

# Article 2

The effect of ethnicity and economy upon intergenerational coresidence:  
Northern Norway during the last part of nineteenth century.

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## **Northern Coresidence across Generations: Northern Norway during the Last Part of the Nineteenth Century.**

*During the last part of the nineteenth century, Finnmark province and the Northern part of Troms experienced a decline in intergenerational coresidence. This article discusses what impact ethnic affiliation and economic activity had on the living arrangements of the elderly, and what contributed to the change. Logistic regression shows that ethnicity played a role, but its effect disappears after controlling for economic activity. Intergenerational coresidence was positively associated with being a married Sámi male with an occupation in farming or combined fishing and farming. As such a person grew older, he was increasingly likely to live separately from an own adult child. This pattern changed towards the end of nineteenth century. By the close of the century, ethnic differences had disappeared, and headship position, irrespective of marital status, was strongly related to coresidence.*

The prevailing discourse in family history since the early 1970s has downplayed earlier assumptions that industrialization and urbanization diminished intergenerational coresidence, and that support for elderly people diminished with the modernization of society. According to this interpretation, the dominant form of household structure in Western Europe and the United States in preindustrial times was nuclear, and industrialization did not affect the nature of domestic life. Elderly parents supposedly resided in independent households as long as their health permitted, and resided with their adult children only after they became too frail to maintain their own household (Laslett & Wall 1972, Laslett 1977, Hareven 1982 and 1994, Kertzer & Laslett 1995, Alter, Cliggett, & Urbiel 1996, Timothy Guinnane 1996).

Adopting the same methodology that Laslett and his collaborators introduced in the early 1970s, Norwegian scholars have confirmed the dominance of nuclear households in preindustrial times. These scholars have charted “who *lived* with whom” using the Hammel and Laslett categorization scheme, and have made little attempt to address “who *moved* in with whom.”

Moreover, Norwegian parish-level studies suggest that the *allodium* law encouraged a stem-family system, which was especially prevalent in farm communities. In addition to stating that the oldest son would inherit the farm (primogeniture), allodium law described a set of rights that the older generation had upon retirement and the transfer of the farm. After moving out from the main building into a separate *kårhus*, the older generation could claim a part of the farm’s livelihood to secure their old age. Thus, among family historians, the allodium law and the retirement contract accompanying it have been seen as strong evidence for a consistent and culturally homogeneous family system across preindustrial Norway (Dyrvik 1983 and 1993, Sogner 1990 and 2009, Solli 1995 and 2003, Bull 2000, Fure 1986). Although the inheritance practice described above assumes a life change for the older generation, no studies on Norwegian living arrangements have used the older generation as a methodological starting point. The purpose of this article is to begin exploring family systems from the perspective of the elderly.

Preindustrial Norway was *not* culturally homogeneous. Northern Norway consisted, and still consists, of three different ethnic groups: Sámi, Norwegian, and Finnish. Hence, we must ask to what extent, and how consistently, the allodial law was practiced in this part of the country. The lawyer Erik Solem (1877-1949), who worked as the circuit judge in the northernmost province for eight years at the beginning of the twentieth century, described the inheritance system in the Sámi population to be *ultimogeniture*. This means preference was given the youngest child – preferably to a boy – when property was transferred between

generations. The youngest child then provided for his or her parents throughout their lives. The system was said to be practiced among the Nomadic Sámi as well as among the Coastal Sámi population. Studies from other countries show that this system was common in Finno-Ugric populations (Solem 1928:300), thus supporting the theory of an alternative common cultural practice coexisting with the allodial-primogeniture family and inheritance system.

The presence of two different inheritance practices within same geographical area allows us to compare the effect such practices had on living arrangements for a population that shared similar ecological and economic opportunities. In particular, this article examines the effects of ethnicity and economic activity on the intergenerational coresidence in Finnmark province and northern part of Troms province (abbreviation: NTF-area) during the last part of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

### ***Coresidence Characteristics and Theories***

In general, we can distinguish between two competing theories that explain continuity and change in the living arrangements of the elderly from preindustrial times to the modern day: the “Nuclear Reincorporation” theory (Kertzer 1995) and the “Economic Development” theory (Ruggles 2007). The Nuclear Reincorporation theory states that all children ordinarily left home when they married. When the elderly parents became widowed, infirmed or impoverished, they then moved into the household of one of their adult children (Kertzer 1995). This approach is closely related to how Peter Laslett and his collaborators in The Cambridge Group in the early 1970s articulated a new way to understand family living arrangements in the past. With the aid of empirical evidence from British listings of inhabitants, they set forward the hypothesis that “...the present state of evidence forces us to assume that its [the family’s] organization was always and invariably nuclear” (Laslett and Wall 1972: Preface x and 73). Laslett and his colleagues modified this stance soon after, as evidence grew of a more diverse family pattern. Ultimately, their analysis identified four different family systems in existence in preindustrial Europe: (a) northwest; (b) west/central; (c) Mediterranean; and (d) eastern. It was only in the northwest of Europe, and to some extent in western/central Europe, that the nuclear family household system was dominant. The core of this system was the *neolocal rule* denoting that children would establish their own independent households outside their parental home (Laslett 1983a:526, 531-532). In this system, Laslett argued, the nuclear household would always predominate, but it was not the

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<sup>1</sup> Ruggles, S. 2003, 2007 used a similar methodology.

only option. There would always be a lesser number of extended households, since it was not uncommon for widowed people, especially widows, to move into the household of one of their adult children. In addition, newly-married children sometimes stayed in the parental home for a short period while in the process of establishing a new household of their own (Laslett 1983b:92-93).

The Nuclear Reincorporation theory implicitly indicates that independence was sought and encouraged by both generations, as “intimacy from a distance.” Furthermore, the prevalence of independent residence was not influenced by economic, political, social, or cultural changes.

By contrast, the Economic Development theory states that preindustrial living arrangements were characterized by intergenerational coresidence. Initially, both generations were economically dependent on each other. However, growing industrialization and urbanization provided alternative opportunities for the younger generation, mainly by a substantial increase in cash income. This change, in combination with diminishing patriarchal authority, led to the dissolution of coresidence across generations (Ruggles 2007:984-987). The assumption underlying this theory is that intergenerational coresidence was prompted by the economic needs of the children; by contrast, Nuclear Reincorporation theory emphasises the needs of the (frail) elderly to be the critical element motivating intergenerational coresidence (Ibid).

Economic Development theory is influenced by, and reminiscent of, the writings of the French social scientist Frederic Le Play (1806-1882). Le Play argued that preindustrial family systems were formed either as a patriarchal, a stem-, or as an unstable family system, and which system prevailed in a particular area was determined by the rules for property ownership. In a stem-family, only one married child remained with the parents. All other siblings received a dowry and established their own independent households. However, with growing industrialization and urbanization, fewer families had enough property to pass on to the next generation. Consequently, all children left home upon marriage, and the elderly began to reside separately from their children (Silver 1982:261). Although Le Play never mentioned the Sámi nomads specifically, he described the nomadic family system as a patriarchal family system. In this system all married sons remained near their father, who exercised extensive authority over them and their children. Property remained undivided among members of the family group, with the exception of a few household objects (Silver 1982:259).

