



MAX-PLANCK-INSTITUT  
FÜR DEMOGRAFISCHE  
FORSCHUNG

MAX PLANCK INSTITUTE  
FOR DEMOGRAPHIC  
RESEARCH

## Historical family demography: concepts, methods, discussions

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„Новые информационные технологии в исторических исследованиях: от источника к методу”; Уральский федеральный университет, Екатеринбург 2014.

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### General plan

- Basic concepts**
  - Historical demography, family history, family demography
  - The importance of coresidence and the notion of family system
  - Basic theorems
- Methods**
  - Data quality checks
  - Measures of co-residence
  - Classification of family systems
  - Controlling for demographic effects
- Themes and discussions**
  - Geography of family forms
  - The heterogeneity of family systems
  - Demographic underpinnings of family systems
  - Demographic outcomes of family systems
  - Family systems and social change
  - Family systems over time

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## BASIC CONCEPTS

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**1st KEYPOINT**

*Historical family demography* is inherently interdisciplinary



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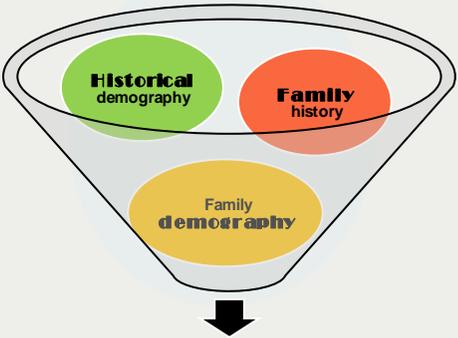
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**A look through diameter**



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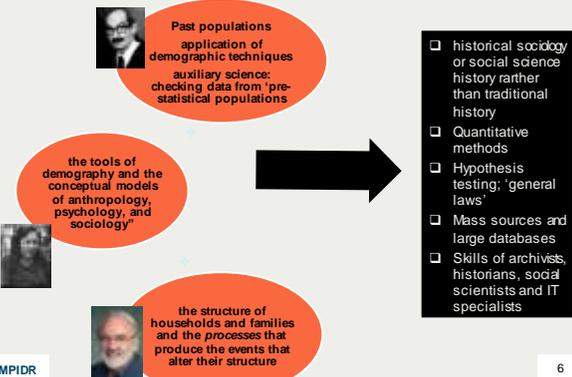
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**Historical family demography**



- historical sociology or social science history rather than traditional history
- Quantitative methods
- Hypothesis testing; 'general laws'
- Mass sources and large databases
- Skills of archivists, historians, social scientists and IT specialists

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### Family history: Two approaches

**SENTIMENTS APPROACH**

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qualitative investigation into the history of attitudes, sentiments, beliefs, ideas about family, courtship, childbirth, etc. (P. Aries, F. Lebrun, and others).



**DEMOGRAPHIC APPROACH**

↑

Demographic and socioeconomic lenses: spatial and structural regularities in familial characteristics; quantification and typologies; (Laslett and his followers)



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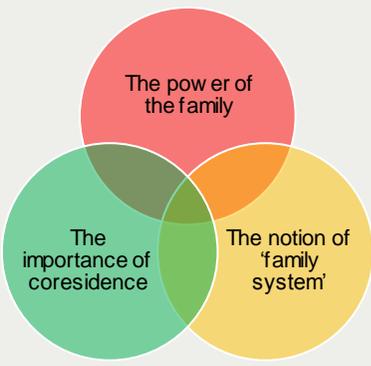
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### Three key-concepts of HFD



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### The power of the family

- social reproduction and for the transmission of values (**Bourdieu 1976**)
- expression of age and sex roles; the kinship, socialization and economic cooperation (**Netting, Wilk & Arnould 1984**)
- family relationships influences economic behavior and attitudes; the model for political and welfare systems (**Todd 1988; Duranton et al. 2009; Alesina & Giuliano 2010; Esping-Andersen 1999**)



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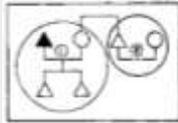
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### The importance of coresident domestic groups (1)



