

**TOPIC 20:** Historical Demography

**SESSION 88:** History of the family

**ORGANIZER:** David Robichaux, Universidad Iberoamericana

**Title:** "Changes on family households in Navarra, twentieth century"

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**Abstract:**

At the end of the nineteenth century, the region of Navarra in Northern Spain was a predominantly rural community. In 1887, the population of its capital Pamplona was barely 26,000, 8% of the total population. For centuries, Navarra was characterized by two clearly differentiated family systems: a patrilocal/stem stem system in the North and Center of the territory (with a single heir), and a neolocal/nuclear family system dominant in the South (with divisible inheritance). In the twentieth century the region suffered a high rate of economic growth and industrialization, as well as a rapid growth of urban centers. In less than 100 years, Pamplona had come to represent 32% of the region's population. This paper analyzes the impact of this rapid economic growth on the two family systems. The presentation will describe the impact on the traditional family structures, and how these systems have adapted to a changing economic and social environment.

**1. Introduction**

Navarra was traditionally characterized by the co-existence of two different family systems; two different systems to manage intra-family solidarity whose existence has been proven since, at least, 15th century<sup>1</sup>.

1. The areas of the Center and the North have been characterized by stem family systems (the so-called "familia troncal"). In these regions, parents would select, among their children, a universal heir/heiress that would inherit all family's properties<sup>2</sup>. The heir would continue to live with his parents after marriage, together with his wife and offspring; (s)he inherits the social identity that brings the house's name, the house itself and every property the parents own; in exchange, (s)he would be responsible for taking care of the parents, as well as

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<sup>1</sup> Moreno and Zabalza (1999) ; Berthe (1984)

<sup>2</sup> There was no normative preference to select heir, being primogeniture (regardless the sex) a common but not exclusive choice.

maintaining his/her brothers and sisters, who have the right to stay in the family's house while they are single. This family practice shows a high percentage of extended and multiple households<sup>3</sup>. In Navarra, it led to a high level of permanent celibacy and a high mean age marriage<sup>4</sup>. "The house" plays a key role. It serves as an axis, around which the whole family strategy turns. It is in the house where heirs remain for generations, one after another taking care of family properties and, eventually, increasing them. The house provides the identity, the social recognition within the larger community and its importance can not be underestimated. Still today, the house is filled with references to its protective role for all family members (in several occasions, interviewed people used the term "nest" to refer to the house).

2. The South of Navarra (so-called "Ribera") developed a family system rather different, following a nuclear family fashion with neo-local household formation arrangements. Here, the inheritance, house and any other property that might exist, was divided among all offspring. When they get married, they would establish their own new households. Therefore, children would not reside with their aged parents. They would have to agree on different arrangements when they would become incapacitated, but usually they would remain living in separate houses. Nuclear/simple households are the norm in this context; age at marriage is usually younger and permanent celibacy lower.

Several scholars have validated the traditional existence of these two different family systems in Navarra. Mikelarena (1995), Erdozain (1999), Moreno (1999), Mendiola (2002), Sánchez Barricarte (2002) or Ruiz (2003), to mention a few, have identified their key features in different periods using various methodologies (family reconstitution, analyses of household types, notarial documentation reviews, etc.). With the empirical evidences provided by all these studies, we can conclude that the difference existed since, at least, 15th century and has remained until beginning of 20th century. Families adjusted their decisions to different demographical and socio-economic context over time, but overall the characteristics remained distinct, as described above. The absence of major changes is what has mostly defined the family systems in Navarra, keeping clear different ways to manage both properties and "human resources" (family members).

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<sup>3</sup> Households types 4 and 5 from Laslett-Cambridge Household Typology (Laslett & Wall, 1972)

<sup>4</sup> Nuptiality patterns in Navarra varies from those described by Hajnal. "España, más quizá que cualquier otro país europeo, muestra una tendencia a no ajustarse a la definición básica de distribución geográfica de pautas matrimoniales" (Reher, 1996:210)

The above mentioned studies have been undertaken by historians and focused on the past centuries. The most part of the 20th century, when major socio-economic transformation took place in the region, remains unknown<sup>5</sup>. Therefore, our objective is: to complement the already proven historical findings with an analysis of the evolution during the 20th century. We will use the same household typology<sup>6</sup> to facilitate historical comparison and will present disaggregated data for each sub-region (“comarca”). This paper aims, finally, to finding out whether these two traditionally different family systems have remained different or, in view of the common socio-economic development of the region, have merged.

Increasing the knowledge in the origin and the evolution of the family systems is still pending. However, it is important to understand better the current transitional situation that families are facing with regard to family members’ roles and responsibilities. Likewise, it is important to remember that not long ago, these were clear issues: who takes care of the parents, where and with whom to live, etc. were clearly defined by a family tradition that was socially accepted. The major developments from the 20th century have modified these roles. But there are still many issues unresolved, particularly with regard to distribution of responsibilities amongst family members and the challenge is to re-define them based on what they understand is the best. The socially accepted “best” option is based on the “cultural factor”. Understanding better how roles were distributed in the past and how they evolved, in what direction, or how fast, will help develop relevant public policies adjusted to the reality of each context.

Some of the questions we want to address are: how did families adjust to the socio-economic development of the 20th century? In a changing economic and demographical environment in which gender roles are evolving, how do families manage domestic life? Have they really changed their family structures, as we tend to think? In a globalized world where so many differences are diminishing, can we say that family forms are merging?

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<sup>5</sup> Casares (2003) and Montoro (1998) have analyzed family in Navarra in 20th centuries with different approaches.

<sup>6</sup> Cambridge household typology includes: individual, with no family structure, nuclear, extended, multiple and indeterminate. The category “complex” is the sum of extended and multiple

## 2. Methodology

Main source of information is census data for 1910-1996. Households are classified following Cambridge typology. We have complemented this information with other sources: interviews, notarial documents, civil and parish registers.

