

Intermarriage throughout History

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Edited by

Luminița Dumănescu, Daniela Mârza
and Marius Eppel

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P U B L I S H I N G

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This book first published 2014

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

12 Back Chapman Street, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2XX, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

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ISBN (10): 1-4438-5950-8, ISBN (13): 978-1-4438-5950-9

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INTRODUCTION

LUMINIȚA DUMĂNESCU, DANIELA MĂRZA
AND MARIUS EPPPEL

Few are the subjects in social history that have been so intensely researched as marriage, a landmark moment in the lives of both individuals and communities, since it joins together not only two individual destinies, but also an entire range of social, economic and cultural values, of representations, of hopes for the future. Compared to marriages in general, what mixed marriages also entail are aspects pertaining to otherness, with everything this implies: differences in ethnicity and/or religion, their representation in the collective mind, the tensions associated with this type of marriages, reflected in the secular or ecclesiastical regulations, or the long-term demographic consequences thereof, translated into changes in the balance between ethnicities and religions in one area or another.

Considered to be either factors of social cohesion or agents of dissolution, mixed marriages have been the subject of intense scientific research, which has generated, at the international level, an impressive amount of studies written by historians, sociologists, demographers, psychologists, anthropologists, ethnologists, etc.

This volume – the result of the conference “Intermarriage throughout History,” held in Cluj between 5 and 8 June 2013, with wide international participation – contributes to a better understanding of this phenomenon in an area where although it is already well represented in historiography, the issue of mixed marriages is far from the level of methodological approaches and results achieved at European level (a contextual situation, we might add, mainly due to the precariousness of the sources and resources available to the Romanian researchers).

This calls for a brief theoretical overview of various aspects concerning mixed marriages, as they can be found in the research undertaken in the Western scientific milieu.

Thus, the concept of mixed marriages has multiple connotations and meanings that should be taken into consideration when researching this

phenomenon. In general, it refers to spouses who can be of different denominations, ethnicities and/or races. Due to its complexity, this issue has been the object of multi-disciplinary researches, which have outlined several possible definitions of this phenomenon. It may be considered that at an elementary level, a “mixed couple” is a couple in which the two partners come from different cultures.¹ Most often, the term “mixed marriage” refers to a union between partners of different ethnicities, different denominations, and/or different races.

As an overview of the specialised literature may reveal, there is still insufficient research conducted on the phenomenon of intermarriage with reference to the area of Central-South-Eastern Europe; sporadic mention is made of studies on the former Yugoslavia (discussing the relations between the Serbs and the other ethnicities living in that space), the former Czechoslovakia (focusing on the relations between the Czechs, the Slovaks and the Hungarians), or the territory of the former Soviet Union;² Romania is no exception to this situation: although this topic is not absent from historiography, the manner in which it has been approached is still far from the level reached in other parts of the world (Western Europe and the United States in particular).

The most important reason why this gap in knowledge should be filled is that mixed marriage can be reconsidered as a way of peaceful coexistence among different social groups in an area that has been troubled by interfaith and inter-ethnic conflicts on many occasions throughout the ages.

A mixed marriage essentially represents a situation that enables different ethnic or confessional groups to interact at a deep level. The frequency with which this type of marriage occurs in a society can be considered a good indicator of the level of its cultural and spiritual cohesion. Moreover, the evolution of mixed marriages not only in quantitative terms, but also as regards their composition provides information on the changes that take place in the collective mind of a particular society, affecting the rules of its functioning, the religious beliefs, the perception of otherness, etc. On the one hand, mixed marriages may have integrative effects, helping to mitigate the asperities between diverse social groups; on the other hand, however, they can also be regarded as acts of abandoning the groups to which those involved belong.³

Opposition to the conclusion of mixed marriages can be considered an expression of the social distance between groups, of prejudices or of a

¹ Neyrand and M'Sili, “Mixed Couples in Contemporary France,” 385-416.

² Smits, “Ethnic Intermarriage and Social Cohesion,” 417-432.

³ Rebhun, “Jewish Identification,” 71-88.

certain degree of exclusion on ethnic or confessional grounds. This opposition is all the more powerful when it is associated with particular types of competition between groups – economic or cultural. It is also more probable that opposition to mixed marriages will exist in societies marked by pronounced religiosity and by a strong identification with the denominational components. The dynamics of mixed marriages can also be analysed in relation to the size of majority/minority groups, starting from the premise that the more numerous a minority group is in relation to the majority, the less opposition there will be to mixed marriages. In addition to this, attitudes towards heterogamy tend to be more permissive among the younger generations and among those with a higher level of education.⁴

The prevalence of one type or another of marriage may indicate the level of interaction between individuals across group borders, revealing the extent to which the members of different social groups consider themselves to be equals. From this point of view, a mixed marriage is a bond not only between individuals, but also between the members of the groups to which they belong.⁵

A key aspect of the problem of mixed marriages concerns their determining factors. Thus, the reasons why people enter a mixed marriage may include individual preferences, the actual possibilities offered by the matrimonial market and the impact of external factors, such as the family, the community, the church or the state. The preference for particular characteristics has been translated, in many cases, as the desire to reach a higher social status (which often provides access to superior economic resources). It is believed that unmarried individuals search for potential partners among those categories that are attractive to them from a social, economic and cultural perspective.

