# Utrecht Conference, Marriage Patterns, Household Formation and Economic Development October 2010

Dr. Antti Häkkinen, Academy Research Fellow Section of Social Science History, University of Helsinki, Finland antti.hakkinen@helsinki.fi

# Family structure, marriage patterns and the slow industrialization of Finland

#### Abstract

The paper will be a part of a project 'Ten Generations – Three Centuries: A Finnish History as Family Stories'. The aim of the research project is to re-construct three hundred years history of Finland through the life histories of Finnish families comprising more than eighty thousand individual life stories by using both genealogical data and family history interviews. The first ancestors of the families were born at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the last ones three hundred years later, at the beginning of the 21st century. The data will represent quite well the areas of the western, southern and eastern Finland as well all social classes.

In the study, special attention will be paid to an intergenerational transmission of occupation and social positions, including social mobility and impoverishment in a historical perspective. The research period covers such processes as industrialisation and urbanisation, modernisation, de-industrialisation and globalisation which have created the changing historical contexts for the lives of successive generations. Usually such processes have been interpreted as external factors modifying individual life courses and family histories. In this study, the construction of these phenomena will be analysed through thousands of individual actions by actors who were engaged in these processes. Theoretically Giovanni Levi's, James Coleman's and Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of different forms of capital and the mechanisms how they are inherited are in a key role in the study. In the genealogical analysis, the study will exploit the methods of the life course analysis developed by J.Z. Giele and G.H. Elder jr.

The methodological point is to study and define the factors that have maintained continuity at individual and family level on the one hand and caused mobility on the other. The study will focus on two possible breakages in continuity: the processes of intergenerational transmissions and the turning points of individual life courses. The former refers to the uneven practises of material, social and human inheritance, and the latter to the factors that have changed the expected life course: education, the place of residence, or job, marriage, divorce, illness, ageing etc. Using both quantitative and qualitative data, these breakages will be analysed by comparing factors depending on the period, residential area, sex, ethnic origin, social networks, class and occupation. After the Second World War the study of social mobility has been one of the major areas of sociological and historical research.<sup>1</sup> The specific feature of such research field is that phenomena are understood as long-term, intergenerational continuities in which material, human

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Levi, Giovanni (1988) Inheriting power: the story of an exorcist, Chicago, University of Chicago Press. Goldthorpe, John H. (1987) Social Mobility and Class Structure in Modern Britain. Clarendon Press, Oxford, p.1.

and social capitals are resources that are both inherited and exploited during ones' life time.<sup>2</sup> The study will give basic knowledge about the long-term mechanisms of social mobility and impoverishment. It strives to understand how individuals and families manage their material, human and social capitals when faced with profound economic and social changes, such as urbanisation, industrialisation and de-industrialisation, or institutional changes associated with modernisation and later with globalisation. It aims to discuss, develop and qualify the forms and meanings of different modes of capital in the processes of transmission between generations and in individual life courses.

In this paper special attention will be paid to the occupational and social inheritance and marriage patterns and in the early stages of industrialization in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century Finland. After the relatively favourable and constant 18<sup>th</sup> century, the traditional agriculture descended into trouble. The slowly developed industrial production was not able to employ the growing masses of the landless population. The overall social slide down and impoverishment in the Finnish countryside were entangled with the changes of marriage patterns and family structures. The preceding strong social and occupational continuity was broken and former strong marriage strategies were erased. The big change was not sudden, but a slowly accelerating process. In this analysis information about 37,000 individuals, over 15,000 adults and over eight thousand marriages are benefited. At the end of the paper some examples of the possibilities of the social network analysis will be presented.

