

## ***Autour des populations du passé : les migrations humaines***

Séminaire bi-mensuel coordonné par  
**Isabelle Séguy (INED/Cepam) et Luc Buchet (Cepam/INED)**

### **Séance 7 : « *Mariages en contexte de migration (1)* »**



**Universitat  
Pompeu Fabra  
Barcelona**

organisée par Claudia Contente et Isabelle Séguy

**Mardi 14 avril 2015 - de 14h30 à 18h30**

**INED Paris– salle 111**

**Délégation du CNRS –Sophia Antipolis- salle de conférence**

**Et Université de Guanajuato, Mexique**

(Renseignements pratiques en dernière page)

## **Programme**

### **14h30-15h15**

Saskia HIN (Family and Population Studies Group, Université de Liège). *Migrants in ancient Athens: evidence from kioniskoi.*

### **15h15- 16h00**

Joana Maria PUJADAS MORA (Center for Demographic Studies, Université Autonome de Barcelone). *Partner selection among migrants in the preindustrial area of Barcelona, 16th-17th c.*

### **Discussion**

### **16h30- 17h15**

Dra. Marcela MARTINEZ RODRIGUEZ (Département d'Etudes Sociales, Université de Guanajuato, Mexique). *Familia y migracion. Las familias italianas en Mexico, un proyecto de colonizacion agricola. 1881-1882.*

### **17h15- 18h00**

Claudia CONTENTE (Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Barcelone/EHESS). *Migration et mariage dans la campagne de Buenos Aires, Almirante Brown selon le recensement de 1895.*

### **Discussion**



## Séance 7 : « Mariages en contexte de migration (1) »

### Résumés

#### MIGRANTS IN ANCIENT ATHENS: EVIDENCE FROM KIONISKOI

Saskia HIN

Family and Population Studies Group (FaPos), Leuven University

[Saskia.Hin@soc.kuleuven.be](mailto:Saskia.Hin@soc.kuleuven.be)

During the Classical Period (fifth and fourth centuries BCE), Athenian citizens had much to lose when they opted to marry a non-Athenian: many benefits were tied to citizenship right, which in turn was –as specified in Perikles' citizenship law - dependent upon legitimate birth from two parents with Athenian citizenship rights. Immigrants could be granted citizenship rights by individual degree as a reward for special services, but generally lived in Athens as metics, without such rights. Athens, during the period in which it functioned as “the first democracy”, thus held close watch over the access to citizenship rights and benefits – which alongside that of voting for men included tax benefits, and rights to property ownership. It has often been argued that, as a consequence, boundaries between migrants or ‘metics’ and locally born Athenian citizens were hard to permeate during the Classical period. Immigrants, who formed an estimated 15-30% of the Athenian population, and locals lived parallel lives.

In the subsequent Hellenistic period, between the third and first centuries BCE, Athens lost its position as the centre of the Greek East, and significantly declined in population size. Nevertheless, the city remained an attractive destination for migrants. That Athens displayed greater openness towards foreigners in the Hellenistic period has been well recognised by ancient historians. It has been suggested that, during this period, when Pericles' strict citizenship law was abandoned, marriages between migrants and locals would have increased steeply and significantly.

Does the evidence support this theory? This paper looks into a body of about 2,700 grave-inscriptions known as ‘kioniskoi’ for migrants who died and were buried in and around the city of Athens. Within the ancient Greco-Roman world, these data form a unique and hitherto unexplored source on the lives of migrants. While the information included on most gravestones is not very dense, the inscriptions allow us to identify heterogamy and homogamy by place of origin because ‘city-ethnics’ or ethnika were a part of people's names in the Greek world. The corpus of inscriptions also provides an opportunity to test the theory, often upheld by historians of the Greco-Roman world, that migration of free citizens to cities in the ancient world was a virtually exclusively male phenomenon.



