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Censuses between Population Statistics and Politics. The Romanian Press from Hungary and the Censuses between 1869 and 1910

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Abstract: The paper focuses on the censuses conducted within the Kingdom of Hungary (as part of Austria-Hungary) between 1869 and 1910, with the aim of highlighting the reaction of the Romanian population and society at the census procedures and results. Since population statistics represented one of the main gears of shifting the official demographic balance in favour of the Hungarians, each new census and the modifications brought by it, together with the results, opened the path for debates within the Romanian society, reverberating mostly in press articles. The newspapers' attitude and discourse grew more and more radical by the decade and technical statistical issues and definitions (e.g. the "mother tongue") were turned into subjects of debate, highlighting how the evolution of the censuses' categorization and classification system was perceived by a population who was, at the time, in a clear defensive position against the state.

Keywords: census registration, Hungary, second half of the 19th century, Romanian press

The paper focuses on the censuses conducted within the Kingdom of Hungary (as part of Austria-Hungary) between 1869 and 1910, with the aim of highlighting the reaction of the Romanian population and society at the census procedures and results. Since population statistics represented one of the main gears of shifting the official demographic balance in favour of the Hungarians (who only reached 50% of the country population in 1910), each new census and the modifications brought by it, together with the results, opened the path for debates within the Romanian society, reverberating in press articles, published books and correspondence. In this regard it will be interesting to see how rather technical statistical issues and definitions were turned into subjects of debate and how the evolution of the censuses' categorization and

classification system was perceived by a population that took, at the time, a clear defensive position against the state.

Transylvania is an important historical province of present-day Romania. Starting from the Middle Ages, several peoples settled here alongside the Romanians, including Hungarians, Germans, Jews, Armenians, Serbs, Slovaks, Gypsies, etc. Their presence among the Romanians was not uniform either in chronological terms (they came at different historical moments) or from a demographic perspective, as some settled in larger numbers, whereas others did so in smaller proportions. Thus, for centuries Transylvania had a population composed of three numerically dominant ethnic groups (Romanians, Hungarians and Germans) and six religions: Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Greek-Catholic, Calvinist (or Reformed Evangelical), Lutheran (or AC Evangelical – of Augustan Confession), Unitarian and Mosaic.

From 1700 to 1867, Transylvania was included in the territorial-administrative framework of the Habsburg Empire and, from 1867 on, of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (in Hungary). Thus, throughout all this time, economically and culturally Transylvania was part of Central Europe. Hungary, like Austria, the other member of the Dual Monarchy, was a very heterogeneous state, from both an ethnic and a confessional point of view.

From 1850 to 1910, the censuses organized by the authorities in Transylvania recorded the coexistence of Hungarians, Germans, Jews, Armenians, Gypsies, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Croats and Serbs alongside the Romanians – the majority population. In 1910, at the last census before the dismantlement of the Monarchy, the ethnic map of Transylvania indicated 55.3% Romanians, 34.6% Hungarians, 8% Germans, 0.2% Slovaks, 0.09% other minorities. Corresponding to this ethnic puzzle was the confessional diversity of Transylvania. While the Romanians belonged to the two denominations associated with their ethnicity – Orthodox (27.6%) and Greek Catholic (30.3%), the Hungarians and the Germans were divided between the Roman Catholic, Reformed, Evangelical and Unitarian confessions. The percentages indicated, for the same year, 1910, that 15.9% were Protestants, 13.5% Roman Catholics, 7.9% Evangelical, and 3% Unitarians. The Israelites accounted for 2.5% (Bolovan, Bolovan 2003: 191-194).

Up until World War I, the members of the administration and the policy makers in Transylvania were mostly Hungarians and Germans. Starting from the 14th century, the Romanians had been gradually barred from the political, economic and cultural benefices of the state they lived in, making a scarce return at the end of the 19th century, but without occupying leading positions, except accidentally. Paradoxically, considering the situation

suggested by figures and percentages, the Romanians, who represented the majority, occupied inferior economic and social positions to those of the Hungarian minority, which had assumed the political and administrative leadership of Transylvania, controlling, at the same time, access to most economic resources. Summing up, the Romanians, who were the majority in Transylvania in terms of numbers and percentages, were actually a minority in Hungary, part of the dual monarchy, whereas the Hungarian minority in Transylvania paradoxically enjoyed a social, economic and cultural status that was superior to that of the Romanian majority.

This situation was a permanent cause of tension and conflict, exacerbated by the nationalism exhibited by both the Hungarians and the Romanians. On the one hand, the Hungarian state authorities conducted a sustained, well-articulated Magyarisation policy targeted at the other ethnic populations. This, however, was perceived as a violation of their national rights. One of the main vehicles for the artificial increase in the number of the Hungarian population was represented by the censuses carried out every ten years, during which, by various methods, members of other nationalities could be registered as Hungarians. Of course, such strategies were indicted, at that time, in the discourse of the Romanian opinion leaders, who condemned those practices and attempted to educate the Romanian population in the spirit of avoiding the traps set during the census process.

Our research aims to identify how that discourse evolved at the level of journalism, as the press was one of the most important vehicles for educating the masses in the second half of the 19th century. Initially we looked for echoes of the debates on these issues in books and correspondence, but the information we found was rather general and bore little relevance for the research, so we decided to focus our attention on the press. Moreover, as will be seen, even the press failed, at times, to provide the information we would have expected before starting research. In particular, in this study, we intend to examine:

- how the approaching moment of the census was promoted in the press;
- whether the Romanian opinion leaders attempted to educate the population with a view to accurately registering the persons of Romanian ethnicity in the census;

- how the post-event discourse, which analysed the first results of the censuses and census procedures, was structured;
- the diachronic evolution of the three aspects mentioned above, from 1869 to 1910.

Journalistic discourse before the censuses

The first census of the dualist period, conducted by the Hungarian, not by the Austrian state, started on 3 January 1870, but was considered to represent the statistical situation from 31 December 1869. An important aspect of the census taking process was the omission of the rubric concerning the *nationality* or the *language* of the respondents. Although the Hungarian Council of Statistics requested the inclusion of these headings, the policy makers refused, lest the poor preparation and the bias of the local officials should tamper with the census results (Varga E. Á.). There were voices even among the Hungarians that condemned this lack (*Federațiunea* 1869, 142: 577) but in the Romanian press, aside from the efforts and parliamentary interventions of the Member of the Parliament Dr. Iosif Hodoș reflected in the newspaper *Federațiunea* (*Federațiunea* 1869, 142: 576; 1870, 28: 108), we have not identified a coherent discourse of protest. The analysis of the main Romanian periodicals of the time (*Albina*¹, *Federațiunea*, *Transilvania*, *Familia*, *Gazeta Transilvaniei*, *Telegraful Român*) highlights the fact that the Romanian elite granted little attention to this issue, probably because although it represented a lack, it did close the path to abuse. It should be noted that in order to compensate for the lack of rubrics such as *nationality* or *language*, the government resorted to a statistical artifice, reviewing the school population in keeping with the linguistic and confessional criterion and then extrapolating the results to the level of the entire country, using the convergence of the data about confession offered by the general and the school censuses. The results featured a dose of statistical error and were subsequently reviewed and recalculated, taking into account also the data of the 1880 Census (Varga E. Á.).

The Census from 1880, conducted from 1 to 10 January 1881, introduced rubrics concerning the *mother tongue* and *other languages spoken* by the enumerated person. For younger children, however, it was accepted that their mother tongue could be different from their parents' language (it could be the language of the tutors, which children usually spoke) and toddlers under two years of age were not censused linguistically, the error being later partially corrected by statistical calculations. Also, the definition of the *mother tongue* certainly raised problems and made room for statistical inaccuracies, as we shall

¹ With gaps, because of the incomplete collection.

see. This time, the Romanian press gave ampler space both to the normative dimension of the event (the publication of the census form and the related instructions) and to the instruction of the Romanian public as to how the rubrics should be filled out correctly. As expected, the periodicals of some institutions that could incur direct repercussions from the Hungarian government, such as the Orthodox Archbishopric of Sibiu, adopted a more neutral tone, while the periodicals of the radical political leaders manifested themselves more vehemently.

Telegraful Român, the official newspaper of the Romanian Orthodox Archbishopric of Sibiu, limited itself to highlighting the normative part of the census process, explaining the procedure in the particular situations of the transhumant shepherds, emigrants and nomadic Gypsies, without mentioning anything about the new rubrics and the fill-out procedure (*Telegraful Român* 1880, 150: 598). *Observatoriul*, however, a newspaper that was under the patronage of George Barițiu, an important political leader of the Romanians, drew attention to the statistical tendency of increasing the number of the Hungarian population throughout the decade that had just ended, suggesting that the local Romanian leaders (priests, teachers, mayors) should pay attention to the census process and that wherever there was a suspicion of fraud, they should compare the figures from the parish conscriptions and from the official statistics. *Observatoriul* published a note in which it drew attention to the fact that the census was drawing near and to the dangers that hampered the proper registration of data. It gave the example of small children who spoke only the nanny's language, which was different from the language of their parents – so they were to be censused as having the nanny's language, not the mother's as their mother tongue (*Observatoriul* 1880, 96: 386). Another article started from the observation that the census would face real difficulties because people would try to evade the census for tax reasons. In this context, Barițiu launched a call to people exerting their civic spirit, but he also urged the defence of the national identity:

“Do not hide, Romanians, the number of souls, for it will not be of any use; but you must not suffer to have your names written down under other languages and other laws; do not sell out your blood like Jacob's sons sold their brother Joseph lest you should have to pay the price of a new slavery”. (*Observatoriul* 1880, 98: 394).

The 1890 Census (1-10 January 1891) largely followed the questionnaire and the practices of the one from 1880. The discursive models used in the

Romanian press remained unchanged as well. Within the span of one decade, one could see that in the case of *Telegraful Român*, even though there had been a radical change of the editorial board, the same cautious attitude prevailed: the mouthpiece of the Orthodox Archbishopric published only the rules for filling out the census forms by the family heads, without venturing into considerations that were too detailed (*Telegraful Român* 1890, 132: 530). By contrast, the radical press, represented by *Tribuna* this time, resumed the cautionary discourse warning of the dangers raised by the poor interpretation of the syntagm *mother tongue* and by the practice of registering small children or subordinated persons (apprentices, servants) as Hungarians:

“that way the world will be amazed by the figures of the Hungarians in this state, where everyone who can mutter a few words in Hungarian can pass for a Hungarian”. (*Tribuna* 1890, 290: 1159).

The 1900 (1-10 January 1901) and 1910 (1-10 January 1911) censuses brought forth a significant change: from now on, the *mother tongue* was not defined as the language learned in the family by the respondent, but as the language spoken ordinarily (Varga E. Á.). This opened the path for abuses during the process of data gathering and to interpretative distortions in their analysis. In other words, it officially, not just informally, as before, opened the path for people of other ethnicity than the Hungarian one to be subsequently calculated as Hungarians on account of the fact that they commonly used Hungarian in the workplace, in business, etc.

The press released periodic warnings against this situation, reminding that the law allowed respondents to complete the forms in their own language. Romanians were advised, therefore, to complete the required information in the Romanian language, in order not to offer to the officials the opportunity to report a higher number than the actual, of Hungarians (*Tribuna poporului* 1900, 236: 1).

Against this danger, the Romanian Metropolitans Ioan Mețianu (Orthodox) and Victor Mihály of Apșa (Greek-Catholic) decided, at the end of 1900, to organize a church census in areas under their authority, in order to confront the obtained figures with official data (*Tribuna poporului* 1900, 238: 1).

The census of 1900 had little echoes in the media. The one of 1910, however, generated more opinions and standpoints expressed through journals. One can notice, in press, a real “battle of figures”, in an attempt to anticipate the results of the census. The press published various calculations that attempted to demonstrate the impossibility that Hungarians have become

as numerous as to be dominant in Hungary. Romanian elite, therefore, sought to respond to similar initiatives published in the Hungarian press, which displayed an anticipatory excitement to the census results (*Tribuna poporului* 1900, 270: 3).

In this context, doubt was expressed that the government will try every possible means to distort the census results, and to record inaccurate data. To prevent this anticipated danger, the Romanian elite issued repeatedly warnings and guidance. A good such example can be found in *Tribuna poporului*, at the end of 1910. Therefore, intellectuals in the villages were reminded that it was their duty, *a duty of dignity and conscience*, to explain to the people how to properly proceed during the census, to prevent the fraud. The heads of households had the duty to declare, to officials, the correct number of people in the family, and to be careful that information on religion, language, the knowledge of reading and writing, were reported correctly in forms, exhorted otherwise to protest vigorously. The reason for these initiatives was the importance of the number of members of the Romanian nation in the struggle for due political rights:

“And the only way we can impose and we can fight back our rights, if we are gripped by the Romanian conscience and faithful of our Churches”. (*Tribuna poporului* 1910, 272: 3).

Paradoxically for the political and social climate of the time, the censuses of 1900 and 1910 had, with few exceptions, weaker echoes in the press, including in newspapers which, when it came to other subjects, proved to be rather caustic. References to the regulatory aspects of the census process continued to be made:

“The conscriptions that are conducted now are considering higher state interests, comparative studies, which show the progress or regress proportion of our country in relation to other countries and even to its own past”. (*Unirea* 1910, 52: 425).

In the same register, priests were urged to explain, in turn, to the parishioners the importance of the census and the need to respond in keeping with the truth, providing assistance to the enumerators, as good connoisseurs of the local realities (*Unirea* 1910, 52: 425).

Analytical anticipatory assessments remained, however, general and close to the positivist spirit that dominated the era. *Telegraful Român*, for example, expressed the idea that censuses had to be a way to obtain a true mirror of a society from many vantage points and it was considered that

statistical data, as dry as they were, could reveal the material and cultural state, the strengths and weaknesses of a people. The same newspaper mentioned that the recording process was manipulative, so that the population of Hungarian ethnicity would seem larger than it actually was; among these methods were mentioned the recording of those who could speak Hungarian as Hungarians even if they belonged to a different ethnic group, or of those whose names had been Magyarised under the civil legislation introduced in 1895 (*Telegraful Român* 1900 136: 561).

Journalistic discourse after the censuses

As mentioned before, the Romanian press had not paid much attention to the preparations for the 1869 Census, the same interest being manifested for its results. Only in the western areas were there published general statistical results (population figures) of some counties (*Federațiunea* 1870, 145: 590, 14: 53, 19: 74, 27: 106) or localities (*Federațiunea* 1870, 19: 74, Rotariu, Semeniuc 2008) – perhaps where the correspondents of the publication had had access to preliminary calculations. The data were generally close to the final results, with minor differences, probably caused by the omission or inclusion, as appropriate, of non-local residents.

In 1881, the first results were published shortly after the completion of the census, in the western areas (Arad County). The string of figures, more or less consistent with the final results of the census, had the same objective: emphasizing the demographic regression in many areas inhabited by Romanians and explaining it through the bivalent policy of the Hungarian government, which did not render public services to the nationalities in keeping with the share of their contribution to supporting the state (*Biserica și Școala* 1881, 7: 49-50).

The attention of the Romanian press did not eschew the inconsistencies of ethnic registration based on the *mother tongue*, which was the subject, in Timișoara, for example, of refined journalistic satire:

“If the enumeration were true and accurate, the Romanians would really need to despair. This masterly enumeration shows that those for whom Romanian is the mother tongue are not more than: in Josefin no one, in Maieri [...] 7,² whereas we do know that the family of Mr. [Mari]enescu, Calaceanu, Januti, Mih. Seracu and so on live in Josefinu”.
(*Luminatoriulu* 1881, 1: 4).

² Damaged sheet.

In the same context of demographic regression, the announcements of the Hungarian statisticians, according to whom the country's population was undergoing a process of Magyarisation, were also lampooned:

“The result of the people's enumeration shows that in all the Romanian and also in the German villages from the county of Timișoara, the female sex are more numerous than the male; the second evinced a tremendous decrease of the population [...] In some of the villages the decline is downright terrible [...] Perhaps the most vexing contention of the gentlemen in power is ‘that the people are undergoing Magyarisation’— in the sense that yes, many have emigrated to Asia!”. (*Luminatoriulu* 1881, 6: 4).

Moving from satire to critical analysis, *Luminătoriul* from Timișoara, edited by the lawyer Dr. Paul Rotariu, found that, indeed, according to the preliminary results, the population had declined in eastern Hungary, in the areas inhabited by Romanians. In this context, the attitude of the authorities was condemned, as the latter had claimed that the causes of this demographic decline were the ‘drunkenness and lack of culture’ of the Romanian people. Furthermore, the publication attacked the policy waged by the governments of Hungary, considered to be directed towards the destruction of the *political* and *moral* existence of the Romanian people. It showed that the system of the ‘Hungarian political nation’ impeded the natural social evolution of the Romanian ethnic nation, giving rise to divisions within the latter when its members were integrated into structures pertaining to the state authority:

“The Romanian has the right to be a civil servant, but even when accessing this status, he is not allowed to partake of the fate of his co-nationals; he, the civil servant, should not meddle in politics, should not adhere to the political principles of his co-nationals, for this is a political crime. In other words: politics snatches the Romanian civil servant and takes him from the bosom and heart of his people, isolating him; the Romanian people, because of politics, can never have any use of its blood, its sweat, its sweet sons. [...] Let us note, therefore, rounding things up, that the law, for the Romanians, is not that gentle chain that will gather them in the bosom of the motherland, but a shackle on their hands, feet and lips [...] and these are the causes of the decay of the Romanian people?”. (*Luminatoriulu* 1881, 21: 4).

Last but not least, one of the important causes of the Romanians' demographic regression was emigration – also a result of the poor socio-economic policies undertaken by the government in Budapest (*Familia* 1881, 7: 44).

Even after the 1890 Census, the Romanian journalistic reactions were divided between publishing statistical data, accompanied by cursory interpretations (*Biserica și Școala* 1890, 2: 14-15; *Telegraful Român* 1891, 4: 15) and extensive analyses. This time even *Telegraful Român*, the advocate of a more moderate discourse, took a stand, claiming that the main cause of the Romanian population's decrease was the phenomenon of labour migration to Romania. The measures proposed to curtail this phenomenon were, above all, economic, intended to develop the peasants' inclination towards sedentary activities (agriculture, cattle raising) at the expense of semi-nomadic propensities, such as sheep herding or cross-border trade (*Telegraful Român* 1891, 7: 55).

The climax of this critical discourse was reached after the announcement made, in the Hungarian Parliament, by the head of Hungarian Royal National Institute of Statistics, Kelety Károly, according to whom the preliminary results indicated the fact that the Hungarians had exceeded, finally, the 50th percentile threshold of the population in Hungary. The announcement was inaccurate (the Hungarians would slightly exceed 50% only at the 1910 Census) and was probably intended to raise the political capital of the Tisza government, which had been on the decline, but managed only to produce vehement, satirical reactions, even in *Telegraful Român*:

“The head of the statistics office, in his great wisdom, has revealed that the Hungarian element has made great progress in Hungary. The Hungarians have allegedly increased their ranks, which no one would have thought. More than half of the population are Hungarians, meaning the ones with sideburns [Jews a.n.], renegades [non-Magyars registered as Hungarians by mother tongue, a.n.] and neorustics [Gypsies, a.n.]”. (*Telegraful Român* 1891, 16: 61).

In the same vein, *Tribuna*, the most radical Romanian political newspaper in Transylvania, harshly chastised the deviation of the censuses from their purely statistical purpose:

“One is the purpose of the people's conscription and another is followed here in its case. Conscriptions are made to know the true state of the population and ascertain, based on it, what should be done to eschew the evils that are

opposed to the normal development of the populace and what should be done to promote a favourable natural development. Here, however, the conscription is made to obscure the true state of the populace. It is made so that based on it rights may be conferred to a few people, which are turned into non-rights for a great many other people, even though both kinds are citizens of the same state and have to carry out the same duties” (Tribuna, 1891, 28: 109).

After the 1900 Census, the reactions in the press were mainly of two categories. The majority of topics referred to the way the census was carried out - namely, suspected fraud, or even specific cases in which data collection was biased, in order to manipulate the final results.

One of the most frequently reported situations was the recording of other ethnicities as Hungarians, using the criterion of the most frequently spoken language (in Transylvania, being a multiethnic space, frequently happened that ethnic Romanians, Germans, etc. to routinely speak Hungarian, especially in mixed marriages, or at work; despite of it, those people did not consider themselves as “Hungarians”).

In other cases, in some villages the census officials took advantage of the illiteracy of residents, and of the lack of attention or inaction from the local priest or teacher, and recorded as “Hungarians” people of other ethnicities. One such case was reported in the Plains, where an entire village with compact Romanian population was registered as an Hungarian village, with Hungarian as mother tongue (*Gazeta Transilvaniei* 1901, 10: 1). There were, however, places where these maneuvers were noticed by the village priest, who protested vigorously against it, thus preventing falsifying the data: The priest, noting this outrageous procedure, asked him [the census official] who gave him the right to record the mother tongue of the Romanian villagers as Hungarian. He responded in cold blood that *Hungarian is the language of all the inhabitants of Hungary*, asking what language could be, other than this? Finally, he corrected this mistake (*Gazeta Transilvaniei* 1901, 10: 2-3).

There were suspicions, also, that some members of the elite (doctors, lawyers, civil servants, etc.), other than of the Hungarian ethnicity, would be declared Hungarian as their mother tongue, for fear of losing their jobs (*Drapelul* 1901, 3: 2).

In these circumstances, concern was expressed that the number of Romanians occurred in records could be lower than in reality, moreover, lower than from the previous census, of 1890.

As for the 1910 Census, the newspaper that hosted most of the reactions was *Tribuna poporului*. It reported, on the one hand, many abusive situations related to data gathering in different localities. On the other hand, the newspaper gradually presented partial census data, with some conclusions according to circumstances.

The reported abuses were similar to those recorded in previous censuses: the registration as “Hungarians” of other ethnicities, pressures and threats against those protesting at these irregularities.

If most of the complaints referred to officials, there were, still, situations when even members of the Romanian elite contributed to falsifying data. One such example was in Porumbac village, where the local priest, put in charge of data collection by the authorities, registered the names of his countrymen in Magyarized form (*Tribuna poporului* 1911, 18: 7).

The obvious conclusion after the census seemed to be that, despite the efforts of authorities towards magyarization, the number of Hungarians was lower than of other ethnic groups, a situation sarcastically reported by the editors of *Tribuna*:

‘I’m afraid we will have some sad experiences after the census. From the chaos of incoming reports from the commissioners within the country, is already clear the bitter reality that shows a great increase of the number of the other ethnicities than Hungarians. The authorities knew this situation, but kept it secret, locked with seven locks, maybe they would deny it’.
(*Tribuna poporului* 1911, 6: 6).

As mentioned above, interest in the censuses of 1900 and 1910 seems to have been lower. *Tribuna Poporului* is the newspaper that appeared to have given the most of attention to censuses. In many other newspapers, the space for these events was much lower, the presentations more succinct, devoid of passion put into pages of *Tribuna*. There were present, during the first months after the census, articles that discussed the main statistical data (the number of population by ethnicity, confession, spoken language, degree of literacy, etc.), but avoided delving into interpretations and drawing conclusions.

Conclusions

Censuses were, in dualist Hungary, as elsewhere in the world, a product of modernization and scientific progress in the modern era, both endorsed by the state and advanced in the interest of the state. However, in the particular case of Hungary, the stakes of modernization and progress were placed primarily in

the service of one of cohabiting nationalities, to the obvious detriment of the others. Striving to achieve a demographic majority that would uphold the thesis of the Hungarians statistical pre-emption over the other cohabiting ethnicities, the censuses that were conducted from 1869 to 1910 pushed more and more the limit of defining and interpreting one of the key rubrics in the census forms: *language*. Originally avoided (1869) in the general census of the population (but deliberately inserted in school statistics in the same year), this entry appeared as *mother tongue* in 1880 and 1890, its meaning being officially extended, in 1900 and 1910, to the *language that the individual assumes and masters*. However, as evidenced by the press polemics, the unofficial implementation of this meaning had already begun, tacitly, in 1881.

Not incidentally, the question of the rubric concerning the *mother tongue* as a benchmark for estimating the weight of the nationalities in the Kingdom of Hungary, its definition and practice at the level of filling out the census forms sparked the strongest criticism in the Romanian press. Especially after 1880, the representatives of the Romanian National Party started to draw public attention, through their press organs, to the traps set by the recording of the native language. The mouthpieces of the two Romanian churches, Orthodox and Greek Catholic, also took a stand, but on a somewhat more moderate tone than the discourse of political journals.

Besides this “preventive” dimension of journalistic discourse on the censuses, which usually took centre stage 1-3 weeks before the event, there was also an analytical dimension, which came to the fore shortly after the publication of the first results. As the proportion of the Romanian population constantly regressed in the general demographic picture of Hungary, explanations were sought in the oppressive regime adopted by the Hungarian administration, which severely limited the progress of Romanian society as a whole, both by raising numerous impediments and through the phenomenon of acculturation/Magyarisation of a part of the elites (especially the bureaucracy). Another important cause of the phenomenon was emigration, whose roots also stemmed from the poor economic policies of the government.

The Romanian press did its job, throughout the entire period, trying to raise the public’s awareness on the issue of census registration procedures, on the census results and their interpretation. Articles have been written on these topics in the main Romanian newspapers, their tone depending on the relation between the journal owner and the State. The official newspapers of the two Romanian Churches were usually moderate, while the official gazettes of the Romanian National Party (RNP) took a more radical stand, and their discourse

grew in intensity along with the overall deterioration of the political relations between the Romanian national movement and the Hungarian governments. It is not by chance that the newspaper hosting the most and more radical reactions was *Tribuna Poporului*, which was run, at the moment, by the group of “steely young men” – the youngest and most radical wing of RNP. In this regard, one can state that the topic of censuses and population registration followed the same trend of radicalization on political grounds as most of the societal issues regarding the Romanians in Transylvania.

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The Seasonality of Mortality in Three Transylvanian Settlements in the Second Half of the 19th Century*

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Abstract: Demographic studies focused on various localities in late 19th century Transylvania have revealed a high death rate during certain seasons (in the wintertime and the beginning of spring) or even during certain months (June and July). The change in these rates has been attributed to the influence of various epidemiological factors, such as bronchopulmonary diseases fostered by cold environments.

This paper will contribute to the study of the seasonality of human mortality in Transylvania during the second half of the 19th century by focusing on three settlements with varied geographic, anthropological and social characteristics. The analysis will be based on parish records that have been included in the “Historical Population Database of Transylvania”, the only database of its kind in the region, and on late 19th century censuses. The paper will trace the influence of factors such as geographic location, occupation, gender, ethnicity and confession on the seasonality of mortality. Moreover, the analysis will include a discussion of the causes of death (epidemiological factors), correlated with the age-group distribution of mortality.

Keywords: seasonality of mortality, Transylvania, nineteenth century, population studies, historical demography, HPDT.

1. Introduction

In the 20th century historians started to become interested in studying how people died from different perspectives: cultural, anthropological and demographical. In the last perspective an important aspect is seasonality in human mortality because it is believed that death is influenced by the seasons (Bolovan 2000: 154). Though this subject flourished in the century mentioned, people were interested since the ancient time, Hippocrates was the first

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who approached this subject in his work “On Airs, Waters and Places” almost 2000 years ago (Rau 2005: 1). Among the authors who discussed this issue are Roland Rau (2005), who reviewed the correlation between mortality and seasonal variation in the historical populations and researched it in the present-day societies; Cameron Campbell, Tommy Bengtsson et al. (2004) compared all aspects of mortality between communities from northern Europe and communities from the Asian continent; from Transylvanian region Ioan Bolovan (2000) studied demographic events in this region and Corneliu Pădurean (2011) the causes of death in Arad from the second half of the 19th century.

A complex interplay of internal and external factors has continually influenced the ebbs and flows of historical communities, contributing to their growth in time or even reducing them to shadowy remnants of their hallowed past. During the 19th century, in many regions of Europe, mortality still functioned as a highly significant regulatory mechanism for population numbers. More so than its other demographic counterparts, death appears to have cultivated a different type of rapport with external factors, thus enabling the historian – and of course, the demographer – to better understand the correlative relation between environment and well-defined historical populations. Mortality and its facilitating factors – climatic, seasonal, and epidemiologic – have formed the object of historical demographic research since at least the early 19th century (Guy 1843: 133-150). Despite the proliferation of studies focusing on the influence of certain periods of the year on mortality rates (Rau 2007), or on the impact of climate change on the mortality of historical populations (Rocklöv 2014: 6940-6954), there remains much work to be done in this field.

2. Sources and Data

The purpose of this paper is to provide a bird’s-eye view of the characteristics of seasonality in human mortality at the end of the 19th Century in Transylvania, a multi-ethnic province of nowadays Romania. We have selected three communities with diverse and relatively complete parish records, overlapping for the period between 1887 and 1912. The parish registers – for Călărași, Orșova, and Muntele Rece – were included in the Historical Population Database of Transylvania, thus enabling a systematic, coherent, and representative view of human mortality in the late 19th and early 20th century in Transylvania. Additional information to support the arguments was provided by three censuses conducted in the region in 1890, 1900 and 1910. These settlements were diverse from both an ethnic and denominational perspective,

and due to their differentiated geographical localization, potentially provided three distinctive models of correlation between environment and the seasonality of mortality. However, similarly to other sources providing longitudinal data concerning mortality in this region, some gaps¹ in record-keeping were observed: in the case of Călărași, the vital events in question occurring in the Greek and Roman-Catholic population groups were only registered up to 1895. Civil state registers were used to supplement the analysis from both a confessional and a temporal perspective, allowing for the additional partial inclusion of the Calvinist (Reformed) community. These complementary sources however came with their own set of difficulties: as civil state registers did not record the causes of death, this aspect of mortality could not be traced for the Calvinist group and for the majority of the Roman-Catholic inhabitants of this settlement.

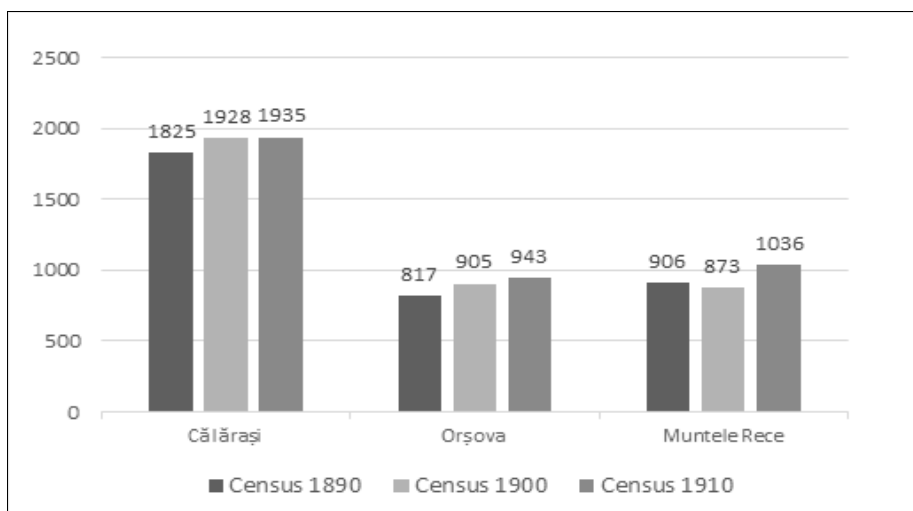
The data existing in the parish burial registers offers individual-level information such as gender, age, the month and year of burial. Through the aggregation of longitudinal individual-level data, the analysis revealed significant patterns in mortality: peak years, correlation between age-groups and mortality levels, as well as between epidemiological factors, age, and the seasonality of death.