**Ties established between certain people who coreside within one dwelling present meaningful insights**

P. Laslett

- Individuals living under the same roof would also share:
  - production and consumption;
  - cultural transmission; religion/ritual
  - reproduction;
  - education;
  - security/protection; health and old age care;
  - privacy; recreation
- 'domestic coresidence' as a matrix of most crucial 'statuses', 'functions' and 'relationships' (Wall 1995)
- Different structures=different patterning of significant interactions
- **What configurations people tend to live in? Who lives with whom?**

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### The notion of family system and its quintessentials

**Laslett and HPSS:** household structure – service – age at marriage

**Hajnal:** household formation rules

**Wall:** the size and composition of the kin group within the household

**Todd:** postmarital residence and parental authority

**Das Gupta:** norms of residence and inheritance

**Ruggles:** living arrangements of the aged

**Dribe/Manfredini/ Derosas/Otis:** sequence of life course trajectories

**Kok:** illegitimate fertility

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### The notion of family system and its quintessentials



**Importance of the family**

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### Key family-related demographic variables

- Leaving home**
  - major transition point in the life course
- Service**
  - accumulation of savings and human capital formation; wage-labor market
- Marriage**
  - exposure to reproduction; adult roles; transition to adulthood
  - property devolution
- Headship**
  - postmarital residence: an end point on the road to independence
- Aging**
  - Welfare functions of the family
  - family ties, familial loyalty, obedience, and authority

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### Theoretical frameworks: pluralism

- considerations from anthropology, sociology, history, demography, and cultural ecology or even socio-biology
- the major assumption: *multiple, context dependent economic, social, environmental and institutional structures have considerable influence over the strategies of individual households and families regarding their structure, composition, and recruitment*
- very adverse research programs, and different ontological levels (i.e., individuals and larger social structures)



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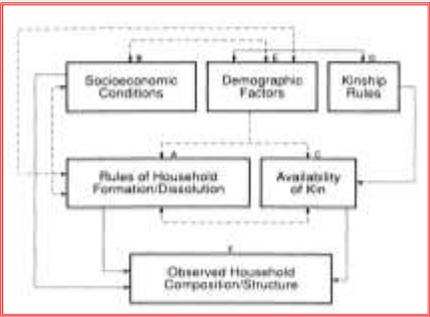
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### Interrelatedness of family systems (1)



MPIDR Susan De Vos and Alberto Palloni, "Formal Models and Methods for the Analysis of Kinship and Household Organization". 15

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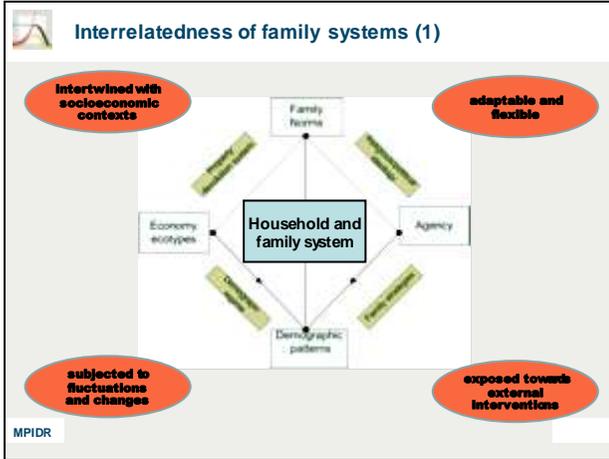
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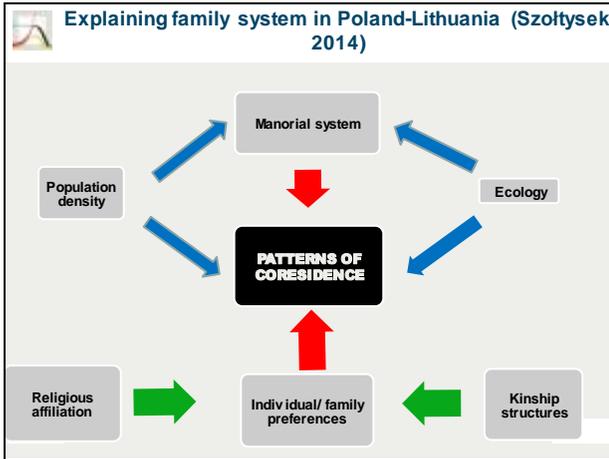
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### Life course perspective

