

International Commission for Historical Demography
CEPHn – Central Europe Population History network

Centre for Population Studies – Babes-Bolyai University
Center for Transylvanian Studies – Romanian

Romanian Society for Historical Demography

With the support of UEFISCDI Romania,
Project **PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-3-0188**

Intermarriage throughout History

5-8 June 2013, Cluj-Napoca
Romania

Program

Wednesday, June 5th

12⁰⁰ -17⁰⁰ Registration desk, "Universitas" Hotel, 7 Pandurilor st.,
first floor

18⁰⁰ - 19⁰⁰ Introductory briefing, "Babes-Bolyai" University,
1 Mihail Kogalniceanu st., Aula Magna (2nd floor)

19³⁰ Welcome Reception, Piramida Restaurant

Thursday, June 6th

Universitas Hotel, 7 Pandurilor st.

Main Conference Room, first floor

9⁰⁰ – 10³⁰

1. The Analysis of Mixed Marriage in the Collective Mentality

Organizers: Daniela Mârza, Marius Eppel

Carmen Albert, *Inter-war Remarks on the Mixed Marriages in the Banat*

The Banat is a territory where the ethno-confessional diversity always represented one of the principal characteristics, offering new investigation perspective, such as history of mentalities, imaginary, sensibility that were specific to the new history of Annales. Not ultimately, the history of private life is a fragmentary studied domain until now, although we could have big surprises in a comparative perspective.

The difficulty consists not only in lack of specialists but most of all in the sources dispersion, or even in their absence. An extraordinary chance for the collective mentality approaching regarding the family issues is represented by the researches of the Banat-Crișana Social Institute during the inter-war period. The investigations along the monographic campaigns in the Plain as well as in the Mountainous Banat focused on varied subjects including from the beginning the family as a social unit. The motivation of rural family research in the complexity of its events was given by the deficiency of population due to decreasing demographic level, as it was observed each time the census had been made.

Searching for causality the monographs reached the mixed marriages problem in their approaches, inherent within a space where ethno-cultural diversity had been a constant value for centuries. Responses to a qualitative survey reveal the subjective perception of the population concerning this issue, the answers being recorded in published studies and registering papers. A brief analysis shows the population's attitude and opinion concerning the perspective of marriage with foreigners as being a negative one: almost all the inquired persons declared themselves against to such a matrimonial alliance. It is

hard to believe that the answers reflected the view of an entire community, even more that those who had been asked referred to still existing mixed families so that it could have not been a majority against that type of marriage.

Nevertheless we may conclude that the inter-war collective mentality did not approve the idea of mixed marriages. This fact can be explained by the mixed marriages low frequency during the centuries of the multi-ethnic coexistence, although this part of historical and demographic research in the Banat is missing. For a proper conclusion, we proposed a case study, looking for mixed marriages frequency in Reșița civil marital state Registers during 1895/1911. The population of Reșița was extremely diversified ethno-confessionary after the colonization started in the 18th century and it is unlikely that after more than 100 years when transition from coexistence to cohabitation had been done, the ethnic minorities should have not entered into mixed marriages. This fact should have happened even more that the settlement of colonists of different religions was made nearby the Romanian already formed localities or in prolongation of those. Reșița is such a case we have approached on.

After the marriages analysis within the period we mentioned, if the scores are low, they confirm the fact that the collective mentality had opposed to such a marriage until the inter-war period when the Banat-Crișana Social Institute investigated it. On contrary if the cases are frequent and specially ascending, we may talk about a real “cohabitation” in the Mountainous Banat; and what is more important is that it means an open mentality to “acceptance of others”, and the responses of those who were investigated by the Banat-Crișana Social Institute, just a manifestation of a very cultivated ideology that time.

Elena Glavatskaya, *“Depending on Nationality...” Views Among the Public and Experts on Mixed Marriages in the Urals*

The Urals has always been a multi-religious region housing representatives of some 200 nations, presently among a population of four million. This is due both to its geographical position on the border between Europe and Asia and the Russian state’s policy through the centuries. The region is considered relatively peaceful, tolerant and

hence attractive for immigrants. The immigration to the Urals has gradually increased since the Soviet Union collapsed, and boomed due to intensive constructive works in the region and a developing market. These major waves of immigrants are from the former Soviet republics and South-East Asia.

The suggested paper analyses the results of two different field surveys which the author organized in the Urals (Sverdlovskaja oblast) in 2008 and 2012. The first survey was part of the nation-wide project run by the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology (Russian Academy of Science) in order to study the popular opinion about the formation of an all-Russian national identity. The second was initiated by the administration of Sverdlovskaja oblast' to study ethnic relations in the region. Both surveys had questions about interethnic marriages addressed to the wide public in 2008 and to the ethnic groups' leaders in 2012. The paper will put the survey results into a wider ethno-historical perspective.

Alexander Pinwinkler, *The Professor and the Needlewoman: Cultural Exogamy in German and Austrian Middle Classes in the 19th Century*

The proposed paper outlines the socio-cultural significance of 'mixed marriages' in the German and Austrian upper middle classes in the 19th century. I concentrate on cultural codes and practices of belonging and distinction within the *Bürgertum* (bourgeoisie). I argue that they were substantially challenged by 'mixed marriages': So, the paper focuses on bridal pairs of different social or cultural background. Exemplarily, I analyze the question how 'mixed' couples sought to resolve the contradiction between existing cultural rules of 'endogamy' and their 'exogam' marriage.

Which social or professional groups formed the German and Austrian *Bürgertum* (the term is used in the following for heuristic purposes), and which social practices might have linked those groups to a distinct social class with specific cultural values? Seen from the perspective of Social History, the *Bürgertum* covered a relatively broad variety of different professional categories ranging from industrialists or bankers to professions such as lawyers or medicines. *Bürger* normally were men who shared economical independence and their appreciation of 'work', 'knowledge', and private ownership. However, the Bielefeld

School of Social History (e.g. Jürgen Kocka) predominantly occupying the field of the *Bürgertumsforschung* (research on the *Bürgertum*) has been substantially criticized: Cultural historians usually emphasize that *Bürgerlichkeit* (the ensemble of bourgeois values forming cultural unity) arises more as a result of ‘cultural’ than of ‘social’ characteristics.

Generally speaking, I adopt the point of view that historians benefit both from social historical as well as from cultural historical approaches. In the present paper, ‘marriage’ appears not just as a social structural element of collective curriculum vitae contributing possibly to a more general perception of the *Bürgertum* as a social class. Rather, ‘marriage’ refers to the *cultural* dynamics of socializing and the exchange of moral concepts and habits. In this respect, bourgeois groups are not primarily characterised by socio-economic categories of cohesion, but by cultural practices of belonging which had to be negotiated permanently.

In my paper I highlight two examples of ‘exogam’ marriages in the *Bürgertum*. Both of them followed the specific romantic ideal of ‘love’: First, I discuss the marriage of the German professor of anatomy Jacob Henle with the needlewoman Elise Egloff as it was reflected in family letters. In this case, education was the precondition of Elise’s acceptance in the bourgeois family sphere: Consequently, Elise was obliged to attend a finishing school in order to practise habits of the bourgeois woman. After she had passed her exams, Jacob’s family accepted her as a daughter-in-law. Secondly, I analyze the marriage of the Viennese 1848-revolutionary Maximilian Gritzner with Pauline Seligmann, the daughter of a Jewish upper-class family from Karlsruhe. In this case, Pauline’s family broke ties with her, because her bridegroom was a Catholic Christian and didn’t fit to the moral restraint of Jewish confessional endogamy.

In my paper I argue that ‘marriage’ forms a key element of examining both the scope of bourgeois values as well as the willingness of bourgeois families to accept marriages of their family members whom they perceived as breaking the rule of endogamy. In this respect, bourgeois families appeared as key instances of the preservation of bourgeois values and codes of belonging. Marriages usually guaranteed both economical stability and the dissemination of cultural values. Thus, endogamy was the prevalent pattern of marrying within the same socio-cultural milieu. Exogamy, however, seemed to be an exception

within the dominant reproductional model. Its investigation provides deep insights into social practices and mechanisms of including and excluding within German and Austrian bourgeois society of the 19th century.

10³⁰ - 11⁰⁰ Coffee break

Mihaela Mehedinți, Cecilia Sava, *Marriage and Identity in Transylvania during the First Half of the 19th Century as Seen by Foreign Travellers*

Although nowadays it has become an almost entirely secular event, being emptied of most of its religious significance, during the modern period marriage represented one of the most important manners of establishing someone's place within the community. Therefore, ethnicity, religion or social status constituted decisive factors in choosing a partner, both for the individual and especially for his or her family. As one's own identity traits are always valued higher than those of the alterity, similarity on most if not all of the above enumerated criteria was sought, sometimes perhaps even unconsciously.

However, Transylvania has always been a multilinguistic and multicultural province, a fact which naturally affected the usual choices regarding marriage partners. Although, as a number of previous studies have shown, mixed marriages were not very frequent during the modern period due to the epoch's mentalities and beliefs, they were extremely important if seen as a testimony of the modernisation process in the case of a preponderantly rural world. The present research aims at providing a new perspective on this issue, by emphasising the connections between marriage and the process of defining oneself in relation to the nearby "Other". Moreover, the use of the information provided by foreign travellers further supplements the data available so far about the motivations and effects of such usually lifetime commitments.

Beyond physical attraction or even love, selecting a partner from another social group meant to voluntarily defy almost every element which could be considered a defining one and had multiple and serious implications in what concerns the relationship with one's

parents, the parents in law or both spouses' relatives and close friends. Moreover, the couple's children inherited a cultural heritage that would be considered extremely rich and positive by present sociologists and psychologists, but that could give rise to a number of dilemmas regarding these persons' sense of self during the analysed period.

By focusing on the multiple and deep connections between matrimony and identity, our conclusions reveal the boundaries between the individuals' choices and the community's unwritten rules, both from the viewpoint of those directly involved in this process and that of strangers who happened to witness these ceremonies. As a result, the study provides a quantitative and qualitative overall image of the significance of mixed marriage in Transylvania during the first half of the 19th century.

Corneliu Pădurean, *Mixed Marriages during the Communist Regime in Romania. The Case of Arad City*

The instauration of the communist regime in Romania brought about, among other issues, equality between Romanians and other cohabiting nationalities, as stated by ideologists and communist leaders. It is interesting to have a look beyond the political speech and see the way the population perceived the new social, political and ideological reality.