The first community, Călărași, is a village situated on a flatland in the Turda-Arieș County, and was known in the studied period as Hărăstăș (Harasztos). It is currently part of the Cluj County administration. Census data from 1890, 1900 and 1910 reveals a slow but steady increase in population numbers: from 1825 in the last decade of the 19th century (Rotariu 2009: 152-153), to 1928 (Rotariu 1999: 262-265), and 1935, ten years after the turn of the century (Rotariu 2006: 248-251). The majority population was Romanian (of either Orthodox or Greek-Catholic denomination), followed by Hungarians (the majority of which adhered to Calvinism). During the three decades observed, no significant changes in the ethnic and denominational composition of the settlement occurred. According to the 1910 census the majority of the working population were farmers (709), 41 people were employed in industry, 12 in transportation, 19 provided public services and or were freelancers, 18 were active as day labourers and 20 worked as domestic servants (Rotariu 2006: 250-251).

¹ There were no events recorded for the years 1890 and 1894, while the accuracy and completeness of data for 1892 and 1898 is debatable: only 4, respectively 2 deaths were registered during these years.

Orșova is a village situated in Mureș County in a hilly area. In the period under study it was part of the Mureș-Turda County and was also known as Rușavan (Görgényorsova).

Figure 1. Population numbers in Călărași, Orșova and Muntele Rece



Source: Rotariu 2009; Rotariu 1999; Rotariu 1999-2006.

Population numbers increased from 817 in 1890 (Rotariu 2009: 264-265), to 905 at the turn of the century (Rotariu 1999: 450-453), reaching 943 by the end of the first decade of the 20th century (Rotariu 1999, 2006: 430-433). The majority of the population were Greek-Catholic Romanians. Some ethnic and denominational variety could be encountered in this settlement as well: the 1890 census recorded 19 Hungarian inhabitants, 5 of which were Roman-Catholics; 20 adherents of Lutheranism were also present in the village. However, by the time of the last census the number of the Hungarians was down to 8, only one of which was a Roman-Catholic believer. In 1910, the active population numbered 392 individuals: 358 were farmers, 11 were employed in industrial activities, 3 provided public services or freelanced, while 7 worked in domestic service (Rotariu 2006: 448-449).

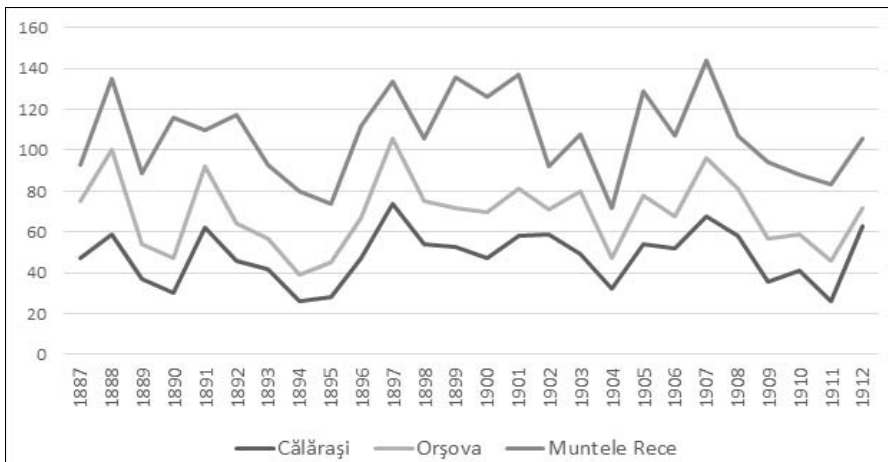
The third village, Muntele Rece (Hideghavar) is part of the Cluj County as well, and is situated in a mountain area. In the 1890 census the total population was 906, of which 905 were Romanians adhering to Orthodoxy (Rotariu 2009: 162-163); in the next two censuses the majority population

remained the same, as fewer than 10 individuals of different ethnicities and denominations were recorded at this time. As a result in 1900 the total population was 873 (Rotariu 1999: 278-281) and 1036 in 1910 (Rotariu 1999-2006: 264-267). Information recorded in the last census regarding the occupation of the villagers revealed that from a total of 1036 inhabitants, 409 were regarded as active. Of these, 356 worked in agriculture, 5 were employed in the industry, 2 in public service or were freelancers, 3 day labourers and 26 worked as domestic servants (Rotariu 2006: 268-269).

3. The annual evolution of mortality and gender differentiation

Various kinds of events could have an impact on mortality: diseases, natural disasters or accidents in which a large number of villagers were involved. Each of the three settlements in question witnessed both peaks and very low deaths rates during the 25 years of observation. In total from all these communities the highest number of deaths was registered in 1907 (144), while the lowest number of deaths was registered in 1895 (73 deaths). The annual evolution of mortality in these three communities presented some fluctuations between 1887 and 1912 as can be seen in the figure below.

Figure 2. The annual evolution of mortality in Călărași, Orșova, and Muntele Rece (1887 – 1912)



Source: Historical Population Database of Transylvania.

In Călărași the year 1907 marked the highest peak of mortality, with 68 deaths recorded. The majority of people who died were under 15 years: 17 were

infants and 25 children aged between 1 and 14 years. The next age category prone to witnessing a high number of deaths was that between 50 and 59 years: 8 individuals from this group passed away in 1907 in Călărași. For this year a noticeable increase in the average number of deaths can be observed in winter and spring: 9 deaths were registered in November, 6 in December, 8 in January, 7 in February and 8 in March.

In order to observe the potential factors lying behind this high level of mortality we focused on the causes of death. Although this information was unfortunately only recorded in 22 instances, we could confirm that no significant epidemics had taken place: 7 people died of pneumonia, one person died of the flu, one of meningitis and one of whooping cough. For the rest of the deceased the priest recorded the cause of death as „ordinary”. At the other end, the fewest deaths were registered in 1894 and respectively 1911 (26). It is however important to recall that records for 1894 suffered from under-registration and, as a result, the people who adhered to Calvinism were excluded from the analysis.

The years 1891 and 1912 also witnessed a high peak of mortality. In 1891, 62 people died: the largest age group categories were infants (26) and children under 15 years (22). A large number of deaths were recorded in March (11) and also in February and October, two months during which 8 people died. In the first year mentioned, 3 cases of hectic² were recorded and the rest of the people apparently died of natural causes. In 1912, the total number of deaths reached 63, with peaks in March (11) and July (10). Among these, two cases of pneumonia were recorded, while three infants perished of ‘childhood weaknesses.

In Orșova, 42 deaths were registered in 1888. The causes of death are again recorded as being natural (or ‘ordinary’), one person died of hydrops³, one died as a result of an accident and another person perished as a result of debility. The age-group distribution of death followed similar patterns to that in Călărași: the majority of events occurred in the infant (11) and children groups (11). 1891 marks another year with a high mortality level: of the 30 individuals who perished, 10 died in infancy while 11 perished after their first birthday, but before reaching 15 years of age. All of the deaths were recorded as being “ordinary”. 32 deaths were recorded in 1897, but with the exception of two persons who died of tuberculosis and one person who died of another

² “Hectic” is a word referring to fever, indicating that it was slow and long standing, (Rusu, 2010: 571).

³ “Hydrops” refers to the accumulation of liquids, through different mechanisms, at the level of certain cavities, some compartments from the organism or in the conjunctive tissue (Rusu, 2010: 590).

disease, the rest of the deaths were recorded as being natural. As can be seen in the graphic above, starting in 1903 the death level rises every two years, 1903, 1905, 1907, but these fluctuations cannot be accounted for in observing the causes of death, as a certain pattern of a specific disease cannot be found. In 1903 there was only one recorded case of tuberculosis, in 1905 two people died of tuberculosis, one of hydrops and 5 from pneumonia and in 1907 the causes of death vary from diarrhoea, diphtheria, whooping cough to tuberculosis. The year with the lowest number of deaths registered is 1912, with only 9 such events. The diseases which caused them vary from tuberculosis, hydrops, apoplexy and to diarrhoea.

The highest peak of mortality in Muntele Rece was registered in 1890 with 69 deaths. In the first three months of the year a total of 19 cases of influenza were recorded: 7 in January, 9 in February and 3 in March. The ages of the deceased vary from 1 to 69 years. An epidemic of the scarlet fever provoked the death of 23 people, 19 of whom were children aged between 1 and 14. Another year with a high death toll for this community was 1899 with 64 recorded deaths. 8 cases of influenza were encountered mostly in May and June, while 22 individuals, 14 men and 8 women, died of diphtheria. Of these, 20 were children under 15 years. The following year again registered with a high death toll, as 56 of the village inhabitants died. For 26 of them the cause of death was diphtheria, and 24 were children under 15 years. The last year with a high number of deaths is 1905, but except for one case of typhus, one woman who died at childbirth and a person who died of old age, the rest of the events were recorded as “natural”. The lowest number of deaths was registered in 1887 (17), while the second lowest death toll was encountered in 1891, when only 18 deaths were recorded. For both years the causes of death are natural or they are not recorded.

From the perspective of the overall gender differentiation of mortality, more events were recorded for male (1674) than for female individuals (1620). In Călărași and Muntele Rece the situation followed the same pattern, while Orșova was an exception, the situation being slightly reversed (285 women and 267 men died). While there were years in each community when more women died than men or vice versa, there was no observable differentiation that could be correlated to causes of death. Except for women who died at childbirth, other diseases did not affect a gender more than the other.

4. Age group distribution of mortality

During the 19th and early 20th century, Transylvanian rural areas were still heavily plagued by high levels of infant and child mortality (Bolovan 2000: 156). The same is the case for these communities, as mortality in both age groups represented between 26 and 29 percent of total deaths registered in each community. Over 54 percent of the total number of deaths (1502) was accounted for by children who died from the first hours of life and before reaching 15 years. Other age groups which stand out with high mortality are 60-69 year range in which 238 people died, 215 people with ages between 70 and 79, and 115 deaths in the 50-59 age group.

In the first community, Călărași, from the total number of 1248 deaths, 333 were infants and 359 children between 1 and 14 years. The highest number of infants who died is registered in 1891 when from 62 events, 26 were infants deaths. The year 1897 is the year in which the highest number of children under 15 years died in one year, 27. Regarding the causes of death, one child died of whooping cough, one of hectic, and one of stomach pain, while the rest are catalogued as “ordinary”.

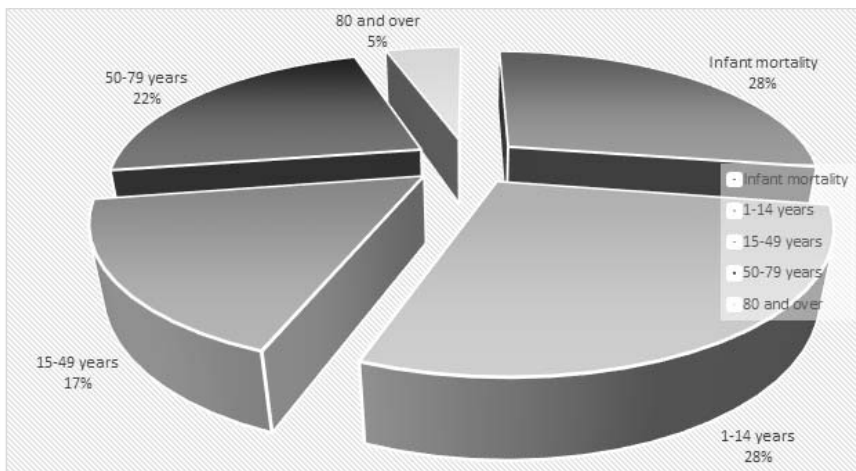
For Orșova the highest infant death toll level was registered in 1887, when 15 infants perished (from a total of 28). The cause of death (birth debility, in this case) was only specified for 11 of these deceased. The next year, 1888, is also marked by a high number of infant death, 11 (from a total of 42, the largest number of deaths ever registered), but only one infant died of debility, while the others were registered as “ordinary” deaths. Regarding children aged between 1 and 14 years, a peak was reached in 1903, when 15 individuals from this category died, while the second highest peak in this category was registered in 1888 (12 individuals). In 1903 all the children were registered as dying from an ordinary death. The same is the case for 1888, with the exception of one individual who died of hydrops.

In Muntele Rece in the time period covered by our study, 266 infant and 275 child deaths made up more than 56% of the total number of deaths (954). For infants the highest number of events occurred in 1907 when 19 infants died, two of which perished from child weakness. In 1908 a large number of infant deaths were also registered (18), but the cause of death, child weakness, was only specified in one case. For children under 15 years, 1890 is the year in which most children died, the same year in which the highest number of deaths were recorded. From 69 deaths, 34 were children under 15, influenza was responsible for 12 of them and an epidemic of scarlet fever for the remaining 19. Another year with a high death toll in the case of children is

in 1899, when 32 children died, 3 of influenza and 20 of diphtheria. In the next year another individuals in this age category died from diphtheria.

These staggering percentages – generally over 50% of all deaths in a community – suggest on the one hand that infant and child death levels were unaffected by the geographic layout of the village, and on the other, that the age factor played a more significant role than seasonality in fostering life-threatening conditions.

Figure 3. Age groups differences in mortality in all three communities

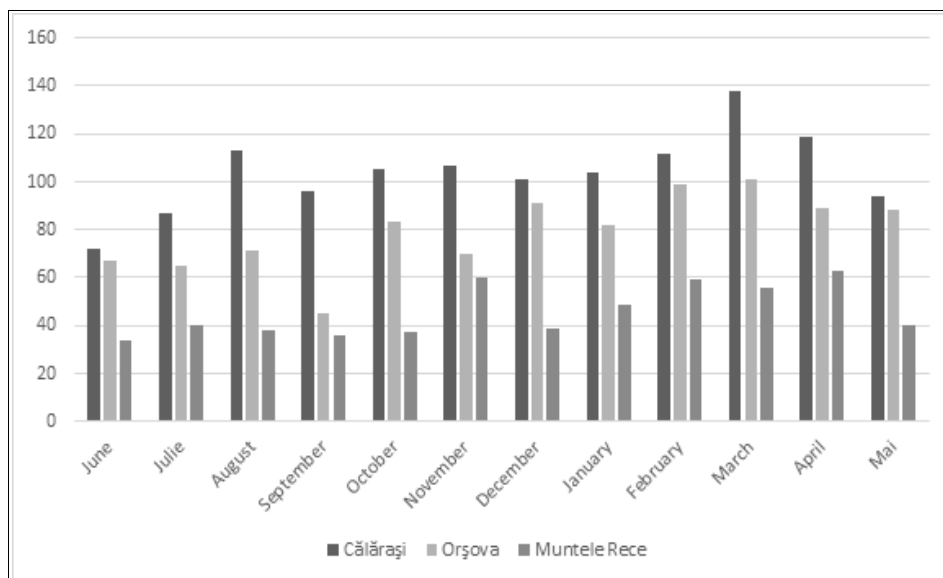


Source: Historical Population Database of Transylvania

5. The seasonal variation in mortality

As previous studies (Stepan-Bășoiu 2014: 141, Brie 2008: 315-317, Bolovan 2000: 154) have also shown, the death toll was higher in the winter and the spring seasons. The graph below reveals that the spring season is responsible for a noticeable increase in the number of deaths, as the high peak was registered in March with 295 recorded events. The lowest number of events occurred in June, when 173 individuals in all three communities taken as total were buried, and also in Călărași and Orșova separately. For Muntele Rece the lowest number is registered in September and the highest in February and March (101 deaths). March represents the month with the highest death rate in Călărași as well, while April marked the highest death rate in Orșova.

Figure 4. Seasonality movement in mortality



Source: Historical Population Database of Transylvania.

Analysing the moths with the high rate of mortality in Călărași and their characteristics, we shall start with March, the month in which 138 deaths were recorded. From these, 74 persons were men and 64 women. Regarding mortality on age groups in this month, 37 infants and 48 children with ages between 1 and 14 years were buried. Furthermore 13 people aged between 60 and 69 years perished, as this was the third age group in the death toll hierarchy. In order to find a potential reason for such a high peak for this month, we turned to the causes of death, but found that only 6 persons were registered to have died of pneumonia. The previous month, February, also stands out as having a high mortality level, 112, of which 59 were men and 53 women. Similarly to the previous month, there were high infant and child mortality rates: 31 infants died and 26 children under 15 years. For 9 individual pneumonia brought about death, and for 25 the cause of death is classified as ordinary. In April the high mortality level still persists: 119 people died of which 62 were men and 57 women. Most of them (42) were children in the 1 to 14 year range, and 27 infants, while 12 people with ages between 60 and 69 years and 6 in the 30-39 age group perished. We know the cause of death for only 7 people, who died of pneumonia. Another month with a high death toll is August with 113 deaths, when 59 men and 54 women were buried. Infants

were more predisposed to die in this month (40 such events were registered), as well as 32 children in the 1 to 14 year range. For very few the cause of death is registered: 4 died of colic and 8 of stomach pains. As can be observed in figure 4, from January until April, in August and starting again in October until the end of the year the mortality level is high, with over 100 persons passing away in each of these months. At the other end, the month with the lowest mortality level is in June with 72 deaths.

In the second community, Orşova, the first four months of the year have a high mortality level. In January 49 deceased individuals were recorded, of which 21 were men and 28 women. Regarding the age group differentiation, 24 of the deceased were aged under 15:10 infants and 14 between 1 and 14 years old. Most of the causes of death were registered as being “ordinary” (28) pneumonia accounted for the deaths of 4 people, tuberculosis for 6, and 3 people died of small pox. In February 59 deaths were recorded :30 men and 29 women were buried during this month. The age group with the highest mortality level were again infants (18 occurrences) followed by the 1-14 age group with 12 deaths, the 40-49 age group (6 deaths), the 60-69 and the 70-79 age groups with 5 events each. The causes of death clearly specified were tuberculosis, pneumonia, hydrops, debility, meningitis. However, a small number of people died because these diseases, a maximum 4 for each disease. In the next month, 56 deceased individuals (24 men and 32 women) appeared in the registers. The situation regarding the age groups and causes of death was the same as in the previous months, with a high number of infants (12) and children in the 1 to 14 year range (16) recorded as having perished. For most of them the causes of deaths were registered as “ordinary”, while 7 died of pneumonia. Other diseases such as tuberculosis, debility, diphtheria, meningitis were also present but only accounted for a maximum 2 individual deaths each. April is the month with the highest number of deaths registered in a month, 63(33 were men and 30 women). In order of frequency, infants and children accounted for 11 of these entries, individuals aged between 70 and 79 years for 7 events, followed by those in the 60-69 age group (6 events). Regarding the causes of death, 7 individuals died either because of debility at birth or debility of old age, and 5 died of tuberculosis. Another month with a high mortality level is November with 60 deaths, 32 males and 28 females. Of the number of deaths recorded in this month, 13 were infants, 13 in the 1 to 14 age group and 6 people in the 40-40, the same number in the 50-59 and 70-79 age groups and 5 in 60-69 age group. Only for a few people the cause of death is recorded but not enough to explain the high death values, as most of the diseases appear only once.

In Muntele Rece, the month with the highest number of deaths recorded was March with 101 deaths, 61 males and 40 females. Of these 30 were infants, 25 children were generally older than 60. For 77 people the cause of death was registered as ordinary, only 4 people succumbed to influenza and 4 to scarlet fever. The previous month, February, also witnessed a high mortality level, 99 individuals (49 men and 50 women) Infants were again the most prone to experience the event (30 cases), followed by 25 children, 9 in the 20-29 age group, 7 in the 70-79 age group and 8 in the 80-89 age group. Concerning the diseases responsible for the occurrence of this event, diphtheria accounted for 5 instances, influenza for 10, and scarlet fever for 8, while most of them were children aged under 15 (5). Another month which stands out is December with 91 death, 50 males and 41 females. Of these 91 individuals, 28 were infants, 22 were children, 9 were in the 60-69 age group and 14 in the 70-79 age group. The parish register recorded 3 cases of influenza, all children under 15, and 8 cases of scarlet fever, 6 between 1 and 14 years, 1 infant and 1 in the 15-19 age group.

6. Causes of death

The last aspect taken under consideration concerns the causes of death. In the parish registers the heading containing the causes of death, usually refers to death as “ordinary” or “extraordinary”. This was probably the reason why in many cases the cause of death was recorded as “ordinary”, while in cases when it was “extraordinary”, more specific details were usually given.⁴ For a great number of people this heading was left empty. As a result we will be focusing on the major causes of death which are clearly noted.⁵ Because the recording of causes of death depended on the knowledge of the priests, some diseases appear only in one community or another. For instance, debility, debility from birth and debility from old age, hydrops, diarrhoea and chicken pox appear only in Orșova. Tuberculosis, colic and whooping cough appear only in Călărași and Orșova. Child weakness and influenza both appear only in Călărași and Muntele Rece and small pox and hectic appear only in Călărași. For the first community, Călărași, pneumonia is the disease responsible for the highest number of deaths, 42. Starting from 1897 and until 1912, in almost

⁴ The priests sometimes did not write the cause of death and sometimes they wrote „ordinary” even for small children or young adults. From the total number of deaths, 1272 are registered as “ordinary” and in 1206 cases the column is left blank.

⁵ From the total number of deaths recorded, 2754, only for 660 persons the causes of death consists of diseases, 22 people died as a result of accidents, 5 were killed, one person committed suicide, for 1271 the cause of deaths is recorded as “ordinary” and the rest have no causes of death recorded.

every year pneumonia was responsible for taking at least one life. The highest number of deaths due to it was registered in 1899, 8 deceased. Colic and hectic seized the lives of 20 persons each, followed by scarlet fever (19), stomach pain (18) and tuberculosis (13). Colic was present almost every year starting from 1896 seizing on average 2 lives every year. The same is the situation for hectic, starting 1890. The community was confronted with 2 epidemics of scarlet fever: while the first one in 1902 was a minor one taking the lives of three people, the second one in 1908 was more severe, claiming the lives of 15 people. Stomach pain was registered as a cause of death for the first time in 1896, and was present almost every year until 1906, with a high peak in 1897 (7).

In Orșova, tuberculosis is the primary disease recorded, responsible for taking the lives of 33 people starting in 1897 until the last year under observation. It was present almost in every year with high mortality levels: in 1907 and 1911 it was recorded as the cause of death for 5 individuals. 1905 was the year in which the highest number of people who died of pneumonia was recorded, 5, while during the rest of the period after 1900 the number of individuals who died from pneumonia varies between 1 and 2 persons. Regarding debility, in 1887 11 cases on child debility were recorded, the only year in which this form of debility appears in the register. Debility started to appear as a cause of death in 1906, without any mention of its specific character. If we turn our attention to the ages of those who died of debility, 22 of them were infants, 5 under 15 years and one in the 70-79 age group. From this year and until 1912, on average 4 persons died of debility each year. The last disease with a high mortality level was hydrops. In the first two years, 1887 and 1888, 4 cases were registered, 3 in the first year and 1 in the second, but until 1905 no other cases were recorded. Starting from this year hydrops was the cause of death responsible for taking the life of at least one person annually, with a peak in 1910 when it occasioned 4 deaths. As in Călărași, in 1908 Orșova suffered from scarlet fever epidemic, being responsible for 5 deaths.

The last community was confronted with diphtheria in 1899 when 22 people died, in 1900(26) and in 1901 when 8 people died of this disease. Epidemics of scarlet fever started emerging periodically in 1889, when it claimed the lives of 4 people. The greatest epidemic took place in 1890 and was responsible for 23 deaths. It reappeared in 1895 (5), in 1904 (2) and 1906 (4), and again more virulently in 1912 when 10 people died. 1890 stands out as the year in which influenza was the second most common cause of death, after scarlet fever, when 19 people died from it. Influenza reappeared in 1899, being

responsible for 8 deaths, and in the following year when only 3 cases were recorded.

Regarding mortality on age groups, many infants died because of colic and stomach pain, mainly in Călărași and congenital debility, especially in Orșova. In Muntele Rece most infants died of child weakness (8), scarlet fever (4), stomach pain and diphtheria. For children between 1 and 14 year range, the causes of death vary from colic (9), diphtheria (5), stomach pain (5), pneumonia (13), scarlet fever (13), tuberculosis, whooping cough, small pox and chicken pox in Călărași. The second community was confronted mainly with the same diseases as Călărași (pneumonia, scarlet fever, tuberculosis, whooping cough, small pox), while debility was also encountered in 5 cases. Diphtheria was the main cause for this age group in Muntele Rece, where 59 children died as a consequence of this disease, and where the second most common cause was scarlet fever, with 38 deaths. Other virulent diseases included the flu (19) and stomach pain (12).

Some diseases were more likely to occur during certain periods of the year. In Călărași, stomach ache was the primary cause of death in August. Pneumonia was present in the first months of the year, from January until May, with a high peak in February (9), and reappeared in August (4), September (2), October (2) and again in December. The scarlet fever seemed to appear in September, when it brought with it a high rate of mortality, then slowly receding in the next months, while tuberculosis was present all around the year. The situation in Orșova was similar: pneumonia was also present in the first months, but the high peak was in March (7) and it reappeared in August and September. Congenital debility, hydrops and tuberculosis were present throughout the year, the latter with a high peak in January. In Muntele Rece diphtheria affected the people in almost every month, especially in the summer months (May to August). Stomach ache affected people from June until November. Influenza was responsible for the death of people especially in the spring, with a peak in February, until including June, and then reappearing in November. Starting from February and until July the scarlet fever was present, making its reappearance in December.

Observing the mortality difference in denominations in Călărași (the most heterogeneous community), from the total number of deaths, 552 people adhered to Calvinism (Reformed), 322 were Orthodox, 107 Greek-Catholic and 266 persons were Roman-Catholic. The censuses provide important information to contextualize these differences: the Calvinist community that had higher numbers of registered deaths also represented the majority denominational group. For the other two communities the situation is simpler:

the population in Orșova was Greek-Catholic and in Muntele Rece 908 people were Orthodox, 23 were Lutherans and for the same number of people the denomination was not recorded. In Călărași there were no significant differences between denominations regarding the annual mortality and gender difference. The situation is the same regarding the age groups, considering the fact that infant and child mortality were very high. These two age groups taken as one will be used in order to show the resemblance between denominations. For the Orthodox, children make up 57% of the total of deceased in this denominational category, , for the Reformed (Calvinist) 51,44 %, for the Greek Catholic 48,05 % and for Catholics 54,69 %.

To sum up, one can observe that in these communities the mortality levels vary greatly from one year to another. The most vulnerable age groups are those of infants and children, as the levels of mortality for these groups in all communities were over 26 percent per community. Analysing mortality on seasons, one can see that it reached higher levels in spring and winter and lower ones in the summer, thus observing the causal relation between external factors in each season and the frequency of deaths. Another aspect that was observed concerned the causes of death: certain diseases appear or have higher frequencies in certain months. Such was the case for scarlet fever, diphtheria, pneumonia, stomach pain and influenza.

Despite the proliferation of studies focusing on the influence of certain periods of the year on mortality rates (Rau 2007), or on the impact of climate change on the mortality of historical populations (Rocklöv 2014: 6940-6954), there remains much work to be done in this field. By studying the seasonality of mortality in an increasing number of rural settlements from Transylvania in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, we will better contextualize the lives of individuals and the courses of historical communities in this region.

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Patriarchal Relationships in Romanian Rural Communities in Transylvania (Second Half of the 19th Century - Early 20th Century)

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Abstract: This research paper tackles the patriarchal relationships in the Romanian rural society in Transylvania, based on the patriarchy index developed by Siegfried Gruber and Mikołaj Szoltysek (2015). Composed of four sub-indexes (domination of men over women; domination of the elderly over the young; patrilocality; preference for sons over daughters), this model was established to answer questions regarding the intensity of this phenomenon, while also allowing for comparisons over time and between different social groups.

The index was applied to data collected during the 1869 census in the village of Telciu and to data extracted from household registers in Budeşti and Miceştii de Câmpie in 1901. The selected villages are part of the existing Bistriţa-Năsăud county (Romania). The village of Telciu had an old military tradition, while the villages of Budeşti and Miceştii de Câmpie, which were located just 17 kilometres away from one another, were in fact situated outside the old Romanian second border regiment. The villages' ethnic structures were eminently Romanian and their inhabitants were Greek Catholics. The results of the research demonstrate that the Telciu village was more patriarchal than the other two villages analysed. In Telciu, the elder generation was dominant over the young, there was a higher rate of patrilocality and a notable preference for sons.

Keywords: household, patriarchy, patriarchy index, Transylvania.

1. Introduction

Patriarchy has remained the central concept in feminist analysis, used frequently to describe the domination of men over women and later spreading as an analysis of society in its entirety (Gottfried 1998: 451, Clawson 1980: 371, Walby 1989: 213). Under a classical conception, patriarchy can be found nowadays primarily in geographic areas such as the Muslim Middle East (Turkey, Pakistan and Iran) and southern and eastern Asia (especially India and China) (Kandiyoti 1988: 278).

In its academic sense, the term patriarchy was used for the first time by the British legal expert and historian Henry Maine. In his classic research entitled *Ancient Law* and published in 1861, Maine found that societies do not start with individuals, but rather with families. Maine also claimed that families in primitive societies and early civilizations were kept together by their obedience toward living ascendants: father, grandfather, great-grandfather. For Maine, patriarchalism represented absolute power over those who were included in the family circle (Hamilton 1990: 79).

In his research, *The Ancient City*, published for the first time in 1864, Fustel de Coulanges explored the distribution of the term father. The same word, pater, was found in Greek, Latin and Sanskrit and, in all cases, did not mean father directly. Pater, according to Fustel de Coulanges' conclusion, did not contain the idea of paternity, but rather the idea of power and authority. The term was awarded to the heads of households, who gradually began to serve as a link with the family Gods. As such, the patriarchs had a charismatic ability to connect with the divine, and this, according to Coulanges, enabled their power over others (Hamilton 1990: 80).

Later, Max Weber (1974) used the concept of patriarchy to name a governing system in which men ruled societies in their capacity of heads of households (Walby 1989: 214). In his research entitled *The Agrarian Sociology of Ancient Civilizations* (1976), Weber explains how the concept of patriarchy was born and developed in the ancient Mediterranean civilizations. He attested to the existence of strong patrilineal relationships in Israel, Greece and Rome, and the fact that, in each society, these patrilineal relationships particularly involved rich land owners. The dominant parties to these patrilineal relationships ruled over what the Romans called familia and the Greeks called oikos. These were large households, usually surrounded by land, extended families, servants, slaves and various property types (Hamilton 1990: 80).

The household master had discretionary power and impressed obedience on his subjects on the basis of their personal loyalty toward him (Hamilton 1990: 80). This personal authority became a trademark of western patriarchalism and thereby the heritage of the western patriarchy. The Greek, Jewish and Roman laws captured this spirit and, by extension, the practice of personalized power (Hamilton 1990: 81).

As the West became Christian and the Western Roman Empire fell apart, the family gradually lost its patrilineal aspect. However, the concept of discretionary power and the notion of patriarchalism persisted to the modern period (Hamilton 1990: 82).

