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Reproductive patterns in Serbia and Albania

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Introduction

In the course of the work with the data of the Albanian census of 1918 within the framework of the research project “The 1918 Albanian Population Census: Data Entry and Basic Analyses”¹ the relatively high number of young married couples without children was somehow astonishing. In a paper about the number of children in Albania, which was also based on the same data, I found that at least 16 percent of all men at that time failed in their attempt to produce a male heir (Gruber 2001:9). I decided to take a closer look at this question and to do some comparison with Serbian data.

Southeast Europe is a part of the “Eastern European marriage pattern” with low age at marriage and a virtual lack of celibacy (Hajnal 1965). This region is also known for its high frequency of joint families in historical times. Albania and Serbia were part of a zone within the Balkans, which was characterised by a distinctive patriarchal cultural background that Karl Kaser calls Balkan patriarchy (Kaser 1992:173-294). Basic elements of this cultural pattern are strong blood ties, ancestor worship, patrilocality, patrilineal kinship-structures, bride-price and blood feuds.

It was very important for a woman to bear sons. In case she delivered only girls or no children at all, her husband could marry another woman, which was no problem for Muslims but for Christians. The male line had to be continued even at the expense of severe troubles with the Catholic church, which does not allow divorce or bigamy (Kaser 1992:285). “In northern Albania girls are married as soon as they come to sexual maturity and begin bearing children as soon as they are biologically able. There is no time of peace.” (Coon 1950:27). This extreme view is not supported by the data about parents and their children (Gruber 2001), although in patriarchal societies, especially when connected with ancestor worship, it is essential to have a son (Kaser 1996:101). Many efforts were made to be successful in this respect. These efforts were meant to increase fertility or to lead to the birth of a son instead of a daughter. In case of unsuccessful attempts there were the possibilities of marrying another woman or to take a stranger into the household, who should replace the son. Such a stranger could be adopted as a son or married to a daughter and afterwards continue the patrilineage of this adoptive father or father-in-law. Another possibility was the “sworn virgin”: a daughter could take over the function of a son by swearing eternal virginity. She would dress as a man and behave as a man. Such a “sworn virgin” could continue the patrilineage for another generation, before a solution for the next generation had to be made (Kaser 1992:286).

Used Data: Serbia

The sources used for this paper are the Serbian censuses of 1863 and 1884 for nine settlements of Jasenica County in central Serbia and the Albanian census of 1918. The census of 1863 has already been used in various publications by J. Halpern (e.g. Halpern 1972). These nine settlements are not the whole of this county, whose borders changed several times throughout the 19th century, but they always belonged to it. Table 1 shows the size of these settlements and the total number of the Serbian population for this study.

¹ Information about this research project can be found on page 3.

Table 1: Population of nine settlements in Jasenica County

	1863	1884
Orašac	1,083	1,322
Garaši	471	629
Jelovik	350	485
Bukovik	589	1,029
Topola	1,611	2,224
Vrbica	1,328	1,798
Kopljari	683	926
Markovac ²	369	
Stojnik	645	1,021
	7,129	9,434

Problems with the source

In the census returns of the Serbian census of 1863 the following characteristics of the people were recorded: first name, relationship to household head, and age. Additional information is available for the household heads: last name and occupation. In 1884 this information was extended to marital status and literacy. Other columns in the census forms were not always filled in. In addition special characteristics of people like disabilities, foreign citizenship etc. were reported.

In this paper the separated units in the census are treated as households although some of them consisted only of children, which obviously should have lived in some relative's household. Therefore the share of people living in joint families was slightly higher than according to the figures in this paper. Several troubles are connected with the data concerning research about parent-child-relationships: There is no direct information about the marital status of the people in 1863 and there is very often no clear information about the parents of children, therefore we have to use indirect information.

Used Data: Albania

In January 1916, almost the entire territory of Albania was occupied by the Austrian-Hungarian army with the exception of fringe areas in the south of the country, which were occupied by Bulgarian, French, Italian and Greek troops. The population census was taken on March 1st, 1918 after some preliminary censuses, which served as preparations for it. The activities of checking and processing of the data had to be stopped due to the planned withdrawal of the army in October. The order to destroy the entire census material was neglected with the exception of the district headquarters in Lushnja. Therefore, the material concerning the Berat, Fier, Lushnja and Shkrapar regions (89,142 persons) is missing (Seiner 1922b:5). The surviving material, which covers the major part of the country, is as follows: 435,075 out of the 803,959 (this figure was calculated too high) persons counted in 1923 (54 percent) or 20,096 square kilometers out of the country's total area of 28,748 square kilometers (70 percent). The military administration unit responsible for the delivery agreed to hand out the material to the Austrian Academy of Sciences along with the permission to publish and to work with it. The Academy asked the census director, Franz Seiner, to work out the basic statistics. These tables were published in 1922, supported by funds from the Albanian government (Seiner 1922b). Instructed by the Albanian government, Seiner also separately published the results of the census relating to the tribal areas of northern Albania.

² Markovac was registered independently since 1827, but was not treated independently from Stojnik in the census of 1884.

On the basis of these results, he prepared the first map on the distribution, size and borders of the tribal territories (Seiner 1922a). One year earlier, the director of the Balkan Commission of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, Eugen Oberhummer, published first preliminary statistical results (Oberhummer 1921). At that time there were also plans to publish the village level data, but the Academy was not able to find adequate funding for the publication. The research project “The 1918 Albanian Population Census: Data Entry and Basic Analyses” aims at making the data of this census available for scholarly research.³ The research project started in August 2000, and we are still adding new data, which means that the results presented in this paper are still preliminary. This paper is based on the details of 82,449 people who lived in 233 settlements in Albania. During the data entry, we divided the settlements into two groups: “normal” settlements and “deviant” settlements. Deviant settlements will be entered completely, while normal settlement will be entered in 5-percent-samples. The following criteria serve as markers for “deviant” settlements:

- ethnic minorities: more than 20 percent of the population is made up of non-Albanians.
- occupational structure: more than 20 percent of the population is engaged in non-agricultural activities or more than 150 people are engaged in non-agricultural activities.
- cities: settlements that are cities.
- sex ratio: more than 60 percent male or less than 40 percent male population.
- household size: the mean household size is more than 10 persons or less than 3.5 persons.
- size of the settlement: more than 2,000 inhabitants.
- Orthodox Christians: more than 20 percent of the population is made up of Orthodox Christians.

These criteria often overlap, e.g. size of settlement, occupational structure and cities.

Table 2: Data according to criteria

Criteria	Settlements	Persons
ethnic minorities	42	17,106
sex ratio	53	7,768
Household size	49	12,975
Orthodox Christians	57	20,206
Cities	6	18,650
Occupational structure	16	24,043
size of settlement	6	22,031
all “deviant” settlements	179	64,730
5-percent-sample	54	17,719
all settlements	233	82,449

These 82,449 persons represent according to the weighting factors (20 for the 5-percent-sample, 2.5 for cities, occupational structure, and size of settlement) 462,817 persons.

³ The team of the research project consists of Helmut Eberhart, Karl Kaser, Siegfried Gruber, Gentiana Kera, and Enriketa Papa. The research project is financed by the Austria Science Fund (Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung). We are grateful to Beryl Nicholson, who has drawn our attention to this source and to the Austrian Academy of Sciences for the cooperation.

The effects of World War I

The census was taken in 1918, i.e. the last year of World War I and including both Balkan Wars the seventh consecutive year of war in the Balkans. Which effects can be seen from the demographic data in 1918? The median age of the population was 23 years and with the exception of the rounding effects the largest age groups are to be found up to an age of 10 years. Up to an age of 8 years all the yearly age groups have almost the same size, which indicates a small drop in fertility or a slight increase in infant or childhood mortality or a combination of them. The age groups around ages 20 and 25 are smaller than those following them, which could be the effect of war casualties, but it appears for both sexes. Much more important is the effect of an increased mortality for all ages, which is not so evidently seen in the age-structure. It leads to lower numbers of siblings and a higher number of children, who have already lost parents or grandparents.

Structure of the population

Share of the children in the population

The structure of the Serbian population in 1863 was a very young one: half of the population (50.3 percent) was younger than 16 years in these nine settlements in Jasenica County. This age structure resembles much more the present day situation in Africa than the present day situation in Serbia. The age pyramid was actually a pyramid (see chart 1), the small basis is due to the fact that the first age group in this chart is smaller than the other age groups, which are made up of five years, whereas the first age group contains only the ages 0 – 2 years. The age groups used in this chart are different from the ones normally used, because there is much rounding in the ages recorded in the sources of that time. Most of the adult population was recorded with an age ending in the digits “0” or “5” and therefore the age groups have these digits in their centre (e.g. 8 – 12 years instead of 10 – 14 years), which leads to more accurate results. This is the reason why all the ages in this paper have to be considered as being approximate ages, although the younger ages should be more precise than the older ones. 20 years later, in 1884, the population had already become a bit older: 45.5 percent of the population were not older than 15 years. The Albanian population, recorded one generation later, shows a further decline in the percentage of children: 40.9 percent of the population belonged to this group. There was quite a range in the number of children in the different settlements: from 46.1 percent in Garaši to 53.7 percent in Jelovik in 1863 and from 39.7 percent in Kopljari to 47.8 percent in Vrbica. This reflects different developments in these settlements in Jasenica County in the second half of the 19th century. These figures are in line with published data about the age-structure of European populations around 1900: in all Balkan countries about 50 percent of the population were younger than 20 years (Sundhaussen 1989:116). These were the highest shares within Europe, only Russia had similar figures.

The high share of young people, i.e. children, within the population means that at that time people were seeing children everywhere in high numbers. Also in the eyes of children society must have consisted mostly of young people. The share of older people was much lower than nowadays: in Albania in 1918 only 9.0 percent of the population were at least 60 years old. The Serbian data shows even smaller numbers: 2.6 percent in 1884 and 1.7 percent in 1863. In some of the settlements these people were present in even lower numbers: 0.6 percent in Jelovik in 1863 and 1.2 percent in Vrbica in 1884. These numbers indicate a rather small chance for children to ever see their grandparents alive.

Sex ratio

The Balkans are an area with a traditional male majority within the population. The 1863 census of Serbia shows a ratio of 107.3 men for 100 women for these nine settlements. In 1884 it had become more equal: 102.6 men for 100 women. The ratios for the whole of Serbia were 106.5 men for 100 women in 1863 and 104.7 men for 100 women in 1884 (Sundhaussen 1989:80). In 1918 in Albania the ratio was lower and there was even a female majority: 98.6 men for 100 women according to our data. Seiner's published results for the whole of Albania results in a sex ratio of 100.6 men for 100 women (Seiner 1922b: 8). Only the Roman-Catholic population of Northern Albania had a male majority, while the Orthodox and Muslim population had a female majority. Sex ratios in childhood show differences to the whole population: the 1863 data show a higher inequality with 109.6 boys for 100 girls while the 1884 data has a female majority with 99.5 boys for 100 girls. The adult population on the other hand was female by majority in the 1863 data and male in the 1884 data. High inequalities in sex ratios for children could be the consequence of female underreporting, especially at very young ages. The Albanian data does not show higher sex ratios at younger ages, the pattern is rather consistent throughout childhood. The 1863 data has the highest inequalities for ages 9-11 years, which may be by chance or the effect of higher mortality within the last 10 years.

The Albanian data has an extreme inequality with 118.3 boys for 100 girls. The Muslim majority (85.2 percent) in Albania fitted almost completely to the average of the whole country (117.5 boys for 100 girls), while the Roman Catholics of Northern Albania (11.5 percent) showed the highest inequality (128.5 boys for 100 girls) and the Christian Orthodox population in Southern Albania (3.2 percent) had an almost equal distribution of the sexes: 102.8 boys for 100 girls. The small number of Orthodox people in the data is due to the fact that most of the Orthodox Albanians were living outside of the territory occupied by Austro-Hungarian forces and that the data, which has been destroyed, covers a major part of the Orthodox population. There is much less difference between the urban and the rural population, where the urban population has a slightly more equal distribution than the rural one. The ethnic minorities also show a slightly more equal distribution of the sexes within the child population.

In contrast there was a female majority among the adult population: 86.8 men for 100 women.

Social structure

Southeast Europe was well into the 20th century without a major urban population. The only exemptions were coastal cities. The urban population was 8.8 percent in the Serbia of 1863 and 12.4 percent in the Serbia of 1884 (Sundhaussen 1989:99). In the area covered by the Albanian census of 1918 there were only 7 cities with at least 3,000 inhabitants; they accounted for 12 percent of the total population (Seiner 1922b:6).

