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Albanian urban fertility in the beginning of the 20th century

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Introduction

In 1998, Albania had the highest total fertility rate in Europe: 2.5 children born per woman. Only the neighboring country of Macedonia had a total fertility rate of more than 2 children born per woman (2.1). All other European countries had fertility rates below replacement level (UNICEF 2000:36). Albania was the last country in Europe to enter demographic transition and has yet to complete it. Until recent years, knowledge about the demographic characteristics of the Albanian population before WWII was rather scarce. A rediscovered source, the census of 1918, allows us to investigate demographic features of the Albanian population in 1918. A project based at the University of Graz aimed at entering the data for scientific research (<http://www-gewi.kfunigraz.ac.at/suedost/seiner>). This data has already been used for several conference papers and articles. One paper proved that the number of children in Albania was lower than assumed before (Gruber 2001). Almost one fourth of older men had no son in the household and could therefore not directly continue the male line (Gruber 2002).

Most research on family and demography in the Balkans still concentrates on rural areas and only seldom focuses on the urban population. In this paper, I shall concentrate on such a white spot within scientific research. According to the census of 1918, the urban population in Albania only numbered 66,000 persons, which comprised 12 percent of the whole population (Seiner 1922:6). Only seven settlements qualified as cities in this region: Durrës, Elbasan, Kavaja, Kruja, Shkodra, Tirana, and Berat. Shkodra was the largest city with 23,000 inhabitants and the centre of Northern Albania. Tirana, which later became the capital, and Elbasan both had 10,000 inhabitants and were situated in central Albania. Berat had 9,000 inhabitants and was in the south of the territory occupied by Austro-Hungarian forces during WWI. Unfortunately, the census material for this city and the surrounding region was destroyed. Kavaja in the central Albania near the coast had 5,500 inhabitants and Durrës with 4,000 inhabitants was the most important harbour of this territory. Kruja had almost 4,000 inhabitants and is situated a bit north of Tirana. Three cities were outside the territory occupied by Austro-Hungarian forces: Vlora, Gjirokastra, and Korça.

Source

This source is the population census conducted by the Austro-Hungarian army during WWI. The Austro-Hungarian army occupied the majority of the territory of the newly created independent Albanian state and established a new administration. The army registered the population and livestock, but since it did not prove to be satisfactory, the Austrians organised a complete population census with scientific preparation. The 1918 Albanian population census counted 524,217 persons who lived in about 1,800 villages, towns and cities on the territory administrated by Austria-Hungary during WWI.

Due to the destruction of the material in the four districts of Berat, Fier, Lushnja and Shkrapar, the count was reduced to 435,075 persons. The results of the census together with the statistical forms of the global results on village, town and city level, as well as the forms for the statistical analyses, have been preserved and are stored in 47 boxes in the Archive of the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

The research project “The 1918 Albanian Population Census: Data Entry and Basic Analyses” (<http://www-gewi.kfunigraz.ac.at/suedost/seiner/index.html>) funded by the Austrian Science Fund (Fonds zur Förderung der Wissenschaftlichen Forschung) started in 2000 with the aim of bringing the data into a machine-readable form so that anybody interested can use the data for his/her specific research goals and to conduct initial basic analyses concerning household structures and demographic questions in order to present them together with the data on national and international scientific conferences. First results have already been presented at several scientific conferences.

This database is also an excellent source for migration studies since it contains the place of birth and the place of residence of each person. The data is still on an individual level, which allows much more research than aggregate data on the village level. The researcher is able to aggregate data in a way he/she wants to do it and is not bound to the categories of already aggregated data. This also enables the researcher to combine different variables on the individual level for research purposes.

The amount of work and limited funds have made it necessary to divide the settlements of the census into two groups: the settlements of the first group have been entered completely and the settlements of the second groups will be entered in 5-percent-samples. The first group of settlements contains all settlements, which are somehow different from the majority of the settlements: cities, places with ethnic or religious minorities, uneven sex-ratio, unusually small or large average household size, and a considerable share of non-agricultural population.

Up to now, 124,133 persons have been entered into the database and the first 5-percent-sample is made up of 17,719 persons. The weighting factor for the settlements in the first group of settlements is 1 and the weighting factor for sample 1 is 19, since this sample has a slightly higher population than the average of the samples. The study is therefore based on a number of 443,075 persons after the weighting process.

Table 1: Data available for research

	persons	weighting factor	population
group 1	106,414	1.0	106,414
sample 1	17,719	19.0	336,661
	124,133		443,075

Measuring fertility in Albania in the beginning of the 20th century

There was no official registration of vital events at that time and therefore no data is available for research on vital rates. This census has also no data on the number of children, which have been born by registered women. The only available data is the number of children in the same household. We can use this data in two ways: the number of children at higher ages as a proxy for all children ever born or the number of children under an age of five years. Normally, fertility is measured as the number of children born per woman, but this census was conducted in a patriarchal society and therefore all relationships within the family were registered in relation to the head of the household, who was normally a man. The relationship between a father and his children was definitely more precisely registered than the relationship between a mother and her children. The following table shows that almost no stepmothers were indicated in the census, while several hundred people were registered as living with a stepfather. In contrast the number of people with an age difference of less than 15 years to their parents is ten times higher for mothers than for fathers. In addition, the number of couples with very large age gaps between the spouses was high and increasing with the age of the father. All these facts point to the conclusion that stepmothers were not indicated in this census and that an investigation of the number of children born per woman can be severely biased. Therefore the research in this paper concentrates on the number of children per man, since the relationship between fathers and their children is much clearer.

Table 2: Status of fathers and mothers in the data of the Albanian census of 1918

status father	n	percent	status mother	n	percent
no father	287,891	65.0	no mother	234,122	52.8
father	99,762	22.5	mother	150,654	34.0
stepfather	752	.2	stepmother	2	.0
foster father	23	.0	foster mother	-	-
adoptive father	19	.0	adoptive mother	-	-
age difference less than 15 years	360	.1	age difference less than 15 years	3,821	.9
age difference of parents more than 10 years	54,268	12.2	age difference of parents more than 10 years	54,476	12.3
	443,075	100.0		443,075	100.0

Quality of data

The quality of relationships within the household is poorer for women than for men, as we have seen. Another problem is connected with the data about the people's age. There is a strong tendency to round ages to complete or half decades and therefore age groups are used in this paper, that are centred around ages ending with the digits "0" and "5". All information about ages have to be seen as approximations. The number of own children is of the highest importance for this paper and therefore its quality has to be checked. In figures 1 and 2 you can see a comparison of the number of children under an age of 5 years, their cumulated number and the number of all children in the same household. The cumulated number of children under 5 years should be the same as the number of all children in the household. Up to an age of 40 to 45 years, there is almost no difference, for older people the difference increases due to mortality and daughters who marry and leave the household. This means that the data on the number of children should be rather consistent. There are some exceptions concerning old women with children under 5 years. In these cases, the ages given for women seem to be exaggerated and also some old men with small children may have exaggerated their ages.

There is also the question of a decrease in fertility due to several years of war (two Balkan wars and WWI). The age structure of the population indicates a decreased fertility, at least for the urban population, since there is no increase in the number of the children of the youngest ages. If there is a decrease in fertility, the cumulated number of children under 5 years is lower than the number of children in the same household. This can be seen to a small extent for women at younger ages, but not for men. Therefore no major decrease in fertility seems to have occurred during the years of war.

Number of children

The cumulated number of children under 5 years was 4.7 for men and 3.6 for women. In figure 3 you can see the effect of the lower age at marriage for women, which resulted in a higher number of children for women up to 50 years. At higher ages, men had more children because some of them married a second time.

Urban men at all ages had slightly fewer children than rural men (figures 4 and 5). This was caused by the later age at marriage in cities, because the mean number of children of married and widowed men was almost the same for urban and rural men (figures 6 and 7). Only at higher ages did rural men have more children in the same household. The difference in cumulated children under 5 years was 0.5 children: 3.2 children for urban women and 3.7 children for rural women. This difference was almost one child for men: 4.0 children for urban men and 4.8 children for rural men.

Age at marriage

Albania lies within the “Eastern European marriage pattern” with a low age at marriage and a virtual lack of celibacy according to Hajnal (Hajnal 1965). The census of 1918 allows us to calculate the singulate mean age at marriage, which results in 18.2 years for women and 26.4 years for men. Orthodox men and women married about two years later than Muslim men and women and Catholic men married about one year earlier than Muslim men. Slavic women married about 1.5 years later than Albanian women and Slavic men married about one year later than Albanian men. Roma men married four years earlier than Albanian men and Roma women married one year later than Albanian women, and therefore the age gap between spouses was the smallest for Roma. Literate people married much later than illiterates: for men the difference was about 5.5 years and for women about 6.5 years. There was also a marked difference between the rural and the urban population: women married about two years later and men about four years later in cities than in the countryside (figure 8). The higher age at marriage of the Orthodox population is connected with the higher urban age at marriage since half of the Orthodox population in this region was urban. The six cities investigated in this paper can be divided into two groups: five of the them were rather similar with an age at marriage for women between 18 and 20 years, and for men between 26 and 28 years. Shkodra was different with the highest ages at marriage: 22 years for women and more than 34 years for men.

Table 3: Singulate mean age at marriage in Albania in 1918

	women	men
all	18.2	26.4
Muslim	18.1	26.6
Catholic	18.1	25.2
Orthodox	20.0	28.9
Albanian	18.1	26.5
Roma	19.0	22.5
Slavic	19.7	27.6
illiterate	18.0	26.1
literate	24.6	31.6
rural	17.9	25.9
urban	19.9	30.0
Kruja	20.2	27.7
Shkodra	22.1	34.3
Durrës	19.3	26.2
Elbasan	19.2	29.9
Kavaja	18.1	26.9
Tirana	18.4	27.5

The higher ages at marriage in cities also prevailed in neighboring Serbia. In the period from 1891 to 1910, the average urban age at marriage for men was about 4 to 5 years higher than the average rural age at marriage. The average urban age at marriage for women was about 2 years higher than the average rural age at marriage (Sundhaussen 1989: 150).

Age at reproduction

The number of children under 5 years of age allows us to reconstruct fertility patterns over the life course. One has to bear in mind that information about age may be incorrect (especially at higher ages); The number of children for women is too high because it also includes step-children, and only those children are included, who were born within five years before the

census was taken and who survived until the census. We shall deal only with marital fertility in this chapter since illegitimate children were almost completely absent. The most important time for bearing children was the decade from 25 to 35 years. It is interesting to see that fertility from age 20 to 25 was considerably lower for rural women, but only slightly lower for urban women. In cities the fertility of women was higher up to an age of 35 years and afterwards it was lower than in the countryside. The time for becoming fathers was much longer and the prime time was from 30 to 55 years. There was almost no difference between married and widowed men in cities or rural areas, only at higher ages were urban men less likely to become fathers again. The cumulated sum of children under 5 years for married or widowed men is considerably higher than for all men, since age at marriage was high and a considerable percentage of men were still unmarried at higher ages. This is in contrast to women, because almost all of them married young.

Table 4: Number of children born in 5-year periods for married and widowed men and women in Albania in 1918:

age	men		women	
	rural	urban	rural	urban
15-20 years	0.15	0.17	0.24	0.39
20-25 years	0.34	0.33	0.52	0.65
25-30 years	0.50	0.55	0.73	0.74
30-35 years	0.67	0.65	0.67	0.71
35-40 years	0.67	0.71	0.57	0.48
40-45 years	0.72	0.71	0.46	0.28
45-50 years	0.65	0.64	0.19	0.12
50-55 years	0.64	0.53	0.20	0.06
55-60 years	0.41	0.38	0.06	0.02
60-65 years	0.33	0.29	0.08	0.01
65-70 years	0.21	0.10	0.06	0.00
70-75 years	0.20	0.07	0.03	0.01
75-80 years	0.04	0.05	0.01	0.00
sum	5.53	5.18	3.82	3.47

Influence of confession

The majority of the Albanian population was Muslim (74 percent) and a smaller part Catholic (18 percent) and Orthodox (8 percent) according to the published results (Seiner 1922:10). In the used database, the proportion of Muslims was even higher due to the destruction of some source material and the sampling procedure. The cities can be divided into three groups: Shkodra had a population of one third Catholics, the cities of Durrës, Kavaja and Elbasan had a considerable Orthodox minority and the cities of Tirana and Kruja were almost completely Muslim.

