

Household Structure in Urban Albania

The Case of Interwar Tirana

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to analyse the relationship between marriage and household headship, the demographic constraints that influenced household structure and formation in Tirana. The main sources are the census of 1918, carried out by the Austrian-Hungarian military occupation, and the population census of 1930, taken by the Albanian state structures.

KEY WORDS

urban Albania, Tirana, household structure, household formation system, interwar period

IZVLEČEK

Prispevek analizira povezave med porokami, vodenjem gospodinjstev in demografskimi težavami, ki so vplivale na nastanek in strukturo gospodinjstev v Tirani. Predstavljeni podatki temeljijo na popisu prebivalstva iz leta 1918, ki je bil izveden v času avstroogrske okupacije tega območja, in popisu prebivalstva iz leta 1930, opravljenega v okviru albanskih državnih institucij.

KLJUČNE BESEDE

urbana Albanija, Tirana, struktura gospodinjstva, sistem oblikovanja gospodinjstev, obdobje med obema vojnama

In 1983, Hajnal argued that household formation systems in pre-industrial northwestern Europe shared certain common features that distinguished them from other pre-industrial populations. Hajnal compared two kinds of pre-industrial household formation systems. The northwestern European simple household system produced very few joint households and the majority of

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This article is a result of my work in two research projects: “The 1918 Albanian Population Census: Data Entry and Basic Analyses” (2000–2003) and “Tirana and Shkodra: Demographic and historical-anthropological trends in two Albanian cities (1928–1938)” (2003–2006), both conducted at the Centre for Southeast European History, University of Graz, and funded by the Austrian Science Fund (Fonds zur Förderung der wissenschaftlichen Forschung).

persons were never members of a joint household. The joint household system did not normally produce a situation where the majority of households were joint at any one time, but the majority of people were members of a joint household at some stage in their lives.¹ The formation rules in the northwestern simple household system were late marriage for both sexes (over 26 for men and over 23 for women), foundation of a separate household by the new couple, and the circulation of young people between households as servants before marriage. The formation rules of the joint household system were earlier marriage for men and women (under 26 for men and under 21 for women) and the young married couple often started life together in a household of an older couple or with several married couples to later split to form two or more households.²

The proportion of joint households in northwestern European communities was less than six percent, while in most joint household systems 15 to 30% of households were joint households.³ The household formation rules described by Hajnal referred to rural areas and he admitted that by the end of the nineteenth century the European pattern of late marriage certainly “extended beyond the boundaries of north-west Europe.”⁴ Hajnal recognised that there was much variation within both kinds of household formation system, between different areas and also over time in the way in which the same rules were carried out. But despite much variation within each of the two basic kinds of system, for Hajnal the basic distinction was a valid one.⁵

Laslett, who developed four sets of tendencies in domestic group organisation in traditional Europe: West, West-central or Middle, Mediterranean and East, suggested that the Balkan peninsula reflected features of the Mediterranean set.⁶ The analyses of marriage behaviour in Albania at the beginning of the 20th century showed that the marriage pattern in urban Albania was similar to Laslett’s Mediterranean set, while rural areas displayed an age at marriage for both men and women that was characteristic of the marriage pattern east of the Hajnal line. Albanian cities showed a higher age at marriage for both men and women than villages did.⁷

The classification of household formation systems proposed by Hajnal and the set of tendencies developed by Laslett will serve as a starting point to analyse the patterns of household structure in Tirana. The aim of this article

¹ Hajnal, *Two Kinds*, pp. 65–69.

² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 78 and 89.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 69–71.

⁶ Laslett, *Family and Household*, p. 526.

⁷ Kera and Pandejmoni, *Marriage in Urban Albania*, pp. 126–137.

is to analyse household formation and structure in Tirana in interwar period comparing the data of two population censuses of 1918 and 1930. I analyse the relationship between marriage and household headship, the demographic constraints that influenced household structure and household formation in Tirana and residence patterns of the urban population.

Most of the research on household structures in Eastern and Southeastern Europe has concentrated on rural areas. Mitterauer has stressed the exceptionalism of the Balkans and parts of Eastern Europe to the “European rule” in respect to the existence of social phenomena, such as endogamy and exogamy, and levirate.⁸ Local endogamy, endogamy within an occupational group or estate, which were common in Europe, were different from rules based on kinship. The notion of kinship did not dominate the individual to such an extent as it was common in non-European societies.⁹

Mitterauer agreed with Hajnal’s assumption that the ‘European marriage pattern’ did not apply to the whole of Europe to then demonstrate that it was the Balkans where the marriage pattern was most clearly opposed to the common ‘European’ one. Strict rules governed the choice of partner from within or without groups of kin and complex systems of kinship ensured solidarity. There were rules governing with whom the newly-weds had to reside, and marriage patterns ensured the continuity of agnatic groups.¹⁰

