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Time and Social Structure: a Yugoslav Case Study

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SPECIAL ISSUE:
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Guest Editor: David I. Kertzer

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Kinship and Demography**

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TIME AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE: A YUGOSLAV CASE STUDY*

Joel M. Halpern and Richard A. Wagner**

Abstract: Cyclical and linear time perspectives on family household structures are defined. They are utilized in a case study of the father-son dyad in a central Serbian village over the past 150 years. This relationship is critical to understanding the transitions in the South Slav extended family household, the zadruga. Data are based on oral recall and on vital, tax, and census records. Linear time measures include vital rates such as declining fertility and mortality as well as decreasing household size. Cyclical time measures, which have not varied in the period studied, include age at marriage and age of parent at birth of first child. All these elements are shown to affect the continued existence of extended household structures and condition their alteration from predominantly lateral extension including collateral kin to units of linear form emphasizing relations across three, and even four, generations. Analyzing these temporal processes is seen as a way of understanding the dynamics behind notions of stability and change in social structures.

Introduction

What are the relationships between ideal patterns of traditional household formation and the frequencies of actual experience? How do changing demographic variables affect the nexus of kin relationships experienced over the life cycle? The

purpose of this paper is to examine these social processes within family household structures from the viewpoint of cyclical and linear temporal perspectives by studying the South Slav extended family household, historically known as the zadruga.¹ Our intent is to differentiate between these two types of temporal dynamics and define how their interaction affects social structural process.

A cyclical or linear time approach is, by itself, only a partial means of understanding how social systems alter over time. Cultural ideologies stressing ideal patterns are based in cyclical time, but individual experience must always cope with linear change. In this confrontation lies the utility of our approach, which emphasizes in-

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¹By origin, this is a literary term and not an emic one. Villagers spoke of large and small family households, although more recently it has come into widespread use.

teractions and adaptation, not stability, as a counterpoint to change.

People redefine old ideas in new ways. The manner in which cycles are adjusted provides insights into the values most important to cultural continuity. An objective of this paper is to define how a cultural ideology stressing the extended household, based on cyclical time, has faced the dynamics of modernization.

The data are from a rural community in Serbia (Yugoslavia) and cover the late eighteenth century to the present. Focus is on the period 1832–1975. Given the agnatic ideology dominant in the Balkans, the relationship most critical for the maintenance of the Serbian extended family household is that of father and son. Computerized data sets are utilized, including vital records and a sequence of tax and census lists.²

Cyclical and Linear Time Processes

An initial distinction can be made between recurrent family cycles and the historical (linear) time framework in which they occur. While some social

structural phenomena are perceived to be recurrent, others are clearly not replicable. On a general level the distinction between recurrency and replicability can be conceptualized, but on the empirical level it is difficult to categorize detailed manifestations.

Precise delineations between those phenomena that are cyclical and recurrent and those that are discrete and linear are not easily made. Individuals are born and die, and most mature, but the exact sequence of intervening events clearly is never identical for any two persons. While cyclical can refer to the individual life course and family cycles, both of these are propelled by vital events and related sociocultural dynamics. Cyclical is used here in the sense of a general typology of predictable, sequential events with precisely defined beginning and end points. The ways in which social structural processes linked to different time modes interact provide insights into the dynamics of the individual life course and the transformations of family household structures. Bailey (1983:168), citing Barnes (1971), notes that "with reference to human activity, the notion of different sorts of times, such as linear, circular, reversible directional, cumulative and so on, is really an imprecise way of referring to different sorts of processes." While acknowledging these varying points of view which a brief article cannot analyze at length we would assert that the concep-

²Fieldwork was carried out in central Serbia between 1953 and 1978. Data were obtained from the Serbian State Archives, the Serbian Statistical Office, the Federal Statistical Office of Yugoslavia, and the Orašac Village Council with the cooperation of the Arandjelovac County administration. All work was undertaken officially as a participant in Yugoslav-American scientific exchange programs. Research results have been reported in lectures and publication series of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and the Institute of Social Sciences, in Belgrade.

Approximately three dozen computerized files have been compiled containing demographic, social, and economic data. Birth, marriage, and death records are for 1870–1975. Official census records exist for 1863, 1884, 1948, 1953, and 1961 along with village registers for 1928, 1966, and 1975. Eight nineteenth-century tax lists between 1815 and 1859 have information on village males, three have birth dates. Other files contain agricultural and landholding data, economic information, and lists of migrants.