Table 5: Percentage of confessional groups in the population

	Shkodra	Durrës	Elbasan	Kavaja	Tirana	Kruja	rural	all
Catholic	31.3	4.4	.0	-	.3	.1	13.1	13.1
Orthodox	3.2	36.9	17.1	20.6	7.9	.1	2.0	3.1
Muslim	65.5	58.6	82.8	79.3	91.7	99.7	84.9	83.8
Other	.1	.1	-	.0	.1	.0	.0	.0

The difference between Muslim and Christian men was one child: Christian men had about 3 children on average and Muslim men more than 4 children. At all ages, Muslim men had

more children than Christian men with the exception of the youngest age groups. The most striking difference was at the highest ages, where the number of children of Muslim men still rose, while it remained almost constant for Christian men (figure 9).

Table 6: Cumulated number of children under 5 years for urban men

Catholic	3.00
Orthodox	3.13
Muslim	4.27
All	3.98

Influence of ethnicity

The population of Albania was almost completely Albanian: only 4 percent of the population were not Albanian. Almost 3 percent of Slavs and 1 percent of Roma made up the remaining population in this territory. The Slavic population was centred in Shkodra and the surrounding area and in the northeast of the country. The Roma population was a predominantly urban one and counted for a considerable minority in the cities of Durrës, Elbasan, Tirana and Kavaja.

Table 7: Percentage of ethnic groups in the population

	Shkodra	Durrës	Elbasan	Kavaja	Tirana	Kruja	rural	all
Albanian	94.9	82.5	91.5	94.2	92.1	99.0	96.4	96.0
Slavic	4.4	1.6	-	.0	.2	-	3.0	2.8
Roma	.0	14.7	8.5	5.6	7.5	1.0	.5	1.1
Other	.7	1.3	.0	.2	.2	-	.1	.1

The Albanian majority had the same pattern as the whole urban population, while Slavic men had 5 children instead of 4 children. Roma men had much fewer children with 3.3 children on average. Up to 45 years, Roma had more children because their age at marriage was much lower. At higher ages the number of their children remained almost constant, while it rose for Albanians and especially for Slavic men. This dramatic rise for Slavic men at the highest ages might also be the effect of the small number of cases, therefore a number of 4.33 children may be more likely. Nevertheless Slavic men had the highest number of children (figure 10).

Table 8: Cumulated number of children under 5 years for urban men

Albanian	3.99
Slavic	5.00 (4.33)
Roma	3.30
All	3.98

The urban Roma population was completely Muslim, but the ethnic influence was obviously much stronger than the religious one, since Muslims on average had more children than Christians. The Muslim percentage was almost the same for Albanians and Slavs, but the Catholic percentage was much lower among Slavs. Also among Slavs, the ethnic influence on the average number of children seems to be more important than the religious influence.

Table 9: Religious confession by ethnic group of the urban population

	Albanian	Slavic	Roma	Other	All
Catholic	13.8	3.8	-	46.3	13.1
Orthodox	10.8	17.7	-	15.8	10.5
Muslim	75.4	78.4	100.0	30.5	76.4
Other	.0	-	-	7.3	.0

Literacy

Albania was an almost completely illiterate country at that time. In rural areas less than 2 percent of the male population were literate, while only 0.1 percent of the female population was literate. In the urban population, literacy was much more frequent: In Shkodra and Durrës 36 percent of the male population and 12 percent of the female population were literate. In Elbasan, Kavaja and Tirana only 15 to 17 percent of the male population and almost no women were literate. The lowest literacy rate prevailed in the city of Kruja with less than 10 percent of the male population. Catholics had the by far highest rate of literacy within the urban population, followed by the Orthodox population, while the Muslims had the lowest literacy rate. Literacy rates for Albanians and Slavs were rather similar, while Roma were almost completely illiterate.

Table 10: Percentage of literate persons in the population

	men	women
Shkodra	36.3	12.0
Durrës	36.8	11.7
Elbasan	17.6	2.8
Kavaja	15.5	0.4
Tirana	15.0	1.5
Kruja	9.8	0.8
Catholic	56.4	32.6
Orthodox	33.6	11.4
Muslim	19.2	1.3
Albanian	26.4	6.6
Slavic	26.0	9.7
Roma	0.7	0.0
rural	1.8	0.1
all	4.9	1.0

Literacy had the opposite effect on male and female fertility for the urban population in Albania: literate men had more children than illiterate men, while literate women had less children than illiterate women. At younger ages, literate men had slightly fewer children than illiterate men, while they had slightly more children at higher ages (figure 11). This is an effect of the higher age at marriage for literate men.

Table 11: Cumulated number of children under 5 years for urban men

literate	4.32
illiterate	3.90
all	3.98

Born in the city or migrant

The majority of the urban population was born in the respective city. The data for Elbasan and Kruja seems to be unreliable in this respect and it will therefore be not used for the following

analysis. Shkodra had the highest proportion of immigrants from outside Albania. The majority of them came from neighbouring Montenegro.

Table 12: Place of birth of the urban population

	Shkodra	Durrës	Elbasan	Kavaja	Tirana	Kruja	rural	all
in the city	78.4	66.1	0.0	85.6	79.1	99.4	73.2	72.3
outside Albania	12.0	4.4	-	-	1.8	-	0.4	1.1
Albania	9.6	29.5	100.0	14.4	19.1	0.6	26.4	26.6

There was almost no difference in fertility rates between men born in the city they were living in and men born elsewhere. Migrant men had slightly fewer children, which was an effect of slightly lower fertility after an age of 35 years (figure 12).

Table 13: Cumulated number of children under 5 years for urban men

migrant	3.81
non-migrant	3.99
all	3.98

Cities

There was little variation between the six analysed cities: four of them show almost the same number of children for men. Men in Kavaja had about 0.5 children less than those in these four cities, but this was mainly an effect of lower fertility at a higher age. In Shkodra, men had fewer children earlier in life and more children later in life. Durrës was very different with an average number of only 2.4 children compared to an average of 4.0 children for all urban men (figures 13 through 17). The comparison of the cumulated number of children under an age of 5 years with the number of co-residing children in the same household suggests that fertility in Durrës decreased significantly in the years of war.

Table 14: Cumulated number of children under 5 years for urban men

Tirana	4.14
Elbasan	4.07
Kruja	4.03
Shkodra	4.03
Kavaja	3.56
Durrës	2.37
all	3.98

Influence of occupation

The most challenging part of the analysis was the attempt to investigate the influence of occupation on urban fertility. The census also reported the occupation of the polled persons and sometimes even additional information like status or previous occupations. The information on occupation was recorded partly in German and partly in Albanian. It was necessary to code the occupations to make such an analysis. The coding was done according to the HISCO-scheme (van Leeuwen, Maas, Miles 2002). 124,133 persons were included in the present database with 7,951 different occupational titles. In a first step, only those occupations were coded, which occurred at least ten times. These occupations counted for 453 different occupational titles, but with all spelling variations they amount to 5,018 different occupational titles. Therefore, 63.11 percent of all occupational titles have already been

coded. These occupational titles account for 96.3 percent of all persons in the database, so that only 3.7 percent (4,532 persons) do not yet have an occupational code.

The character of this source caused some problems in coding the occupations. The major problem was that only 16.0 percent of the population fitted into this coding scheme. The remaining 84 percent were coded on the basis of additional codes. The most important of them is the code for missing information, which accounts for 60.2 percent of the population. 8.8 percent were recorded as doing domestic work as members of the family and 6.4 percent were recorded as being co-working relatives. In the course of coding, several principles were followed:

- In the case of two occupations, only the first one was coded.
- In the case of an occupation and property being recorded, the occupation was coded.
- Only those occupations were coded, which were being carried out, previous occupations were not coded.
- Apprentices and journeymen got the same code as their master, with the exception of codes indicating working proprietors.

Almost no occupations were recorded for the rural population and therefore all persons with recorded agricultural property (their own or rented) were recoded as farmers. Members of their families who were recorded as working in agriculture were recoded as co-working relatives (agriculture). Members of their households who were recorded as servants or shepherds in the column “relationship to the household” were recoded in these categories. People who were recorded as living off their own property and who had agricultural property were recoded as farmers. The result of the recoding can be seen in the following table. People with missing occupational information still counted for almost half of the male population and almost two thirds of the female population. Agriculture dominated among the rural population while in the urban population there was a clear distinction between men and women. Men were most often recorded as working in production (16.7 percent), trade (10.4 percent), services (7.0 percent) and agriculture (5.4 percent). Women were mostly recorded as doing domestic work (30.6 percent) and service work (3.2 percent). A considerable number of the population was recorded as not working (8.6 percent of the men and 3.3 percent of the women). These people lived from their property, were on poor relief, in jail or in hospital, or were pupils and students or without job.

Table 15: Major groups of occupations in Albania in 1918

	men		women	
	rural	urban	rural	urban
Professional, technical and related workers	0.2	1.6	0.0	0.3
Administrative and managerial workers	0.2	0.2	-	-
Clerical and related workers	0.0	0.2	-	-
Sales workers	0.4	10.4	0.0	0.6
Service workers	1.3	7.0	0.6	3.2
Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters	36.7	5.4	11.4	0.1
Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers	3.2	16.7	0.4	1.6
Domestic work	0.4	0.4	4.3	30.6
Co-working relatives	12.4	2.5	16.4	0.5
Not working	1.7	8.6	0.7	3.3
Missing	43.6	47.2	66.2	59.8

A second variable was created for the purpose of comparison between these major occupational groups. People doing domestic work, co-working relatives and people without occupational information were recoded according to the major occupational group of their respective household head. The following table shows the proportion of persons living on the income of the major occupational groups. This recoding reduces the proportion of persons with missing occupational information to about 10 percent for the rural population and to about one quarter for the urban population. One fourth of the urban population lived from production, almost one fifth lived from trade and about 10 percent each lived from service and agriculture.

Table 16: Major groups of occupations in Albania in 1918

	men		women	
	rural	urban	rural	urban
Professional, technical and related workers	0.3	2.5	0.3	2.7
Administrative and managerial workers	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5
Clerical and related workers	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.2
Sales workers	0.6	17.9	0.5	18.5
Service workers	1.7	8.7	1.6	8.3
Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters	76.0	9.0	76.8	7.9
Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers	5.1	26.1	4.1	25.4
Domestic work	0.0	0.1	0.6	11.0
Co-working relatives	3.3	0.8	6.4	0.1
Not working	1.7	8.6	0.7	3.3
Missing	10.7	25.6	8.5	22.1

The comparison of occupational groups is restricted to the urban male population between 15 and 70 years in the following tables. The proportions of these groups allow us to depict a preliminary picture of the economic profile of the six cities under investigation, although the high percentage of missing codes could change it after they have been coded. Shkodra was the centre of the north and by far the largest city. The proportion of professional, technical, and clerical workers was highest there. People engaged in trade and production were more frequent there than on average. The service sector was the largest in all the cities and in contrast agriculture was of very low significance. The port city of Durrës had the highest share in sales and production workers, but maybe this was also an effect of its having the lowest percentage of missing codes of all cities. Kruja very much resembled the average urban population, but the percentage of missing codes is still very high. In Elbasan, agriculture was of higher importance, while production workers made up the smallest sector of all cities. The percentage of still missing codes is highest for Elbasan. In Kavaja, the trading sector was the smallest, the service and agricultural sectors were rather small, while the production sector was the second largest. The proportion of non-working people was highest there. In Tirana, the service sector was the second largest and the agricultural sector was the largest of all cities.