- **how chronological age and common life transitions shape people's lives from birth to death**
- Conceptualized:
  - as the event history of an individual: people move through different residential constellations (*transits*), and change their membership patterns (*statuses*)
  - as the family life course (or family developmental cycle): All domestic groups, go through developmental cycles passing through the phases of "expansion," "dispersion," and "replacement."

Figure 1. From early childhood to late adulthood life course in social interaction.

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**Sources: basic distinction**

2. Aggregate Data and Microdata

**Microdata**

- every record represents a separate person
- all of their individual characteristics are recorded
- users must manipulate the data themselves

**Aggregate data**

- a table of deaths from the Bills of Mortality, 1664
- an occupation table from a published census volume from the library



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**General (ideal) data requirements**

The data source should list individual persons, preferably by name

The data source should list all persons of a settlement or area, not only household heads, men, or adult people

The data source should list individuals by residence units (houses, hearths, domestic groups, households or households)

The data should provide at least age, sex, relationship to household head, and marital status

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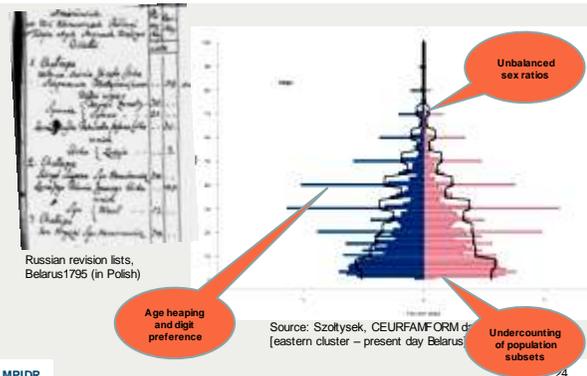
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**Basic checks on data quality**



Russian revision lists, Belarus 1795 (in Polish)

Source: Szoltysek, CEURFAMFORM d [eastern cluster - present day Belarus]

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### Manuals for consultation (1)

Four distinct drawbacks in historical microdata:

- (1) the lack of internal consistency of enumeration schedules
- (2) missing information on individuals' characteristics
- (3) Underenumeration
- (4) misreporting

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### Manuals for consultation (2)

<https://www.census.gov/population/international/software/pas/pasdocs.html>

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### Measuring coresidence from aggregate data (1)

Source: Rothenbacher 1997

Tab. 5.11: Haushaltstypen, Deutsche Reich 1919-1939

Jahr	Einpersonenhaushalte		Familienhaushalte		Einzelhaushalte	
	absolut	pro 1000	absolut	pro 1000	absolut	pro 1000
1919	1.000.000	10,0	10.000.000	100,0	1.000.000	10,0
1929	1.200.000	12,0	10.000.000	100,0	1.000.000	10,0
1939	1.500.000	15,0	10.000.000	100,0	1.000.000	10,0

- 1-person-households
- Family households
- Institutions/group quarters

- Households with only relatives
- Households with only non-relatives
- Households with relatives and non-relatives

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**More elaborated measures from aggregate data**

**REQUIREMENT:** data on the number of households, and on the population classified by age, sex, and marital status

**□MUH (Marital Units per Household):**  
 Number of married men as well as divorced and widowed men and women divided by the number of family households (Burch, 1967).

*MUH* represents household complexity only in the broadest possible sense (Burch 1980).

Market Units per 100 Households 1985

115.00 - 120.00
110.00 - 115.00
105.00 - 110.00
100.00 - 105.00
95.00 - 100.00
90.00 - 95.00
85.00 - 90.00
80.00 - 85.00

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**What a nominative listing can tell us?**

- Household size
- number of families/p/h
- number of generations/p/h
- structure/composition
- Relationships, positions, memberships
- Co-residential „dyads”

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**How to measure and classify households?**

- By characteristics of the whole household:
  - Size
  - Generations
  - Structure
  - Composition
  - Economic activity
- By characteristics of the ‘reference person’ household head:
  - Sex
  - Marital status
  - Age, etc.