Kaser has identified a ‘Balkan family pattern’ characterised by early and universal marriage, whose main features are: extended family household units, a structure influenced by initial high fertility and high mortality; members of the household act as a corporate economic unit; patrilineal and patrilocal structures; and mountainous and pastoral environment.¹¹ Kaser also distinguished four traditional household formation patterns in Southeastern Europe and placed Albania within the patrilocal-life cycle complexity household formation system, characterised by patrilocal marriage arrangements and the tendency to split the household after the death of the household head.¹² Todorova has argued that the major distinction between the ideal type of the Western European family and the Southeastern European (or Balkan) one lies not so much in the quantitative differences, but rather in the fact that in the Balkans the extended and multiple family type was more often and for a longer period a developmental stage of the individual family lifecycle.¹³

⁸ The custom that a widow should marry her deceased husband’s brother.

⁹ Mitterauer, A ‘European Family,’ pp. 144–145.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

¹¹ Halpern et al., *Patriarchy in the Balkans*, p. 436.

¹² Kaser, Introduction, pp. 381–383; Kaser, *Power and Inheritance*, pp. 387–389.

¹³ Todorova, *Balkan Family Structure*, p. 170.

Sources

My work relies to a large extent on unpublished archival material from the Central State Archive in Tirana and the Civil Office of Tirana Municipality. The main sources for the analyses presented in this work are the population census of 1918, which was carried out by the Austrian-Hungarian Military occupation during World War I, and the population census of 1930, taken by the Albanian state structures. The database of the Census of 1918 includes 124,133 persons living in 254 settlements. The database of Tirana includes 10,416 persons. The 1930 census served as the basis for the population registers of the civil offices. The registers for Tirana stored at the Civil Office of Tirana municipality contain information on all births, deaths, marriages, and divorces in registered households from 1930 until 1945. The data from the census of Tirana of 1930 was computerised during archival work at the Civil Office of Tirana municipality in 2006. To create the database of the census of 1930, only data on persons registered on census day were entered, excluding all those who entered or left households after census day. These registers include only permanent residents of Tirana, omitting temporary residents who must have been recorded in census enumeration lists on census day.

According to archival data, Tirana had, in 1930, a total of 30,806 inhabitants,¹⁴ but only 19,801 inhabitants were recorded in the registers at the Civil Office. This explains the discrepancy between the number of inhabitants according to the published census statistics, and those included in the database. Statistics of the population in Tirana in 1936 published in a daily newspaper show that Tirana had 22,049 permanent residents and 14,000 temporary residents, therefore a total population of 36,049 inhabitants.¹⁵ Official statistics on the population of Tirana give a number of 24,603 residents in 1937, without including provisory inhabitants.¹⁶

Both censuses contain information on first name, family name, relation to household head, sex, age, religious affiliation, birthplace, literacy, and profession. The census of 1918 also includes data on ethnic affiliation of the population, whereas in the census of 1930, this information is missing, except for a few cases of registered Roma.

¹⁴ AQSH, Teki Selenica (441), F. 590, p. 2.

¹⁵ *Popullsija e Tiranës*, 1936, 3.

¹⁶ AQSH, Bashkia Tiranë (380), 1938, F. 35, p. 2.

Household size and structure in Albania

Peasants and townsmen alike, Roman Catholic, Mohammedan, and Orthodox Albanians all live in communal households, each governed by the wisest of the older men in it.¹⁷

This description of Albanian households written by Hasluck in the 1930s is just one example of the most widespread view on household organisation in Albania, at least until the end of World War II. Households including several generations were presented as being the norm, especially in the north. Demographic data from the first half of the twentieth century indicate that households were much more moderate not only in size but also in structure.

Albania experienced important social and political changes in interwar period. After the proclamation of independence in 1912 there were efforts made to approve new legislation to replace the previous laws of the Ottoman Period. Nevertheless, it was not until 1920s that the Albanian state administration could consolidate its power over the whole country. In the 1920s, first efforts at passing regulations on marriage, divorce, inheritance and other civil issues were made by parliament. The attempts to approve secular laws proved sometimes difficult in practice due to the resistance of the clergy. While religious communities made concessions regarding marriage in the civil offices as a prerequisite for religious marriage, divorce was considered a competence of religious institutions of each religious community. The Civil Code of 1929 recognised the right of married women to file for divorce. However, the real challenge was the implementation of these laws, which posed a break with traditional norms and customs, especially in a country with a dominant rural and illiterate population.

In 1923, only 15.9% of the population was urban. An indicator for the slow urbanisation was the slight increase in the absolute numbers, while the percentage of the urban population among the total population dropped in 1938 (15.4%).¹⁸ The reasons need to be sought in the slow industrialisation and eventually higher fertility rates in villages, which resulted in a higher increase in rural population. Albania had no large industrial sector and industries were concentrated in a few towns.