Table 17: Major groups of occupations for urban men in Albania in 1918

	Kruja	Shkodra	Durrës	Elbasan	Kavaja	Tirana	all
Professional, technical and related workers	1.7	3.2	0.5	2.2	1.5	2.2	2.4
Administrative and managerial workers	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.2	0.0	0.3
Clerical and related workers	-	0.6	-	-	-	0.0	0.2
Sales workers	15.4	16.7	19.4	13.5	11.3	15.2	15.5
Service workers	6.5	11.3	7.1	8.5	6.7	11.2	9.7
Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters	6.9	4.0	2.4	12.1	2.6	17.7	7.8
Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers	23.8	27.2	36.4	16.0	30.3	21.6	25.1
Domestic work	-	0.2	0.2	0.7	-	0.6	0.3
Co-working relatives	-	5.3	6.4	0.3	0.5	2.3	3.2
Not working	3.7	5.3	3.9	4.3	7.6	3.1	4.8
Missing	41.4	26.1	23.5	41.5	39.2	26.1	30.7
number of men	1,258	7,610	1,488	3,089	1,705	3,313	18,463

In comparing the different religious groups, one can see that the Muslims as the largest group very much resemble the average urban population. The Catholic population was much more engaged in clerical and service work. Their share of co-working relatives and of the non-working population was also the highest. The Orthodox population was more engaged in the production sector than the other religious groups.

Table 18: Major groups of occupations for urban men in Albania in 1918 by religious groups

	Catholic	Orthodox	Muslim	all
Professional, technical and related workers	3.0	1.1	2.4	2.4
Administrative and managerial workers	0.2	0.1	0.3	0.3
Clerical and related workers	0.7	-	0.2	0.2
Sales workers	9.6	16.5	16.5	15.5
Service workers	17.1	7.1	8.7	9.7
Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters	3.0	6.0	8.9	7.8
Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers	27.0	30.5	24.0	25.1
Domestic work	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3
Co-working relatives	4.9	2.6	3.0	3.2
Not working	7.9	3.8	4.3	4.8
Missing	26.4	32.0	31.3	30.7
number of men	2,537	1,948	13,967	18,463

Once again, there is almost no difference between the overwhelming majority of Albanians and the average urban population. Slavic men were much more engaged in clerical and production work and had the largest share of co-working relatives. Roma were almost completely concentrated on production work and agriculture.

Table 19: Major groups of occupations for urban men in Albania in 1918 by ethnic groups

	Albanian	Slavic	Roma	all
Professional, technical and related workers	2.4	2.5	0.1	2.4
Administrative and managerial workers	0.3	-	0.1	0.3
Clerical and related workers	0.2	0.6	-	0.2
Sales workers	16.2	13.1	2.9	15.5
Service workers	10.0	5.0	6.2	9.7
Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters	7.1	10.0	24.2	7.8
Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers	24.4	29.0	41.8	25.1
Domestic work	0.3	-	0.4	0.3
Co-working relatives	3.1	8.6	1.6	3.2
Not working	5.0	4.5	0.1	4.8
Missing	31.1	26.7	22.5	30.7
number of men	17,261	359	756	18,463

The literate urban population was much more frequently engaged in professional, technical, administrative, managerial and clerical work, since their education improved their chances for these jobs. They were also more inclined to trade and to have co-working relatives and had a much higher share of non-working people.

Table 20: Major groups of occupations for urban men in Albania in 1918 by literacy

	illiterate	literate	all
Professional, technical and related workers	0.7	6.4	2.4
Administrative and managerial workers	0.2	0.4	0.3
Clerical and related workers	0.0	0.7	0.2
Sales workers	14.0	19.1	15.5
Service workers	9.8	9.6	9.7
Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters	10.6	1.1	7.8
Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers	30.5	12.4	25.1
Domestic work	0.4	0.1	0.3
Co-working relatives	2.4	4.9	3.2
Not working	2.2	10.9	4.8
Missing	29.2	34.4	30.7
number of men	12,982	5,481	18,463

The smaller occupational groups were merged for a calculation of the cumulated number of children under 5 years. Four patterns can be distinguished: a major pattern of professional, technical, administrative, managerial, clerical, agricultural, production workers, not-working men and men with missing codes. Their cumulated number of children ranged from 3.5 to 4 children, the higher number in the merged first group is the effect of the small number of cases at higher ages. Sales workers on average had almost 5 children and their fertility was higher at all ages. The other extreme were the service workers with less than 2.5 children or half the number of children compared to sales workers. Their fertility was lower at all ages and it seems that it had decreased in the previous years. Domestic workers and co-working relatives had a low fertility at a younger age and a higher fertility at medium age, so that they reached a number of 3.5 children on average (figure 18).

Table 21: Cumulated number of children under 5 years for urban men by major groups of occupations in Albania in 1918

Professional, technical and related workers	4.75 (4.08)
Administrative and managerial workers	
Clerical and related workers	
Sales workers	4.93
Service workers	2.41
Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters	3.78
Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and labourers	4.02
Domestic work	3.58
Co-working relatives	
Not working	3.52
Missing	3.89

Conclusions

The Albanian census of 1918 permits demographic research for a period, which has not been investigated before due to the lack of sources. This paper concentrates on the cumulated number of children under the age of 5 years for men as an indicator of fertility, since there is no data available on the number of children ever born and the data on men is more reliable than the data on women. The cumulated number of children under 5 years was 4.7 for all men and urban men had only 4.0 children on average. This was an effect of the higher age at marriage for urban men, since marital fertility differed much less. The highest marital male urban fertility was from an age of 30 years to 50 years and demonstrates the prominence of older fathers in this patriarchal society.

Muslim men had more children than Christian men, especially at higher ages. Slavic men had more children than Albanian men and Gypsies had the lowest number of children. Literate men had more children than illiterate men. There was almost no difference between men born in the city and men migrating to the city. Men in two cities had a lower number of children than the average: Kavaja with 0.5 children less and Durrës with 1.6 children less. In Durrës, fertility had obviously dropped during the years preceding the census. Within the occupational groups there was no large variation concerning fertility, only sales workers had the highest number of children and service workers had the lowest number of children. Service workers on average had only half the number of children compared to sales workers and their fertility had dropped, too.

Religious influence was obviously of lower importance for Slavic and Roma men. Literate men had more children, but Christians with a higher rate of literate persons had less children. In Durrës, the high percentage of Christians and Roma correlates with to the lowest number of children, while the high rate of literacy does not fit to the pattern of this city. Shkodra had the highest age at marriage and a high share of Christians, but an average general fertility, so that a higher marital fertility compensated for the lower percentage of married men. These sometimes contradictory factors need further investigation so that the influence of the different variables can be estimated more precisely. An increase in the percentage of coded occupations will also add to our knowledge and perhaps change the fertility patterns of the major occupational groups, since they will add different shares to the existing distribution of occupational groups. These uncoded occupations will increase the number of persons engaged in professional, technical, administrative, managerial, clerical, service, and production work to a higher degree than the number of persons engaged in sales, agricultural, and domestic work, co-working relatives, and non-working people.

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Map 1: Albania in 1918 and today



