Romanian Journal of Population Studies

Vol. VII, No. 2
July - December 2013

Published twice yearly by

ISSN: 1843 - 5998

Printed in Romania by Presa Universitară Clujeană

Printed by
"Babeş-Bolyai" University
Presa Universitară Clujeană
Str. Hasdeu nr. 45-51
400371 Cluj-Napoca, ROMÂNIA
Tel/Fax: (+40)-264-597.401
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http://www.editura.ubbcluj.ro

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The Problem of Accuracy of Historical Sources: Mortality in the Polish Territories under Russian Rule

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Abstract: The lands under the Russian sector were characterized by the lowest standards of statistics. A researcher of the populations inhabiting the areas under the Russian rule is confronted with the following dilemma: whether to abandon study on the demographic dynamics of this area or, alternatively, to assess the lack of registrations, attempt to correct them, and then make an analysis based on the corrected number of events. In this paper, based on the recorded and the corrected number of events the infant death rate, a perinatal death rate were calculated, and life table constructed. The mortality figures calculated based on the corrected number of deceased children are within the limits for the values of these measures for historical Poland.

Keywords: infant death rates, perinatal mortality, stillbirths, life expectancy, actual number of events, corrected number of events.

1. Introduction

In regard to historical sources it should be remembered that "*the most thorough statistical methods do not reconstruct the accurate history of life and death of the past generations, which are contained in the births, marriages and deaths registers*" (Gieysztorowa 1962: 114). Therefore, the most important part of the research is to assess of the reliability and validity of the historical sources. A common feature of historical population registration from the Polish territories is smaller numbers of recorded events than the numbers of real events occurring at that time. There are many reasons that might have accounted for the underestimation of the actual number of registrations by the clergy and clerks: non-disclosure of benefits, poor organization at various levels of church administration, obstacles related to natural disasters, and individual negligence or occasional forgetfulness. Improvement in registration came with the administrative control orders, but they were too rare to maintain a proper level of statistics (Gieysztorowa 1962). Avoidance of the reporting of events by the

faithful was also due to the fact of charges being levied for weddings, baptisms and funerals by priests. Death registers were even more poorly kept than those for baptism. The double costs of registration for deaths, which occurred shortly after baptisms, could have caused that they were not always reported and recorded. In addition, unguarded and unfenced cemeteries encouraged burial without charge (Gawrysiakowa 1980, Gieysztorowa 1962, 1971, Klotzke 1980, Ładogórski 1969). Besides the problem of unreliable registration of events, studies on small parishes and communities also carried the risk of statistically distorted results (Gieysztorowa 1962). Many problems are encountered in these parishes where registers of events which were taking place in other parishes were recorded. Sułowski (1962) gives an example of the Krasienin parish, for which higher than expected proportions of the numbers of births to the numbers of marriages and the numbers of deaths to the numbers of marriages were obtained. According to Sułowski (1962), since the 18th Century the practice of registration of events outside the limits of a parish occurred less and less frequently. This issue is extremely important to a researcher since extra-territorial registration resulted in the erroneous numbers of annual registrations, especially in small parishes, which finally translated in distorted demographic figures (Sułkowski 1962).

The accuracy of records from the three sectors in partitioned 19th Century Poland is variable. In the Austrian sector in the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th Century the accuracy of registration was assessed negatively (Vielrose 1961). Improvement occurred only in the second half of the 19th Century with the setting up in 1853 of the International Statistical Congress in Brussels and the Central Statistical Commission in Vienna ten years later (Budnik 2005, Burzyński 1984, Liczbińska 2009a, b). Prussia and the Polish lands under the Prussian administration produced statistics at the highest level, and the turning point of their increased accuracy was marked by the 1840 census (Budnik 2005, Budnik and Liczbińska 2006, Borowski 1967, 1968, Gieysztorowa 1962, 1971, 1976, 1980, Kaczmarski 1967, Klotzke 1980, Liczbińska 2009 a, b, Ładogórski 1969, 1971, 1972, Szczypiorski 1962, Wojtun 1976). The procedures involved in generating population statistics were prescribed by the Prussian Landrecht (Prussian national law; German: *Allgemeines Landrecht für die Königlich Preussischen Staaten)*. The statistics in the Russian sector had, by contrast, the lowest standards, and the only census that took place in the Kingdom of Poland was as late as 1897 (Gawrysiakowa 1980, Gieysztorowa 1980). The uncompleted registration in the Polish territories under Russian administration, and thus, unreliable results expected from analysis of these sources, are undoubtedly the main reason for the poor

demographical and anthropological data from the region. Extremely critical comments concerning the population statistics from the Kingdom of Poland were documented by among others: Szulc (1920), Gieysztorowa (1971, 1976), Janczak (1986, 1994), Sułowski (1962), and Wojtun (1976).

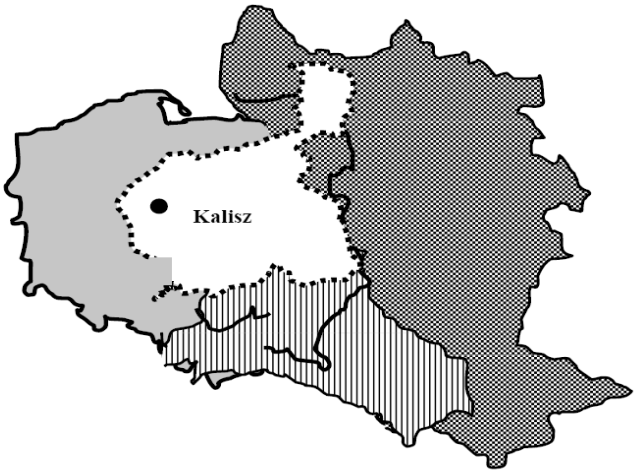
In light of the above the following matter needs to be resolved: whether, because of low accuracy records from the Kingdom of Poland, to abandon the study on the demographic dynamics of this area or, rather, to assess the standards of birth and death registers, correct them, and make final analyses based on the corrected number of events. In this paper, using the records of the Catholic parish of St. Joseph from Kalisz, located in the 19th Century in the Kingdom of Poland (Figure 1), the number of deceased children was corrected and the differences in the recorded and corrected mortality figures are shown.

2. Data

The 1850–1867 data for Kalisz were extracted from the parish death and birth registers, which are deposited in the State Archive in Poznań. The data cover a total of 3,942 deaths and 3,621 live births. The figures for deaths, stillbirths and live births for Kalisz are presented in Table 1. The history of the parish church of St. Joseph goes back to the 13 th Century. At that time it was a wooden building belonging to the now non-extant Collegiate St. Paul in Zawodzie. Based on the decree of the archbishop Jacob Świnka from 1303, the church building became a parish church *(Słownik Geograficzny 1880–1902)*.

In 1353 the archbishop Jarosław Bogoria Skotnicki founded the stone church in the Gothic style, which replaced the wooden one, thus becoming the church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Four centuries later, in 1783, during the demolition of buildings belonging to the church, a part of the church was damaged. In 1790, owing to the efforts of the parish priest, Stanisław Kossowski, the temple was re-built in the late Baroque style. Within the church walls a new chapel with a picture of St. Joseph was built, and then the name of the parish was changed to Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary for St. Joseph. In the second half of the 19th Century the parish consisted of about 3,500 persons and encompassed the territory of the town centre and the rural areas surrounding Kalisz: Tyniec, Nosków, Zagorzynek, Rajchowo, Zawodzie, and Stare Miasto *(Słownik Geograficzny 1880–1902)*, now located within the administrative limits of the town of Kalisz. In the 19th Century these areas were comprised of the poor inhabitants, mainly peasants and labour workers.

Figure 1. Poland as annexed by Prussia, Russia, and Austria and the Kingdom of Poland with the town of Kalisz superimposed against the territory of contemporary Poland



Territory of the Kingdom of Prussia

Polish territory annexed by Russia in 1772, 1793, and 1795

Polish territory annexed by Austria in 1772, and 1795

Polish territory annexed by Prussia in 1772, 1793 and 1795

The Kingdom of Poland (Congress Poland, Polish: *Kongresówka*), created in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna, a constitutional personal union of the Russian Empire

Territory of contemporary Poland

Source: adopted from Kuklo (2009: 532).

3. Methods

3. 1. Assessment of the validity and reliability of historical sources

One of the essential tests of the accuracy of historical records is the frequency of deaths in the 0–1 and 0–5 age categories. At the beginning of the 19th Century the first age category was at least at the level of 30 per cent of the total number of deaths, while the latter constituted 50 per cent of the total mortality (Gieysztorowa 1962, 1976, Sułkowski 1962, Liczbińska 2009 a, b, 2012). The frequency of below 30 per cent and 50 per cent in the child categories of 0–1 and 0–5 years respectively should however be treated with caution

(Gieysztorowa 1976). Another test used to evaluate the accuracy of historical sources is the percentage of stillbirths in the total number of births, which in the 19th Century ranged between 3 per cent and 7 per cent (Borowski 1967, Budnik 2005, Budnik and Liczbińska 2006, Gieysztorowa 1976, Liczbińska 2009a, b, 2012).

Marriage registers were characterized by the highest standards of accuracy through reason of favouring legitimate offspring by the prevailing succession law (Gieysztorowa 1962, 1971, 1976, Liczbińska 2009 a, b, 2012). Thus, a very good indicator of the reliability of the records is the ratio of the number of births to the number of marriages (B/M), as well as the number of deaths to the number of marriages (D/M) (Gieysztorowa 1962, 1971, 1976, Kędelski 1992, Liczbińska 2009 a, b). The first should be in the vicinity of 5 and, in the 19th Century, even exceeded this value (Gieysztorowa 1962, 1971, 1976, Kędelski 1992, Liczbińska 2009a, b, 2012), and the second -approximately 3 (Liczbińska 2009a, b, Sułowski 1962). The simplest test of the reliability of historical sources is the ratio of boys per 100 girls, which according to biological law should range between 101 – 107 boys per 100 female born (Gieysztorowa 1962, Liczbińska 2009 a, b, 2012).

3. 2. Supplement of the number of deceased children

Researchers have tried to resolve the problem of the underestimated number of events. Henneberg (1977), using the distribution of adult deaths, distribution of the relative cumulative number of births during the period of reproductive activity, the number of children per person surviving to the end of the reproduction, and the reproduction pace, proposed a method which allowed supplementing the number of deceased children.

The formula proposed by Henneberg (1977) allows calculating the proportion of deaths before the onset of reproduction (d_{0-14}) and has the following form:

$$d_{0-14} = 1 - \frac{R_0 \cdot 2}{R_{pot} \cdot U_c}$$

Notes: R_0–means reproductive rate, U_c–number of births per adult with completed reproduction; for 19th Century populations is assumed Uc=6 (Budnik 2005, Budnik and Henneberg 2009, Henneberg 1977), and R_{pot}–potential gross reproductive rate.

The potential gross reproduction rate is defined as a measure of opportunity for natural selection by differential mortality of adult individuals (d_x). The

reproductive loss index (s_x), in turn, is a probability of no possession of a total number of offspring by individuals at age x. It stems from an "archetype of fertility" for non-Malthusian populations (Henneberg 1977). The modified formulas for the potential gross reproductive rate R_{pot} allow estimating the percentage of deceased children in the following categories: 0–1 year ($R'_{pot_{1-x}}$) and 0–5 years ($R'_{pot_{5-x}}$), and the percentage of stillbirths ($R'_{pot_{0-x}}$):

$$R'_{pot_{1-x}} = 1 - \sum_{x=1}^{\omega} d_x \cdot s_x$$

$$R'_{pot_{5-x}} = 1 - \sum_{x=5}^{\omega} d_x \cdot s_x$$

$$R'_{pot_{0-x}} = 1 - \sum_{x=0}^{\omega} d_x \cdot s_x$$

Notes: In the formulas the symbols R_0, U_c, R_{pot} have been explained above. Additionally, ω in formulas means age of the oldest individual in the group.

The transformed formulas are used to calculate the rate of deceased children in the following age categories:

a) 0 – 1 year (d_{0-1})

$$d_{0-1} = 1 - \frac{R_0 \cdot 2}{R'_{pot_{1-x}} \cdot U_c}$$

b) 0 – 5 years (d_{0-5})

$$d_{0-5} = 1 - \frac{R_0 \cdot 2}{R'_{pot_{5-x}} \cdot U_c}$$

c) stillbirths (d_0)

$$d_0 = 1 - \frac{R_0 \cdot 2}{R'_{pot_{0-x}} \cdot U_c}$$

3. 3. Mortality figures

Having the actual numbers of deaths extracted from parish records and the corrected numbers of deceased children and stillbirths, the selected mortality measures were calculated. The infant death rate (IDR) was calculated first. It is defined as number of children dying within the first year of life in the total number of live births in a given period (Holzer 2003). A good measure used in the estimation of early infant mortality is the perinatal death rate. It is a ratio of the sum of stillbirths and deaths of infants up to seven days old to the total number of live births and stillbirths ((Jekel et al. 2007, Koch 2009). Differences in the values of infant mortality measures calculated based on the recorded and the corrected numbers of deceased were estimated by the *u* test (Oktaba 1976). One level of significance was adopted (p=0.05).

Next, on the basis of the data on deaths in age groups, life tables were constructed. Two model situations were assumed: a stationary population model and a stable population model. A stationary population is a specific type of stable population in which fertility and mortality are in balance, giving as a result a zero natural increase. A stable population is one in which the age-sex structure is not affected by migratory movement, while the fertility and mortality structure remains invariable in time. In other words, birth-rate and death-rate values do not give a zero natural increase in this population. In the first case, life tables were constructed using Halley's classical method (Acsádi and Nemeskéri 1970). In this method for a quantitative description of deaths, we assume that the deceased come from a stationary population, and thus their age structure well represents the age-related increase in mortality (Acsádi and Nemeskéri 1970). For longer time periods, however, the stationary population model is an oversimplification and the stable population model is closer to reality. In this case, prior to the calculation of life-table parameters, death distributions were reconstructed while making allowance for the natural increase value. The rate of natural increase *r* was calculated as the difference between the number of births and deaths related to the living population number (Holzer 2003). In this study the living population figures for the St. Joseph Parish from Kalisz were extracted from "The Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland and other Slavic Countries" *(Słownik Geograficzny 1880–1902)*. The values of life expectancy for newly born child e_0 were calculated. It informs how many years a newly born individual in the studied population might be expected to live.

4. Results and Discussion

The registers of the Catholic Parish of St. Joseph from Kalisz were analysed in terms of their validity and reliability. In the light of the literature the lack of registration was usually related to deaths of infants and young children (Budnik 2005, Budnik and Liczbińska 2006, Gieysztorowa 1962, 1971, Liczbińska 2009a, b, Sułowski 1962).

Frequencies of deceased in the age categories 0 –1 year and 0–5 years, and frequencies of stillbirths before and after correction of the number of children are presented in Tables 2 and 3. The corrected events for the Catholic Parish of St. Joseph can be considered as meeting the requirements of reliability and validity. In the light of *u* test statistically significant differences between them were noted. After the introduction the corrected number of children the frequencies of deceased in the age category 0–1 year increased from 26 per cent to 34 per cent and in the age category 0–5 years – from 46 per cent to 57 per cent. The share of stillbirths in the total number of births after correction of the number of still births tripled–from 2.7 per cent to 7.4 per cent (Tables 2 – 4). In the parish of St. Joseph the ratio of the numbers of births to the numbers of marriages and the numbers of deaths to the numbers of marriages barely exceeded the value of 3 (Gieysztorowa 1962, 1971, 1976, Kędelski 1992, Liczbińska 2009 a, b). The sex ratio recorded in the parish of St. Joseph was above the range 101 – 107 per cent proposed by demographers as an indicator of the reliability of historical sources (Gieysztorowa 1962) and accounted for 113 boys per 100 girls (Table 2). This value may have indicated a more careful registration of male births.

The reported divergences in the recorded (actual) and the corrected number of deceased children and stillbirths were reflected in the divergences of the values of mortality figures. Statistically significant differences were noted in the values of perinatal mortality (Table 5). The perinatal death rate after correction of the number of stillbirths were twice higher than the same figure calculated based on the recorded number of stillbirths. The value of 100 deaths per 1,000 live births and stillbirths calculated taking into account the corrected number of deceased children seems to be realistic for the period under study. In the city of Poznań, located in the territory of the Prussian sector, for example, the values of perinatal death rate ranged from 84 to 103 deaths per 1,000 live births and stillbirths (Liczbińska 2009 b).

The differences between the recorded and the corrected numbers of deceased children in the category of 0–1 translated were reflected in the statistically significant differences in the values of infants' deaths rates. The value of IDR before correction of the number of children was 283 infant

deaths per 1,000 live births and after the introduction of the corrected number of children this value increased 1.3 times and was 370 infant deaths per 1,000 live births ((Table 6), and ranged within the limits for the IDRs values calculated for the other regions of historical Poland. For instance, in Warsaw (under Russian administration, the 1874 infant mortality rate was 350 deaths per 1,000 live births, while in the province of Galicia (under Austrian administration) even at the end of the 19th century the rate was as high as 313.3 deaths per 1,000 live births (Fijałek 1979; Łukaszewicz 1988; *Słownik Geograficzny* 1880-1902). In the poor Catholic Parish of St. Margaret from the city of Poznań the value of IDR calculated for 1855-1874 was 386.7 deaths per 1,000 live births (Liczbińska 2009a, b).

Finally, in the Catholic Parish of St. Joseph poor registration of children aged 0–5 years translated to the differences in the values of life expectancy of newly born child. Tables 7 and 8 show the value of e_0 calculated for stationary and stable population models taking into account the recorded and the corrected numbers of deceased children. The e_0 value calculated on the basis on the actual number of children was 23 years (stationary population model; Table 7) while after the correction of deceased children it decreased to 18.6 years (stationary population model; Table 8). In the case of the stable population model, after introducing the negative value of the natural increase (r= -0.0051) the e_0 value calculated on the basis on the actual number of children was 20.3 years, while with the corrected number of deceased children it decreased by 4 years (Table 8). Similarly, a low value of e_0 (16 years) was noted in the poor Catholic Parish of St. Margaret from the city of Poznań (Liczbińska 2009b), where, as in Kalisz, infant mortality and mortality of children under 5 years of age was high and reflected very poor ecological conditions.

It seems that in the Kingdom of Poland, an example of which was the Parish of St. Joseph from the town of Kalisz, the differences in the values of mortality figures calculated on the basis on the actual and the corrected number of deceased could have resulted from poor diagnosing of stillbirths and neonatal deaths. According to the WHO, a stillbirth is a death taking place before complete expulsion or extraction of a baby from its mother's body irrespective of the duration of pregnancy. In other words, a birth of an infant incapable of living and showing no signs of life is registered as a stillbirth (*Reproductive, Maternal and Child Health* 2001). Ambiguities with regard to the correct distinction between stillbirths and live births and miscarriages have been discussed by many researchers. In the 19th century already Wernicke (Wernicke 1889) stressed that stillbirths were more frequent at that time in

urban than in rural areas, which was undoubtedly due to a better recognition of stillbirths in cities than in rural areas, usually short of qualified medical personnel. Woods (2005) pointed out methodological problems in studying foetal mortality trends over time. He stressed that differences in stillbirth rates in England and Wales, evident over a period of a few centuries, resulted also from wrongful distinction between stillbirths and early-age mortality, and – eventually – from the lack of proper registration. Also a poor condition of the foetus and poor maternal health during pregnancy could have led to stillbirth. (Woods et al. 2006). With regard to the historical Polish territories, the inaccuracy of the registration of deaths and stillbirths, particularly in the Catholic population, were noted by Ładogórski (1971). The researcher stressed that Catholics neither baptize nor bury stillborn children in the company of clergy, which resulted in non-disclosure of these events. Other researchers also have highlighted this fact (e.g.: Kemkes-Grottenthaler 2003, Liczbińska 2009b, van Poppel 1992). According to Kemkes-Grottenthaler (2003: 910) the Catholics 'believed that a child who had not been baptized should not be able to receive eternal salvation', and so finally deliberately did not report stillbirths. Van Poppel (1992) pointed out that the Catholics were ashamed to report stillbirths since they believed that the unbaptized children were buried in non-consecrated cemeteries, and their souls 'wandered like will-o'the-wisps', never receiving eternal salvation.

In 19th Century Polish territories there were not clear rules governing the registration of stillbirths. In birth and death records kept, for example, in the Polish territory under Austrian administration, stillborn but fully developed foetuses were entered in birth registers by virtue of the ordinance of the Minister of Home Affairs of the 2nd of July 1886. A different ordinance was issued in the lands under Prussian rule. The law of 1875 imposed an obligation to report a stillborn child or one deceased shortly after birth, at the latest the next day after the labour, and the entry had to be made in the death registers (Rejman 2006). In the lands under the Russian administration there were no such rules. In the studied town of Kalisz poor diagnosing could have also resulted in poor access to medical care. The parishioners from the St. Joseph Parish in Kalisz–in the vast majority–without education, basic medical knowledge and an access to doctors and midwifes, could not properly identify stillbirth and reported it unwittingly as a neonatal death from other causes, such as weakness. This state of affairs led to the decrease in the numbers of stillbirths in the parish and – automatically – to the increase of the numbers of infant deaths, and thus the value of infant mortality rates. In the Kalisz guberniya, medical services were poor from as early as in the 1880s. There

were few specialists here: only 55 doctors, 8 vets, 1 dentist, 129 paramedics, and 78 midwives. There was one doctor in the guberniya per 13,755 patients, one paramedic per 5,856 people, one pharmacy per 20,985 populations, and one midwife per 380 births. In the whole guberniya were only 7 hospitals, having a total of only 276 beds (*Słownik Geograficzny 1882 - 1902*).

5. In summary

1) In this paper, based on the example of the Catholic Parish of St. Joseph from Kalisz, poor standards of the parish records from the Polish lands under Russian administration have been highlighted.
2) The numbers of deceased children in the age categories0–1 and 0–5 years, and the number of stillbirths were corrected.
3) Statistically significant differences in mortality figures calculated on the basis of the recorded and the corrected number of deceased children were noted.
4) Mortality figures such as infant mortality rate, perinatal mortality rate and life expectancy of a new-born child, calculated based on the corrected number of deceased children, obtained the level characteristic for the historical Polish territories

Acknowledgements

Special thanks are dedicated to Professor Bladyna Jerzyńska for many helpful comments, suggestions and discussions.

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Appendix

Table 1. Number of deaths and births in the studied population, 1850–1867

Number of live births	Stillbirths	Infant mortality	Total mortality
3621	100	1026	3942

Source: Parish birth and death registers; the State Archive in Poznań.

Table 2. Frequencies of deaths for the age 0–1and 0–5 years (in per cent), frequency of stillbirths in the total number of births, the ratio of the numbers of births to the numbers of marriages (B/M), the numbers of deaths to the numbers of marriages (D/M), and sex ratio (the number of boys per 100 girls among live births; B/G) in the Parish of St. Joseph, 1850–1867

0–1 year	0– 5 years	per cent of stillbirths	B/M	D/M	B/G
26,02	46,2	2,7	3,3	3,62	113

Source: Parish birth, marriage and death registers; the State Archive in Poznań.

Table 3. Frequencies of deaths (after correction of the number of deceased children) in the age range 0–1 and 0 –5 years and stillbirths in the total number of births (after correction of the number of stillbirths), 1850–1867

$R'_{pot\,1-x}$	0–1 year	$R'_{pot\,5-x}$	0-5 years	R''_{pot}	Stillbirths
0.51	34.60*	0.79	57.60*	0.36	7.4*

Notes: *Statistically significant differences in the percentage of children and stillbirths before and after correction, *u* test, α=0.05 (Oktaba 1976).
Source: Parish death registers; the State Archive in Poznań.

Table 4. Frequency of stillbirths per 100 births, 1850–1867

	Before correction	After correction
% stillbirths	2.70	7.40

Notes: Statistically significant differences in the fractions of stillbirths before and after correction; u test; α=0.05 (Oktaba 1976.
Source: Parish death registers; the State Archive in Poznań.

Table 5. Values of perinatal mortality (per 1,000 live births and stillbirths) before and after correction of the number of children, 1850–1867

	Before correction	After correction
Perinatal Mortality Rate	51,33	100,43

Notes: Statistically significant differences in the values of perinatal death rates before and after correction; u test; α=0.05 (Oktaba 1976).
Source: Parish death registers; the State Archive in Poznań

Table 6. Values of infant deaths rates (IDR) in the studied population per 1,000 live births before and after correction of the number of children, 1850–1867

	Before correction	**After correction**
IDR	283.35	370.06

Notes: Statistically significant differences in the values of IDR before and after correction; u test; α=0.05 (Oktaba 1976).
Source: Parish death registers; the State Archive in Poznań

Table 7. Values of the life expectancy of newly born child e_0 before and after correction of the number of children, 1850–1867, stationary population model

	Before correction	**After correction**
e_0	23.18	18.61

Source: Parish death registers; the State Archive in Poznań

Table 8. Values of the life expectancy of newly born child e_0 before and after correction of the number of children, 1850–1867, stable population model (r= -0.0051)

	Before correction	**After correction**
e_0	20.26	16.03

Source: Parish death registers; the State Archive in Poznań

Households and Families in Rural Transylvania. A Case Study of Vlăhiţa and Căpâlniţa, 1868

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Abstract: The present study examines marriage behaviour, household patterns and living arrangements prevailing in the population of two Transylvanian mountain communities in the second half of the 19th Century. The cross-sectional data of two Status Animarum ("lists of souls") from 1868 show that the prevailing pattern can be characterized by a low age at marriage and the dominance of simple family households. Using a life course perspective, the synthetic cohort analysis, however, revealed that the size and structure of peasant households varied over the family life cycle, and a complex phase of households was common in these regions too. Servants lived seldom in the households but it was quite common during the first 10-15 years of family life cycle that stem and other kins (usually the head's siblings) helped to cover the households' labour-force demand. As the number of children increased the inclination and perhaps the capability of maintaining other kins decreased. The study confirmed the validity of Chayanov's model. The living standard of the households expressed by the producer-consumer ratio followed the same cyclical pattern over the family life course as in the Russian case.

Keywords: household structure, family structure, individual life-cycle, family life cycle, historical demography, Transylvania, Chayanov model

1. Introduction

The original goal of researches on family and household structure of the 1970-1980's[1] was to define the territorial differences in Europe[2]. Due the first critics (Berkner 1972), which required the involvement of family cycles and demographic factors (age at marriage, fertility, life expectancy, migration), the further studies aimed at comprehending the dynamics of households, and,

[1] The most important studies on the subject: Burguière et al. 1986, Laslett 1972, Laslett 1983, Hajnal 1983, Wall, Robin, Laslett 1983.

[2] For a review of the development of family history and historical demography as separate disciplines, see Oris 2003.

moreover, their social and economical functioning in general. The new method was based on the breaking down the households by type, size and the age of head of household[3].

The Hungarian social historians joined to the studies at a relatively early stage (see for example Andorka, Faragó 1983). The project, however, remained a minor one due to two reasons: the early international critics of the method and the weak position of social history in general in the country[4]. Researches on family and household structure carried out during the 1970-1980's in Hungary remained within the contemporary political borders. These studies did not cover Transylvania and especially the region of Szeklerland. Therefore, one may clearly state that the Hungarian and Romanian social history has a due debt on the topic[5]. Lack of information about family and household conditions, marriage customs of the peasants inhabiting the mountainous areas, the Szeklers, Slovakians, Poles (Gorals) and Rusyns, has been articulated by Tamás Faragó (Faragó 2003: 171).

In parallel with discovering historical census data and computer processing, investigating on the historical living arrangements has gained momentum[6].

The aim of the preset paper is to introduce the noteworthy aspects of the family and household structure by analyzing the Status Animarum ("lists of souls") compiled in 1868 of two settlements, Vlăhița and Căpâlnița (Harghita County, Romania).

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[3] For a good illustration of the method, see David Reher's work (Reher 1997).

[4] Some results of Hungarian family and household structure researches based on micro-analysis: Andorka 1975, Andorka, Faragó 1983, Balázs, Katus 1983, Bácskai 1992, Benda 2002, Faragó 1985, Faragó 2005, Heilig 2000, Husz 2002, Kocsis 1992, Melegh 1987, Pozsgai 2000, Pozsgai 2001, Őri 2005. For results of researches based on macro-analysis see: Faragó 1977, Őri 2005, 2007, 2008, 2009.

[5] The research, however, carried out by the HCSO–Demographic Research Institute within the framework of the MOSAIC project is relevant here. This part of the project follows two objectives: 1. to create a detailed inventory of the available sources on historical censuses of the historical Hungary (Őri–Pakot 2012); 2. to create a historical database from the material of census 1869 that will be representative for the territory of historic Hungary. The material of the census 1869 contains great amount of data on Szolnok and Maros-Torda counties from the present-day Transylvania (Őri, Pakot 2012). This database is currently under construction.

[6] Three international projects have to be mentioned: IPUMS (Integrated Public Use Microdata Series) and the North Atlantic Population Project is lead by Minnesota Population Center (www.ipums.org). Both include individual level data of historical censuses gathered from Canada, Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Iceland, the United States. Regarding Eastern Europe of primary importance is the MOSAIC project, launched in 2010 lead by the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research, Rostock, Germany (www.censusmosaic.org).

In the first part of the paper I shall examine the size and structure of the households. A separate part will be dedicated to the analysis of relationship between marriage and household formation. In the third part of the paper I shall describe the life cycles of individuals in the household according to their relationship to the head of the household. At the end of the paper, I am going to focus on the examination of application of Chayanov's model.

2. The area under study: Vlăhiţa and Căpâlniţa

Szentegyházasfalva (Vlăhiţa) and Kápolnásfalva (Căpâlniţa) are neighbouring settlements. They are located along the southern skirts of Harghita Mountains, in the eastern part of Inner Transylvania, present-day Romania, at about 860 metres above sea level (see Figure 1). The villages lay on the frontier, far from the economic centres of Transylvania. The majority of their inhabitants belonged to the Roman Catholic Church. Due to their geographical proximity (2 km) and the joint privileges received from the Princes of Transylvania, the history of the two villages was closely interlocked: they formed one parish until 1838 and one administrative unit until 1876[7].