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### Classification of family types according to Le Play (1870s)

**famille instable (nuclear family)**

**famille souche (stem family)**

**famille patriarcal (joint family)**

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### Classification of family types according to Hammel and Laslett (1974)

Category	Class	Final person
1 Nuclear	1a. Widowed	No CFU
	1b. Single or of unknown marital status	
2 No family	2a. Coresident siblings	No CFU
	2b. Coresident relations of other kinds	
	2c. Persons not evidently related	
3 Family households	3a. Married couples alone	1 CFU
	3b. Married couples with children	
	3c. Widowers with children	
	3d. Widows with children	
4 Extended households	4a. Extended aunts/uncles	1 CFU
	4b. Extended brothers/sisters	
	4c. Combination of 4a/c	
7 Family households	7a. Secondary units or coresidents	2+ CFUs
	7b. Secondary units (separated)	
	7c. Polycoresidents	
	7d. Other multiple family households	
8. Incompletely classifiable households		

MPIDR LINKS created only by persons related to household head (or his spouse)

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### Other classification schemes (of many...)

Schmid 1988	UNECE/Eurostat 2006
A1. Households consisting of spouses without children (one-generation households)	<b>1. Non-family households:</b> 1.1 One-person households 1.2 Multi-person households <b>2. One-family households:</b> 2.1 Household with couples with at least one resident child under 25 2.1.1 Married couples 2.1.2 Other persons 2.2 Household with couples with at least one resident child under 25 2.2.1 Married couples, youngest resident son/daughter 25 or older 2.2.2 Cohabiting couples without resident children 2.2.3 Cohabiting couples with at least one resident child under 25 2.2.4 Cohabiting couples, youngest resident son/daughter 25 or older 2.3 Lone fathers with at least one resident child under 25 2.3.1 Lone fathers, youngest resident son/daughter 25 or older 2.3.2 Lone mothers with at least one resident child under 25 2.3.3 Lone mothers, youngest resident son/daughter 25 or older <b>3. Two or more-family households</b>
A2. Households consisting of parents and married children (two-generation households)	
A3. Households consisting of parents and married children (with grandchildren) and, possibly, unmarried children (three-generation households)	
A4. Households of type A1 including grandparents, parents, and children or grand-children (three-generation households)	
B1. Households from A1 to A4 including relatives by blood or by law	
B2. Households of type B1 including relatives other than blood ones	
C1. Households of type A1 to B2 including non-relatives	
C2. Households of type B2 including non-relatives	
D. Households consisting only of non-relatives	
E. One-person households	

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### Individual living arrangements

Ruggles 2012:

- ❑ household-level measures affected by
  - age composition
  - demographic behaviour
  - availability of kin



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#### WHO LIVES with WHOM?

- ❑ the presence or absence of different types of kin in the household as key characteristics of individuals which vary across their lifespan
- ❑ different relationship patterns among all of the co-resident individuals
- ❑ Impact of individual characteristics on residential decisions or outcomes

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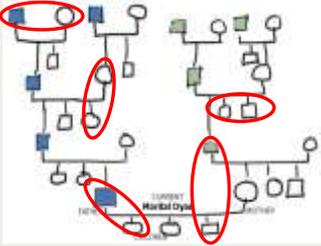
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### Dyadic approach

- ❑ Locator variables (*pointers*), identify within the household each individual's own spouse, mother, father and sibling (Ruggles 1995).
- ❑ Basic individual family relationship variables (*dyads*)
  - lives with spouse
  - lives with mother
  - lives with father
  - lives with child (also: married child(ren))
  - lives with sibling

[depending on – age – sex – marital status]

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### Examples of individual-level measures

