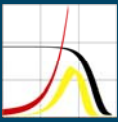


Rethinking Eastern Europe: family systems as welfare regimes in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (18th century)

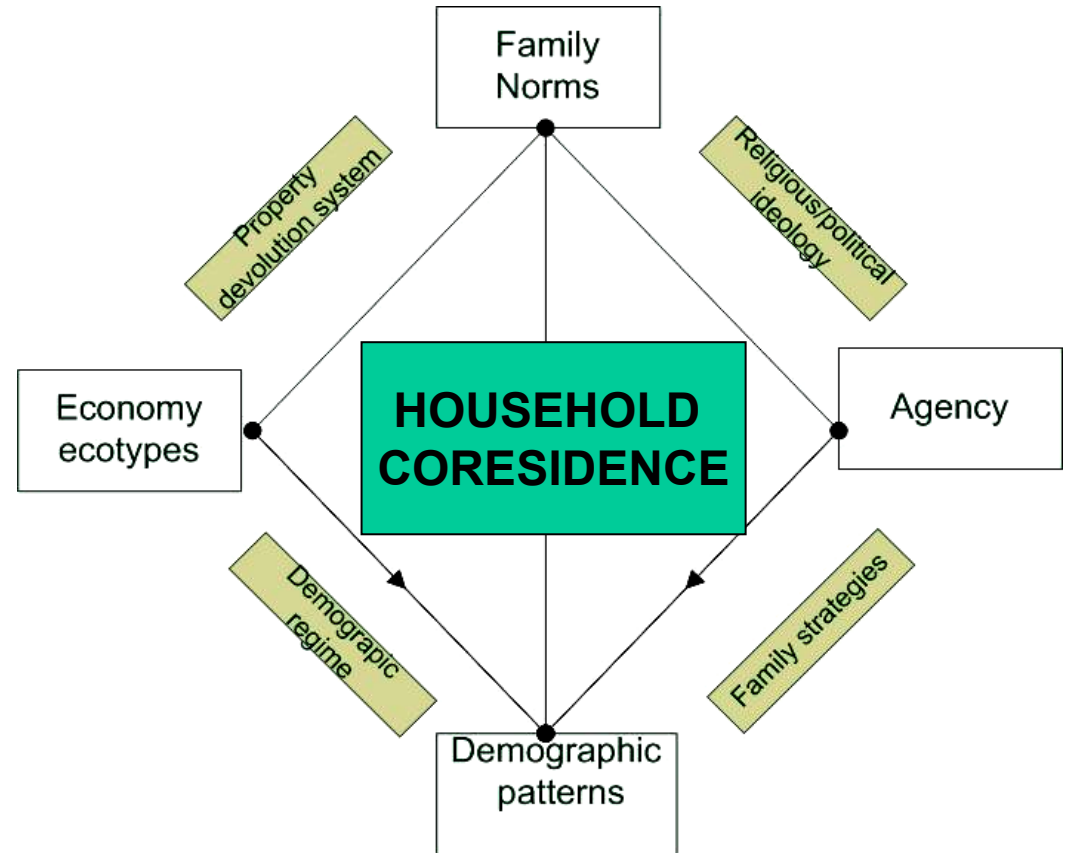
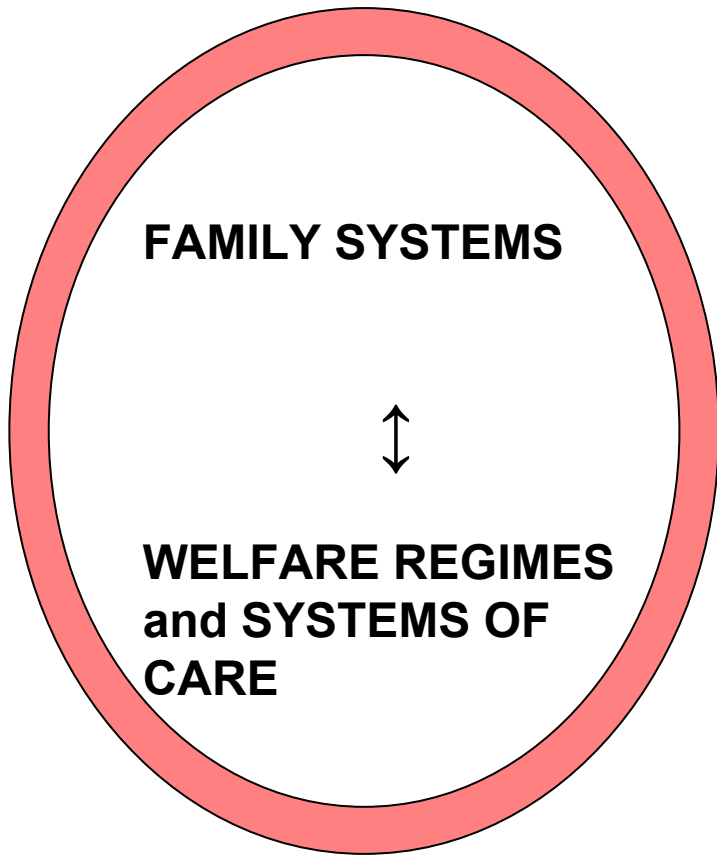
M. Szoltysek

Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research, Rostock

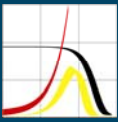
Understanding the Populations of the Past
Concordia University, Montreal
June 1st, 2010



This presentation deals with...



Original fig. by J. Kok



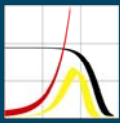
...it refers to the corpus of knowledge stemming from.....

**FAMILY/
HOUSEHOLD
SYSTEMS ↔
WELFARE REGIMES**

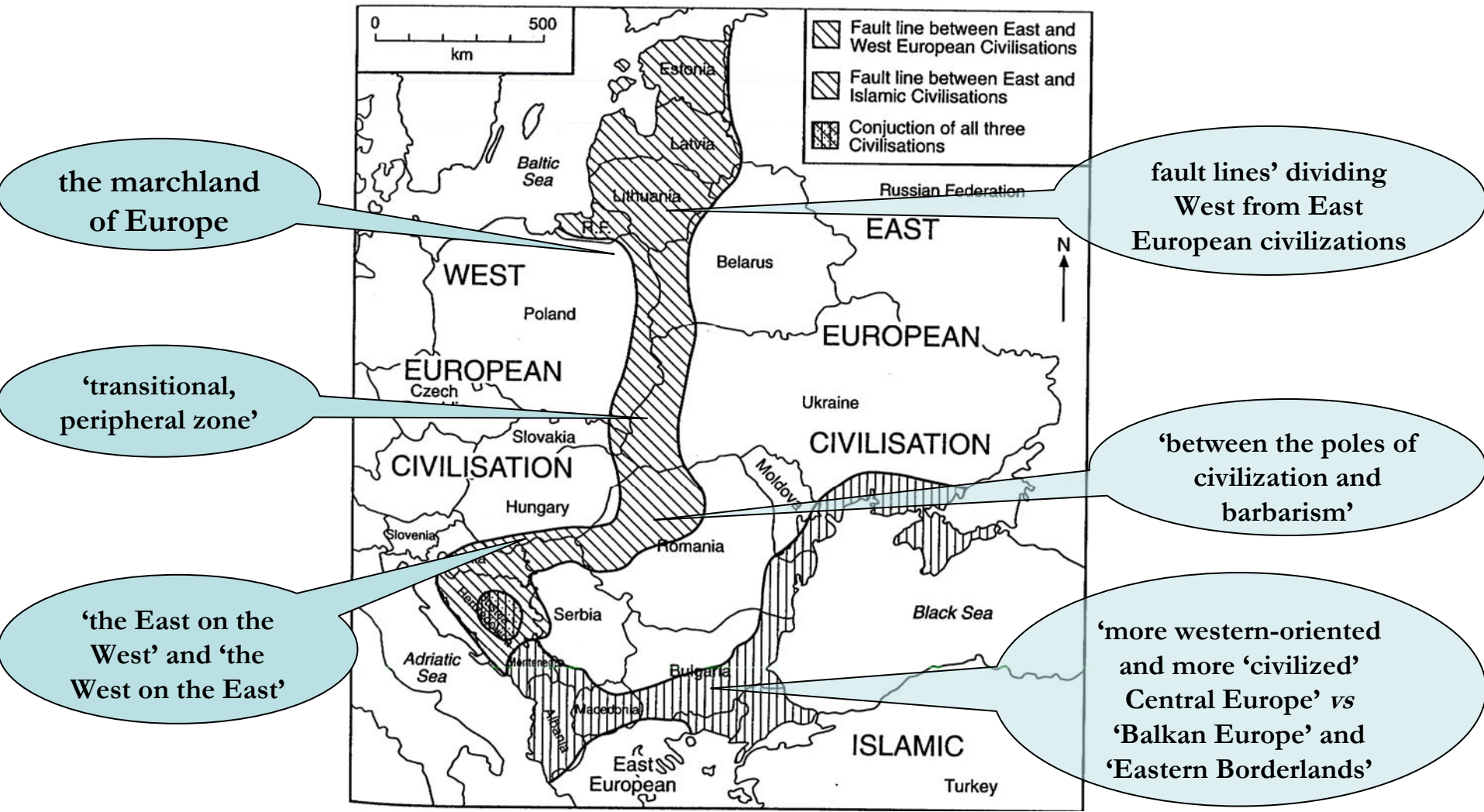
**HOUSEHOLD
CORESIDENCE ↔
CARE**

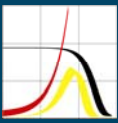
- P. Laslett, *Family and collectivity* (1979)
P. Laslett, *Family, kinship and collectivity as systems of support* (1988)
R. Smith, *The structural dependence of the elderly* (1984)
M. Cain, *Welfare institutions in comparative perspective* (1991)
D. I. Kertzer, P. Laslett (Eds.), *Aging in the Past* (1995)
D.S. Reher, *Family ties in Western Europe* (1998)
P. Horden, R. Smith (Eds.), *The Locus of Care. Families, Communities, Institutions, and the Provision of Welfare* (1998)