According to the data of census 1869 the total number of inhabitants was 3512 who lived in 859 houses (Census 1869). The literacy among males and females above age 6 was 25% and 13%, respectively. This value, however, remained under the average of the Udvarhely district (35% and 16%). Occupational data reveal a moderately homogenous society, dominated by those make their living from the agriculture.

Information on households was gained from individual lists preserved in parochial archives[8]. The starting date of these lists is the beginning of year 1868 and can be related with the registration of parishioners. The clear goal was to register the Roman Catholic inhabitants of the settlements. The introductory titles of the individual lists reinforce this assumption as they read "General Census of the Congregation". The priests of the neighboring parishes applied the same method: they registered the number of people by street number. The whole data was registered in a book of 100 X 297 mm size.

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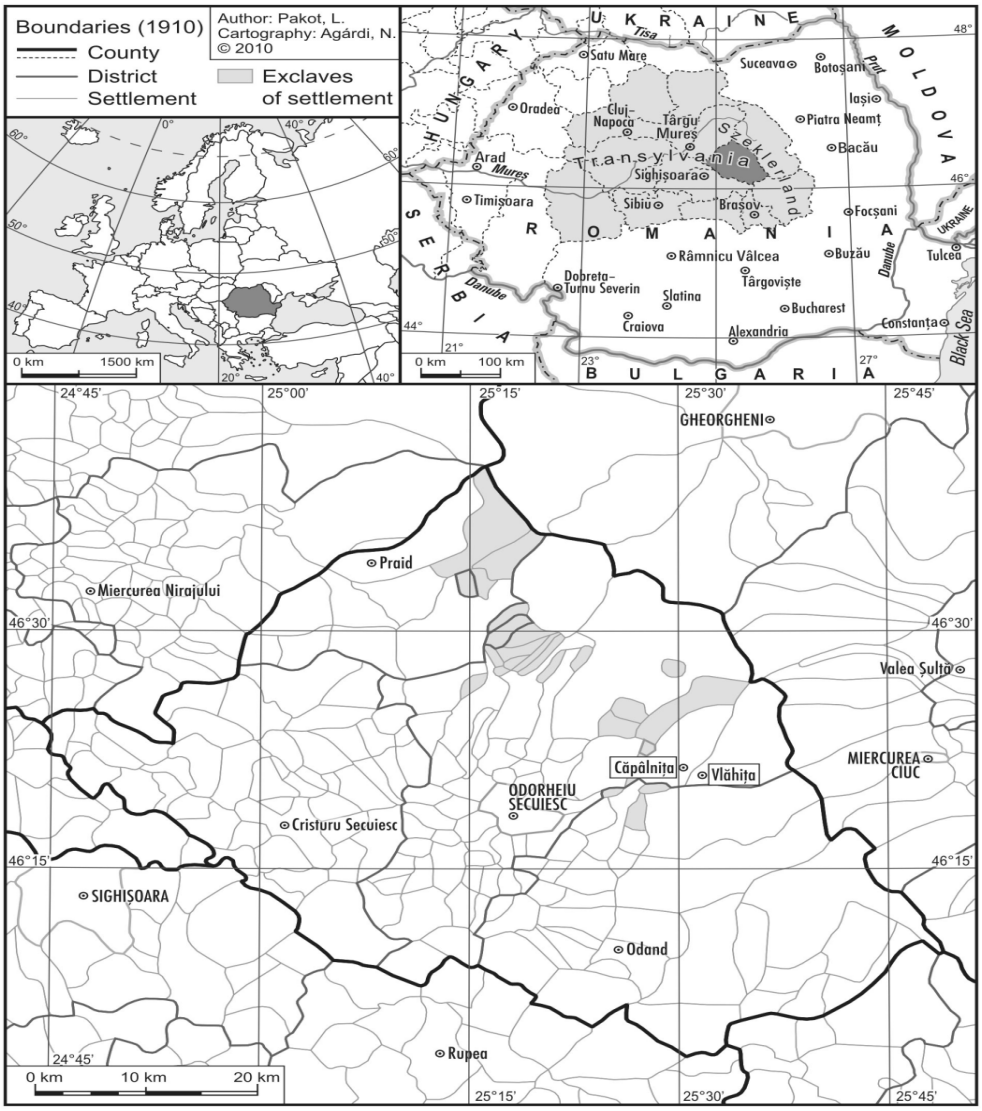
[7] For a history of the privileges of the communities, see Hermann 1999. For a detailed account of public administration changes and the process of losing the privileges in the 1870s, see Pál 2003.

[8] A Kápolnás Oláhfalvi hívek lakhely és szám szerinti általános összeírása 1868-ban január elsejétől kezdve. [List of souls in Căpâlniţa by place and street number from 1st of January 1868]. *Kápolnásfalvi Római Katolikus Plébánia Levéltára.* [Roman Catholic Parish Archive, Căpâlniţa]; Megnyitása a Szentegyházas Oláhfalvi hívek általános összeírásának Bálint Ignác plébános által az 1868-dik évben. [List of souls in Vlăhiţa made by the priest Ignác Bálint in 1868]. *Szentegyházasfalvi Római Katolikus Plébánia Levéltára.* [Roman Catholic Parish Archive, Vlăhiţa].

Figure 1. The area under study



The house(hold)s were separated from each other by a horizontal line. Data of persons living in the household was carefully recorded in a table: name, surname, date of birth and the remarks. In all cases, the top line contained information on the head of family followed by spouse and children. If other relatives (siblings of head of household or his spouse, illegitimate child, etc.)

lived in the family, their data was also registered in the same box, however, a little further from the core data. Upon concluding the census, the recorders did not terminate their work as they strived for recording the possible modifications (migration, death, birth, marriage). This act is probably due to the fact that the priests wished to have access to an up-to-date database on the exact number of followers and households. To carry out this task accurately and meticulously, it required a great amount of energy besides their routine activities. Moreover, space left for changes in the household was limited. When processing the data, I found that the information of the first years were accurate, however, regarding later entries, it became unreliable. It is very likely that the restricted space provided by the "family books" led to the introduction to the new and printed family books in 1881[9].

One of the disadvantages of individual lists is that they contain no data on socioeconomic status of head of household. Therefore, I shall disregard the examination of one of the most important factor of household structure–the social status and wealth. Although the individual lists made clear distinction between holders and "landless and other shady characters", the latter category only included a few households. Thus it is plausible to suppose that there was a real division between the local smallholders and the fluctuating number of landless people present at the settlements. However, the figure is small, hence I shall omit their examination.

3. Household size and structure

Table 1 contains the division of households and individuals by household size. The average size of households was 5.4 members in the two parishes. However, data was rather scattered around the median. Normally, households consisted of 3-6 people–it is true for the 59% of all households. 15% of them was two-people and 7% of them was solitary household. The ratio of household with many members –7-8 and 9 or more – was 19%. The individual perspective reduces the weight of persons living alone or in small households whereas increases the weight of persons in large households. According to this perspective, 58% of people lived in households consisting of 3-6 members. 2% of individuals lived in one-person-household, while 7% of them lived in two-people-households. 34% of the inhabitants existed in large households (7 or more members). Therefore, a conclusion can be drawn that the majority of people, more than 90%, lived in households of at least four members.

[9] However, these "family books" did not survive.

Table 1. Distribution of households and persons by household size in the two examined villages in 1868

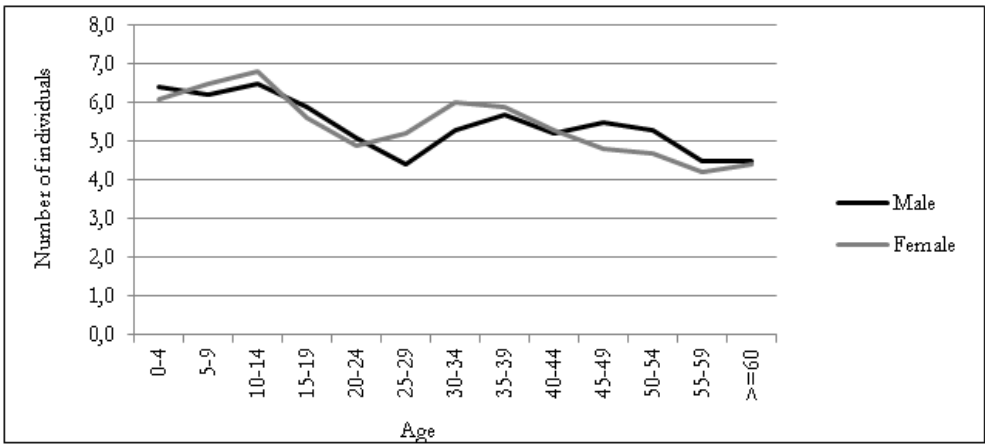
	Households		Individuals	
	N	%	N	%
1 person	49	6,63	49	1,50
2 persons	111	15,02	222	6,79
3-6 persons	434	58,73	1885	57,63
7-8 persons	106	14,34	744	22,75
9 and more persons	39	5,28	371	11,34
Total	**739**	**100,00**	**3271**	**100,00**

Source: see note 8.

Figure 2 describes the modification of household size during their life course. In the beginning of the life cycle, individuals tend to live in large households, whereas the opposite process carries on in parallel with aging. Curves broken down by sex reflect two well-defined cycles. The first longer cycle covered the period from birth to marriage. In this period, the household size was around 6-7, with the highest peak at 10-14 years of age of the individual. In this age, the majority of the young lived with their parents and siblings. Upon reaching age 15, however, the size of parental household started to reduce. This decrease was due to the marriage and separation of older siblings and the termination of childbearing period and death of parents.

In parallel with childbearing and establishing of family by the individual, the household size rises again. The first significant divergence between males and females may be observed in this period: the rise is launched at an earlier stage in case of women. This may be due to the fact that the majority of females tend to marry 4-5 years earlier than males and then establish or join to family of their older spouse. On the contrary, young men stay in their parents' or siblings' households as bachelors. At the age of 35-39, in correspondence with giving birth to children, the average number of members of households again reached 6. In the case of individuals ten years older, the size of household started to reduce and the earlier divergences by gender were resumed, however, now favoring males. From age 45-49, the average number of households of men is one member higher than that of women. Regarding very old people, differences by gender starts to reconcile again.

Figure 2. Mean household size by age-group and sex in the two villages, 1868



Source: see note 8.

Table 2 contains the structure of households in accordance with Laslett-Hammel typology (Laslett 1972). Seven households out of ten in the two parishes were nuclear family households; that is, couples living with or without their unmarried children or widows and widowers cohabitating with unmarried children. The ratio of nuclear family households is lower (70.2%) in Vlăhița than in Căpâlnița (74.5%), however, it exceeds two thirds regarding both settlements. Almost 65% of all households consisted of parents living with unmarried children or childless couples. Ratio of widows or widowers living with unmarried children was 7%.

It was rather rare that other people lived in the household besides the core family and the close relatives (maiden/bachelor siblings, parents, spouse of child). 13% of the total household was an extended household, namely, one parent, grandchild, sibling or other relative of the head of family or his spouse cohabitated with them. These extended households frequently consisted of widower father or widow mother of head of family or his spouse (family household extended upward), or unmarried siblings of head of family or his spouse (family household extended laterally) or any combination of these.

Table 2. Household structure in the two villages, 1868 (%)

Categories	**Szentegyházasfalva**		**Kápolnásfalva**		**The two village**	
	Households	Individuals	Households	Individuals	Households	Individuals
1. Solitaries						
1.a Widowed	2,4	0,5	2,5	0,6	2,4	0,5
1.b Single	1,3	0,3	0,8	0,2	1,0	0,2
1. Total	**3,7**	**0,8**	**3,4**	**0,8**	**3,5**	**0,7**
2. No family households						
2.a Co-resident siblings	1,0	0,6	1,4	0,8	1,2	0,7
2.b Other co-resident relatives	0,3	0,1	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,1
2.c Unrelated persons	0,5	0,3	0,3	0,1	0,4	0,2
2. Total	**1,8**	**1,0**	**1,7**	**1,0**	**1,7**	**1,0**
3. Simple family households						
3.a Married couple alone	13,1	5,7	14,0	6,4	13,5	5,9
3.b Married couple with children	47,4	53,0	55,7	64,6	51,4	59,0
3.c Widowers with children	6,3	4,4	1,7	1,4	4,0	3,0
3.d Widows with children	3,4	2,5	3,1	2,4	3,2	2,5
3. Total	**70,2**	**65,5**	**74,5**	**74,5**	**72,2**	**70,5**
4. Extended family households						
4.a Extended upwards	3,4	3,0	5,9	6,3	4,6	4,6
4.b Extended downwards	0,8	0,8	0,6	0,8	0,6	0,8
4.c Extended laterally	3,9	4,6	3,6	3,6	3,7	4,1
4.d Combinations	5,0	6,1	2,8	3,9	3,9	5,1
4. Total	**13,1**	**14,5**	**12,9**	**14,7**	**12,9**	**14,7**
5. Multiple family households						
5.a Secondary units up	1,8	3,1	3,4	4,4	2,5	3,7
5.b Secondary units down	2,1	3,2	2,2	3,3	2,1	3,3
5.c Secondary units laterally	2,4	4,8	0,3	0,4	1,3	2,7
5.d Frérèches	2,6	5,2	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
5.e Combinations	0,5	0,7	0,0	0,0	0,2	0,3
5. Total	**9,4**	**17,1**	**5,9**	**8,1**	**7,7**	**12,9**
1–5. Total (%)	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
1–5. Total (Number)	382	1741	357	1563	739	3271

Source: see note 8.

In most of the cases, upward and lateral extensions of households were due to economic and demographic needs and, at the same time, were a particular form of mutual help. It is very likely that the cohabitation of various generations led to a special network of relationships that was aimed at helping family members facing difficulties–disabled parents or orphaned siblings under working age. Older widow or widower parent scarcely fulfilled the position of head of household: this is why the ratio of households extended downward is lower. However, we might not be fully aware of the fact that whether this small proportion is explained by the real norms in the community or the subjectivity of the person compiling the data.

Multiple family households comprised 8% of the total number of the households. The most frequent types are the cohabitation of couples of different generation, that is to say, the married parents and the family of one of the married children. The form cohabitation of married siblings–couples belonging to the same generation –is very rare. In Vlăhiţa, however, the compiler of the data listed the brothers' family in the same household in some cases (Frérèches-type household).

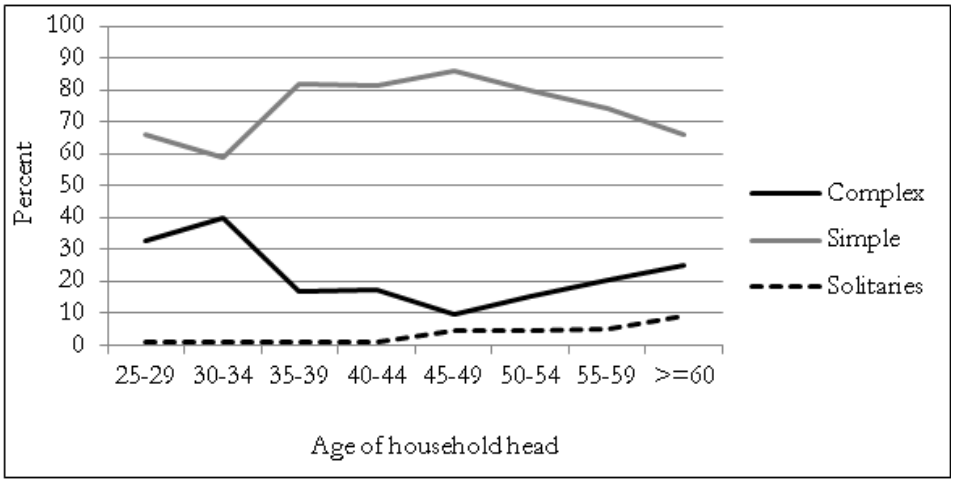
Cohabitation of different generations was normal. Upward and downward extended secondary family units well represent the process of transition of property and status as the head of household. This latter type reflects on the fact that, subsequent to marriage, one of the brothers often continued to live in his parents' household. Upward extended households and multiple family households including various generations reinforce the perception that big family household and family organization are in operation. This type of organization is closely related to the inheritance of farming from generations to generations.

Households without family make up 2% of the total number of households. These are households where siblings having lost their parents cohabitated. The ratio of households of people living alone is 4%, consisting of widows or widowers in general.

If we consider the individual as the basic unit of the analysis, namely, defining the individuals living in particular households, the result will be similar to the above-mentioned. In this case, the dominance of people living in simple family households is even more emphasized. Ratio of individuals from simple family households is rather significant (57%). It became clear that almost one third of the surveyed population lived in complex–extended or multiple family–households. In parallel, the ratio of individuals living alone or non-family households significantly dropped to 1-2%.

The above table only provides a cross-sectional view and hides the dynamics embedded in the real operation of household organizing. Since Lutz Berkner's criticism (Becker 1972), it is widely accepted that the European stem family households–at least one parent besides the head of household and his family – were dominant prior to the industrialization, however, cross-sectional examinations have not reinforced this assumption.

Figure 3. The proportion of simple and complex family households and those of solitaries by the age of household heads in the two villages, 1868



Source: see note 8.

Figure 3 contains households by the age of head of household so development stages of households may be well observed. To provide a clear view, I examined three types of household. I contracted the extended and multifamily households and assigned them to the "complex" category. Besides these, Figure 3 also includes the simple households and those containing solitaries.

Young heads tended to control a complex household than the older. More than one third of heads of household between ages 21-35 lead a complex family household. The proportion of complex households among heads between ages 30-34 reached 40%. Above age 35, however, the simple household became dominant. Ratio of nuclear family households was the highest in case of heads between age 45-49: 90% of households led by such people belonged to this category. Considering heads above age 50, the proportion of complex households and households including solitaries

gradually increases. In the case of heads above age 60, the ratio of these two types of household was 40%.

A significant share of young heads leads households including at least one of the parents and/or siblings of head or his wife besides the head, his spouse and children. It seems that the older found support in the households of their married children. Similar to the results of the Hungarian researches (Andorka, Faragó 1983), a proportion of young and married adults lived in extended or complex household for a few years, mainly with parents or widowed parent or with married or unmarried siblings.

4. Age at marriage and household formation

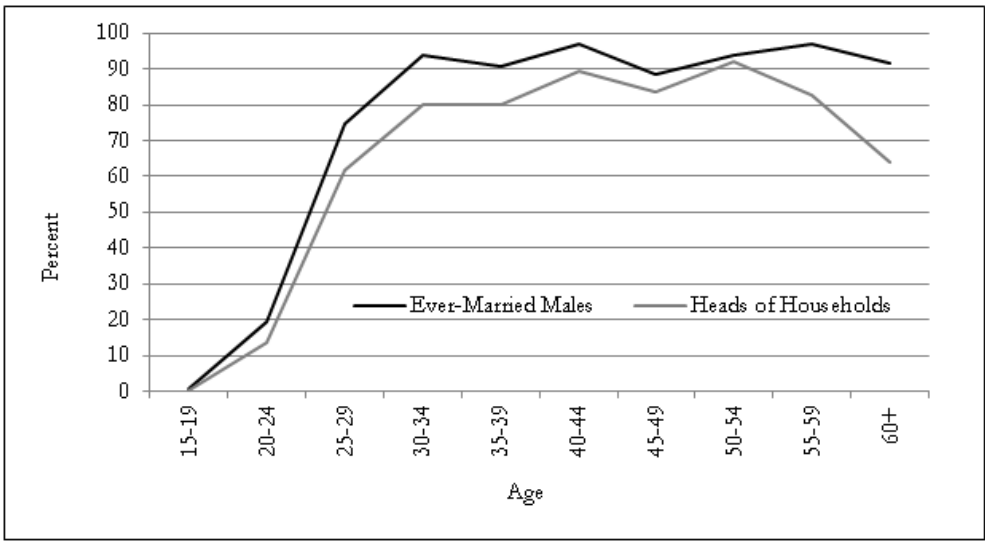
Age at marriage is regarded as the key variable of the household establishing process. In the western countries, establishing independent household was one of the prerequisites of marriage (Hajnal 1965, 1983).

In the examined communities, average age of first marriage conclusion was rather low concerning other European countries. Based on the individual lists of parishioners, females were more likely getting married at a younger age than males: age 25-26 for the latter whereas age 20-21 for women. It is worth examining that at what age the single, married and widowed males and females fulfilled the position of head of household, since this information is useful for guessing the patterns of establishing household. In the subsequent part, I summarized data mainly on males as the head of households were man in most cases.

Figure 4 shows the frequency of ever married men and the role of head of household in the different age groups of males. The two curves individually demonstrate the ratio of males of different age group fulfilling husband role or both husband and head of household role. The results reinforce my assumption, namely, the majority of males also became head of household upon marriage. When reaching the normative age of getting married (age 25-26), proportion of those fulfilling husband and head of household role significantly increased. The data also reveal that a small group of men started their married life as son, son-in-law or sibling of a head of household.

The fulfilling the two roles at the same time, as head of household and husband, characterizes males in age groups 40-54; supposedly upon the death/retirement of the father. An increasing proportion of men above age 55 pass on the position of head of family to the younger generation. This process, however, may not be generalized as almost 60% of males above age 60 (N=61) remained in this position despite their age.

Figure 4. Relationship between entry into marriage and into headship among males in the two villages, 1868



Source: see note 8.

5. The life cycle of the individuals in the household

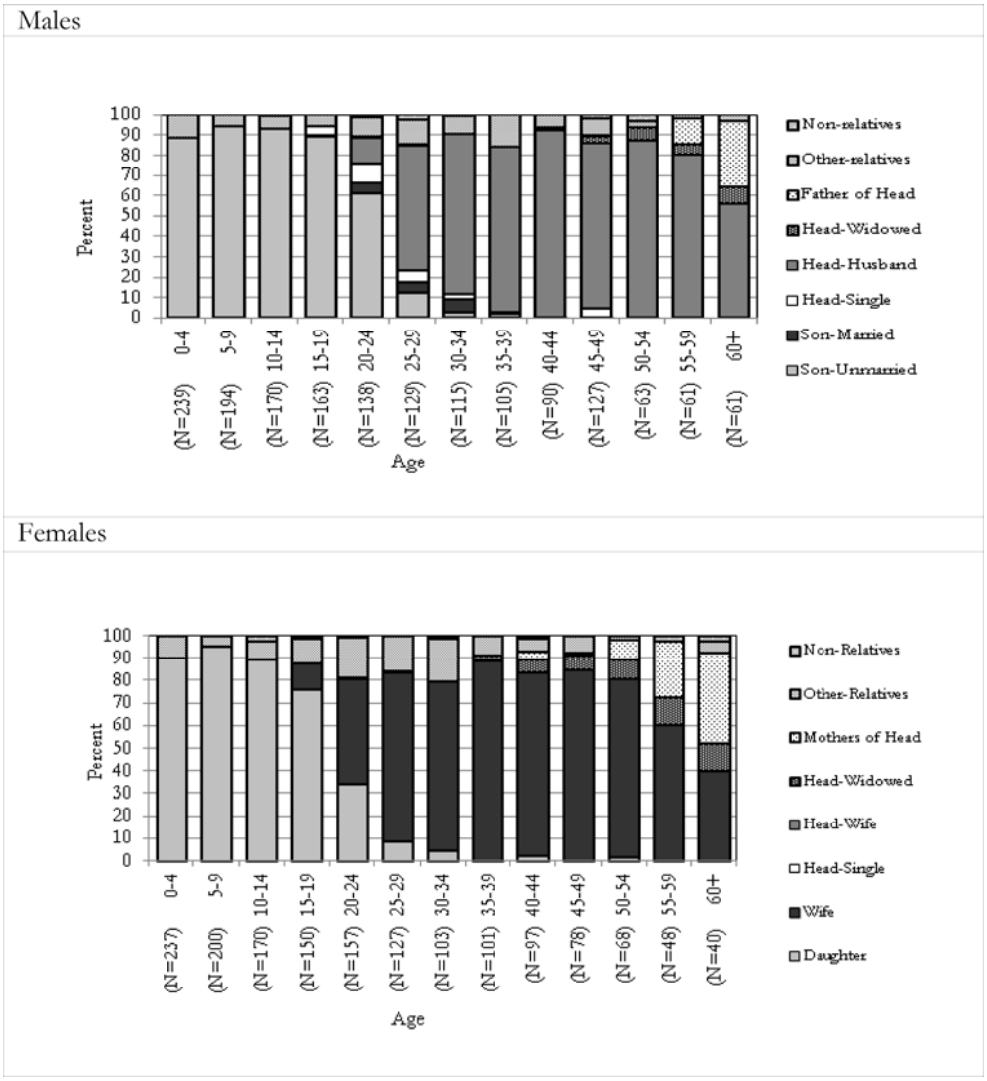
Impact of human life span on family was in central position regarding individual experience. This life span may be broken down to separate sections from infancy through adulthood to old age. These sections were characterized by the biological and physiological development of the individual and his/her different roles in the family.

To describe the phenomenon, the role of members of household was described how they were related to the head of household. Eight categories were created by sex. Regarding males, the following categories were constructed: unmarried and married sons, unmarried, married and widowed heads, fathers of heads, other relatives (sibling, cousin, nephew, etc.), persons in unknown or unrelated relations to the head. Categories of females are as follows: daughters, wives, unmarried and widowed heads, mothers of heads, other relatives, persons in unknown relation to the head (for a comparison, see Sovi 2005).

Figure 5 demonstrates the role of males and females in the household throughout their life. Living arrangements patterns of men reveal the significance of family relations. Other family roles (grandchild, brother, son-in-law, etc.) characterized 5–15% of men between age 0–50. While underage sons

were normally grandchildren in this category, men between age 25–39 with other family roles lived in the household as unmarried or married brother of the head. Transition from single son to husband and/or head of household was a gradual one: it began around age 20 and finished in the low 40's.

Figure 5. The relationship to the household head over the individual life-cycle by age-group and sex in the two villages, 1868



Source: see note 8.

As we have seen, the majority of married males also became head of household upon marriage. This process, however, was not generally applicable to all men. A small proportion of married males, around 5% of them, lived in their parents' household as married son of the head in their twenties and low thirties. They became head of household in the second half their thirties. Passing on head of household position was very rare under age 55. Widowers not yet in old age firmly lead their household. It is also likely that they shortly re-married after the death of their wife. Retirement from head of household position normally took place above age 55. 33% of males above age 60 were in the father of head of household category. 56% and a further 8% of them remained in the head position as married male or widower.

The category of other relative of the head was rather significant regarding females. Single women in age groups 15–34 were sisters of the head, and the married ones in similar age were daughter-in-law or sister-in-law of the head. Marriage and the taking up wife role started at an early stage, around age 15–19, and this process grew mature around age 25–29. Almost 90% of women in age groups 30–39 cohabitated as wives, daughter-in-laws or sister-in-laws of the head. At an older age, the number of widow(er) heads gradually grew.

Share of widow heads is very low and the majority of them are above age 40. This low proportion can be explained by the fact that this role was temporary for them. Mainly females above age 50 belong to the category of mothers of head, which may be due to the coerced retirement upon the death of her husband. Only 40% of females above age 60 were wives, since widow heads, mothers and other relatives (mother-in-law) statuses were predominant in such age. Therefore, my assumption, namely, a significant proportion of women find support in the household of her married child, is confirmed.

An important factor of households of the two settlements was almost the total absence of servants and non-relatives. It seems that the close relatives, dominantly the unmarried siblings of the head, did tasks that were normally carried out by servants and non-relatives in other societies.

6. Household as production and consumption unit

Household was the place of production, consumption and demographic reproduction in most pre-industrial peasant economies. According to A. V. Chayanov, the Russian economist, the intensity of production and the demographic cycle of household are in a strong relationship that is well described by the labour/consumption ratio of the household (Chayanov 1966). Based on Chayanov's theory, I shall reconstruct the modifications of

workforce of household and consumption need during family life cycle. I applied the method suggested by Christer Lundh (Lundh 1995) for estimating workforce capacity of the family farm. In accordance with this, I supposed that adult males worth one labour unit; children in age group 0–8 did not work at all; children in age group 9–15 and males above age 55 totaled up to 50% of workforce of adults; due to constant pregnancy and nursing, adult females are considered as 80% of the workforce of adults[10].

Calculation of consumption needs can be carried out in various methods[11]. In this paper, I apply the system elaborated by the United Nations. Based on this, I suppose that the consumption need varies with age and gender of the individuals. Consumption of adult males in age groups 15–59 is regarded as 1 consumption unit. Considering children in age groups 0–14, I assumed that their consumption gradually increases: one fifth of 1 consumption unit between age 0–1, while above age 14 it equals with the consumption of adult males. Adult females in age groups 14–59 and old people above age 60 totaled up to 80% of 1 consumption unit[12].

Figure 6 demonstrates the quotient of consumption need and workforce by the age of head of household. Value of rate fluctuates between 0 and 1: 1 means perfect balance of production and consumption, namely, workforce capacity of members of household was in total correspondence with the total consumption need. Value under 1 reveals the vulnerability of households from an economic perspective and, moreover, which of them are characterized by relatively good living conditions.

Our results reinforce the validity of the model elaborated by Chayanov. According to this, lifespan of households are characterized by particular cycles: the living standard by consumption needs/workforce capacity decreased in the first 10–15 years subsequent to marriage, then a slow increase is observed. In parallel with child-bearing, the consumption needs of households raised, while the potential workforce capacity remained in a lower level.