While Economic Development theory stresses economic change as the major factor causing widespread change in family living arrangements, there is no specific engine of change in Nuclear Reincorporation theory. Rather, the latter theory indirectly states that household formation was *not* influenced by shifts in economic, political, social, or cultural changes, and posits a static preference for independent residence across generations. The two theories also differ sharply on how kinship ties operated in the past. While Economic Development theory emphasizes that coresidence was a pattern of *succeeding generations* (interrupted only by death), Reincorporation theory argues for discontinuous coresidence.<sup>2</sup>

### ***Demographic Characteristics and Constraints when using the Hammel/Laslett Schema***

Le Play, as well as Laslett, put forward the marriage event as the most crucial variable in understanding household composition. Marriage determined the establishment of a household, and in Northwestern Europe this supposedly did not happen until parents were ready to transfer property or the younger generation was otherwise ensured a livelihood of their own. This connection between marriage and household formation generated what has come to be known as the Western European marriage pattern, introduced by Hajnal (1965), with high ages of marriage for both sexes and a high proportion of never-married people. However, a study from Italy (Kertzer 1991:161) suggests that the issue is more complex. In Southern Italy, for example, the neolocal system was the norm, but only in combination with low female age of marriage. In the sharecropping belt of central Italy, people typically coresided in intergenerational households, but with a high female marriage age, similar to that found in Northwestern Europe.

Stem-family systems presume a period with intergenerational coresidence. This period is a direct consequence of one of the children getting married and bringing the spouse back to the parental house – the so-called patri- or matri-local system. Before the child's marriage, however, the family is nuclear, at least for the period between the grandparent's death and the forthcoming marriage. The system therefore assumes that a parent resided with at least one child throughout his or her life. The frequency of with which the elderly resided with an adult child can, therefore, provide evidence of whether coresidence was continuous (as predicted by

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<sup>2</sup> The assumptions that underlines the Nuclear Reincorporation theory, introduced by The Cambridge Group in the early 1970s, have been challenged by several scholars (Hareven 1982, 1994 and 2000, Kertzer 1991, among others), and a more comprehensive discussion concerning this criticism will be presented in the introduction of my dissertation. My point, however, is that no one, except for Luz Berkner (1972 and 1975) denies the numeric dominance of nuclear family households.

Economic Development theory) or discontinuous (as predicted by Nuclear Reincorporation theory).

What should be considered a “high” level of coresidence in a nineteenth-century society? Three scenarios would preclude elderly from being at risk of living with an own child: (1) the elders are never married, and never had children; (2) the elders married, but remained childless; (3) the elders had children who migrated or died. Thus, the frequency of intergenerational coresidence will be affected by factors such as migration patterns and increased opportunities for the younger generation to find work in other places.

The Economic Development theory does not deny that the proportion of nuclear households in historical Northwestern Europe was high. However, Ruggles claims that this observed high percentage of nuclear households was merely a consequence of demographic conditions and constraints (Ruggles from 1987-present). According to Ruggles, the demographic features that characterized the United States and Western Europe before the demographic transition resulted in relatively few households with the potential to include elderly parents. Due to the late age at marriage and no deliberate fertility limitation, generations tended to be long. Furthermore, relatively short life expectancy combined with long generations made the period in which it was theoretically possible for adult children to actually live with their parents rather short.

High fertility, which was common in most European countries until late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, also reduced the potential number of intergenerational households in another way. Since married brothers and sisters seldom resided together, an elderly parent usually lived with only one of their adult children. The other children moved out and established independent nuclear households of their own. This custom, combined with high fertility, short life expectancy and long generations, ensured that intergenerational households would always be in the minority. However, that does not necessarily mean intergenerational households were uncommon and purposely avoided (Ruggles 1987, 1994, 1996, 2003, 2007).

### ***Two regions – three languages***

The NTF-area offers an excellent case study for evaluating whether Economic Development theory or Nuclear Reincorporation theory is more consistent with Northern European family living arrangements, when observed from the perspective of the elderly. As noted above, the area was home to two competing, ethnically-based systems of kinship and inheritance and a fairly homogeneous ecological and economic environment. The NTF-area

covers the two northernmost provinces in Norway, above the Arctic Circle, sharing a national border with Sweden, Finland and Russia.

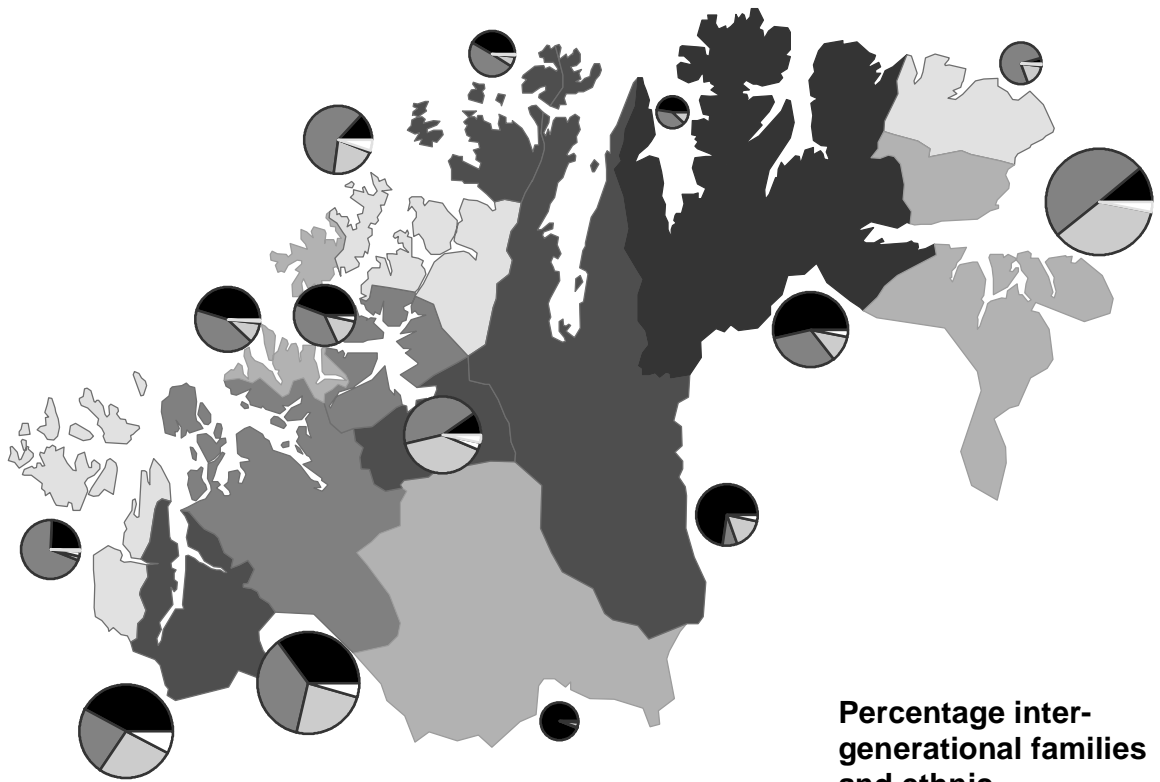
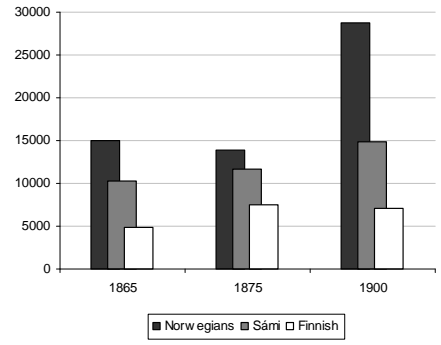
In 1865, the population of the area was around 31000 people.<sup>3</sup> Thirty-five years later, the population had nearly doubled. Over the course of the nineteenth century, people had migrated from other parts of Norway to this northern region, attracted by easy access to land and the possibilities of free admittance to fisheries. Over time, however, people increasingly emigrated to America rather than pursuing internal migration. The main cause for the NTF population growth between 1865 and 1900 was thus a surplus of births over deaths (Drivenes et al. 1994:88-104).

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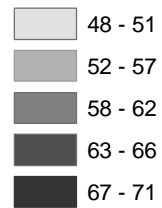
<sup>3</sup> In addition to ethnic distribution, the map (Figure 1) on next page shows percentage of intergenerational families, by municipalities in 1875. It shows that there are no clear correlation between ethnicity and intergenerational coresidence on the municipality level. The upper right diagram displays absolute numbers of inhabitants in the NTF area, according to the 1865, 1875 and 1900 population censuses, by ethnic groups.



