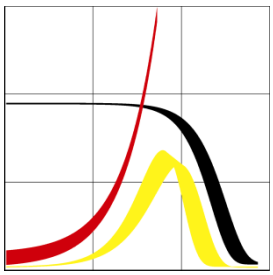
Siegfried Gruber and Mikołaj Szołtysek

Are all joint families the same?

European Population Conference Stockholm, 13 – 16 June 2012

Session 2: Families and households



Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research
Laboratory of Historical Demography
Konrad-Zuse-Straße 1, 18057 Rostock - Germany
gruber@demogr.mpg.de
szoltysek@demogr.mpg.de

Preliminary draft.
Please do not quote.

Abstract

Among the many issues discussed in association with the increased use of scientific samples of census microdata, the questions of who lives with whom, and for what reasons, remain central. Diversity in people's living arrangements reflects a variety of preferable or achievable residential patterns, and likely indicates differential notions regarding the way obligations to kin from outside the immediate family are structured. In the scholarly literature, nuclear-, stem-, and joint-family systems were often juxtaposed as leading to different demographic outcomes, performing welfare functions towards their members on a different basis, and coping with economic hardships in a different manner. In the history of humankind the laterally extended families have made their appearance in such diverse places as central and northern Italy, France, Finland, and Russia, and have been a common form of household organization in many areas of the Balkans, historical Belarus, as well as among Asian societies, most notably in China and India. But are joint-family societies all the same? This paper re-addresses the nature of joint-family systems with data from a newly available collection of census listings from Eastern, and Southeastern Europe from between the late 18th and early 20th centuries. It identifies two "hot-spot areas" of family complexity in historic Europe. To this material new measures of 'jointness' in family co-residence are applied in order to reveal various attributes of household organization and living arrangements in a comparative perspective. Preliminary results point to a non-negligible morphological variegation within societies adhering to 'joint-family rules', suggesting a necessary modification to an all-encompassing concept of the 'joint-family system'.

Introduction

The joint family has long represented one of the most peculiar forms of living arrangements in historic Europe. While it can be said that one of the intrinsic human characteristics – at least in the European context - has been a preference for residential independence in adulthood (i.e. for residing in small, conjugal groups; for the argument see Smith 1993; Verdon 1996; also Hartmann 2004), the underlying principles of joint family co-residence rested on extensive family solidarity, high parental control over adolescent children, and subordination of some groups of individuals to the others within domestic space. It comes without surprise, then, that the incidence of joint families in a given area, society or culture, has been not seldom considered as resulting from the constraints - economic, demographic, and cultural, which prevent the universal cultural preference for small and simple households being exercised. On the economic side, specific landholding patterns typical of sharecroppers and some serfs, as well as the demands of pastoral economy in mountainous settings, were told to have been fostering formation of big, laterally

extended multiple-family residence groups (Berkner and Schaffer 1978; Kertzer 1989; Brunnbauer 2004); on the cultural side – patrilinealism, closely linked with the corporate (joint) nature of the ownership devoid of individual rights over property, seemed to have created mental structures favoring family solidarity, cohabitation and obedience (Kosven 1963; Kaser 1995; Mitterauer 1999). Providing these two constraining forces are lacking, the 'aversion' to joint family living arrangements (Ruggles 2010) would most likely overrule and the 'instinctive wishes' of the population could be realized.

Despite the lack of clear terminological clarification (Madan 1962), the term 'joint family'(or extended family) has often been evoked to denote an experience of living in laterally extended multiple-family domestic groups in societies widely dispersed across historic Eurasia[1]. Earliest investigators of family patterns worldwide talked about joint families as if experienced by millions of people across many different societies of Eurasia, from Nomadic tribes of the Middle East, through Slavic serf agriculturalists, to ancient civilizations of the Far East (Le Play 1982/1872: 259; Le Play 1871, § 12, p. 94; Devas 1886). Indeed, more recent research has revealed legal and residential arrangements pertaining to joint family rules to have been present among early medieval Germanic societies (Gavazzi 1980, 167-168), in 15th-century Tuscany, early modern France (Berkner and Schaffer 1978), 19th-century northern Italy (Kertzer 1989), Finland (Waris 2002), Russia (Czap 1982), being also a common form of household organization in many areas of the Balkans in the past (Kaser 1996; Wheaton 1975; Gavazzi 1980, 1982; Mitterauer 1981). Until quite recently, the joint household system was the favored one in the world's most populous agricultural societies, China and India. Referring to such diverse cultural areas Berkner and Schaffer (1978, 150) argued that anyone reading ethnographic descriptions of joint family living 'cannot help but be struck by the broad similarities'. These commonalities would include co-residence of two or more nuclei, patrilineal reckoning of kinship and devolution of property, keeping the sons on patrimony and virilocal household formation, close association with partible inheritance, unification of the joint domestic group around some common economic project, tendency toward fission at some point on the developmental cycle with the brothers frequently dividing the family property at the death of their father or shortly thereafter, marginal position

[1] For the sake of convenience, throughout this paper the terms 'domestic groups', households or 'housefuls' are used interchangeably despite some clear qualitative distinctions between them.

of female siblings, a tendency to recruit a work force from among kin rather than from among wage laborers (Wheaton 1975).

Demographers have been usually fond of such essentializing claims and not seldom used them as an additional tool to explain world-wide demographic differentials. Accordingly, stylized versions of the joint family system were used in demographic literature in juxtaposition to nuclear or stem-family systems with an intention to derive some theoretical understandings of the implications of different family systems for various demographic outcomes. Since the work of Lorimer (1954), Davis (1955) and Davis and Blake (1956), there has been a wide acceptance of the proposition that the 'extended' or 'joint families' (defined as something structurally different from both nuclear and stem families) encourage high fertility. Caldwell (1978), for example, talked extensively about 'extended, patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal' societies 'from Morocco to Bangladesh' linking them with social and family system favoring persistently high fertility (see Burch and Gendell 1970 for counterarguments; also discussion in Das Gupta 1999, 181-182). Hajnal pushed the analysis towards the specification of the rules of household formation, and distinguished their two main forms emphasizing an East-West divide: the "joint household (formation) system" of the major Eurasian societies is contrasted with the Northwest European system (Hajnal 1982). To exemplify characteristics of the joint-family pattern, Hajnal called upon the data from disparate countries coming from a variety of very different conditions widely separated in time and space: India, Nepal, China, Croatia, Russia and Hungary (Hajnal 1982, 455). Comparing India and Tuscany, he did not have much methodological objections, and reported it as very striking 'how similar result has been produced by two joint household formation systems in two such widely different cultures' (Hajnal, 1982, 467). More recently, and with a much greater sense of complexity of the issue, Das Gupta drew 'a stylized contrast between the stem family systems of Northern Europe and the joint family of North India' in order to highlight their essential features as determinants of divergent health behavior and health outcome (Das Gupta 1999; also Skinner 1997).

Despite many of these claims being correct, it appears to us as a mere simplification to think of all joint-family societies as being inherently the same. Our provisional thoughts of skepticism are likely to mirror various historical, institutional and environmental considerations. How is it possible to think of societies differing by their cultural metric, environmental characteristics and place-specific historical

trajectories as adhering to all the same rules of joint family living, and even more so – to having chance to apply all these rules to the same extent in the everyday lives of their members? Without denying that it is possible to identify some essential and generally accepted features of extended families, this paper re-addresses the nature of joint-family systems in Europe by looking at differences between two exemplary joint-family societies. Instead of treating them as inherently like with like, the subsequent analysis points to what has been uncommon for these two historical populations, and investigates how much of the de-essentialization of the notion of the joint family might be necessary. The work of Croatian ethnologist M. Gavazzi can be recalled here as an antecedence of a similar approach. Gavazzi – referring solely to the Balkans – pinpointed the extraordinary variety of complex, laterally extended families not only with regards to their size and composition, but also their internal power structures, underlying property and legal arrangements, the character of developmental cycles and patterns of division (Gavazzi 1982, 90-95; see also Kaser 1996; Plakans 1981). Here we argue that detailed examination of various demographic components of joint family systems under discussion may reveal important differences which should not be ignored.

This contribution should also be seen as our next step to approach quantitatively the critical structural features of joint family societies from around the globe, and to build an overarching framework for their comparative demographic analysis (Szołtysek and Gruber 2011; Gruber and Szołtysek 2012b). All in all, in its preliminary form, the methodological component of this paper indicates that some important extensions of the earlier efforts to systematize patriarchal structures at the societal level are needed. By making extensive use of historical population listings, this contribution seeks to foster further elaboration of the elements of joint family structure in different settings, and to clarify some outstanding issues related to typologisation of family systems across Europe.

The present endeavor can be treated as yet another step towards a deconstruction of a homogenizing depiction of demographic and family history of Eastern Europe, which at this stage of the development of historiography appears as a problem both advantageous and inspiring[2]. At the same time, however, it cannot be

[2] Some ten years ago, Horden (1998, 48-49) argued in his genuine discussion of the possible overlap between household formation systems and different patterns of welfare provision for the aged and vulnerable: 'Eastern Europe is (…) urgently in need of comparably wide-ranging scrutiny: the

ruled out that conclusions stemming from/to be derived from further made observations might prove a significant voice in the unresolved as yet debate on the demographic implications of joint family systems (Burch and Gendell 1970).

Methodological issues

This paper identifies two "hot spot areas" of family complexity in historical Eastern Europe and uses census and census-like microdata to describe structural-demographic features of their prevalent family organization.

Our own take on the issue is based on earlier works of several other scholars. M. Cain used the median age difference between once-married spouses as an indicator of patriarchal structure (so as joint family organization) in a cross-national analysis of fertility in the developing world (Cain 1988; also Cain, Khanam and Nahar 1979). Cain rightly asserted that the age difference between spouses has several attractive features that make it a potentially useful indicator of patriarchal structure in a comparative demographic analysis (Cain 1988, 25-27). However, he seemed to fail to take into account some other demographic and domestic group characteristics that are no less essential to the demographic and familial development of peasant societies governed by the patriarchal rules defined above.

V. Erlich used quantitative methods to investigate changes in household structure in Yugoslavia during the 1930s. She used the term ‘patriarchal regime’ to describe a complex set of traditional ways of living and customs with deep roots in the distant past. At the centre of this regime was “the extended family, called *zadruga*” (Erlich 1966: 32). She calculated percentages of villages for the period of break-up of these kinds of households by regions (Erlich 1966: 46).

An attempt to approach quantitatively the critical structural features of patriarchal, joint family societies was also attempted in the work of Halpern, Kaser, and Wagner (1996). The authors focused on the father-son and brother-brother dyads, and measured both the frequency of these relationships and their time span. Among the measures proposed were the age at marriage, the age at childbirth, and the sex of the last child (Halpern, Kaser, and Wagner 1996: 430-433).

---

generalizations ventured by Laslett, Hajnal, and subsequent comparativists rest on a perilously small number of case studies. These seldom reach further back in time than 1800; the case for ‘perennial complexity’ may have been too ambitiously stated in them (…).

Some of the measures mentioned above will be applied in our analysis as well, while others cannot be calculated using our data (see more in Gruber and Szołtysek 2012b). Certain measures, like the numbers of father-son and brother-brother dyads, are greatly affected by the age structure and fertility of the population in question, and are therefore not used here.

However, taking advantage of the large number of search pathways highly structured databases like ours can make possible, we also proposed several indicators, which – to our knowledge – were only rarely in use, or not used at all in the literature.

The variables used for this paper refer to several different aspects of joint families, their structures, and features pertaining to the patriarchal dynamics of family life. They include:

- patrilinearity: comparing the proportion of relatives of the husband with the proportion of relatives of the wife within the household
- patrilocality: comparing the proportion of married sons to the proportion of married daughters within the household
- lateral extension of households
- number of co-resident kin
- domination of men over women: proportion of male household heads compared to female household heads
- domination of the older generation: proportion of male household heads with or without a co-residing man of an older generation
- age at marriage
- age at leaving home
- polygamy
- differential investment in human capital: comparing age heaping ratios of men and women

The descriptive statistics for all these variables is presented in **table 2** at the end of the paper.