The data of the population census of 1918 show that mean household size was 5.6 persons. The mean household size in the six cities included in the population census was 4.49 persons, while the mean household size in rural areas was 5.81 persons. Statistics for the whole country until World War II

¹⁷ Hasluck, *Bride-Price in Albania*, p. 191.

¹⁸ Breu, *Wachstum der Städte*, p. 310.

show approximately the same mean household size (Table 1). Households in urban areas were smaller than those in rural areas during the whole interwar period and the figures show no significant changes until the end of World War II.

Table 1: Mean household size in Albania.

Year	All	Urban	Rural
1923	5.6	4.9	5.8
1945	5.7	4.9	6.0

Source: Vjetari statistikor, p. 71.

The analysis of household typology in 1918 shows a high proportion of multiple family households (27.5%). Only 42.7% of households were simple family households. There were obvious differences between urban and rural areas regarding household structures. Only 33.3% of the households in the cities were extended or multiple family households, while in rural areas this percentage was much higher (53.4%). The difference is most evident when comparing the percentage of multiple family households. Only 12.7% of urban households were multiple family households, while in rural areas 30.4% of households were multiple family households (Table 2).

Table 2: Type of households in Albania according to the rural/urban division (%).

Type of household	Rural areas	Urban areas	All
Solitaries	3.3	6.3	3.8
No family	3.3	4.1	3.4
Simple family household ^{a)}	40.0	56.3	42.7
Extended family household ^{b)}	23.0	20.6	22.6
Multiple family household ^{c)}	30.4	12.7	27.5
All	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Albanian population census of 1918 (calculated by author according to Laslett household typology).¹⁹

- ^{a)} The simple family consists of a married couple, a married couple with offspring, or a widowed person with offspring. Whenever a conjugal family unit is found on its own, it is taken to be a household, and such a coresident domestic group is called a simple family household.
- ^{b)} An extended family household consists of a conjugal family unit with the addition of one or more relatives other than offspring, the whole group living together on its own or with servants.
- ^{c)} Multiple family households comprise all forms of domestic group that include two or more conjugal family units connected by kinship or by marriage. The expression “joint family” is also used to refer to all the forms of multiple family household.

¹⁹ Laslett, *Household and Family*, pp. 28–31.

These percentages of multiple family households clearly locate Albania within the joint household formation system described by Hajnal. One of the factors that influenced the higher complexity of households in rural areas must have been the need for labour. The limited role of servants in Albanian society influenced the early age at marriage, since the most usual way to secure new labourers for the household was through early marriage. Employment as servant was not preferred and as Hasluck puts it:

Except in the towns, no Albanian woman ever went into domestic service. On the other hand, men servants were mainly farm workers or herdsmen. No Albanian ever stooped to become a servant except from dire necessity. Most commonly he wanted to marry, and having no spare cash, must earn enough to pay for his bride. He was usually engaged for six months, or most commonly for one year.²⁰

The census of 1918 shows a mean age at marriage of 18.3 years for women. There was a difference of about two years between the age at marriage in urban and in rural areas, with women in cities marrying at the age of 19.8 years, and those in villages at the age of 18.1 years. For men, the mean age at marriage was 27.0 years and men living in cities married about three years later than those living in villages. The age at marriage was 30.2 and 26.6 years, respectively.²¹ Earlier marriage in villages increased the chances for the formation of multiple family households because it was more likely that men would be living with their father or married brothers in the same household. Peasant households with only one man in them were rare, since for economic reasons it was customary for several brothers or even several first cousins to live together until their children were of marriageable age. Then pressure of population compelled the household to split up into smaller units.²²

Half of all multiple family households in cities comprised two couples of the same generation. The numbers of solitaries and households with no families in cities were almost the same as multiple family households. Solitary individuals were twice as common in urban areas than in rural settings. Although the percentage of multiple family households in urban Albania was relatively low, a high percentage of people lived in multiple family households. The formation of multiple family households was affected by several demographic constraints. High mortality rates decreased the years a son would co-reside with his father, especially considering the high age at marriage of the urban population. High infant mortality also reduced the number of brothers with

²⁰ Hasluck, *Unwritten Law*, pp. 43–44.

²¹ Kera, *Age at Marriage*, p. 42.