The National Science Foundation supported a portion of the fieldwork and data analysis under a series of grants, most recently in 1982–1983. Research in Orašac in 1953–1954, and in 1961–1962, 1966, 1970–1971, 1975, and 1978 was conducted under the sponsorship of the National Institute of Health and in 1975 and 1978 under the auspices of the National Academy of Sciences exchange program with the Serbian Academy of Sciences. A review of pertinent publications on Serbian kinship is given in Halpern 1982, and Halpern and Kideckel, 1983.

tualization of time modes and their associated processes does have heuristic value in understanding the dynamics of kinship and related household structures.

It is now a quarter-century since Fortes published his *Introduction to the volume on the Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups* (1958). He spoke then of biological determinants: the life span of the individual and the replacement of each generation by the next as moderated through the processes of birth and death. He noted the need of each generation to rear a successor to reproductive maturity, the replacement process being crucial because of the limitation in the life span. Fortes saw the cyclical development of the domestic group as analogous to the growth and subsequent death of a living organism, i.e. a sequence of changes which are experienced and result in the eventual dissolution of the original unit and its replacement by another.

Boundaries marking the life course have a chameleonlike quality. Although processes of birth and death are unalterable certainties, kinship processes exist only within a culturally defined societal

context. The interaction of biological and sociocultural processes is played out within the shifting social structures participated in by an individual during the life course. Cultural ideologies about the behavioral manifestations of dyadic ties, family, household, and kin networks stressing cyclical time perspectives constantly encounter the achieved realities which are the consequence of linear time changes.

Anthropological description and analyses conventionally have focused on the functioning of kinship ideologies in cyclical time, especially if the society considered is distant from our own in either time or space. European ethnologists have, in a sense, been the curators of societal myths about social structures (Hofer, 1970). These myths fulfill important societal functions since the vision of a stable achieved past can help society to face an uncertain future. Social values crystallized in mythic form are among the factors which influence decisions concerning the sequencing of cyclical time processes.

For South Slavs, the myth of the tradi-

FIGURE 1. LINEAR AND CYCLICAL TIME.

tional stable *zadruga* was associated with a moral behavioral complex against which subsequent change has been evaluated. As with an analogous populist ideology associated with the collectivity of the Russian village *mir*, it provided a distinctive culture complex to differentiate Slavs from the presumed decadent West which, it was inferred, had tended toward transcultural homogeneity in response to the pressures of modernization (Halpern and Brode, 1967:56-57).

In articulating our theme, Figure 1 provides a visual illustration of the distinctions between linear and cyclical time. Pure cyclical time can be envisioned as a closed circle, existing perpendicular to a line representing linear time, extended infinitely. A beginning and end point on the cycle can nonetheless be chosen with reference to biological and cultural processes: the start of a new year, a ritual cycle, a new season, a new life. Unmodified linear time can be thought of as a straight line of indefinite length. Each event is unique and fits into an unalterable linear order. The resultant interaction produces the helix which we describe as social process. While the precise shape of the helix may vary, the underlying pattern remains intact. But no life cycle is a perfectly closed circle, just as social change in linear time is never simply a straight line in the sense that all pertinent events are without precedent.³

It is characteristic of the value distinctions between these time processes that it

is much easier to define linear time in negative terms and cyclical time in positive ones. Linear time has no fixed terminus, although for analytical purposes arbitrary beginning and end points are routinely established. It can be projected back into the past but it is not readily predictable from past events. From a cultural perspective, linear time occurs in a secular rather than sacred context.

An entry point for viewing these matters is provided in Eliade's *The Sacred and Profane* (1959) which presents distinctions between attitudes toward time, for example, between religious and nonreligious persons, wherein the former reject living exclusively in the historical present or linear time.⁴ His circular time approximates our concept of cyclical time, and his reference to religious man can be related to the peasant society which forms our data base.

Seen in the context of an arbitrarily defined point of departure, linear time can be viewed as always in the process of by-passing any chronologically fixed cultural setting. This view of linear time may be balanced by an alternative perspective which conceives of change as experiential accumulation, as reflected in the cumulative aspect of culture, especially with respect to the technical order. In this latter sense, linear time is still without

³Many researchers have employed similar concepts of time, albeit for different purposes. For instance, the contrast between two types of time is most prevalent in the study of religion and ritual. Eliade (1959) drew the now classic distinction between sacred and profane time, concepts closely akin to our ideas about cyclical and linear time. Jensen employed the concept of primal time and refers to "an historical attitude toward time spans" among primitive peoples (1963:287). Closer to our interests, Hareven (1982) distinguishes between family and in-

dustrial time. Another alternative and antecedent to the ideas about cycles expressed here are family or life cycle approaches (see Glick, 1947, 1955; Glick and Parke, 1965; Hareven, 1974; Lansing and Kish, 1957; and Loomis and Hamilton, 1936).