In research from 2008, Karl Kaser used the term patriarchy with a triple meaning: rule by the father, by the eldest or by the husband. In the same way, he analysed the rules that supported the concept of patriarchy: heritage, children's obedience, marriage arrangements, residence after marriage, the presence or absence of sexual asymmetries, including polygamy or varying standards regarding adultery, and the obedience of wives (Kaser 2008: 33).

According to Kaser, the world of 1900, excepting the North Atlantic area, was still extremely patriarchal. The law of fathers and elder men ruled the world of children; wives were institutionally subordinated to their husbands almost everywhere; and marriages were arranged (Kaser 2008: 35).

But how patriarchal, precisely, was this world of 1900? How intense was the phenomenon of patriarchy? These are questions that are not clearly answered by Kaser's extremely well-documented research. This shortcoming has been highlighted by other studies addressing patriarchy, which show that some societies are and have been much more patriarchal than others (Henry 2003: 41).

Such comparative analyses call for a model that permits quantifications. Upon applying the patriarchy index¹ to 91 regions of historic Europe, a series of variations were found regarding the index's levels, ranging between six and 34 points. Broadly speaking, the spatial representation of this index indicated a delimitation between western Europe, which was less patriarchal, and eastern Europe, which featured stronger patriarchal traits. Even though the authors highlighted that this delimitation overlaps the Hajnal-Mitterauer axis, they also noted the need to avoid simplistic generalizations. Upon closer inspection, these results demonstrated some significant variations in the analysed regions, even within individual countries. For example, the territory geographically delimited by the Baltic Sea, the Adriatic Sea and the Black Sea (the central-eastern region of Europe) included areas with low levels of patriarchy (the western and northern areas of Poland, which were under Prussian domination), but also areas with moderate to high levels of patriarchy (territories in Hungary, Slovakia and Romania) (Gruber, Szoltysek 2014: 23-27).

¹ For a detailed description of this index, its methodology and calculations, please refer to Gruber, Szoltysek 2014: 6-12, 20-27.

2. Variables of the patriarchy index - discursive approaches

The theoreticians of the domestic group model in traditional societies highlighted several characteristics of this model found in their analysis of the power relationships within the household and the relationships between the descendants and the household. As such, the man was the one who dominated, who held the power in his capacity as head of the household, and was also older than his wife. As for the relationships between the descendants, the father's authority and dominance fell upon the children, sometimes well into adulthood, and within households that had an extended structure.

Before applying the index, the component variables will be discussed one by one in order to detect the Transylvanian society's patriarchy between the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

2. 1. The proportion of female household heads (female hhh)

Patriarchal hypothesis: only men can be household heads (Gruber, Szoltysek 2015: 6)

In the traditional societies of the past, men were awarded the role of head of household, and this role was enhanced by religious and civil laws. As such, according to the Austrian General Civil Code that was enforced in Transylvania by the Imperial Licence number 93, issued on the 29th of May, 1853: "the husband is the head of the family. In this role, his main right is to rule the household and its concerns" (Bolovan, Covaci, Deteşan, Eppel, Holom (Eds). 2009: 129). The woman must obey the man and "execute ... his orders" (Bolovan, Covaci, Deteşan, Eppel, Holom (Eds). 2009: 129).

Additionally, the father, in his capacity as head of the family, held parental power. The children owed him obedience and required his tacit approval in all matters (Bolovan, Covaci, Deteşan, Eppel, Holom (Eds). 2009: 137-138).

This patriarchal/authoritarian model was reinforced by the written press in the Gherla area: the women were reminded that "obedience is our duty and suffering is a woman's destiny" (*Amicul familiei* 1881 5(9): 86).

2. 2. The proportion of young brides (young brides)

Patriarchal hypothesis: a bride's young age at marriage facilitates male domination (Gruber, Szoltysek 2015: 7)

In Hungary, before the First World War, most of those who got married were aged 20-24 years (men) and 17-19 years (women) (Horvath 1981: 331).

This situation was also recorded by the Transylvanian historian and publisher George Barițiu. In a research study from 1878 regarding the evolution of the population in Transylvania, Barițiu noted that “until recent years, most young men got married by the age of 24, and most women between 15 and 20 years” (Bolovan and Bolovan 2002: 114).

A possible explanation for the extremely young age of marriage for women in Transylvania is related to certain popular beliefs and practices of the time. It was believed that parents would be happy if their daughters could get married very early (*Amicul familiei* 1880: 4) since, according to popular belief, women past 20 years of age were old maids (Marian 2000: 9).

Furthermore, not getting married was considered a great shame for women, as illustrated in popular folklore: “Oh, if I could end/ This old maid’s curse/ What a shame to die like this/ Old and never married” (Marian 200: 17).

The data regarding the marital behaviour of women in Transylvania showed that, in numerous cases, the average woman’s age at first marriage was under 20. This tendency also showed that the marital behaviour of women in this region fell under the Eastern European pattern (Hajnal 1965: 102).

2. 3. The proportion of wives who are older than their husbands (older wives)

Patriarchal hypothesis: the husband is always older than the wife (Gruber, Szoltysek 2015: 7)

If, generally speaking, marriages are strongly homogamic, with individuals marrying within the same ethnicity, social class and similar age group, there is, nevertheless, a systematic deviation toward an increasingly older age of the marrying man as compared to the age of the woman (Iluț 2005: 102-103).

This phenomenon can be detected most clearly in traditional societies. According to the belief of the time, men considered themselves entitled to choose a much younger partner. A study on marriage that was published in a newspaper in Gherla noted that “men are righteous in marrying girls 10-12 and 20-30 years younger” (*Amicul familiei* 1880: 4). The same study stated that some physical faults were much easier to tolerate in men than in women: “all is good with men, all is accepted: a face or forehead full of wrinkles, baldness, white hair, a chubby body, all of this is tolerated and enhances their beauty and appearance; but with women, all of this is seen as faulty”. Also, according to popular belief at that time, an older man was uniquely capable of protecting

and honouring a much younger and less experienced wife (Anderson and Zinsser 1998: 101).

2. 4. The proportion of young women living as non-kin (female non-kin)

Patriarchal hypothesis: a woman cannot live outside the household of her own family or her husband's relatives (Gruber, Szoltysek 2015: 7)

In the traditional belief of the 19th and 20th century, a young woman had to be honest, settled and of very good character, her most valuable marriage portion being her virginity (Pollak 1998: 146).

The young women were required to be virgins so that the family's reputation would not suffer. A young woman's compromising mistake would place the family in an embarrassing and extremely tough situation (Perrot 1995: 240).

On these grounds, young women had to be monitored by their families. Additionally, it was believed that they should grow within the family: "above all, the woman's destiny is to evolve as a daughter, wife and mother, within the peaceful family life. The children, and especially the girls, need the family life atmosphere to grow nicely" (Romanul 1880: 275).

3. 1. The proportion of elderly men coresiding with a younger household head (younger hhh)

Patriarchal hypothesis: the old man is always the head of the household (Gruber, Szoltysek 2015: 8)

Research carried out in Transylvania found numerous cases in which the destiny of a household with a complex structure was ruled by an older household head. In Telciu, the tradition of the so-called "Hauskommunion" or "house communion" was preserved, under which a "father of the family" monitored the activity of the entire extended domestic group (Șișeștean 2010: 275-277). These heads of families enjoyed great prestige, which persisted even after the military border was dissolved. Oral testimony from another border village, Șanț, confirms the great authority of such a family head, and the obedience shown to him, regardless of his advanced years (Șișeștean 2010: 288).

In other cases, the inherited privilege of the last born was, in fact, a patriarchal way of preserving tradition. Thus, the older offspring ensured the support of the youngest sibling, who would receive in return the family home. Since the family home was too full to accommodate a new couple when the elder brothers got married, they were forced to set up their own households. Once the elder brothers left the house, there was plenty of space for the

youngest to bring in his wife. When the parents died, the youngest child inherited the parental home and household, along with the task of giving alms after their death (Stahl 2003: 65-66).

3. 2. The proportion of neolocal residence among young men (neolocal)

Patriarchal hypothesis: the sons cannot set up their own household after marriage (Gruber, Szoltysek 2015: 8)

While in modern societies, generally speaking, the form of residence is neolocal and marriage leads to the creation of an autonomous household, in traditional patriarchal societies the new couple started their new family life in patrilocal residences. An explanation could link this phenomenon to the lower division of labour in agriculture-based communities and the family's interest in keeping their sons as close as possible so as to benefit from more manpower in the household.

Additionally, from a social perspective, the power of parents was huge in these societies, and children had to have their parents' approval if they wanted to establish their own household.

Offspring were considered minors until the age of 24, and could only step away from their parents' authority before that age "if the father waives this right with the court's approval, or if he allows a son who is 20 years of age to marry under special circumstances" (Bolovan, Covaci, Deteşan, Eppel, Holom (Eds). 2009: 143).

This regulation in the Austrian Civil Code is maintained almost ad litteram by Article XX of the Country's Collection of Laws of 1877, which settled the trusteeship and guardianship of businesses and stipulated that "the minors who are in their twentieth year of life become majors if the parent who maintained the parental authority: 1. Offers the minor free ownership and use of his goods, or 2: They agree that the minor can set up a standalone household" (Bolovan, Covaci, Deteşan, Eppel, Holom (Eds). 2009: 229).

On the other hand, in Banat, Adrian Brudariu indicated cases of marriages that were arranged out of the elders' selfishness, pushing young men to get married so they could have someone to take care of them in their old age. The least important aspect was the building of a home for the new couple (Marica 2004: 182).

3. 3. The proportion of the elderly living with lateral relatives (lateral)

Patriarchal hypothesis: some sons tend to stay in the household even after their father's death (Gruber, Szoltysek 2015: 9)

In traditional patriarchal societies, even young men's behaviour is strongly influenced by patriarchy and societal expectations. As long as the parents are alive, the relationships between brothers are mediated and less close than with the parents. It would only be after the death of the parents that the relationships between brothers become closer. In this way, a more profound feeling of solidarity appears between brothers as the surviving family members, and this contributes to the maintenance of the family group (Marica 2004: 176).

3. 4. The proportion of the elderly living in joint residence (joint family)

Patriarchal hypothesis: all sons must live in the father's household (Gruber, Szoltysek 2015: 9)

According to the opinion of Henri H. Stahl, the Romanian villages of the past contained extended households in which married children continued to live with their parents. He specifically explores extended households in the Banat area, which were known as "house communions". These were family associations under which all brothers remained in the parental households, even after they were married, as long as their parents were still alive and, sometimes, even after their death. Such forms of family organization were also found in regions with Serbian and Bulgarian immigrants (Stahl 2003: 59).

Recent research studies have shown that such "house communions" also existed in the villages of Şanţ (Şişeştean 2010: 275-291), Poiana Ilvei (Holom 2014a: 88-116) and Telciu (Holom 2014b), which are situated close to the former border regiment of Năşăud. A concrete example is that of the Bumbu family of Telciu, who lived in a house located at number 79. The household was run by George Bumbu with his wife Maria and their five sons, two of whom, Pavel and Tănase, were married (ANDJBN: 158-159).

4. 1. The proportion of the elderly living with married daughters (married daughters)

Patriarchal hypothesis: all daughters move into the house of the husband or the husband's father (Gruber, Szoltysek 2015: 10)

Before marriage, daughters were part of their father's household; after marriage, they had to join the husband's household. The Austrian General Civil Code stipulated that after marriage "the wife received the husband's name... must follow the man at his domicile" (Bolovan, Covaci, Deteşan, Eppel, Holom (Eds). 2009: 129).

Sometimes there were deviations from this rule for families in which there were only daughters. Since one of them had to inherit the household,

there was a switch between roles. The daughter was considered a son and her husband adopted the role of a daughter-in-law. As such, the man was the one who entered the wife's home in these cases (Stahl 2003: 67).

5. 1. The proportion of boys among the last child (boy as last child)

Patriarchal hypothesis: after the birth of a daughter, the parents will try to have another child (Gruber, Szoltysek 2015: 10)

Especially in traditional society, an important goal of marriage was to give birth to legitimate children who would carry on the family name, take care of the parents in their old age, mourn them after their death, bury them following the Christian rules and give alms during the funeral mass (Marian 2000: 7). However, in the hierarchy of values of traditional society, the birth of a son was, generally speaking, a joy greater than that in the case of the birth of a daughter. There were several reasons behind this attitude. First, the family's name and patrimony was carried on through its sons, whereas girls, who usually got married and left the parental home, decreased the family's wealth. Secondly, it was a common belief that girls brought poverty to the household. Additionally, the girls' reputation was always at risk, threatening a great negative impact on the family's honour (Mureşan 2002: 151).

Recent studies on the reproductive behaviour of people from this period have shown a gender preference within families, meaning couples were less likely to have another child once they had a son (Hank 2007: 759 – 767).

5. 2. The sex ratio of the youngest age group (sex ratio)

Patriarchal hypothesis: girls are treated less favourably and are considered less important (Gruber, Szoltysek 2015: 11)

In traditional societies, the birth of a girl was expected less frequently and daughters were ill-treated within families. A popular song from the Someş area strongly confirms this inequality of attitude: “Dear mother, when you gave birth to me/ You were so, so happy,/ Nothing hurt,/ Just a toe,/ Thinking I was a boy;/ Seeing I was a girl,/ Made your heart ache./You were rocking me to sleep/ While throwing curses on me,/ That I should die in fire,/ Or live in sadness;/ That I should burn alive,/ Or that my life be restless” (Brăiloiu: 13-14).

Starting from the woman's state of inferiority, cast on her from birth by traditional societies, numerous researchers have shown the existence of a strong cultural preference towards men. Men were seen as keepers of the household's wealth and resources, while women were considered a waste of resources as they would move into the husband's home upon marriage (Das

Gupta 2005: 529). The verb “to marry” in Romanian popular language also meant to waste, to lose and to alienate. From this perspective, there was a strong tendency to neglect girls and to feed them low-quality food. This generated a higher mortality rate among girls, especially if the family already had a daughter (Sen 1992: 587, Das Gupta 2005: 531). On the other hand, the fact that daughters were considered less important than sons sometimes led to faulty recording of these girls during census and statistics data collections (Sen 1992: 587).

6. Sources

As a result of the dualist compromise, Transylvania lost its autonomy and was incorporated into the eastern part of the monarchy (Transleithania), which was politically dominated by the Hungarian nation. The registration of the population became mandatory under Law III of 1869, so the Hungarian authorities performed a census of housing and domestic animals, reflecting the demographic situation on the 31st of December, 1869 (Bolovan, Onofreiu, Rus 2010 (Eds): 43). Today, there is a small number of primary documents from this census that were preserved in the archives².

For Telciu, the primary set of data from that census were used in this study, accounting for a total of 925 sheets³. On the printed forms in Hungarian and Romanian, called “Reception Sheets”, each house’s number was recorded. Following this were some details about the house, the residents listed in nominal tables and information regarding any domestic animals.

The nominal tables of residents listed the head of the household and the other household members (wife, children, other relatives, non-kin). Each individual’s sex, date of birth, religion, marital status, profession, occupation, living resources, place of birth and education level, along with whether or not they were present in the house on the date in question, were mentioned in these tables. To conclude, there were mentions of possible physical or psychological handicaps, military status, army degree and, for foreigners, home country, or the place of residence of absent members (*Recensământul din 1910. Transilvania* 1999: 693-712).

In 1869, Telciu had 2327 inhabitants: 1197 men and 1130 women. By faith, the population included 2279 Greek Catholics, eight Roman Catholics, one Protestant and 39 Israelites (*Recensământul din 1869. Transilvania* 2008: 98-

² Such documents were also identified for the Solnoc and Mureș-Turda counties in Transylvania. Their data were digitized by researchers from the Demographic Research Institute, Budapest (Őri, Pakot 2012). Additionally, the primary data of the 1869 census for Năsăud were published in 2010 (Bolovan, Onofreiu, Rus 2010 (Eds)).

³ With the exception of just a few missing sheets, the register is very well preserved.

99). At the time of the 1910 census, 2731 of a total of 3283 inhabitants were agriculturists.

On the other hand, for the villages of Budești and Micești de Câmpie, printed household registers issued by the church were used. According to the Romanian researchers, these registers were introduced in Transylvania starting in the middle of the 19th century (Moldovan 1969). They were known as “nominal conscriptions of people” and each family had a “family sheet”.

These sets of data had to be centralized at the end of each year, and the totals represented the conscription of people for that year. A relatively small number of these Transylvanian family registers were preserved, and it's possible that they were not even introduced in some parishes, where the priests would instead only fill in the three registers for married couples, newborns and the deceased.

Each sheet included primary identification data of the family, such as the house number, the name of the family head and his occupation. In addition to this set of information, the sheets also included more detailed data regarding “*the persons belonging to the family*”: name and given name; day, month and year of birth, marriage and death; religion; occupation; as well as a section for comments. The name of the priest who drafted the sheets was recorded along with the date when the data collection began. The priests added notes whenever a demographic event took place in the family (e.g., marriage or death). The changes that occurred in the group's initial structure were also recorded and new members of the family through birth, marriage or remarriage were added.

According to the 1900 census, the population of the village of Budești counted 1077 inhabitants. Of these, 980 spoke Romanian, 83 spoke Hungarian and 14 spoke German. By faith, 984 inhabitants were Greek Catholics, six were Orthodox, 34 were Roman Catholics, 38 were Reformed, one was Protestant and 14 were Israelites (*Recensământul din 1900. Transilvania* 1999: 166-167). At the 1900 census, 588 inhabitants out of 637 with an well defined occupations were agriculturists (*Recensământul din 1900. Transilvania. Populația după ocupații* 2006: 174). Additionally, the village of Micești de Câmpie had, according to the 1900 census, 694 inhabitants, of which 668 were Romanian, 20 were Hungarian and one was German. By faith, 670 were Greek Catholics, two were Roman Catholics, seven were Reformed, six were Unitarians and eight were Israelites (*Recensământul din 1900. Transilvania* 1999: 178-179). At the 1900 census, 312 inhabitants out of with an well defined occupations 330 were agriculturists (*Recensământul din 1900. Transilvania. Populația după ocupații* 2006: 182).

7. Results of the analysis

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of the variables used

	Telciu	Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie
Female hhh	0.05	0.06
Young brides	0.07	0.15
Older wives	0.19	0.06
Female non-kin	0.02	0.00
Younger hhh	0.20	0.15
Neolocal	0.38	0.55
Lateral	0.18	0.09
Joint family	0.04	0.02
Married daughter	0.16	0.24
Boy as last child	0.59	0.56
Sex ratio	134.39	108.43

Sources: The National Archives of Romania, Bistrița-Năsăud County Directorate, *Register 15/1901*, *Register 39/1901-1948*, *Register 48/1869*.

In Telciu, at the time of the 1869 census, only 5% of women were heads of households. The situation is almost the same in this area even 32 years later. Similarly, in the villages of Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie the percentage of female heads of households was only 6%. In other words, the situation in these villages confirms almost completely the theory according to which only men could be heads of households (Table 1).

This situation was evident in other areas of south-eastern Europe, more precisely in four regions of northern Albania (Puka, Kruja, Shkodra, Zhuri), three areas of central Albania (Berati, Northern Tirana, Southern Tirana), six cities in Albania, two rural areas in Serbia and in the Albanian region of Gora, as well as in four regions of Wallachia. In these cases, the percentage of married women acting as household heads was between 4% and 6% of the total adult population (Gruber 2015).

The percentage of married women aged between 15 and 19 years was 7% in Telciu and much higher in the villages of Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie. We can say that the patriarchal theory of male domination of young women was more evident in the villages of Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie, where this percentage was 15%. This situation was replicated in several areas of Transylvania in the 1869 census (Gruber 2015).

The proportion of wives who were older than their husbands was almost 20% in the village of Telciu. The patriarchal presumption was easier to

validate in the villages of Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie, where only 6% of women were older than their husbands. Low percentages, between 2% and 6%, were identified in four other regions of Wallachia, in four regions of northern Albania and in six cities in Albania, two rural areas in Serbia and in the Albanian region of Gora (Gruber 2015).

The proportion of women living in other households as non-kin was just 2% in the village of Telciu and non-existent in the two other villages studied. Such situations, in which no woman was reported to live outside her father's house or that of her husband's relatives, were identified in four regions of Wallachia and four regions of northern Albania (Gruber 2015).

As for the proportion of old men identified as co-residents with a younger household head, in Telciu the rate was 20%, whereas this rate was 17% in Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie. The patriarchal presumption that the old man is always the head of the household is more perceptible in the latter two villages, which are extremely similar to the proportion identified in four regions of northern Albania (15%) (Gruber 2015).

The act of marriage led to the creation of a new residence for 55% of the young men analysed in the villages of Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie. The village of Telciu was much more patriarchal in this sense, with only 38% of the young men identified as creating their own household upon marriage.

Approximately 18% of the old men in the village of Telciu lived in households with their relatives, whereas only 9% enjoyed this type of arrangement in the other two villages. Only 5% were identified in four regions of Wallachia, while four regions of Hungary and the city of Istanbul registered 18% for people over 65 living in households with their relatives (Gruber 2015).

The proportion of those over 65 who lived in households with another two married descendants was very small in the two villages, accounting for 2% of those in Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie, and 4% in Telciu. Similar percentages were identified in southwestern Wallachia (2%) and Partium (5%) (Gruber 2015).

Twenty-four percent of the old, married individuals lived in households together with their married daughters in the case of the villages Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie. Additionally, 30% of household were identified as having this arrangement in four regions of Hungary and in Istanbul (Gruber 2015). The village of Telciu proved more patriarchal, since only 16% of the elderly lived in such households. A similar percentage of patriarchy (14%) was found in four regions of Wallachia (Gruber 2015).

A little over half of the children between 10 and 14 years of age living in the villages of Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie were males (54%), while this

ratio was higher in Telciu (59%). A ratio of 53% was also found in Partium, in several areas in Transylvania in 1869, and in the regions of Rhodope, Kruševac and Dubrovnik (Gruber 2015).

The ratio between the two genders was tipped in favour of boys in the villages of Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie (108 boys and 100 girls), and this imbalance was much more pronounced in Telciu (134 boys and 100 girls). From this point of view, the village of Telciu was close to the situation identified in several regions in central Albania-Berati, northern Tirana and southern Tirana (Gruber 2015).

Table 2. Patriarchy index in the villages of Budești, Miceștii de Câmpie and Telciu

	Telciu	Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie
Female hhh	8	8
Young brides	1	2
Older wives	5	8
Female non-kin	10	10
Male domination	24	28
Younger hhh	7	8
Neolocal	6	4
Lateral	3	1
Joint family	1	1
Older generation	17	13
Married daughter	8	7
Patrilocality	8	7
Boy as last child	3	2
Sex ratio	9	1
Son preference	12	3
PATRIARCHY INDEX	25	20

Sources: The National Archives of Romania, Bistrița-Năsăud County Directorate, *Register 15/1901, Register 39/1901-<1948>, Register 48/1869.*

The patriarchy index consists of four components which represent various states of the patriarchy: 1. Men's domination of women; 2. The elderly's domination of the young; 3. Patrilocality; 4. Preference for sons.

The patriarchy's intensity levels were assigned according to five categories: extremely low patriarchy (0-10 points); low patriarchy (11-16 points); medium patriarchy (17-23 points); high patriarchy (24-29 points); extremely high patriarchy (30-40 points) (Gruber 2015).

7. 1. Men's domination of women

The sub-index of men's domination scored 24 points out of a possible total of 40 points in Telciu, and 28 points in the villages of Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie. This situation is close to that identified in 1869 in several areas in Transylvania and Partium (25 points) (Gruber 2015).

By comparing the analysed villages, we can see that, for the sub-index of men's domination, the villages of Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie were more patriarchal, with men preferring to choose wives younger than themselves in many cases, as compared to the men in Telciu.

7. 2. Elderly's domination of the young

The sub-index of the elderly's domination of the young scored 17 points out of a possible total of 30 points for the village of Telciu. On the other hand, for the villages of Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie, this sub-index scored 13 points. Similarly, Transylvania scored 14 points, and Partium scored 16 points, while several areas of Wallachia scored approximately 11 points (Gruber 2015).

By comparing this sub-index in the case of our analysed villages, we can see that the elder generation in Telciu dominated the younger generation significantly more than in the villages of Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie. In the village of Telciu, the proportion of neolocal residences was smaller than in the other villages. Here, out of 94% of the married men aged between 20-29 years, only 75% were also their households' heads. The rest started their married life within complex households, which were run by elder parents or brothers (Holom 2014b). This confirms again that the elder individuals wielded a strong level of authority within the household (Holom 2014b).

Last but not least, the proportion of the elder individuals living within households with their relatives was higher in Telciu. The Laslett-Hammel diagram applied to this village's data showed that 4.31% of the households had a lateral extension, as compared to only 0.5% in the villages of Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie.

7. 3. Patrilocality

The patrilocality sub-index scored eight points in Telciu and seven points in the two other analysed villages. In the Patrium and Transylvania areas, this index scored nine and seven points respectively, and eight for regions situated in northern and southern Wallachia (Gruber 2015). The village of Telciu proved to be slightly more patriarchal from this perspective, with the proportion of elderly co-residents with a married daughter being lower than in Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie.

7. 4. Preference for sons

The preference for sons sub-index scored three points in the villages of Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie and 12 points in Telciu. This slightly unusual situation was also identified in some Albanian villages, Puka (14 points), northern Tirana and southern Tirana (10 points) (Gruber 2015).

What made a difference in this aspect was the gender ratio. While in the villages of Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie the ratio was quite balanced, in Telciu it was heavily weighted towards boys. From a total of 368 children aged between zero and four years, 211 were boys and 157 were girls. Naturally, a question is raised regarding the missing girls in this village. We believe that there are two theories that could explain this situation. The first is related to the fact that girls were often simply not registered, especially in this border village that had an old military tradition, which meant that boys and men had much more important roles. The analysis of the sex ratio for the age groups of 5-9 years and 10-14 years indicates that the male-female ratio was 86.3/100 and 105/100, respectively. This demonstrates that a large number of girls between zero and four years of age had not been registered. The second theory involves hypothesizing a higher mortality for girls of this young age, but confirming this would require further research on the village's parochial death registers.

In all, the patriarchy index scored 25 points in Telciu, which places this village in the high patriarchy category. An index of 26 points was also calculated for six cities in Albania, two rural regions in Serbia and the Albanian region of Gora (Gruber 2015). The villages of Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie scored 20 points, which placed them in the medium patriarchy category, with similar indexes returned in Wallachia (20 points), Transylvania (18 points) and Partium (21 points) (Gruber 2015).

The index shows that the three analysed villages in this research had a moderate to high level of patriarchy, which was common in the south-eastern part of Europe. Moreover, the findings are very close to those in other regions inhabited by Romanian populations, such as Wallachia, Transylvania and Partium.

Even though Telciu diverges from this pattern as it was slightly more patriarchal, we must take into consideration the fact that the data for Telciu were thirty years older than those for the villages of Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie at the beginning of the 20th century.

8. Conclusions

Frequently employed in feminist analysis to describe men's domination of women in family and in society, patriarchalism has been theorized and explored

in many older studies (Henri Maine, *Ancient Law* 1861, Fustel de Coulanges, *The Ancient City* 1864, Max Weber, *The Agrarian Sociology of Ancient Civilizations* 1976) and in more recent research papers (Karl Kaser, *Patriarchy after Patriarchy* 2008). Therefore, the term patriarchy expanded its meaning to refer to the leading role of the father, of the elder or of the husband.

Though it was believed that the world was still extremely patriarchal at the beginning of the 20th century and that some societies were more patriarchal than others, there was no model available to permit quantifications and comparisons.

The model developed by Siegfried Gruber and Mikołaj Szoltysek (2015) was conceived so as to answer these questions regarding the intensity of the phenomenon, allowing for such comparisons. Comprising four sub-indexes (men's domination of women; the elderly's domination of the young; patrilocality; preference for sons), this model can also establish the intensity of the patriarchal phenomenon in a given community.

This model was applied to the data collected during the 1869 census in the village of Telciu and on the data extracted from household registers in Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie in 1901.

The village of Telciu proved to be more patriarchal than the two other analysed villages. In Telciu, the elder generation's domination of the younger generation was higher, as was the patrilocality, and there was a marked preference for male children. Some of these phenomena are quite natural, given that Telciu was part of the old border regiment of Năsăud. Many aspects regarding the house communion and the prestige of its leader and its elder members continued even after the military border was dissolved, and the preference for sons was probably linked to the same tradition. The valorification of boys might have been stronger in Telciu since future soldiers were to be selected from among these boys. The gender imbalance was probably linked to the fact that young women were rarely registered during the 1869 census (especially those in the age group 0-4 years), but could be additionally attributable to a higher mortality rate among women, which would require further and deeper investigation to verify.

On the other hand, in 1901 the villages of Budești and Miceștii de Câmpie had a medium level of patriarchy which can be explained by reference to the modernization process that was taking place in Transylvanian society at the turn of the century. The extent to which this modernization also reached households in these villages or in other places remains to be analysed, as do the reasons for the development of a medium level of patriarchy in these areas.

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Women and Family in Albanian Society According to Moral Codes, 15th – 20th Centuries

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Abstract: The origin of Albanian moral codes derives from the tribal society, its pre state formation. These codes had passed through generations from the 15th to the 20th century in the regions of north Albania and Kosovo; but for the first time they were codified and put in written in the 19th century by an Albanian priest Shtjefën Gjeçovi. Since these norms were functional at the time of the Albanian Prince Lekë Dukagjini (1410-1481), he formally named them Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit (English: The Code of Lekë Dukagjini). During the time when these codes were written and many decades later, they were used as family and society regulations and rules, covering a wide range of instances, such as church, marriage, house, livestock and property, labour, transfer of property, heritage, etc. This paper explores the position of women in Albanian society according to these moral codes. It reveals details on women's position and premarital duties, as a girl in her maiden home and after marriage, as a woman in her husband's home; as well as her rights on property and heritage in both families.

Keywords: women, Albanian society, common law, father's family, spouse's family

1. Introduction

As in lots of different cultures around the world, especially those in Balkan, including Albanians, in the pre-capitalist period of development, the common law originated as a very complex component of the social superstructure. This law of a series of unwritten and contradictory rules and customs, was created, first of all, under certain socio-historic and economic circumstances, with the introduction of private property and class society. It expressed the interests of social classes, ranks, patriarchal-kinship and feudal groups, as well as interests of the church and its leaders. The Albanian common law was mainly expressed on economic basis, those of the autarchic agro-farming type. This law is not a product of an individual or of one year, but it is a result of a collectivity and

of some centuries (Zojzi 1956; Elezi 1977; Halimi 1955; Luarasi 1977). These are unwritten laws of the people, developed and transmitted from one generation to another by a verbal tradition, which served for the purpose of settling legal relations. This means that they do not represent any written legislative rules, but the common law created in practice. These common laws have been implemented amongst Albanians for a long time, which in certain stages of historical development also had a positive role, because they had an impact on the preservation of the individuality of the Albanian people, and their resistance to assimilation (Frashëri 1977, Luarasi 1977). Later, these common laws started to get collected, written and studied by different researchers of the Albanian territories and they were to be named *codes* (Pupovci 1972).