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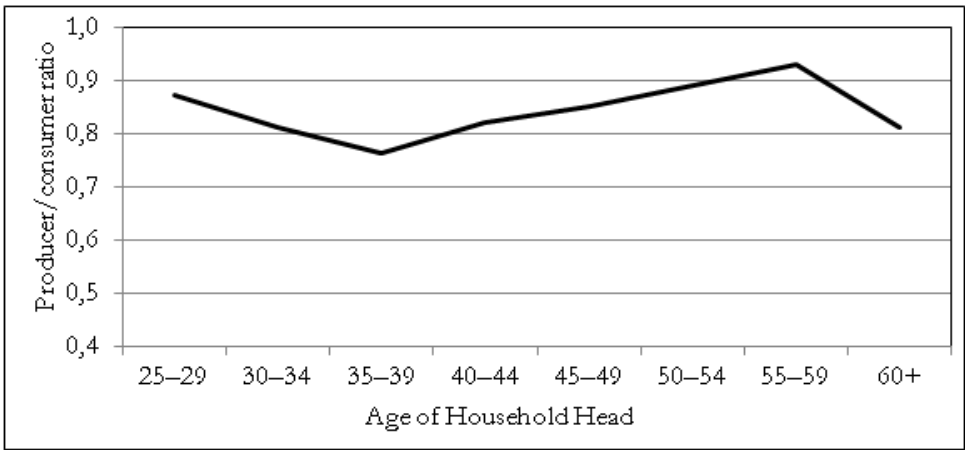
[10] Christer Lundh assumed that grown men and women represent 1 working unit. Using longitudinal data he made exception in the case of pregnant and breastfeeding women, in this latter case assuming 0.5 work unit. Our data provided no information on child-bearing period of women. Therefore I modified the scale proposed by Lundh, assuming 0.8 workforce capacity in the case of adult women. Muriel Neven adopted a similar approach (Neven 2003: 137–138).

[11] For a review see Henderson, Wall 1994: 7, Neven 2003: 135–136.

[12] The United Nations scale in detail: children in age group 0–1 = 0.2; children in age group 2–3: 0.3; children in age group 4–5: 0.4; children aged 6–7: 0.5; children in age group 8–9: 0.6; children in age group 10–11: 0.7; children in age group 12–13: 0.8; women in age group 14–59: 0.8; men in age group 14–59: 1.0; persons above age 60: 0.8.

Figure 6. Changes in the producer/consumer ratio by the age of household head in the two villages, 1868



Source: see note 8.

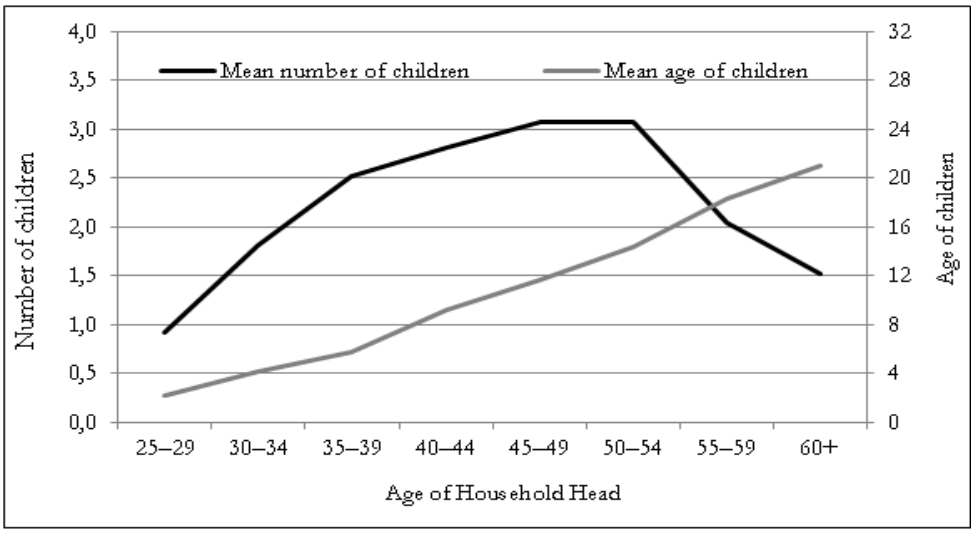
In the next phase of family life cycle, when children reach the age in which they are available for working, the workforce capacity and the consumption needs leveled off with each other and the living standard reached, indeed exceeded what it was upon marriage. In households lead by heads above age 60, however, the living standards decreases again.

The issue of living standard of households may be investigated from another perspective. Based on David Reher's method (Reher 1997: 91–92), I calculated how the number and age of children of the household was affected by the age of head (Figure 7)[13].

In the beginning of the family life cycle, the average number of children above age 2 in the household was one. 20 years later, the average number of children is 3.1 and the average age of children is 12 years. This latter category reached 14 years in households where the head was between age 50–54, that is to say, the oldest child was grown up enough to increase family's work force capacity. This period, however, also meant the decrease of average number of children for households, since the older children, mainly the daughters, left the family upon concluding marriage.

[13] The method is used also by Muriel Neven (Neven 2003: 141).

Figure 7. The number and mean age of children by household and the age of household heads in the two villages in 1868



Source: see note 8.

All in all, the living standard of households in the two settlements strongly corresponds with the process of family cycle. The decrease of living standard characterizes the initial and the final stage of family cycle. Consequently, the youngest and the oldest members of household were affected by the negative consequences of the process. A relatively balanced state and the increase in the living standard were observed in households and their members in the midst of the family cycle. It is also important to note that households could be able to modify the forms of the above family transfer by involving underage children and grandparents in the family work.

7. Conclusions

In this paper, I investigated the family and household structure of the two mountains communities, Vlăhiţa and Căpâlniţa, by analyzing the data of individual lists of parishioners from 1868. I applied synthetic cohort approach, that is, characteristics of individuals of different age comprising cross-sectional data were regarded as cohort effect. During the analysis of living arrangements, I tried to maintain an individual perspective besides family and household effect. The results reinforced the conclusions of the previous Hungarian studies on the same subject.

Analysis of cross-sectional data revealed the dominance of simple family household. Data arranged by the age of head of household, however, reflected the fact that the size and structure of peasant households varied over the family life cycle, and a complex phase of households was common in these regions too.

A very significant factor of the households was the almost total lack of servants and non-relatives. The close relatives–siblings and stem family members of head of household–carried out those tasks that normally servant and/or non-relatives did in other societies. For the majority of males, the chores as head of household and husband corresponded. However, a small group of them started their family life in households lead by their father or brother.

The last part of this paper focused on the micro-economical analysis of households. Based on Chayanov's model, I estimated the work/consumption quotients during the family cycle. My results corresponded with the Russian data, namely, economic circumstances of households vary in accordance with the family lifecycle. A further study may investigate to what extent the effects of family cycle influenced the demographic decisions of households, and, moreover, how the tight network of relatives crossing the boundaries of households reduce the negative effects of family cycle.

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Families in the War: the Impact of First World War on the Demographic Behaviour in the Rural World of Transylvania

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Abstract: In the aftermath of First World War, waged between 1914 and 1918, terrible loss and enormous casualties, massive destruction were followed by drastic social, economic, and cultural mutations, as well as significant changes in the international relations. Transylvania, a province now located in the central part of Romania, also endured the devastations of the "Great War", whose ruin, desolation, and tragedies could be seen everywhere.

The present research aims at investigating the impact of the four years of armed conflict on the demographic behaviour of the people in rural Transylvania. As many of the complex issues caused by war also affected rural households, we conducted an explorative case study on the families of Budeşti village (Bistriţa-Năsăud County).

The available sources, preserved in Bistriţa-Năsăud Record Office of the National Archives (*Collection of Civil Registries*; *Collection of Ethnic Group Registries of Năsăud County; Budeşti Greek-Catholic Parish Registry, Nominal Census*) and in the archives of Budeşti Village Hall (*Civil Registry*), enabled us to understand the demographic impact of the war, and the way in which the family and people of the Transylvanian village responded to the difficult challenges of the age.

Keywords: First World War, Transylvania, Budeşti, demographic impact, family

1. Introduction

In the aftermath of First World War, waged between 1914 and 1918, terrible loss and enormous casualties, massive destruction were followed by drastic social, economic, and cultural mutations, as well as significant changes in the international relations (Howard 2007: 1, Breddon 2006: 169-198). The "Great War" was a devastating trauma in every aspect; ruin, affliction, and tragedy could be seen everywhere. In Europe only, the four years of armed conflict meant almost eight million and a half war casualties (Davies 1996: 1328). On the other hand, the war brought about an unprecedented intrusion from the world outside into rural life because of the economic boost, population

movement, market control, extension of human rights to soldiers and their families. The war was present in every social, cultural, and economic aspect of village life, however far from the combat zone the respective settlement might have been (Gaudin 2008: 392-393). Consequently, it was perceived even by the smallest groups, having a strong impact on family life, and was present in the autobiographies of family members (Erll 2009: 41, Goody 2003: 141).

Some historians asserted that "*the Great War seems made for family history*" (Ziino 2010: 125), nevertheless many pointed out that is was hard to put a figure on the outcome of war and violence because most often the data required by an accurate assessment was lost during conflicts. If we wish to determine demographic costs or impact on the family, we need non-standard methods to assess and analyse the outcome of war.

One may start by comparing the censuses taken before and after the war, by listing the names of people missing in action or killed in battle. Other methods include the examination of demographic study samples, historical and anthropological data. At the same time, one may gather pieces of information on the number of dead people from the newspapers. The method of analysis can also range from standard methods of demographic research to the study of private notes, or the analysis and interpretation of several aspects from the historical literature (Brunborg and Urdal 2005: 371-373).

If we take into consideration Transylvania we learn that from among its Romanian, Hungarian, Saxon, Jewish, Gipsy, and other inhabitants 926,500 soldiers and officers were drafted in the army, so that the percentage of people directly involved in military operations amounted to 16.5% of the total population (Maior 2004: 178). All in all, 1/5 of the Transylvanian population participated in the war (Maior 2004: 20)[1].

On the other hand, the First World War casualties are still an open question[2]. According to some assessments, the death toll on December, 31 1918 was 66,409, i.e. 24.8‰ of the total population of the province. Other evaluations suggested that by the end of the war the death toll amounted to 82,520, i.e. 30.8‰ of the total population of Transylvania[3].

All these figures, and several other aspects, are an irrefutable proof that First World War had nefarious consequences with a deep impact on the social structures of Transylvania. Some consequences were perceived right away, others in the following decades or even after the interwar period up to the

[1] In this study, by "Transylvania" we mean historical Transylvania. But here Maior makes reference to the entire intra-Carpathian area not only the historical province.

[2] The situation is similar in other countries, where the death toll from the First World War is known only in approximate numbers. See Pozzi 2002: 121.

[3] The data was taken from the work of the historian-demographer Pakot Levente (2007: 126).

second half of the 20th century (Bolovan and Bolovan 2007: 71).

Among others, the war triggered significant mutations in the demographic behaviour of the Transylvanian population, in man's attitude toward crucial moments in his life: marriage, birth, death.

2. Main aim, framework, and sources

Whereas most demographic research on Transylvania focused on the overall impact of the war, the present study aimed at identifying the consequences of the four years of armed conflict on the demographic behaviour of the people from rural Transylvania.

Since many of the complex problems triggered by the war had also an impact on the domestic unit we conducted an exploratory case study on the families of Budeşti village. Its aim was to identify and understand the phenomena (Yin 2005: 17-18) that marked the life of the people in the past of Budeşti village in a difficult moment caused by First World War.

In order to reach our goal, we analysed a series of sources preserved in the Bistriţa-Năsăud Record Office of the National Archives (*Collection of Civil Registries*; *Collection of Ethnic Group Registries of Năsăud County; Budeşti Greek-Catholic Parish Registry, Nominal Census*) and in the archives of Budeşti Village Hall (*Civil Registry*).

Map 1. Location of Budeşti village, Transylvania, Romania

Geographically, Budeşti village is located in the south-eastern part of the present Bistriţa-Năsăud County, 55 km from the county capital town, Bistriţa, and 55 km from Cluj-Napoca municipality. Belonging to the common council with the same name, Budeşti settlement is located in a lower part of the county where hills are less than 400 m high.

Table 1. Evolution of the population of Budeşti village according to ethnic structure (1890-1930)

Year	Romanians	Hungarians	Others	Total
1890	936	63	22	1021
1900	980	83	14	1077
1910	1120	97	27	1244
1920	1135	38	42	1215
1930	1377	42	68	1487

Source: Varga 2001.

Table 2. Evolution of the population of Budeşti village according to denominational structure (1890-1930)

Year	Greek-Catholic	Roman-Catholic	Protestant	Orthodox	Jewish	Total
1890	929	23	33	-	24	1021
1900	984	34	38	6	14	1077
1910	1135	46	44	7	11	1244
1930	1401	24	31	12	14	1487

Source: Varga 2001.

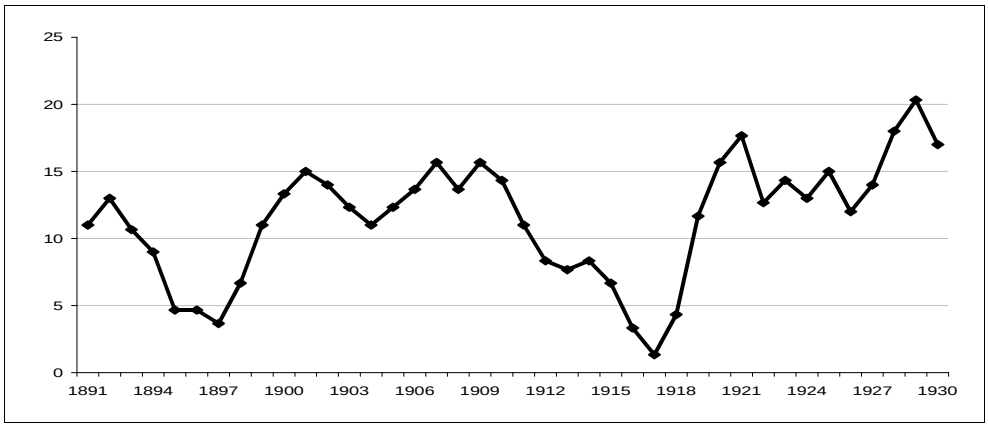
The 1910 census – the last census taken before the outbreak of World War I –revealed that the ethnic structure of Budeşti village was overwhelmingly Romanian, of the total 1244 residents, 1120 (90%) were Romanian (Table 1**)**. Denominationally, most of the people in Budeşti village were Greek-Catholic in 1910, over 1135 (91%) belonged to the respective denomination (Table 2).

The economic profile of Budeşti village was exclusively agricultural in 1910; of the total number of 495 working people, 453 (91%) worked in agriculture.

3. Demographic behaviour during the war

In order to see the impact of First World War on the demographic behaviour of the people in the past of Budeşti village, we have first done an overall research on the marriages, births and deaths.

Figure 1. Three-year moving average of the yearly distribution of marriages in Budeşti (1891-1930)



Source: BNA, *Collection of Civil Registries,* BA, *Civil Registries.*

In general, demographic and chiefly matrimonial behaviour is a human response to the circumstances and limitations of the society (Rotariu 2003: 187). The assertion is undoubtedly true for the 467 matrimonial unions contracted in Budeşti village in 1891-1930. The analysis of the marriages reveals a rather sinuous evolution of the phenomenon caused by the less favourable circumstances for starting a family (Figure 1). For example, the evolution of the number of marriages in Budeşti village in 1895-1897 witnessed a decline, to a great extent caused by the less favourable economic context. At any rate, the situation was similar in the entire province of Transylvania[4], where agricultural production dramatically decreased as a consequence of natural disasters (*Gazeta Transilvaniei* 1896: 3, 1897a: 2, 1897b: 2, 1897c: 3). The natural outcome was a price explosion (Crăciun 2005: 85-86) that determined the couples to postpone starting a family.

The most difficult time for matrimonial unions in Budeşti village was by far First World War; the number of marriages fell to record low between

[4] The analysis of the number of marriages contracted in the last decade of the 20th Century in Transylvania reveals a severe decrease in 1895-1898 (Bolovan 2000: 170).

1914 and 1917. The situation was obviously the same in the entire Transylvania as a result of conscription and material deprivation (Bolovan 2000: 170-171, Bolovan and Bolovan 2007: 78-79).

The available data show that 185 men from Budeşti village were drafted, 183 peasants and 2 intellectuals (SNA, Lists...).

The conscription included in fact several stages. On the 1st of August, 1914, general mobilization was declared for all reservists up to 42 years of age, and by the end of the month they were already present in the army centres (Grapini 2003: 340).

We do not have testimonies to tell us how the people of Budeşti village felt when they saw the men leaving for the battlefield, but the event must have been perceived and endured like everywhere else, with much pain. The memoirs of a priest from Şanţ village, located approximately 100 km from Budeşti, but administratively part of the present Bistriţa-Năsăud County, speak about: "*houses full of sorrow, some 8-10 children left with no sustenance, the soil untoiled, no food and no money. Only the Lord to hearken to our cry and help us*" (Grapini 2003: 340).

By mid-September drafting orders were issued for men born in 1892, 1893, 1894, and 1895 (Grapini 2003: 341, *Românul* 1914a: 2), and during October and November for men in the age group 24-36 (Grapini 2003: 344, Rustoiu and Vaida 2008: 138-140, *Românul* 1914b: 2, *Românul* 1914c: 4). All in all, according to foreign newspapers, the number of Romanian Transylvanians conscripted in 1914 was about 482,000 people (Grapini 2003: 346).

Because of the outbreak of the war, in 1914 and 1915, the prices for basic foods skyrocketed throughout Europe. The testimonies of those years showed that the cost of living rose in Transylvania as well. The price of 1kg of pork meat rose from 1 korona and 80 fillers to 5 koronas and 60 fillers; 1kg of lard from 2 koronas to 13 koronas in 1915; the price of 1"ferdea"[5] of wheat rose from 3 koronas and 20 fillers to 10 koronas, and of corn from 2 koronas, 60 fillers to 6 koronas (Rustoiu and Vaida 2008: 145-146). The poverty was so widespread that in some places people were unable to give alms for the dead because of the shortage of wheat flour (Grapini 2003: 351).

In 1915, people were conscripted in Transylvania in the months of February, May, July-August, and October-December (Rustoiu and Vaida 2008: 143-144, Grapini 2003: 350-355).

The outbreak of war, the drafting of men, the increase in the cost of living, and the general feeling of insecurity were the causes that determined such an obvious change in the number of marriages in Budeşti village, so that in 1915 only 2 marriages were recorded.

[5] Old unit of measurement for cereals, approximately 20 liters.

In 1916, throughout Transylvania men were conscripted almost every month; until the end of August nearly all the men between 17 and 55 years of age left for the battlefield (Rustoiu and Vaida 2008: 148-149, Grapini 2003: 356-361). The massive conscription wave fully explains why only 2 marriages were documented in Budeşti village in 1916 as well.

The year 1917 was even more difficult for the people of Transylvania. In January, the rest of the men between 18 and 24 years of age were also drafted. At the same time, during the summer, children between 10 and 15 and women between 15 and 55 were conscripted to work for the army (Grapini 2003: 370-375). It was also a very draughty year, during which people had to cope with shortages of most things that were needed for everyday living, with high food prices and all kinds of requisitions in times of war (Rustoiu and Vaida 2008: 154, Grapini 2003: 370-386, Deist 1997: 220).

The general feeling of insecurity fully explains why the people of Budeşti village did not get married in 1917 at all. However, beginning with the last months of 1918 (corresponding to the end of the war) the people of Budeşti village started to get married, so that 1919 witnessed a return to "normality", the high number of matrimonial unions clearly indicating that people were gradually trying to forget about the traumas and misery of war (Bolovan 2000: 171-172, Deist 1997: 220).

Generally speaking, the war was perceived like a crossroads between before and after (Fortunati 2009: 50), and in order to determine the changes in the marriage behaviour of the people from Budeşti village we investigated two periods, 1891-1913 and 1914-30.

The analysis of the average age of women at first marriage did not reveal significant changes; in 1891-1913 it was 20.3, respectively 20.1 in 1914-30. But the situation was slightly different in the case of men; in 1891-1913 the average age at first marriage was 24.9 and 24.2 in 1914-30. Undoubtedly, the decline in the average age of men at first marriage was due among others to the fact that men began to marry before the age of 22, 14 such unions being recorded in Budeşti village. It is well-known that before World War I this was impossible as the imperial decree of September 29, 1858, categorically prohibited young men under the age of 22 to get married. The duty to serve in the army was general and in force as soon as a man reached 20, when it was compulsory that he participated in the three sortitions organized by the military authorities in every community (Bolovan and Bolovan 2002: 116)[6].

While there were no significant changes before and after the war in what concerned the mean age of women at first marriage, the situation was

[6] For the full text of the decree see Bolovan 2009: 213-217.

completely different with regard to the distribution of prodigious marriages according to age group. It seems that the mechanisms of the marriage market in Budeşti village were somehow perturbed, which was plain clear in the case of women between 20 and 30 years of age. While before WWI the percentage of women who got married between 20 and 30 was 47.4%, after the war the ratio amounted to 51.8% (Table 3).

Table 3. Age group distribution of prodigious marriages contracted by women in Budeşti village (1891-1913; 1914-30)

Age Group	**1891-1913**		**1914-1930**	
	no.	%	no.	%
Under 20 years	96	50	77	46.4
20-24 years	81	42.2	78	47
25-30 years	10	5.2	8	4.8
31-40 years	4	2.1	3	1.8
41-50 years	1	0.5		
Total	192	100	166	100

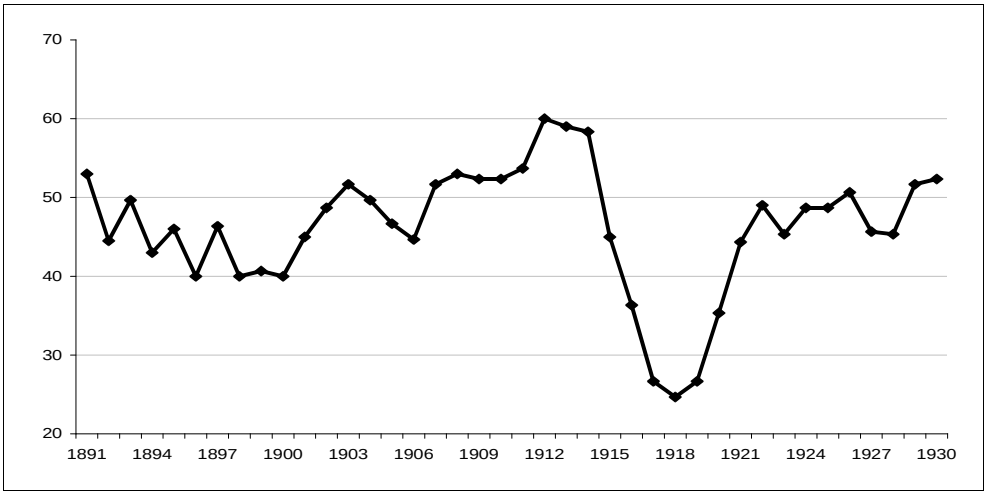
Source: BNA, *Collection of Civil Registries,* BA, *Civil Registries.*

We believe that the circumstances in Budeşti village substantiate the observations of the demographer Henry (1966), who asserted that after the war the marriage ratio within this age group was high as a sign of "recuperation" of postponed marriages (cited in Vandenbroucke 2012: 8).

As for birth-rates, the analysis of the 1850 cases documented in 1891-1930 revealed an erratic evolution of the phenomenon in Budeşti village (*Figure 2*). The fluctuation was due to conjunctural factors or more or less favourable circumstances, the birth-rate being strongly influenced by socio-economic conditions and political-military events.

On the other hand, the decrease in the number of marriages as a consequence of poor harvests and price increase was followed by procreation decline as well. For instance, the small number of matrimonial unions contracted in 1897 in Budeşti village determined a noticeable decrease in the number of births in the following year. In Budeşti village the most striking decline was in 1915-18, when the dramatic decrease was naturally due to the state of war that altered the normal course of life.

Figure 2. Three-year moving average of the yearly distribution of births in Budeşti (1891-1930)



Source: BNA, *Collection of Civil Registries,* BA, *Civil Registries.*

It was a general phenomenon, in all European countries there was a birth decline during First World War, the birth rate in France, Germany, Great Britain, Belgium, and Italy decreased with almost 50%. Thus, in France, with a population of 40 million people in 1914, the decrease was estimated to 1.4 million people. In Germany, the decline was approximately 3.2 million people, much over the number of 2 million war casualties (Vandenbroucke 2012: 1-8).

In Transylvania, the annual birth-rate in 1915-18 witnessed a 48% decrease as compared to 1911-14[7], and in Odorhei County, located in Eastern Transylvania, a 53.3% decrease (Pakot 2007: 118).

For the people of those times, born in France, Germany, Transylvania or Budeşti village, the war meant men leaving for the battlefield, feelings of anxiety and insecurity. All these were major obstacles to starting a family and giving birth to children.

Nevertheless, after the end of the military confrontation we witness a gradual return to "normality", visible in the increase in the number of marriages almost immediately followed by an increase in the number of births. Beginning with 1920, the demographic potential started to improve, the number of births reaching values similar to those recorded before World War I.

[7] Calculated from a set of data collected from Bolovan 2000: 125.

The analysis of death rates documented a number of 1252 deaths in Budeşti village in 1891-1930. Before the outbreak of the "Great War", the highest number of deaths was recorded in 1898, when a diphtheria epidemic associated with scarlet fever swept the village and took the lives of nearly 70% of the children between 0-14 years of age. The parish registers of Budeşti village recorded a number of 26 young people who died because of these two diseases from a total of 63 deaths. In 1906 and 1907, most deaths among children between 0 and 14 years of age were caused by pertussis and dysentery.

During the war, 1915 and 1916 witnessed an increase in the number of deaths, most vulnerable being also the children between 0-14 years of age. Thus, in 1915, about 48.8% of the dead were children, most of whom died of dysentery and diphtheria. In 1917, pertussis, dysentery and scarlet fever caused the death of over 74.5% of the children between 0-14 years of age.

Several demographic historians emphasized the fact that old people, side by side with children, are among the most vulnerable groups in the years of crisis (Pakot 2007: 122, Bolovan and Bolovan 2007: 77), which is obvious in the case of Budeşti village as well. For instance, in 1915 only, parish registers listed 23.3% of deaths among people in the age group over 60. All in all, in all four years of war, the age groups between 0-14 and over 60 recorded the highest number of deaths (Table 4).

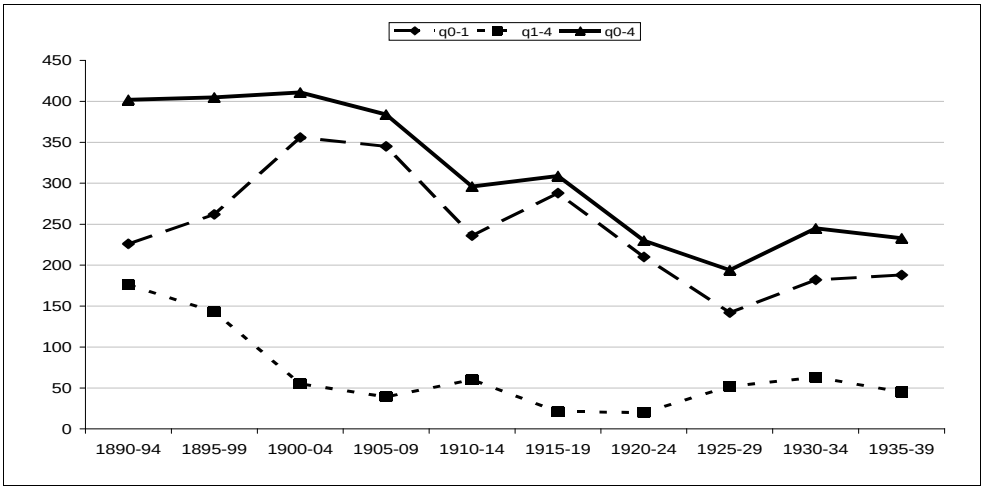
Table 4. Age group distribution of mortality in Budeşti village (1914-18)

Age group	no.	%
Less than 1 year	35	21.6
1-14 years	51	31.5
15-40 years	19	11.7
41-60 years	20	12.3
More than 60 years	37	22.8
Total	162	100

Source: BNA, *Collection of Civil Registries*.

In order to have a more accurate picture of the evolution of mortality throughout the period under discussion we also calculated infant and juvenile mortality rates (Figure 3). The graphic reveals clearly that the declining trend in death rate of small age group, started somewhere at the beginning of the 20th century, was seriously perturbed in 1915-19. Shortly after the war the declining trend was resumed and become stable in the 1930s.

Figure 3. The evolution of infant (q_{0-1}) and juvenile (q_{1-4}) mortality in Budeşti.



Source: BNA, *Collection of Civil Registries,* BA, *Civil Registries.*

And war took its blood toll, 6 victims being recorded only in 1916. Another death on the battlefield was recorded in 1918, another in 1924, and other 11 in 1929. The latter 12, first missing in action, were then declared dead, which raised the number of dead men to 19 (14 were heads of family).

The official figures were even more dramatic[8]. According to a privately initiated inquiry, Budeşti village had actually participated in the war with 185 enrolled men; the final list recorded 13 men dead in battle, 6 as prisoners or in the hospital, 8 with disabilities, and 12 men missing in action, 22 widows and 55 orphans. The fate of 145 men was better as they managed to return to their native village (SNA, Lists...)[9].

On the other hand, 1918 witnessed a global increase in the number of deaths caused by a Spanish flu pandemic (Winter 1976: 542, Pozzi 2002: 128-129, Cartwright and Biddis 2006: 188-190). It spared neither Transylvania (Bolovan and Bolovan 2007: 77-78) nor Budeşti village, 4 deaths being recorded in 1918, 4 in 1920, and 1 in 1922.

The way in which war affected the inner world of the domestic unit in Budeşti village is apparent in the family reconstitution forms. Their analysis enabled us to do more than evaluate some individuals hidden behind cold

[8] The difference from the figures recorded in the parish registers was mainly due to carelessness when filling in.

[9] Unfortunately, the nominal list of people conscripted in the war was not preserved in the case of Budeşti village.

impersonal figures; it enabled us to get to know closer individual histories, to get acquainted with real people with real names, problems, and dramas. We examined the fate of 149 couples married in Budeşti between 1900 and 1910 in order to evaluate the impact of war upon families.

