1. Denominational composition of Transdanubia (1722-1910)*



*Source:* calculated by Czoernig 1857 I: 7, Thirring 1938: 46-49, Fényes 1836, Handbuch 1856: 191-204, Census 1880 and MStK 42.

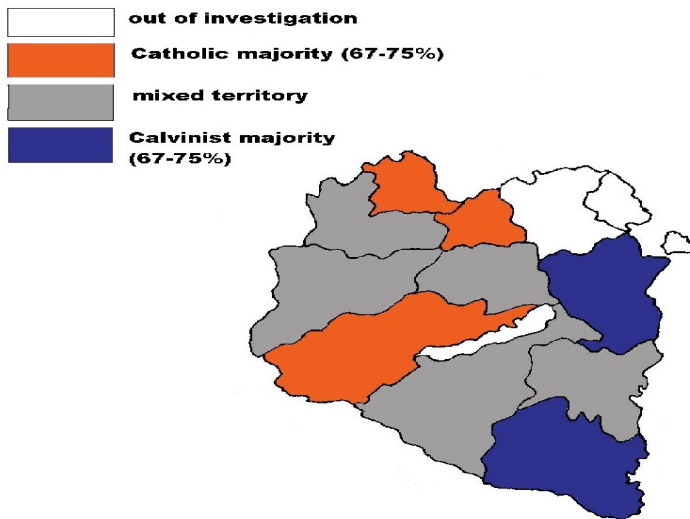
This data is far away from the image of denominational structures presented by the studies of church history for the period between the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century and the beginning of 17<sup>th</sup> Century<sup>6</sup>. There are also significant differences if we compare

<sup>5</sup> This number represents the doubling of the 502,000 people registered in 1722 in the 10 counties. (This number was supplemented by the estimation of Jewish population.) Considering that at the 1785-1787 censuses, 1,478,000 persons were registered in the same territory, the data from the 1722 conscription can be interpreted solely as an estimated number of male populations. In any other interpretative approach - such as, for example, considering the numbers as representing only adult male population - for 1722 we would get a population size significantly higher than the actual number recorded 65 years later.

<sup>6</sup> The most historians suggests for the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century, a percentage of about 80-90% for

this data with the official data on the number of Roman Catholics in the late 18<sup>th</sup> Century, data which suggest a two-thirds majority<sup>7</sup>. In terms of territorial distribution, we can conclude that in the early 18<sup>th</sup> Century the Roman Catholic predomination is clear and unequivocal only in some western counties of Transdanubia, while the other territories either mostly Protestant (first of all Calvinist) or mixed in terms of denomination (see Map 2).

*Map 2. The denominational structure of Transdanubia in 1722*



*Source:* calculated after Czoernig 1855 I: 7.

Protestant denominations within the population (Bucsay 1985: 23, Peter 1985: 506, Herger 2001: 871). Only Ferenc Szakály is more cautious who applies the 90% only for the Hungarians (Szakály 1991: 247). Concerning Transdanubia, even this percentage seems to be exaggerated. To the mid 17<sup>th</sup> Century the percentage of Catholics was about one third even in Baranya, a southern Turkish dominated region, where Protestantism was very strong and the influence of Counter-Reformation's was unimportant yet (Molnar 2003: 32-33). Therefore, we cannot consider the above mentioned drastic drop in the number of Catholics in Hungary to be a historical certainty (Transylvania is not included here), as the decrease of the number of clergymen and the disruption of Catholic parish system throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries would suggest.

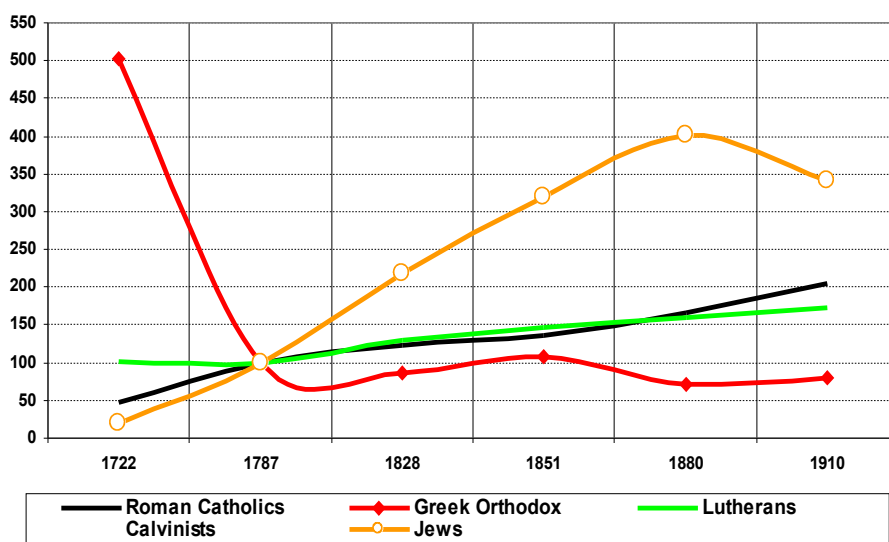
7 For the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century we used a new estimation, based on Gusztáv Thirring's calculations (1938: 46-49). Unlike the author, in this estimation we used the data exclusively from the 1777-1782 population conscriptions; we did not take into account the data concerning the number of people in the 1805 one. Our estimates are similar to those of Gusztáv Thirring, but we evaluated slightly downwards the proportion of Roman Catholic and Lutheran denominations, and upwards the percentage of Calvinists.

Considering the numerical evolution of denominations in Transdanubia, we find that this process consists of two segments. Between 1722 and 1787 the transformation dynamic is spectacular: the relatively small number of Jews is growing fast, while the number of Greek Orthodox drops to one fifth of the initial value.

Compared with these remarkable numerical changes, the Roman Catholic denomination grows at a lower rate but still significantly more alert than the two Protestant denominations, which are experiencing, for over two generations, a very low increase in number (see Figure 2). Compared with these dynamics, the changes occurred during the long 19<sup>th</sup> Century - that period between the first census of 1785, and the First World War – are significantly more stable. Only the Jewish group has maintained a rapid growth rate until the end of the Century, when decreasing trends began to show.

The effects of the demographic changes, the natural decrease of the population (in conjunction with the phenomenon of emigration) occurs first in this ethnic group. The Roman Catholic and Lutheran denominations present a continuous but moderate growth throughout the long 19<sup>th</sup> Century while the Greek Orthodox and Calvinist denominations are rather characterized by periods of stagnation alternating with periods of population fluctuation.

Figure 2. Growth index of population by denomination (1787=100)



Source: see Figure 1.

We shall now analyze these two initial stages. Although the church history tends to explain the numerical changes of denominations in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries only through the influence of the Counter Reformation, the truth is that three factors, with similar relative importance, are at the origin of variations in the number of different denominations.

*Table 1. Estimated change of the number of parishioners of the different churches (1722-1787) a)*

Type and date of the data	Roman Catholics	Greek Orthodox	Lutherans	Calvinists	Jews	Total population
Population conscription in 1722 b)	<b>500 000</b>	<b>102 000</b>	<b>140 000</b>	<b>260 000</b>	<b>4000</b>	<b>1 006 000</b>
Census of 1787	<b>1 070 744</b>	<b>20 000</b>	<b>137 000</b>	<b>230 000</b>	<b>19 881</b>	<b>1477744</b>
Balance (1722-1787)	<i>570 000</i>	<i>-82 000</i>	<i>-3 000</i>	<i>-30 000</i>	<i>16000</i>	<i>471 000</i>
Natural increase of the starting population between 1722-1787	<i>287 000</i>	<i>4 000</i>	<i>41 000</i>	<i>77 000</i>	<i>2 000</i>	<i>411 000</i>
Calculated immigration until 1750 c)	<b>160 000</b>		<b>22 000</b>	<b>12 000</b>	<b>10000 d)</b>	<b>204 000</b>
Calculated natural increase of immigrants between 1750-1787	<i>40 000</i>		<i>6 000</i>	<i>3000</i>	<i>4000</i>	<i>53 000</i>
Estimated emigration before 1750		<b>-85000 e)</b>	<b>-10 000</b>	<b>-80 000</b>		<b>-175 000</b>
Missing natural increase of emigrants between 1730-1787		<i>e)</i>	<i>-2 000</i>	<i>-20 000</i>		<i>-22 000</i>
Change of denomination (conversion)	<b>70 000</b>		<b>-50 000</b>	<b>-20 000</b>		<b>0</b>
Natural increase of converts	<i>13 000</i>		<i>-10 000</i>	<i>-3 000</i>		<i>0</i>
Estimated rate of natural increase during the century (pro mille)	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>5.76 f)</b>

*Source:* calculation of the author

a. The calculations based on compound interest model.

b. Based on Czoernig 1857. III: 7. (The number of Jews is an estimated supplement based on Acsády 1896: 36\*.)

c. Estimated on the settlement level data of language and denomination in the census of 1880.

d. Sporadic and continuous Jewish immigration throughout the century.

e. The data of migration and natural increase/decrease of the Greek Orthodox population is vague both in timing and in volume. However the decrease of their number on one fifth of the value of 1722 is indisputable.

f. Growth rate of the total population between 1722-1787

The factors that have acted throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> Century are the natural increase, the migration and the conversion of individuals to other denominations. In Table 1 we present our assumptions and assessments on how these processes were taken place in the researched territory. The conclusions drawn from this figure are as follows: contrary to stereotypical explanations, the crucial role in the population growth in that period comes from the natural increase.

It is true that we must consider a process of immigration of about 200,000 people who came during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century from Upland (present day Slovakia), from the Balkan region and elsewhere<sup>8</sup>, but in the same time we deal with a conversely phenomenon: a segment of the native population, similarly sized, left the region - even if, unfortunately, documenting this process of emigration is difficult. The effects of these two antithetical movements are probably mutually annihilated each other. Even the human losses caused by last plague from 1738-1742 seems to be numerically insignificant<sup>9</sup>. Therefore we must to conclude that the main cause of the demographic changes was the natural increase<sup>10</sup>.

If we are trying to investigate separately the population growth of the single denominations, nevertheless the image breaks down in non-unitary patterns (see Table 1). One can see an interesting, detectable phenomenon, the diversion of certain confessional groups from the general trend. The phenomenon is especially characteristic for Jewish and Greek Orthodox

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8 The estimation of the number of migrants is based on data from the 1880 census: applying the linguistic and confessional criteria we estimated the population of rural German and Slovak settlements, founded during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, and then, relying on available demographic data, we estimated the size of the mass of first generation of immigrants for the year 1750, considered as reference date. Our estimated number is probably lower than the real one, because we excluded the immigrants settled in urban areas or those established in the districts of the western border, traditionally populated by German speaking peasants. Nevertheless, the same number can be regarded also as overestimated: a large proportion of settlers arrived into Transdanubia even before 1750, so the estimated mass of immigrants contains, in some places and in varying measures, the natural increase of this population at least one or two decades. Our hypothesis is that these two opposing trends are more or less quantitatively balanced.

9 Zoltán Dávid's researches (1973) show that the number of deaths from the plague lies approximately between 15,000 and 30,000 people, representing only 1-2% of the total population of contemporary Transdanubia.

10 According to our estimates, the population growth resulting from migration accounted only 6-7%, and by the number of births occurred between the new immigrants was of only 11% of the total increase between 1722 and 1787. In other words, the immigration and the establishment of new villages – the resettlement movement – may explain only 17-18% of the general population growth.

groups because the numerical evolution of these was clearly influenced mainly by migrations and mass movements (immigration for the Jewish case and emigration for the Greek Orthodox case)<sup>11</sup>. The situation of the Protestant denominations shows again a different picture. Both Lutheran and Calvinist denominations registered a slight demographic decline between 1722 and 1787. In both cases, we are dealing with the lack of population increase for 65 years although, according to the data from 1880, for the 18<sup>th</sup> Century we can also estimate the immigration and settling of about 30,000 Calvinist, German and Slovak, respectively Lutheran parishioners of German origin. The insufficient and occasional information suggests that the lack of Protestant population growth can be explained by a larger conversion wave between the Lutherans and an emigration process between the Calvinists<sup>12</sup>. Unfortunately, we do not have any studies related directly to the decline of the Lutheran denomination by conversion. Our observation is based in particular on the lack of references to the emigration. Instead, we have an impressive mass of data concerning the phenomenon of Calvinist emigration from Transdanubia based on late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> Century information<sup>13</sup>. The causes of Calvinist emigration were related to the facilities offered by the recovered areas, scarcely populated – the possibility to obtain free land, pay lower taxes – and to the difficulty of practicing its own religion because of the Roman Catholic Church pressure. (Maybe, it is also played a role in this process that the Calvinist population was localized mostly in the eastern side of Transdanubia, near to the depopulated

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11 In the first part of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, much of the South Slavs - particularly the Greek Orthodox one - have migrated from the central regions of the Carpathian Basin to the south and to the expanded Military Border region (Faragó 2000).

12 In our estimations we had to find an explanation for the missing of 160,000 Protestants, knowing that the demographic growth registered by Roman Catholics represented only the conversion of 60.000 Calvinists; the disappearance of the other 100.000 could be explained through immigration or natural increase. We have scattered, non quantifiable literary information about the conversions and emigrants of Protestant denominations. We know about the removal of a substantial number of Calvinist Hungarians into Great Plain, but we do not have similar information about the masses of Lutherans from Western Hungary. However, the above assertions are highly hypothetical. We shall have a more accurate and complex vision only when studies and researches based on local sources related to migration and the phenomenon of conversion shall be available.

13 The tax conscription from 1715 reveal more than 60 citizens and taxpayers bearing the family name of Transdanubian cities, villages, and regions (CD-ROM 1715), which suggest a long dispersion phenomenon of the native population outside the region. Regarding the information and details concerning the population movements from the western part of Transdanubia (especially in Tolna and Baranya) towards the area situated between the rivers of Danube and Tisza occurred at the turn of 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries see Tibor Iványosi-Szabó (1985) and János Bárh (2005: 388, 395–396, 426, 503–504).



territories of the Great Plain.)

The great winner of the changes taking place in the region in the early 18<sup>th</sup> Century is the Roman Catholic Church, the most numerous and strongly supported by the state. In the Roman Catholic case one third of population growth is not due to natural increase, but to immigration and conversion phenomena. The data from 1880 show that 70% of all immigrants in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century (Germans, Slovaks and Croats) and 100% of Croatian immigrants in the 17<sup>th</sup> Century were Roman Catholics and the conversions were clearly favorable to this denomination. We underline, however, that this is just one of the possible scenarios. Nevertheless it must be said that partial data from Table 1 cannot be considered in any way free of assumptions. Both demographic and religious data from 1722 and 1787, and the estimations concerning the population growth and natural increases are all based on information and data coming from that period, and also on the experiences and trends of increasing number of parishioners from the next period – from the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century until the middle 19<sup>th</sup> Century - (more precisely, this data is based on measurements of population growth rate of the different denominations)<sup>14</sup>. Perhaps the data concerning migrations and conversions, shown in Table 1, is the least documented one, but even this cannot be interpreted or modified freely at the readers' or authors' will. The changing of data related on population growth or natural increase has imposed serious restrictions, excluding interpretations that lead to alteration in numbers or proportions of the table have strong limits, consequences, and interrelations<sup>15</sup>. The purpose of these calculations and their results – that is, at the same time, we hope, a starting point – is to draw attention to the complex image, sometimes even antagonistic, given by the dynamics of demographic change and denominational structure, interrelated processes and located in a network of relationships that go beyond simplistic, reductive frame of forced conversion and the immigration of the Roman Catholic Germans, offered by previous studies. We equally want to emphasize the need for further research into this issue.

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14 The demographic growth was calculated by the compound interest method. The growth rate we used was obtained from considering, first, the total population of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century and, secondly, the demographic growth of various denominations in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

15 If, for instance, we considerably increased the assumptions about the variables related to conversions and we reduced those concerning the Protestants emigration, we should reduce in the same measure the assumptions related to the natural increase of Roman Catholics. But this would make it compulsory to explain the lower growth rate of the Roman Catholic population during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, opposite to the rate recorded during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, namely the fastest growth rate, except for the Jewish group, a high rate demonstrated by documents of undeniable validity and reliability, especially compared to similar sources dated 100-150 years earlier.

The changes occurred during the long 19<sup>th</sup> Century (between 1787 and 1910), have not only a more stable database but are, at the same time, much less intense and less severe than phenomena of the earlier era. Nevertheless, the nature and the direction of changes are similar in many respects. The demographic development was particularly influenced by the natural increase, and this was not disturbed or influenced significantly even by the emigrations towards Austria, North America, and to the capital, Budapest, which started relatively late, only in the mid-nineteenth Century. In Transdanubia neither the phenomenon of the decrease of population growth to less than 1%, nor the slow natural increase due to mass migration was recorded, on the contrary of the northern part of Carpathians<sup>16</sup>. The process of population growth was slightly disturbed by the cholera epidemics between 1828 and 1880, which caused an estimated loss of 170,000 people, representing about 8% of the total population at the middle of the century<sup>17</sup>. Unfortunately, we do not know, in any of these cases, the denominational distribution of the affected population; therefore we can not estimate the influence of the epidemics of cholera or of the emigration on the size of different denominations<sup>18</sup>. What we can assume, based on available data, is that such disturbing factors have not led to the transformation of the structure or the character of the demographic growth, but they have rather faded it, slowed it slightly.

The same cannot be said about internal migrations. The denominational data suggest the existence of a continuous, intense process of spontaneous migration within the entire region. The compact denominational groups, who had been living in a relative isolation from each other during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, got mixed at the end of the following century, due to the spontaneous, shorter or prolonged, moves arising from economic causes or due to matrimonial migrations (Tables 2 and 3). The data related to the period around 1828<sup>19</sup>,

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16 Between 1900 and 1910, compared with the national average of population growth (8.5%), at north the county of Árva recorded a population decline of over 7%, while the Sáros, Szepes and Abaúj counties showed a population growth of less than 1% (MStK 64: 6).

17 The Cholera epidemic effects were assessed on the basis of data concerning the vital statistics between 1828 and 1900 (Klinger 1972-1984) and on Lajos Mádai's calculations (in 1990).

18 We have researches concerning the confessional distribution of migrants only for the period between 1905 and 1913 where the data published exclusively at national, not regional level (MStK 67: 31 \*, 35). The volumes about the reconstructed vital statistics, edited by András Klinger, provide information by denomination until 1895, but they published according to the administrative order of 1970, and for this reason they are not comparable with the figures of the contemporary official statistics, therefore we lack data concerning both the regional amplitude of the disasters caused by cholera epidemics and its impact on the different denominations.

19 The famous work of Elek Fényes published in 1836–1839 is consisting the denominational structure of the settlements based on the series of Roman Catholic annals (Schemetismus) of 1830, referring on the population size of the end of 1828.

published by Elek Fényes (1836), shows that we can find only less than one third of the localities from the investigated region Calvinist or Lutheran inhabitants, and in only 36% of them had a small fragmented Jewish population. But, if we compare this data with that of the last prewar census, we shall see that in 1910 all three above mentioned groups were already present at a rate of 61-70% in areas under review (Table 2). While 38% of these localities were populated by representatives of a single denomination (mostly Roman Catholic) in 1828, the percentage of these mono-confessional localities had declined by 1910 to 10% (Table 3).

*Table 2. Presence of parishioners of different churches in the percentage of settlements in Transdanubia (1828-1910)*

year	Roman Catholics	Lutherans	Calvinists	Jews	Greek Orthodox	N (number of settlements) a)
	in the proportion of all settlements					
1787				26.7		2,912
1828	99.1	32.6	28.6	36.4	3.9	2,640
1869	99.9	61.1	46.7	75.7	5.8	2,685
1910	99.9	69.4	61.3	68.4	11.2	2,617

*Source:* calculated after Dányi – Dávid 1960, Fényes 1836, MStK 42, and Sebők 2005

a) Settlements above 100 inhabitants

*Table 3. Change in the structure of church dominance (1828-1910)*

year	In the settlement			No church majority in the settlement
	One church is exclusive	A church has qualified majority a)	Simple majority of one church	
	percentage point			
1828	37.8	49.5	10.8	1.9
1869	12	72.6	14	1.4
1910	9.9	73.9	13.9	2.3

*Source:* see Table 2.

a) more than 67 % of parishioners are belonging to one church

In all likelihood, the dispersion of denominational groups and their territorial distribution change is due to the effects of internal migrations in the region. If in 1828 45% Calvinist, 27% Lutheran and 11% Greek Orthodox formed at least a simple majority in the localities where they lived, in 1910 these

percentages had dropped to 16% and 12% for the first two confessions and, from those 293 localities inhabited by Greek Orthodox, this group remained the major one only in two cases, compared to 11 in 1828 (see Table 4).

*Table 4. Change of weight of the different churches between the inhabitants of the settlements a) (1828-1910)*

Denomination	The incidence of the believers of a church is						N (number of settlements)
	Sporadic b)	Minority	Simple majority	Qualified majority	Exclusive	Total	
	percentage point of all settlements						
	<b>1828</b>						
Roman Catholics	8.0	15.8	5.1	33.8	37.3	100.0	2.62
Lutherans	44.4	28.4	8.9	16.3	2.0	100.0	860
Calvinists	29.3	24.4	8.7	36.9	0.7	100.0	754
Jews	89.5	10.2	0.2	0.1		100.0	960
Greek Orthodox	58.3	31.1	4.9	5.8		100.0	103
Other					100.0	100.0	1
	<b>1869</b>						
Roman Catholics	4.6	18.3	6.0	59.2	11.9	100.0	2.68
Lutherans	67.7	18.4	4.2	9.6	0.1	100.0	1.64
Calvinists	55.9	16.5	11.1	16.4	0.1	100.0	1.25
Jews	92.7	7.3		0.0		100.0	2.03
Greek Orthodox	75.0	21.8	3.2			100.0	156
Other	97.9	2.1				100.0	48
Roman Catholics	100.0					100.0	44
	<b>1910</b>						
Roman Catholics	2.9	17.7	7.4	62.2	9.8	100.0	2.62
Lutherans	70.9	16.9	3.7	8.4	0.1	100.0	1.82
Calvinists	67.3	16.7	6.4	9.6		100.0	1.6
Jews	94.3	5.6	0.0	0.1		100.0	1.79
Greek Orthodox	86.0	13.3	0.4	0.3		100.0	293
Other	100.0					100.0	276
Roman Catholics	100.0					100.0	135

Source: see Table 2.

a) Settlements over 100 inhabitants

b) Smaller than 10 % of the population and less than 100 person

Only the Roman Catholic group was able to keep – or, in some cases, to increase - its weight within localities. If, in 1828, they represented the majority of population in 76% of the localities where they lived, in 1910 this percentage increased to 79% (in most cases the Roman-Catholics weight exceeding even two thirds of the population). Their presence in the demographic structure of the settlements was, throughout the entire century, to 99%. Virtually, there were no localities without Roman Catholics inhabitants. Regarding things from another perspective, this means that the percentage of localities with fragmented Calvinist population increased, between 1828 and 1910, from 29% to 67%<sup>20</sup>, that of Lutherans one from 44% to 71%, while the percentage of sparse Greek Orthodox population increased from 58% to 86%. (For Jews these changes are less visible, as in early 19<sup>th</sup> Century their presence is seen already sporadically in 90% of localities.) Keeping in mind what we mentioned above, we can conclude that Kövér György's remark about the stability of denominational structures and their geographical distribution in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century (Köver 1998: 129) can be accepted if we look at things generally, at a national level; nevertheless, at a micro-geographic level the situation is substantially different. Our data reveals that, during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, an important process of interpenetration, of mixing different denominations took place, even in the most Catholic regions of the Carpathian Basin, Transdanubia.

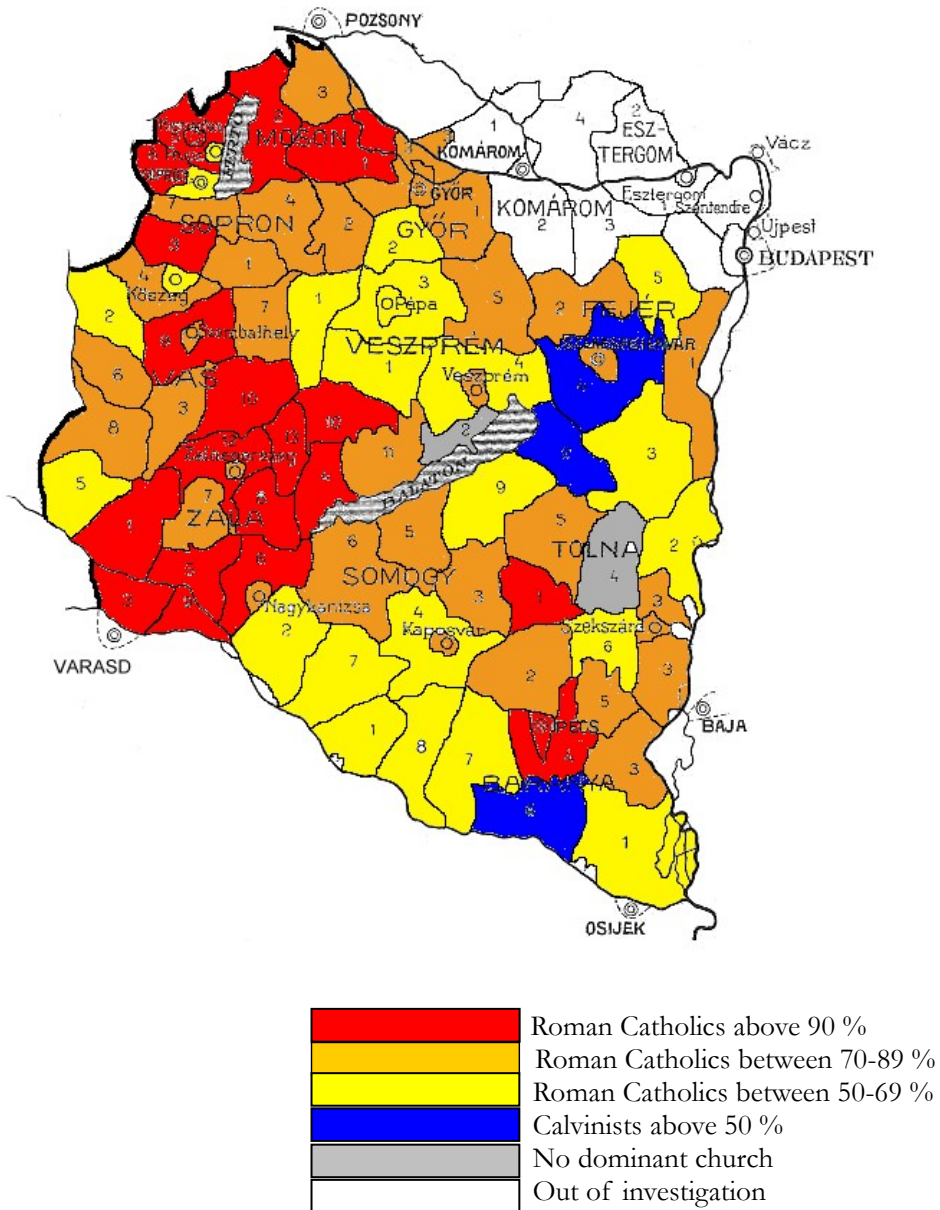
As a consequence of this process of weakening of the boundaries between denominations, a process of dilution of differences related to their geographical location began. The data from the rural districts from 1869 still shows traces of a more heterogeneous denominational structure at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century (see Map 3), but the 1910 denominational percentages for the rural districts are so similar that their cartographic representation would show no interest. Before the First World War we can talk about “islands” of settlements which existed isolated in a “sea” of Catholicism; and there were only in Baranya, Veszprém and Tolna counties some rural districts in which the Roman Catholics did not reach 50% of the population but they represented, nevertheless, a relative majority. Most of the rural districts - 53 out of 68 – had qualified majority of Roman Catholic believers, surpassing the two third of the population<sup>21</sup>.