The study of these common laws is more than necessary, because through them we come to a more thorough recognition of the common law norms, through which the history of one nation is more easily studied and the archaic relics are combated, relics which might often be a barrier for the proper development of one country. Through their study we manage to recognize the economic, social, and cultural development through certain periods of time. Under the impact of these circumstances, a traditional way of life is created, which is manifested through the tradition, inheritance, prejudices, religious views, customs and different collective habits, specific moral norms, etc., which are characteristic of each nation. This means that each nation has its own customs, which are not identical. Moreover, there are cases when even within one nation there are differences regarding the customs. While in some territories these customs are entirely applicable, in some others, people themselves have varying viewpoints towards them, and thus, they decide not to apply them entirely in their everyday lives. This phenomenon comes as a result of the unequal economic and social development, in the territories where the codes are applied.

The Albanian common law has its ancient origin from the tribal society, from the pre-state civilization. After the birth of the state, the common law co-existed with the state law, by impacting the creation of lots of other legislation processes and also by constantly evolving in compliance with the historic, economic and social conditions. These customs have been characterized by the unity on one hand, and diversity on the other. What makes them unique is the fact that they belong only to one nation, and they are traversed by almost the same principles from the north of Kosovo to the south of Albania. What makes them diverse, is that many counties contain some local features, which regardless of how small they might be, still provide them with a distinct image (Grup autorësh/Group of authors 2001).

Shtjefën Gjeçovi (1874-1929), who left his most prominent book as heritage “The Code of Lekë Dukagjini (CLD), collected, documented, and systemized these common law norms of the Albanian people. This is a highly valued piece of work, even though it does not include all Albanian common law norms (Pupovci 1972). As a code, this had been the most widely used one, and it had been applied throughout the Dukagjini Highlands, mainly in the Northern Highlands, in the Shkodra county side, in Kosovo (Grup autorësh/Group of authors, 2001), in Southern Serbia, in one part of Western Macedonia and in Montenegro (Pupovci 1971). These counties are mainly characterized by mountainous regions, cold and harsh climate, and until recently even without any communication links. These geographic conditions reflect under-developed social relations, which more belong to a natural economy, which is typical of a reserved agro-farming life. This system of social life impacts not only the creation of the collective life, traditional and patriarchal ethic relations, but it also conditioned the preservation of the customs for a longer period of time. These customs served for the regulation of human life, from birth to death, in harmony with the ways of social organization, family, civil, criminal and procedural laws.

In Kosovo, as an under-developed region in the economic context, the application of these norms is still present. In rural environments where the patriarchal relics of the families are still present, life in these communities and the conservatism in the ideology of some individuals, mainly of older generations, more or less encourage their continuous application. Meanwhile, in urban settlements, on one hand we may say that the shape of the family is changing more and more each day, and the application of such norms is constantly decreasing, but on the other hand, the phenomenon of migration from the village to the city, which is continuously increasing, is making an impact on the concentration of the rural people in the cities, as a form of contribution to the preservation of the CLD rules, mainly to the arrived people. Now, in the time of socio-economic transformation and demographic transition, the eradication of these kinds of prior norms is more than necessary. It is necessary because these norms oppose the trend of development, and certainly they often bring negative effects in many spheres of socio-cultural life, within the urban community, but in the rural one as well.

2. The status of women according to the common law

When the position of a woman in Kosovo is mentioned, all the factors that conditioned her status and position must be taken into consideration. She was in an inferior position in every aspect. Her life had been limited inside the

family life borders, suppressed by the backwardness, religion, patriarchy, and the ignorance of time. What further impaired her life was the application of the Lekë Dukagjini Code norms, according to which, women were considered as a second-hand human being. Therefore, by taking into consideration all these elements, the position of women in Albanian society cannot be studied and understood separately from the family, its formation and development, as well as from the legal unwritten norms on property and inheritance. These elements are narrowly related to one another and reciprocally conditioned. The development of the two latter essentials is conditioned by the development of the relations in production. The forms of the family are also conditioned by the same relations.

On the basis of the natural life, agricultural and farm production, and the social & spatial isolation, the family preserved all the functions of economic unit, whereas the women, because of their economic dependence, extremely low level of education, their attachment to their homes and family bonds, could not objectively achieve their personal aims outside their family and household life. Family as a primary social institution played the role of transmitting collective values. Within the family, besides its reproduction function as its long-term form, all the other economic, consumption, education, legal, and health functions were performed. The relation between the economic and reproduction function of the family was very close (Islami, 1999). The patriarchal family was the basic unit of social organization and the main subject upon which the Albanian common law acted. This kind of family was created in the second mid of the 15th century and in the 16th century (Luarasi 2000), mainly with the introduction of the private property, based on the extensive farming economy. According to common law, the patriarchal family was organized based on some criteria, like: 1) it was a community of people related by blood through the male line, or consolidated by marriage; it consisted of some generations, like sons and nephews of the paterfamilias, with their wives and their families; 2) there was a family economy, where all the incomes were cumulated in one unique place and were administered solely by the paterfamilias (the father of the house), who took care of the necessities of all the members of the house; 3) men had supremacy (domination) upon women of the family, this being one of the main attributes of this kind of family; 4) paterfamilias had power upon all the members of the family; 5) jobs were divided between members of each family and each family had an internal organization, by rights and duties granted to their members, based on their capacities and habits (Luarasi 2000; Rrapi 2000). Solidarity between all the members of the family, despite age or gender, was the main element that kept the patriarchal family and all its components alive.

Among Albanians there are two kind of patriarchal families: extended family and nuclear family (Luarasi 2001). An extended family consisted of two parents and their married sons, and with their grandsons and granddaughters (Krasniqi 1990), which means that they consisted of some generations or some small families. All of them lived together and were led by one paterfamilias, who had an authority upon all the other members of the family (Tomasic 1947, Begolli 1984). Also, they all worked in the same land, they were fed and dressed by the same common stocks, but they also jointly possessed the surplus of the revenues. This kind of the family existed for decades, because of the maintenance of private property in economy and the need for solidarity. The agricultural – farming lifestyle, poor power of the state and personal as well as property insecurity were the main factors that had an impact on the preservation of these extended Albanian families for such a long period of time.

Natural and extensive production required a considerable labor force, which could only be provided by the extended family, a factor which made the regular functioning of this kind of family possible. However, in addition to this, collective work and unequal profit caused obvious disparities amongst the members of this kind of family, and lead to the separation into smaller families (Group of Authors 2001), that happens today as well. One of the factors that had an impact on the separation of this kind of family, was the socio-economic development of the country, where, by the incorporation of many people in the labor process, “laziness” protruded, over the fact of working collectively, and sharing personal incomes with the other members in the extended family. Other factors that indicated their restitution were the agriculture reform and the system of tax policies, which accelerated this process (Begolli 1948; Pupovci 1971; Islami 1985).

Nuclear families primarily consisted of a smaller number of members (Begolli 1984), but there were cases when this kind of family could have 12 or even more members (e.g.: parents and ten children), which sometimes was more in number than in extended families (Pupovci 1971). A small number of generations was the fact that characterized this family. However, although these families consisted only of two generations (parents and children), as a notion, they are not similar to the notion of the today’s narrow (close) family (Pupovci 1971). The head of the nuclear family, was the owner of the family assets, who had far-reaching powers on his children (even the right to take their lives; CLD § 59) and grand power upon his wife. These facts witness the patriarchal style of this family. These families were formed by the separation of the extended families into nuclear families, which could increase in number, the generations

could multiply, and over time turn into extended families (Luarasi 2001; Pupovci 1971). But, there were cases that even with the father's death in a small family; children might not get back into the extended family, even though they had equal rights and the right of property (Luarasi 2001).

The main difference between these two kinds of families was the different character of ownership; since the nature of the family remained almost the same. Legal relations between the members of the family did not change entirely and because of this fact, according to Bogishiq (Pupovci 1971), amongst the people there was no special expression on the differences between these two kinds of families, therefore, they were often called identical (Pupovci 1971). But, according to S. Pupovci, Gjeçovi in CLD pays a great deal of attention to the organization of the extended family (KLD §§ 20-25) and the nuclear family (KLD §§ 58-63) (Pupovci 1971), a fact that witnesses the existence of these two types of families in Albanian territories. According to him, the nuclear family had relatively been common, even in the period of Gjeçovi researches; otherwise, it would not have been necessary to address a special chapter to this kind of family in his works. It is thought that the nuclear family started to dominate by the second half of the 19th century, especially in the beginning of the 20th century (Luarasi 2001), a period that is related to the socio-economic developments of that era, which impacted the mitigation of the application of customary norms.

A similarity between these two forms of family was the position of women in them. In such families and their economies, and especially in the extended families as a strong and economically autonomous unit in the rural environments, almost all the needs of every-day life were fulfilled by the members of the family. Within such family communities, because of the lack of life and labor socialization, all the economic and social functions were performed, starting from the biological reproduction, production and consumption functions of the people and up to the educational, protective, health functions, etc. In the family, the personality of each of its members was formed, and inside the family, each of its members was prepared for a future life in society. In extended families, the labor separation was much wider than in families with fewer members, but the physiologic separation of the work dominated as well: jobs were separated on basis on gender and age (Islami 2005).

The organization of work inside the house and the family was of high interest, especially for extended families. Each house, regardless of the number of its members, had its paterfamilias and its patroness. Paterfamilias (predominantly the oldest male of the family) had a wide power, which was

expressed upon his wife and other members of the family. This fact burdened the position of the woman in the family, and deprived her from all of her rights, and caused her a full isolation from the public life. They were closed inside the house; they hardly ever met anyone out of their house, except the members of the family and their cousins. Moreover, the contact with the members of the opposite gender was forbidden within the family, and most of the times at home, separate rooms for women day-standing were built. This almost separated way of life further hindered the position of the woman in the family and in the society, and limited her freedom of movement.

Patroness was appointed the most capable woman, the most adaptable and the most intelligent one, but not the oldest amongst the women. She was appointed under the proposal of all women, but the final decision was for the paterfamilias to make. She (alongside two or three other women) took care of the food, whereas other women took care of animal products (dairy products), looked after their children, did chores and other jobs in the economic garden, mainly for family needs. Some of them, in some village regions, worked in the agriculture economy, in the fields, meanwhile girls helped their mothers in housekeeping, looked after their brothers and their younger sisters, and prepared themselves for bridehood (dowry).

These jobs were very hard for women, and that is why women are often suspected and accused of the separation of the extended family. Women's reaction, because of their difficult position in the family, her dissatisfaction in general, or the differences between women at home caused disputes between their husbands (Begolli 1984). If we analyze this fact more thoroughly, we may easily say that this is a form of "emancipation", which may be considered a "rebellion". This kind of emancipation with Albanian women is being developed very slowly and a relatively long period of time is needed for this process to give satisfactory results in society. For a woman's liberation in society we could discuss only when she would have the possibility to participate in employment in a wider range, and when household chores are no longer expected solely from her.

As far as the right on ownership and inheritance is concerned, it differs not only between the types of families, but between the members of the family as well. For instance, in the extended family, the entire property was shared (it consisted of real estate) and none of its male members could have their own separated property, except the females. Her property was dowry, clothes, some small things that she had made herself, wedding gifts, etc, things that belonged to her only, and consisted her own personal property. In nuclear families, the entire property belonged to the paterfamilias, who had extensive rights over it.

When talking about the inheritance, “*the CODE recognizes the son as an heir, but not the daughter*” (CLD § 88) and “*Inheritance belongs to a descendant by filiation or by blood, and not to one related by milk [i.e. a child of a different parent breastfed by the same mother], nor the children of daughters*” (CLD § 90). According to the words stated above, in Albanian society, a legatee is considered the son (or the closest man according to the family tree), and not the daughter. The property that is inherited generation after generation is shared (shared things, money, cattle, and furniture) and it is the property of the progenitors (father or grandfather), which is divided for the number of men in family (CLD § 59). That part of the property, gained after the marriage (not the one inherited) is the part that serves to support the wife and children (food and clothes) (Pupovci, 1971). But, in the case that the family does not have male legatees, just female, even then, the women do not inherit the property of their father. “*A father who does not have sons may leave his daughters neither land nor property nor house*” (CLD § 108). After the father’s death, his property is divided between the uncles, who are obliged to raise her and marry her off, as if she would be their daughter (CLD §§ 99-102). In case that the daughter gives up from marriage (sworn virgin or because of other physical or psychological handicap), then she remained in the property of her father, but she was not the owner, just an exploiter of her father’s property. She could not appropriate any of the real estate (Pupovci 1971).

The main reasons for excluding the daughter from the inheritance were to prevent the property from moving to another tribe, and to save the patriarchal regulation of these Albanian tribes. This means that it should forever be aimed to save the basic production means in the hands of men. This segregation of women from the inheritance process, presents once more the inferior position of women in the family, society, and in the labor process.

If a woman is married, than CLD somehow regulates her position. This happens to nuclear families, where the legal position of the woman in front of the inheritance property of the dead husband is improved. A small part of the husband’s property belongs to the woman, as his wife (successor) (Pupovci 1971). This is done because of the reason that, after the husband’s death, the woman is materially liable, because she lived from the husband’s property. This provides a safer way for continuing her life. But to achieve this, the woman must fulfill two conditions: firstly, she must have given birth to a child (preferably male), and secondly, she must have lived with her husband until his death (not to have been excluded from him at any time) (Pupovci 1971).

On the other hand, if the woman dies, Code does not grant the right on

inheritance of the husband upon the ownership of the dead woman, accompanied with the reason that this ownership did not have any huge value and any kind of interest for him. But, it is worth mentioning that the husband did not have any rights upon the things of his wife that were given to her by her father, mother and cousins, before or after the marriage (Pupovci 1971). This part of the mother's property could not be inherited the same as the father's one. While for the property of the father from the circle of blood-related cousins that have inheritance rights is unlimited, in the mothers' property, this circle is limited (Pupovci 1971). The mother's dowry was inherited by her daughters, whereas other things from her personal property were inherited by both, the daughters and the sons. It could be said that daughters had more priority, and sons inherited only if that house had no female offspring. If a woman did not have any child, then her personal ownership was inherited by the people of her gender (Begolli 1984).

From these facts, we see that women are stripped of numerous legal rights and have a very limited legal and acting capacity. But, besides this, they also had some privileges, like for instance, a woman could not be a subject of revenge. Even if she had killed someone, her cousins would be responsible for that act. (article 28 of CLD); as soon as a woman (pregnant) as a mediator gets in between the conflict, the bloodshed must be stopped (CLD, 1972) and when a woman defends someone, even the murderer, then nobody can kill him.

3. Women rights in the father's family

Woman's position in the patriarchal family, which was a devoted implementer of the rigid rules of CLD, was not only pressed and discriminated, but also prevented in each aspect from the rights for self-determination. While a woman was unmarried, she, her behavior, and her ethics, were taken care of by the whole family, father, mother and brothers. She was under the continual control of her family, especially in the ethics context (Luarasi 2000; Halimi 2000). Until the age of 12-13 she mainly did field work, which pertained to agriculture and farming, and after this age, she did other household jobs as well, alongside the married women of the house. After engagement, she was released from all housework, especially from the field work, because now it was the time to prepare the dowry (Halimi 2000), which had to be her handwork. In other words, during all this time, in the pre marriage life, she planned how to live her post-marriage life, prepared dowry, and was educated to always be under the superiority of man and to be bound to him. This witnesses that women have always been depended on the men of the house. During the time she was a maiden, in her parents' family, she was totally subordinated to her

father's power, and in the husband's family, subordinated to the husband's power. What's more, in the latter, she was subordinated to the other men of the family. But, subordination and her right-less position, even though these were present in her father's family, in a way she was freer and more supported because of the love from her parents. Whilst with engagement, and later, marriage, she was loaded with new obligations, which further worsened her life.

When the girl reached a certain age, those interested started "to ask for" her. The request was done through a mediator (negotiator), who was sent from the side of the man's family to the daughter's family. She did not have any right in his selection, which means that her fate would be decided by the head of the family whose interest was to marry the daughter in a rich family, regardless of the age of the groom, his physical condition, etc. (Halimi, 2000; Begolli, 1984). She was informed about her engagement by her parents and it happened very often that she (or he), did not meet the fiancée. On the other hand, the man's family was interested in creating friendships with any rich family, disregarding the daughter's attributes. This is clearly seen in § 31 of the CLD, where it is said: "*The young woman does not have the right: a) To choose her own husband; she must go to the man to whom she has been betrothed; b) To interfere in the selection of a matchmaker or in the engagement arrangements; c) To interfere in the arrangements for shoes or clothes and also in § 30, The young man whose parents are alive does not have the right: a) To worry himself about his own marriage; b) To select the matchmaker; c) To interfere in his own engagement; d) To interfere in the token of engagement, in arrangements for the clothes or shoes, or in the setting of the marriage date*" (CLD, 1972).

According to the customs, the engagement act could not be protested. Its protest was contempt of the paterfamilias, an intolerable thing. In the case when the girl did not want to marry with the fiancé she was appointed, she was married by force "*together with a cartridge*" (CLD § 43), that in case of escape, her fiancé could freely murder her with the cartridge taken from her parents. This was done because of the fact that in case of a murder, the families were protected from blood feud, and the blood feud would not continue further.

Breaking of the engagement was the sole right of the man's side, because of any severe physical or psychological diseases of the fiancée which would cause disability in the marriage and economic life. This act was considered as a reasonable one. However, if the fiancé became severely handicapped but of nothing pertaining to his sexual ability, the family of the fiancée would not have the right to break the engagement with that motivation, because, according to the villagers mentality, this was irrelevant to the marriage.

In this case, engagement could be broken only if the legatees could not be insured, because of the sexual inability of the fiancé (Begolli 1984).

The only case from the girl's side, that presented a type of exclusion from engagement, according to the Albanian common law, was when the girl declared in front of the paterfamilias that she would never marry. With this declaration, she became "a sworn virgin". The first and the main reason of this phenomenon in traditional Albanian society, is the economic one. It is about the tendencies of the families to save the property and the house as one whole in the hands of one person: those of the virgin. She will inherit and represent her family, because she was treated as a paterfamilias when there are no other men in that house (even though the property would not be registered on her name) (Begolli 1984). The second reason is the willingness of a member of the family (daughter) to sacrifice for other members of the family, especially for the younger brothers, after the early death of both parents. The third reason was her disagreement to marry with the person arranged by her parents who she did not love. Therefore, to express her revolt for the condescension of her will, she decided not to marry. According to the customs, the given word for the engagement of the daughter could not be canceled, because otherwise, blood or compensation for another marriage from the son's side was required. To get out of this hell, the daughter "transformed" herself into a man, and she was released from the indemnification (Halimi 2000). A characteristic of virgins was that they were dressed and acted like men (or even changed their name), and had more freedom in the decision-making processes. They did men's work, were invited to men's meetings and stayed in men's chambers, kept arms and fought equally with men. But, when they knew that she is a woman, she was never a subject of revenge. Her limits, in comparison with the opposite gender, were the lack of a right to vote in the meetings of men, and lack of right to pray in mosque. Although she was granted with this certain level of freedom and rights, and although she never did women's jobs, she was still buried after death as a female (Young 2000).

The rights of the engaged women (men's as well) were limited. Engagement was one of the cases which further worsened her position in the fathers' family, because the regime of being locked inside the house was even tougher. Mainly all the restrictions, from both sides, were based on ethics. They aimed to press and guard the rights of the male, in order to limit his acts towards the women, whilst women's restrictions were done with the aim to render her forever as "ashamed", and to have her easily in abidance to the superiority of men. Then "*If the young man desires, he is free to break up with the young woman to whom he is engaged, but he loses the token and all the money that he had*

given for the girl. The reason for this is “Whoever breaks up with an engaged girl must pay the fine imposed by the Code, consisting of the token and the money that he had given for her” (CLD § 42). This results with the fact that the Code does not convey unwanted marital relationships, but moreover, with this economic factor, which for our man, with poor economic conditions, meant a lot, was an attempt not to allow men to get involved in such adventures without any grand reasons.

Engagement sometimes lasted too long. There were cases when the engagement was arranged since the birth of the female, and then they waited for the marriage until the mental and sexual maturity of the female. (Luarasi, 2000) or there were some cases when the fiancé’s family did not fulfill all the financial obligations (CLD, 1972: 14). When this is said, it is meant of the payment of the price for the bride, which was foreseen by the CLD. This kind of purchase was known for many people (Begolli, 1985). That is an ancient custom, that derives from the primitive community, which was preserved in many common laws of different people, until today, but with some modalities. These facts make us understand that marriage of economic character was the main type of marriage.

According to CLD rules, as the time went by, the contracted (or the conventionally defined) amount of money changed its destination, even though, it was, first of all used for preparing the girl (for the preparation of the dowry). Among Albanians in Kosovo, this money often did not remain with the family of the fiancée. But in earlier times and even today, there were (and are) lots of cases, especially in the villages, when the girl’s parents kept (and keep) the majority of the money destined for the girl’s dowry for themselves, something which further aggravated her position in the husband’s family. Nevertheless, the given amount of money for the fiancée was a huge expense and a heavy burden for the fiancé’s family. That is why it could cause impoverishment, especially when there were abuses made by the side of the fiancé’s cousins, who asked for additional amounts of money (Pupovci 1972). But, in case that the girl was the cause of the engagement’s break, she was obliged to pay the fine to the family of the man. This amount had to be sufficient for the man to get married once again with somebody else (Begolli 1984).

It was the fiancée’s duty to bring to her husband her dowry. *The dowry* (Begolli, 1984) that the girl received in the occasion of her marriage was meant to provide her with a solid life in the new family (the husband’s family) and to make her position easier in the beginning, until she would adjust to the new family’s environment. Also, the girl’s family gave to the groom or to his family a part of land or house. This part of property was called dowry (Begolli 1984).

There were cases when the son or his family was more interested in the dowry, than the qualities of the girl.

4. The rights and obligations of the woman in the spouse's family

In the Albanian patriarchal society, marriage was considered an important family event, because it brought success, luck and most of all, legateses and new labour force. But, with marriage, the woman's position in the spouse's family was further exacerbated, compared to her position in the parents' family, because there, she found a new environment that limited even those few rights that she was entitled to earlier. The wife and the husband mainly met after the act of marriage; therefore, the basis of their relationship was not love and tolerance, but the practice of family functions. Among the main functions of these families were reproduction and honesty (ethics), upon which the marriage sustainability/stability depended. It was a tradition that marriage life should last until death. Divorce happened only if the wife was sterile and if she was not devoted and faithful to her husband. Among other functions that the woman had to fulfill were the economic functions (house chores and field work), educational (child care and their education), etc.

The newly-wedded woman (the bride) consisted a special category. At the beginning, not only she was not considered a member of her husband's family, but she was not even addressed by her name. She was mainly addressed as "bride" (al: *nuse*) until a new bride arrived in that family. Furthermore, in the wider family environment (close cousins), the term "slave" (al: *rob*) was applied to her (CLD § 28), which expressed, in a figurative way, her inferior position in the family.

A woman's job, among others, was to preserve the honor of infidelity. Her faithfulness was her husband's honor as well. It was her main value, and without it, other values did not count, regardless of how positive they might have been. Economic and social conditions and legal & ethic norms created in women and girls a persuasion that they should, by themselves, evaluate and preserve their honor for their entire lives. This was in harmony with CLD § 33, where it was stated that "*The duties of the wife are: a) To preserve the honor of her husband; c) To surrender to his domination; e) To bring up and nurture her children with honor*". With this, she was obedient and served, and surrendered not only to her husband, but to all the members of the family.

The married woman, even after the creation of the family, was not considered as a member of the spouse's family. She was forever considered a member of her father's family. Only her children belonged to her spouse's family. This was also seen by the sanctions that were imposed because of any

improper behavior, in which case, the paterfamilias only sanctioned the husband. This was due to an inability to punish the bride, with the justification that she was not a member of his family and she was considered a foreigner. Furthermore, the bride with her improper behavior did not bring shame upon the husband's family, but upon her father's family.

The woman's position in the spouse's family, even after a long time and even after the children's birth and the creation of the family, did not change much from the bride's position. In fact, sometimes it was even harder, because she performed some very difficult and hard work (field and farm work), had children and looked after them, she was engaged with food and cooking and, according to the customs, she was obliged to surrender by all means to the will and desire of her husband. In CLD § 28, it is stated: *"To be married according to the Code it means to create a household, to have another member added to the family, for the purpose of adding more labour force and increasing the number of children"*. From this definition of marriage, we see that the woman in reality was engaged in a threefold manner: 1) to create the family, *"to create a household"*, which would be her social function; 2) adding more labour force, *"adding another member to the family"*, to provide tools for the family existence, especially when the husband could not work, which is an economical function, and 3) for biological reproduction, *"to increase the number of children"*, which is her biological function.

From all these functions, the most important one in the patriarchal family, without doubts, was the reproductive function. In the Albanian tradition, the family was not only the most holy, something for which everything should be sacrificed, including personal interest, but also the agricultural-farming structure of life, hard work and extensive engagement in the economic life, required a huge number of members and children. Families without children were considered poor, but also without workforce or social perspective. A high fertility rate and a high number of children, despite the high mortality rate, were the main aim of marriage. This was because a family had to be stronger and with a higher number of members, who increased its labor and protection force. Furthermore, these families were characterized by a high and unplanned fertility rate. To have safer legatees, women were supposed to have children continually until the end of their physiological consumption. Often, fertility, to many Albanian women, achieved the maximal limit of fecundation, which means that women had as many children as they could, consuming all their procreative potential, or ability of having children (Islami, 1997). High fertility, except for the will of having as many children as possible, was caused by the lack of knowledge about contraceptive tools, by the women of rural environments. A dominant form of birth control was coitus interrupts' or interruption of the sexual act.

Apart from the continuous childbirth, of a great importance was also the gender of the infant. In patriarchal environments and in specified socio-economic conditions, there was always an advantage for males, so the children of that gender gave satisfaction and hope to the respective family. This was different for girls, because they, according to the popular tradition were “a foreign morsel” or “a foreign door” (Islami 2005). If a woman gave birth to baby girls, she was almost equalized with a sterile woman, whilst male birth was of interest to the families of the woman and the man, because in this way, she would have positive attributes assigned, but also improve her position in the spouse’s family. Everyone impatiently awaited the birth of baby boys, because they were necessary for the family and home economy continuity, as an economical unit of inheritance of the property and the family name, and he was a caretaker of his parents at the old age. Also, the infant’s gender decided the time the mother spent resting after childbirth. The birth of a boy guaranteed that all members of the family would look after her, and make sure she did not get up on her feet too early. On the contrary to the birth of a baby girl, the care for her and her child was minor (Begolli 1984). In the case that the woman did not have children, sterility was never investigated. Guilt was always with the woman; this fact kept the woman in an unstable position, sometimes even had her removed from the household (Islami 2005).

In the patriarchal family, women had no rights upon their children; every right was granted solely from the father. Even the word parent had a very narrow meaning, because it referred to the father only. “*The wife does not have any rights over either the children or the house*” (CLD § 61, point b). Between mother and children there was only moral relation. All the rights and duties were attributed to the father (CLD, 1972: 22), and in this way, his position and his power were preserved. In the case of the father’s death and the mother’s remarriage, the child remained with the deceased father’s family. Only if the child was an infant, she could raise him/her with the father’s family goods, and after a period of time, return the child to the family (Begolli 1984).

5. Conclusion

In almost all the countries in the world, with a varying intensity and depending on the level of the economic development of the country, the common law norms exist. In Albanian society, these norms are more emphasized and have been implemented for a long period of time, and they have served to regulate the society, including the family and the position of the female within.

The position of the females at this time was not only difficult and caused by the backwardness and patriarchies, but the CLD was the one that

stiffened this situation even further, by limiting women even more from the few rights they possessed. The main rights, by this code, are given to the male, who apart from many other different privileges, had the right of domination upon woman. This heightened her troubles by insinuating her into isolation from the public life. They were locked in homes and barely saw anyone outside of the household, except the members of the family and their distant cousins. Any kind of contact with members of the different gender inside the family was forbidden, and most of the time, in houses, a separate room for the women to sit during the day was built.

In general, there were differences between the position of the woman as a daughter, a wife, and a mother. While she was a maiden, she resided in her father's home, who dictated her behavior and ethics, with the support of his sons. She was under a continuous control of her family. Until the age of 12/13, she did mainly field-work, pertaining to cattle and agriculture, and after this age she did other household chores, alongside the other married women of the house. In the case of engagement, which was by all means arranged by the parents, she was relieved of some obligations and she was mainly engaged with the preparation of becoming a bride. This period was very short because after her marriage, her position deteriorated even more in her husband's family. Now, she was under the total supremacy of her husband, the other male members of the family, and the patroness. In this house, her main role was childbirth, whereas the gender of the infant determined her family status. If she had a daughter, she was considered equal to a barren (sterile) woman; meanwhile, if she had a son, her position would greatly improve, and there were some good physical and ethical values attributed to her.

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A Study of Maternal Status, Household Structure and Children's Nutritional Status in India

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Abstract: Almost half (48 per cent) of the children under five years of age are stunted in India. Stunting and other forms of under-nutrition are thought to be responsible for nearly half of all child deaths globally. Understanding the factors that contribute to high prevalence of stunting is important for child development and child survival.

This study examines the maternal and household determinants of stunting, using data from the 2005-06 National Family Health Survey (NFHS). Sample consists of 45,378 children who were born within the five years preceding the survey and whose mothers were interviewed at the time of survey. Analyses focus on children age 0-59 months whose weight and height were measured at the time of survey. Descriptive statistics (frequency and percentages) was used to describe the data. The logistic regression model also makes it possible to predict the stunting among children.

Our results show that rural children were more likely to be stunted (50.7%) as compared to their urban counterparts (39.9%). After controlling education and wealth index, no other maternal and household variables are significantly associated with stunting for rural sample. The lowest probability (39%) of stunting was observed for children living in the urban area, whose mother have secondary/higher education and in the highest wealth index group. Educated women were more likely to realize the benefits of healthy eating habit of children; therefore their children were less likely to be stunt. Children living in the rural area and those in the poorer wealth quintile were more disadvantaged.

Keywords: education, wealth, income, nuclear family and stunting

1. Introduction

Children nutritional status is a major concern in each country as well as in global community. Childhood nutrition refers to the dietary needs of healthy children. In developing countries, children are more vulnerable to malnutrition because of low dietary intakes, infectious diseases and lack of appropriate care. Height and weight are the most commonly used indicators of the nutritional status of a child. According to a WHO Working Group (WHO 1986), appropriate height-for-age of a child reflects linear growth and can measure long-term growth faltering or stunting. Stunting, or being too short for one's age, is defined as a height that is more than two standard deviations below the World Health Organization (WHO) Child Growth Standards median (WHO 2014). Stunting is the outcome of chronic deficiency in nutrition during the first 1000 days of a child's life—from conception, through pregnancy, to the age of two. A stunted child will never reach his or her full cognitive capacity, never able to learn as much nor earn as much throughout life. Stunting and other forms of under-nutrition are thought to be responsible for nearly half of all child deaths globally. Stunting and other forms of under-nutrition are thought to be responsible for nearly half of all child deaths globally. In India, almost half (48 per cent) of children under five years of age are stunted (WHO et al 2006, IIPS 2005).

2. Literature Review

The relevance of women's status for children's health has been documented in previous literature. Studies have demonstrated that higher women's status is correlated with child's better nutrition (Smith et al 2003, Guha-Khasnobis et al 2006). However, only few studies have specifically examined the link between household structure and nutritional status of children.