The analyses include disaggregated data for seven sub-regions<sup>7</sup> (“comarcas”) with a total of 29 villages. A detailed list can be found in Annex 2<sup>8</sup>:

- Navarra Húmeda del Noroeste
- Valles Pirenaicos
- Cuencas Pre-Pirenaicas
- Navarra media occidental
- Navarra media oriental
- Ribera estellesa
- Ribera tudelana

Original data from census must be carefully gathered/analyzed. Due to the design of the census, the original data, as we shall explain, do not always capture actual cohabitation. Therefore, some corrections need to be applied to original census information.

Between 1900 and 1960, the census would define “family” as “conjugal unit”, provided the unit has its own income sources<sup>9</sup>. Following this rule, households in which two couples live together (which are the norm in stem family areas) were divided into two different units and captured as two different families. This way, actual cohabitation does not appear in the census. As a result, complex households are underrepresented in the original census data.

In order to capture actual cohabitation, these original data must be re-analysed and corrected, when/if necessary<sup>10</sup>. It is not a major obstacle, though. The correction process is straightforward, bearing in mind:

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<sup>7</sup> Geographical division as defined by Floristán Samanes in *Gran Atlas de Navarra* (1986)

<sup>8</sup> Villages were selected based on: a) availability of sources of information; b) its capacity to represent both largely populated and small areas. A random sample is not relevant to the context. In 1900, only 15 villages, out of 269, were larger than 3000 inhabitants.

<sup>9</sup> “Boletín oficial extraordinario del 2 de noviembre de 1920. Ley 15/05/1920”. We will find similar references in all census between 1900 and 1960. To what extent this rule was applied varies significantly among years and villages and so did the division of complex household into simple ones.

<sup>10</sup> Similar challenges with different solutions have been applied in other studies. See José Manuel Pérez García (1988) or Hionidou (1999).

- a) Census present households following actual address, including street and number of each house;
- b) Census identifies each family member with complete name (including the two family names, father's and mother's);
- c) (consequently) When an extended/multiple household is divided into two different units, they will get captured in the actual census pages right one after the other.

Correction process was undertaken during data collection. Wherever we found two or more households living in the same address, we analyzed if there was any family relationship between the individuals. This could be done through the complete name information, determining whether they were parents, sons, uncles... If/when relevant, both households were registered as only one (extended or multiple). It is a slow but mechanical and necessary process if actual cohabitation wants to be analyzed.

### 3. Permanence of family systems.

We will now analyze the household distribution existing in Navarra at the beginning of the 20th century. This will serve us both as baseline to start the analysis of the evolution throughout the century and also to confirm whether or not the traditional family systems we have explained above were still predominant at this time.

**Table 1: Household distribution. Rural Navarra, 1910**

1910	Navarra Húmeda Noroeste	Valles Pirenaicos	Cuencas Prepirenaicas <sup>11</sup>	Navarra Media Occidental	Navarra Media Oriental	Ribera Estellesa	Ribera Tudelana	Navarra Rural <sup>12</sup>
Individual	6.85	5.78	2.92	10.04	9.49	11.84	10.49	9.41
No family	3.23	1.81	1.17	2.48	1.99	2.49	1.53	2.55
Nuclear	56.19	58.3	62.57	65.53	68.25	78.66	74.86	66.65
Extended	20.54	20.04	18.71	13.98	14.18	6.07	9.84	13.81
Multiple	12.25	13.72	14.62	7.56	5.27	0.94	2.3	6.66
Indeterminate	0.093	0.35	0	0.41	0.82	0	0.98	0.91
Complex	32.79	33.76	33.33	21.54	19.45	7.01	12.14	20.47

Several scholars (Mikelarena Peña 1999:243; Fauve-Chamoux, 1996:81) state that stem family may be considered predominant in a certain region when extended and

<sup>11</sup> Data for Cuencas Pre-pirenaicas are from 1920, since there is no data available for 1910.

<sup>12</sup> Aggregated data for Rural Navarra were calculated based on the population of each region

multiple households (complex) are above 20-25%. If we follow this convention, Navarra was, still at the beginning of the 20th century, a region where patrilocal forms of households were the norm.

In 1786, Floridablanca census showed areas where complex households were above 40%<sup>13</sup> (Mikelarena Peña, 1995:245). It seems clear that between the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup>, complex family forms got reduced. Nevertheless, despite this fall, over 30% of total Navarra population would reside in extended or multiple households. They still maintained the traditional roles of the stem family, and respected the clear roles and responsibilities that it established for each children, heir or not.

If we look to Valles Pirenaicos, this percentage was even higher and would reach, in 1910, almost half of total population (46%). In the two areas of the south, "Riberas", where inheritance did not involve cohabitation with parents, household structures were simpler. But still, complex forms, especially extended households, were higher in the South of Navarra than in other nuclear areas of Spain. This was probably due to the proximity to areas where stem family was predominant. In the "Riberas", nuclear households did not reach 80%. Instead, in Cuenca or Murcia<sup>14</sup>, two areas where traditionally nuclear family forms were the norm, these households were around or even higher than 80%<sup>15</sup>.