# NTF-area 1875



## Percentage inter-generational families and ethnic affiliation



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1:25 000

The NTF population consisted of Sámi, Norwegians, and Finnish immigrants. As discussed later, there are several difficulties connected to census enumeration practices regarding ethnicity, and to the interpretation of recorded ethnic markers. In broad terms, however, it is reasonable to assume that the Sámi population accounted for approximately one third of the population each census year, while the share of the population that was Norwegian increased from 48 percent to 55 percent between 1865 and 1900. While Finnish immigrants also settled in this region, this article will focus only on a comparison between the Norwegians and Sámi, due to their clearcut differences in kinship and inheritance systems.

Describing the economic basis of this area is complicated by the region's landscape, which stretches from the inland rivers to the desolate and rocky mountainsides of the coast. In the coastal fishing villages, fishermen arrived from all parts of the region during spring, summer, and autumn. In addition to seasonal population influxes, these fishing villages also had regular year-round settlements. The main business of these regular settlers lay in the fisheries, but a significant part of their household economy came from farm animals.

The most common household economy was a combination of fishing and farming (Bratrein 1992:217-226). In this system, we find that farming and labor in the local fisheries was structured as a subsistence system, while participating in the seasonal fisheries south of Troms and in Finnmark secured access to goods for market and cash income. Household duties were divided by gender, with women taking care of domestic duties and farming (Balsvik 1991:636-655). A cow, some sheep, and occasionally a goat or a pig provided milk and meat. Among the Sámi, it was not uncommon for women to be in charge of the local fishery while the men were out in the seasonal fishery (Niemi 1983).

We know from previous research that being a farmer or fisherman-farmer in some areas was culturally defined and operated differently between the Sámi and Norwegians (Hansen 2006:56-80). The Sámi population had for generations built up a hunting practice in the region. Tax lists indicate that all kinds of animal skins and meat from reindeer were sold and traded, and Sámi comprised the majority in areas with access to salmon fishing. Still, young Sámi men participated in the seasonal fisheries as well (NOU 1994:7.10-7.14) During January and February, when the sun never rises, fishermen gather for the seasonal fishery south of Troms. During spring and summer this activity shifts to Finnmark. Further inland, people usually settled along rivers or lakes where the landscape is more fertile. The main industries there were salmon fishing, raising farm animals, and herding reindeer. The extent and importance of reindeer herding among the Sámi population is well documented in other publications (Inger Storli 1996, Hansen and Olsen 2004). While raising

farm animals was common among all three ethnic groups, salmon fishing was a primarily Sámi occupation (Solbakk 2007).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, some localities in northern Norway experienced an increase in mining activity, which provided new occupations for many men (Drivenes et al. 1994:285-294). However, there is consensus among historians that the majority of the population did not give up the traditional lifestyle connected to the fisherman-farmer economy. People were used to multiple activities, and work in the mining industry might be included as a part of this (Drivenes et al. 1994:293, Drivenes 1985:153).

### ***Data and Methods***

To assess the association between individual-level characteristics, indicators of economic activity, ethnicity, and trends in intergenerational coresidence, logistic regression has been applied to data from the 1865, 1875 and 1900 Norwegian population censuses. Because these data do not follow each individual from census to census, we do not have sufficient information to develop formal causal models of coresidence. Instead, the goal is to summarize and describe broad trends and differences across ethnic boundaries, using logistic regression to control for variations in basic demographic characteristics and economic activity.

Variables		Count	Mean
<b>Total number of cases</b>		6707	100.0
Census year	1865	1537	22.9
	1875	1885	28.1
	1900	3285	49.0
<b>Individual characteristics</b>			
Present of child	1=yes	3702	55.2
Sex	1=female	3654	54.5
Marital status	1=married	3843	57.3
Age groups	60 to 64	2272	33.9
	64 to 69	1607	24.0
	70 to 74	1399	20.9
	75 to 79	781	11.6
	80+	648	9.7
Ethnicity	Sami	2604	38.8
	Norwegian	2623	39.1
	Kven	1372	20.5
	Mixed	108	1.6
Headship status	Married with headship	3316	49.4
	Married without headship	661	9.9
	Widowed with headship	527	7.9
	Widowed without headship	2203	32.8
<b>Household characteristics</b>			
Economic sector	Agriculture	4456	66.4
	Fishery	1164	17.4
	Secondary and tertiary	1087	16.2
<b>Geographical characteristics</b>			
	Inland	905	13.5

Table 1: Description of dataset. Northern Troms and Finnmark, 1865 to 1900. Sources: Minnesota Population Center. The Norwegian Historical Data Centre, the Digital Archive and the North Atlantic Population Project. Cf [www.rhd.uit.no](http://www.rhd.uit.no) <<http://www.rhd.uit.no/>> ; [digitalarkivet.no](http://digitalarkivet.no); [nappdata.org](http://nappdata.org)

The dataset for this study consists of 6707 elderly individuals aged 60 years or older. Households are considered intergenerational only if the younger family member is aged 18 or older. Basic demographic characteristics such as age, sex and marital status are included to control for the effects of compositional change.

Several scholars have shown that headship can give valuable information about the household formation. In particular, it is reasonable to assume that when the elderly are listed as heads, they did not move in with their children (Ruggles 2007). Thus, for extended family households, headship status is an important indicator of who moved in with whom – which is in turn a strong pointer of which generation is the beneficiary of intergenerational living arrangements. To control for interactions between headship and marriage, a dummy variable has been constructed to express the different combinations of marital status and headship

status. Excluded are all never-married elderly, since they were not at risk of residing with an own child, and dropped households containing an elderly person living with a younger generation member if relationship between these households members were not clearly indicated.

The Norwegian population census microdata used here were extracted from North Atlantic Population Project (NAPP), available from the Minnesota Population Center. The most important advantage of the NAPP data, relative to digitized censuses accessible in Norway, is the availability of consistently constructed family interrelationship variables. These variables identify the location within the household of each individual's spouse, mother, and father, and thus provide essential building blocks for the constructing measures of household and family structure.<sup>4</sup>

For this analysis, however, it was necessary to improve the NAPP family pointer variables, which indicate the line number of each person's co-resident spouse, mother, and father (if present). The accuracy of the NAPP pointers is high for simple conjugal family units. However, if one seeks information on intergenerational coresidence, one must focus on complex family arrangements. For this purpose there are no pointers constructed in households with multiple married couples, nor in households that do not have a married couple (head and spouse) listed as person number one and two in the household unit. This means, for example, that if a widow is enumerated as the first person in the household and given the family relationship code for "parent" (rather than "head" or "spouse"), she will not be identified by the pointer variables as being the mother of her co-resident adult children. To remedy this problem, all households containing a resident with a person number of 1 or 2 who is not given a relationship code of "head" or "spouse" were checked. Next, supplementary pointers variables for households in which either the family relationship code or last name of the elderly person indicated parenthood were constructed. This may bias elderly male coresidence upward relative to elderly female coresidence, since the patronymic custom only applies to children of fathers.