The importance of mother's education for child health and nutrition has been well demonstrated (Caldwell et al 1979, Kabubo-Mariara et al 2009, Ruel et al 1992). According to Mosley and Chen (1984) maternal education affects children's health and nutritional outcomes through its effect on improving women's socioeconomic status. A study done by Miller and Han (2008) claimed that, mothers with irregular working shifts will have disruption in meal preparation and activity routines. A review by Leslie (1988) shows some positive and some negative relationships between women's work for earnings and the nutritional status of their children. The study also reported that child's BMI increased significantly if their mothers worked at irregular schedule. Thus, children of employed mothers were more likely to have poor dietary habits and spent more time engaging in sedentary activity compared to

children of unemployed mothers (Hawkins 2007). Evidence also suggests that allowing mothers to work to earn their own income would contribute to the reduction of child malnutrition in the regions and zones that have the highest burden of malnutrition in Nigeria (Ajieroh 2009).

Recent literature suggests that women's autonomy may be one of the important variables influencing children's nutritional status though many studies give conflicting results (Brunson 2009, Shroff et al 2009, Smith 2003). To reduce the burden of child under-nutrition, it is important to implement appropriate policies and interventions targeting determinants such as economic status and empowerment of women (Bhutta et al 2008).

According to Desai (2009), extended households have much more positive nutritional outcomes for children compared with single-parent households. Others have found evidence of a strong association between household structure and various measures of child development (Thomson et al 1994, Gage et al 1997). Previous studies have shown that children in poorer households tend to be more under-nourished than children in better-off households (Larrea et al 2005, Thang et al 2005).

In this paper the relationship examined between various maternal and household characteristics and stunting among children under age 60 months (5 years), based on data from the National Family Health Survey (NFHS-3). First, it is hypothesized that the higher the women's status, the better is the nutritional status among children. It is also hypothesized that children from a nuclear household structure have better nutrition condition. Specifically, the study explores the implications of the dual effects of maternal status and household structure on health outcomes of children under age 5.

3. Data and Methods

3.1. Data Source

This study uses the third round of National Family Health Survey (NFHS-III), which was conducted by the International Institute for population Sciences (IIPS) and ORC Macro International. The NFHS uses a two-stage cluster sampling design in which clusters are selected at the first stage followed by households. NFHS-3 collected information from a nationally representative sample of 109,041 households, 124,385 women age 15-49, and 74,369 men age 15-54. The survey collected detailed information on women's background characteristics, fertility, family planning, and maternal healthcare behaviors including use of antenatal, delivery, and postnatal care. The survey also collected information from all married women on their decision making autonomy and other status measures.

3. 2. Variables

3.2.1. *Dependent Variables*

The study analyses index of physical growth that describes the nutritional status of children under-five age group i.e. stunting as dependent variable. Children whose height-for-age Z-score is below minus two standard deviations (-2 SD) from the median of the reference population are considered short for their age (stunted) and are chronically malnourished. The dependent variable is dichotomous in nature indicating stunted and normal (non-stunted) children.

3.2.2. *Independent Variables*

To assess maternal status and household characteristics, proxy variables were used. Maternal status is measured using four indicators derived from a NFHS. *Maternal education* variable measures the level of education that a woman has completed. This variable was categorized as no education (coded as 0), primary education (coded as 1) and secondary/higher education (coded as 2). Likewise, *work status* of women indicates whether the woman is employed in any type of work aside from her own housework at any time in the 12 months preceding the survey. This was also a dichotomous variable, coded as 0 for not currently working and 1 for currently working. *Type of earn* is the variable that indicates whether the woman is engaged in any income-generating activities. Women who are not working and those who are working in-kind payment are placed in the no cash income category (coded as 0), whereas the women who are earning cash for their work are placed in the cash income category (coded as 1). *Women autonomy* is a composite score of four variables related to women on their participation in four different types of decisions: their own health care, making large household purchases, making household purchases for daily household needs, and visiting their family or relatives. Autonomy variable was given code 1 for women who have decision-making autonomy and 0 otherwise.

Two measures of household characteristics: *family structure* and *wealth index* were also included in this study. *Family structure* is a proxy indicator for a nuclear and non nuclear (extended) type of family. *Nuclear households* are households comprised of a married couple or a man or a woman living alone or with unmarried children (biological, adopted, or fostered) with or without unrelated individuals (coded as 1) and household with three or more related adults were assumed to have an extended/non-nuclear household family structure (coded as 0). *Wealth* status of the household is measured by a composite score of several indicators of household possessions. Based on household asset data and housing characteristics in NFHS-III five *wealth quintiles* were constructed; lowest, second, middle, fourth and highest quintile.

Richer was the composite of highest and fourth quintiles (coded as 2), middle was coded as 1 and the poorer was the composite of lowest and second quintile (coded as 0). Place of residence was used as control variable in this study. It was also a dichotomous variable (rural-urban).

3.3. Data analysis

Data was analyzed using SPSS software version 20. Descriptive statistics (frequency and percentage) was used to describe the sample and both bivariate and multivariate techniques were applied in the study.

Since the dependent variable was dichotomous, logistic regression analysis was used to estimate the effect of the independent variables on the dependent variables. Since the rural and urban children were different in most of the characteristics separate models were fitted for the urban and rural children. The logistic regression model also makes it possible to calculate the probability of use of the maternal health care services.

4. Results

4. 1. Characteristics of the Sample

Result of prevalence of stunting among children under-five according to place of residence in India is presented in Table 1. In India about half (48%) of all children under age five were stunted-that is, they are too short for their age. Rural children were more likely to be stunted (50.7%) as compared to urban children where 39.9% of them were too short for their age.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics of dependent variables, India 2005-06

	Total		Urban		Rural	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Children</i>	45378	100	11214	100	34164	100
Stunted	21799	48	4469	39.9	17330	50.7
Normal	23579	52	6745	60.1	16834	49.3

Table 2. Descriptive statistics of independent variables, India 2005-06

<i>Variables</i>	Rural	Urban	No of Women
<i>Women Education</i>			
No Education	57.4	28.3	21057
Primary Education	14.5	12.6	7476
Secondary/Higher Education	28.1	59.1	23021
<i>Work Status</i>			
Not Currently working	56.8	80.2	33265
Currently Working	43.2	19.8	18257
<i>Type of Earn</i>			
Cash Income	23.2	18	10954
No Cash Income	76.8	82	40601
<i>Women Autonomy</i>			
No	35.4	25.1	14335
Yes	64.6	74.9	37220
<i>Type of Household</i>			
Nuclear	47.1	48.7	23173
Non-nuclear	52.9	51.3	24857
<i>Wealth Index</i>			
Poorer	59.7	13	18771
Middle	20.9	16.5	10659
Richer	19.4	70.4	22125

Table 2 shows the pattern of rural and urban samples according to maternal status and household structure. Sample shows that 57.4% of rural women had no education and 59.6% of the urban women had secondary/higher education. Sample shows that less percent of women had secondary education in both the areas (14.5% for rural sample and 12.6% for urban sample). Sample also shows that 43.2% of rural women were currently working, however only 19.8% of their urban counterparts were currently working. Among the working women about one-fourth were paid only in cash for both the place of residence (23.2% for rural sample and 18% for urban sample). In India, urban mothers were more likely to be having autonomy compared to their rural counterparts. Table

2 shows that three in five households in India were nuclear. The proportion of non-nuclear households is higher in rural areas (40.7 percent) than in urban areas (37 percent). Table 2 presents the population separated into wealth quintiles by urban-rural residence in India. 70.4% of the population in urban areas was in the richest wealth quintile; in contrast only 19.3% of the rural population was in the richest wealth quintile. One-fifth of the rural population was in middle quintile.

4.2. Prevalence of stunting by maternal and household characteristics

Table 3 shows the distribution normal and stunted children by key characteristics of mother and household among children whose mothers were interviewed. Table 3 also shows the prevalence of stunting was significantly higher among the children whose mothers have no education (57.1%) as compared to the children whose mothers have primary education (48.6%) and secondary/higher education (35.6%). However three of every five stunted children whose mother were not currently working ($p=0.000$). 23.8% of the children of employed mother paid only in cash were stunted however, four of every five children of mother who have no cash income were normal ($p=0.000$). Result also shows that 55.3% children of currently working women were significantly stunted however, only 44.9% children of non-working women were stunted ($p=0.000$). Children, whose mothers were paid in cash, were more likely to be stunted significantly as compared to the children whose mothers were not paid in cash. More than half (52.4%) of the children whose mother were paid only in cash were stunted. Result shows that maternal autonomy in decision making, have also significant association with children stunting. Children, whose mothers have autonomy in decision making, were significantly less stunted (48.3%) as compared to their counterparts whose mothers have no autonomy (52.6%). Likewise maternal status, household characteristics have also significant role on child health. Children belong to nuclear family were significantly more likely to stunted (51.7%) as compared to their counterparts from extended/non nuclear family (45.8%). Results portrays that wealth status also affects the stunting status of children significantly and positively. Children belongs to poorer wealth quintile were more prone to be stunted than the children from richer and middle wealth quintile.

Table 3. Prevalence of stunting by selected maternal and household characteristics, India 2005-06

	Normal	Stunted	p-value	No of Children
<i>Women Education</i>				
No Education	42.9	57.1	0.000	22311
Primary Education	51.4	48.6		6461
Secondary/Higher Education	64.4	35.6		16604
<i>Work Status</i>				
Not Currently working	55.1	44.9	0.000	28399
Currently Working	46.7	53.3		16967
<i>Type of Earn</i>				
Cash Income	47.6	52.4	0.000	9902
No Cash Income	53.2	46.8		35476
<i>Women Autonomy</i>				
No	52.6	47.4	0.000	14751
Yes	51.7	48.3		30626
<i>Type of Household</i>				
Nuclear	44.5	50.4	0.000	19815
Non-nuclear	55.5	49.6		21992
<i>Wealth Index</i>				
Poorer	38.8	56.3	0.000	21417
Middle	19.9	20.5		9147
Richer	41.4	23.2		14812

4.3. Multivariate Analysis

In table 4 below shows the multivariate logistic regression result for urban and rural samples separately. This analysis shows the net effect of each variable on the stunting status of children. The result showed that children who were living in urban areas were less likely to be stunted as compared to the children living in rural areas while controlling for all the other variables in the model.

A statistically significant difference was seen by maternal education even after controlling for the other variables. The odds of stunting was 0.52 times lower among the children whose mother has secondary/higher education as compared to those with no education and a 0.73 times less odds if the mother has primary education when compared to women with no education for urban sample. Similarly, for the rural sample the odds of stunting was found to be statistically significant for the children whose mother have primary

education (OR=0.78) and secondary/higher education (OR=0.60) when compared to their counterparts whose mothers have with no education. Rural sample shows that the odds of stunting was significantly higher among the children whose mother were currently working (OR=1.09).

Table 4 Logistic regression result for stunting among children, India 2005-06

	Rural	Urban
	Exp(B)	
<i>Women Education</i>		
No Education	1.0	1.0
Primary Education	0.784***	0.739***
Secondary/Higher Education	0.603***	0.524***
<i>Work Status</i>		
Not Currently working	1.0	1.0
Currently Working	1.095**	1.016
<i>Type of Earn</i>		
Cash Income	1.0	1.0
No Cash Income	1.030	1.000
<i>Women Autonomy</i>		
No	1.0	1.0
Yes	1.039	1.041
<i>Type of Household</i>		
Nuclear	1.0	1.0
Non-nuclear	0.966	0.911*
<i>Wealth Index</i>		
Poorer	1.0	1.0
Middle	0.797***	0.847**
Richer	0.546***	0.516***

*p<0.05, ** p<0.01, *** p<0.001

Table 4 shows that stunting was found to be statistically non significant for the maternal type of earning and her mother autonomy. For the household characteristics, urban sample shows that the children from non-nuclear/extended family were 0.91 times less likely to be stunted as compared to their counterparts from nuclear family. Result shows that the odds of stunting increased with increase in household wealth index in both the rural and urban samples. The odds of stunting was about 0.5 times less if the children belongs to the highest wealth index group as compared to those belonging to the lowest wealth index group (OR=0.54 for rural sample,

OR=0.51 for urban sample). Similarly, rural sample shows that the children belong to middle wealth index group were 0.89 times less likely to be stunted compared to their counterparts belong to the poorer wealth index group.

4.4. Result for calculations of Predicted probabilities

4.4.1. Influence of place of residence, education and wealth index on stunting

Predicted probabilities on stunting were calculated by using three of the variables that showed strong effect in the logistic regression model. These variables were place of residence, wealth index and education status of the mother. A separate logistic regression model was fitted using these three independent variables by taking antenatal care use as an outcome variable.

The predicted probabilities thus were calculated as follows:

$$\text{Logit (Probability of stunting)} = 0.746 + (-0.277) X_1 + (0.022) X_2 + (-0.320) X_3$$

Where X_1 = educational level of mother, X_2 = place of residence and X_3 = wealth index

Figure 1. Predicted probabilities of stunting among children by place of residence, educational level of mother and wealth index

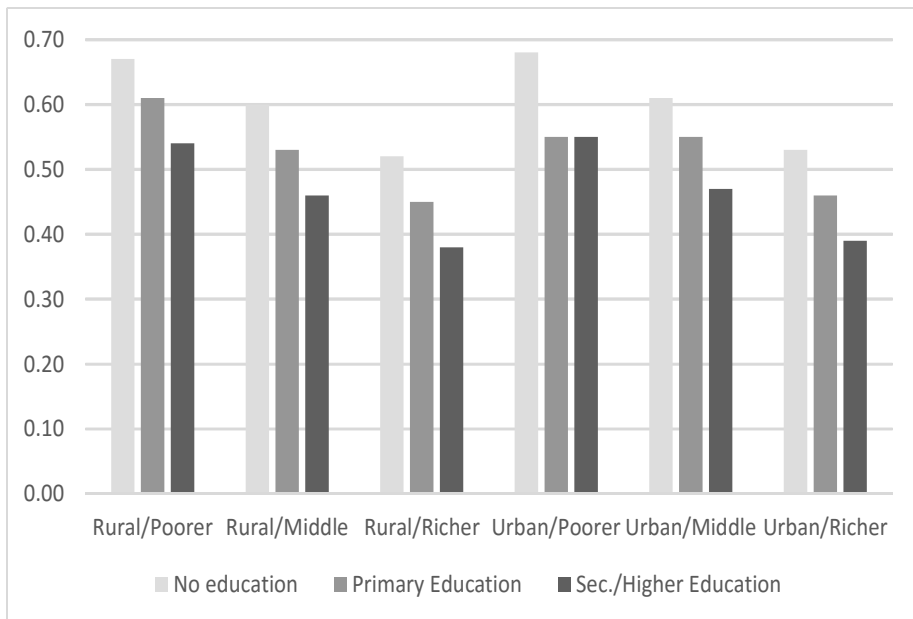


Figure 1 shows the results of the predicated probability calculation. It is observed that the probability of using stunting increases with increasing wealth index and educational status of mother. The probability also shows a different pattern by joint measures of educational status and place of residence.

Figure 1. Predicted probabilities of stunting among children by place of residence, educational level of mother and wealth index.

Children in the lowest wealth index group whose mothers have no education and living in rural areas showed the lowest probability of stunting [$1 / 1 + e^{-[0.746 + (-0.277) (0) + 0.022 (0) + (-0.320) (0)]} = 0.678$] which was 67% followed by children from the lowest wealth index group whose mother have primary education and living in and living in the rural areas. Result also shows that at the highest wealth index level, place of residence and educational status of the mother seem to have lowest probabilities of stunting among children. The lowest probability of stunting was observed for children living in the urban area, whose mother have secondary/higher education and in the highest wealth index group [$1 / 1 + e^{-[0.746 + (-0.277) (2) + 0.022 (1) + (-0.320) (2)]} = 0.395$] which is 39%.

5. Conclusion and Discussion

In this paper, an attempt has been made to examine the effects of maternal status and household characteristics on children nutritional status. The result reveals that mother's educational level the most important factor in determining children nutritional status in India. Similar consistent finding has been found with many previous studies which showed education of women to be the most important predictor of child stunting (Caldwell 1979; Kabubo-Mariara 2009; Ruel et al 1992; Mosley and Chen, 1982). There may be number of reasons why maternal education significantly affects the children nutritional status. The educated mothers have more knowledge about importance of healthy diet thus it has been directly related to increased nutrition status of children than their counterparts of uneducated mothers.

Therefore, to improve the nutritional status of children under-five in India some essential measure should be taken on women education.

Work status of women shows marginal positive association with risk of stunting among rural children. This may be due to the fact that most of the women involved in agriculture activities and they have less time to feed their children. Previous studies have shown that children of working women were significantly malnourished (Hawkins 2007; Brunson 2009). The finding show that women autonomy and type of earn does not lead to better nutritional status among both rural and urban children under-five.

Likewise maternal educations, type of household and household wealth status have significant association children nutritional status. Type of household was significantly linked to the stunting status of urban children under-five. Contrary to our hypothesis, children from extended family were less likely to be stunted. It may be because of urban parents have less time for care to their youngster and children from non-nuclear family receive more care from other family members (in terms of nutrition, health etc) that is not available in nuclear family (Desai 1992). Similarly, result also reveals that household wealth was significantly associated with the stunting among children. Wealth index show the variation in stunting between the richest and the poorest which was statistically significant. The situation becomes worse when the children are from poorer economic condition and living in rural area. The result was consistent with findings from study in Vietnam (Thang and other 2003; Larrea and others 2005). This may be because the children from wealthier class have access to healthy and nutritious food.

In conclusion, both the maternal and household variables analyzed here, maternal education found to be strongest predictor of child nutritional status in India. Therefore, strengthening women with education and literacy is essential to improve nutritional status among children. The significant nutritional difference was also observed among rural-urban children. Therefore program related to child nutrition should be run among rural women.

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Experiences from “Home” – Belonging to a Transnational Family*

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Abstract: This paper will make the voice of transnational families’ representatives heard who have remained at home, in villages in Romania. Their experiences show that departure of some family members redefines the life of those remaining at home and that migration cannot be viewed as belonging to the departed: it is a common experience of the whole family. The dichotomy “departed” and “remaining” loses its meaning and a new approach emerges towards the phenomenon of migration as a shared, not an individual, experience. The way in which the worlds of those at home are intertwined with the worlds of those departed is the central node of this paper and starting from there we shall show that transnational families are types of families that present a real challenge for their members.

Keywords: co-presence, co-absence, transnational contact, transnational lives

1. Theoretical context

The 2002 launch of the book edited by Deborah Fahy Bryceson and Ulla Vuorela strongly marked the development of transnational family research, providing a theoretical conceptual framework for those who wanted to address this issue. The key through which the studies in the field have been repositioned is especially the definition of families whose members live separated by national borders, but who nonetheless manage to keep alive their feeling of belonging to a family as to a transnational family.

In other words, the concept of a family has been redefined and it made possible for distances to melt, for geographical and political differences between countries to be overcome, and for the family to be visible and analyzable in a transnational context. This theoretical openness created a

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new perspective for those working in the field, and studies on the topic of transnational families, which were more sporadic before, became more and more frequent.

Another reference in transnational family studies is the 2004 article of Eleonore Kofman, in which the author highlights the fact that in the European space, the number of transnational families also rose through many Eastern-European countries becoming providers of work-related migration. The author reviews the – extremely few – studies concerning European transnational families.

After 2004 the works analyzing transnational families within Europe also significantly grew in number, even if they are still few compared with the number of people living in such families, and unfortunately these do not succeed in addressing the complexity of the phenomenon, but a rising academic interest can be observed for this kind of family too.

In 2014, Ninna Nyberg Sørensen and Ida Marie Vammen reviewed the literature on transnational families from the previous 10 years. The authors highlighted the fact that transnational motherhood, transnational fatherhood and transnational childhood are by far the most studied aspects of transnational families. Another focal point of these studies is the global transfer of care from the beneficiary in the target country to the migrant, and from the migrant to another member of her family.

Still, the much more important issue highlighted by the authors is that these transnational family studies are aimed at a dichotomy: „Our findings point to a tendency to think in binary oppositions – women versus men, adults versus children, staying put versus migrating, staying connected versus breaking family ties – when discussing transnational families.” (Sørensen and Vammen 2014: 99)

In what concerns transnational family studies in the Romanian context, we also find a low number of studies addressing transnational motherhood (Ducu 2013 a, 2013b; Ducu 2014) and transnational childhood (Bezzi 2013), these being framed through the prism of care within the transnational family, as well.

The present paper goes further and proposes to make heard the voices of representatives of transnational families who have stayed at home, in Romanian villages and cities. Their experiences show us the fact that the departure of some family members redefines the life of those remaining home and that migration cannot be viewed anymore as belonging only to those who have left: it is a common experience of the whole family.

The dichotomy „those who left” and „those who stayed” loses its sense and a new approach to the phenomenon of migration becomes imminent, one that treats it as a shared, not as an individual experience. The way the worlds of those at home interpenetrate with the worlds of those who left is the central node of the paper, and departing from here, we shall show that transnational families are a type of family that poses a real challenge to its members.

2. Methodological aspects

The paper is based on the qualitative field research unfolded by the research team in three Romanian communes (Prundul Bârgăului, Dorna Arini și Jidoșița) and three towns/cities (Cluj Napoca, Turda, Drobeta Turnu Severin). 60 members of transnational families have been interviewed. The data were thematically analyzed. To ensure privacy, pseudonyms were employed.

3. Co-presences and absences

The visits within transnational families have been mentioned in studies, especially those by adult migrants who return to the country in order to provide care to the elderly remaining at home. (Baldassar et al. 2007, Baldassar 2008)

When you look at migration in a binary manner – those who left versus those who stayed – the tendency is to only perceive those who leave abroad and periodically return as being in motion.

However, lately there has been an increasing amount of talk about the family members who „migrate periodically”, in order to provide care, especially to children born abroad, during their first years of life. This primarily concerns grandmothers or younger women who live for a longer period of time with the migrant family (Ducu 2013b).

In the present research, I would also like to highlight the short visits made by those remaining at home who cannot afford to stay away for long, since they have responsibilities at home, but who go to the departed family in crisis situations, in order to support them to overcome the critical moment.

One of our respondents, Lenuța, told us how she had to leave all her household behind (animals to be cared for), when her older daughter, staying in Italy, went to an urgent surgery, being diagnosed with cancer, leaving her husband and two children at home. Her story is all the more special since, being in a hurry to leave everything in order after herself, so that a relative could take care of her household, had a domestic accident, falling off a ladder and hitting herself pretty hard. In spite of her injuries she maintained her decision to leave, placing the need of those who left above her own pain.

“I was all black, and I couldn’t carry my leg and these guys were calling me in desperation and er, what, what’s the business. I’m not saying, in the end they were gonna say I care not to go. How could you not go to your boy, especially as he says: „Go, mother, cause you never know, God forbid, to be a mother among boys!” (Lenuța).

It was also to care for her daughter after a surgical intervention that Eliza left, it’s just that while she cared for her she also worked in order to earn money.

“Mother, if you want, 70 euros each Saturday. How many Saturdays are you staying?” She counted five, five times... 350 euros and I said ok, I’ll go. And there I saw that... she went along with me, since I had to change some trams, but she was laying in bed [at the workplace] since she couldn’t [work], she was after surgery” (Eliza).

Not all grandmothers at home can migrate periodically in order to help their family at the birth of a child, but grandmothers make an effort at least for a short while, the first days of life of the children, when the mother is very tired after childbirth, in order to be with their departed family. Zina is a grandmother who has her grandchildren scattered across countries, in Romania, Italy and France. In the last year, two granddaughters were born, one in Italy (by her daughter), one in France (by one of her daughters-in-law). She is working in Romania, in a badly payed job, but in a state job that is safe. Although her position is a stepback in her professional career, it still provides her with a steady income to maintain her family (two sickly elderly parents and an unemployed husband), without getting to use the money of her (four – 2 in Italy and 2 in France) migrant children whom she wants to help in order to make a future and from whom she very, very rarely accepts a present of 50 euros. Even if she couldn’t afford going much, she still made a sacrifice to be with the mothers in the family when they gave birth.

“Yes, well there is more [to say]... I sometimes went to them for one, two weeks at a time, when my daughter gave birth, when my the daughter-in-law gave birth... I went two weeks at a time, the way I could get a leave from work here, in my turn” (Zina).

Of course that not all the visits of those remaining in the country are made in moments of crisis and in order to help those who left. We quite often encounter visits made just for pleasure. There is a whole lifestyle of those at

home that includes spending holidays or vacations abroad (Ducu 2013b). These pleasure visits are even made by retired people. One of our respondents, Vasile, who travelled abroad in his youth due to the nature of his profession, mostly related to his work, and couldn't afford enjoying the trips, in his old days managed to fulfill his dream of admiring the museums in London.

“Yes, alright. Of course my goal was to see my children. Then, of course that the first objectives were the museums. The museums, London... all that the civilization in London means. And I stayed for 6 days, I got a week's ticket for the train and... I came fulfilled from there since, through my studies in Art History, I read, I saw photographs, books, albums of Art History, but there I could touch them... it is one thing to see them in an Art History album and another to get to the site. Yes, and... I am glad” (Vasile).

Moreover, migrants sometimes cannot come home into the country to see their family since they are at risk of losing their jobs abroad, thus only the trips of those at home make meetings among transnational family members possible. Eliza's daughter called her two children to visit and expects her mother as well since she didn't dare to come to the country for the last three years, due to the fact that each time she did, she lost her job: as her work is to provide care, she cannot go on a leave but if she leaves a replacement. On the other hand, the competition for jobs is tough among domestic care-providers and it happens that the replacement tries very hard in order to take one's place. The best way not to lose her job is never to leave on a vacation, but then the only chance to see her family is if her relatives come to visit her in Italy.

“No, she hasn't come for three years. That's why she summoned her children, to see them. And no, she didn't come. She doesn't come anymore, since... it was in such a way, each time she came, she lost her job, one with official papers. She, when she came for a vacation in August, for the fairies' holiday [?], as it is there, had to find a replacement and when I get back it could be that they do not take me anymore, since she, being better rested and more willing, does something completely different or I don't know. She is also afraid, but if we go it will be alright and her longing will also pass. Well, what can I say! I must go no matter what!” (Eliza).

It is especially the moments of the holiday celebrations that are difficult to get through by those departed when they cannot come home. One of these

moments is Orthodox Easter, which cannot be a non-working holiday, at least for migrants who are not working legally, even if some countries recognize it as an official holiday. Sometimes family members join them there, since they have a non-working holiday in the home country, so that they can feel the joy of holidays together.

“For last year’s Easter he didn’t even come home – it was I who went to him so that he doesn’t stay alone” (Alina).

Another religious holiday is the „Nedeie” or Lesser Saint Mary – on the 8th of September –, one that is of specific importance in one of the villages we unfolded our field research in (Jidoștița). Since it is so important for the villagers, it became one of the essential moments when migrants want to be together with their families. Still, not all manage to get a leave for this period, and in order not to let them be alone, family members go to them for a visit.

“This autumn he couldn’t come for Saint Mary’s holiday to us and I went to him, since he remained alone, cause all the Romanians from the village came home and I went to him for two weeks, while the children were on vacation” (Dora).

The trips abroad of those at home are also done in order to help them, for example during the cold season; such as in the case of Geta, who has spent her last 4 winters in Spain, where her 4 children and her grandchildren live.

“Only in winter, only in winter... well, I cannot... (...) Well yes, I stay there and that is it. They made me all the stuff, I have papers there, everything, Spanish. I go to the doctor, I am all done. It’s just that I cannot speak Spanish” (Gica).

These short “trips” of those at home are often missed in research on transnational families, while emphasis falls rather on the longer periods (at least half a year) when family members accompany migrants abroad, categorizing the one who „stayed” as a „temporary migrant”. However, these short visits also have a direct impact on the life of the transnational family, they are practices that reinforce the sense of belonging to the same family. Moreover, by crossing the borders, even if for short visits, those „who stayed” redefine their existence. In Romanian villages we often encounter people who never got

as far as the capital of their own country but already travelled to foreign countries, to be at the side of those they love.

The influence of the departure of family members upon those who stay in the country is also underanalyzed compared to its impact. There are studies that research the impact upon the children remaining in others' care, but the impact of the departure of these children upon that care-provider from the country is little researched. The rupture of separation sometimes has a large impact and leaves an unfillable void that stays in the life of those who stay at home.

A grandmother who raised a little boy for several years, who then was taken by his mother to be raised in Italy, together with his sister born there and his step-father, told us how, from the moment of the little boy's departure, her life remained shadowed by a shadow not to overcome. These echoes of the separation from loved ones are not visible in the lives of those at home, but still they affect their existence, so that they constantly live with their heart in another country.

"(...) Oh Lord, when he got into the car and he was looking with his head turned, I only held myself back until they got out with the car. Well, alright, a day passed, two passed, when the third day came it turned bad. Those cries of the kind they heard me from the street I guess. (...) And I kneeled, mother's darling, couldn't you listen to me! From one year and two months I raised you in my arms! (...) My soul hurts even now!" (Lenuța).

Another grandmother, who warmly receives her grandson from the UK every summer, even if he doesn't live with her son, the latter being in Portugal, but with his mother who divorced the child's father, remarried and lives in the UK. Although she needs to travel a long way to Bucharest, she goes enthusiastically each time, despite her age, to pick him up at the airport in order to spend the summer vacation together with him.

"Each vacation I go, I get him at the airport in Bucharest, since my daughter-in-law married another boy in Ploiești and they bought an apartment there and it is very easy for them to get to Ploiești from the airport. And she asks me over the phone: „mother, on the date... at the time... the plane comes. What do we do with Adi, do I take him with me?" I say: no, granny is coming to get him at the airport" (Elena).

It was the departure of the grandchildren that made Gica, too, feel that the rupture is too great, although all four of her children already left to Spain. The grandchildren she raised were her last natural reason to maintain a steady mace of existence.

“Alone, yes. How hard it was for me, how much I cried, I said I was gonna die! I was sorry, when Ghiță and Ana left, that they took my children. Cause the children stayed with me longer, Ana left in December, in summer she came home, in August, and when she came, she took the children too. Then I said I was gonna die! Cause like that, I had the children. I was speaking to the children, he upset me sometimes, since he wasn't learning at school, Ștefan was doing only naughty things... Well, when she took my children I said I was gonna die, I was gonna be the devil's. I didn't even feel like going into the house, I'm not cooking any food or anything, I don't even need anything anymore. I got used to it now” (Gica).

The visits home of those who left keep family relations alive, but the way in which the migration of family members has been reconfigured in the last period in respect of Romania as well let to the situation in which these “family meetings” became a rarity, an event that needs to be immortalized. Thus, in this field research we noticed that Romanians' migration has diversified in the last 5 years, and namely, if before in Romanian villages one could find migrant networks that usually functioned in a dual way (from one community in Romania into one community abroad – mainly into Italy and Spain), now the target countries have been hugely diversified; moreover, we increasingly encounter different target countries within the same families.

The respondent with the 4 children who have left into two countries (Italy and France) for almost 7 years, after two of them had migrated into another (Spain) initially, told us with great emotion that many years in a row she didn't see her children in one place, although each came home at least once per year, but the holiday periods differed among countries. On occasion of a family event, all the four children made an effort to get to the native village, this being an extremely emotional moment both for the migrants and the ones at home.