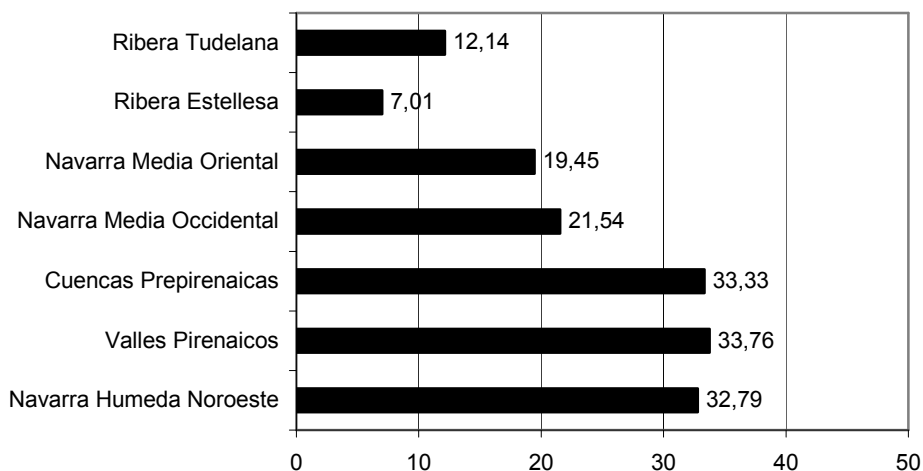
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<sup>13</sup> Valles Meridionales, 33,9; Cuencas, 44,9; Pirineo Occidental, 47,1; Media Occidental, 35,2; Media Oriental, 33,7; Ribera Occidental, 19,9; Ribera Central, 7,3; Ribera Tudelana, 12,6.

<sup>14</sup> See Reher (1988) and Chacón (1987)

<sup>15</sup> A complete set of data from different regions (until 1920) can be found in Reher, 1996:41-44

**Figure 1: Complex Households 1910**



Source: Population census

Based on this, we can confirm that family forms in Navarra remained the same as in the past despite the observed reduction of complex family forms during the 19th century. People would manage family resources similarly to what their ancestors did. The differences within the region were still the same and would follow an almost perfect line from north to south, as we can see in figure 1.

#### **4. Household arrangements of elderly**

The improving quality of life and the widening reach of public services rendered to elderly lead to think, a priori, that family forms of elderly might have shifted, since this population is less dependent on their relatives' care than they were in the past. Based on this hypothesis, this paper pays special attention to this age group to better understand the evolution their households have experienced.

In 1910, people over 60 years represented 7-9% of total population in all Navarra sub-regions ("comarcas"). However, the household types where they resided would vary significantly.

**Table 2. Household distribution of population over 60 per region (%)**

1910	Individuals	Nuclear	Extended	Multiple
Navarra Húmeda Noroeste	5.7	27.3	27.3	33.8
Valles Pirenaicos	4.7	27.4	32.5	32.5
Cuencas Prepirenaicas	2.5	32.9	27.2	36.1
Navarra Media Occidental	12.6	27.2	30.1	28.2
Navarra Media Oriental	8.8	45.4	29.1	14.7
Ribera Estellesa	22.1	64.1	9.4	2.2
Ribera Tudelana	17.3	50.0	20.6	6.5

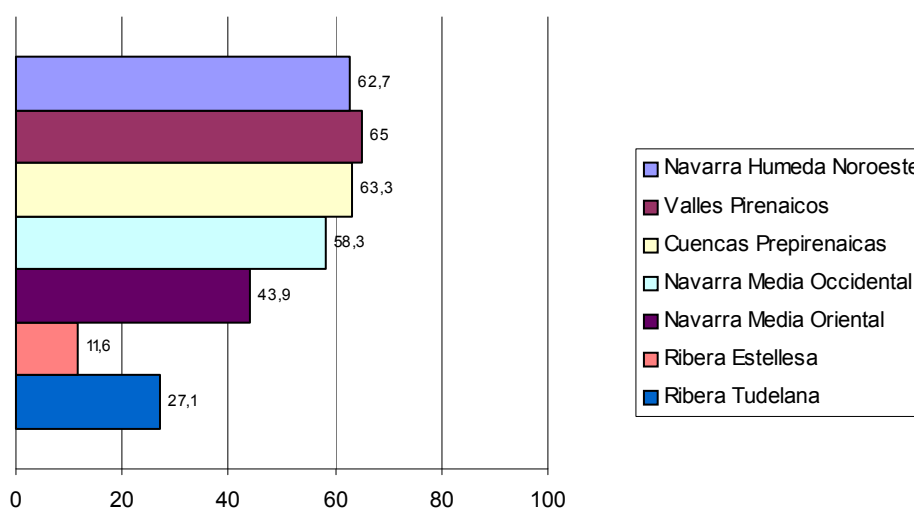
Source: population census

In Northern areas (Valles Pirenaicos, Navarra Húmeda del Noroeste), as well as in Cuencas Prepirenaicas and Navarra Media Occidental, most people over 60 years old lived with one married son or daughter. Around 60% would live in complex households, half of them in multiple ones. This means they lived with a son/daughter when still their partner was alive (when, in theory, their vulnerability is lower, since the couple is still complete).

In the south, the alternative of living with a married child when the couple was still complete was, simply, not existent. Less than 5% of people in the Riberas did follow this option. It was more common, but still rare, when they would become widow/ers.

Next figure shows how the cohabitation with children is less likely in the south, following, again, an almost perfect line from North to South.