Mixed marriages can provide us convincing information on the way the ideology of the new political regime influenced the demographic behaviour of the population, but also on the exogamous marriage on Romanian territories where the weight of population of other ethnical groups besides Romanian is significant. The study of marriage registers from the archives of marital status registers in the city halls from the communist regime allows us to identify the weight of mixed marriages from an ethnical point of view. In the marriages certificates from that period there is a column referring to the weds' nationality, along with a column which registered their citizenship. Consequently, the marital status registers from the communist period allow demography researchers to identify the weight of mixed marriages from an ethnical point of view.

Due to the fact that the communist ideology imposed a life without faith, without any beliefs in any confession in the citizens' public lives, makes the research of mixed marriages almost impossible.

Though, a comparison between confessional mixed marriages, among which many were also ethnically mixed, with ethnically mixed marriages in the communist period, is to be called for, in order to be able to register eventual changes in the demographic behaviour of rural area inhabitants who are more open to interethnic misalliances.

Michaela Mudure, *Sui Sin Far: Chinese Family Facing Cultural Diversity*

During an era of extreme cultural chauvinism, the Canadian-American-Chinese writer Sui Sin Far (1865-1914) focused on the life of Chinese families living in North America. Her stories portray people caught between two worlds, two cultures, and two languages. The inheritors of traditional Chinese values find themselves thrust into the booming, mercantile, race-conscious cities, such as Montreal, New York. This paper analyses both the literary strategies preferred by Sui Sin Far as well as the identity survival strategies chosen by the Chinese communities in a context that advertises democracy but practices discrimination and prejudice.

Conference room no. 2 (first floor)

2. The impact of various historical events on the evolution of mixed marriages

Organiser: Ioan Bolovan

Ilona Czamanska, *The Christian Wives of the Ottoman Sultans before the Second Half of 15th Century*

During the formation period of the Osman Empire, its rulers have been pursuing their own matrimonial agenda, much like their European counterparts. This included marriages with daughters of the crowned heads of the Christian Europe. Contrary to the popular knowledge Christian brides were never forced into Islamic conversions nor were they made to reside in harems. Their status was strictly defined by the prenuptial agreement between the groom and either the bride's parents or siblings. The contracts guaranteed to them the freedom of worship as well as subsidies to support their own houses and retinues, not to mention maintaining elevated social status. These marriages, and

the resulting family relationships, were regarded with considerable seriousness and cannot be viewed solely as ways (or signs) of subjugation; political benefit was usually on both sides. It was the fall of Byzantium and the Balkan countries that resulted in the Osman rulers containing and finally resigning from contract marriages.

Șarolta Solcan, *Mixed Families of Greeks and Romanians in Walachia*

The society of the Walachia in the second half of the sixteenth century and the first decades of the seventeenth century was faced with a particular problem, the Greeks who came from the Ottoman Empire.

The fall of Constantinople, the expansion of the Ottoman Empire and the Orthodox unity encouraged the Greeks to direct their attention to the Romanian Lands. Their presence was very varied from merchants, people involved in politics and economics to ordinary people. Many of those who came married into Romanian families and bought estates.

In 1631, these mixed families acquired a privileged status over other mixed families. So, the Greeks married with Romanian women were treated as residents of the country.

The Greeks who had Romanian wives have made great efforts to integrate into the Romanian society: they changed their names, they founded numerous places of worship, participated in the cultural life of the country, adopted the traditional values of the country and married their children with descendants of local boyars. Not incidentally, boyars from the Cantacuzino family were at the forefront of the struggle to prevent the coming of new Greek officials in the second half of the seventeenth century.

The Greek elites who came into the Romanian Lands married women that were related to the prince family. In this way, the mixed family opened the way of political ascension.

Mixed families have transmitted their descendants their respect for the education, culture and values of the Romanian society. The result of education and respect for Romanian traditions was the emergence, in these families, of important intellectuals, as were Constantin Cantacuzino, chronicler Radu Popescu, some art lovers as Mihai Serban Cantacuzino, Constantin Brancoveanu and others.

The mixed families of Greeks and Romanians of Walachia were an aspect of the complex world of mixed families of here. Only these mixed families were accepted by society and they constituted a springboard for the Greek elite in political life of Walachia. Often with Romanian names, their descendants have dominated the political life in the eighteenth century and they protected the Romanian traditions.

Elena Bedreag, *Solidarity Strategies and Conflicts within Moldavian Family. Greeks' Matrimonial Policy during 17th and 18th Century.*

(The author request one day to replace the abstract)

10³⁰ - 11⁰⁰ Coffee break

Florian Dumitru Soporan, *Loyalty and Hostility: the Mixed Marriages in Royal Families in the Middle Ages: Cases from the Eastern and Central Europe*

The traditional point of view promoted by the historical writing and appreciates the Middle Ages as a time of the social immobility, a stage of limitations and exclusions, individual options and behaviours, including the marriages, being subordinated to the family or clan's decisions.. This image is partly supported by the reality of the precarious development of communications which imposed a relative high degree of isolation of the human communities and the status of commercial changes. The medieval writing furnish itself arguments for this perspective through the paradigm of the tripartite society, with his conservative outlook regarding social values and hierarchy. The medievalist studies of the last decades and the new opportunities created by the researches of the mentalities opened the possibility for another lecture of the medieval realities, more challenging that we are prepared to accept. The mixed marriages which implied the members of the royal dynasties represent an occasion for a justified recovery of the Middle Ages as a social history, with his proper mobility, ethnic feelings and political or confessional controversies. A dynastical alliance expressed a political commitment and generated a relation between kings and nations, but this arrangements generated deployments of human resources, loyalties and values and implied changes regarding the leadership.

The foreign queen became an important character in the medieval chronicles and her position in the hierarchy of power was more or less effective, depending on her personal background and the social permissivity. The geography had its importance in this issue, because the queen's influence was stronger on the borders of the Christendom, where the Salic Law wasn't applied. The history of the Central-European kingdoms don't offer the examples of leaders like the queen Isabella of France, who could find and impose her solutions in the political crisis from England, initiated indirectly a turning change in relation between power and society and created the base of legitimacy for the English claim on the French Crown. So, the queens of Hungary, Poland and Bohemia had their importance in the process of integration of these kingdoms in the Christianity. The mixed marriages of the founder kings with members of the Christian dynasties legitimated their confessional and political options. If the contemporary sources blamed the ambitions of the German queens, their preference for their relatives and the immorality of Cuman and Ruthenian queens, the same sources offer examples of wives and daughters of the royal families which inspired the public piety and the dynastical holiness.

Valeria Soroștineanu, *Intermarriages in the Deanery of Sibiu (1860-1918). Community and Law*

This study intends to appraise the impact of mixed marriages in Orthodox Deanery of Sibiu, in the period between 1860 and 1918, and also the influence that the law of state and both Romanian Churches had on this issue. From statistics realized at the level of Metropolitan especially after 1880, we can find out that in the Romanian area of Banat and Bihor, due to a diversity of political and administrative structures, the number of intermarriages was apparently larger.

In turn, few Orthodox Transylvanian Romanians chose to create a mixed couple. However, especially before 1918, more than 90 percents preferred a Romanian spouse, even though of Greek-Catholic confession, and a few chose a Saxon, Magyar or of other ethnicity spouse. There are some levels in studying this subject: so, it is first about community reaction and wit toward Church's problems and centralizing of demographic evolution of mixed civil marriages in the aforementioned deanery. It is interesting to see, also, the influence of

military marital law, even though this one often has been driven through.

Methodologically, the reconvention of this juncture is based on statistic data realized at archbishopric and metropolitan level, and especially on the analysis of divorce lawsuit. Unlike documents referring to celebrating of marriage, those related to divorcement are more thoroughly, and they amplify very well both the celebration and the background of its acceptance in either community.

Concurrently, the correspondence between these two Romanian Churches on this issue is interesting not only as to official or canonist discourse, but rather for efforts they did in order to bring them at a complicated, but necessary concert, since they had to cater for themselves, for community and, of course, for the state.

It was necessary to analyse the way in which the community perceived how priests administered justice (both canonical and state laic law). That is because of the differences between common law and official law, like that in case of procedure for officiating of marriage. For example, they often accepted oral propositions, especially with respect to spouse's confessions, even knowing that this affirmation had varied effects, including upon descendants' confessions.

Therefore, intermarriage could not keep from dissension or conflicts, which became transparently in case of divorcement. In rural area, we can see that, especially after 1894 – civil marriage law became effective –both Consistory of Sibiu and that of Blaj did great efforts in order to standardize the procedure of mixed marriage.

Claudiu Rusu, Mihai Muresan, *Between "Ethnic Harmony" and Social Integration: the Status of Three Mixed Marriages (Mixed Families) in Communist Romania.*

The *national community* was redefined in the context of promoting a new social "ethics", mainly, structured on inherent Marxist-Leninist norms. The ethnic/minority groups, defined as "co-habitable nationalities", have thus become components of "the socialist nation". In this regard, on the level of the propaganda/ideological discourse, the referential themes were following the "newspeak" (*langage du bois*) clichés, being in the same time inserted in promoting a teleological image of the communist society. In the upper decision space of realpolitik, the

position of the RCP *vis-à-vis* the "status of nationalities", on their functions and on subsequently their role in the framework of state system and of party institutions, *varied*, following their tendencies towards a "românizarea" (*Roumanisation*) project initially started in 1968-1969. The 70's and 80's were characterised by a dichotomic position of the political centre, created as a double standard towards the majority population and towards the national/ethnic groups.

Our research proposes a little less used subject in the historiography of the Romanian communism regime, by presenting the specificities of a societal epiphenomenon, represented by the practice of "mixed marriage"- between two partners of different ethnicities. The analysis backgrounds were structured on archival sources - the RCP Harghita and Miercurea Ciuc, the press - such as *Lupta Ardealului*, *Viitorul Socialist*, *Lupta de Clasă*, *The Romanian Journal of Sociology*, and oral history sources.

So, our hypotheses are structured on the following epistemological interrogation framework:

1. What was the position of the party centre towards the institution of "mixed marriage"- can we identify, in the context of the "Romanisation" policies, in full force in the 70's, the resurgences of some informal/un-official negative attitudes?