In this paper we deal only with the population living in family ('private') households. Unlike in historic western Poland, institutional households (often misleadingly called 'hospitals') were largely non-existent in the eastern borderlands in

the 18th century. Institutional households were equally scarce in Albania, and those existing there were omitted from the analysis below.

As this paper represents only the very first approach to the problem, it operates primarily with simple bivariate correlations and scatterplots. No attempt is being made at this stage to apply multivariate analysis, although it would definitely enrich our understanding of living arrangements of the aged in the societies under study.

As the focus is on comparative morphology of residence patterns in joint family systems, the problem of the latter's origins in the regions under study, as well as factors contributing to their sustenance are not discussed here (see however, Kaser 1994; Szołtysek 2012).

Data

To investigate joint family societies, we used historical census microdata from two different regions of Eastern Europe: the eastern borderlands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the end of the 18th century, and Albania in 1918. The Albanian population census of 1918 and the Polish-Lithuanian database are the only existing databases that are large enough to allow investigation of demographic conditions and household composition in historical Eastern and Southeastern Europe that is not subjected to place-specific random distortions due to smallness of observations.

On the Polish side, the present study makes use of data for 13,885 peasant households from eastern territories of historical Poland-Lithuania. This database, which is a part of a larger data depot known as *CEURFAMFORM Database*[3], contains entries for 143 parishes or estates with 511 settlements and with the population of 83,727 (Table 1). These data were derived from two types of population listings enumerating individuals by residential units, with kinship relationships, household positions and other demographic information (age, sex, marital status) for each individual within the domestic group made transparent[4]. The first group of listings (37 percent) comes from the surviving remnants of the censuses ordered by the Polish Diet (*Sejm*) in 1789 and carried out on each territorial unit on the territory of the

[3] Various parts of this data collection have already been analyzed (e.g. Szołtysek 2008a, 2008b).

[4] The database development was supported by the Marie Curie Intra-European Fellowship project (FP6-2002-Mobility-5, Proposal No. 515065) at the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, Cambridge, UK, 2006-2008.

Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth between 1790 and 1791. The task of population enumeration relied on local priests and financial penalties were imposed on vicars failing to fulfill the population registry duty. The second group of census microdata for the Commonwealth is represented with the so-called Russian 'soul revisions'. Designed a as periodic tax censuses to be used by the central government to assess the poll tax to which all male peasants in Russia were liable, 'Revisions' were first drawn on the eastern outskirts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1782, after the annexion of these territories a decade earlier by Russia (4th Revision). However, it was only in 1795 that the first comprehensive survey had covered the Belarusian heartland of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania after the second partition of Poland (5th Revision). Despite being ordered by the alien administration on the Polish territories, the 1795 revision in Poland-Lithuania followed the traditional Polish concepts of census taking rather than to the official Russian principles of taxation, used primarily the local civil authorities and officials of the Polish origins to prepare and execute the enumeration.

The territories enumerated in the above mentioned listings cover the eastern fringes of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. If reference were made to historic Polish boundaries just before 1772, then the 143 parishes would be clustered in four territorial groupings located on both sides of the historical Polish-Lithuanian border of the Commonwealth (Map 1). To the north of such a border two regions mark their presence stretching over central and southern parts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (regions 1 and 2). Of them, region 2 constituted one of the largest European swamplands known as Poles'ya. To the southwest, region 3 represents the part of historic territory of Red Ruthenia, nowadays at the intersection of Belarus, Ukraine and Poland. Region 4 refers to the Zytomierski district in the former Kiev Voivodship in the south-eastern fringes of the Commonwealth, sometimes attributed to historical Volhynia, now in Ukraine. These groupings were designed on the basis of the parishes' administrative belonging at the time of census taking, and as such they have generally a high administrative coherence at their reference time point. All the listings discussed here precede the abolition of serfdom on the territories in question. The serf population under consideration was essentially non-Polish and non-Catholic, as it was dominated by Uniates (Greek-Catholics) comprised mostly of so-called Ruthenians

(speaking different dialects 'proto-Ukrainians' and 'proto-Belarusians'[5]), with only very minor Polish and Lithuanian influences. Low population density was another feature common to all the regions under consideration, same as somewhat less stringent forms of manorial economy than in western and southernmost territories of Poland-Lithuania where forced labor of the peasantry was prevalent.

The Albanian data is the population census conducted by the Austro-Hungarian army in 1918 in Albania (Kaser, Gruber, Kera, Pandelejmoni 2011; for an evaluation see Nicholson 1999). The Austro-Hungarian army occupied the majority of the territory of the newly created independent Albanian state, and established a new administration in 1916. Officers of the Austro-Hungarian army collected the data with the assistance of Albanian officers (Seiner 1922: 3). The census personnel were male, and the persons responsible for providing information about the members of each household were the (overwhelmingly male) household heads. However, the census-takers were instructed to make sure that no persons were excluded from the count, such as female children (Seiner 1922: 4). These efforts appear to have been successful, since the census counted almost the same number of men and women, whereas in censuses of other countries in the region, there was always a clear male majority in the population (for Serbia see Sundhaussen 1989: 80). This Albanian census is the first for which the original data is still available on the level of the persons recorded, and it is of high quality given the circumstances under which it was taken (Gruber 2007: 257). It is still widely unknown, and thus in a demographic atlas of Albania data from 1926 is considered the earliest population data (Bërxholi 2003). Gjonça mentions only the preliminary census of 1916, and gives the credit for the first general census conducted in Albania to the 1923 census (Gjonça 2001: 38f.).

The research project, "The 1918 Albanian Population Census: Data Entry and Basic Analyses," based at the University of Graz and funded by the Austrian Science Fund (2000-2003), sought to convert the data into machine-readable form.[6] The data remains on the individual level, which allows for much more research than aggregate data on the village level. The researcher is able to aggregate data as s/he wishes, and is not bound to the categories of already aggregated data (Hall, McCaa, and Thorvaldsen 2000: 9). This also enables the researcher to combine different variables on the

[5] Not to confuse with Carpatho-Russians or Rusnaks from the Subcarpathian areas in Eastern-Central Europe.
[6] http://www-gewi.uni-graz.at/suedost/seiner/index.html

individual level for research purposes. The census data of 1918 is a rich source for a variety of questions related to studies about population structure and behavior. Age, birth place and the place of residence were registered for each person, and therefore data for marriage patterns is available. Up to now, the data of 309 villages and cities have been entered in a database, which contains 140,611 persons. The database contains a 10-percent sample of villages covering the whole of the area of surviving census data and a 100-percent sample of settlements of special interest (including all cities). The data of the 10-percent-sample is weighted to account for the population size of administrative units according to the published results (Seiner 1922). This data has already been used for analyses of household structures, ages at marriage, fertility, and migration (Gruber 2005, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011; Gruber and Szołtysek 2012a; Gruber and Szołtysek 2012b; Kera and Pandelejmoni 2008).

More than two thirds of Albania are mountainous, especially the northern parts. Most of the western border is formed by the Adriatic Sea and alongside the coast there are plains. Durrës is a port city, Shkodra is situated at a large lake, Kavaja is not far from the coast, while the other three cities of this study are located in the interior of the country. Shkodra is the only city of Northern Albania, while the other five cities are located in Central Albania, and the cities of Southern Albania are outside the territory of this census. The majority of the population was Muslim (78.2 percent), only the prefecture Puka was predominantly Catholic. The only city with a considerable Catholic population was Shkodra (about a third). The Orthodox population in this study is mainly urban, because the major areas inhabited by Orthodox Christians are either outside of the area covered by this census or areas where the census originals have not been preserved.

The analysis will be done in comparing different regions of the area of the Albanian census of 1918. This area was divided into 7 prefectures at that time and the six cities of this area are separated from them, because it can be assumed that the urban population had a different behavior than the rural one. The subprefecture of Gora has been separated from the prefecture of Zhuri because this region was known for its high number of male migrant workers, which makes it distinct from the neighboring regions. The analysis is therefore based on 18 areas: 8 rural Albanian regions, 6 Albanian cities, and 4 regions in the eastern part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Table 1: data used

region	N unweighted	N weighted
Kruja	4,276	47,897
Puka	5,008	32,506
Shkodra	12,340	60,915
Tirana North	14,529	80,004
Zhuri	15,565	85,616
Gora	11,298	14,933
Tirana South	12,206	31,586
Berati	7,424	24,409
Kruja (city)	3,893	3,893
Shkodra (city)	23,590	23,590
Durrësi (city)	4,307	4,307
Elbasani (city)	10,237	10,237
Kavaja (city)	5,522	5,522
Tirana (city)	10,416	10,416
Albania overall	**140,611**	**435,832**
region 1	19,176	19,176
region 2	25,332	25,332
region 3	25,193	25,193
region 4	14,026	14,026
CEURFAMFORM east overall	**83,727**	**83,727**

Two 'hot-spots' of family 'jointness'

The populations covered by our listings represented joint family societies *per se*, with a large share of individuals living in joint family constellations at some point in their life course. In a previous comparative analysis of living arrangements of the aged by the same authors, data from the Polish borderlands and Albania displayed some of the highest indicators of joint family co-residence out of more than a hundred census populations from around the globe (Gruber and Szołtysek 2012a).

Further evidence of the prevalence of joint family co-residence in the areas under scrutiny come from ethnographic accounts and historic-anthropological research. According to Kaser, Albania historically belonged to the area of the Balkans where patrilocal-household cycle complexity was prevalent (Kaser 1996, 383; Gruber 2012). In the patrilocal residence pattern, the wife moved into the household of her husband, who lived with his father and with his brothers even after the father's death. The male offspring constituted the nucleus of the household, while female offspring had to leave the household at the time of marriage. The transmission of property was

not related to death or marriage and took place after generations, when the household divided into several different groups. In particular, the area covered by Albania was characterised by a distinctive patriarchal cultural background that has been called Balkan patriarchy (Kaser 1995, 61–165). The basic elements of this cultural pattern were strong blood ties, ancestor worship, patrilocality, patrilineal kinship structures, bride price, and blood feuds (Kaser 2008). One study defined Balkan patriarchy as a complex of hierarchal values embedded in a social structural system defined by both gender and age: "This structuring is further linked to a system of values orienting both family life and broader social units. Balkan patriarchy achieves its historical form through the classically complex and interlocking systems of patrilinearity, patrilocality, and a patriarchally-oriented common law. Such supports not only divide and ascribe position by gender, but also allocate to males the predominant role in society. An obvious corollary to this defined structure is the formal subordination of women within the context of an overtly 'protective' family and household environment" (Halpern, Kaser, and Wagner 1996: 427). The male moral authority was reinforced by both traditional and state law (Hasluck 1954; Kanuni 1989; Whitaker 1976; Whitaker 1981).

In addition, the patriarchal system in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe was connected to a system of equal male inheritance, and Albania fitted into this pattern (Kaser 2000, 2002). There was also an important religious aspect in this patriarchal culture: the veneration of a patron saint of the family was the most important religious feast of the year. The festivities were held at home and not in a church, which is an important factor in placing the focus on lineage identity. The pre-Christian worship of ancestors of the patrilineage was substituted by a Christian patron saint (Kaser 1993: 93-122).

There were differences in levels of patriarchy in Europe around 1900: moving further to the south and east of the continent, the patriarchal rules became progressively more rigid (Therborn 2004: 71). Northern Albania was seen as the most patriarchal region within Albania, a country that was generally considered to be very patriarchal around 1900. The regions were inhabited by "extremely patriarchal groups" (Fischer 1999: 281), living in a "fully fledged tribal society in the middle of Europe" (Backer 2003: 59), and practicing blood feuds and the tradition of "sworn virgins" (Young 2000; Boehm 1984).