The “matrimonial market” provides opportunities for encountering members of other groups and socialising with them: it has been shown in the literature that when members of different groups have the opportunity to interact regularly, this increases the chances of their entering mixed marriages.

The external factors that influence mixed marriages have been identified as those institutions which have the final say on matters that would otherwise exclusively pertain to the individuals’ private lives. Research has revealed, however, that these institutions, be they the family, the state or the church, have had, over time, a considerable impact on such

⁴ Tolsma, Lubbers and Coenders, “Ethnic Competition,” 215–230.

⁵ Kalmijn, “Intermarriage and Homogamy,” 395-421.

matters, because marriage has been seen as more than a simple union between individuals, being an act or a process, rather, whereby social, economic and cultural resources are pooled together.⁶

Thus, although the option for mixed marriage is, theoretically, individual and belongs, first and foremost, to the two members of the couple, in reality there are several institutions that have a substantial say insofar as concluding a marriage is concerned. This influence is sometimes direct, exerted through legislative enactments, or, as it happens in many cases, it is more subtle and difficult to detect, albeit just as powerful. Among these institutions, the most important are the family, the church and the state. As for the church, the main Christian confessions (Catholic, Orthodox, the Protestant denominations) have been for centuries reluctant to accept intermarriages, on account of the “competition” for believers (further complicated by the problem of raising children in one confession or another).⁷

As regards the central authority (more specifically, the state), its interference is apparent especially in the case of ethnic groups that, in certain periods and regions, have had an inferior legal status (as are, for instance, the Jews or the Gypsies).

The family, however, does not manifest its influence through written regulations, but through pressures exerted on the matrimonial preferences of its members (direct suggestions, marital arrangements, threats of exclusion or enforced marginalisation in cases of disagreement, etc.).

All these influences have varied greatly from one era to another, as well as from one region to another.

Mixed marriages can, therefore, be considered an environment that is affected by problems engendered by otherness and diversity to a far greater extent than homogeneous marriages are. An obvious conclusion would be, in this case, that such unions are much more prone to dissolution because ethnic and/or religious differences entail differences in terms of social and behavioural values, communication styles, etc. Such differences make mutual understanding between the spouses more difficult, reduce the number of activities that can be done together, and generate disagreement about the education of children; to all this is added the lack of support from the groups of origin, whose attitude towards such marriages is, most commonly, one of disapproval.

The probability of divorce in the case of mixed marriages is, however, also influenced by external factors, which, at least formally and legally,

⁶ Kalmijn and van Tubergen, “Ethnic intermarriage,” 371-397.

⁷ Kalmijn, “Intermarriage and Homogamy,” 395-421.

should be able to prevent their dissolution. It is considered, thus, that whatever the tensions generated by otherness that a couple must bear, marriages that occur in environments with a traditional mentality, dominated by restrictive or severe religious precepts, are less likely to end in divorce.⁸

Another aspect of mixed marriages that deserves notice is that the family has the function to hand down to the next generations specific sets of values that are closely linked to ethnic and/or confessional identity; in this way, an increased number of mixed marriages can alter the make-up of ethnic or denominational groups, not just as regards the relations established between them and the ensuing influences, but also insofar as the education of the children resulting from such marriages is concerned. In the long run, a large number of mixed marriages may unquestionably bring about significant demographic changes.⁹

The decisions of mixed marriage couples referring to the group in which their children will be primarily socialised provide information on the relationships between groups and the collective perspectives upon them. Thus, one can often encounter a situation where the offspring are raised mainly within the group considered to have a better social position, which suggests the existence of a hierarchy, whether explicit or not, within the family and the community.¹⁰

In reality, although mixed couples can raise and educate their children in the culture of one group alone, it may be the case that the latter will not prevalently identify themselves with that particular group;¹¹ influences coming from the “marginalised” branch of the family may be felt, in one way or another, and this may result in a large number of such mixed marriages and the formation of a new group, comprising these descendants with affinities in both groups of origin.

Mixed marriages are, therefore, significant also in terms of the education and socialisation of children. If the children resulting from a homogeneous marriage develop mainly within their group of origin, in the case of mixed marriages they are exposed to the values of two distinct groups, with the potential for their integration, but also for conflict.¹²

As a research topic, intermarriage requires approaches that are both quantitative and qualitative.

⁸ Kalmijn, de Graaf and Janssen, “Intermarriage and the risk of divorce,” 71-85.