The definition of family relationship in the census instructions was fairly consistent between 1865 and 1900, but there were some potentially important changes. In 1865, there was no separate field for family relationship on the census enumeration form. Instead, this information was to be reported in the same field as was information on occupation. The

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<sup>4</sup> Minnesota Population Center. The Norwegian Historical Data Centre, the Digital Archive and the North Atlantic Population Project. Cf [www.rhd.uit.no](http://www.rhd.uit.no) <<http://www.rhd.uit.no/>> ; [digitalarkivet.no](http://digitalarkivet.no); [nappdata.org](http://nappdata.org).

enumerator was instructed to fill in, “House father (main person), wife, son, daughter, parents, servants or lodgers; everyone's social position or trade.” (Statistics Norway 1868-69). In 1875, the enumeration form provided a separate field for information concerning family relationships; the content and order was the same as in 1865, with the additional instruction that visitors should be listed after lodgers (Statistics Norway 1882). In 1900, on the other hand, several changes occurred. The “parent” category disappeared, and “lodgers” were specified with two different meanings: “lodgers as part of the family household” (those who ate dinner at the same table as the family) and “solitary lodgers” (those who did not) (Statistics Norway 1906). This distinction between the two types of lodgers reflects the difference, in modern English, between “boarders” and “lodgers.” For my purpose, however, it is crucial to ask if the distinction, perhaps not intentionally, also involved a change in reporting practice for the presence of parents in the household. Was it necessary for the census taker to have an explicit category to mark the presence of elderly parents in the household? How often did this change in categories affect the specification of the elderly person’s relationship to head of the household (for example, as “lodgers as part of the family household” rather than “parent” or “parent-in-law”)?

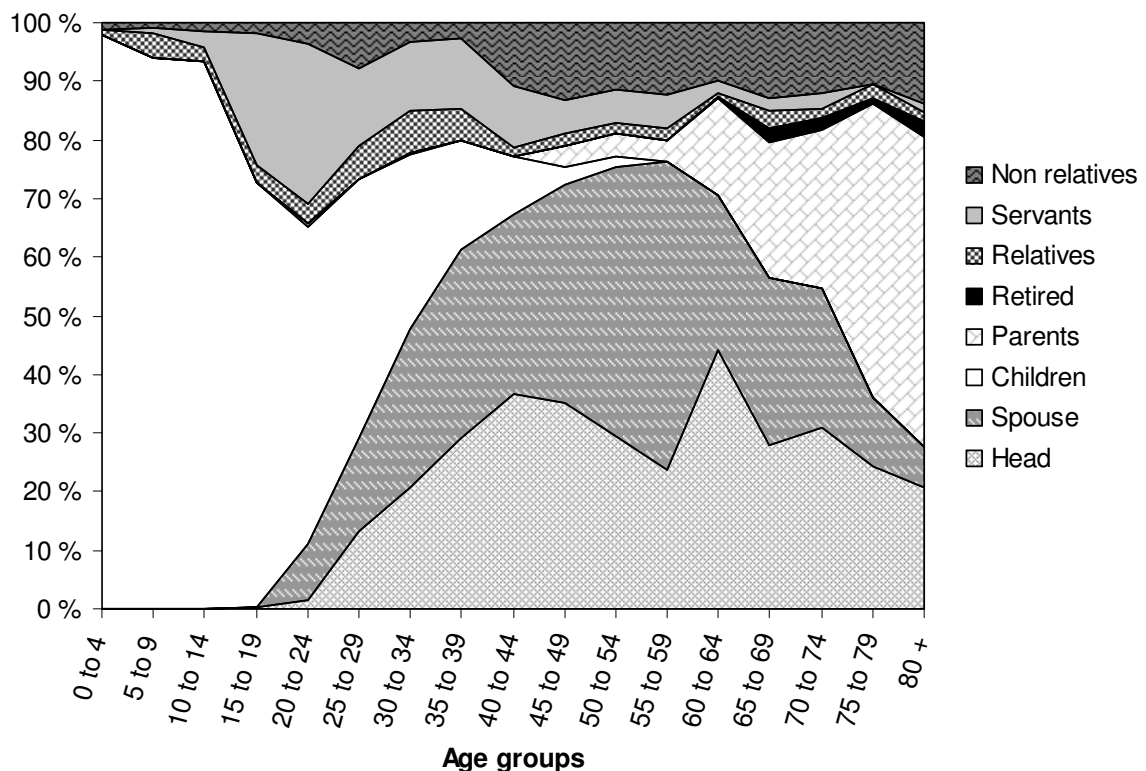




Figure 2: Percentage of household-members relation to head, by age group. Sami households where at least one member is older than 60 years. Northern Troms and Finnmark in 1875 and 1900 respectively. Sources: See table 1.

Figure 2 shows the percentage distribution of household member’s relationship to household head by age groups for the Sámi population in 1875 and 1900. Viewing the cross-section as a synthetic cohort, we clearly see that close to 30 percent of children left the house between the ages of 15 to 19. At age 40, between 50 to 60 percent obtained a headship position. After age 60, the likelihood of being listed as a household head declined. The majority of non-relatives were boarders or lodgers. Comparing the 1875 and 1900 results, we see that the “parents” group declined dramatically above age 60 in 1900, offset by a similar increase in the percentage of boarders. Among the Norwegian families (not shown here), there was a corresponding decline in the reporting of “parents” older than 60 years, of similar magnitude to that shown for the Sámi population. However, for the Norwegians, we do not find an equivalent increase in the group of nonrelatives; instead, there is an increase in the percentage of heads and spouses. The results suggest that elderly Norwegians held their headship position for a longer period in 1900 than in 1875.

For the Sámi population, the evidence from figure 2 may suggest that some parents were enumerated as boarders in 1900, though they would have been enumerated as parent or parent-in-law in earlier years. How could this have happened? The enumerator instructions informed the census taker that “For each house each family household is noted with its number. After the persons belonging to this, the single lodgers are included, and they are marked with an X to signify that they do not belong to the family household. [Boarders] eating dinner at the family table are included in the family household [...]” (Statistics Norway 1906:86). One recent study (Solli 2003:43-45) has shown inconsistent enumeration of X markers in front of solitary lodgers. This suggests that there must have been some general difficulty in defining the lodger term. That this difficulty affected the Sámi population differently than the Norwegian population could be explained by linguistic difficulties, since the enumeration form was available in the Norwegian language only.

Other evidence, however, suggests that the explanation for the increase in elderly boarders in the Sámi population is not quite so simple. If the shift were solely due to a change in reporting the presence of parents in the family household – namely, that they were enumerated as “boarders” rather than “parents” – we would expect to find that this affected family households evenly, with an equal decline by sex of the coresiding child. My analysis suggests that this is not the case. The decline in intergenerational coresidence was strongly associated with a decrease in residing with male children (Jåstad forthcoming).

Every Norwegian census provides information about occupation. As noted, in the 1865 census this information was part of the family relationship field, but was a separate field in 1875 and 1900. Not surprisingly, female labor was largely ignored (Thorvaldsen 2004:41). Another concern is that fishery work was dominated by young men, and thus was strongly correlated with age (Dyrvik 1993:348). To remedy this, a variable that gives each household member the occupation code of the household head was constructed. Next, occupations and households were grouped into three different categories that articulate different ways of utilizing the environment. The first category, fishing households, earned their main income from the sea; the second category, farming households and fishery-farming households, exploited a combination of sea and land resources; the third category, households in the secondary and tertiary sectors, combined industrial and civil service workers. The aim is not to measure the effect of socio-economic status, but rather to apply an ecological perspective. This is done by assuming that the environment allowed for a certain degree of choice in living arrangements, and that household residents chose the alternatives that gave them optimal economic adjustment. Consequently, it is assumed that the household members shared



economic effort, which allows the use of the fishing-farming household term. This term describes the livelihood of the members of a residential unit, in most cases husband and wife, where the husband was the fisherman and the wife was the farmer.

### *Ethnicity*

Ethnicity can be defined theoretically as a social phenomenon characterised by cognition and a desire to define and limit oneself within an ethnic group different from other ethnic groups. Thus, the concept contains both a dynamic and a relative dimension, where cultural characteristics are emphasized, maintained, and changed across space and time (Niemi and Hansen 1999:102-103).

Is it possible to use the ethnic marker given in the different censuses as an expression of ethnic identity, as we understand the concept today? The question raises other questions: How did the census taker define who was to be marked as Sámi and who was recorded as Norwegian or Finnish? Was this based strictly on ancestry, or do we find patterns implying that the census taker followed other criteria, such as “Norwegian, but lives like a Sámi” (as one census taker wrote on an 1865 census form)? Who was the census taker? Did he know the people he visited, or was he an “outsider”?