#### Materials, Methods and the Data

The study will be carried out primarily by researching intergenerational family histories, where the lives and work of men and women are analyzed with the methods of the life course analysis. The reconstruction of the family histories begins from about 900 ancestors of rural village communities in the early nineteenth century and extends to present-day cities. In the study hundreds of long term family histories has been and will be constructed, comprising approximately of more than eighty thousand members. In this construction, common demographical methods have been used. The descendant's family trees have been constructed by including both biological and marriage related descendants to the data (however, the spouse's possible previous biological children have been excluded). At first it means the use of the digitalized church records database (HISKI), which includes information on christenings, marriages, burials and moves in Finland from the 18th century till the end of the 19th century as well as photographed church books, which are partly available in the internet. Because the databases contain still a limited number of parishes with a short period, much manual archive work is needed in the National Archive of Finland and in the local parishes. Especially from the Western parts of Finland have emigrated a great number of people to the USA and Canada at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the first part of the 20the century, similar work has been done in the USA and Canada.

To study the changes of occupational and social statutes the normal methods of social mobilization studies will be solved. The normal statistical methods will be used. Later on, the data will enable the use the methods of social network analysis. This included the use of Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations (HISCO) and the social status classification system generated by the History of Work Information System -project<sup>3</sup>, which makes the historical and international comparisons possible. The occupation has been marked at the age of 40 or earlier, if the person has died before that age, however not until he has reached at least the age of twenty six. The occupational position as such does not correspond to the real standard of living. To analyse this aspect more closely additional information is needed and to complete the database. This part

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For instance: Bourdieu, Jérôme & Joseph Ferrie & Lionel Kesztenbaum (2006) 'Vive la différence'? Intergenerational Occupational Mobility in France and the U.S. in the 19th and 20th Centuries. Document de recherche, EPEE, Centre D'Etude des Politiques Economiques de L'Universite D'Evry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> See http://historyofwork.iisg.nl/index.php

will be carried on mainly by using taxation and income records in the National Archive in Finland and in the local archives.

The project entered about three years ago. The data collection started from ten families, who received short- or long-term poor relief in Helsinki during the Great Depression of the 1930s, representing different social status groups and originating from different parts of the country. Using archival records, the family trees were constructed until the beginning of the18th century and about 900 ancestors and ancestress were traced. Then the progeny of these first representatives of the families have been followed up, and until now over 37,000 of approximately 80,000 descendants have been found and registered. They were living mainly until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in three different territorial areas in the Southern, Western and Eastern Finland (see appendix 1.) Because of the incompleteness of data the results are still very preliminary.

To describe the long research period as a continuum of generations whose lives entangled with the societal, political and economic structures and changes of the society, the following classification is used:

Name:	Year of Birth:	Frequency (Aug 2010)	Description:
The Children of the Great Hate	1700-1730	1,001	The 'Great Wrath' 1713-21 A stable inheritance system of land and occupations
The Generation of the Settlers	1731-1760	2,591	An active settling and a stable inheritance system of land and occupations
The Inheritors of the General Parceling	1761-1790	4,386	The General Parceling 1957- A social downslide appeared
The Victims of the War of Finland	1791-1820	6,482	The War of Finland 1808-09 Great mortality rate
The New Crofters	1821-1850	8,535	An expanding croft system The social downslide accelerated
The Children of Hunger	1851-1880	7,552	The Great Famine Years 1867-68 A common impoverishment
The Emigrants	1881-1910	5,940	The great emigration and internal migration
The Children of the Wars	1911-1940	544	The Civil War 1918 The growing internal migration
The Children of the Soldiers	1941-1970	305	Social mobilization Women's improving position The new family structure
The Educated Generation	1971-2000	110	The Welfare State A common well organized education system
Total		37,446	

Table 1, Ten Generations (August 2010)

Several critical questions about the validity and reliability of the study can be presented. Is the data a representative sample of the Finnish population and its changes? How harmful is the minor representation or total absence of some main territorial areas of Finland? Has the special origin of the data (ten families in Helsinki in the 1930s) somehow skewed the results? Are the

methodological tools accurate enough to be able to use in this context? As to the two first questions, some preliminary results of the study can be compared to the entire population.





(Sources: The Statistical Yearbook of Finland 2006; the Data)

The growth of the data follows quite well the growth of the entire population to the end of the first part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. After that the gap between the two lines is widening. The collapses of birth rates in 1868 are notable in both lines. The death rate lines also follow each other well, including the crisis years of 1808 and 1868. The gap starts to grow in the 1870s. The one hundred years long close development of these two pairs of lines shows, that when the data is completed a sufficient level of demographical representativeness is reachable. So far only the seven first generations will be used in the analysis.