Because our central interest was the impact on the demographic behaviour, we excluded from the very beginning from our investigation the families that moved from the village shortly after the marriage, the couples with no recorded children, the remarriages and the marriages ended before the outbreak of the war (either by death of one spouse or by divorce). All in all, we excluded 70 marriages that belonged to one of the aforementioned categories. Consequently, we studied 79 families, which at one point would be confronted in various degrees with the reality of the war. For 14 of them (17%), World War I meant the end of the road as the husband died on the battlefield. For example, Ioan Moldovan; the head of the family fell on the battlefield when he was just 40 years' old (Form no. 1). Nechita Frătean also died in the war, leaving behind a widow and 4 orphans (Form no. 2).

Almost half of the investigated families (39) survived the war, but felt more or less strongly its impact. As seen above, the births in Budeşti villages reached their lowest point in 1915-1918, marital fertility being affected by the drafting of men and general state of insecurity. Willingly or unwillingly, many couples "postponed" bringing children into the world, and the family reconstitution forms offer many examples in this respect. Thus, in the family of Tănase Moldovan, the fourth child was born in October 1914, while the last child was brought into the world as late as 1920, after the armed conflict had ended for some time now (Form no. 3).

In the family of Teodor Girose and Nastasia Brătfălean, 6 children were born before the outbreak of the First World War, and after a long break their little girl Maria came into the world only in November 1919 (Form no. 4). In other cases, it seemed that the couple performed their conjugal duty unabated (see Form no. 5). In this family, the birth rhythm seemed not to be influenced by a war that swept an entire continent. Nastasia, the wife, bore a child in 1915, 1917, and 1918! Either Toader Rus avoided all the conscriptions carried on beginning with the summer of 1914 at a more and more accelerated pace and with a less and less degree of tolerance for those reluctant to go to war, or our hero knew how to make the best of every granted leave. This pattern of behaviour, apparently indifferent to the horrors of war, was nevertheless an exception. For most of the people the behaviour pattern was illustrated by the families of Tănase Moldovan and Teodor Girose, the war years marking a demographic decline in fertility, which was quickly overcome

after 1919. The tendency to resume the traditional reproductive behaviour after the war was best illustrated by the significant number of mothers who gave birth to their last child at ages above 40 years (17 couples of the 39). In other words, the families (wives) extended the upper limit of their active sex life in order to make up for the years lost because of the war.

In order to substantiate the above assertions concerning the continuity of the demographic behaviour in spite of the distress caused by First World War we used as marker the marital fertility index. The survey of 40 families[10] started in 1919-1930 revealed a 6.1 ratio of children/family, while other 82 matrimonial unions started in 1890-1913 had a 6.8 ratio of children/family. It proves that the impact of First World War on the fertility of the people from Budeşti village was rather transitory, their procreative behaviour returning to normality after the war.

At last, the third category was represented by the families apparently not affected, at least as far as their fertility was concerned, by the armed conflict (26 couples). We are speaking about those couples in which the expected number of children was reached before the outbreak of the war[11] apparently, because we do not know the real reason why they stopped having children before the fertile period of the woman had ended. It might have really been the outcome of a deliberate attempt at limiting births, but it could have also been the effect of the armed conflict that upset the family life of all the people involved. Enlisted men reacted differently to the physical or psychic traumas caused by their battlefield experiences. Some of them, returning home after 5 years of absence, could not fully integrate in the family life any longer.

The participation of Budeşti village in First World War was materialized in many losses, sacrifices, pain and tragedy. It was a conflict that bore upon both people and their families. Many young men were forced to postpone their marriage because of conscription, and many families were in one way or another affected because of it. Several men from who left for the battlefield did not come back, leaving behind grieving relatives, widows and orphans. The price paid by Budeşti village was high, as high as everywhere in Europe.

Acknowledgments

This work was possible with the financial support of the Sectoral Operational Program for Human Resources Development 2007-2013, co-financed by the

[10] We took into consideration only complete families, namely unions between partners at first marriage, who stayed together at least 15 years and had at least a child together.

[11] The vast majority of these couples were formed in the first half of the decade 1900-10.

European Social Fund, within the project POSDRU 89/1.5/S/60189 with the title "Postdoctoral Programs for Sustainable Development in a Knowledge Based Society". I would like to thank my colleague Crinela Holom for helping me with the family reconstitution.

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Appendices

Family reconstitution form no. 1.

	Groom	**Bride**
Family and Given Name	Moldovan Ioan	Hedeş Maria
Parents	Petru and Ruxanda	Vartolomeu and Ileana
Religion	Greek-Catholic	Greek-Catholic
Place of birth	Budeşti	Budeşti
Date of birth	03.01.1876	08.01.1880
Civil status	Single	Single
Age at marriage	23 years	19 years
Age at death	40 years	

Date		Duration of marriage
Beginning of marriage	End of marriage	16 years
21.11.1899	31.01.1916, in the war	

Children

No.	Mother's age (years)	First name	Date of		Age at death
			birth	death	
1.	20	Ruxanda	25.06.1900		
2.	22	Laurian	15.08.1902	04.06.1906	3 years
3.	25	Teofil	30.06.1905	24.04.1906	10 months
4.	27	Laurian	19.04.1907	08.06.1907	2 months
5.	28	Pompei	20.03.1908	05.02.1911	2 years
6.	30	Ileana	22.07.1910		
7.	32	Ieronim	05.07.1912		
8.	33	Pompei	18.08.1913		
9.	35	Samfira	22.06.1915	27.06.1915	5 days

Family reconstitution form no. 2.

	Groom	Bride
Family and Given Name	Frătean Nechita	Fizeşan Todosia
Parents		
Religion	Greek-Catholic	Greek-Catholic
Place of birth	Budeşti	Cătina
Date of birth	03.09.1875	22.07.1882
Civil status	Single	Single
Age at marriage	25 years	18 years
Age at death	40 years	66 years

Date		Duration of marriage
Beginning of marriage	End of marriage	15 years
17.02.1901	In the war	

Children

No.	Mother's age (years)	First name	Date of		Age at death
			birth	death	
1.	21	Corneliu	12.10.1903		
2.	23	Lucreţia	24.02.1906	06.09.1907	1 year
3.	26	Aurel	06.06.1909		
4.	28	Lucreţia	07.06.1911	30.09.1945	34 years
5.	30	Toader	21.06.1913		

Family reconstitution form no. 3.

	Groom	Bride
Family and Given Name	Moldovan Tănase	Râşca Maria
Parents	Pavel and Anisia	Marişca
Religion	Greek-Catholic	Greek-Catholic
Place of birth	Ţăgşoru	Ţagu
Date of birth	20.07.1876	26.06.1882
Civil status	Single	Single
Age at marriage	22 years	16 years
Age at death	49 years	

Date		Duration of marriage
Beginning of marriage	End of marriage	26 years
19.02.1899	01.11.1925	

Children

No.	Mother's age (years)	First name	Date of		Age at death
			birth	death	
1.	18	Valeria	15.04.1901		
2.	21	Nistor	14.11.1903		
3.	23	Anisia	13.05.1906	15.11.1917	11 years
4.	32	Ioan	23.10.1914		
5.	37	Pavel	30.05.1920	08.06.1920	8 days

Family reconstitution form no. 4.

	Groom	**Bride**
Family and Given Name	Girose Teodor	Brătfălean Nastasia
Parents	Simion and Ilinca	Gavrilă and Maria
Religion	Greek-Catholic	Greek-Catholic
Place of birth	Budeşti	Budeşti
Date of birth	27.06.1874	05.01.1879
Civil status	Single	Single
Age at marriage	24 years	19 years
Age at death		45 years

Date		Duration of marriage
Beginning of marriage	End of marriage	25 years
20.11.1898	28.01.1924	

Children

No.	Mother's age (years)	First name	Date of		Age at death
			birth	death	
1.	23	Simeon	09.07.1902	06.07.1907	5 years
2.	25	Doroftei	06.10.1904	29.08.1905	11 months
3.	27	Teofil	27.06.1906	27.09.1907	1 year
4.	29	Maria	03.09.1908	05.02.1916	7 years
5.	32	Ilie	12.08.1911	07.02.1916	4 years
6.	35	Ieronim	21.09.1914		
7.	40	Maria	21.11.1919	17.11.1922	3 years

Family reconstitution form no. 5.

	Groom	**Bride**
Family and Given Name	Rus Toader	Tomşa Nastasia
Parents	George and Ilisica	Vasile and Aftinia
Religion	Greek-Catholic	Greek-Catholic
Place of birth	Budeşti	Budeşti
Date of birth	19.08.1882	10.04.1889
Civil status	Single	Single
Age at marriage	27 years	20 years

Date		Duration of marriage
Beginning of marriage	End of marriage	-
27.02.1910	-	

Children

No.	Mother's age (years)	First Name	Date of		Age at death
			birth	death	
1.	22	Maria	07.01.1912		
2.	24	Vasilie	20.09.1913	17.03.1918	4 years
3.	26	Samoilă	17.04.1915		
4.	27	Pavel	18.01.1917	07.04.1917	2 months
5.	29	Iuliana	13.04.1918	23.04.1918	10 days
6.	31	Vasile	17.09.1920		
7.	34	Letiţia	01.06.1923		
8.	37	Victoria	10.06.1926		
9.	40	Valentin	08.10.1929		
10.	43	Elvira	13.10.1932		

"Historical Demography"/"Population History" in Germany, c. 1950-1980

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Abstract: The paper investigates the period between the collapse of the Third Reich and the break through of the Historical Social Science (*Historische Sozialwissenschaft*) in the Federal Republic of Germany in the 1970s. I suggest that this phase assigned a decisive transformation process, in which West German social historians strived for their reintegration in West European and North American historiographical discourse. Closely linked to this overall epistemic change, historiographical population research in West Germany sought to gain new ground. While the established "Population History" stood for the macro-analytical and to some extent "organic" traditions of German Sociology", "demography" in general and particularly "Historical Demography" seemingly referred to the liberal-statistical "Western" conceptualization of social structure. In the early Federal Republic, however, historical population research was thoroughly burdened by its *völkisch* legacy. As it is shown in the present paper, this was one of the main reasons for its low acceptance in historiographical discourse. Even though, the 1950s and 1960s cannot be viewed as "blind spots" in the development of historical population research in Germany: On the contrary, historians such as Erich Keyser and especially Wolfgang Köllmann debated controversially, how "Population History" should change its methodological approaches. Not least, both of them sought to resume and partly to intensify scientific contacts to their West European colleagues. By accentuating the latter, the paper goes clearly beyond the present historical research on German "Population History": The key question linked up with it is, to which degree transnational scientific cooperation of German, English, and French historians remodeled "Population History" and even created new ground for "Historical Demography" within German Historical Social Science.

Keywords: Historical Demography, Population History, West Germany, *Ortssippenbücher*, German sociology, Erich Keyser, Wolfgang Köllmann, D. E. C. Eversley, Arthur E. Imhof.

1. Introduction[1]

Due to its right wing nationalist and *völkisch* origins, German population researchers had been marginalized both at home and abroad for about three decades after 1945. Émigrés of the 1930s such as Rudolf Heberle (1896-1991) or Eugen Kulischer (1881-1956) did not return to Germany after 1945, a brain drain with far-reaching consequences for the German scientific landscape. On the other hand, politically compromised researchers lost their academic functions. Though, many of them managed to continue their population studies. Formerly leading researchers in this field such as the statistician Friedrich Burgdörfer (1890-1967) and the historian Erich Keyser (1893-1968) are examples for this. Both of them, however, were officially dismissed as members of the international association of population researchers. In the 1950s, the *International Union for the Scientific Study of Population* (IUSSP) motivated its decision by Burgdörfer's and Keyser's previous glorification of Nazi Politics.

As a consequence, early West German population researches can be described as internationally widely isolated. Against this background, it is the more interesting that "Historical Demography" as an innovative historiographical discipline gained ground in West Germany not till the 1970s. At that time, "Historical Demography" experienced a significant boom for a while, before the cultural turn of the 1980s and 1990s marginalized it again within academic historiography. In this respect, at least two central questions come to mind:

a) Why the transfer of Histoire Démographique /Historical Demography to West Germany had been postponed for such a remarkably long time?

b) Why German researches in the field of historical demography had been, in the course of its development, in the period investigated as follows, ultimately segmented into the two branches "Historical Demography" (*Historische Demographie*) and "Population History" (*Bevölkerungsgeschichte*)?

The following examination concentrates on the era between the break down of the Nazi regime and the rise of Social Sciences in West Germany in the 1970s. Thus, I am going to discuss the period before the actual implementation of "Historical Demography" in Germany. For this, I suggest

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[1] The present paper was presented at the 9th European Social Science History Conference (ESSHC), Glasgow 2012, as part of the panel The History of Historical Demography Further Explored (organisers: Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux/Paulo Matos). Equally, the following considerations are based on this monograph: Pinwinkler 2012/2014. As a concise summary in German language, see Pinwinkler (2009: 107-127). I would like to thank the Austrian Research Foundation (Österreichische Forschungsgemeinschaft, ÖFG) for supporting my travel expenses in Glasgow by a grant.

that methodological approaches concentrating on "science in action" may substantially expand our knowledge of transformations or "turns" in such fields of research (Hagner 2001: 7-39, Epple and Zittel 2010). Thus, the present paper particularly asks for the *spaces between* the production of knowledge and facts: So, the aim of this paper is learning more about the question, how specific *practices* of discussing conceptual framework as well as relevant categories were shaping "Population History" and "Historical Demography" in Germany between the 1950s and the 1970s.

2. Wolfgang Köllmann, D.E.C. Eversley, and "Population History"

Since the 1960s, the Bochum historian Wolfgang Köllmann (1925-1997) had been the leading advocate of population problems in West Germany. From 1964 to 1990, he was the only full professor (*Lehrstuhlinhaber*) of Economic and Social history who concentrated primarily on this subject. Köllmann regarded "population" as an integral part of the newly arising history of structures (*Strukturgeschichte*) whose most influential proponent was Werner Conze (1910-1986), once Köllmann's academic teacher (Dunkhase 2010). Apart from Köllmann, in the 1960s only a few historians such as Wilhelm Abel (1904-1985) and Erich Keyser as well as sociologists such as Gunther Ipsen (1899-1984) and Hermann Mitgau (1895-1980) studied population problems. These researchers usually had pushed on their academic careers in the 1920s and 1930s in branches like German *Ostforschung* (Research of the East), *Volksgeschichte*, and *Sippenkunde*,and they were still active in the 1950s and 1960s (Pinwinkler 2005).

Köllmann, in turn, was born in 1925 and can be regarded as a typical representant of the generation devoting themselves to reconstruct West German society in a democratic way. In contrary to the late *Wilhelminians* and their successors who defeated mostly the Republican system, Köllmann got his academic education after 1945, and he also supported actively the political development of the young Federal Republic[2]. From 1951 to 1954 he was the assistant of Gunther Ipsen in the *Sozialforschungsstelle der Universität Münster* in Dortmund. At that time, he practised analyzing social structures for the first time. As a result he published a social monograph considering the changes in social stratification and of urban settlement in Dortmund (see Fischer 1998, p. 153, and Adamski 2009).

[2] From 1970 to 1984, Köllmann was communal councillor of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) in the municipal council of Hattingen a. d. Ruhr. See Festgabe zum 65. Geburtstag von Professor Dr. Wolfgang Köllmann: 8.

Afterwards, in his academic research, Köllmann concentrated on population structures in the "industrial revolution". For this, he usually drew demographic data from official censuses and tax lists as well as population registers. He combined aggregative methods with the investigation of regional settlement history (*Siedlungsgeschichte*). For the latter, Köllmann not least built on academic traditions leading back even to the Prussian agricultural historian August Meitzen (1822-1910) (see for this amongst others the collection of articles Köllmann 1974).

Let us now briefly consider an episode of Köllmann's historiographical practice in the early 1960s. This may shed light on some of the epistemic problems which German "Population History" faced at that time: Köllmann's doctorale thesis which he published as a reversed version in 1960, already focused on population problems. The study was about the city of Barmen, today part of *Wuppertal*, and was clearly embedded in the social and economical history of the Westfalian region (see Köllmann 1950 and Köllmann 1960). In the course of the 19th Century, Barmen and its surroundings were experiencing rapid industrialization and, as a consequence, successively growing population. According to the Bochum historian, Barmen showed exemplarily overall socio-economical circumstances and consequences of population change (e.g. concerning labour migration, housing conditions, and health problems).

D.E.C. Eversley (1921-1995), are world-renowned British historian and demographer, encouraged Köllmann to publish his Barmen study. He invited him to write an article on it for the compendium "Population in History" he was preparing together with D. V. Glass (1911-1978) (see Köllmann 1965).

In 1962, Eversley exchanged several letters with his German colleague referring to the planned volume. In his letter to Eversley from 24th July 1962, e.g., Köllmann addressed specific terminological problems which he faced writing his article (ARUB, No. 26-27, No. 31). He was not completely sure, how he should translate the German term "*Ruhrvolk*" into English so that it's specific "*Nazi-connotation*" would not become visible. Eversley, in turn, suggested to using just "*population*" or even "*population of the Ruhr*"[3] They agreed,

[3] See for this Eversley's following explanations: "As regards Ruhrvolk, I have omitted the brackets, as any English reader will know what it means. I hate the word 'folk' (except in the term 'folkore') since its only associations in the normal reader's mind are: a) folk-art, folkways, etc. […] and b) its Nazi connotation, as in ein Volk, ein Reich etc. So we leave it as it is. But as a translation of Brepohl's title I think population is a good word as any. We too use the word as meaning the people in general, and a description would include their social and cultural characteristics. Perhaps 'The People of the Ruhr' might be better [...] 'Nation' is definitely wrong – the only context in which we use this term is any level other than that of a whole nation is in relation to medieval student groups at European universities". (ARUB, No. 26-27, No. 31, Eversley to Köllmann, 16th July 1962.)

finally, on "*The people of the Ruhr*". Nevertheless, Köllmann preferred then the term "*population of the Ruhr*". The latter seemed obviously to be more neutral than "people".

What does this mean for us? Though, Köllmann was not cut off from international discourse in Historical Demography. However, he was the one who could learn something from his West European and North American colleagues, but they probably not from him. Köllmann indeed conceded that the "*question of the terminology*" had been "*very instructive*" for him (ARUB, No. 26-27, No. 31, Köllmann to Eversley, 24th July 1962)[4].

Later on, he edited Eversley's comprehensive study on the interrelations between "Population, Economics, and Society" in German translation (Eversley 1972). So, Köllmann finally absorbed some essential intellectual framework of Western population research and supported the transfer of Western population studies to Germany. Not least he preferred *Bevölkerung* (population) instead of *Volk*. What is striking is, however, that at least in his letter cited above he seemed to be still quite unsure about this. I argue that this reflects to a certain degree widely lacking critical distance towards the *völkisch* heritage of population research in Germany at that time and lacking methodological framework as well. Anyway, Köllmann was clearly different from Erich Keyser, formerly the pioneer of *völkisch*-anthropological German "Population History". Even after 1945, as the director of the *Johann Gottfried Herder-Institut* in Marburg/L from 1950 to 1959, Keyser remained an advocate of *Ostforschung*. He distinguished constantly between Western liberal "demography" and specific German traditions of *Volksforschung*, as can be seen particularly by Keyser's reviews of Western publications in this field (Keyser 1953; Keyser 1967).

3. Arthur E. Imhof, Wolfgang Köllmann, and "Historical Demography"

In the course of the 1970s, Arthur E. Imhof (*1939), a historian of Suisse origin, gained recognition as an advocate of "Historical Demography" in West Germany, so amongst others by his groundbreaking German textbook of Historical Demography (see Imhof 1977). Imhof had got in touch with Scandinavian and French demographical sources, before he studied German material. Originally, Imhof was just one of some other researchers such as Jacques Houdaille (*1912), John E.Knodel (*1940), and Robert W. Lee (*1946) who sought to revive historical-demographical studies abandoned for decades in Germany. Aimed at gathering particularly new knowledge of the early

[4] Translated from German original by the author.

modern rural society, they mostly concentrated upon the investigation of regional fertility, mortality, but also illegitimacy.

Most notably Knodel, but also Imhof and his working groups in Gießen and at the Free University of Berlin, where he was professor of Social History from 1975 to his retirement in 2004, drew their attention to printed family reconstitutions (*Ortssippenbücher*). The historians were especially interested in analyzing the newly discovered *Ortssippenbücher*. Indeed, the latter can still be regarded as valuable sources of Historical Demography (Knodel 1975). According to Rolf Gehrmann, *Ortssippenbücher* "*allow a precious shortcut for scholars by saving an enormous amount of basic and purely technical work*"(Gehrmann 2014: 7, forthcoming)[5].(See also Sokoll and Gehrmann 2003). Not least, they applied extremely well to the specific technical approach of "Historical Demography".

But why historians analyzed such *Ortssippenbücher* actually not far earlier? In fact, they had been compiled from parish registers already in the 1920s and 1930s. The political aim was to get knowledge about the alleged racial composition of German population. From 1933 to 1945, they even supported Nazi population policy (Ehmer 2004: 6). This was undoubtedly the main reason that West German researchers initially had beenquite cautious in working with them. Although these collections of sources seemed to provide excellent data, non-German demographers, but not the German historians themselves were the first who have been engaged with them.

The Bochum professor in ordinary Wolfgang Köllmann, on the contrary, adhered constantly to his macro-analytical conception of "population history". Köllmann put himself in the tradition of "German sociology" whose former proponents Gunther Ipsen and Gerhard Mackenroth (1903-1955) had been (see Ipsen 1933; Mackenroth 1953).This may have been one of the reasons why Köllmann explicitly defeated Imhof's micro-analytical approach. Furthermore, Köllmann regarded Imhof as an unsolicited rival seizing academic terrain which he intrinsically claimed for himself. Once, as he wrote to Werner Conze, he explicitly gave vent to his annoyance on him:

> "*Mr. Imhof peddles at the moment the fact peddle that he is the only representative or the founder (!) of the Historical Demography in the Federal Republic of Germany. […] It seems to express itself here ignorance as it might not be permitted to a full professor*" [in German original: Lehrstuhlinhaber]. (ARUB, No. 31, No. 33, 9th November 1977)[6].

[5] I am grateful to Rolf Gehrmann having allowed me to look at his not yet published article.
[6] Translated from German original by the author.

Anyhow, Köllmann could not frustrate "Historical Demography" as a newly established field of West German historiography. More interesting is for us, however, that he actively supported some of those historians who sought to develop methodological framework obviously diverging from Imhof's approach. This led Köllmann particularly to sociological and historical researches linked with the history of the family (*Historische Familienforschung*), and he reviewed at least one project dedicated for this branch of historical research:

One of those social historians who pushed on research on the history of family was the Viennese historian Michael Mitterauer (*1937). In 1978, Mitterauer proposed a project about the "Family in the Social Change" to the Austrian research foundation FWF (see on Mitterauer and his group of researchers Ehmer, Hareven, Wall 1997). At that time, Mitterauer had already done internationally acknowledged research on marriage patterns as well as on structures of families and households. Unlike Imhof, Mitterauer and his Viennese research group did not apply the methodology of the family reconstitution. This may have been one of the reasons why Köllmann praised the proposal of his Viennese colleague with thoroughly laudatory words. He explicitly expressed his opinion that Mitterauer was broadening Imhof's approach by embracing both the social surroundings and the societal background (ARUB, No. 33, Köllmann to Prof. [Hans]Tuppy, FWF Vienna, 12th June 1978). Mitterauer had developed, according to Köllmann, convincing alternatives to Imhof's basically technical conception of "Historical Demography" which the Bochum ordinary constantly criticized as not representative and insufficiently embedded in overall research questions. Köllmann and Imhof, however, never bridged their different scientific approaches on "Population History" and "Historical Demography" (see Köllmann 1986; Imhof 1986).

4. Conclusions

What we generally can observe is that *völkisch* and national socialist legacy determined considerably "Population History" and "Historical Demography" in the early Federal Republic. This was the main reason why German population research in general and historical demographical research in particular had been widely marginalized not only in West Germany itself, but also internationally.

The present paper suggests, however, that the era from the early 1950s to the 1970s can be regarded by no means as a blind spot of West German population researches. Rather, it tries to highlight the conflicting semantic

areas and historiographical practices of *Volk*, *Bevölkerung*, and demography, and to point on their shifting interrelations:

a) In the course of the 1960s, some historians, particularly the Bochum ordinary Wolfgang Köllmann, sought to open historical population research to international "Historical Demography". For this, he cooperated not least with his British colleague D.E.C. Eversley. Köllmann's efforts remained, however, considerably limited: On the one hand, he insisted on the scope of the macro-analytical version of "Population History" concentrating primarily on overall social structures of German population. On the other hand, he still pursued at least to a certain degree traditions of "German Sociology" whose epistemological interest focused originally more on the *Gemeinschaft* (social community) than on social interrelations. Simultaneously, Köllmann defeated the hitherto achieved results of micro-analytical "Historical Demography" as not representative and thus methodologically as not fully developed.

b) In West Germany, the break through of social sciences occurred not till the 1970s. In the course of this decade, historians mostly from abroad began to challenge established German historical population research. Researchers such as John E. Knodel, Robert W. Lee, and Arthur E. Imhof belonged to the forerunners in "Historical Demography". They successfully restarted investigation of sources which had been abandoned widely due to their *völkisch* origins (*Ortssippenbücher*). Further, they achieved to implement methodology (anonymous-numerical methods as well as family reconstitutions) which had been proven in French and British Historical Demography since the 1950s.

c) German *Volksforschung* traditionally practiced micro-analytical as well as macro-analytical historical-demographical approaches. Thus, the *Volksforschers'* practices ranged from socio-demographic investigations of local populations (*Dorfforschungen*) across regional studies to the level of the German *Volk* (e.g. Gunther Ipsen). In the 1950s and 1960s, macro-analytical investigations on the "Population History" dominated such research in West Germany. However, the current segmentation of "Population History" and "Historical Demography" has still to be historically explained. I argue that particularly the scholars' dispute between Wolfgang Köllmann and Arthur E. Imhof in the 1980s effectively strenghtened the segmentation of these fields of research. Both branches of German historiographical research are not systematically interrelated till now. Compared to current international "Historical Demography", this remains, in fact, still singular.

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Social Classes in Romania. A New Class Schema

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Abstract: The current study is concerned with the Romanian social structure seen through a new conceptualization of the Romanian social classes. Using the data from the STRATSOC 2010 research project, I introduce a new class schema, adapted to present post-communist social context. In other words, the purpose of this work is to understand which are the social classes that are best suited to present the current Romanian context and which the criteria that can be used in constructing these social classes. For these reasons, my research is a methodological contribution to the complex and dynamic field of social stratification studies. As an outcome, using a transparent set of criteria, I create a new analytical tool comparable to similar international tools: that is a class schema -based on occupations-calibrated to capture the differences between social classes and to present the stratification order in post-socialist Romania.

Keywords: social class, class schema, social stratification

1. The current situation

The role and composition of social classes were always important subjects for scholars from different thinking traditions. From a Weberian perspective, for Erikson and Goldthorpe (1992) or Goldthorpe and Marshall (1992), class relations are defined by employment relations and by differing forms of employment contracts whilst for, Wright (1978, 1979, 1997, 2006), following a Marxist perspective, ownership of the means of productions is crucial in defining social classes. Another influential perspective is that of Esping Andersen (1992). He distinguishes between classes based on class relations seen in a field mediated by regulatory institutions such as the welfare state. From yet another perspective, a cultural one, Savage et. al. (2005, 2013) perceive social class in a powerful relation with status, which are, in their opinion, two inseparable concepts. Even thought researchers can define class through different lens, a first important observation that has to be made is that class matters.

The purpose of this study is to present an image of the Romanian social structure, based on a new conceptualization of the Romanian social classes. In this respect, I introduce a new class schema containing mainly occupations, adapted to the current post-communist social context. Also, throughout this work, I try to understand which are the social classes that are best suited to present the current Romanian context and which the criteria that can be used in constructing these social classes. I designed this research as a methodological contribution to the complex and dynamic field of social stratification studies. The purpose of the current study is to create a new analytical tool comparable to similar international tools: that is a class schema - based on occupations - calibrated to capture the differences between social classes and to present the stratification order in post-socialist Romania. Also, this study contains a comparison between five cohorts of individuals born in different socio-historical contexts, which might influence their life chances.

The social structure of a given country can be understood as a two dimension model which incorporates: 1. social classes and 2. social stratification, as Kohn and Slomczynski's (2006) observe. The same authors conceptualize *social classes* as groups defined in terms of their relations to ownership and control over the means of production, and of their control over the labor power of others. *Social stratification* is the hierarchical ordering of society in terms of power, privilege and prestige. As shown before, *class* is the fundamental concept, because it addresses the politic and economic organization of society. Furthermore, *class* is relational because social classes are defined and indexed in terms of their relations to other social classes and classes are distinct groups. In Wright's (1979) words, this is a relational approach to class rather than a gradational one, which implies positioning social classes 'above' or 'beyond' other social classes. Moreover, relational concepts define classes according to their structural social relationship to other social classes. Thus, social relations do not simply define classes, they also determine classes; classes, as social forces, are real consequences of social relations (Wright 1979). Social stratification is conceived as a single continuum, an ordinal ranking from highest to lowest stratification position (Kohn and Slomczynski 2006).

The Romanian post-communist class structure has its origins in the pre-1989 socialist system, inheriting features of the old mode of production based on state planned economy. The old system created few categories, which were clearly differentiated from each other but, at the same time, heterogeneous inside. Different scholars (Urse 2003, Vasile 2008, Gheorghita and Luca 2010) agree that the socialist class schema was made out of working

class (mainly employed in factory), peasants (working in agricultural cooperatives), the intellectuals (educated professionals) and the political class containing individuals from all the other classes but having managerial positions and political responsibilities. This last class had almost unlimited access to goods and services, privileges that the other parts of the population did not enjoyed. However, the theoretical paradigms they use are unclear, the distinction between social strata, class and status is ignored and, the demarcation lines between categories are not sufficiently explained and discussed. All these inaccuracies create a doubt related to the validity of the conclusions in the case of these studies. There are still other studies that use complex methodologies to present the stratification order (Cucu and Culic 2012, Veres 2006) yet these are still niche studies based on a somehow vague class schema.