**Figure 2. People over 60 living in complex households (%). 1910**

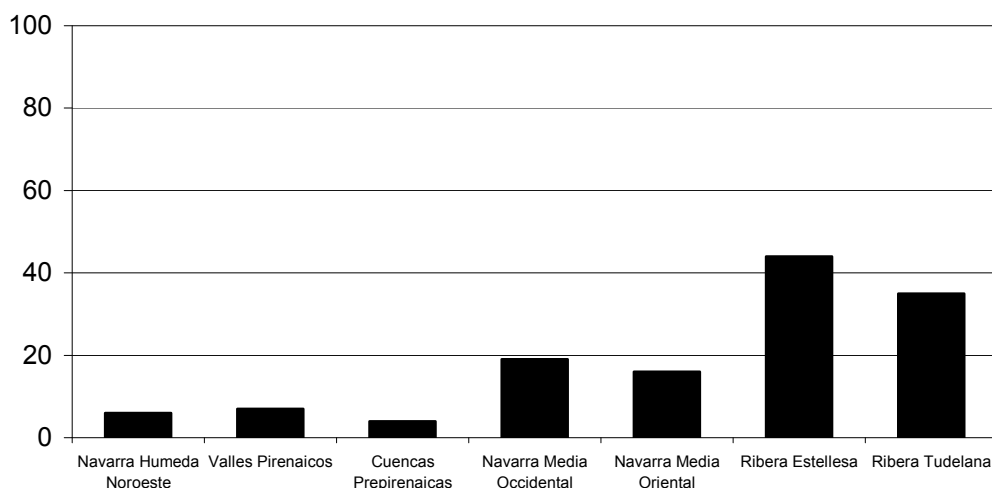


Source: Population census



It seems clear that it was the different forms of distributing family properties what determined the living arrangements of aged parents. They lived in complex households when there was a universal heir/heirress responsible of taking care of them and in simple ones when the properties were distributed among all children and no specific child was the only responsible for their care. The question that remains is, was this distribution of responsibilities and living arrangements maintained regardless of parents' need for care? According to census information, yes. If we take a widow/er over 60 (a priori, one of most vulnerable groups at the beginning of 20th century), we can see clear differences between north and south.

**Figure 3. Widow/ers over 60 living in individual households (1910)**



Source: population census

In Ribera Estellesa, 44% of widows over 60 lived on their own; in Tudelana, 35%. In the Northern areas, this alternative was not only very uncommon but also socially rejected. “They were worthy of compassion, they lived in really bad conditions”<sup>16</sup>. In the North, the support to aged parents was socially ensured by the stem family and the concept of an elderly living on their own was, simply, not socially accepted. There, the family house functioned as a “nest” (expression mentioned often during the interviews) and would host all relatives’ needs: single brothers/sisters that would remain in the house or even other vulnerable relatives: “they would return to the nest” (...) there was

<sup>16</sup> Interview Escároz

charity then, and families would host and support everyone”<sup>17</sup>. But specially and above all, the needs of elderly parents were covered by this system; they would always remain living with a son or daughter, in contrast to the situation we have just seen in the South.

It is important, however, to clarify that this does not mean that there was not support for elderly in the Ribera. The fact that they would not live in the same house does not mean an absence of attention from their children. In the South, they arranged alternative means of care. An elderly living on his/her own was not only a common place in the Ribera, but also an option socially accepted and highly valued. Families would develop alternative strategies to take care of the elderly other than coresidence. “We would take turns to take care of them, but we would still live in our own house”<sup>18</sup>. In any case, as we just mentioned, there was still a difference for the parents. The responsibility was to be negotiated and defined among offspring, while the stem family system would provide a more structured framework to define everyone’s responsibilities.

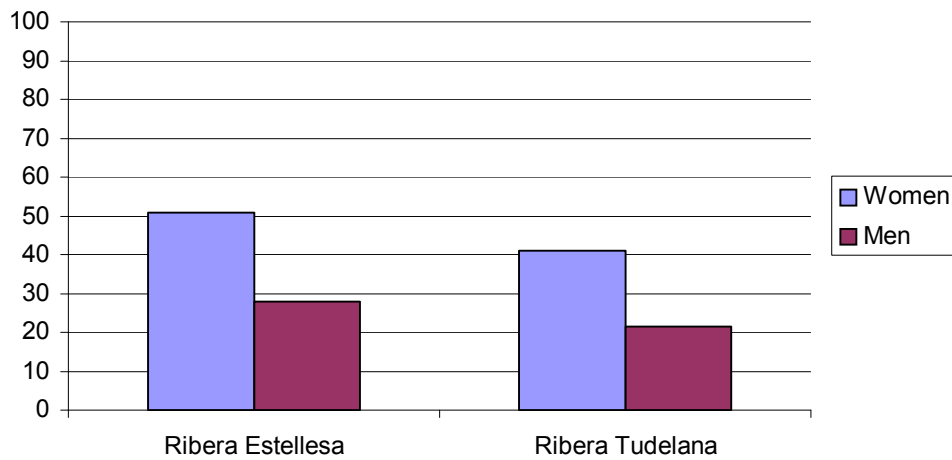
To this respect, a gender-disaggregated analysis shows some interesting findings. In the Riberas, where cohabitation with elderly parents was not a common option, the support of parents would be organized differently, depending on whether it was the father or the mother who would be on his/her own. As we can see in figure 4, mothers would more often keep the individual households than fathers, who more often would move in with a son/daughter.

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<sup>17</sup> Idem

<sup>18</sup> Interview Falces

**Figure 4. Widow/widowers over 60 years living in individual households. Ribera 1910**



It would be premature to advance whether this different pattern caused further vulnerability to women or if, on the contrary, was reflecting a larger self-decided independence. But in any case, it is striking to observe how the nuclear family pattern of not living with the aged parents was challenged depending on whether it was the father or the mother who would need support.

We can conclude, in summary, that the differences were clear at the beginning of the 20th century regarding the support to elderly. The Ribera would value residential independence and this was the preferred choice as long as it was possible, especially for women. In North and central areas, the ageing phase of life would take place in the family house, with at least one son.