The study is not able to cover three main territorial areas of Finland. The absence of the Northern Finland, Karelia and the Middle-Finland is perceptibly a weakness of the study. However, the three covered areas are economically and culturally different enough to give sufficient information of the basic mechanism of occupational inheritance systems, marriage strategies and family structures.

As to the problem of possible skewing of the results because of the special link to the poor relief aid in the 1930s Helsinki, it is evident, that this linkage has been disappeared during the approximately seven generations period back to the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and during the hundreds of different family history lines forward to the 1930s. The main social border in the rural Finland went between the land-owners and the landless population. In the next picture the land-owning history of the families is compared with the estimation of the share between the land-owning and landless male employees of the whole country made by Arvo M. Soininen. To construct comparatively relevant series is not an easy task, but the main result is the four similar trends.

Figure 3, Shares of the male landless employees in four different times in Finland (the data and Soininen's estimation.



(Source: Soininen, Arvo M. (1774) Vanha maataloutemme, t. 4; The Data)

The developments of the three research areas follow the one of Soininen quite well. The differences between the starting points are perceptibly. The great share of farmers in the Data in the Western area is something quite difficult to explain. However, this phenomenon of diminishing share of the land-owning population in Finland in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries is something, which several authors have noticed.<sup>4</sup>

The Data is still incomplete. Even some of the ancestors are still under tracing. Cases are missing especially in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the last part of the preceding one has great shortages. The missing life histories of the members of the seven first generations can be either a result of simple lacking or wrong markings in the church records, or an individual or a family has moved to a new parish without sufficient information to be traced. These cases may be in connection to occupational changes. Here a danger of systematic false exists. Still some sensible preliminary analyses can be made using the knowledge of the seven first generations. The results can be used to guide the coming work.

#### Occupation and major occupational distribution

Until the 1860s in the rural parishes the occupational marks in the Church records were engaged with the so called legal protection system. When the landless labor had to live under a rule of some local landowning master, this relationship was marked into the records as an occupational or social status of a person or a family. Suchlike system was in use in the towns. The type of the relation and the real source of livelihood were not necessarily same. The crofter ('torpare'), who had rent his land from a land-owner, could get his main earnings from handicraft (e.g. tailor, mason, black smith, and shoemaker) or being a soldier. The term 'inhyses' refers to a situation, where a person was housing in the farmer's home, but was working for someone else. He could also work as a tailor or a shoemaker. If possible, the main type of work was marked and coded.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Kilpi, O.K.(1913) Suomen ammatissatoimiva väestö ja sen yhteiskunnalliset luokat vuosina 1815-1875, Helsinki; Fougstedt, G. and Raivio A. (1953) Suomen sääty- ja ammattiryhmitys vuosina 1751-1805, Helsinki, Tilastollinen Päätoimisto; Rasila, Viljo (1963) Suomen torpparikysymys vuoteen 1909: yhteiskuntahistoriallinen tutkimus. Helsinki, SHS; Alestalo, Matti (1986) Structural change, classes and the state: Finland in a historical and comparative perspective. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

Another problem exists. During the life span the occupational status often changed. Most young men and women worked as farm servants outside their homes between the ages of fifteen and twenty two, sometimes starting in an earlier age and sometimes staying longer. Even for the reason of the increasing labor demand, the number of the farm-owners own children staying and working home was rejected by the law of 1723.<sup>5</sup> The statute was conformed inconsistently and later on it was struck down. However, this service arrangement of young men and women has been more or less part of the growing up and training systems of the time. No doubt it was a remarkable part of the marriage system. Usually the son of a farmer got married with a girl serving in the same farm and vice versa. Sending young people to serve into a specific farm or croft could have been very purposeful action being a part of marriage and family strategies.