Name	Requirements	Common/Uncommon	Field records
1. Elderly with adult children	With child age 18+	Age 65+	Age, kinship level
2. Three-generation	With child or adult or grandchild	Age 65+	Age, kinship level, age at marriage
3. New family	With non-married child, child or spouse or grandchild	Age 18+	Age, kinship level, age at marriage
4. Dual family	With two married children	Age 18+	Age, kinship level, age at marriage
5. Adult sons with parents	With parent	Mar. age 18-59	Age, kinship level
6. Children with single mother	With mother only	Age 18-59	Age
7. Mother without spouse	Without spouse	Mothers of children age 18-59	Age
8. Extended family	With child age 0-4	Extended income age 18-59	Age
9. Marital stability	Spouse or divorcee	Wives age 18-59	Age

Source: Ruggles 2012

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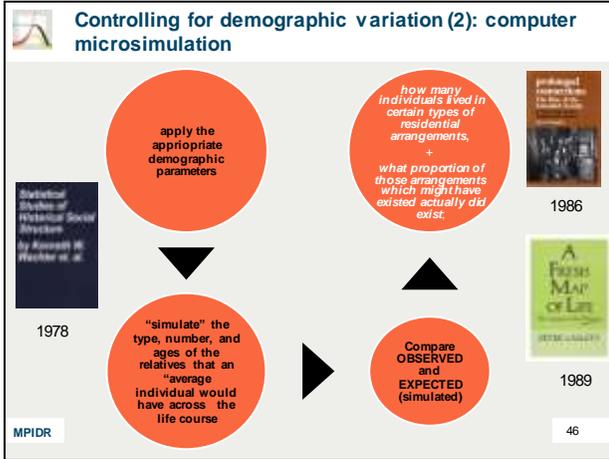
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**THEMES AND DISCUSSIONS**

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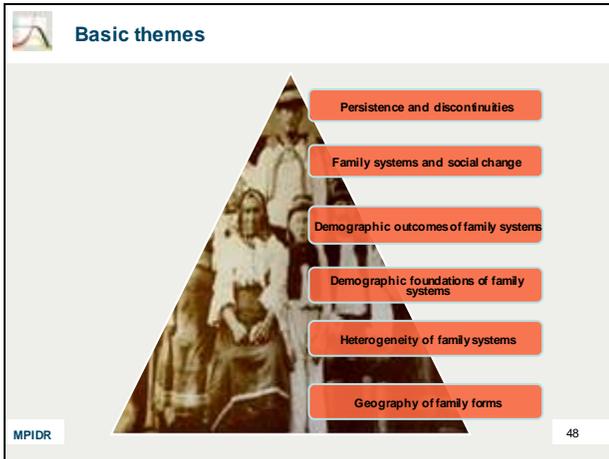
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**GoFFs: premises**

- ❑ the extremes of familial organization within the confines of the European continent
- ❑ **Intra-continental variation has not been random**
- ❑ macro-regional contrasts not only existed in the past but persist in the present
- ❑ major areas of Europe were having a particular type of household system
- ❑ major demographic and family divisions in historic Europe were coterminous with broad 'cultural regions'


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**Le Play's hypothesis (1870s)**



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F. Le Play, 1982/1879. Les Ouvriers européens

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**Hajnal's division of Europe and Eurasia**