Figure 1: Number of children of men in Albania in 1918 by age

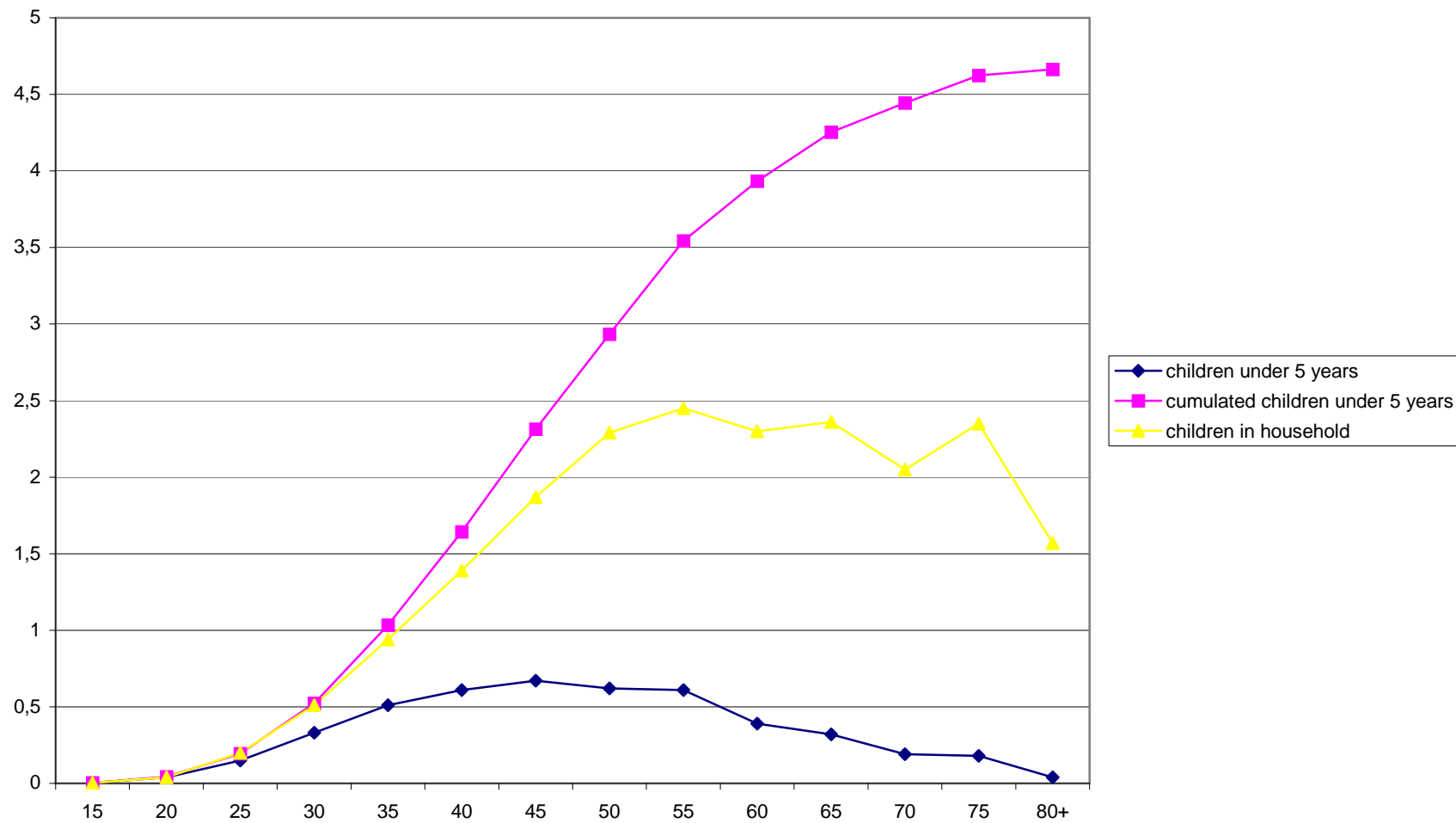


Figure 2: Number of children of women in Albania in 1918 by age

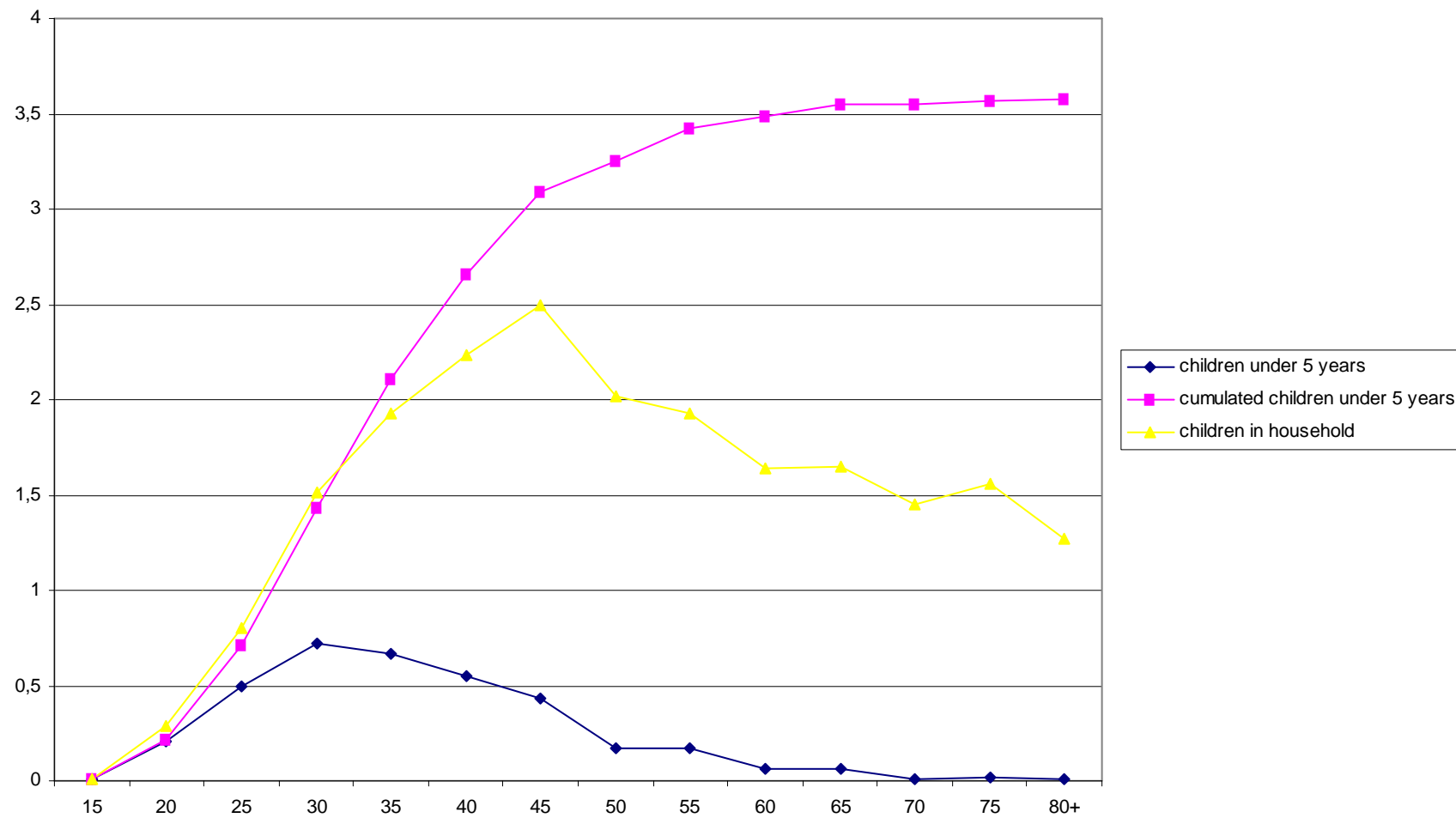


Figure 3: Cumulated number of children under 5 years of women and men in Albania in 1918 by age

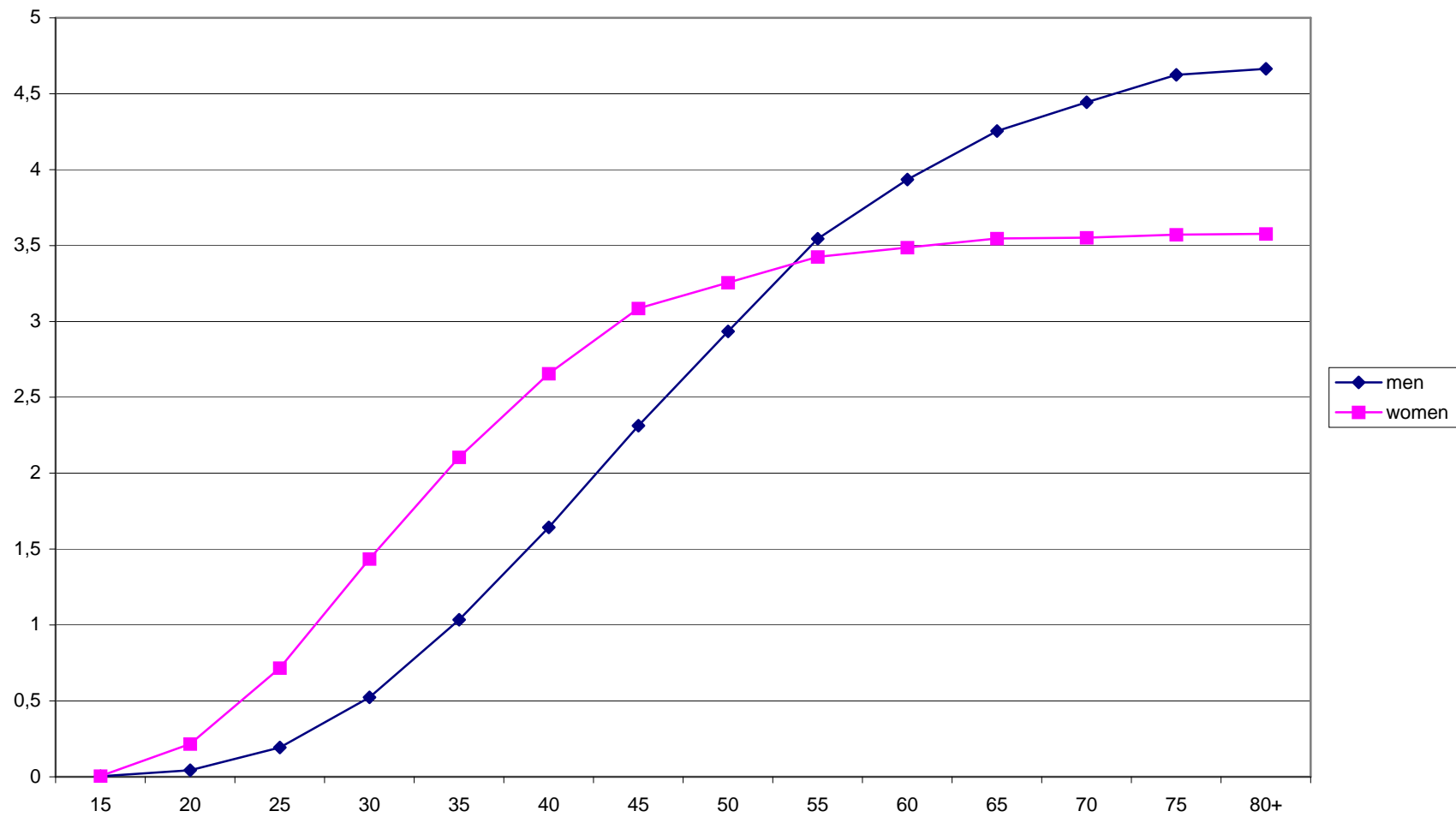


Figure 4: Cumulated number of children under 5 years of rural and urban men in Albania in 1918 by age