When a servant got married, his or her social status normally changed. These married farm workers had normally own house or cottage. Later on they often were able to purchase a croft. Farmer's married sons usually returned with their new family to live and work into their parent's farm, living normally in a separate building. This state of affairs remained until they inherited the farm's ownership, were able to found or buy a new farm or croft, or started to cultivate the farm together with their brother. Sometimes the new family moved to live under the rule of the bride's father. During the life span the social position could change several times because of the spouse's death and widower's or widow's remarriage. In this state of analysis this diversity and complexity of the occupational statuses were forced to set aside. The decisive moment of coding was the age of forty. At that age the maximum social position was usually reached. If the person died before that age, the last occupational status was normally determinate by his husband's one. When women's independent occupational status was available and she was married, the highest status in the family was marked.

Furthermore the judicial titles of 'farmer', 'crofter', 'farm worker' etc. are also internally inexact. To the farmers class included estate owners ('rusthollare'), who governed large farms with numerous crofters and workers, and had important privileges (e.g. fixed-term exemption from taxation). Their economic position needs however more exact information because different calculations of their wealth, property and incomes compared to the farmers' ones have been presented.<sup>6</sup> The same social class includes also farmers with various sizes of farms. Neither the crofters group was unit. Some of them were wealthier than the small farmers. The workers' social class is not unambiguous either.

The following occupational distribution has been made by following the HISCO Major classification:

Figure 4, Occupational distribution of the Data by generation (HISCO Major), (N=14,230)<sup>7</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Jutikkala, Eino (1958) Jutikkala, Eino, Suomen talonpojan historia. Toinen, uudistettu ja lisätty laitos. Turku , pp. 236-237.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Soininen 1974; Nummela, Ilkka (1990) Savolaisten varallisuuserot historian valossa: vuoden 1571

hopeaveroluettolosta tämän vuosisadan alkuun, Kuopio; Rasila, Viljo (2003), Suomen maatalouden historia, Helsinki, p. 453; Alapuro, Risto (2001), Suomen synty paikallisena ilmiönä 1890-1933, Helsinki, p. 49.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> HISCO Major: 0-1 = Professional, technical and related workers, 2=Administrative and managerial workers, 3=Clerical and related workers, 4=Sales workers, 5=Service workers, 6=Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters, 7-9=Production and related workers, transport equipment operators and laborers.



This figure shows how 'closed' the agrarian society of Finland was until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Nearly all the members of the six first generations were working directly in the primary agricultural production. There was a thin stratum and elite of shopkeepers, the clergy, civil servants, and army officers, who lived quite separate from the peasantry. On the other side there was a group of millers, masons, shoemakers, tailors, black smiths and others, who were serving the folk of agricultural production and very often owning a plot of land themselves. It was only the seventh generation that started to break out the tradition of farm work.

The great continuity and stability of the societies were in relation to the unchangeability as to the areal mobility of individual of the data. In the following figure the birth and death parishes, districts and territories have been compared with each others:

Figure 5. Birth and death parishes, districts and territories compared 1730-1900 (N=17,712)<sup>8</sup>



The variations of the birth and death parishes until the 1860s were mainly a consequence of marriages. Free moving was rejected by law until the 1860s and the areal mobilization was minimal. Only some members of the upper class and some crafters were able to move to different districts or territories, the few small towns of the country or ironworks being often the destination of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The borders between some parishes in Ostrobothnia had changed so often, that they had to be handled as one parish.

moving. From the 1860s urbanization started draw population to the growing cities (Helsinki, Vaasa, Turku, Kuopio and Viipuri) and the first wave of emigration appeared in Ostrobothnia. The occupational and areal mobilization was entangled with each others. All the period the moving activity of the children of farmers was the lowest one. There were no meaningful differences between sexes in the activity to move.

# Occupational distribution, social status and inheritance

A closer look at the occupational distribution in the research area shows, that although the relative size of the whole major group of 'Agricultural, animal husbandry and forestry workers, fishermen and hunters' was stable until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, inside the group remarkable changes existed.