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20 I defined the concept of enclave (*szórvány*) as a segment of the population below 10% of total population and comprising less than 100 people. (The evaluations of percentage relevance of different confessions were made only for settlements with a population of over 100 people. This means the exclusion of only a few dozen from the research from a total of 2700 localities).

21 In 1869 three of the 68 rural districts were mostly Calvinist, in one rural district the Roman Catholics formed a relative majority, and in one rural district from Tolna County the Lutherans

Map 3. The denominational structure by investigated districts in 1869



had a relative majority. The number of rural districts with an absolute Roman Catholic majority was of 46, 7 less than in 1910.

We can see, therefore, the results of two parallel processes. On the one hand, the Roman Catholic territorial dominance comprises the entire Transdanubia; on the other hand, the emergence of more and more dispersed groups of other denominations in the same period and beyond this Catholic majority. We must underline that these changes occurred as consequences of mutations produced in the denominational structure of rural settlements, which originated, as we mentioned above, in the natural increase and the migration. Although these phenomena probably affect the urban population in a larger extent, the starting point in these cases is quite different. The approximately 24 cities of Transdanubia were inhabited, without exception, nearly exclusively by Roman Catholic population already in 1828.

### ***3. Denominational or regional demographic patterns?***

A fundamental question related to the process outlined above is whether these trends and changes were based on denomination (namely the number and percentage of a denomination's believers evolves according to some similar trends regardless the geographical criteria) or this patterns were particular for specific regions or, maybe, a result of a synergy of this two factors.

If we follow the numerical evolution of various denominations by county, compared with the average of the entire Transdanubia (Table 5), we can see that there is no group which could be characterized by a uniform rate of population growth. Within each denomination there were counties with a population growth which was either below or above the average.

*Table 5. Regional growth index of denomination groups compare to the population growth of whole Transdanubia (1787-1910)*

Denomination	Growth index of denominational groups					All counties
	Below the average	Near to the average	Above the average	Highest in its region	Not measurable	
	in counties					
Calvinists	7	---	---	1	2	10
Lutherans	2	2	1	3	2	10
Roman Catholics	---	5	3	2	---	10
Total	9	7	4	6	4	

*Source:* the calculation of the author

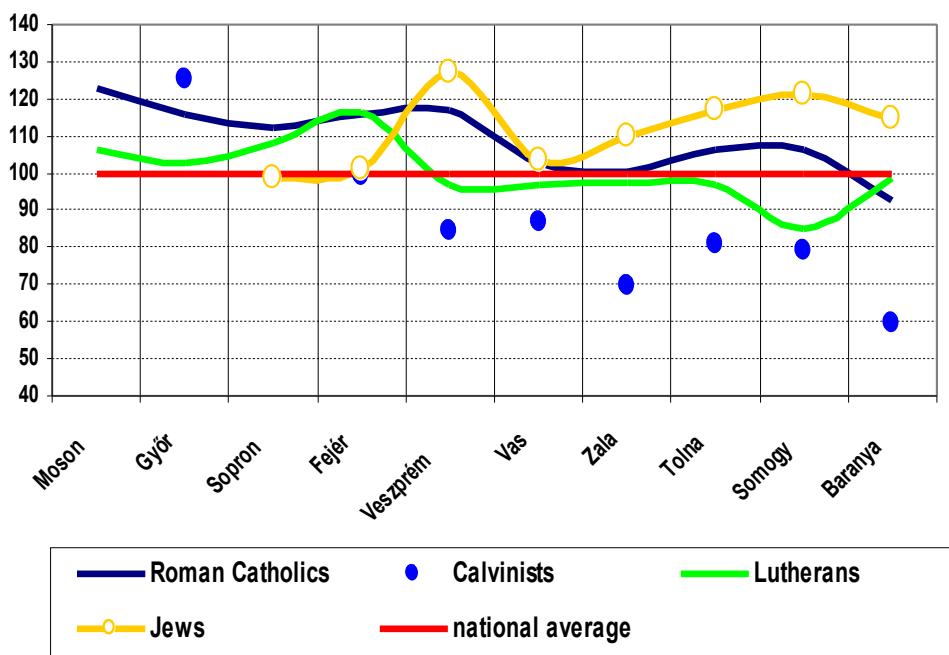
At the same time, it should be noticed that during the period of 1787-1910, the Calvinist groups had a growth rate significantly below average. (The only exception was Vas County. Here the Calvinist group reached something more than 8000 people in 1828 and in 1910, after approximately 80 years, their number increased with 50% on the size of 12,000 – but they consisted only 3% of the total population in the county.) It is also true that a part of the Roman Catholics had a demographic growth well above the average while the others were close to that, so there was no subgroup between them with a very slow increase. (As expected, the demographic growth of the Lutheran denomination by county was somewhere between those two extremes.) In other words, even if we cannot establish and pronounce valid and applicable assertions to all denominations and all counties, we can see, however, a strong tendency of rapid demographic growth, in the Roman Catholics case, a slow, below the average growth, in the Calvinist case and a close to average one in the Lutheran one. If we analyze the most important factor of population growth, the fertility – considered from the denomination perspective and related with county distribution – the average data for the period of 1909-1912, as it was calculated and estimated by the Hungarian Central Statistical Office (MStK 50: 842) showed that the situation of denominations was quite uneven, with very large variations by counties (Figure 3).

The image of fertility is undeniably closely correlated with the demographic changes of denominations by counties. Six out of the eight counties with significant Calvinist population had a fertility significantly below the national average (about 60-65%), eight counties approached the national average in the Lutheran case, one county for each group was above, respectively, below average, while in the Roman Catholics case there were five counties above average, four counties close, and just one below the county average. (The Jewish fertility situation was similar in many respects to that of Roman Catholics). Therefore, the regional fertility data show strong similarity with the image provided by the analysis of general population growth of the denomination groups.

The analysis of the fertility, as it appears above, also reveals some specific regional implications. The counties from the northern and central regions of Transdanubia (Moson, Sopron, Győr and Fejér) were characterized by the above average fertility for both Roman Catholics and Lutherans, while all denominations from Baranya had fertility below the national average. This was a common aspect here even for Roman Catholics.



Figure 3. Fertility level by denomination in the different counties of Transdanubia (average of 1909-1912) a)

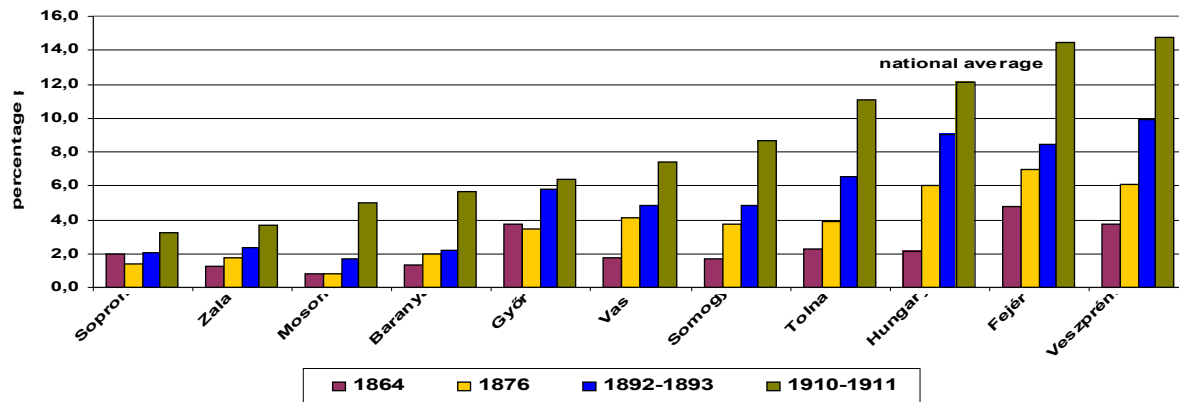


Source: calculated after MStK 50: 842

a) Calvinists and Jews because of the small population are not calculated in some counties

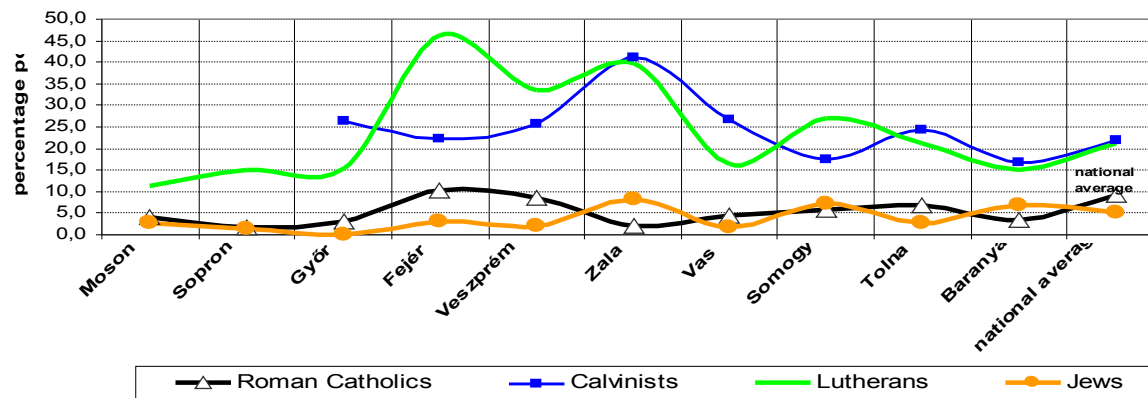
Although the similarities in the graphs suggest the need for further research in this direction, we are sure that these parallel dynamics cannot be sustained exclusively by a similarity in the social structures of the denomination groups from different counties. According to all odds, the evolution of the fertility – as shown above – is explained also through the action of some regional factors, independently of denomination affiliation, through the involvement of some elements of demographic behavior related to local social values, and expectations. (In this respect, even in those graphs presenting the so particular fertility of Jews, similarities with other denominations seem to exist). In other words, fertility data confirms the combined version – from the three listed possibilities – that of compound models, the parallel existence of denominational and regional patterns as well.

Figure 4. Proportion of all mixed marriages by county (1864-1911)



Source: Bewegung 1866:50-51, MSÉ 1876: 1-15, MStK 50: 50-51, 58-59, Népmozgalom 1892-1893: 10-11, 14-15

Figure 5. Proportion of mixed marriages between parishioners by denomination in the different counties (average of 1910-1911)



Source: MStK 50: 50-51, 58-59.

Another issue is also worth to be the subject to such an analysis which takes into account the denomination's data by counties: the intermarriages between the confessional groups – this is perhaps the most sensitive indicator of the quality of relations between denominations. In this case we deal with a dual question: 1. have the mixed marriages by confession significantly influenced the changes in the denominational structure? 2. Has the openness between confessions seen temporal and spatial variations? It is obvious that since the phenomenon can be studied from based on official statistics, the numbers of mixed marriages was steadily increasing (Figure 4). What seems surprising, instead, is the extremely small percentage of these marriages. Should we calculate an index, the number and the percentage of mixed marriages would show a rapid growth, but, in reality it never reaches 10% proportion in most counties, not even in 1910-1911, because of the low initial calculation base.

If we make a projection of the linear trend between 1864 and 1910-1911, it suggests a 2% indicator around 1864. Which means practically almost hermetically closed religious groups for the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. If we consider the denominational data by counties for the years 1910 -1911 (Figure 5) we see that in the years preceding the First World War, both the Roman Catholic group – representing an absolute majority in the region – and the Jewish group – rather geographically dispersed – had a caste like matrimonial behavior, although the introduction of civil marriage in 1895 abolished, at least in theory, the obstacles standing in the way of intermarriages between Catholics and Protestants, and between Jews and Christians. The evolution of the percentage of mixed marriages was clearly influenced – both on the geographical and temporal coordinates – by the intermarriages between Protestants. If we analyze the details of the mixed marriages we conclude that while the relations between Reformation and Lutheran groups were opened, those between the groups of Jews, Catholics and Protestants were completely different, these groups functioning like a closed caste. (The maximum level of mixed marriages at Jews was 5%, and this percentage being rarely exceeded also by Roman Catholics.)

A closer analysis reveals that the proportion of mixed marriages in different counties depends very much on the territorial distribution of denominations. In localities inhabited by a larger denomination group the number of mixed marriages is lower, but where the groups are smaller, the percentage increases, due to the social pressure<sup>22</sup>. The scale of values, the set

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<sup>22</sup> The pressure and social expectations of the epoch required every young and healthy person to marry. It appears that the unmarried status was less tolerated than the absence of children, especially in rural areas. That is why many young people from isolated groups found themselves in need to

of intentions (the opening or closing decisions) of a confessional group can be assessed by calculating the percentages of mixed marriages from compact religious groups: for example, the values of 2-4% for the massive group of Catholics in the counties of Moson, Sopron, Győr or Vas, for the year 1910-1911, show a marked tendency of group isolation.

These results seem surprising: judging by the percentages of 15-22% of mixed marriages in the big cities of the region (Győr, Pécs, Sopron, Székesfehérvár) and taking into account the effects of urbanization, development of education and the evolution of professional system, we would expect at a much more opened north area of Transdanubia and higher isolation trends in Somogy and Zala. Apparently, the confessional habits and values were changing more slowly than the evolutions induced by the spread of literacy or vocational learning. Our data suggest that higher proportion of intermarriages can be found only in those regions where the denominational structure is very heterogeneous, and they have many confessional minorities, even on the eve of First World War. Summing up all the facts we believe, this phenomenon could not significantly influence the long term change of denominational structure, as well as the slowly formulating dominance of the Roman Catholic Church. The mixed marriages were not the cause, but rather the consequence of demographic decline, dispersion and fragmentation of certain denominational groups.

#### ***4. Conclusions***

The results and conclusions of our brief analysis could be formulated as follows: in the 200 years preceding the First World War in Transdanubia the structure of denominational system has changed, at a faster rate in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century and more slowly but steadily in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. The main driving force of the demographic change was the fertility, although during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century the migrations and the conversion of people to the Roman Catholic denomination, because of the Counter Reformation had their contribution. In the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, other phenomena such as migration to urban areas or abroad, and epidemics of cholera took place. The demographic map of denominations has also been marked by internal migration processes, very difficult to quantify from the statistical point of view. At the middle and at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century we still have to do with smaller or larger compact religious groups, isolated both geographically and in terms of external relations system.

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find partners in other denominations, if they did not found a suitable partner among their group because of age and gender fluctuations, being characteristics for small populations.

In most localities we can talk about the dominance of one denomination (or, at most, two), with no isolated islands with different denominations from the dominant one within the settlements— except for the Jews.

Marriage markets were virtually closed, mixed family relationships or family alliances were rare exceptions. The spontaneous migration of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, which occurred due to the economic conditions, and the demographic patterns with confessional and regional variations, undermined the isolation and closure of confessional groups. Until the First World War the process of geographical distribution of members of various denominations, led to the fragmentation of small denominations. The increase in the number of intermarriages between confessional groups – in an axiological and mental causality context – did not have a significant contribution in this process of fragmentation, except for the urban areas. Their role is unessential in the demographic changes in the rural areas, which constitute the overwhelming majority of Transdanubia.

Since we do not have detailed studies we do not know if unitary demographic patterns acted during the 18<sup>th</sup> Century inside different denominations, but prewar data suggest that demographic behavior varied by regional habits. All these were clearly influenced by the social-economic situation of each group and by the attitudes towards the institution of marriage, family planning or birth control. But these factors did not act strongly enough to induce a specific demographic behavior for each denomination, although planning and birth control phenomena were first and most prominently seen at the Calvinist group. Meanwhile, even if our analysis does not unequivocally demonstrate the existence of the compact denomination groups in demographic sense, the data on mixed marriages support the idea of the existence of these compact blocks in social sense.

Although we have a large number of partial studies concerning the demographic behavior of denominations, we still have an open issue, requiring a systemic analysis. Therefore, we must explain how the confessional and regional value system has influenced the demographic behavior, how this influence has manifested and to what extent it may be related with local social-economical factors or with ethnic and/or religions identities. We believe that in-depth demographic studies and microanalyses should, on the one hand, be repeated, with more precise analytical methods, and, on another hand, they should be extended in order to obtain clear, more determined answers, supported by more detailed results.

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# Child in a Krakow Family in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 19<sup>th</sup> Century Demographic Study

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**Abstract:** The results of the analyses presented below are to form the demographic basis to potential studies on the children population of Krakow in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 19<sup>th</sup> Century. As far as this city is concerned, they are the first step to satisfy the demand presented by Philippe Ariès: to study thoroughly the childhood and the family of the past centuries (Ariès 1960). For the last fifty years a lot has been done in this respect (the reader might find it helpful to study the following publications which present valuable bibliographic clues: *Famille et parenté: le renouvellement des approches* 2000, Kuklo 1995, 2005, Kopczyński 1997, Szoltysek 2003), however, the detailed research of Krakow population has been neglected, one of few papers on the family in Krakow is a very interesting article by W. Najdus (1991).

**Keywords:** family history in 19<sup>th</sup> Century, history of children, censuses in Habsburg Monarchy, households in 19<sup>th</sup> Century Krakow, religious structure of population in Krakow

## 1. Source basis

The source basis for the analyses are census questionnaires of 1857, 1869 and 1890 (Zyblikiewicz 2000, Zyblikiewicz 1999, Bromek 1964, Durdik 1973, Gaşowski 1981, Klein 1973, Ladstätter 1973, Winkler 1973, Zamorski 1989) stored in the Krakow National Archives.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the census questionnaires of 1900 have not been preserved, we can only find detailed group records but without household specification, only with the details of

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<sup>1</sup>Series 85/0 titled *Spis ludności miasta Krakowa z r. 1857*, census books and additional censuses, sign.p.67-83; series 86/0 titled *Spis ludności miasta Krakowa z r. 1870* (date error- the date of actual data collection on the first days of 1870 was adopted instead of the date of the critical point of the census, which was 31 December 1869), census books sign, p. 87-101; series 87/0 titled *Spis ludności miasta Krakowa z r. 1880*, census books sign, p. 108-132, 365; series 88/0 titled *Spis ludności miasta Krakowa z r. 1890*, census books and additional censuses, sign.p.135-177.

certain people. It does not allow for the analysis of the situation of children in the family and households because we can rarely trace family relations of particular people, which still concerns only nuclear families, and there are no grounds which would allow to ascribe a particular person to a household. The term “household” refers to the group of people living in one flat (house), forming community. It may also comprise people who are not living in the same house but are still connected financially with this household (e.g. children attending the boarding school or living in the youth hostel in another town, but still maintained by their parents). For the household to exist no kinship or relationship between the people belonging to this household is needed (Holzer 2003, Kędelski and Paradysz 2006, Kopczyński 1998).

The data taken from the census questionnaires have been transferred into the computer database. The first and the third census (1857 and 1880) have been thoroughly analysed, whereas the second and the fourth one (1869 and 1890) have been analysed using a systematic statistical sample (Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 2001, Kopczyński 2005). While choosing the statistical sample, the confidence level of 95% as well as the sample validity of the same value were adopted. The deviation might be of 2.5% maximum, depending on the fraction distribution in the analysed population, and such a deviation appears only with the theoretical fraction of 0.5. The SamplePower SPSS programme was used to calculate the sample and the Cohen convention of effect size of 0.55 to 0.50, which is used in social studies, was adopted.

The particular censuses differ from each other as for the information about citizens, and it is easy to notice that the census questionnaires become more precise and detailed with every next census (Zyplikiewicz 2000). To analyse the structure of the chosen population and the changes recorded in the analysed period, we had to limit our research to the features mentioned in the first census, which is the least detailed at the same time. Unfortunately, this census (of 1857) comprised only basic demographic features (sex, age, marital status, family status) with the information about religion (one of nine confessions to choose from and the category “other”) and occupational groups (only for men who were over 14).

## ***2. The object of the analysis***

The object of the analysis was the subpopulation of children living in Krakow in the census years. It was assumed that a person stopped being a child on the 14<sup>th</sup> birthday despite the fact that the legal system in the Habsburg Monarchy stated differently. According to the § 21 of the Austrian Civil Code, the person became fully independent at the age of 24. The time from birth to adulthood

was divided into three periods: first, called childhood, lasted till a person was seven; second, named immaturity, lasted till the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> year of life; third- adolescence- till the 24<sup>th</sup> birthday (Zoll 1910). The person who became adolescent stopped being a child, as we mean today (modern classification recommended by the UN classifies people according to productive abilities; pre-productive age is from 0 to 14 years, productive age is from 15 to 64, post-productive over 65. Cf. population classification according to Gustav Sundbärg. The children would mean people at the age of 0-14, parents 15-49, and grandparents 50 and older - Kędelski and Paradyś 2006). He had the right to sign an employment contract on his own, to make the last will in the presence of a judge or a notary public, to change confession, he was relieved of schooling duty and could even contract marriage but with the consent of the legal carer.

In practice, the population analysed, called in this article children, comprises Krakow citizens aged 1 to 14 (years not finished) and also a small number of people who turned 14. It was necessary to analyse the whole years as the source basis did not allow to separate people who had birthday before the end of the calendar year, especially because birthdays were not always recorded, and in the two first censuses they were not even asked about.

The analysis includes the information on the percentage of children of the overall city population, the structure of this subpopulation by sex and religion, the percentage of households and families with children of the total number of Krakow households and families, how big these households and families were and what the position of a child in the household was.

Another problem which was ineffectively explored was the professional activity of children. In the first analysed census of 1857 each questioned person could be described as belonging to one of the sixteen basic occupational groups or of two additional groups: men above 14 years old who did not belong to any of the mentioned groups and all women and children together (Zyplikiewicz 1999), which caused that the economic features given in the census questionnaires were basically unhelpful to observe the children population. The only possibility to analyse the children's activity on the job market was a close examination of their position with respect to the householder. This, however, would limit the analysis to a small group (from 2.7% to 8.7%) of children living without any relatives, as only the position of such children was recorded (though not always) in the census questionnaire and not by the kind of kinship with the householder but by such designation as a lodger, an apprentice, a servant, etc. Thus, it is a significant limitation because sending children to serve the relatives was quite common in pre-industrial Europe (Burguière 1986, Mitterauer 1992,

Mitterauer and Sieder 1982) and there are no grounds to claim that Krakow in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century was an exception in this respect.

### 3. *The percentage of children in Krakow population*

In 1850s almost every third Krakow citizen (31.6%) was a child. The percentage of this group grew to 34.1% in 1869 and fell to 28.5% in the next census year. At the end of the century, in 1890, only every fourth Krakow citizen (26.5%) was younger than 14.

The tendency to lower the percentage of children in the whole Krakow population may be seen in the bar chart (Figure 1). It might be assumed that this tendency is connected with people migrating to the city because immigrants were the ones belonging to the age groups of 0-14, which is confirmed by Juliusz Demel's research. The people who poured [in 1857-1880] to the Galicia bigger cities, especially to Lviv and Krakow, were mainly adults, which resulted in the lowering percentage of children and adolescents (Demel 1958).

Figure 1. *The percentage of children in Krakow population in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890 by sex*



Source: The registers of Krakow citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890. Own calculation.

The apparently higher percentage of boys might be slightly confusing; in reality this was the percentage: a) of male children of the entire male population living in the city, b) female children of the entire female population. The proportion by sex in the children group was almost 1:1; the female factor in the analysed subpopulation was around 100 (1857– 103, 1869 – 101, 1880 – 96, 1890 – 100). The advantage of women over men in the overall city population was significant: the female factor was 111 and constantly grew to reach 118 in 1890.

#### 4. *Krakow children's religion*

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the city citizens were basically divided into two kinds of confession: Roman Catholic and Mosaic; people of other confession and those who declared non-religious amounted to no more than 0.7-1.9% of total Krakow population (Table 1).