- and many papers by R. Wall



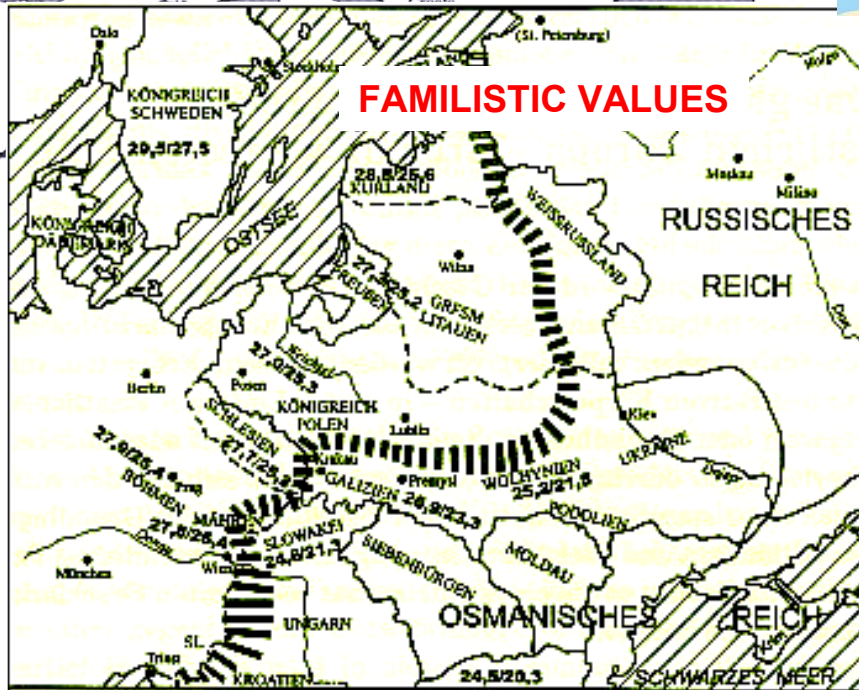
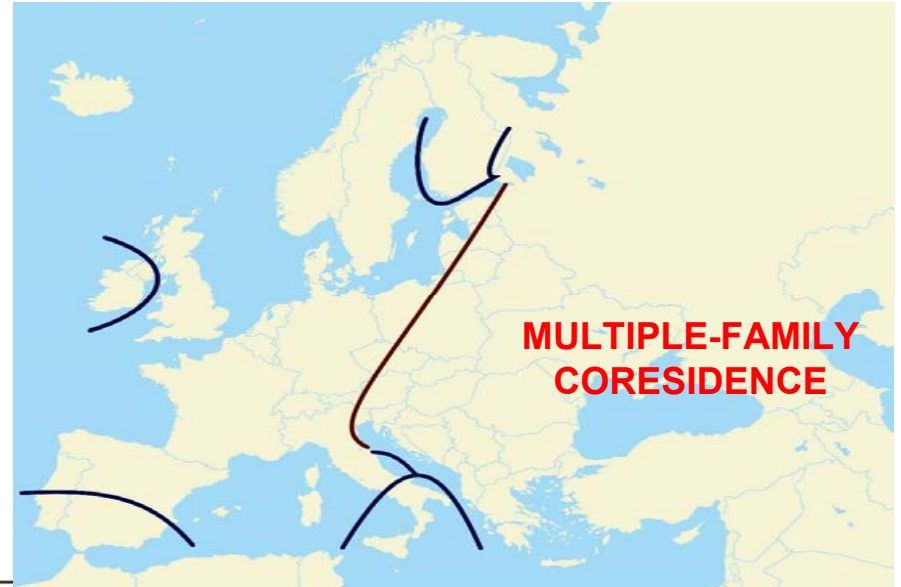
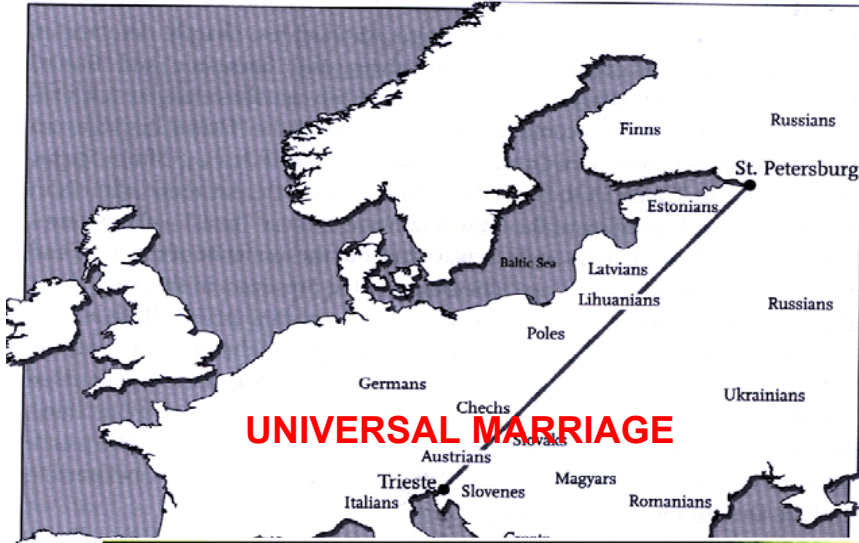
This presentation brings a new setting...

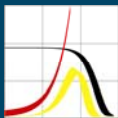




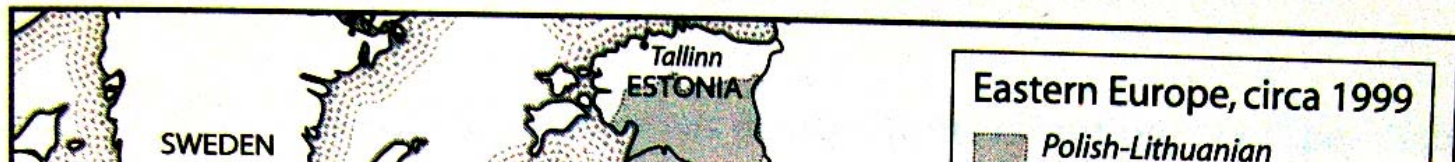
What is so special about Eastern-Central Europe?

The Hajnal line, literally interpreted, c. 1850



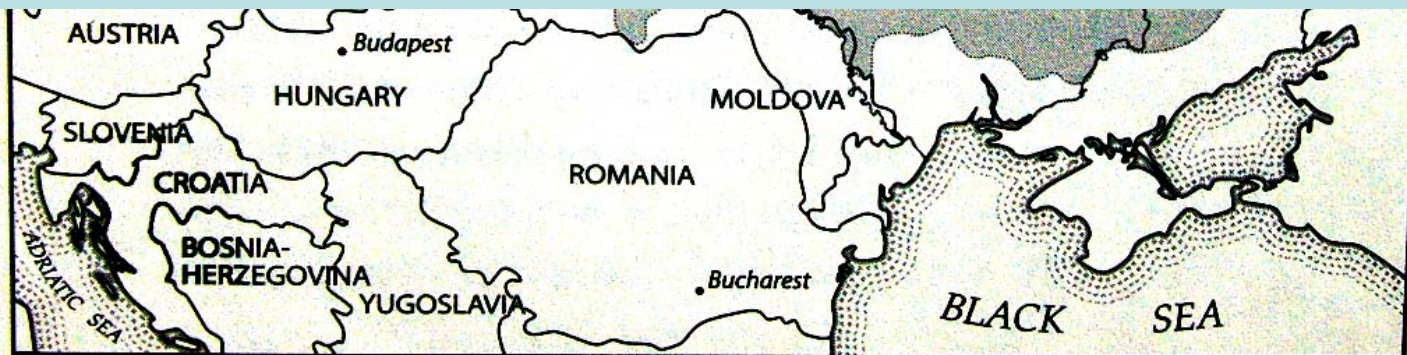


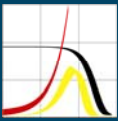
A narrower definition of Eastern-Central Europe



M. Handelsman (1933)

- the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as the principal framework for the history of the whole 'Central European' region.
- The Commonwealth as encapsulating the essence of 'east-central' or 'central Europeanness'
- The essence or synthesis of East-Central Europe: a condensed version of all cultural variety of the region





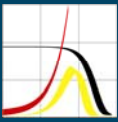
Research hypotheses

❖ *The macro-regional family & marriage patterns correspond to contrasting systems of welfare provision and family well-being*

❖ *Joint family systems functioned as private institutions to redistribute the poverty of nuclear family by the way of the kinship system and were generally better prepared to escape life cycle induced poverty*

❖ *Joint family organization encouraged solidarity and support for the elderly and other vulnerable individuals*

Based on: **Laslett 1988, 1989; Schofield 1989; Cain 1991; Hartman 2004;**
also Macfarlane 1978, 1980



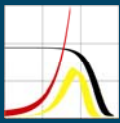
Research questions:



Does the distinction between different household regimes in Eastern-Central Europe have any implications for the way families performed their welfare functions towards the most vulnerable?

- **aged**
- **widowed**
- **parenting alone**

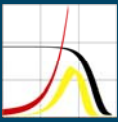
Which family system was 'better' for the most vulnerable?



Vulnerable population as minority population



- aged (63+): 3.2% of total population with ages given
- widowed: 2.5% (M), and 5.5% (F) of the respective population with known marital status
- parenting alone: 4.2% of the total population



Images of the elderly's lives in the old good days...

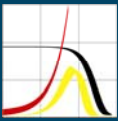


What a blessing is it for a house, if children, seated on their grandmother's knees, can listen to the family traditions, and if age blossoms again, because the old generation lives in the midst of their grand-children and great-grand-children! (...) The house is a whole and whole blessing is on it, only if great-grandmother, grandmother, child and grandchild live in harmony together ... (Riehl 1856, 156).

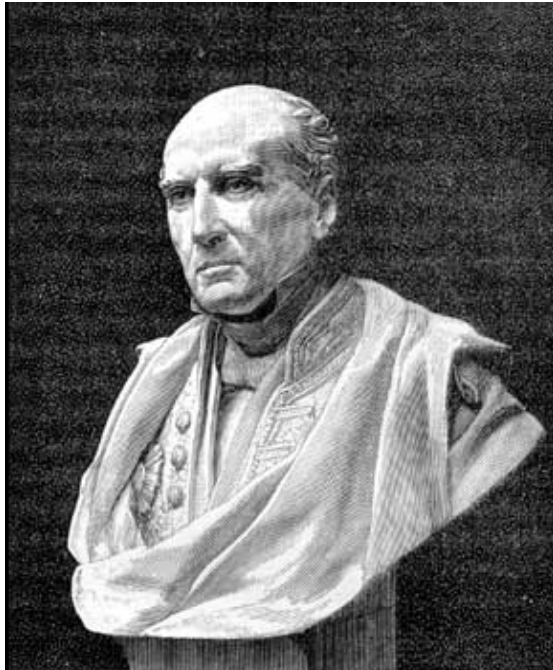
W. Riehl
1823-1897

'Degenerated peasants' and the inhabitants of towns:
'fragmentation of land' and 'the spirit of the modern
absolutely monetarised economy and economic
individualism'





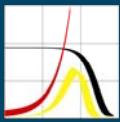
Images of the old



Frédéric Le Play
(1806-1882)

[In patriarchal families] independence is checked by traditional moral influences. This frame of mind is based on firm religious beliefs. It ensures the respect for the established order (...) rather than developing a spirit of initiative (...) But, on the other hand, the community allows less diligent and skilled, and morally delinquent individuals to share in the common well-being"
(*La Reforme Sociale*, 1872, 352-353).

[On 'unstable family']: It establishes itself by the union of two free adults, growth with the birth of children, shrinks with the successive departure of the members of the new generation and dissolves finally, without leaving a trace, with the early death of the abandoned parents". "(...) In this system, a single or married individual is no longer responsible for the needs of his relatives and rapidly rises to a higher situation if he possesses outstanding aptitudes"
(*La Reforme Sociale* 1878, 2:9)



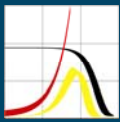
The fate of the elderly: Eastern European ethnographies (1)



Oskar Kolberg
(1814-1890)

„The youngsters show much respect for the elderly. A farmhand, even if already married, will salute a venerable host and bend to his knees before him. This does not mean that the young generation does not send for baggarhood superfluous old men no longer capable of tending their grandchildren; the practice however is perceived as natural and does not insult any of the involved sides” (Kolberg, 1867).





The fate of the elderly : Eastern European ethnographies (2)

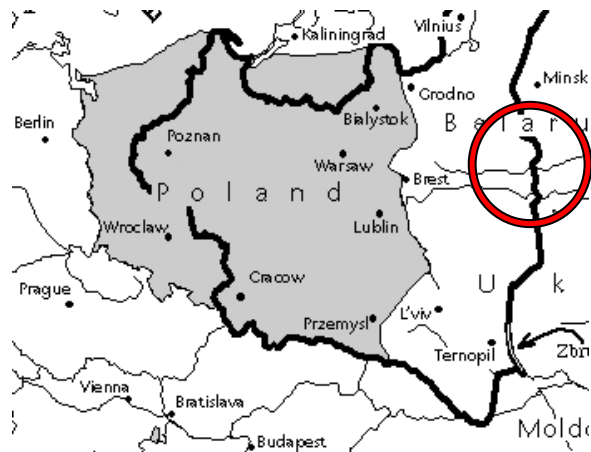


In Polesie "the will of the father, the mother or the gramps, in short - of the family's progenitor – is law, it is undisputably sacred"
(Dovnar-Zapolsky, Kiev 1909 [1897], p. 10)

M. Dovnar-Zapolsky
(1867-1934)

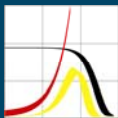


Jozef Obrebski
(1905-1967)



“PATROLATRIA” (god-like sanctity attributed to the father) as an essential feature of the family relations of Poleshuks in southern Belarus.