Figure 6. Occupational distribution of the Data by generation (HISCO Micro groups) (N=14,228)



There was a notable increase of the shares of crofters' and general farm workers' groups starting already in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and accelerating in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>9</sup> The farmers' share was in the beginning 76 % but diminished slowly fewer than 40 %. About six percent of the members of the first generation were crofters. Their share was nearly tripled in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. A huge multiplication is seeable with the general farm workers' share: from under one percent to nearly one/fifth. The fast growth of the whole landless population was noticed already in the figure number three and it is analogous with the results presented by other authors.<sup>10</sup> Members of the seventh generation faced a notable diversification of occupations. A group of workers making manual work without any specification (99900) grew, as did special skills and education demanding occupations (20000-59999) too.

The next step was to define the social structure of the Data by including social status into the analysis. For this purpose HISCO social status classification system was used.

Figure 7. Social status of the Data by generation (HISCLASS)(N=14,222)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The groups of farm servants (62120) and day-laborers (99920) are small because of the marking system. At the age of forty former servants and day-laborers normally had reached better positions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See footnote number four.



The average social status tended to diminish until the last generation, when a turn appeared. The data is not finished enough to closer define the process of overall social improvement in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The process of social slide down can be understood only by comparing the descendants' social status to their parents' one and by analyzing the reasons, why social improvement, continuity or slide down occurred.

Figures 8-9, Social status (HISCLASS) compared with the parents' ones by generation and by sex (on the left males N=5,501, on the right females N=5,840)



There was a strong continuous trend of losing more often one's social positions compared to his or her parents' ones. Actually it meant that some of the sons and daughters of the farmers had to abide by living and working as a crofter or even as a farm worker. The same was the destiny of some children of the crofters. But social mobilization to an opposite direction occurred too. The members of the seventh generation could an average improve their social position. All in all, the overall social mobilization increased during the research period. Because the risk of losing one's social status was bigger than social improvement until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it resulted the average social slide down discussed earlier. In the following these processes have been studied more closely.

Figure 10-11, Social status (HISCLASS) compared with the parent's ones by generation and by farmers' descendants (on the left, N=8,269) and crofters' descendants (on the right, N=1,460)



It was surprisingly much social movement to both directions. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century both farmers' and crofters' children lost their positions, but on the other hand nearly forty percent of the crofters' children were able to improve their positions. Because of the big size of the farmers' social class the overall average social slide down occurred.

It has been claimed, that it was a common manner in the whole country to treat the siblings in an unequal way, as to the land inheriting. The oldest son was usually the one, who got the parents' farm and became the head of the household. The other siblings had to abide by smaller heritage.<sup>11</sup> With some exceptions this theory is supported by the Data. The younger sons had to leave the home and like the daughters they got normally married to other houses. In the Data also other possibilities occurred. The siblings could remain live in their childhood's home as married or single ones. Sometimes daughter's spouse became the new head of the household. If one of the two died soon, which often happened, the household got a new master or a housewife. The sons established a new farm by partition the farm and settling, or by buying a new one. Sometimes the yielding sibling could rent some plot of the farm's land and live there as a crofter. As to the future of the male siblings, the inheriting arrangements were decisive. For the daughters the marriage usually decided their future. Marriage could also be a way to social improvement for the younger sons of the family.

#### Marriage

Family was one of the most important social institutions of the time and its functions were numerous. Marriage was an arrangement, where social relations were created and strengthened. Different economic and social factors and interests were engaged with the process and it was controlled strongly by the state, the church, the local community and the kin.<sup>12</sup> The first marriage was contracted normally between the age of 21-25 by men and 19-23 by women, with a huge variation however:

Figure 12-13, Marrying age by sex (first marriages, N=12,482) and the average marrying age by generation and sex (first marriages, N=12,107)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Jutikkala 1958, pp. 55-58; Raussi, Eljas (1966) Virolahden kansanelämää 1840-luvulla, Helsinki, SKS, p. 469; Moring, Beatrice (1999), Land, Labor, and Love: Household arrangements in the nineteenth century Eastern-Finland – cultural heritage or socio-economic structure? History of Family 1999:4, p. 182.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Moring 1999, p. 181.



The figure number twelve shows a large variation of the marrying age of both sexes. There seems to have been no strict cultural models of marrying at a certain age. At the age of twenty four only 51 % of the males' marriages had come true. Of the females' marriages suchlike age was twenty two. However, the average age of the first marriage seems to remain surprisingly unchangeable during the research period (figure number thirteen).