⁹ Song, “Is Intermarriage a Good Indicator of Integration?” 331-348.

¹⁰ Finnas and O Leary, “Choosing for the Children,” 483-499.

¹¹ Kalmijn, “Intermarriage and Homogamy,” 395-421.

¹² Rebhun, “Jewish Identification,” 71-88.

Depending on the nature of the available sources, mixed marriages have long been studied from a qualitative perspective, with different methods depending on the period under study. Thus, for the contemporary period, the methods that are mainly used are interviews and life stories, which offer first-hand accounts of those involved directly in these events, concerning the context in which mixed marriages occur, the reasons underlying them, the reaction of other social actors, the manners of managing disputes, and the options for educating the children. For older periods of time, where conducting interviews is no longer a possibility, this information can be gathered from sources such as: memoirs, articles in the press, secular and ecclesiastical law texts, etc. In the latter case, the researcher is faced with a high degree of subjectivity because the sources are already representations of mixed marriage filtered through the lens of the mentality or prejudices of the ages under examination.

Quantitative analysis, which is of paramount importance in approaches devoted to the phenomenon of mixed marriages, has been developed and refined in different research environments, depending on access to necessary resources. These data come from civil status records, from censuses and various surveys. Based on them, researchers can investigate aspects such as: the percentage of mixed marriages in a particular society, their composition by ethnicity, confession, age, education, economic level, area of residence (rural/urban), etc.¹³ This type of research can be conducted only in those areas where there are extensive databases on this phenomenon and it cannot be carried out in those regions where, for various reasons, such databases are not yet available.

Although it has not benefited from the documentary resources of colleagues in the West, for objective (historical, political and economic) reasons, over the past decade Romanian historiography has witnessed the birth of a genuine school of historical demography, whose core body of researchers are based in Cluj, being associated primarily with the Centre for Population Studies from “Babeş-Bolyai” University and its journal, *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*. In its pages, the subject of mixed marriages is well illustrated and approached from numerous perspectives. In terms of methodological contributions, special mention should be made of the study on the evolution of the family in Central Europe during the first demographic transition (signed by Ioan Bolovan and Sorina Paula

¹³ Valuable methodological suggestions may be found in Kalmijn’s landmark study “Intermarriage and Homogamy,” 395-421; an extensive presentation of the research methods in this field may also be found in Neyrand and M’Sili, “Mixed Couples in Contemporary France,” 385-416, as well as in Rytina, Blau, Blum and Schwartz, “Inequality and Intermarriage,” 645-675.

Bolovan), which establishes guidelines for research on the family within a wider historical, political and economic context, from the vantage point of the modernisation process the entire society of that time went through.¹⁴

Another issue addressed in this context is the significance of mixed marriage as an indicator of social dynamics, of the perceived prestige of ethnic and confessional groups, or the degree of modernisation reached in a particular society.¹⁵ There are also analyses that explore the determinants of mixed marriages, in a similar manner to the benchmarks established by reference studies like the one authored by Matthijs Kalmin.¹⁶

In the context of the research project "Interethnic marriages between an exercise of tolerance and a modern expression of indifference, 1895-2010", financed and developed under the authority of The Executive Agency for Higher Education, Research, Development and Innovation Funding (UEFISCDI), the Centre for Population Studies organised the international conference "Intermarriage throughout History", held in Cluj between 5 and 8 June 2013. Out of 65 papers addressing the subject of mixed marriages at the conference, 25 are published in this volume, mainly because of editorial reasons. The authors who sent their articles after the deadline will be pleased to hear that the editorial team of the *Romanian Journal of Population Studies* has accepted to dedicate a special issue of the Journal next June to the problem of mixed marriages. In this way, we will be able to accomplish the task of publishing relevant articles which were presented at the conference but which, for different reasons, were not included in this volume.

Although rather diverse in terms of geographical scope, historical epoch, methods, as well as the background of their authors, the studies collected in this volume offer a coherent outlook on the problem of mixed marriages in Europe, Asia or South-America.

For a better understanding of the diversity of problems arising from such a subject, the editors chose to structure the material into five chapters, each of them trying to address a stand-alone problem but also to preserve the structure of the panels of the conference. It was not easy to find the suitable place for each article in this ensemble; one or two of them might have been better suited to other themes or categories, but we are confident that the readers will find what they are interested in, without considering the artificial placement of the text in the volume. In the next pages you can find a short description of the chapters and articles, aiming to facilitate the understanding of the volume as a whole.

¹⁴ Bolovan and Bolovan, "Familia în Europa Centrală", 293-306.

¹⁵ Şişeştean, "Căsătorii interconfesionale", 111-146.

¹⁶ Brie, "Alteritatea confesională prin căsătorie", 147-166.

The first chapter, “Mixed Marriage in the Collective Mentality” comprises five studies analysing different aspects of intermarriage from a cultural, social, historical and demographic perspective.