The population was predominantly engaged in agriculture and livestock-farming. The share of non-agricultural occupations among the adult male population in Serbia was 2.4 percent in 1863 and 4.7 percent in 1884. Occupational titles were recorded almost exclusively for household heads and therefore the share of non-agricultural occupations among them is about 50 percent higher: 3.7 percent in 1863 and 6.9 percent in 1884. Persons with no recorded occupation were assumed to be engaged in agriculture, since in 1884 only non-agricultural occupations were recorded. In comparison the non-agricultural population for the whole of Serbia was 10.0 percent in 1866 and 15.9 percent in 1890 (Sundhaussen 1989:180).

Southeast Europe is said to have been a region almost without servants, which is in contrast to historical Western and Central Europe. Their share in the population was very small according to our data: 0.4 percent in 1863 and 0.9 percent in 1884. In 1863 there were only male servants and in 1884 90 percent of them were male. The share of servants within the

agricultural population for the whole of Serbia was 0.7 percent in 1890 (Sundhaussen 1989:180). The Albanian census of 1918 contains a share of 1.0 percent of people recorded as servants. These servants were also predominantly male: only 22 percent were females.

Analysis Part I: Producing a male heir

In this paper producing a male heir and therefore a successful continuation of the patrilineage will be indicated by the presence of a son in the paternal household. Having a son is not enough for a successful continuation of the patrilineage: the son must also survive into adulthood. Another obstacle can be the departure of the son from the paternal household. In this region the wife had to move into the household of her husband or her husband's father (patrilocal residence) and the cultural tradition in this region normally prevented the departure of all sons from the paternal household. Therefore we assume that if there is no son living in the paternal household, there will also be no son living outside the paternal household, and the man has been unsuccessful in producing a male heir. Producing a male heir is therefore a result of fertility in general, the chance of having a son instead of a daughter, and infant and childhood mortality. There is no data on fertility and mortality in Albania at the beginning of the 20th century available and the data on fertility and mortality in Serbia is only in the second half of the 20th century improving. Therefore we shall mostly rely on the data of the census material.

Parent-child-relationships

During data entry each person was assigned to a family within the household. In case of only one married couple (or widowed person) within the household there is no problem. In case of more than one married couple (or widowed person) within the household problems may arise. In the Albanian census of 1918 parent-child-relationships are generally clear. There is no direct information about the marital status of the people in the Serbian census of 1863 and there is very often no clear information about the parents of children, therefore we have to use indirect information.

Sample household 1:

Luka Joksimović, peasant, 30 years, wife Randjija 28 years, son Pavle 10 years, daughters Petrija 8 years, Milosava 6 years.

In a household like this it is obvious that both, Luka and Randjija, are married and that they are the parents of Pavle, Petrija, and Milosava. It is also clear that Pavle, Petrija, and Milosava are siblings. But it gets much more complicated in a case like the following:

Sample household 2:

Milić Ilić, peasant, 31 years, wife Milenija 30 years, son Spasoje 11 years, daughter Živana 1 year, brothers Milutin 34 years, Živko 27 years, Živan 22 years, brother's sons Dimitrije 5 years, Ranko 3 years, brother's daughters Spasenija 9 years, Stamenija 3 years, sisters-in-law Marta 30 years, Randjija 25 years, Stanica 22 years, mother Andjelija 60 years.

In households like Sample household 2 there is no clear information about who is married with whom and who are the actual parents of a child (with the exception of Milić, his wife Milenija, his children Spasoje and Živana, and his mother Andjelija, which is also the mother of Milutin, Živko, and Živan). Therefore several rules had to be established to reconstruct families within households, i.e. groups consisting of parents or a widowed parent and their child or children. Sisters-in-law and daughters-in-law were registered under the same term

(sna, snaha, snaja) and are assigned to brothers and sons according to their sequence in the source with the exception that their ages suggest a different order. Brothers and sons are considered to be married according to the number of their possible wives and according to their ages, i.e. beginning with the oldest one. If there is more than one possible pair of parents for the children in the household, the following rules will be observed:

- In case of an obvious sequence of children they are assigned according to this sequence (e.g. grandsons Sava 10 years, Svetozar 8 years, Dimitrije 4 years, Milisav 6 years, Milan 4 years, Mika 2 years, Jovan 2 years, Djurdje 4 years: Sava, Svetozar, and Dimitrije are obviously children of the first married man in the household, Milisav, Milan, Mika, and Jovan are children of the second married man in the household, and Djurdje is the son of the third married man in the household).
- According to the mean age at first marriage there is a minimum age for having children: 20 years for women and 22 years for men. If there is no couple within the household with this minimum age, the oldest couple will be considered to be the parents of the child(ren).
- If there are children of the same age, they will be considered as being children of different parents. Only in case of only one couple within the household they will be considered to be twins.

The percentage of clear parent-child relationships is 96.0 percent for the 1863 census and 99.2 percent for the 1884 census, therefore the share of questionable data in this respect is only 4.0 percent for the 1863 data and a mere 0.8 percent for the 1884 data and possible errors have not too much weight. According to all these rules the results should differ in the following ways from the actual situation in 1863 and 1884:

- The actual number of widowed people will be higher than calculated.
- The actual age difference between husband and wife will be higher than calculated.

Parent-child-relationships are then calculated according to these family units within the households. In this paper I shall focus on a successful continuation of the patrilineal kinship group. Therefore only men and their sons are considered. Females are excluded. Stepsons, adopted sons and foster sons are considered in the second part of the analysis, which deals with strategies against failure in continuation of the patrilineal kinship group.

Table 3 shows the number of father-son-relationships in the Serbian and Albanian data:

	1863		1884		Albania 1918	
	number	percent	number	percent	number	percent
“biological father”	1,916	52.0	2,570	53.7	95,730	40.6
stepfather	15	0.4	23	0.5	375	0.2
adoptive father	-	-	-	-	18	0.0
foster father	3	0.1	-	-	2	0.0
= “social father”	18	0.5	23	0.5	395	0.2
age difference between father and son below 15 years	12	0.3	13	0.3	408	0.2
no father	1,739	47.2	2,174	45.5	139,655	59.1
	3,685	100.0	4,780	100.0	236,186	100.0

In Albania about 40 percent of the male population were living with their biological father in the same household. “Social fathers” were almost negligible. Another small group consists of father-son-relationships where the age difference between father and son was below 15 years.

This may be the result of an error in the age recording of the father or the son or both of them or the result of a wrong father-son-relationship. In the first part of the analysis only “biological fathers” will be analysed. In Jasenica County slightly more than half of the male population was living with their biological father in the same household. “Social fathers” were more frequent, but this may also be attributable to a more precise recording of stepsons.

Living with a son

The above table was constructed from the viewpoint of the sons and now we are turning to the fathers and potential fathers. Included in the analysis are only men, who were at least 15 years old. The overall number of these men and how many of them actually had a son are to be found in the next table:

	number of men in analysis	having a son	percent
Jasenica County 1863	1,896	933	49.2
Jasenica County 1884	2,741	1,316	48.0
Albania 1918	136,463	53,463	39.2

The above difference of about 10 percent between the Serbian and the Albanian data is also present in these figures. But these figures are only a crude indicator of the ability to produce a son. They are dependent on the age-structure and marriage patterns and do not reflect the highest percentages reached at later stages in life. The following table present these highest percentages and the ages, when they were reached:

	highest percentage having a son	at age
Jasenica County 1863	90.2	55
Jasenica County 1884	84.3	55
Albania 1918	78.5	75+

Here the difference between Jasenica County in 1863 and 1884 is almost the same like the difference between Jasenica County in 1884 and Albania in 1918: about 6 percent. At age 55 73.1 percent of the men in Albania were living with a son and at this age the difference of 10 percent to Jasenica County in 1884 is again present. The age groups in the Serbian data end with the group “60 years and more” because there were so few people older than 60 years. If we end the Albanian data also with the same group, the highest percentage is reached in this final group with 75.5 percent. This highest percentage seems to be a very useful indicator for the success in reproduction, since it is not so important to have a son at a certain age, but rather to have a son at all. Therefore the highest percentage reveals how many men actually succeeded in producing a male heir during their life-time. According to these numbers the decades up to 1863 in Jasenica County led to about 9 men out of 10 to be able to continue the patrilineage. In the following two decades the percentage dropped to only 85 percent and in Albania up to 1918 only about 3 men out of 4 were able to secure the continuation of the family.

But there are troubles with this measure: the highest percentages were reached later in life and there were very few older people living at that time. Therefore these percentages are much more affected by irregular variation due to the small number of cases. Another problem is mortality: we are dealing here with populations before the onset of demographic transition. High mortality at middle ages led to the death of men, who had not yet succeeded in producing a male heir. These men had no later chance in contrast to other men, who were

surviving until later ages. Therefore this measure is massively overestimating the number of men, who were successful in producing a male heir, especially considering high infant and childhood mortality. A more accurate answer can only be given on the basis of existing age-specific mortality rates (which are not existing for that early time) or on the basis of a family reconstitution, which is underway for the village of Orašac.

Nevertheless there is another way to use these census data for research about successfully producing a male heir. Charts with the line of the percentage of men living with a son by age help finding different patterns for different populations or sub-populations. Chart 2 shows the percentage of living with a son in the same household throughout adulthood for Jasenica County 1863 and 1884 and Albania 1918 in comparison. The Serbian censuses show a similar pattern with a rapid increase up to 67 percent at age 30 and a subsequent slower increase to over 80 percent at age 40. The 1863 data has then a drop to below 75 percent at age 45 and a following increase to 90 percent for the higher ages. The 1884 data shows a rather constant percentage of 80 to 85 percent from age 40 onwards. The 1884 data shows for many variables a much more regular pattern throughout life than the 1863 data, so maybe these irregularities can be attributed to a more accurate recording of the ages in 1884 as compared to 1863. The Albanian pattern in 1918 was very much different from the Serbian pattern in the second half of the 19th century: there was no rapid increase in the percentage of living with a son in young adulthood, but rather a constant increase up to old age. Therefore half of the men were living with a son already at an age between 25 and 30 years in Serbia and only at an age of 40 years in Albania in 1918.

Maybe the most important reason for this difference is the different age at first marriage. In Jasenica County in the 1863 as well as in the 1884 data half of the men were already married at an age of 21 years and a share of 90 percent was already reached at an age of 26 years in 1884 and in 1863 at an age of 28 years. In Albania in 1918 half of the men were married at an age of 27 years and 90 percent (married or widowed) were reached only at an age of 39 years. You can clearly see this difference in chart 3. Illegitimate children have a destabilising effect for a society with strict patrilineal thinking and were almost unknown in historical times. Illegitimate children were registered with the mother and are therefore not available for an analysis based on fathers. Marriage was a prerequisite for having children and so we can only compare married and widowed men. In the Serbian data the share of widowed men is too small for producing a regular pattern. The 1863 data suggests a similar percentage of living with a son than married men and the 1884 data suggests a lower percentage of living with a son than married men. Chart 4 displays therefore only the difference between married and widowed men in Albania in 1918. At almost all ages married men were more likely to have a son than widowed men, as can be assumed.

Another factor is the age difference between the spouses. The following table shows the differences between the Serbian and the Albanian data:

	Jasenica County 1863	Jasenica County 1884	Albania 1918 ⁴
up to 2 years	48.9	51.1	13.9
3 to 5 years	34.3	25.6	24.0
more than 5 years	16.9	23.3	62.0

The spouses were mostly of rather the same age in Serbia in contrast to Albania, where more than half of the men were more than five years older than their wife. This phenomenon was a result of the high share of men marrying late, while women were marrying generally early. Charts 5 to 7 show the effects of these age differences on the probability of having a son. In 1863 the first two groups had rather similar patterns, but the group with the smallest age gap

⁴ Only first wives are included, second to fourth wives are excluded.

between the spouses actually reached a probability of living with a son of 100 percent at the end of life. The group with the largest age gap between the spouses had generally a lower probability of living with a son. In 1884 the first two groups were again similar and the third group had generally a lower probability of living with a son. In the highest age groups all three groups were meeting each other. In Albania in 1918 the group with the smallest age gap between the spouses were the most probable to live with a son in younger ages and only second at higher ages. The group with the moderate age gap between the spouses was second in younger ages and first in higher ages. The group with the largest age gap between the spouses had the lowest probability of living with a son, although the three groups were coming closer together at the highest ages. The only exception were extremely young fathers, where this group was leading in having a son. The reasons behind these phenomena should be the shorter duration of the marriage compared to men of the same age and that for the youngest age groups an older woman was an advantage for having a son.

In the Albanian data we find also men having more than one wife. 5.1 percent of all married men were married to more than one wife. Such a constellation could have improved the chance of having a son. Chart 8 shows that it actually led to a higher probability of living with a son at younger ages, but that at the highest ages monogamous men had a higher probability of having a son.