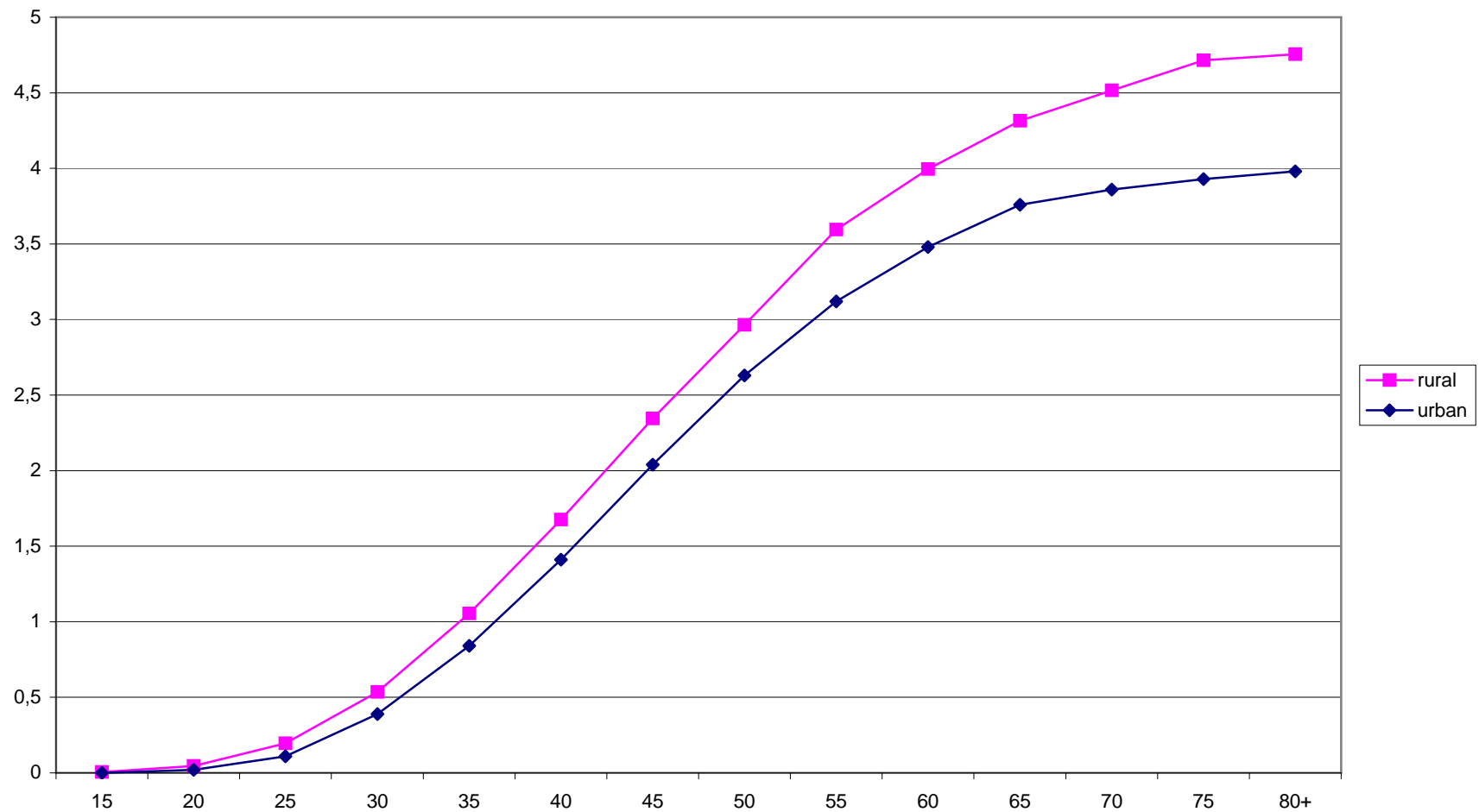


Figure 5: Number of children of rural and urban men in Albania in 1918 by age

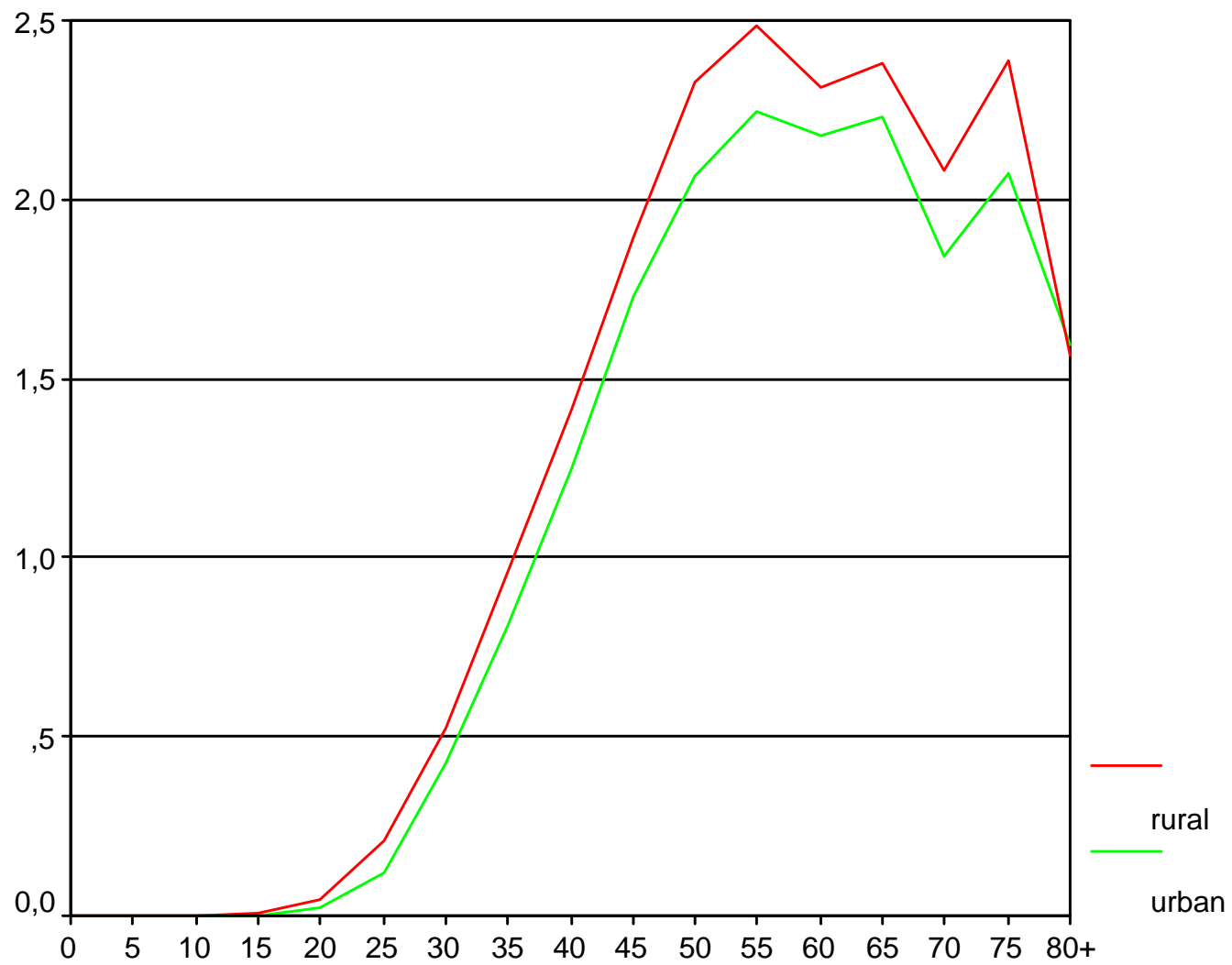


Figure 6: Number of children of married or widowed rural and urban men in Albania in 1918 by age

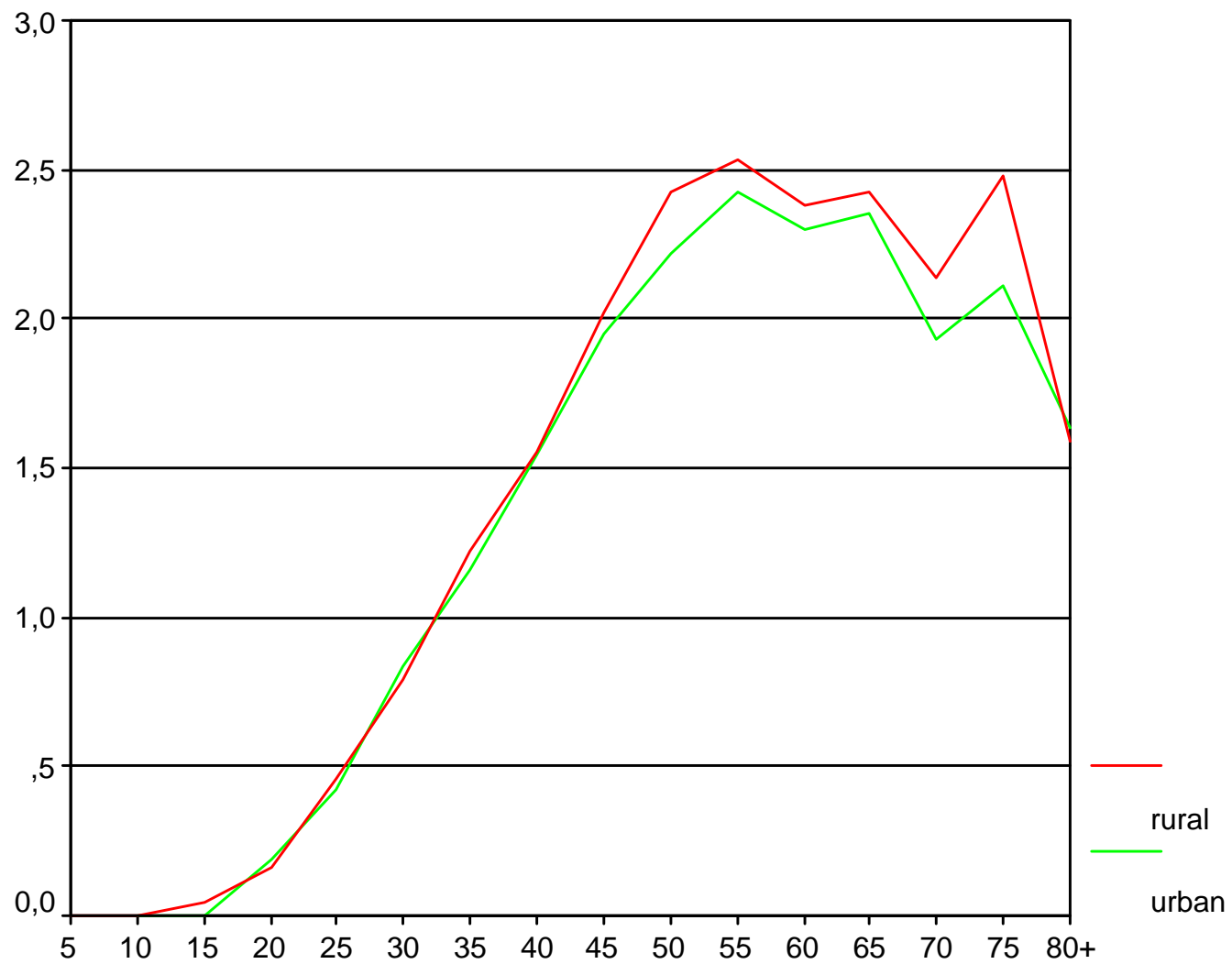


Figure 7: Children under the age of 5 years of married or widowed rural and urban men in Albania by age

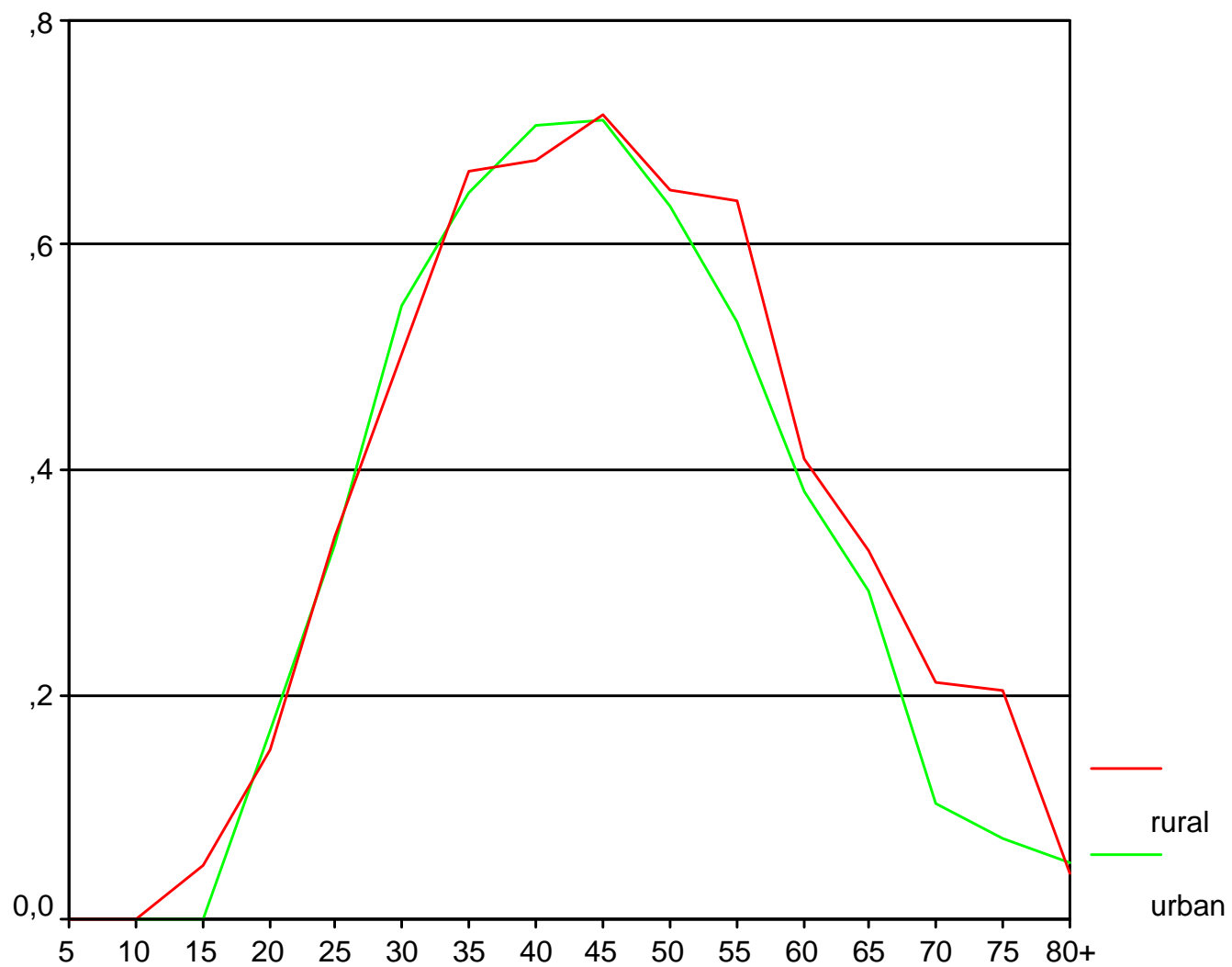


Figure 8: Percentage of married or widowed men in Albania in 1918 by age

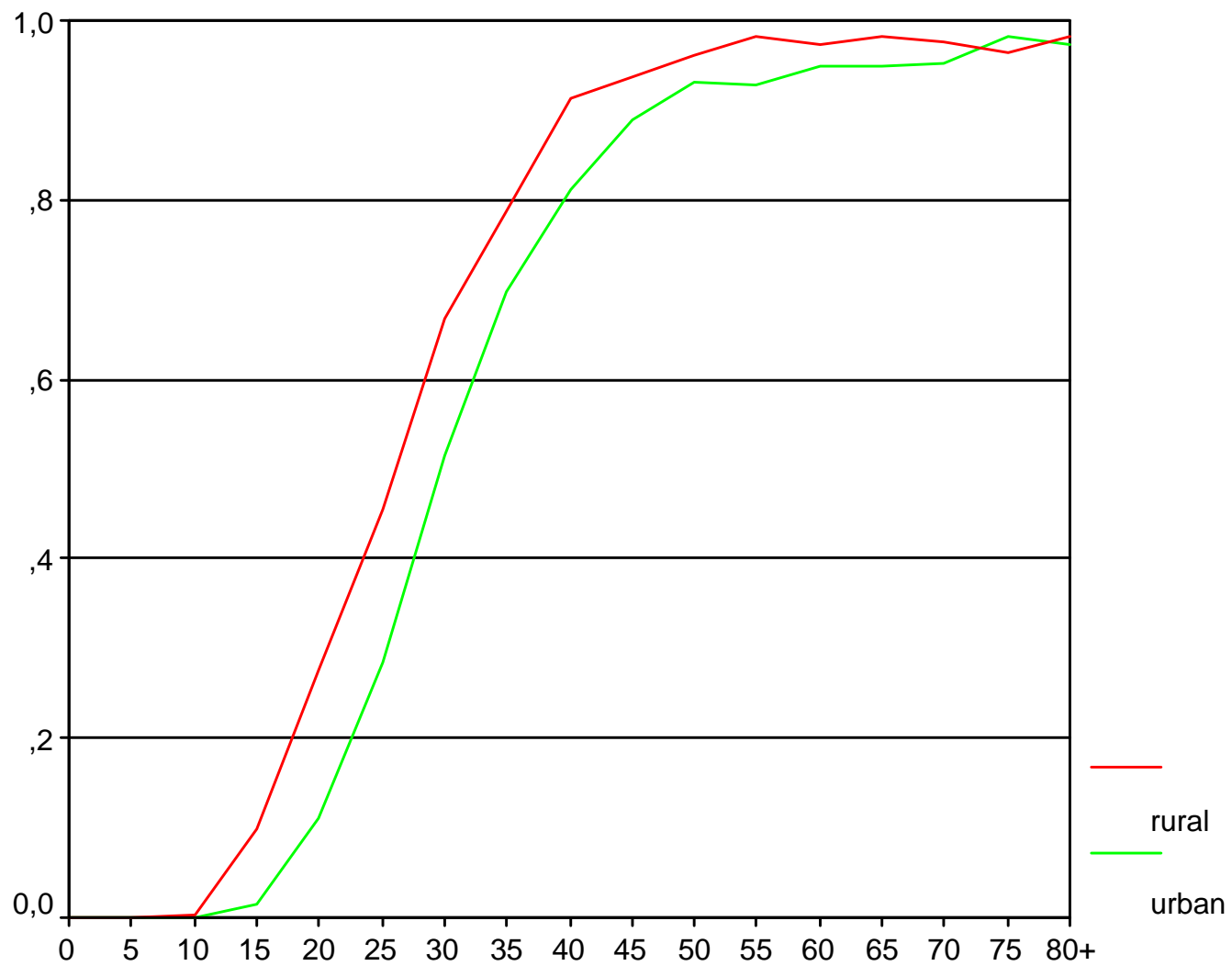


Figure 9: Cumulated number of children under 5 years of urban men in Albania in 1918 by age and religious confession