## **PARTNER SELECTION AMONG MIGRANTS IN THE PREINDUSTRIAL AREA OF BARCELONA, (16TH – 17TH CENTURIES)**

**Joana Maria PUJADAS MORA**

Center for Demographic Studies, Université Autonome de Barcelone  
[jpujades@ced.uab.es](mailto:jpujades@ced.uab.es)



**Partner selection among migrants in the preindustrial area of Barcelona, (16<sup>th</sup> – 17<sup>th</sup> centuries).**

**Joana Maria Pujadas Mora**  
**Center for Demographic Studies – Autonomous University of Barcelona**  
**jpujades@ced.uab.es**

The Jesuit Pere Gil –the author of the first modern geography of Catalonia– wrote at 1600, that “...once the Moors were expelled from Catalonia, it was just inhabited by Catalans and Frenchs”. This statement referred to the high migratory flow from France to the South side of the Pyrenees that was observed along the 16<sup>th</sup> and mid 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. There were different causes for this migration, as Nadal & Giralt (1961) pointed out in their seminal study *La Población catalana de 1553 à 1717: L’immigration française et les autres facteurs de son développement*<sup>1</sup>: wages were significantly higher in Catalonia than in France; Catalonia had been ravaged by plagues and wars (as the Civil War that took place from 1462 to 1472) and, therefore, it had experienced a significant reduction in its population; meanwhile France suffered the consequences of the religion wars This migratory flow had its peak at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and it enabled Catalonia to overcome its ‘demographic depression’ and let its ‘demographic recovery’ as it was coined by both Nadal and Giralt. In fact, Catalonia had around 224,000 inhabitants in 1497, an in 1717 did reached 500,000 (Nadal, 1983). This population growth was accompanied by a positive economic phase (Junqueras, 2002; Simon, 1992 & 1999). But this flow stopped as the result of a commercial and industrial crisis, tax pressure, bad harvests, the Thirty Years War (1618 – 1648), and the outbreak of the Catalan Revolution of 1640 (Elliot, 1963), as well as the improvement of the demographic, political and economic situation in France (Souriac, 2004; Desplat, 1999; Nadal & Giralt, 1961).

The real intensity of that flow is difficult to estimate since demographic censuses were not carried out along the Early Modern period. Traditionally, it has been measured through the number of vital events in parish registers. Analysis from marriage books, the most used source, show that up to a 25%<sup>2</sup> of the unions involved a French groom, depending on the area and the period (Canyameres Ramoneda, 1994; Capdevila Muntadas, 2004; Codina, 1992; Millàs i Castellví (1996); Nadal & Giralt, 1961; Subiñà i Coll, 2003). Nevertheless, those remaining single, as well as the temporary workers, were not present at this register (Nadal & Giralt, 1961; Capdevila, 2009). Just in 1637 we can find a full register of all French people staying at the seafront of Catalonia (just 69 out of the existing 947 municipalities in the present days), this census register done by local governements due to the increasing political tensions between France and Spain, along the Thirty Years War. The total amount of Frenchs registered was 2455 individuals, mainly men employed at the agrarian sector, and a few ones at the artisan sector (Nadal & Giralt, 1961), as shown by parish registers.

But when using the Barcelona Historical Marriage Database compiled from the Marriage Licenses Books of the Barcelona’s Cathedral (see Figure 1 & 2), the proportion of French grooms and their socio-economic position is confirmed. These books were a fiscal register<sup>3</sup> covering the Diocese of Barcelona (formed by 250 parishes) from 1451 to 1905. The parish’s scopes range from the city of Barcelona to rural villages at the periphery of the Diocese.

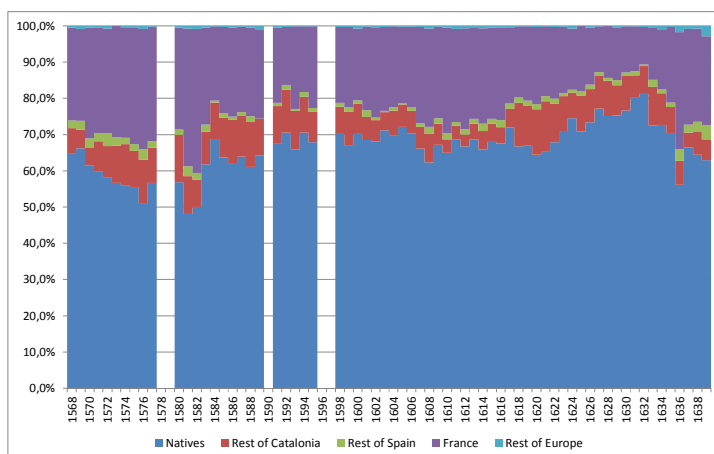
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<sup>1</sup> Previously those authors had stated the importance of this migration in another study published in 1953. The concrete study is: *Ensayo metodológico para el estudio de la población catalana de 1553 a 1717* in *Estudios de Historia Moderna* (III), 283 – 298.