If the ages of the groom and the bride are compared with each others, the concept of a standard marrying age model looks even more debatable. In the figure number fourteen all marriages has been included. About ten percent of those who ever married, married at least twice, and this tended to increase the variation of age combinations.

Figure 14, Combinations of the age of the groom and the bride when married marked by the former's ordinal number of marriage (N=7,060)



Of all the marriage age combinations there was none, which percent share would have passed 1.5 units, even if only first marriages were included. This huge variation of age combinations emphasizes, that marriage had more functions than only a formal arrangement to establish a family. Registered marriage and family life offered social and economic safe. It linked officially two families together. It gave a possibility to fulfill one's emotional and sexual needs. It was an

economic unit. Especially it was the space to rear and socialize children. If the spouse died and left small children, the widow or widower remarried immediately. The needs for child caring and breadwinning are immediate reason for this manner. The Marriage Act allowed the widow to remarry after half a year after her husband's death and the widower's official mourning was one year. Nearly beyond exceptions this possibility was used. Of all the marriages 84 % were first ones for both the groom and the bride. This share was relatively stable through the whole research period. Only the high mortality peaks of 1808 and 1868 increased the relative numbers of remarriages. Men remarried about two times more often than women did. The reason for this difference is without doubt mother's great risks of complications in childbearing and birth. There were several risks of unexpected death for both men and women, and this led sometimes into a chain of marriages. These complicated situations could have been mentally, socially and economically difficult to handle by the kin and by the local community.

As can be seen in the figure number 14, women and men got married also in older age, when the marriage was usually second or third for either one or both of them. An evidence of the strength of the marriage institution is that widows or widowers under fifty years old were not many. People got married and strove to live in a marriage relation. Remarrying could lead big age differences between the husband and the wife. It was not unusual, that a farmer's widow married a male servant of the house, or an elderly widowed master of the house married a young female servant. These situations opened possibilities for social improvement for the children of relatively poor families.

# Marriage as road to social improvement

The Finnish Church records gave us only occasionally direct information about the home areas or social backgrounds of the spouses. Often only the temporary residential area and social status or occupation has been marked to the books. To analyze the social 'distance', social backgrounds and the social status of the spouses' parents has been used:





Of all the marriages in the Data farmer's son got married with a farmer's daughter in 62 percent of all cases. In the next tables spouses' parents' occupational status have been compared with the partners' parents' ones:

Table 2, Grooms' parents' main occupational statuses compared with the brides' parents' ones

Grooms' parents' Social status (HISCLASS)	Brides' parents' social status (HISCLASS)						
HISCLASS	Eight (farmers)	Ten (crofters)	Twelve (farm workers)	Other Groups	Total		
Eight (farmers)	2,968 (83%)	324 (9%)	114 (3%)	166 (5%)	3,572 (100%)		
Ten (crofters)	333 (53%)	188 (30%)	66 (11%)	40 (6%)	627 (100%)		
Twelve (farm workers)	99 (47%)	48 (23%)	38 (18%)	27 (12%)	212 (100%)		

Table 3, Brides' parents' main occupational statuses compared with the brides' parents' ones

Brides' parents'	Grooms' parents' social status (HISCLASS)						
Social status							
(HISCLASS)							
HISCLASS	Eight	Ten (crofters)	Twelve	Other Groups	Total		
	(farmers)		(farm				
			workers)				
Eight (farmers)	2,968 (84%)	333 (9%)	99 (3%)	139 (4 %)	3,539 (100%)		
Ten (crofters)	324 (53%)	188 (31%)	48 (8%)	50 (8%)	610 (100%)		
Twelve (farm	114 (48%)	66 (28%)	38 (16%)	20 (8 %)	238 (100%)		
workers)							

The two tables above are nearly identical. The reason is that nearly all the members of societies got married (about 95 %). Only people with severe disabilities and chronic illnesses lived unmarried. Even an extramarital child could not prevent a woman to get married, although it often delayed the process and in some cases was a fatal handicap. There are 222 unmarried mothers in the Data, of which more information was available of 162 cases. The rest probably moved to the other parishes to be able avoid a possible shame. Of these 162 cases ten remained unmarried. The extramarital child was an evident reason for a social decline, because 53 percent of the 152 mothers faced a social slide down (in the entire married group the percent was 23 %). However, the number of the cases of the single mothers is so small that it cannot explain the difference of risk of social decline between men and women.