*Table 1. The percentage of Roman Catholics, Jews and believers of other religion of total city population and children subpopulation in Krakow in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890*

Religion	1857		1869		1880		1890	
	Total population	Children	Total population	Children	Total population	Children	Total population	Children
Roman Catholic	59.8%	53.1%	55.8%	49.2%	65.5%	55.4%	67.5%	60.1%
Mosaic	38.9%	45.9%	43.5%	50.5%	32.9%	43.7%	30.5%	38.9%
Other	1.3%	0.9%	0.7%	0.3%	1.7%	0.9%	1.9%	1.0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

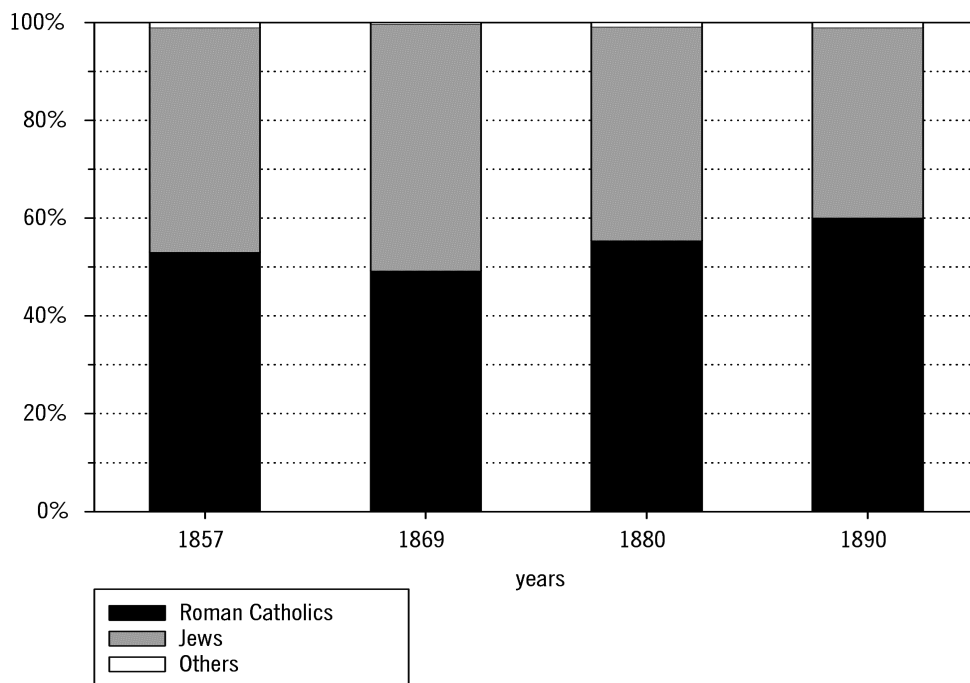
*Source:* The registers of Krakow citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890. Own calculation.

In 1857, the Roman Catholics constituted 59.8% of the citizens, whereas the Israeli 38.9%. In the next census year, the percentage of the first group lowered to 55.8%, and the second group grew to 43.5%. The biggest change in the religious structure of the city population was recorded in the census of 1880. Then, the percentage of Roman Catholics grew to 65.5% and the percentage of Israeli fell to 32.9%. According to the next census, Roman Catholics constituted 67.5% of all citizens, whereas Jews only 30.5%. The growing percentage of Roman Catholics might be connected with the immigration to the city, as the immigrants were mostly of that confession: the

law and both government and city administration restricted effectively the immigration of Israeli people from outside Krakow. Jews could reside only in the part of Kazimierz, which was regulated by *Statut urządzający starozakonnych w Wolnym Mieście Krakowie i Jego Okręgu* of 1817, being in force also when the city was joined to Austria. Jews who wanted to live outside the marked area had to e.g. abandon their traditional outfit and had to be able to speak and write Polish or German (Demel 1958, Najdus 1991).

The structure of children's religion was different (Figure 2). There were a lot more Jews in this group than in the entire Krakow population, fewer Roman Catholics and slightly fewer other religions (0.3-1.0%). Children of the Mosaic confession constituted 45.9% of total population in 1857, and in 1869 their percentage exceeded even half of all children living in the city (50.5%). In the following census years, the same tendency to a decreasing percentage of Jewish people in the Krakow population was observed in the population of children: in 1890 the children of the Mosaic confession constituted 38.9% of total children population in Krakow.

Figure 2. The percentage of religion in the children subpopulation in Krakow in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890



The percentage of children in the population of Roman Catholics, Jews and other religious believers (Table 2) shows significant differences between those religious groups. The percentage of children in the Jewish population, recorded in the first three censuses especially, allows to regard this society according to Gustav Sundbärg's classification (Sundbärg 1900, Rosset 1959) as the population of a progressive type (the percentage of children was nearly 40%), whereas the Roman Catholics could be classified in 1857 and 1869 as a stationary type (the percentage of children was around 27-30%) and in the following census years even as a regressive type.

The progressive type of the age structure means the young society where the birth rate and the population number are constantly growing; people aged 0-14 (children) make up 40% of total population, people over 50 (grandparents) only 10%. The stationary type of the age structure is characterised by a relative balance between the birth rate and death rate per year, which causes that each following year is similarly numerous; the children group amounts to 27%, the grandparents group to 23% of total population. The regressive type means the one where the birth rate is lower than the death rate and is constantly falling in the following years; the “children group” constitute only 20%, “grandparents” 30 % (Kędelski and Paradysz 2006, Holzer 2003).

*Table 2. The percentage of children in the population of Roman Catholics, Jewish and other religious groups in Krakow in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890*

Year	Percentage of children in religious groups			Total
	Roman Catholic	Jewish	Other	
1857	28.1%	37.3%	23.4%	31.6%
1869	30.1%	39.7%	13.9%	34.1%
1880	24.1%	37.9%	15.2%	28.5%
1890	23.6%	33.8%	13.8%	26.5%

*Source:* The registers of Krakow citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890. Own calculation.

The believers of other religion and those non-religious were sparse and heterogeneous by definition because the percentage of children shows the regressive type, especially since 1869.



### 5. Children in households

The households where children lived constituted nearly 60% of total number of households in Krakow in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of 19<sup>th</sup> Century (Table 3).

Their relatively high percentage compared to the number of all households was observed in 1880 (over 63%), whereas the lowest percentage in 1857 (less than 57%).

*Table 3. Households in Krakow in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890 (according to the children presence)*

Year	Households with children	Households without children	Total
1857	56.76%	43.24%	100%
1869	57.61%	42.39%	100%
1880	63.11%	36.89%	100%
1890	60.16%	49.84%	100%

*Source:* The registers of Krakow citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890. Own calculation.

We might observe significant differences in particular years of the analysed period by analysing how big the households with children were. (Table 4).

*Table 4. The number of people in the households with children in Krakow in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890*

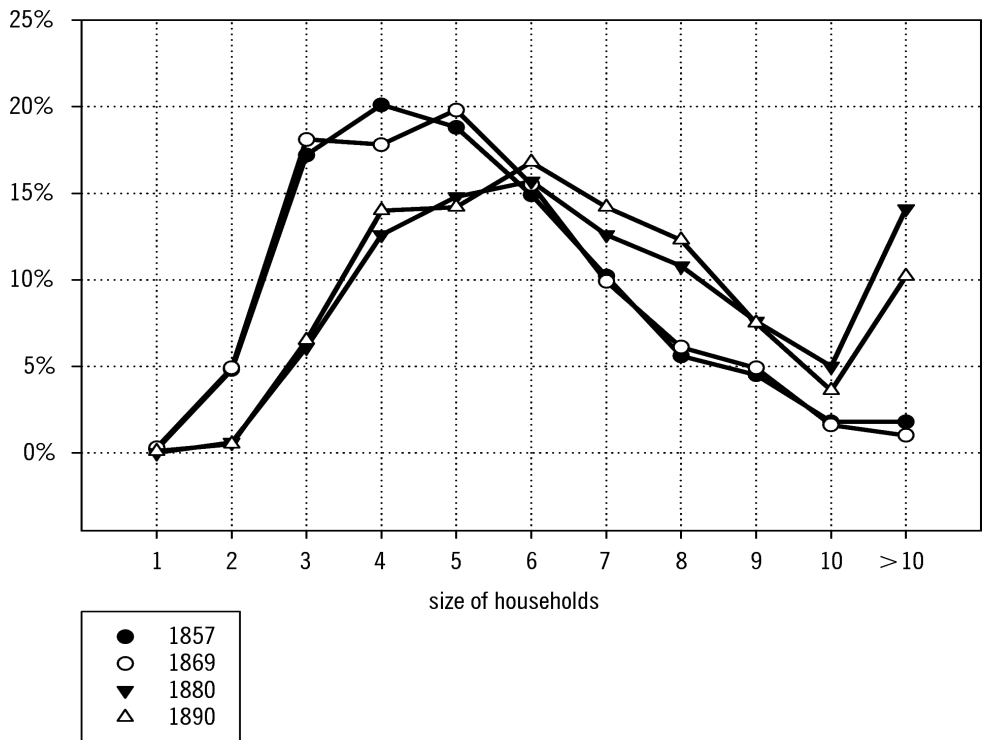
No. of people in the households	Percentage of households with children			
	1857	1869	1880	1890
1	0.2%	0.3%	0.0%	0.1%
2	4.8%	4.9%	0.6%	0.5%
3	17.2%	18.1%	6.1%	6.5%
4	20.1%	17.8%	12.6%	14.0%
5	18.8%	19.8%	14.8%	14.2%
6	14.9%	15.5%	15.7%	16.8%
7	10.2%	9.9%	12.6%	14.2%
8	5.6%	6.1%	10.8%	12.3%
9	4.5%	4.9%	7.6%	7.5%
10	1.8%	1.6%	5.0%	3.6%
> 10	1.8%	1.0%	14.1%	10.2%
<b>Total</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Source:* The registers of Krakow citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890.

What might be surprising is the small number of households run by a child. In 1857, these were the households of the servants aged 13-14 who lived on their own. In 1869 this was also shoemaker's apprentice aged 14 who ran such a household, in 1880 there was not even one household run by a child, whereas in 1890 there were no households run by under-aged female servants, only apprentices (aged 13-14) had the households on their own.

The percentage of households run by one child was inconsiderable and similar in all analysed census years. The percentage of households with two and more members were quite different, which may be seen in the Figure 3.

Figure 3. The structure of households with children according to the number of household members in Krakow in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890

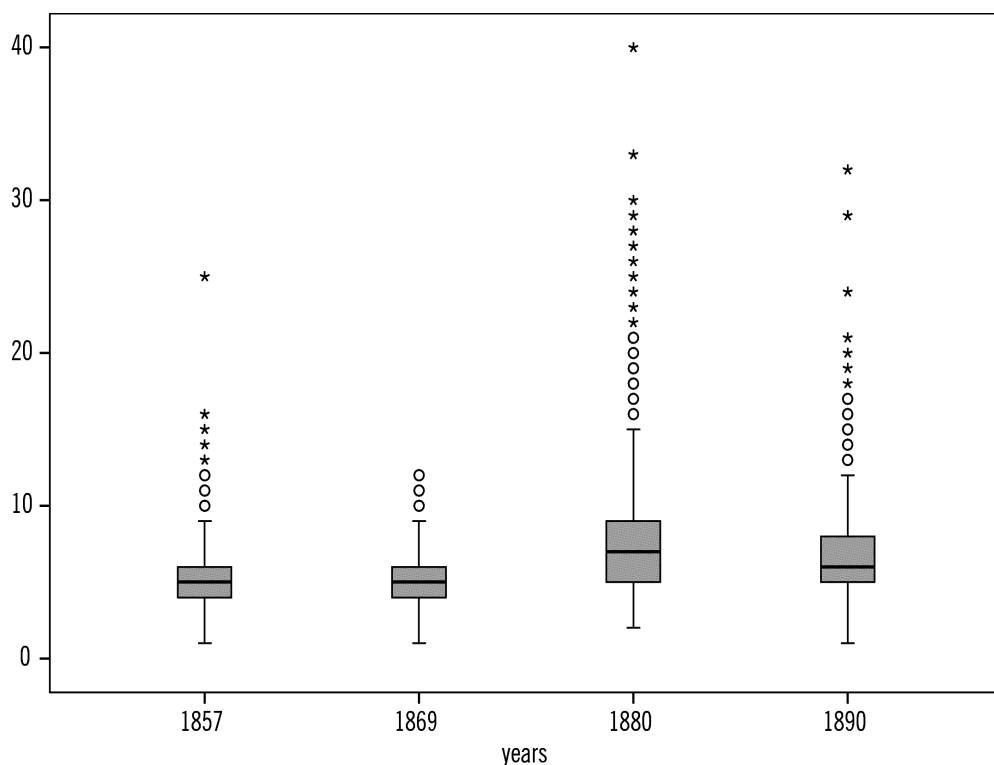


Source: Table 4.

There are clear similarities in the years 1857 and 1869 as well as in 1880 and 1890. In the first two censuses, there was a high percentage (nearly 5%) of households with two members, which, on the other hand, in two next censuses are almost unobserved. Households with three to five members constituted in

1857 and 1869 over a half of all households with children (nearly 56%), whereas in 1880 and 1890 only every third household was that big (33.2% and 34.8% respectively). Households with six, seven or eight members amounted to 30 % (30.7% in 1857 and 31.6% in 1869) and 40 % (40.0% in 1880 and 43.5% in 1890). There is a significant difference in the percentage of the households- all with children- with nine or more members: nearly 8% (8.5% in 1857 and 7.5% in 1869) and over 20% (even 26.3% in 1880 and 21.0% in 1890).

Figure 4. The size of households with children in Krakow in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890



Source: The registers of Krakow citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890. Own calculation.

The median household comprised five persons in 1857 and 1869, and in 1880 it soared to seven and then lowered to six members (Figure 4). It is worth mentioning, though, that there was a substantial difference in the size of households in 1880 and 1890, while earlier the households were more

homogeneous. It is clear that the change appeared between the years 1869 and 1880. Such a research assumption was to be verified by means of the one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) (Salkind 2004, Norušis 2004, Górnjak and Wachnicki 2004). The null hypothesis ( $H_0: \mu_1 = \mu_2 = \mu_3 = \mu_4$ ) was assumed to mean the absence of statistically significant diversity in households' size in respective years, the same concerned the size of families. First, the homogeneity of variance was tested with the Levene's test which showed in that case the necessity of rejecting this hypothesis and, besides the analysis of variance, applying additional *post hoc* tests (Tamhane's, Dunnett's T3, Games-Howell's) interpreted as regular T-student tests.

As for the size of households, it was proved that with three degrees of freedom  $F=473.709$ , the statistical significance is below 0.000. That is why, the null hypothesis was rejected as highly implausible and the alternative hypothesis was accepted, which meant the differences in the size of the households were present and they were statistically significant. Then, the results of *post hoc* tests for heterogeneous variances were compared, showing that there was no differentiation between the years 1857 and 1869 (in Tamhane's test  $p=0.986$ ), which might be observed in the Figure 5. The tests also show a clear disparity between the years 1869 and 1880. It proves low probability of random error of this disparity, whereas comparing households in 1880 and 1890 brings to a conclusion that with the significance of  $p=0.051$  (a little above the standard 0.05) the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. Thus, the disparity between those years might result from random fluctuation.

Similarly, the analysis of variance for the size of families shows the differences in respective years ( $F=41,822$   $p<0,000$ ). The absence of statistically significant differences was recorded between the years 1857 and 1869 (in Tamhane's test  $p=0.735$ ), while the difference was observable between 1869 and 1880; we cannot reject the hypothesis of equality of the family size ( $p=0.06$ ) in the latter years we compared.

The religious structure of households might be analysed by observing the religion of householders. Nowadays, the householder is a person who is considered as such by the members of the household: the designation which member of the household is a householder is left to a subjective evaluation of the questioned people. An instruction makes it easier to recognize saying that the householder is a person who fully or largely maintains the whole household. If two (or more) people equally provide for the household, the householder is the one who manages the maintenance (Holzer 2003). Registering the Krakow citizens in 19<sup>th</sup> Century was quite similar though nobody even thought of providing a definition of a householder; the census

instructions, however, required entering a householder in the first position in the questionnaires. Religion professed by a householder was almost always the religion of all the family members as well as, most often, of other people in the household who were not related to the family. In 1857 households declaring one religion constituted 96.8% of all Krakow households, in 1869- 97.5%, in 1880- 83.8%, and in 1890- 82.5%. Other households - formally religiously heterogeneous - were the households run by soldiers, who were not obliged to take part in the census, thus did not declare their religion. Mixed (interfaith) marriages happened to occur quite rarely in Krakow during the analysed period (1.5%- 3.2%), but if they did, these were usually marriages of Catholics and Protestants or, less frequently, Roman Catholics and Greek Orthodox believers. Interfaith marriages between Christians and Jews were close to none: there was only one such marriage recorded in the analysed period. We must bear in mind that the census questionnaires recorded mixed marriages which were such only at the moment of census procedure; it is impossible to note all the marriages where one partner changed his/her religion before or after entering into a marriage, but still before the census took place.

*Table 5. Religion of the householders in Krakow in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890 taking into account the children presence*

Religion	Krakow householders							
	1857		1869		1880		1890	
	with children	without children	with children	without children	with children	without children	with children	without children
Roman Catholic	54.7%	72.0%	53.3%	67.2%	64.4%	74.8%	62.4%	70.5%
Mosaic	42.8%	25.8%	45.0%	31.1%	31.8%	20.2%	34.7%	22.9%
Other	2.5%	2.2%	1.8%	1.7%	3.8%	5.0%	3.0%	6.6%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Source:* The registers of Krakow citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890. Own calculation.

In the first analysed year, households with a Roman Catholic as a householder constituted almost 55% of the total number of the households with children, whereas the percentage of Roman Catholics of the total population was fairly higher, reaching nearly 60%. Quite similar was the situation in 1869, still the disparity was lower: over 53% of households were with Roman Catholic householders and their percentage compared to the total city population was 56%. In 1880 the percentage of such households increased, reaching 64.4%,

which was close to the percentage of Roman Catholics of the total Krakow population (65.5%). The last analysed year recorded slightly lower percentage of such households (62.4%) with the increase of Roman Catholics to 67.5% who outweighed substantially other religious believers.

The percentage of households with children and the householder who professed Judaism was in two first analysed years higher than the percentage of Judaism followers of the total city population, respectively: nearly 43% in comparison with 39% of the total city population in 1857 and 45% in comparison with 43.5% of the total population in 1869; whereas in the next two years, it decreased gradually to nearly 32% in comparison with 33% of the total in 1880 and 30.5% in comparison with almost 35% in 1890.

### 6. *The size of the family with children*

The differences in size of Krakow families with children were not so conspicuous in the analysed years as the differences in size of households (including people who were not related to the family members). This is illustrated in the Table 6 and Figure 5.

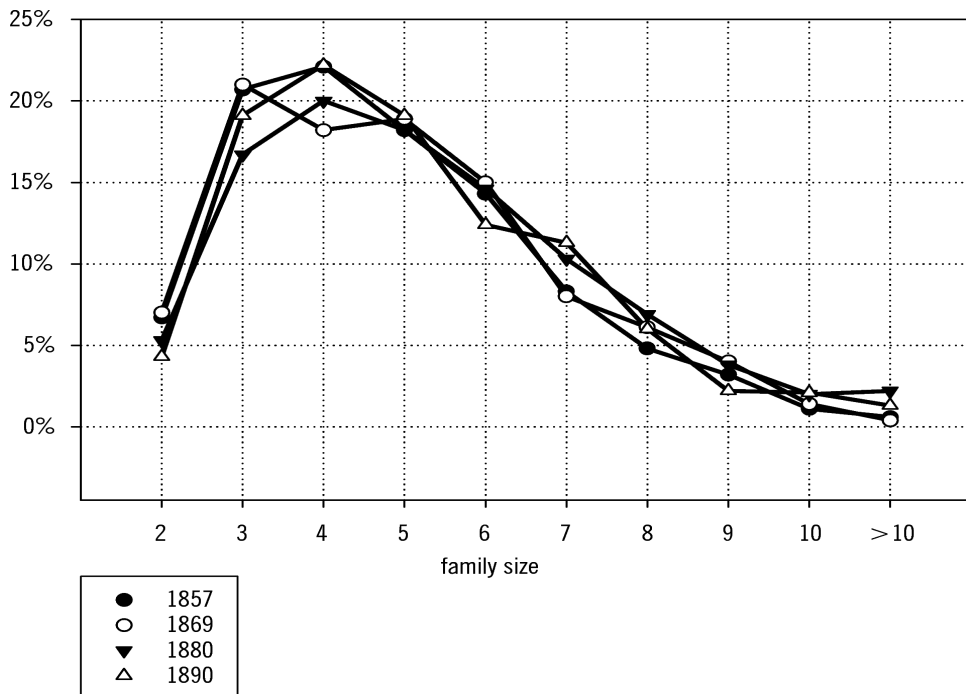
*Table 6. The size of families with children in Krakow in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890*

No. of people in the family	Percentage of families with children			
	1857	1869	1880	1890
2	6.7%	7.0%	5.3%	4.3%
3	20.7%	21.0%	16.7%	19.1%
4	22.1%	18.2%	20.0%	22.2%
5	18.2%	18.9%	18.2%	19.1%
6	14.3%	15.0%	14.6%	12.4%
7	8.3%	8.0%	10.3%	11.3%
8	4.8%	6.1%	6.9%	6.0%
9	3.2%	4.0%	3.8%	2.2%
10	1.1%	1.4%	2.0%	2.1%
>10	0.6%	0.4%	2.2%	1.3%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

*Source:* The registers of Krakow citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890. Own calculation.

Krakow families with children were not so big: around 40% were those which had 3-4 members. Families consisting of no more than five members made up almost 2/3 in all analysed years. The biggest families with nine or more relatives (kin) constituted 5-6 % (only in 1880 it was slightly higher reaching 8%).

Figure 5. The structure of families with children according to the number of family members in Krakow in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890

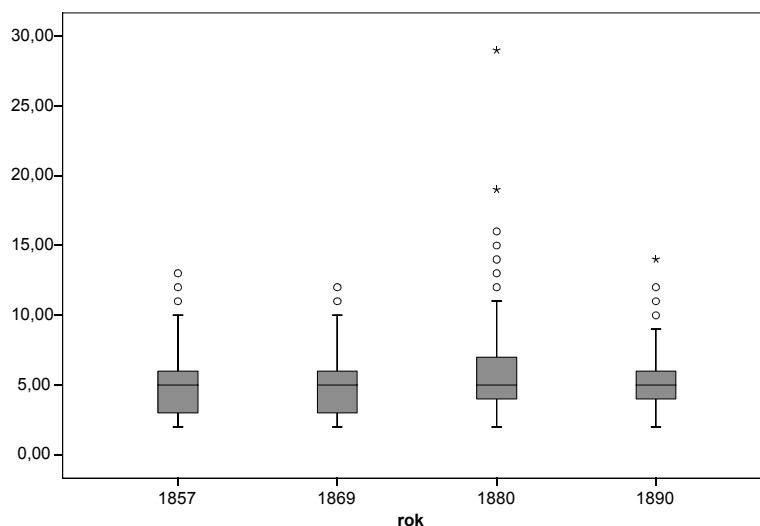


Source: Table 6.

The graphic presentation shows the lines representing the percentage of the family size. As it might be seen, the lines are quite similar for all analysed years, with a difference for 1869, when the percentage of the families with four members was lower than the one of families with three or five members. However, it is hard to notice the differences which occurred when analysing the size of the households.

The median size of the family in all analysed period was identical and equalled five people. In this case, the significant differences between the respective years are not so common as they were in the analysed structure of the households.

Figure 6. The size of families with children in Krakow in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890



Source: The registers of Krakow citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890. Own calculation.

The percentage of children living with both parents remained stable in the analysed period (differences did not cross 1.3 percentage point) and amounted to nearly 53%, whereas considerable fluctuations might be observed in the case of two other types of family shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Family situation of children living in Krakow in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890

Families with children	Year			
	1857	1869	1880	1890
with both parents	52.81%	52.69%	52.80%	52.82%
with one parent	0.61%	0.83%	9.11%	6.96%
with no parents	46.58%	46.48%	38.09%	40.23%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: The registers of Krakow citizens in 1857, 1869, 1880 and 1890. Own calculation.

One-parent families in the first two census years constituted less than 1% of all the families with children, but in two following years, their percentage increased to reach over 9% (1880) and nearly 7% (1890). These changes did not influence the percentage of families with both parents. Nevertheless, they



affected the percentage of the families in which children lived without parents: the percentage of such families decreased from around 46.5% in 1857 and 1869 to around 40% in 1880 and 1890, still being quite high. It was nothing special in European societies of demographic ancien régime (Ariès 1960, Laslett 1969, Mertes 1988). Children were sent to be brought up, educated or as servants, frequently to distant relations' households.

In Krakow in 1857 only 3.8% of children living without parents were not related to the householder in any way. This percentage rose in the following years, reaching 7.4% in 1869 and 16.3% in 1880, and then fell slightly to 14.9% in the last analysed census. Such a dramatic increase in the percentage of children living without relatives concerned only the families where children lived without one parent at least, and to some extent, it was caused by the fall in the percentage of such families with respect to the overall population. The percentage of children living with no relatives at all went up gradually in the analysed period with respect to the total number of Krakow children; however, this increase was less substantial: in 1857 such children constituted 2.7%, in 1869 – 5.5%, in 1880 – 8.4% and in 1890 they reached 8.7% of the total subpopulation.

### **7. Conclusion**

In the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> Century the percentage of children compared to the total Krakow population decreases substantially from 31.6% in 1857 to 26.5% in 1890. At the same time, the percentage of households with children rises sharply from 56.8% in 1857 to 63.1% in 1880, and falls in 1890 to 60.2%, still being much higher (by 3.4 percentage point) than at the beginning of the analysed period. The average family with children did not change dramatically in those years and consisted of five members, while the average household underwent some changes: in the first years of the analysed period, like the family, it consisted of five members; then it grew to 7 members in 1880 and to 6 in 1890. Within the period of 11 years between the second and third census, the median size of the household with children rose by two people!

The issue described here undoubtedly requires further and more thorough research. The present study may only suggest the fact that in 1870s the Krakow population underwent quite dramatic modernization processes, typical of the societies which were about to enter the industrialisation era, despite the city lacking in industry.