The cult of the father - one of the most prominent features of Polesie's grandfamilial organization - generally also translated into a widely accepted notion of exceptionality and superiority of the social status of the elderly.



Central European Family Forms Database:

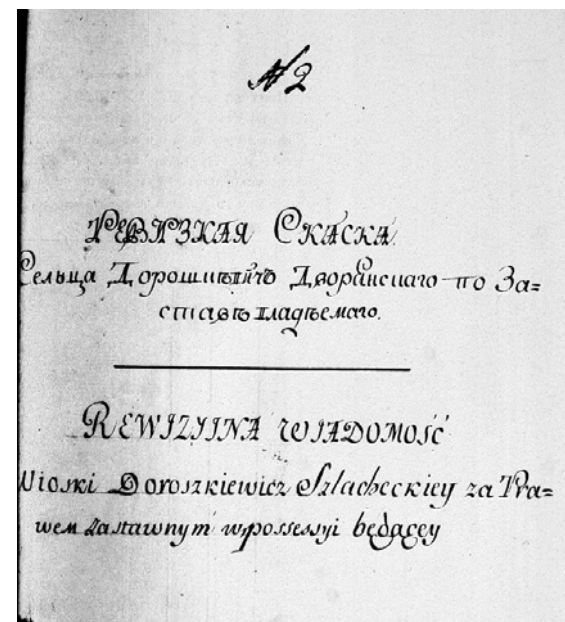
Dom 3 Botvotek					
	Tomasz Boral	1	45	1	54
	Mariana Zona				
	Dzieci Kasper Syn	1	14		
	Agnieszka Corka			1	9
	Sturgoy Kasper Botvotek	1	32		
	Katarzyna Zona			1	22
Dom 4 Botvotek					
	Jakob Silitki	1	36		
	Stpolonia Zona			1	33
	Dzieci Wojciech Syn	1	6		
	Agnieszka Corka			1	4
	Moziy Syn	1	1		
	Kumori Marianna			1	52
	Stuz. Wawrzencie Mieszanowiczak	1	16		
Dom 5 Botvotek					
	Walenty Janowicz	1	50		
	Kozabia Zona			1	51
	Dzieci Mlecy Syn	1	24		
	Kuznecznica Corka			1	20

01	10	50	Wiktoryo Dobrowolny	-	1	Aug 28
		51	okazywanna wyka	-	2	1
02	11	52	Barbara Girschu nowka	-	1	Aug 28
		53	Ludwyc Syn	-	10	1
		54	Konstantyna Corka	-	12	1
		55	Michal Syn	-	7	1
		56	Stygnepha Potanowka	zoda	1	
0	12	57	Katarzyna Czyskowca	-	1	Aug 28

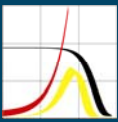
Libri Status Animarum: 11%

censuses of Civil-Military
Commissions, 1790-1792 (49%)

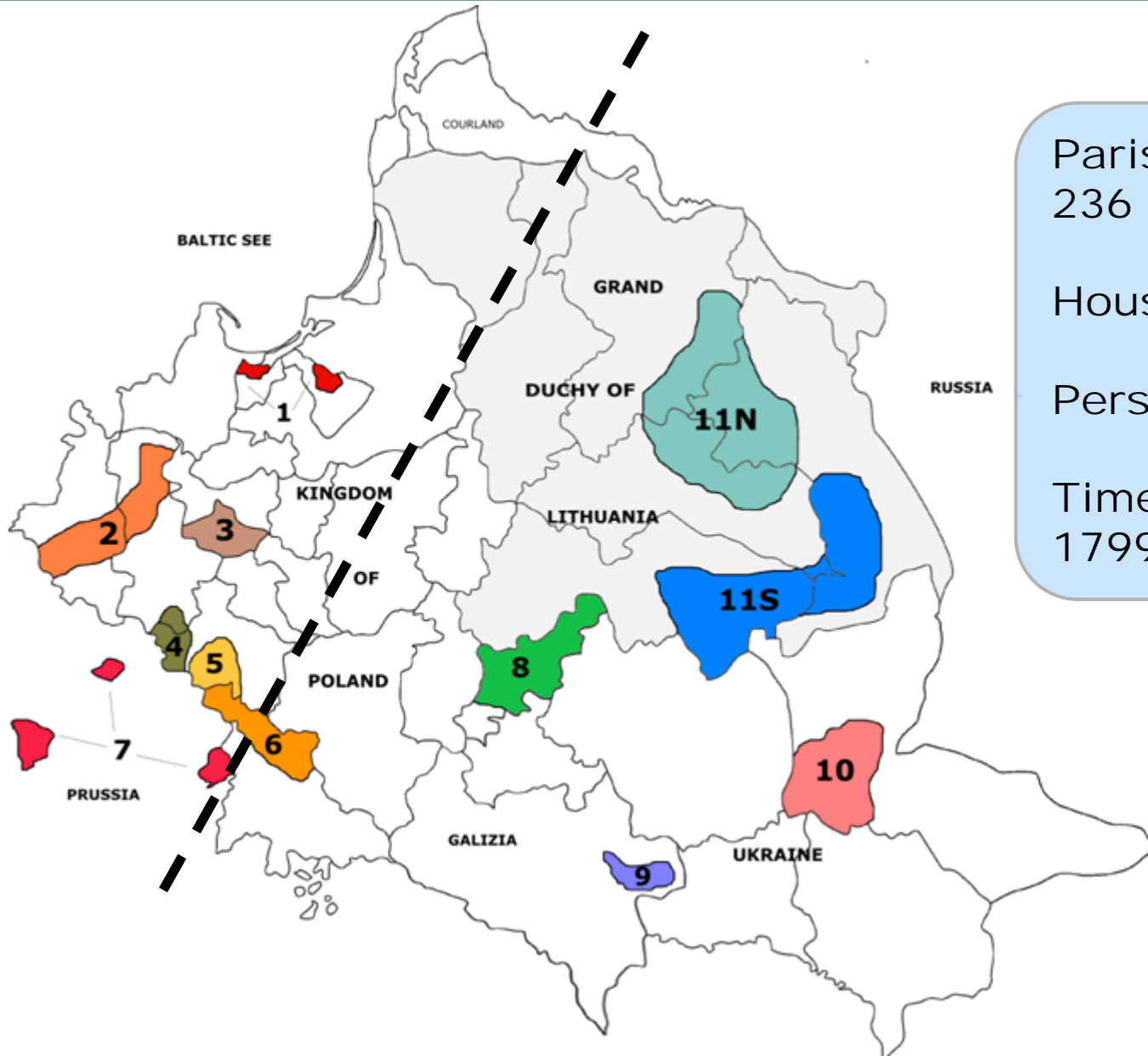
- 90% of lists from 1766-1799
- all precede the abolition of serfdom
- 89% of listings include information on the ages;
- 77% of population with ages



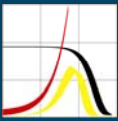
Russian 5th Revision, 1795-96: 37%



Data spatial distribution within Poland-Lithuania (ca. 1772)

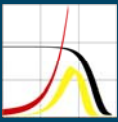


Parishes or estates = 236
Households=26.652
Persons= 155.807 ...
Time coverage: 1766-1799 (90%)