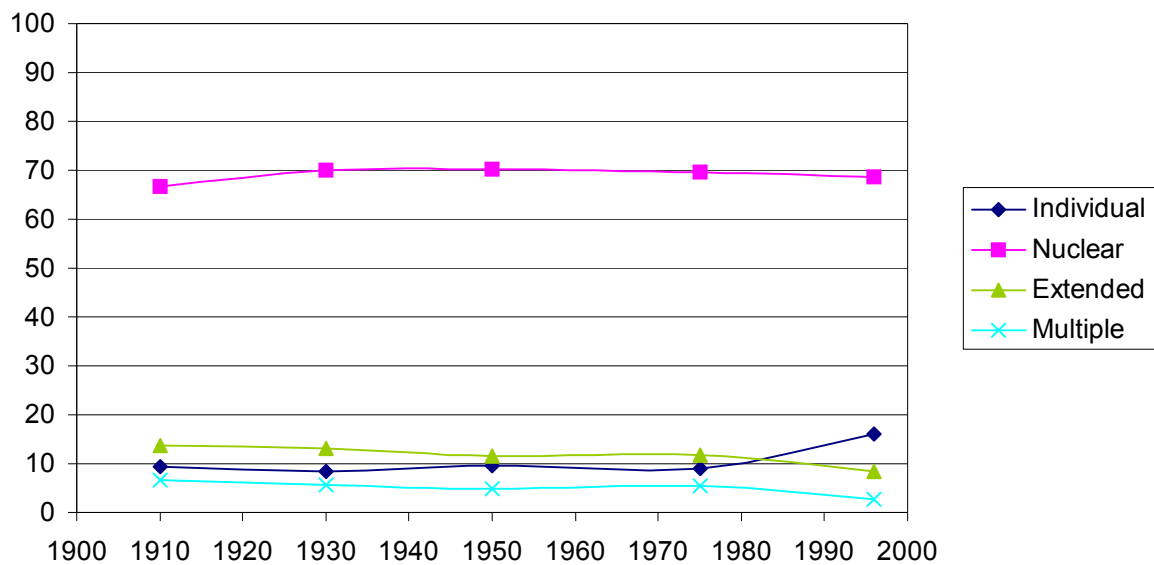
We do believe that this different system, perpetuated over centuries without major changes, did influence and still shapes the expectations about what are everyone's responsibilities within a family. Seeing the evolution of family systems over the 20<sup>th</sup> century will allow us to determine to what extent these expectations are still predominant and whether or not they still determine the decisions to organize domestic life.

## 5. The 20th century. Did family forms change really that much in rural Navarra?

We have already confirmed that family forms were, at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, rather similar to what other scholars have described for past times. The remaining question is whether or not they maintained their main features during the 20<sup>th</sup> century, despite the important development rural Navarra went through those following decades.

Figure 5 shows aggregate data for the whole rural Navarra as a first indication of how family forms evolved between 1910 and 1996.

**Figure 5: Households evolution in Rural Navarra, 1910-1996**



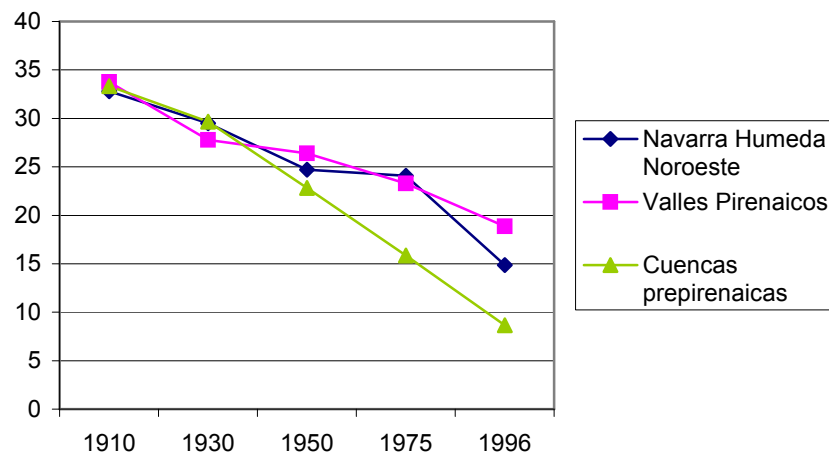
Aggregate data reflect the three major features of the evolution of the cohabitation map in Navarra.

1. A slow but progressive reduction of extended and multiple households. This fall confirms the trend we have seen in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. It is important to point out that despite this decline, Navarra always showed higher percentages of complex households than Spanish average. In 1991, only Asturias, Canarias, and Galicia presented higher complexity
2. The increase of individual households is one of the main changes affecting the cohabitation maps of rural Navarra. In 1910, Navarra had less than 10% of individual households; in 1996, over 16%.

- The decrease of nuclear households from 1950 onwards proves that the evolution of family systems in Navarra did not follow a “continuum” stem-nuclear. This might have been expected as a consequence of the progressive reduction of the “single heir” figure. This was not the case. Instead, a different household distribution is getting established, other than the “stem-nuclear” dichotomy.

These are the three major characteristics of the evolution of rural Navarra at large. However, they had a different impact in each region that we will comment now<sup>19</sup>.

**Figure 6: Navarra Húmeda Noroeste, Valles Pirenaicos and Cuencas Pirenaicas. Evolution of complex households.**



In the North (Valles Pirenaicos, Navarra Húmeda del Noroeste and Cuencas Prepirenaicas), the fall of extended and multiple households is probably the biggest change, since these were the areas where complex family forms were more present. This decrease is fundamental, since it is an indication of a larger change on how to manage the family “human resources”. It is a very recent change that came to modify patterns followed during centuries. In 1996 these complex households were still higher here than average in Spain. But despite this, the important quantitative reduction is major and affected the way most people lived and understood their role within the family. If in 1910, complex households were more than 30%, by 1996 the decrease had happened as follows: 54% reduction in Navarra Húmeda del Noroeste; 42% in Valles Pirenaicos; 73% in Cuencas Prepirenaicas). The decline, therefore, took place in the three areas, but in different moments.