The eastern lands of historical Poland represented a similarly peculiar cultural

landscape characterised by the longevity of archaic forms of communal social organization based on male ancestral kinship. Throughout late medieval and early modern times, a special form of peasant landowning pattern known as '*Syabrinstvo*' or '*Dvorisha*', based on common ownership of land, joint production activities, and the close residential proximity of related family units, was widespread among Ukrainians and Belarusians. It was assumed that this arrangement recalled the image of the extended family as a kind of property and labour cooperative. These familial-ancestral communes closely resembled the well-known southern Slavic institution of *zadruga* (Kovalevskii 1885, 36-37, 54-55; Leontovich 1896; Efimenko 1892; Kosven 1963, 168-169; Gimbutas 1971, 133; Lutchitsky 1896[1889]; also Balzer 1899; Łowmiański 1967, 344-372).

In those areas in early modern times, there were a number of villages comprised exclusively of a community of people bound by patrimonial unity and occupying lands retrieved from forests by the collective effort of ancestors (and who sometimes, but not always, resided on collective premises). These communes would have one head/chief, with the members including not only fathers, sons, brothers, and nephews; but also cousins and grandfathers. The patriarchal model of intra-familial relations prevailed. Full economic power was held by the commune's superior (usually the oldest male), and this power was passed to the next-oldest male in the group after his death (Downar-Zapoloskij 1909[1897], 9-12).

The introduction in the mid-16th century of the manorial system, in which peasant labourers were organised by separate hearths, led to the gradual dissolution of old forms of social-territorial and familial organisation based on ancestral kinship (Szołtysek and Zuber-Goldstein 2009), but was never fully successful (Efimenko 1892, 377, 393-394; Balzer, 1899, 193-199; Łowmiański, 1967, 346-362)[5]. In the period under investigation, large agnatic descent groups were already at different stages of disintegration, mainly because landlords were making active efforts to break up large families, and were encouraging the creation of individual families (Szołtysek 2008a). Archaic patterns of extended family continued to be widespread in the Polish eastern borderlands, although by that time the patriarchal family group was primarily confined to individuals who jointly inhabited one domestic group ('*dym*'). Despite the efforts made to divide households, large multi-generational families had not yet disappeared from the Polish eastern territories by the second half of the 19th century (Downar-Zapoloskij 1909[1897]).

The only thorough accounts of the patriarchal structures in the Polish eastern territories can be found in a late 19th-century ethnographic description by Dovnar-Zapolskij (Dovnar-Zapolskij 1909) of the Poleshuk population in the swamp area of southern Belarus (Region 2 on Map 1), and in a 1930s study by a student of Malinowski, J. Obrębski (Obrębski 2007). Although Obrębski's field notes from the 1930s were rather place-specific, it could be argued that the patriarchal features they described for the linguistically defined area of Polessia were only extreme manifestations of similar trends already occurring in other Belarusian and northern Ukrainian territories represented in the database.

Obrębski stressed the highly patrilineal orientation of the Polessian rural folk. However, this feature encompassed more than just the mere dominance of male inheritance and patrilocal marriage: it was about the centrality of the relationship between the fathers, the sons, and the land they all cultivated (Obrębski 2007, 145). Land was perceived as central to the very organisation of the economic and domestic life of Poleshuks. The land-family bonds that were typical of many rural societies in pre-industrial times were far stronger in this culture, as land was seen not as just the property of a particular householding family, but rather as the possession of the patrlineage. At the centre of the grand-familial organisation in Polessia was a concept that Obrębski called 'patrolatria': a god-like sanctity attributed to the father. This cult of the father—truly an essential feature of family relations in this area—generally also translated into a widely accepted notion of the exceptionality and superiority of the social status of the elderly (Obrębski 2007, 150-151). In all of the family types in the part of Belarus investigated by Dovnar in the late 19th century, full economic power was held by the commune's superior (*choziain*). This was usually the oldest male of the commune, and his position corresponded to the status of leaders of grand families among Great Russians, or of heads of Serbian zadrugas. If a given family commune did not split after the demise of the head, the power over the collective was generally passed to one of its oldest male members, although there were also cases of widows managing the household (Downar-Zapoloskij 1909[1897], 9-12). The progressive individualisation of family life meant that the situation of seniors had to be decisively secured. Usually, the departing household head retained the right to part of the property, which he would often cede to the child (normally the youngest son) who was obliged to provide him and his wife with lifelong board (Downar-Zapoloskij 1909[1897], 15). Big family communes of brothers (*siemejnye obschiny*), sometimes

consisting of as many as 15-25 inhabitants, were found in the Polessian district of Pińsk as late as in the 1890s. These communes sometimes lasted the entire lifespans of the brothers or even longer, which led to the emergence of more or less durable co-resident domestic groups of uncle and aunt with nephews. In some parts of Belarus (Boruyskie; a section of Region 2 in Map 1), the creation of artificial joint families accompanied the disappearance of historical residential ancestral communes.

There were other important features of Polessian patriarchal organisation, such as strict patriarchal family relations. These features were closely associated with the cultural inclinations of these eastern populations. The scarce ethnographic evidence available for later periods indicates that recourse to hired work (i.e., workers who did not belong to the family collective of relatives) was minimised to the greatest extent possible, or was avoided altogether. Various other aspects of the prevailing mentality could be mentioned in this context, including the notion of female honour: i.e., considerable value was placed on the protection of female virginity prior to marriage by male members of the household and kin, which led to the general view that, for young women, being in service meant disgrace, and even humiliation.

* * *

Proportion of wife's relatives within the household

According to the principle of patrilineality only relatives of the husband should be included into the household. This measure quantifies the proportion of relatives of the wife (resp. wives, as in Albania) among all relatives in the household, who can be assigned either to the husband or wife and who are present at the time of the census. The following persons are excluded from this analysis of family households: household head, spouses, common relatives (children and other descendents), relatives for whom it is not clear whether they are related to the head or the spouse(s), unrelated persons, and persons with unknown relationship to the household head.

We take the more rare view on this phenomenon (wife's relatives instead of husband's relatives) to see difference more clearly (a difference of 5 and 10 percent is more easily seen as compared to 90 and 95 percent). This measure should therefore be negatively correlated with joint family arrangements, because we assume that patrilineality structures most joint families.

The mean of the 18 regions included in this study is 4.5 percent with a range from 0.6 to 11.7 percent. We see that actually only few relatives of the wife are included in households in these two areas of investigation. The proportions were lowest in all rural Albanian regions. Surprisingly, relatively high proportions of female relatives among household coresidents were reported for Belarussian and Ukrainian territories (regions 1-4 of the CEURFAMFORM database), much higher than in rural Albania, and almost as high as in urban areas of the latter country. Within eastern Poland-Lithuania, the lowest proportions of coresident female relatives were recorded in Polessyan swamplands (region 2).

Proportion of married sons to married daughters

According to the principle of patrilocality women should move into the household of their husband or husband's father upon marriage. Therefore we should find married sons, but generally no married daughters in joint family societies. The variable is computed as the ratio of the proportion of elderly people (65+ years) living with a married daughter compared to the proportion of elderly people living with a married son. This measure should be negatively correlated with joint family arrangements, under the assumption that the rules of patrilocality prevent elderly people from co-residing with married daughters.

The mean of the 18 regions in this study is 7.4 percent with a range from 0 to 19.9 percent of living with married sons. The lowest rates are found in rural Albania, while the highest rates are in Belarus and Ukraine. Even in the area leaning most – as far as can be said upon the examination of the ethnological literature – towards patriarchal family relations within Poland-Lithuania (region 2), the ratio was approximately 8 times higher than in rural Albania on average. The ratios for Belarus and Ukraine are higher than the highest figures observed for urban Albania.

Lateral extension of households

Lateral extension of households can be seen as a delineating factor distinguishing them from stem families, which are based on lineal (downward or upward) extensions beyond the core family. The variable used here is the proportion of elderly people co-residing with at least one lateral relative. This lateral extension can be either a lateral

relative or at least two married couples within the same kin category. Lateral relatives are defined as relatives who are no ancestors or descendents of the household head or his spouse(s). People with unclear relationships and unrelated people are excluded from this analysis. Adopted, step and foster relatives are treated as blood relatives and relatives-in-law are treated as their spouses. The second definition is necessary to distinguish between stem and joint families: between elderly people living with one or with two or more married children.

The mean of the 18 regions in this study is 47.0 percent with a range from 25.3 to 71.4 percent. This time, the highest proportions are to be found in rural Albania, where on average almost 60 percent of elderly people were coresiding with their lateral kin as defined above. On the other end of the spectrum are figures from Poland-Lithuania and urban Albania, displaying much lower, and very similar proportions – at least at the aggregate level. Whereas the proportions of lateral extensions are generally spread quite uniformly across different regions of rural and urban Albania (except for Tirna South in the former one), strong differences can be observed within Poland-Lithuania, with the Polessian territory (region 2) having much higher proportions than other parts of the area.

Number of co-resident kin

A crude, but still valuable measure is the number of co-resident kin in the same household. Once again, the measure is calculated from the perspective of the elderly persons and for family households only.

The mean of the 18 regions of this study is 6.0 persons with a range from 4.0 to 8.7 persons. A clear progression can be observed as far as the value of figures presented I table 2 are concerned. Numbers are highest for Albanian rural regions, somewhat lower for Belarus and Ukraine, and much lower for Albanian cities.

Proportion of female household heads

One major feature of patriarchal societies is male domination over females. Also in less patriarchal societies men are generally in a better position than women. We use the proportion of female household heads for measuring this domination, and treat female headship as a proxy for female agency in preindustrial societies under investigation (Szołtysek 2009). However, the overall proportion of female household

heads does not capture this domination precisely enough (e.g. by not differentiating solitary females households). Therefore, for selecting appropriate cases, only households in which apart from a female head there was at least one adult men of the same generation present were chosen. This condition ensures that there is a possible choice for selecting a man or a woman as household head and that we avoid the interference of the domination of an older generation over a younger one (see below).

The mean of the 18 regions in this study is 0.3 percent with a range from 0.0 to 2.2 percent. We see therefore that female household heads are almost always from an older generation than any other male member of the household or that there are no adult men in such households. Very negligible differences between regions under investigation suggest we are dealing here with a truly 'universal' feature of joint family societies in question.

Proportion of male household heads with a co-residing man of an older generation

We assume that in joint family societies generally the older generation will dominate over younger ones (seniority principle). Therefore, our next measure uses the proportion of male household heads who co-reside in the same household with a man belonging to an older generation. This variable takes into account that we have to avoid interference with male domination over women. The majority of household heads are men and therefore we concentrate on male household heads only.

The mean of the 18 regions in this study is 1.6 percent with a range from 0.3 to 4.9 percent. We see therefore that only few members of a younger generation were registered as a household head in case a man of an older generation was available in all regions under investigation. We are inclined to think that patterns captured with this variable refer to another 'universal' feature of joint family societies in question.

Male and female age at marriage

Hajnal postulated a low age at marriage (particularly among women) as an inherent feature of joint family societies (Hajnal 1982: 452). We use therefore the singulate

mean age at marriage (Hajnal 1953) as a variable. This is also a variable which has been widely used in research about household structures[7].

The mean of the 18 regions in this study is 18.8 years for the female SMAM with a range from 16.7 to 20.8 years. SMAM values for women are generally low and below the threshold of 21 years suggested by Hajnal for joint household systems, even in the Albanian cities. Two out of 18 regions departure the rest displaying extremely low female ages at marriage (below 17): Kruja region in rural Albania and Belarussian Polessya (region 2)[8]. Significant differences in the marriage timing of women can be observed at the regional level within Polish and Albanian rural areas.

Singulate mean ages at marriage for men were higher with a mean of the 18 regions of this study at 26.3 years and a range from 19.8 years to 34.3 years. All the Belarusian and Ukrainian regions are below Hajnal's threshold of 26 years for joint family societies, while only two Albanian rural regions are below it. The majority of the rural Albanian regions and all Albanian cities are above this threshold.

Another striking difference between Polish-Lithuanian and Albanian sites regards the spousal age difference. The age difference between spouses has several attractive features that make it a potentially useful indicator of patriarchal structure in a comparative demographic. In this regard, it is noteworthy that this difference was by far smaller in Polish-Lithuanian areas (3.4 years on average) comparing to Albanian sites, both rural (7,7 years) and urban (10,8 years).