²² Hasluck, *Unwritten Law*, p. 27.

whom men could possibly co-reside. The high male age at marriage resulted in many women being widowed at quite a young age: in the age group 40–44 years a third of all women had been widowed.²³

In addition to the influence of demographic constraints, and nuptiality on household size and structure, neolocality can also play an important role. Laslett considered as the outstanding point of differentiation among regional tendencies he developed the extent of neo-localism, which required each newly married couple to set up their own household. In the north and west this disposition was stronger than in the south and east. This tendency was almost entirely absent from the eastern pattern, where marriage practically never led to the formation of a new household. Households came into being by partition or by fusion.²⁴ The existence of neolocality as a prerequisite to marriage would limit both nuptiality and size and complexity of household structures. The absence of neolocality would encourage high nuptiality and the establishment of complex and large households. Ethnographic evidence indicates that neolocality was not a prerequisite to marriage in Albania, even in urban areas.

Household structure in Tirana

The proclamation of Tirana as the capital of Albania in 1920 played a decisive role in the further development of the city and the population increased rapidly from 10,416 in 1918 to 30,806 inhabitants in 1930. 91.7% of the population of Tirana in 1918 were Moslem, 7.9% Orthodox, 0.3% Catholic, and 0.1% Jewish. The data of 1930 show an increase in the percentage of Catholics living in Tirana (4.1%) and a slight decrease in the number of Orthodox (7.4%). 87.7% of the population were Moslem in 1930. The increase of the number of Catholic inhabitants should be related to in-migration from other regions.²⁵ The demand for the construction of social amenities and administration buildings increased, which influenced a rapid increase in population.

Age at marriage for women in Tirana in 1918 was slightly higher than the country average (18.6 years). In 1930, women married at the age of 19.9 years. For men, the mean age at marriage in 1918 was 28.0 years, while in 1930 it had declined to 27.2 years.²⁶ Households were slightly larger than the overall mean household size for the six cities included in the census of 1918. The mean

²³ Gruber, *Household Structures*, pp. 143–144.

²⁴ Laslett, *Family and Household*, p. 531.

²⁵ Kera, *Age at Marriage*, p. 39.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 42–43.

household size in Tirana was 4.76 persons. Archival data on the number of inhabitants and houses in 1922 show an average of 4.5 persons per households.²⁷ The mean household size decreased to 4.30 persons in 1930. Despite the low mean household size, a considerable percentage of households had seven or more persons in both censuses (18.9% in 1918 and 17.5% in 1930).

One reason for the lower mean household size in 1930 should be related to the higher proportion of solitaries in 1930. The figures for solitaries and no family households is underrepresented because our data for 1930 includes only permanent residents in Tirana, omitting individuals who were living and working in the city but were not recorded as permanent residents. Considering the differences between the published census data and the data from the registers of the municipal civil office, there were approximately 10,000 temporary residents in Tirana in 1930, and it can be assumed that the majority of these persons were living alone or in no family households. In 1918, the majority of solitaries were born in Tirana (79.8%), while in 1930 this percentage had decreased to 23.3%. The percentage of heads of no family households born in Tirana also decreased from 91.4% in 1918 to 46.5% in 1930. These figures show that in-migration was an important factor that influenced household typology in Tirana.

In addition to the increase in the percentage of solitaries, another influencing factor was the decrease in the mean household size of multiple family households. The mean household size varied significantly according to the types of households and multiple family households were almost twice as large as simple and extended family households. The mean household size of multiple family households was 9.32 persons in 1918 and 8.18 persons in 1930. The mean household size of simple family households did not significantly change until 1930, while the mean size of extended family households increased slightly (Table 3).

Table 3: Absolute numbers and proportion of household types and mean household size.

Household type	Number		Percentage		Mean household size	
	1918	1930	1918	1930	1918	1930
Solitaries	168	785	7.7	17.0	1.0	1.0
No family	70	142	3.2	3.1	2.87	2.65
Simple family	1073	2102	49.2	45.6	3.86	3.85
Extended family	495	759	22.7	16.5	4.81	5.05
Multiple family	374	820	17.2	17.8	9.32	8.18
All households	2180	4608	100.0	100.0	4.76	4.30

Source: Albanian population census of 1918 and population census for Tirana 1930 (calculated by author).

²⁷ AQSH, Ministria e Punëve të Brendshme (152), 1922, F. 473, p. 51.

The mean household size of households headed by women was lower than the mean size of male-headed households. In 1918, the mean household size of female-headed households was 2.46, while that of male-headed households was 5.02. In 1930, mean size of female-headed households was 2.57 persons in comparison to 4.48 persons in male-headed households. Women were more likely to be heading simple or extended family households, which on average had fewer members.

The percentage of household heads born in Tirana either living alone or in no family households was only 9.7% in 1918 and 10.6% in 1930. In 1918, 17.4% of household heads born in Tirana were heading multiple family households. In 1930 the percentage had increased to 25%. Household heads born outside Tirana were more likely to be living alone (Table 4).

Table 4: Household typology according to birthplace of household heads.