The influence of the religious confession on having a son in the household can be seen in chart 9. The very small group of other confessions in Albania in 1918 is not included and in the Serbian data almost all the people belong to the Orthodox church and therefore only the Albanian data is analysed concerning religious confession. At all ages Catholic men (11.2 percent) had higher probabilities of having a son in the household than members of other confessions. Muslim men (85.4 percent) were in the middle and Orthodox men (3.4 percent) had with the exception of age 45 a lower probability of living with a son than Muslims. Another possible factor of influence is the ethnic group. In the Serbian data once again there are so few cases of Non-Serbs that an analysis does not make sense. In the Albanian data there is an Albanian majority (95.4 percent), but there are enough cases for having three additional groups: Macedo-Slavs (2.4 percent), Gipsies (1.2 percent), and others (1.0 percent). These patterns can be seen in chart 10. The Albanian pattern was logically almost the same like the pattern for the whole of Albania. The Macedo-Slavs were very much the same, with the exception of a slightly higher percentage at older ages. The Gipsy population had a rather irregular pattern, which may be the effect of bad quality in the recording of ages since the smaller and inhomogeneous group of other ethnic groups had a much more regular pattern. These other ethnic groups had at most ages slightly lower percentages of living with a son than Albanians.

Another possible factor is the urban/rural divide. The Albanian data shows almost no difference, the probability of having a son was only slightly higher in a rural environment. These were almost complete illiterate societies. The small number of literate men showed almost no difference to the illiterate men in Albania 1918. In 1884 the literate men may have had a somehow lesser probability of living with a son, but due to the small number of cases the chart is not completely clear. Chart 11 shows the difference between the agricultural and the non-agricultural population in Albania in 1918. The agricultural population was at all ages more likely to have a son than the non-agricultural population. The non-agricultural population in the Serbian data is rather small and therefore the charts show lines with irregularities, but overall it confirms the statement that the agricultural population was more likely to have a son.

An interesting factor is the type of household in which the men were living. Charts 12 to 14 display the percentage of men living with a son by different household types. Men living in extended families tended to have the least likely a son. In 1863 men living in nuclear families and men living in joint families were rather similar in their chances of having a son. In 1884

men in nuclear families were leading in younger ages and men living in joint families were leading in older ages. In Albania in 1918 men living in nuclear families were leading in all age groups with the exception of the highest age group where men living in joint families had the highest probability of living with a son in the household. This is closely related to the question of household heads and men not being household heads. Household heads were at all ages more likely to have sons than non-household heads. In chart 15 this is shown for Albania in 1918.

The last aspect is variation between villages and regions. In charts 16 to 18 you can see this variation. In most of the cases there is no clear ranking of the villages or regions. The positions are changing from one age group to the next. Rather consistent is the region of Tirana South within Albania: in most of the age groups men living in this region were the least likely to live together with a son.

Analysis Part II: Strategies against a possible failure

Remarriage

Remarriage could serve as a strategy against having no son or as a strategy of having additional children, especially sons. It was a predominantly male strategy, because women did not have to continue their lineage, they only had to secure the continuation of their husband's patrilineage. The predominance of male remarriage can be seen from the following table:

percentages	men 1863	women 1863	men 1884	women 1884	men 1918	women 1918
widowed all ages	2.5	7.0	2.1	7.0	4.1	18.7
widowed at age 50	15.9	57.3	8.5	38.5	8.5	51.7

The much higher percentage of widowed persons in the Albanian data is due to the much higher proportion of older people within the population. Another indicator for remarriage is the increasing age difference between spouses as men grew older. The following table has data for the age difference at age 30 and at age 50 for men and women. There was almost no increase or even a decrease in the age difference from the female side, but there was always an increase from the male side.

Age differences between spouses

	men 1863	women 1863	men 1884	women 1884	men 1918	women 1918
at age 30	+2.7	-3.7	+2.7	-3.8	+4.9	-10.1
at age 50	+5.5	-3.6	+4.3	-2.6	+11.8	-11.8

Another indicator for remarriage is the number of stepparents, stepchildren or half-siblings, although their number was not really impressive.

	Jasenica County 1863	Jasenica County 1884	Albania 1918
stepfather	1	3	6
stepmother	6	18	1,959
stepson	14	20	330
stepdaughter	29	47	397
half-brother	-	-	202
half-sister	-	-	300
population	7,151	9,511	462,817

Polygamy

Marrying another woman was not restricted to widowers, Muslim men in Albania could be married to more than one woman at the same time.

	Number	Percentage
married to one wife	82,077	94.9
married to two wives	4,266	4.9
married to three wives	111	0.1
married to four wives	21	0.0

5.1 percent of all married men were married to more than one wife. Their success in producing a male heir compared to monogamous men has already been discussed. There are notes in the ethnographic literature about Catholics in the tribal areas in Northern Albania living with more than one wife because the first wife had not born a son. In our database we have found 13 such cases, but additional cases may have been registered as some sort of other relative or widow in other households. Here is a short description of these 13 households:
Case 1: A 65-year-old Catholic of the Kurbini tribe living with 2 wives (aged 60 and 30 years) and no children.

Case 2: A 60-year-old Catholic of the Lurja tribe living with 2 wives (aged 60 and 40 years) and one son and one daughter (aged 10 and 13 years). We do not know who their mother is.

Case 3: A 34-year-old Catholic of the Lurja tribe living with 2 wives (aged 31 and 39 years) and one son (5 years). We do not know who his mother is.

Case 4: A 66-year old Orthodox Christian of the Durrësi area living with 2 wives (aged 63 and 38 years) and 5 stepsons.

Case 5: An 64-year-old Orthodox Christian of the Dibra e poshtë *Kreis* living with 2 wives (both aged 60) and one married son, one unmarried daughter, and one widowed daughter-in-law.

Case 6: A 47-year-old Orthodox Christian of the Elbasani area living with 2 wives (40 and 25 years old), a 15-year-old son, 2 daughters (10 and 4 years old).

Case 7: A 50-year-old Orthodox Christian of the Elbasani area living with 2 wives (40 and 35 years old) and a married son (16 years old) and three daughters (1 from the first, 2 from the second wife).

Case 8: A 60-year-old Orthodox Christian of the Elbasani area living with 2 wives (40 and 50 years old) and 1 daughter (15 years old), according to order in household the daughter of the first wife.

Case 9: A 50-year-old Orthodox Christian of the Elbasani area living with 2 wives (40 and 30 years old) and a daughter (4 years old) from the first wife and a son (3 years old) from the second wife.

Case 10: A 34-year-old Orthodox Christian of the Elbasani area living with 2 wives (30 and 25 years), no children.

Case 11: A 50-year-old Orthodox Christian of the Elbasani area living with 2 wives (50 and 37 years), 2 married sons from the first wife, 3 sons and 1 daughter from the second wife.

Case 12: A 60-year-old Orthodox Christian of the Elbasani area living with 2 wives (50 and 30 years old), 1 son (16 years old) – obviously the son of the first wife.

Case 13: A 55-year-old Orthodox Christian of the Elbasani area living with 2 wives (50 and 30 years old), a married son from the first wife, 3 sons and 1 daughter from the second wife.

Under the assumption that the second wife was married because the first had not born a son or no children at all, the men were successful in having at least one son from the second wife in nine cases. In three cases the men still had no co-residing son and in another case the man had only stepsons. It is interesting to see, that in four cases the first wife clearly had born a son and the man nevertheless married another wife despite the Christian ban on it.

Stepson

The number of stepsons in comparison to other sons can be seen in table 3. Their share of below 1 percent of all sons show that this strategy was not applied very often.

Son-in-law

The number of in-marrying men was rather small, as can be seen from the following table.

	Jasenica County 1863	Jasenica County 1884	Albania 1918
son-in-law	-	7	37
father-in-law	-	1	70
mother-in-law	-	8	80
stepdaughter's husband	-	1	-
sum	-	17	187
population	7,151	9,511	462,817

Sworn Virgins

In our data we have not found any sworn virgins yet.

Household constellations of old men

Household types of men with at least 60 years without son

percentages	Jasenica County 1863	Jasenica County 1884	Albania 1918
solitary	16.7	13.8	6.5
incomplete family	-	10.3	6.5
nuclear family	33.3	27.6	30.3
extended family	-	10.3	15.8
joint family	50.0	37.9	41.0
number of men	6	29	5,072

Household types of men with at least 60 years with son

percentages	Jasenica County 1863	Jasenica County 1884	Albania 1918
solitary	-	-	-
incomplete family	-	-	-
nuclear family	4.0	11.1	26.3
extended family	-	11.1	11.6
joint family	96.0	77.8	62.1
number of men	50	99	15,617

Old men without son were much more likely to live alone, in incomplete families with other relatives or unrelated persons, and in nuclear families. These nuclear families consisted of a couple without children or of a couple with only daughters. Living in extended families was of a similar probability than for men with sons. Old men without sons were less likely to live in joint families than old men with sons. Nevertheless 40 to 50 percent of these old men were living in joint families even in the absence of sons. The other married relatives within these joint families were mostly brothers, brother's sons, daughters, and cousins.

Conclusion

High mortality rates before the onset of the demographic transition prevented many men from having a male heir. This was mostly the effect of infant and childhood mortality, so that males died before they could marry. Infant and childhood mortality also lowered the chance of having a surviving son, once men were married and became fathers. In Jasenica County in the second half of the 19th century and in Albania at the beginning of the 20th century 10 to 25 percent of the men at older ages were living without a son. These men were not able to continue the patrilineage directly, although they may have tried to enhance their chances by marrying again after becoming a widower. Others married two or more wives, even Christians. There was still a group of men, who ended up living without a son. Some of them accepted stepsons or son-in-laws. Others lived in households together with their brothers or brother's sons and therefore the household could continue.

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Chart 1: Age pyramid of nine settlements in Jasenica County in 1863