John Hajnal

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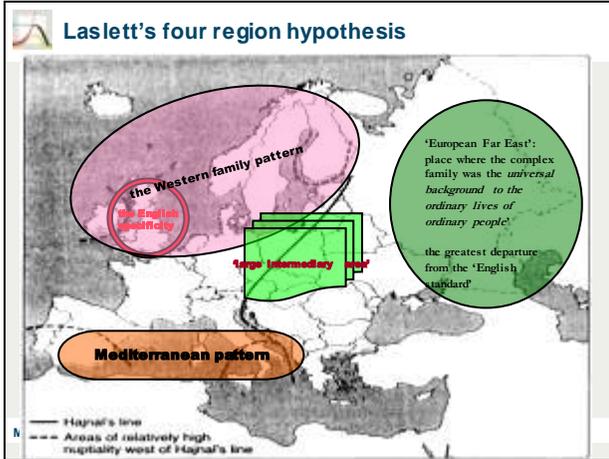
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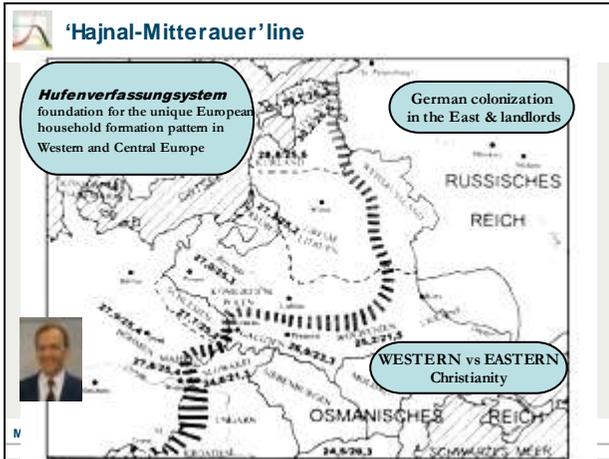
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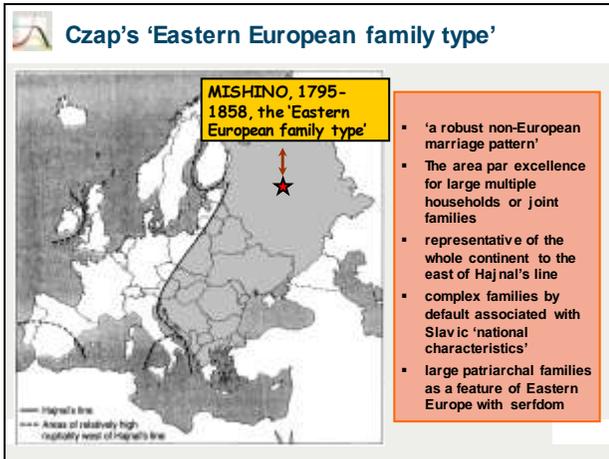
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### Eurasian divides?

„China is to Japan as Eastern is to Western Europe“ (A. Wolf & S.Hanley, *Family and population in East Asian history*, 1985)

important similarities between the two continents in terms of human motivation in family-population behavior (Tsuya et.al. 2010)

No radical differences between the family histories of Europe and Asia (Goody 1996)

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### Heterogeneity in human domestic groups: the problem

- Different subpopulations of historical Europe represented different patterns of coresidence
- Time, space, and human-ecological setting affected family behaviour in variety of ways

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    graph LR
      A[What were the major variations in human domestic groups] --> B[what causes them]
      B --> C[what difference they made]
      A --> A1[mapping regional spatial patterns of variation]
      B --> B1[linking them to environmental, cultural-geographic and political-economic information]
      C --> C1[Linking them with development economics, and test hypotheses about how different family types affect any number of different outcomes]
  
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### Regional variation patterns: examples (1)

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### Regional variation patterns: examples (2)

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### Observations and agenda

- Populations are not homogenous
- Enormous diversity, especially in Eastern Europe
- we need to prioritise variation, not central tendencies

- Within country variation:
  - Regions
  - Borders
  - Transition areas
  - Hybrid patterns
- Why diversity was the case in some places, but not in others? What elements enhanced / reduced it?
- Measurements:
  - Range of diversity and middle points
  - Classification of regions from most to least diverse
  - Controlling for demographic effects
- Greatest dispersal in measures of coresidence: greatest 'agency' and greatest scope for individual household preferences?

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### Demographic underpinnings of family systems (1): computer microsimulation

**New questions:**  
 instead of *how many households of a given type are being revealed by the census* -  
*the extent to which these observable proportions might be conditioned by demographics factors*

Did people in region A prefer to live in nuclear rather than extended households, or the low frequency of complex households was a function of demographic constraints?

Was the change in frequency of extended family living in the late 19th c. caused by changing preferences or better demographic conditions (longer life expectancy)?

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### Demographic outcomes of family systems: premises

I argue here that the cluster of norms informing family processes may be usefully viewed as a system and *that differently configured family systems affect fertility, mortality, and migration in distinctive ways*"



(G.W. Skinner, *Family systems and demographic processes*, 1997, 53).