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## Appendix

### 1. The size of a household

Descriptive statistics		Year							
		1857		1869		1880		1890	
		Statistics	Standard error	Statistics	Standard error	Statistics	Standard error	Statistics	Standard error
Mean		5.229	0.032	5.176	0.074	7.242	0.042	6.917	0.116
95% confidence interval for the average	Inferior limit	5.167		5.030		7.160		6.690	
	Superior limit	5.292		5.321		7.325		7.145	
5% truncated mean		5.113		5.102		6.941		6.621	
Median		5		5		7		6	
Variance		4.596		4.022		11.534		10.402	
Standard deviation		2.144		2.006		3.396		3.225	
Minimum		1		1		2		1	
Maximum		25		12		40		32	
Range		24		11		38		31	
Interquartile range		2		2		4		3	
Skewness		1.089	0.036	0.594	0.090	1.896	0.030	2.294	0.088
Kurtosis		2.716	0.073	-0.079	0.180	7.154	0.061	10.374	0.176

### Test for the homogeneity of variance

Levene's test	df1	df2	Significance
166.371	3	12513	0.000

**One-way ANOVA**

	Sum of squares	df	Average square	F	Significance
<b>Between groups</b>	12101.12	3	4033.708	473.709	0.000
<b>In groups</b>	106550.28	12513	8.515		
<b>Total</b>	118651.40	12516			

**Post-hoc test: multiple comparisons**

Dependent variable: number of people

Significance

Year	Until	Tamhane's test	Dunnnett's T3 test	Games-Howell's test
1857	1869	0.986	0.986	0.911
	1880	0.000	0.000	0.000
	1890	0.000	0.000	0.000
1869	1857	0.986	0.986	0.911
	1880	0.000	0.000	0.000
	1890	0.000	0.000	0.000
1880	1857	0.000	0.000	0.000
	1869	0.000	0.000	0.000
	1890	0.051	0.051	0.043

**2. The size of a family**

Descriptive statistics		Year							
		1857		1869		1880		1890	
		Statistics	Standard error	Statistics	Standard error	Statistics	Standard error	Statistics	Standard error
Mean		4.835	0.028	4.935	0.0726	5.276	0.027	5.078	0.072
95% confidence interval for the average	Inferior limit	4.780		4.793		5.222		4.936	
	Superior limit	4.890		5.078		5.329		5.219	

Descriptive statistics	Year							
	1857		1869		1880		1890	
	Statistics	Standard error	Statistics	Standard error	Statistics	Standard error	Statistics	Standard error
5% truncated mean	4.736		4.846		5.153		4.963	
Median	5		5		5		5	
Variance	3.542		3.823		4.747		3.943	
Standard deviation	1.882		1.955		2.179		1.986	
Minimum	2		2		2		2	
Maximum	13		12		29		14	
Range	11		10		27		12	
Interquartile range	3		3		3		2	
Skewness	0.763	0.037	0.640	0.091	1.108	0.031	0.863	0.089
Kurtosis	0.348	0.073	-0.079	0.181	3.320	0.061	0.695	0.177

**Test for the homogeneity of variance**

Levene's test	df1	df2	Significance
25.066	3	12323	0.000

**One-way ANOVA**

	Sum of squares	df	Average square	F	Significance
Between groups	527.54	3	175.845	41.822	0.000
In groups	51813.40	12323	4.205		
Total	52340.94	12326			

**Post-hoc test: multiple comparisons**

Dependent variable: number of people  
Significance

Year	until	Tamhane's test	Dunnnett's T3 test	Games-Howell's test
1857	1869	0.735	0.734	0.572
	1880	0.000	0.000	0.000
	1890	0.010	0.010	0.009
1869	1857	0.735	0.734	0.572
	1880	0.000	0.000	0.000
	1890	0.659	0.658	0.504
1880	1857	0.000	0.000	0.000
	1869	0.000	0.000	0.000
	1890	0.060	0.060	0.050

# Quantitative Aspects of Death in Arad County in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century

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**Abstract:** Trying to capture the phenomenon of death in the city of Arad in the late nineteenth and early twentieth Century we focused our approach on a demographic analysis and structure based on the following: age, gender, ethnicity and religion, occupation, level of education. Sources used for the quantitative, demographic dimension, (parish registers of civil status, statistical sources) show significant population growth in the segment time in question of Arad county. But the upward trend was interrupted by the periods (1851-1857, 1871-1880) when the population decreased because of various epidemics, like cholera, in the years 1872-1873. These negative values were not recorded in the city of Arad.

**Keywords:** Arad, cholera, demographic transition, alcoholism, infant mortality

The present paper approaches the quantitative dimension of death in the county of Arad at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, from specific sources such as parish registers of civil status which "remain the best single source of documentation about the history of the humble. These records are a source for demographic history, but even more, are a source of global history" (Chaunu 1989: 215).

The dynamics of the population in Arad county was influenced in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century by agents such as economical development, the progress of medical service, the improvement of the hygienic conditions, which led to the growth of the population with 209, 96% by the end of the Century, growth which was marked with periods of demographic decline. The cultural and educational level also played an important role in the sense that a community gives up easily to prejudices and empirical practice, requiring specialized medical aid if trained. Population decrease was registered by the censuses of 1857 and 1882 and was explained by the demographic consequences of the revolution of 1848 and the cholera epidemic of 1873.



The cholera came in the county of Arad in the early summer of 1873, the county towns knowing its ultimate manifestation in July and August. The cholera is an infectious bacterial disease particularly affecting the small intestine. The disease manifests itself through digestive disorders like severe diarrhea, excessive vomiting, which lead to a quick dehydration of the sick, through loss of electrolytes. 16,061 people, representing 5.72% of the county's population were infected with this virus, but as a consequence of the prophylactic measures taken, 9,969 people were healed, representing 62.07% (Pădurean 2003: 151, 179).

Table 1. Cholera epidemic of 1872-1873 in the county and the city of Arad

	Population haunted by the cholera	III	Healed	Deceased	% of total population		% of population haunted by cholera		% of the infected	
					Infected	Deceased	Infected	Deceased	Infected	Deceased
County	300,474	16,061	9,969	6,092	5.27	1.99	5.34	2.02	62.07	37.93
City	32,725	1,102	469	633	3.36	1.93	3.36	1.93	42.56	57.44

Source: *Magyar Statistikai Évkönyv, második évfolyam*, Budapest, 1874, pp. 84-85

The threat of cholera returned with World War I, which led the church authorities to issue a circular act in which the priests and teachers were encouraged to pursue health of believers and to advise them to prevent and cure the disease. Thus, people were advised to immediately announce the notary, the priest or the teacher in case of illness. Also, patients had to be separated from the others in a clean room and they had to spare the excesses of food and drink. There were also provided measures like: blanching the houses; cleaning the yards and stalls; not drinking water from rivers, boiling and cooling fountain water; not eating raw fruit and vegetables; the sick people's excrements had to be buried and covered with lime (ANDJA, Parohia Ortodoxă Română Felnc, Dosar 17/1914, *Circular 5500/1914*, f. 1).

Unlike the demographic condition of the county, the population dynamics of the city of Arad was permanently positive in this period, accompanying the industrial dynamism of the city. The urbanization and the

industrialization were accompanied by the massive migration from the rural to the urban environment. Yet, the presence of the cholera epidemic was also registered in the city, this disease producing a number of 277 deaths in July of 1873 and 274 victims in August of 1873. In fact, cholera virus caused the highest mortality registered in the city of Arad in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century through the 2,358 deaths. The most affected age groups were children between 0 and 14 years and those in adulthood between 31 and 40 years, the highest number of victims from among the social categories with a precarious economical status (workers, servants, women without occupation) whose resistance to infectious diseases was affected by poor nutrition (Pădurean 2003: 184).

The dynamics of the population of Arad County was also influenced by the evolution of birth rate and mortality as main components of the natural movement of the population.

Mortality is the index of demographic result of reporting deaths in a population to the total of that population in a given territory. Since official data for the demographic indicators was published by the Hungarian Statistical Office beginning with the year 1866 there can be observed some variations in the levels of mortality caused by various epidemics like the cholera epidemic from 1873, which caused the death of 26,215 people.

*Table 2. The evolution of mortality in the county and city of Arad between 1866-1900*

<b>Year</b>	<b>1866</b>	<b>1867</b>	<b>1868</b>	<b>1869</b>	<b>1870</b>	<b>Average</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1872</b>	<b>1873</b>	<b>1874</b>
<b>County</b>	11,679	114,444	11,258	10,041	11,847	1,1253.8	19,792	17,782	26,215	16,901
<b>City</b>	1,781	1,347	1,183	1,251	1,357	1,383.8	1,756	1,763	2,538	1,943
<b>Year</b>	<b>1875</b>	<b>1876</b>	<b>1877</b>	<b>1878</b>	<b>1879</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>Average</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1882</b>	<b>1883</b>
<b>County</b>	13,280	10,336	10,801	11,384	10,107	11,443	14,800	11,327	14,406	10,467
<b>City</b>	1,541	1,326	1,216	1,422	1,349	1,381	1,339	1,384	1,434	1,273
<b>Year</b>	<b>1884</b>	<b>1885</b>	<b>1886</b>	<b>1887</b>	<b>1888</b>	<b>1889</b>	<b>1890</b>	<b>Average</b>	<b>1891</b>	<b>1892</b>
<b>County</b>	10,488	11,131	9,739	12,710	11,492	11,935	12,766	12,646	12,881	13,942
<b>City</b>	1,305	1,555	1,349	1,183	1,289	1,182	1,284	1,324	1,452	1,537
<b>Year</b>	<b>1893</b>	<b>1894</b>	<b>1895</b>	<b>1896</b>	<b>1897</b>	<b>1898</b>	<b>1899</b>	<b>1900</b>	<b>Average</b>	
<b>County</b>	12,438	9,845	10,211	9,727	11,283	12,347	9,954	10,258	11,258	
<b>City</b>	1,291	1,219	1,387	1,357	1,400	1,379	1,372	1,358	1,375	

*Source:* parish registers of civil status, the register of deceased

For the period 1900-1913 data on mortality in the population of Arad County can be found in *The Protocols about the Meetings of the Eparchial Synod from the Romanian Greek Orthodox Diocese of Arad*: 10,434 deaths in 1901; 11,008 in 1902; 10,907 in 1903; 10,395 in 1904; 11,603 in 1905; 11,255 in 1906; 11,143 in 1907; 11,067 in 1908; 11,142 in 1909; 10,400 in 1910; 11,536 in 1911; 9,924 in 1912; 9,659 in 1913; 10,286 in 1914; 10,663 in 1915 and 8,706 in 1916. As in the case of Transylvania, the number of deaths since 1914 can be explained by the fact that the effects of the First World War have not yet been felt, and the decrease of mortality rate in 1916 was due to the fact that among these deaths there were not included soldiers enrolled here and fallen on the battlefields in Europe (Bolovan 2000: 144).

In the case of Arad city there is a downward trend registering a gross death rate declining steadily and indicating inclusion of the city in the model of the demographic transition. Furthermore, the historian Corneliu Pădurean (2003: 175) sustains that after the year 1894 the Arad County passes to the “new demographic regime” characterized by low levels of mortality and birth rate and associated with the modernization of the society detected in: industrialization, economical increase, urbanization, the women emancipation, medicine progress. For Transylvania, specialists have placed the beginnings of this process in the years 1875-1880. Thus, the gross rate of mortality decreased from 32.8‰ in Transylvania, at the end of the eighth decade, to 25.8‰ before the First World War. The birth rate began to decline barely at the end of the ninth decade, from 41.8‰ to 37‰ between 1911 and 1914.

*Table 3. The annual evolution of the gross mortality rate in the county and city of Arad*

<b>Year</b>	<b>1866</b>	<b>1867</b>	<b>1868</b>	<b>1869</b>	<b>1870</b>	<b>1871</b>	<b>1872</b>	<b>1873</b>	<b>1874</b>	<b>1875</b>	<b>1876</b>	<b>1877</b>
<b>County</b>	41.71	39.27	40.21	32.95	38.84	65.03	58.42	86.13	55.53	43.63	33.96	35.49
<b>City</b>	59.67	45.13	39.64	41.92	42.12	51.43	51.63	74.33	56.91	45.13	43.73	39.72
<b>Year</b>	<b>1878</b>	<b>1879</b>	<b>1880</b>	<b>1881</b>	<b>1882</b>	<b>1883</b>	<b>1884</b>	<b>1885</b>	<b>1886</b>	<b>1887</b>	<b>1888</b>	<b>1889</b>
<b>County</b>	37.4	33.2	37.64	34.98	44.49	32.32	32.39	40	30.07	39.25	35.49	36.86
<b>City</b>	46.46	43.7	38.84	38.88	40.23	35.48	36.08	43	37	32	35	39
<b>Year</b>	<b>1890</b>	<b>1891</b>	<b>1892</b>	<b>1893</b>	<b>1894</b>	<b>1895</b>	<b>1896</b>	<b>1897</b>	<b>1898</b>	<b>1899</b>	<b>1900</b>	
<b>County</b>	37.15	35.44	38.36	34.22	27.08	28.09	30.5	35.17	37.97	30.4	31.31	
<b>City</b>	30	34.51	36.6	30.7	28.8	32.2	31.6	32.38	31.7	31.36	25.48	

In the cases of deaths, parish registers of civil status present a great variety: “apoplexy” (stroke vaso accident), “ignition of brain” (meningitis), “ignition throat” (tonsillitis), “ignition of guts” (enterocolitis), “ignition of lung” (pneumonia), pyelonephritis, “lighting of blood” (leukemia), “flash back” (meningitis), “burning”, “old age” (senility), “heart disease” (ischemic heart disease), “spleen disease”, “bronhilis” (bronchitis), “shake the mind” (dementia), diphtheria, “teeth” (dental abscess), “gout”, “quinsy” (node), “hectic” (TB lung), “hydropic” (edema), “drowned in Mures”, “the birth”(fever poverty), “lungore” (sleepiness), “self-killing” (suicide), “orbanțiu” (lupus erythematosus of the face), “Racu” (cancer), fractures, issue of blood (bleeding), “leaked” (leucorrhea), “sgaibă” (gathering), “low-born”(dystrophy), “weakness”, “weakness blood” (anemia), “broken heads”, “cracked”, “swollen lungs” (pulmonary emphysema ), “dry” (cachexia), “paid” (smallpox), “zaporu” (cancer).

*Table 4. Causes of death from the year 1895 in the county and city of Arad*

Cause of death	Administrative-territorial unit			
	Arad County		Arad City	
	No.	%	No.	%
Smallpox	36	0.35	5	0.36
Diphtheria	316	3.09	33	2.37
Scarlet fever	37	0.36	10	0.72
Abdominal fever	37	0.36	6	0.43
Exanthematic typhus	1	0	0	0
Measles	119	1.16	2	0.14
Dysentery	22	0.21	0	0
Strong Cough	80	0.78	8	0.57
Influenza	24	0.23	0	0
Puerperal fever	19	0.18	4	0.28
Infectious abscess	27	0.26	0	0
Birth debility	1,699	16.63	112	8.07
Spasm	543	5.31	83	5.98
Withered	435	4.26	32	2.3

<b>Pneumonia</b>	1,076	10.53	184	13.26
<b>Tuberculosis</b>	1,088	10.65	233	16.79
<b>Enteritis</b>	887	8.68	88	6.34
<b>Apoplexy</b>	181	1.77	62	4.47
<b>Senility</b>	833	8.15	107	7.71
<b>Hidrophizie</b>	235	2.3	22	1.58
<b>Hydrophobia</b>	3	0.02	0	0
<b>Abalienation</b>	15	0.14	11	0.79
<b>Other causes</b>	2,032	19.9	335	24.15
<b>Unknown diseases</b>	174	1.7	3	0.21
<b>Suicides</b>	22	0.21	17	1.22
<b>Violent death</b>	105	1.02	30	2.16
<b>Unspecified causes</b>	165	1.61	0	0
<b>Total</b>	10,211	100	1,387	100

Source: *Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv*. Uj folyam, III, 1895, Budapest, 1896, pp. 84-85

In 1900 most deaths in the county and city of Arad were also caused by tuberculosis and scarlet fever. The number of deaths caused by these diseases rose to 2,338 in the county and 32 in the city of Arad. To those were added other deaths causes, respectively 7,737 in the county and 971 in the city, as well as deaths with unknown causes, in number of 183 in the county and 58 in the city. A situation of death causes in the county and city of Arad in 1900 is presented in table 5.

Table 5. Causes of death in the county and city of Arad in 1900

Cause of death	Administrative-territorial unit			
	Arad County		Arad City	
	No.	%	No.	%
<b>Small-pox</b>	5	0.04	0	0
<b>Measles</b>	182	1.77	1	0.07
<b>Scarlet fever</b>	339	3.3	36	2.65

<b>Whooping Cough</b>	129	1.25	3	0.22
<b>Diphtheria</b>	91	0.88	3	0.22
<b>Abdominal fever</b>	86	0.83	11	0.81
<b>Diarhorrea</b>	128	0.01	0	0
<b>Dysentery</b>	16	0.15	1	0.07
<b>Tuberculosis</b>	1,309	12.76	267	19.66
<b>Other diseases</b>	53	0.51	7	0.51
<b>Total number of deaths caused by diseases</b>	2,338	22.79	329	24.22
<b>Other causes</b>	7,737	75.42	971	71.5
<b>Unknown causes</b>	183	1.78	58	4.27
<b>Total deceses</b>	10,258	100	1,358	100

*Source: Magyar Statisztikai Evkonyv. Uj folyam, VII, Budapest, 1901, p. 42*

“Weakness” and “dry” “at birth” do not have a correlation in current medical discourse, being regarded as symptoms of some unnamed disease, rather than the disease itself. Regarding the death due to old age, the cause of death is most appropriate associated with death of natural causes, the predominant pattern circulated at that time. For death caused by infectious diseases, the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century marked the progress of tuberculosis, which takes the place of cholera, the smallpox constant regression, significant proportion of causes of death such as coughing, igniting the lungs, scarlet fever, diarrhea (in children).

With regard to tuberculosis, an act of 1905 provided some measures to be implemented in schools, in order to stop the advance of the disease. Thus, children should learn to keep their hand or handkerchief to their mouth when coughing; schools had to be cleaned, disinfected once or twice a day; classrooms had to be lit and painted at least twice a year; there were recommended outdoor activities and gymnastics for the lungs; children should seek medical advice when they felt symptoms such as fever, depression, lack of pleasure working, weight loss, coughing (ANDJA, Parohia Ortodoxă Cicir, Dosar 15/1904-1905, *Circular Nr. 2845/1905*, f. 149).

Around 1900's one of the key causes of death in Transylvania became typhus, a disease of poverty involving lack of hygiene, the essential agent in spreading the virus being lice excrement. If this disease of poverty was

particularly found in rural areas, the city had its specific diseases, diseases of “affluence” such as gout, caused by excess uric acid in blood. Regarding non-contagious diseases, the most important causes of death were represented by weakness at birth, old age, effusion, dropsy (hydropathical), a disease involving the accumulation of water in the tissues (Rotar 2006: 25-30).

The end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century also registered the constant progress of cancer cases, especially among females. Another novelty for this period was the introduction of alcoholism among the causes of death. Thus, alcoholism is a primary chronic disease influenced in its development and manifestations by the interaction of personality factors with the environment, and has a predictable and progressive evolution, often being fatal. It is characterized by loss of control over alcohol, constantly or periodically, concern over alcohol despite adverse consequences and thinking disorders.

In addition to these effects on the body and personal health, alcohol also led to family neglect, theft, murders, suicides, and the ravishment of the feasts, increasing concubinage and illegitimate children. Thus, 38% of the criminal cases were caused by drunken people, a large number of examples being brought from parishes in this regard. Thereby, the priest Iulian Paguba presented to the population of Miersig the case of Ioan Pantea, who, being drunk took his carriage and went for water supply, but ended up under its wheels, and Todoric Flore killed Ioan Gab being drunk (*Biserica și Școala* 1908: 3).

Reaching the sphere of violent death, alcoholism had a much lower rate than the one caused by illness, the three causes of violent death being: accidental death, suicide and murder.

Regarding suicide, Emil Durkheim considers that it is directly proportional with mortality in an historical time and space, being known that the Christian ethics consider this action as an ultimate sin. The author cited considers suicide every case of death that results directly or indirectly out of a positive or negative act, committed by the victim herself, and who is aware of the outcome of this action (Durkheim 1993: 12).

Suicide has contaminated all ages, the lower limit being represented by seven years of age. The number of men who resort to this last gesture was higher than that of women, except for category aged 15-19. This balance in terms of suicide among persons male and female can be explained by a suicide for love, often occurring at these ages, operated by the women. In the confessional distribution of suicides, the Reformats, the Unitarians and Evangelic were predominant, the lowest rate being recorded for the Orthodox

and the Greek-Catholics. Moreover, in Transylvania, suicide was most common in areas where ethnic Hungarians prevailed (Rotar 2006: 34)

One of the demographic categories commonly used in the analysis of mortality is death by sex. It is noted that it is male births and deaths that are most common, the specific pattern for the whole of Transylvania. Thus, in 1866, men represented 51.53% of the dead, and the percentage increased to 52.57% in 1876. In 1885 it returned to a value of 51.63%. In general, the proportion of deceased men and women in the county of Arad is around over 51% for male and over 48% for female. It is confirmed as in the case of Transylvania and the Hungarian county of Arad the remark made by Egon Szabady arguing that life expectancy for men in early 20<sup>th</sup> Century was one to two years younger than women because of male over mortality.

In the city of Arad male over mortality exceeded the value recorded in the county. In 1866 the number of male deaths represented 51.57%, in 1876 it was 57.99% and in 1885 men were accounted for 54.49% of the dead. This phenomenon is also encountered in the extra-Carpathian area: in Moldova where mortality was 7% higher in men than in women in 1859 and the percentage rose to 10% in 1860.

Increased mortality of men can be explained both by higher number of male births (an arrangement to maintain a balance between the sexes) and a number of factors such as difficult work schedule, higher immoderacy of men to food, alcohol and other excesses, the increased mobility of men, which made them come more frequently in contact with disease outbreaks (Bolovan 2000: 153).

*Table 6. The structure of mortality by sex in the city and county of Arad (1866-1885)*

Administrative -territorial unit	1866			1876			1885		
	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total
	No.	No.		No.	No.		No.		
	%	%		%	%		%		
<b>Arad County</b>	6,019	5,660	11,679	5,434	4,902	10,336	5,747	5,384	11,131
	51.53	48.46		52.57	47.42		51.63	48.36	
<b>Arad City</b>	918	862	1,780	769	557	1,326	849	709	1,558
	51.57	48.42		57.99	42		54.49	45.5	

*Source:* parish registers of civil status, the register of the deceased



Seasonal movement of mortality is based on the consideration that the number of deaths also varies according to seasons, criteria associated with the rate for agricultural work, food content and even the religious regime for fasting.

Thus, the end of the farm help increased the number of deaths by natural depletion, associated with a less varied diet, rich in fat, high cholesterol and represented the conditions favoring the onset of cardiovascular accidents. For children, August and September were particularly associated with gastrointestinal disturbances caused by abuse and unwashed fruits and vegetables.

Also, winter and early spring were generally characterized by high mortality associated with broncho-pulmonary diseases caused by cold

*Table 7. Seasonal distribution of mortality in Arad*

	Ian.	Feb.	Mar.	Apr.	May	Jun.	Jul.	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Total
<b>1871</b>	132	95	112	111	118	101	152	182	205	217	172	168	1756
	7	5.41	6.37	6.32	6.71	5.75	8.65	10.36	11.67	12.35	9.79	9.56	100
<b>1881</b>	95	89	94	109	111	88	118	94	93	74	84	67	1116
	8.51	7.97	8.42	9.76	9.94	7.88	10.57	8.42	8.33	6.63	7.52	6	100
<b>1891</b>	89	84	75	81	86	80	95	82	87	85	85	85	1014
	8.77	8.28	7.39	7.98	8.48	7.88	9.36	8.08	8.57	8.38	8.38	8.38	100
<b>1901</b>	90	94	80	66	63	68	73	56	77	56	69	63	855
	10.52	10.94	9.35	7.7	7.36	7.95	8.53	6.54	9	6.54	8.07	7.36	100

*Source:* parish registers of civil status, the register of the deceased

With regard to age structure of mortality, there may be detected a greater frequency of newborns deaths (0-1 year) and children between 1-14 years following the 31-40 years age category, prone to heart.

It is also noticeable the number of deceased over the age of 60 years which is lower in rural areas due to physical exhaustion at work in the field, coupled with a less varied and unhealthy diet, which decreases the body's immunity, exposing itself to epidemics of all kinds.

Related to the marital status of the deceased, most were married. It is noticed the large number of widows who remarried. This is because male's mortality increased and many women survived their husbands, although family and community hardly recognized the right of these categories of women to rebuild their lives. With regard to widowhood, women could remarry a second

time after spending some time in prayer and fasting. In order to remarry, widows had to spend a year of mourning and commemoration, but the one year period could be shortened if the woman was born a few months after her husband. The number of remarriages was higher for widows, who needed help with household work and child upbringing, but most men preferred to marry unmarried women who had no children or family obligations towards her deceased husband's relatives and who had more power for work in order to take the responsibility for the household.

Instead, the widow became marginalized by the community who often sanctioned her harshly if she did not mourn her husband, suspecting that her real intention was to earn her deceased husband's fortune. Therefore, contracting a new marriage was undermined by the attitude of the community, of the family, of her own material and biological conditions.

Unlike widowers, who mostly remarried young unmarried women, widows remarried a widower; few marriages between a widow and an unmarried young man were more likely caused by material considerations than the existence of feelings (Bolovan 2002: 329-330).

Thus, in 1880, out of the 11,443 of the deceased in the county, 2,557 were married, 1,308 unmarried, 473 widowers and 712 widows. At the city level, the number of married people was 281, 231 unmarried, 54 widowers and 126 widows, a total of 1,381 died in the year 1880 (*Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv, tizedek évfolyam*, Budapest 1882, p. 67).

In Transylvania the mortality structure by age allows highlighting the following issues: mortality up to 5 and 7 years of age is more present among male than female, the risk of death is lower for age groups between 16-20 years, 21-25 years and 30-39 years for deaths in the age category of 70-74 years, frequency was greater among females than males, the category of deaths over 90 years, Transylvania occupies the first place among the eight provinces of the Hungarian crown, the same provinces counter-balancing the first place on infant mortality (Rotar 2006: 21).

Infant mortality is calculated to 1,000 live births and represents the proportion between deaths under 1 year of age and the number of live births of that year. It also represents a measure of wealth, civilization and culture (Trebici 1979: 122).