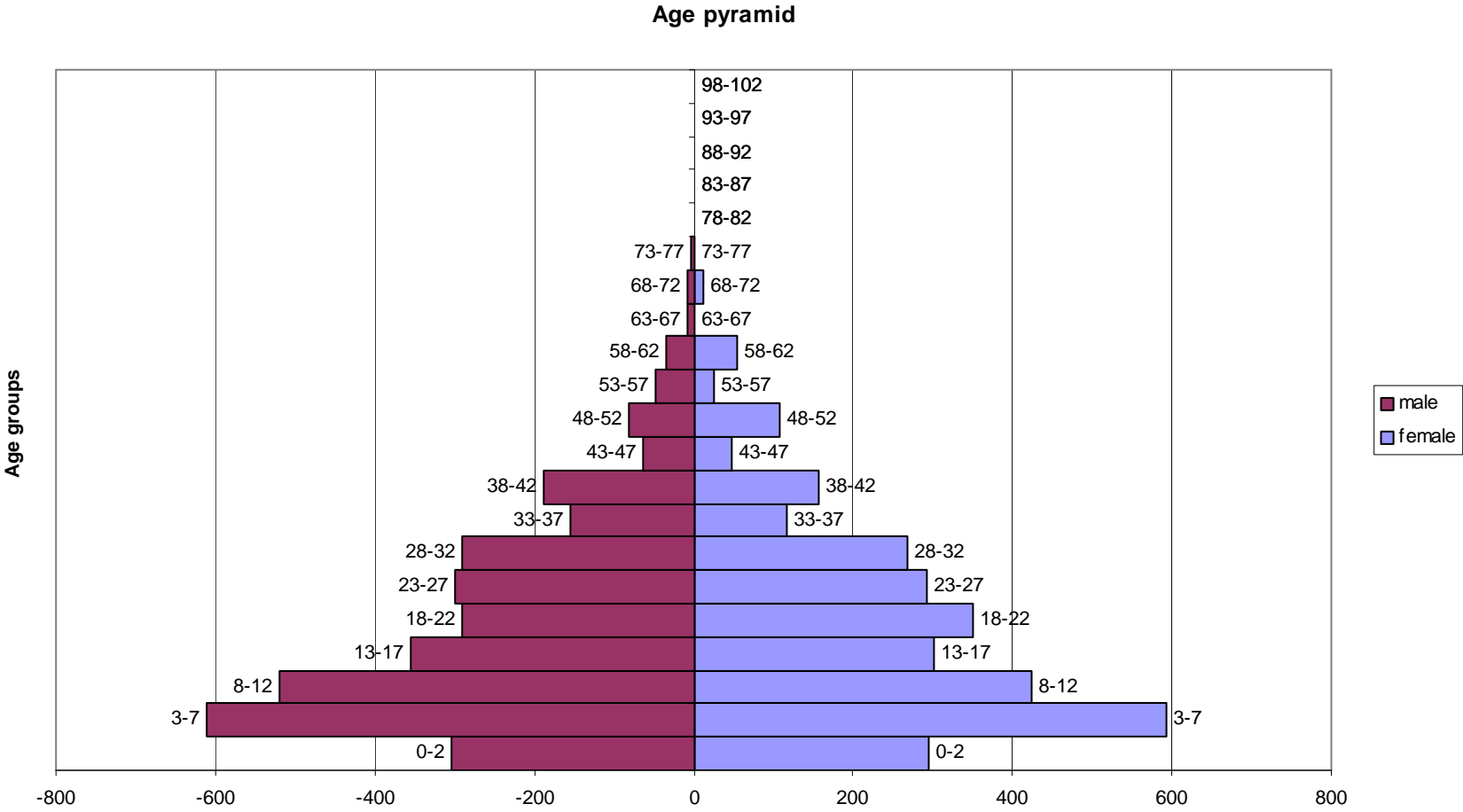


Chart 2: Men living with son in Jasenica County 1863, 1884, and Albania 1918

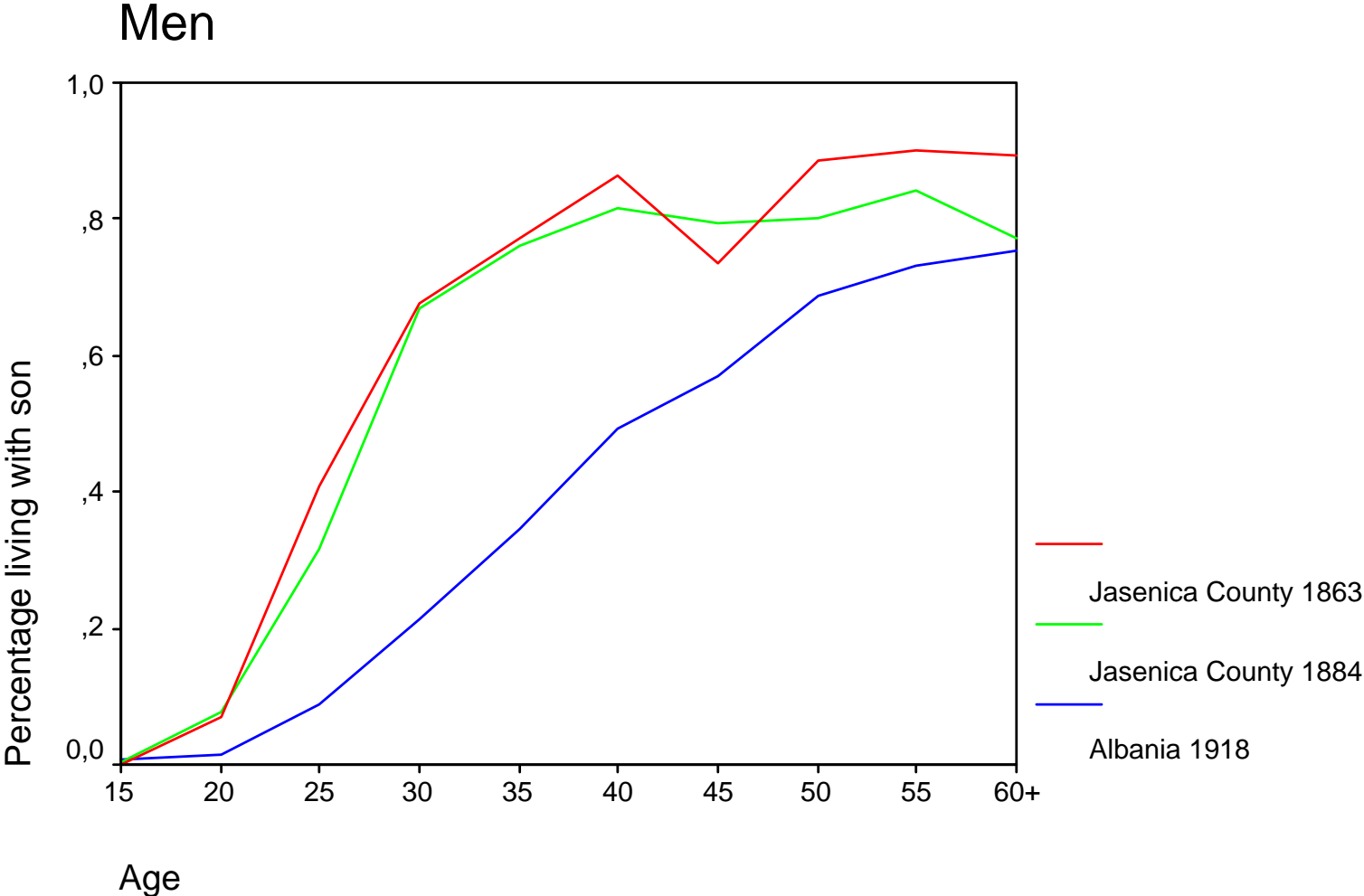


Chart 3: Men living with spouse in Jasenica County 1863, 1884, and Albania 1918

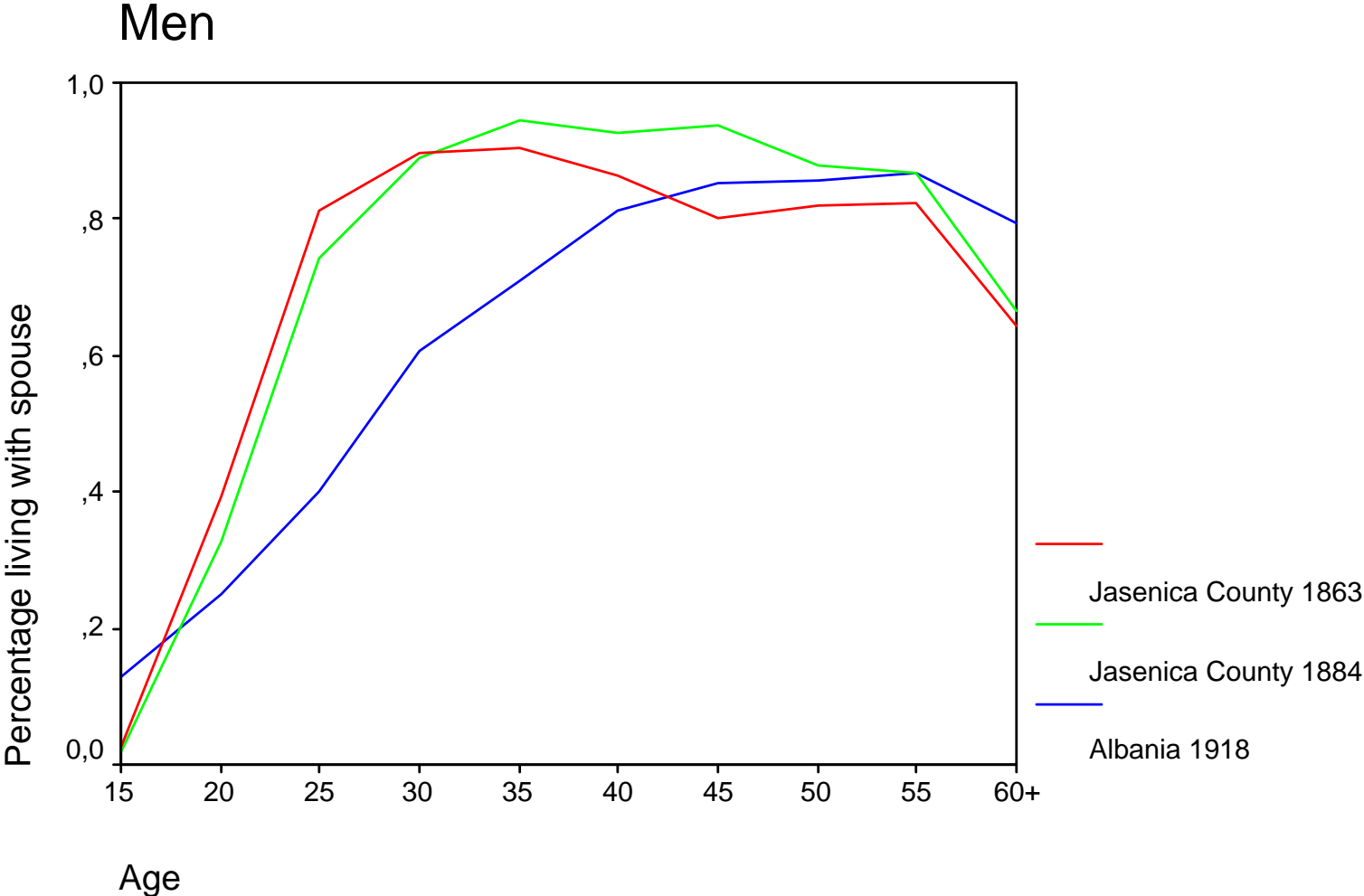


Chart 4: Men living with son in Albania 1918 by marital status

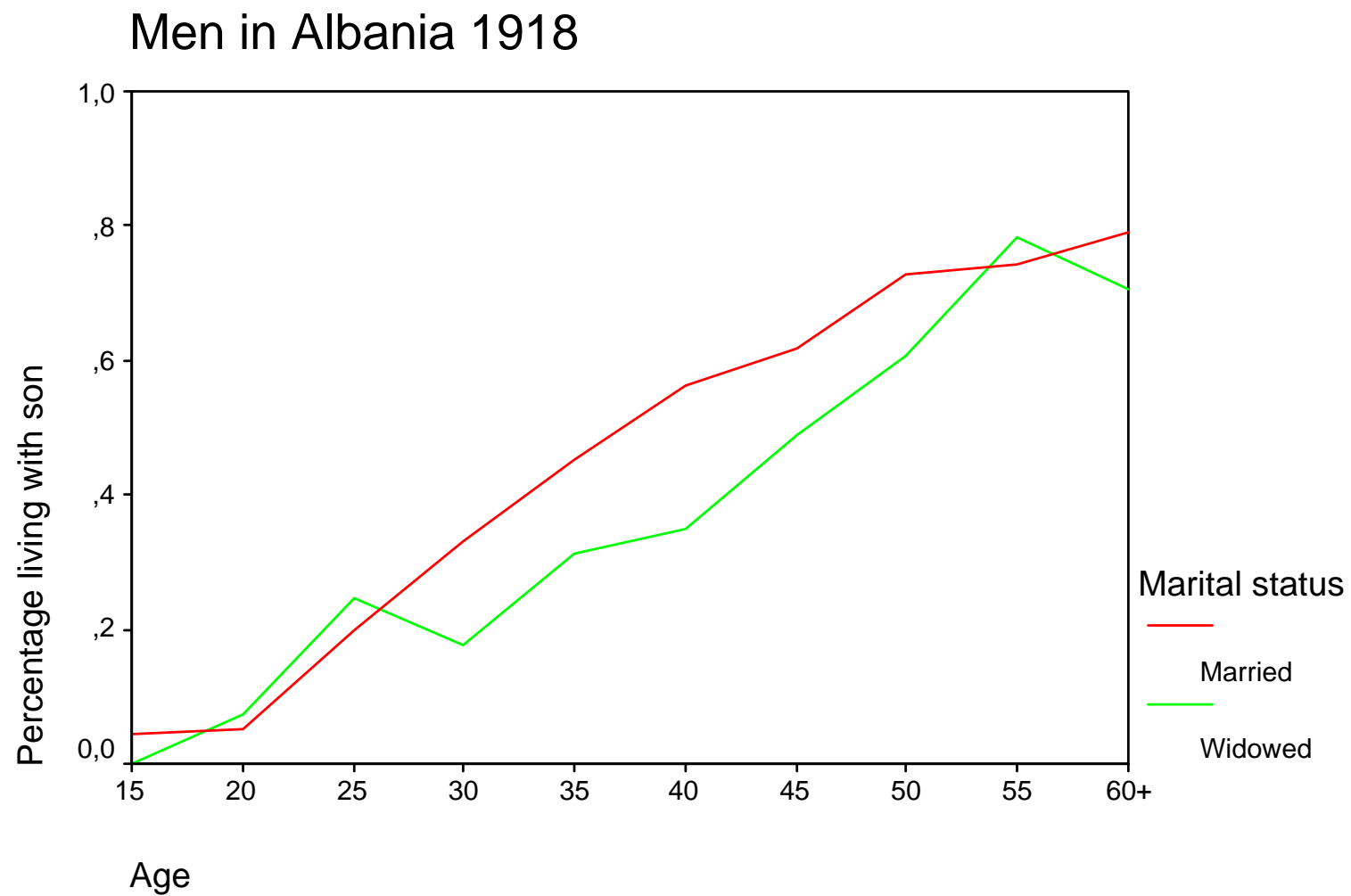