One of the best represented aspects is that of quantitative analysis, based on records from civil status registers or censuses. A first example in this regard is the study written by Carmen Albert, which analyses the issue of mixed marriages in one of the most diverse and multifarious regions from an ethnic and confessional standpoint - Banat. This study undertakes a substantial quantitative analysis of the available data, while examining, at the same time, subjective perceptions of intermarriage among the population. The author presents information that shows the existence, at the level of the collective mind, of a rather negative attitude of the population towards the option for mixed marriages, which, she believes, runs contrary to the large number of mixed marriages concluded in the studied period.

Cultural perspectives on intermarriage are offered by studies such as Alexander Pinwinkler’s “Cultural exogamy among the German and the Austrian middle classes in the nineteenth century.” The author starts from the premise that marriage is not just an element of the social structure, but also an environment in which attitudes, concepts, habits are changed, and he organises his demonstration around case studies that highlight the degree of acceptance of or resistance to mixed marriages that various social classes exhibit.

The third article of this chapter, “Descendants of Interethnic Marriages – Identification and Homeland – Localisation” belongs to Tanya Matanova and is focused on descendants of Bulgarian-Russian, Bulgarian-Ukrainian and Bulgarian-Slovak families. Identification processes are closely connected with those of socialisation and enculturation. In this context, they acquire language and cultural knowledge, but also create and develop social relations to relatives and peers. Concerning the problem of identification, it may be said that as a consequence of their individual and collective bi-ethnic and bicultural origin, but also depending on the momentary circumstances and the situational individual attitudes, these people identify themselves as world citizens or as belonging to the ethnic community of one, the other or both parents. Sometimes they identify themselves as “mixed” and, in different situations, others may define them as such, observing and analysing their everyday habits, activities and social communication.

Another point of view on perceptions of mixed marriages may be found in the study written by Mihaela Mehedinți and Cecilia Sava, entitled “Marriage and Identity in Transylvania during the First Half of the

Nineteenth Century as Seen by Foreign Travellers.” Intermarriage is regarded as a sign of the modernisation process that was under way in an area characterised by strained relations between the ethnicities and the confessions that inhabited it, in a province where the rural lifestyle still prevailed. Valorising the notes of foreign travellers, the authors analyse the relationship between mixed marriage and the mode of relating to the “other,” of accepting otherness. Given the nature of family relationships, the spouses’ family members also had to take this test of otherness, in the sense that their parents and relatives had to define and clarify their attitudes towards the “other.” This situation was felt even more acutely with the birth of children in such couples and their socialisation, which could take place mostly inside one group, to the detriment of the other, or in both groups equally. The information concerning mixed marriages extracted from the travellers’ accounts completes the statistical data with new perspectives on the causes and effects of this demographic phenomenon.

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

The second chapter concerns “Historical Events and Their Impact of the Evolution of Mixed Marriages.” The reader can find here five studies analysing intermarriage in connection with particular circumstances, such as marriage as a tool for medieval political alliances, and the influences of major ideologies or events on mixed marriages.

In his study “Loyalty and Hostility: Mixed Marriages in the Royal Families of the Middle Ages: Cases from the Borders of Christendom,” Florian Dumitru Soporan explores mixed marriage as the expression, par excellence, of a political alliance that placed together, under the sign of matrimony, the power and interests of two states or of two great, powerful and influential families. Among other issues the author examines against the intricate fabric of these events is the position and role of the “foreign” queens, who negotiated the imprint they left on their society of adoption on the grounds of the social and economic capital they brought therein.

Further, Valeria Soroștineanu analyses one of the most interesting aspects of mixed marriages – their regulation from a juridical, legal

perspective and the stance adopted by the communities towards these enactments. The focus is on the Orthodox Deanery of Sibiu, between 1860 and 1918, and the argument takes both secular and ecclesiastical regulations into account.

In the aforementioned context, it appears that the number of mixed marriages concluded by the Orthodox Romanians was rather low, most of them (90%) preferring partners of the same ethnicity, even though their confession was Greek Catholic; few chose spouses of Saxon, Hungarian or other ethnicities. The determinants of these preferences may have been the attitudes the communities adopted towards this issue, the position of the church, the changes that the civil laws of 1895 produced in society, making civil marriage compulsory and rendering religious marriage optional (a situation that forced the churches in Transylvania to readjust their discourse on marriage, including that on confessionally mixed marriage: what was at stake, in the case of the latter, was the religion in which the children born from such marriages would be raised).