Household type	In Tirana		Other	
	1918	1930	1918	1930
Solitarities	6.6	7.8	23.8	26.7
No family	3.1	2.8	4.2	3.4
Simple family household	49.6	45.0	43.4	46.2
Extended family household	23.3	19.4	14.7	13.5
Multiple family household	17.4	25.0	14.0	10.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Albanian population census of 1918 and population census for Tirana 1930 (calculated by author).

Approximately 40.0% of households in 1918 were extended and multiple households. Despite the fact that almost half of all households in Tirana were simple family households, the majority of persons lived in extended or multiple family households. Only 39.9% of persons were living in simple family households, while 22.9% lived in extended and 33.6% in multiple family households. Less than four percent of the population was living alone or in no family households.

A detailed analysis of household types shows differences between the two censuses (Table 5). One of the most obvious changes in household structure in Tirana is the growing proportion of people living alone, which should be related to in-migration. The argument is strengthened by the demographic features of persons living alone or in no family households. In 1918, 59.5% of solitarities were widowed and 36.3% were unmarried. In 1930 the majority of solitarities were unmarried (71.6%), while the percentage of widowed solitarities had decreased to 18.6%. The percentage of married persons living alone also increased from 4.2% to 9.8%.

Table 5: Household typology in Tirana.

Type of household	1918		1930	
	% households	% persons	% households	% persons
Solitaries	7.7	1.6	17.0	4.0
No family	3.2	1.9	3.1	1.9
Simple family household	49.2	39.9	45.6	40.9
Extended family household	22.7	22.9	16.5	19.3
Multiple family household	17.2	33.6	17.8	33.9

Source: Albanian population census of 1918 and population census for Tirana 1930 (calculated by author).

The majority of simple family households were comprised of a married couple with or without children (71% in 1918 and 76.5% in 1930). The percentage of widowed mothers living with children was much higher than the percentage of widowed fathers living with children. In 1918, only four percent of households were composed of fathers and their children, while 24.9% of households were composed of mothers and their children. Interestingly, in 18.2% of simple family households composed of mothers and their children, one of the children was recorded as being the head of the household. The same phenomenon is observed in 1930. Only 3.2% of simple family households comprised fathers and their children, in comparison to 20.1% composed of mothers and their children. Even in 1930, 11.7% of simple family households were recorded to be headed by children living with their widowed mothers.

The majority of extended family households in 1918 were extended upwards (56.4%). In 12.9% of extended family households the extension was sideways and the household was composed of a conjugal family unit and unmarried siblings. In 6.9% of cases, extended family households were extended downwards. The rest of extended family households were composed of conjugal units living with relatives of the same or of different generations. In 1930, the percentage of extended family households extended upwards had increased to 58.0%. There were also a higher percentage of conjugal units living with unmarried siblings (19.2%). The percentage of downwards extended family households had decreased to only 1.7%.

The majority of multiple family households in 1918 were composed of *frères*²⁸ (41.2%), followed by a conjugal unit with married offspring (34.2%). Only 2.7% of multiple family households were households with a secondary unit disposed upwards from the head (conjugal unit living with both parents).

²⁸ Multiple family households containing several conjugal family units of brothers or sisters, but no parental conjugal family unit.

In 1930, the percentage of *frërëches* had decreased to 24.1%, while the percentage of multiple family households composed of a conjugal unit and their married offspring had increased to 43.7 percent. These figures indicate that the importance of *frërëches* declined in interwar Tirana. The percentage of multiple family households composed of a conjugal unit living with both parents increased to 17.4%. This is an indication of a moderately reduced mortality, as there were more parents living long enough to experience the marriage of their children. Despite the fact that mortality continued to be high, there are indications that a reduction in mortality rates had already started in the 1930s. The reasons were varied and probably foremost related to the consolidation of the Albanian state and the role played by government. With an increasingly active government came public services that reduced mortality, such as the provision of pure water, vaccination, control of epidemics, and other public health measures. The establishment of public order reduced violence and increased public safety. The decrease in mortality should also be related to better medical service in the 1930s, especially in cities where most of the newly established health facilities were concentrated.

Multiple family households composed of two conjugal units comprised the majority of multiple family household in both censuses, and there were a considerable percentage of multiple households which comprised three conjugal units (Table 6). The percentage of multiple family households comprising three and more conjugal family units was lower in 1930.

Table 6: Number and percentage of conjugal units in multiple family households.

Number of conjugal units	1918		1930	
	%	Number of households	%	Number of households
2	67.9	254	75.1	616
3	22.5	84	19.9	163
4	7.5	28	3.7	30
5	1.3	5	1.1	9
6	/	/	0.2	2
7	0.8	3	/	/
Total	100.0	374	100.0	820

Source: Albanian population census of 1918 and population census for Tirana 1930 (calculated by author).