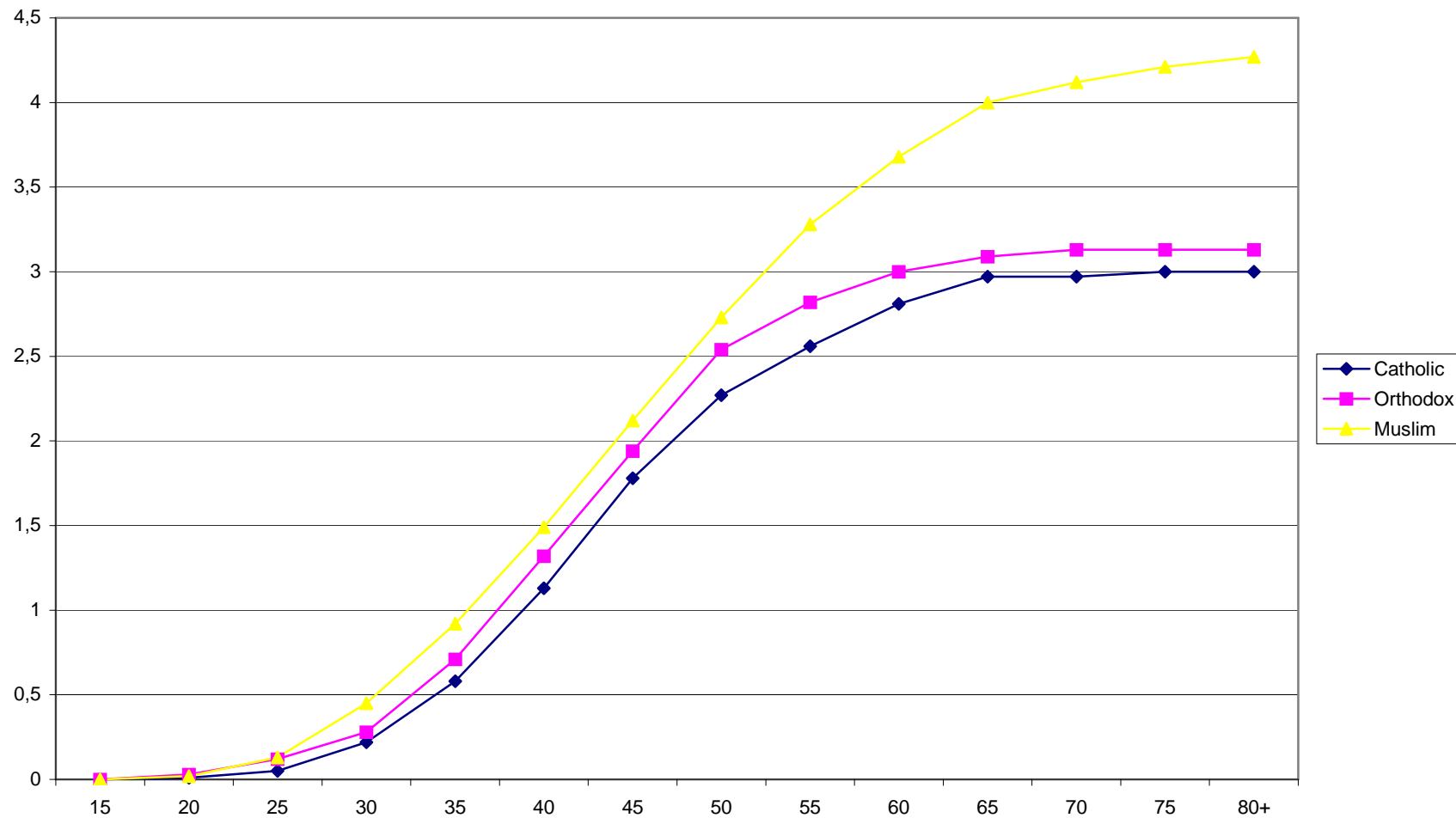


Figure 10: Cumulated number of children under 5 years of urban men in Albania in 1918 by age and ethnic affiliation

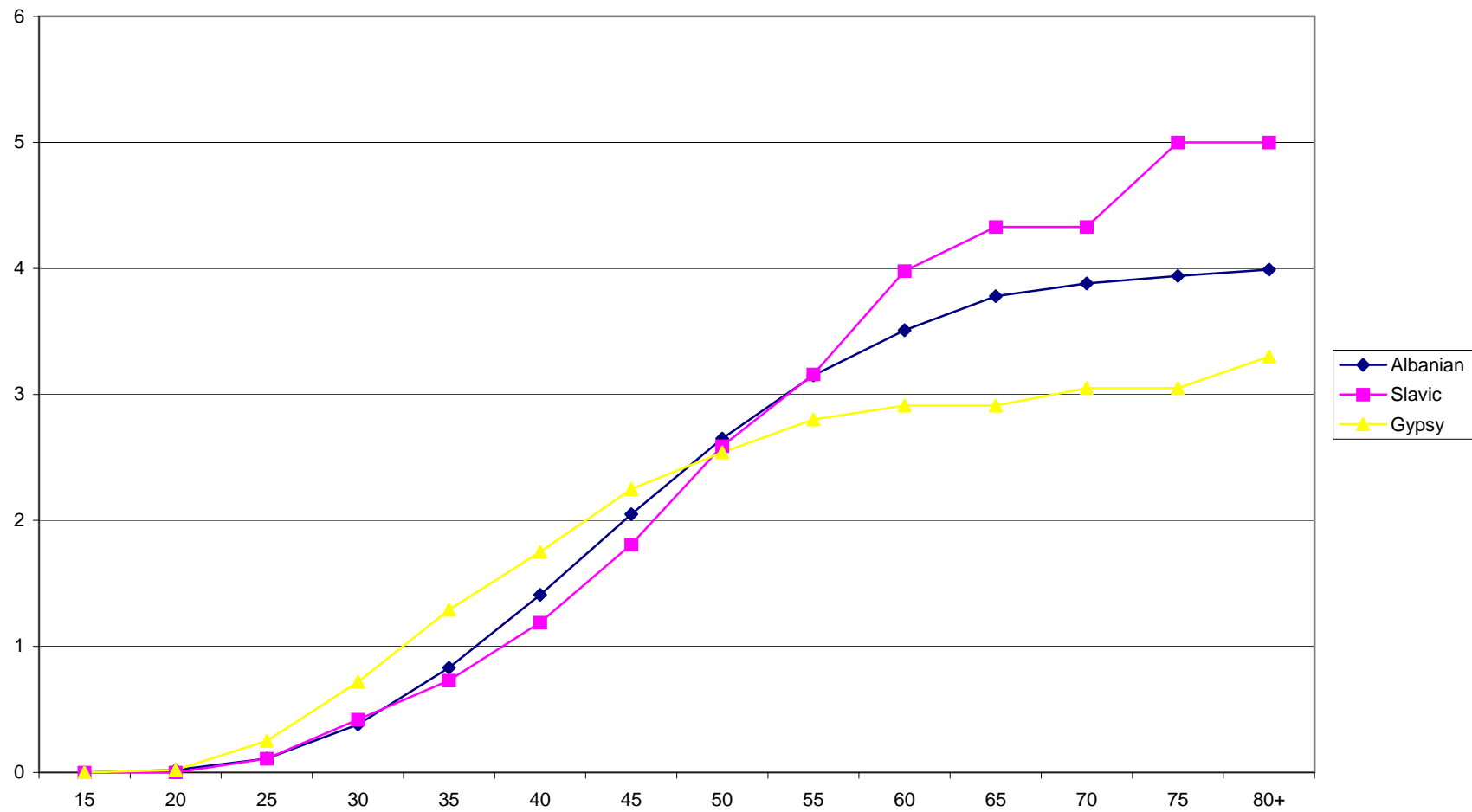


Figure 11: Cumulated number of children under 5 years of urban men in Albania in 1918 by age and literacy

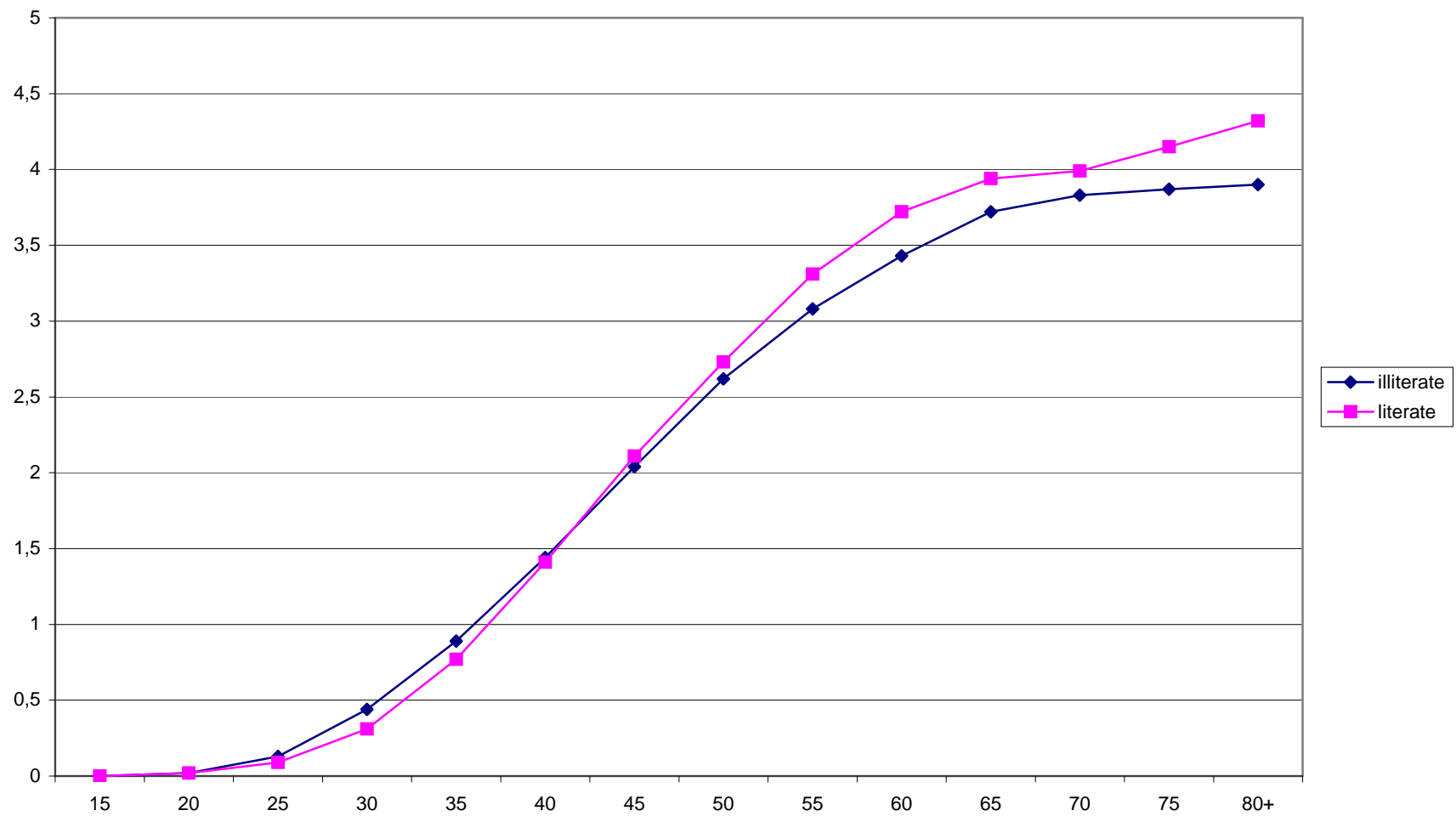


Figure 12: Cumulated number of children under 5 years of urban men in Albania in 1918 by age and migration status