2. How are positioned the women's committees - sub-units of the party structure, in the support/acceptance/denial of the idea of "mixed marriage"?

3. Can we rebuild a specific behavioural model of the "mixed couples"- e.g. space and the directions of social mobility; what were the factors that influenced these pattern?

4. Is there a psychological pattern of *mixed families*? - and which are the coordinates of these pattern?

The chronological framework of our research follows the characteristics and the evolution of the RCP policies: 1957-1969, 1964-1971, and 1976-1989. Under the logics of space delimitations, our interest was oriented towards the Harghita-Ciuc and Cluj, of which ethnic specificities and also social ones allows us a complex and expanded analysis towards the idea of "mixed marriages". The diversity of the sources creates the preconditions in applying the quantitative/qualitative methods and speech analysis.

12³⁰ – 14⁰⁰ Lunch Break

14⁰⁰ – 15³⁰ Main Conference Room

3. Jews and Christians – Marital Exchanges and anti-Semitism in Europe

Organiser: Peter Teibenbacher

Aura Pintea, *Marriage between Jews and Christians in the 20th Century in Maramures County. Oral History Research.*

Other ethnical communities present in Maramureş, like the Ukrainian or the Hungarian ones, have had the tendency to avoid the mixed marriages, but within the Jewish community there was an absolute interdiction to mix their blood with other nations, imposed in the **Deuteronomy 7:1-4**. In the period between the wars the members of the Jewish communities that did not respect this commandment were considered dead for their community and for their families, who would really go into mourning, like for a deceased person. Although there had been some romances, the young Jews involved were aware of the consequences and did not dare to cause their families such grief, giving up in time and marrying, in most cases, partners chosen by the family and the community, or even by a person specialized in such unions, called *shadchan* (match maker). In Christians' mentality, the Jewish young girls and women are perceived as being a "forbidden fruit". From these reasons, there had been very few infringements remembered by witnesses until the deportation, but we tried to analyse this rare cases.

The Holocaust meant a turning point for the Jewish communities from Maramureş in this respect as well. The reduced number of young people who came back, the shaken belief in God and the more and more obvious tendencies to conclude heterogeneous marriages in the communist period, also taking into consideration the fact that in most cases, the marriage was concluded only at the registrar's office, have been the reasons why most of the Jewish families still living in Maramureş are mixed or their descendants have entered such marriages.

The research of oral history based on interviews with Romanians, Jews, Hungarians, Ukrainians, witnesses and active participants of the inter-ethnic relations from the present Maramureş county has brought to light extremely interesting details, some of them novel, concerning the mentality of different social groups (differentiated according to their origin - rural or urban, the level of education, social, religious and political influences), as well as the evolution in time of this mentality, referring to Jews, a group that used to be numerous, with special characteristics, which marked the life of the population in the localities in which they lived.

Wilko Schröter, *Mixed Marriages between Jews and non-Jews in Vienna, 1881-1918*

The Jewish Communities in Western metropolitan areas are an interesting research object for historic-demographic investigations.

Jews were characterized by a strict adherence to religious and social norms, by a marked professional specialization in commerce and trade and by a deep emphasis on religious education. They were concentrated in urban communities with a separation from the Gentiles enforced by discriminatory legislation.

Mixed marriages were the result of indifference with the Judaism, they led to a complete assimilation. Although some Jews in mixed marriages considered themselves as Jews and their children were accordingly educated, mixed marriages were usually the begin for the forming of non-Jewish families and the end of the Jewish identity.

Before in Vienna a Jew could marry a non-Jew, one of both partners had to give up his faith. A mixed marriage thereby became a lot of more radical step than for partners in Central or Western Europe. In Austria, the marriage between Jews and Christians was forbidden in spite of the possibility of a civil marriage. If a pair with different faith wanted to marry, one of the partners had to accept either the religion of the other or a neutral category, the loss of confession. This legal obstacle reduced the number of the Jews and non-Jews who married with each other, and increased the number which preferred the change of confession.

The analysis of the Jewish marriage behavior in Vienna is undertaken with 54,857 marriage records from parish registers of the Viennese “Israelitische Kultusgemeinde” (IKG), 1881-1918.

In spite of a steady increase of the Viennese Jews who married non-Jews before the First World War, the mixed marriage rate remained with less than 10% lower than comparative values in metropolises like Berlin.

The Viennese anti-Semitism could easily reduce the contact between Jews and non-Jews - and, hence, also the marriages. Moreover, the large number of Jewish organizations and the variety of the Jewish ideologies which they confirmed acted as a brake against mixed marriages and structural assimilation.

The investigation shows that most Jews who entered mixed marriages did not live in the quarters of Jewish concentration, i.e. in the first and second district, because the presence of a big number of Jews would prevent such connections.

The analysis of the places of origin shows, that the Jews who choose partners without denomination, were mostly born in Vienna, Bohemia and Moravia, and Jews from the traditional Jewish settlement areas like Hungary and Galicia were only seldom included in mixed marriages.

The gender study reveals that the men who chose mixed marriages came normally from the middle class, while Jewish women in mixed marriages came rather from the lower middle class or from the working class.

To sum up, the investigation of the mixed marriages between Jews and non-Jews delivers social indicators with regard to assimilation, anti-Semitism and social mobility in Vienna and shows the specific features in comparison to other metropolises.

Mihaela Grancea, *Representations of Jews in the Romanian Transylvanian Literature of the Years 1907-1914. Case Study: Marriage between Jews and Christians as Harmful, Illegal Relation*

In this paperwork we intend to deepen some research directions proposed by anthropologist Andrei Oișteanu and to analyse the collective perception of love and marriage between Jews and Christians starting from the Romanian literature in Transylvania. Therefore, we

focused on a theme of cultural history. The chronological segment that we chose (1907-1914) is especially significant for our topic, because the image of the Jew is affected by cultural differences, and also by “cultural contamination”, by phenomena of competition in society, tendencies of assimilation, and the finalities of Romanian identity projects.

We chose those writers in the pre-war generation, who became famous during the interwar period and that are representative for Romanian culture (cultural and institutional models for the next generations of intellectuality), and also writers and folklorists of minor importance who – by animating associations (see the case of ASTRA) and through “for people” literature – contributed at the “growing” of Romanian anti-Semitism.

The period that we chose is significant for a shift from the passive Anti-Semitism of popular culture to the active and militant Anti-Semitism that is specific to nationalists from certain cultural-nationalist societies in Kingdom of Romania and in Transylvania.

Romanian Society, a society in a development process that involved, first, adoption of western lifestyle and of socio-economic and political system was keeping still rudimentary institutional elements (especially in rural economy, in politics and legislation) and attitudes that were specific for a shift from a traditional – and even patriarchal – to an urban society (city was not considered a dimension of Romanian identity, but the village, an identity matrix ; see also cultural trends that excited village and peasant, namely *Poporanismul* [from Romanian “popor” = *people*] and *Sămănătorismul* [from the Romanian “sămănător” = *sewer*]).

Therefore, certain Anti-Semitic ideas will take rise from the existence of the Jew in “Romanian heart” (due to cultural assimilation and composite marriages), and the Jew will be perceived as impurity, as factor in dissolution of patriarchal ethnicity and traditions.

Not incidentally, stereotypes specific to Anti-Judaism and stereotypes with respect to “Jewish economy” circulated in various forms, from moralistic stories in publications for middle class or for rural environments (see: confessional Orthodox press and cultural press of ASTRA; the longevity and diffusion system of “for-people broadsheets” – they constantly kept and brought out stereotypes

specific to anti-Judaism (as that of deicide) or referring to “Jewish economy” of that period (see especially the harmful “Jewish” economical activities: the trader Jew, the innkeeper Jew and the craftsman Jew are parasites with a subversive nature).

As a matter of fact, many of the writers (even minor prose writers or publicists) we allude to (see Agârbiceanu, Goga) have published their work in feuilleton, in such publications with impact on population. In addition, we must stress that the (ideologically) “immature” anti-Semitism of this period was more pragmatic in Transylvania, where the presence of the Jew who spoke Hungarian determined his image of active agent in the process of “*Hungarising*”, as citizen devoted to Hungarian administration, and therefore as enemy of Transylvanian Romanians ; as for some activists of Romanian emancipation, the Jew – as recent foreigner, as loyal to blood suckers or as materially enriched man – induced “national animosity” and “class hatred”.

Thus, in the interwar period a very dangerous strain was born and it could degenerate in conflicts at any time. In the Transylvanian literature, the negative representation of the Jew is starkly and more harmful than in the “south-eastern” literature. In fact, works of Romanian Transylvanians interpenetrated the entire Romanian area and contributed to radicalization of passive Anti-Semitism, to a shift of this in an active attitude, in the socio-historical context that followed the year 1918.

Viktor Karady, Paradigms of Denominational Heterogamy over Changes of Political Regimes with Special Focus on Jewish-Christian Marriages in Hungary (1895-1949)

The study is based on published demographic data on Hungary and Budapest (including *reverzálás* : religion specific information on marriage contracts related to the cult of expected children, divorces and births) as well as prosopographical surveys of Jewish-Gentile and homogamous couples drawing upon public marriage records of the cities of Budapest, Szeged, Arad, Nagyvárad/Oradea, Temesvár/Timisoara and Kassa/Kasovice) for various periods between 1895 (date of the introduction of civil marriage in Hungary) and 1949 (disappearance of references to religion in public records).

The multi-variate statistical analysis of our survey data offers cues about the historically changing factors governing the irregular growth of Jewish-Christian marriages via the mobilization of variables like age relations between partners, religion of the Christian partner following gender, socio-professional standing, ethnic background, residence (as in Budapest districts), regional origins. The configuration of factors observed can be related among other things to trends of differential secularisation in the urbanized Jewish and Christian milieux concerned, efforts at 'status mobility' of members of the Jewish middle class, strategies of social upgrading of Christian lower class women, liberal and leftist political options (like socialism), distorted sex ratios in surviving Jewry after 1945, variations of outside pressures (opposing pre-1919 liberalism, years of World War I, nazification and the post-1945 transition).