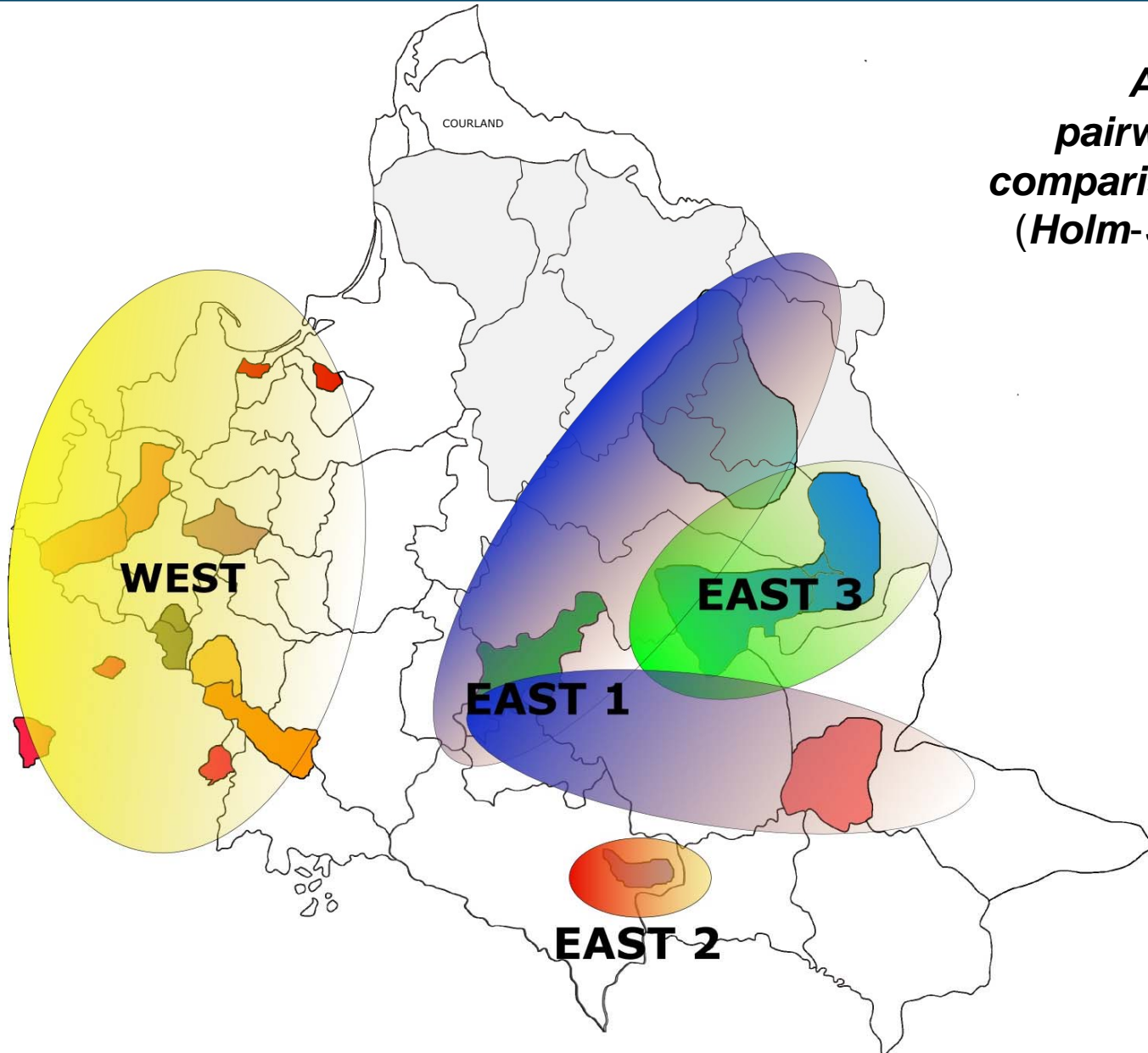


Historical data and present-day borders

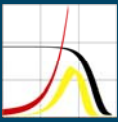




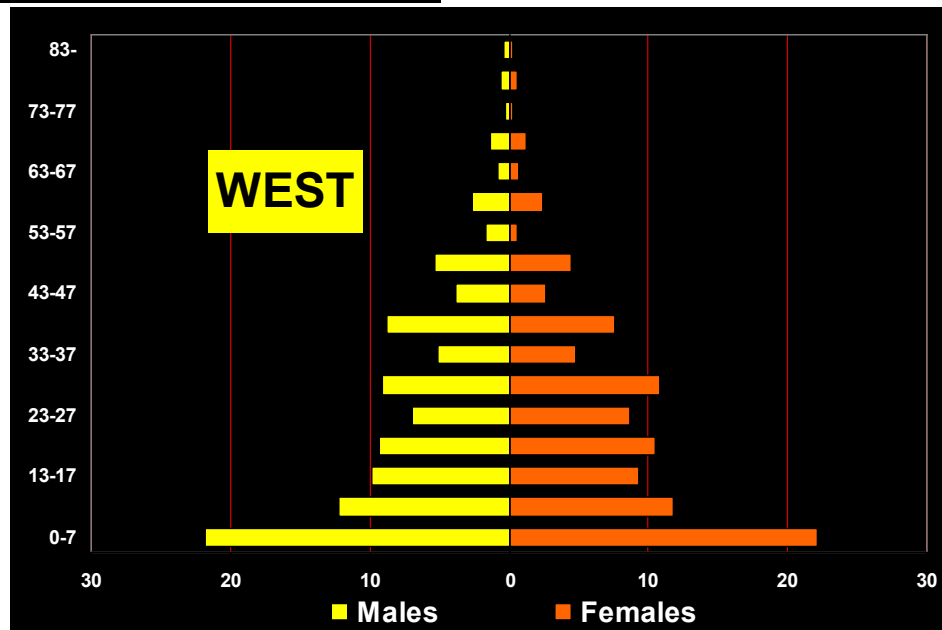
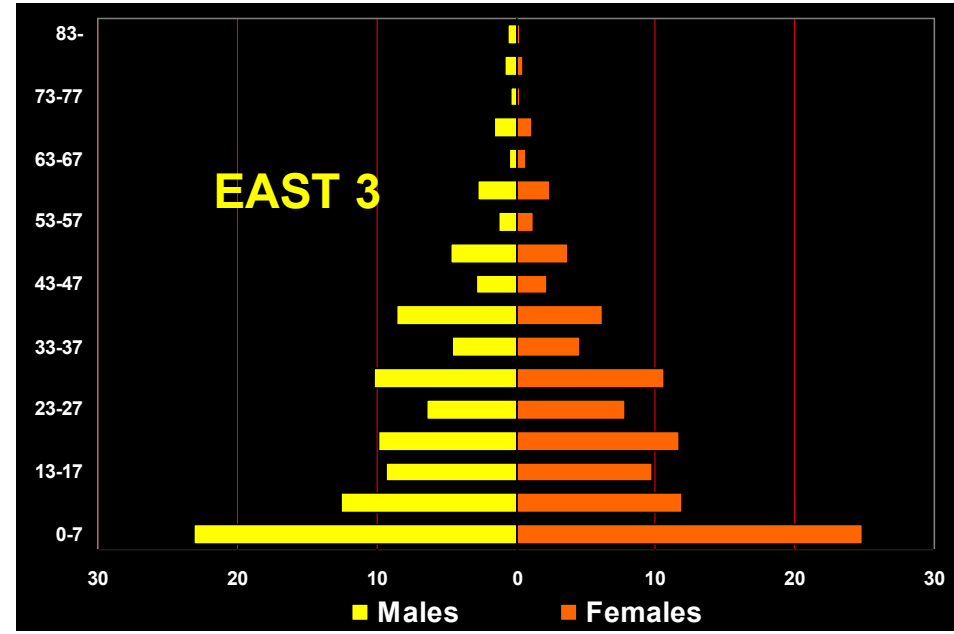
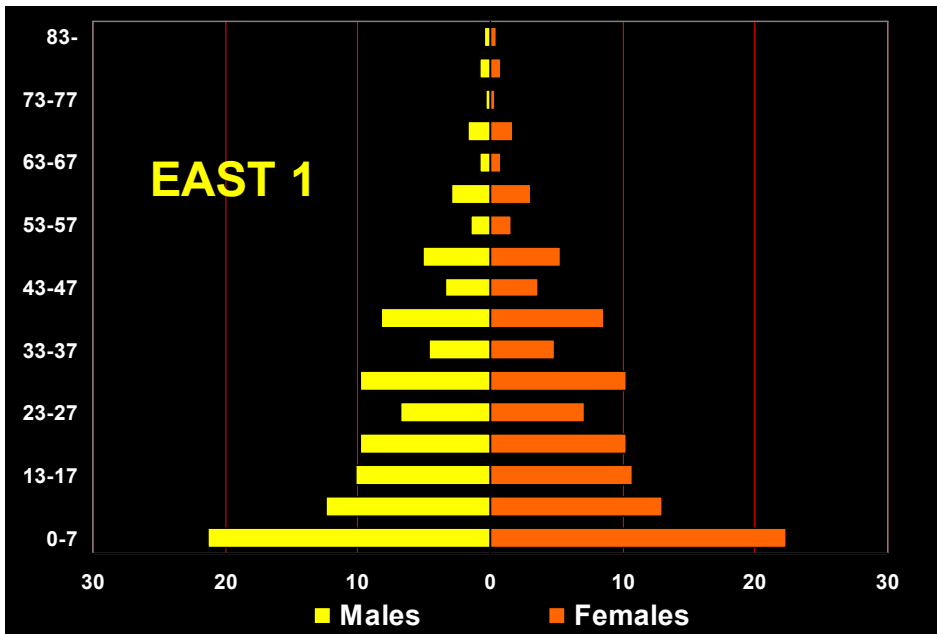
Family systems in historical Poland-Lithuania

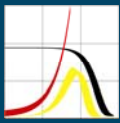


**ANOVA +
pairwise multiple
comparison procedures
(Holm-Sidak method)**

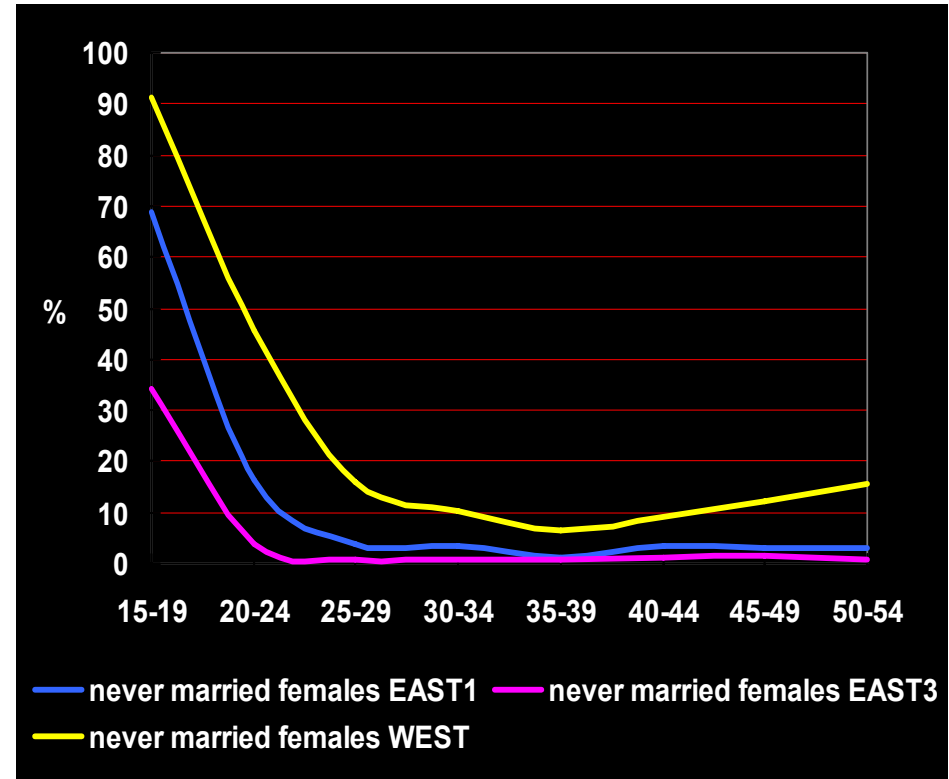
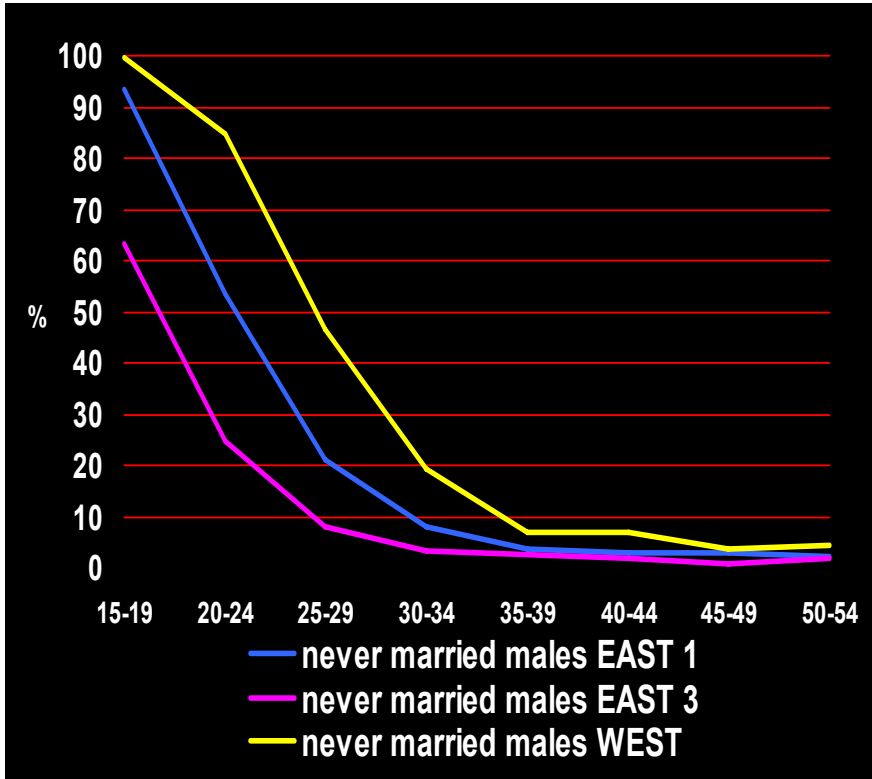


Different demographic regimes?





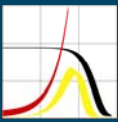
Proportions never married by age groups



EAST 1 (NMM freq.)=4.128 ind.
 EAST 3 (NMM freq.)=1.220 ind.
 WEST (NMM freq.)=5.586 ind.

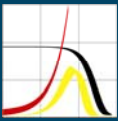
EAST 1 (NMF freq.)=2.307 ind.
 EAST 3 (NMF freq.)=531 ind.
 WEST (NMF freq.)=4.268 ind.