Chart 5: Men in Jasenica County in 1863 by age difference to spouse

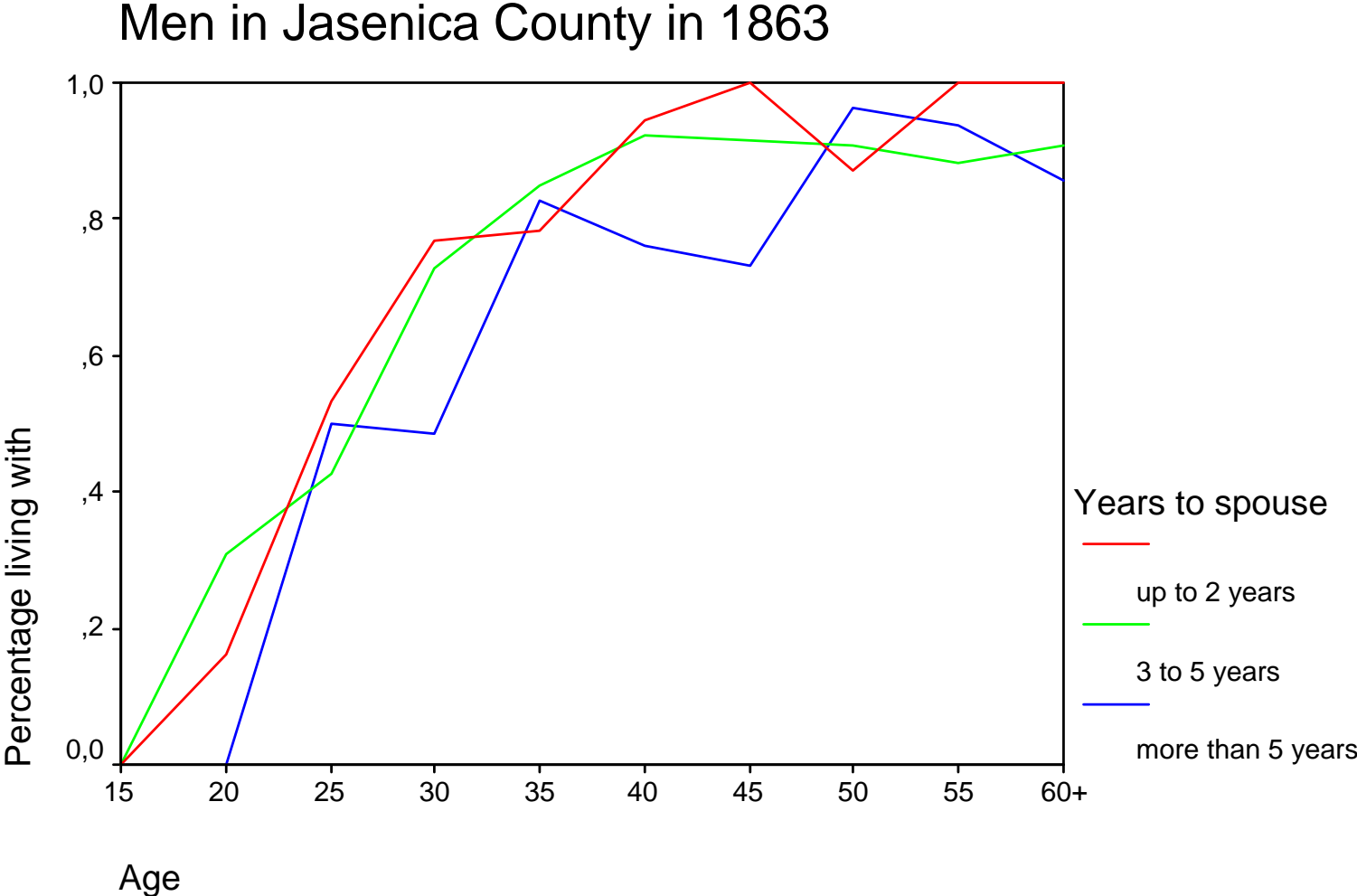


Chart 6: Men in Jasenica County in 1884 by age difference to spouse

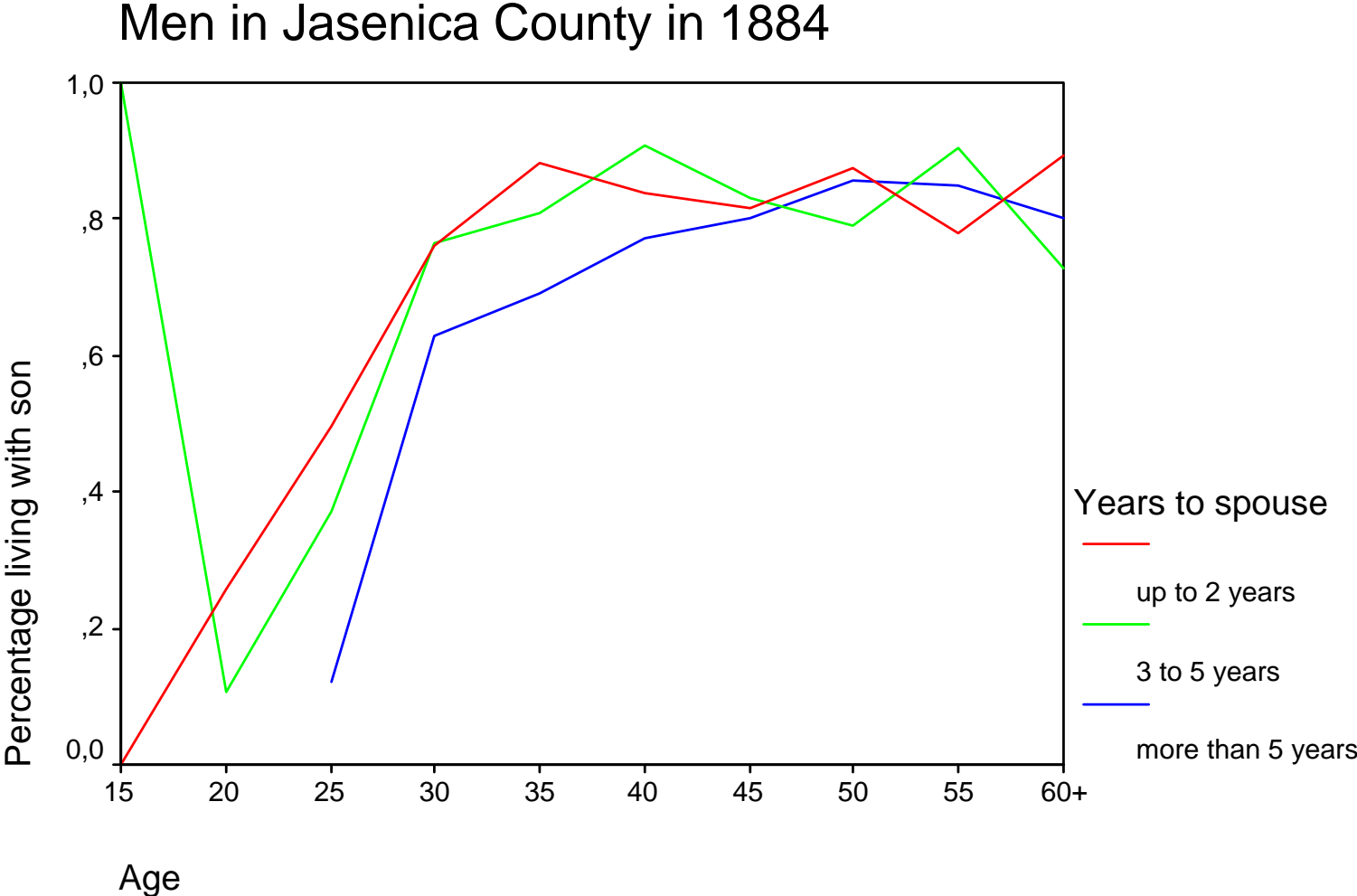


Chart 7: Men in Albania in 1918 by age difference to spouse

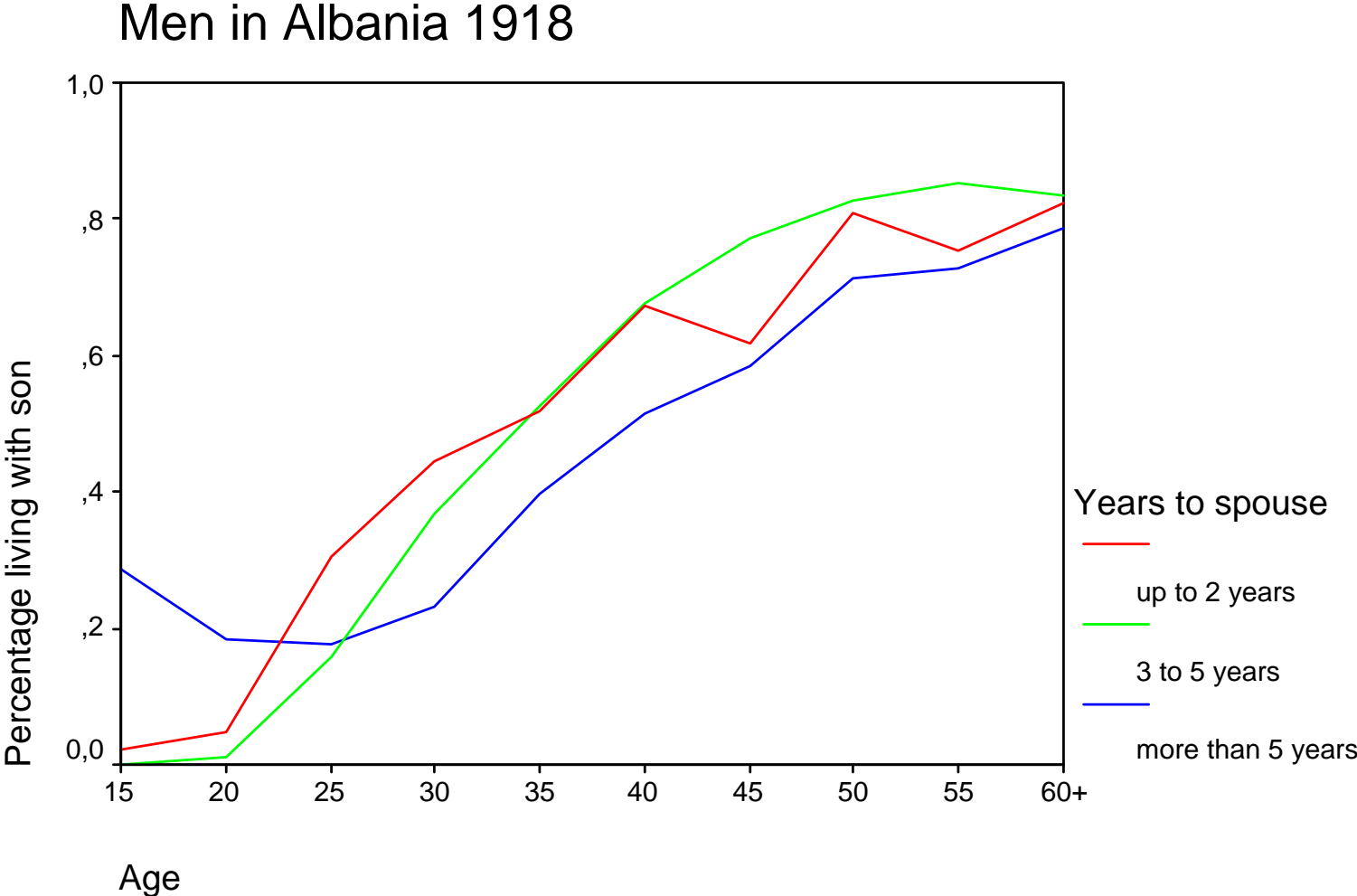


Chart 8: Men living with sons in Albania 1918 by number of wives