In the case of Arad city, at the beginning of the ninth decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, the highest rate of infant mortality and of children up to 5 years old was recorded in the Greek-catholic confession, followed by the Roman Catholic, the explanation involving the prevalence of these religions among the population of the city. Many of these children were illegitimate, coming from

mothers who had worked as a maid and had love affairs with the men who had hired them and then they did not recognize the children. Thus, in 1880, the number of dead children before the age of 5 was 6,393 in the county, respectively 689 in the city of Arad, in which illegitimate children were a total of 444, 146 respectively (*Magyar Statisztikai Évkönyv*, tizedek évfolyam, Budapest 1882, p. 68).

In 1891, of the 7605 children up to 5 years old who died in the county, 588 were illegitimate and the number in the city was of 147 out of a total of 700 children (*Magyar Statisztikai Közlemények*. Új fojlam, V kötet, Budapest, 1893, pp. 67-68).

The illegitimacy index, which in the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century recorded an upward trend in the county, was also influenced by the social status of the parents. Also, high illegitimacy index for the city was a consequence of the coefficient of morality of society affected by the process of urbanization and modernization (Pădurean 2001: 154).

The very high child mortality rate is explained by epidemics, diseases, poor diet, lack of hygiene and medical personnel, empirical treatment based on popular “remedies” (Retegan 1985: 170). Besides, spirit drinks were prescribed as treatment for toothache, diarrhea, cholera, and as an extra element in infant nutrition (Muntean 2002: 202). The same “empirical” cures were used to treat adults. Thus, fever and typhus were cured with poultice on arms and neck, for dysentery there were used amulets of berberis vulgaris beans and against scab there were used itch sorrel roots boiled in water (Griselini 1984: 184).

Although the population knew that the doctor could ease the pain somehow, it still called on plants and weeds. Peter Vancu lists a few such remedies in the monograph of the village of Măderat: garlic was used for earaches and stomach; for womb gristle people resorted to green hemlock, roasted onions were used against swellings, the wild chamomile was used for washing wounds, different painkiller weeds used against toothaches, shock for sore eyes, and “Matthew Luda” against burns (Vancu 1905: 93).

Moreover, the Bishopric of Arad encouraged priests to talk to rural women, especially to those in poor physical condition and advise them to go to the Gynecological Institute (school of midwifery). The medical investigation and treatment was sponsored by the allodial house and individuals of great wealth. The document issued by the Bishopric concerning this problem was the result of women endangering their life and that of their babies by not having the necessary care and cleaning. (ANDJA, Parohia Ortodoxă Română Miniș, Dosar 16/1914-1921, *Circular 802/1919*, f. 2).

In the case of Arad county infant mortality and generally that of children up to the age of 5 remained at high levels. Thus, in 1893, the mortality of children up to the age of 5 was 475.6‰ in the county and 359.2‰ in the city of Arad. These values gave the county of Arad negative ranking. In Transylvania, the rate for 1894-1895 was 473‰ and in Hungary by a 377.9‰. Appreciating these alarming values in infant mortality also caused by lack of qualified midwives, the county prefect of Arad addressed the Diocesan Consistory in 1876, stating that the death of the new-born is due to unskilled midwives, demanding the above institution to intervene to educate people. In the circular of 10<sup>th</sup> November 1877 the bishop of Arad, Ioan Meșianu advised the priests to make sure that professional midwives would help women to give birth. Where there were no qualified midwives, women who would seem more skillful in that business could replace qualified midwives but they had to undergo some teachings on the matter (Pădurean 2001: 194).

From 1876 dates the organizing system of rural health districts in Transylvania and Banat and in that same year new regulations on health come into force. Under this law every municipality had to deal with people with medical insurance. The rural doctor should provide curative and preventive assistance as well as forensic expertise. Health care for poor people was free of charge while the rest had to pay a sum fixed by law. Every 800 inhabitants had to have an official midwife. In the town or village where the doctor lived, there was a health committee chaired by the doctor. Other members of the committee were the veterinarians, the pharmacists, the clergymen, the notary, a teacher from each school and 3 citizens. Act 1876 included references to the medical care of children under seven years old: each father and guardian was obliged to seek medical help for children under seven years old in case of sickness, the doctor's fee for children under seven was charged half and the poor received free medical care, the municipalities were making payments through the county prefect to the doctor for children under seven years old whose parents were poor and they would also provide their parents with free carriage to bring the doctor, in case he lived in another town or village. In a 1885 circular of the Bishop of Arad, John Meșianu, it was specified that those who do not comply with these provisions were to pay fines or be locked up (ANDJA, Parohia Ortodoxă Română Ghioroc, Dosar 11/1879-1916, *Circular 18/1885*, f. 3).

The circular was issued to combat the “dreadful decline” of the population, inferred from statistical data. This high mortality rate was explained by the fact that people did not resort to medical help. In fact, the Consistory and Diocesan Synod agreed to the same matter as the diocesan

clergy to enlighten people through sermons in church and tips on the importance of health care. It was also recommended the formation of a joint meeting about culture and moderation.

Health consequences of this law can be verified by analyzing the health organization of the county and city of Arad in the late nineteenth Century, which provides information about the Hungarian statistics. Thus, in 1898, there were 9 stable medical posts in the county and one at the city level, there were also 33 pharmacies in the county and 9 in the city, 1 hospital with 30 beds in the county and 3 hospitals with 228 beds in the city, 75 hospitals for epidemics in the county and one in the city. With regard to qualified health professionals there were 44 doctors, 5 nurses and 141 midwives in the county and 41 doctors, one nurse and 58 midwives in the city. In 1900, the number of stable medical jobs in the county rose to 11, the pharmacies to 35 and the epidemic hospitals to 97 (*MSE* 1908: 47).

Also in 1900 there were 45 doctors, and the number of midwives increased to 157. The number of midwives has increased to 68 in the city and the number of nurses to two. Although the number of hospitals in the city remained the same, the number of beds increased to 383 (*MSE* 1901: 63).

The analysis of the quantitative demographic aspects of death in the town and the county of Arad at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century and the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century show an important increase in the population of the county during the period of time taken into account. The ascending tendencies were interrupted during 1851-1857 and 1871-1880 when there was a population decline because of different epidemics, such as cholera, between 1872 and 1873. These negative tendencies did not affect the town of Arad.

Moreover, during the ninth decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century specific elements of the demographic transition were registered in Arad County: mortality decline, followed by a gradual decline in birthrate and marriage rate. Parish registers provide information regarding causes of death, demographic categories related to population structure by sexes and age groups, child mortality, all indicating that Arad County fits in with the demographic model of Central Europe.

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**Die Entwicklung der Haus- und Hofgemeinschaften im Bereich  
der Militärgrenze in Transsylvanien und im Banat  
(The House and the Extensive Domestic Group of the Military  
Border Area (Militärgrenze) from Transylvania and Banat)**

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**Abstract:** The entrance of Transylvania and Banat in the Austrian Empire space determined in the second part of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century the constitution of the Military Border (Militärgrenze) in the region of the mountainous Banat, the south of Transylvania and in the north – east of this province. The Military Border represented an area that was removed from the local feudal authority and that was subordinated directly to the Viennese Court, which led to a reinvention of the free peasantry in this area, that represented a modernity outbreak, a laboratory of modernizing the social experiments of the empire. These experiments include those concerning the reconfiguration of social communitarian structures, including the family, its organization, but also the reconfiguration of the rural habitat, especially the one of the household and the rural precinct. In this study we will analyze the reforms in the family organization domain, through the constitution of the “house communion”, inspired from the “zadruga” model of the southern Slavs, which will replace the nuclear, typical Romanian family in the area of the Military Border. The existence of the extended family, which grouped in the “house communion” more related families (usually brothers), but sometimes unrelated, with a large number of persons, imposed the reconfiguration of the household and of the dwelling. The latter gets an imposing aspect, with a large number of rooms, like in the case of the houses from the mountainous Banat where development occurred through agglutination, addition or annexation of new rooms to the initial core of the house when a new family was founded, as in the case of the Năsăud area. After the dissolution of the Military Border, in the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, despite the fact that the external imperatives of the family and of the household have disappeared, the logic of the communion structures regarding the house and, implicitly, of the home, have been maintained, so that even nowadays one can see on the field vestiges in dissolution of these organizations, as I have managed to highlight through the field surveys from the Șanț locality and from the mountainous Banat area.



**Keywords:** Military Border, extended domestic group, family communion, "zadruga", house developed through agglutination (addition).

Die Entstehung Rumäniens als moderner Staat vollzieht sich seit 1818 als Folge des Zusammenwachsens von Provinzen, die bis damals zum Herrschaftsgebiet Habsburgs oder zum russischen Reich gehört hatten. Die vom Zentrum der Habsburger Monarchie ausgehenden Impulse spielten eine wichtige Rolle bei der Modernisierung dieser Gebiete, was jedoch lange von der rumänischen Geschichtsschreibung ignoriert wurde. Seit dem Ende der kommunistischen Herrschaft ist nunmehr vielerorts ein vermehrtes Interesse an den Veränderungen feststellbar, welche bereits unter der österreichischen Verwaltung ihren Ursprung hatten. Nicht nur Historiker auch Soziologen beteiligen sich an der Aufarbeitung dieses Themas. Hier, am Rande der Monarchie, im Bereich der Militärgrenze, in den Bergen des Banats, im Süden Transsylvaniens (im Raum Orlat-Sibiu) und im Nordosten (im Bergland von Näsăud), beginnt die Modernisierung der von Rumänen bewohnten Gebiete.

### *1. Das Bevölkerungswachstum im Bereich de Militärgrenze*

Im Jahre 1828 fand in allen Ländern der Monarchie eine Volkszählung statt, deren Ergebnisse, nach Provinzen zusammengestellt, unter dem Titel: Versuch einer Darstellung der Österreichischen Monarchie in statistischen Tafeln<sup>1)</sup> veröffentlicht wurden. Die Angaben zum Gebiet der Militärgrenze sind in diesem Werk leicht fassbar, da sie einen besonderen Verwaltungsbezirk bildete. Betrachten wir zunächst die Entwicklung der Bevölkerung im Osten des Reiches im Zeitraum von 1818 bis 1828.

*Tabelle 1. Entwicklung der Bevölkerung des Österreichischen Reiches*

<b>Provinz</b>	<b>1818</b>	<b>1820</b>	<b>1822</b>	<b>1828</b>
Galizien (und Bukowina)	3.760.319	3.893.445	4.035.214	4.435.435
Ungarn (einschließlich der Slowakei, Maramureş, Crişana, Sătmar)	9.824.977	10.029.177	10.239.056	10.892.491
Siebenbürgen	1.625.508	1.664.751	1.709.770	1.860.401
Militärgrenze	909.679	933.076	958.874	1.073.680
Gesamtbevölkerung des Reiches	29.813.586	30.504.605	30.848.458	33.211.770

<sup>1</sup> *Versuch einer Darstellung der Österreichischen Monarchie in statistischen Tafeln*, Wien, 1828.

Die Expansion Österreichs im Süd-Osten Europas während des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts hatte eine Verlängerung der Grenze zum Osmanischen Reich zur Folge. Sie verlief durch den Balkan, die Karpaten und trennte Siebenbürgen von Moldawien und der Walachei (beide unter türkischer Herrschaft). Zum Schutz der neuen Grenzländer, gegen Einfälle aus den vom Sultan kontrollierten Gebieten hatte der Kaiser die gesamte Region seinem militärischen Oberkommando unterstellt, wodurch die Gemeinden unabhängig vom lokalen Adel wurden, während den alten Institutionen der Territorialverwaltung\* die Rechtsprechung entzogen wurde (\*das waren zum Beispiel in Siebenbürgen die Komitate). Die gesellschaftliche Struktur dieses militärischen Grenzlandes blieb von freien Bauern geprägt, welche verpflichtet waren die Grenze zu verteidigen. Sie kämpften aber auch für den Kaiser auf zahllosen Kriegsschauplätzen quer durch Europa. Ein wichtiger Umstand, denn diese freien Bauern, die in den unterschiedlichsten Gegenden innerhalb und außerhalb des Reiches herumkamen und ihre Erfahrungen nachhause mitnahmen, trugen erheblich zum Fortschritt des Grenzlandes bei. In diesem Raum beginnt die Entwicklung des rumänischen Nationalbewusstseins, hier entstehen die ersten Bewegungen der nationalen Einheit, hier beginnt die Einführung des modernen Schulwesens. Ferner haben auch verschiedene Bestrebungen zur Modernisierung der Wirtschaft hier ihren Ursprung. Aus militärischer Sicht gehörten die Truppen aus diesem Raum zu den Eliteeinheiten des Reiches. Sie schützten es als „eiserner Gürtel“ (Schwicker 1883: 346) gegen Angriffe vom Süden und aus dem Osten.

Räumlich betrachtet präsentiert sich die Militärgrenze als zusammenhängender Streifen am südlichen Rande der Monarchie, der von der Adria-Küste kommend durch Slawonien landeinwärts verläuft. Er durchquert dann Kroatien, das heute zu Serbien gehörende Banat und endet im rumänischen Banat-Gebirge. Im Bereich Siebenbürgens verliert die Grenze ihre Geschlossenheit. Sie zerfällt in Enklaven, bewohnt von freien Bauern und ist in drei Militärbezirke organisiert. Der Süden Transsilvaniens, mit dem Dorf Orlat (bei Hermannstadt, bzw. Sibiu) als wichtigstes Zentrum; der Südwesten (die Siedlungen der Szeklers – Scaunele Secuiești) und der Nordosten Transsilvaniens, mit dem Ort Năsăud als Zentrum (im heutigen Departement Bistrița-Năsăud). Die Umgebung von Sibiu und Năsăud wurden von Rumänen bewohnt, während der Bereich im Südosten überwiegend von Ungarn besiedelt war (ungarisch székelyek, rumänisch secu). Im Banat, wo in der Umgebung von Pancevo (Panczowa) die Deutsch-Banater Regimenter standen, war die Bevölkerung gemischt aus deutschen Siedlern (Schwaben, die seit Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts hier ansässig waren) und aus Rumänen. Im Bereich von

Caransebeș, standen die Wallachisch-Illyrischen Regimenter und die Bevölkerung war zusammengesetzt aus Rumänen und Serben.

Die Bevölkerung der Militärgrenze bestand aus dort zur Landesverteidigung angesiedelten Soldatenbauern, ihren Familienangehörigen und Reservisten. Im Jahre 1815, unmittelbar nach den napoleonischen Kriegen, verteilte sich die Bevölkerung innerhalb der Bezirke wie folgt :

*Tabelle 2. Bevölkerung der Militärbezirke*

<b>Region</b>	<b>Männer</b>	<b>Frauen</b>	<b>Summe</b>
Karlstädt	96.546	97.061	193.607
Banat	47.984	48.297	96.281
Warasdin	54.973	52.616	107.589
Slavonien	117.895	114.357	232.252
Banat	89.023	86.021	175.044
Siebenbürgen (bzw. Transsylvanien)	66.679	67.146	133.825
<b>Total</b>	<b>473.100</b>	<b>467.498</b>	<b>940.598</b>

Im Jahr 1801 standen insgesamt 65.105 Soldaten in dieser Region. Genauere Angaben über die Zusammensetzung der Regimenter existieren für das Jahr 1828.

- Deutsch-Banater Regiment Nr. 12 (Pancevo): 8.318 Soldaten;
- Peterwardeiner Regiment : 6.165;
- Rumänisch serbisches Regiment Nr. 13 aus dem Banat (Caransebeș) : 5.411;
- Broder Regiment : 5.045;
- Gradiskaner Regiment : 4.913;
- Liccaner Regiment : 4.873;
- St. Georger Regiment : 4.539;
- Czajkistenbataillon : 4.316;
- Oguliner Regiment : 4.181;
- 1. Banater Regiment : 3.910;
- 2. Banater Regiment : 3.712;
- Szluiner Regiment : 3.665;
- 1. Szekler Regiment : 2.956;
- 2. Szekler Regiment : 2.750;
- Husarenregiment (Szekler) : 3.007;
- 1. Rumänisches Regiment (Orlat) : 1.858;
- 2. Rumänisches Regiment (Năsăud) : 2.373.

## ***2. Die Neuordnung der Gesellschaft im Bereich der Militärgrenze***

Das 2. Regiment von Näsäud entstand im Jahre 1763, nachdem in den südslawischen Gebieten (der Slowenen und Kroaten) die Militärgrenze bereits organisiert worden war. Die Bauern in diesem Raum waren unabhängig vom lokalen Adel und unterstanden direkt dem Kaiser, deshalb regelten die hier gültigen Vorschriften im Detail alle Fragen der Verwaltungszuständigkeit sowie der territorialen Organisation. Die Vorschriften orientierten sich an den im Gewohnheitsrecht begründeten Formen der gesellschaftlichen Ordnung. Sie zielten darauf ab, einen einheitlichen rechtlichen Rahmen für die gesamte Region zu schaffen, in der eine Vielzahl von Volksgruppen nebeneinander wohnten (Slowenen, Kroaten, Serben, Deutsche = Schwaben, Ungarn = Szekler und Rumänen), welche unterschiedlichen Glaubensgemeinschaften angehörten (römisch-katholisch, griechisch-katholisch und orthodoxe). Die Einführung der neuen Rechtsordnung erfolgte schrittweise, zunächst im zivilen und dann im militärischen Bereich. Bemerkenswert ist, daß die österreichische Verwaltung, selbst was die militärischen Belange betrifft den alten lokalen Traditionen der Südslawen Rechnung trug. So bestimmt etwa die Verordnung von 1737, daß die Leitung der ländlichen Gemeinden dem „cneaz“ („chinezul“) obliegt, das ist der Gemeindevorsteher unterstützt vom „Ältestenrat“, dessen Autorität von der übergeordneten Militärbehörde jedoch bestätigt werden musste. Damit wurde eine rein zivile Institution der Slawen, welche sich über Jahrhunderte erhalten hatte, direkt der Oberhoheit des Reiches unterstellt. Was das Grundeigentum anbetrifft, so war der Grundherr der Kaiser. Die Dorfgemeinschaften besaßen lediglich Nutzungsrechte, mehr oder weniger stark differenziert, je nach dem ob es sich um Ackerland, Weiden oder Wälder handelte. Die Vorschriften reglementierten unter anderem die Nutzung des kultivierten Bodens. Die freien Bauern dieses Gebietes gingen zweierlei Arten von Beschäftigungen nach. Zum einen arbeiteten sie am Ausbau und Unterhalt der militärischen Befestigungen sowie des Strassen- und Wegenetzes. Zum andere bewirtschafteten sie zum Unterhalt ihrer Familie das eigene Ackerland und arbeiteten im Wald um Brenn- und Bauholz zu beschaffen. Wenn es die Umstände erforderten, nahmen die waffenpflichtigen Männer eines Haushaltes an militärischen Operationen teil. Dazu gehörte der regelmäßige Dienst zur Überwachung der Grenzübergänge im Bereich der Zollstationen und an befestigten Beobachtungspunkten. Im Kriegsfall wurden diese mit Reservisten verstärkt und in Vorposten der Landesverteidigung umgewandelt. (Im Grenzgebiet waren alle Männer zwischen 20 und 50 Jahren kriegspflichtig.) Die Einheiten aus diesem Raum waren zunächst nur zur Verteidigung vor Ort eingesetzt worden. Mit zunehmender Erfahrung der

Soldaten entwickelten sich daraus Infanterieregimenter, welche der Generalstab dort einsetzte wo es die Umstände erforderten. So etwa von 1788 bis 1789 in der Walachei, wo Joseph II. gegen die Türken kämpfte. Danach in den Kriegen gegen Napoleon, in Norditalien und Mitteleuropa, gefolgt von den Operationen in Moldawien, dem Krimkrieg, im italienischen Unabhängigkeitskrieg von 1859 und dem Krieg gegen Preußen von 1866.

Frauen waren verpflichtet, neben ihren Hausarbeiten, wie kochen, Wäsche waschen und Kleidung reparieren, auch für die zum Haushalt gehörenden Wehrpflichtigen Uniformen zu nähen, die den Kleidungsvorschriften der jeweiligen Truppeneinheit entsprachen. Während der napoleonischen Kriege, als die Armee einen wesentlichen Bestandteil der gesellschaftlichen Ordnung des Reiches bildete, erließ der Kaiser ein neues Reglement (Gesetz von 7 August 1807), welches die vorangegangenen Vorschriften vereinheitlichte und zusammenfasste. Es enthält detaillierte Angaben zu allen Bereichen des gesellschaftlichen, militärischen und wirtschaftlichen Lebens im Bezirk der Militärgrenze. Interessant sind die Bestimmungen zur Organisation der ländlichen Gesellschaft wie zum Gemeinschaftsbesitz. Die Hausgemeinschaft wurde darin als soziale und wirtschaftliche Einheit beschrieben. Bei dieser so genannten „comunion de casa“ handelte es sich um eine Großfamilie, zu der mehrere miteinander verwandte Kernfamilien gehörten (der Vater, die verheirateten Brüder und ihre Kinder).

Die neue Organisationsform der Familie als erweiterte und mehrere Ehepaare umfassende Hausgemeinschaft, stellt ein Element der Modernität dar, auch wenn es sich dabei um die Übernahme einer im benachbarten Balkan bereits bestehenden Form des gesellschaftlichen Zusammenlebens handelt. Die Einführung dieser von auswärts übernommenen Form des Miteinanderlebens verschiedener Familien im militärischen Grenzland Siebenbürgens und des Banats, einen Raum wo diese Lebensweise vorher keineswegs typisch war, hatte weit reichende Konsequenzen.

Hausgemeinschaften sind ein wesentlicher Bestandteil der gegebenen sozialen Verhältnisse. Sie bilden den vor der habsburgischen Verwaltung propagierten Rahmen, welcher wichtige soziale Veränderungen mitbestimmte. An erster Stelle steht dabei die Neuordnung des ländlichen Raumes. Das militärische Grenzland in Siebenbürgen und im Bereich von Caransebes ist gebirgig. Ursprünglich war die Landschaft geprägt von zahlreichen oft weit voneinander entfernt liegenden Einzelhöfen. Vom militärischen Standpunkt betrachtet erschien diese Form der verstreuten Siedlungen als ein Hindernis für die rasche Mobilisierung der Streitkräfte im Angriffsfall. Dieser Logik folgend

ergriff die habsburgische Verwaltung verschiedene Maßnahmen, um eine Konzentration der Höfe in einem fest umgrenzten, so wie durch Wege gut erschlossenen Bereich zu erreichen. Angestrebt wurde die kompakte Anlage von neuen Gebäuden auf beiden Seiten der Strasse oder eines regelmäßigen Wegenetzes. Eine einheitliche Gestaltung der Siedlungen sollte dadurch gewährleistet werden, daß die Behörden den Anwohnern für den Bau neuer Häuser bestimmte Modelle vorschrieben. Darüber hinaus reglementierten sie ferner die Organisation des ganzen Siedlungsgebiets, was zur Folge hatte, daß sich die unter den gegebenen Bedingungen herausbildende neue Ordnung im Laufe der Zeit zu einer Tradition verfestigte, welche fortan das Grenzland Raum prägte. Die Besonderheit der gegebenen Situation liegt in der Assoziierung der erweiterten Hausgemeinschaften mit der neuartigen Organisationsform der ländlichen Siedlungen ; wodurch in diesem Gebiet zum ersten Mal eine Differenzierung des Raumes in „intra muros“ und „extra muros“ wirksam wird. Im Umland der neuen Dörfer wurden zur Steigerung der Produktivität der Bodens, dem Vorbild anderer, weiter entwickelter Länder des Habsburger Reiches folgend, neue Formen des Landbaus eingeführt, wie etwa die Zwei- und in stärkerem Maße die Dreifelderwirtschaft.

Alle Mitglieder eines solchen „erweiterten“ Haushaltes, lebten zusammen in einem langen Gebäude, hervorgegangen aus der Aneinanderreihung von einzelnen Räumen. Jede der Kernfamilien bewohnte ihre eigenen Räumlichkeiten welche sie zum Zeitpunkt ihrer Heirat selbst gebaut hatte. Die Hausgemeinschaft wurde vom „Vater“ und von der „Mutter“ der Familie geleitet. Es handelt sich dabei um eine soziale Rolle, die nicht unbedingt mit der biologischen Rolle von Vater und Mutter zusammenfällt. Der „Vater“ sowie die „Mutter“ der Hausgemeinschaft wurden von den Familienmitgliedern gewählt. Sie leiteten die gemeinsamen Tätigkeiten der Gruppe, vor allem die Kindeserziehung und die Verpflichtungen gegenüber der Kirche. Den militärischen Behörden oblag es ihre Wahl zu bestätigen. Zum Kriegsdienst verpflichtete Männer konnten erst nach Ablauf einer bestimmten Probezeit zu Hausvätern gewählt werden. Im Falle eines Vergehens wurden der Vater bzw. die Mutter der Hausgemeinschaft nicht öffentlich bestraft, um seine Autorität innerhalb der Gruppe nicht zu gefährden. Ein Wechsel des Hausvaters sowie der Mutter konnte nur mit der Genehmigung der Militärbehörden erfolgen. Als Beispiel können uns die Verhältnisse in der rumänischen Gemeinde Uzdin (gelegen im heute serbischen Banat) dienen. Zunächst gehörte diese zum 13. Walachisch-Illyrischen Regiment (das rumänisch-serbische Regiment von Caransebeş), später zum 12. Deutsch-Banater Regiment. In einem Brief an den Standortkommandanten, eingesandt

von zwei zur selben Hausgemeinschaft gehörenden Familien, schlagen diese eine Teilung des bestehenden Haushaltes sowie die Gründung von zwei neuen Hausgemeinschaften vor. Als Motiv geben sie an, dass die Familie zu groß geworden sei, was immer öfter zu Konflikten führte. Bemerkenswert ist, dass diese Hausgemeinschaft aus zwei Familien hervorgegangen ist, welche ursprünglich nicht miteinander verwandt waren. Das heißt, eine verwandtschaftliche Beziehung war zur Bildung einer Großfamilie nicht unbedingt erforderlich. Der Brief, datiert vom 13. März 1823 (Măran 1989: 65) ist unterschrieben von Petru Tămaş, dem Vorstand der ganzen Hausgemeinschaft und Păun Andreia, dem Stellvertreter der zur anderen Gruppe gehörenden Familien. „...Obschon nicht miteinander verwandt, wurden unsere Väter zu einem Haushalt zusammengefasst, welcher bis zu ihrem Tod bestand. Seither ist die Gruppe auf 37 Personen angewachsen und das Haus bietet nicht mehr genug Raum, um darin gemeinsam zu wohnen. Hieraus entwickeln sich viele Streitigkeiten, die uns das Leben unerträglich machen... Wir bitten den Regimentskommandanten um die Genehmigung zur Teilung des Haushaltes ...“ Das Ersuchen gelangte bis vor den Hofkriegsrat, welcher unter der Bedingung einwilligte, daß die beiden neuen Haushalte zunächst ihren militärischen Verpflichtungen nachkamen und jeweils einen Mann für den Militärdienst bereitstellten. Die Zusammensetzung der beiden Großfamilien geht aus einem anderen Brief hervor, verfasst vom Kommandanten des 12. Regiments, Oberst Treunwerth, und gerichtet an den obersten Befehlshaber im Banat in Timișoara. Die Männer werden darin namentlich genannt. Bei den Frauen werden nur die Zahl und der Zivilstand erwähnt.