The explanation is hidden behind the local agrarian manners to favor the male siblings of the family, as to the property and inheritance arrangements. When the oldest son normally got the authority position in the household as a part of his parents' pension arrangements and/or inherited it after his father's death, the other siblings had to abide by smaller part. However, if possible, the younger sons were compensated by parceling them a minor part of the farm to be extended into an independent one. The new farm was settled soon by the new married couple, regardless of the bride's social background. When the farmer's daughter married a men from a lower social status group, similar possibilities were available only in those cases, where male descendants no existed in the farmer's family.<sup>13</sup> For the farmer's daughter this meant social decline.

The overall social decline can be explained by macro level concepts: the social downslide was in close connection with the disparity problem between land and population since

<sup>13</sup> 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Moring 1999.

the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Actually it means a trend whereby many of the children of farmers became crofters and the children of small farmers had a great risk to slide into the class of farm workers. This accumulating process was one of the push factors behind the migration process and especially in Ostrobothnia behind the emigration, both starting in the latter part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### Occupational inheritance as a chain of generations

The chain of generations can be presented as a normal descendant's family tree or understood as a social network, where people are engaged with each other by biological and judicial bonds. Social network analysis may help us to interpret how such factors as size, situation, density, and structure of the family relate to the social and occupational inheritance systems. It also turns the attention to the untypical cases, which, following the ideas of the tradition of micro history can be the key factors of the social change. This is one reason, why this kind of study should include all cases, not only the typical or average ones. In this paper any larger social network analysis are not possible. The aim of the following simple examples is to present and discuss the relevancy of the approach.

The first example is Hankaniemi's family from Alajärvi, a parish in the Ostrobothnia, in the Western Coastal area of Finland. A selected family tree of five generations is presented. The ancestors are Johan and Margareta, farmers, who were born in 1720 and 1726. They got ten descendants, of which only five survived to adulthood and got married. The symbols of sex are marked by colors according to the occupational status at the age of forty. The blue color means the status of farmer (and a settler), when green means crofter and red laborer. White balls and triangles illustrate infant or child mortality. In the boxes the first name, birth and death years, parents' and person's own occupational titles are presented (F=farmer, NR=settler, C=crofter, L=laborer). 'W' is a symbol of widow or widower. Parent's occupation is marked first, and then person's own separated with en-rule.

The occupational structure of the whole period is quite stable. Nearly all members of the kin were living as farmers in the same village. It indicates that cultivable land was available and the 'real' family size remained quite small (only 3-5 grown up descendants). Positive family strategies were possible to realize. Only ten percent of the individuals had lost their position as a farmer. The evident reason for this was widowhood and a second marriage, which seem to have been potential risks of a social decline.



The second example is from Evijärvi, situated also in Ostrbothnia. The ancestor of the Nelimarkka-Pesonen's family was Anders, who was born in 1707. He married three times and got also ten children. In this family tree more occupations are presented (shoemaker, tailor and soldier). Some descendants also remained unmarried, although they reached the 'normal' age of marriage. Also in some cases all the children died or the marriage remained childless. This research includes also a possibility to study the history of disappeared families, the broken lines.

In the picture the unequal inheriting practices can be seen. The younger siblings tended to lose their social positions more often than the older ones. It happened that the farm was lost during one's life time. In the times of famine or economic depressions it was not uncommon. Also the descendants of the farm owners second and third marriages tended to remain without landowning possibilities. As a matter of fact they often had to leave the village or even the parish to be able to earn their livelihood. The possibilities of working as a laborer, craftsman or soldier were open for them. Working as a free laborer was their reality. It is evident, that the local circumstances differed quite much.