Male and female age at leaving home

Leaving the parental home is one of the major events during family life course, and a major component of the individual transition to adulthood. Age specific rates for leaving the parental home are not available in most contemporary censuses, or registered in vital statistics, and – no wonder – such was also the situation in the past. A solution commonly encountered in this regard is to formulate a synthetic cohort and assume that a person has permanently left the family of orientation if that person is

[7] Median ages at marriage calculated with indirect method suggested by Shryock yield generally very similar, or even identical, estimates.

[8] Measured with the use of the Coale's index of proportions married (Im), the Polessian pattern with the value of .922 epitomizes a tendency toward complete avoidance of the single state by age 30 combined with very early marriage. In other words, the quantity of potential fertility that was reduced because of the fact that not all women were married amounted to only to 8 percent in southern Belarus. A transformed index (I_m*), that is independent from age structure, was used here to avoid a potential bias caused by regional variations in age structure of women in marriageable ages (Haines 1996, 19).

not listed in the listing as a child of the household head (Modell et.al 1976; Schurer 2004). This solution leads to the computation of the singulate mean age at leaving home in the same way as the singulate mean age at marriage[9].

The mean of the 18 regions in this study is 19.3 years with a range from 17.2 years to 20.8 years for women and a mean of 29.1 years with a range from 26.5 years to 33.1 years for men. Across almost all regions under investigation we encounter a rather uniform pattern, whereby females leave home very early, and much earlier than males. Men stayed at the parental home on average eight years longer than women in Polish-Lithuania, and the gender disparity becomes even larger in Albanian territories covered by the 1918 census.

Polygamy

As another variable we calculate the proportion of male household heads living in a polygamous arrangement. We see polygamy as a clear asymmetry in gender relations and therefore an important feature in comparing different societies. We calculate the proportions only for male household heads, because there could be a difference between household heads and non-household heads. This analysis is restricted to Muslims, because Christians are not allowed to be married to two spouses at the same time.

The mean of the 18 regions in this study is 3.9 percent with a range from 0.4 to 8.8 percent. The rural Albanian regions have generally higher proportions of polygamous household heads than Albanian cities.

Less investment in female education

Societies with higher levels of inequality should invest less in female education. We expect that in societies with clear preferences for men in structuring households such a differential investment should be visible. We use therefore the ratio of female to

[9] Note, however, that these measures do not control for any effects of mortality, whereas mortality may affect the measurement of leaving home. Including an allowance for deaths occurring during the teens would inevitably lower the exit rates from home. However, death rates normally diminished while departures from home increased with age, hence deaths can be thought of as relatively unimportant source of contamination in the sample of older children. The likelihood of 'parental survivalship' is, however, a much more critical factor (an individual cannot live with his or her parents or parent if they are dead), and may have effect on the chances of children to leave home before the death of their parents.

male age heaping to measure educational differences between men and women. This measure is the ratio of Whipple's indices for women compared to men. This measure should be positively correlated with patriarchy, because we assume that increasing patriarchy would lead to more educational inequality and increasing ignorance of generally male household heads in reporting the ages of female household members.

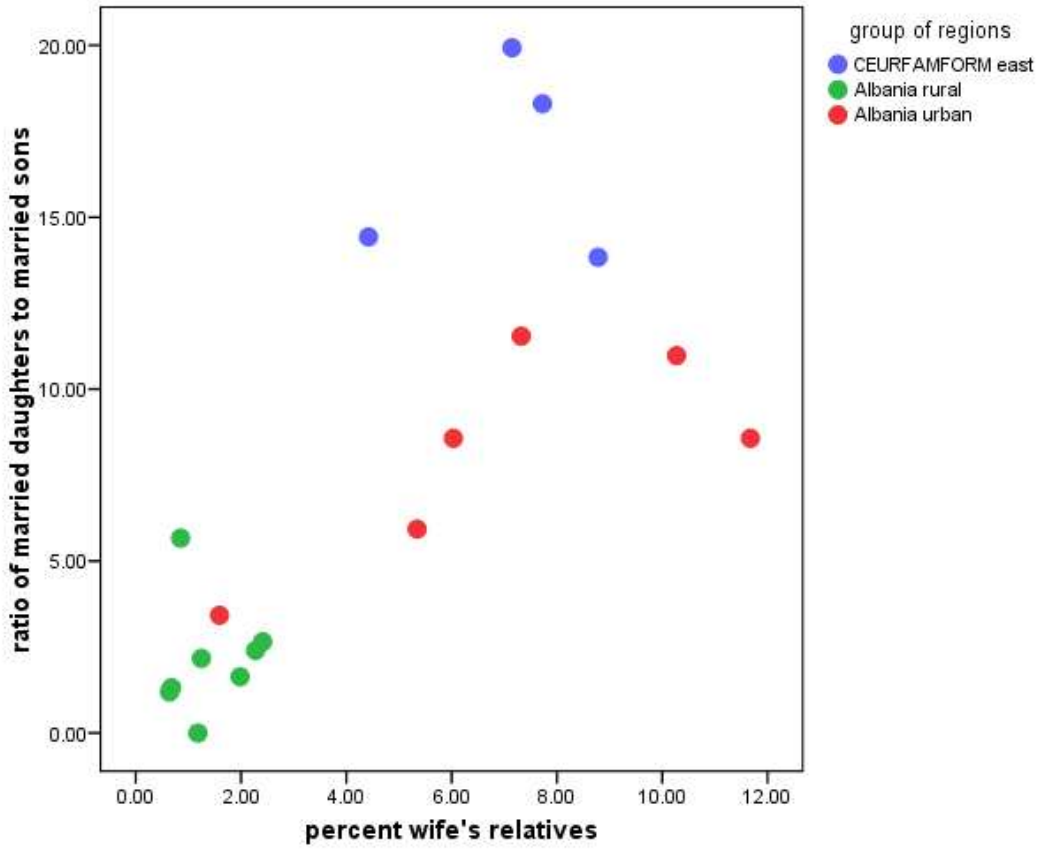
The mean of the 18 regions in this study is 130 percent with a range from 87 to 173 percent. This ratio shows clearly much worse reporting of female ages as compared to male ages in all Albanian regions, while it is the opposite in the Belarusian and Ukrainian regions. Most of the Albanian regions have lower ratios caused by high Whipple's indices also for men.

Variation of joint family societies

These twelve variables are correlated significantly with about three to five other variables (see table 3 below). The variable "female household heads" is an exception, because it is not correlated to any other variable. It is a special variable, because there is almost no variation – there are no or almost no female household heads (according to the variable definition used) in any of the regions of this study. The variable correlated to most other variables is "polygamy": it is correlated significantly to all but two variables (note, however, that this only applies to the Albanian data). The variable with the second highest number of significant correlations is the one about lateral extensions of households (7 variables). It seems therefore that these two variables are of central importance for analyzing joint family societies. The variable "polygamy" can of course only be applied to societies with the legal possibility of having more than one wife at the same time. The variable about lateral extensions of the household has been designed as a kind of measure for joint family households and therefore this result is very reassuring. We should think about refining this variable into a real measure for "jointness" of households.

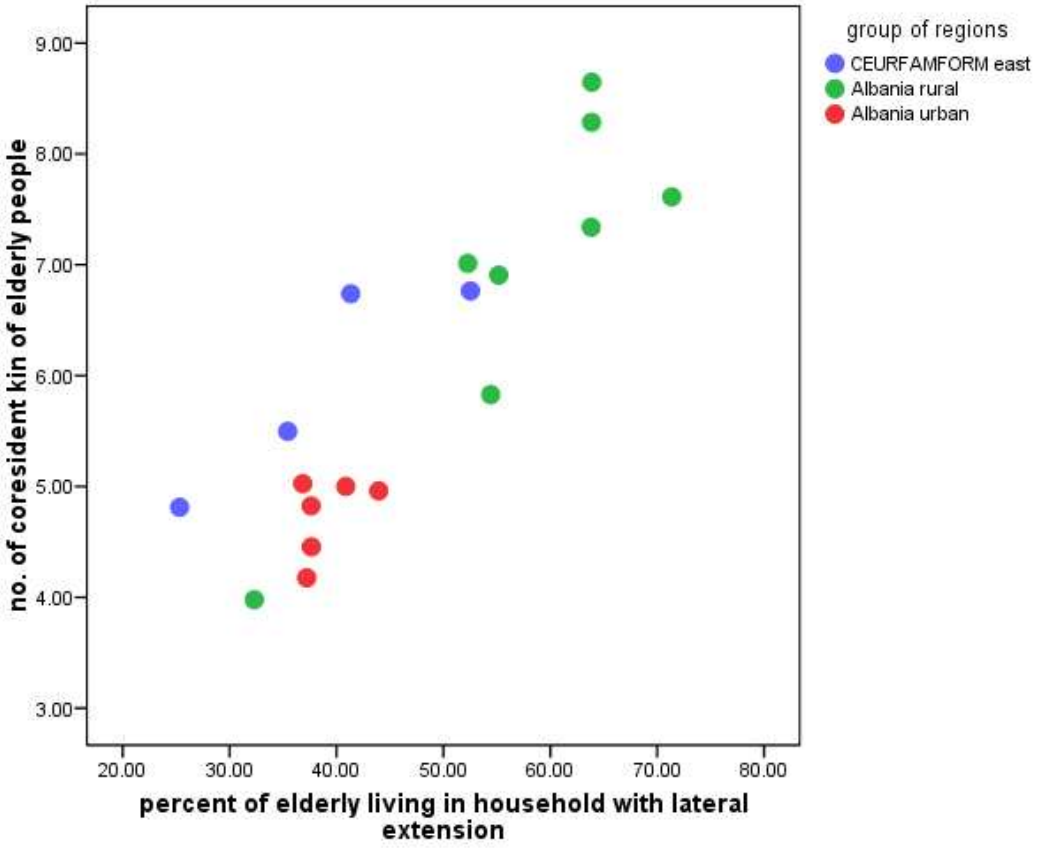
The strongest correlations are to be found for the female singulate mean age at marriage and the female singulate mean age at leaving home (0.93**). This confirms the principle of patrilocality: almost all women left home upon marriage and moved into the household of their husbands or husband's fathers. The correlation between the same measures for men is much weaker (0.52*).

Figure 1: Percent wife's relatives by ratio of married daughters to married sons



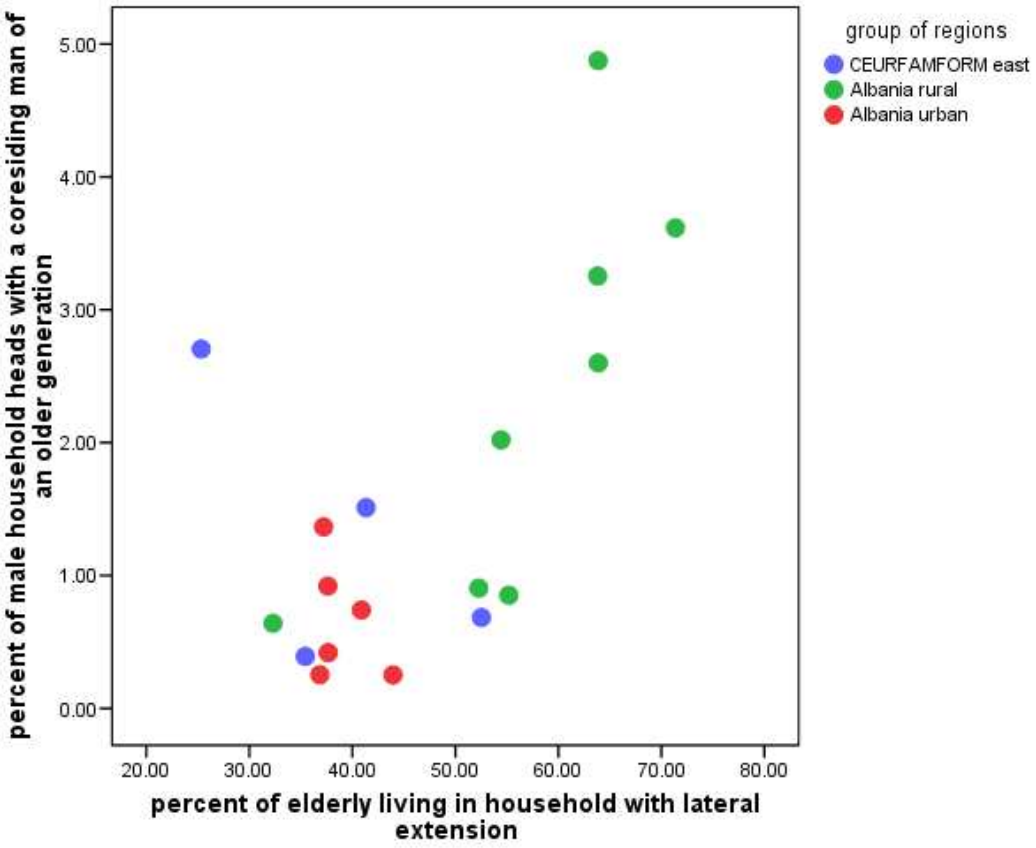
There is a strong positive correlation between the measures of patrilinearity and patrilocality displayed in Figure 1 (0.73**). This fits well to the theoretical concepts of joint families: members of such families should be predominantly relatives of the husband and daughters would leave the household upon marriage. We see also clear different patterns for the three groups of regions in this paper: the Albanian rural regions display the lowest proportions of wife's relatives and ratios of married daughters and therefore the most patriarchal features. Albanian cities had higher proportions of wife's relatives and ratios of married daughters (there is only one exception) and this confirms the assumption that urban areas were less patriarchal. The Belarusian and Ukrainian regions have proportions of wife's relatives similar to Albanian cities but the highest ratios of married daughters.