After the fall of the communism a new private market emerged with a new capitalist class made of entrepreneurs and self-employed. In the Romanian stratification schemas mobility scholars have difficulties in making a difference between employers and managers (Tomescu 2006, Cucu 2007, Cucu and Culic 2012) mainly due to the available data. Recent studies (i.e. POB-Public Opinion Barometer 2005-2007, STRATSOC 2010) introduced new distinctions among occupations in order to create an improved class schema. They separated employed individuals from self-employed individuals as an occupational status. Some additional criteria were included in order to explain better the occupational situation. As a result, new questions appeared that were related to the quantity of time one works in an average week, trying to make a difference between full time and part time jobs. The distinction between large firm owners/managers and small firms owners/managers (10 or more employees opposed to less than 10 employees) was made, even though EUROSTAT recommends a different approach[1].

Employed with subordinates were differentiated from employed without subordinates. Also a distinction was made between foremen and supervisors, skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled workers or farmers (owning a farm) and agricultural workers (working for others). Some other criteria include the working sectors (state, private, NGO) the type of occupation - manual or non-manual work (with machines)-and repetitive or non-repetitive tasks, accounting for the liberty in the decision making process at the work place (at all or total).

[1] For further detail see: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php?title=File:Employment_by_enterprise_size_class,_employment_activities_(NACE_Division_78),_2010_A.png&filetimestamp=20130507090707.

In the POB, researchers were also interested if the respondent was the one who earned the most from the household. In addition, Romanian scholars used a subjective class positioning by asking respondents to include them in one of the following classes: higher class, upper middle class, lower middle class, the working class or the lower class (POB 2005). All in all, I could describe the class-schema used by Romanian researchers or, to put it short, the Romanian class schema, as containing the following categories, keeping in mind that this schema varies from research to research, so this is not a standard schema: 1. Managers, owners and entrepreneurs (in the same category); 2. Intellectual occupations; 3. Technicians and foremen; 4. Clerks; 5. Trade and service workers; 6. Skilled agricultural workers in own household; 7. Craftsmen and mechanics; 8. Skilled workers; 9. Unskilled workers; 10. Day workers in agriculture; 11. Armed forces.

Considering the body of work that has already been done, my intention is to create an improved Romanian class schema, introducing further criteria that are more sensitive to the distinctions between occupations, also taking into account the social context.

2. An improved class schema

In mapping the Romanian post-communist social classes, the work of a few scholars was of particular importance. Taking into account the Romanian specificities in constructing the new class schema I use some of the criteria that proved to be relevant for other countries. A good example is Poland, as Poland shares some important features with Romania. Such features are the size of the country and of the population (even though Poland is larger), a large share of rural population and related to this, a large share of agricultural workers in the labour force (even larger in Romania comparing it to Poland[2]), both being former socialist countries. Slomczynski, et all (2007), Kohn and Slomczynski (2006) and Slomczynski and Dubrow (2012) stressed out the importance of the following criteria in distinguishing between social classes:

> **1. Type of sector of economy.** As other post-communist countries (i.e. Poland), Romania has a large agricultural sector and in this first phase I can distinguish between those who work in agriculture (farmers, employed in agricultural work, self-employed in agricultural work) and all other categories.

[2] For further details see: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_PUBLIC/3-05102012-AP/EN/3-05102012-AP-EN.PDF.

2. Property, the control over the means of production. A useful criterion to delimitate employers from employees. The first category has the ability to dispose of the means of productions in order to create profit that can be used discretionary by the employers (capitalists). This is also useful to differentiate between employers and self-employed.

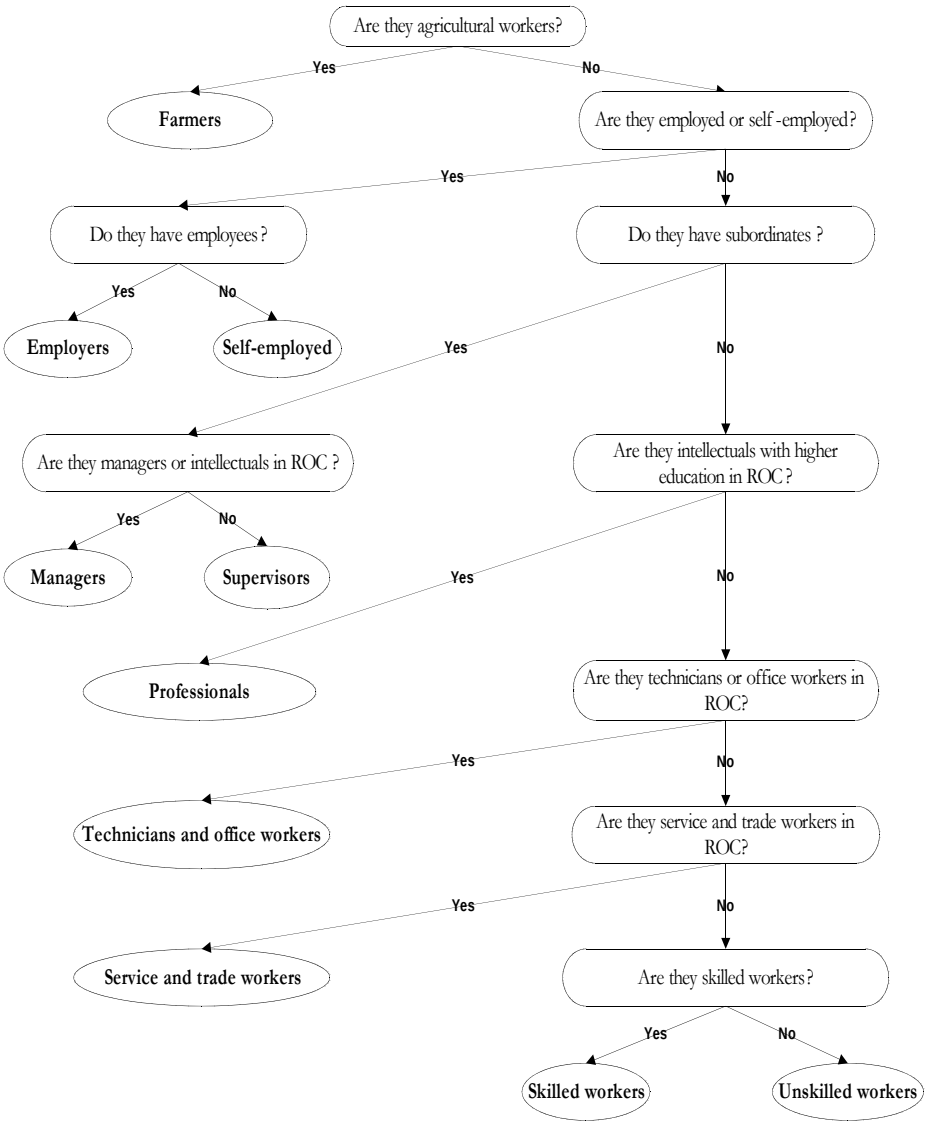
3. Control over the labor power of others. It helps in separating supervisor from supervisees, and also from higher management. Both categories (managers and supervisors) have subordinates, but their position in the Romanian Occupational Classification (ROC) and on the job market differs. Managers have the power to make decisions regarding the future development direction of the firm (or factory), while supervisors can only coordinate the work load of others, being delegated by managers. In Wright's (1997) terms these categories are placed in contradictory locations within the class relations, as they can be simultaneously considered part of the capitalist class and of the working class as they dominate workers but in the same time they are controlled by capitalists.

4. Skills. Slomczynski and Dubrow (2012) explain that skills are measured by the degree of expertise, proficiency, and know-how as a function of education, apprenticeship, and experience. Using this criterion I can distinguish between several classes. First there are the professionals who are considered to have intellectual occupations in ROC and tertiary education. Also, based on skills, I have merged the technicians and office workers in a single category. Furthermore, service and trade workers require a different set of skills from skilled or unskilled workers.

The provided criteria can be useful in comparing the Romanian class schema with other international well-known class schemas like EGP (Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero, Erikson and Goldthorpe 1992). It is worth noting that these criteria are applicable also to the socialist centrally planned economy, but there are a few specificities that characterize post-communist Romania. The post-communist class schema is based on intertwined relations between the above mentioned criteria, trying to improve the socialist class system by accounting for the in-group differentiations. A first step is to discriminate between employers and self-employed, this last category being a result of the system change, it is an emerging class of capitalists. My schema includes a distinction between skilled and unskilled workers in order to reflect their different situations and different chances on the post-socialist market, where

the skilled ones have an obvious advantage. Another important category consists of the farmers whose main occupations are in agriculture, and have an important rural component, most of them being peasants. Figure 1 presents the basic criteria underlying the proposed Romanian class schema for the post-communist period.

Figure 1. Syntax for constructing social classes



Using these criteria, transformed in questions (Figure 1), I arrived to the following social classes:

1. Employers;
2. Managers;
3. Professionals;
4. Supervisors;
5. Self-employed;
6. Technicians and office workers;
7. Skilled manual workers;
8. Service and trade workers;
9. Unskilled manual workers;
10. Farmers (peasants).

Table 1. Class distribution (valid %)

Occupation	Father's class based on occupation	Respondent's class based on the first occupation	Respondent's class based on the last occupation
Employers	0.6	0.3	1.7
Managers	3.5	3.3	5.9
Professionals	1.1	8.1	7.9
Supervisors	9.8	7.1	11.1
Self-employed	2.1	0.8	1.9
Technicians and office workers	5.9	14.2	14.2
Skilled manual workers	31.9	35.4	26.5
Service and trade workers	4.8	11.8	12.7
Unskilled manual workers	4.9	7.5	7.3
Farmers (peasants)	35.5	11.5	10.8
Total	100 (N=3594)	100 (N=3708)	100 (N=3664)

Source: STRATSOC 2010 dataset, own calculations

Table 1 displays the valid percent of each social class that I propose. It can be seen as a "timetable" (from respondent's first to his/her last job) presenting the changes in the class structure with increasing percents of employers, managers, self-employed, supervisors and service and trade workers on the one hand and, on the other, decreasing percents for skilled workers and for farmers. This last category is the most important class for fathers. The data provided (in Appendix A) by the National Institute of Statistics and EUROSTAT help in shaping the image of the Romanian occupational system

where the agricultural occupations still hold an important part and where the manual occupations represent almost 60% of the work. Although these are classes based mainly on nominal variables, I opt present them in an order based on two variables, income and years of education, that have a large impact on the stratification of classes.

Table 2. Class distribution by gender and residence (for the last occupation)-valid %

Social class	Men	Women	Urban	Rural
Employers	2.2	1.3	1.7	1.7
Managers	7.7	4,2	8.0	3.0
Professionals	6.1	9.5	11.6	2,9
Supervisors	14.4	7.9	12.5	9.1
Self-employed	2.2	1.6	1.8	2.0
Technicians and office workers	6.9	21.0	16.5	11.1
Skilled workers	38.9	15.0	25.9	27.4
Service and trade workers	9.4	15.7	13.3	11.8
Unskilled workers	4.9	9.6	6.3	8.7
Farmers (peasants)	7.3	14.1	2.4	22.2
N	1762	1902	2102	1562

Source: STRATSOC 2010 dataset, own calculations

Table 2 presents the class distribution taking into account respondent's gender and place of residence. Men are significantly better represented in power-positions as employers, managers or supervisors. There are also significantly more skilled workers among men than women. In other social classes women are significantly more than men. These classes are: the professionals, the technicians and office workers, the service and trade class but also in the most vulnerable classes as are the unskilled workers and the farmers. As expected, the social classes based on occupations are sensible to the gender distribution, an important sign of social inequality. In the case of the place of residence there are again differences between the social classes from Romania. Although we can find the same percent of employers both in the urban and in the rural space, the managers, the professionals, the supervisors and the technicians and office workers are statistically better represented in the cities. This result is not surprising as the production and the services are concentrated in the cities. Even though it seems that we have more skilled workers in the rural space, the difference is not statistically significant. However, the country side concentrates - in a significant manner - more unskilled workers and even more

farmers. In other words, the rural space concentrates the most precarious social classes.

3. Class distribution for five historical cohorts

In order to build a comparative research, I divided the population in five cohorts of individuals born in different historical periods, which could influence their life trajectories. The first cohort is made of the generation born until 1939, the oldest individual being born in 1917. This is the cohort born at the time of the First World War and immediately after. As a limitation, I expect this first cohort to be biased-in the sense of over-representation of its population -as life expectancy correlates with education and occupational category. However, it is hard to test this hypothesis with the data available in Romania (Jecan and Pop 2012). The next cohort is composed from persons born between 1940 and 1954, in the time of the Second World War. The period 1955-1966 refers to the generation born at the time of the post-Stalinist urbanization politics. The fourth cohort, 1967-1976, is born at the time of the coercive pro-birth policies introduced by the communist regime. The last generation used in my analysis consists of the individuals born in the socialism's economic crisis period, 1977-1985, a time when socialism began to decline and, afterwards, it was replaced (Scurtu and Buzatu 1999).

Table 3. Cohort distribution for different classes (%)

	Till 1939	**1940-1954**	**1955-1966**	**1967-1976**
Employers	0	15.9	31.7	30.2
Managers	13.0	26.0	17.7	21.9
Professionals	5.9	16.3	14.9	24.9
Supervisors	18.3	30.6	23.7	16.5
Self-employed	5.7	11.4	21.4	38,6
Technicians and office workers	13.8	22.1	24.2	22.7
Skilled manual workers	8.4	29.6	28.2	21.9
Service and trade workers	8.2	13.1	24.1	27.4
Unskilled manual workers	16.7	23.0	24.5	22.7
Farmers	34.5	32.7	12.3	12.3
N	708	1136	946	900
Percent of total (N)	15.7	25.2	21.0	20.0

Source: STRATSOC 2010 dataset, own calculations

As a general view (Table 3) we can see that most of the employers concentrate in the third and fourth cohorts, in a period when the socialist system reached its peak. However, more than a fifth of the employers are from the youngest generation. A quarter of the managers were born in a period marked by the Second World War and many of them come from the last two cohorts. The professional is a class with a constant increase from one cohort to another, with most of them coming from the youngest generation. This is an expected result, as the higher education was one of the conditions for constructing this social class and, in time, higher education expended. The majority of the supervisors were born in the 1940-1954 cohort and their number decreases in the following cohorts. The self-employed is a category which recruits more and more individuals as time passes, reaching a maximum among those born in a pro-birth coercive period. The technicians and office workers come mostly from the middle generations and less from the oldest and the youngest cohort, the same is true for the skilled and unskilled manual workers. Almost 80% percent of the service and trade workers were born in the last three cohorts. Most of the farmers were born in the first two generations, and their numbers are constantly decreasing in the last three cohorts.

4. Class profile

Table 4 is meant to present a short profile for each social class in order to better understand the internal composition of each category. In order to make the chosen variables comparable (education, income and household income) as central tendency measure I use the mean, being aware of its shortcomings and correcting for outliers in some cases with the help of the trimmed mean (eliminating 5% of the lowest and 5% of the highest outliers). As we move from employers to farmers, we can see that the mean income decreases, as does the mean household income. It is somehow difficult to predict the mean income of the self-employed (large standard deviations) as it is a heterogeneous category nested in many different occupational sectors. In the case of education it is difficult to identify a clear change pattern from one category to another, but it is obvious that the managers and the professionals are the most educated social classes and the unskilled workers and the farmers the less educated. This can be seen as a first source of inequality, as the farmers are at an obvious disadvantage on the job market being mostly a large, aged rural population, poorly educated and with low income. At the other end of the scale we can find the managers, the professionals and the entrepreneurs, well educated categories with high income and prospects for a better life.

Table 4. Class profile based on the respondent's last occupation

Occupation (N=3664)	Mean years of education (Std. Dev)	Mean income (Lei) (Std. Dev.)	Mean family income (Std. Dev.)
Employers (N=63)	13 (2.6)	1932 (1469)	2207 (2096)
Managers (N=215)	15.7 (1.8)	1614 (1111)	2343 (2102)
Professionals (N=289)	16.5 (1)	1405 (841)	1989 (1675)
Supervisors (N=405)	12.8 (2.5)	1120 (641)	1653 (1228)
Self-employed (N=70)	12.6 (2.6)	1073* (1348)	1931* (1751)
Technicians and office workers (N=520)	13.1 (2.5)	1001 (535)	1621 (1205)
Skilled manual workers (N=972)	11.5 (1.2)	900 (619)	1279 (977)
Service and trade workers (N=464)	11.5 (2.3)	788 (456)	1233 (961)
Unskilled manual workers (N=269)	9.1 (3.2)	624 (479)	977 (811)
Farmers (peasants) (N=397)	6.9 (3.2)	441 (260)	738 (616)

Notes: *5% trimmed mean.
Source: STRATSOC 2010 dataset, own calculations

5. Constructing the class schema: challenges

As shown in Table 1, I used three different framings for social classes: one based on respondent's first job, one on respondent's last job, and one on father's occupation. For each of these approaches I used data provided from the STRATSOC 2010 project[3] (categories in Table B1) because this research

[3] The STRATSOC 2010 dataset was collected within the research project "Class Structure and Social Stratification in Contemporary Romania", conducted by the University of Bucharest (director: prof. dr. Lazăr Vlăsceanu) in partnership with the Babeş-Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca, the University of Oradea and the Centre for Urban and Regional Sociology (CURS), with the financial support of the Romanian Ministry of Education and Research, Grant PN-II No. 92131/Oct. 2008. The sample design was multistage stratified-random sampling, and the final dataset included 4,508 respondents above 25 years old. The field research took place in November-December 2010, and it used face-to-face interviewing at the respondents' residence in order to fill in the questionnaires. The author of this paper participated at the research

contains different variables concerning the occupation and education of the respondent and his parents and grandparents. Moreover, the data from STRATSOC is more recent and more detailed than data provided by other international projects as it is European Social Survey, where Romania participated in the 3rd (2006) and 4th (2008) round[4]. Following the schema from Figure 1, a few variables were of particular interest, namely: father's occupation, father's occupational status, father's education, respondent's (first and last) occupation, respondent's (first and last) occupational status and respondent's education. Also it was important if the respondents and the fathers had subordinates at their workplace. In the case of individuals who had multiple occupations in the same time, they were asked to declare only the most important one, and he/she was classified according to it. I classified the occupations using the Romanian Occupational Classification (ROC) which is an occupational schema similar to ISCO-88, but taking into account some national specificity[5], related to a few particular occupations.

A first challenge was to compute the last occupation (conforming to ROC) and the last occupational status. In the questionnaire, each respondent had the possibility to declare five occupations, and occupational statuses. For some respondents, this last (or current) occupation concurs with the first occupation, or the second, or the third or the fourth or the fifth (which is the last one), as not all of them had more than one occupation. In order to have a single variable containing the last (or current) occupation I created a new variable, copying into it only the last declared occupation for each respondent that had one. I constructed in the same way the variable containing the last occupational status. Another point that has to be made here is the fact that I operated in the same variable with occupations between which it is possible to find time related differences. More specific, in the same variable, on the one hand, I present results about the last occupation which appears in the case of respondents who by the end of 2010 (the moment of the research) ended their activity. On the other hand, I have results for the current occupation, which is the case of those who were still working in 2010. The reason for this decision is related to the number of cases, as if I am to consider only those who still work in 2010, I would lose an important number of respondents who had their last occupation prior to 2010. As a result, the social classes that I construct are based on occupations, considering people who had at least one paid job, and

project under the academic supervision of prof. dr. Traian Rotariu, Babeş-Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca.

[4] For further details about the research see: http://ess.nsd.uib.no/ess/.

[5] For further details see: http://www.mmuncii.ro/old/ro/legislatie-munca-clasificarea-ocupatiilor-din-romania-42-view.html.

those who never worked are not included in these social classes. This decision affects different categories of "inactive persons". An important category in this sense is represented by the homemakers, who, even though do not work for a wage, they have an important role in the class structure as they are tied to this structure through their other family members for whom they provide support. This support consists mainly of household unpaid work that offers the possibility to the employed members of the family to focus more on the job. However, the problem of homemakers is even more complex as this is a highly gender sensible category.

Due to the available data some miss-classifications appear. As both the employers and the managers have subordinates (although employers have employees, they can be considered subordinates), a small part of those from the managers' class are considered to be employers as a social status. An explanation for this is that, in some cases, the employer and the manager are the same person (mostly in the case of small firms). Supervisors are an intermediate class, as they have some common features with the managers (some subordinates), but they have to defend their actions not only with respect to the supervised ones but also with respect to the managers (Slomczynski et al. 2007). I extracted the professionals from ROC's intellectual occupations, but only those who have a tertiary education. The technicians and the office workers share a similar position on the job market, and have similar years of education. As a result I merged them together in a single social class. Also, craftsmen and skilled workers along with the plant and machine operators (from ROC) form a new social class–skilled workers–a category which is shrinking from respondent's first to the last occupation. The farmers still are one of the most important classes in post-communist Romania. I constructed this category accounting for those with agricultural occupation in ROC, but also as an occupational status, so individuals that declare that are self-employed in agricultural occupations, are included in the farmer's class. All these categories contain class distinctions that were useful in explaining the socialist class schema but contain new categories in order to explain the Romanian post-communist realities. Moreover, this class schema is comparable with other international class schemas which are better suited for advanced capitalist societies.

6. Comparison with other international class schemas

Tables 5 and 6 capture the association between the class schema I proposed and the EGP (Erikson-Godthorpe-Portocarero) class schema for Romania. The EGP (1979) is a neo-Weberian class schema, based on different criteria,

making it comparable with other international class schemas like Eric Olin Wright's schema (WRT) – a neo-Marxian one - or Esping-Andersen's class schema (ESP) based on free labor market concept. Leiulfsrud, Bison and Jensberg, (2005) apud Slomczynski and Dubrow (2012) explain how these criteria are applied to EGP. First is *property*, a criterion which in EGP serves to single out capitalist and self-employed from other classes. The second criterion is *control over labor power* used in parallel with other criteria since managers and supervisors are put together with other categories. The third criterion used in EGP refers to *skills,* which are the degree of expertise, proficiency, and know-how as a function of education, apprenticeship, and experience. Basing on skills routine non-manual employees are divided according to a "higher" and "lower" grade, and skilled manual workers are distinguished from unskilled manual workers. The next criterion mentioned by Slomczynski and Dubrow (2012) is *type of work and/or sector of economy* and in the EGP farmers are included among the self employed, and the manual/non-manual distinctions is made. Finally, the fifth criterion is *life chances* used as a supplementary criterion in the EGP in order to differentiate jobs with typical middle-class trajectories.

The employer's class is made out of different parts of EGP: 14.5% higher controllers, 16.1% lower controllers and an important part of 56.5% self-employed with employees. This is the case because an important criterion in constructing the employer's class was to have employees. The managers are in proportion of 72.6% higher controllers and 21.2% lower controllers, so this category follows precisely the EGP schema. This is the case also for the professionals who in the EGP schema are mostly lower controllers (55.1%) and higher controllers (38.3%). The majority of the self-employed category is self-employed with no employees (47.1%) in the EGP schema. They are completed with an important 22.9 percent of lower controllers and 14.3% higher controllers. The supervisors seem to be the most heterogeneous class composed of 27.3% lower controllers, 25.5% higher controllers, 14.1% unskilled workers and an additional 12.7% manual supervisors (in the EGP). This diversity of backgrounds for supervisors is a direct result of their omission from former classifications, and of the diversity of jobs occupied in different sectors of the economy. The technicians and office worker's class corresponds - in the EGP class schema - to lower controllers (36.3%), routine non-manual workers (33.1%) and lower sales and service workers (20.1%). Service and trade workers are mostly lower sales and service workers (51.2%) in the EGP, but also 19.2% unskilled workers. More than half of the skilled manual workers (53%) are also skilled workers in the EGP classification. However here we can find 29.2% of the respondents who are unskilled

workers conforming to the Erikson Godthorpe and Portocarero. 61.5% of the manual unskilled workers are also unskilled workers in the EGP, completed with 13.5% who do farm labor. The last constructed class is made out of farmers and it corresponds in proportion of 85.2% to farm laborers and of 13.4% to self-employed farmers from the EGP class schema. All these percents accompanied by the association indicators (see Appendix C), create the image of a representative class schema for post-communist Romania, suitable for further analysis.

Table 5. The most important categories from the EGP corresponding to the Romanian class schema

Class schema	Corresponding categories in the EGP schema
Employers	Self-employed with employees Lower controllers Higher controllers
Managers	Higher controllers Lower controllers
Professionals	Lower controllers Higher controllers
Supervisors	Lower controllers Higher controllers Unskilled workers
Self-employed	Self-employed with no employees Lower controllers Higher controllers
Technicians and office workers	Lower controllers Routine non-manual workers
Skilled manual workers	Skilled workers Unskilled workers
Service and trade workers	Lower sales and service workers Unskilled workers
Unskilled manual workers	Unskilled workers
Farmers	Farm worker

Table 5 provides a cleaner solution in order to grasp the correspondence between the new Romanian class schema and the Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero class schema. The proposed Romanian class schema improves the distinctions between categories because, comparing to the EGP, it is based on multiple criteria, not just on occupations. This can be observed if we look, as an example, at the supervisors, a category that has an important percent of unskilled workers according to the EGP class schema. Also, this new class

schema has some other advantages, making it a more flexible categorization allowing researchers to aggregate categories for different reasons. Slomczynski (2002) shows that for some analyses, it may be useful to combine the first three categories and to treat them as a service class (as this term is used by Erikson and Goldthorpe 1993). In other analyses we can combine employers with self-employed to form a category named petty bourgeoisie. Even more, in other cases it can be useful to treat skilled and unskilled manual workers together.

7. Concluding remarks: Why a new social class schema?

There are several reasons for using a new class schema in analyzing the contemporary Romanian society. Individuals are the cause of social change but, at the same time, they have to bear the effects of this change. Along with social changes come new categories of occupations. These new categories describe new realities as those from the post-communist Romania, where inequalities became more and more visible and could escape through the "holes of the net" imagined by the current class schema(s). Moreover, in a society where our jobs shape in an important manner our daily lives, creating alliances and antagonistic views between different people, a class system based on occupations is a legitimate proposal. It offers the possibility of explaining differences between individuals shaped by the class they inhabit.

The proposed class schema is comparable with other international classifications based on occupations, improving them through the consideration granted to the local social conditions, as its underlying principle follows some common international standards (as it is the case of the Romanian Occupational Code). As a result, the clear distinctions between the social classes (based on occupations, status and education) permit a proper evaluation of the different realities that configure and maintain each class. Even more, this new classification has the advantage of flexibility as it can be aggregated at different levels consistent with the research interest.

Acknowledgement

This work was possible with the financial support of the Sectoral Operational Programme for Human Resources Development 2007-2013, co-financed by the European Social Fund, under the project number POSDRU/107/1.5/S/76841 with the title "Modern Doctoral Studies: Internationalization and Interdisciplinarity".

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Appendices

*Table 6. Respondent's class *. Last occupation respondent-EGP-11 classes version. Crosstabulation (%)*

	Last occupation respondent - EGP (classes Erikson-Goldthorpe-Portocarero)-11 classes version											Total
	Higher Controllers	Lower Controllers	Routine Nonmanual	Lower Sales-Service	Selfempl with empl	Selfempl no empl	Manual Supervisors	Skilled Worker	Unskilled Worker	Farm Labor	Selfempl Farmer	
Employers	**14,5**	**16,1**	0	0	**56.5**	11.3	0	0	0	0	1.6	100.0
Managers	**72.6**	**21.2**	2.4	0	1.0	0	0	0	.5	0	2.4	100.0
Professionals	**38.3**	**55.1**	4.9	1	0	.3	0	0	0	.3	0	100.0
Supervisors	**25.5**	**27.3**	4.2	5.8	1.1	0	**12.7**	5.3	**14,1**	1.6	2.4	100.0
Self-employed	**14.3**	**22.9**	0	0	5.7	**47.1**	0	0	0	0	10.0	100.0
Technicians and office workers	3.6	**36.3**	**33.1**	**20.1**	0	.2	0	1.4	3.8	1.6	0	100.0
Skilled manual workers	.5	7.3	2.0	1.0	0	.2	0	**53.0**	**29.2**	6.7	.1	100.0
Service and trade workers	.4	10.7	8.7	**51.2**	0	.9	0	6.7	**19.2**	2.0	0	100
Unskilled manual workers	0	3.5	2.3	10.0	0	0.4	0	8.5	**61.5**	**13.5**	0.4	100.0
Farmers	.3	0	0	0	0	0	0	.3	.8	**85.2**	**13.4**	100.0
Total	11.5	18.3	7.6	11.2	1.3	1.4	1.4	16.2	16.9	12.2	2,1	100

Notes: Chi-Square = 9812.666, V = .559, p =.000
Source: STRATSOC 2010 dataset, own calculations.