14⁰⁰ – 15³⁰ Conference Room Number 2

4. Inside Mixed Marriages. Children and Descendants of Mixed Marriages

Organiser: Luminița Dumănescu

Nicoleta Roman, *Caught Between two Worlds: the Children from Romanian-Gypsy Families in Wallachia (1800–1870)*

Situated at the margins of society by their origins and status, the Gypsies had always represented a paradox as they send forth both attraction and rejection; sentiments that can be seen and traced not only with a foreigner's attitude, but also with the one of a Romanian. Until the first half of 19th century, the society gave them a place in the social hierarchy as serfs (princely serfs, boyar serfs and monastery serfs), hardly ever discussing the possibility of a change. But things emerged in a different direction and laws for their emancipation and the improvement of their life conditions started to be on governments' agenda until they became a reality (1864). This is the political and

legislative context of our approach and it remains important as we intend to bring into light the situation of a certain category within Wallachian territory: the children of Romanian-Gypsy families. As they came from two different cultural and social backgrounds, they carried about this "inheritance" and constructed their destiny accordingly.

We intend to follow in our study two main issues in order to re-create their image and childhood. First of all, what was their social status and how this status changed over time? Many of these children were serfs as their fathers and followed their families whenever they moved to one place to another. Still, one of their parents was a free person from juridical point of view; they and they parents wanted to expand this situation over them. So, how the family (parents and relatives) and the others (neighbours, authorities etc.) constructed their discourse around the child in order to achieve this goal? Secondly, we intend to see what were the alternatives the society gave them so that they could succeed in life. For, we must not forget they were treated differently both by Gypsies and Romanians alike and only the State and the Church could intervene to determine a change in mentality. Although, we will use a various number of sources – legislative codes, press, travel accounts, archive documents – , we will rely on the last as being the only one who gives the persons directly involved a "voice", distorted or not. For our period the children continue to be silent characters but the family brings them to the fore, realizing their portrait using new features. And, in the end, this portrait of a lived childhood is the one that show us the best how the norms were put to practice and the society faced.

Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu, *Mixed Marriages, Mixed Children: between Norms and Practices in Romanian Society (18th -19th Centuries)*

Our proposal tries to analyse various aspects of mixed marriage from the Orthodox point of view in Walachia and Moldavia. First of all, we will observe how the marriage concept is defined and the manner of how far is it from the law's (pravila) words through its various practical features. Accordingly, we will look at the bigamy, a very present usual practice because of free circulation on this region, which was under the Ottoman Empire authority. A number of merchants and craftsmen such as Greeks, Vlahos, Serbians, Bulgarians, Armenians, came from

this route - the Ottoman Empire, was regularly settled in Iasi or Bucharest. They contract here a new marriage and they do not declare the previous one in their country. When the bigamy is revealed the situation became complicated not only because of the common patrimony but mostly, because of their children. On this regard, our purpose is to study the normative attitude and practice of the Orthodox Church concerning the solution of these cases. Also, we are interested to explore how the destinies of these children born in the supposed illegitimate affaire are judging.

Sources: In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (till 1830) the ecclesiastical court became an elaborate and omnipresent institution that supervised family policies. Its jurisdiction was extended to some of the most intimate aspects of individuals' personal life (birth, marriage, sexuality, divorce, seduction, death, dowry, testaments, relationships between children and parents, between wife and husband, etc.). The church's legal archives have preserved information on how the Church defined and solved these disputes where the "mixed children" are very important.

Uku Lember, *Identity Formation of the Children from the "Russian"- "Estonian" Marriages in Soviet Estonia (1950-70s): Evidence from Oral Histories*

In the presentation, I focus on the children born into the inter-ethnic families in the Soviet Estonia (1950-70s). I look at the way their families shaped their identities and subsequent life-paths. I argue that surprisingly little attention was paid to their special situation; this created some difficulties in adapting to the changed social circumstances of 1988-92, but also presented children with previously non-recognised cultural resources. More specifically, I will focus on the instances of school-language choice and memories of the regaining of Estonian independence.

First, I look at the decisions that were taken in the inter-ethnic families with regard to building the future of children and how the children themselves express the influence of parental home to their later life-courses. The **language of schooling** emerges here as the most important aspect. Estonian and Russian education tracks were

both socially available in Soviet Estonia. The decisions about schooling were, however, surprisingly poorly reflected in the life-stories: oftentimes people recognise that “at the time” they did not really pay attention to the matter, for example, they chose the nearest school to their home etc.

Second, I consider how the children from the inter-ethnic families **remember experiencing the rapid social changes in 1988-92** – either as young adults or as adolescents. It has been argued that the collapse of the USSR hit the Russian speaking population in the Baltic States much harder – coming as unexpected and ripping them from the position of social dominance. It was also the period of rather intense (even if non-violent) confrontation along the ethnic lines. Now, inter-ethnic children have surprisingly little memories of 1988-92. They focus strongly on the private sphere and everyday hardships. Often it seems that the socially important events and stories of these times have been learned later rather than experienced contemporaneously. In a way, they are willing to avoid the social conflict “creeping into” their family and thereby somehow choose isolation.

Tanya Matanova, *Descendants of Interethnic Marriages – individual and collective identification and homeland-localization on the example of Bulgarian-Slovak, Bulgarian-Russian and Bulgarian Ukrainian persons*

Putting together the empirical data and the results of researches on descendants of Bulgarian-Russian, Bulgarian-Ukrainian and Bulgarian-Slovak families, in the text are described some of the possibilities for individual and collective identification applied by such persons in different periods of their life as well as their ethno-territorial identification, resp. homeland-localization.

Identification processes are closely connected with those of socialization and enculturation. In this context they acquire language and cultural knowledge, but also create and develop their social relations to relatives and peers.

Concerning the question of identification, could be said that as a consequence of their individual and collective bi-ethnic and bicultural origin but also depending on the momentary circumstances and the situational individual attitudes, descendants of mixed marriages self-

identify them as world citizens or as belonging to the ethnic community of the one, of the other or of both parents. Sometimes they identify themselves as “a mix” and in different situations others define them as such, observing and analyzing their everyday habits, activities and social communication. In this aspect, worth mentioning are the informants’ self- and external notions for “mixed origin” as well as their categorization to a community of people with *intermediate ethnic identity* (Gorenburg 2006: 158-159)¹. Some attention is paid to the question, if it is generally possible to consider the studied bi-ethnic representatives as belonging to long-term existing bi-ethnic communities of mixed persons.

At the end are presented some aspects of the homeland-localization of the interviewees, based on their notions of homeland, territorial identification, place belonging and place attachment, home-sickness, etc.

Luminița Dumănescu, *Being a Child in a Mixed Family in Present Day Transylvania*

There might be many issues to discuss when it comes to talk about a mixed marriage but none of these issues is as important as the question of children born in a mixed family: how they will be raised, who is entitled to decide for their education, their language, their confession, their way of life. Until the end of the 19th Century some of these questions were regulated by the Church and the people had the only option to follow the rules; after the Secularization, like many other aspects concerning the private life of individuals, the issues like those mentioned above became a matter of choice for the families. The parents and in some cases their relatives become the only ones indebted to decide for their children. The purpose of this paper, based on the interviews, is to analyse the main issues which can be identified in the mixed families when it comes about their children: the parents’ attitudes regarding the child’s confession, the language, the school etc.

¹Gorenburg, Dmitry 2006. Rethinking Interethnic Marriage in the Soviet Union. – *Post-Soviet Affairs* 22 (2), 145-165.

15³⁰-16⁰⁰ Coffee break

16⁰⁰ – 19⁰⁰ Main conference room

5. The Quantitative Dimension of the Mixed Marriages (twin-session)

Organisers: Mihaela Hărăgus, Bogdan Crăciun

Anna Cabré, Joana Maria Pujadas-Mora, *A Measurable Intermarriage Wave: French Migrants Marrying in Barcelona at the 16th and 17th Centuries*

Many authors have documented through monographs and local studies the importance of the French migration to Catalonia and other regions at the South side of the Pyrenees along the 16th and 17th centuries. There were different causes to this migration: wages were significantly higher in Spain than in France; Catalonia had been ravaged by plagues and wars during two centuries and had experienced a significant reduction in the population; and, in addition, during the period France suffered the consequences of the wars of religion.

The *Barcelona Historical Marriage Database*, presently under construction through the ERC Project *Five centuries of Marriages*, has allowed the authors to carry out a vast and reliable quantification and description of the French migratory wave and explore its effects on the marriage markets at the Barcelona area.

Fatiha Loualich, *Alger in 17th and 18th Century: the Dimension of Mixed Marriages*

Algiers has known an important number of unmarried janissaries, corsairs and military men. From the middle of the 16th century, they have obtained a certain degree of liberty in order to practice some occupations, but errands remained the domain which absorbed the largest part of them. This financial autonomy opened the way to a social life.

This cosmopolitanism gave birth to the logics of rapprochement. New connections replaced those of consanguinity and other family ties. Given their growing numbers, the janissaries were potential candidates for marriage; they have contracted alliances with families belonging to

different social categories. But although the social parvenus, such as the Arab leaders and the men holding high ranks in the army, married underage or major young girls, the vast majority of the janissaries were only able to gain access to alliances within the frame of remarriages, by becoming the second or third husband of widows or divorced women. The examples provided by our study perfectly explain the social dynamism of these groups, which have integrated themselves into the society and have participated in its renewal and in its opening by imposing new forms and rhythms on the social ties.

A cultural and ethnic mixture is discernible owing to the different matrimonial connections and alliances that unravel the documents concerning the transmission of goods and most of all those of succession.

Agustín Guillermo Grajales Porras, *Intermarriage Among Ethnic Groups in Late Colonial Mexico*

The purpose of the study is to seek out the marriage patterns for social groups from the point of view of racial origins of the people. During the colonial epoch the observation of the interethnic marriage rate will help to discover the dynamics and the social structures, besides the mentalities.

It's very important to watch the size and significance of interethnic marriage so one may test if ethnic barriers began to open before the war of Independence and the arrival of nineteenth century republican society. It could be possible also to intend to explain differences through the occupation of grooms.

For the study of inbreeding and outbreeding ethnic marriage, researchers have turned to the church marriage records and the registers of population. Most of the studies for colonial Mexico refer to the second half of the eighteenth century and cover several parishes of the territory of New Spain. Also, analyzes have been carried out mainly through marriage certificates in a longitudinal perspective.

