

The Role of Formal and Informal Institutions in the Development of Illegitimacy Rates in South-Western Germany

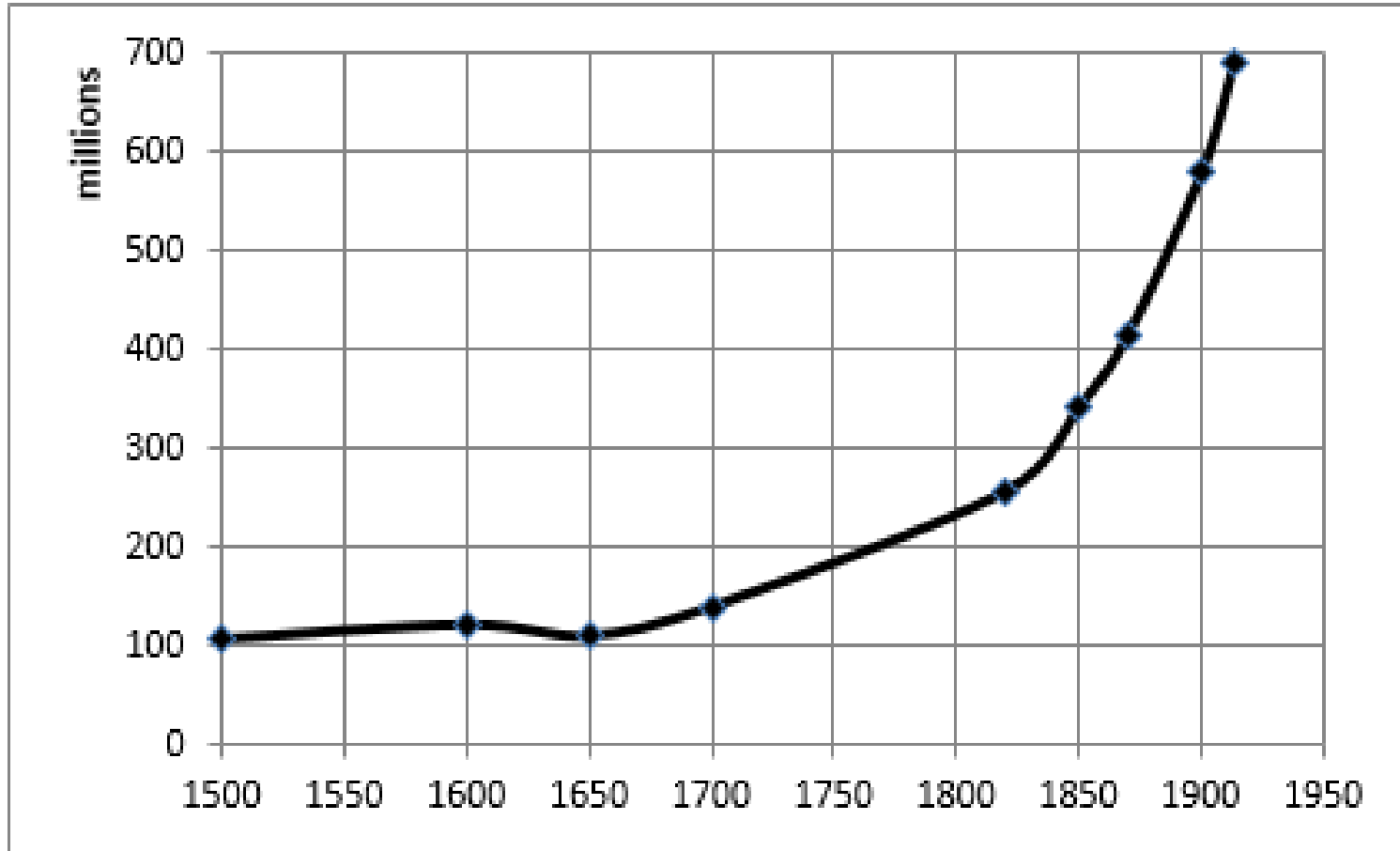
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Overview

- Motivation
 - Demographic change and illegitimacy
 - Research approaches
 - Illegitimacy's impact on economy
- The Research Area
 - Grand Duchy
 - Markgräflerland
 - Anterior Austria
- Institutions in the Area
- Findings & Conclusion

Demographic Change and Illegitimacy



Demographic Development in Europe 1500-1950.