An oral history research, based on interviews with Romanians, Jews, Hungarians, Ukrainians, both witnesses and active participants on the interethnic relations from Maramureş county, has brought to light extremely interesting details concerning the mentality of different social groups, as well as the evolution, in time, of this mentality, with particular reference to the Jews, a group that used to be numerous and evinced, special characteristics which marked the life of the population in the localities where they lived. Although there were some romances, the young Jews involved were aware of the consequences and did not dare to cause their families such grief, giving up these relationships, in time, and marrying, in most cases, partners chosen by the family and the community, or even by a person specialised in such unions, called *a shadchan* (match maker). In the Christians' mentality, the Jewish young girls and women are perceived as "forbidden fruit". For these reasons, prior to deportation, there had been very few infringements of this prohibition, as remembered by witnesses, but we tried to analyse these rare cases. The Holocaust meant a turning point for the Jewish communities from Maramureş in this respect as well. The reduced number of young people who returned to these communities, their shaken belief in God and the more and more obvious tendencies to conclude heterogeneous marriages in the communist period, also taking into consideration the fact that in most cases, the marriage was contracted only at the registrar's office, are the reasons why most of the Jewish families still living in Maramureş are mixed or why their descendants have entered such marriages.

The next article, “Intermarriage vs. Nationalism? Case study: Cluj (Transylvania), in the Interwar Period”, signed by Bogdan Crăciun and Daniela Mârza), analyses the evolution of intermarriage in Cluj during the troubled interwar period. After World War I, the authority structures were permeated by Romanians, and Hungarians lost their dominant place; at least at the discursive level, one can notice a great animosity between these two ethnic groups. Despite this atmosphere, the number of both ethnically and confessionally mixed marriages increased in Cluj, throughout the interwar period, as shown in the main sources – the marital status registers. In order to present the evolution of this phenomenon, the authors used data for the years 1919, 1922, 1930 and 1938 because of their significance in the history of the city. These data are correlated with the political, economic and social context, characterised by events that deeply affected the lives of the people of that time (the ravages of war, the union of Transylvania (a former part of Hungary) with Romania, the global economic crisis).

With reference to the communist period, Claudiu Rusu and Mihai Mureșan’s study “Between ‘Ethnic Harmony’ and Social Integration: the Status of Mixed Marriages (Mixed Families) in Communist Romania” offers a very thorough and nuanced analysis of the changes produced in the collective mind by the implementation of the communist ideology, which had an impact on the relations between different ethnic groups, as well as on mixed marriages. The authors discuss issues that have been little investigated in Romanian historiography, such as the attitude of the central authority towards mixed marriages, the identification and reconstruction of a psychological pattern characteristic of mixed marriages or the position adopted by certain party organisations, like the women’s committees, on this subject.

The aggressive atheism promoted by the regime added to all these, causing the manifestations of religious life to take on a more discrete, subtle and, in some cases, covert, secret character (the Romanian United Church, which had many believers, especially in Transylvania, was abolished by the regime, its places of worship were passed into the patrimony of the Orthodox Church, many priests, including the higher clergy, landed in the communist prisons, and people who chose to remain loyal to their faith were forced to practise it in secret, away from the authorities’ eyes).

All these interferences placed the issue of mixed marriages within new frameworks, characterised by changes affecting the local marriage markets, as well as by perception changes in the collective mentality regarding ethnic or confessional otherness.

The studies in Chapter 3, “Mixed Marriages in the Secular and Religious Regulations”, mainly deal with the positions adopted by the civil and confessional authorities on the issues of intermarriage.

Constanța Vintilă-Ghițulescu’s study analyses various aspects of mixed marriage in Walachia and Moldavia, from the Orthodox point of view, observing how the marriage concept was defined and how much it differed from the law (*pravila*), in terms of various practical features. Special attention is paid to bigamy, a common practice that was the result of free circulation in this region, which was under the authority of the Ottoman Empire. A number of merchants and craftsmen, such as Greeks, Vlachs, Serbians, Bulgarians, Armenians, who came on this route from the Ottoman Empire, regularly settled in Iasi or Bucharest. There they contracted new marriages and did not declare the ones they had previously concluded in their countries of origin. When bigamy was revealed, the situation became complicated, not only because of the common patrimony at stake but mostly because of their children. In this regard, one of the aims of the article is the study of the normative attitude and practice of the Orthodox Church concerning the solution to these cases. The author is also interested in exploring how the destinies of these children born from supposedly illegitimate affairs were judged.

Bogdan Mateescu’s study on mixed marriages involving Gypsy slaves aims to provide a more thorough understanding of the attitude on mixed marriages between Gypsy slaves and the Wallachian population, in the first half of the nineteenth century when, especially after 1831, two different positions emerged. The first one was adopted by the State authorities, which officially allowed this kind of marriages in 1838, while the second was that of the Orthodox Church, which persisted not only in denying them but also in trying to separate or control marriages or household formation even between different categories of Gypsy slaves. The negative attitude towards marriages with slaves is generally known to historians, but details such as those shown above have only recently come to light; the position of the State is less known, and the exact sources found so far appear to have been researched now for the first time. They also prove to be transparent in allowing one to identify some reasons behind the two attitudes: efforts to integrate or assimilate the Gypsy population (the State), and a strange combination of social and religious concepts in favour of various kinds of separations, with certain practical and economic undersides, shown through other sources (the Church).