Appendix A

Table A1. National Institute of Statistics

Civil employment, by main activities of national economy (%)	**Year 2009**	**Employment structure in non-agricultural activities in 2009 (%)**	**Year 2009**
Agriculture, hunting and forestry	28.7	Social services	22.0
Industry	21.1	Industry	31.3
Construction	7.4	Construction	11,1
Services	42.8	Trade services	35.6

Table A2. EUROSTAT Employed persons aged 15 years and older

Composition by economic activity (%)	**Year 2011**	**Composition by occupation (%)**	**Year 2011**
Agriculture	28.6	Skilled non-manual	23.1
Industry	28.8	Low skilled non manual	17.1
Market services	26.3	Skilled manual	49.3
Non-market services	16.3	Elementary occupations	10.6

Appendix B

Table B1. Variables and categories

ROC	Occupational Status	Education	Subordinates
0-homemaker	1-employee with an undetermined period labor contract	0-without graduated school	0–no
1-managers and employers, entrepreneurs, mayors	2–employee with a determined period labor contract	1-primary (1-4 classes)	1-yes
2-intellectual occupations	3-patron/employer (with employees)	2-basic (5-8 classes)	
3-technicians or foremen	4-self-employed in non-agricultural activities or freelancer	3-vocational school	
4-clerical workers (officials in the administration)	5-self-employed in agricultural activities	4-level I of high school (9-10 classes)	
5-service and sales workers	6–in non-agricultural activities (industry or services)	5-high school (9-12 classes)	
6-skilled agricultural or in own household	7–in agricultural activities	6-college or technical post-secondary	
7-craftsmen and skilled workers	8–member of a farming cooperative (including CAP)	7-tertiary education: undergraduate	
8-plant and machine operators	9–member of a non-farming cooperative	8–tertiary education: postgraduate	
9-unskilled workers	10 – worker without a contract	9-master	
10-armed forces	11–unemployed (registered or unregistered)	10–PhD	
	12-retired (pensioner)		
	13-homemaker		
	14-student/pupil		

Appendix C

Table C1. Father's class by father's principal occupational code

Father's principal occupational code when the respondent was 14 years old	Father's class									
	Employers	Managers	Professionals	Supervisors	Self-employed	Technicians and office workers	Skilled manual workers	Service and trade workers	Unskilled manual workers	Farmers
Managers and employers, entrepreneurs, mayors	100.0%	29.8%			3.9%					
Intellectual occupations		70.2%	100.0%		2.6%					
Technicians or foremen				29.1%	2.6%	64.3%				
Clerical workers (officials in the administration)				7.3%		35.7%				
Service and sales workers				10.7%	6.6%			100.0%		
Skilled agricultural or in own household				2.8%	11.8%					100.0%
Craftsmen and skilled workers				31.4%	68.4%		75.8%			
Plant and machine operators				6.5%			24.2%			
Unskilled workers				1.4%	3.9%				100.0%	
Armed forces				10.7%						
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Notes: Chi-square = 17534.922; Cramer's V = .736; Contingency Coefficient = .911; p (sig) = .000
Source: STRATSOC 2010 dataset, own calculations.

Table C2. Father's class by father's principal occupational status

Father's principal status when the respondent was 14 years old	Father's class									
	Employers	Managers	Professionals	Supervisors	Self-employed	Technicians and office workers	Skilled manual workers	Service and trade workers	Unskilled manual workers	Farmers
Employee with an undetermined period labor contract		88.7%	97.4%	90.9%		91.5%	88.9%	87.2%	63.1%	
Employee with a determined period labor contract		4.0%		4.5%		2.3%	2.6%	4.1%	2.8%	
Employer (with employees)	100.0%			.3%			.1%			
Self-employed in non-agricultural activities or freelancer					100.0%					
Self-employed in agricultural activities							.1%			13.9%
Unpaid family worker in non-agricultural activities				.8%		1.4%	1.6%	1.2%	3.4%	
Unpaid family worker in agricultural activities				.8%		.9%	.5%	1.2%	1.1%	42.3%
Member of a farming cooperative		4.8%		.8%		.9%	2.8%	3.5%	3.4%	43.8%
Member of a non-farming cooperative		.8%		.8%		.5%	.6%	1.2%	1.7%	
Worker without a contract				.8%		.9%	1.7%	1.2%	23.9%	
Unemployed							.1%			
Pensioner		.8%				1.4%	.5%	.6%	.6%	
Homemaker							.1%			
Other inactive categories		.8%	2.6%				.4%			
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Notes: Chi-square = 10665.549; Cramer's V = .575; Contingency Coefficient = .865; p (sig) = .000.
Source: STRATSOC 2010 dataset, own calculations.

Table C3. Respondent's class (based on the first occupation) by respondent's principal occupational

Occupational code at the first job	Respondent's class based on the first occupation									
	Employers	Managers	Professionals	Supervisors	Self-employed	Technicians and office workers	Skilled manual workers	Service and trade workers	Unskilled manual workers	Farmers
Managers and employers, entrepreneurs, mayors	100.0%	8.9%			10.0%					
Intellectual occupations		91.1%	100.0%		23.3%					
Technicians or foremen				29.1%	6.7%	67.4%				
Clerical workers (officials in the administration)				12.1%		32.6%				
Service and sales workers				10.6%	10.0%			100.0%		
Skilled agricultural or in own household				2.6%	3.3%					100.0%
Craftsmen and skilled workers				29.4%	30.0%		83.5%			
Plant and machine operators				5.3%	6.7%		16.5%			
Unskilled workers				1.9%	10.0%				100.0%	
Armed forces				9.1%						
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Notes: Chi-square = 19539.561; Cramer's V = .765; Contingency Coefficient = .917; p (sig) = .000.
Source: STRATSOC 2010 dataset, own calculations.

Table C4. Respondent's class (based on the first occupation) by respondent's principal occupational status (for the first job)

Occupational status at the first job	Respondent's class based on the first occupation									
	Employers	Managers	Professionals	Supervisors	Self-employed	Technicians and office workers	Skilled manual workers	Service and trade workers	Unskilled manual workers	Farmers
Employee with an undetermined period labor contract		95.2%	91.0%	93.8%		90.7%	91.0%	81.0%	73.6%	
Employee with a determined period labor contract		4.8%	8.6%	3.5%		5.5%	4.4%	9.5%	6.1%	
Employer (with employees)	100.0%			1.2%		.2%	.3%	.2%		
Self-employed in non-agricultural activities or freelancer					100.0%					
Self-employed in agricultural activities										8.7%
Unpaid family worker in non-agricultural activities							.2%	.7%	.4%	
Unpaid family worker in agricultural activities				.4%		.2%	.1%		1.1%	30.8%
Member of a farming cooperative						1.0%	.7%	.2%	1.1%	60.5%
Member of a non-farming cooperative				.4%			.2%	.7%	.4%	
Worker without a contract				.8%		1.0%	2.5%	7.4%	17.0%	
Unemployed			.3%				.1%			
Pensioner						1.3%	.3%	.2%		
Homemaker						.2%	.2%			
Other inactive categories									.4%	
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Notes: Chi-square = 19539.561; Cramer's V = .765; Contingency Coefficient = .917; p (sig) = .000.
Source: STRATSOC 2010 dataset, own calculations.

Table C5. Respondent's class (based on the last occupation) by respondent's principal occupational code (for the last job)

Occupational code at the last job	Respondent's class based on the last occupation									
	Employers	Managers	Professionals	Supervisors	Self-employed	Technicians and office workers	Skilled manual workers	Service and trade workers	Unskilled manual workers	Farmers
Managers and employers, entrepreneurs, mayors	100.0%	23.7%			18.6%					
Intellectual occupations		76.3%	100.0%		18.6%					
Technicians or foremen				29.1%	2.9%	64.0%				
Clerical workers (officials in the administration)				15.6%	1.4%	36.0%				
Service and sales workers				13.1%	20.0%			100.0%		
Skilled agricultural or in own household				2.7%	2.9%					100.0%
Craftsmen and skilled workers				26.9%	32.9%		77.3%			
Plant and machine operators				5.9%	2.9%		22.7%			
Unskilled workers									100.0%	
Armed forces				6.7%						
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Notes: Chi-square = 19031.705; Cramer's V = .760; Contingency Coefficient = .916; p (sig) = .000
Source: STRATSOC 2010 dataset, own calculations.

Table C6. Respondent's class (based on the last occupation) by respondent's principal occupational status (for the last job)

Occupational status at the last job	Respondent's class based on the last occupation									
	Employers	Managers	Professionals	Supervisors	Self-employed	Technicians and office workers	Skilled manual workers	Service and trade workers	Unskilled manual workers	Farmers
Employee with an undetermined period labor contract		87.9%	87.8%	89.0%		90.2%	89.1%	84.1%	70.5%	
Employee with a determined period labor contract		6.0%	10.1%	5.0%		4.6%	4.4%	5.9%	5.6%	
Employer (with employees)	100.0%	3.7%	.7%	1.8%		.2%	.3%	1.1%		
Self-employed in non-agricultural activities or freelancer					100.0%				1.1%	
Self-employed in agricultural activities							.4%			11.6%
Unpaid family worker in non-agricultural activities (industry or services)		.5%				.4%	.4%	1.3%	.4%	
Unpaid family worker in agricultural activities		.9%		.5%		.2%	.1%	.2%	.4%	41.1%
Member of a farming cooperative				.5%		.2%	.5%		.4%	47.4%
Member of a non-farming cooperative (including CAP)				.5%		.2%	.1%	.4%		
Worker without a contract		.5%		2.0%		.6%	2.7%	5.9%	18.7%	
Unemployed			.3%			.4%	.4%	.2%	.4%	
Pensioner		.5%	1.0%	.8%		2.3%	.8%	.7%	1.9%	
Homemaker						.2%	.6%	.2%		
Other inactive categories						.6%			.7%	
Total	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Notes: Chi-square = 19539.561; Cramer's V = .765; Contingency Coefficient = .917; p (sig) = .000.
Source: STRATSOC 2010 dataset, own calculations.

La présence des Roumains dans les flux et stocks migratoires en France de 1990 à 2007: une mise en parallèle des statistiques roumaines et françaises

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Abstract: This paper compares Romanian and French statistics regarding the presence of Romanians in migration flows and stocks in France, from January 1990 to January 2007. On the Romanian side, emigration flows are mainly informed, according to a specific definition however. On the French side, previous studies have focused more on admissions to stay and migration stocks in France at different points in time. Paralleling the available data thus allows to better understand this international migration, but also reveals aspects that are not (strictly) comparable and incidentally discusses the criteria used in Romania and France.

Keywords: statistics, emigration from Romania, immigration in France, migration stocks and flows.

1. Introduction

Aborder la question de la présence des Roumains en France à l'époque postcommuniste, tout comme dans d'autres pays, représente un certain défi. Cela tient premièrement à la forte visibilité médiatique de cette population, ou plus précisément d'une partie de cette population. Cette visibilité, très politisée, est pratiquement revenue sans cesse dans l'actualité en France lors de certains événements relatifs par exemple à des reconduites à la frontière, des débats sur des questions sécuritaires, également en lien avec l'acceptation de la Roumanie dans l'espace Schengen, des statistiques relatives à la «délinquance étrangère» (Borredon 2012), etc.

Mais au-delà de cette visibilité et politisation, que sait-on sur cette population, sur ce type de migration internationale? Qu'en est-il en France? Et

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en comparaison avec d'autres pays, surtout européens, qui ont vu arriver sur leur territoire un nombre plus important de Roumains? Une première question, triviale certes, nous vient ainsi à l'esprit: Combien sont-ils? Combien arrivent-ils et combien repartent? Combien vivent en France et dans d'autres pays européens?

C'est à ces questions que le présent article se propose d'apporter des éléments de réponse. Pour ce faire, il passe tout d'abord et brièvement en revue la littérature à l'égard de l'émigration au départ de la Roumanie. Ensuite et surtout, il met en parallèle les statistiques roumaines et françaises quant à la présence des Roumains dans les stocks et flux migratoires en France. La période choisie s'étale de janvier 1990 à janvier 2007, autrement dit, de la chute du régime communiste à l'adhésion de la Roumanie à l'Union européenne, période sur laquelle les statistiques disponibles enregistrent les migrations des Roumains, du moins celles régulières et à plus long terme. À partir de janvier 2007, ces migrations deviennent intracommunautaires et échappent ainsi à un comptage similaire.

2. Un bref aperçu de l'émigration au départ de la Roumanie

Le fait que la Roumanie postcommuniste a été marquée par un important phénomène d'émigration n'a sûrement plus besoin de justification. Moins connue est cependant l'existence d'un tel phénomène bien avant cette époque, dès la fin du XIX^{e} siècle, lors des premiers départs au sein de certaines communautés vivant dans le Vieux Royaume de Roumanie, comme celle des musulmans vers la Turquie actuelle et surtout des juifs vers le Nouveau-Monde (Muntele 2003: 35). Mais la première grande vague d'émigration de Roumanie a véritablement lieu à la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, étant pour l'essentiel forcée et se composant notamment des Allemands vivant dans l'Ouest de l'actuelle Roumanie, ainsi que des Juifs, des Hongrois et, pour la première fois, d'un important contingent de Roumains qui craignaient l'occupation soviétique (Muntele 2003: 36).

Durant la période du régime communiste, plusieurs étapes des phénomènes d'émigration et d'immigration au départ et vers la Roumanie peuvent être distinguées: avant 1953, l'émigration s'est accentuée et a concerné surtout les personnes touchées par la nationalisation de 1948; de 1953 à 1956, le solde migratoire devient positif suite à la mort de Staline qui a permis le retour d'une grande partie des prisonniers et des déportés de l'URSS; de 1957 à 1965, la politique d'émigration devient plus permissive et entraîne le pic de l'émigration juive et des Saxons de Transylvanie; de 1966 à 1980, le solde migratoire est faible suite au «contrôle excessif de la société»; enfin, de 1981 à

1989, le solde migratoire devient fortement négatif dû à une émigration constituée notamment d'Allemands et d'opposants au régime (Muntele 2003: 36-37).

Sous ces conditions, la chute du régime de Ceauşescu, en décembre 1989, a ouvert la voie à des migrations internationales inconnues auparavant, non seulement en termes de volume, mais aussi en ce qui concerne leurs caractéristiques. Tout d'abord, l'effondrement de ce système totalitaire coïncide avec la plus forte vague d'émigration jamais enregistrée en Roumanie (Muntele 2003: 37). Ensuite, les caractéristiques de ces migrations renvoient à une grande diversité de situations. Une nouveauté par rapport aux époques précédentes tient à la forte présence, parmi les migrants de Roumanie, des Roumains eux-mêmes qui, contrairement à d'autres groupes ethniques, ont relativement peu investi les migrations internationales auparavant(Rey 2003: 30). Puis, non seulement les départs des Roumains deviennent possibles, mais le retour également, les personnes qui quittent la Roumanie ont dorénavant la possibilité de revenir, ceci de plus en plus facilement avec l'avancement dans le processus d'adhésion à l'Union européenne, concrétisé le 1er janvier 2007 après que le système de visas pour de courts séjours (inférieurs à 3 mois) a été levé au 1er janvier 2002.

Ainsi, à partir de 1990, les Roumains s'inscrivent dans la mobilité internationale en adoptant une multitude de stratégies. Les premières années de la décennie 1990, ce sont les mouvements dans les pays voisins qui dominent et qui, sous le «couvert du tourisme», correspondent à un «commerce à la valise» permettant d'obtenir un revenu complémentaire au salaire gagné en Roumanie (Diminescu 2003: 2-3). Il s'agit principalement d'une migration temporaire et exploratoire de la part des Roumains en quête de travail, d'une meilleure situation (Sandu 2006: 18). À la même période, les migrations ethniques à destination de l'Allemagne, la Hongrie et l'Israël vivent leur dernier épisode; alors que se mettent en place les premiers programmes académiques et d'échanges universitaires (Diminescu 2003: 3-6).

Entre 1994 et 2000, lorsque certaines politiques migratoires tendent à s'homogénéiser en Occident et que la Roumanie connaît une transition économique très difficile, les mobilités internationales roumaines se diversifient, prenant notamment la forme des migrations de travail, d'asile politique, voire de la clandestinité (Diminescu 2003: 7). Plusieurs études (par exemple Benattig et Brachet 1998, Diminescu 2001, Diminescu et Ohliger 1999) ont montré que la demande d'asile a été un moyen utilisé par les catégories les plus défavorisées, à la fois par les Roms et les Roumains, afin de

résider provisoirement dans des pays européens, et de mettre à profit ce séjour pour rechercher des gains financiers.

D'autres pays européens ont vu arriver un nombre conséquent de Roumains. Dans les années qui ont suivi la chute du régime communiste en Roumanie, l'Allemagne est devenue la première destination des Roumains. S'inspirant des départs des ethniques allemands et s'appuyant en grande partie sur une invitation de la part de ceux-ci, de nombreux Roumains sont partis avec un visa pour l'Allemagne pour se transformer ensuite en demandeurs d'asile politique ou, quelques années plus tard, pour se diriger vers l'Italie, l'Espagne ou la France (Diminescu 2003: 16). En effet, à partir de la deuxième moitié de la décennie 1990, l'Italie devient la principale destination des Roumains en quête d'un travail à l'étranger, ceci se poursuivant et s'amplifiant considérablement, tout comme en Espagne, après la suppression des visas de court séjour dans l'Union européenne, en janvier 2002 (Sandu 2006: 19).

Au total, de la chute du régime communiste à l'adhésion à l'Union européenne, les Roumains se sont inscrits dans les mobilités internationales en adoptant diverses stratégies. Globalement, les caractéristiques de ces migrations seraient tributaires au caractère récent de leur inscription dans la mobilité: manque d'expérience de la mobilité, de réseaux ou de pratiques «diasporiques», forte proportion d'irréguliers, pratiques de navettisme, mobilités dictées par les opportunités d'emploi dans les pays d'arrivée (Rey 2003: 30).

Mais qu'en ressort-il des statistiques roumaines et françaises quant à toutes ces pratiques migratoires des Roumains? Est-ce que le point de vue démographique, peu adopté jusque-là, conforte et complète les autres études, majoritairement sociologiques ou historiques? Pour répondre à ces questions, nous proposons d'observer d'abord la contribution de la composante migratoire à l'évolution de la population de la Roumanie, avant de présenter plus en détail les statistiques relatives à la présence des Roumains en France de 1990 à 2007.

3. Évolution de la population de la Roumanie de 1990 à 2007

Tout au long de la période considérée, la population de la Roumanie n'a pas cessé de diminuer, passant de 23 211 395 habitants au 1er janvier 1990 à 21 565119 habitants au 1er janvier 2007, soit une diminution de plus de 1,5 million d'habitants en l'espace de 17 ans. La plus forte diminution est attribuée aux années 1991 et 2001, où l'effectif a enregistré une baisse de respectivement environ 400 000 et 550 000 habitants (Tableau 1). Dans une autre publication de l'EUROSTAT, cette diminution de la population de la Roumanie apparaît

globalement plus lisse, avec des effectifs de population légèrement supérieurs et donc une baisse moins accentuée pour les années 1990, 1995 et 1999-2001 (EUROSTAT 2002).

Tableau 1. Population de la Roumanie au 1er janvier, de 1990 à 2007, selon le sexe

Année	Hommes	Femmes	Total
1990	11 450 831	11 760 564	23 211 395
1991	11 439 785	11 752 489	23 192 274
1992	11 213 763	11 596 272	22 810 035
1993	11 191 019	11 587 514	22 778 533
1994	11 168 810	11 579 217	22 748 027
1995	11 143 398	11 568 996	22 712 394
1996	11 107 719	11 548 426	22 656 145
1997	11 062 955	11 518 907	22 581 862
1998	11 027 079	11 499 014	22 526 093
1999	11 001 183	11 487 412	22 488 595
2000	10 980 041	11 475 444	22 455 485
2001	10 963 364	11 467 093	22 430 457
2002	10 664 186	11 169 297	21 833 483
2003	10 627 715	11 145 059	21 772 774
2004	10 591 835	11 119 417	21 711 252
2005	10 561 710	11 096 818	21 658 528
2006	10 535 140	11 075 073	21 610 213
2007	10 511 076	11 054 043	21 565 119

Source: EUROSTAT 2013

Quoi qu'il en soit, pour les deux années 1991 et 2001, il s'agit de l'année précédant un recensement, indiquant ainsi des redressements et corrections qui ont pu être faites à cette occasion. Les pertes d'effectifs imputées à ces deux années sont à chaque fois des cumuls sur toute la période intercensitaire. En 1991, cela a été d'autant plus marqué que le recensement précédant a eu lieu en 1977, soit une période intercensitaire plus longue que par la suite, dont la fin coïncide avec la chute du régime de Ceauşescu et une forte vague d'émigration. D'une manière analogue, comme notre période d'observation s'arrête en 2007, les pertes enregistrées jusqu'au recensement suivant, en 2011, sont à leur tour sous-estimées. Or, les premiers résultats de ce recensement de 2011 indiquent

une diminution de la population d'environ 2,8 millions d'habitants par rapport à 2002 (INS 2013), contre un peu moins d'un million d'habitants du recensement de 1992 à celui de 2002.

Par ailleurs, l'équilibre entre les deux sexes ne s'est pratiquement pas modifié, les femmes étant toujours un peu plus nombreuses que les hommes, leur proportion avoisinant à chaque fois 51 % de la population totale. Ce constat n'est pas propre à la Roumanie, dans quasiment tous les pays européens les femmes étant plus nombreuses que les hommes, d'autant plus dans les pays baltes et en Hongrie (Lanzieri 2008: 10).

Ainsi et malgré les variations qui puissent exister, la population de la Roumanie a certainement et sensiblement diminué sur cette période allant de 1990 à 2007. Cette baisse concerne à la fois les femmes et les hommes, même si pour ces derniers la diminution semble avoir été légèrement plus marquée.

À quels facteurs renvoie principalement cette baisse de la population de la Roumanie? Dans quelle mesure s'agit-il de la composante naturelle et dans quelle mesure de celle migratoire?

4. Contribution du solde naturel et du solde migratoire à cette évolution

Cette baisse de la population de la Roumanie tient certainement à un excédent des décès sur les naissances, mais aussi et vraisemblablement surtout à un solde migratoire négatif. En effet, le solde naturel enregistré par l'état civil roumain indique un excédent des décès sur les naissances pour toutes les années postérieures à 1991, avec de fortes variations toutefois d'une année à l'autre (Tableau 2).

À nouveau, ce constat n'est pas inédit en Europe, un solde naturel négatif s'observant durant la décennie 1990-2000 dans presque tous les pays anciennement socialistes et qui, dans la décennie suivante, s'est encore accentué (Adveev et al. 2011: 20). D'une part, cela tient à la chute de la fécondité amorcée à la fin des années 1980 et au début des années 1990 (Adveev et al. 2011: 25), facilitée en Roumanie par l'abrogation, tout de suite après la chute du régime de Ceauşescu, du décret anti-avortement promulgué en octobre 1966. D'autre part, la lutte contre la mortalité, déjà en retard par rapport au reste de l'Europe dès les années 1970, s'est encore détériorée dans les années 1990, la partie orientale du continent européen étant frappée par la crise et la dégradation du système de santé publique. Bien que depuis 1995 l'espérance de vie augmente à nouveau dans ces pays anciennement socialistes, l'écart avec le reste de l'Europe ne se réduit quasiment pas (Adveev et al. 2011: 47).

Tableau 2. Solde naturel et solde migratoire calculé, Roumanie, 1990-2006

Année	Solde naturel (1)	Solde migratoire calculé (2)
1990	67 660	-86 781
1991	23 515	-405 754
1992	-32 462	960
1993	-13 329	-17 177
1994	-19 365	-16 268
1995	-35 032	-21 217
1996	-54 810	-19 473
1997	-42 424	-13 345
1998	-31 869	-5 629
1999	-30 594	-2 516
2000	-21 299	-3 729
2001	-39 235	-557 739
2002	-59 137	-1 572
2003	-54 116	-7 406
2004	-42 629	-10 095
2005	-41 081	-7 234
2006	-38 611	-6 483

Source: (1) INS. Annuaire statistique de la Roumanie 2009; (2) calculs de l'auteure à partir des données du tableau 1.

Conjointement, le solde migratoire calculé comme différence entre l'accroissement total de la population et l'accroissement naturel (voir encadré) apparaît toujours négatif, étant particulièrement élevé pour l'année 1991 et surtout 2001[2]: le solde entre l'accroissement total de la population de la Roumanie et la composante naturelle s'établit à -405 754 pour l'année 1991 et à -557 739 pour l'année 2001 (Tableau 2).

Pour les années ou périodes communes, d'autres données publiées par EUROSTAT se rapprochent sensiblement de notre calcul précédent, avec notamment un solde migratoire moyen de l'ordre de -110 000 pour la période 1990-1994 (Tableau 3).

[2] Il s'agit à nouveau des années qui précèdent un recensement.

Tableau 3. Solde migratoire, Roumanie, 1960-2004 (en milliers)

Année	Solde migratoire[3]
1960-1964	-19,5
1965-1969	-4,4
1970-1974	-9,7
1975-1979	-11,0
1980-1984	-18,7
1985-1989	-20,1
1990-1994	-110,8
1995-1999	-12,4
2000	-3,7
2003	-7,4
2004	-10,1

Source: EUROSTAT

Par contre, EUROSTAT ne fournit pas dans cette édition le solde migratoire de 2001, particulièrement élevé dans notre calcul. À noter également qu'un solde migratoire exprimé en tant que moyenne annuelle peut cacher d'importantes variations à l'intérieur de la période prise en compte, comme cela est vraisemblablement le cas pour la période 1990-1994.

Mais hormis la marge d'erreur inhérente à une telle estimation du solde migratoire, la composante migratoire semble l'emporter sur la composante naturelle, contribuant nettement plus à la décroissance de la population de la Roumanie.

5. Émigrations de Roumanie déterminées par un changement de domicile

Le solde migratoire calculé comme différence entre l'accroissement total de la population et l'accroissement naturel est pour certaines années sans commune mesure avec un solde migratoire déterminé uniquement par les immigrations et émigrations s'accompagnant d'un changement officiel de domicile. Or, les informations mises à disposition par l'Institut national de statistiques roumain quant aux migrations internationales s'appuient sur ce critère du changement

[3] Ce solde migratoire fourni par EUROSTAT est également calculé comme différence entre l'accroissement total de la population et l'accroissement naturel. Pour les intervalles quinquennaux, il s'agit probablement d'une valeur obtenue comme moyenne des valeurs relevées pour chaque année de la période.

officiel de domicile qui implique un changement définitif de l'établissement principal (voir encadré). Ceci sous-estime considérablement le phénomène d'émigration (d'immigration également), même s'agissant uniquement des migrations à plus long terme.

Sur l'ensemble de la période 1991-2006, ce solde migratoire déterminé par des changements de domicile est ainsi plus de 5 fois inférieur au solde migratoire calculé précédemment, des valeurs extrêmement différentes s'observant à nouveau pour les années 1991 et 2001, deux années qui ont précédé un recensement (Tableau 4).

Tableau 4. Immigrations, émigrations et solde migratoire déterminés par un changement de domicile, Roumanie, 1990-2006

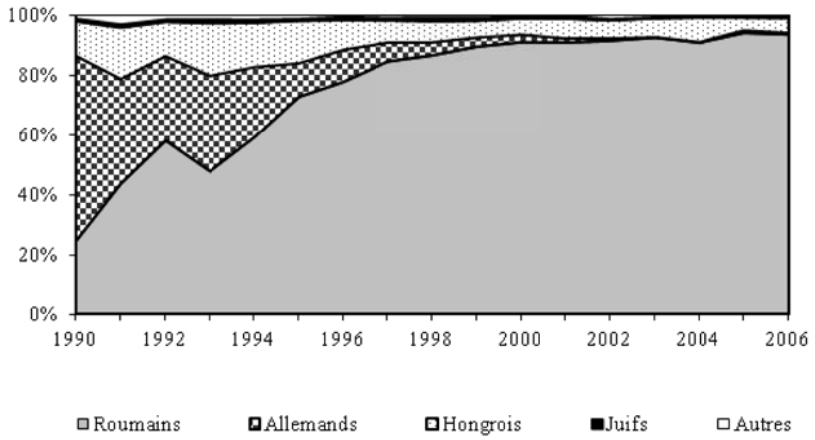
Année	Immigrations	Émigrations	Solde migratoire
1990	-	96 929	-
1991	1 602	44 160	-42 558
1992	1 753	31 152	-29 399
1993	1 269	18 446	-17 177
1994	878	17 146	-16 268
1995	4 458	25 675	-21 217
1996	2 053	21 526	-19 473
1997	6 600	19 945	-13 345
1998	11 907	17 536	-5 629
1999	10 078	12 594	-2 516
2000	11 024	14 753	-3 729
2001	10 350	9 921	429
2002	6 582	8 154	-1 572
2003	3 267	10 673	-7 406
2004	2 987	13 082	-10 095
2005	3 704	10 938	-7 234
2006	7 714	14 197	-6 483

Source : INS. Annuaire statistique de la Roumanie 2009.

Selon une même définition de l'émigration, à savoir celle qui implique un changement officiel de domicile, ce phénomène a concerné dans l'année qui a suivi la chute du régime communiste notamment les ethniques allemands et dans une moindre mesure les Roumains et les autres groupes ethniques vivant

en Roumanie. Dès 1991, les Roumains deviennent majoritaires dans ces flux d'émigration, pour représenter à la fin des années 1990 quasiment le seul groupe concerné par ces émigrations. Une certaine exception s'observe toutefois pour les Hongrois, dont l'émigration de Roumanie déterminée par un changement de domicile se poursuit légèrement (Graphique 1).

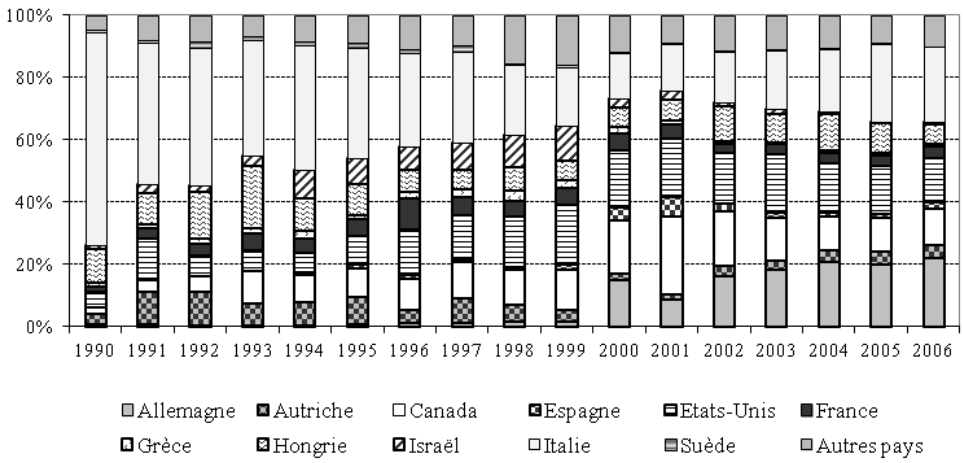
Graphique 1. Émigrations de Roumanie déterminées par un changement de domicile de 1990 à 2006, selon le groupe ethnique



Source: INS. Annuaire statistique de la Roumanie 2009

Ces résultats, tout comme les ordres de grandeur présentés précédemment en termes de flux d'émigration de Roumanie sur la période allant de 1990 à 2007, rejoignent ce qui a été déjà mis en évidence dans des travaux antérieurs. Par contre, selon les mêmes statistiques publiées dans l'édition 2009 de l'*Annuaire statistique de la Roumanie*, la principale destination des citoyens roumains qui ont changé officiellement le pays de leur domicile serait jusqu'en 1997 l'Italie, suivie de loin par d'autres pays comme la Hongrie, les États-Unis, le Canada ou l'Autriche (Graphique 2).