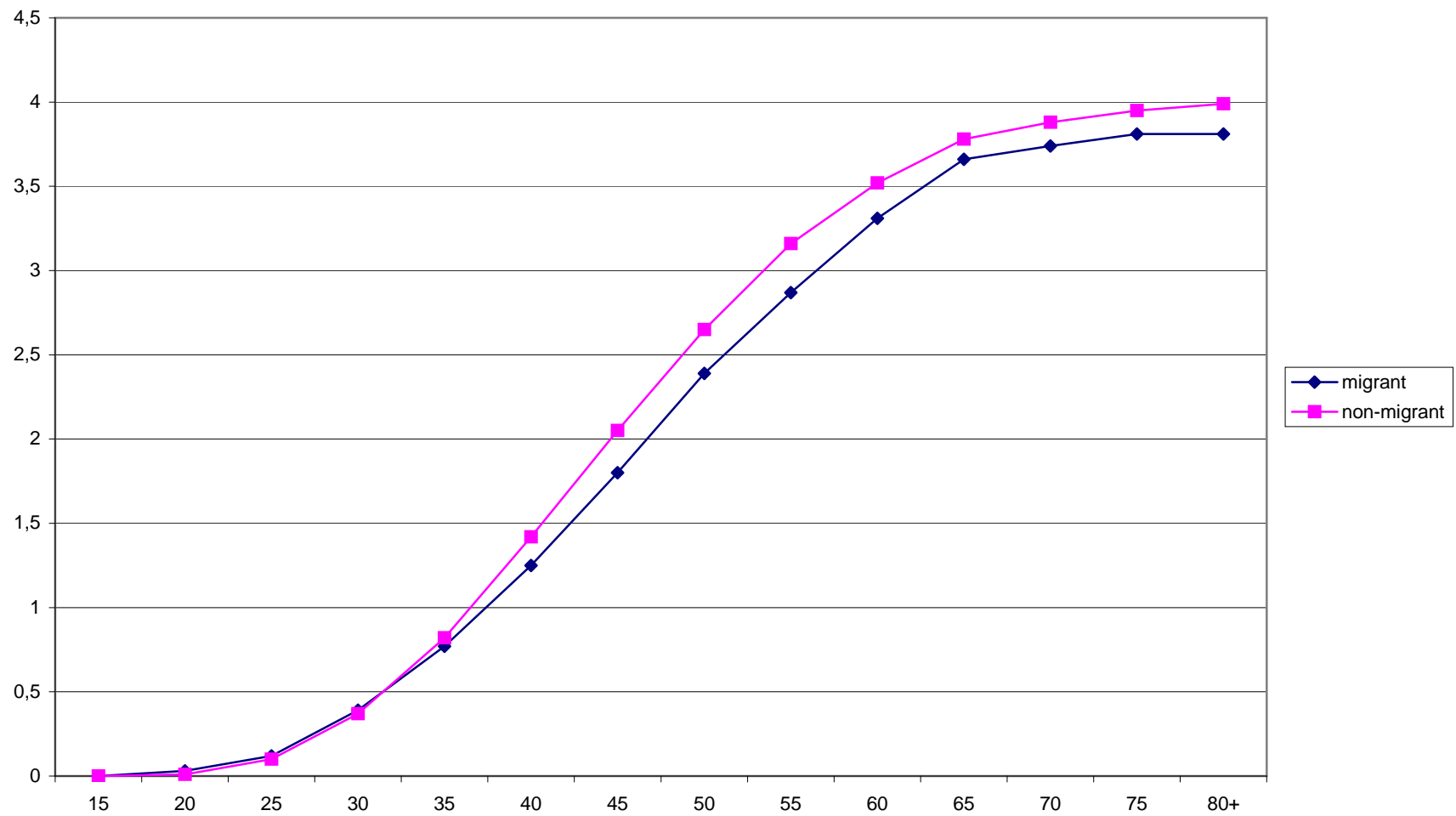


Figure 13: Cumulated number of children under 5 years of urban men in Albania in 1918 by age and city