The term “ethnicity” is not used in the census form; rather, the form refers to nationality or “Nationalitet.” Recent research (Thorvaldsen 2009:3) suggests that this concept is compatible with a German vision of nationalism based on ties of kinship, and differs from the French concept of nationality based on a territorial and political unit. To avoid confusion the term “ethnicity” is used as defined above.

According to the census instructions, ancestry was to define each individual’s ethnicity. This was especially clear in 1875, when parents’ ethnicity was marked with a two-letter code, the first letter indicating the ethnicity of the father, the second indicating that of the mother. However, there are reasons to believe that language may have had an increased effect on how the person’s ethnicity was denoted, especially from 1891 to 1910 (Thorvaldsen 2009:11) As discussed later, the contemporary official policy with regard to ethnic minorities was to assimilate the Sámi and Finns into the Norwegian nation, with the consequence that native language used in school was prohibited. Thus, an enumeration of ethnicity based on cultural criteria was a way to map the progress of the Norwegianization process (Thorvaldsen 2009, Evjen and Hansen 2009: 225-230).

What were the instructions to census takers on recording ethnicity, and did this change during the period of study? The 1865 census instructions say that in districts with mixed

ethnic population, the census takers had to enumerate each person's ethnicity. In addition, they were instructed to report the resident Sámi population and nomadic Sámi population separately, and to report the parents' ethnicity in cases of "mixed heritage."

In 1865 and the 1875 censuses, information about linguistic knowledge – namely, whether the subject understood the Norwegian language – was also collected. While there were no changes in the instructions concerning spoken language between the 1865 and 1875 censuses, the instructions regarding ethnic markers were more complicated. Whether the person was defined as Norwegian (Norsk), Sámi (Lapper), Finnish (Kvæner (Finner)), or a combination of the three, was determined by the ethnicity of the parents. Thus, in these nineteenth-century Norwegian censuses, the ethnic marker for an individual was an expression of the parents' ethnicity, not the individual expression of ethnic affiliation that it means today.

Usually it was the priest, in collaboration with the bailiff, who selected census takers for each ward. The preferred choice to do the enumeration was the local teacher. Some other "respectable man" could also be asked, if the distance was too far for the teacher to travel. Regardless of who performed the enumeration, be it the teacher, "a respectable man," a priest, or a bailiff, it is likely that they were familiar with the different ethnic expressions of the district population. However, Hansen and Meyer (1991:47-56) have shown that the representatives of the authorities (in this context, the priests) differed across local communities in terms of their views on how to enumerate the correct ethnic marker for the parishioners. This conclusion was drawn by comparing the enumeration of ethnicity in population censuses from late nineteenth century with the enumeration of the same individuals in the ministerial records. Several examples reveal that individuals denoted as "mixed" in the ancestry-oriented censuses were enumerated as Sámi in the church books. Indeed, this may be interpreted in a cultural context, where the local community defined the ethnic boundaries (Hansen and Meyer 1991:47-56).

What can we conclude from these inconsistent recordings of ethnicity? First of all, Hansen and Meyer's findings support the common assumption that the ethnic marker had a strong ancestral orientation in the 1875 census. Perhaps more interesting is that the findings suggest that the group most inconsistently categorized was people with mixed ethnic enumeration, whose own ethnic expression could go in any direction. However, I want to add to the discussion put forward by Hansen and Mayer that differences in the recording practices between the two sources, at least compared to the 1875 census, could not be explained solely by the priest knowing his parishioners. Up to 1875, at least, it was the priests who had to

confirm that the census taker from each ward had done their work properly. Moreover, it is reasonable to assume that the teacher or the “respectable man” had the same general knowledge about their fellow community member. Still, we have to ask to what extent the teacher wanted to prove to the authorities that he had succeeded in assimilating the Sámi and Finnish people into Norwegian culture and language. As a consequence of this, there might be a bias towards Norwegian ethnicity in cases of mixed heritage. Nevertheless, the main difference between the recording of ethnicity in church records and ethnic enumeration in the census is that the census taker was not instructed to enumerate the person’s ethnic expression, but rather the ethnicity of his or her parents. An obvious consequence of census enumeration is that it does not identify mixed marriages through the individuals themselves, but through the ethnic marker given to their children.

Indeed, parents have a strong influence on how one defines ethnic identity, but one also has to be aware of the existence of different sets of layers that result in an ethnic marker different from the one given you by your parents. From the late nineteenth century onwards, the effect of the “Norwegianization” process also has to be considered, since its purpose was assimilation of the Sámi and Finnish people into Norwegian culture.

Other variables influencing the definition of ethnic identity include migration, where integration into a new local environment may affect the ethnic expression. This is especially true if one moves into a society with a stronger ethnicity than the place of origin. Marrying a person with a different ethnicity might also result in an ethnic reflection that differs from your community of origin. What these examples have in common is that each exposes the possible flaws of defining the “Nationalitet” of your parents as being equal to ethnic identity as the concept is understood today.

Taking into account that the ethnic markers given may express a mix of ancestral and cultural ethnicity, the following construction has been done in the case of the NTF-area. Twenty-five percent of all the elderly were of unspecified ethnicity in the 1865 census, compared with 0.4 percent in 1875, and 37 percent in 1900. The missing cases are nearly equally distributed by sex, but the widowed were more likely to be missing ethnic markers than were other groups.

In cases where information was missing, children’s ethnic markers were transferred to their parents when parents did not have a marker, and vice versa. If one of the parents was missing information, the marker of the other parent was transferred. As a final check, individuals from the 1865 and 1900 to the 1875 census were linked. Of the 403 reconstructed cases, 84 percent were Norwegians. The majority of Norwegians with missing ethnic markers

confirms previous research, which observed a sharp increase in individuals denoted as Norwegians between 1865 and 1875. The 1875 census, which contains nearly every individual by their ethnicity, was followed by a sharp decline in individuals denoted as Norwegians in the 1900 census (Thorvaldsen 2009). It is therefore reasonable to assume that the majority of people with missing ethnic markers found in the 1865 and 1900 census are Norwegians. To get a full dataset, the remaining missing cases were given an ethnic marker equal to the distribution of those reconstructed, with proportional allocation for sex, marital status and the presence or absence of an own adult child in the household.<sup>5</sup>

***Trends in intergenerational coresidence***

During the last part of the nineteenth century, the NTF area experienced a decline in intergenerational coresidence. From 1865 to 1875, two-thirds of all elderly resided with their own adult child, while in 1900 less than 50 percent did.

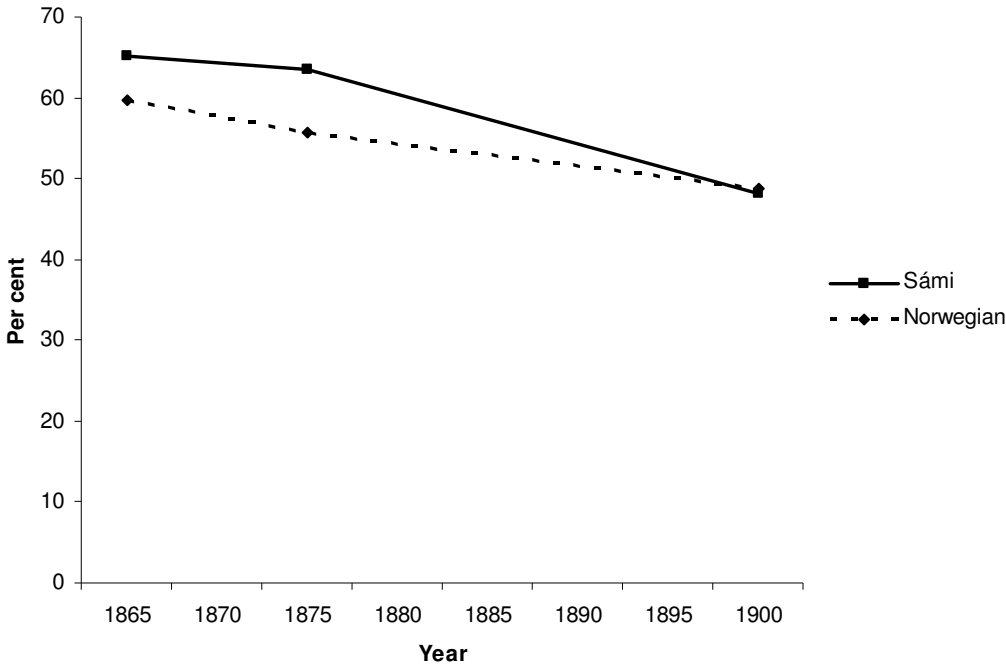


Figure 3: Percentage of elderly residing with own adult child, by ethnicity and year. Northern Troms and Finnmark, 1865 to 1900. Sources: See table 1.