⁴"Religious man lives in two kinds of time, of which the more important, sacred time, appears under the paradoxical aspect of circular time, reversible and recoverable, a sort of eternal mythical present that is periodically reintegrated by means of rites. This attitude in regard to time suffices to distinguish religious from nonreligious man; the former refuses to live solely in what, in modern terms, is called the historical present (1959:70)."

fixed terminus, has no precedent, and is not readily anticipated. Links between past and future exist, but their relationship is neither implicit nor readily predictable.

This type of time is normally measured as interval or ratio data. Quantitatively it has equidistant units of measurement as in minutes, hours, days, years, and other derivative units. Since, in reality, it is continuous, these divisions are arbitrary blocks. In this sense, linear time is a construct that is given meaning through varying cultural interpretations, while the units of measurements remain objectifiable and cross-culturally valid.

Cyclical time events are recurrent and thus predictable. Sacred observances engage cyclical time and are related to the natural world as represented in daily and seasonal activities. From a general perspective the life course is cyclical in that it involves events that are biologically and socially repetitive and have continuity even though each individual cycle has a degree of uniqueness. Ritual observances associated with birth, marriage, and death are sacred time markers in the life course. Since the past is replicated, it is replenished or reaffirmed by such rites. Cyclical time has precedent, is recurrent, sanctioned by these rites which act to ensure a sacred context which sanctions change while simultaneously relating to replicable biological processes. Idealized futures always contain cyclical elements involving replication of the past, as in the cultural elements associated with the anticipated stages of the life course. Events in linear time need a cyclical time referent to make them intelligible.

Cyclical time is ordinal. It is qualitative and therefore asymmetrical in that categories may be ranked, but they are not measured in equidistant units. For example, one summer is not equal to one spring. Cyclical time is also discrete in

that cycles have definable beginnings and endings. Some cycles are measured by comparison to other cycles which have come to be equated with linear time. The measuring of the life cycle in years defines this cycle by comparison to solar cycles. It is no mere coincidence that the earliest measures of linear time are related to lunar and solar cycles, with the latter still a basis for our standards. While the two time frames share an objectifiable system of measurement, their processual paths and cultural consequences remain conceptually discrete. But it is the constant interaction of the two which provides the full dimension of the human experience.

Cycles can also be seen as specific measures of linear time, as in a specific type of change observed over a lifetime and encapsulated in a biography. Thus specific observable cycles encompass non-cyclical, nonrepetitive events in keeping with the idiosyncratic nature of individual experience and, because of this uniqueness, always have a degree of unpredictability. An example is sociocultural change in linear time, which increases the extent to which individual life course and household cycles do not fit ideological expectations. The perception of these events as discontinuities is, in turn, a product of cultural values grounded in cyclical time experience. Value complexes composing kinship ideologies tend to be modified at a slower rate than ideas about technological and related economic phenomena occurring in linear time since ideologies concerning social structure derive their credibility from repetition, not innovation. There is a focus of conservatism in cyclical concepts which only slowly assimilates ideas based in linear time.

Any ideological system attempts to make sense of both time dimensions in that there are always attempts to deal with unanticipated events, but the relative emphasis on particular time dimensions

varies among cultures. Contemporary American culture is strongly oriented toward linear time while the peasant society considered in this paper tends to emphasize cyclical time, with many indications that overall cultural differences are decreasing along with increasing emphases on linear time perspectives.

Before the onset of the industrial and scientific revolutions, most developments were replications of previous experience and linked with cyclical time dynamics. The experiences of parents were pertinent to the challenges faced by their children. Now accelerated change in linear time has resulted in a process whereby cycles are no longer repetitive in the same ways which marked the premodern period. For instance, the amount of linear transformation within the individual life cycle has increased dramatically over the last century. While greater longevity theoretically has made possible the expansion of the socio-cultural roles of the ascendant generations, the peripheralization of the elderly derives from a reversal in the intergenerational flow of culturally valuable information. The grandparent is no longer a primary source of needed knowledge; rather, there is increased dependence of the elderly on new sources of information which require interpretation by their juniors.

In *Family Time and Industrial Time* (1982), Hareven is concerned with factory workers. Her use of "family time" and "historical time" is different from our concepts of cyclical and linear time in that focus is on levels of interaction based on the size and characteristics of socio-cultural units.⁵ Thus the actions of in-

dividuals in different family roles and the ways in which family structure changes over time are distinguished from the functions of industrial organizations and their production schedules within the capitalistic system. But overall, "family time" does relate to Eliade's "circular time" and Hareven's "historical time" seems to be similar to his use of "the historical present." From our perspective, Hareven is concerned with the ways in which these different levels of timing "synchronize" or interact.