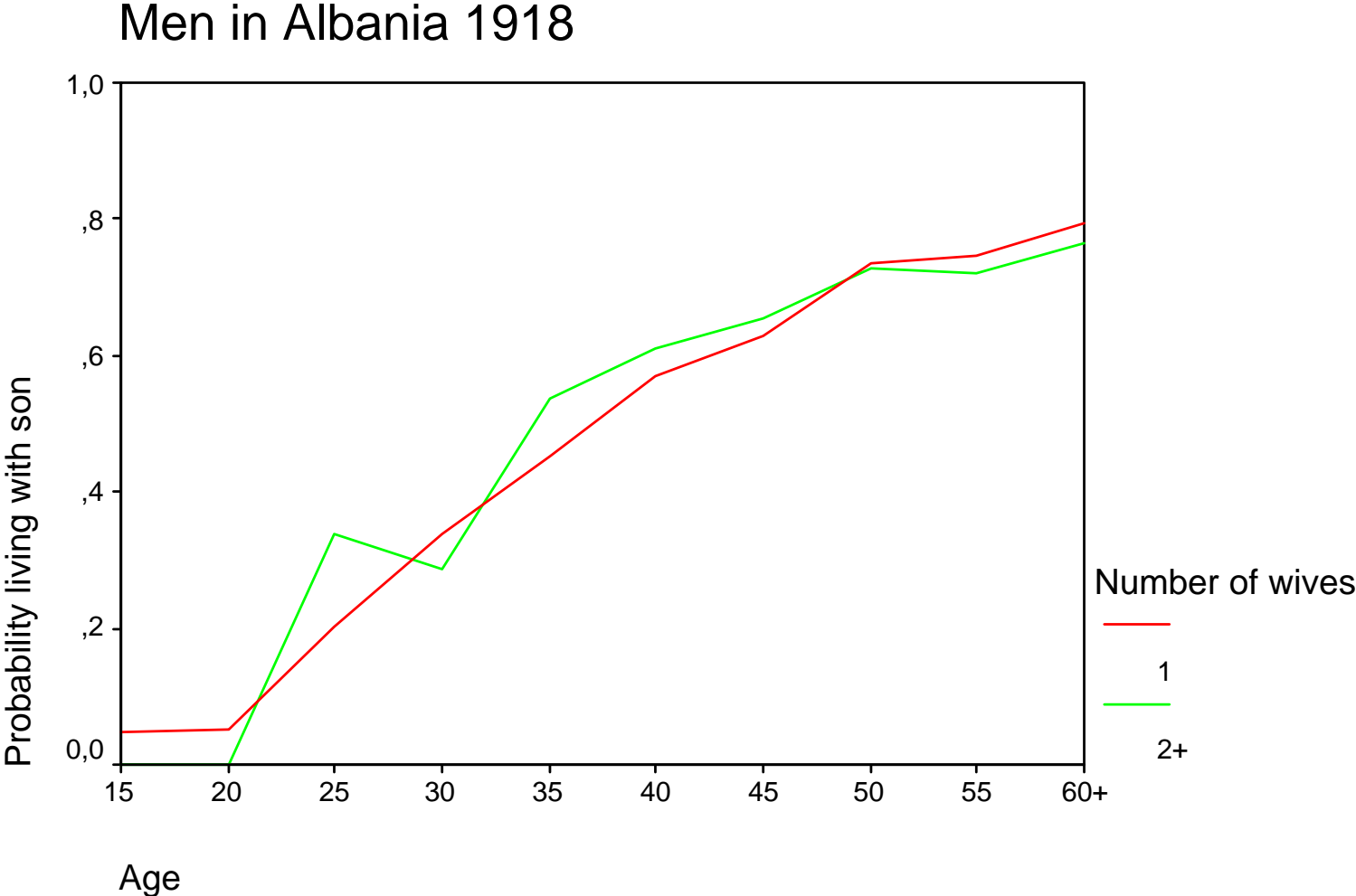


Chart 9: Men living with son in Albania 1918 by religious confession

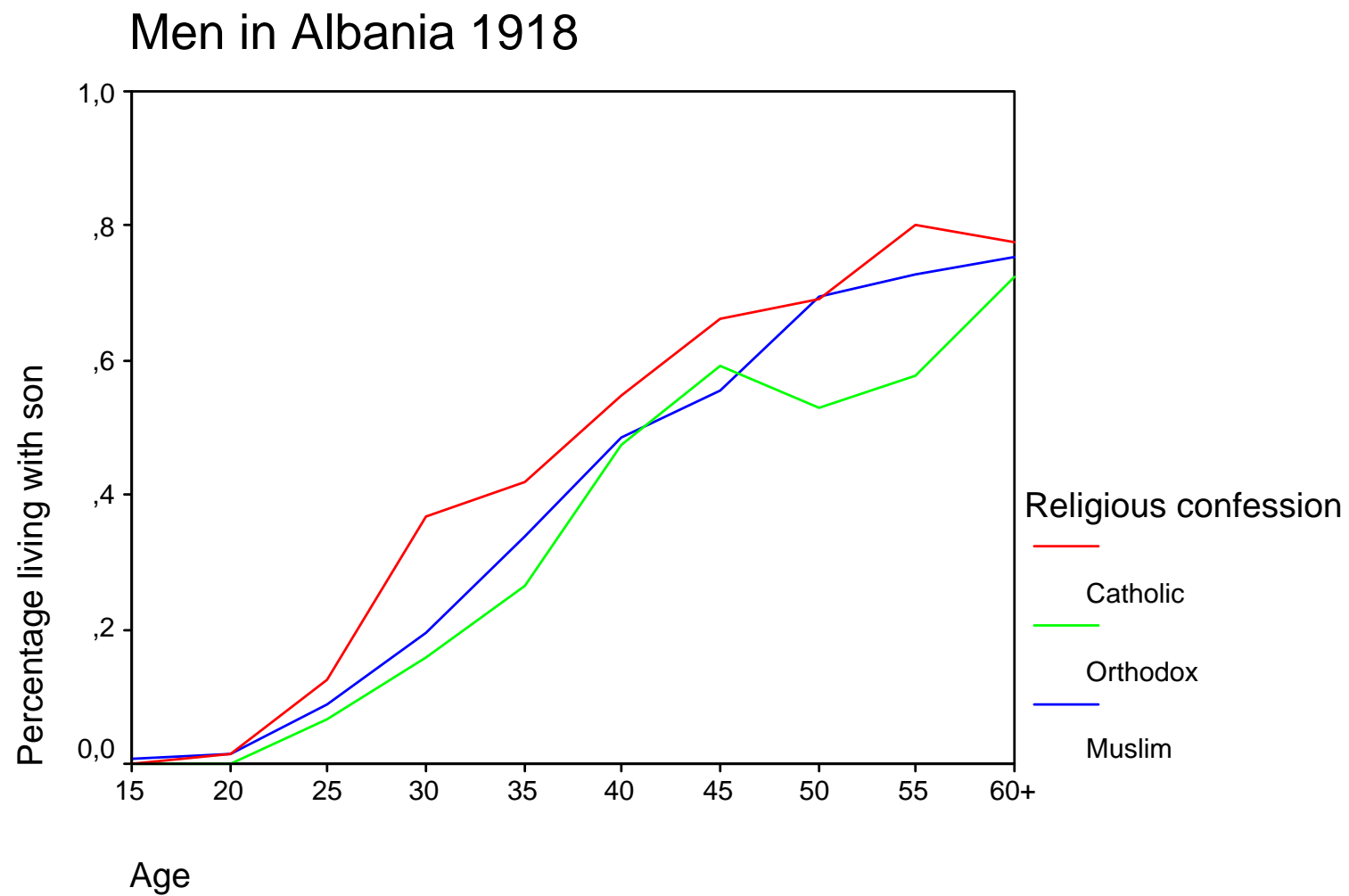


Chart 10: Men living with son in Albania 1918 by ethnic group

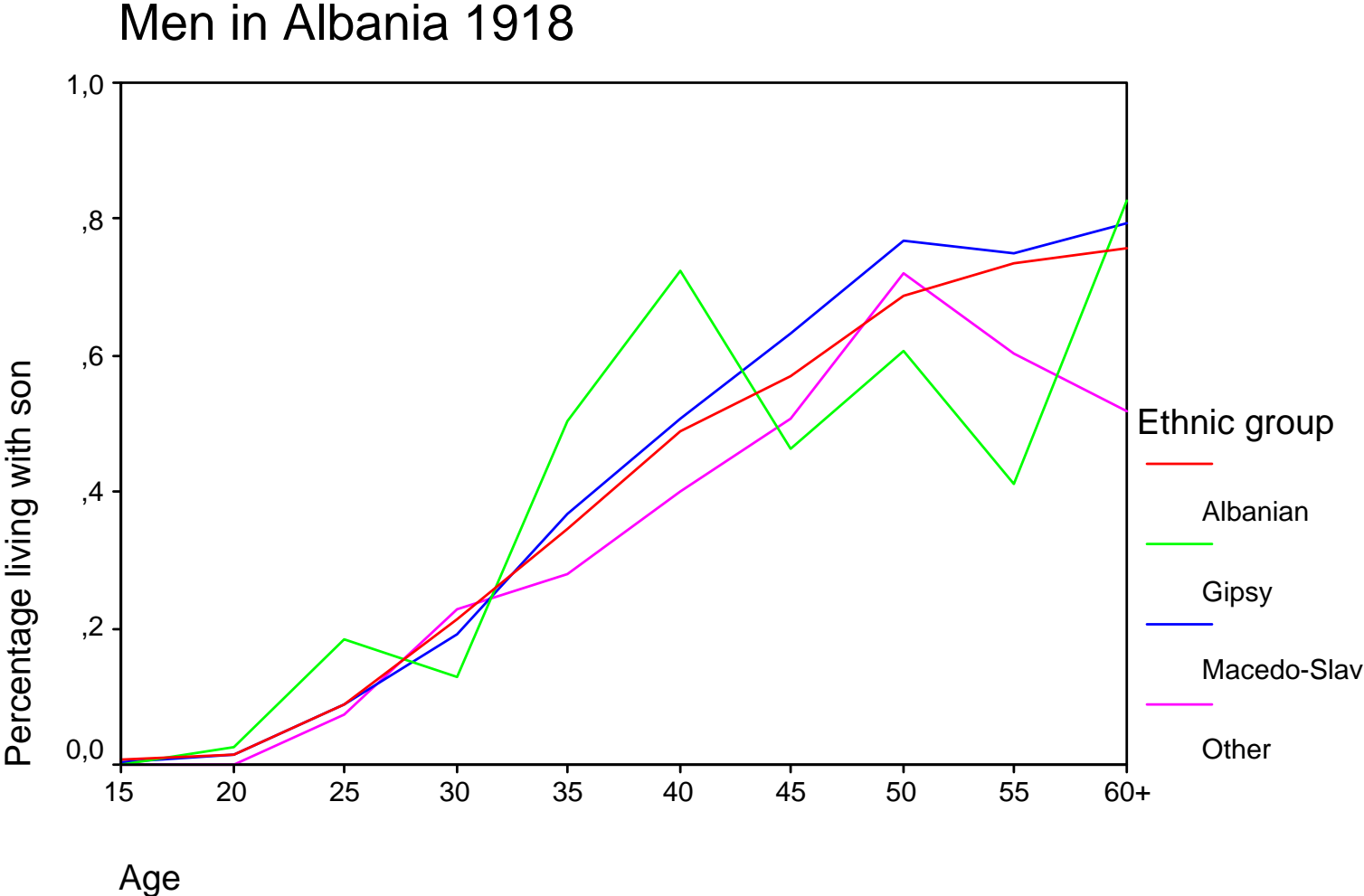


Chart 11: Men living with son in Albania 1918 by economic sector

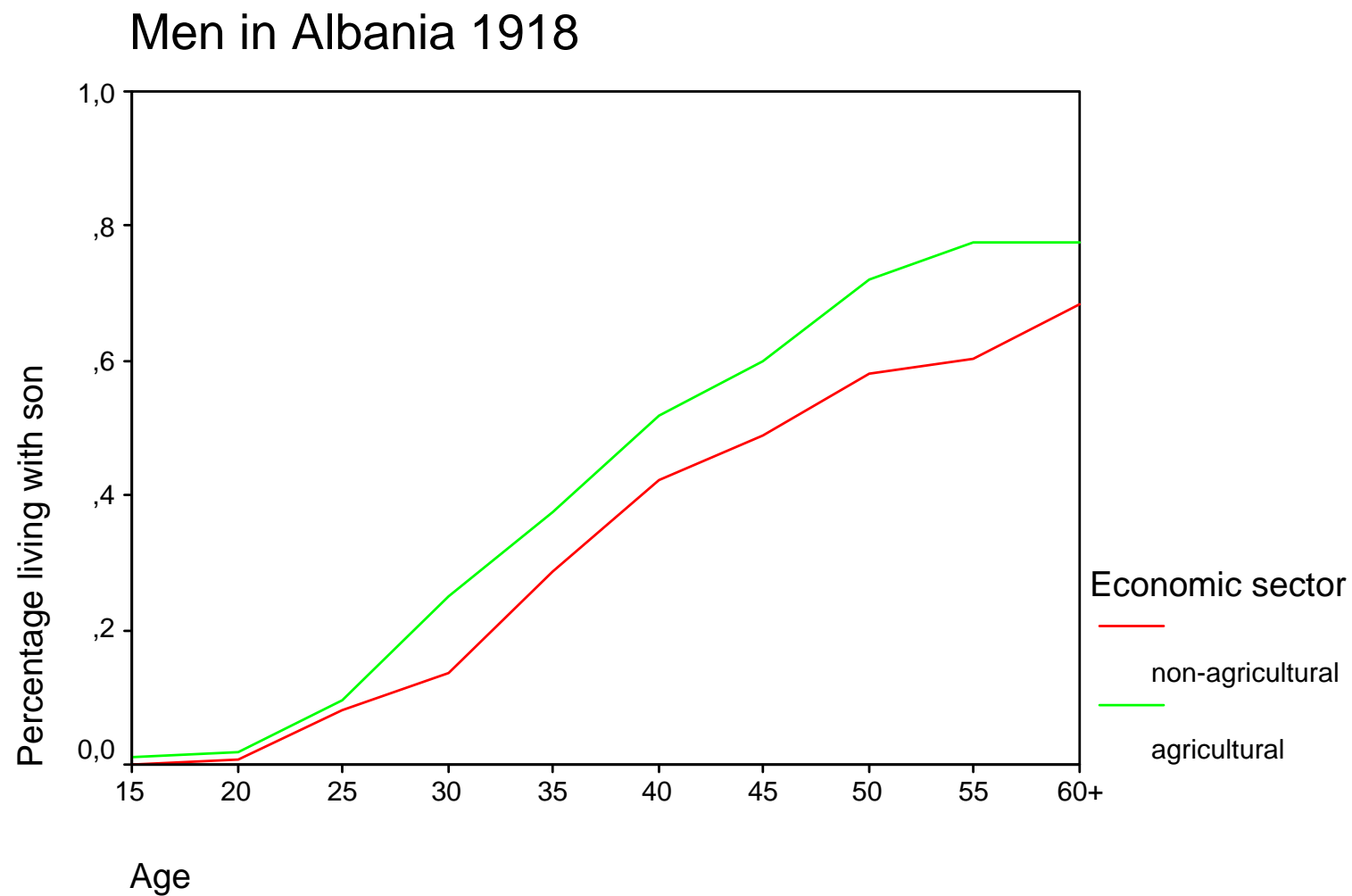