G. William Skinner

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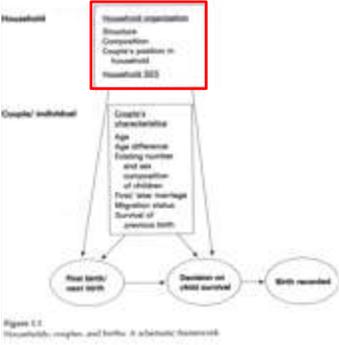
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### Family systems and fertility responses



Household organization: Structure, Composition, Couple's position in household, Household SES

Couple/individual characteristics: Gender's characteristics, Age, Age difference, Existing norms and sex composition of children, First-time marriage, Migration status, Survival of previous birth

Flowchart path: Household organization → Couple/individual characteristics → First birth / next birth → Decision on child survival → Birth recorded

- Corporate kinship systems support high marital fertility
- Societies with the nuclear family and neolocality, tend to have low fertility
- In conjugal systems the fertility level is decided in the interests of the couple alone
- In extended systems spouses motivated to have many children in order to strengthen the family line or/and their own status
- The role of relatives helping or substituting for the mother in child-rearing
- Patriarchal bias and its effect on spousal communication
- Evidence MIXED!

Figure 1.1: Household, couple, and fertility in a dynamic framework

Source: Tsuya et al. 2010

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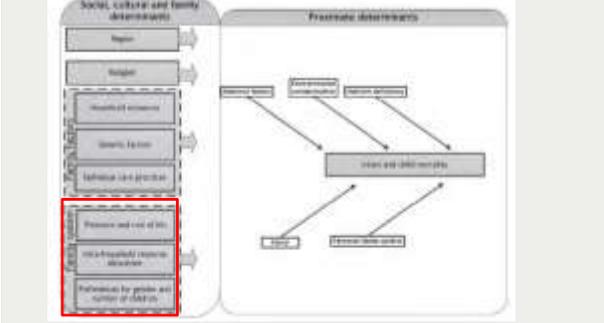
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### Family systems and infant and child mortality



Social, cultural and family determinants: Region, Religion, Health of women, Gender Equity, Education and practices, **Presence and role of UNICEF and UNFPA (highlighted)**, **UNICEF/UNFPA resource allocation (highlighted)**, **Partnership for gender and health of children (highlighted)**

Proximate determinants: **Contraceptive use (highlighted)**, **Maternal education (highlighted)**, **Maternal occupation (highlighted)**, **Infant and child mortality (highlighted)**, **Infant feeding practices (highlighted)**, **Child health services (highlighted)**

Flowchart path: Social, cultural and family determinants → Proximate determinants → Infant and child mortality

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Source: Kok et al. 2011

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### Family types and regional disparities in Europe



- identified potential links between family types and regional disparities in educational attainment, social capital, labor participation, sectoral structure, wealth, and inequality
- medieval family structures [sic!] seem to have influenced European regional disparities in virtually every indicator considered.

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### Evidence mixed!



**Does the European Marriage Pattern Explain Economic Growth?**

**Abstract**

The paper examines the strongly posited link between the European Marriage Pattern (EMP) and economic success. A reanalysis of the historical demographic literature shows that the EMP did not persist throughout Europe. In those few regions where it did persist, other than growth, there is no evidence that the EMP improved economic performance in engineering, science, increasing human capital investment, adjusting populations to economic needs, or increasing beneficial cultural capital. European economic success has not resulted from the EMP and its effects seem limited to wealth in other factors.

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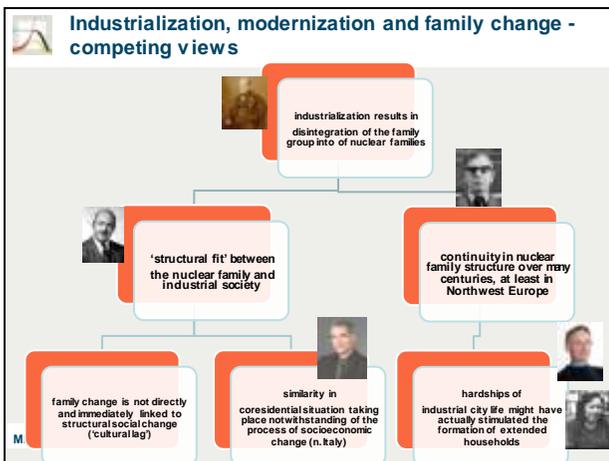
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**1st KEYPOINT**

Time (or timing) is an essential component of historical analysis and interpretation.