Graphique 2. Émigrations de Roumanie déterminées par un changement de domicile de 1990 à 2006, selon le pays de destination



Source: INS. Annuaire statistique de la Roumanie 2009.

Une telle constatation va à l'encontre de toute la littérature à l'égard des migrations internationales au départ de la Roumanie, voire revêt un caractère absurde, même en admettant que les ethniques allemands qui n'ont pas gardé la citoyenneté roumaine ont des comportements migratoires différents des autres émigrants de Roumanie. Très probablement, ce constat pointe une erreur dans l'*Annuaire statistique de la Roumanie* de 2009 (de 2005 également), affirmation soutenue par d'autres publications (Sandu et al. 2004, Muntele 2003). Selon ces deux sources, dont la seconde utilise les éditions 1995-2000 de l'*Annuaire statistique de la Roumanie*, la première destination des émigrations de Roumanie jusqu'au début des années 2000 est l'Allemagne, suivie de loin par d'autres pays comme les États-Unis, l'Hongrie, le Canada, l'Italie, l'Autriche et la France.

Ces informations en termes de flux migratoires au départ de la Roumanie, du moins concernant la principale destination, se confirment avec les données publiées par EUROSTAT, l'Allemagne arrivant en tête des pays qui ont accueilli des citoyens roumains durant la dernière décennie du XX^{e} siècle. D'autres pays européens qui ont accueilli sur la même période un nombre important de citoyens roumains sont l'Autriche, la France, la Suède et la Grèce, et de plus en plus l'Italie et l'Espagne (Tableau 5).

Tableau 5. Immigrations des citoyens roumains dans différents pays européens

Année	Danemark	Allemagne	Grèce	Espagne	France	Italie	Pays-Bas	Royaume-Uni	Autriche	Suède
1991	170	61 487	565	-	1 247		1 166	-	-	1 007
1992	126	110 096	912	110	1 088		390	-	-	769
1994	149	31 449	1 605	83	598		165	-	-	318
1997	176	14 144	1 162	173	421	6 701	370	-	1 569	-

Source: EUROSTAT 1994, 1996, 2000

Il convient de mentionner également que les différents pays de destination ont des régimes variables quant à l'attribution de la citoyenneté, à l'acceptation de la double nationalité ainsi qu'à l'enregistrement formel d'un changement de domicile/résidence des ressortissants étrangers en général, roumains en particulier.

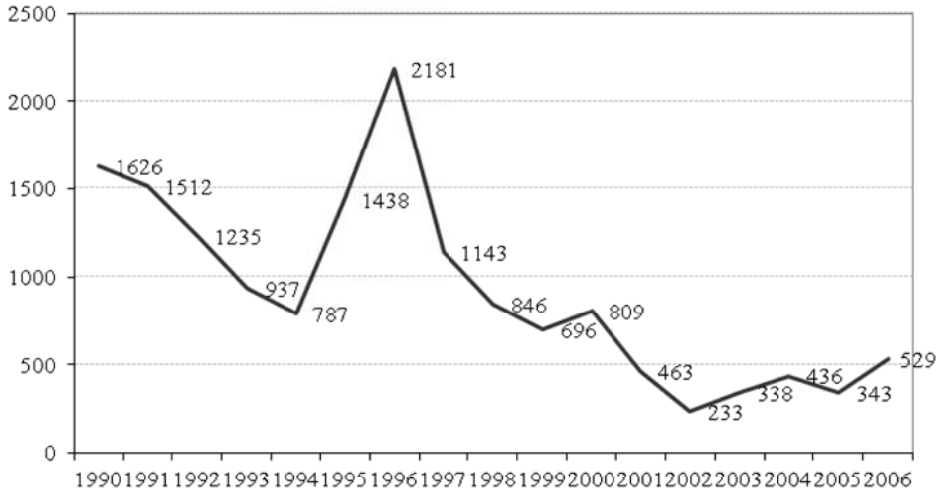
La France fait partie des pays qui «ferment les yeux sur la double nationalité» (Héran 2012: 70), la Roumanie l'accepte également. Concernant le changement formel de domicile, la procédure est gérée par les autorités roumaines (consulats ou préfectures), si une demande est déposée et selon certaines conditions (par exemple le consulat de la Roumanie à Paris demande une carte de résident en France pour procéder à un changement de domicile).

Notons enfin que selon les données publiées par l'EUROSTAT le nombre d'entrées en France de la part des citoyens roumains serait de 1 247 personnes en 1991, de 1 088 personnes en 1992, de 598 personnes en 1994 et de 421 personnes en 1997 (Tableau 5). Ces valeurs absolues sont bien différentes de celles relevées dans d'autres statistiques roumaines et françaises.

6. Immigrations vers la France des citoyens roumains ayant changé de domicile

En effet, même en comptant uniquement les émigrations de Roumanie à destination de la France qui se sont accompagnées d'un changement officiel de domicile, les chiffres publiés dans l'*Annuaire statistique de la Roumanie* de 2009 sont supérieurs à ceux présentés ci-dessus: 1512 immigration en France de la part des citoyens roumains en 1991, 1 235 en 1992, 787 en 1994 et 1 143 en 1997 (Graphique 3).

Graphique 3. Immigrations en France des citoyens roumains ayant changé de domicile de 1990 à 2006



Source : INS. Annuaire statistique de la Roumanie 2009.

7. Admissions au séjour régulier des Roumains en France

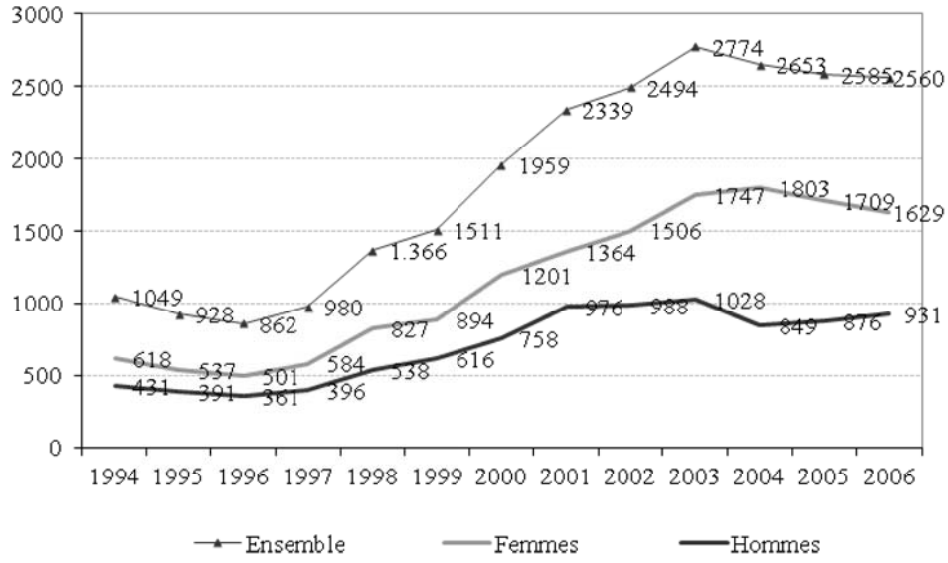
Ce nombre d'immigrations est à son tour souvent inférieur au nombre d'admissions au séjour régulier des Roumains en France, ces dernières étant définies comme des premières obtentions d'un titre de séjour d'une durée d'au moins une année. Car comme la France ne dispose pas de registres de population pour enregistrer directement les entrées et les sorties vers et depuis son territoire, il est possible de dénombrer seulement les migrations de long terme, dont la durée est égale ou supérieure à une année, et qui nécessitent de disposer d'un titre de séjour[4]. Les données relatives à ces dossiers administratifs sont réunies par l'Institut national d'études démographiques (INED) qui fournit ainsi les statistiques des flux d'immigration étrangère en France portant sur les titres de séjour d'au moins un an (INED 1994-2006).

En comparant le nombre d'immigrations s'accompagnant d'un changement de domicile à ce nombre d'admissions au séjour régulier des Roumains en France (Graphique 4), on observe des valeurs supérieures dans les statistiques roumaines pour trois années: 1995, 1996 et 1997. Pour les

[4] Les ressortissants de l'Espace économique européen sont dispensés de l'obligation de détenir un titre de séjour pour résider en France. Néanmoins, une situation transitoire implique la demande d'un titre de séjour pour certains pays qui ont adhéré à l'Union européenne après 2004, dont la Roumanie, lorsque les ressortissants de ces pays ont l'intention de travailler.

autres années, le nombre d'admissions est nettement supérieur, les valeurs relevées étant en nette augmentation de la fin des années 1990 au début des années 2000, moment où elles commencent à se stabiliser, voire à diminuer légèrement.

Graphique 4. Admissions au séjour régulier des Roumains en France de 1994 à 2006, selon le sexe



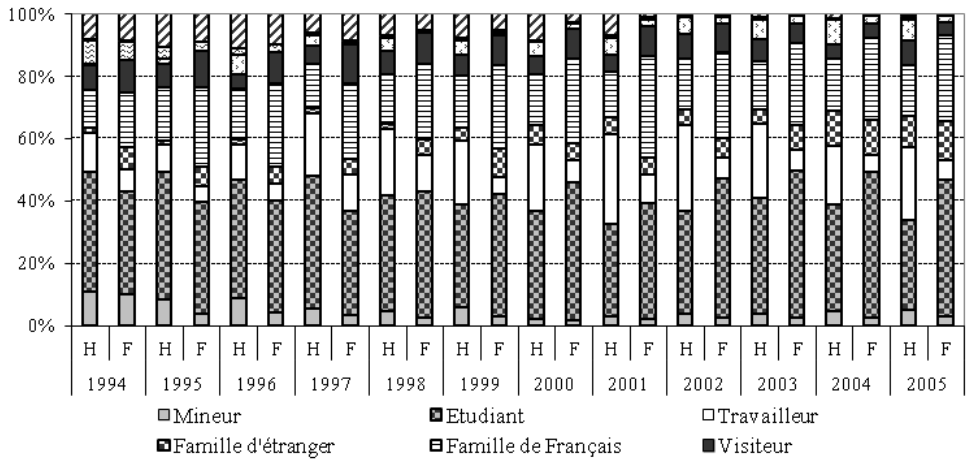
Source : INED. Statistiques des flux d'immigration en France 1994-2006

Ce décalage peut provenir des définitions différentes entre les deux sources, tout comme il dépend fortement de la date d'immigration ou d'admission prise en compte. Comme d'un côté la date de la migration est déterminée par le changement officiel de domicile, de l'autre côté par l'obtention d'un premier titre de séjour d'au moins une année, cette date peut ne pas correspondre à l'année effective d'entrée en France.

Décliné par sexe, ce nombre d'admissions indique une prépondérance des femmes roumaines dans ces flux d'entrées sur toute la période, l'écart avec les hommes se creusant dans les années 2000. En outre, les motifs d'admission sont légèrement différents entre les femmes et les hommes roumains qui ont été admis au séjour régulier en France de 1994 à 2006 (Graphique 5). Sur toute la période, les admissions des hommes ont été en premier lieu celles en tant qu'étudiants, suivies des admissions en tant que «famille de Français» et de

«travailleur», ces dernières étant de plus en plus nombreuses. Chez les femmes, les admissions des étudiantes sont également les plus fréquentes, suivies cette fois-ci de plus en plus par des admissions en tant que «famille de Français».

Graphique 5. Admissions au séjour régulier des Roumains en France de 1994 à 2005, selon le motif d'admission et le sexe



Source: INED. Statistiques des flux d'immigration en France 1994-2005

8. Autres migrations, mobilités ou circulations internationales des Roumains

Selon ces critères d'un changement de domicile en Roumanie, de l'obtention d'un titre de séjour d'au moins un an en France, de nombreuses migrations, mobilités ou circulations internationales échappent aux statistiques habituellement établies. Il s'agit principalement des migrations de plus courte durée et des migrations clandestines ou irrégulières.

Tout d'abord, la limite entre ce que l'on désigne comme des migrations de court terme (d'une durée comprise entre trois mois et un an) et les migrations pendulaires (faites d'allers et retours entre le pays d'origine et le pays d'accueil) (Borrel 2004) semble relativement difficile à cerner en pratique. De plus, les sources de données disponibles ne renseignent pas véritablement sur ces migrations.

A titre d'exemple, on peut mentionner des chiffres fournis par le ministère de l'Intérieur roumain, cités par D. Diminescu, pour les deux mois qui ont suivi la suppression des visas de court séjour au 1er janvier 2002: «*885*

590 citoyens roumains se sont déplacés à l'étranger et 666 993 sont rentrés en Roumanie; 439 270 ont déclaré qu'ils avaient l'intention de se rendre dans l'espace Schengen, 58 854 ont été arrêtés à la frontière; parmi ceux qui ont quitté le pays, 2 876 ont été rapatriés […]» (Diminescu 2003: 21). D'une manière plus générale et bien que les statistiques n'enregistrent pas en continu ces circulations, il semblerait globalement que la levée de l'obligation de détenir un visa pour un séjour de courte durée (inférieur à trois mois) ait mené à une intensification des migrations temporaires de la part des Roumains (Sandu 2006: 19).

Secondairement, les migrations clandestines (entrées sur le territoire d'un pays sans remplir les démarches administratives requises) ou irrégulières (prolongement du séjour au-delà de la période de séjour autorisée) échappent par définition à toute comptage habituel. Néanmoins, «ce n'est pas parce que l'immigration irrégulière est en toute rigueur indénombrable qu'elle est nécessairement innombrable» (Héran 2004: 3). Des méthodes indirectes d'estimation de ces migrations existent, notamment à partir du nombre de demandes enregistrées au moment d'une opération de régularisation. Lors de la dernière opération de ce type en France, en 1997-1998, environ 130 000 demandes ont été enregistrées, dont 90 000 ont reçu une réponse favorable. Compte tenu des durées de séjour des migrants qui ont fait une demande de régularisation, ce nombre est à repartir sur le solde migratoire des dix années précédentes, ce qui corrige à la hausse le solde migratoire estimé (d'environ 25 % en moyenne), mais ne change pas fondamentalement les ordres de grandeur, l'immigration demeurant en France majoritairement régulière (Héran 2004: 3). De plus, les Roumains ne font pas partie des principales nationalités des étrangers ayant été régularisés lors de cette opération en France (Thierry 2000: 606).

Par ailleurs, ce qui a été observé en France est loin des opérations de régularisation d'Espagne ou d'Italie. En Espagne, la régularisation de 2005 a concerné 691 700 demandeurs, dont 573 300 ont obtenu un permis de séjour. Les Roumains arrivent cette fois-ci en tête des nationalités concernées, avec 96000 demandes, juste derrière les Équatoriens pour lesquels 123 000 demandes ont été enregistrées (Héran 2007: 38). En Italie, la régularisation de 2002 s'est soldée avec 70 2000 demandes, dont 64 7000 ont été satisfaites (Héran 2007: 39), et sans connaître précisément la place des Roumains dans cette opération, on a des raisons à croire qu'ils étaient (relativement) nombreux.

9. Sorties des migrants du territoire français

En France, les flux de sorties, les départs des migrants ou des étrangers ne sont donc pas directement enregistrés. Mais là encore, des estimations sont possibles, aussi partielles soient-elles. Si l'on connaît la variation totale du nombre de migrants et le nombre d'entrées, on peut déduire le nombre de sorties. En pratique les estimations sont plus complexes, mais cela n'empêche pas d'avancer des ordres de grandeur, comme cela a été fait pour les années 1990 à partir du solde migratoire, où l'on a estimé qu'il y avait en moyenne une sortie pour deux entrées (Le Bras 2007). D'autres travaux sur cette question ont pris comme critère l'absence des immigrés recensés à différentes dates lors des recensements suivants (Thave 1999) ou le non-renouvellement des titres de séjour au bout d'un an, ce dernier situant à environ un tiers le nombre de sorties des migrants pris au départ (Thierry 2001). Bien que ces analyses permettent certaines estimations, elles ne renseignent pas spécifiquement sur les départs des Roumains, mais nous apprennent que beaucoup d'étrangers repartent de France.

D'autre part, comme indiqué précédemment, les migrations irrégulières échappent par définition à tout comptage direct, qu'il s'agisse des entrées ou des départs de la France. Néanmoins, la nouvelle politique de maîtrise des flux migratoires a incontestablement comme objectif de réduire les entrées et d'accélérer les sorties (reconduites à la frontières, aides au retour…) (Héran 2007: 78), ces dernières ayant concerné des citoyens roumains également, comme on a pu le voir assez souvent dans les médias français.

10. Stocks d'immigrés roumains en France

Résultat des circulations et des flux d'immigration successifs de la part des Roumains à destination de la France, mais également des sorties, des départs d'une partie de ces migrants, la présence des Roumains parmi les immigrés[5] recensés en France à différentes dates est présentée dans le tableau 6. On peut ainsi observer que les effectifs d'immigrés roumains présents en France à différents recensements ont sensiblement augmenté, notamment au cours des années 1990 et surtout dans la première moitié des années 2000: environ 6 500 hommes et près de 6 000 femmes au début des années 1980, environ 7 000 hommes et 7 400 femmes en 1990, plus de 11 000 hommes et plus de 12 000 femmes en 1999, plus de 21 000 hommes et plus de 25 000 femmes en 2006.

[5] Est immigré toute personne née étrangère à l'étranger et résidant en France (HCI 1991). Cela suppose que la nationalité à la naissance est différente de celle française et que le pays de naissance est également différent de la France. Le critère de résidence, souvent fixé à une durée d'au moins une année, est pris en compte de sorte à exclure de cette définition les touristes et les migrations à caractère temporaire.

Tableau 6. Immigrés roumains en France aux différents recensements

Année	Hommes		Femmes	
	Effectif	%	Effectif	%
1982 (1)	6 488	0,30	5 904	0,32
1990 (1)	7 088	0,33	7 369	0,37
1999 (1)	11 148	0,51	12 122	0,57
2006 (2)	21 122	0,82	25 278	0,95

Source: (1) INSEE 2001 (2) INSEE. Recensement 2007, exploitation principale.

Toutefois, la part des immigrés roumains dans l'ensemble d'immigrés recensés en France à ces dates, bien qu'en progression, demeure faible, n'atteignant 1% ni pour les hommes ni pour les femmes.

De plus, en comparaison avec d'autres pays européens dans les années 1990, les résidents de citoyenneté roumaine semblent être moins présents en France qu'en Allemagne, Autriche ou Italie (Tableau 7).

Tableau 7. Résidents de citoyenneté roumaine dans différents pays européens

Année	Danemark	Allemagne	Grèce	Espagne	France	Italie	Pays-Bas	Royaume-Uni	Autriche	Suède
1991	774	60 293	3 209	179	5 114	7 494	1 339	-	18 536	5 313
1992	920	92 135	4 620	-	5 114	5 155	1 954	-	18 536	5 525
1998	1 095	95 190	5 609	2 385	5 114	17 860	1 145	3 000	18 536	3 213

Source: EUROSTAT 1994, 1996, 2000.

11. Conclusion et discussion

Au final, que sait-on sur la présence numérique des Roumains en Europe et particulièrement en France? Autrement dit, quelle place occupent-ils dans les flux et stocks migratoires en France et qu'en est-il en comparaison avec d'autres pays européens? Pour répondre à ces questions, le présent article s'est proposé de mettre en parallèle les statistiques roumaines et françaises sur la période allant de 1990 à 2007, de la chute du régime de Ceauşescu à l'adhésion de la Roumanie à l'Union européenne.

Cela a permis dans un premier temps de montrer que la forte diminution de la population de la Roumanie sur cette période tient surtout à un solde migratoire négatif. Pour aller plus loin dans la connaissance de l'émigration de Roumanie, nous sommes rapidement limités par le critère utilisé dans les statistiques roumaines, à savoir celui d'un changement officiel de domicile. Bien que cette définition confirme certaines tendances, elle sous-estime considérablement le phénomène d'émigration (d'immigration également), même lorsqu'il s'agit uniquement des migrations de long terme.

Du côté français et en termes de flux migratoires, ce sont les admissions au séjour régulier en France qui sont renseignées, à savoir les premières obtentions d'un titre de séjour d'une durée d'au moins un an. Ce nombre d'admissions des Roumains en France a été en nette augmentation de la fin des années 1990 au début des années 2000, avec une prépondérance des femmes sur toute la période étudiée.

En termes de stocks migratoires, on observe également une augmentation sensible de la présence des Roumains parmi les immigrés recensés en France à différentes dates, bien que leur part dans l'ensemble d'immigrés demeure faible (moins de 1% à chaque fois, pour les hommes et les femmes).

Cependant, selon ces critères d'un changement de domicile en Roumanie ou d'obtention d'un titre de séjour d'au moins un an en France, d'autres migrations de la part des Roumains ne sont pas habituellement renseignées. Il s'agit notamment des migrations de court terme, des migrations pendulaires et des migrations irrégulières. Or, bien que rarement renseignées, ces migrations semblent avoir concerné plus particulièrement les Roumains.

Par contre, les ordres de grandeur disponibles pour certaines dates indiquent qu'en comparaison avec d'autres pays, notamment l'Espagne, l'Italie et par le passé l'Allemagne, la France serait moins concernée par des immigrations de la part des citoyens roumains, qu'il s'agisse des flux d'entrée de plus longue durée, de migrations irrégulières ou de stocks migratoires. Une fois de plus, le cas français illustre bien le fait que nombre et visibilité ne vont pas toujours de pair.

Mais au-delà de ces constats se pose encore la question de ce que l'on enregistre dans les flux et stocks migratoires, y compris à l'égard des migrations de long terme. En l'état actuel des données disponibles, on voit bien qu'une comparaison entre les statistiques roumaines et françaises n'est pas rigoureusement possible. Cela est d'ailleurs le cas plus globalement au niveau européen où des comparaisons ne sont pas toujours et systématiquement possibles (Thierry 2008a).

Espérons que dans les années à venir l'harmonisation des statistiques migratoires prévue par le règlement européen (Thierry 2008b: 4), à savoir l'adoption de la définition des migrations internationales recommandée par les Nations unies (voir encadré), sera mise en place et permettra ainsi une meilleure mesure et comparabilité des données. D'autres sources pourraient être également mobilisées, comme par exemple les enquêtes européennes *Forces de travail*, qui renseignent sur l'année d'arrivée dans le pays d'accueil, le pays de naissance et le pays de résidence un an avant l'enquête (Borrel 2004: 79) et qui permettraient ainsi de mieux connaître les circulations au sein de l'Union européenne (Héran 2007: 73).

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Annexe

Encadré: Définitions utilisées

Équation de la variation de l'effectif d'une population: Sur un territoire, la population au 1er janvier de l'année t+1 s'obtient en additionnant à la population au 1er janvier de l'année t le solde naturel (différence entre le nombre de naissances et le nombre de décès enregistrés pendant l'année t) et le solde migratoire (différence entre le nombre d'entrées, d'immigrations et le nombre de sorties, d'émigrations enregistrées pendant l'année t):

Population au 01/01/ t+1 = Population au 01/01/ t + Solde naturel + Solde migratoire

Solde naturel de l'année t=Naissances de l'année t–Décès de l'année t

Solde migratoire de l'année t=Immigrations de l'année t–Émigrations de l'année t

Immigrations=Ensemble des entrées ou arrivées des personnes sur un territoire

Émigrations=Ensemble des sorties ou de départs du territoire

Solde migratoire calculé= Variation de l'effectif de la population–Solde naturel de l'année.

Flux migratoires: les entrées et les sorties d'un territoire pour une période donnée (une année, le plus souvent).

Stocks migratoires: migrants, immigrés présents sur un territoire à un moment donné (au recensement, le plus souvent).

Solde migratoire déterminé par un changement de domicile = Immigrations – Émigrations qui se sont accompagnées d'un changement de domicile pendant l'année t. Dans le Code civil français le **domicile** est défini comme «le lieu dans lequel une personne possède son principal établissement», alors que la **résidence** «est conçue comme une situation de fait». «Dans la pratique ces deux notions de domicile et de résidence ont tendance à se confondre» (http://www.dictionnaire-juridique.com/).

Admission au séjour régulier en France: obtention d'un titre de séjour d'au moins une année.

Migrations clandestines: entrées sur le territoire d'un pays sans remplir les démarches administratives requises.

Migrations irrégulières: prolongement du séjour au-delà de la période de séjour autorisée.

Migrations pendulaires: allers et retours entre le pays d'origine et le pays d'accueil.

Migrations de court terme: migrations d'une durée comprise entre trois mois et une année.

Migrations de long terme: migrations d'une durée égale ou supérieure à une année.

Immigré: Est immigré en France toute personne née étrangère à l'étranger et résidant en France (HCI 1991) depuis au moins une année. Cela signifie que tout immigré n'a pas la nationalité française à la naissance et qu'il est né dans un autre pays que la France. Cette caractéristique est permanente, elle a été

proposée pour mieux connaître l'apport migratoire à l'évolution de la population résidant en France.

Étranger: Est étranger en France toute personne qui n'a pas la nationalité française. Les deux notions, celle d'immigré et celle d'étranger, ne se recoupent que partiellement. Un immigré peut ne pas être étranger s'il a acquis la nationalité française, tout comme un étranger peut ne pas être immigré s'il est né en France.

Migrant international: «Les Nations unies recommandent de retenir comme migrant international toute personne changeant de pays de résidence habituelle pour une durée de séjour d'au moins un an, quel qu'en soit le motif. Le franchissement d'une frontière internationale, avec changement de résidence habituelle, différencie la migration internationale de la migration interne qui s'effectue à l'intérieur des frontières d'un État» (Pison 2010: 3).

Determinants of Using Contraceptives: Evidence from Kosovo

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Abstract: This research contributes to a better understanding of fertility behaviour in Kosovo and analyses the determinants that have influence on using contraception. Empirical evidence demonstrates that majority of women in Kosovo have heard about contraceptives, but the level of use is almost the lowest in Europe. To argue this and to make the result of this study understandable, prior to explanation and research methodology (including theory), we elaborate on the fertility evolution in Kosovo. The proposed theoretical framework is based on the behaviour outcome in individual level theory, in particular, the Theory of Planned Behaviour. Herewith, we analyse the association between contraceptive use as behaviour outcome, and determinants that have influence on using them. The research further examines the empirical evidence and focus on variables such as value orientation, on one hand, and external variables, on the other hand. The data used for this research derived from an empirical research study done in the University Hospital Centre in Kosovo with 1,000 women active in reproductive process.

Keywords: fertility level, contraceptive use, influential determinants

1. Introduction

The population since in early stages has searched for methods and means to be used in order to prevail its reproduction through birth control, from the traditional methods and means to modern ones. In general, the usage of these methods, whether the traditional or modern, depends not only on people's fertility desires, but also on availability and quality of family planning services; social traditions that affect the acceptability of contraceptive use; and other factors, such as marriage patterns and traditional birth spacing practices. The level of contraceptive use has a strong, direct effect on the Total Fertility Rate (TFR) and, through the TFR, on the rate of population growth. Contraceptives are used to prevent pregnancies that are too early, too closely spaced, too late, or too many, which would then affect maternal and child

health. This indicator is also closely linked with sustainable development indicators, such as: population age, women participation in the labour force and the level of development.

Based on the above, this study is a contribution that documents the level of birth control, particularly the level of contraceptive use and the determinants that have influence on their usage, among society of Kosovar Albanians. The overall objective is to provide detailed evidence on the distinction between usage of contraceptives by type, knowledge and services according to age, marital status, education, employment and place of residence, aiming to offer interpretation of these variables. The data for this research derives from an empirical research conducted in the University Hospital Centre with 1,000 women active in the reproductive process.

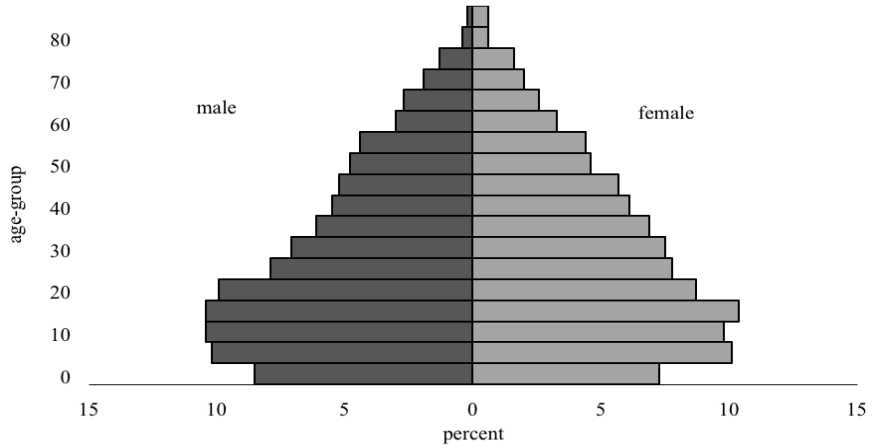
2. Fertility evolution in Kosovo

The Kosovar society is a traditional society, which in last couple of years due to economic, social and cultural development is slowly transforming into a modern society. This development is of course affecting directly the demographic development, particularly the vital components of population, fertility and mortality. In general, these two components have decreased more than four times within a period of fifty years (Islami 2008); however, they have not reached the level that would enable a comparison with developed European countries. The high rate of fertility is indeed what prevents from making this comparison. This is shown mainly in different demographic data and evaluations, which indicate that Kosovar population has grown to more than 500,000 people since 1991 (Islami 2008). Such a high fertility rate automatically labels the Kosovar population as the youngest population in Europe, where 32.8% is under 14 years of age and more than half under 25 (Dushi 2009). In contrary, it is only about 7% of population that is 65 years and above (SOK – Statistical Office of Kosovo 2011).