“This year my daughter baptized the little girl and they all met. They even have photographs done, all of them. Right at the baptism the young daughter said, saying let us take some photographs” (Zîna).

These co-presences and absences of “those who left” and “those who stayed” make us understand that “migration” is not an individual experience of the migrating agent, who, in a rational manner, builds herself a better life; it is a complex, family, experience, one that cannot be understood but viewed at the intersection of the lives of all members: *those who leave are just as much staying at home as those staying at home are leaving.*

4. Transnational communication

Transnational family research have underlined the importance of communication through information and communication technologies (ICTs); thus, wired and mobile telephony, but especially IT applications that allow communication through the Internet have made the borders that separate the families melt and distances become relatively small, managing to maintain live, quick contact in real time (Nedelcu 2012; Madianou and Miller 2011; Pearce, Slater and Ahmad 2013; Francisco 2013; Vancea and Boso 2014).

These works usually highlight the way those who left keep in touch with those at home. Indeed, we also encountered these situations, such as old Barbu’s case, who waits to be called by his children in Italy, since he cannot afford it financially to contact them, although he would like to.

“They were calling me, I didn’t call. They (...) theeeere, well, if they call and ... here it almost doesn’t last a month, the phone is done. Here it is thievery! (...) The phone is payed for, to call from here. (...) Here your card lasts for a month and they call to charge your phone! This is thievery, it is thievery”! (Barbu).

Those who left find cheap solutions to call home, for example Andrei’s daughter, who studies in the UK, uses apps to keep in touch with her family.

“Yes, throught the phone. How is it called, how is it called... I don’t know, whatever... she said there is an appliation, I don’t know what it is called, but it is not free. She calls me on my phone, for example, and usually I answer and she sais that... it doesn’t select the same phone number for me. And she calls from different numbers... an application on the computer she said it was... free for I don’t know how long, ten minutes or a quarter of an hour” (Andrei).

Vanda's daughter also employs a service that allows her to call very cheaply to the country through the RDS provider and thus protects her elderly mother from the responsibility of communication.

"Well she calls me through RDS, through this wired one. She calls me, but I cannot call. If I call, I pay a lot. And she calls me, from time to time, and so we communicate some" (Vanda).

Sometimes though phonecalls are accompanied by video communication, in order to add a visual component to the relationship, even if not all families have permanent Internet access. Silvia usually keeps in touch with those who left through the phone, but sometimes she visits other family members at home who live in a different household with Internet access, and they keep in touch with the others through Skype, in order to see them.

"Yes, we talk on the phone each week, even twice a week, we learn how we do, how they do. (...) On the Internet maybe we get at the daughter's, in the valley, since it is not installed here at us, there is no cable and these other ones they catch it harder, you cannot see properly" (Silvia).

Especially when there are children at home and one (or both) of the parents has left, the visual component is very beneficial in order to maintain affective parents and children.

"Facebook. The Internet is basic. Facebook, Skype. It is good we have these. The phone less, since it is during work and we cannot talk but in the evening. In the evening, on Skype, 5-10 minutes, so that he sees the kids too and that's about it" (Alina).

It is not just those who left who are responsible for communication, but also those at home; even if they are already at the third age, they make efforts to ensure a viable and cheap communication for family members, in order to support them financially and affectively.

Transnational communication, especially its latest possibilities, have been put to much use, since during the migration of family members it is not always at hand to communicate with them:

"Very hard! Very hard. Cause she didn't have a phone for three years there and she called from the phone of the lords, and she gave me a number and I

called and sometimes I even called when I bothered them. (...) And she said: „Mom, they got mad and they made noise!” and... that I bothered them. We got along very hard” (Eliza).

Thus Vasile, although retired, is proud to be the main provider of transnational communication with his son, Răducu, who is in the UK.

“On the phone, I have a subscription with a company – I am not telling (laughs). (...) And I have many opportunities, call minutes in the country, abroad in the EU, wired, mobile, on the Internet. We communicate... we would communicate each night, since we have enough to say, and there is no time. I am very tired when I get home and Răducu calls, but he practically doesn’t have any facilities there – I do. He beeps me and I call him. While I eat, we talk, while I am sleepy, I almost sleep (laughs). But we talk, we talk... ”(Vasile).

It is also Lucreția who is responsible to ensure communication with the migrant members of the family (grandson and daughter) from home.

“Yes, we talk since I have Orange and I have 160 international minutes and I talk to them all the time. They give me a beep and then I call them, cause they pay more there” (Lucreția).

Also Zîna, although with a very low income and with three adult at home to provide for, bought herself a tablet and has a subscription for the Internet, to talk either to Italy, or to France, in order to keep in touch with her four children, all abroad.

“We talk, I sometimes catch them and I talk on the wired phone (...) Or on the Internet, I have a tablet! (...) I bought it from around here. (...) Skype... (...) No, once several days. Not daily, since I don’t have time cause I come late from work. On Sunday, on Saturday... (...) One by one, one by one... there are some, like my older son, since he has a family, he has no time, and if they are around, I ask the others! When I talk to the other I ask him about the other” (Zîna).

The Internet is also the way in which Eliza and her grandchildren keep in touch with her daughter, their mother, away in Italy.

“Yes, we talk on Whats.App when my granddaughter comes home. If not, on Facebook, cause the boy has a computer” (Eliza).

It is especially in the case when the children stay home that video communication comes to the fore. Dora tries to make the absence of the father bearable for the children through video calls.

“(...) we meet on Messenger (...) In the evening, he seldom has time to talk during work in the daytime. He has work and no... but in the evening when he comes, in the morning before he leaves, cause he starts work at ten, eleven our time. We talk twice a day, sometimes even thrice, depending whether he has time. Cause we can all day, if we need to”.. (Dora).

Transnational communication doesn't only ensure the exchange of communication between „those who left” and „those who stayed”. It is a way of life, a practice that makes the two parties melt together, both constantly living a little of the other's reality as well.

5. Final remark

Within all families, communication using technology made presence and absence redefine their limits: through permanent communication among them through the phone or various iT applications, even the members of a family who live in the same town proliferate their interactions, the time spent separately being rather minimal – we can only speak of a spatial separation and a permanent emotional-cognitive connection.

The co-presences or absences have the same impact for all types of families, enhancing the intensity of the relationships: the visits of loved ones, even if very short, are welcome in any kind of family, whereas the separation from a family member may be painful, even if she only moved away from home within the same town.

However, for transnational families, these practices of functioning are more than a welding of contacts within the family, they influence the life of all the members, making them all permanently live in at least two countries, cognitively and emotionally.

The steady mutual visits are the strongest glue for keeping contact among transnational family members. But, if for those who left, coming back to the country is a return *home*, we couldn't say that for those who stayed the visits abroad are neutral. They connect to the lives of loved ones, seeing how

they live, how the community they live in is, and it becomes easier for them to imagine their everyday life and to share their existence.

Migration doesn't only lead one member of the family into another country, leaving the others behind: rather, migration is an experience of the whole family, provided it is a functioning one – *those who stay are cognitively and emotionally just as departed.*

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Elderly Needs and Support Received

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Abstract: Old age comes with health deterioration and limitations in everyday activities, as well as feelings of loneliness and depression. When there is a shortfall between the care and support a person needs and what they actually receive, we are in the presence of unmet needs for support. We investigate the degree of unmet needs for support, as well as the risk factors for such a situation, using Generation and Gender Survey data for Romania (wave 1). We found that partner's absence is strongly associated with a situation of unmet emotional needs, as we expected. Being childless also increase the likelihood of loneliness-related unmet emotional needs, but a close proximity to the children is not always emotionally beneficial since conflicts can occur. It seems that weaknesses in the functional status of the elderly are associated with more frequent interactions with close people and, thus, with a low likelihood of having unmet emotional needs.

Keywords: elderly, emotional needs, loneliness, depression, care needs, intergenerational support, unmet needs

1. Introduction

As 16.4% of its population was aged 65 and over in 2013, Romania is amongst the countries in which the phenomenon of demographic ageing, defined as a growth of the older population's percentage, is well installed (European Demographic Data Sheet 2014). It is estimated that in the year 2050 the percentage of people aged 65 and over will be of 32.4%, above the average of the European Union (29.7%). Even if the current demographic situation is more favourable to Romania than to the neighbouring countries because the numerous generations born after 1967 are at an active age, in the near future the size of the elderly persons will grow dramatically.

Even though, at the global level, ageing shows positive aspects in medical, social, economic fields (medical progress, increasing life expectancy, etc.), some countries of the world are still facing many important

challenges. Old age brings about a deterioration of the health condition, with a weakening of the capacity to independently undertake a series of physical activities and thus with an increase in the need for assistance. Besides exerting pressure on pension and social security of a state, the ageing of population poses multiple challenges on the existing social care models, this role being performed by family in several European countries, including Romania (Bengtson and Lowenstein 2003). Many of the elderly in the future will live in their own homes, facing chronic illnesses and complex health problems, and both informal support (from partners, children, and friends) as well as formal support (paid aid by a private or public institution) will have to act together. This will lead to the growing prevalence of networks of care venture, which would need multiple forms of informal and formal care to be merged in order to provide support for the family (Jacobs et al. 2015).

Regarding intergenerational responsibility in elderly care Romania is characterized by a familialistic system, according to the typology proposed by Saraceno and Keck (2010). This means that families are responsible for ensuring the welfare of members in need. The term familialistic was used in the past to explain the strong family ties in Southern Europe (Banfield 1958; Reher 1998). In a familialistic society personal and family utility experience no different operationalization, so that family structure and relationships between family members are influenced by the strong bonds that unite them (Tomassini et al. 2003).

A look at the residential and semi-residential care services (Mezei et al. 2006) shows the lack of geriatric network, of medical staff specialists in geriatrics, of multidisciplinary team or their poor development at national level (National Council of Elderly Persons 2010). Thus, the family becomes the only source of care for a large part of population.

The social and demographic changes that will occur in the coming decades will produce significant development in the medical field and will lead to the change of elderly care needs (Stein et al. 2014). The needs of the elderly are more complex than those of the young, especially considering the multiple causes of morbidity, deficiencies in functional status as well the socio-emotional problems faced by the elderly.

Old age brings health deficiencies, limitations of daily living activities and accentuated feelings of loneliness and depression. The elders have functional needs, as well as psycho-affective issues/needs, including the relationship with others, participation in working life, access to information and public services or communicating with authorities. When there aren't enough formal support services for the elderly and when the family members,

the main providers of support, fail to meet the expectations and requirements of the elderly, unmet needs occur. They can be described as an incongruence between the care a person needs and actual support received.

The aim of this study is to assess the needs of the elderly in Romania and the way they receive support for meeting them, as well as to investigate several factors associated with the situation of unmet needs. Much of the research on intergenerational relations in Romania has focused on different types of support exchanged and factors that favour them (Mureşan and Hărăguş 2015). We focus on the situation when this support is missing, although needed. We believe that in this way we add valuable information to the picture of intergenerational relations in Romania.

2. Literature review on elderly needs

Explaining the concept of "need" involves taking into consideration the physical, mental and emotional aspects of a person who may be affected by demographic and socio-economic circumstances (Vlachantoni et al. 2011). An important starting point in defining the need in terms of social care is analysing Bradshaw's taxonomy (1972). Thus, in practice, this operates with four types of needs, namely: normative need, felt need, expressed need, comparative need. Based on the concept of social need, this cannot be separated from the social services field. The history of social services is, in fact, the history of needs recognition and organization, as well as reorganization of society in order to meet them (Bradshaw 2013). This taxonomy can be helpful in the context of theoretical study, but also empirically of elderly social needs.

2.1. Care needs

Care needs, whether met or unmet, are in close connection with the evaluation of activities of daily living and the instrumental activities of daily living. Activities of daily living (ADL) refer to the daily tasks that are necessary for the personal care and independent living. Such tasks can be the following: dining, bathing, dressing, and activities relating to transfer (to get out of bed or a chair and vice-versa). When people are no longer able to carry out these activities of daily living, they need help to adapt either from other qualified people or people in the informal network support, or using mechanical devices or in some situations both resources. Even though this inability to perform daily activities can occur at any age, the prevalence rate is higher among the elderly than among the young (Wiener et al. 1990).

In time, several instruments have been developed in order to evaluate the needs/activities mentioned above. Thus, among the most used tools in

assessing the implementation of daily activities (basic) are: Katz Index of Independence in Activities of Daily Living, Barthel Index, PULSES scale, IADL scale (The Lawton Instrumental Activities of Daily Living Scale) which is the assessment of daily living instrumental activities (Wiener et al. 1990).

2.1.1. Family solidarity and informal care

It is expected that elderly care to become problematic in the coming decades. This assumption is based mainly on demographic developments, on a relatively increasing number of the elderly population. As a consequence, the need for care will increase while providing care will decrease, because there will be increasingly fewer young people to provide this support. Relations between parents and children are the most important when it comes to support and care for the elderly (Broese van Groenou and van Tilburg 1996).

Several researchers have promoted the idea that social changes, such as population ageing, changes in family structure - especially those involving marriage and divorce – set the values and standard related to family responsibilities pressure (Salvage 1995; Twigg 1996; Tjadens and Pihl 2000; Thorslund 1991). These changes could have a negative impact on informal care system, since they represent a diminution of family and informal care network availability to care for people in need, especially for those who need care the most: the elderly (Twigg and Atkin 1994; Nolan et al. 1996; Thorslund et al. 2000; Thorslund 2004).

But according to some studies (Jeppsson Grassman and Svedberg 1996; Parker 1998; Scharlach et al. 2003), there is little evidence of reduced availability to provide help to those who need family care. Population studies in the UK, Norway, Sweden and the United States show a stable pattern on the prevalence of informal care from the point of view of those who provide this support over time. The conclusion drawn from these studies is that there is no direct link between social change and the decline of providing informal help for those in need, such as the elderly.

The fact that nuclear family is smaller than they used to be 50 years ago can be taken into consideration as a factor of diminishing family solidarity, which means that if in the future elder parents need help, less children can contribute. However, research results have shown that fewer children are associated with more consistent and frequent contacts and types of support for the elderly parents (Spitze and Logan 1991), this being true for biological children. However, older people having only stepchildren receive less support than those who have biological children (Conney and Uhlenberg 1990; Pezzin and Steinberg Schine 1999).

Taking into consideration the attitude towards elder care, according to Eurobarometer reports, there still exists a strong feeling of reciprocity and altruism among young adults and the elderly. Thus, one third of young people surveyed in the European Union believe that their generation has a responsibility to care for elderly and only 5% of young people included in the research do not want to get involved in supporting elderly relatives (European Commission 1997). The attitude of the Romanians on the roles of elderly care and material support analysed in Generations and Gender Survey (2005) reveals a strong traditional direction, that is, 67.5% of respondents believe that the family has a duty to provide home care for the elderly (Hărăguș 2012).

Partners are the closest sources of support, providing support for elderly intimacy and attachment needs, especially when the quality of relationships is high (de Jong Gierveld et al. 2009; Pinquart 2003; Schoenmakers et al. 2014). Actual support for the elderly is mostly offered by their partners, since this is an informal support. If the partner is absent or cannot offer help, adult children are next in line dealing with their elderly parents (Dooghe 1992; Cantor 1979; Shanas 1979). Studies in different countries show that the vast majority of the elderly who need assistance with personal care activities and daily activities or management of household activities, receive support from their partner if any (de Jong Gierveld and van Tilburg 1989; Dooghe 1992; de Jong Gierveld 2004). Thus, couples are in a better situation than those who live alone, especially women. Partners usually serve as the best provider of emotional and lengthy instrumental care. Almost all male partners depend on the support provided by their wives (Kendig et al. 1999). Given the fact that older men are more likely to be married than older women, with very few variations in Europe, being old leads to different implications for men and women. For men to be old is to have a partner available for assistance and care. For women, generally it means being without a partner, being forced to turn to other people when they cannot cope alone.

Besides partners, adult children of elderly parents provide practical support for household bills, transport, taxes, as well as emotional support through visits and telephone conversations (Cantor 1979; Klein Icking 1999). Thus, children are the most important pillar of support for parents who live alone or have partners unable to support them. It is known that the help provided by adult children is influenced by recent changes in family structure. For many people, their relationship with adult children represents a constant factor in life, especially when compared to other types of relationships (van Tilburg 1998). However, there is substantial diversity between child-parent relations. Silverstein and Bengtson (1997) distinguish different types of

intergenerational relationships including tight relations, where adult children have positive scores for all types/dimensions of solidarity and detached relationship, where adult children have negative scores on any of the solidarity dimensions.

Among the factors associated with children support for parents it can be mentioned the number of children alive, the distance between children and parents, the reasons that guide the children, financial gifts from parents, parental income and labour market status of the child (Mancini and Blieszner 1989; Dooghe 1992; Henretta et al. 1997; Silverstein et al. 1995, de Jong Gierveld and Dykstra 2002). In this respect, divorced elders receive support from their children to a lesser extent than those who are married (Dykstra 1998). These results were confirmed for a sample of elderly people who needed help with daily activities, regardless of the presence of a new partner. Elderly widowers who have not remarried receive more support than others (de Jong Gierveld and Dykstra 2002), but there are many elderly who have experienced a divorce and are living alone without being widowed. The results of a study by Stuifbergen et al. (2008), indicate that single mothers were more likely to receive help than mothers with partners, whether they were divorced or widows. Moreover, widow fathers received more support but only with housework. The most important motivation for offering support proved to be a good relationship between parent and child, while subsidiary obligations proved to be less motivating, especially in providing social support.

Regarding the exchanges between children and parents, adults used to support their parents by providing household help and personal care, while parents provide financial support to adult children (Hagestad 1987). When parents start having health problems, children increase in intensity the support offered (Broe van Groenou and Knipscheer 1999): the sons offer instrumental support while daughters offer emotional support. In cases of crisis and prolonged suffering, both sons and daughters continue to meet the needs of support (Eggebeen and Adam 1998).

Based on data provided by the Survey of Health, Ageing and Retirement in Europe, the second wave, Rodrigues et al. (2012) have analyzed the categories of people (men or women) who need care the most. The results indicate that elderly women are more likely to live most part of their old age suffering from chronic health problems than men do. This has a direct impact on their need for support from family and friends. In this sense, women are receiving more informal support than men, a situation that is valid in all countries studied and for all age groups. Gender differences regarding informal support received are higher for the 75+ age group and it can be applied to

those countries where informal support is widespread, such as the Czech Republic, Austria, Germany, Poland and Italy. The intensity of informal care is already more pronounced and evident in age groups up to 70 years in familialistic states, where this task belongs primarily to family members. The intensity of informal support offered to the oldest age groups is six times higher in Greece, Germany and Poland as compared to Netherlands and Denmark for the same age groups. In Southern and Eastern European countries the intensity of informal support may have higher values than the values expressed in the above mentioned countries, due to the fact that co-residential personal care is more common in these countries.

2.2. Emotional needs

Besides daily activities care and instrumental care (covering operational needs), an important category of elderly needs which often remain uncovered (unmet needs) are the emotional needs, characterized by the emergence of feelings of loneliness and depression. Most often the lack of emotional support intensifies with ageing, other causes include loss of employment or retirement, friends' or partner's death and the difficulties they face in trying to replace these relationships (Rodrigues et al. 2012).

2.2.1. Loneliness

Loneliness is one of the most important indicators of social welfare. This indicator reflects the individual's subjective assessment of social involvement.

According to Perlman and Peplau (1981) loneliness refers to the unpleasant experience of an individual when the network of social relations is deficient either quantitatively or qualitatively. This can include situations where the number of existing social relations is less than desired, as well as the situations where privacy is not obtained by the individual (de Jong Gierveld 1987). Thus, loneliness is considered to be an expression of negative feelings related to the lack of social relations, and this condition can occur at all ages.

In an effort to operationalize the concept of loneliness, Weiss (1973) made the distinction between emotional loneliness, which refers to the absence of intimate relationships and attachment (either with partners or close friendships), and social loneliness, referring to the absence of social connections group (friends, colleagues, neighbours etc.)

Regarding measuring emotional needs, specifically loneliness, in the field of large scale social researches De Jong Gierveld six-item scale is often used (De Jong Gierveld and van Tilburg 2006), without reducing the efficiency of the 11-item scale developed by the same researchers (De Jong Gierveld and

van Tilburg 1999). The scale encloses three negatively formulated items: “I miss having people around”, “I experience a general sense of emptiness”, “Often, I feel rejected” and three positively formulated items: “There are plenty of people that I can lean on in case of trouble”, “There are many people that I can count on completely” and “There are enough people that I feel close to”. It is important to point out that none of the items refer exactly to loneliness. The 6-item scale have three types of responses: “yes”, “more or less”, “no”.

Loneliness can occur in all age groups but is most common in old age. But ageing is not necessarily responsible for the development of loneliness in this period of life (Aylaz et al. 2012). However, advanced age was regarded as one of the causes of loneliness as a result of a study on the causes of loneliness on a sample of 6,786 Finnish elderly (Savikko et al. 2005). The same study converge on the idea that loneliness can play an etiologic role in the development of physical and mental health problems in elderly individuals.

On the national level, Faludi (2013) shows that elderly without children and parents who do not live with their children are most exposed to loneliness. Among the most protected of loneliness are elderly parents living with their partner and having non-resident children and the elderly without children living with partner.

The study of Hawkey et al. (2008) reveals that several factors, including the socio-economic (education, income), mental and physical health, social roles (spouse, partner) are more or less directly associated with the size, composition and perceived quality of an individual’s social network, and these variables are determinants of loneliness. Specifically, researchers have turned their attention to the loss of a close friend and partner, poor health and financial pressures which are directly related to events and transitions in later stages of life. In this respect, the researches on elderly loneliness are validated, which is particularly important for policy makers.

A more detailed analysis of the factors/determinants of the state of loneliness among the elderly indicates the following as important: the presence or absence of a partner (Waite and Gallagher 2000; Dykstra and de Jong Gierveld 2004); the way in which family relations function, especially parent-child relationship or even the existence of these relationships (Kitson and Morgan 1990; de Jong Gierveld and Peeters 2003; Pinquart 2003); friendship relationships and participation in voluntary activities, elderly clubs etc. (Van Tilburg et al. 1998; Wagner et al. 1999), personality traits (Jones and Carver 1991; Windle and Woods 2004); health (Havens and Hall 2001; Kramer et al. 2002; Steverink et al. 2001) and gender (Baltes et al. 1999). Among others,

some studies (de Jong Gierveld et al. 2006) have tried to explain why some elderly people feel lonely and others don't (self-perceived state of solitude), through the analysis of several aspects of their lives. Thus, loneliness may be associated with demographic characteristics such as gender, age, or other, for instance health and other elderly care needs and, in some cases, partners' needs (Beeson 2003). Other studies on loneliness try to explain the difference between the intensity of loneliness among the elderly who live alone and that of married couples.

De Jong Gierveld et al. (2009), working on married elderly, showed that men are exposed to a higher risk of social isolation than women. Emotional loneliness was associated positively with the size of the social network and the presence of instrumental support for the individuals in the study. Therefore, married elderly offering a greater instrumental help to the partner have a low risk of emotional loneliness. However, it was also found that respondents with functional needs are characterized by higher loneliness scores. Emotional loneliness affects more remarried women than men in the same situation. Respondents who do not have children or those who have rare contacts with their children (less than once a week), are in a more advanced state of social loneliness than those who keep constant contact with at least one child.

2.2.2. Depression

Along with feelings of loneliness experienced by the elderly, our focus is on states of depression developed by them, which we consider emotional needs, too. Depression is one of the most negative psychiatric conditions in old age. In the case of western society the prevalence rate of depression among the elderly vary from 1-4% for major depression symptoms to 8-16% for mild depression symptoms (Houtjes et al. 2014).

According to some studies (White et al. 1990; Blazer 2000), depressive symptoms are more common among oldest old, but the highest frequency is given by factors associated to old age, such as a higher proportion of women, physical disability, cognitive impairment and a low socio-economic status. When these factors are controlled there is no relation between depressive symptoms and age (Blazer 2003). Most cross-sectional or longitudinal studies on risk factors associated with depression linked this condition with the quality and size of social networks, stressful events and living conditions (Vink et al. 2008). However, the results of the research on the link between socio-demographic variables and depression are not consistent and valid. For example, many variations were discovered in connection with a high risk of

depression in the elderly, this risk being associated with ageing characteristics (van Ojen et al. 1995). A small part of studies have shown that low levels of education and unsteady income could be considered risk factors for depression and that women are more prone to this condition. On the other hand, religiosity has been identified in numerous studies as being a protective factor for the manifestation of depressive symptoms (Quin et al. 1996).

Murphy (1982) identified a strong association between daily stress and the onset of depression in old age. Precise information about the contribution of everyday stress in the onset of depression in old age is important because the prevalence of depressive episodes at this age is significant (Koenig and Blazer 1996; Beekman et al. 1999).

No less important is the relationship between functional status of elderly and depression. The manifestation of depressive symptoms is associated with impaired functional status (Blazer et al. 1991; Hays et al. 1997; Bruce 2001) and also affects evolution of diseases/disabilities over time (Bruce and Leaf 1989; Alexopoulos et al. 1996). Even the less severe symptoms of depression, like depression without sadness, are associated with a decline in functional status (Gallo et al. 1997). The relationship between depression and functional status is quite complex. In a research Steffens et al. (1999) found that subjects who had problems in basic activities of daily living (ADL) had fewer depressive symptoms than those who were suffering from major depression, these having difficulty performing instrumental activities of daily living (IADL). Valvanne et al. (1996) demonstrated that there is an association between major depression and dysfunction in performing instrumental activities such as cooking, shopping, taking care of the household and in the basic activities (ADL) such as washing, personal hygiene, dressing etc.

Results of cross-sectional study (Houtjes et al. 2010) shows that the severity of depression is associated with numerous social and emotional unmet needs for patients of old age, including the need for companionship, the need for intimacy and need to perform daily activities. In the case of older people with chronic depression, a well-documented study (McCullough 2003) shows that the relationship with friends and relatives is affected in a negative way because of persistent attitudes of lack of hope and lack of assistance expressed by elderly which are combined with feelings of frustration and burden for the members of the social network. The link between depression in old age and low social support has been proved by numerous studies. For example, in a study in Hong Kong (Chi and Chou 2001), social support deficit and depression were closely related (including the size of the social network, the network structure, frequency of social contacts, quality of social support

received and emotional support received). Some researchers (Cumming and Henry 1961; Lewinsohn et al. 1989) have even tried to link disengagement theory (much debated in the literature) with ageing and depression, suggesting that some symptoms of depression, such as lack involvement in social activities and lack of self-involvement are features of older people. Thus, it is likely that older people who are less engaged in social life to be exposed to depressive symptoms.

Some studies have shown that symptoms of depression in old age varies by gender and age. Thus, the prevalence of depression during life among adult women is two times higher compared to men (21% women and 13% men) (Bebbington et al. 1996; Kessler 2006).

Working on longitudinal data, Sonnenberg et al. (2013) found that respondents without a partner in the household and with low emotional support often manifested depressive symptoms, while men showed higher rates of depression than women. A great need for affiliation was associated with depression among women, but not in men.

There is a very close relationship between loneliness and depression symptoms. Loneliness among the elderly predict the need for increased use of health services and early institutionalization. It was also shown that loneliness is a predictor for the occurrence of mental illness in old age (Fratiglioni et al. 2000; Tilvis et al. 2000) and increased risk of mortality (Herlitz et al. 1998; Tilvis et al., 2000). There is evidence from longitudinal research which states that an intensification in depressive symptoms may lead to increased feelings of loneliness (Holmen and Furukama 2002; Heikkinen and Kauppinen 2004).

In conclusion, in old age, changes in social and emotional support can occur because of changes in health, in functional capacity and living arrangements. Therefore, studies that focus on the elderly are useful in acquiring a better understanding on the positive social relationships and the risk effects on loneliness and depression. The results of these studies may lead to improved methods of intervention in treating mental illness in the elderly and identifying measures to support their welfare.

2.3. Research hypotheses

Review of literature in the field has shown that the elderly have different needs, from the actual care and actual help to the emotional needs resulting from feelings of loneliness or depression. When there aren't enough formal support services for the elderly and when the family members, the main providers of support, fail to meet the expectations and requirements of the elderly, unmet needs occur. Unmet need can be described as a shortfall between the care and

support a person needs and what they actually receive (Cordingley et al. 2001; Vlachantoni et al. 2011). Such a situation can have adverse consequences on the health and welfare of the person.

Based on the results of previous studies, we can formulate the following hypotheses:

1. *Provider's absence.* It has been noticed that the life partner is the main support provider for the elderly, leading to the first hypothesis: Provider's absence increases the likelihood of elderly unmet support needs situation. These considerations are extended to the existence of children and the distance between them and their parents. When respondent's children live in another town or the respondent does not have children, there is an increased likelihood that he/she is in a situation where his/her support needs are not met.
2. *Gender.* Since men rely more on the support of their partners than vice versa and women receive more informal support than men, it is expected that single men are most exposed to situations of unmet needs.
3. *Deficiencies in the functional status of the elderly* are linked to the incidence of depression. We consider that limitations in performing daily activities due to chronic conditions or disabilities make contacts with others difficult and lead to situations where seniors experience negative emotions (depression, loneliness), without speaking to anyone about them. We expect, therefore, that the deficiencies in functional status or poor health to increase the likelihood of a situation of unmet needs.
4. *Poverty.* Financial difficulties and a low standard of living can accentuate negative emotional states and can also be associated with social isolation. Therefore, we expect financial difficulties to increase the likelihood of a situation of unmet needs.

3. Data and Method

In order to investigate the needs of the elderly and the support received we use data from Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) for Romania. Being interested in the care and support needs associated with old age, we focus on people aged 65 and over. Thus, the working sample consists of 2,715 people.

Firstly we carry out a descriptive analysis of the needs of the elderly, grouping them into two categories: 1) functional needs, as a result of poor health status (long standing illness or chronic condition), health related limitations or disabilities, need for help for personal care, and 2) emotional needs, resulted from feelings of loneliness or depression. For multivariate analysis we use logistic regression. The dichotomous dependent variable was constructed by reporting support received by the elderly to their needs for

support: when a person displays a particular need for help and he/she does not receive any support in relation to that, we considered that person to have unmet support needs. Thus, the working sample for each type of unmet need include people who face that particular type of need.

We wanted to grasp the situation for emotional support as well as for care and help with daily activities. In order to estimate the emotional needs we used the scales employed by GGS: the short 6-item version of the De Jong Gierveld Loneliness Scale (De Jong Gierveld and Tilburg 2010), accounting for social and emotional loneliness, and a shortened version of the depression-scale (De Jong Gierveld and Havens 2004, Tilburg et al. 2004). If a person registers a score greater than zero on one of these scales of loneliness or depression (that is, he/she has emotional needs) and does not receive emotional support (do not communicate with anyone about personal feelings and emotions), then we consider that the person is in a situation where his/her support needs are not met.

The GGS registered the help received for performing normal activities such as eating, getting out of bed, dressing, washing or using the toilet only by people who have declared that they need such help. As a result, the working sample in this case contains only 128 individuals.