<sup>2</sup> Other authors found much lower percentages of French grooms marrying in local parishes, see: Valentí Gual (1994) for the region *Conca de Barberà* (South of Catalonia), Jaume Dantí (1988) for the region *Vallès Oriental* (Center of Catalonia) o Esteve Canyameres (1994) for the region *Vallès Occidental* (Center of Catalonia).

<sup>3</sup> On September 27, 1409, Pope Benedict XIII (Pedro Martínez de Luna), visited Barcelona and granted the new Cathedral a tax on marriage licences (*esposalles*) to be raised on every union celebrated in the Diocese. This tax was maintained until the third decade of 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**Figure 1: Percentage of marriages by geographical origin in the area of Barcelona, 1568 – 1639.**



**Figure 2: Distribution of the grooms by social groups and geographical origin in the area of Barcelona, 1568 – 1639.**

	Natives	Rest of Catalonia	Rest of Spain	French	Rest of Europe
Daily workers	1,0%	1,3%	2,7%	8,6%	3,2%
Nobility	1,2%	2,7%	2,2%	0,1%	2,3%
Higher managers	0,1%	0,2%	0,4%	0,0%	0,0%
Higher professionals	3,2%	4,0%	3,2%	0,3%	3,6%
Lower managers, lower professionals and clerical and sales persones, an	14,9%	15,4%	18,8%	9,8%	18,1%
Lower clerical and sales personnel	0,8%	1,3%	2,1%	0,4%	1,8%
Medium skilled workers	23,1%	29,2%	33,7%	26,1%	33,9%
Farmers and fishermen	38,2%	27,4%	12,3%	37,6%	5,0%
Lower skilled and unskilled workers	15,9%	17,4%	21,5%	15,1%	29,4%
Lower skilled and unskilled farm workers	1,7%	1,2%	3,2%	2,0%	2,7%

The proportion of French migrants locally married locally (to the maximum of 1 out of 4) shows the existence of an important wage of intermarriage. This fact can be understood as a result of partner selection, and could be a disruption of the determinants driven to an ideal social reproduction; recently has been interpreted as a signal of openness and assimilation (Puschmann et al, 2012; Van de Putte, 2007). The determinants of partner choice are as follows: individual preferences of marriage candidates, social control in the selection process and structural causes related to the supply of candidates in the marriage market (Kalmijn, 1998).

Thanks to this background, the aim of the present study is to explore the partner selection of migrants in a preindustrial society, and how the determinants of this selection work for those migrants through a case study centred on French migrants in the area of Barcelona at 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. In order to understand this behaviour we have compared the partner choice of Frenchs and natives taking the comparison of the social groups of the spouses (homogamy vs heterogamy) as a measure of social reproduction. The relevant point of the study is to evaluate how a French migrant managed to get married in the country of immigration where the marriage market might be segmented by social groups mostly for the hierarchical nature of an ordered society and also by geographical origin.<sup>4</sup> Actually the value of migrants in a local marriage market should be less than the one of a native belonging to the same social group. Moreover, French had other setbacks in local marriage market due to their over-representation among specific social groups (mainly the lowest ones) jointly with the fact that French wage was a sizable and unbalanced sex flow.

<sup>4</sup> A really interesting approach to the study of migration status related to the the partner selection in the 19<sup>th</sup> century taking into account the existence of a segmented marriage market can be found in Van de Putte (2006).

In a general sense, this intermarriage or geographical marital exogamy would contribute to the increasing of the overall social exogamy due to a non interference of third parties in the side of the migrant candidate, assuming that his family was far (Van de Putte et al., 2005). Probably, the individual preferences will have less influence on the partner selection into a preindustrial society in the best interests of the family (Arrizabalaga, 2005; Bourdieu, 1976 & 2004; Bull, 2005; Chacón, 1998; Dribe & Lundh, 2005 & 2009; Ferrer i Alós, 2006 & 2007; van Leeuwen & Mass, 2005; Torrents, 1998; Vilalta, 2006). The family interests in Catalonia must be considered as a part of chasing its own social reproduction, and were also determined by the inheritance legal system based on the principle of impartible inheritance (Barrera González, 1991; Comas d'Argemir, 1988; Ferrer i Alós, 2007 & 2010) together with the payment of the dowries.