<sup>5</sup> 19 percent of the elderly lacked ethnic marker in 1865 while 12 percent lacked them in 1900. 7 percent of the elderly in each census are given a Sámi marker, with proportional allocation for sex, marital status and presence of own adult child. Different models with and without the 7 percent change for the Sámi population has been tried, and the results are consistent in both models.

Figure 3 shows the trend in intergenerational coresidence by ethnic affiliation. Compared to Norwegians we see that elderly Sámi resided with an own adult child to a higher extent in 1865 and 1875. In 1900, however, the differences had diminished. In addition, whereas intergenerational coresidence was *more* common in 1865 and 1875 for all elderly irrespectively of ethnic affiliation, it was *less* common in 1900. Moreover, between 1865 and 1875 the differences between the Norwegians and Sámi increased slightly, from approximately 5 percent in 1865 to 8 percent in 1875. In 1900, the differences had disappeared. While the Norwegians showed a more consistent decline over time, the main change among the Sámi occurred between 1875 and 1900.

### ***Logistic regression***

Table 2 presents odds ratios from logistic regressions of intergenerational coresidence on the independent variables described in Table 1. Models 1 to 3 show the impact of ethnicity on intergenerational coresidence when controlling for economic activity (model 2) and type of headship (model 2). The general characteristics of elderly persons in intergenerational families in all three models are associated with being male, being married (model 1 and 2) as well as a decrease in coresidence by age. In model 3, we see that when combining marital status and headship status being a widowed head was positively associated with coresidence compared to a married head. Being elderly with no headship was associated with a decrease in intergenerational coresidence, irrespectively of marital status.

	<b>Model 1</b>	<b>Model 2</b>	<b>Model 3</b>
	Elderly reside w/child vs. not reside w/child	Elderly reside w/child vs. not reside w/child	Elderly reside w/child vs. not reside w/child
<b>Census year</b>			
1865	<b>1.79</b>	<b>1.75</b>	<b>1.81</b>
1875	<b>1.57</b>	<b>1.48</b>	<b>1.55</b>
1900	(reference)	(reference)	(reference)
<b>Individual characteristics</b>			
<i>sex</i> (female=1)	<b>0.90</b>	<b>0.87</b>	<b>0.90</b>
<i>Marital status</i> (married=1)	<b>1.36</b>	<b>1.32</b>	
<i>age</i>			
60-64	(reference)	(reference)	(reference)
65-69	<b>0.82</b>	<b>0.81</b>	<b>0.83</b>
70-74	<b>0.74</b>	<b>0.71</b>	<b>0.75</b>
75-79	<b>0.69</b>	<b>0.66</b>	<b>0.73</b>
80+	<b>0.70</b>	<b>0.65</b>	<b>0.75</b>
<i>Ethnicity</i>			
Norwegian	(reference)	(reference)	(reference)
Sami	<b>1.14</b>	1.02	1.05
Kven	1.02	1.00	1.02
Mixed	1.59	1.53	1.59
<i>Headship status</i>			
Married head			(reference)
Married non head			<b>0.48</b>
Widowed head			<b>1.23</b>
Widowed non head			<b>0.55</b>
<b>Household characteristics</b>			
Farming		(reference)	(reference)
Fishery		<b>0.59</b>	<b>0.62</b>
Industry, manufacturing, civil servants, health care		<b>0.58</b>	<b>0.56</b>
Number of cases	6707 (5249)	6707 (5249)	6707 (5249)
bold p<0.05	Pseudo R2 = 0.0245	Pseudo R2 = 0.0350	Pseudo R2 = 0.0490

Table 2: Logistic regression. Northern Troms and Finnmark, 1865, 1875 and 1900. Sources: See table 1.

Model 1 shows the effect of ethnicity, and suggests that ethnicity did play a role. Controlling for demographic characteristics and census year, being Sámi was associated with an increase in the probability of residing with an own adult child compared with being Norwegian.

Model 2 adds a dummy for economic activities. The elderly in fishing households were less likely to reside with an own adult child, with as much as a 41 percent decrease in the likelihood compared with being part of a farmer or fishing-farmer household. The same is seen for the elderly in households associated with secondary or tertiary economy participation.

Introducing economic activity into the model reveals an interesting change when comparing the two different models. The explanatory power that ethnicity gave in the first model disappears when we control for economic activity. One question that needs to be raised is to what degree ethnicity and economic activity predict the same thing. A chi square for independence in contingency table was run to test if they correlated, and the result suggests that they did. Therefore, we cannot actually know if the difference in elderly living arrangements for the Sámi population compared to Norwegians is due to differences in economic activity of the household or due to ethnic differences. On the other hand, an additional model that contains only farmers and fishing-farmers (not shown here) suggests that ethnicity may explain some differences within this subset, thus suggesting that ethnic affiliation should not be ignored. In this model, being an elderly Sámi was associated with an 11 percent increase in residing with an own adult child compared to being an elderly Norwegian.

Controlling for economic activity, ethnicity and demographic characteristics, model 3 suggests that a widowed individual with headship status was more likely to reside with an own child than a married elderly individual obtaining headship position. Subsequently, both married and widowed individuals without headship position were shown to be negatively associated with intergenerational coresidence.

	<b>Model 1</b>	<b>Model 2</b>
	Elderly Sami reside w/child vs. not reside w/child	Elderly Norwegian reside w/child vs. not reside w/child
<b>Census year</b>		
1865	<b>2.17</b>	<b>1.53</b>
1875	<b>1.92</b>	1.23
1900	(reference)	(reference)
<b>Individual characteristics</b>		
sex (female=1)	0.95	<b>0.80</b>
<i>age</i>		
60-64	(reference)	(reference)
65-69	1.00	<b>0.66</b>
70-74	0.87	<b>0.74</b>
75-79	0.77	<b>0.64</b>
80+	0.87	<b>0.69</b>
<i>Headship status</i>		
Married head	(reference)	(reference)
Married non head	<b>0.40</b>	<b>0.51</b>
Widowed head	<b>1.64</b>	0.92
Widowed non head	<b>0.42</b>	<b>0.75</b>
<b>Household characteristics</b>		
Farming	(reference)	(reference)
Fishery	<b>0.62</b>	<b>0.54</b>
Industry, manufacturing, civil servants, health care	<b>0.39</b>	<b>0.71</b>
<b>Geographical characteristics</b>		
Inland	1.17	
Number of cases (cluster by households)	2604 (2075)	2623 (2088)
bold p<0.05	Pseudo R2 = 0.0777	Pseudo R2 = 0.0326

Table 3: Logistic regression, by ethnicity. Northern Troms and Finnmark, 1865, 1875 and 1900. Sources: See table 1.