Figure 2: Lateral extension by co-resident kin



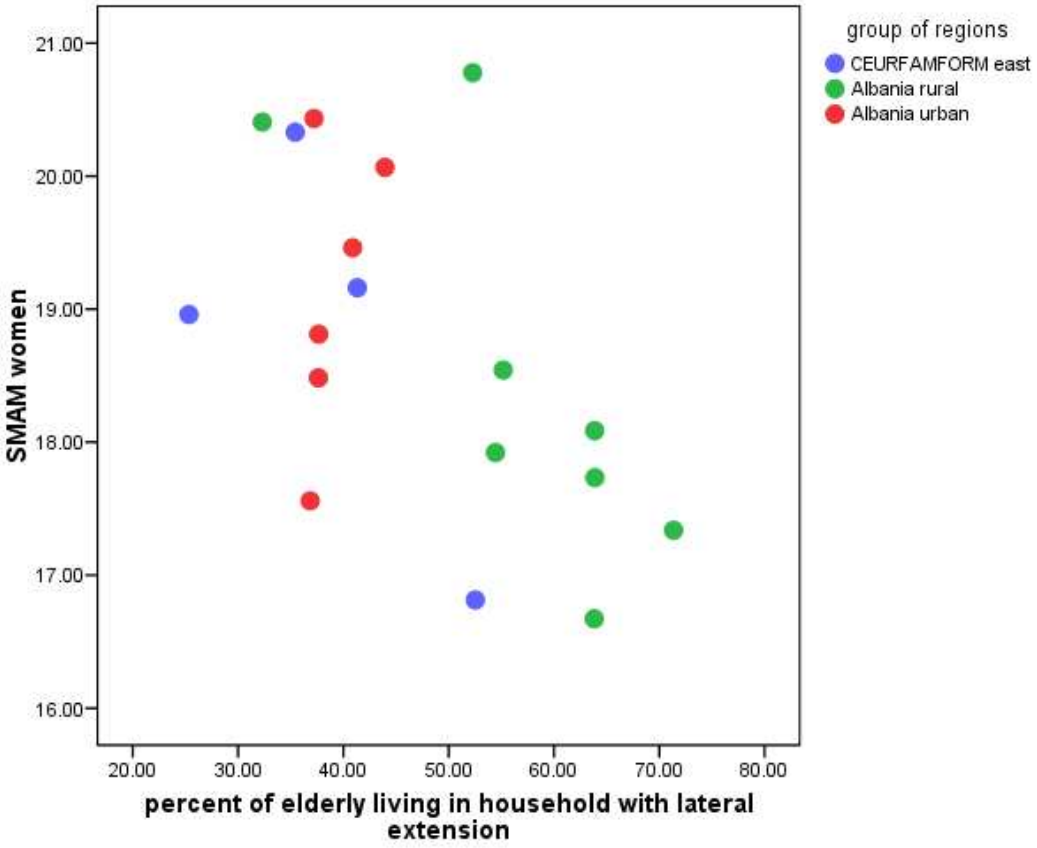
The proportion of elderly people living in households with lateral extension (Figure 2) is very strongly and positively correlated with the number of co-resident kin (0.87**). This should be predominantly an effect of including lateral kin into the household which increases the size of the household. The most homogenous group is formed by the Albanian cities with low proportions of lateral extensions and low numbers of co-resident kin. The Belarusian and Ukrainian regions have similar proportions of lateral extensions, but higher numbers of co-resident kin. The rural Albanian regions have the highest proportions of lateral extensions and highest numbers of co-resident kin. There is only one exception to this general picture.

Figure 3: Lateral extension by domination of older generation



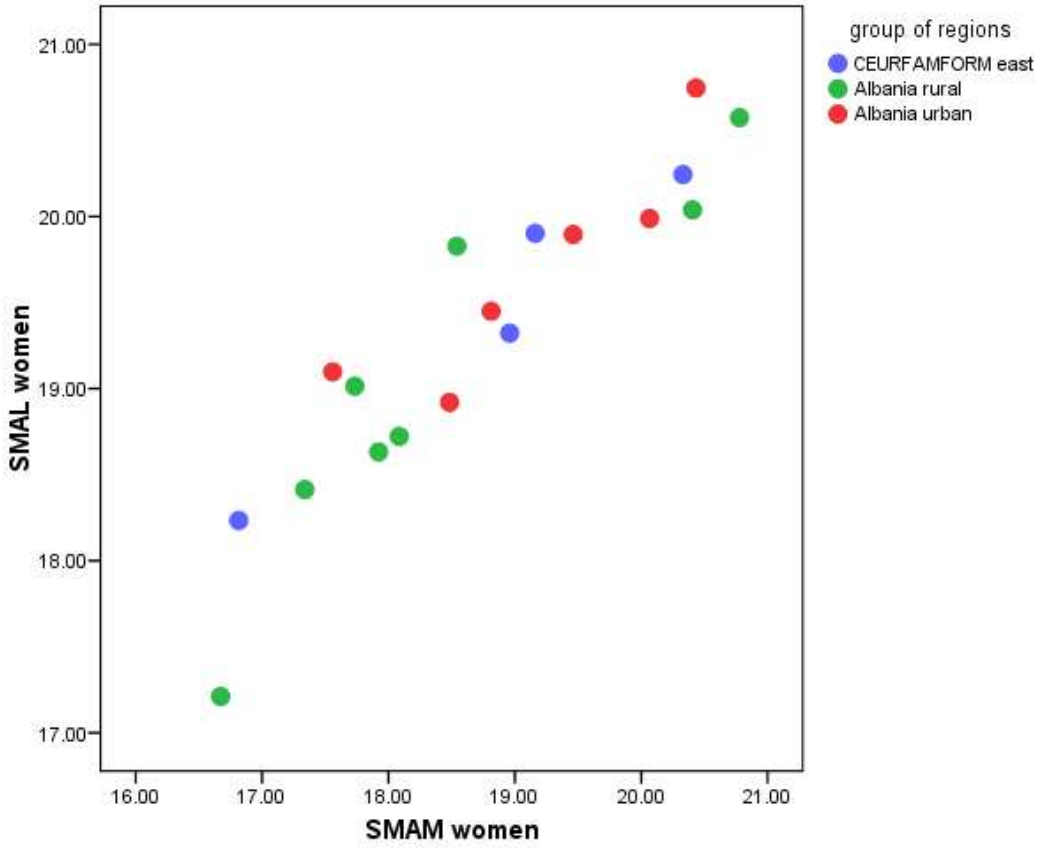
The proportion of elderly persons living in households with lateral extension (Figure 3) is strongly and positively correlated with the percent of male household heads who co-reside with a man of an older generation (0.62**). This is contrary to our assumptions, because higher proportions of joint families (as measured by lateral extension) should be associated with stronger domination of the older generation over the younger generation. Albanian cities are once again the most homogenous group of regions with low rates of lateral extension and low rates of older men not being household heads. The other two groups are much more heterogeneous, with Albanian rural areas having generally higher proportions than the Belarusian and Ukrainian regions.

Figure 4: Lateral extension by female age at marriage



Lateral extension of households is strongly, but negatively correlated with female age at marriage (-0.58*), which fits our assumptions (Figure 4). This scatter plot shows much less of clear patterns for the three groups of regions in this study. Rural Albanian regions had generally the highest proportions of lateral extensions and the lowest female ages at marriage, but there are two exceptions to this rule. Albanian cities had very similar proportions of lateral extensions, but rather different female ages at marriage. The Belarusian and Ukrainian regions were the most heterogeneous group with generally lower proportions of lateral extensions, but very diverge marriage timing of females.

Figure 5: Female age at marriage by female age at leaving home



These two variables (Figure 5) display the strongest correlation (0.93**) and also the age differences between these two variables are very small. This confirms to a high degree our assumptions about patrilocality: almost all daughters left the parental home upon marriage. This scatter plot is the first which displays no different patterns for the three groups of regions in this study: all regions are intermingled with each other.

Male and female singulate mean ages at marriage (Figure 6) are positively correlated with each other, but not significantly (r=0.47, significance level 0.052). Female ages at marriage were generally low, but male ages at marriage were much more heterogeneous. The Belarusian and Ukrainian had the lowest male ages at marriage and the urban Albanians the highest male ages at marriage. There are cases with rather high female ages at marriage combined with rather low male ages at marriage, but no combinations of low female ages at marriage and high male ages at marriage.