### **Data set**

From 1568 – 1639, more than 62,031 marriage licenses were given at the area of Barcelona (90 municipalities forming the main Deanship of Barcelona). This period is one of the richest in regard the information concerning the partners and their parents along the five centuries the source lasted. Normally, names and surnames of groom and bride, as well as their parents, were registered in every license. Besides, there is information on the occupation of the groom, of his father and of the bride's father, as well as their origins and / or residences. Also the source provides information of taxes paid by each couple, according to the socio-economic status of the husband. There was a seven-tiered scale, ranging from the nobility (the highest one) to the so declared poor (free from tax). This tax has been combined with the occupational title, coded into HISCO, once the social groups are built using HISCLASS and SCOPO.<sup>5</sup>

### **Methodology**

The analysis of the partner selection of migrants has been organized in two different ways. First, we did undertake a descriptive analysis in order to explore and compare the social profile of French grooms respect to native ones during the period of analysis. Second, multivariable analysis by logistic models in order to assess how the main partner features (marital status, social group), the size of their social group and the social control might determine groom's probabilities to marry with a partner from an equivalent social group (homogamy) in an ordered society according to their geographical origin. A joint model for both, natives and Frenchs, has been calculated to check whether differences between both subpopulations are statistically significant controlling for the determinants abovementioned. The results from these joint models have been complemented by specific models for each subpopulation to identify the specific profile according to the determinants of marriage choice

### **A brief summary of the main results**

#### *- Absolute marital mobility*

The degree of homogamy, in general terms, was around the 51%. Farmers and nobility were the most homogamous social groups, where men had higher values of homogamy in relation to their partners. On the other hand, the most heterogamous groups were the lower skilled and unskilled farm workers.

If we include the geographical origin of the groom, the native grooms follow a general pattern. For French grooms, the 71% of French farmers grooms got married with a farmer daughter, the highest percentage of male homogamy for those who were migrants. But for native farmers this percentage was higher (81%); in this case, we do consider a possible relation to land property schedules. On the contrary, the lower skilled and unskilled farm male workers showed the lowest values of homogamy due to their tendency to get married with daughters of farmers.

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<sup>5</sup> The transformation of occupations into social groups see: For HISCLASS note: Mass & Van Leeuwn (2005); HISCLASS and for SCOPO: Van de Putte & Miles, 2005.

### - Relative marital mobility

Multivariate models confirm the fact that French grooms were less likely to get married with a bride from an equivalent social group than natives, and this difference is quite significant. However, the interaction between an specific period (the whole period has been splitted in sub-periods of ten years) and geographical origin of the grooms (native and French) shows how a different probability of finding a homogeneous partner between French and native grooms decreases over time. This point out two set of phenomena: first, the increase of the relative weight of French grooms modified the structure of the whole marriage market; second, native brides, mainly widows, became less reluctant to get married with a French groom. We can't forget the fact that the group size is a key factor to better understand the homogamy: the higher the size, the higher the probability of homogamy, even when the marriage market is considered as a segmented market by social group, geographical origin and period.

We have to underline that this is an on-going research, and we are planning to test new determinants in our analysis, as the geographical distance between groom's and bride's residences as well as some interactions to evaluate the urban effect on the marriage market.

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## **FAMILIA Y MIGRACION. LAS FAMILIAS ITALIANAS EN MEXICO, UN PROYECTO DE COLONIZACION AGRICOLA. 1881-1882**

**Dra. Marcela MARTINEZ RODRIGUEZ**

Departamento de Estudios Sociales  
Universidad de Guanajuato, Campus León

[marcela\\_2778@yahoo.com.mx](mailto:marcela_2778@yahoo.com.mx)

Entre 1881 y 1882, el gobierno mexicano impulsó un programa de colonización que promovió el establecimiento de italianos en México. Esta empresa pretendía, entre otras cosas, mejorar la economía del país, aumentar la población con el ingreso de inmigrantes y modificar la estructura demográfica de la sociedad mexicana con la introducción de grupos extranjeros. Las colonias agrícolas de italianos se instalaron en cinco estados de la república mexicana: Veracruz, Morelos, San Luis Potosí, Puebla y el Distrito Federal.