WEST		EAST 1		EAST 3	
M	F	M	F	M	F
27,7	21,3	23,7	19,0	19,9	16,8



Summary households characteristic

Variable	REGION			
	WEST	EAST1	EAST2	EAST3
Total hhs	11.638	10.002	1.131	3.884
Total pop	66.571	58.404	5.526	25.333
Mean size of houseful	5.32 (5.36)	5.60 (5.78)	4.72 (4.72)	6.42 (6.58)
Mean size of household	5.99 (6.03)	5.85 (6.02)	5.02 (5.02)	6.51 (6.69)
CFU per one household (mean)	1,13	1,51	1,18	2,06
% hhs with CFUs of 2+	10,16	31,36	12,91	54,79
Offspring per household (mean)	2.26 (2.31)	2.41 (2.52)	2.25 (2.25)	2.34 (2.51)
Crs Kin per household (mean)	0,36	1,20	0,50	2,24
% households with crs kin	20,53	47,20	23,75	66,61
Crs Kin as % of total pop	5,27	21,94	11,35	32,73
% households with servants	38,93	9,31	12,64	1,69
Servants as % of total pop	12,37	1,86	2,44	0,23
Lodgers per household (mean)	0,63	0,20	0,36	0,09
% households with lodgers	24,04	7,41	14,52	2,96
Lodgers as % of total pop	11,45	3,66	4,53	1,30

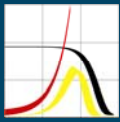


Household structures: a view from the family

Laslett's household types	WEST		EAST 1		EAST 3	
	% distribution of households and CFUs by household type					
	HH	CFU	HH	CFU	HH	CFU
3a-3d	78,0	72,9	53,3	39,3	33,9	19,2
4a-4d	11,2	10,4	14,2	10,4	10,9	6,3
5a – 5f	8,9	16,7	31,2	50,3	54,7	74,6
Summa	11638	12644	10002	13601	3884	6880

CFU=conjugal family units (married couples + solitary people with at least one unmarried child)

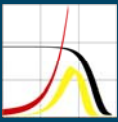
See: Hammel & Laslett 1974; also: Berkner 1977



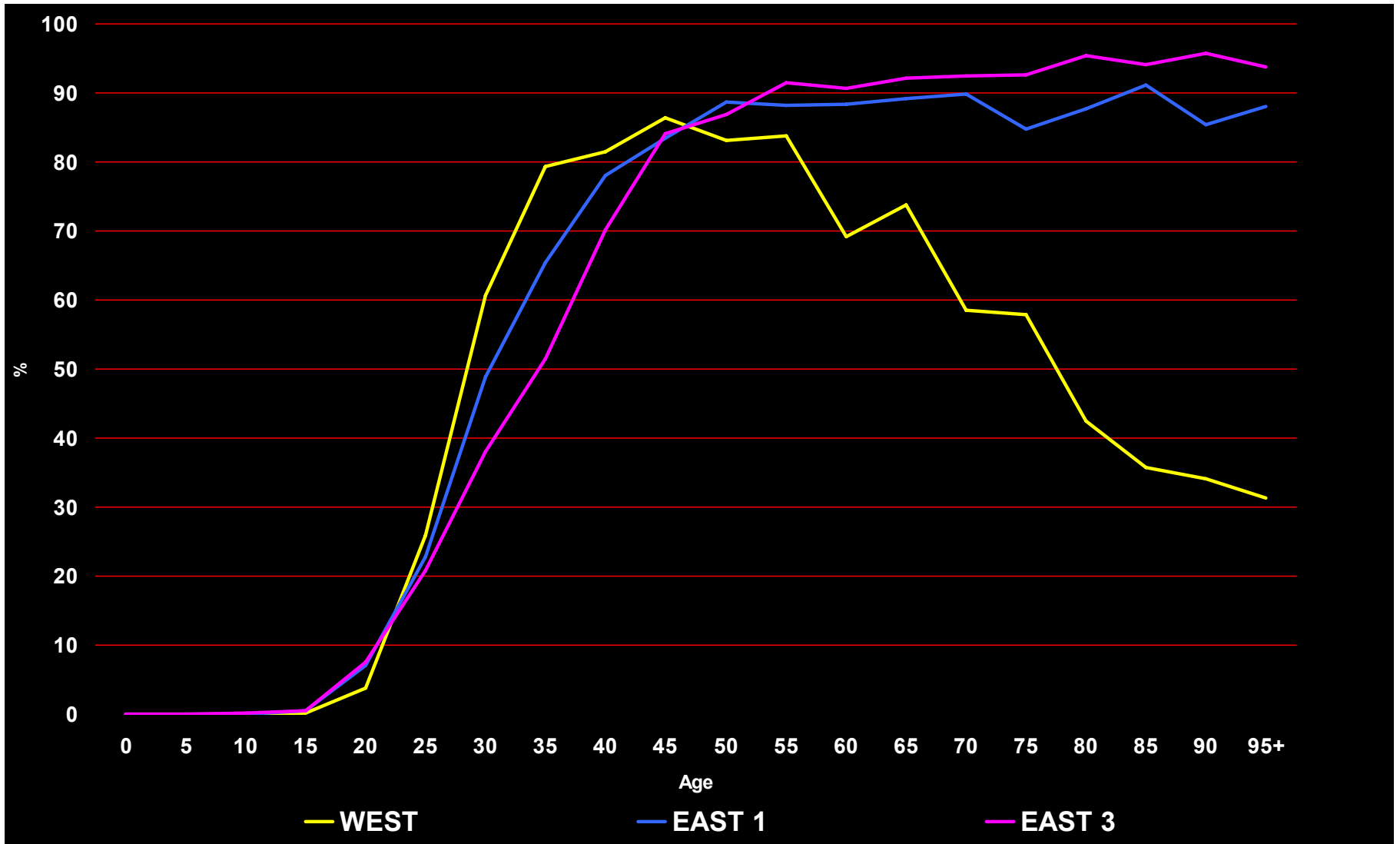
Thresholds of old age among men

After L. Dillon *The Shady Side of Fifty* (2008)

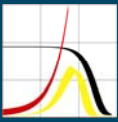
- Household headship: arguably the most important characteristics defining young-old age
- Heading a household with children
- Living with a spouse
- Working
- Owning property



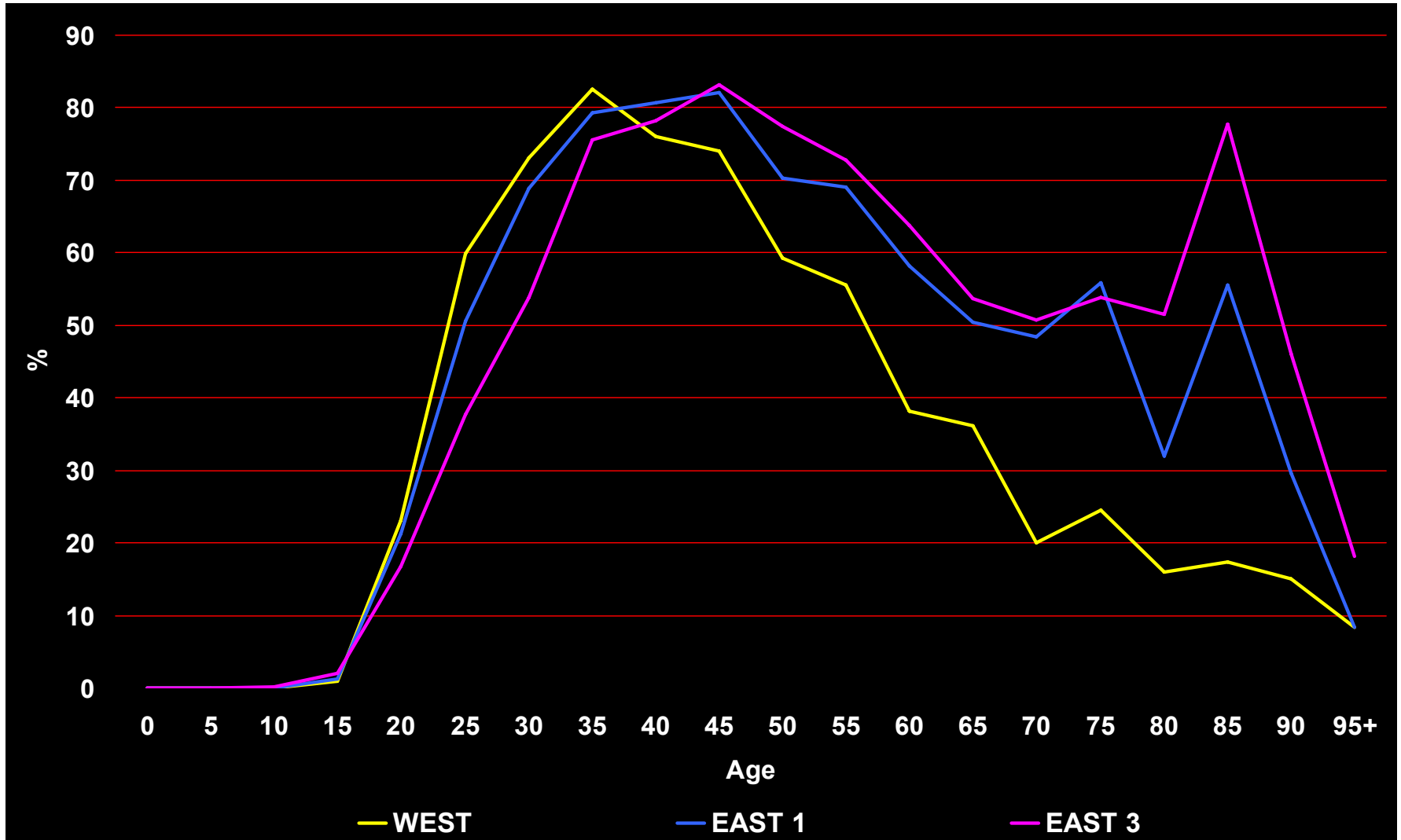
Headship rates among males



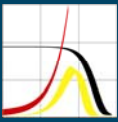
61.681 individuals; 18.992 heads



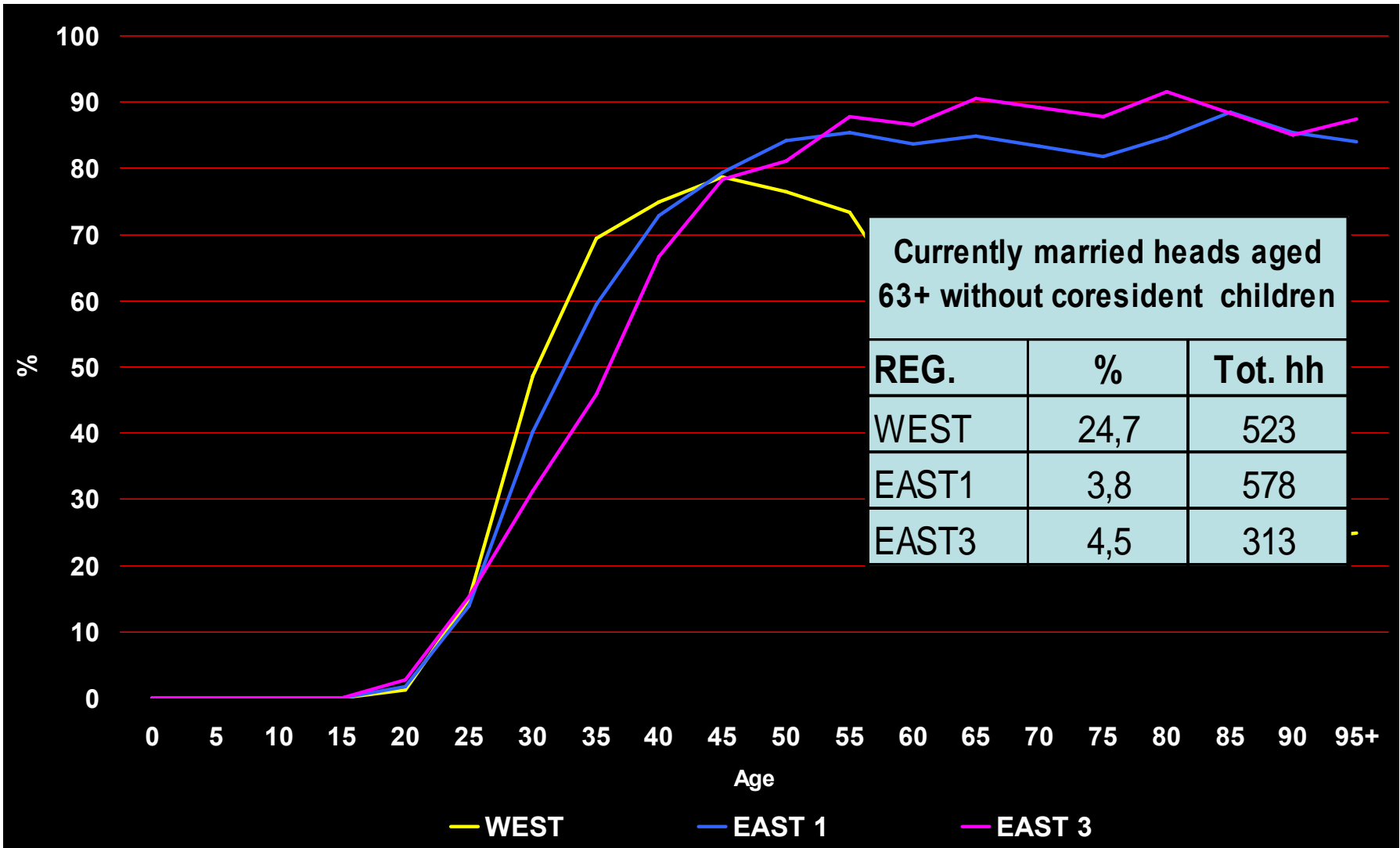
Headship rates among females (women being head or head's spouse)