The analysis of married couples living in multiple family households shows that multiple family households composed of two couples constituted the majority of multiple family households in both censuses, although their proportion had decreased in 1930. Also the proportion of multiple family

households composed of one couple increased from 18.7% in 1918 to 32.7% in 1930. In 1918, 76.8% of multiple family households comprised two or more couples. In 1930, the share of such multiple family households had decreased to 65.5% (Table 7).

Table 7: Proportion of households by number of couples in multiple family households (%).

Number of couples	1918	1930
No couple	4.5	1.8
1 couple	18.7	32.7
2 couples	56.4	49.9
3 couples	15.3	12.6
4 couples	3.7	2.4
5 or more couples	1.4	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0

Source: Albanian population census of 1918 and population census for Tirana 1930 (calculated by author).

When analysing all households in Tirana, the proportion of joint households composed of two and more couples was 13.4% in 1918 and it decreased to 11.7% in 1930. These figures show a relatively low proportion of joint households in Tirana, although this percentage fits to the proportion of joint households generally expected in a joint household formation system. The analysis of kin composition of households shows that in 1918, 11.0% of household heads were living with persons not related to them by kinship. In 1930, the percentage had declined to 5.4%. Nevertheless, another aspect of in-migration that is difficult to examine on the basis of the available data is co-residence in households of officially unrecorded relatives. It might be possible that at least a part of in-migrants were temporarily living in households headed by their relatives, but not recorded as permanent residents in the household. Therefore, the figures of co-residing relatives in the households, at least for certain periods, could be higher than the registers of civil offices reflect.

Becoming household head

Hajnal considered the way in which household headship is attained as an important difference between the two kinds of household formation system. The age at which headship is attained is relevant to the size of households and if men become heads of households later in life, there will be fewer household heads and therefore fewer households. Under the joint household system, marriage is not, in most cases, the point of time at which headship of the household

is attained. Two other routes to headship predominate: succession to headship when the head dies, and becoming head upon fission.²⁹

For the analyses of the way in which married men were distributed among households, the proportions of married men by relationship to the household head were examined. In 1918 only 74.7% of married men were heads of household. The percentage was slightly higher in 1930 (78.5%), which is an indication that married men did not necessarily become heads of their own household upon marriage. The percentage of married sons was also higher in 1930 (12.9% in comparison to 10.6% in 1918), while the percentage of other married relatives living in the household decreased. The very low percentage of fathers of household heads in both censuses (0.3%) and the considerable percentage of married sons living with fathers as household heads show that as a rule, married sons became household heads after the death of their fathers. In 1918, 9.8% of married men were recorded as brothers of household heads, while in 1930 this percentage had decreased to 6.2%.

The relationship between the proportions of married men and those heading households is an indicator of the connection between marriage and independent household formation. Table 8 shows that there was no direct relationship between marriage and headship in Tirana in interwar period. The analysis includes only men because the majority of household heads were male both in 1918 and 1930. In 1918, only 10.2% of household heads were female and the percentage had decreased to 9.8% in 1930.

Table 8: Relationship between marriage and household headship.

Age group	Proportion of all males in age group who are					
	Ever-married (%)		Heads of household (%)		Ever-married heads of household (%)	
	1918	1930	1918	1930	1918	1930
18–22	17.1	21.4	28.1	29.6	26.2	31.5
23–27	38.3	44.1	37.5	46.4	51.5	51.6
28–32	68.5	61.9	47.2	59.3	81.4	66.7
33–37	86.9	78.8	58.3	69.2	94.9	83.1
38–42	92.9	85.8	72.7	78.0	96.0	89.3
43–47	91.1	91.5	81.2	88.2	94.5	93.2
48–52	97.6	93.2	82.6	89.6	99.0	95.1
53–57	93.8	94.6	85.9	89.9	98.5	96.6
58–62	95.6	94.3	89.3	91.1	97.2	95.1

Source: Albanian population census of 1918 and population census for Tirana 1930 (calculated by author).

²⁹ Hajnal, *Two Kinds*, pp. 84–87.

For the age group 18–22, the percentage of ever-married heads is lower than unmarried heads, an indication that succession to headship took place after the head of the household had died. Following this route to headship, young unmarried sons took charge of an existing household, even when the mother was still alive. In 1918, 8.9% of simple family households were composed of mothers living with children where one of the children (normally a son) was recorded as head of household. In only 3.3% of simple family households was the mother head of the households. In 1930, the percentage of simple family households headed by children had declined to 5.3%, while 3.8% of simple family households were headed by widowed mothers. The decrease in the percentage of households headed by children could be related to the new legal provisions. The Civil Code of 1929 defined the man as head of the household (article 188) and the children were under his authority until they became adults. Paternal authority was exercised by household head and after his death by his wife (articles 277–278).³⁰

The comparison between proportions of ever-married and heads of households shows that after the age of 28, although the majority of men were ever-married, the percentage of men within the age group in the position of household head was lower. Therefore, men did not establish their own household upon marriage; the new conjugal unit was usually integrated into an existing household.