#### Die Familie von Petru Tămaş

1. Petru Tămaş geboren.....1759
2. sein Sohn Iovan.....1787
3. der Sohn von Iovan, ebenfalls Iovan genannt.....1815
4. der zweite Sohn Sohn Lazăr.....1802
5. der Sohn von Lazăr, Maxim.....1820
6. der dritte Sohn, Miclea.....1806
7. Costa, der erste Vetter.....1779
8. der Sohn von Costa, ebenfalls Costa genannt.....1809
9. Iovan, der zweite Vetter.....1787
10. Mirco, der dritte Vetter.....1799
11. Petru, der erste Neffe.....1799
12. sein Sohn Filip.....1818

13. Andreia, der zweite Neffe.....1805  
 Ferner weitere 14 Frauen, 7 verheiratet und 7 nicht verheiratet

Die Familie von Păun Andreia

1. Păun Andreia geboren.....1775  
 3. der erste Sohn, Maxim.....1802  
 4. der zweite Sohn, Sava.....1812  
 5. der dritte Sohn, Grigorie.....1814  
 Ferner weitere 6 Frauen, 2 verheiratet und 4 nicht verheiratet

Die Söhne blieben nach der Heirat im Haus, wo sie als Mitglieder der Großfamilie („comunional de familie“) weiterhin der Autorität des „Vaters“ unterstanden. Die verheirateten Töchter verließen den elterlichen Haushalt und zogen zu ihrem Mann. Als Aussteuer erhielt eine Tochter lediglich Kleidung, Geschirr oder Decken. Die Familie der Braut trug alle Kosten für die Heirat. Um die finanzielle Belastung der Familien im Rahmen zu halten, hatte die Militärverwaltung die Dauer von Hochzeitsfeiern auf nur einen Tag begrenzt. Was das Grundeigentum anbetraf, so blieb der Boden unteilbar im Besitz der Hausgemeinschaft und die Töchter konnten durch Heirat nicht zu Immobilienbesitz gelangen. Bei der Bildung einer neuen Hausgemeinschaft („comunional de familie“) bekam diese von den Militärbehörden eine bestimmte Fläche an Acker- und Weideland zugewiesen, ferner ein Haus mit Hof sowie Obstgärten. Die Fläche der zur Nutzung überlassenen Grundstücke richtete sich nach der Anzahl der Familienmitglieder (gängige Ausmaße waren 24, 18, 12, 6 oder 3 Joch ; Ein Joch entsprach 0,5755 ha). Dieses Land war nicht teilbar. Es bildete den unveräußerlichen Besitz der Hausgemeinschaft. Die Bildung einer neuen Hausgemeinschaft war nur nach der Bewilligung durch die Militärverwaltung möglich, welche das dafür erforderliche Land zur Verfügung stellte. Die Anzahl der Haushalte eines Dorfes konnte sich daher nur mit der Erlaubnis der Behörden vermehren. Der demographische Druck innerhalb der Hausgemeinschaften führte zur Bildung von neuen Großfamilien außerhalb der bestehenden Gemeinden.

Flüsse, Wälder und Viehweiden waren unmittelbarer Besitz der Krone, welche diese nicht teilbaren Gründe den in den ländlichen Gemeinden ansässigen Bauern zur gemeinschaftlichen Nutzung überließ. Ein Vorteil dieser Situation war, daß zu Gruppen organisierte Großfamilien das Recht besaßen, Mühlen zu errichten und zu betreiben, ohne dafür Abgaben an den Kaiser für die Nutzung der Gewässer zahlen zu müssen.



In vielen Bereichen des Grenzlandes entstanden Streusiedlungen aus Einzelhöfen. Vor allem im Osten und im Nordosten, in den Bergen des Banat, im Süden Transsylvaniens (in der Umgebung von Orlat und Sibiu), oder im Nordosten am Fluß Someşul Mare, in der Umgebung von Năsăud. Überall dort, wo die rumänischen Grenzregimenter lagen, verlangte das ländliche Gewohnheitsrecht, daß die Söhne nach der Heirat das Elternhaus verließen und sich für ihre eigene Familie ein neues Haus bauten. Diese oft weit entfernt vom Elternhaus gelegenen Höfe, manchmal sogar im Bereich der Bergweiden gebaut, wurden zum Ausgangspunkt neuer Weiler und Ortschaften. Das Phänomen des ständigen Aussiedelns von frisch verheirateten Familien hat den rumänischen Dörfern der Region ihren spezifischen Charakter von Streusiedlungen gegeben. Als die rumänischen Grenzregimenter geschaffen wurden hat die österreichische Militärverwaltung die Streusiedlungen in dieser Gegend nicht akzeptiert. Sie forderte eine ständige Kontrolle aller zum Dorf gehörenden Gebäude, um im Falle einer Bedrohung der Landesgrenze die lokalen Streitkräfte möglichst schnell mobil machen zu können. In einer Studie zur Geschichte des 13. rumänischen Regiments im Banat (Caransebeş) zeigt L. Groza, wie es innerhalb von 48 Stunden zu einer gefechtsbereiten Infanterieeinheit umgewandelt werden konnte, während andere Einheiten des Reiches im Durchschnitt dafür drei Wochen benötigten. Die Grenzregimenter gehörten zu den schnellsten Einheiten und waren in der Lage sofort in Aktion zu treten. In zahlreichen Kämpfen bewährt, gehörten sie zu den besten Truppen des Habsburger Reiches. Grundlage dieser kurzfristigen Einsatzbereitschaft war eine hierarchische Organisation der ländlichen Siedlungen, welche den militärischen Erfordernissen entsprach. (Mehrere Hausgemeinschaften bildeten eine Militärsiedlung, mehrere Siedlungen ein Bataillon, mehrere Bataillone ein Grenzregiment, welches im Kriegsfall ferner durch Reservisten verstärkt wurde). Um bei der Schaffung von neuen Regimentern eine möglichst optimale räumliche Verteilung der ländlichen Siedlungen zu erreichen, haben die Verwaltungsbehörden Maßnahmen unternommen, welche auf eine Umwandlung der Streusiedlungen in geschlossene Dörfer mit regelmäßig angelegten neuen Gebäuden hinzielten. Diejenigen Siedler, welche außerhalb der Verteidigungslinie eines neu geplanten Dorfes wohnten, erhielten von den Militärbehörden eine finanzielle Unterstützung zum Bau einer neuen Wohnung von 25 Gulden pro Familie. Dazu kamen das erforderliche Bauholz und eine Freistellung vom Militärdienst und anderen Verpflichtungen für ein Jahr während der Errichtung des neuen Hauses (Groza 2002). Im Allgemeinen galt für die Anlage neuer Dörfer im Gebiet der Militärgrenze, daß alle Gebäude auf einer Linie entlang der

Hauptstrasse angeordnet sein mussten. Der lokale Brauch der rumänischen Bevölkerung, auf den Bergweiden dauerhafte Unterkünfte zu errichten, welche während der Erntezeit als Behausungen und zur Unterbringung des Heus dienten, blieb auch weiterhin erlaubt. Die Verwaltung untersagte jedoch die Nutzung dieser Gebäude als permanente Wohnungen (Groza 2002).

Selbst der Grundriss der Häuser war vorgeschrieben. Ein typisches Wohngebäude im Grenzbezirk besass zwei bis drei Räume: ein großes Zimmer („casa dinainte“), auf die Strasse gerichtet das als Schlafzimmer diente ; einen weiteren Raum als Küche genutzt, die so genannte „tinda“ ; sofern ein dritter Raum vorhanden war („casa dinapoi“), lag er auf der Rückseite des Hauses. Genutzt wurde er als Speisekammer und bei kinderreichen Familien ebenfalls als Kinderstube. Der Hauseingang öffnete sich auf die „tinda“, von wo aus zwei Türen, nach rechts und links den Zugang zu den übrigen Zimmern ermöglichten. In vielen Fällen war der Eingangsfassade eine hölzerne Galerie vorgebaut, auf der man bei warmen Sommernächten draußen schlafen konnte. Dieses allgemeine Grundrißschema beeinträchtigte jedoch nicht die Verwendung von unterschiedlichen Baustoffen. Gängig waren Holz und mit Stroh vermischter Lehm, beide Materialien oft kombiniert als Fachwerk, bei dem die Zwischenräume mit geflochtenen Zweigen und Lehm ausgefüllt waren. Im Bezirk des 2. Regiments von Năsăud, verwendete man das in der Gegend reichlich vorhandene Tannenholz. Selbst die Dachschindeln bestanden aus diesem Material. Was die Dachformen anbetrifft, so waren in dieser Region Walmdächer üblich, währen im Bezirk des Rumänisch-Banater Grenzregiments Nr. 13, in der Umgebung von Caransebeş die Gebäude Sattel- bzw. Giebeldächer hatten. Das Dekor der Häuser blieb ebenfalls ihren Besitzern überlassen, welche in jedem Bezirk die ortsüblichen Motive aus ältern Zeiten weiter verwendeten. Auf der dem Hause entgegengesetzten Seite des Hofes lagen der Viehstall und andere zur Unterbringung von Futter und Geräten genutzte Schuppen. Bisweilen findet man auch den Stall unmittelbar an das Haus anschließend gebaut, so etwa in der Ortschaft Şanţ.

Ein derartiges Haus diente als Unterkunft einer Kernfamilie (d.h. der Eltern und ihrer unverheirateten Kinder). Es bildete den Ausgangspunkt einer Hausgemeinschaft („comunion de casă“) sowie einer Großfamilie. Von dieser ursprünglichen Struktur ausgehend errichteten die verheirateten Söhne auf dem väterlichen Hofe neue Wohngebäude für ihre eigene Familie. Bei jeder Hochzeit entstand ein weiteres Haus, angebaut an das zuletzt davor fertig gestellte, so daß die Unterkünfte der Hausgemeinschaften lange Reihen

bildeten<sup>2)</sup>. Dieser aus mehreren Familien bestehenden Gruppe, welche auf demselben Hof lebte, gehörte das Ackerland als unteilbarer Gemeinschaftsbesitz. Die wirtschaftlichen Aktivitäten wurden von allen Angehörigen der Gruppe miteinander verrichtet, und die Erträge gemeinschaftlich für die Bedürfnisse der Großfamilie verwendet. Diese Organisationsform der Hausgemeinschaften war für die rumänische Bevölkerung völlig untypisch und von den österreichischen Behörden in der Grenzregion durchgesetzt worden. Sie entsprach den erweiterten Hausgemeinschaften der Südslaven, in der soziologischen Literatur als „zadruga“ bezeichnet. Diese traditionelle und sehr kompakte Organisationsform der ländlichen Gesellschaft kam den militärischen Bedürfnissen der Verwaltung entgegen, weshalb diese sie auch bei den rumänischen Bauern im Grenzland durchsetzte, obschon die rumänischen Familien bis damals völlig anders organisiert waren als bei den Südslaven.

Die Organisation einer Hausgemeinschaft, bzw. der erweiterten Familie beruhte auf Prinzipien welche dem Einzelnen ein hohes Maß an Verantwortung für das Gemeinwohl übertrugen. Darin sehen wir ein Merkmal moderner Mentalität. Dem „Familienvater“ („tatal de familie“) so wie der „Mutter der Familie“ („mama de familie“) oblag als Vorstand der Wohn- und Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft die Aufsicht über alle Aktivitäten der Gruppe. Angefangen vor der Sauberkeit jedes Einzelnen, über die Anfertigung der Kleidung, Zubereitung des Essens, Bearbeitung von Äckern und Wiesen, die Erziehung der Kinder, bis zur Einhaltung der militärischen Verpflichtungen aller Mitglieder der Hausgemeinschaft. Der Ablauf vieler Aktivitäten des alltäglichen Lebens folgte einer von den Militärbehörden vorgeschriebenen Prozedur. Der Vater und die Mutter der Hausgemeinschaft hafteten gegenüber den Militärbehörden für die Einhaltung der bestehenden Regeln.

Unter diesen Umständen entwickelten die Bewohner der Militärgrenze eine neue Alltagsethik, welche die Hausgemeinschaft in den Mittelpunkt rückt, um den sich das Leben des Individuums dreht. Wesentlich für diese

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<sup>2)</sup>Ausgehend von einem ursprünglichen Kern, der das zentrale Element bleibt und im Allgemeinen den Herd enthält, entwickelt sich der Grundriss durch neue Anbauten ständig weiter.“ (Paul H. Stahl - "*Maison et groupe domestique étendu*" - in Armos, Bd. III. Thessaloniki, 1991, S. 1673). Die erweiterte Hausgemeinschaft „besteht aus mehreren verheirateten Paaren. Je nach Zusammensetzung unterscheidet man zwei Varianten. Bei der ersten lebt der Vater bis zu seinem Tode zusammen mit seinen verheirateten Söhnen, welche sich danach trennen. Dabei handelt es sich um eine Übergangsform die zwischen der Kernfamilie und mehreren miteinander lebenden verheirateten Paaren liegt. Bei der anderen Variante bleiben die verheirateten Paare auch nach dem Tode des Vaters miteinander im selben Haus“. (Paul H. Stahl, *op. cit.*, S. 167).

Alltagsethik ist der Zuwachs an Verantwortung des Einzelnen für sein Handeln gegenüber den österreichischen Behörden, sowie die dynastische Loyalität. Die Kirche spielt bei der Entstehung dieser neuen gesellschaftlichen Moral eine wichtige Rolle. Sie geht über ihre Funktion als Vermittler zwischen Gott und Mensch hinaus und zielt darauf ab durch die „soziale Erziehung“ der Gläubigen diese zu „guten“ Bürgern zu machen.

Dies sind Belege dafür, daß diese, von außen eingeführte Veränderung der gesellschaftlichen Ordnung, die die südslawische „zadruga“, d.h. eine traditionelle Strukturform nachahmt, durchaus innovativ wirkte - in einer Zeit der sie entsprach !

Die Revolution von 1848/49 hatte im gesamten Habsburger Reich weit reichende Folgen für die Gesellschaftsstruktur und die Besitzverhältnisse. Der Abschaffung der Leibeigenschaft folgte eine weitere Reform, welche die Bauern zu Eigentümern ihres Landes machte. Die im Bezirk der Militärgrenze ansässigen Bauern waren frei. Das Land hatte ihnen jedoch der Kaiser nur zur Nutzung überlassen. Das Gesetz vom 31. März 1850 gewährte den Bauern fortan das volle Eigentumsrecht unter der Bedingung, daß sie auch weiterhin ihren militärischen Verpflichtungen nachkamen. Nur das Ackerland wurde privatisiert; die Wälder blieben auch weiterhin im Staatsbesitz. Den Bauern war es nicht gestattet, ihren Grund und Boden zu teilen. Die neuen Rechtsverhältnisse in diesem Teil des Reiches konservierten somit die bestehenden Großfamilien („comunional de casă“). Was das Unterrichtswesen anbelangt, brachte das Gesetz ebenfalls Neuerungen in Gang. Um die Verständigung der Soldaten mit den Offizieren und den österreichischen Militärbehörden zu gewährleisten wurde Deutsch als Unterrichtssprache beibehalten. Neu war die Einführung von Schulunterricht in der jeweiligen Landessprache. Bisher was nur der Religionsunterricht in der Sprache der jeweiligen Bevölkerungsgruppe erteilt worden und die Grundschule dauerte lediglich drei Jahre. Die besten Schüler konnten daran anschließend am Standort einer Militärkompanie die deutsche Schule besuchen und Unteroffiziere werden. Sofern sie in Mathematik begabt waren, konnten sie nach Abschluß der Realschule Offizier werden.

Generell läßt sich seit 1849 im gesamten Habsburger Reich ein Erwachen des Nationalismus feststellen. Auch die Militärgrenze blieb davon nicht unberührt. Sehr zum Nachteil der Rumänen entstand im Jahre 1867 die Österreich-Ungarische Doppelmonarchie und das Gebiet gehörte fortan zu Ungarn. Die neue ungarische Regierung akzeptierte nicht die Existenz dieses autonomen, militärisch verwalteten Bezirks, welcher direkt Wien unterstand und über den sie keinerlei Kontrolle besaß. Darüber hinaus zielte sie darauf

hin, einen homogenen ungarischen Staat zu schaffen, durch Assimilation der anderen im Königreich leben Bevölkerungsgruppen. Budapest intervenierte mehrmals beim Kaiser, um die Abschaffung der Grenzregion zu erreichen. Franz Joseph akzeptierte schließlich. Er unterzeichnete am 8 Juni 1871 das Gesetz zur Auflösung des Banater Grenzregiments (die Militärgrenze im Bereich von Näsäud war bereits 1851 aufgehoben worden). Das Gesetz vom 8 Juni überträgt den Dörfern der Militärgrenze die Hälfte des bis damals dem Kaiser gehörenden Waldbesitzes. Der Rest blieb Eigentum des Staates. Die auf diese Art und Weise in den Besitz der Gemeinden gelangten Wälder des Grenzregiments Nr. 13 wurden niemals unter den Dörfern oder etwa Einzelpersonen aufgeteilt. Stattdessen entstand im Jahre 1879 eine Eigentümergeinschaft („Comunitatea de Avere“), welche nach über 80 Jahren erst am 6 Juni 1960 von den Kommunisten aufgelöst wurde. Seit dem Ende der kommunistischen Herrschaft hat sich diese Eigentümergeinschaft wieder neu gebildet und versucht seither ihren beschlagnahmten ehemaligen Besitz zurückzuerlangen.

Das Verschwinden der Militärgrenze besiegelte nicht nur das Ende eines auf die speziellen Bedürfnisse des Militärs zugeschnittenen Systems und der damit verbundenen sozialen Ordnung. Damit ging in diesem Raum auch eine Epoche zu Ende, die davon geprägt war, daß die verschiedenen hier lebenden Volksgruppen gemeinsam an der Seite des Kaisers für die Interessen des Reiches kämpften. Als Zugeständnis hierfür hielt sich die politische Führung des Reiches an der von Maria Theresia eingeleiteten Reformpolitik und versuchte unter Joseph II und dann Franz Joseph die lokalen Verhältnisse in den Provinzen zu verbessern, um so schrittweise das ganze Reich zu modernisieren. Ohne es zu wollen, schuf sie auf diese Art und Weise die Rahmenbedingungen für den Wandel der lokalen Eliten und die damit einhergehende Entstehung eines neuen Nationalbewusstseins. Der Hof in Wien versuchte die Übergriffe der lokalen Grundherren einzuschränken und setzte letztendlich die Ablösung der feudalen Dienstleistungen durch. Österreich betrachtete die Rumänen, Kroaten, Serben, oder die Slowenen der Militärgrenze durchaus als Vertreter ihrer jeweiligen Volksgruppe. Die breiten, von nationalen Ideen geprägten, Strömungen haben in diesem Gebiet ihren Ursprung. Mit der Entstehung von Österreich-Ungarn überließ der Kaiser jene Volksgruppen, die bisher auf der Seite Wiens gekämpft hatten, der Regierung in Budapest, welche sie jedoch magyarisieren wollte, um Ungarn zu einem modernen Nationalstaat zu machen. Die so entstandene neue Situation erschütterte das Vertrauen dieser Volksgruppen in die österreichische Verwaltung. Sie fühlten sich von Wien im Stich gelassen. Die politische

Mentalität veränderte sich zunehmend und führte immer häufiger zu Konflikten zwischen den verschiedenen Volksgruppen innerhalb des dualistischen Systems, bis zum endgültigen Auseinanderbrechen des Reiches im Jahre 1918. Auch die Armee blieb vom Wandel der Mentalität nicht verschont. Unter dem dualistischen System verlor der Militärdienst für die verschiedenen Volksgruppen seine Bedeutung, verkam zu einem Überbleibsel der Geschichte, wurde zu einer Last ohne Sinn und Perspektiven. Konkret äußerten sich die Folgen dieser Einstellung während des Ersten Weltkrieges darin, daß die Soldaten unterschiedlichster Herkunft (Rumänen, Serben, Kroaten, Slowenen, Slowaken, Tschechen, Polen, Ruthenen) zwar auf der Seite des Reiches kämpften, jedoch ohne jegliche Motivation. Nicht selten ergaben sie sich oder liefen zum Feind über, als daß sie ihr Leben für die Donaumonarchie einsetzten.

Wenn auch die Militärgrenze während der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts verschwand, so zerfielen die sozialen Strukturen erst nach und nach. Hält man sich an den rechtlichen Rahmen, so hat der Staat durch neue Gesetze die Teilung des Gemeinschaftsbesitzes der Großfamilie geregelt. Die Wirklichkeit sah jedoch anders aus. Selbst in den rumänischen Bezirken der ehemaligen Militärgrenze hat sich die Tradition der erweiterten Familie bis zum Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts erhalten. In einigen Ortschaften bis in die Zwischenkriegszeit und bis zum Beginn der kommunistischen Herrschaft<sup>3</sup>).

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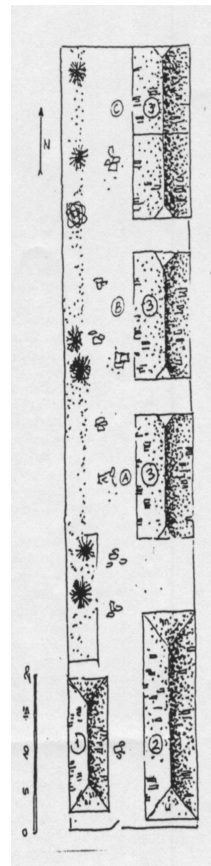
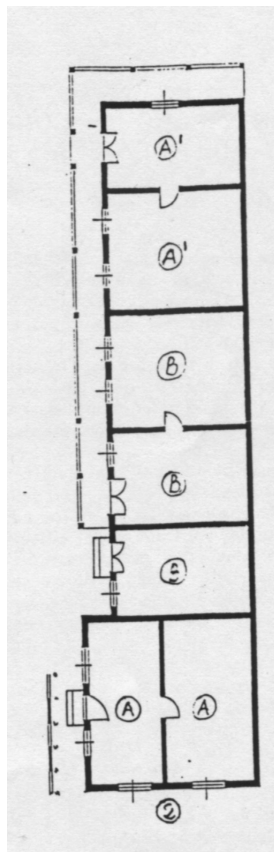
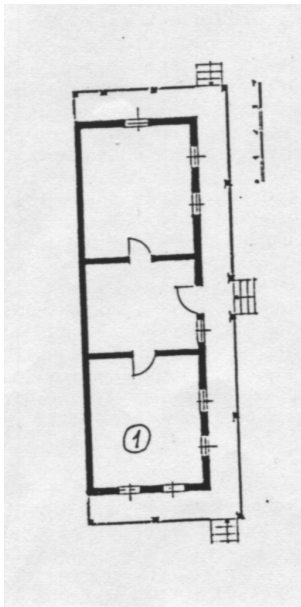
<sup>3</sup> In seinem Artikel über die Bauten des Dorfes Şanţ, im Militärbezirk Nordost Transsylvaniens ("*Tipurile de casă din comuna Şanţ-Năsăud*"; Sociologie Românească, Nr. 1-2, 1938), beschreibt Ion Petrescu-Burloiu ausschließlich die Grundrisse von Bauten, die von Familiengruppen der neueren Zeit bewohnt wurden. Das Langhaus fehlt darin, weil die Soziologen aus Bukarest die sozialen Verhältnisse im Bereich der Militärgrenze nicht kannten. Bei einer landeskundlichen Aufnahme dieses Raumes im Jahre 1990 habe ich im Dorfe Şanţ ein Langhaus mit drei verheirateten Brüdern gefunden, und ein weiteres Haus, auf demselben Hofe, von einem weiteren Bruder bewohnt. Obschon die Militärgrenze bereits seit langen verschwunden war haben sich die Formen der Wohnhäuser und die familiären Strukturen aus dieser Zeit noch lange erhalten. Hierzu: Gh. Şişeştean, *Maison et groupe domestique étendu au village de Şanţ-Bistriţa Năsăud*, Etudes et Documents Balkaniques et Méditerranéens, Nr. 17, Paris, 1996 und Gh. Şişeştean, *La Région Militaire - Militärgrenze - et la maison et le groupe domestique étendu. Exemples roumaines*, Revue des études sud-est européennes, Bd. 44, Nr. 1-4, Academia Română, Institutul de Studii Sud-Est Europe, Bukarest, 2006.