Table 3 shows the logistic regression for the Sámi and Norwegian populations respectively. If we look at the magnitude of the odds ratios for age groups, we see that among elderly Sámi, increased age seems to have a smaller effect on coresidence than is the case among elderly Norwegians. Recent research (Jåstad forthcoming) shows that age did not have any profound effect on intergenerational coresidence among the Sámi in 1865 and 1875. The negative age-effect we see in this model, where all the census years are pooled, is probably caused by the dramatic decrease in coresidence by age found in the 1900 census.

Also worth mentioning is the stronger effect headship position seemed to have on living arrangements among elderly Sámi compared to among elderly Norwegians. A widowed Sámi with a headship status was far more likely to reside with an own adult child than a married elderly with headship. This was not so among Norwegians. In the Sámi population, being female or male was close to equally associated with intergenerational coresidence, and



this might have contributed to the higher effect headship status had on Sámi coresidence. This means that when the father died, the Sámi widow was far more likely to keep the headship position than a Norwegian widow.

Both Sámi and Norwegian fishing households were associated with a decrease in coresidence. The coresidential difference between farmers and fishermen in the Norwegian population was slightly larger than the same difference in the Sámi population.

The introduction of a geographical variable in the Sámi model is an attempt to measure if there were any differences in elderly living arrangements between the settled Sámi living along the coast and the nomadic Sámi living in the inland at the time the census was taken (Note: Kautokeino, Kistrand, Karasjok and Nesseby are defined as the nomadic municipalities). The results show that being elderly in an inland household was associated with an increase in the likelihood of living with an own adult child compared to elderly Sámi living along the coast.

	<b>Model 1</b>	<b>Model 2</b>	<b>Model 3</b>
	Elderly in 1865 reside w/child vs. not reside w/child	Elderly in 1875 reside w/child vs. not reside w/child	Elderly in 1900 reside w/child vs. not reside w/child
<b>Individual characteristics</b>			
<i>sex</i> (female=1)	0.91	1.07	<b>0.84</b>
<i>age</i>			
60-64	(reference)	(reference)	(reference)
65-69	<b>0.75</b>	0.85	<b>0.80</b>
70-74	<b>0.69</b>	<b>0.71</b>	<b>0.72</b>
75-79	0.92	0.83	<b>0.59</b>
80+	0.68	1.12	<b>0.59</b>
<i>Ethnicity</i>			
Norwegian	(reference)	(reference)	(reference)
Sami	1.11	1.23	0.92
Kven	1.13	1.17	0.92
Mixed	1.19	1.38	<b>2.96</b>
<i>Headship status</i>			
Married head	(reference)	(reference)	(reference)
Married non head	0.76	1.34	<b>0.20</b>
Widowed head	1.08	1.15	1.19
Widowed non head	1.27	1.05	<b>0.23</b>
<b>Household characteristics</b>			
Farming and fisherman-farming	(reference)	(reference)	(reference)
Fishery	<b>0.73</b>	<b>0.61</b>	<b>0.50</b>
Industry, manufacturing, civil servants, health care	<b>0.46</b>	<b>0.55</b>	<b>0.51</b>
Number of cases (cluster by households)	1537 (1220)	1885 (1510)	3285 (2519)
bold p<0.05	Pseudo R2 = 0.0202	Pseudo R2 = 0.0183	Pseudo R2 = 0.1221

Table 4: Logistic regression, by year. Northern Troms and Finnmark, 1865, 1875 and 1900. Sources: See table 1.

Change in intergenerational coresidence over time is one of the key findings of this study. Table 4 shows separate regressions by year, allowing us to identify factors associated with this change. A general characteristic of elderly persons in intergenerational families over time is an increased positive association with widowers obtaining a headship position. Moreover, increased age has an increased negative association over time. For example, being in age group 75 to 79 in 1865 was associated with a decrease in coresidence by 8 percent compared to a magnitude of 41 percent decrease in 1900 for similar age groups.

The impact of headship on coresidence gets more complex when dividing by year. In all three years, being a widowed head was positively associated with coresidence, increasing over time. Elderly that did not have a headship position contribute to the largest change. In 1865 and 1875 nearly all elderly individuals without a position as head were associated with an increase in coresidence compared to those married with a headship. The situation had changed dramatically in 1900. Compared to married heads of household, all elderly without headship were in 1900 associated with a decrease in coresidence with 80 percent.

Being an elderly Sámi in 1865 and 1875 was related to an increase in intergenerational coresidence compared to elderly Norwegians. However, an opposite picture can be drawn in 1900, suggesting that the Sámi elderly played a greater part in the overall decline of coresidence than the Norwegians.

Elderly in fishing households in 1900 were associated with a 50 percent decrease in the likelihood of residing with an own adult child compared to being elderly in a farmer or fishing-farmer household. This tendency increased throughout the century.

### ***Discussion***

Recent research (Jåstad forthcoming) has shown that in households, which included an elderly father, headship was in all three census years thoroughly vested in the older generation. These findings suggests that the majority of elderly who resided with an own adult child remained in their own homes. Either the younger generation never left home, or they moved back to their parental homes after a period of independence. Ruggles (2003 and 2007) has found similar trends in intergenerational coresidence for the mid nineteenth century United States.

In this study we have seen that the decline in intergenerational coresidence happened among the Sámi as well as among the Norwegians. However, the decline was more striking for the Sámi population, as the Sámi were characterized with a higher degree of intergenerational family arrangements in the two earliest periods. Irrespectively of ethnic

affiliation, it was the elderly that did not have a headship position that contributed to the largest change. In 1865 and 1875 nearly all elderly without a position as head were associated with an increase in coresidence compared to those married with a headship. The situation had changed dramatically in 1900. Compared to married heads all elderly without headship were in 1900 associated with a decrease in coresidence by 80 percent.

Further, as mentioned earlier, the decline in intergenerational coresidence was mainly caused by a decline in elderly individuals coresiding with a married male child (Jåstad forthcoming). Our discussion should therefore be focused on two areas: First, the factors that maintained the tendency of the younger generation of adult married males to live with their parents, and second, what factors that might have caused a change in this living arrangement.

It is well known that in a preindustrial economic system, intergenerational living arrangements were beneficial both to the older and to the younger generation. Among farmers and fishing-farmers, two adult generations in the household meant that capacity for labor-intensive work was ensured. The older generation needed their children to continue to operate the farm, and as long as the elderly were in the headship position, they were the owners of the property. Thus, the younger generation was dependent on the older generation.

Conversely, in fishing households, the working crew was often organized across the household boundaries. Young sons went out early to participate in the fishery, and this gave independence in the form of having their own income. In addition to this, the ocean was common ground; you did not inherit access to fish. Fishing restrictions were not implemented until after 1900.

These findings support what has been found in other studies in Norway. Using the Hammel and Laslett categorization system, studies both from southern, western and northern parts of Norway all suggest that occupations connected to owning property (farmers) were associated with an increase in stem-families compared to landless cottars (Solli 1995, Sogner 1978:708, Sogner 1990:36-39, Bull 2000:97-99, Fure 1987:35). The same association is found when comparing farmers and fishing-farmers with fishermen. The fishing household was found to be nuclear and small (Dyrvik 1993:351-355).

It has been argued that laws of inheritance and land transfer had a bearing on the stem-family system in Norway. Sogner (2009:159-161) suggest that the strong influence that laws of inheritance and land transfer had on people's choice of living arrangement met its end during the nineteenth century, when competitive alternatives arose. New possibilities were emigration to America and to Northern Norway, and to new occupation alternatives in the towns (Sogner 2009:161-162).

As mentioned earlier, we have some descriptions from the beginning of the twentieth century suggesting a different inheritance practice among the Sámi population. Instead of transferring the property to the oldest child, the custom among Sámi was to transfer it to the youngest child.