Figure 6: Female age at marriage by male age at marriage

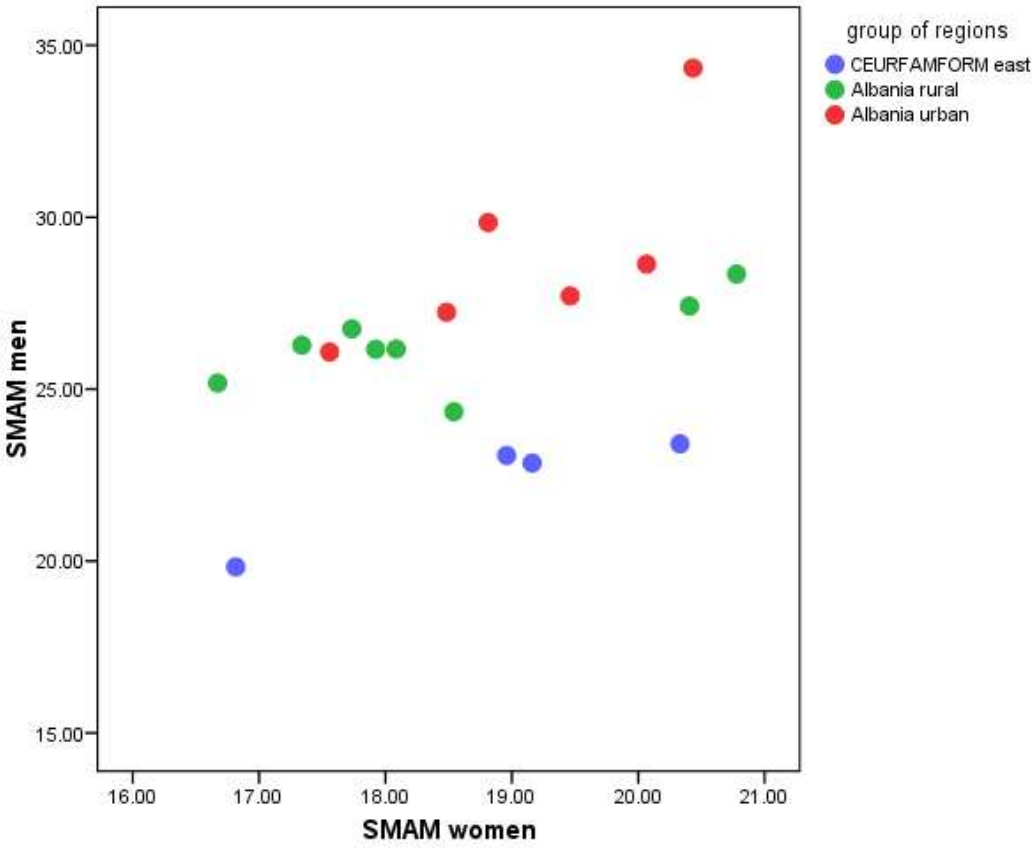
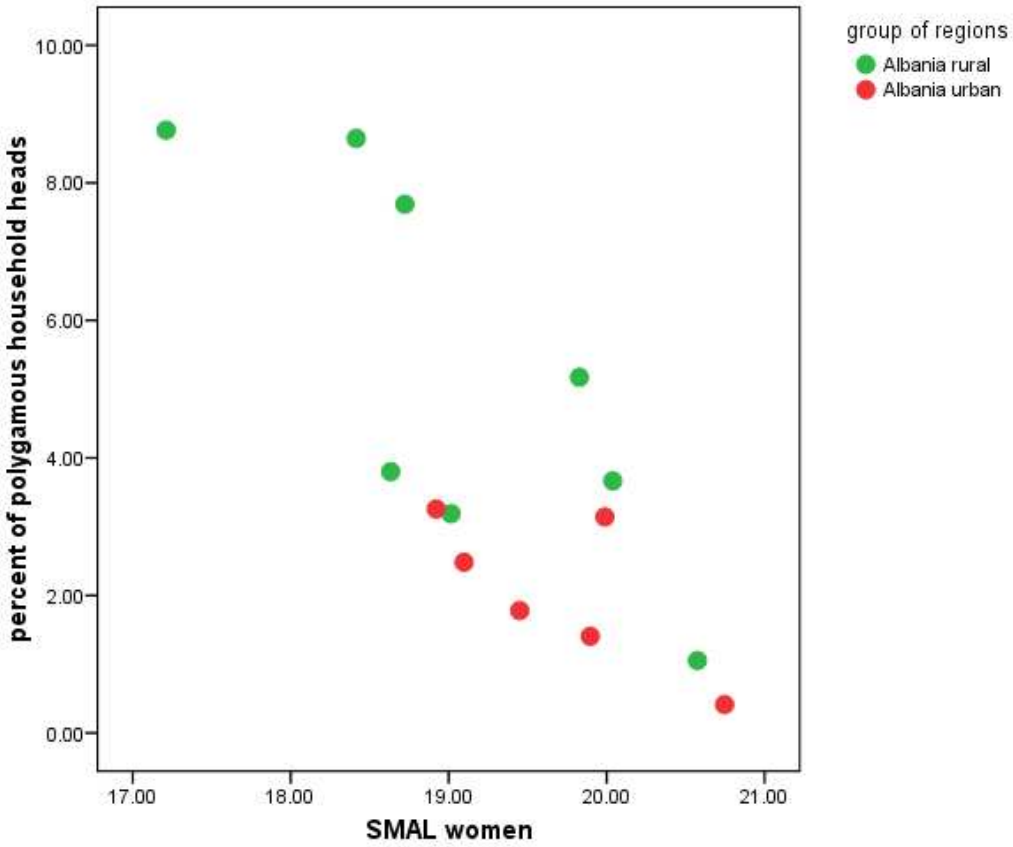
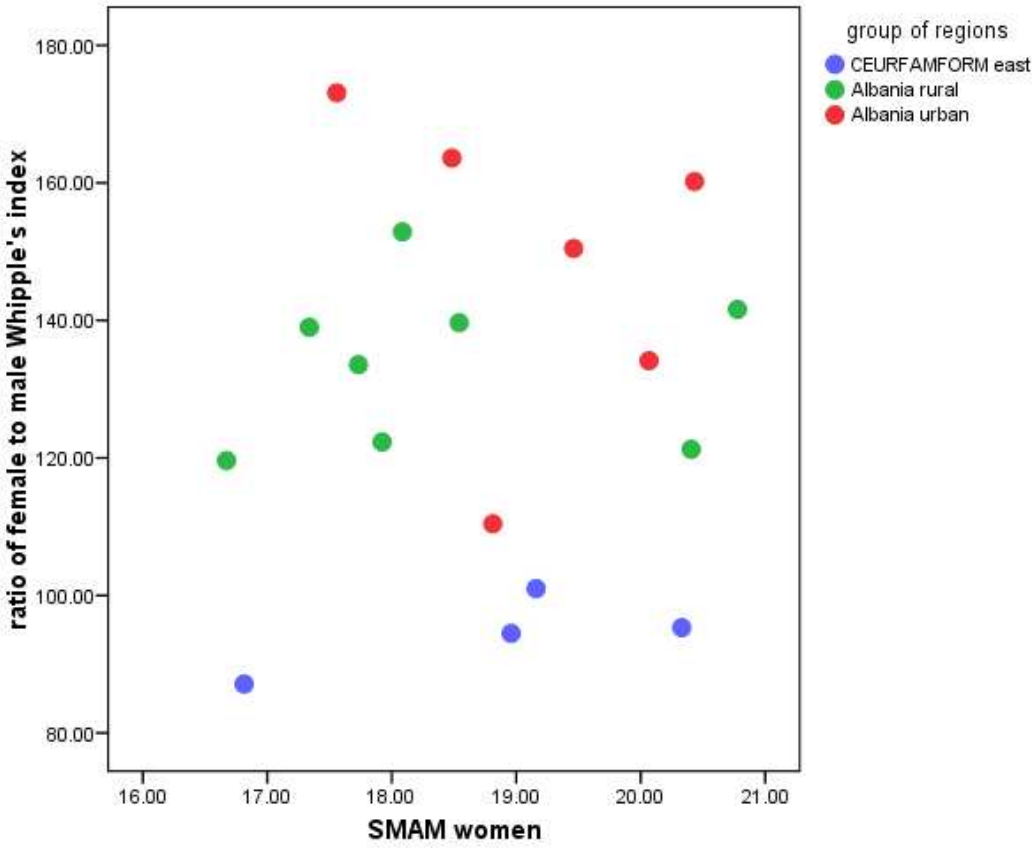


Figure 7: Female age at leaving home by polygamy



Female ages at leaving home are strongly negatively correlated with the proportion of polygamous household heads in figure 7 (-0.79**). This confirms our assumptions about polygamy as an indicator of male domination of women, which is connected with a lower female age at leaving home. This makes the subordination of women much easier. The Albanian urban regions had generally higher female ages at leaving home and lower proportions of polygamous male household heads. Nevertheless there is one rural Albanian region (Gora) which resembles much more urban regions than other rural regions. This region had a long tradition of male migrant laborers, which led to a higher importance of money economy and more equal power relations between the sexes. This analysis is restricted to the Muslim population and therefore cannot be taken as representative of the non-Muslim population of the same region.

Figure 8: Female age at marriage by ratio of female to male age heaping



The female age at marriage and the ratio of female to male Whipple's indices shows no correlation (figure 8). There is a much dispersed picture and all combinations are possible. The Belarusian and Ukrainian regions had the lowest ratios of age heaping, while there is no clear difference between Albanian rural and urban

regions: the lowest and highest ratios are for urban regions. Generally most urban Albanian regions had higher ratios of female to male age heaping which contradicts our assumptions. The urban environment should reduce the domination of men over women (as is shown by most of the variables in this paper), but this we cannot see here. The reason seems to be that male literacy in cities was significantly higher than female literacy; while there was almost no difference in rural areas (almost everybody was illiterate). Male literacy should have reduced male age heaping to a higher extent than female literacy reduced female age heaping. Therefore higher literacy could have led to increased differences between men and women despite less age heaping among urban women.

There also remains some uncertainty about whether age-heaping in the historical sources contains information about the numeracy of the responding individual, or rather about the diligence of the reporting personnel who wrote down the statements (Baten and Szołtysek 2012)[10]. Szołtysek (2011) found that differences in the age-heaping patterns in historical Poland-Lithuania might be partly amenable to explanation by referring to different organizing principles of the enumeration process inherent to different types of listings.

Conclusions

It makes a lot of sense to ask, whether all joint family societies are the same or not. This paper shows that there are considerable differences as measured by a set of variables, which have been designed to capture possible differences between different kinds of joint families.

The variables used in this paper are generally well fit to capture important aspects of joint families. The central variable is the one about lateral extensions of households, which could serve as an alternative variable for measuring the proportion of people living in joint families besides the Hammel-Laslett household typology or Ruggles individual-level measurement of joint families (Ruggles 2010). This variable is correlated significantly with most other variables used in this paper, which shows that they refer to the same underlying concepts of these households, like appreciating joint family life or patriarchy. Measures of patrilinearity and patrilocality as well as

[10] Ewbank observed: "In particular, the training of interviewers, their level of education, and their ability to understand and pursue the interests of the researcher will significantly affect the quality of data [on age]" (Ewbank 1981, 15).

the number of co-resident kin fit very well into this framework, which is reassuring. The variable about female household heads on the other hand seems to be of rather limited help, because almost all regions have the same low proportions. The variable about the domination of the older generation is the only variable which is correlated to other variables in the opposite way as assumed. So we have to consider a redefinition of this variable. Ages at marriage are useful variables, while ages at leaving home use proxies which might be affected by mortality. Polygamy turned out to be a really good indicator of joint families although the use of this variable is restricted to the Muslim population. Therefore we cannot use it for the Belarusian and Ukrainian data. The variable about the ratio of female to male age heaping does not fit very well into the framework of joint families, at least concerning the data used in this paper.

Another important factor is the variation within one country or society. This variation will be lost, if we concentrate only on the level of a whole country (see also Gruber and Szołtysek 2012a). This variation tells us, that averages for large units can be quite misleading, especially in cases of heterogeneous populations.

Furthermore, non-negligible structural differences between joint families in Albania and Belarus-Ukraine emerge from the statistics presented throughout the paper. Undoubtedly, both societies under study have shared several crucial familial characteristics, which seem to well exemplify the very nature of joint family systems and the household recruitment strategies inherent to them. In this regard, very low female headship, the principle of seniority in household hierarchy, early marriage for women as well as their abrupt departure from the family of origins should all be mentioned. However, other features of regional joint family systems do not overlap. The much higher prevalence of the elderly coresidence with married daughters in Poland-Lithuania points to familial behavior which can only hardly be subsumed under the overarching label of familial ‘jointness’ characteristic of patriarchal societies. The contrast with rural Albania is particularly striking, as coresident married daughters were almost non-existent out there. Another divergent characteristics of the Polish data is related to a much higher proportion of female relatives recruited into the households. Both these features suggest more attention should be paid to regional differentials in women’s position and female agency in those societies, with possible implications for the female well-being. This line of reasoning seems to be farther reassured by reference to the much smaller spousal age differences in Belarus and Ukraine comparing to Muslim Albania.

Future work should concentrate on refining some of the variables, introducing control variables for fertility, mortality, and age structure, and broader comparison of joint family societies and finally joint family societies with non-joint family societies.

References

Baten, J. and M. Szołtysek (2012). The human capital of Central-Eastern and Eastern Europe in European perspective. MPIDR Working Paper WP-2012-002.

Berit Backer (2003) Behind Stone Walls: Changing Household Organization among the Albanians of Kosova. Peja.

Balzer, O. (1899). O zadrudze słowiańskiej. Uwagi i polemika. Kwartalnik Historyczny, 13(2), 183-256.

Berkner, Lutz K., and John W. Shaffer. 1978. "The Joint Family in the Nivernais," The Journal of Family History 3: 150-162.