In order to test the hypotheses we have developed a number of independent variables. We have built a combined variable that includes the existence or absence of a partner and gender of the person, including four possible situations: single woman, single man, woman with partner, man with partner. The variable on the respondent's children include three categories: the child lives in the same household or in the same locality as the elderly parent; child lives in another town; the respondent has no children. To capture self-rated health we have reduced the original variable in three categories: good, satisfactory (fair) and poor. To describe the functional status of the elderly, we used the variable referring to the existence of a limitation of the ability to take part in normal activities because of a physical or mental health problem or a disability. As an indication of the financial difficulties elderly face the variable used tried to estimate how well or poor a person is doing, taking into account the income of all household members. We used two control variables: the age group, with four categories: 65-69 years, 70-74 years, 75-79 years and 80 years and above, and their residence: urban or rural. We built logistic regression models to estimate the effect of independent variables on the likelihood of the elder being in a situation where his/her needs are unmet, taking into account the emotional needs - loneliness, depression - and the care needs.

4. Results

Health issues determine the functional needs of the elderly. When self-rating health, most of the respondents (48%) choose “fair”, and 30% assessed it as poor or very poor. 48% of elderly say that they suffer from a chronic or long standing illness condition, 61% for 5 years or more. 22% say they suffer from a limitation of the ability to participate in normal activities because of a problem or a mental or physical disability and 53% of them had been facing such a disability 5 or more years. Only 4.7% of respondents say they need help to perform normal activities such as eating, getting out of bed, dressing, washing or using the toilet (see Table 1).

As stated above, receiving help for such tasks was recorded only in the case of the 128 people who answered yes to the previous question. We feel that this is a too narrow definition of the need for help for daily activities and, thus, the elderly who have poor health, chronic diseases or diseases of long duration, or faced with certain disabilities would find in the situation of needing care and practical help. In their case, however, the care received was not counted. Of the 128 elderly who have severe functional needs, 23 (18%) did not receive such aid in the past 12 months, which means they have been in a situation of unmet care needs (Table 3).

In terms of emotional needs expressed by experiencing the feelings of loneliness and depression, only 2% of people did not mention any experience associated to the feelings of loneliness, while 12% had high score on both dimensions of loneliness (social and emotional). The feelings associated with depression experienced by the elderly are less experienced than those of loneliness: 70.8% of the elderly did not mentioned any feelings associated with depression (see Table 2). Reporting needs to received emotional support, we find that 64.5% of those with emotional needs generated by loneliness and 64.7% of those with emotional needs generated by depression do not talk to anyone about their experiences and feelings (situation of unmet emotional needs) (Table 3).

Table 1. Care needs of the elderly

General health status			Any health-related limitation or disability		
	Freq.	%		Freq.	%
Very good and good	593	21,9	yes	593	21,8
Fair	1307	48,1	no	2122	78,2
Bad and very bad	815	30,0	N	2715	
N	2715		Duration of health-related limitation or disability		
Any long-standing illness or chronic condition			less than 6 months	27	4,6
yes	1304	48,0	6 months to one year	36	6,1
no	1411	52,0	1 year to 5 years	218	36,8
N	2715		5 years to 10 years	128	21,6
Duration of long-standing illness or chronic condition			10 years or more	184	31,0
less than 6 months	33	2,5	N	593	
6 months to one year	50	3,8	Any regular help needed in personal care		
1 year to 5 years	420	32,2	yes	128	4,7
5 years to 10 years	334	25,6	no	2587	95,3
10 years or more	467	35,8	N	2715	
N	1304				

Source: Generations and Gender Survey, authors' calculations.

Table 2. Emotional needs of the elderly

Social loneliness			Depression			
	Freq.	%		Freq.	%	
	,00	690	25,4	,00	1921	70,8
	1,00	337	12,4	1,00	255	9,4
	2,00	418	15,4	2,00	179	6,6
	3,00	1270	46,8	3,00	107	3,9
Total	2715	100,0	4,00	89	3,3	
Emotional loneliness			5,00	65	2,4	
	Freq.	%		Freq.	%	
	,00	287	10,6	6,00	50	1,8
	1,00	1237	45,6	7,00	49	1,8
	2,00	676	24,9	Total	2715	100,0
	3,00	515	19,0			
Total	2715	100,0				

Source: Generations and Gender Survey, authors' calculations.

Table 3. Unmet emotional and care needs of the elderly

Unmet needs		
Emotional (loneliness)	N	%
Need	2664	
Support	946	35,5
Unmet needs	1718	64,5
Emotional (depression)	N	%
Need	794	
Support	280	35,3
Unmet needs	514	64,7
Care	N	%
Need	128	
Support	105	82,0
Unmet needs	23	18,0

Source: Generations and Gender Survey, authors' calculations.

Turning to the results of regression models (Table 4), we can see that the partner's absence increases the likelihood of a person to be in a situation of unmet emotional needs. In the case of emotional needs generated by loneliness, both single women and single men show increased likelihood of being in a situation of unmet needs, the effect being stronger for men. In the case of emotional needs generated by depression it is observed that only single men show a high likelihood of being in a situation where their needs are unmet, compared to the reference category of men with partner, which shows that women have a more important role than men in providing emotional support for the partner. In the case of needs generated by loneliness we can see that women having a partner are less likely to find themselves in a situation of unmet needs compared to men with a partner.

Also regarding the existence/proximity of support provider we unexpectedly find that not the closest proximity of children is associated with the lowest chances of occurrence of unmet needs situation. On the contrary, when children live in another place than the respondent there is the least likelihood of unmet needs. Perhaps greater spatial distance is offset by more frequent contacts and of higher quality compared to a larger geographic proximity (even co-residence), when besides the easier exchange of support conflicts may occur. The absence of children has the expected effect: it increase the chance of a situation of unmet emotional needs, but only in the case of those generated by loneliness.

Health condition does not appear to be associated with unmet emotional needs. The existence of a disability is associated with unmet needs, but not in the sense that we expected: if the person suffers from a limitation of the ability to perform daily activities, this decreases the chances of being in a situation of unmet emotional needs, both for those generated by loneliness and those generated by depression. It seems that the limitations of elderly activity are offset by more frequent contact with family and friends.

Financial difficulties or age group are not associated with the situation of unmet needs. The elderly in rural area are more likely to have unmet emotional needs than those in urban areas, but only in the case of the needs generated by loneliness.

Table 4. Results of logistic regression models, the odds ratios for occurrence of unmet emotional needs situation

	Unmet needs - loniness			Unmet needs depression		
	Frequency	Exp(B)	Sig.	Frequency	Exp(B)	Sig.
Partnership situation						
Woman alone	786	1,20	,097	372	1,15	,526
Man alone	273	1,61	,003	136	1,66	,063
Woman with partner	685	0,79	,023	152	0,74	,218
Man with partner	920	1		134	1	
Children						
Coresident or non-resident in the same locality	783	1		226	1	
Nonresident in different locality	1314	0,84	,092	353	0,67	,038
No children	567	1,26	,056	215	0,96	,847
Health						
Good	579	1		80	1	
Fair	1279	1,14	,232	303	0,94	,821
Bad	806	1,07	,614	411	0,84	,555
Disability						
Yes	584	0,55	,000	293	0,69	,036
No	2080	1		501	1	
Able to make ends meet						
With great difficulty	568	1,41	,116	281	1,62	,296
With difficulty	468	1,28	,257	158	1,83	,202
With some difficulty	682	1,12	,602	175	1,70	,258
Nor with difficulty, nor easily	829	1,20	,380	157	1,31	,563
Easily	117	1		23	1	
Age group						
65-69	1005	1		256	1	
70-74	900	0,95	,601	251	0,92	,681
75-79	712	1,07	,517	269	0,87	,484
80+	47	1,76	,113	18	1,16	,791
Type of settlement						
Rural	1618	1,42	,000	479	1,19	,289
Urban	1046	1		315	1	
N	2664			794		

Source: Generations and Gender Survey, authors' calculations.

The regression model for unmet care needs do not provide any significant statistical effect for the independent variables included, and therefore we choose not to show results here. Besides the very small sample, probably in this case it matters the type and severity of a person's physical disability, facts that were not captured in the data we used in this research.

5. Conclusions and discussion

Numerous studies addressing the situation of elderly people indicate the diversity of needs that they face; the elderly need care, but they also have psycho-affective problems, needs of relating with others or with the authorities, of participating in the working life, of having access to various public services. The role of the family - the partner and children - is essential in providing various types of support, depending on the problems faced by the elderly. Various studies have shown the effect of factors on the likelihood of receiving support: the existence of partner, spatial proximity of children, the need of support, health status, etc. Our study tries to complete the image of intergenerational support, addressing the issue of unmet needs, that is the situation when certain support needs exist, but the elderly do not receive support in that regard. We have observed what factors are associated with such unmet needs situations, referring to both the functional needs, which require instrumental support, as well as to emotional needs generated by loneliness or depression.

Generations and Gender Survey research tool adopted a too narrow definition of functional needs, regarded as the need for help to perform normal activities such as eating, getting out of bed, dressing, washing or using the toilet. We believe that the presence of a disability, defined as a limitation of the ability to participate in normal activities because of a problem, a mental or physical disability or a chronic illness, can be considered situations associated with less severe instrumental needs. Maybe because only severe instrumental needs were taken into consideration, our independent variables showed no significant statistical effect. Probably in these cases it may be the type and severity of the condition of the elderly (not recorded in GGS) which determine receiving or not support and therefore possible situations of unmet needs.

As for the unmet emotional needs we have discovered that partner's absence is strongly associated with a situation of unmet emotional needs, as we expected. The absence of children (being childless) also increase the likelihood of loneliness-related unmet emotional needs, but a close proximity to the children is not always emotionally beneficial since conflicts can occur. It seems that weaknesses in the functional status of the elderly are associated with more

frequent interactions with close people and, thus, with a low likelihood of having unmet emotional needs. Poor health or financial difficulties do not have significant statistical effects on the likelihood that the person experiences unmet emotional needs.

The main limitation of our study is related to investigating care needs in relation to the support received, where we failed to find factors associated with this situation. We ascribe this, as we mentioned before, on GGS focus on severe functional needs, which likely involved factors other than those investigated by us. Beyond these limits, we believe that our study approaches the dimension of intergenerational support which should not be ignored, namely those situations where there is a need of support which the elderly do not receive. Therefore, the needs of the elderly can worsen, with harmful consequences on their welfare.

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Pathways to Childlessness among Women and Men: Is the Romanian Case Unique or Common in the Eastern Part of Europe?

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Abstract: This paper investigates the determinants of childlessness among men and women from Bulgaria, Romania and Russia, using data on a sub-sample of 30-49 years old respondents from the first wave of Generations and Gender Survey (2004-2005). For each country, two models of logistic regression were conducted to contrast childless men and women with fathers and mothers. Covariates comprising background and work related characteristics, early life course variables, attitudes and values were used in the regression models. The outcomes of the multivariate analysis revealed a set of similarities, both from the gender and country perspective as well. Childless women and men from all three countries have younger ages and acquired a higher level of education compared with mothers and fathers. In the same time, childless people originated from families with a unique child, and claimed secularized attitudes and values. However, other covariates point at different roads leading to childlessness in the three Eastern European countries. In Romania, women who grew up in urban areas, hired in top jobs positions and who attended more often religious services are more likely to remain childless than women from villages, holding blue collar jobs or being unemployed, and who are less religious. Instead, men with lower levels of education and less prestigious jobs were more likely to remain childless, compared with men with a university degree and with a top job position. In Bulgaria, men whose mother is more educated and women whose father held a better job have a higher propensity to remain childless. In Russia, childlessness is more prevalent among less successful men, with a lower level of education and with an unemployment status. Beyond the similarities in the road to childlessness between gender and countries, in Romania, the effect of significant factors on childlessness is more accentuated for women than for men. Also, it seems the diffusion of childlessness in Romania is related to more privileged women and less successful men. Bulgarian and Russian results are more nuanced by gender.

Keywords: childlessness, women, men, Romania, Bulgaria, Russia

1. Introduction

Childlessness is a fully uncovered topic in the Romanian scientific literature related to reproduction. If during the socialist regime, Romania had a total fertility rate above the replacement level, after the fall of the communism fertility rates dropped sharply at very low levels. Due to this evolution, Romanian researchers focused on women with children, trying to explain the factors leading to the decrease of fertility among women. Consequently, no scientific interest was shown for the topic of childlessness, neither before 1989, nor after the fall of communism. In communism, political regime implemented drastic pronatalist measures aimed at increasing the number of births, neglecting infertile women. After 1990, Romania still had a pervasive model of family including at least one child, with childless people being considered a negligible segment of society.

Studies about childlessness first flourished in the Anglo-Saxon area (e.g., United States, United Kingdom, Australia), where the study of this topic has a longer tradition than elsewhere (Abma and Martinez 2006). In Europe, Western Germany, Switzerland and Austria represent the countries with the highest childlessness rates, above 20% for the first two countries and about 19% for the later, among women born in the 1960s (Sobotka 2011). However, at the beginning of the 21st century, the study of childlessness emerged in the regions of Europe confronted with the lowest low fertility, especially the Southern region of Europe (except Portugal) (Mencarini and Tanturri 2006). The emergence of lowest low fertility in a number of countries from Southern, Central and Eastern Europe was considered one of the most important novelties of the 1990s (Billari 2004, Kohler et al. 2002). The first studies about childlessness were focused on the women fertility trajectories and, at the beginning, they were trying to identify if the sharp decrease of fertility and the increase of childlessness could have the same rationale behind. In other words, researchers tried to investigate if the same factors responsible for decreasing number of offspring and for fertility postponement could explain also childlessness. Well, these studies, could not find an integrated set of explanations for childlessness; moreover, they concluded that the pathways to childlessness might consistently differ than the pathways to (lowest) low fertility; in addition, it has been stressed that limiting the study of childlessness only to women's characteristics provides only one side of the whole picture. In other words, the pathway to childlessness is not only a deliberate choice of women, but it is also embedded in the history of partnerships and in the rationale of women's partners. According to previous studies, one might expect that the spread of childlessness among men has its own

determinants, therefore integrating men in the analysis is necessary to estimate the spread of the phenomenon across gender (Mencarini and Tanturri 2006). Interestingly, in 2005, Hakim showed that voluntary childlessness was generally higher among men than among women.

Until recently, childlessness was attributed to traditional determinants, encompassing infertility problems or permanent celibacy (Tanturri 2010). However, more recent studies revealed that the increase of childlessness in contemporary societies has different determinants: either women, alone or in partnership, without fertility impairments, freely choose to remain childless, or they remain childless unintentionally, as a consequence of a delayed motherhood or as a result of unfortunate external circumstances, especially the instability and fragility of partnerships (Mencarini and Tanturri 2006). Modern determinants attributes childlessness to a new system of preferences, like the changes of collective norms, which makes from maternity rather a question of individual preferences and life-style than an issue of social obligation (Hakim 2002).

From a demographic perspective, the increasing trend of childlessness across Europe cannot be separated from the constellation of changes remarked in the last decades in the behaviour related to fertility. The dramatic changes witnessed by the European populations in fertility pattern and family behaviour started after 1960, with the closure of the baby-boom period, propagating from the Northern part of Europe. Data collected at a macro-level and micro-level inventoried the decrease of marriage rates and of family dimension, the increase of cohabitation and the growth of divorce rates in most of the western European countries. The key concept capturing the convergent pattern regarding the partnership formation, childbearing and parenthood in Europe, on the eve of the new millennium, is postponement. This term is specific for the events characterizing the transition to adulthood. Indeed, throughout Europe, young people tend to leave the parental home, to settle a stable partnership, and to give birth to the first child at later ages than the older generations. During the reproductive career, the tendency to postpone the main life events is accompanied by an enhanced de-standardization of life courses (Billari 2004, Rowland 2007).

Regarding family related values and attitudes, a persistent high value attributed to family and children with a predominant positive attitude towards parenthood is still widespread all over Europe. However, there exist a convergent direction of changes across European countries, including the Eastern region, towards a higher acceptance of non-family living arrangements and voluntary childlessness. In Italy, religiosity has been traditionally a

determinant factor of fertility (Dalla Zuanna 2001); as a consequence, secularism is more associated with a low fertility and childlessness, while more religious women tended to have larger families (Hobcraft and Kiernan 1995, Mencarini and Tanturri 2006). So, a woman educated to value the role of maternity, and usually more religious, will follow a traditional pathway in life, including marriage and children. Another study conducted on individual data in 1982 has shown that women who chose to remain childless earned the highest income, held previous work experience, and were least religious compared with other women (Abma and Martinez 2006).

Still, Romania is considered a more culturally conservative country, where people give greater importance to traditional family values, and where religion often continues to play an important role (Sobotka 2008). The predominant part of the population in Romania believes that the (Orthodox) church provides the “right answers to family issues” (Mureşan et al. 2008: 895). However, young, urban, and better-educated people have embraced more positive attitudes towards cohabitation and ‘alternative lifestyles’ (Mureşan et al. 2008).

The ideology of gender equality promotes a more equal division of household and childcare tasks between partners; however, the maintenance of gender asymmetries within the family may strongly contribute to low fertility levels in many parts of Southern, Central, and Eastern Europe (McDonald 2000).

Women born between 1960 and 1970 were more able to anticipate their future lifetime employment. Consequently, they invested more in their formal education, and became more career-oriented. Their identity has placed career on the same level or even ahead marriage. In other words, women’s massive participation in the labour market conducting to economic independence, combined with higher aspirations, transformed their employment career into an expected and essential part of their life course (Goldin 2006, Sobotka 2008). In the future, women will outrun men in tertiary education, thus further improving their economic and career position, whereas men are expected to become unemployed and consequently economically disadvantaged. This evolution will have deep implications for the future of family and fertility, as many women will find quite difficult to find a suitable partner, with a similar level of education and income (Sobotka 2008).

Young people from today tend to increase their educational capital and to attend a stable socio-economic status. There is a wide category of young people who enter later into adulthood, prolonging their stay in the parental house and investing time and money in leisure activities, before assuming the

adult roles. For young families, the actual direct and indirect costs of rising children are quite high (De Santis and Livi Bacci 2001).

The early socialization of girls in the family influences the later preferences in the reproductive field. As a consequence, a woman who is encouraged to invest all in the education and career will be accomplished with professional achievement and the maternity fulfilment will be left on a second plan. Usually, these women postpone motherhood so much that they end up by having infertility problems. Assuming one way or another is easier today, when the community do not sanction anymore the different trajectories of women in society (Tanturri 2012).

From a macro-level perspective, factors related to the type of family policy matter. For example, in Italy and in Romania, the welfare regime does not support the care for vulnerable categories (children and old people), so family play the major role in taking care of the vulnerable and impaired members (Rotariu et al. 2012). This reality encourages strong intergenerational relationships, but at least in Romania, the strengthening of family relationships are more a result of constraints than of choice. Unfortunately, the effect of the family burden related to taking care of the vulnerable members discourage fertility in young families. For example, in Italy, a society characterized by familialism (Dalla Zuanna 2001), in conformity with the intergenerational transmission of fertility model, mothers discourage their daughters to have (more) children, the difficulty to ensure a high quality in the life of offspring(s) being invoked.

Starting from the early 1990s, Eastern European countries have been confronted with a dramatic and rapid decline in total fertility rates, postponement of marriage, increase of cohabitation and out-of-wedlock pregnancies and childbearing (Sobotka 2008). These trends have been maintained during the recent period of development of the capitalist market economy and accentuated during the period of prolonged economic recession and political turmoil (Castiglioni et al. 2016).

In the Eastern part of Europe, the prolonged socio-economic crisis after the installation of the democratic regime made the settlement of a family harder than in the communist regime. Houses are unaffordable, jobs for young generation are scarce and compensated with low salaries, and unemployment among young people is increasing. While the conditions for a young Romanian couple to get married nowadays – meaning mainly to afford a shelter and to have a stable and well-paid job – are more and more unmet, young people tend to postpone marriage and the birth of children to later ages. In the same time, young people in Romania invest more in their educational career. These

tendencies have a greater impact on the reproductive career of women, as the postponement of a stable partnership and of motherhood reduces their reproductive life, increasing the likelihood of involuntary childlessness (Castiglioni et al. 2016).

After 1990, the Romanian model of family and fertility changed rapidly and irreversibly, in the way that the preferred model shifted to a smaller size of family, generally with only one offspring, and the marriage lost some of its supremacy as frame to give birth to a child. As a consequence, total fertility rate fell dramatically from nearly the replacement level in 1990 to 1.3 in the following years, and it remained flattened ever after, while the weight of births outside a union (marriage or cohabitation) among all births increased from under 5% in 1990 to about 30% during a decade. Another trend was that, while the births within marriage became more likely to occur at later ages of the mother, the births outside a union were mainly due to very young mothers, usually aged under 20 (Rotariu et al. 2012, Faludi 2013).

Despite the lack of systematically studies on the phenomenon of childlessness in Romania, we are inclined to assume that, until the change of the political regime in 1990, childlessness in Romanian was mostly due to involuntary antecedents, like infertility or postponement. Infertility, mainly caused by pregnancy complications or miscarriages, is widely spread among older women, while postponement for different reasons, is mainly assumed by younger women. However, also a mixture of factors shape the sinuous road to childlessness, and more than that, we suppose that there is a swinging between choices and constraints (Faludi and Cîmpianu 2014).

2. Objectives

The aim of the paper is to identify the typical pathways to childlessness in Romania and to investigate if this is a unique pattern or a common one in the Eastern part of Europe.

Although this study is not centred on the dynamics of the couple or on how the joint characteristics of both partners can shape the trajectory to childlessness, we give the same importance to the typology of both childless men and women. We wonder whether same factors affect the likelihood of being childless in a different way by gender. We suppose during the communist regime a model of couple homogamy was spread at least in Romania, meaning partners having similar levels of socio-educational status (Grow, Van Bavel and De Hauw 2014). The question would be if this model perpetuated after the fall of the socialist regime or the characteristics of childless women and men indicate a kind of hypogamy (woman having a higher socio-educational status

than her partner) or rather hypergamy (man having a higher socio-educational status than his partner) regarding the couple assortment. We also intend to investigate if the pathway to childlessness among Romanian women and men is unique or common compared to other two Eastern European countries, Bulgaria and Russia.

The study is built on the following structure: first, we constructed a theoretical profile of the Romanian traditional woman, based on the previous research on fertility; secondly, by means of logistic regression, we delineated the portrait of Romanian childless women; thirdly, we compared the profile of childless women with that of the childless men, and then, the gender comparison was applied also for Bulgaria and Russia, in order to determine if there exist a common profile of childless women, respectively of childless men in Eastern Europe; thus, in the end, the profiles of childless women and men were compared cross-nationally, in order to see if there are rather similarities or disparities among childless women and men from the three different Eastern European countries.

3. Data and methods

We explored the questions of research under the auspices of Generations and Gender Programme, which is the first extended study allowing to cover the gap in the literature regarding the topic of childlessness in Eastern European societies. First wave of Generations and Gender Survey (GGS) has been implemented during 2004-2005 in nine former socialist countries, on national representative samples for the adult population. Perfectly comparable data on the topic are available for three of them: Romania, Bulgaria, and Russia.

Romanian first wave of GGS, the only one available, has been conducted by the National Institute of Statistics and supported by United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) Romania, and Max Plank Institute for Demographic Research (MPDIR), Germany. Data were collected in 2005, on a national sample of 11986 persons living in private dwellings (6009 women and 5977 men), aged 18-79 years.

In Bulgaria, two waves of GGS have been applied between 2004-2007, under the auspices of Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, and with the financial support of Max Plank Institute for Demographic Research (MPDIR), United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), and Ministry of Labor and Social Policy; however, in our analysis, we used only the first wave of GGS, which has been implemented between 2004-2005. The data collection comprised 12858 persons from private households (7007 women and 5851 men), aged 18-85 years.

For Russia, first wave of GGS has been applied between 2004 and 2008, in 32 regions representative on a country scale, including 11261 Russian-speaking persons from private households (7038 women and 4223 men), aged 18-79. Data were collected by Demoscope Independent Research Center (DIRC), and Independent Institute for Social Policy (IISP), and has been funded by Pension fund of the Russian Federation (PFR), Max Plank Institute for Demographic Research (MPIDR), and IISP.

For each studied country, a sub-sample has been selected, representing women and men aged between 30-49 years. The structure of the sub-samples by age-group, gender and country is captured in Table 1.

In Romania, the cohorts aged between 40-49 years at the moment of the first wave of GGS, were born during 1956-1965, and consequently, have spent the middle period of their reproductive age during the communist regime, as they were aged between 25-34 years at the turning point of the communist regime on the eve of 1990. At that time, the Romanian fertility model was a precocious and pervasive one (Rotariu et al. 2012). Moreover, Romania exhibited a more traditional model of family, in the way that married couple was considered the most suitable context for giving birth to a child and childcare; therefore, even if the first child was conceived out-of-wedlock, in most cases, the birth occurred in the frame of marriage (Perelli-Harris et al. 2009).

However, the cohorts aged between 30-39 years at the moment of GGS, born during 1966-1975, were just entering the reproductive age at the moment of the political regime turning. Given the rapid and dramatic changes of fertility patterns in Romania starting from the early 1990s, we can expect an increase of childlessness at this age category, following the recent tendencies observed in other European countries. Although childlessness is not a new phenomenon across Europe, the literature states that causes of childlessness changed over time (Dykstra and Hagestad 2007, Dykstra 2009, Tanturri 2012).

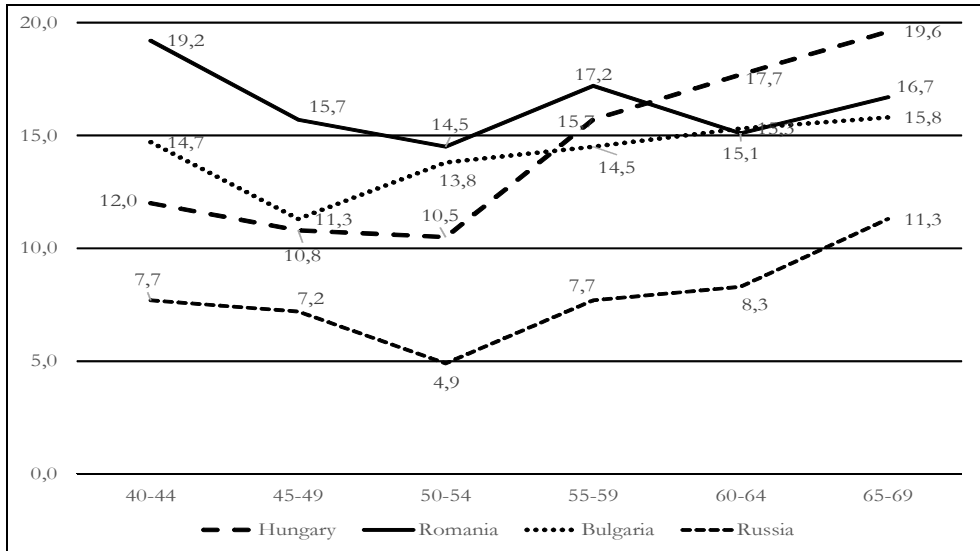
In our multivariate analysis, we investigated which factors increase the likelihood to be childless, as opposed to the status of being a parent. We applied logistic regression for each gender and for each country, resulting a number of 6 different models, built on the same dependent and independent variables. The explanatory factors included three sets of variables: first related to respondents' background (the age-group, level of education, current type of job, and practice of religion); second, related to the early life-course characteristics of the family of origin (mother's education, father's occupation, number of siblings, living or not with both parents until the age of 15, and the place of residence until the age of 15); and third group of variables, related to

attitudes and opinions (agreement or disagreement with the statements that a woman should have children in order to be fulfilled and that marriage is an out-dated institution, and approval or disapproval of the statement that people are trustworthy).

4. Descriptive results

Data from GGS permitted to observe the evolution of childlessness from a longitudinal perspective, by gender and country. Figure 1 reflects the prevalence of childlessness among respondents aged 40-44 years, across the cohorts born during 1940-1969, grouped by five year groups. Some important remarks can be highlighted. Firstly, from a historical point of view, childlessness is not a new phenomenon, and moreover, with only few exceptions, it has been more accentuated in the older generations. Secondly, the childlessness lines, in spite of some fluctuations, follow a U-shaped form. This evolution is similar in many other European countries, even if the rates can know substantial differences. These trends have already been demonstrated by the previous literature in the field (see Dykstra 2009, Rowland 2007). The authors specify that the higher rates of childlessness among the oldest cohorts can be attributed to the traditional causes of childlessness (like infertility and permanent celibacy) (Tanturri 2010). Childlessness levels known a decrease in the cohorts born in the middle of the studied period. Instead, starting from the 1960s, the rates of childlessness began to increase, but for different reasons: postponement of the important life events in adulthood; an individualistic life-style of people from post-modern societies; investment in education and dedication to a rewarding career; adverse life course events (health related problems, vulnerability or in-availability of partnership); and in the Eastern part of Europe, also socio-economic constraints for creating a family and to giving birth and rising children. However, in many cases, latest values of childlessness did not reach those of the oldest generations, but the recent trend shows a slow but continuous increase, and voluntary childlessness is expected to get more weight in the general phenomenon.

Figure 1. Prevalence of permanent childlessness by gender and country—longitudinal perspective using GGS data, 2004-2005



Thirdly, for all the three countries, childlessness among men is higher than among women. Fourthly, values for Romania exceed those from the other two countries, for both gender, Russia register the lowest values, while Bulgaria is situated in-between.

Table 1 presents the distribution of the samples by sex, age-group, and country, distinguishing between three categories: fathers or mothers, involuntary, respectively voluntary childless men or women, from a cross-sectional perspective. Data provided in Table 1 indicate that prevalence of involuntary childless strongly decreases with age, while voluntary childless slightly increase in Romania and Bulgaria and stagnate in Russia. Involuntary childless is much more widespread among men in both age-groups and in all three countries. The same tendency can be observed regarding voluntary childless, but the registered values indicate much lower values.

Table 1. Samples by sex, age, country and three categories: involuntary childlessness, voluntary childlessness and parents (fathers/ mothers). Column percentage and absolute numbers (from GGS data)

	Bulgaria (%)			Romania (%)			Russia (%)	
	30-39	40-49	Total (N)	30-39	40-49	Total (N)	30-39	40-49
Men								
<i>Involuntary childless</i>	25	7	378	23	6	391	11	2
<i>Voluntary childless</i>	3	5	89	3	8	109	3	3
<i>Fathers</i>	72	88	1795	74	86	1833	86	95
Total (N)	1218	1044	2262	1455	878	2333	799	922
Women								
<i>Involuntary childless</i>	10	3	162	12	2	206	3	1
<i>Voluntary childless</i>	2	3	157	2	4	64	1	1
<i>Mothers</i>	88	94	2145	86	94	2122	96	98
Total (N)	1307	1057	2364	1529	863	2392	1012	1566

Source: Generations and Gender Survey, author's calculations

5. Data analysis

Binary logistic regression is a model that uses one dichotomic dependent variable to examine the existence and intensity of the relation between the dependent variable and one or more explanatory or independent variables. The logistic regression model quantifies the effects of the explanatory variables, in terms of *odds ratio*. When working with independent category variables, we will report on each of them in terms of a reference category, codified by 1. Thus, an odds ratio higher than 1 will show a positive association, and a lower than 1 odds ratio indicates a negative association (Greene 2000, Harrell 2001).