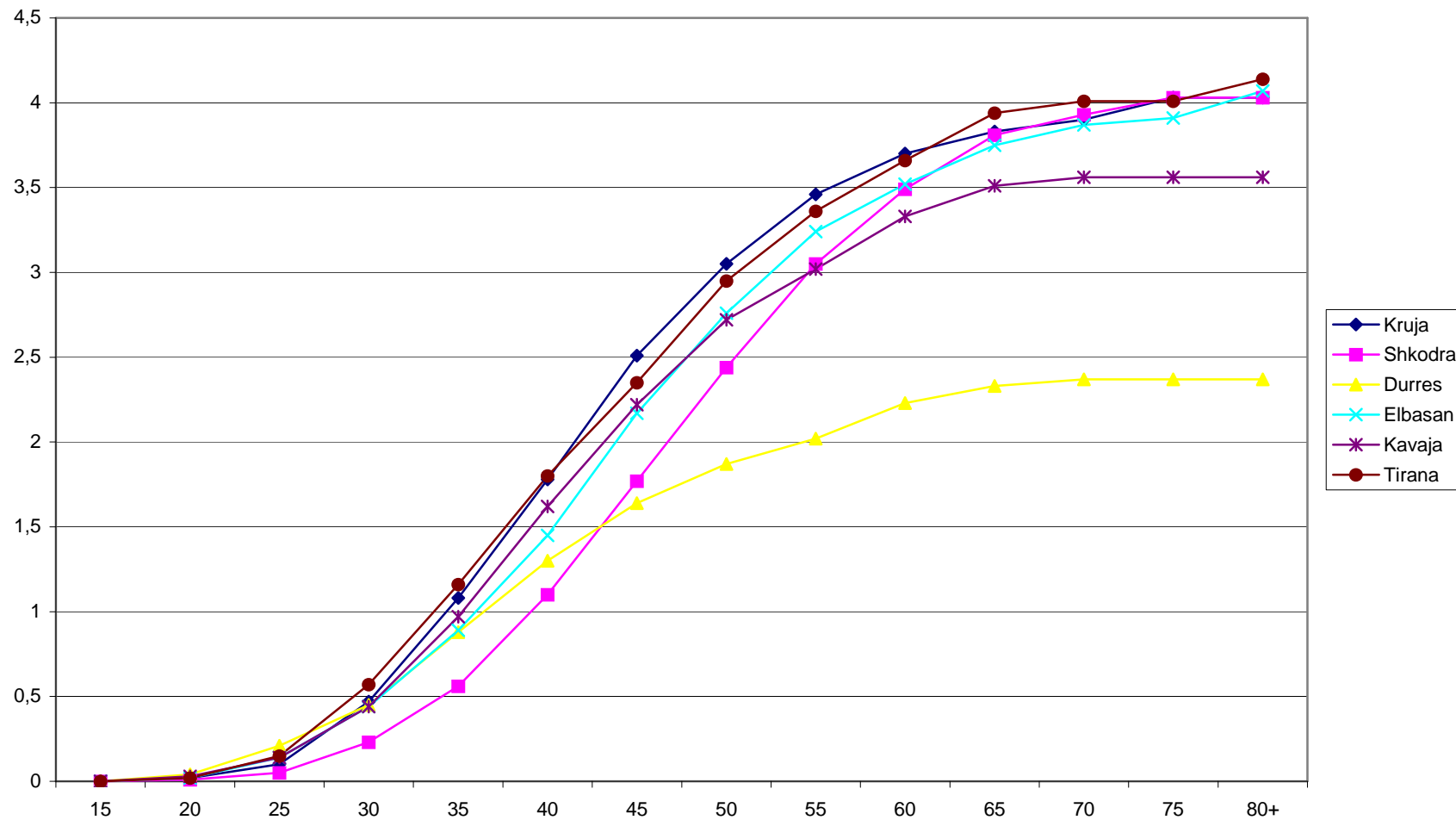


Figure 14: Number of children of urban women in Albania in 1918

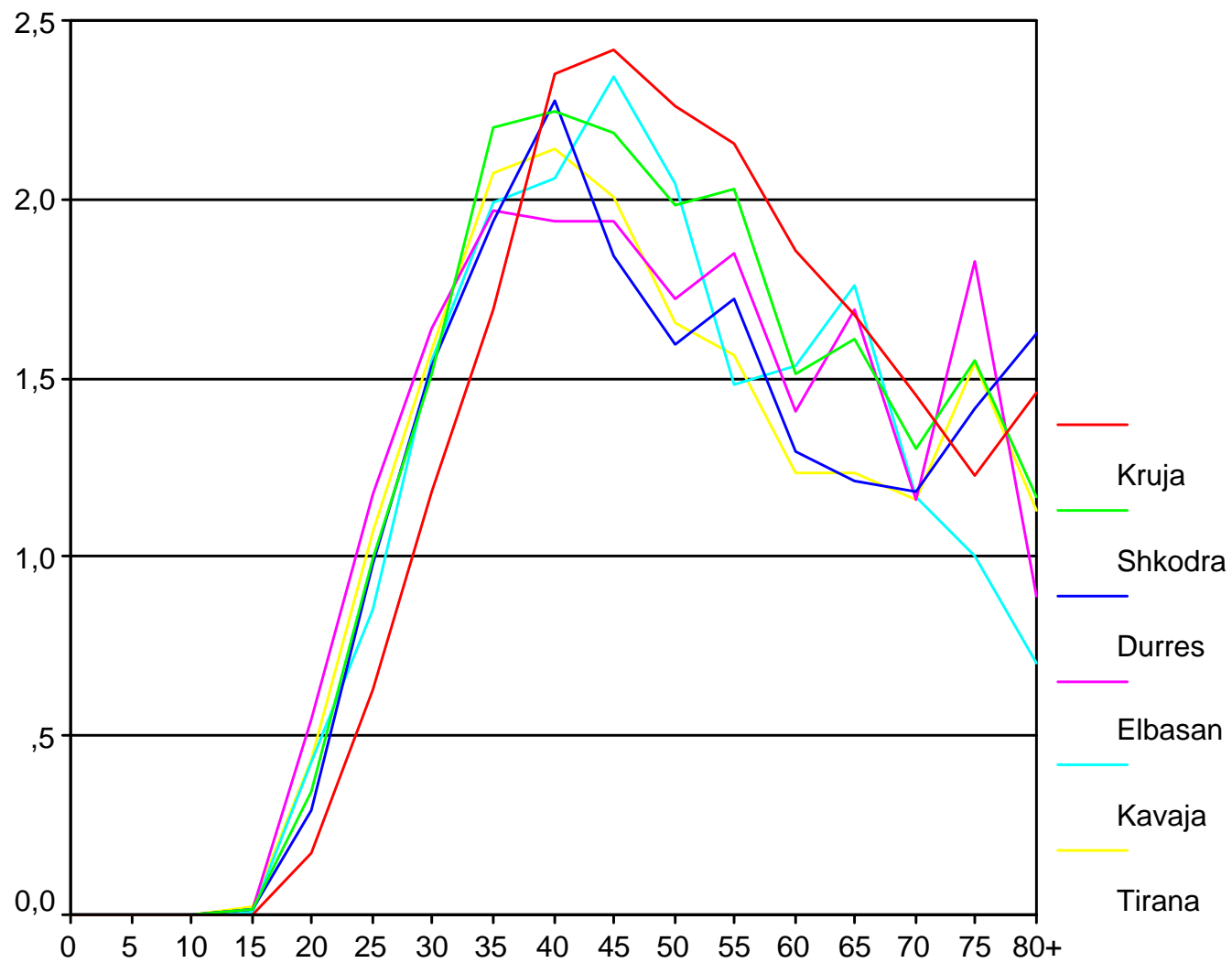


Figure 15: Number of children of urban men in Albania in 1918

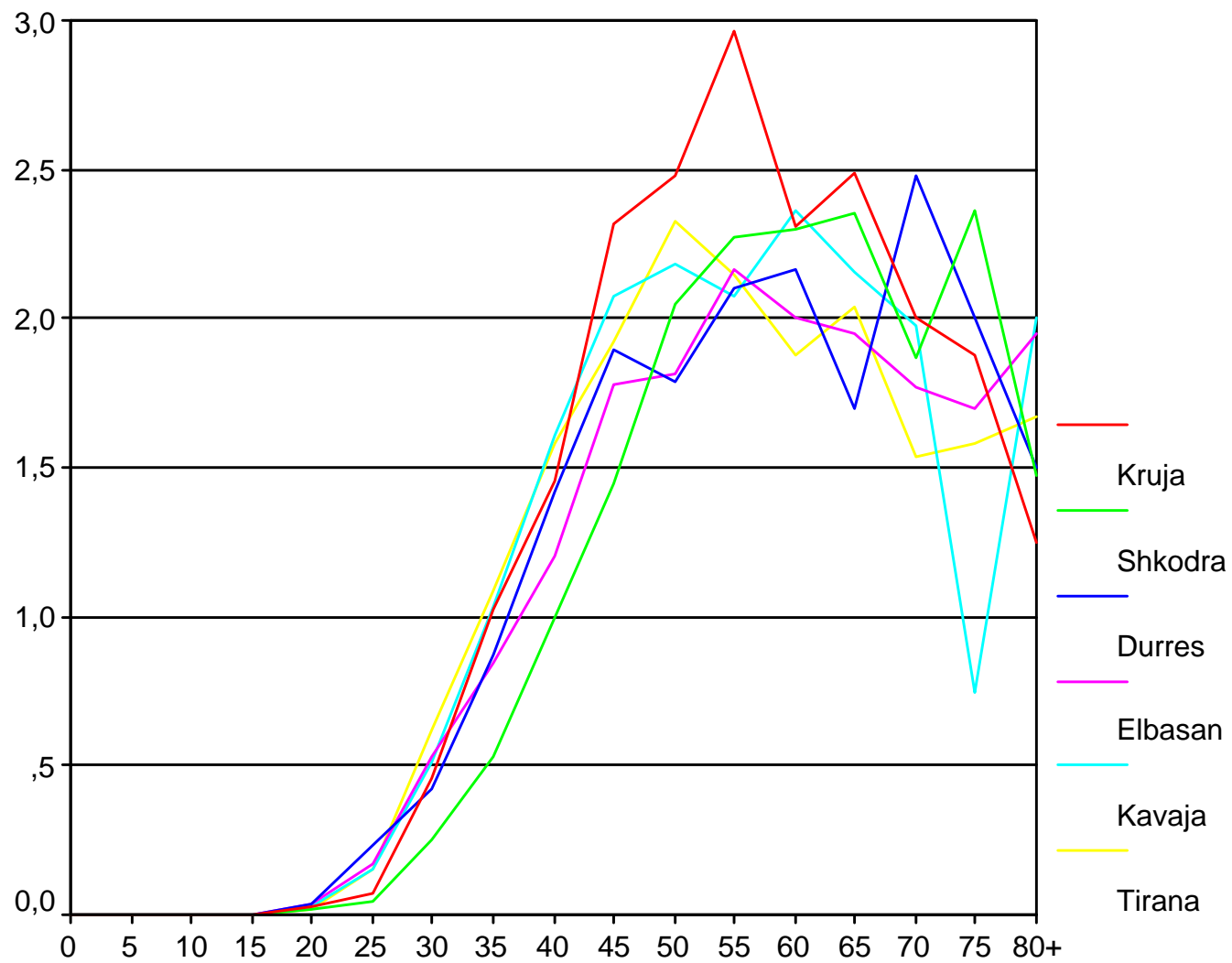


Figure 16: Number of children under 5 years of urban women in Albania in 1918:

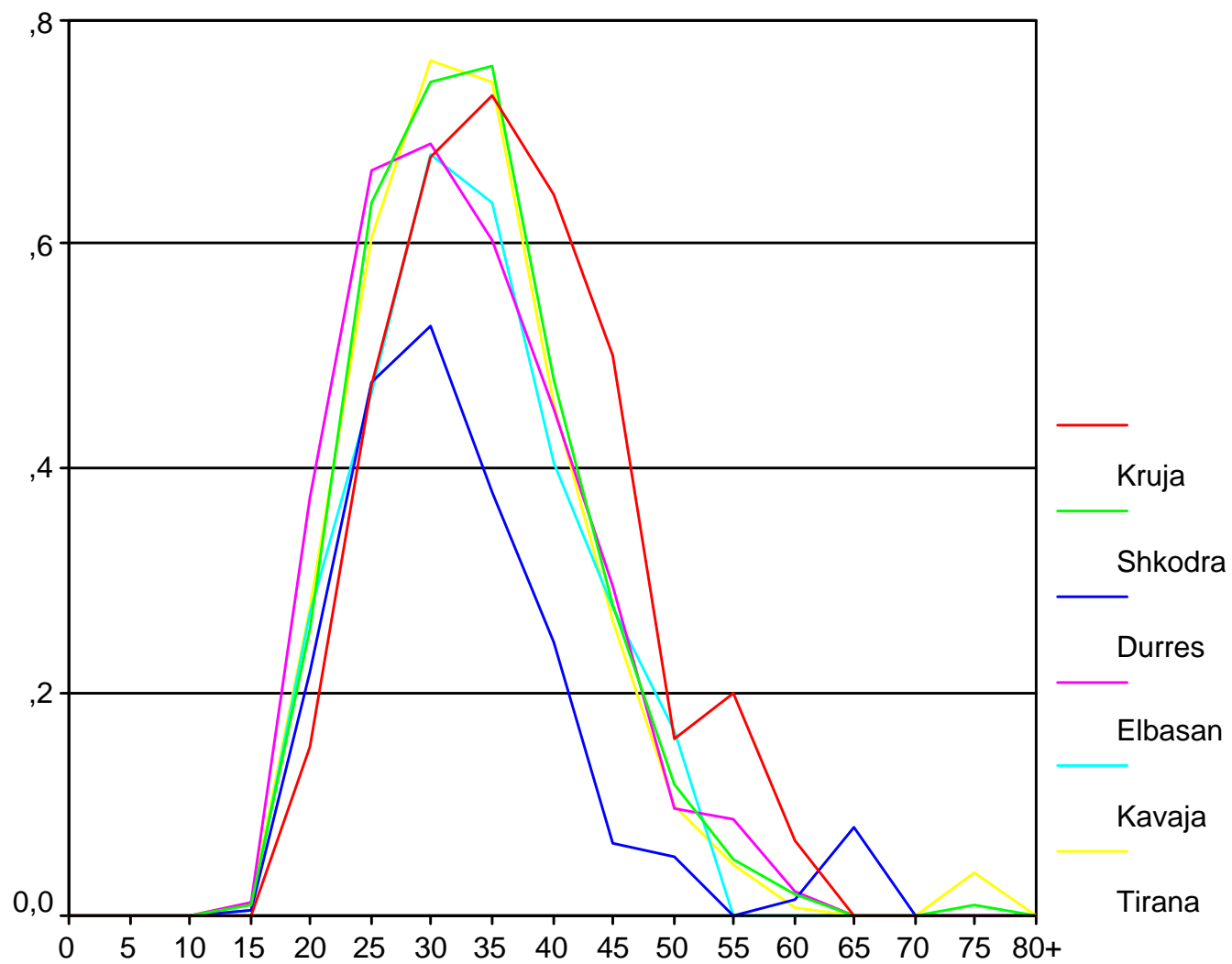


Figure 17: Number of children under 5 years of urban men in Albania in 1918:

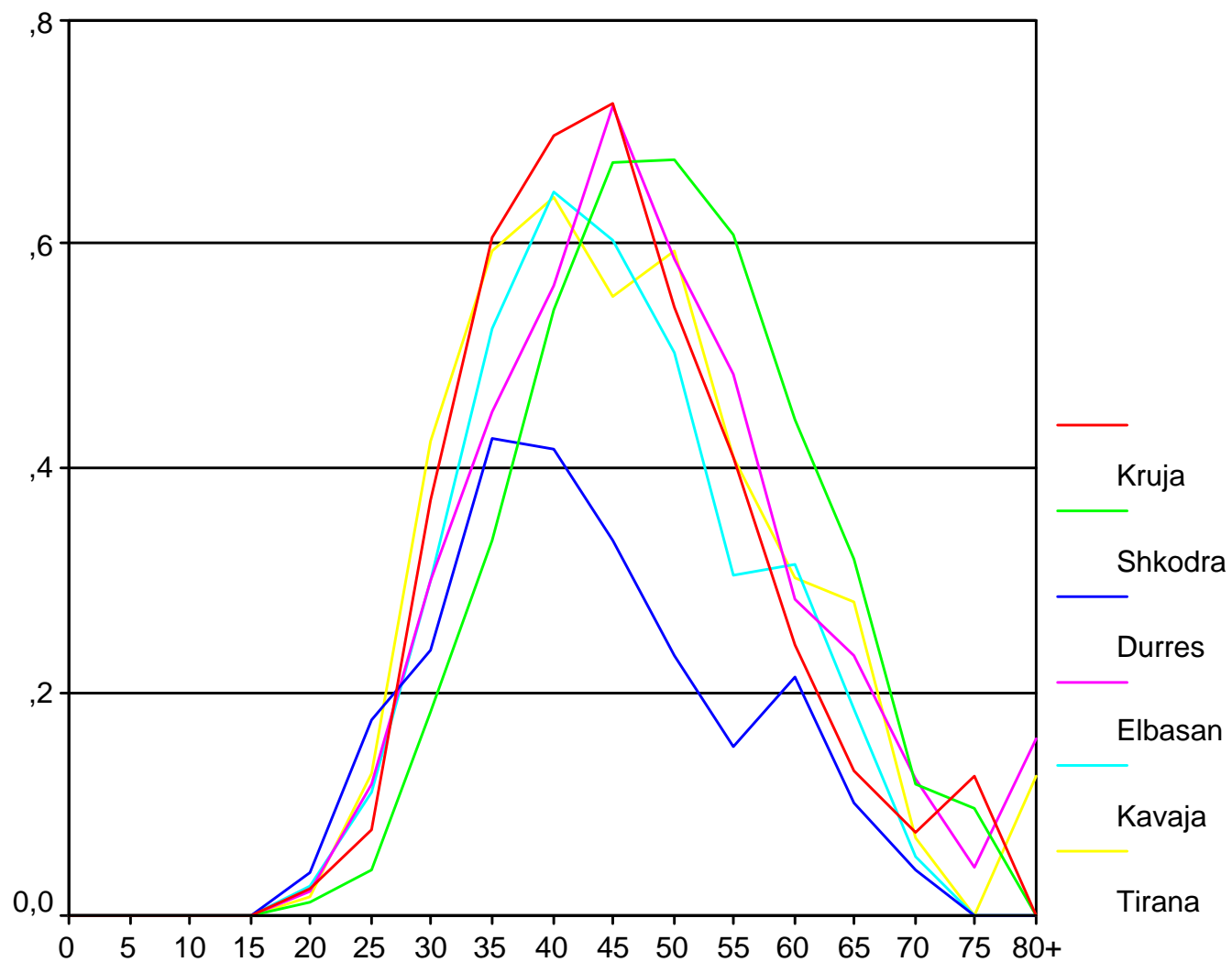


Figure 18: Cumulated number of children under 5 years of urban men in Albania in 1918 by age and occupational group