Accordingly, a fundamental objective of social scientific research, including that of family history, has been to understand how individual behavior and circumstances change across time

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**Two approaches: persistence vs discontinuities**



All family systems were 'fairly stable between 1600 and 1900' (E. Todd, 1985, Preface).



Demographic changes  
Shifts in environmental features  
Changes in preferences  
Powerful socioeconomic factors  
Interventionist policies

'All family systems, throughout their changes, have tended to preserve specific characteristics' (G. Therborn 2004, *Between Sex and Power: Family in the World, 1900-2000*).

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**Laslett and unchanged household in England**



the percentage of nuclear households in England was unchanged over the centuries (Laslett 1972)

Table 3. Households by family structure: England, seasonally to ten-month censuses

Type - Category	1600-1749	1750-1825	1826	1896	1901	1911	1921	1971	1981
1. Solitary	6.6	8.4	7.2	7.9	7.2	7.8	8.9	17.9	21.9
2a. The family	2.4	2.4	2.2	4.1	3.8	3.8	3.8	2.4	1.9
2b. Two adults only	6.8	8.6	8.4	8.0	8.0	8.0	8.0	2.2	2.9
3a. Single family	65.0	61.9	62.3	63.0	62.0	61.4	61.8	25.7	29.4
3b. Married couple and child	48.3	52.7	56.9	48.6	49.4	50.3	48.9	40.9	37.8
3c. Lone father	5.5	4.2	4.2	9.1	9.2	9.0	5.8	1.6	1.2
3d. Lone mother	12.7	9.7	9.8	8.5	8.1	7.9	7.9	4.7	5.4
4. Extended	16.2	16.9	14.0	13.9	13.9	12.8	11.5	4.0	3.3
5. Multiple	1.9	1.7	3.9	2.8	2.9	2.9	3.4	1.9	1.9
6. Substructures	1.0	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
N	489	2956	2968	17972	20548	22947	24471	174962	191074

Wall 2001

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### Changing Lithuanian family (16-18<sup>th</sup> centuries)

□ VIŠNIAUSKAITĖ, A.I. (1964):

- Communal forms of living among the Lithuanian population diminishing already in the 13<sup>th</sup> century
- „... большая нераздельная семья” never constituted a dominating household form
- increase in feudal obligations in the 18<sup>th</sup> century led to a drastic rise in multiple family households in Lithuania



Period	Tot hhs	Nuclear	Multiple	Complex
1594-1600	300	79%	9.3	21
1616-1700	491	82.9	5.5	17.1
1775-1790	130	54.6	33.8	45.4
1806-1880	162	47.5	30.2	52.5

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### The evolution of Eastern European pattern (18-19<sup>th</sup> centuries): Belarussian contributions

□ NOSEVICH, V. (2004):

after the annexion of Belarus-Lithuania by the Russian Empire, the family pattern in Belarus gradually transformed into more communal forms



Sample/parish	Year	Tot hhs	MHS	CFUs/hhs	% simple	% extended	% multiple
Catholic parish in Koren	1740	69	7	1.4	56.5	7.3	36.2
	1795	156	7.2	1.7	30.1	11.5	58.3
	1811	177	7.9	1.8	29.4	10.7	59.9
	1834	171	7.9	1.7	23.4	17	59.6
	1850	171	8.2	1.8	17.1	15.3	67.6
Greek-Catholic parish in Zembin	1795	79	6.7	1.7	46	14	39
	1811	72	9.2	2.1	32	8	60
	1834	59	7.9	1.6	30.5	20.3	49.2
	1850	48	9.5	1.9	22.9	12.5	77%

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## Comments or Questions?

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