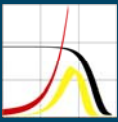
59.744 individuals; 18.694 heads or heads' spouses



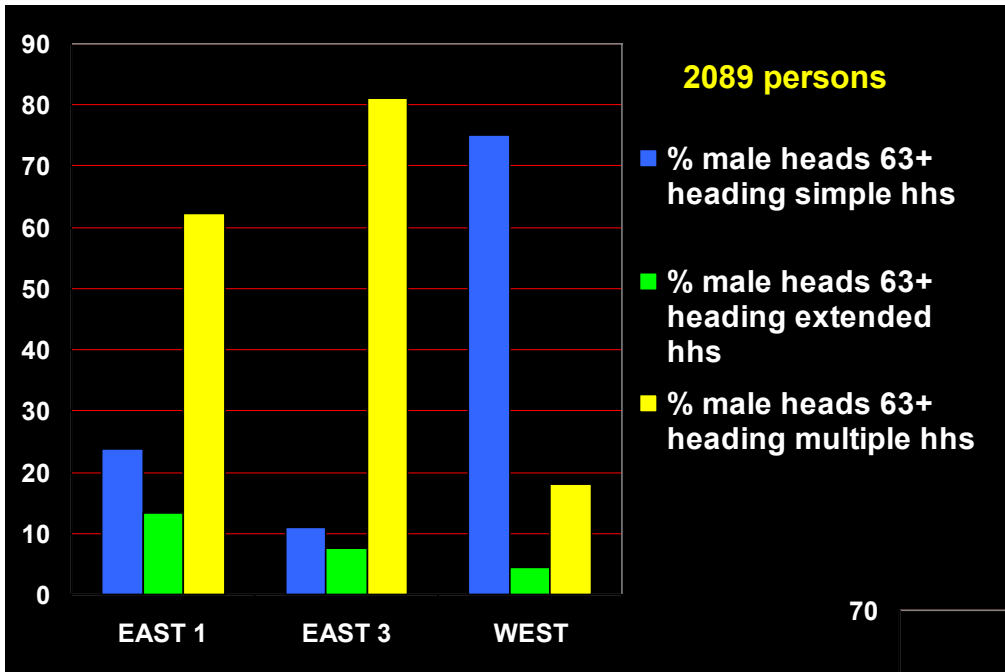
Heading a household with children (male heads only)



67.503 individuals; 18.356 males heading household with at least one child

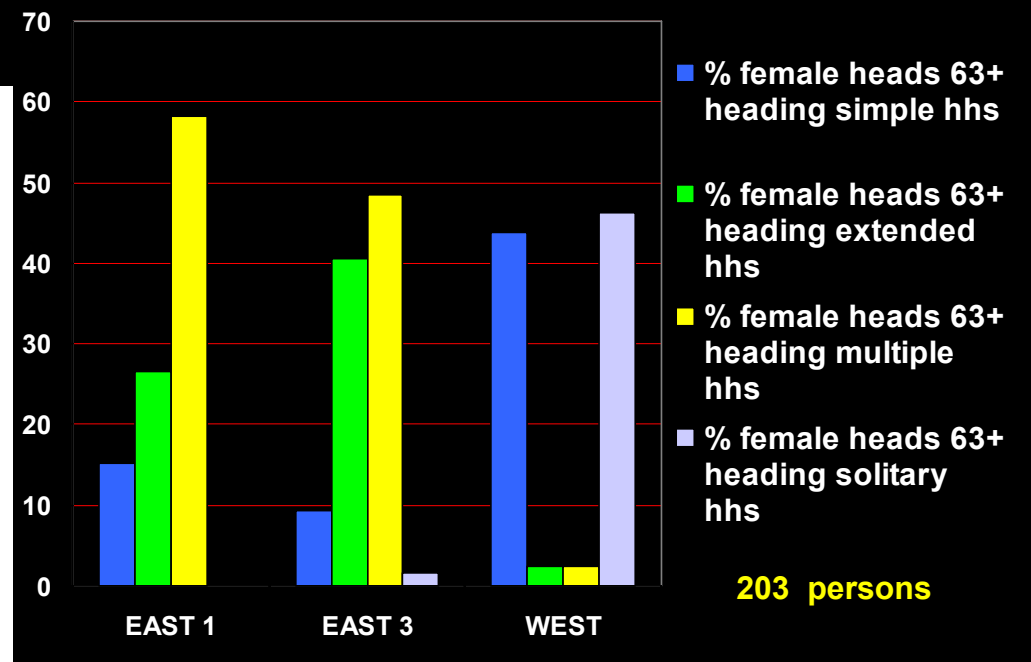


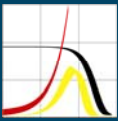
Residence patterns of the elderly heads (63+) by sex



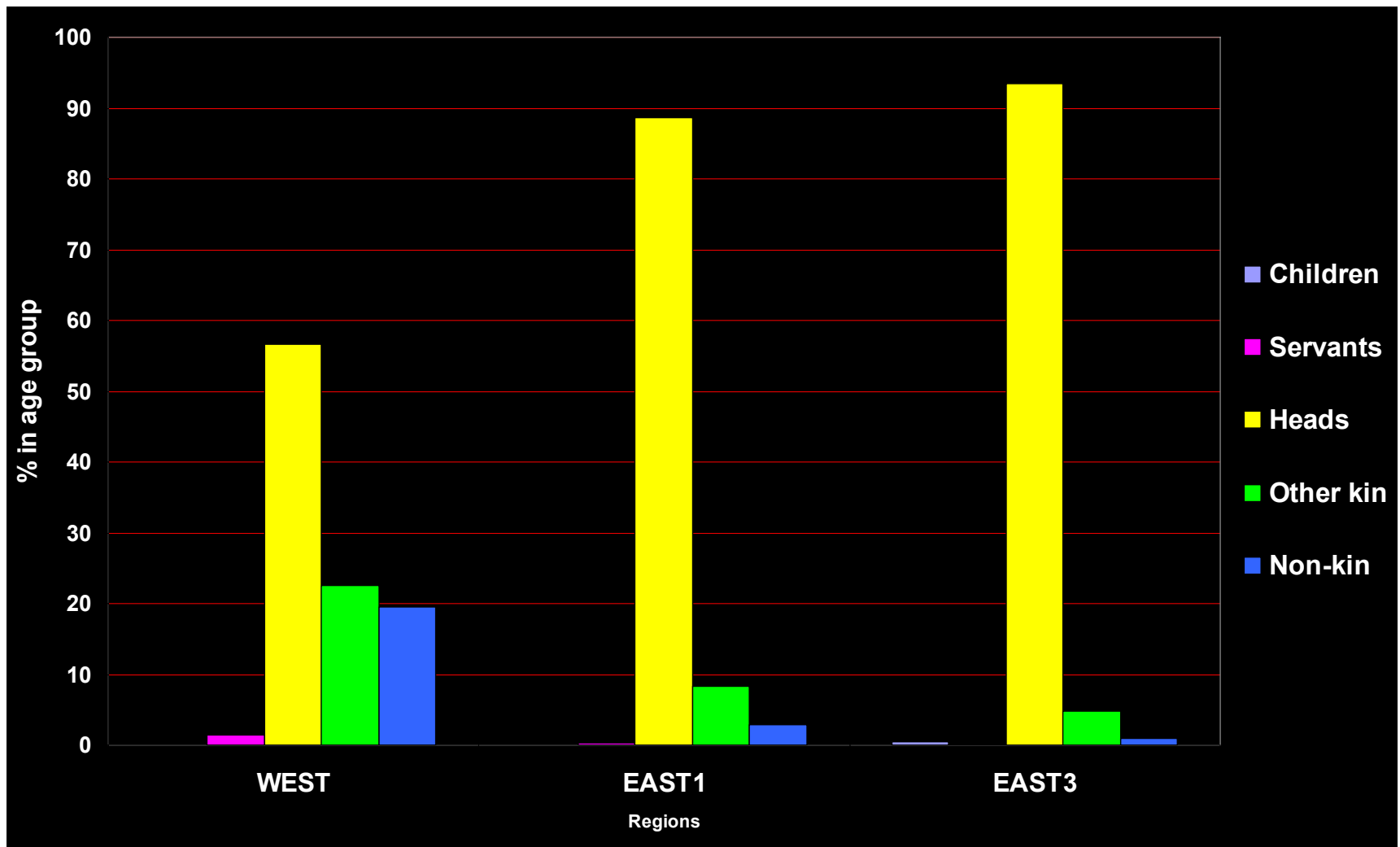
‘WEST’: Nuclear hardship or ‘intimacy at a distance’?

Living in nuclear household may not necessarily mean ‘nuclear hardship’, but living in solitary hhs may do so...

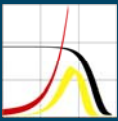




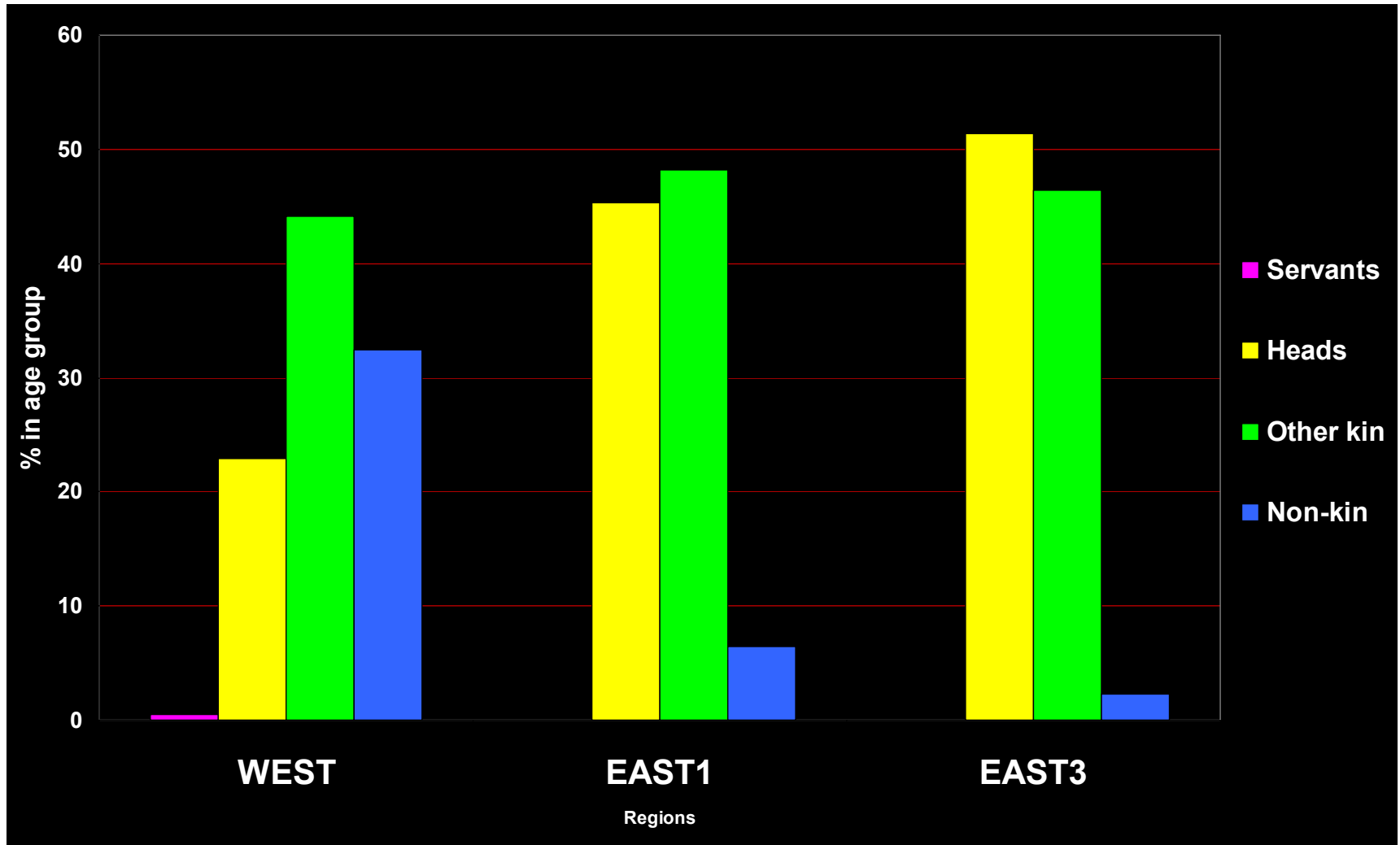
Household position of elderly males (63+)