Another example, from a quantitative viewpoint, is the article of Siegfried Gruber, “Marriages across Religious Boundaries in Albania around 1900”. The subject of the research is a situation in which religious

barriers in the way of mixed marriages proved almost unsurpassable, while ethnic differences tended to be more easily overcome.

Regarding this section, we should also mention the study of Ioan Bolovan and Marius Eppel, “Churches and Interfaith Marriages in Transylvania. From 1895 to the Present Day”, which analyses the question of intermarriage in relation to the process of secularisation and societal modernisation, or the mobility of the population between the urban and rural areas. The authors emphasise the changes that affected the attitude of the Orthodox Church and the other denominations in Transylvania towards intermarriage, due to the new civil laws which, starting from 1895, established the primacy of the state on the problem of marriages.

Helena da Silva proposes an interrogation of mixed marriages from the perspective of the importance of marriage for the foundation of a family in today’s Portugal. Her study goes beyond mixed marriage, trying to answer some questions regarding the status of marriage in the postmodern Portuguese world. The fundamental question is if marriage still plays a role in the Portuguese society and, if it does, the other queries that concern the author are: who can marry, what kinds of contracts are preferred, if marriage tends to be civil or religious, the degree of mixed marriages, the problem of children, legitimate or illegitimate, born either in a family or in a free union.

Chapter 4, “The Explicative Mechanism of Mixed Marriages” covers the different factors - social, economic, cultural, family background – involved in a mixed marriage and their balance therein.

We chose to place a rather methodological and explicative article at the beginning of the section, attempting to explain “Mixed Marriages through the Prism of the Concept of Fourth Demographic Transition.” The research deals with the globalisation of international migration, its role and place in the demographic evolution of the developed countries (including Russia), in a historical retrospective, with emphasis on their future demographic development. The main attention is drawn to the changes in the place and role of international migration in the context of the evolution of the demographic transition theory, including the concepts of the second and the third demographic transitions. This gives the possibility of offering a new scenario for the future demographic development of the world, which focuses on the interconnection of two demographic processes – the international migration of the population and nuptiality. This scenario has been called “the fourth demographic transition” and its main premise is that migration can be a positive phenomenon for the future demographic development, which takes into account national and global interests by promoting marriages between native people and migrants. With the help of

such marriages, new children will be born. They will be the symbol of a new viable generation.

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

Guy Brunet's article is focused on "The Marriage of Europeans and Jews in Algerian Towns in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century." The purpose of the research is to study the choice of a spouse according to nationality, geographical origin or social background. The author's investigation revolves around few questions: Did nationality play a major part in the way couples were formed? What was the proportion of marriages between spouses of different nationalities? Which nationalities were concerned about these mixed marriages? Did any national or local endogamy appear in this migratory context? Special attention will be paid to marriages involving Jews: did they involve two spouses from Europe, two spouses born on the North-African territory, or did these mixed marriages stick to a geographical criterion? It must be pointed out that marriages between Europeans, Jews and "Natives" are practically inexistent, the religious criterion playing a major part in this context.

The next study, "Sentimental Relations among Italian Men and Migrant Women. How Migration affects Place and Time in the Making of mixed Couples", signed by Sara Settepanella, presents the ways such couples meet and their efforts to cope with the cultural and social differences between the two parties. Therefore this study takes into consideration the dynamic of the encounters of 21 couples, which were engaged in free interviews. The women who took part in the interviews belonged to two huge geographical areas: Latin America and Eastern European countries. The purpose of the study was not merely to reflect on and discuss the statistic results, which shows that more Italian men are sentimentally involved with foreign women than vice versa. The choice of these fields is deeply connected to the positions occupied by women in the geography of international power, which organises unequal access to the globalised market of labour and, generally, to the hosting societies. The feminisation of migration flows highlights a profound transformation affecting the subjects of mobility. As a matter of fact, the migration

process is gradually becoming a means of empowerment for women, thanks to the new mobility acquired and the new domestic balance.

The objective of the next article, authored by Cristina Tîrhaș and Viorel Sîrcă, is to examine the problems regarding mixed marriages between Romanian migrating women and their foreign husbands. This analysis consists in qualitative interviews applies to five emigrant Romanian women who got married, before and after the migration act, to „foreigners”. Three of the subjects are married to European citizens and live in EU countries, while two of them have husbands from the Middle East, having emigrated to Siria and Jordan respectively. This qualitative method should provide a comparative insight into mixed marriages between Romanian women and foreign citizens, references bring made to migration images in the “traditional” collective mental history, life course perspectives, gender roles, the importance of religion, culture and ethnicity of the married couples and their expectations about their new life, and also the evaluation of their married life after a couple of years spent as the wives of citizens from other countries. The migration of women from their country of origin (involved in marriage and/or work) profoundly affects their family lives and also their traditional gender roles. These women also have to adjust their gender role models in a new family context and a new culture. Generally, a “modern” approach towards gender roles and task division are preferred.