Serbian Case Study

To begin our analysis of the Southeast European data it is necessary to establish a point in linear time against which subsequent change can be measured. The prototypical *zadruga* structure on which populist ideology is based is that of the mid-nineteenth century. The first list for which we have adequate data for analysis, but only for village males (name, birth-date, relationship to household head), is the tax list of 1832/33, compiled on the model of the recently departed Turkish administration (*tefter aracki*). The first complete population census is for 1863; it also provides comprehensive socio-economic data by household.

The usual point of departure for describing the *zadruga* household cycle is a structure of three generations headed by the married father with his married sons and their children. This has represented the maximal ideal. Such structures had the potential to grow even larger with the accretion of collateral and adopted kin and, more rarely, a fourth generation. At the same time, it was recognized that as

⁵"Family time designates the timing of such life-course events as marriage, the birth of a child, a young adult's departure from the home, and the transition of individuals into different family roles, as the family moves through life. 'Individual time' and 'family time' are closely synchronized, because

most individual life transitions are interrelated with collective family transitions . . . Family time and individual time are affected by 'historical time'—the overall social, economic, and cultural changes in the larger society" (Hareven, 1982:7).

male grandchildren came of age there would be a natural fissioning into constituent nuclear households which would again repeat the cycle and develop into *zadruga*-type extended family households. These ideal prototypes have provided a pattern against which to assess the standards to measure change used by both participants in the society and earlier researchers.

According to conventional social science wisdom, the *zadruga* "decayed" or "died." The biological analogy of an institution to a living organism is explicit and implies a discontinuous change rather than a metamorphic reorientation. With twentieth-century modernization, the *zadruga* structure presumably was replaced by a contemporary pattern of nuclear family households in both rural and urban areas. Sicard, a prolific writer on the subject, reports that in a 1972 visit to Yugoslavia he found "that the *zadruga* had not yet died out" (1976:263). While the author's reference was to a formal institution with legal status still, the inference of the impending death and presumed disappearance of a social system is apparent. Other authors have emphasized that household change in linear time represents a process of continuous adaptation and not abrupt termination symbolized by decay and death (e.g., Halpern and Anderson, 1970; Hamel, 1972, 1975).

The discrepancy between these two points of view is related to the different time dimensions on which they focus. The first states that statistical alterations in household measures (e.g., size) represent discontinuities because of the lack of fit between ideological expectation and the prevailing social structural reality. On the other hand, the second viewpoint emphasizes a degree of ideological continuity despite structural change. The first perspective sees an opposition between

phenomena in two time frames. It is inferred that a coherent cyclical orientation has been succeeded by a period of linear dominance with cyclical process restricted to the level of the nuclear family. The second view assumes that cycles continue to operate and stresses process and adaptation which implies a continuous interaction of developments within the two time dimensions.

Ideological expectations based on a close-ended cyclical time perspective (see Figure 1) envisage structures based on optimal conditions that are only infrequently achieved. Thus the ideal *zadruga* structure was predicated on fertile marriages producing several sons who survived to marry and father sons. Historically, it was high mortality rather than low fertility which produced the discrepancy between ideology and achieved reality. Today, rather than the premature death of potential role participants, it is reduced birth rates and migration which have resulted in roles not being fulfilled because of the lack of individuals present in the village.

In explaining our concepts dealing with time frameworks and social change we shall do three things in analyzing the case study materials. First, measures of overall community and regional change will be presented. Second, data on how cycles have altered will be considered. Finally, we will conclude with thoughts about the interaction of the two types of measures and their implications.

Linear time components for this village are reflected in the patterns of population growth and the associated measures of average household size (Table 1). The earliest recorded data on Orašac are Austrian reconnaissance records from 1784 which note 15 households and an inn (Halpern, 1967:12; see also Arsenijevic, 1898:394). There is an uninterrupted pattern of population growth from 1784 to 1961 followed by a decline so that the

TABLE 1. THE POPULATION OF ORAŠAC, 1784-1975.

Year	Number of Households	Population	Average Household Size
1784	15	...	...
1804	30	...	...
1824	57	494	8.7
1832/33	69	608	8.8
1844	100	833	8.3
1863	131	1083	8.3
1884	188	1327	7.1
1928	333	1552	4.7
1948	416	1992	4.8
1961	450	2015	4.5
1975	392	1590	4.1

SOURCES: Halpern, 1981:61; Records of the Orašac Village Clerk; the Serbian State Archives, as amended.