Our research will be based solely on static data. It will be taken from three censuses raised in the city of Puebla of New Spain at the beginning of the decade of 1790. This city was the second one in importance for its population and economy, only after the capital, the

city of Mexico. These civil records belong to the numerous censuses which were taken in all municipalities of the territory of New Spain, between 1790 and 1794, and called up the American Census. I will analyze the censuses of *San Marcos*, *San Sebastián* and *La Cruz*. These are half of the parishes existing in the city and they are distributed in the urban center and around it, along the quarters and slums. The total population for the investigation reaches 13 837 individuals formed by 6 009 Indians (43 %), 3 859 Spanish (28 %), 3 452 *mestizos* (25 %), 517 mulattoes (4 %). Even if it is a unique census it will still possible to watch the social dynamics through mate selection, it means that lower classes would prefer to marry uppers in a stratified society.

There exist diverse ethnic labels that indicate the hierarchic ethnic social system and as far as possible, the ethnic names will remain as they were inscribed, in spite of the number very reduced of cases that could be situated in some cells of the statistics. The previous thing allows to analyze with major precision the preferences stratified of the different members of the social fabric.

Here six racial categories will be distinguished: The Spanish (Europeans and Spanish Creoles); the *Castizos*; the *Moriscos*; the *Mestizos*; the Mulattos and *Pardos*; and finally the Indians. To be able to interpret easily the meaning of every ethnic category -though it should be in a rigid way- it is possible to resort to the following scheme: the *Castizos* counted between their immediate ancestors 5 whites and 3 Indians; identical proportions were distinguishing the *Moriscos*, except that instead of 3 Amerindian ascendancies, they were black. The feature of the *Mestizos* and of the Mulattos was of not possessing any more than 4 Spanish between his 8 predecessors; the crucial difference between both types is that the first ones come from the relation between Spanish and Indians, and the second ones between whites and blacks.

The findings that take place in this work will provide elements that expand the knowledge of the New Spain social dynamics, of the standards of behavior of an urban area, as well as the reality in the context of the historiography on the interethnic marriage rate, demonstrating its conformity or not with the rest of the studied regions of Mexico, as well as in a comparative perspective with the western world.

Gunnar Thorvaldsen and Hilde Leikny Jåstad,
Consanguineous marriage in 19th century Norway - An alternative to mixed marriage?

According to Norwegian census data in 1865 and 1875 from Finnmark, relatively few mixed marriages were found among the Sámi ethnic group compared to Norwegians. Four per cent among the Sámi in 1865 increasing to 8 per cent in 1875, compared to an average of 14 per cent in the Norwegian ethnic group for both census years (Jåstad 2011). On the other hand, aggregates from Official Norwegian Statistics reveal that typically Sámi municipalities form a cluster of relatively high proportions of consanguineous marriages as compared to other parts of Norway, between 16-31 per cent compared to the national average of 6.7 per cent.

Previous studies have suggested a cultural explanation for these high rates, pointing to that the Sámi population may have a preference for first cousin marriages. Based on data from church records and population censuses, this paper attempts to explore the demographic and cultural correlates of marriage strategies during the period preceding 1891, with special attention to consanguineous marriages either as a way to preserve minority cultures or as a result of demographic constraints – that is as an alternative to mixed marriages.

15 minutes break

Katus, László and Nagy, Mariann, *Mixed Marriages in pre-1918 Hungary*

Pre-1918 Hungary was one of the most diversified countries in terms of religions and ethnic groups in Europe before the 1st world war. It is no doubt interesting and worthy examining intermarriages. There are official data on mixed marriages in terms of religions from 1865 on, while in terms of ethnic groups we have data from 1896 on. Our aim is to investigate these data with quantitative methods and analyze them. From 1896 ethnically mixed marriages will be examined from religious point of view, too. In Hungary there were much more intermarriages in terms of religions than that of ethnic groups. Religious intermarriages were significantly high in bigger cities. However, religious endogamy

dominated towns and villages. Our aim is to analyze religious intermarriages by types of settlements, as well.

Our main purpose is to determine which religions and ethnic groups played important role in mixed marriages. In order to get this information we will make frequency tables and then we will compare frequencies with the headcount of the religious and ethnic communities. Time change should also be analyzed because there was a high proportion of assimilation (magyarization) at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

Bogdan Crăciun, Daniela Mârza, *Mixed Marriages in Cluj in the Inter-War Period*

Romanian historiography has long been dominated by works devoted to battles, conflicts that were involved residents of this area; within them, have been highlighted ethnic and denominational conflicts. The city of Cluj, with a population characterized by great diversity, is essentially an example of this perspective. This paper aims to analyse, on the contrary, one of those areas where conflicts have given way to cooperation and understanding - referring to mixed marriages, both ethnic and religious. **Will be addressed in the following directions: quantitative - data collected from civil registers, case studies, represented by "stories" of some of these cases.** These data will be correlated with the political, economic and social, characterized by events that deeply affected the lives of the people of that time (ravages of war, union of Transylvania (former part of Hungaria) with Romania, the replacement of the Hungarian with the Romanian administration in 1919, the consolidation of the position occupied by the new authorities, during the 1920s, the global economic crisis) to see how the number of mixed marriages was influenced by this climate.

Mihaela Hărăguș, *The Role of Educational, Occupational and Age Homogamy for the Formation of Mixed Marriages*

On the marriage market, socio-economic and cultural characteristics are the most important elements in the evaluation of the potential spouse's resources. A high education, a high income or a prestigious occupation may maximize the income and the social status, while similar cultural

resources help the future couple to develop a common lifestyle inside matrimony. When an ethnic mixed marriage is formed, the cultural dissimilarity involved is balanced by the socio-economic similarity. We investigate the individual data from three Romanian censuses (a 10% sample of the 1977, 1992 and 2002 censuses), focusing on persons married at that time. Taking the couple as the unit of analysis, we investigate the degree of educational, occupational and age homogeneity in ethnic mixed and homogeneous marriages. Our results show that persons with similar education, occupation and age are involved in mixed marriages in a greater extent, compared with persons more dissimilar on these characteristics.

Őri Péter, *Denominational and Spatial Endogamy/Exogamy in Historical Hungary, 1869*

Historical Hungary was the home of many denominational and ethnic groups in the 19th century. These groups of different culture and mentality lived besides one another, many times in the same village or town, while we know surprisingly little about their relations in everyday life. Denominational exogamy was a typical form of crossing the demarcation lines between two communities living together, whereas spatial exogamy was often the means of avoiding that kind of relationship.

The nominative data of the population census in 1869 have been collected in the framework of MOSAIC-project, our sample consists of more than 5,000 households and married couples. We have data about the denominational affiliation of the couples, their date and place of birth, and occupation. On the bases of these data we examine the frequency of denominationally mixed marriages, their connection to other explicative variables like region, the size of settlement, the proportion of different denominational groups, age of the married partners and age difference between them and their occupation. At the same time, denominational endogamy/exogamy will be analysed in close correlation with spatial ones: in denominationally mixed areas spatial exogamy is considered as a possibility to avoid local mixed marriages.

Traian Rotariu, *A Statistical Analysis of Official Data on Mixed Marriages in Romania (2006-2010)*

This study analyses several characteristics of persons who entered an ethnic mixed marriage during the 5 years period, such as age, previous marital status, education and occupation. We will emphasize differences, according to these characteristics, compared with persons who entered a monogamous marriage. The analysis is conducted mainly separately on each gender, but some features at couple level will also be revealed. Moreover, when data are relevant, comparisons will be made between different territorial regions of the country and between urban and rural areas. An important distinction throughout the analysis is between the ethnic mixed marriage which involves two Romanian citizens and the ethnic mixed marriage between a Romanian and a foreign citizen. We consider that these two types of mixed marriage are different, as are the characteristics of persons involved.

16⁰⁰ – 18⁰⁰ – Conference room no. 2

5. The elements concerning mixed marriages in the secular and religious laws

Organiser: Pr. Ioan Chirilă

Lilia Zabolotnaia, *The Legislation Concerning Mixed Marriages in Southern and Eastern Europe (Medieval and Modern Times)*

The mixed marriage was among the strongest obstacles to face in forming a family. The Church considered the heresy as voluntary deviation from the dogma of the dominant church, a *big sin* that was punished by laws as a serious crime. This prevention was present in all laws in the European countries at that time. Of great interest in this context is Stefan Dușan's *Zakonnik* which punished severely the marriage between a Christian and a heretic. The punishment specified by *Índreptarea Legii* for heresy was "terrible death".

Although marriages between individuals of different confessions were forbidden, there are episodes in history that prove the contrary. Of a particular interest is the way, unexplained by the specific

literature, the marriages between an Orthodox man and a Catholic woman were made.

Viorel Achim ("Nicolae Iorga" Institute of History, Romania),
The Issue of the Marriages between Freemen and Slaves in Moldavia in the Last Decades of Slavery

The paper deals with the marriages between freemen (Romanians) and slaves (Gypsies) in Moldavia in the 19th century (until the last law of emancipation of Gypsies from 1856). These marriages didn't constitute an important social phenomenon, but they preoccupied the authorities of the principality which introduced some regulations in the field.

In Moldavia, under the old laws, marriages between freemen and slaves were not only forbidden, but they led to the transformation of the free husband into a slave, and the children born out of such marriages were considered to be slaves.

Since 1830, when the process of modernization of the principality started, the lawmakers' intervention in the field of slavery targeted the slaves' marriages as well; this was necessary especially because some contractions between the old laws still in vigoare and the Organic Regulation (a kind of constitution adopted in 1832) appeared. Official marriages between freemen and slaves remained forbidden in principle, but certain of the segregationist provisions of the law were abolished. In 1839, the prohibition of marriages of Romanian men and women to Gypsies released from slavery by their masters was abolished. In 1844, it was forbidden for a marriage between a Romanian and a Gypsy to be sundered. In such cases, the slave became a freeman and was obliged to redeem his freedom, by means of payment to his master. Children born out of such marriages were declared to be free.

Bogdan Mateescu, *Intermarriages involving Gypsy Slave Population in 19th Century Wallachia, State and Church Policies*

Social life of the Gypsy population in Moldavia and Wallachia (the two principalities that in 1859 – 62 formed Romania) has been the subject of preoccupation for some Romanian historians, especially after

the fall of communism, but its different aspects are many times only generally known and research through the archives is so far very far from producing even a seemingly complete factual knowledge that historians need on the matter.