Differences in intergenerational coresidence between the Norwegians and Sámi might therefore be explained by differences in inheritance practice. However, knowing that the explanatory power that ethnicity gave disappeared when we controlled for economic activity, it is reasonable to ask to what degree inheritance practice is a cultural expression, or if it is instead solely determined and defined by ecological conditions and economic niches?

Originally, the allodial law was established to prevent the farm from being divided, to keep the farm within the kinship system and to sustain the value of the farm. However, most farms in the NTF area were small. The farmer, in most cases the housewife, was in charge of collecting fodder for the animals, and due to already limited access to grass, she made fodder by cooking seaweeds and fish waste together. Providing fodder was thus relatively more labor-intensive work in the NTF area compared to the more fertile land farmers had further south. Thus, in most cases there was no point in increasing the size of the farm or increasing the number of farm animals beyond what was sustainable. On the other hand, it is assumed that the allodium law had a strong bearing and one would therefore expect that many Norwegians who settled in the NTF area brought with them the custom of transferring the coastal farm to the oldest child.

Ottar Brox (1964) examined all cases of land transfer from one generation to the next in two small villages in Outer Troms in Northern Norway and explored the inheritance practice in an ecological context. He assumes that individuals choose the alternatives that give optimal economic benefit; this gives a certain range of choices in issues of inheritance. According to Brox, places where salmon fishing was both common and an important addition to the household economy can serve as examples of conditions under which rules of inheritance are associated with economic activity.

The right to fish salmon is tied to the ownership of a landing. Salmon rights, then, are dependent upon the size of one's property and how many nets one are allowed to set out. The total catch will be the same no matter how many participate in the fishing, while the output per man is bound to be reduced because there will be more people among whom the catch is to be divided.

Salmon fishing does not demand men in their prime, as the shore is fairly well protected against bad weather. Men in their late eighties continue to carry out this type of

fishing. The most important thing about salmon as a natural resource is the strictly limited chances of catching the fish. An increase in the number of nets might lead to slightly bigger total catch, but the most significant implication would be a reduction in output per net. This suggests that it would be desirable to avoid a further splitting up of the salmon rights.

Inheritance practice must be considered in context of this fundamental problem.

As a capital asset, salmon rights could not be disposed of independent of kinship relations. A single man without near relatives might rent out his salmon rights. However, if the owner of a salmon right decided to go work in a mine instead of fishing one summer, or even move permanently to another place, he could not claim any payment or rent it out to others.

The ultimogeniture practice, which gave the youngest son the salmon rights, implies that the period in which salmon rights had to support two family units in the household was restricted to a minimum.

In areas with multiple ethnic populations, research has shown that the Norwegian and Sámi populations utilized the resources somewhat differently (NOU 1994:7.1-7-14, Hansen 2006). For the Sámi economy, Hansen sees a multiple approach to the resources needed for the household, where both subsistence and market activities of the household economy were present. But most importantly – unlike Norwegian households, it was not the fishery market that controlled the economic activity; it was whether or not the Sámi household deemed it appropriate and feasible for their own needs (Hansen 2006:5). This was possible through a wide range of resources, combined with a flexible kinship network and an extensive use of both sexes when participating in the fisheries (Ibid: 76-77). This flexible attitude towards economic activities is also displayed in the barter exchange with the Russians through the “Pomor trade”, which lasted from the first decades of the eighteenth century until the First World War. Like the Sámi, the Norwegians also participated in the “Pomor trade”, but studies have revealed that unlike the Sámi the Norwegians professionalised themselves in the seasonal fisheries as well as the production of stockfish for sale to resident Norwegian merchants.

The higher likelihood for intergenerational coresidence found among the nomadic Sámi compared to the settled Sámi may also be interpreted as a consequence of an inheritance system constructed to sustain the ecological and economic conditions expressed through the presence of a *siida* system. A *siida* may be understood as a cooperative arrangement between a number of households within a specific geographical area that stretched from the inland to the coast. Within the *siida*, different households cooperate when herding reindeer, thus

economically benefiting everyone. The siida cooperation has been characterized as having bilateral principles of descent reckoning. A recognition of both the father's and the mother's kin provides rich means for including a wide range of people among those considered relatives. The continuity between generations was upheld in that children continue in their parents siida after marriage (NOU 2001:34). The absence of a patri- or matrilocal system is caused by the ecological and social conditions that determine the place of establishment, such as number of reindeer, parents' position in the siida and sibling solidarity (Ibid). Since economic expectations from both the younger and older generation lay in the reindeer herding, this might have resulted in a limited range of other alternatives for the newly wed, which probably required a higher number of children to stay home with their elder parents. However, already from the mid nineteenth century there is evidence suggesting that traditional reindeer herding was facing a generational change. Older herders complain of the young herders who did not herd the flock in the old intensive way. The boom in the modern commercial fisheries and life in the fishing villages tempted the young herders during the summer season (Niemi 2000:117).

The Norwegianization process had strong consequences for property ownership, especially for those living in Finnmark. In 1848 the Norwegian government proclaimed that the Norwegian king and state were the owners of all land in Finnmark. The reason given was that the area had been settled by nomadic Sámi and that a nomadic lifestyle did not lead to a legitimate claim to land rights. The jurisdictional discourse was clear: the customary law, the people and the written laws were all synonymous with the Norwegian population.

The strategy was to assimilate the Sámi and Finnish people into the Norwegian culture. They were not allowed to speak their own languages. What has been characterized as the colonization of Finnmark culminated with the Land law *jordlova* of 1902 that stated only those who spoke Norwegian language could buy land (NOU 1994). What consequence this had on the Sámi population is difficult to measure. Previous research has suggested that the consequences differed from place to place. However, there can be no doubt that in areas where obstacles were put forward, the Sámi population would have found it more difficult than Norwegians to sustain family and kinship ties when property was restricted only to those who spoke the Norwegian language. At a minimum, it might have increased the probability that the younger generation left their birth place upon marriage and established themselves in areas where they still had access to land. This may contribute to the explanation of the larger decline in intergenerational coresidence that occurred among the Sámi compared to the Norwegians.

The result from the logistic regression (table 2 and table 3) shows that the Sámi population experienced the most dramatic decline in intergenerational coresidence between 1875 and 1900. This was especially true for elderly dependents older than 74 years.<sup>6</sup>

During the period of study, the NTF area experienced a growth in the fisheries with respect to resources, prices and participation. From this it also accumulated population. There is consensus among Norwegian scholars that this development had no significant innovative effect either on the technology or on the organization of the fisheries (Fulsås 1987, Bratrein 1992, Drivenes et al. 1994). In addition, the end of the nineteenth century experienced an increase in mining activity that gave new occupations for a large group of men. However, the majority did not give up the traditional lifestyle connected to the fishing- farmer economy. People were used to multiple economic activities, and working in the industry was a part of this (Drivenes 1985:153). My argument, however, is that the change in intergenerational coresidence not only affected family living arrangements in general, it is also reasonable to assume that this might also have affected the traditional household economy. An elderly individual moving into another household as a lodger may have contributed differently to the household economy than an elderly living with his or her child in the house they, themselves, established.

There were no radical changes in technology neither in fishery nor in farming. On the other hand, we see an increased participation in fisheries, in mining, and in emigration to America. All this may have affected the intergenerational coresidence in all economic sectors. It may also explain that the younger generation in 1900 had more economic options to choose from when they married than did those reported in earlier censuses. The options for the elderly were either to continue living alone in their own established household or to move into other households with people to whom they were not related. Preliminary analysis (Jåstad forthcoming 2010) suggests that it was the last option that was the most common choice in the NTF area in 1900.

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<sup>6</sup> In the introduction, I discussed the changes in the enumeration instruction, and that the omission of “parent” in the relation to headship field might have resulted in a change in the enumeration practice. However, I also asked; if this was true, then why is there only a change in coresidence with married male children? At this point, I cannot leave out the possibility that the decline may have been caused by other factors. However, this requires a longitudinal analysis, which is out of the scope of this article.

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