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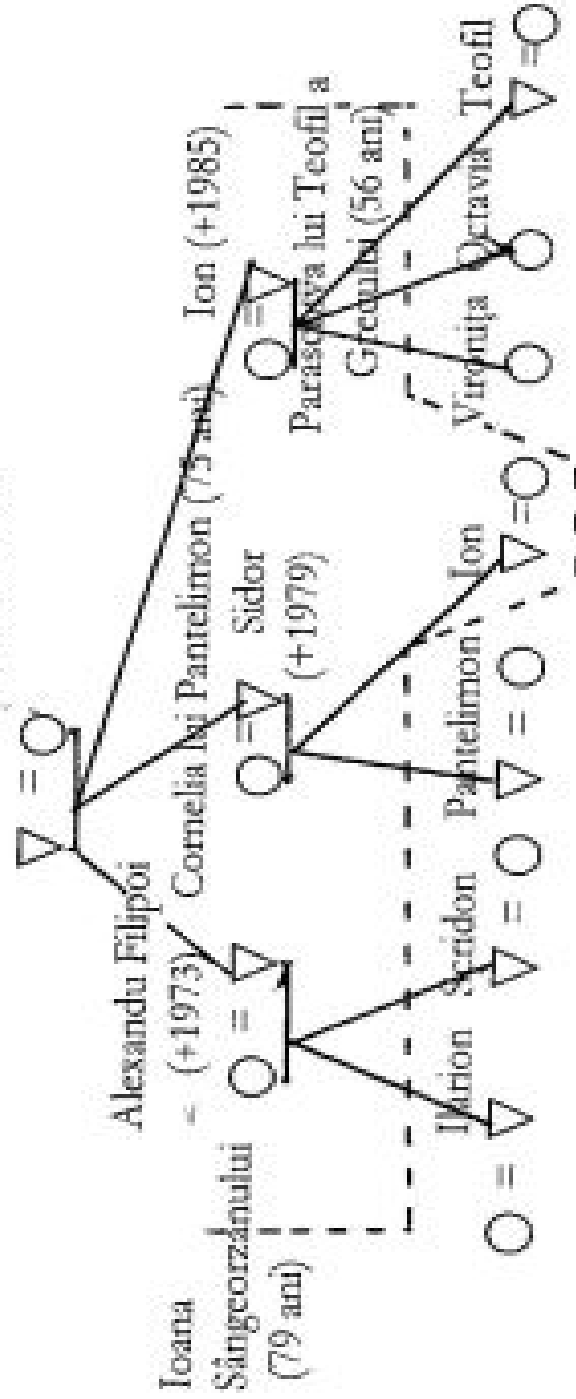
**Anhang**

- a) Das alte Haus von Ion in Bogolui (Nr. 1) wird von seinen jüngsten Sohn Ion geerbt. Zur Zeit wird das Haus von Ions Witwe Paraschiva bewohnt, bei ihrem Tode wird das Haus zwischen den Kindern geteilt.
- b) Der Teil A des Hauses Nr. 2, auf der Straßenseite gelegen, und als erster an das väterliche Haus angebaut, gehörte dem ältesten Sohn Alexandru, welcher es seinem ältesten Sohn Illarion vererbte. Letzterer verlässt unmittelbar nach seiner Heirat den Hof der Familie und verkauft seinen Anteil an seinen Vetter Ion. Der zweite Sohn von Alexandru wird (nach dem Tode der Mutter) das zweite Haus seines Vaters erben, das am Ende des Hofes liegt (A').
- c) Pantelimon (dritte Generation), Sohn von Sidor, erbt das Haus seines Großvaters mütterlicherseits. Sein Bruder Ion wird nach dem Tode seine Mutter ebenfalls das Haus seines Vaters (B).





Ioan Filipoi (+1947)    Vironia Tripsa (+1965)  
 a lui Dănilă Cotu



# Births and Children, between Choice and Constraint\*

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**Abstract:** Childbearing can be seen as the interaction of two contrasting forces that affect human choices: the factors of "choice" and the factors of "constraint". Choice is a prerogative of humans, implies an act of will, but is conditioned in its expression by the forces of constraints. This is true for the choice of a partner; for the decision to enter into a stable union; for the timing, spacing and number of children; for the degree of parental investment on children. Constraints may be of a material nature - such as the availability of space, of energy or material resources; the quality of the environment; the intensity of pathologies - or immaterial ones, such as social norms, obligations, group or clan loyalties. This paper is a reflection on the concepts of choice and constraint and their changing nature in history".

**Keywords:** birth, childhood, cultural differences, "choice" and "constraint" forces

In the beautiful series of encounters presented at *Infanzia e Memoria*, birth and childhood have been seen from inside, through the eyes of children or through those of parents or adults, through the lens of memory, or investigated by poets or artists, or by those studying the soul and the psychic. I come with a different point of view, the social and collective one, of the forces which condition the motivations of those who come into the world and of those who raise children. This is a natural condition, specific to each individual, since survival and reproduction are indestructibly bound to the person, in family, in groups, in the society. However this general principle comes from the interaction of complex forces which, for simplicity reasons, I shall call "choice"

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forces and “constraint” forces. “Choice” because self reproduction, having children and raising them are matters that require an act of own will; “constraint” because the context in which the reproduction takes place influences the choices, the limits, the plasma. The capacity of choice is a human prerogative that can be more or less free: it concerns the choice of a partner, like when joining a reproductive union, like when deciding how many children to bring into the world and how much to invest in them. The constraints can be of material nature – availability of space, energy, material resources, environment, pathology – and of immaterial nature – social and group rules and obligations, forbidden things, taboos.

From the origins of homo sapiens until today, 80 billion babies have been born; reliable estimations tell us that in 2004 the number of births was around 130 millions. For the most part of the history of mankind, only one newborn out of two had the chance of reaching adolescence; today, this applies for nine out of ten newborns. To be an orphan was a frequent condition in the past, while today it is an exception. For tens of millions of years, children and teenagers were bringers of income, resources and support for their parents, while in nowadays societies they are an economical load and a source of anxiety. Similarly, the parental investment, spread to many children in the past, was far more fractioned than the one received today by a reduced offspring. These few elements, among the many possible ones, lead us to suspect that the “value” of children, guiding the reproductive choices, was heavily conditioned by the prevalent circumstances of different ages and by the constraints that characterized them. Of course, we believe that birth and childhood are perennial “values”. But it is for sure that the outlines of these values – if not its essence – change in time and influence attitudes and priorities that change continuously.

Let us take the classical case of the biodemographical changes related to the slow passage from hunting, fishing and picking to agriculture. There is strong evidence that the transition to agriculture implied an acceleration of the demographical growth; the settlements multiplied and their size increased. As for the explanation of this phenomenon, disagreement persists: one school, that I shall call classical, claims that survival strengthens with agriculture and avoids the environmental and climatic oscillations which interfered the supply of hunters and pickers. Through agriculture, the production of resources comes to regular cycles and, moreover, reserves are created, in order to compensate the bad years with the good ones. Mortality decreases, the population growth accelerates. Another school has a different vision: by passing to agriculture, the survival would have deteriorated, because the

nutritive value of the production (mainly cereals) was inferior to that of game, far more diversified; moreover, the stable settlements, the domestication of animals, the higher inhabitants' density, would have been conditions that might have favored the spreading and aggravation of pathologies. Instead, the cause of the accelerated demographical growth would have been the increase in fecundity that surpassed the deterioration of survival. A moderate number of children – hence a long interval between births – was functional in groups settled in large territories, who maximized hunting and picking throughout long movements. A woman with close births, who would have had to carry a toddler together with a child who could not follow his mother on his own would have been a load for the group and would have diminished its chances of survival. Out of this came the need to space the births to get 3 – 4 years gap between them, through various methods, among which abstinence, abortion or infanticide might have been the most used. In a settled and stable group of agricultors, such a bond mattered less; women were able to usefully activate around the settlement, the close births representing just a small inconvenience. Therefore, an increased reproduction rate was necessary not only to compensate for the higher mortality, but could also be useful for the well-being of the family in demanding activities. If we accept this interpretation of the demographical acceleration, which came with the transition to Neolithic, we have a clear example of how the “value” of birth and of the will to have and raise children had changed.

Similar differences in the perceived value of children can be revealed in other contexts. Let us consider, for example, the human groups who live in isolation, the inhabitants of a small island, of an isolated valley, or the components of small closed groups (nobles, clans) who defend their continuity and integrity. A group numerically small (a few hundreds of units) has a high risk of extinction, because the birth flow is modest and can be discontinued by accidental or ordinary causes. They might come to the point where the young generation has few units who find it hard to find a partner or where – depending on the case – a disequilibrium of the male / female ratio happens. In these cases, reproduction and, together with it, the continuity and survival of the group are compromised. These biodemographical particularities have a certain influence over the assigned value of the community, of couples, births and children.

The above mentioned examples are either far away in time – the Paleolithic – Neolithic transition – or very particular – like the case of isolated communities. But the history is rich in cases which make us reflect on how the historical circumstances have influenced the “value” of children. We have

plenty of documents about communities formed through immigration in deserted or scarcely populated or border areas. Areas in which the availability of space, land and resources – namely capital – is notable, but where hands are missing – namely work. The attitude towards reproduction is, almost always, highly positive: a numerous offspring is necessary to get the most out of the land, to assure alliances and family networks which compensate for the residential isolation, in order to sustain the continuity of the family or of the community. Adam Smith has an illuminating passage in *The Wealth of Nations*, referring to the United States: “a widower with four or five children, who would have had no possibility to remarry at us, in Europe, is considered as a kind of a treasure there and finds a husband immediately; so high is the demand for work that it is estimated that every child brings a 100 pounds net value for his parents”. It is not by chance that the highest reproduction levels, never found in concrete populations, are to be found in the families of French Canadians, or in the agricultural or traditional colonies of reformed immigrants – Amish, Utterites, Mennonites – or in families who settled in border areas. It may seem that – but this is an hypothesis still to be confirmed – during the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries the Anglo-Saxon immigration in North America had a higher reproductive success than the Spanish one in the south and center of the continent. The first one was essentially an immigration of colonists dedicated to putting the land into value, therefore the numerous familial nuclei were an instrument of success. The Iberic immigration consisted most of clerks, traders, handcrafters, soldiers; it had an overall urban character and the numerous family was not functional for the success.

We could wonder if, in Europe, the success of the great German migration towards East between the 10<sup>th</sup> and the 13<sup>th</sup> Centuries had similar origins. An immigration which, over the course of three centuries, moved no more than some hundreds of thousands of people, but which had an extraordinary demographic success, if we think that it was at the origin of almost thirty million persons of German origin who, at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, lived east of the line between Elba and Saar. We know a lot about the characteristics of these migrations, organized by the great capitalists – landlords, bishops, religious orders – planned and guided in the finest detail, well financed, which had the purpose of valorizing the large land extensions scarcely inhabited by Slavics who practiced a primitive agriculture. The success of this immigration was due not only to the good organization and the good knowledge, tools, cattle and seeds of the colonists, but also to their capacity to create numerous families with strong descendants. A case that is closer to us is that of the emigration of Prussian farmers towards the lands of Volga,

organized by Ecaterina the Great. Between 1764 and 1768 27.000 immigrants founded 104 colonies on the river Volga: the 1897 census counted, in the same provinces, other 400.000 inhabitants of German origin. In 130 years, the initial group had multiplied 15 times.

Of course, in the European world, in the centuries preceding the industrial revolution, the Malthusian preoccupations were the ones guiding the behavior of the family. It is true that the states and the nations had – at least at a theoretical or governmental level – a pro-natality and populationist orientation: at least, the mercantilist philosophy enhanced the value of a numerous population, the support and the power of the state. But the families thought different: the limited availability of resources drove them to find out ways to limit the births and the number of children. The demography demonstrated that voluntary control – although not admitted and “reinventable” by any couple” – was an influent phenomenon in the collectivity. But the high age at marriage, the social acceptance of the single status and of the celibate, the lack of confidence in the marriage of widowers, the stigmata of the birth that occurred outside the marriages, the long duration of breast feeding, that favored the furthering of the couple, the sexual restrictions, were all factors that allowed a “modulation” of births according to necessities. An obviously ineffective “modulation”, if we compare it to what is going on nowadays, but which was still practiced, its effects being revealed through the historical demography. Since either the case or the individual circumstances put in contrast the effective reproductivity with the necessities of the couple and of the family – who did not have children without wanting them and who did not have too many children without needing them – other institutions entered the scene in order to meet (as we would say nowadays) the offer with the demand. Such was, particularly in Northern and Central Europe, the institution of apprenticeship, which allowed the families with “too many” boys to “transfer” the “supplemental boy” to families who did not have enough for the necessities of the farm or of the factory. Such were the monasteries or the army, which absorbed the young girls and boys which would have otherwise affected the integrity of the property and patrimony of the families they belonged to. In an Europe which, between the nadir of its population, reached in the first part of the 1400s and the industrial revolution had more than doubled its own population, in which the available land was expensive, the “supplemental son” was, probably, a (economical) problem much more serious and widespread than that of the “missing son”.

Some contemporary authors have underlined the plasticity of the Chinese demographical system, able to adapt to external constraints through various

mechanisms. In the first place, the use of infanticide allowed a regulation of the number and gender of children at the family level. An infanticide that affected especially the girls and which, in the particular case of families belonging to the imperial lineage was around 10%, but which might have been even more frequent in lower rank families. A study carried out on a sample of farmers born between 1774 and 1873, estimated that about one fifth to one fourth of girls died through infanticide. The hypothesis is that infanticide was an answer to the negative fluctuations of economical conditions. The selective infanticide and the higher feminine mortality caused by a lesser care of parents for girls generated, in turn, an important distortion of the matrimonial market, where young ladies were rare; their rarity was aggravated by a polygyny which was not rare and by the low nuptiality of young widowers. In the Chinese familiar system, the adoption mechanisms had a high impact, with noticeable proportions – until 10% - of children being raised by adoptive parents. Adoptions that could also imply teenagers and, eventually, adults. This way, the Chinese demographical system was characterized by multiple choices that balanced the romantic love with combined weddings, the passion with abstinence, the parently love with the decision of killing or giving away the children and with the adoption of other children... The Chinese were constantly adjusting their demographic behavior, considering the common circumstances, in order to maximize the collective utility.

Let us continue with the Chinese case, which provides many reflection points for the theme in discussion, following it until nowadays. We have seen that the distortion of the “preferences” towards boys has deep roots in the history. The quantitative analyzes fully confirm it, beginning with the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, and precisely illustrate the modifications that occurred during the latest decades. Various inquiries confirm that in the 1930s and the 1940s the preference for boys was still much accentuated. The proportion between the male and the female newborns, rather than following the bio-demographical rule of a slight prevalence of the former versus the latter (about 105 – 106 male newborns for each 100 female ones), showed figures that were much higher than the normal ones. The boy has a major economical and social “value” because he is entrusted with the difficult task of working on the field; because the boy is the support for the elder, because he is entrusted with the continuity of the family. The “disappearance” of girls was caused by infanticide immediately after birth or, subsequently, by different forms of discrimination which lead to an even higher mortality than the – already high – one of children. After the Revolution, the phenomenon gradually diminished; the woman had gained dignity and equality; the support of the ill and elder ones

was assured by the community; the value of the man's work was not so different any more than that of a woman. Therefore, the excess of male births started being reabsorbed; the proportion between genders at birth, in 1982, was slightly higher than normal (108 versus 106), letting us believe that the demographical Middle Age was definitely surpassed. However, that was not the case: right at the end of the '70s, China, in its effort to modernize the economy and the society and to limit the preoccupying demographical growth, introduced the policy of the "unique child" (a policy that addressed most of the population, but with numerous exceptions that allowed around 4 out of 10 couples to have two or more children). The couples who "adhered" to the policy received a series of advantages (lodging, treatment, school); on the other hand, those who did not adhere to the pact and had more than one child were penalized. The practical success of the policy was obvious: from a mean of 6 children per woman, the fecundity suddenly dropped to less than 2. However, the preoccupying side effect of the policy was the gradual increase of the proportion between genders at birth, today reaching the record level of 120 male for each 100 female newborns (equivalent to around 600.000 – 700.000 less female newborns each year, according to estimations). The early diagnose of the fetus's gender and the selective abortion were the instruments of this tragic distortion. The analyzes show that for the couples who have their first child the distortion of the proportion between genders is minimal; however, it increases with each subsequent birth. If we consider the second birth, the distortion is highest for the families the first child of whom was a girl; the increase is even higher for the third birth, in case the first two were both girls. The policy of the "unique child" is usually blamed to be responsible for this tendency; however, we should consider that similar preferences for male children are to be found in Taiwan, in Korea, in Thailand and in other states of Northern India (Punjab, Haryana) – countries where there is no constrictive policy but in which, however, the orientation is towards a resolute limiting of births. This way, the question can be reformulated: the increasing preference for male children is due to traditional causes that we indicated above and which became more evident as the couples decide to have few children or only one child. For these couples, the case may deny the male lineage: modern technology allows them to turn the case.

A marginal note raises an interesting issue. Among the Chinese of the diaspora, in developed countries, the proportion between genders is a natural one. Among the Chinese living in Toscana, this proportion is not different at all from the one of the local population. Have the Chinese immigrants adopted the European values? Or maybe the value of the female child (an particularly



her economical value) – in a context in which the Chinese immigrants are engaged in the small handicraft industry or in services – is by now indistinguishable from that of male children?

The decline of mortality opened the way to the decline of natality through the spreading of the voluntary birth control. At a very agreed level of explanation, the decline of natality can be seen as an answer to the shifted equilibrium between the cost and benefits of children following the industrial revolution. For the parents, the cost of children increased because the infantile mortality diminished and therefore (at the level of the number of children brought into the world compared to past times) the mean number of survivors per family increased. The cost also increased because the industrial and urban societies implied a major investment in children: in clothing, health, teaching and formation and – finally – because the mothers, in order to care for the children, gave up the possibility to work on the market. If the costs increased, the benefits of children diminished: if in the agricultural societies they had the potential of bringing an income during early childhood, in the industrial and urban societies their implication in productive activities occurred at a considerable higher age; moreover, in the new societies, the support of elders depended more and more on the economies made throughout the active life or on the social security systems and less on the support of children. This explanatory scheme is convincing at a very general level, but we have to consider that other factors – for instance those of cultural nature – have certainly played a role in the geographic distribution and in the fast decline of births. The changes introduced by Illuminism and by the French revolution, the radical, egalitarian and socialist movements; religiosity and adherence to the teachings of the Church often explained the reasons of anticipations or delays in the control of births. Many scientists consider that the analyze of changes in the values and ideals referred to the family and children delivers more convincing explanations than the analyze of costs and benefits. Other point out the fact that the phenomenon of the decrease of mortality preceding and therefore causing that of natality was not to be found everywhere. Of course, it is possible that the great upthrust given by the industrial revolution resulted in a multitude of forces the impact of which on the demography of groups, collectivities and nations was filtered by the local conditions and history.

At a more general level, we can say that among the European populations, from the end of the 1700s, a new concept on the child began to develop. For Phillippe Ariés the child of the Antiquity, of the Middle Age and of the beginning of the modern era was a child for few years: a small and gracious animal to play and make jokes with, and a little more; than he mixes with the

adults and finally confounds with them. His socialization does not happen in the family. Montaigne said “I lost two or three babies at the nannies, without regrets but also without anger”. Or, again, speaking about boys “all of them died at the nannies”. Rousseau also confessed “my third son ended up at found children and I did the same with the first two; I also did the same with the last two, since I did not have only five. This system seems so good, sensible and legitimate, that I could never express my satisfaction, I did it for their mother”. For Ariés, the 18<sup>th</sup> Century is exactly the one from which the family began to discover the intimacy – in the household, which specializes, withdraws, becomes private, becomes a place of affection. Just over a century afterwards, in the harrowing story of Cechov (*Enemies*) we find ourselves in the middle of modernity: “Kirilov and his wife were silent and did not cry anymore, like in the seriousness of the loss [the baby Andrei, who had just died of typhos] they also felt how pathetic their situation was: like their youngness had passed at its time, now, with this boy, their right of having children was gone! At the age of 44, the doctor was already white-haired and seemed old, his wife, faded and ill, was 35. Andrei was not just the only, but the last son”. In the 1800s, the European family begins to control its own fecundity, starts to put the children in the centre of its private life, to invest more in them – by better feeding and clothing them, by sending them to school, surrounding them with attention – this is a family who underwent a major transition. In very simple terms: it substitutes the “quantity” of its children with their “quality”. Less children, but propelled by attention, effort, spending of resources – and with a corresponding load of worries and expectations.

The long transition towards the demographic “modernity” has now entered a new historical phase, in which the child, the son, is a rare resource. So rare, that in certain populations – Italy hereby included – the women who do not have children or who only have one, are more numerous than those who have two or more. In the world, with every year that passes, more and more regions and countries reach the threshold of two children per woman. The intimate desire of maternity and paternity seems to have disappeared in almost more youngsters, but for the own satisfaction a single son seems to be enough.

May the unique son become the paradigm of tomorrow’s society, a paradigm that maximizes the quality minimizing the quantity? Does the minimization of physical effort maximize the load of expectations and worries? Does the minimization of the biological cost maximize the investment? However, other considerations make us believe the contrary. Empirical enquiries coherently support the idea that young men and women, regardless

their age, condition, knowledge, income wish they had – a mean of – more than two children. The fact that we have less might be the consequence of a historical confluence of social and economical circumstances that drive high the cost of children. Circumstances that might be removed or surpassed. And it is also true that a society in which the number of children is under the level of replacement (less than two children per couple) cannot sustain itself and, on a long term, is constrained to numerical decline and social involution. Therefore, the low number of children is a cost, a non-value for the society, negatively influencing the system of inter-generation solidarity and which has to be corrected. But the cost for the society is also a cost for individuals and, on a long term, a non-value for the society cannot be a value for individuals.

## BOOK REVIEWS

**Isabelle Robin-Romero**, *Les orphelins de Paris. Enfants et assistance aux XVI<sup>e</sup> - XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Presses de l'Université Paris - Sorbonne, 2007, 277 pages, ISBN: 978-2-84050-512-9

Dans ses dix chapitres, le volume présente, a la limite d'histoire de l'enfance et celle d'assistance, les modalités d'accueil et les soins des orphelins parisiens qui ont vécu pendant la période du XVI<sup>ème</sup> jusqu'au 18<sup>ème</sup> siècles. Avec une préface fait par l'historien Jean-Pierre Bardet, le sujet traité par Isabelle Robin-Romero s'impose comme une recherche très bien pointue sur la vie des enfants qui vivent sans avoir à côté d'eux, leurs géniteurs; sont les enfants nés à Paris, mais aussi dans ses banlieues. Dans l'ancienne France, cette catégorie sociale constituait „un groupe encore mal connu” (p. 12) et assez rare (p. 235). Il faut souligner, dès le début, que les orphelins ne sont pas du tout des enfants abandonnés. Ce n'est pas bien de confondre ces deux notions si différentes!

Les orphelins sont des enfants légitimes, qui connaissent leurs parents, „leurs origines” (p. 14) anciennes et qui ont été reconnus par leurs parents. Mais il existe toujours un risque de perdre au moins un de ses parents et l'enfant „tombe” sur la situation de continuer sa vie tout seul. Dans ce cas, les orphelins ont trois options possibles, délimitées par l'auteur (p. 13):

- les enfants peuvent continuer leur vie en famille, auprès du parent survivant;
- ils deviennent des enfants abandonnés;
- ils se rendent dans une institution spécialisée pour être soignés.

Pour aider ces enfants „du malheur”, ont été créés à Paris, pendant les 16<sup>ème</sup> et le 18<sup>ème</sup> siècles plusieurs institutions spécialisées, comme celles-ci, dont leur activité est présentée dans ce volume: le Saint-Esprit, la Trinité, les Enfants-Rouges, la Maison de Charité, les Cent-Filles, le Saint-Nom de Jésus, les Orphelins de Saint-Supplice, les Filles de la Providence, Sainte-Aure, l'Hospice Beaujon, l'École des Orphelins Militaires. Toutes ces institutions ont pour but principal le secours des enfants restant à vivre sans leurs parents; elles sont les prédécesseurs des vrais orphelinats XIX<sup>ème</sup> siècle (p. 235), comme nous fait confiance l'auteur à la fin de ce volume. Une fois entrés dans ces établissements, les enfants sont élevés jusqu'à leur maturité, après ils sont aidés pour s'intégrer dans la société ayant en possession „des moyens de survivre” (p. 15). Cette expression se traduit par le fait que les enfants peuvent gagner leur vie tout seuls, ayant un métier quelconque.

L'analyse des institutions parisiennes qui recevraient les enfants orphelins nous a montré qu'il y avait eu plusieurs établissements charitables, de nature différente, à savoir: des écoles, un couvent, des hôpitaux, un hospice. Les onze établissements se rapprochent par leur principal objet d'activité: l'enfant seul avec ses besoins les plus courantes.

À la fin du XVIII<sup>ème</sup> siècle, ils ont été créés à Paris 625 places pour les orphelins dans les maisons spéciales (p. 35) destinées à leurs besoins. Le nombre n'était pas suffisant. Il existait des listes d'attente (p. 36) pour pouvoir entrer dans les différentes institutions de charité. Une fois inscrit sur ces listes, les orphelins ont été aidés du point de vue financier jusqu'au moment où ils pouvaient occuper une place vacante dans une des institutions spécialisées.

Ces établissements parisiens de charité ont, chacun, son propre histoire, son propre parcours, analysé par l'auteur dans les pages de ce livre qu'il nous propose. Comme fondateurs de ces maisons charitables ils ont existé des différentes personnalités de l'époque (p. 41); leur désir et leur choix personnels devaient être respectés toujours, par les employés, parce que c'était par leur propre volonté le bon fonctionnement de ces établissements.

Comment pouvaient entrer les enfants dans ces maisons charitables? Premièrement, les enfants devaient avoir la „qualité” d'orphelin de père et/ou de mère (p. 77). Sinon, il existait d'autres institutions qui pouvaient accueillir les „cas sociaux”. Deuxièmement, il était pris en considération l'âge des enfants. Certaines institutions acceptaient les enfants à partir de la petite enfance; d'autres institutions, préféraient les enfants plus grands (p. 79), de six ans et plus. Après l'âge de huit ou dix ans, aucune institution ne recevait plus les orphelins. La motivation principale: la politique institutionnelle de ces maisons où les enfants apprenaient les connaissances nécessaires pour pouvoir se débrouiller tout seuls à partir de leur treize ou quatorze ans.

Une autre condition exigée par certaines institutions, était le sexe des enfants. Il y avait des maisons qui recevraient seulement les garçons, et d'autres maisons, spéciales conçues pour les filles. Une chose intéressante à l'époque: dans les maisons dites „mixtes”, les garçons et les filles vivaient séparément! L'appartenance géographique d'orphelin constituait un dernier critère pour un enfant souhaitant entrer dans un orphelinat parisien. Seulement les enfants nés à Paris et dans ses banlieues pouvaient aspirer avoir une place dans ce type d'institutions de charité.