<sup>19</sup> See Annex 2 for further details

Complex households dropped earlier in Cuencas Prepirenaicas. The reduction was clear already in 1950. Not only it started earlier than in the other two sub-regions, but also was more intense. A particular demographic growth is probably one of the major causes for this intense change. Cuencas Prepirenaicas almost doubled their population between 1950 and 1975 (82% population increase). This growth was mostly due to a positive migration balance. New inhabitants settled in the region, probably because of its proximity to the capital, Pamplona, and they created nuclear households, smaller than what it was usual then in the area. Nuclear households increased accordingly (17%). The mean household size, 5.5 people at the beginning of the century, fell to 4.3 in 1975. The reason why this intense evolution began earlier here than in the neighbouring areas was the proximity to Pamplona (the capital). In this region, it was the migrant population that caused the decrease of the stem family.

Navarra Húmeda del Noroeste and Valles Pirenaicos were the two areas where stem family had traditionally been stronger. In both areas, the second half of 20<sup>th</sup> century was characterized by an important decrease of complex households (main indicator of stem family's presence).

The Valles Pirenaicos went through a considerable demographic decline over the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It lost more than 50% of its entire population only between 1950 and 1996 due to negative migration balance. Most migrants were female. In 1996, the male to female ratio was 1.13 (in 1910, 1.04), a gender imbalance that shows the higher number of men in the region. This had important consequences on the "resources" available families had to organize their domestic lives. Main changes, clear already in 1975 were:

- a) Increase of individual households. This growth started earlier than in Navarra Húmeda del Noroeste, between 1950 and 1975. It was mostly the male of 41-60 years who in this period changed this pattern.
- b) Increase of households with no family structure, as well, led by the same group of population.
- c) Decrease on the mean size of extended households (1950=5.6; 1996=4.9). The above mentioned age group moved from complex to individual or with no family structure households.

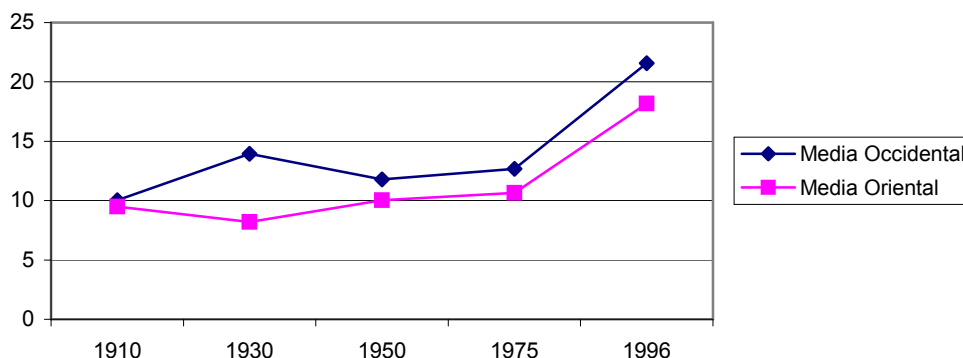
Despite the decline, extended households remained relatively important. 19% in 1996. No other region of Spain (if we look at aggregated data) had higher complexity. Simple households decreased as well, probably due to the low nuptiality that resulted from the sex imbalance.

As we mentioned, these changes were led by 41-60 year old singles. They reduced their presence on complex household a 15%, taking up individual and no-family-structure households. On the other hand, widow/ers over 60 years kept their traditional household patterns. Despite the disappearance of the figure single heir, families have maintained up to day the tradition of living with aged parents.

The area Navarra Húmeda del Noroeste also suffered an important demographic decline, though lower than in the Valles. It “only” lost 7% of its population during the second half of the century and kept a more balanced sex ratio (male to female ratio was 1.08 in 1996).

Changes came here later than in the Valles. If there we could observe variations already between 1950 and 1975, here they became obvious later, between 1975 and 1996, but the decrease was more intense. In less than 25 years, complex households fell from 24% to 14%. This reduction coincides exactly with the increase of individual households. In the Valles, complex households were still important in 1996, with almost 20% of total houses; in the Navarra Húmeda del Noreste they were lower than 15%. Nuclear households increased at the same time, a strategy that was possible here due to a more balanced sex ratio. It is also important to mention that, as we have seen in the Valles, the residential patterns of elderly did not change importantly. The cohabitation when they became widows remains the same as in the past.

**Figure 7: Evolution of individual households. Central Areas “Media Occidental” and “Oriental”.**



The central area of Navarra has always been a transitional region between the north, with strong presence of stem family, and the south, with nuclear family forms. It was predominantly stem in the past, but kept lower complexity.

Here, the decline of the complex household forms began earlier than in the North. The “Media Occidental” lived a deeper, earlier decline, together with a clear reduction of nuclear forms. The decline of family complexity was stronger here than in the North. The main feature of this evolution, the aspect we believe has changed the most family’s perceptions of households, is the increase of individual households. In 1996, they were higher here than in the rest of Navarra (together with Valles). We can see their evolution in figure 7.