Mihaela Hărăguș’s paper assesses the role of education in ethnically mixed marriages, considering it as a complex variable in the marital process, linked with both the cultural and the socioeconomic characteristics of the spouses. The main assumption of the paper is that education may compensate the cultural differences existent when spouses are of different ethnicities, and, moreover, that similarity in education may substitute for similarity in ethnicity. Working on a subsample of married persons from the 2002 Census, the author finds that better educated persons are more likely to be in an ethnically mixed marriage than lower educated ones and that educational similarity between husband and wife means higher chances to be in an ethnically mixed marriage. Marriage choices are surrounded by uncertainty and choosing a spouse of a different ethnic background may increase it, which means that similarity in other characteristics has become more relevant. Mihaela Hărăguș considers that education is such a characteristic that may reduce the uncertainty of a marriage choice, being a good indicator of the spouses’ tastes, values and lifestyles, as well as their income and status.

The last chapter of this volume, “Mixed Marriages, Continental and Transcontinental Migration: Continuity and Change” covers a highly

relevant topic, especially for our time – the relation between migration and intermarriage. The article of Sølvi Sogner, “Transnational Intermarriage and Cultural Transfer. Norwegians in Amsterdam 1621-1720” analyses the differences between the emigrants and the locals in terms of cultural and social gains and benefits, emphasising the positive aspects of migration. The paper discusses a concrete example of intermarriage, in the sense of marriage between persons of different nationalities. Recent theories of *transnational history* are an incentive for studies devoted to different forms of transfer and interaction. For historical demography, with an intimate concentration on individuals, this approach to the past is singularly interesting. The paper discusses the intermarriage pattern and the possible consequences for the transfer of a cultural nature back to the sending country.

Marie-Pierre Arrizabalaga’s complex study on “Mixed Marriages among French Immigrants in Southern California, 1880-1950” analyses the specificities and uniqueness of this hybrid culture of French immigrants, and the processes which led to its formation over time. Studies on US immigrants’ marriages using censuses have shown that the majority of the first-generation immigrants who resided in the United States (and elsewhere in America perhaps) in the late nineteenth century and early 20th century married men or women of their origins. A study of naturalisation records may indicate otherwise, as revealed by the author. The analysis of the French immigrants’ naturalisation applications will show that marriage practices and strategies were more complex than what historiography has so far assumed. The records inform where immigrants were born, whether they had married in the United States or in France, the conditions of immigration and their situation since their arrival in the United States. Using these sources, Marie-Pierre Arrizabalaga shows that couples composed of two French nationals originating from two different areas of France actually married outside their cultural environment, so, in reality, their marriage strategies were exogamous.

From a similar perspective, the study of Claudia Contente, “Some Considerations about the Marriage Market for Migrants in Almirante Brown (Buenos Aires, Argentina) at the End of the Nineteenth Century”, presents quantitative and qualitative data on intermarriage between European emigrants in Brazil and the local population. Based on the census records of 1895, the author offers a preliminary analysis of the marriage market from Almirante Brown, an Argentinian district located about 40 kilometers south of the city of Buenos Aires. The analysis of the census allows her to delineate an outline of the principal characteristics of the matrimonial composition of migrants.

The article signed by Maria M. Camou and Adela Pellegrino, “Marriage Behaviour among Immigrants. Montevideo, 1860-1908” aims to study the levels of inbreeding (marriage) between the members of the “immigration flood” and what is considered the native population of Montevideo. The authors address some gender issues such as the age at marriage and differences between spouses and examine how the cultural patterns of each national group of migrants influenced these marriages.

Finally, the last article of the book, “The Cosmopolitanism of Transnational Families” uses the concept of cosmopolitanism understood as openness towards otherness; in particular, the study intends to theorise the cosmopolitan openness determined by migration in the case of Romanians migrating in search for work abroad. The first aim of the article is to present those characteristics of the members of transnational families that define these persons as cosmopolitan agents. The experience of migration offers a framework for constructing a cosmopolitan attitude in the life of – direct and indirect – participants in migration. The second aim is to define and present an approach to methodological cosmopolitanism that will serve as a basis for a research project proposed in this paper.

The editors wish to express their gratitude to the authors, for making this volume possible, and to UEFISCDI, for the financial support of the project “Interethnic marriages between an exercise of tolerance and a modern expression of indifference, 1895-2010.”