The study for this presentation aims towards better knowledge of the attitude on mixed marriages between Gypsy slaves and the Wallachian population, in the first half of 19th century, when, especially after 1831, two different positions emerge. The first one is that of the State authorities who officially allow this kind of marriages in 1838, the second is that of the Orthodox

Church, who persists not only in denying them but also in trying to separate or control marriages or household formation even between different categories of Gypsy slaves (slaves of the Church and slaves of the Nobility), including between its own (slaves of monasteries and slaves of the Mitropolie – the supreme Church institution). The general negative attitude towards marriages with slaves is generally known by historians, but details such as those shown above have only recently come to light, the position of the State is less known, and the exact sources found so far, now seem to be researched for the first time¹. They also proved transparent in identifying some reasons behind the two attitudes: efforts to integrate or assimilate the Gypsy population (the State), and a strange combination of social and religious concepts in favor of different kinds of separations, with certain practical and economical undersides shown through other sources (the Church).

¹ The material consulted so far was found at the District Archives of Arge, Dolj, and at the Municipal Archives of Bucharest, it represents correspondence inside both State and Church administration (funds Episcopia Arge., Protoeria Dolj and Mitropolia Ungro-Vlahiei – all of them ecclesiastic funds inside State archives).

Another focus is to explore different social and demographic contexts under which cases of mixed marriages appear. Already a brief examination of some funds revealed a rich potential of information in Church correspondence, showing some patterns (for example, marriage between Gypsy men and Romanian women seems to be more often than the other way around). Available census material for the age can also be used.

Lastly, the goal is also to help understand if intermarriages of Gypsies contributed somehow in shaping identities in any way, especially since 19th century Wallachia, and later on, Romania, is witness to some interesting evolutions: if in 1840 in some towns (Braila, Giurgiu, Alexandria, Pitești), Wallachians (Romanians) are only half or less of the population, 50 years later foreigners are practically insignificant as proportion, and we wonder if intermarriages played a role here, and if did, was it different than in the cases where Gypsies were involved?

The question would be useful in trying to understand why integration or assimilation was very active when it came to groups very different or perceived as very different (as culture and religion) from Romanians (Jews, Catholics, Lutherans and a small proportion of Muslims), but it failed in the case of the autochthonous Gypsies.

Siegfried Gruber, *Marriages Across Religious Boundaries in Albania around 1900*

Marriage barriers between different religious groups were often more pronounced than those between different ethnic groups in previous centuries. In Albania a century ago the population was mainly Muslim, but Christian minorities lived in the North and South of the country. The data of the 1918 population census enable us to verify whether the numbers of such unions were really almost negligible, or whether they were hidden by the fact that women converted to their husbands' religious confession at marriage. The population of Northern Albania was made up of Catholics and Muslims, and some of the *fšs* were also made up of both religions. Conversions of women at marriage could be a part of a larger pattern of religious change and flexibility, or simply another feature of male domination in a patriarchal society.

There were almost no inter-faith marriages recorded in the data: only 0.2% of Catholic men and 0.1% of Muslim men reported being married to a wife of the other confession. The place of birth allows us to reconstruct the religious confession of wives before marriage, but religiously mixed *fšs* make it hard to distinguish between spouses from the same religion and spouses from another religion. In such cases, we assume that men married women from the same religious group. We find that, in most *fšs*, the share of marriages to

women of the other religious group was below 5%. Some exceptions do exist: in the Velja fsh (part of Zhuba), which was 100% Catholic, 10% of the spouses were born in Matja, which was 100% Muslim. In Kastrati, half of the Catholic men were married to women from Matja and Grizha, both Muslim fsh.

The paper will try to extend this research into Central Albania and to investigate whether the following characteristics of people or settlements were actually related to higher rates of marriages across religious boundaries:

- people living in closer distance to members of other religious groups should have higher rates of intermarriage than people living in a religiously homogenous area
- urban people should have higher rates of intermarriage than rural people
- migrants living as a religious minority should have higher rates of intermarriage than non-migrants

Alina Felea, *"Mixed Marriages in Basarabia in the 1st half of the 19th Century: between Legislation and Reality"*

A prerequisite for recognition of the legitimacy of marriage is the confessional unity, a tradition that comes from the Roman family law and that persisted in Romanian spaces in the Middle Ages and the modern era. As mentioned by researchers, in the Middle Ages elite mixed marriage was based on a political project or interest of preserving heritage. While such cases were very rare, different religions marriages were prohibited and is grounds for divorce canon.

In the early 19th century in territory between the Prut and Dniester the civil trials were based on local norms of law and custom. After the annexation of Bessarabia to Russia, the legislation of the empire was also introduced on this territory. While the general issues related to family relationships were included in *Kormceea Kniga* (Кормчая Книга), *Sobornoe Ulojenie* (Соборное Уложение), and *The decrees of the King, of the Council, and of the Senate*. In the communication, based on concrete examples of Bessarabia, we will present the reality of the problem of mixed marriages, analyzed in terms of confessional: I) between Orthodox and Roman Catholics, II) between Orthodox and

Armenian-Gregorian, III) Orthodox and Evangelical IV) between Orthodox and Starover, other; *and how the canons of the church were respected in the first half of the nineteenth century. As sources of research were used documents from the funds of the State Archives of Republic of Moldova.*, which presents the representatives of different social classes: nobles, townsmen, peasants, etc.

Marius Eppel, *The Evolution of Laws Concerning Mixed Marriages in Orthodox Church between 18th and 20th Centuries.*

The orthodox ecclesiastical legislation regarding mixed marriages during the 18th and the 20th centuries is tightly connected with the evolution of the family, of the society and of the state. During that interval, the realities were more complex than the canonical stipulations, and because of this, the Orthodox Church had to make some concessions. If in the 19th century the debates on the theme of mixed marriages had to withstand many difficulties, in the 20th century, on the grounds of ecumenism, things reached a balance. The intervention of the state and the secularisation were the factors that contributed to the diminution of the Church's radical discourse. The Orthodox Church has realised throughout the last decades that she will be unable to survive in a globalised world, unless she abandons the retrograde vision and tries, by virtue of the principle of ecclesiastical dynamism, to be transformed according to the demands of the contemporary society.

20⁰⁰ Cocktail – Universitas Restaurant

Friday, June 7th

Main conference room

9⁰⁰ – 10³⁰

7. The Explicative Mechanism of Mixed Marriages

Organizer: Traian Rotariu

Nicoleta Turliuc, Cătălin Turliuc, *A Conceptual Framework of Inter marriages: Factors Associated with Marital Outcomes*

Whereas relationships between people from different ethnic and cultural groups are becoming increasingly common in many countries, there are substantial increases in the number of individuals engaging in interethnic or intercultural marriages. Even though, little has been written about social barriers consciously or unconsciously developed to include some individuals and exclude others, about the advantages and disadvantages of intermarriages.

This paper present a literature review of some of the main articles and chapter or volumes regarding the topic in discussion, aiming to explore some of the main factors associated with marital outcome in intermarries. The paper begins by outlining a theoretical framework surrounding the issue of intergroup relationships and intermarriage. The next part contains empirical findings illustrating the mechanism and factors driving to intermarriages.

The final part propose a model of factors of intermarriages, offering a theoretical explanations to the question 'who intermarries, why and with what outcome'. The paper present the main factors of the proposed model: the stressors and resources (including demographic, economic, work, community and family stressors), individual characteristics (race, ethnicity, religiosity, problem solving abilities, mastery and control, emotional distress etc.), couple characteristics (equalitarian behaviour, adaptability and cohesion, worm or hostile interaction, etc.) and marital outcomes (marital quality, satisfaction, and stability). The implications for social structure and social life are also discussed.

Yulia Prokhorova, *Mixed Marriages through the Prism of the Concept of the Fourth Demographic Transition*

The research deals with the globalization of international migration, its role and place in the demographic development of the developed countries (including Russia) in historical retrospective with emphasis on their future demographic development. The main attention is drawn to the changes in place and role of international migration in the context of the evolution of demographic transition theory, including the concepts of the second and the third demographic transitions. This gives the possibility to offer a new scenario of future demographic development of the world, which is focused on interconnection of two demographic processes – international migration of population and nuptiality. We call this scenario ***‘the fourth demographic transition’***

The main statement of this concept is that migration can be positive phenomenon for the future demographic development, which takes into account national and global interests through promotion marriages between native people and migrants. With the help of such marriages new children will be born. They will be the symbol of new viable generation. We would like to emphasize that we speak about marriages between native people and migrants, not about marriages between people of different nationality.

Ethnic marriages have already become one of the instruments with the help of which countries can solve their problems within the existing negative demographic situation taking into account rising migration. In this way migration can play positive role and remove ethnic-based tension in society. However, this is possible only in case the policy of isolated immigration enclaves is not applied. Such policy was one of the reasons of multicultural policy collapse. Instead of creation of such enclaves governments should follow the policy, which will stimulate marriages between national people and migrants.

In conclusion, we would like to note that our scenario of the future demographic development calls for further learning and reasoning, additional research, through sociological surveys that would give more convincing interpretation of the fourth demographic transition.

Sara Settepanella, *Sentimental Relations Among Italian Men and Migrant Women. How Migration Affects Place and Time in the Making of Mixed Couples*

Partner choosing is a relevant parameter to consider in the understanding of how exogamic behaviors take place in contemporary central Italy, other than understanding what makes possible for people from different countries to meet, the time and location for such encounters to occur.

Therefore this study takes into consideration the dynamic of the encounters of 21 couples, which were involved in free interviews. Women who took part in the interviews belonged to two huge geographical areas: Latin America and Eastern European countries.

The perspective of the present study is not merely the reflection of statistic results, which show how more Italian men are sentimentally involved with foreign women than vice versa. The choice of this fields is deeply connected to the positions occupied by women in the geography of international power, which organizes unequal access to the globalized market of labour and more in general of the hosting societies.

The feminization of migration flows shows a deep transformation among the subject of mobility, that is to say women. As a matter of fact the migration process becomes a gradual means of women's empowerment thank to the new mobility acquired and the new domestic balance.