Los contratos de colonización especificaron el establecimiento de familias nucleares, esto facilitaría la dinámica de la colonia y aseguraría la permanencia de los inmigrantes. Las autoridades también esperaban fomentar relaciones exogámicas para aumentar la población y promover el intercambio cultural.

Pero en Italia había una gran diversidad regional. En el sur prevalecían los hogares pequeños, basados en la familia nuclear, y también había una proporción considerable de éstos en las ciudades de la península. Los grandes hogares complejos caracterizaban las zonas del centro y del norte del país, donde abundaban los aparceros. Los medieros vivían en hogares grandes y complejos. Los jornaleros agrícolas rara vez tenían otros familiares adultos en sus hogares y las mujeres también buscaban trabajo. Al llegar a México, diversos factores tales como las indicaciones del gobierno por contrato, el origen de los inmigrantes las funciones a desempeñar y la dinámica propia de las colonias condicionaron la estructura de la familia de los nuevos inmigrantes y colonos italianos. Así, el objetivo de este trabajo es dar a conocer el tipo de familia que predominó en las colonias agrícolas que se fundaron en México a finales del porfiriato y si modificaron o conservaron las principales características de su estructura familiar.



# **MIGRATION ET MARIAGE DANS LA CAMPAGNE DE BUENOS AIRES, ALMIRANTE BROWN SELON LE RECENSEMENT DE 1895**

**Claudia CONTENTE**

Université Pompeu Fabra, Barcelone/EHESS

[claudia.contente@upf.edu](mailto:claudia.contente@upf.edu)

Depuis le début de sa colonisation, la campagne de Buenos Aires avait attiré des courants migratoires d'origines diverses. Le développement soutenu de ses activités agricoles et les possibilités de progrès qu'elles offraient ont été les principales raisons de cet intérêt.

Si jusqu'au début du XIXe siècle, la plupart de ces migrants étaient originaires d'autres régions de la vice-royauté du Rio de la Plata, au cours du XIXe siècle cette tendance s'est peu à peu inversée pour attirer de plus en plus de migrants d'origine européenne. A partir de 1840-1850, le nombre des migrants d'outre-mer a progressivement dépassé les représentants de cette « micro - migration » régionale jusqu'à les rendre pratiquement invisibles.

En 1895, année du recensement qui sert de base à notre étude, l'Argentine avait consolidé sa position comme exportateur de produits agricoles dans le marché international. La campagne de Buenos Aires avait été particulièrement favorisée par cette conjoncture économique qui exigeait beaucoup de main d'œuvre et la rendait particulièrement attirante pour les nouveaux arrivants.

Almirante Brown, une région rurale de 40.000 ha, peuplée de près de 5750 résidents, est située à 40 km au sud de la ville de Buenos Aires. Ce département comptait 40% d'étrangers, bien plus que la moyenne (31%) qu'enregistrait la campagne de Buenos Aires dans son ensemble. Comme on peut imaginer, il y avait un fort déséquilibre entre les sexes, les hommes prédominant largement, ce qui perturbait sérieusement le marché matrimonial.

Nous allons observer ici la nationalité des couples mariés, en nous centrant sur les groupes d'âge où la présence de migrants est la plus importante, c'est-à-dire entre 20 et 49 ans. Dans ces cohortes, 60% des résidents étaient nés outremer. Ils étaient surtout italiens (22%), français et espagnols représentaient 13%, et les 5% restants étaient composés d'étrangers d'origines diverses. Nous nous intéresserons aux couples mariés et aux tendances concernant le choix du conjoint en fonction des nationalités.

Tout en étant consciente qu'au-delà du pays d'origine, il existe toute une gamme de variables qui peuvent entrer en ligne de compte à l'heure de choisir son partenaire, nous verrons que certains groupes ont plus de chances d'accéder au mariage que d'autres.

La comparaison avec des travaux réalisés dans d'autres zones, à partir de sources différentes, nous permettra également de dégager quelques conclusions.

## Renseignements pratiques

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**Contacts :** [seguy@ined.fr](mailto:seguy@ined.fr)

(+33 4-89-88-15-15 ou +33 6-87-44-86-17)

[luc.buchet@cepam.cnrs.fr](mailto:luc.buchet@cepam.cnrs.fr)