Chart 12: Men living with son in Jasenica County 1863 by household type

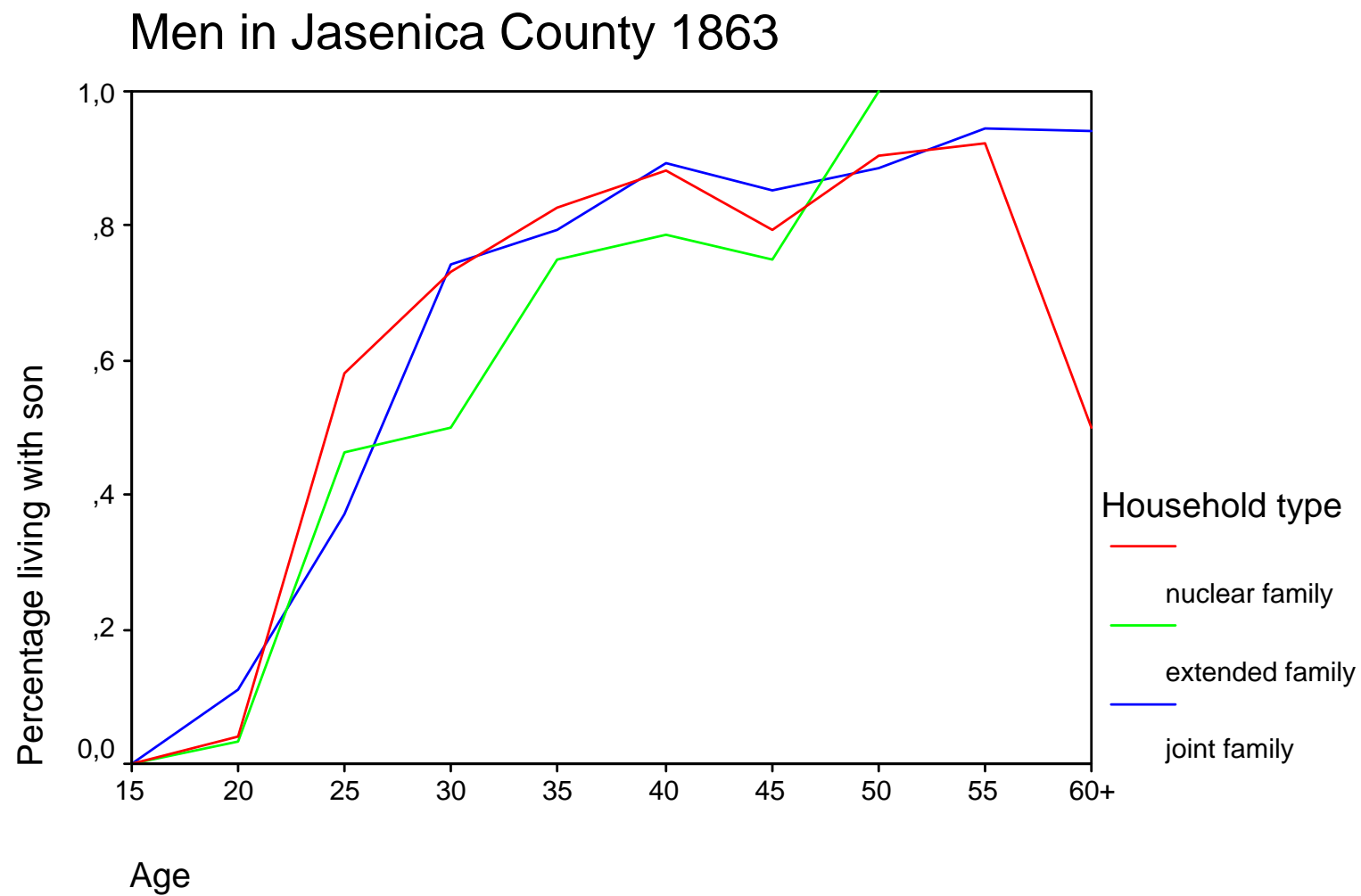


Chart 13: Men living with son in Jasenica County 1884 by household type

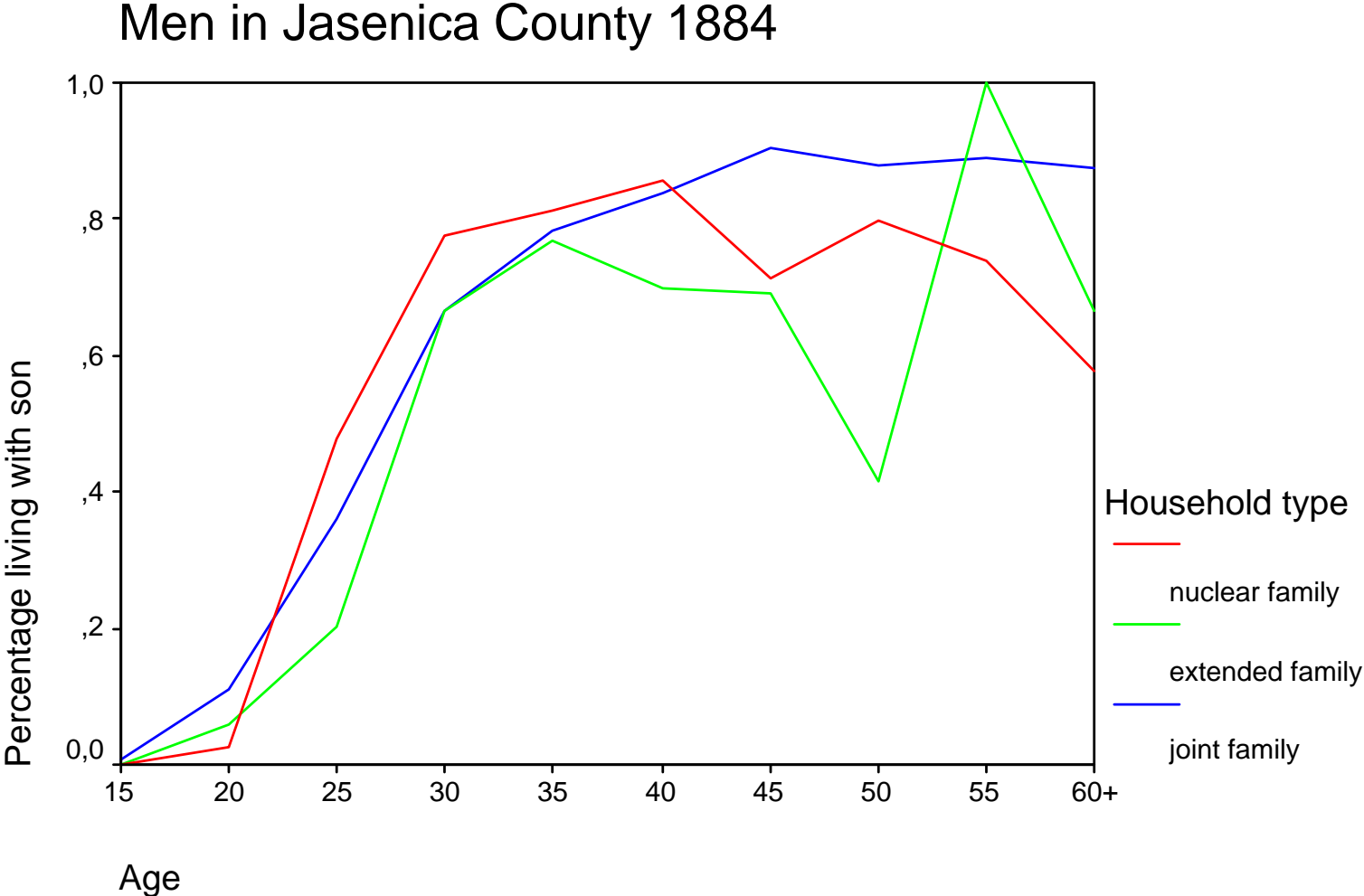


Chart 14: Men living with son in Albania 1918 by household type

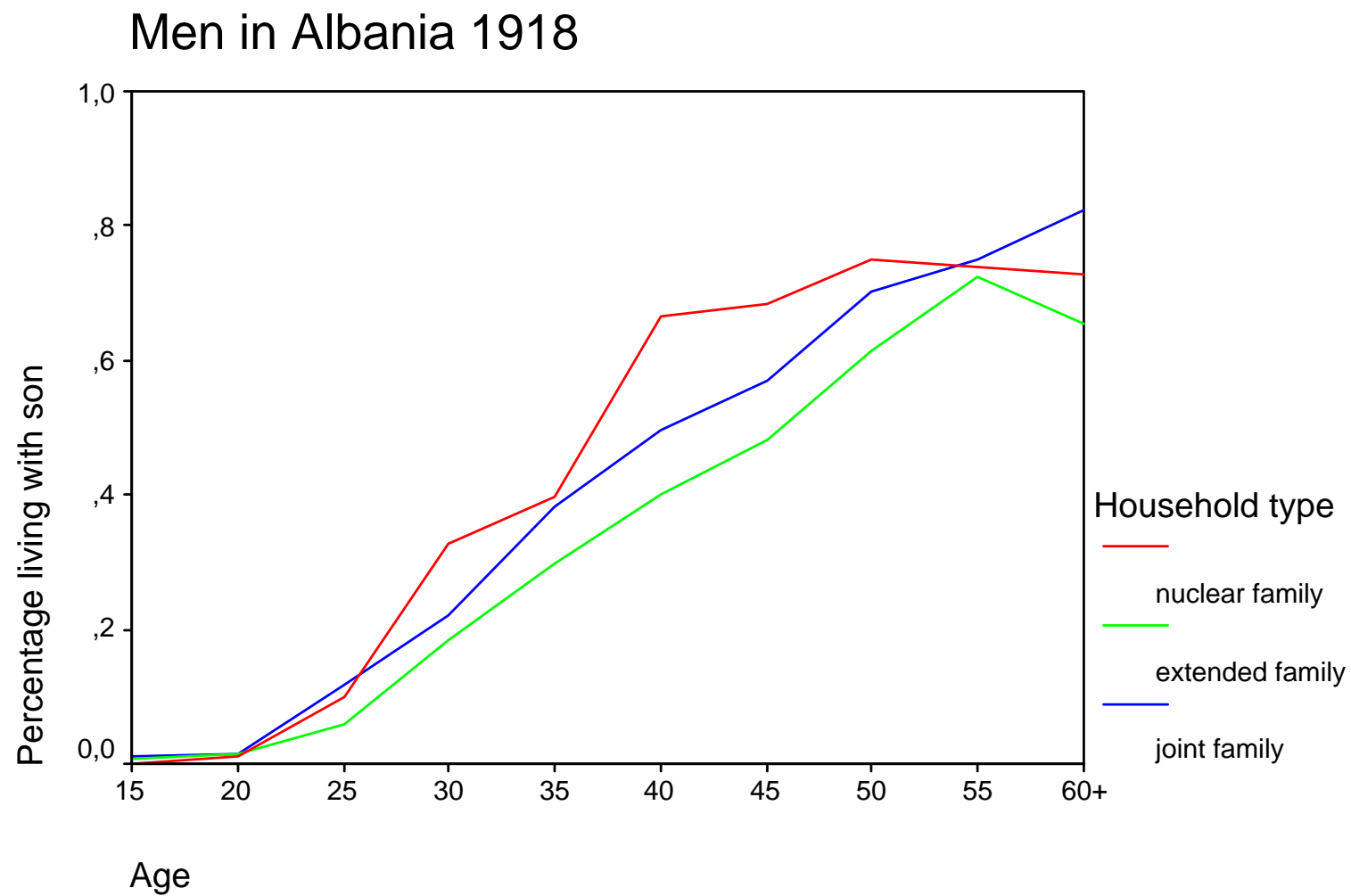