However, access to the labour market remains hardly segmented (firstly as migrants and secondly as women) and limited to low level jobs often built upon gender distinction and having as a job context spaces traditionally assigned to women, such as the domestic and sexual sphere, elder care and childcare. The high female presence in these sectors inevitably supports gender stereotypes and creates a market organized on gender and ethnicity. The symbolic and wide overlapping of gender and national origin in these sectors modifies the ways these women are imagined by the society, but also the way they present themselves to the community. The interrelation of women's condition as migrants and the discussion upon gender roles, entrenched by stereotypes and ethnic segmentation of global economic policy, is considered as a shaping force in modeling the sentimental encounters.

For these reasons it emerges that the coordinates backing the first meeting are not casual. Moreover they put into question rules of social action such as a location's preference or its distance from a specifically area of belonging of the possible partners. Finally, it also

tells more about the condition of the individual as ascribable to the status of being a partner. The aim of the study is to see, speaking of exogamy, that is to say the existence of an area (of nationality, class, language, age) – excluded the one the chooser belongs to-where the making of the choice is frequent and preferred, and others where the inclination is impeded, even if only on a symbolical level. What that is means for the new couples if the first encounter takes place usually in the private house where women work? Why there is a huge difference of age among the partners? From these questions I will address to and analyze which spaces and nearness are crossed by these new couples starting from their first meeting and which effects have on the organization of the new couples.

10³⁰ – 11⁰⁰ Coffee break

11⁰⁰ - 12³⁰

Guy Brunet, *The Marriage of Europeans in Algerian Towns in the Second Half of the 19th Century: Open to Outsiders or Not ?*

The northern part of the present Algerian Republic, conquered by the French army between 1830 and 1845, saw a flood of settlers from Europe as early as the 1840s. During the first decades of the European presence on Algerian territory, French people represented a minority among the immigrants, the majority hailing from Spain, Italy, Malta, and other European countries (German territories, Switzerland ...). The balance was reversed later on, and around 1872 there were 164 000 French people for 116 000 other Europeans. The registers of births, marriages and deaths recorded the marriages involving people from Europe and Jews, whether they were born in Algeria or in Europe. On the other hand, the marriages between two « natives » (Muslims born on the North-African territory, mostly) were not recorded. During the first decades of the European presence, men outnumbered women, which provoked an unbalance on the marriage market, as well as a certain pressure on young women to get married. Most of these emigrants from Europe who had settled on Algerian territory had been

single when they arrived, whether as children accompanied by their parents, or individually as adults.

The purpose of the present research is to study the choice of a spouse according to nationality, geographical origin or social background. Did nationality play a major part in the way couples were formed? What was the proportion of marriages between spouses of different nationalities? Which nationalities were concerned by these mixed marriages? Did any national or local endogamy appear in this migratory context? Special attention will be brought to marriages concerning Jews: did they involve two spouses from Europe, two spouses born on the North-African territory, or did these mixed marriages stick to a geographical criterion? It must be pointed out that marriages between European, Jews and «Natives» are practically inexistent, the religious criterion playing a major part in such a context. To answer these questions, we will use two different data bases, formed by going through the registers of marriages.

- the first, already made up, consists in all the marriages certificates registered in the ten towns in which the highest number of marriages were recorded in 1867 (Algiers and its immediate surroundings, Oran, Constantine, Bône, Philippeville, Mascara, Mostaganem, Blida, Tlemcen): it includes 998 marriages certificates
- the second, which is being constituted, should cover marriages recorded in Algiers and one or two other towns previously mentioned at the end of the 19th century. It should include 2 000 marriage certificates.

These observations will be matched with the evidence given by contemporaries, and with the analyses carried out in the late 19th and early 20th centuries by administrators and university members, our aim being to understand the part played by marriages in the birth of an European population on Algerian territory.

Cristina Tîrhaș, Viorel Sîrca, *Motivation, Advantages and Challenges on Romanian Emigrant Women Married With „Strangers”: Between Approval and Rejection. Five Case Studies.*

Our analysis consist in qualitative interviews applies to five emigrant Romanian women and married, before and after the migration act, with

„foreigner”. Three of the subjects are married with European citizens and live in EU countries, and two of them with husband from Middle East, emigrate in Siria and Jordan respectively. This qualitative method should gave an comparative insight into the mixed marriages between Romanian’s woman and foreigners citizens, through migration images in „traditional” collective mental history, the life course perspectives, gender roles, importance of religion, culture and ethnicity of the married couples and their expectations about their new life, and also the evaluation of their married life after a couple of years spended as wives of the other countrie’s citizens. The migration of women from their country of origin (involved in marriage and/or work) affects profoundly their family lives and also their traditional gender roles. These women also have to adjust their gender role models in a new family life and a new culture. Generally, a ‘modern’ approach towards gender roles and task division are preferred.

Investigating perspectives about their own social-economical and psychological motivations and perceived outcomes in their marriage, the results show that problems can occur which are caused by adaptation issues, shorter labour market participation and more or less severe perception of social isolation. Regarding education level, the results found striking differences among investigated women from different educational backgrounds. The less educated women reported getting into a social and economic, legal or emotional vacuum or being subordinated as a woman. By host country culture (West European or Middle East areas), we find differences related with husband’s disagreements concerning lifestyle, and complains regarding religious values, especially concern the social and religious education expectations for the couple’s childs in the muslim larger families (Middle East). However, despite the fact that our subjects are just a few, we found significant differences in their attitudes, who appear between the host countries in which married womens live, and between different education’s levels of interviewed women.

In the final discussions and conclusions, our qualitative results are corelated with the results of a large-scale standardized survey, Population Policy Acceptance Survey (PPA) (2010), consisting of a total of 21293 Europeans to analyse the attitudes of the native population in the host countries towards immigration and integration of migrants. The PPA major results are not basically in contradiction

with the viewpoints of our women subjects. Four interviewed emigrant women share the quest for permanence and integration. They have been naturalised or intend to do so, and most feel at home in the host countries and in „foreign” large family as well.

Victor Karady, *Tentative Theses on the Social Functions and Consequences of Jewish-Christian Mixed Marriages in Modern Times*

Marriage is a major mechanism of the physical reproduction of societies and groups. In-marriage is the normal scheme of reproduction of each collective. Inter-group marriages always incur the suspicious halo of 'abnormality' due to disregard they involve for this reproductive function - often considered as vital for the survival of groups. This is particularly true of 'particularistic' clusters defined by ethnicity or religion, especially when they are under pressure and exposed to public stigmatization, such as Jews in East Central Europe, even after their civil emancipation. Among social functions and meanings carried by ethnically, culturally, social class specific or religiously mixed marriages there are certainly factors of 'modern' life strategies, the individualization of the choice of sexual partners, the neutralization of inherited or traditional social differences and the endeavor of upwards status mobility of potential matrimonial partners of lower or stigmatized background. Some in-depth empirical studies of Jewish-Christian matrimonial mixing in societies marked by judeophobic outbursts highlight various cases in point for such a 'functional' socio-historical analysis. It leads to the recognition that mixed marriages are most typical in Jewish clusters distinguished by other markers of 'assimilationism' as well, like linguistic acculturation, advanced level of secular schooling, surname nationalisation, shared lifeworlds in urban spaces, propensity to religious conversion or – concomitantly – to secularism and religious indifference, political 'guest nationalism' or – there again concomitantly – the espousal of universalist social utopia. The motivations can be similar among potential Gentile partners with often different gender distribution as compared to Jews.

The demographic sources allow to explore the global dynamics of denominational matrimonial mixing over time. They help to reflect upon unequal frequencies of pre-marital contracts (*reverzális* in Hungary) about the religious education of offspring as an indicator of

secularism. Divorce rates (usually higher among mixed couples) and birth rates (generally lower among them) may be understood both as forms of 'modernity' (in terms of the implementation of sexual and matrimonial individualism and the emergence of the small 'nuclear' family) but also as an effect of the expected or predictable fragility of denominationally mixed marriages (attributable to the social distance, difference or 'otherness' liable to prevail between partners as generated by denominational alienness and tensions). Gender inequalities appear to be important in all this.

12³⁰ – 14⁰⁰ Lunch time

14⁰⁰ – 15³⁰

8. Mixed Families without Marriages

Organiser: Antoinette Fauve-Chamoux

Helena da Silva, *Families, Marriage and Free Unions in Portugal*.

In the past, marriage was the most chosen contract because it gave more guarantees to the families to preserve their privileges and wealth. Nowadays, is this contract still chosen for the same reasons? Does marriage still play an important role in the Portuguese society?

We will try to answer to these questions and to understand if marriage is still chosen as the main contract to found a family in Portugal or if other types of contracts are preferred. Our study will also analyse who can marry and what are the types of marriages, if these are mainly religious or civil. We will also try to examine other aspects of marriage as age, kinship and mixed marriages.

One other aspect to be studied is the case of illegitimate children. Is the number of children born outside marriage increasing in Portugal? What reasons justify the birth of children in other unions than marriages?

We will mainly focus on the situation of Portugal as a whole. However, since some aspects vary from one region to another, these will be mentioned and underlined to help understand the evolution of marriage practices. Besides, a comparison between marriage and free

unions in Portugal and in France will be drawn, underlining the different practices and the reasons behind certain behaviours.

In order to answer to these questions, several sources will be used, especially statistics done by Statistics Portugal (INE) and the French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies (INSEE). These two institutions have several series of data concerning marriage and other types of unions. For example, we use data taken from the Portuguese Statistical Yearbooks (published since 1908), different Demographic Statistics (done since 1907) as well as the Census of several years, including the last one, done in 2011.

Maria Norberta Amorim; Carlota Santos; Paulo Teodoro de Matos, *Marital Relations Among Individuals Born In and Out of Marriage. Compared Observations in two Portuguese Cities: Guimarães and Évora between the 17th and 19th Centuries*

For a small country such as Portugal, the demographic behaviours of the North and South are profoundly disparate between the 17th and 19th centuries. With regard to rural communities, in terms of life expectancy, the North shows slightly better rates. Higher probabilities of entering marriage and lower levels of illegitimacy are found in the South.

At the moment we are dealing with the difficult challenge of comparing urban patterns, working on Guimarães, a city in the North, and Évora, a city in the South.