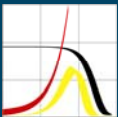
2301 individuals



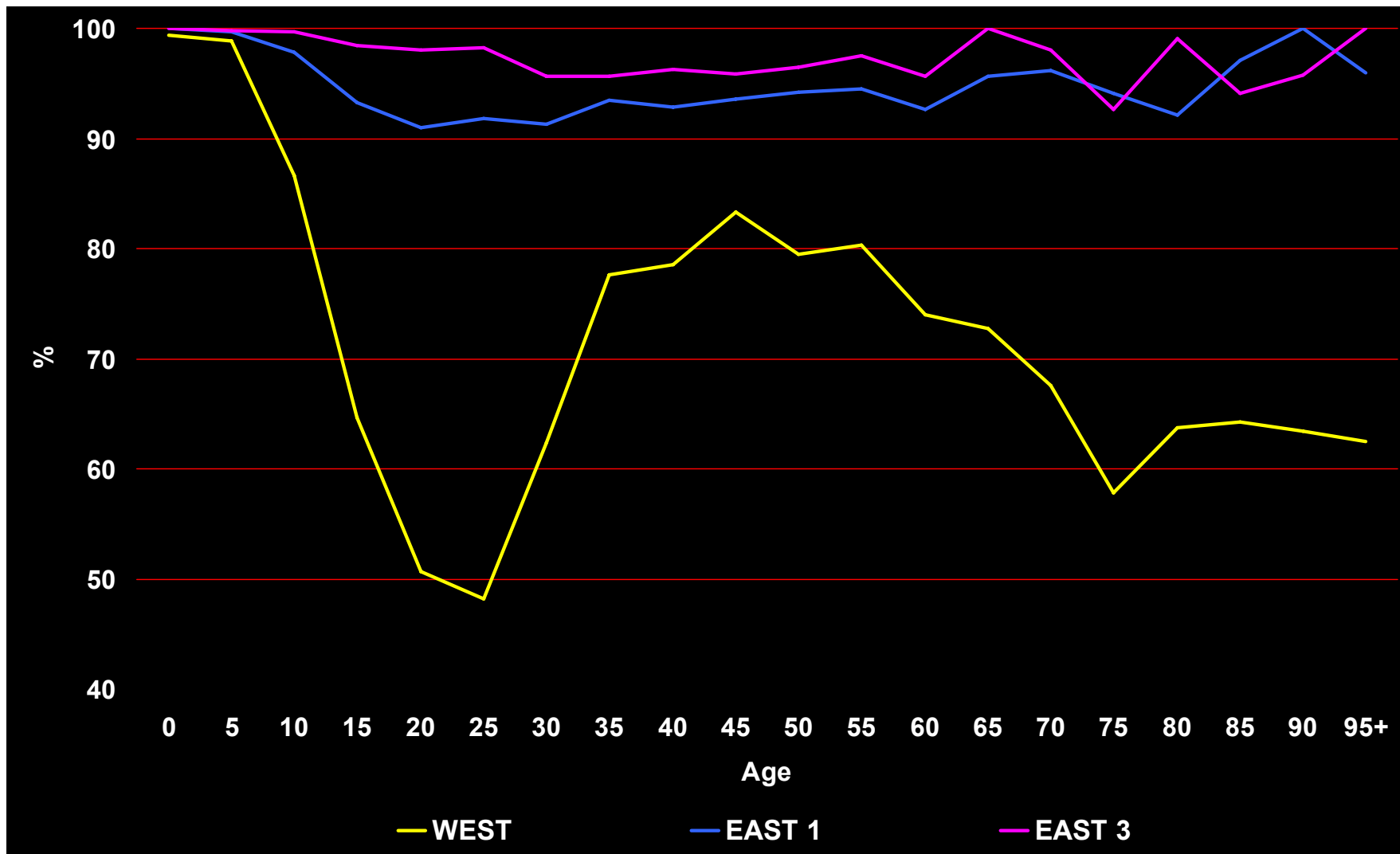
Household position of elderly females (63+)

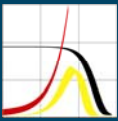


1637 individuals

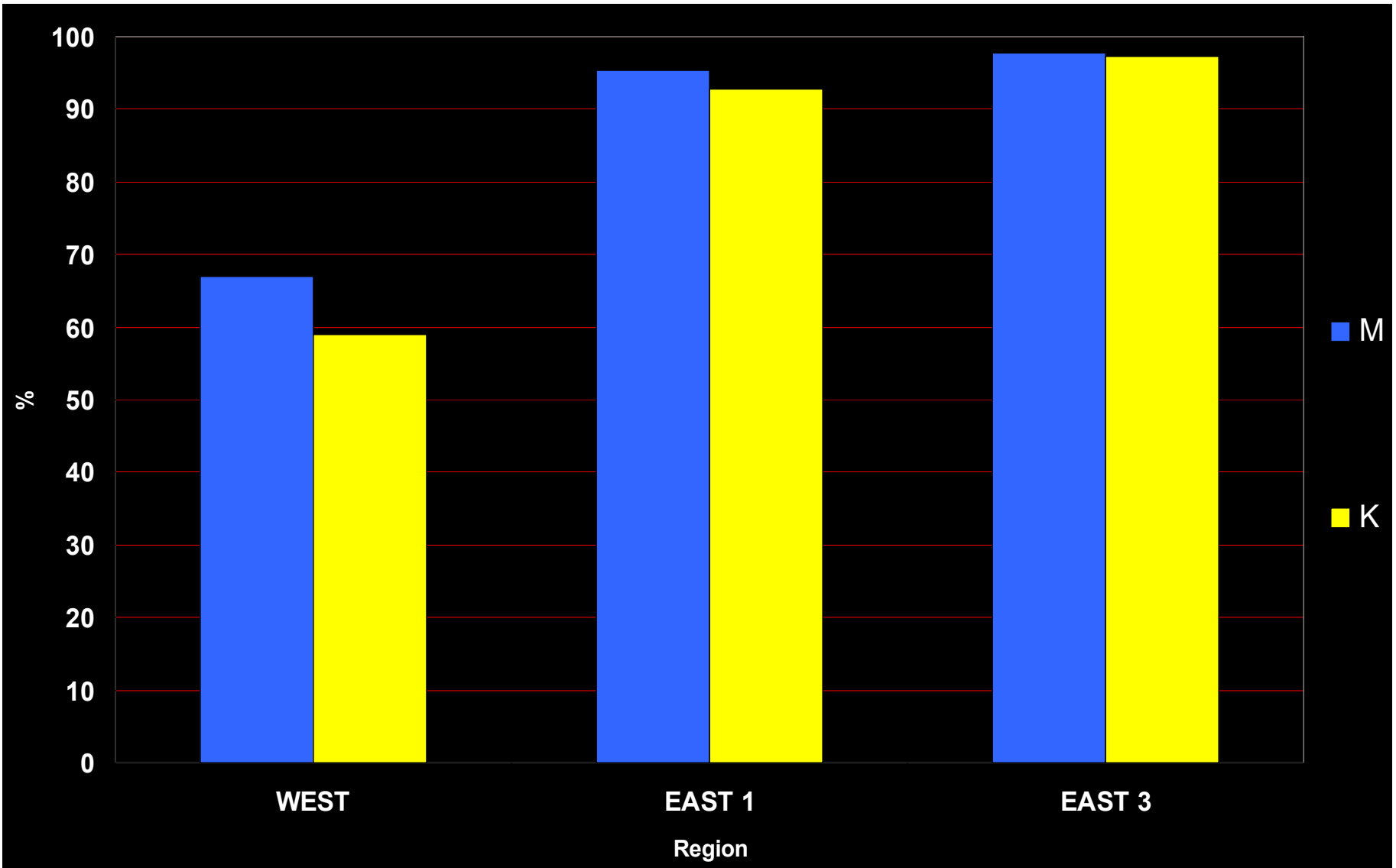


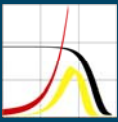
Living with kin other than spouse (all males)



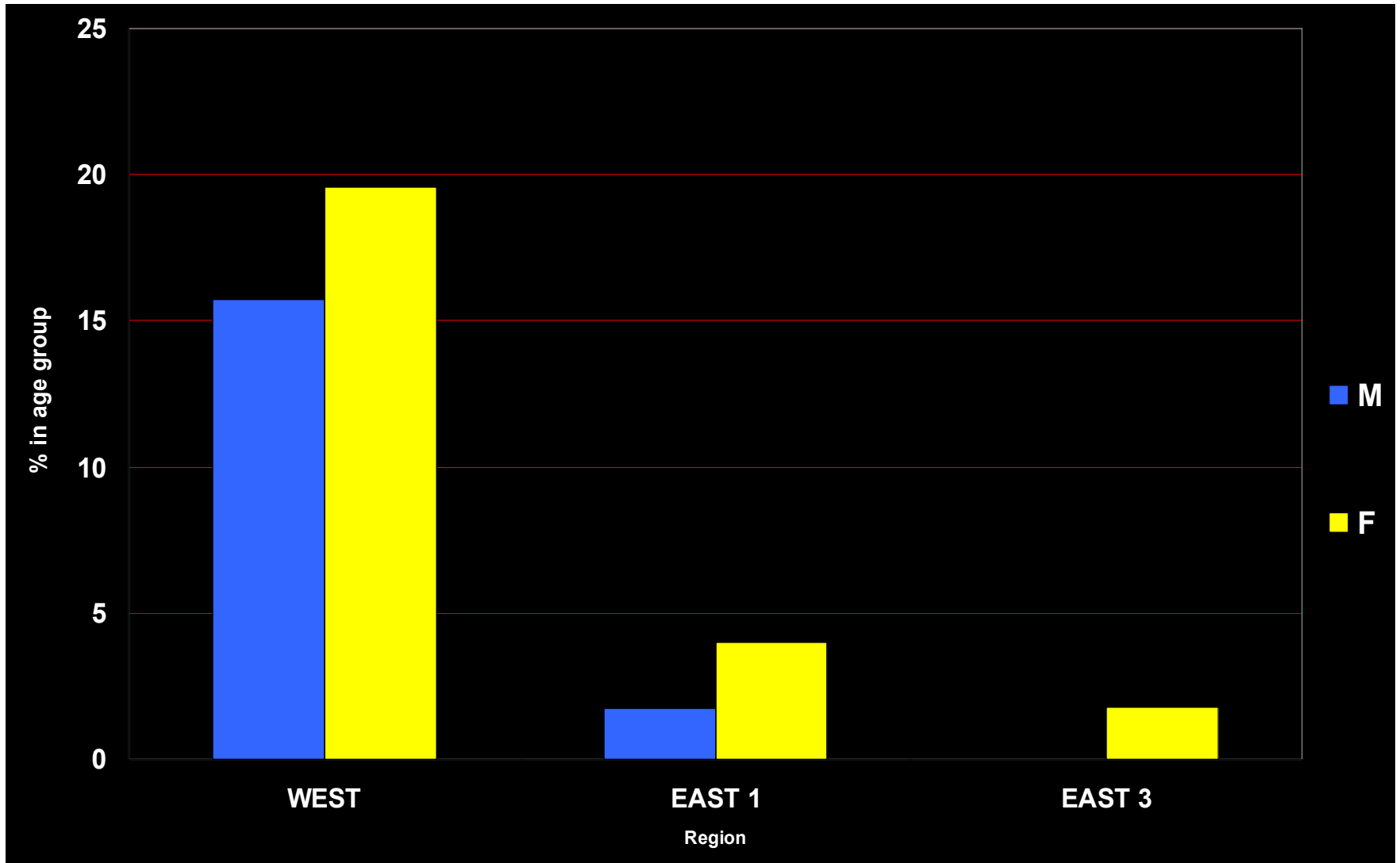


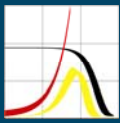
Living with kin other than spouse (all males 63+)