Arqile Bërxholi, ed. (2003) Atlasi gjeografik i popullsisë së Shqipërisë: Atlasi i Shqipërisë = Demographic Atlas of Albania. Tiranë.

Brunnbauer, U. (2004). Gebirgsgesellschaften auf dem Balkan. Wirtschaft und Familienstrukturen im Rhodopen gebirge (19./20. Jahrhundert). Wien/Köln/Weimar: Böhlau.

Burch, T.K. and M. Gendell (1970). Extended Family Structure and Fertility: Some Conceptual and Methodological Issues. Journal of Marriage and Family, Vol. 32, No. 2 (May, 1970), pp. 227-236.

Cain, M. , S. R. Khanan, and S. Nahar. 1979. “Class, Patriarchy, and Women's Workin Bangladesh.” Population and Development Review 5:408-16.

Cain, M. (1988). Patriarchal structure and demographic change. In: Conference on Women's Position and Demographic Change in the Course of Development (1988: Oslo). Solicited papers. Liege, Belgium, International Union for the Scientific Study of Population [IUSSP], 1988 :19-41.

Caldwell, J. C. (1978). A theory of fertility: From high plateau to destabilization. Population and Development Review.

Czap, P. (1982). The perennial multiple family household, Mishino, Russia, 1782–1858. Journal of Family History, 7, 5–26.

Das Gupta, M. (1999). Lifeboat versus corporate ethic: social and demographic implications of stem and joint families. Social Science and Medicine 49, 2 (1999), 173-84.

Davis, K. (1955). Institutional patterns favouring high fertility in underdeveloped areas, Eugenics Quarterly 2:33-39.

Davis, Kingsley and Judith Blake (1956). Social structure and fertility: an analytic framework. Economic Development and Cultural Change 4(April):211-235.

Devas, C.S. (1886). Studies of Family Life: A Contribution to Social Science. London: Burns and Oates.

Dovnar-Zapolsky, M. (1909). Očerki semejnogo obyčnogo prava krest'jan Minskoj gub. In M. Dovnar-Zapolsky, Issledovanija i stat'i. T. 1. Ètnografija i sociologija, obyčnoe pravo, statistika, belorusskaja pis'mennost'. Kiev, 1-60 (originally puiblished in Ètnografičeskoe obozrenie 1897, no. 1-2).

Efimenko, A. (1892). Dvoriščnoe zemlevladenie v južnoj Rusi. Russkaja Mysl' 5-6, 370-412.

Erlich Vera St. (1966). Family in Transition: A Study of 300 Yugoslav Villages. Princeton

Ewbank, Douglas C. (1981), Age misreporting and age-selective underenumeration: sources, patterns, and consequences for demographic analysis. Committee on Population and Demography, Report No. 4, Washington, D.C.: National Academy Press.

Gavazzi, M. (1980). ″Die Mehrfamilien der Europäischen Völker,″ Ethnologia Europaea 11: 158-190.

Gavazzi, M. (1982). The Extended Family in Southeastern Europe. Journal of Family History, 7:1, p.89.

Gimbutas, M. (1971). The Slavs. New York: Praeger.

Arjan Gjonça (2001) Communism, Health and Lifestyle: The Paradox of Mortality Transition in Albania, 1950-1990 (Studies in Population and Urban Demography, no. 8). Westport, London.

Siegfried Gruber (2005) Occupational migration in Albania in the beginning of the 20th century. In: Humanities, Computers and Cultural Heritage: Proceedings of the xvith international conference of the Association for History and Computing. Amsterdam, pp. 136-142.

Siegfried Gruber (2007) Die albanische Volkszählung von 1918 und ihre Bedeutung für die Wissenschaft. In: Helga Kostka, ed., SeinerZeit Redakteur Franz Seiner und seine Zeit (1874 bis 1929). Graz, pp. 253-265.

Siegfried Gruber (2008) Household structures in urban Albania in 1918. In: The History of the Family, vol. 13, pp. 138 – 151.

Siegfried Gruber (2009) Household Formation and Marriage: Different Patterns in Serbia and Albania? In: Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux and Ioan Bolovan, eds., Families in Europe between the 19th and 21st Centuries: From the Traditional Model to the Contemporary PACS (= Romanian Journal of Population Studies Supplement). Cluj-Napoca, pp. 229-247.

Siegfried Gruber (2010) Marriage Patterns in Northern Albania in the Beginning of the 20th Century. In: Marie-Pierre Arrizabalaga, Ioan Bolovan, Marius Eppel, Jan Kok, Mary Louise Nagata, eds., Many Paths to Happiness? Studies in Population and Family History. A Festschrift for Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux. Amsterdam, pp. 404-426.

Siegfried Gruber (2011) The influence of migration on fertility in Albania around 1900. In: Annuario: The Albanian Yearbook of Historical and Anthropological Studies, vol. 1. Tiranë, pp. 122-155.

Gruber, S. (2012) Household composition and marriage patterns in Albania around 1900. In: Balkanistic Forum (forthcoming).

Gruber, S. and M. Szołtysek (2012a). Stem families, joint families and the 'European pattern': how much of reconsideration do we need? Journal of Family History, 37(2).

Gruber, S. and M. Szołtysek (2012b). Quantifying patriarchy: an explorative comparison of two joint family socities. MPIDR Working Paper WP-2012-017.

Hajnal, J. (1953). Age at Marriage and Proportions Marrying. Population Studies, Vol. 7, No. 2 (Nov., 1953), 111-136.

Hajnal, J. (1982). Two kinds of preindustrial household formation system. Population and Development Review, 8, 449-494.

Patricia Kelly Hall, Robert McCaa, Gunnar Thorvaldsen, eds. (2000) Handbook of International Historical Microdata for Population Research. Minneapolis.

Joel M. Halpern, Karl Kaser, and Richard A. Wagner (1996) Patriarchy in the Balkans: Temporal and Cross-Cultural Approaches. In: The History of the Family, vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 425-442.

Hartman, M. S. (2004). The household and the making of history. A subversive view of the western past. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Margaret Hasluck (1954) The Unwritten Law in Albania. Cambridge.

Kanuni i Lekë Dukagjinit (1989) Mbledhur dhe kodifikuar nga Shtjefën K. Gjeçovi. Tirana.

Horden, P. (1998). Household Care and Informal Networks: Comparisons and Continuities from Antiquity to the Present, In The Locus of Care: Families, communities, institutions and the provision of welfare since antiquity, ed.by P. Horden and R. Smith, London 1998.

Kaser, K. (1994). The Balkan joint family household: seeking its origins. Continuity and Change , 9 : pp 45-68.

Kaser, K. (1995). Familie und Verwandschaft auf der Balkan. Analyse einer untergehenden Kultur. Wien: Böhlau.

Kaser, K. 1996. "Introduction: Household and family contexts in the Balkans", The History of the Family 1(4), pp. 375-386.

Kaser, K. (2008). Patriarchy after Patriarchy Gender Relations in Turkey and in the Balkans, 1500-2000. Reihe:

Karl Kaser, Siegfried Gruber, Gentiana Kera, Enriketa Pandelejmoni (2011) 1918 census of Albania, Version 0.1 [SPSS file]. Graz.

Kertzer, D. I. (1989). ″The joint family revisited: Demographic constraints and complex family households in the European past,″ Journal of Family History 14: 1-15.

Gentiana Kera and Enriketa Pandelejmoni (2008) Marriage in urban Albania (during the first half of the twentieth century). In: Gentiana Kera and Gijs Kessler, eds., Urban Household and Family in Twentieth Century East and South-East Europe. (= The History of the Family, vol. 13, no. 2), pp. 126-137.

Kosven, M. O. (1963). Semeinaia obshchina i patronimiia, Izd-vo Akademii Nauk SSSR, Moscow.

Kovalevskii, M. (1885). Obscinnoe zemelelevladenie v Malorossii v XVIII veke. Juridiceskij vestnik, 1, 36-69.

Le Play, F. (1871). L'organisation de la famille selon le vrai modele signale par l'histoire de toutes les races et de tous les temps. 3rd edn. Tours: Alfred Mame et fils.

Le Play, F. (1982[1872]). Le Réforme Sociale. In C. Bodard Silver, (Ed.). Frederic Le Play on Family, Work, and Social Change (pp. 259-262). Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Leontovich, F.I.(1896). Krestianskij dvor v litovsko-russkom gosudarstve. Zhurnal Ministerstva Narodnago Prosvescenija Februar, 341- 382.

Lorimer, F. (1954). Culture and Human Fertility. Paris: UNESCO.

Lutchitsky, I.V. (1896). Zur Geschichte der Grundeigentumsformen in Kleinrussland. Schmoller's Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft im Deutschen Reich 20, 165-196 (Russian original appeared in 1889).

Łowmiański, H. (1967). Z dziejów Słowian w I tysiącleciu n.e. Warszawa: PWN

Madan, T. N. (1962). "The joint family: A terminological clarification," International Journal of Comparative Sociology 3: 7–10.

Mitterauer, M. (1981). ″Komplexe Familienformen in sozialhistorischer Sicht,″ Ethnologia Europaea 12: 213-271.

Mitterauer, M. 1999."A Patriarchal Culture? Functions and Forms of Family in the Balkans". Beitraege zur historichen Sozialkunde, Special issue, 4-20.

Beryl Nicholson (1999) The census of the Austro-Hungarian occupied districts of Albania in spring 1918. A preliminary note on the manuscript (= Centre for Scandinavian Studies Papers, no. 5).

Obrębski, J. (2007). *Polesie* (ed. by A. Engelking). Warszawa.

Plakans, A. (1981). Anthropology, history, and the European joint family: reflections on modes of research. Ethnologia Europaea 12, 2.

Ruggles, S. (2010). ″Stem Families and Joint Families in Comparative Historical Perspective,″ Population and Development Review 36 (3): 563-577.

Franz Seiner (1922) Ergebnisse der Volkszählung in Albanien in dem von den österr.-ungar. Truppen 1916-1918 besetzten Gebiete (= Schriften der Balkankommission, Linguistische Abteilung, vol. XIII). Wien, Leipzig.

Skinner, G. W. (1997). "Family systems and demographic processes," in David I. Kertzer and Tom Fricke (eds.), Anthropological Demography: Toward A New Synthesis. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 53–95.

Smith, D.S. (1993). "The Curious History of Theorizing about the History of the Western Nuclear Family" Social Science History, 17: 325-353.

Holm Sundhaussen (1989) Historische Statistik Serbiens 1834-1914. Mit europäischen Vergleichsdaten (= Südosteuropäische Arbeiten, vol. 87). München.

Szołtysek, M. (2008a). Three kinds of preindustrial household formation system in historical Eastern Europe: A challenge to spatial patterns of the European family. The History of the Family, 13 (3), 223-257.

Szołtysek, M. (2008b). Rethinking Eastern Europe: household formation patterns in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and European family systems. Continuity and Change, 23, 389-427.

Szołtysek, M. (2009). Female headship, household position, and gendered well-being in peasant societies: evidence from the territories of the historical Kingdom of Poland (18th century). In Durães, M., Fauve-Chamoux, A., Ferrer, L., Kok, J. (Eds.), *The transmission of well-being: gendered marriage strategies and inheritance systems in Europe (17th-20th centuries)*. Bern [et al.]: Peter Lang, 447-486.

Szołtysek, M. (2011). „A sheer jungle of uncertainties and traps": uses and misuses of premodern census microdata. Paper presented at the Seminar of Economic History, University of Tübingen, Department of Economics (Germany), June 2011.

Szołtysek, M. (2012). Spatial construction of European family and household systems: a promising path or a blind alley? An Eastern European perspective. Continuity and Change 27(1)..

Szołtysek, M., and B. Zuber Goldstein, (2009). Historical family systems and the great European divide: the invention of the Slavic East. Demográfia: English Edition, 52(5), 5-47.

Szołtysek, M., and S. Gruber (2011). All in the bosom of the family? Living arrangements of the aged in two Eastern European joint family societies. Paper presented at 36th Annual Meeting of the SSHA, Boston (MA), USA, November 2011.