The Editors
Cluj-Napoca, December 2013

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CHAPTER I:

MIXED MARRIAGE
IN THE COLLECTIVE MENTALITY

INTER-WAR REFLECTIONS ON MIXED MARRIAGES IN BANAT

CARMEN ALBERT

Introduction

Without representing an extremely vast territory, Banat has a special individuality, in which ethnic/confessional diversity has always stood out as one of its main characteristics. It therefore offers different perspectives for the investigation of interesting themes, such as the history of mentalities, the imaginary and sensitivity, which are specific of the new histories of Annals. Last but not least, the history of private life is a field that has been studied only fragmentarily so far, but a comparativist approach thereof may unravel tremendous surprises. The difficulty, in this respect, lies not only in the lack of specialists, but especially in the dispersion or even in the complete absence of sources.

The purpose of this study is to add to the materials that have been written so far new information and demographic data which are necessary for accomplishing a comprehensive synthesis of marital behaviour in this region. Another purpose would be to gather the subjective perceptions of the population from a rural locality regarding the phenomenon of mixed marriages, which is often encountered in societies characterised by ethnic/confessional diversity.

Atypical from many points of view, the theme of marriages, in general, and of mixed marriages, in particular, in the history of the Banat region has only recently drawn the attention of researchers; hence, there are still many unknown facts. We consider that approaching a theme of historical demography from a comparative perspective and against the background of the history of mentalities represents one of the elements that are necessary for a global understanding of this phenomenon.

The present study focuses on the quantitative analysis of a sociological inquiry undertaken over the course of several years during the inter-war period, as part of the monographic campaigns organised by the Banat-

Crișana Social Institute. From the respondents' answers we can discover the attitude towards the phenomenon of mixed ethnic-confessional marriages.

We have also proposed a case study for verifying the results, exploring the history of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in even greater depth, in order to see whether these inter-war reflections had older origins or they represented identity conceptions specific for the analysed period.

Theoretical overview

A few studies regarding the subject of families in the Banat region deserve special mention. The study written by Adrian Bucur¹ refers to the phenomenon of mixed re-marriages amongst the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic communities (nineteenth - twentieth centuries) in the Counties of Torontal, Timiș and Caraș-Severin, the sample it analyses comprising data referring to several towns, as they are found in the parish registers. A statistical analysis applied to the ethnic-confessional diversity of the population examined in this study reveals some interesting conclusions regarding the percentage of inter-confessional marriages from the total number of contracted marriages, the choices made by the Greek-Catholic and Orthodox grooms and brides, the seasonal character of mixed re-marriages, the age of re-marriage, and the marital status at the moment of re-marriage.

In another study² I presented, for the same Banatian province, the characteristics of families based on the "zwei Kinder" system, making an incursion into history in order to detect the origins of this behaviour. The case study researched in the parish registers of Reșița Montană highlights the fact that this model does not have its origins in the phenomenon of imitating the German settlers' behaviour, but has a strict economic motivation, determined by the Romanians' desire not to fragment their property by dividing it amongst several children.

In addition to the above, there are several historical demographic studies on the population from Banat in Ioan Munteanu's work,³ based on a Hungarian census, in which there are many considerations about family and its problems.

¹ Bucur, "Aspecte privind fenomenul recăsătoriei mixte", 136-154.

² Albert, "Family Models in Banat," 211-229.

³ Munteanu, *Banatul istoric*, 26.

Methodological background

This research is based on qualitative methods of analysing the answers provided by the interviewees and the case study focuses on a quantitative analysis of the data from the Registry of Marriages in the town Reșița Română. The hypothesis from which we start in our research is that in choosing a marital partner, membership to the same ethnic group prevailed over other characteristics. In starting a family, other factors were also taken into consideration, such as: age, social status or profession, which could lead to endogamy or exogamy, but ethnicity was, we think, the main criterion.

The research conducted by the Banat-Crișana Social Institute during the inter-war period represents an extraordinary opportunity for understanding the collective mentality as regards family problems. Following a model inspired by Dimitrie Gusti's philosophy, this institute advocated rural emancipation through the monographic campaigns it carried out.

The investigations achieved in the monographic campaigns conducted in the Plain and Mountain Banat concentrated on diverse themes including, from the beginning, the family as a social unit. The motivation of researching the rural family with all its complex manifestations was the population shortage entailed by the low demographic growth, which the completed census revealed.

Researching the causality of this phenomenon, the monographers also discussed in their approaches the problems of mixed marriages inherent to a space in which ethnic-cultural diversity had been a constant feature for many centuries. The answers to the qualitative research carried out by the team members highlighted the population's subjective perceptions regarding this problem, as they were recorded in the published studies and in the documents.

The five monographic campaigns organised in the Banat region approached the theme of mixed marriages more or less consistently within the larger context of the problem of marriage. Cases of concubinage and negative birth rates got the attention of the Church, the public institutions and the political factors; thus, the theme became a priority on the agenda of the Banat-Crișana Social Institute. The inquiry that focused on the legitimacy or illegitimacy of couples also touched the problem of mixed marriages, inevitable in a region characterised by great ethnic-confessional diversity. The information comes from these researches, more precisely from the recorded answers.