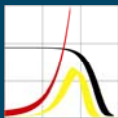
All widowed M and F aged 63+ not living with children and other kin





Distribution of men 63+ years among predominant household statuses (all male domestics)

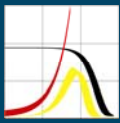
	Residence pattern	WEST	EAST 1	EAST 3
		%	%	%
MALES	Alone	0,3	0	0,3
	Nonrelatives	8,6	2,8	1,2
	Spouse only	5,4	1,5	1,7
	SP+ others (no child)	17,5	3,2	2,7
	Child with or without other persons	67,2	90,3	91,9
	Other relatives (no spouse or child)	1,3	2,2	2,4
	N=100%	1157 =100%	1136 =100%	583 =100%



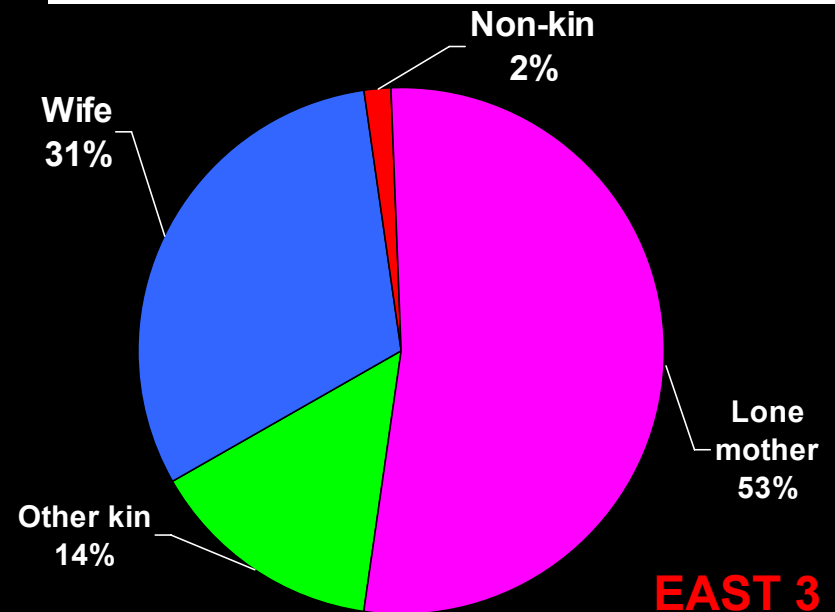
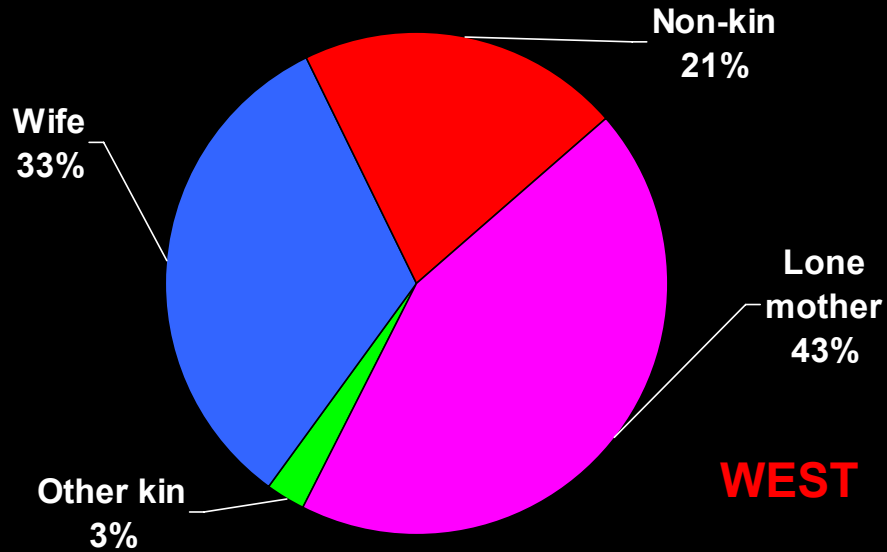
Distribution of men 63+ years among predominant household statuses (all female domestics)

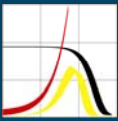
	Residence pattern	WEST	EAST 1	EAST 3
		%	%	%
FEMALES	Alone	1,7	0	0,4
	Nonrelatives	30,0	6,8	2,2
	Spouse only	4,8	0,8	1,8
	Spouse and others (no child)	13,5	2,9	3,9
	Child with or without other persons	46,0	85,2	86,7
	Other relatives (no spouse or child)	4,0	4,3	5,0
	SUMA (l.bz=100%)	931 =100%	485 =100%	279 =100%

Not married female household heads having in their household:	WEST	EAST 1	EAST 3
Nobody: Alone (AL)	26,7	0,0	0,6
Freq.=100%	60	294	164

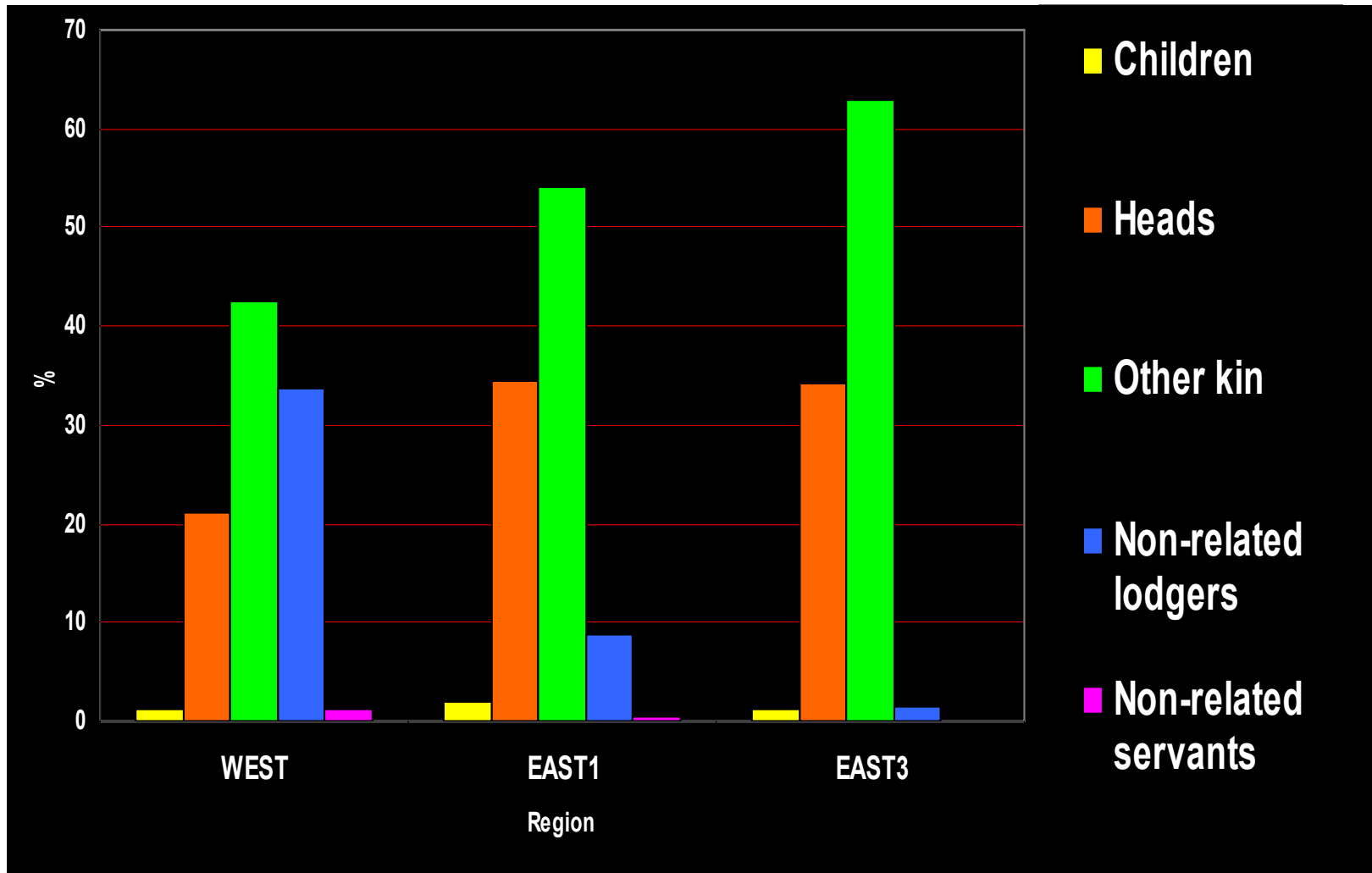


Relationship patterns of the elderly females (63+) by type of relation (all domestics)

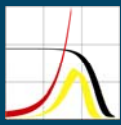




Residence status of lone mothers (all and 63+)

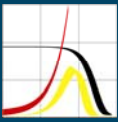


3756 individuals



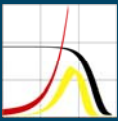
Back to Le Play's and Riehl's dreams: consequences of differences in household position

	Grandchildren per 100 hh	Grandparents per 100 hh	Grandparents per 100 persons aged 0-7 years	% 3-generational households extended downwards (parents, children, grandchildren)	% 3-generational households extended downwards (parents, children, grandchildren); with heads aged 63+
WEST	3,0	0,3	0,73	10,8	12,4
EAST1	29,4	0,8	2,03	21,0	57,4
EAST3	48,2	4,0	8,88	27,1	63,3



Conclusions 1/2

1. The traditional image of overly familistic Eastern Europeans does not hold true.
2. Within prevailing demographic constraints, different societies of historical Poland took decidedly different attempts at taking care for their most vulnerable members.
3. Different systems of household organization in historic Eastern Europe, well corresponded with different systems of family welfare.
4. Non-nuclear family system seemed to be quite different from the nuclear system in respect of their welfare functions.
5. By this, a usual contrast between simple family systems of the West and complex family systems of European East or Asia, was replicated within Eastern Europe itself.



Conclusions 2/2

1. Family arrangements in two eastern regions of Poland-Lithuania can be regarded as coming very close towards ensuring that no one who grew old, got widowed or was destined to single parenting, would ever find himself or herself outside his or her own family group or close kin community.
2. On the contrary, societies of western and central Poland lived under a set of familial conventions which did not ensure a place in a family group for every older person, necessitous parents or other needy individuals.
3. Neither the persistence of strong family ties precluded the existence of conflictual relationships and power inequalities within the family, nor the exclusion of the vulnerable from the kin coresident group necessarily implied lack of love and full neglect
4. The question remains, how could that be that Slavic societies functioning within a common framework of the second serfdom system, developed cultural values so different as regards the treatment, *solidarity and support for the elderly and other vulnerable individuals*