The third example is from the Southern Finland. The Tuusula Parish is near Helsinki, the capital of Finland. It covers nine generations, starting from Johan and Anna, born in the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In this example the overall social decline of the 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> century has been presented, as well as the social mobilization of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The variety of occupations symbolizes the stratification and urbanization processes from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The sixth generation was the one, whose members normally were born in the rural areas but lived their life in towns. Following the land inheriting strategies, the younger siblings were those who left their birthplaces and emigrated to the urban areas (or to the foreign countries) and adopted urban occupations. They were members of the 'key generation', working in a farm as child and later on in the factory. Often they worked in low valued occupations in the cities, but their descendants got better education and were able to benefit from the opening possibilities for social mobilization. The ninth generation attained even better circumstances.



The aim of the study is to include more factors to the network analysis (education, incomes, property, areal mobility etc. To control tens of thousands of nodes and links is the most challenging task, which is, needless to say, quite difficult.

## Conclusion

The aim of the research project is to re-construct three hundred years history of Finland through the life histories of Finnish families comprising more than eighty thousand individual life stories by using both genealogical data and family history interviews. In the study, special attention will be paid to an intergenerational transmission of occupation and social positions, including social mobility and impoverishment in a historical perspective.

The study will be carried out primarily by researching intergenerational family histories, where the lives and work of men and women are analyzed with the methods of the life course analysis. The reconstruction of the family histories begins from about 900 ancestors of rural village communities from the Western, Southern and Eastern Finland in the early nineteenth century and extends to present-day cities. The Data covers now over 37,000 individuals, and at least half more has to be collected. Still much of the information is still insufficient and unreliable.

Following the period of birth the Data has been divided into 30-years long generations (demographic generations). Although many crucial scarcities still are, some preliminary analyses can be done. The overall birth and death rates of the Data follows quite adequately the ones of the entire Finland until the second part of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The occupational division and its development follows quite well the knowledge presented earlier by several authors, although the comparisons are extremely difficult due to the different classifying systems.

Historical International Standard Classification of Occupation (HISCO) is used to code the occupations. There are some national specialities which make its solving somewhat difficult, but the benefits of the possibilities for international comparisons are important. One of the greatest difficulties is the problem of continuously changing occupational and social statuses. However, it is one of the main results.

The tendentious process of social decline is the most important result of the study so far. The existence of this process has been known earlier, but the mechanism is largely unclear. It has been suggested that the huge propositional and absolute increase of the so-called landless population in the Finnish countryside was mostly due to the high fertility rates in the lowering social classes. This question is still waiting for closer analysis (which are possible by this data) but at least a remarkable part of the crofters and farm workers were children of farmers. The overall reason behind the social decline was the aggravating disparity problem between land and population since the 18th century, but as I have notice, the phenomenon is quite complicated.

The occupational continuity was quite strong in the beginning of the period of the study. However, the occupational inheritability weakened all the time and it reflects the slow social stratification and specialization in one hand, opening possibilities for social mobilization, but it proves also the mechanism, how impoverishment relates to the social slide down of the middle groups and the closing possibilities for unskilled farm labor. For women this development was even more negative than for the men, still without a sensible explanation.

The better understand the system of the changes of social statuses, the marriages were analyzed more closely. The diversity of the functions of the family was presented. There seem to have been a great variation of the marriage ages and the age-difference between the spouses was often notable too. Farmers' sons got normally married with the daughters of the same social status group, but also here great variation appeared. The loyalty to own social group diminished the longer the research period went on. There were no permanent and exact cultural models to be followed, as to the practices of the marrying age and social backgrounds of the spouses. However, a strict manner to favor the male siblings in the family, in the time when the change of headship or inheritance of the household appeared, existed still in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It induced the daughters' relatively faster social decline compared to the sons' one.

Three examples of the possibilities of social network analysis were presented. They still go on a visual level, without deeper mathematical analysis. However, it already opens up approaches to study the complicated phenomenon, which includes several open questions.

The study will go on step by step. When the data to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century has been finished is the time to go deeper into the local village level. More information is needed on taxation, ownership, income and godparents issues.



Appendix 1. Main residential areas of the families