NOTES: Total population for 1928 is believed to be underestimated. Totals for 1824 and 1832/33 were obtained by using taxable heads and a conversion ratio of 2.6 for the general population. The conversion ratio was suggested by *Prilozi Statističkom Izucavanju Prvog Srpskog Ustanka (1804-1813)*, Prikaz 14, Zavod za Statistiku, N. R. Srbije, Belgrade, 1955.

estimated 1975 population approximates that of a half-century earlier. Decline after 1961 reflects large-scale emigration and lower fertility. Consistent population growth is also evident for Serbia as a whole, except for a decline between 1910 and 1921 which reflects the consequences of war and epidemics. The total population of Serbia grew from 603,500 in 1804 to 5,250,000 in 1971 (Halpern, 1981: 61-64). The average household size also follows a consistent pattern with size decreasing from a high of 8.8 in 1832/33 to 4.1 by 1975 (Table 1). Only 15 percent of this decline has taken place over the past half-century. Significantly, the largest proportional change occurred in the half-century between 1884 and 1928 prior to regional industrialization.

Aggregate demographic measures, while reflecting a composite of individual life cycles, do exist in linear time. From this perspective the crude birth rate for the community, based on three-year averages, points out a trend toward lower fertility, declining from 42.1 in 1874 to less than 10 in 1971 (Wagner, 1982:49). This depicts a marked decrease even though the latter figure represents a

degree of underregistration. The general fertility rate (also based on three-year averages) decreased from 184.6 in 1884 to 35.4 in 1966. Both these trends are reflected in similar declines for Serbia as a whole (Wagner, 1982:49-50). At the same time, death rates were also declining. The crude death rate within the village fell from 33 per 1,000 in 1874 to 13.4 in 1931, and 9.1 in 1975 (see also Halpern, 1981:70).

Accompanying the linear time phenomena of declining birth and death rates has been a related shift in the age structure of the population. The percentage of the village population over age 40 has increased from 14 percent in 1863 to 52 percent in 1975 (Wagner, 1982:51). This can be explained partly by increased life expectancy, but also important has been significant outmigration of the youth in the postwar period. Declining fertility and increased migration during the last three decades have resulted in a severe reduction in the average number of male children per household (Table 2), from 2.5 in 1863 to 1.9 in 1884 and .8 in 1928; by 1975 it was but .5, a fivefold decrease in a little over a century.

TABLE 2. MALE CHILDREN 18 YEARS OR UNDER PER HOUSEHOLD.*

Year	Number of Households	Number of Male Children under 18	Average Number per Household
1832/33	69	115	1.7
1863	131	321	2.5
1884	188	356	1.9
1928	333	280	.8
1948	416	292	.7
1961	450	303	.7
1975	392	177	.5

*This category includes all male children and is not restricted to any kin category.

SOURCES: Records of the Orašac Village Clerk and the Serbian State Archives.

Another associated linear time development, not subject to short-term reversal as is possible with vital rates, is ecological transformation. In less than two centuries of settlement, the region in which this village is located was transformed from dense oak forest to open cultivated fields interspersed with occasional wooded areas. Most of the latter are small, fast-growing stands of acacia which are regularly harvested for firewood. (The name of the region, Sumadija, or woodland, testifies to its former status.) There have also been associated changes in subsistence patterns. These involved a shift from the earlier pasturing of pigs on forest acorns to transforming forest land into areas for grain cultivation and orchards. Alterations in land use patterns correlate with the growing population density. Far from being unique, these linear time trends of deforestation form part of a well-described worldwide pattern.

The shift from herding to farming had implications for the *zadruga* structure and the father-son dyad. *Zadruga* organization in Serbia developed from tribal lineage structures in the Dinaric uplands from whence the population of Orašac originated. There, herding formed the base of the economy. The social pattern was well adapted to the initial phase of pioneering settlement, but once the forest

disappeared (and subsequently the dual economy with approximately equal emphasis on herding and farming), there was pressure on household units with multiple sons. They could remain effective production units as extended households only by acquiring more land, lowering their living standards, or sending sons to seek employment elsewhere. All of these options, in addition to abortion to restrict fertility, were utilized during the nineteenth and the first part of the twentieth centuries.

The significance of the changes in the father-son dyad needs to be seen within this broader context. There has been great stability over a long period in certain aspects of the timing of family formation cycles. Mean age at marriage for women has varied, without direction, from a high of 22.2 (1910-1919) to a low of 19.8 (1890-1899) over the period 1870 to 1975. For 1970 to 1975 the average was 20.4. There is a similar consistency for the age of men. Mean age at first marriage for men was 24.6 in the 1870s, 23.3 in the 1920s, and 24.1 in the 1970s.