Après les 14 ans, les orphelins étaient préparés pour la vie professionnelle. Mais le choix d'un métier n'était pas trop large pour eux (voir la page 213 et l'annexe 7, pages 254-258 où l'auteur présente un inventaire complet des métiers des orphelins). La plupart des adolescents étaient embauchés comme

des domestiques, des artisans ou pour faire des différents travaux ménagers.

Isabelle Robin-Romero présente l'histoire des institutions privées qui ont été construit pour soigner les orphelins parisiens, tels qui ont fonctionné jusqu'à la fin de XVIIIème siècle (p. 238 ; 14). „*L'existence de maisons spécialisées (...) montre les limites de la solidarité et de la disponibilité familiale*” le chercheur français. Tous ces établissements ont été dissous avec la Révolution de 1789. Les Français ont institué un nouveau système „fondé sur la notion d'assistance publique” (p. 238) ouvert a tous les aspirants. Csysteme a permis la mise en place des Maisons Nationales des Orphelins (p. 15) a la fin de XVIIIème siècle ; avec cette nouvelle institution l'Etat assumait en effet, le soin et l'éducation des enfants seuls, orphelins ou non.

Cet ouvrage consacré sur la vie des orphelins parisiens s'impose comme une contribution très prégnante sur un aspect moins connu :la vie des enfants qui ne sont pas abandonnés, mais condamnés à vivre sans avoir a coté d'eux, au moins un de leurs parents. On peut très bien considérer cette recherche comme une histoire d'altérité, représentée par ces enfants rassemblés dans des institutions charitables. On se permet aussi de recommander l'ouvrage présenté, pas seulement a tous ce qui ont de préoccupations dans le domaine d'histoire des eet histoire des populations, mais aussi pour les personnes désirants enrichir leur connaissances sur un aspect très peu connu, celle de la vie d'une catégorie sociale moins favorisé par le destin : les enfants sans parents. Pourquoi pas, on peut continuer les recherches sur les orphelins des autres sociétés...

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**Guido Alfani, Philippe Castagnetti, Vincent Gourdon** (eds.). (2009). *Baptiser. Pratique sacramentelle, pratique sociale (XVI<sup>e</sup>-XX<sup>e</sup> siècles)*. Saint-Étienne: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 427 pages, ISBN: 978-2-86272-511-6

We might say that birth is the most important demographic event, because, without it, all the other relevant episodes in one's life would not be possible. Closely related to birth, baptism seems to follow it almost without exception and this rule, highly valued in the past centuries, remains valid today. The

present book approaches just this important aspect of Christian life, which attracted more historiographical attention in the past few years.

The three editors are renowned specialists in the field of historical demography, thus validating the importance of this volume's. For instance, Guido Alfani has a PhD in Economic and Social History, is a Visiting Scholar at six European universities or research centers and has written numerous articles and books that encompass population history. Philippe Castagnetti is a professor at the Social and Humane Sciences Faculty of Jean Monnet University (Saint-Étienne) and Vincent Gourdon is one of the organizers of PATRINUS (European network for a social and cultural history of baptism and godparenthood) and is the author of several works that dwell on family history<sup>1</sup>.

Pertaining to both social and cultural history, baptism represents the first of the Christian sacraments and allows the individual to become a part of the ecclesiastical life, a recognised member of the family and of the community but also to be acknowledged as a citizen (pages 9-10). In the *Introduction* (27 pages) the editors highlight the complexity of baptism and enumerate the different research domains and methodologies that might contribute to a full understanding of the phenomenon: religious history, network analysis, political history, childhood and family history, legal history (comprising canonical and common law), social history, economic history, history of anthropology, historical religious sociology, historical demography or population history (pages 10-18 *passim*). Moreover, the first part of the book represents a comprehensive critical review of the existing studies, presenting them in chronological order (the concept's evolution, the succeeding perspectives upon it and so forth) and irrespective of the country in which they were conducted (besides France and Italy, the authors also take into consideration the Anglo-Saxon area, Canada, Latin America, Switzerland, Germany, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Greece and other Balkan countries).

Alfani, Castagnetti and Gourdon also mention from the beginning the fact that baptism should be separated from another related topic: choosing or

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<sup>1</sup> For details about Guido Alfani's academic career, visit

<http://didattica.unibocconi.eu/docenti/cv.php?rif=49642&cognome=ALFANI&nome=GUIDO>.

Philippe Castagnetti's research areas are listed at <http://portail.univ-st-etienne.fr/bienvenue/utilitaires/m-castagnetti-philippe-459.kjsp?RH=ACCUEIL>.

For more data about PATRINUS, see

[http://historicaldemography.net/documents/program\\_patrinus\\_eng.pdf](http://historicaldemography.net/documents/program_patrinus_eng.pdf).

A partial list of Vincent Gourdon's books is available at <http://recherche.fnac.com/ia380809/Vincent-Gourdon>.

becoming a godfather or a godmother. In fact, the three parts of the book and the subsidiary chapters try to illustrate this distinction and cluster the 20 studies that compose the volume accordingly. The 21 contributing authors (here including the three editors) originate in and discuss different countries or areas. France and Italy are by far the best represented, but we are also informed about the baptizing practices in Spain, Romania, Russia and the United States of America, in modern or contemporary times, amongst the people or the elites, in the case of Catholic, Protestant or Orthodox believers.

The first part, *Representations* (128 pages), analyses the views of the Church (chapter 1, pages 39-79), those of the rising secularism (chapter 2, pages 81-143) and even a rather mythical approach to baptism, that which takes the form of the Mafia's leadership (chapter 3, pages 145-164). When speaking about baptism, one cannot disregard the fact that discrepancies between ecclesiastical objectives and familial or social practices have always existed (page 38). Besides, by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the religious discourse is just one of the many different approaches to birth and baptism, especially as the medical discourse gains ground (two of the three studies that compose the second chapter marvelously illustrate this tendency). Indeed, the Old Regime's fears regarding death without baptism tend to dissipate as science and secularization progress. Eternal damnation, never-ending misery, return to Earth as demons were powerful reasons for which a Christian parent would baptize the newborn baby as soon as possible (pages 41-42, 187-189, 204-207). Therefore multiple practices were performed in order to ensure the baptism of the infant even before birth (if the midwife took notice of a threat to the child's life) or immediately following birth. The above mentioned practices included *post-mortem* caesarean, followed by baptism (pages 125-135, 189), intrauterine baptism (pages 135-143) or a form of partial baptism (*ondoiment*; the children were baptized only with water, therefore receiving the essential part of the sacrament, while waiting for the rest of the ceremony; pages 203-222). In fact, studies show that the vast majority of baptisms took place in the first three days after birth (pages 94-95, 167-169, 211-212) and this rule was applied by the entire Catholic Europe in the 17<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> centuries (page 169). Therefore, objective realities and possibilities transcended the French royal declaration issued in 1698 (and reinforced in 1724) which imposed baptism in the first 24 hours after birth (pages 42, 121, 168, 206), a rule that was compatible with the synodal decisions of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (page 94).

The second part of the book focuses on *Families* (126 pages) and takes into consideration two important aspects: the child's entrance into the family (chapter 1, pages 167-222) and the relationships between the child and



biological parents on the one hand and spiritual parents on the other hand (chapter 2, pages 223-290). In modern times, baptism was intimately related to receiving a newborn into the family as it marked this event (page 166). No wonder then that most of the times the godfather and/or the godmother were members of the child's family. However, this quasi-general rule relied on other motives as well, because baptizing a child very soon after the birth implied spiritual parents that lived nearby (and relatives usually met this condition as the Old Regime's spatial mobility was low; pages 177-178) and because two families that became related in such a way had to comply to a number of restrictions regarding marriage (and therefore choosing a brother, a sister, an older child or a parent to baptize the newborn did not diminish the already narrow matrimonial market available; pages 269-272, 281-290, 341-368).

Although in traditional societies a person was almost as often a natural parent as a spiritual one (page 170), by the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, godparents had to conform to a number of clerical conditions and precepts ranging from the way they were dressed to mental sanity and having received their first Communion (page 43). Nevertheless, the gains seem to have been higher than the costs: being a godparent brought about a certain pride, if the child died, he or she became an intercessor for the godparent in front of God, godparents were better viewed by their peers, the family alliances got bigger and stronger and the godparent's memory was kept by the transmission of names (page 189). Especially this last aspect is largely documented (pages 175-176, 223-241, 252-253, 264-269) and some religious texts mention rules regarding the names given to children. For instance, it was forbidden to use profane, pagan, indecent, fabulous, poetical or ridiculous names and even the combination between the first and the last name had to obey the same principles (page 43).

Choosing particular godparents for your children had other social implications as well, especially in the case of local notabilities. Therefore, in their case dispensations were accustomarily granted and the most frequently invoked reasons were the geographical distance between the family's and the godparents' residences, the time needed for organizing the banquet, the desire to return to the rural property for celebrating the baptism, delays caused by the parents' or the godparents' professional activities or the lack of pastors (pages 196-200). Most often, the newborn was baptized only with water after birth (*ondoiment*) and the full ceremony took place when the above mentioned conditions were met (such examples can be found in almost every study included in the present book). Replacing godparents that were unable to be physically present at the baptism by another relative was also a common practice.

The third and last part of the volume, *Social Networks* (137 pages), offers a more detailed view of the ways in which becoming related through a spiritual bond influenced the family's position within the community, both in the case of rural societies (chapter 1, pages 293-340) and in that of urban ones (chapter 2, pages 341-427). The quantitative approach applied throughout this recent historiographical publication remains the leading methodology used in this part of the book. This is a reasonable and almost inherent aspect of studies that pertain to the historical demography field. This happens especially because the quantitative data is then qualitatively interpreted, generating highly reliable information, like in the case of determining the magnitude of the spiritual bonds' influence on the right to use collective arable lands (pages 293-316). Other examples of the above mentioned principle include using a microanalytic approach and network analysis to estimate a child's chances of getting married or verifying if the godparent's profession had an impact on parents' choices (pages 341-413 *passim*).

A certain redundancy of part of the information presented in this volume is understandable as we are referring to a collection of studies. Actually, repeatedly discovering similar data on a certain topic both helps the reader gather and memorise relevant aspects and verifies the fact that the information is reliable and applies to different areas, social classes and countries. Likewise, a very specific delineation between godparents and the act of baptizing, although methodologically needed and promoted by the three editors, is not possible as the two implicate and influence each other.

In spite of these few and unavoidable flaws, the present book represents an important tool for every historian who plans to analyse demographic events related to birth and baptism. The studies included in the volume are useful either from a methodological point of view or through their content and conclusions. Moreover, this summarization of the research conducted so far is a powerful means of discovering what still needs to be done, especially in the areas that were not considered here.

Reviewed by Mihaela Mehedinți

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## A 2010 SUMMER EVENT!



# International Conference of Historical Demography and Family History

Monday 23 August to Thursday 26 August, 2010  
Amsterdam, The Netherlands



The International Commission for Historical Demography (ICHD), an Affiliated Organization of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, will held a Conference during the *21st International Congress of Historical Sciences*, taking place in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, at the *Universiteit van Amsterdam* (UvA), 22-28 August 2010.

This International Conference of Historical Demography and Family History is sponsored by the Centre de Recherches Historiques of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (EHESS/CNRS: UMR 8558, Paris, France), the Minnesota Population Center, Minneapolis (USA), the Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Romania and the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

ICHD sessions will be August 23 to August 26, 2010, on two locations. IISG rooms A & B are located at ***International Institute of Social History, IISG, Cruquiusweg 31, Amsterdam, 1019 AT Amsterdam.***

For directions, see website: <http://www.iisg.nl/address.php>.

**Other rooms are at Universiteit van Amsterdam (UvA).**

***Universiteitstheater is located: Nieuwe Doelenstraat 16 – 1012 CP Amsterdam.***

For locations, see: <http://www.english.uva.nl/locations/map.cfm>

For on line updated Programme, see: <http://www.ichs2010.org/home.asp>  
go to “Preliminary Programme” & to see the rest of our Programme, click below on “Program-extra”,  
and later on “Commission Internationale de Démographie Historique”.

<http://www.ichs2010.org/programme-18.asp>

For questions on registration, please contact Mrs Ineke Kellij: [info@ichs2010.org](mailto:info@ichs2010.org)

The General Secretary of ICHD/CIDH is Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux, EHESS/CRH, 2, rue Emile Faguet, 75014 Paris – France.

[fauve@msh-paris.fr](mailto:fauve@msh-paris.fr) - <http://historicaldemography.net/>

Languages of the conference are French and English. All participants are requested to register to the main CISH Congress and wear the Conference badge.

After the Conference, paper givers are encouraged to submit an article in English or French to the International Editorial Committee of the **Romanian Journal of Population Studies (eMail: [csp\\_cluj@yahoo.com](mailto:csp_cluj@yahoo.com))**

# PRELIMINARY PROGRAMME

## MONDAY SESSIONS - MORNING

**Monday, 23 August, 2010, 8:30 REGISTRATION at IISG**  
**International Institute of Social History, IISG,**  
**Cruquiusweg 31,**  
**Amsterdam, 1019 AT Amsterdam**

**Monday, 23 August, 2010, 8:45-10:30, IISG, Room: A**

**Session 2: THE EFFECTS OF MIGRATION ON DEMOGRAPHIC INDICATORS**

Organizer: **Mary Louise Nagata**

Chair: **Kees Mandemakers**

Discussant: **Marie-Pierre Arrizabalaga & Alice Bee Kasakoff**

**Mary Louise Nagata & Kiyoshi Hamano** - Analyzing Leaving Home and the Life Course for a Mobile urban Population: Leaving Home in 19th Century Kyoto

**Ofelia Rey Castelao**

- Les effets des migrations sur la population de la Galice (Espagne), XVIIIe-XIXe siècles : l'exemple du Val de la Ulla

**Mohamed Saleh** - Muslims, Christians, and Jews in 19th and 20th Century Egypt: Human Capital Differences and Urban Segregation

**Yelena Zimovina** - Migration flows and Changes of Ethnodemographic Models of Kazakhstan in the 20 Century

**Monday, 23 August, 2010, 8:45-10:30, IISG, Room: B**

**Session 3: FAMILY, DEMOGRAPHY AND WELL-BEING: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON EASTERN EUROPE I**

Organizer: **Mikolaj Szoltysek**

Chair: **Tamás Faragó**

Discussant: **Jan Kok**

**Daniela Deteşan** - Transylvanian family without marriage. Understanding present family models from the past in a comparative European perspective

**Siegfried Gruber** - Are multiple family households a means for economic success and a better living standard in the Balkans?

**Silvia Sovic** - The East-West Paradigm in Family History and Other Disciplines

**Konrad Wnęk** - Family in West Galicia - Small, Medium and Big City Examples from 1869

*Coffee Break*

**Monday, 23 August, 2010, 10:45-12:30, IISG, Room: A**

**Session 5: INHERITANCE SYSTEMS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE I**

Organizer: **Marie-Pierre Arrizabalaga**

Chair: **Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux**

Discussant: **Béatrice Craig**

**Jim Brown** - Life courses of non-heirs in landholding households in Lower Austria, 1788-1848

**Erwin Karel & Richard Paping** - The transfer of farms in Dutch commercial and peasant rural societies, 1740-2000: two cases compared

**Beatrice Moring** - Legislation and Reality- Inheritance and property transmission in the Nordic countries in comparison with southern and central Europe

**Alice Velkova** - Household formation in Bohemia: inheritance practice and family strategy, 17th-19th centuries

**Monday, 23 August, 2010, 10:45-12:30, IISG, Room: B**

**Session 4: FAMILY, DEMOGRAPHY AND WELL-BEING: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES ON EASTERN EUROPE II**

Organizer: **Mikolaj Szoltysek**

Chair: **Konrad Wnęk**

Discussant: **Siegfried Gruber**

**Lorena Anton & Laurence Kotobi** - Letting home the past? Family, Demography and Migration in Postcommunism Romania

**Piotr Guzowski** - The influence of economic situation on Polish peasant families, household structure and lifecycle in the late Middle Ages and Early Modern period

**Artur Markowski** - Between economy and tradition. Jewish family and household in the kingdom of Poland in the first half of the 19th century

**Mikolaj Szoltysek** - Vulnerable populations in the Late Eighteenth-Century Eastern Europe: Residential Rules of Stem- and Joint-Family Societies Compared

**Lidia A. Zyblikiewicz** - Evolution or Stagnation? Families and Households in Krakow in the Second Half of the 19th Century

*Lunch Break*

**MONDAY SESSIONS - AFTERNOON**

**Monday, 23 August, 2010, 14:00-15:45, IISG, Room: A**

**Session 6: INHERITANCE SYSTEMS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE II**

Organizer: **Marie-Pierre Arrizabalaga**

Chair: **Ofelia Rey Castelao**

Discussant: **Anne-Lise Head-König**

**Marie-Pierre Arrizabalaga** - Inheritance practices and co-residence in Pyrenean families and Pyrenean emigrants' families in the nineteenth century

**Begoña Elizalde** - The stem family in Navarra (1887-2001)

**Piotr Guzowski** - The role of Polish peasant women in inheritance system (15th-16th centuries)

**Monday, 23 August, 2010, 14:00-15:45, IISG, Room: B**

**Session 1: MAKING LARGE AND COMPLEX DATA BASES EASY TO USE**

Organizer: **Kees Mandemakers**

Chair: **Robert McCaa**

Discussant: **Kees Mandemakers**

**Hiroshi Kawaguchi & Shigenobu Sugito** - Sharing Genealogical Spaces: The New World with "Alliance" Database System

**Roger Lund** - Abstract On improving a research infrastructure

**Sarah Moreels** - The Antwerp COR\*-database: tips and tricks on the construction of a longitudinal historical-demographic

**Steven Ruggles** - Disseminating Historical Data on the Internet: The IPUMS Experience

**Mohamed Saleh** - A Pre-Modern Middle-Eastern Population Brought to Light: Digitization of the 1848 and 1868 Egyptian Individual-Level Census Records

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***BUSINESS MEETING***

**Monday, 23 August, 2010, 16:00-17:45, IISG, Main Room**

**GENERAL ASSEMBLY- ASSEMBLÉE GÉNÉRALE**

**International Commission for Historical Demography**

**Commission Internationale de Démographie Historique (ICHD/CIDH)**

**RECEPTION**

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**TUESDAY SESSIONS - MORNING**

**Tuesday, 24 August, 2010, 8:45-10:30, IISG, Room: A**

**Session 8: ARE FAMILY SYSTEMS ONLY FOR LAND OWNING FAMILIES? THE USEFULNESS OF THE CONCEPT OF "FAMILY SYSTEM" I**

Organizer: **Alice Bee Kasakoff**

Chair: **Mary Louise Nagata**

Discussant: **Alice Bee Kasakoff**

**Jan Kok** - Family systems and regional variations in illegitimacy

**Michel Oris** - Family systems and forms of cooperation between social groups in preindustrial Europe

**Mikolaj Szoltysek** - Families East and West in the Eastern European Context: are there Different Sets of Rules?

**Richard Wall** - Limitations on the role of British Households as Economic Units

**Tuesday, 24 August, 2010, 8:45-10:30, IISG, Room: B**

**Session 10: LOOKING BACKWARD TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THE FUTURE OF HISTORICAL DEMOGRAPHY I**

Organizer: **Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux**

Chair: **Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux**

Discussant: **Sølvi Sogner**

**Ioan Bolovan** - Half a century of Historical Demography in Romania (1960-2010)

**Rolf Gehrman** - La démographie historique en Allemagne.

**Isabelle Seguy** - L'école française de démographie historique (1950-2000): forces et faiblesses

**Eugenio Sonnino** - History of Historical Demography in Italy

**Peter Teibenbacher** - From a "Population" - issue to a special scientific discipline - a short history of historical demography in Austria

*Coffee Break*

**Tuesday, 24 August, 2010, 10:45-12:30, IISG, Room: A**

**Session 9: ARE FAMILY SYSTEMS ONLY FOR LAND OWNING FAMILIES? THE USEFULNESS OF THE CONCEPT OF "FAMILY SYSTEM" II**

Organizer: **Alice Bee Kasakoff**

Chair: **Jan Kok**

Discussant: **Mary Louise Nagata**

**Béatrice Craig** - Inheriting the Family Firm and the Concept of Family Strategies

**Renzo Derosas** - Between coercion and constraints: marriage and social reproduction in 19th-century Italy

**Alice Bee Kasakoff** - Elderly Care and Family Systems

**Tuesday, 24 August, 2010,**

**10:45-12:30, IISG, Room: B**

**Session 11: LOOKING BACKWARD TO BETTER UNDERSTAND THE FUTURE OF HISTORICAL DEMOGRAPHY II**

Organizer: **Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux**

Chair: **Eugenio Sonnino**

Discussant: **Anne-Lise Head-König**

**Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux** - Family/Demography international networks

**Tamás Faragó** - The outline of Hungarian historical demography

**Isabel Moll** - La construction d'une discipline: la démographie historique en Espagne (1941-1983)

**Sølvi Sogner** - Historical Demography in Scandinavia

**TUESDAY SESSIONS - AFTERNOON**

**Tuesday, 24 August, 2010, 14:00-15:45, IISG, Room: A**

**Session 7: INHERITANCE SYSTEMS IN COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE III**

Organizers: **Marie-Pierre Arrizabalaga & Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux**

Chair: **Marie-Pierre Arrizabalaga**

Discussant: **Luigi Lorenzetti**

**Marius Eppel** - Le mariage mixte en Transylvanie au XIXe siècle

**Fatiha Loualich** - Les femmes et la transmission de leurs biens dans l'Algérie précoloniale : Alger aux 17e et 18e siècles

**Gabriella Nordin** - Adopting or Rejecting a New Culture? Marriage patterns among Sami settled under the impact of the colonization process in 19th Century Northern Sweden

**Dana-Maria Rus** - Modèle familial et choix du conjoint dans une société frontalière au 19e siècle

**Beatrice Zucca Micheletto** - Les souhaits des parents : héritage, travail et genre dans les testaments des milieux urbains à l'époque moderne (Turin, XVIII)

**Tuesday, 24 August, 2010, 14:00-17:00, University, Room OMHP, D0.08**

**Session L 4: CONQUESTS AND DEMOGRAPHY**

Organizer: **Peter Boomgaard**

Chair: **Peter Boomgaard**

Discussant: **Bruce Fetter**

**Ioan Bolovan** - Transylvania's Population From 11th Century to 20th Century: Intercultural Opportunities and Vulnerabilities

**David Henley** - Forced labour and rising fertility in colonial Indonesia

**Gerrit Knaap** - People, War and Conquest; The case of the Dutch East India Company

**Athina Kolia-Dermitzaki** - The repercussions of the siege of cities on the life of their inhabitants in the Balkans and Asia Minor (7th-10th century): a comparative approach

**Sinisa Misić & Ema Miljković** - Structure of the Serbian family in the late Middle Ages

**Linda Newson** - Conquest and Pestilence in the Early Spanish Philippines

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**WEDNESDAY SESSION - MORNING**

**Wednesday, 25 August, 2010, 9:00-12:00, Universiteitstheater, kamer 3.01**

**Session D 5: INTERGENERATIONAL ASPECTS OF DEMOGRAPHY**

Organizer: **Sören Edvinsson**

Chair: **Angélique Janssens**

Commentators: **Angélique Janssens & David Reher**

**Sören Edvinsson, Anders Brändström, Marie Lindkvist & Göran Broström** - Healthy of unhealthy families? The transfer of infant and child mortality patterns across generations

**Paul M.M. Klep** - Fertility, nuptiality and the intergenerational transmission of the family fund in Western Europe 1930-1960. An exploration into an alternative hypothesis.

**Alison Mackinnon** - Values and demography: do values shape intergenerational change?

**Bart Van de Putte, Jan van Bavel, Sarah Moreels & Koen Matthijs** - Did family size affect intergenerational mobility during the demographic transition? An analysis using a multi-generation database of 19th century Antwerp

### WEDNESDAY SESSION - AFTERNOON

Wednesday, 25 August, 2010, 14:00-17:00, Universiteitstheater, kamer 3.01

#### Session D 6: QUEENSHIP AND KINSHIP: ROYAL WOMEN'S AGENCY IN FAMILY STRATEGIES (14TH-20TH CENTURIES)

Organizer: **Ana Maria Seabra de Almeida Rodrigues**

Chair: **Ana Maria Seabra de Almeida Rodrigues**

Discussant: **Ana Maria Seabra de Almeida Rodrigues**

**Isabel Baleiras** - The Power of Leonor Teles, Queen of Portugal (1372-1383)

**Isabel dos Guimarães Sá** - An Ambitious Family: the House of Beja-Viseu and its Women

**Margarida Durães** - Une affaire politique. Le mariage du roi Manuel II et l'ambivalence des réseaux familiaux

**Rokhaya Fall-Sokhna** - Les «Lingères» au coeur des stratégies politiques dans l'histoire des sociétés wolof du Sénégal.

**Maria-Antónia Lopes** - Maria Pia de Savoie (1847-1911), reine du Portugal

**Jacqueline Ravelomanana** - Les Reines Rafohy et Rangita, fondatrices de la loi de succession au trône de la royauté merina (Madagascar) au XVIe siècle

**Manuela Santos Silva** - Revisiting Philippa of Lancaster, Queen of Portugal

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### THURSDAY FAREWELL SESSION - MORNING

Thursday, 26 August, 2010, 9:00-12:00, Universiteitstheater, kamer 3.01

#### Session D 7: WHAT GENERAL HISTORIANS CAN LEARN FROM HISTORICAL DEMOGRAPHY?

Organizer: **Bruce Fetter**

Chair: **Bruce Fetter**

Discussants: **Anders Brändström; Renzo Derosas; Alison Mackinnon; Robert McCaa.**



After the Conference, paper givers are encouraged to submit an article in English or French to the International Editorial Committee of the  
**Romanian Journal of Population Studies**

The Romanian Journal for Population Studies is a biannually publication of Centre for Population Studies, a Research Unite of "Babeş-Bolyai" University from Cluj-Napoca, România. The Journal is focused on the category of studies that use factual data that bring novel information on the phenomena and demographic processes from the Romania and the whole geographic region in which Romania is situated, namely East and South East Europe, and also from the Western area and around the world.

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