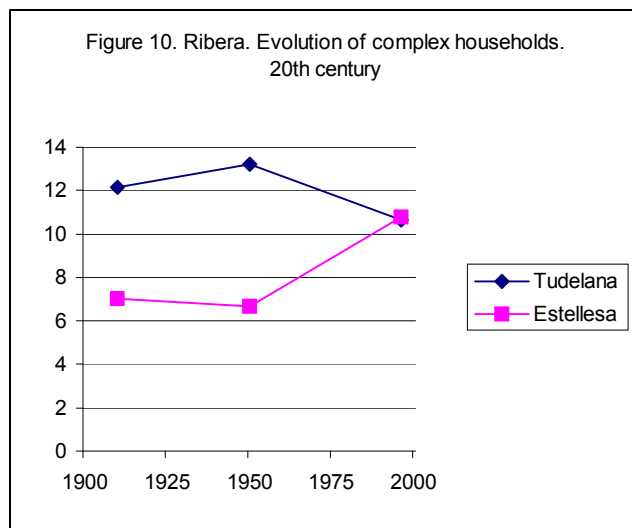
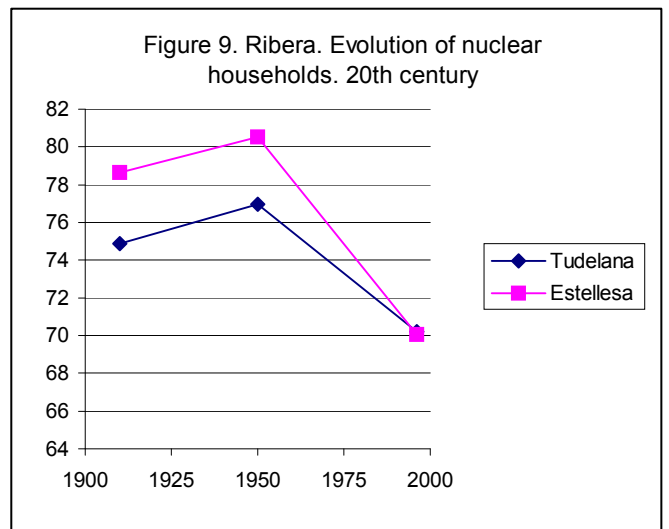
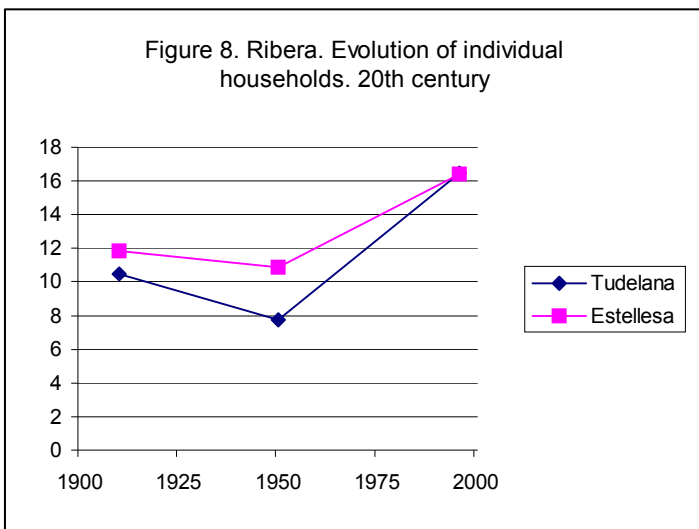
As we saw in the North, the “Navarra Media” also suffered an important demographic decline. The western region lost 45% of population between 1950 and 1996; the eastern, 32%. At the same time, male to female ratio increased, reaching 1,08 (western) and 1,05 (eastern). We have again an imbalanced gender distribution that limits the nuptiality rate. This aspect, together with the decrease of complex families, caused: a) an increase of individual households, mostly formed by males 54% and progressively older; b) a decrease of nuclear forms. An evolution with similar features as the one we saw in Valles, where the population also decreased significantly.

What was the age group that led these changes? If in the northern areas changes were led by people between 41 and 60 years, here it was people over 60, more specifically widow/ers of that age, the population sector that changed their domestic arrangements the most. Both areas registered notable increase in their elderly population during the period. People over 60 years were 10% in 1910 and 30% at the



end of the century. This population sector increased their presence in individual households<sup>20</sup>. Widowers over 75 years were only 6-7% of total individual households in 1910; 20% in 1996. To sum up, in an ageing period, the most significant change was to make domestic independence of elderly become the rule rather than the exception. This is a process opposite to what we saw in the North, where family forms of elderly have remained the same as in the past.

**Figures 8-10. Ribera tudelana and Estellesa**



<sup>20</sup> The presence in individual households of widowers from the same age remained constant

The south of Navarra, the areas called “Riberas,” has traditionally shown nuclear family forms. However at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, one of the regions showed a higher presence of nuclear families. The “Ribera Estellesa” was mostly nuclear, with very little presence of complex households. The “Ribera Tudelana”, being nuclear, had a higher presence of complexity; we can not assimilate this complexity to an indication of stem family in any case. But 12% of complex households in 1910 (only 7% in Ribera Estellesa) shows intra-family forms of solidarity involving cohabitation rather present in the region. Chacón has referred to these strategies as follows: “la solidaridad familiar, que desde la crisis de inicios de la década de los setenta se ha percibido con claridad en la sociedad española, no es un estrategia coyuntural como respuesta a una situación determinadas, sino que responde a una tradición y a unas prácticas culturales que tienen a la familia como punto de apoyo y referencia en la realidad diaria y en la vida cotidiana (Chacón, 2003:64). It seems clear that these forms of solidarity, independent from the inheritance, had an important place in the Ribera Tudelana. This difference between the two regions has progressively disappeared over the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as we can see in the figures above.

This change took place as a result of the changing domestic arrangements of people over 60. In 1910, they represented less than 10% of total population. In 1996, 25% and they were the age group that more often would live on their own (47% of individual households were from this age group in Ribera Estellesa; 61% in Tudelana). Regarding cohabitation with elderly, it became more common in Ribera Estellesa through the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1910 it was hardly 11% of people this age that would live in complex households. In 1996, 18.5%. The Ribera Tudelana followed the opposite trend. In 1910 almost 30% of people over 60 would live in complex households; in 1996, only a 18.7%. At the same time, individual households became more common for them.

## **6. Conclusions**

We started this communication saying that if something had defined family forms in Navarra over time, was the permanence of their diversity. Through the 20th century, the region has experienced a major transformation: with the industrialization process the concepts of family and land are no longer related and the two different inheritance systems merged (universal heir system has progressively disappeared).