Göran Therborn (2004) Between Sex and Power: Family in the World, 1900-2000 (International Library of Sociology). London, New York.

Verdon, M. (1998). Rethinking Households: An Atomistic Perspective on European Living Arrangements. London: Routledge.

Waris, E. (2002). ″Komplexe Familienformen. Neue Forschungen zu Familie und Arbeitsorganisation im finnischen Karelien und in Estland,″ Historische Anthropologie 10(1): 31–51.

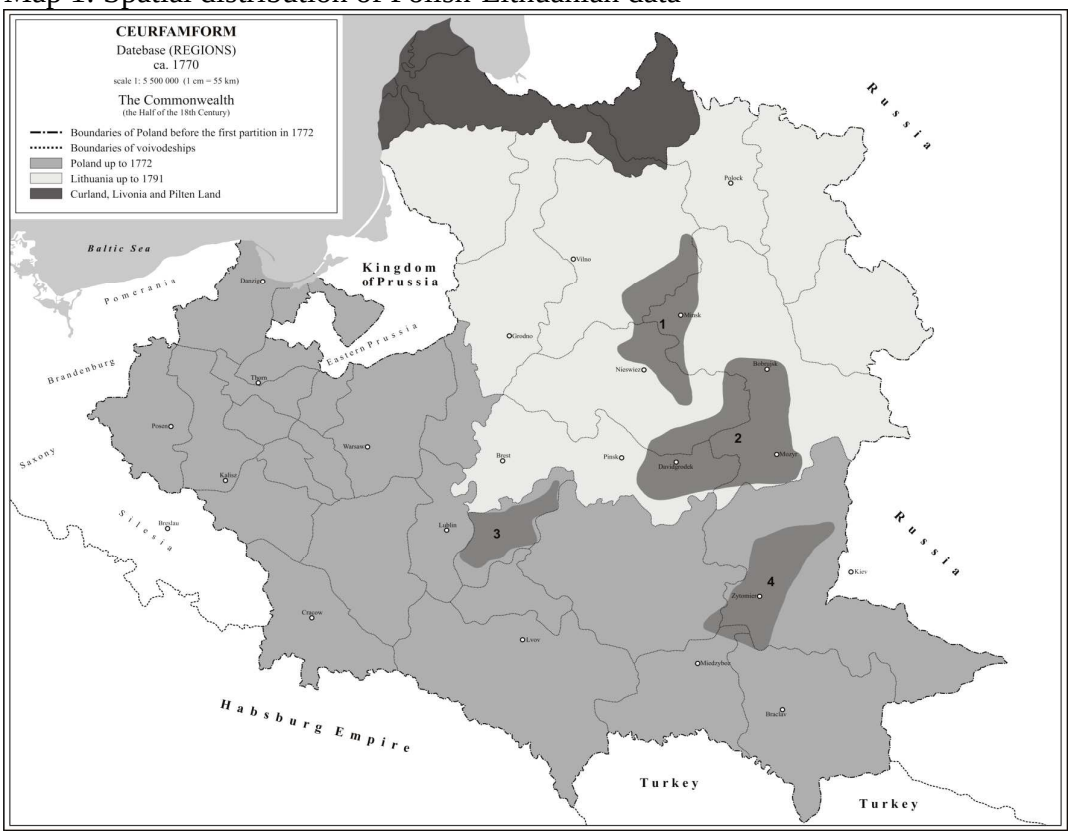
Wheaton, R. (1975). ″Family and Kinship in Western Europe: The Problem of the Joint Family Household,″ Journal of Interdisciplinary History 5 (4): 601-628.

Ian Whitaker (1976) Familial roles in the extended patrilineal kingroup in northern Albania. In: John G. Peristiany, Mediterranean Family Structures. Cambridge, pp. 195-203.

Ian Whitaker (1981) A Sack for carrying Things: the Traditional Role of Women in Northern Albanian Society. In: Anthropological Quarterly, vol. 54, no. 3.

Maps

Map 1: Spatial distribution of Polish-Lithuanian data



Map design: J. Suproniuk for CEURFAMFORM Database

Map 2: Regions of the Albanian data

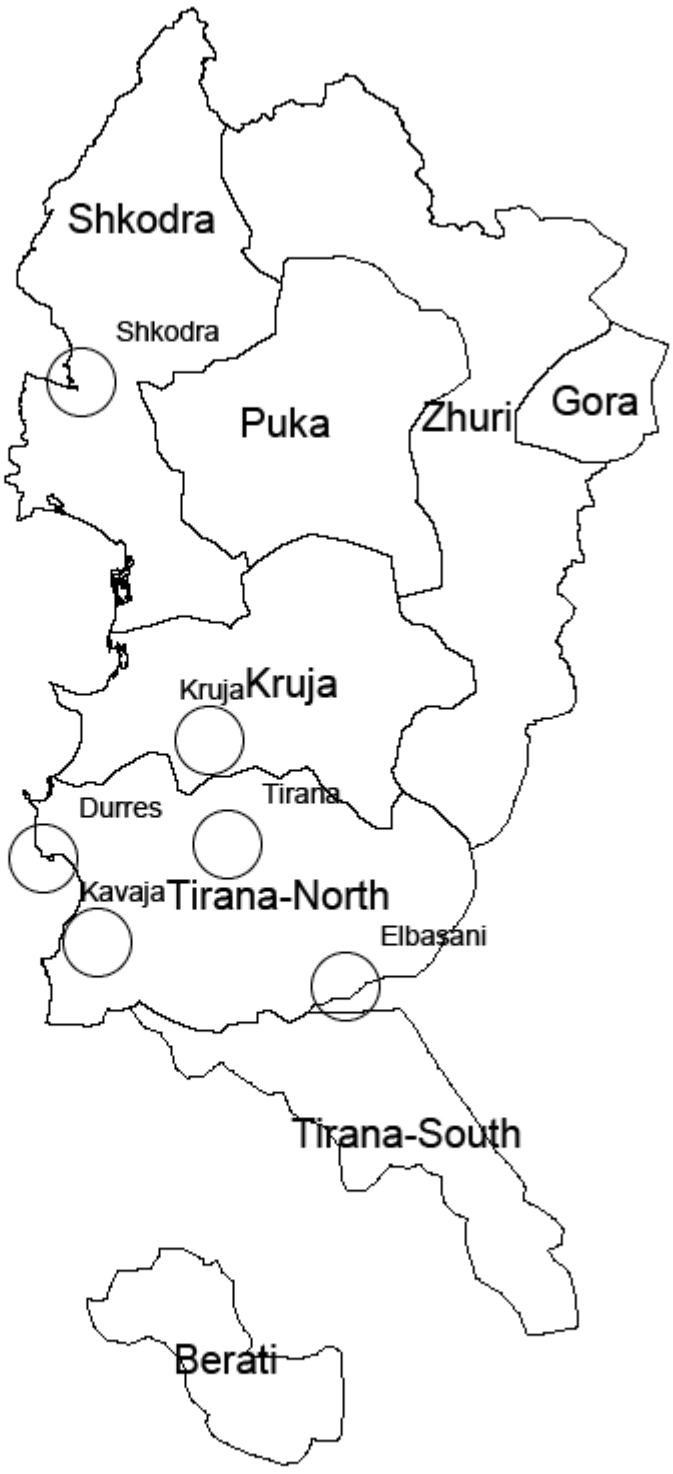


Table 2: Measures of joint family societies

region	relatives	married daughters	lateral extension	sum of kin	female household heads	with older man	SMAM female	SMAM male	SMAL female	SMAL male	polygamy	Whipple's index ratio	N
1	7.7	18.3	35.4	5.5	0.4	0.4	20.3	23.4	20.2	26.5	n.a.	95.3	19,176
2	4.4	14.4	52.5	6.8	0.2	0.7	16.8	19.8	18.2	27.9	n.a.	87.1	25,332
3	8.8	13.8	25.3	4.8	0.1	2.7	19.0	23.1	19.3	27.9	n.a.	94.5	25,193
4	7.1	19.9	41.3	6.7	0.2	1.5	19.2	22.9	19.9	28.6	n.a.	101.0	14,026
CEURFAM-FORM east	**6.3**	**16.1**	**39.6**	**6.0**	**0.2**	**1.4**	**18.7**	**22.1**	**19.3**	**27.7**	**n.a.**	**92.8**	**83,727**
Kruja	0.6	1.2	63.8	7.3	0.0	3.3	16.7	25.2	17.2	27.7	8.8	119.6	4,276
Puka	1.2	0.0	71.4	7.6	0.4	3.6	17.3	26.3	18.4	30.6	8.7	139.0	5,008
Shkodra	2.3	2.4	63.9	8.7	0.3	2.6	17.7	26.8	19.0	29.6	3.2	133.6	12,340
Tirana North	2.4	2.7	55.2	6.9	0.2	0.9	18.5	24.3	19.8	30.3	5.2	139.7	14,529
Zhuri	0.7	1.3	63.9	8.3	0.1	4.9	18.1	26.2	18.7	29.9	7.7	152.9	15,565
Gora	0.9	5.7	52.3	7.0	0.1	0.9	20.8	28.4	20.6	29.3	1.1	141.6	11,298
Tirana South	1.2	2.2	32.3	4.0	0.1	0.6	20.4	27.4	20.0	29.2	3.7	121.3	12,206
Berati	2.0	1.6	54.4	5.8	2.2	2.0	17.9	26.2	18.6	27.8	3.8	122.3	7,424
rural Albania	**1.5**	**1.8**	**58.6**	**7.2**	**0.3**	**2.6**	**18.2**	**25.9**	**19.0**	**29.6**	**5.7**	**135.7**	**82,646**
Kruja	1.6	3.4	44.0	5.0	0.0	0.3	20.1	28.6	20.0	33.1	3.1	134.1	3,893
Shkodra	6.0	8.6	37.2	4.2	0.3	1.4	20.4	34.3	20.8	31.5	0.4	160.2	23,590
Durrësi	11.7	8.6	40.9	5.0	0.0	0.7	19.5	27.7	19.9	27.4	1.4	150.5	4,307
Elbasani	10.3	11.0	37.7	4.5	0.6	0.4	18.8	29.8	19.5	28.4	1.8	110.4	10,237
Kavaja	7.3	11.5	36.8	5.0	0.0	0.3	17.6	26.1	19.1	29.6	2.5	173.1	5,522
Tirana	5.3	5.9	37.6	4.8	0.6	0.9	18.5	27.2	18.9	29.2	3.3	163.6	10,416
urban Albania	**6.8**	**8.0**	**38.0**	**4.5**	**0.3**	**0.9**	**19.4**	**30.2**	**19.9**	**30.0**	**1.8**	**147.1**	**57,965**

Table 3: Correlation matrix for measures of joint family societies

	relatives	**married daughters**	**lateral extension**	**sum of kin**	**female household heads**	**living with older man**	**SMAM female**	**SMAM male**	**SMAL female**	**SMAL male**	**polygamy**	**Whipple's index ratio**
relatives	1											
married daughters	0.73**	1										
lateral extension	-0.68**	-0.62**	1									
sum of kin	-0.55*	-0.31	0.87**	1								
female household heads	-0.07	-0.15	0.09	-0.08	1							
living with older man	-0.43	-0.43	0.62**	0.65**	0.06	1						
SMAM female	0.19	0.22	-0.58*	-0.52*	-0.14	-0.47	1					
SMAM male	0.01	-0.37	-0.12	-0.38	0.06	-0.11	0.47	1				
SMAL female	0.30	0.32	-0.56*	-0.46	-0.16	-0.55*	0.93**	0.44	1			
SMAL male	-0.43	-0.45	0.18	0.01	-0.23	0.03	0.18	0.52*	0.25	1		
polygamy	-0.58*	-0.74**	0.74**	0.62*	-0.05	0.77**	-0.69**	-0.65*	-0.79**	-0.04	1	
Whipple's index ratio	-0.14	-0.49*	0.14	-0.04	-0.10	0.05	0.04	0.61**	0.12	0.53*	-0.22	1

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)