The mean age of male household heads was 42 years in 1918 and it increased to 46 years in 1930. Women became household heads later in their lives, the mean age of female heads being 47.2 years in 1918 and 47.3 in 1930. The high mean age of household heads in comparison to the mean age at marriage is an indicator that the majority of persons did not establish a new household upon marriage, but became household heads at a later stage in their lives. Marriage did increase the chances for men to become household heads because from the age group 23–27 years the majority of household heads were ever-married. In 1918, it was in the age group of 38–42 years that more than 90% were ever-married heads of households, while in 1930 it was only in the age group 43–47 more than 90% of heads were ever-married. These figures show that the age men became household head increased in the interwar period. Only a small percentage of household heads were not married, especially in higher age groups. It should also be stressed that marriage was universal in Tirana and that the proportion of never married was low in both censuses.

Table 9 shows the marital status of household heads according to different types of households in both censuses. In 1918, the majority of household

³⁰ *Kodi Civil*, pp. 68 and 92.

heads among solitaries were widowed (59.5%), while in 1930 the majority of solitaries were unmarried persons (71.6%). Simple, extended and multiple family households were more likely to be headed by married men.

Table 9: Marital status of household heads according to household typology (proportions within each household type).

Household type	Unmarried		Married		Widowed	
	1918	1930	1918	1930	1918	1930
Solitaries	36.3	71.6	4.2	9.8	59.5	18.6
No family	72.9	77.3	0.0	0.0	27.1	22.7
Simple family	18.3	11.8	71.0	76.5	10.7	11.7
Extended family	7.5	3.2	78.0	83.9	14.5	12.9
Multiple family	5.6	3.0	85.6	89.9	8.8	7.1

Source: Albanian population census of 1918 and population census for Tirana 1930 (calculated by author).

There were differences regarding household typology according to the gender of household heads. In 1918, 38.3% of all female household heads were living alone. In 1930 the proportion of women living alone had decreased slightly to 36.9%. The proportion of male household heads living alone increased significantly from 4.2% in 1918 to 14.9% in 1930. The proportion of female heads of multiple family households was very low both in 1918 and 1930. Women were more likely to be heading simple family households (Table 10) and also more likely to be heading a household if they were ever-married. In 1918, only 6.3% of all female household heads were unmarried, 5.0% were married and 88.7% were widowed. In 1930, the percentage of unmarried women in the position of household head had increased to 19.1%. Widowhood increased the chances of women becoming household heads.

Table 10: Household types by gender of heads (%).

Household types	1918		1930	
	Male-headed	Female-headed	Male-headed	Female-headed
Solitaries	4.2	38.3	14.9	36.9
No family	2.7	8.1	2.5	8.7
Simple family	50.6	37.4	46.1	40.9
Extended family	23.9	12.6	17.3	8.4
Multiple family	18.7	3.6	19.2	5.1

Source: Albanian population census of 1918 and population census for Tirana 1930 (calculated by author).

The situation was different for men. Married men had higher chances of being in the position of household head than widowers. In 1918, 74.7% of male household heads were married, 18.0% were unmarried and only 7.3% were widowers. The data from the census of 1930 shows similar rates. The majority of male household heads were married (73.3%), 21.2% were unmarried and only 5.5% were widowed.

The examination of the age of household heads for the various types of domestic units gives us some information on the pattern of the procession of individuals from one type of household to another. In 1918, the majority of household heads in the age group 15–19 years were heading a simple family household. This high percentage can be attributed to the high percentage of simple family households composed of one widowed parent (usually the mother) where the son was recorded as head of the household. Household heads aged 20–39 years old were more likely to be heading a simple or an extended family household. Men older than 50 years were more likely to be heading a multiple family household (Table 11).

Table 11: Residential patterns of household heads by age group (%).

Age groups	Solitaries		No family		Simple family		Extended family		Multiple family	
	1918	1930	1918	1930	1918	1930	1918	1930	1918	1930
15–19	11.1	45.8	9.7	10.2	55.6	35.2	13.9	6.5	9.7	2.3
20–29	11.9	31.2	5.9	4.9	38.9	35.0	35.9	17.1	7.4	11.9
30–39	5.0	15.7	1.8	2.6	46.4	44.5	35.5	22.9	11.3	14.4
40–49	6.4	10.2	1.5	1.3	54.2	56.4	20.7	18.0	17.2	14.1
50–59	6.9	7.6	1.4	2.8	56.7	56.0	14.2	12.5	20.8	21.0
60+	10.9	9.5	3.6	2.6	40.9	39.9	13.0	12.8	31.6	35.2

Source: Albanian population census of 1918 and population census for Tirana 1930 (calculated by author).