There are other issues that tended to merge through the century. The increase of individual households is one of the most characteristics. But important differences still remain. Particularly on how families take care of elderly. In 1996, Valles Pirenaicos,

had more than 30% of people over 60 still living in complex households, mostly extended ones (28% in Navarra Humeda del Noroeste), whereas in Ribera it was less than 20%. It is true that these percentages were lower than they were at the beginning of the century (around 50%), but it is also truth that they are still higher in the north than in the south. Bearing in mind that inheritance is not a determining factor any longer, it seems clear that is both intra-family solidarity and, above all, a deeply rooted tradition on what is the “correct” way to take care of parents, what is influencing families’ decisions. Elderlys’ role within families have therefore not changed as much as it might be expected, with the exception of the central part of the region, where a more clear change took place.

Several questions still remain. A detailed analysis of the demographic decline, the migration flows and their impact on nuptiality rates will offer further interesting information on the actual chances and resources that each region has to set up households. Considering these initial findings, it seems that roles and responsibilities of family members still vary from region to region. We will keep analyzing up to what extent traditions keep influencing family’s decisions and how feasible it is to adjust these traditions to the current situation, with new women’s roles, increasing life expectancy and increasing public services.

## ANNEX 1: LIST OF VILLAGES PER REGION (“COMARCA”)

Comarca 1 : Navarra húmeda del noroeste

Echarri Aranatz	Lesaca	Valle Baztán
Valle Larraún		Valle Ulzama

Comarca 2 : Valles Pirenaicos

Burguete	Burgui	Escároz
Orbaiceta	Roncal	Valle Esteribar

Comarca 3 : Cuencas prepirenaicas

Aoiz	Monreal	Valle Jusalpeña
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Comarca 4 : Navarra media occidental

Améscoa Baja	Cirauqui	Los Arcos
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Comarca 5: Navarra media oriental

Barasoain	Caseda	Muruzábal
	Puente la Reina	Sangüesa

Comarca 6 : Ribera estellesa

Azagra	Falces	Lerín
	Peralta	

Comarca 7 : Ribera tudelana

Murchante	Valtierra	Villafranca
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## ANNEX 2. Household distribution per region. 1910-1996

Navarra Húmeda Noroeste					
	1910	1930	1950	1975	1996
Individuals	6,85	5,85	9,67	6,85	16,16
No family	3,23	4,43	6,48	5,62	5,78
Nuclear	56,19	59,02	58,35	63,25	63,04
Extended	20,54	19,35	17,69	16,01	10,9
Multiple	12,25	10,16	7,03	8,07	3,97
Indeterminate	0,093	1,19	0,76	0,22	0,15
Complex	32,79	29,51	24,72	24,08	14,87

Valles Pirenaicos					
	1910	1930	1950	1975	1996
Individuals	5,78	9,46	8,65	14,35	22,62
No family	1,81	2,44	4,54	8,45	11,08
Nuclear	58,3	59,74	59,53	53,81	47,36
Extended	20,04	17,62	15,39	15,74	14,19
Multiple	13,72	10,17	10,99	7,54	4,67
Indeterminate	0,35	0,57	0,88	0,11	0,07
Complex	33,76	27,79	26,38	23,28	18,86

Cuencas Prepirenaicas					
	1920	1930	1950	1975	1996
Individuals	2,92	4,24	9,79	4,36	13,42
No family	1,17	2,26	3,26	3,32	2,98
Nuclear	62,57	63,56	64,1	76,23	74,8
Extended	18,71	16,38	11,86	11,23	6,78
Multiple	14,62	13,28	10,97	4,64	1,87
Indeterminate	0	0,28	0,00	0,21	0,14
Complex	33,33	29,66	22,83	15,87	8,65

Navarra Media Occidental					
	1910	1930	1950	1975	1996
Individuals	10,04	13,93	11,78	12,68	21,57
No family	2,48	1,43	2,95	4,86	5,83
Nuclear	65,53	75,41	76,89	66,12	60,13
Extended	13,98	8,61	7,13	10,91	9,41
Multiple	7,56	0,41	1,24	5,29	2,94
Indeterminate	0,41	0,21	0,00	0,13	0,1
Complex	21,54	9,02	8,37	16,2	12,35

Navarra Media Oriental					
	1910	1930	1950	1975	1996
Individuals	9,49	8,19	10,02	10,65	18,18
No family	1,99	2,58	3,58	5,16	5,37
Nuclear	68,25	67,44	68,13	65,46	65,09
Extended	14,18	13,14	11,19	12,7	8,55
Multiple	5,27	8,06	6,71	5,89	2,57
Indeterminate	0,82	0,59	0,36	1,59	0,22
Complex	19,45	21,2	17,9	18,59	11,12

Ribera Estellesa					
	1910	1930	1950	1975	1996
Individuals	11,84	11,28	10,89	11,64	16,4
No family	2,49	1,82	1,78	2,55	2,7
Nuclear	78,66	78,8	80,54	72,66	70,03
Extended	6,07	7,19	6,05	8,69	8,1
Multiple	0,94	0,64	0,64	4,51	2,67
Indeterminate	0	0,27	0,08	0,36	0,09
Complex	7,01	7,83	6,69	13,2	10,77

Ribera Tudelana					
	1910	1930	1950	1975	1996
Individuals	10,49	6,86	7,73	10,82	16,44
No family	1,53	1,56	1,93	2,28	2,52
Nuclear	74,86	78,63	76,97	72,31	70,22
Extended	9,84	10,76	11,11	10,19	8,1
Multiple	2,3	1,71	2,09	4,32	2,53
Indeterminate	0,98	0,47	0,16	0,85	0,19
Complex	12,14	12,47	13,2	14,51	10,63

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