Chart 15: Men living with son in Albania 1918 by household head status

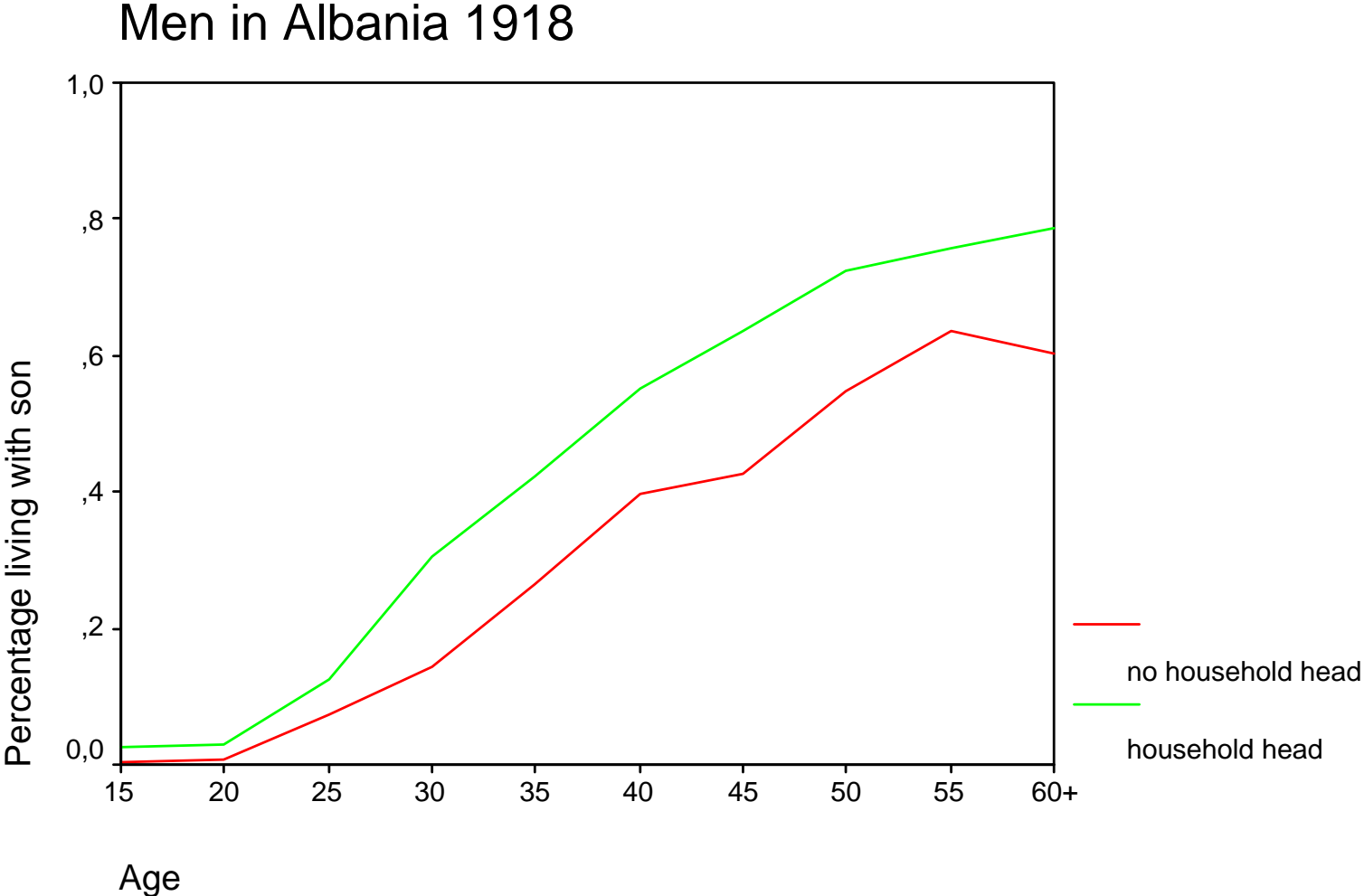


Chart 16: Men living with son in Jasenica County in 1863 by village

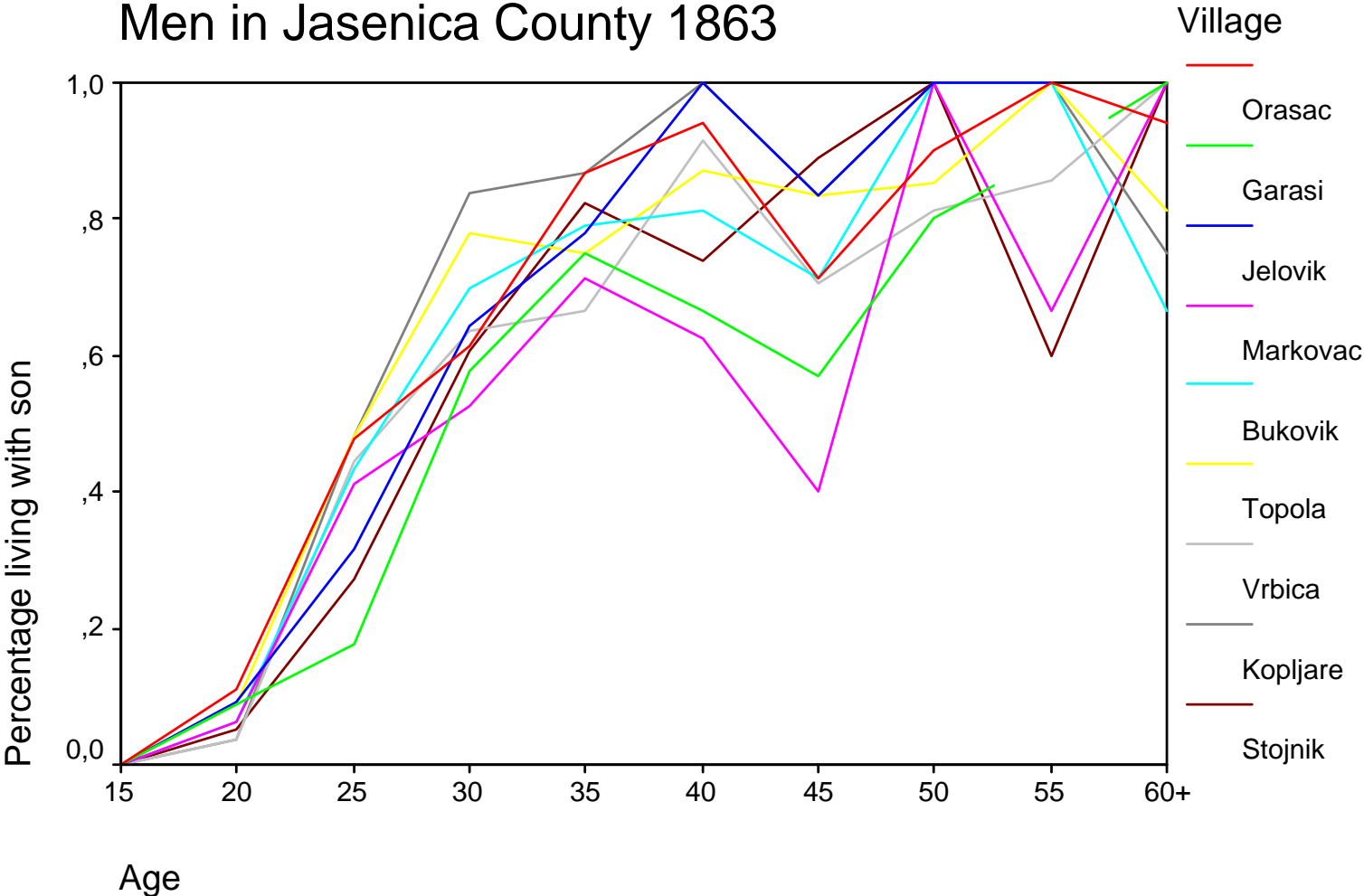


Chart 17: Men living with son in Jasenica County in 1884 by village

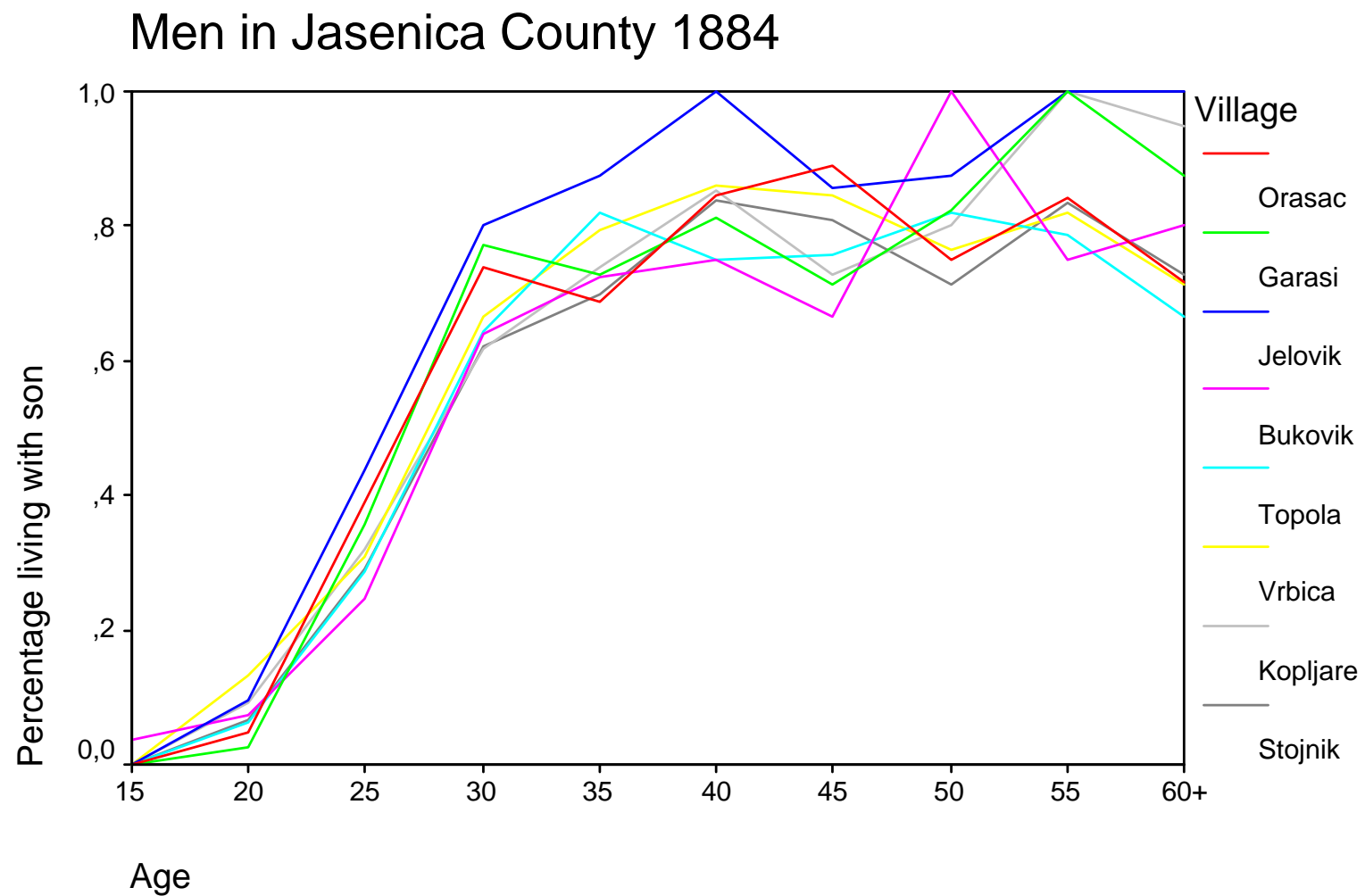


Chart 18: Men living with son in Albania in 1918 by region