For Guimarães, a demographic-genealogical database has been concluded, covering the 16th to 20th centuries, which includes nine parishes that have been progressively integrated into the original urban nucleus of four parishes. For Évora, the demographic-genealogical database is still being built based on two central urban parishes, Sé and Santo Antão.

In this paper, we intend to identify first the circumstances of illegitimacy and child abandonment in Guimarães and Évora, between the 17th and 19th centuries. In a second stage, we aim to outline life courses and develop possible comparisons such as the number of illegitimate children per woman, time between illegitimate/legitimate offspring and permanent celibacy of single mothers, in a framework of social differentiation. Finally this analysis will also try to compare the

ease with which both illegitimate and abandoned children were married to individuals born within the frame of marital unions.

Ofelia Rey Castelao, *Mixed Family Without Marriage in Northern Spain (17th-19th Centuries)*

Both during the early modern period and during the XIXth century, in Northern Spain territory, immigration was rare, but it was not a closed society, because the maritime cities were largely open to outside world, particularly after 1764, when free trade with America developed. However, there was some minor foreign immigration, not only catholic people, to work in productive activities and trades, especially in harbor cities as The Coruna, Ferrol, Santander, Bilbao, etc., so that there were family situations or quasi- family situations of interbreeding.

In this paper, we shall study these cases, including public opinion expressed by the local social communities, their legal situation, their integration or rejection, how they coexisted with native families, if they served as godparents etc. Our sources to be used are: the urban civil and military parochial archives, at municipal and the provincial level, the nominative census listing, notarial records, etc.

15³⁰ – 16⁰⁰ – coffee break

16⁰⁰ – 19⁰⁰ (-)

9. Mixed Marriages and Transcontinental Migration: Continuity and Change (twin session)

Organiser: Marie-Pierre Arrizabalaga

Solvi Sogner, *Transnational intermarriage in the North Sea area. Norwegians and the Dutch connection in the 17th Century.*

The paper discusses a concrete example of intermarriage, in the sense of marriage between persons of different nationalities. Recent theories of *transnational history* inspire to study different forms of transfer and interaction. For historical demography, with intimate concentration on individuals, this approach to the past is singularly interesting. We

increasingly experience the shortcomings of the nation state to understand ourselves, the past and today's society.

The peace of Westphalia 1648 is traditionally, treaty wise, a historical divide as regards ordering the map of Europe by nations. The borders of the nation state, however important, have not proved final and certainly not impenetrable. People, ideas, concepts, goods, technologies, institutions, conceptions, networks, language, culture, ways of doing things have crossed the borders. International migration and democratic development have made us increasingly aware of the individual agents' contribution to societal development. National development is better understood within a larger context, in interplay with the external world and as an outcome of transnational impulses borne by individuals.

These impacts are mediated not exclusively by the omnipotent state as guardian and doorkeeper, but traceable – even originating – within the population at large. New ideas, new ways of doing things, new things to covet, new commodities to buy, new fashions to adopt. Important historical changes do not necessarily stem from above. Contacts across borders have had far reaching implications. International processes are tightly bound to concrete, tangible relations between people.

The paper deals with marriages contracted in Amsterdam 1621-1720 by Norwegians. Amsterdam was the third largest and probably the richest city in Europe at the time, with a staggering population growth from c. 30 000 in 1585 to a stabilized 300 000 from 1670 onwards. This growth was possible because of an enormous immigration and a thriving economy. Norway's total population in the 1660s only counted about 440 000. Some 8000 immigrant Norwegians are registered as prospective marriage partners at the City Hall of Amsterdam between 1621 and 1720.

The paper discusses (1) The intermarriage pattern. (2) Possible consequences for transfer of a cultural nature back to the sending country.

Eva Morales Raya, *Mixed Marriages between Spanish Immigrants and Paraguayan Women (1870-1932)*

After the War of the Triple Alliance (1865-1870) the Paraguayan population had been drastically reduced. The war provoked a big demographic imbalance, the majority of the survivors were women and children. For that reason the post-war Paraguayan governments thought the migration of European population as a solution to reconstruct the country. In this context frames the Spanish migration to Paraguay, characterized by an individual migration strongly related to migration nets, associationism and urban trade. Most of those Spanish immigrants settled in Paraguay were single young men that married with Paraguayan women. This is a clear example of mixed marriages related to transcontinental migration. It is also an example of the importance of this type of marriage as a way to integrate the immigrants in the new society and also to integrate wife's in the Spanish traditions and costumes through their participation in the Spanish immigrants associations established in the country.

Marie-Pierre Arrizabalaga, *Mixed Marriages Among French Immigrants in California, 1850-1950*

Studies on US immigrants' marriages using censuses have shown that the majority of the first-generation immigrants who resided in the United States (and elsewhere in America perhaps) in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century had married men or women of their origins. This has led researchers to conclude that marriage patterns among first-generation immigrants in the United States were generally endogamous. It is the use of censuses and their systematic analysis which have led to these conclusions. The nature of the censuses regarding French immigration for example have thus led to assume that when a French man was married to a French woman and resided in California, the couple originated from the same region, perhaps the same village, that they had perhaps married before immigration, and that the marriage was endogamous. Was this really the case?

A study of naturalization records may indicate otherwise. The analysis of French immigrants' naturalization applications will show that marriage practices and strategies were more complex than what the

historiography has assumed. The records inform where immigrants were born, whether they had married in the United States or in France, the conditions of immigration and their situation since their arrival in the United States. The questions which we will ask ourselves in this paper are the following: did French immigrants marry before or after immigration? Did they marry people from their village of birth, from their region of birth, or from elsewhere in France? In the latter case, can we really conclude that such marriages were endogamous? What was the nature of these marriages? Couldn't we consider them these as mixed marriages or exogamous marriages? What does that say about French immigrants' mind frame and their social reproduction?

This paper will thus analyze the extent to which marriage patterns among French immigrants were endogamous, and whether marriages of French couples who had married in California were as endogamous as marriages of French couples who had married in France. What will this analysis tell about the nature of marriage patterns among French immigrants in California? Were mixed marriages more numerous than earlier argued?

Claudia Contente, *Migration and Marriage in Almirante Brown (Buenos Aires, Argentina) at the End of the Nineteenth Century*

The mass migration of Europeans to Argentina began during the middle of the nineteenth century. This movement would reach its highest point at the beginning of the twentieth century.

According to the second national census of Argentina, which was carried out in 1895, 40% of the population of Almirante Brown, a rural zone located 40 km south of the city of Buenos Aires, was constituted by immigrants, principally natives of Italy, France, and Spain. The vast majority of these migrants were men, which caused, quite predictably, a significant gender imbalance there.

We will base this study on the census records of 1895 so as to be able to outline a series of hypotheses about the consequences of this important migratory flow for the marriage market. We will equally explore the marriage preferences of the different groups.

Refreshements

María M. Camou and Adela Pellegrino, *Intermarriage in an Immigrant Society: Montevideo, 1860-1908*

For countries that have incorporated important migratory flows, the study of marriage between different national or ethnic groups has been considered as one of the possible ways to measure the levels of integration of immigrants and to identify the peculiarities of a society that is based on this diversity of population groups and its cultural contributions.

In the case of Uruguay, from early in the nineteenth century, immigration was quantitatively large. Its proportion respect to the total population is perhaps the greatest that have registered among immigration countries during the nineteenth century.

This work aims to study the levels of inbreeding (marriage) in the current members of the "flood of immigration" and what is considered native population. In this study we aim to address some gender issues as the age at marriage and difference between spouses as long as the cultural patterns of each national group of migrants that influences this item.

Wako Asato, *Cross-Border Marriage for the Security of Care: Rapid Ageing, Family Integration and Asian Cosmopolitanism*

Familialism without de-familiarization policy of Asian tigers such as Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore has been one of the characteristics in terms of welfare policy. This is partly because of traditional norms and values, and partly because of rapid economic growth that has left welfare policy lag behind and partly because of the maintenance of small governance for the further international competitiveness.

The incorporation of in-home foreign domestic workers, whose number has been steadily increasing, more than 700,000 foreigners in four small economies, meets the increasing demand of elderly care at home. This becomes a tool of correcting the failure of family by supplementing the deficit of care. They are surrogate care providers within household by employers' subcontracting filial piety. This is highly related to residual welfare policy that cannot replace family. The dilemma is externalized to a foreign worker often referred

to as an “intimate other” to internalize surrogate quasi-family member in order to maintain family function.

Dependency on family care bucked by traditional value, norms and familiarization policy is the cause of justification of the residual provision of cash and services. Failure of family care however appears when it comes to those who do not form a family due to limited care resources. Single elderly, single disabled persons, widowed without children, or other single mostly male living in extended family, who cannot count on family care resource might have an option of cross border marriage to access care. This was particularly observed for single elderly and persons with innate disability in case of Taiwan and for extended family in Korea. In Taiwan, the ratio of cross-border marriage of total marriage marked nearly 30% in 2003 of which 10% was of disabled Taiwanese, notably both male and female. Hence, cross-border marriage goes beyond gender and race for the security of care.

The increment of cross-border marriage does not simply a matter of compensating the deficit of care when the phenomenon is intertwined with declining fertility ratio and sustainability of society. Those economies adopt family integration policy for marriage migrants, which is different from individual based integration policy in Western Europe.

As such, foreign household workers and marriage migrants are similar in that they both provide welfare within the family. The former provides care through intensification of welfare provider in lieu of children within the family and the latter, through the formation of a family by which they both function maintenance and formation of family. Even though both have different mode of movement of persons, movement itself is driven by market transaction.

It is not only welfare policy that provides care but also through the channel of both labor migration and cross-border marriage, that compensate for the care gap due to increasing demand for care and decreasing care supply in the process of globalized care transaction and the process of family change.

Viorela Telegdi-Csetri, *The Cosmopolitanism of Transnational Families*

This paper uses the concept of cosmopolitanism understood as the idea of being open towards otherness. The first aim is to present those characteristics of the members of transnational families that define these persons as cosmopolitan agents. The experience of migration offers a framework for constructing a cosmopolitan attitude in the life of – direct and indirect – participants to migration. The paper aims to theorize the cosmopolitan openness determined by migration in the case of Romanians migrating for work abroad. The second aim is to define and present an approach to methodological cosmopolitanism, that will serve as a basis for a research project proposed in this paper.

Saturday, 8th

Apuseni Mountains Trip, Wine testing (Jidvei)

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