In our statistical analysis, the value 1 refers to the presence of a condition (being childless in our case), while 0 stands for its absence. Each estimated coefficient represents the effect of the independent variable on the probability to be childless, compared with the probability of being parent.

We did not include in the models the group of variables related to family formation, like current marital status, ever living in cohabitation, and

ever being divorced or separated. These factors are considered in the literature to play the greatest role in differentiating between parents and childless people (Tanturri 2010). In a regression model ruled only with these factors, but not shown here, it has been revealed that the factors with the greatest impact on being childless, are, as expected, never being in a union, followed by experiencing divorce or widowhood. According to the most recent results, cohabitation has a reversed effect, as it significantly decreases the likelihood of remaining childless in all three countries and for both gender (Faludi 2014).

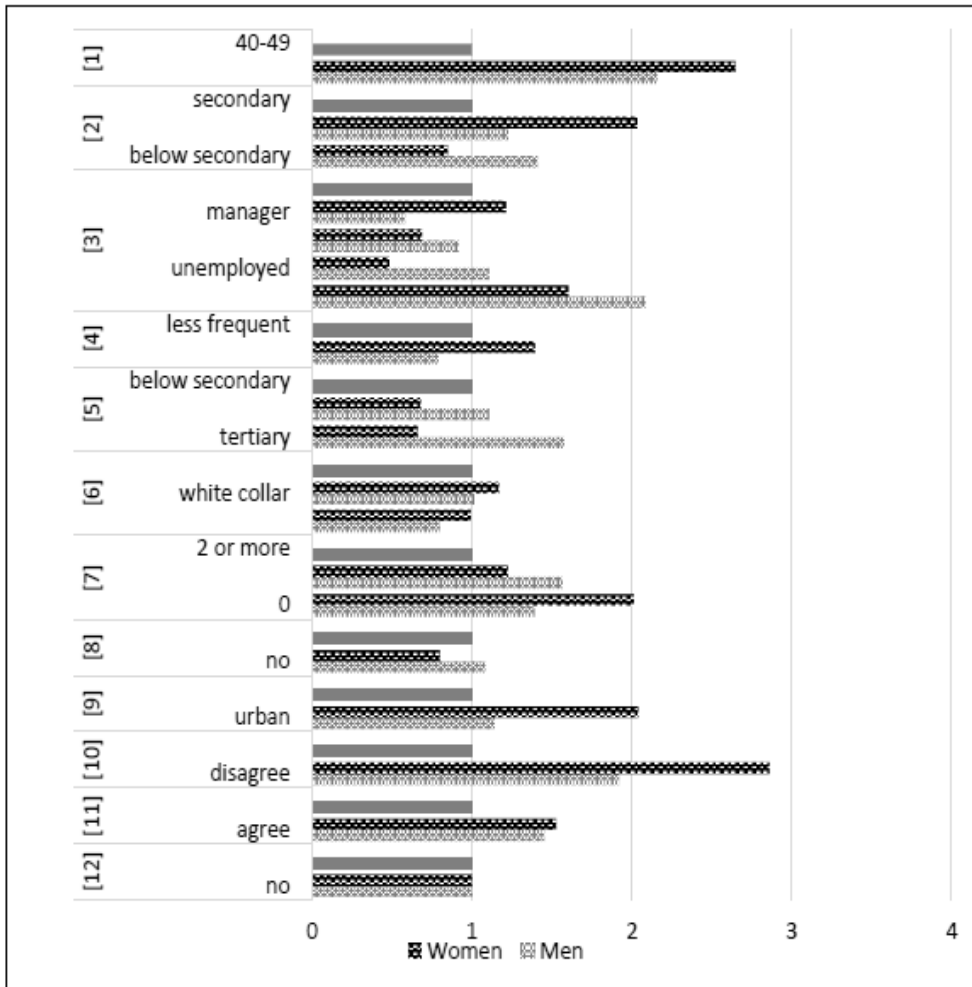
The reference woman is the one who, from a traditional perspective, is the most likely to be a parent. Using available variables from Generations and Gender Survey, we consider the profile of traditional Romanian mother to be older (40-49 years), with a medium level of education, having white collar jobs, and with a low practice of religion. The family of origin background of a Romanian mother is characterized by having a mother with a level of education below secondary and a father with a blue collar job, and having at least two siblings. Traditional Romanian mother lived with both parents in a rural area until the age of 15. At the attitudinal level, mothers hold more traditional values, consider women need to have children to be fulfilled, disagree that marriage is an outdated institution, and view people as trustworthy.

Starting from the presumption that in Romania, until 1990, we had a rather homogamic pattern of partnership, we consider that the traditional profile of fathers holds similar characteristics with the traditional profile of mothers.

6. Results

The results of logistic regression for Romania, shown in the Figure 2, indicate that childless women and men hold both common features and distinctive ones. It seems that upon one point, the profile of childless women and men in Romania almost overlaps. The common female and male childless pattern is characterized by having younger ages (30-39 age-group), achieving tertiary education, being the single offspring of the family, grown up in the urban areas until adolescence. In agreement with the literature in the field, Romanians holding secularized attitudes are more likely to be childless, regardless gender.

Figure 2. Logistic regression on the risk of childlessness by gender in Romania



List of variables: [1] Age; [2] Education; [3] Occupation; [4] Practice of religion; [5] Mother's education; [6] Father's occupation; [7] Siblings; [8] With both parents until 15; [9] Residence until 15; [10] Women have to have children to be fulfilled; [11] Marriage is an out-dated institution; [12] People are trustworthy.

When looking at the family of origin's characteristics which could impact reproduction, we can notice that mother's and father's educational and professional background doesn't make any difference on women and men childlessness. The greatest role is instead played by the existence and number of siblings. This can be attributed to the intergenerational transmission of fertility model. Even in the context of low fertility, there is a positive correlation between the parents' model of fertility and that of their offspring (Tanturri 2010).

In other respects however, the female and male portrait of childlessness is not only different, but also opposed. Thus, women highly educated and in top positions on the labour market are more likely to elude motherhood, while among men, childlessness is associated with a low level of education, unemployment and holding other types of jobs. Practice of religion has an apparently unexpected effect on childlessness, especially among women, in the sense that more religious women are more likely to remain childless, while the opposite is true among men. This is unexpected as in the literature, more religious women are more inclined to motherhood. A possible explanation could be that an adverse life-course event – here the impossibility to conceive a child – might determine a woman to attach to religion. With very few exceptions, the effect of significant factors on childlessness is more accentuated among women than men.

Hakim (2005) showed that, although a higher proportion of professional women remains childless, childless women were not especially “career-oriented” and most of them were in low or middle grade occupations. This trend is also observed in our data, as Romanian women in the category “other occupations”, including lower status positions, register a higher propensity to be childless than any other professional category. This result is the same among men.

According to the findings of Mencarini and Tanturri (2006), education and religion play an important role on fertility outcomes among men too, but in a different way than among women. The education has a less important role on male fertility than on female fertility, being a proxy factor of the income, while religion has a more powerful effect. As far as there are fewer religious men, they constitute a selective group.

Figure 3 presents the results of logistic regression on the risk of childlessness by gender in Bulgaria. Bulgarian case shows many similarities in terms of common features of childless women and men with the Romanian case. Like Romanian childless people, Bulgarian childless women and men are younger, got a university degree and have secularized attitudes regarding

marriage and parenthood. Compared with Romania, in Bulgaria, the role the family of origin background plays on childlessness is more complex. Not only the absence of siblings rises the likelihood to be childless, but also the socio-educational characteristics of parents have an impact. Bulgarian women and men with more educated mothers and Bulgarian women whose fathers have white collar or other jobs are more likely to be childless. However, from the family background factors, only the absence of siblings has a significant effect for both gender, and mother's education produces significant effects only in case of men.

In opposition with the Romanian case, in Bulgaria, highly educated people tend to be childless, but it seems that having top positions on the labour market, which requires a high level of education, discourage childlessness, in Romania only in case of men, in Bulgaria, for both gender, but in a significant way only for men. In what occupation is concerned, the highest impact on childlessness among both gender is played by the category "other occupations".

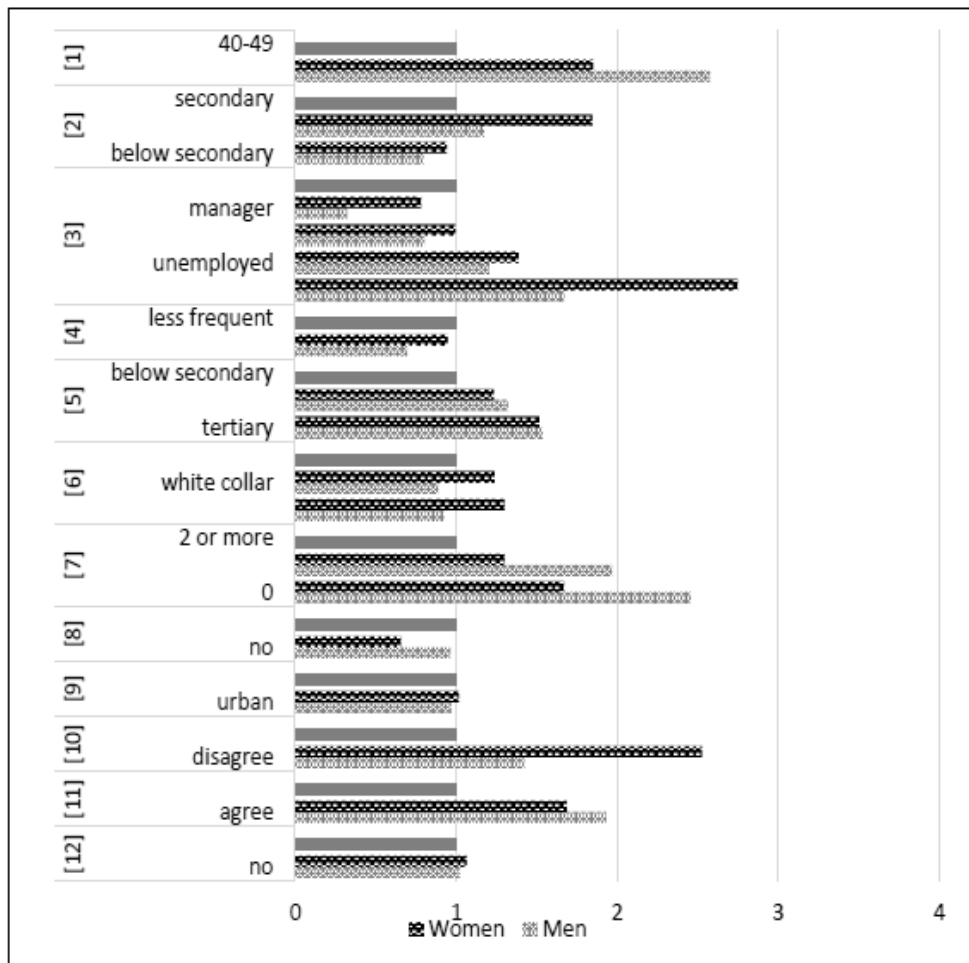
In Bulgaria, more religious women and men are less likely to be childless, but the effect is significant for men.

Results of logistic regression on the risk of childlessness in Russia are captured by Figure 4. In Russia the risk of remaining childless is higher for younger generations among both gender, for more educated women, for men who were a single child in their family of origin, and for Russians who did not live with both parents until the age of adolescence. Status of parents does not influence the likelihood of being childless, and the place of residence during childhood is not measured in the Russian sample. Secularized attitudes and opinions increase the likelihood to be childless, but in a different way by gender: disagreement with the fact that a woman has to be mother to be fulfilled in life among women, and agreement that marriage is an outdated institution and believing that people cannot be trusted among men are associated with the status of being childless.

It seems that in Russia, childlessness is more prevalent among less successful men, as men who have a low level of education and are unemployed are more likely to avoid parenthood. Instead, practice of religion does not have any effect in explaining the diffusion of childlessness in Russia.

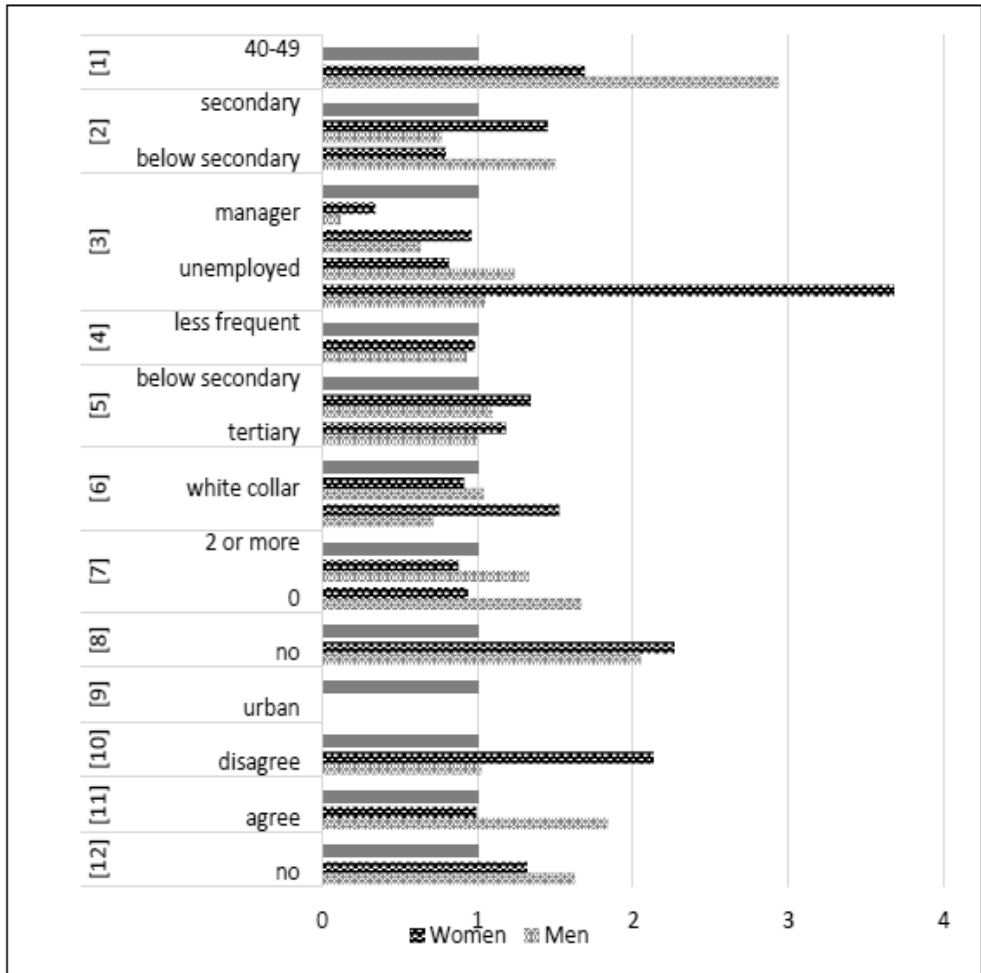
We analysed the associations between the explanatory variables and the risk of being childless by country and gender. In order to visualize better the gender differences, we also organized the results of the regression models separately by gender. The results are captured in the Figure 5 for women and in the Figure 6 for men.

Figure 3. Logistic regression on the risk of childlessness by gender in Bulgaria



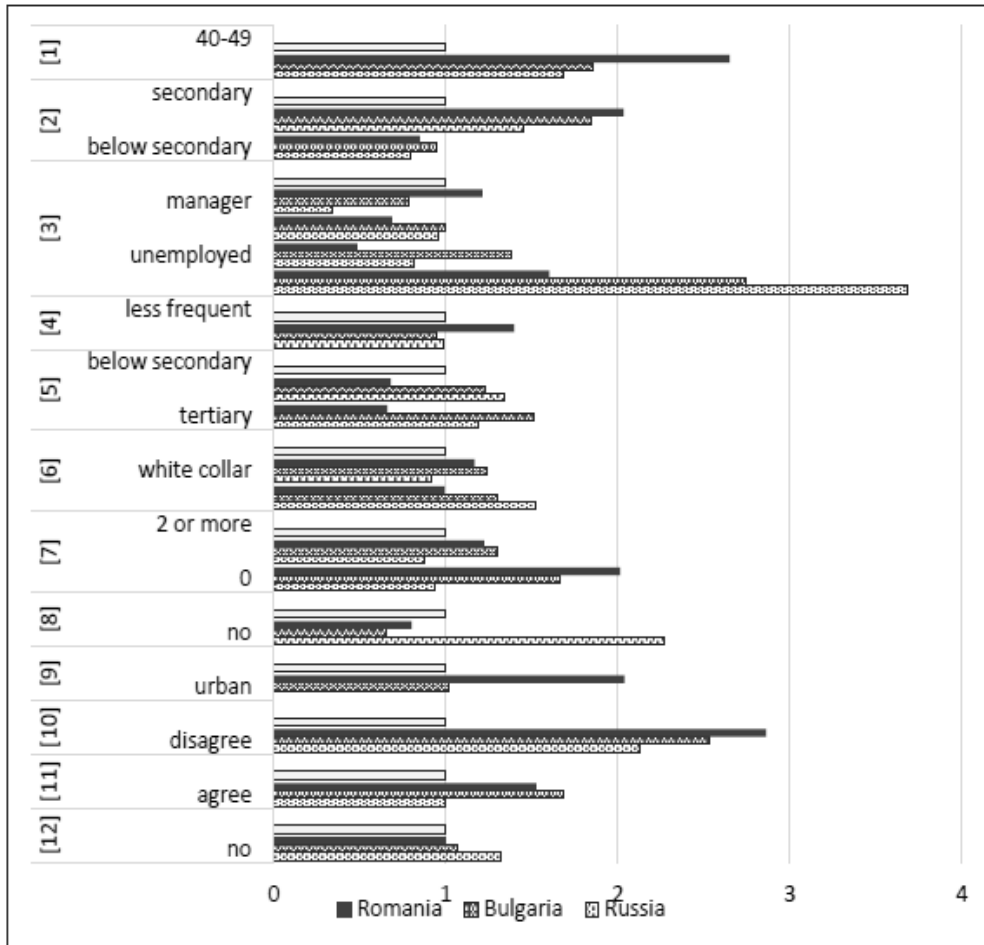
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Figure 4. Logistic regression on the risk of childlessness by gender in Russia



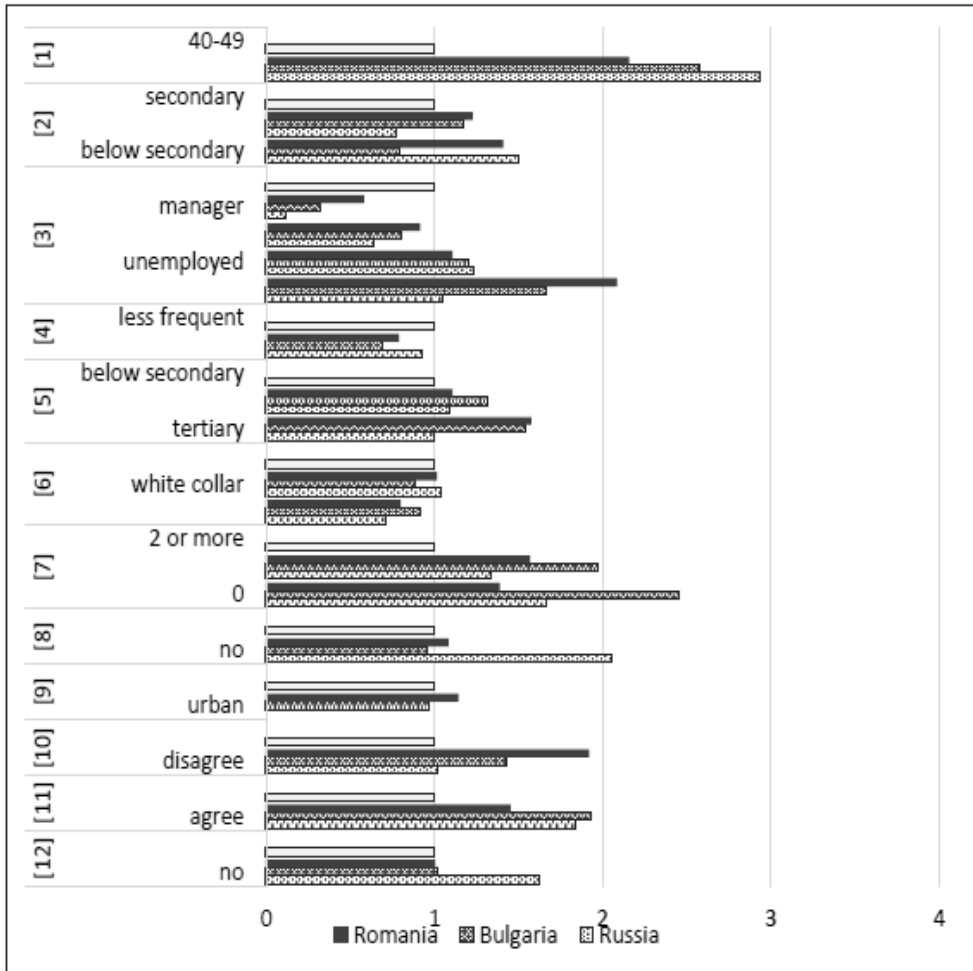
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Figure 5. Logistic regression on the risk of childlessness among women from Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, and Russia



List of variables: [1] Age; [2] Education; [3] Occupation; [4] Practice of religion; [5] Mother's education; [6] Father's occupation; [7] Siblings; [8] With both parents until 15; [9] Residence until 15; [10] Women have to have children to be fulfilled; [11] Marriage is an out-dated institution; [12] People are trustworthy.

Figure 6. Logistic regression on the risk of childlessness among men from Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, and Russia



List of variables: [1] Age; [2] Education; [3] Occupation; [4] Practice of religion; [5] Mother's education; [6] Father's occupation; [7] Siblings; [8] With both parents until 15; [9] Residence until 15; [10] Women have to have children to be fulfilled; [11] Marriage is an out-dated institution; [12] People are trustworthy.

Comparing the results for the three countries, grouped by gender, we can notice that, in case of women, results are more homogenous, and the intensities of regression coefficients are higher and, in general, follow two patterns: one in which the effects of explanatory factors on childlessness are more powerful in Romania and lowest in Russia (in case of younger women, with high education, having no sibling, and disagreeing that a woman is fulfilled only as a mother); and other in which the effect is reversed, so the regression coefficients are highest for Russian women (in case of the factors related to “other occupations”, status of parents, attitude related to trusting people). In all these cases, Bulgaria register intermediary levels for regression coefficients.

In case of men, levels of coefficients are much lower, and the patterns are less clear in all the three analysed countries. Only few explanatory factors, like younger ages, being a single child and thinking that marriage is an outdated institution, produce strong effects on childlessness. Interesting is that, in case of men, the effects are lowest for Romania, while Bulgaria and Russia are disputing the first place.

7. Conclusions

This paper concentrated on three neighbouring countries from the former Eastern Bloc, proposing to identify the main lines which shape the portrait of Romanian childless woman and men and to see if it stands also for Bulgaria and Russia.

The study expands the knowledge about the topic of the possible determinants of childlessness also for this part of Europe. In the post-socialist period, the states from Eastern Europe have been regarded and treated as a monolithic block with respect to social, economic, political and cultural development. However, after more than two decades from the fall of communism, due to the results of studies carried out on different demographic topics, it has been proved that these countries cannot be considered anymore as a homogenous group, and scientists should be more sensitive on the particularities of each country, shaped not only by the communist legacy, but especially by the significant changes that took place at both the macro and micro level of each post-communist society.

We could not disentangle the specificity of involuntary and voluntary childlessness among Romanian, Bulgaria and Russian women, as in our samples, the weight of voluntary childless women was very low to be able to include separately in the multivariate analysis. The distinction is complicated as it demands to embed in the temporal dimension, an approach which allows to

study the sinuous road of childlessness and the oscillations between involuntary and voluntary childlessness across the life-course. Or, the results we discussed in this paper are based on a cross-sectional analysis.

We are aware about the importance of the partnership dynamics and about the partner's opinion about the topic of parenthood. In the future studies, the history and characteristics of partnerships in one's life can widen the perspective for understanding the pathways to childlessness, both in the life of women and of men. Even if women and men are analysed as separated groups, and not as partners, we consider the value of the study is increased by introducing the perspective on men.

Our results reflected similarities as well as disparities at both levels of analysis, between gender and across countries. However, even if some factors produce similar effects in direction and intensity on the risk of childlessness, we could see that Romanian model, as a reference model, is quite unique, on one hand in terms both of the intensity and direction of associations between the explanatory factors and the manifestation of childlessness, and on the other hand, regarding the different patterns of childlessness among women and men. Bulgarian model of childlessness among women and men is more similar with the Romanian than the Russian model. Regarding the intensity the factors have on childlessness, it is more accentuated among women, and when the country level is involved, Bulgaria registers in general intermediate values.

Studies on childlessness should continue and the results of the statistical analyses should serve to shaping the future family policies in these countries. The behaviour and the opinions of childless people are important. Their life is childless, but might not be childfree. Maybe a wise solution regarding the family policies should be to become focused on family oriented women and not on all women.

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BOOK REVIEW

Grażyna Liczbińska (2015). *Lutherans in the Poznań Province: Biological Dynamics of the Lutheran Population in the 19th and Early 20th Centuries*. Verlag Dr. Kovač, 240 p. ISBN 978-3-8300-8059-6.

The most recent historiographical work signed by Grażyna Liczbińska can be considered part of the scientific pursuit intensively developed by the author during the last years; her interest being mainly focused on the research of demographic issues of the historical and contemporary populations, on the examination of the demographic components belonging to various religious groups.

Grażyna Liczbińska already accustomed us with analysis related to marital and childbearing behavior of some populations in historical Poland. By far, diseases and mortality were the topics most often discussed, these being investigated in connection with urban and rural areas, with conditionalities imposed by ecological, social and religious factors. Also, the author has thoroughly investigated the issue of mortality among the young categories of populations, infant mortality and juvenile being treated as a priority in several articles.

Although Grażyna Liczbińska has not spared the investigation of the demographic behaviors belonging to the Catholic population, majoritary in the past of Poland, however she now brings the Lutherans to the fore. She decided to do so precisely because the researchers' attention has been primarily focused on the Catholic population, while the Lutherans in the past of Poland only benefited from fragmentary anthropological studies, most of which were conducted at a parish level or at the level of micro-regions. Thus, through her latest work, Grażyna Liczbińska aims to cover this gap of knowledge by proposing an evaluation of the biological dynamics of the Lutheran population from the Poznań province, between mid nineteenth century and early twentieth century.

The book consists of eight chapters, followed by a consistent set of appendices, a bibliography comprising fundamental works in the field, as well as new titles. The work benefits from two extended abstracts, in Polish and German.

Chapter one provides a brief, but extremely comprehensive, introduction of the dynamics of the parishes inhabited by Protestant communities in the province of Poznań, especially after the successive territorial division of Poland in the eighteenth century and after the province entered under the leadership of Prussia. Following this situation, the Protestant population gradually increased and shortly after World War One the Lutheran followers reached the percentage of 31% of the total population (p. 8).

Before reviewing the other research works regarding the Lutherans in Poland, the author realizes a chapter about the demographic behavior of Lutherans in Western Europe. The analysis of a large number of scientific works leads the author conclude that many scholars in the field of historical demography have noticed and underlined the differences of demographic, cultural and civilizational behavior between Catholics and Protestants. Without knowing those realities thoroughly, we wonder if this dichotomy couldn't be considered rather far-fetched. The positive side is the fact that the author does not slip on the slope of praising the behavior of the Protestants and blaming that of the Catholics. From the very beginning, she adopts a rather reserved attitude, aiming to take into consideration several factors that shaped the demographic behavior of the Lutherans in the province of Poznań.

The research is based on a rich amount of information belonging to three parishes in the province: Holy Cross Parish in Poznań, Holy Cross parish in Leszno and Jastrzębsko Stare parish. Information extracted from parochial registers were compiled in a database, comprising a total of 26 718 births, 7 483 marriages and 26 842 deaths. The author takes stock of the quality of her data, which is a plus when it comes to the reliability of the information with which she operates. A minor glitch that we may mention is the fact that the reader is not informed how much is the selected sample from the overall share of the Lutheran population of the province.

The information is completed with data extracted from censuses and statistic yearbooks; therefore, based on this information, the author presents the evolutions known by the Lutheran populations. Therefore, in Chapter three, the dynamics of the Lutheran population in Poznań is analyzed, for the period 1820-1905. Also in this chapter, Grażyna Liczbińska closely examines the components of the natural movement of the Lutheran population, also explaining the causes which influenced the trend it followed.

By far the highlight of the book is a chapter dedicated to mortality, the author analyzing the phenomenon from the perspective of several fundamental indicators: gross mortality rate, infant mortality index, maternal mortality and life expectancy at birth. A consistent space is allocated to child mortality, as

research conclusions are extremely bleak. Until the ninth decade of the nineteenth century, more than 300 babies did not survive their first year of life, especially in urban areas. Even if those born in the countryside of the province of Poznań were slightly more fortunate, less than 200 lost their lives up to 1 year (p. 52); and these values remained extremely high even in the early years of the twentieth century.

From this point of view, the situation was no better than that found in other areas of central and Eastern Europe. However, some transformations in terms of casuistry deaths have been noticed: a reduction of the deaths caused by infectious diseases and a multiplication of the deaths caused by modern causes (diseases of the cardiovascular system, edema, cancer, deaths caused by accidents, murders and suicides). The same as in other areas in the Central and South-Eastern Europe, in the province of Poznań a gradual decline in mortality is obvious, as a result of the progress made by the health system, the improvement of life and environmental conditions.

In Chapter six, which is focused on investigating fertility, Grazyna Liczbińska concludes that in the case of the Lutheran population in Poznań, as well as in other historical regions of Poland, we cannot speak of planning in advance the number of children. For these people, fertility regulation was made through ecological and cultural factors, which couples were not fully aware of (p. 121). The author demonstrates with factual arguments that the researched populations still had a non-Malthusian fertile behavior and that, from this point of view, there were no differences between Protestants and Catholics. Also, the author speaks of a possible phenomenon of acculturation of the Lutherans, due to their proximity to the Catholics. This phenomenon, according to the researcher's assumption, could be translated through the adoption of the specific traditions of the Catholics, including that of having many children (p. 121). The author brings to the fore an element that would support her affirmation – it is related to the larger number of children that were born in mixed families.

Very interesting conclusions can be drawn from reading Chapter 6 of the book. Thus, the West-East cleavage model proposed by Hajnal cannot be verified in case of the investigated parishes. From the point of view of the advanced age when contracting the first marriage, both for men and women, the marriage model was a Western one. On the other hand, although the rate of mixed marriages proved to be quite high at a provincial level, however, it was somewhat lower in rural areas dominated by a predominantly Catholic population, subjected to tradition and reticent in accepting otherness.

In our opinion, a special chapter dedicated to conclusions is no longer necessary, especially if that chapter is only one page long.

After reading this work we could say, without a doubt, that the research of Grażyna Liczbińska is a plus for knowing the demographic behavior of the Lutherans of the past of Poland. The accuracy and the rigor demonstrated by the author in handling large amounts of information, the modern methods she uses for data analysis, the pertinence of the demonstration process and the relevance of the findings results are elements that make this book a successful important scientific research.

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