Another consistency in cyclical timing is the average age of fathers at the birth of their first sons (Table 3). As is the case with age at marriage, there is little directional variation for the sample of fathers born between 1760 and 1949. Average age ranged from a high of 28.0 for those born

TABLE 3. AGE OF FATHERS AT BIRTH OF THE FIRST SON, 1760-1949.*

Father's Decade of Birth	Number of Fathers	Average Age at Birth of First Son
1760-1829	12	25.2
1830-1859	26	28.0
1860-1869	34	27.5
1870-1879	41	25.4
1880-1889	58	26.3
1890-1899	29	27.8
1900-1909	61	24.3
1910-1919	43	25.9
1920-1929	53	25.2
1930-1939	43	25.1
1940-1949	17	24.8

*These numbers represent reported data. Many infants who died are not reported.

SOURCES: Records of the Orašac Village Clerk and the Serbian State Archives.

1830-1859 to a low of 24.3 for 1900-1909. Stability in age at marriage for men (who are frequently still coresident with their fathers when they marry) and birth of the first son have important ramifications for the timing of family formation cycles. Despite declining fertility, this consistency in average age at the birth of the first son represents the continued importance of bearing sons as couples endeavor to produce male heirs. Having children has continued to serve as a mark of adult status

and no attempt is normally made to defer initial births.

In discussing the mean number of male children per household and the mean age of fathers at birth of their first sons, we are, of course, focusing on statistical averages of life cycle phenomena and not addressing variation in the qualitative nature of dyadic ties. Despite a prevailing ideology valuing sons, there have always been households without sons. In 1863, 15 percent of all households had no sons, rising to 38 percent in 1975 (Table 4). This table is not an absolute indicator of childless couples as such but represents a relationship to the household head. Therefore, this is not a measure of sterile marriages since we are not taking into account couples who produced only daughters. Aggregate percentages do not control for the age of the household head, a significant variable in the frequency of coresident sons. A better understanding may be gained from examining the age-specific data. Increasingly, older household heads find themselves without coresident sons, providing a measure of the proportion of households where the relationship essential to the formation of an extended, agnatically based household is absent. Table 4 also indicates (using data on household size in Table 1, and the number

TABLE 4. PERCENTAGE OF ORAŠANI HOUSEHOLDS WITHOUT RESIDENT SONS.

Age of Household Head	Year						
	1832/33	1863	1884	1928	1948	1961	1975
10-19	100.0	100.0	....	100.0	0.0	....	....
20-29	50.0	29.4	36.4	55.3	54.8	63.6	80.0
30-39	0.0	15.6	24.0	41.5	37.2	21.6	27.6
40-49	0.0	8.3	11.9	32.9	12.0	23.6	29.9
50-59	0.0	4.0	17.9	22.4	40.7	26.3	36.6
60-69	0.0	0.0	31.6	28.9	32.2	48.7	39.2
70-79	0.0	0.0	42.9	25.0	29.2	39.5	44.8
80-89	0.0	....	0.0	100.0	0.0	62.5	50.0
90+	....	....	....	....	....	....	50.0
All ages	18.8	14.7	22.8	37.6	30.5	34.3	37.7

SOURCES: Records of the Orašac Village Clerk and the Serbian State Archives.

TABLE 5. PERCENTAGE OF ORAŠANI HOUSEHOLDS WITH ONE SON.

Age of Household Head	Year						
	1832/33	1863	1884	1928	1948	1961	1975
10-19	0.0	0.0	....	0.0	100.0	....	....
20-29	40.0	41.2	45.5	27.7	41.9	30.3	0.0
30-39	40.0	37.5	26.0	34.0	41.9	56.8	55.2
40-49	23.1	11.1	19.0	36.8	54.0	47.3	57.1
50-59	15.4	32.0	12.8	48.3	37.0	58.5	52.1
60-69	33.3	16.7	5.3	47.4	50.8	46.1	53.2
70-79	0.0	100.0	28.6	58.3	62.5	52.6	46.8
80-89	0.0	....	100.0	0.0	100.0	37.5	41.7
90+	....	....	....	....	....	....	50.0
All ages	27.5	27.1	22.2	38.0	47.8	51.0	52.9

SOURCES: Records of the Orašac Village Clerk and the Serbian State Archives.

NOTE: For number of households see Table 1.

of male children per household in Table 2) that the past half-century (1928-1975) has been one of relative stability when contrasted to the rapid change between 1863 and 1928.