The picture is somewhat different in 1930. The percentage of heads aged 15–19 years in charge of a simple family household decreased while the number of young persons living alone increased significantly. The percentage of persons living alone was also higher among heads aged 20–39 years in 1930 in comparison to 1918. The residential patterns of household heads for other household types did not differ much in 1930 in comparison to 1918, a fact which indicates that in-migration increased the percentage of persons living alone in Tirana and that this increase cannot be attributed to any important changes in traditional domestic circles or the emerging of a new trend toward individualisation.

Conclusions

The comparison with the set of tendencies in domestic group organisation in Europe as described by Laslett indicates that Tirana was closest to the southern type. Tirana fits to the Mediterranean set of tendencies especially in regard to the occasion and method of domestic group formation. Urban Albania, Tirana included, showed features of the Mediterranean set in regard to procreational and demographic criteria. In the case of the kin composition of domestic groups, Tirana shows features of both Mediterranean and East sets of tendencies.

The household formation system in interwar Tirana was strongly influenced by demographic constraints, such as high mortality rates and in-migration. The analyses of household typology showed that the proportion of solitaries increased significantly due to the settlement of persons in search of employment opportunities in the capital, which influenced the decrease in the mean household size in Tirana. An important factor was also the limited living space, which put pressure on the urban household to dissolve even before the death of the household head, when the existing house did not have enough space for new conjugal units.

The absence of neolocality is confirmed by demographic data for Tirana. Nevertheless, a system of values had emerged that certain economic conditions should be fulfilled before the marriage, which delayed marriage for both men and women. The existence of dowry could have put some pressure on urban men to establish their own business or a certain financial base in order to ensure some authority over their local wives, who had financial resources of their own through the dowry they received from their parents. The practicing of dowry among the urban population, especially among the Orthodox population, indicates the interest of urban families in preserving the social status of both male and female offspring and the inclusion of daughters in the distribution of family property. Dowry influenced the higher female age at marriage in cities. The implications of dowry for urban households go beyond the influence on higher female age at marriage. Dowry in combination with city endogamy increased age at marriage for both males and females. Higher ages at marriage, especially for men, reduced the chances of urban men to cohabit with their fathers, who, considering the high mortality rates and low life expectancy, often died before their son's marriage. The delay of marriage and inheritance pattern in cities combined with certain demographic limitations, such as high mortality rates and low life expectancy, hindered the formation of complex and large households in cities.

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Struktura gospodinjstev v urbanem delu Albanije: Primer Tirane med obema vojnama

Povzetek

Pričujoči prispevek obravnava popis prebivalstva iz leta 1918, ki ga je izvedla avstroogrška vojska v času okupacije Albanije, in državni popis prebivalstva, izveden leta 1930. V času med obema vojnama je število prebivalcev v Tirani, ki je leta 1920 postala glavno mesto Albanije, naglo naraščalo. Namen članka je analizirati takratni nastanek gospodinjstev v Tirani in njihovo strukturo. Članek preučuje razmerje med porokami in vodenjem gospodinjstev, demografske spremembe, ki so vplivale na oblikovanje in strukturo gospodinjstev v Tirani, ter bivanjske vzorce v urbanega prebivalstva Albanije. Analiza demografskih podatkov je pokazala, da je bila povprečna velikost gospodinjstev v času popisa prebivalstva iz leta 1918 v Tirani večja od povprečne velikosti gospodinjstev v šestih drugih mestih v Albaniji. Tedaj je povprečna velikost gospodinjstev štela 4,76 osebe. V letu 1930 je to povprečje padlo na 4,30 osebe. Eden glavnih razlogov za ta upad predstavlja večje število samskih oseb in splošno zmanjšanje povprečnega števila gospodinjstev, ki so združevala različne družine. Zaključna ugotovitev članka je, da se je povprečna velikost gospodinjstev v obravnavanem obdobju občutno spreminjala glede na tip gospodinjstva in zaradi gospodinjstev, sestavljenih iz različnih družin, ki so bila skoraj dvakrat večja od gospodinjstev z enostavnimi ali razširjenimi družinami. V primerjavi s tendencami organizacije gospodinjstev v Evropi, kakor jih je opredelil Laslett, bi bila struktura gospodinjstev v Tirani najbližja južnemu tipu. Zlasti Tirana gledena priložnosti in oblikovanje gospodinjstev sodi v mediteranski niz tendenc. Prokreacijski in demografski kriteriji so tako pokazali, da urbana Albanija, vključno s Tirano, kaže tako vplive mediteranskih kakor vzhodnih tendenc.

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