This is obvious in the age pyramid (Figure 1), the shape of which is still triangular. The feature of this pyramid is the declining width in its base, which shows that fertility starts to fall slowly just after the war in 1999. The crude birth rate (CBR) decreased from 19.0‰ in 1991 to 15.5‰ in 2011 (SOK 2012) and TFR from 3.6 to 2.2 children per woman for the same period of time (Dushi 2009). Despite the fact that fertility in Kosovo is reduced dramatically in the last couple of years, it still remains the highest in Europe. Such a high fertility level may be explained due to the fact that Kosovo remains not only the last region in development in the former Yugoslavia, but also a region where a traditional traits and values still predominate the society.

At the time when fertility is under replacement level for most of the European countries, Kosovo is experiencing, for the first time, this rate almost at a replacement level. This reduction in the recent years may be explained with the increased level of emancipation, incorporation in educational system and labour force, whereby raising children is not the only preoccupation of Kosovar women. This situation gives, for the first time, a possibility to Kosovar women to be informed and to practice birth control, within the circumstances.

Figure 1. Population pyramid of Kosovo, in 2009



Source: SOK, Household Survey 2009

In addition to the factors mentioned above, which had an effect in the demographic development, the political aspect has mostly affected the depressing development. In order to understand this, better reference is made about marriage, birth interval and contraceptive use, which are directly linked with fertility. In recent years in Kosovo most of couples decided to postpone marriages, including first births, which automatically brought to the reduction of family size and fertility. Nowadays the average age at marriage is 32 for males and 29 for females (SOK 2012) and the average interval between successive births is just 2 to 2.5 years (Dushi 2009, SOK 2009) which sometimes can be even shorter, depending on the family size. Regarding contraception, the Household Survey in Kosovo 2009 (SOK 2011) shows that Kosovo has the lowest prevalence recorded in Europe (20%). For a long time,

the main method of family planning was abortion, which according to the law "abortion must be performed at the request of the woman, provided the pregnancy is less than 10 weeks duration. No written consent or waiting period is required; parental consent is required for minors under age 16". However, there are private clinics that perform abortion even later than 10 weeks of pregnancy. According to estimations, in Kosovo for every 100 live births 4.8-5 abortions are performed (UNFPA, 2006). These numbers, should be treated carefully, first due to the bias (deriving just from one health clinic) and second due to the fact that Kosovo has many public and private health clinics that carry out abortion without reporting it.

Notwithstanding, the decrease of abortion in Kosovar society can be explained through the emancipation of overall society and increase of knowledge and usage of contraception in recent years. Based on Household Survey 2009 (SOK 2011), the proportion of woman who has knowledge about contraception differ greatly compared to woman who use contraception. While 95.3% of women reported to have heard about any contraceptive methods (pill, IUD, injection, diaphragm, foam/jelly, condom, rhythm/abstinence, withdrawal, sterilization of both sexes and other methods), around 17% are using them. The well known and the mostly used methods among Kosovar women remain the traditional methods. Contraceptive pills and IUD are two of the modern methods which most of the women knew about, however again the usage is very low.

3. Methodology of the study

Based on our data and the overall objective of this study, it could be noted that the Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen 1988, 1991) is the most relevant one, since it allows for distinguishing concepts and variables, at the individual level, through which one can describe determinants that have influence in the contraceptive use.

The Theory of Planned Behaviour proposed by Ajzen (1988, 1991) predicts that people's behaviour can be deliberative and planned and helps to understand the behaviour of people at individual level. In other words, the theory supposes that human beings behave in a reasonable way, taking into account available information and understand the implication of the consequences of behavioural outcome. According to this theory, human actions are guided by three kinds of consideration: *attitudes toward behaviour* (beliefs about the likely consequences of the behaviour); *subjective norms* (result of social pressure) and *perceived behavioural control* (presence of determinants that may facilitate performance of behaviour).

Moreover, the theory suggests that a person's behaviour is determined by his/her *intention* to perform the behaviour and that this intention is, in turn, a function of his/her attitude toward the behaviour and his/her subjective norm and perceived behavioural control. The best predictor of behaviour is intention, which has a central role in the theory. A person forms an intention to engage a certain behaviour. Intentions are assumed to capture the motivational determinants that influence a behaviour; they are indicators of "how hard people are willing to try or how much of an effort they are planning to exert, in order to perform the behaviour" (Ajzen 1991: 181).

Since the contraceptive use is a behaviour outcome as own decision, the conceptual model is structured just on the individual level. This model shows how the different variables are related to each other and affect each other. It allows us to see the interaction between *value orientation variables*, composed by attitudes, subjective norms and perceived behaviour control with behaviour outcome (contraceptive use); furthermore to see the effect of *external variables* in this behaviour outcome.

The external variables represent the individual background of the person, which are divided into two groups: demographic background variables and socio-economic background variables. Demographic background is formed based on age and marital status; and socio-economic background is based on education, employment, ethnicity and place of residence (rural and urban). All these variables are assumed to have an impact on the contraceptive use behaviour. Furthermore, knowledge is part of the attitudes because through it a person will evaluate contraceptive use behaviour as positive or negative. This knowledge also is influenced by the background characteristics of a person.

The data set for this study comes from an empirical research conducted in the University Hospital Centre in Kosovo, the purpose of which was to analyse the individual reproductive behaviour of Kosovar women in the time of demographic transition. The research was conducted in 2006-2007 and the sample contained 1,000 woman in reproductive age (15-49) and active in reproductive process at the time of the survey.

4. Contraceptive behaviour

Following the conceptual model and variables in it, in general, the study is focused on the determinants that have influence on contraceptive use and is based on eleven methods, as follows: pill, IUD, injections, diaphragm, foam/jelly, condom, rhythm/abstinence, withdrawal, female sterilization, male sterilization and other methods, which had to be specified by women itself.

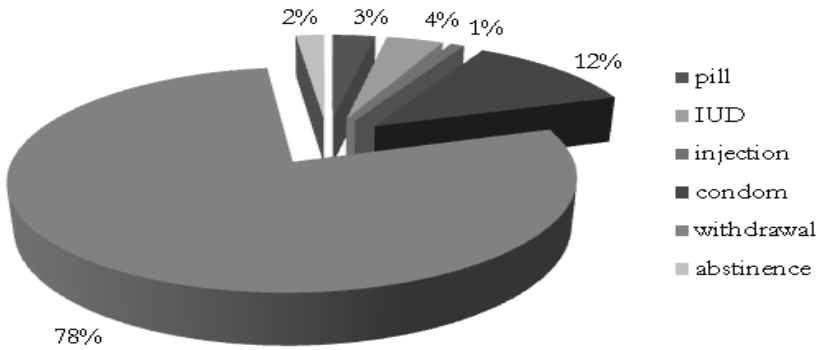
However, prior to results of these variables, let's see the level of contraceptive use among Kosovar Albanian women.

As variable, the **contraceptive use** has been identified with two terms; "ever used a method" and "currently using any method" during the time that the survey was conducted. Since the research was conducted in the hospital with woman that were active in reproductive process (giving births in the time of the survey), was not possible to analyse data related to *current user*. Hence, the analysis of data is related with the term *ever user*, in order to find the most used methods by woman in Kosovar society. Keeping in mind that from all methods in this survey (total 11), male sterilization, foam/jelly and other methods, which had to be specified by women, are excluded from the further analysis since they have no history of use among the surveyed.

As preliminary result related to contraceptive use we found that from all women in the survey who claimed to have knowledge at least for one contraceptive method (93.8%), 66.9% of them have ever used any methods at some time during their reproductive age. From all women who claimed that ever used contraceptives, just 19.1 % used modern methods, such as pill, IUD and condom and 98.7% used traditional methods, withdrawal especially, to prevent from unplanned pregnancies. This means that there are some women who combine methods and take part in both percentages in the same time.

The most striking feature of the data is brought out clearly in the Figure 2, where the percentage of the most used methods is presented. This graph clearly indicates the high percentage use of withdrawal as contraceptive method, which certifies the level of traditionalism of Kosovar society.

Figure 2. Percentage of the most used contraceptive method



Source: Empirical research conducted in the University Hospital Centre in Kosovo, author's calculation

In addition, women who did not use any contraceptive methods (33.1 %) were asked to specify the reasons of it. For 21.7% of women the reason was that they "want a child" and for other 6 % "do not have sufficient knowledge about contraceptives". Other reasons with lower percentages mentioned by women were fear from sterilization, their husbands rejected, they were unsuitable for use and they did not need it.

Furthermore, according to the conceptual model, the analysis further states the determinants that may influence the contraceptive behaviour, divided into two groups: value orientation and external variables.

4.1. Contraceptive use according to value orientation variables

The value orientation variables are a group of variables relevant to theory, which help us to develop our research by giving a clear picture or understanding of human communication and human behaviour. This set of variables include the results about knowledge (which includes attitudes toward behaviour), influence by others (relevant to subjective norms) and place of obtaining them (related to perceived behavioural control).

The analysis about *knowledge* is done based on the item "ever heard about each method" by women in the reproductive age (15-49) and we found that from all women in the survey, 93.8% claimed to have heard at least for one contraceptive method. The positive side is that majority of respondents have heard about the most efficient methods, which are known as modern methods. These methods are IUD, with 92.9%, pill, with 80.4%, condom, with 67.6% and injection, with 54.3%. Inconsistent to the modern efficient methods, all respondents who claimed to have heard about one contraceptive method have heard about withdrawal, which is known as a traditional method and actually is not considered as particularly safe.

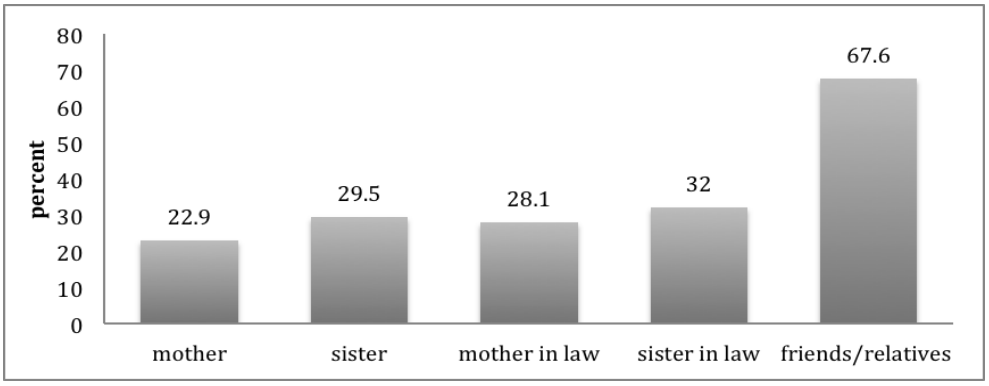
This variable, derived from the item "ever heard for each method", makes it hard to have a clear picture of women's knowledge about each contraceptive method. In the survey, they were asked just to underline the ever-heard method, but not to react on knowledge about it. Based on this indicator it could be noted that all women in Kosovo have the same level of knowledge about contraceptives. For instance, 80.4% of women know about pills, but it is not measured whether they knew about the way of using them, about the length of the usage, about their side effects, etc. Furthermore, based on this indicator, the existent discrepancy between the level of knowledge and usage of contraceptives among Kosovar women can be understood.

The variable of subjective norms helps us to understand the **influence by others** in contraceptive use as behaviour outcome. This is being done using

the questions "in the last years/months, have you discussed family planning with your friends, neighbours or relatives" and "using contraceptive is mainly your: own decision, husband/partner decision or a joint decision".

Related to the first question, whether women discuss the family planning with others, we note that from all women who claimed to ever use contraceptives, 58.4% responded with "yes" and 41.3% responded with "no". Those who answered yes, discussed together with their husband as well as with others. From the options, women responded with friends/relatives 67.6%, with sister-in-law 32%, sister 29.5%, mother-in-law 28.1% and mother 22.9% (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Percentage of discussion contraceptive use with other



Source: Empirical research conducted in the University Hospital Centre in Kosovo, author's calculation

By elaborating further the analysis of this variable, to see the influence by others for each contraceptive method, we found that all women included in the survey that claimed to discuss family planning methods with husband/partner, use withdrawal as the main contraceptive method, then it can be combined with IUD, pill and condom. In the second group are friends/relatives, the influence of whom is mainly focused on the traditional methods, withdrawal and rhythm/abstinence. From the nature of these traditional methods, this figure simply includes advice. In the third group are others (mother, mother-in-law, sister, and sister-in-law), whom influence is focused on withdrawal and IUD. It is interesting to see that none of these groups of people suggest the usage of pills, furthermore, the mother-in-law do not pay any influence at all for any modern methods.

The second question, "using contraceptive is mainly your: own decision, husband/partner or a joint decision", was used to see the decision and impact of women in the intimate issues. In connection with this, 73% of women who ever used contraceptive responded that it was a joint decision, 26% that it was husband/partner's decision and just 1% that it was their own decision.

The last value orientation variable is place of obtaining methods by women in the survey and it is based on the item "obtaining method in the last time", where respondents had three main possible answers with more sub-answers. The main sources were public sector, then private sector and others, as third option.

From the study of this variable, we found out that some women use more than one place to obtain methods. From the above-mentioned sources for obtaining contraceptives, the main one is the private sector, which is used by almost 74.8% of women in the survey. The most used from this sector are pharmacies. The public sector appears to be less important in this issue, being used by 10.6% of respondents. A key player among these is government health centres. Than in the third group are other sources, used by 14.6% of women. In this category, the majority of respondents mentioned friends or relatives. This could be an additional fact that proves that friends can give just an advice for traditional contraceptive methods, or withdrawal.

4.2.Contraceptive use according to external variables

As it is mentioned in the conceptual model of this study, external variables play an important role in the contraceptive use behaviour. This group is divided into demographic and socio-economic background variables. Demographic background refers to age and marriage, and socio-economic backgrounds refer to education, employment and place of residence (rural/urban areas).

4.2.1. Demographic background variables

From all women that have used contraceptive methods during their reproductive period, we find out that adult women use more contraceptives than young women. Number of women who use contraceptives is twice higher than those who do not use, within age groups 20-24 and 25-29. It is supposed that these are women who have not achieved the desired family size yet, therefore they are just taking care for birth interval. Contraceptive usage rise to a peak at ages 35-39, where 66.2% are using contraceptives. Almost the same percentage remains through the rest of the reproductive period, which demonstrates a continuing desire to reduce fertility or the achievement of the desired family size.

Studying the type of contraceptives by age, we find more or less the same level of use, as described in the first part of the results section. The most used method for all age groups is withdrawal, which is used more than twice higher compared to IUD for age groups up to 30 years and more than four times higher for age groups below 30 years. The second most used method is condom, which has almost the same level of usage for all age groups.

Regarding the marital status, in the Albanian society children out of wedlock are not recognized by society, therefore the research is done with married women. So, the length of the marriage replaces the variable of marital status.

As a result we found that the level of contraceptive use is increasing with the length of marriage. In the first year of marriage women do not use contraceptives. This result proves that in the Albanian society women are expected to give birth in the first year of marriage. After this, women start using contraceptives in order to control birth spacing and then after 6-10 years of marriage use them to stop deliveries. During this time a peak of usage is recorded. Then, later this period the level of usage is decreasing again. It is supposed that woman continue deliveries due to non-preferable sex of existing children (mainly achieving a boy in the family), achieving desired number of children (including healing from infertility and late deliveries) or reduction of reproductive ability.

By analysing contraceptive use by type and length of marriage, we find that except withdrawal that is used among all categories, for the modern contraceptive methods, women with less than 6-10 years of marriage prefer condoms, while those above this category prefer IUD, pills and injections.

4.2.2. Socio-economic background variables

Women's education is defined as the "highest level of education completed" and according to the questionnaire, respondents could answer in one of six levels of educating: no education, primary education, secondary education, university degree and superior.

This variable shows that high-educated women use more contraceptives than low educated women. For instance, almost 80% of high-educated women (category of university and superior) have used contraceptives during their reproductive age, almost 50% of women with secondary school, while women with lower levels of education, primary school and no education, have the lowest percentage, around 10%.

In addition, by studying the level of education and contraceptive use by type we find similar results as before. The most used method is withdrawal, but

it is interesting that high-educated women mention the rhythm/abstinence for the fist time. It is normal because the usage of this method requires higher level of knowledge, since the woman has to know about biological changes in her body during the cycle. Low educated women do not use this method, and high-educated women do not use IUD and injection.

When the relation between the employment status and contraceptive usage is observed, it is found that employed women used more contraceptives than unemployed women. For both categories, withdrawal is the most used method, but the difference is within modern contraceptive methods. Employed women used rhythm/abstinence and pills while unemployed used IUD and injections.

It is very clear that the life circumstances affect the vital components of life. The way of life in rural environments requires greater number of children, while in urban environments is the opposite. Based on this, women in urban areas take care for number of children and birth interval, so they are using contraceptives in a greater extent. In rural areas women give births continually, sometimes till the end of their reproductive age, therefore the level of contraceptive use is very low. The similarity between urban and rural women is the high level of traditional methods, specifically the use of withdrawal; and the difference is that women in urban areas use twice more modern methods, than women in rural areas.

5. Conclusions and discussion

Notwithstanding that this study is a good starting point to understand the determinants that have an effect on contraceptive use, but the data used for this study do not cover all factors that might influence the contraceptive use and therefore there is need for further research.

Our results show that the most used method among Kosovar women is withdrawal. This method belongs to the traditional contraceptive methods, it is not considered a particularly safe method and it is used by majority of women. Hence, further research is required to find out the reasons for such a high usage of withdrawal as contraceptive method, in a way to see what can be done to increase the usage of modern contraceptive methods, which are known as much more effective than traditional ones. On the other side, regarding knowledge, there is a discrepancy between knowledge and use of contraceptives. Since this variable is measured from the item "ever heard method", it could not really measured the level of knowledge about contraceptives among Kosovar woman. In addition, in the part of "way of obtaining methods", a considerable share of respondents claimed to obtain the

contraceptives from friends or relatives. Given the nature of the non-efficient contraceptive methods that are being used (withdrawal) in Kosovo, it is considered that this specifically includes advice. That is why further research could be done in order to find reasons for this and to see what can be done in the future, in the way to increase the providing of the contraceptive methods from adequate places.

Regarding variables that have an influence on the contraceptive use and are connected with the Theory of Planned Behaviour, we presented the results on subjective norms, perceived behavioural control and external variables, but we could not give a specific result on attitudes toward behaviour and intention for contraceptive use. This was because of the limitations of the empirical research data. Since attitudes drive behaviour, they are an important indicator in the contraceptive use because through them we get to see the people's personal positive or negative evaluation for using (or not) contraceptives. Moreover, by studying this indicator we can find whether the attitudes of people toward contraceptive use behaviour can change. In this point, our suggestions are focused on gathering data on attitudes and intentions, through which we see the willingness of people to use contraceptive and their motivation to control fertility.

Concerning the subjective norm, it is found that generally contraceptive use in Kosovo is a result of a joint decision, then husband's decision and at the end woman's decision. Furthermore, related to this variable, the vast majority of women claimed to have discussed family planning with husband/partner, regardless their background characteristics. These two facts certify that the husband/partner's influence is quite stronger when it comes to intimate decision. Further research is required in order to see whether the man's voice is the same among high educated, employed and urban women, compared with their counterparts.

In relation to the influence of women's background on contraceptive use, as a first result of this analysis we found that the marital status and its duration have the greatest influence. Older women who have been married for a long period use contraceptives in a greater extent than young women and those who are just married. This result leads us to think that unmarried women may be afraid to use contraceptives, especially the modern ones, fearing that they might have consequences for their future fertility. This happens because of misinformation or insufficient or incorrect information about contraceptives and the way of using them.

From the socio-economic background variables, we found that women in urban areas use more contraception than women in rural areas. Besides this,

in general in Kosovo women in rural areas are less educated and unemployed in a greater extent than women in urban areas. Moreover, we found that high educated and employed women use contraception more than less educated and unemployed women.

In the end, to fulfil studies about contraceptive means and methods, it is important to incorporate the influence of income and number of people per household. By studying the influence of income on the contraceptive use, we get to know the importance of economic situation in the family formation, and by number of people per household, we can complete the information about the subjective norms variables. Life in extended families is the way of living in Kosovo, where traditional norms and rules are present; we suppose that the influence of other family members (apart from the partner) on the contraceptive use can be high.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Dumănescu, Luminiţa. (2012), *Familia românească în comunism* [*The Romanian Family under Communism*], Cluj-Napoca: Cluj University Press, 250 p., ISBN 978-973-595-405-5.

The family was and remains one of the major pillars of society: it is a living organism that has always tried to adapt itself to the context in which its members live, to the modernisation, change and evolution of the surrounding world. In the post-war period, the foundations of the traditional family were replaced by a new type of family union, shaped mainly by the phenomena of urbanisation, industrialisation and ideology-driven education. The historiography of approaches to the totalitarian regimes became quite rich in the 1990s, but there are few works, if any, dedicated to the family and to the Romanian communist family, in particular, compared with the sheer amount of writings that explore the political and economic aspects of the aforementioned period.

The book entitled *The Romanian Family under Communism*, which saw the light of print at Cluj University Press in 2012, is conceived not only as a scholarly work, but also as a study intended for the general public, through the topic it explores, the captivating manner in which its arguments are presented to the reader, and the well-documented and exceptionally illustrated information. Through her work, the writer seeks to create a favourable two-tiered framework (sociological and historical) for conducting research on the family under communism - a subject of particular relevance for the mentality of the current era.

Luminiţa Dumănescu, the author of this work, is a scientific researcher at the Centre for Population Studies of Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca and teaches a course on *The History of the Family and Childhood*, as part of the Joint European Master's Program in Children's Rights hosted by the Faculty of Sociology and Social Work. She has an undergraduate and a PhD degree in History and her research area focuses on the study of the Transylvanian Romanians' childhood in the second half of the 19th century; in addition to this, with the launching of the SOPHRD project "Postdoctoral Programs for Sustainable Development in a Knowledge-Based Society" (2010-2012), the author turned her attention to studying the family, and the present book represents the systematised outcome of this research effort.

The work is structured into five main chapters, which attempt to capture: the historical evolution of the concept of family; the legislative framework of the family, presented from the Civil Code of 1865 until the

Family Law enacted after 1990; the demographic changes that have entailed the dismantling of the traditional family; the demographic theories about the family or the impact of industrialisation on its spatial and socio-professional mobility; the changes the family has undergone as regards the Romanians' matrimonial behaviour and dwelling environments. The book ends with an overview of the paradoxes of this intensely contested period and with an abstract in English, which propels the impact of this research into a broader intellectual space.

What is noteworthy is the author's desire to introduce the reader, from the very first pages of the book, into the atmosphere of the subject, by presenting an overview of the family from a legal and legislative standpoint. The contours of this image were very well outlined from the 19th century on and were directly influenced by a process of change, which inevitably contributed to modifying the behaviour and structure of the family as an institution and to altering patriarchal relations.

The establishment of the communist regime in Romania brought forth a reorganisation at all the levels of society, by fostering an "improvement" of the living standards, by regulating the fertility behaviour of the population through the enactment of laws and measures designed to ensure a satisfactory population growth, by supporting the phenomenon of population migration from the rural to the urban areas, generated by the forced industrialisation of cities, or by influencing interpersonal relationships, etc. The consequences of implementing the communist policies, which also served as principles that characterised and influenced the *new* family milieu form the nucleus of this book, whose analysis of the Romanians' matrimonial and reproductive behaviour brings up a new approach to the concept of reproductive life, charted in previous studies as "the nightmare of the abortion ban."

The private space of each person or family has always been an important element of quotidian life: the functionality of buildings has been different throughout all historical periods, not simply because of the distinct purpose they served in man's life, but also because of the variety of sources that exist on this topic. For instance, if before the modern era, the home represented solely a place of refuge, from the 19th century on and especially in the 20th century, it turned into a symbol of the coming together of well-coagulated groups, which specialised literature refers to as the family. Thus, the study of homes is another way to identify the mechanism of implementing the communist policies in the Romanian society. By directly approaching those who benefited from the advantages of "life in a block of flats," the author endeavours to understand and explain the negative perception of the

communist blocks in today's collective mentality, for which specialised literature uses the notorious term of "matchboxes."

This book - a study that relies on combining and comparing historical, sociological and demographic sources from the autochthonous and Eastern European spaces - represents a huge leap forward. Philippe Ariés was right to say that history means an unending dialogue between the present and the past. It is this vacillation between the past and the present that helps us become aware of the role and place the family had in communist society, bringing out into high relief the disparity that emerged between the ideological discourse and reality itself as the respect for individual rights and care for the family were cast aside, emphasis being laid on the development and implementation of socialist power. Luminița Dumănescu conducts a most thorough analysis, attempting and managing to provide the public with an objective approach to a topic that, by its very nature, is subjective. The author goes beyond anti-communist discourse, explores the paradoxes of an intensely contested period and answers the question "Whither the family?", conveying her own interpretation in the light of contemporary historiography.

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Erik Beekink and Evelien Walhout (eds.). (2012). *Frans van Poppel: A sort of farewell: Liber amicorum*. Hague: Nederlands Interdisciplinair Demografisch Instituut, Ando, 133 p., ISBN: 978-90-8780-000-0

Behold, a "book of friendship", scientific collaboration and recognition for a life spent in demographic discipline. This anniversary volume was written by prominent scientific colleagues and friends of Frans van Poppel, Senior researcher at NIDI in The Hague and Professor of Kinship Demography at the Department of Sociology at Utrecht University in honour of his 65th birthday.

The collection celebrates his lifelong devoted career, during which he tried to find the perfect balance between the quantity and quality on his main scientific field of work: family history, life course analysis and historical demography.

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The collection celebrates his lifelong devoted career, during which he tried to find the perfect balance between the quantity and quality on his main scientific field of work: family history, life course analysis and historical demography.

The topics chosen by the contributors signify the broad area that he has covered, and the content of these twenty-six short essays prove the scientific value he has added in Dutch as well as in international historical demography. The articles are uniformly of the highest intellectual and practical interest.

From a structural point of view, the book is divided in four parts, distinguished according to the research theme. The first cluster "Scope and Impact" aims to emphasize Frans van Poppel's influence as it was perceived or lived by specialists Dirk J. van de Kaa and Jan Kok, Simon Szreter and George Alter.

The much asked question: "what is the influence of Frans van Poppel in historical science and demography"? finds its myriad and different answers in the works of previously mentioned experts either as a result of personal reflections, scientific notes of Simion Szreter or as a bibliometrical analysis of George Alter.

Regarding second part, "date and methods"are reference points of these four essays. Although each researcher focuses his attention on diverse topics as: "The census and the historical demographer" (Peter Doorn); "Sex ratios in global historical perspective: Female surplus versus female deficit" (Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux); "Erasmus's monkey. Iconoclastic reflections on two developments in technical demography" (Ron Lesthaeghe); "25 Years of collaboration: The Historical Sample of the Netherlands and Links" (Kees Mandemakers), the attention given to gathering accurate information, to the use of appropriate methodology and continuous innovations needed in this area underlies the entire scientific endeavour.

Part three is reserved for fertility and nuptiality. The aim of Jan van Bavel contribution is to shed some light on "Law fertility, economic change and unemployment during the interbellum period" with descriptive data, based on Van Poppel specific study's regarding Netherlands and extend the conclusion for European countries, hoping to stimulate more sophisticated analyses in the future.

The next essay explains how the social and political system of historical China interplayed with individual and family characteristics to influence the chance of marrying. The third study points to an issue that is defined as foreign in today's Norwegian culture, but increasingly present from early 19th to 20th Century. Further studies explore the same themes taking into account several variables such as: conscription, religion, socio-economic status, geographical limitation and patterns. Examples: "Marriage and conscription in the Netherlands"(Pim Kooij); "Religious and socio-economic determinants of

fertility limitation by birth spacing: Result of the Historical Sample of the Netherlands" (Aart C. Liefbroer); "The West European marriage system in early modern Europe" (Tony Wrigley).

The last cluster systematizes nine essays on "aging and mortality"as a focal point. Perinatal and childhood mortality, life expectancy, longevity, elderly status, impact of famine and heat wave, each of these issues are puzzle pieces which gathered together help build an overview of mortality: "Neither alone nor neglected: The elderly in a 19th Century Italy" (Renzo Derosas); "Divergence of life expectancy and the epistemological transition theory" (Johan P. Mackenbach); "The impact of the 1911 heat wave on mortality in the Dutch province of Limburg" (Willibrord Rutten).

The book brings together a distinguished array of Professors and researchers of demography, economic history, sociology, history, human geography, social history, historical sociology, public health, public policy, who know both the man and his work and who are able to well portray both Poppel's historical demography but also Poppel's qualities as a amiable professor, colleague and example for younger scholars.

Besides highlighting the 'Popellian' spirit (in Jan Kok opinion) and his long lasting influence, the book offers insightful, penetrating essay, not only in terms of topics approached, but as a true model on what a good and unique demographic writing in a concise manner means. Also the whole book conveys the significance of joint work, presents new findings and insights and proposes new research and methodologies.

Frans van Poppel is not only a "perfect demographer"(Dirk J. van de Kaa) who has an insatiable interest in all the issues of a demographic nature, but especially a mentor and continue inspiration to those around him.

To conclude, the book confirms the age-old principle that says: to open the gates of the future, we must keep the keys from the past and underlines the importance of a retrospective look on the work of a lifetime of exemplary people.

No doubt, this *Liber amicorum* is not only a fine tribute to Frans van Poppel, but also a welcome addition to every historical demography library.

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