In sum, comparing the data in Tables 4 through 6, we can see a reversal of patterns over a specific period of linear time. Households with two or more sons (measured by relationship to the household head in Table 6) were the most common form in 1832/33 (53.6 percent) and 1863 (58 percent) but were only a minor fraction (9 percent) by 1975. Those with one son (Table 5) increased from about a quarter (27.5 percent in 1832/33 and 27.1

percent in 1863) to more than half of all households by 1975 (52.9 percent). Judging by the data from these two tables, the mid-nineteenth century appears to have been a time of stability in household cycles. However, as new land became scarcer in the latter part of the nineteenth century, some change was already evident (22.8 percent households without sons in 1884, compared to 14.7 percent in 1863). Viewed in a cumulative perspective this has meant that the mean number of sons per household has declined consistently over time, from 2.0 in 1863 to .7 in 1975 (Table 7).

In considering the life course and the

TABLE 6. PERCENTAGE OF ORAŠANI HOUSEHOLDS WITH TWO OR MORE SONS.

Age of Household Head	Year						
	1832/33	1863	1884	1928	1948	1961	1975
10-19	0.0	0.0	....	0.0	0.0	....	....
20-29	10.0	29.4	18.2	17.0	3.2	6.1	20.0
30-39	30.0	46.9	50.0	24.5	20.9	21.6	17.2
40-49	76.9	80.6	69.0	30.3	34.0	29.1	13.0
50-59	84.6	64.0	69.2	29.3	22.2	15.3	11.3
60-69	66.7	83.3	63.2	23.7	16.9	5.3	7.6
70-79	100.0	0.0	28.6	16.7	8.3	7.9	1.5
80-89	100.0	....	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.3
90+	....	....	....	....	....	....	0.0
All ages	53.6	58.1	55.0	24.4	21.7	14.7	9.4

SOURCES: Records of the Orašac Village Clerk and the Serbian State Archives.

TABLE 7. MEAN NUMBER OF SONS PER HOUSEHOLD.

Age of Household Head	Year						
	1832/33	1863	1884	1928	1948	1961	1975
10-19	0.0	0.0	....	0.0	1.0	....	....
20-29	.6	1.1	.9	.6	.5	.4	.4
30-39	1.1	1.6	1.5	.9	.9	1.0	.9
40-49	2.5	2.5	2.2	1.1	1.3	1.1	.8
50-59	3.1	2.3	2.0	1.1	.9	.9	.7
60-69	2.8	2.8	1.6	1.0	.9	.6	.7
70-79	2.5	1.0	1.1	.9	.8	.7	.6
80-89	6.0	....	1.0	0.0	1.0	.4	.6
90+	....	....	....	....	....	....	.5
All ages	1.9	2.0	1.7	.9	1.0	.8	.7

SOURCES: Records of the Orašac Village Clerk and the Serbian State Archives.

household cycle we need to be aware of both quantitative measures indicating experiences shared by a majority of the population as well as patterns of variation. From the viewpoint of the individual life course, what emerges is not a single traditional pattern but a variety of experiences, some of which were more prevalent than others but none of which was preeminent.

It is therefore necessary to put together the possibilities outlined in Tables 4 through 6 with the actual achieved forms of household composition when other kin are included. The comparisons between 1863 and 1975 are again dramatic. While there was only one solitary household in 1863 (.8 percent), there were 9.2 percent in this category by 1975; the population in the meantime approximately doubled. Similarly, the number of married couples living alone without children increased from 1.5 percent of all households to 12.5 percent over the same period. The prototypical joint fraternal zadruga accounted for 18.3 percent of all households in 1863 but had disappeared entirely by 1975.

Today the most common household form is the stem family, in which only one married son with children remains at home. Its rise to prominence did not occur suddenly. Its emergence has been a

logical consequence of adjustment of a cyclical pattern to transformations in linear time. The stem household type constituted 36.8 percent of all households in 1975, but they contained more than half of the village population. These changes in household composition have meant an increasing mean age of "sons" as a kin category in relationship to the household head (Table 8). The same table can also be interpreted with the age of the son representing the mean length of intrahousehold father-son ties. Importantly, the transition depicted is one from that of a father to young dependent son (average age in the nineteenth century is 12-13), to one of father to adult son (21-28 over the last three decades).

TABLE 8. MEAN AGE OF SONS WITHIN HOUSEHOLDS.

Year	Total Number of Sons	Average Age of Sons
1832/33	139	12.6
1863	257	12.3
1884	319	13.0
1928	288	17.8
1948	354	21.2
1961	344	21.2
1975	255	28.0

SOURCES: Records of the Orašac Village Clerk and the Serbian State Archives.

The increasing frequency of the stem family household, although partially a product of lower fertility, can also be correlated with the increasing longevity of fathers. Historically, fathers would often be dead by the time adult, or even adolescent, sons now leave the household. The length of father-son ties averaged about 25 years for cohorts of fathers born between 1800 and 1879, but beginning with fathers born in 1880 we see a significant number of ties lasting more than 50 years. In the type of society examined here, with patrilocal residence predominant, it is important that the length of tie recorded coincided with the period of coresidence, which was lifelong. Infant deaths, especially in the earlier periods, were an important factor restricting the duration of these father-son ties.

In terms of longevity, only 15 people were age 70 or older in 1884 whereas there were 187 such individuals by 1975. The more than twelvefold increase is correlated with approximately 25 percent population growth. At the same time a major decrease occurred in the 10 and under age group. But in absolute numbers, the decline in this youngest group was only about 20 percent over the last century (Halpern, 1981:66). Therefore, one source of change in household structure can be seen as occurring not because of variations in the internal markers of the cycle, such as age at marriage, but rather as the result of extending the end point of relationships through increased longevity. Some internal markers have, of course, also altered as with the decline in multiple births. Thus one can see these two factors equated from a quantitative point of view but differentiated from a qualitative perspective. Father-son contact years would be the same in a nineteenth-century case, with two sons maintaining a household tie with their father for 20 years each, as compared to a 40-year rela-

tionship with a single son in the twentieth century.

A closely related development is growth in the number of three- and four-generation households. There were no four-generation households in 1863. Such households first appear in 1928 (4.2 percent) and had increased to 8.4 percent of all households by 1975. These figures clearly illustrate that new dimensions have been added to the life course and family household cycles aside from their lengthening. Specifically, as an outgrowth of the extended period of father-son ties, there is now increased time to interact with grandchildren plus an increased possibility of experiencing a relationship with great-grandchildren within the stem family household. These new types of relationships which linear time developments have made possible derive from cyclical time-based ideological role models in historic (linear) time, yet it is in present time (a point at which linear and cyclical time processes interact) when they are occurring with greater frequency. As part of this development, the interaction results in a modification of the cycle (the shape of the helix in Figure 1) and certain basic ties have become less binding or have ceased to exist, as is the case with the fraternal bond.

A graphic way to consider the alterations in father-son and related agnatic ties is provided in Figure 2. If male relationships are pictured as a three-dimensional matrix, the box thereby formed encloses the densest cluster of relationships. The shape of the box varies with demographic and social change in linear time but the three dimensions reflect the altering parameters in which cycles operate.

Changes in the length and nature of the father-son dyad have inevitably affected its parameters. The z-axis extends from two to three and even to four generations as grandparents and even great-grand-

FIGURE 2. MALE DYADIC RELATIONSHIPS IN THREE DIMENSIONS.

NOTE: The x-axis is a qualitative measure expressing the increasing geographic distance over which relationships may operate.

parents become more numerous. The y-axis of collateral male agnatic kin decisively narrows as brothers and nephews are no longer in the same household. The spatial or geographic x-axis expands almost to infinity as sons who remain active in household affairs go off to work in towns or even in foreign countries. In essence, the tie between a father and his son(s) has been transformed from a delimited intrahousehold agro-economic tie dominated by the father's control over land to one with more numerous possibilities as sons begin to bring home wages from outside the village community.⁶

Conclusions

Conceiving of the coexistence and interaction of linear and cyclical time processes is a way of approaching the dynamics behind notions of stability and change in social structures. In a brief article it is not possible to explore these trends in great detail. However, data have been presented to suggest that certain cyclical elements have ceased to function. This is the case with those cycles that included the fraternal zadruga as part of their developmental sequences. New elements have been developed and others elaborated. This has been particularly so with reference to the stem family and to the increasingly common four-generation household. Other types of family development are now limited to linear time and are terminal from the village perspective. This applies to cases where the children have been part of the rural exodus, with their parents remaining alone in the village. By looking at change from both

temporal perspectives, change is neither simply discontinuous nor are the continued occurrences of cyclical events adequately described as ideological conservatism. Instead, aggregate change represents alteration in the relative frequency of different cyclical possibilities. Traditional anthropological emphasis on measures of central tendency or descriptions of ideal patterns as contrasted with empirical experiences obscures this realization.

The continued viability of the father-son tie does reflect the endurance of kinship ideology. This ideology is evident with respect to age at marriage and at birth of first sons. Large numbers of co-resident sons do not appear to be so ideologically crucial despite commonly accepted ideas about the zadruga.

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⁶For a detailed case study of the household transformations experienced by an individual over eight decades and the reactions of family members to these changes, see Halpern and Kerewsky-Halpern, 1972:39-42; other case histories are in Halpern, 1967.

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