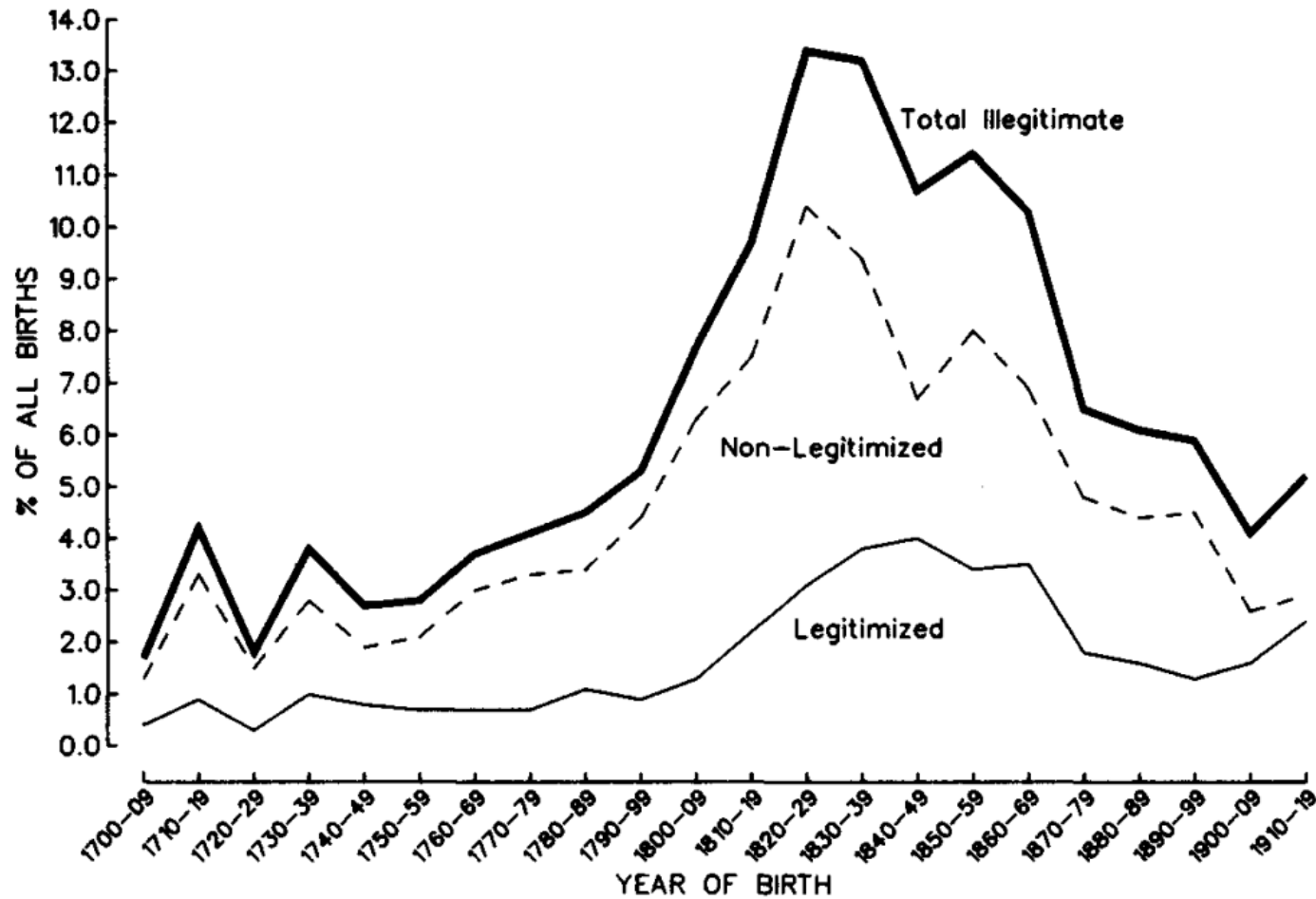
Quoted in: Zinkina, Julia; Korotayev, Andrey; Aleshkovskii, Ivan: The Demographic Transition in the First World: The Nineteenth Century, in: Globalistics and Globalization Studies Global Evolution, Historical Globalistics and Globalization Studies, p.185

Demographic Change and Illegitimacy

- Demographic changes in mid 18th to mid 19th
- More children survived and people grow older

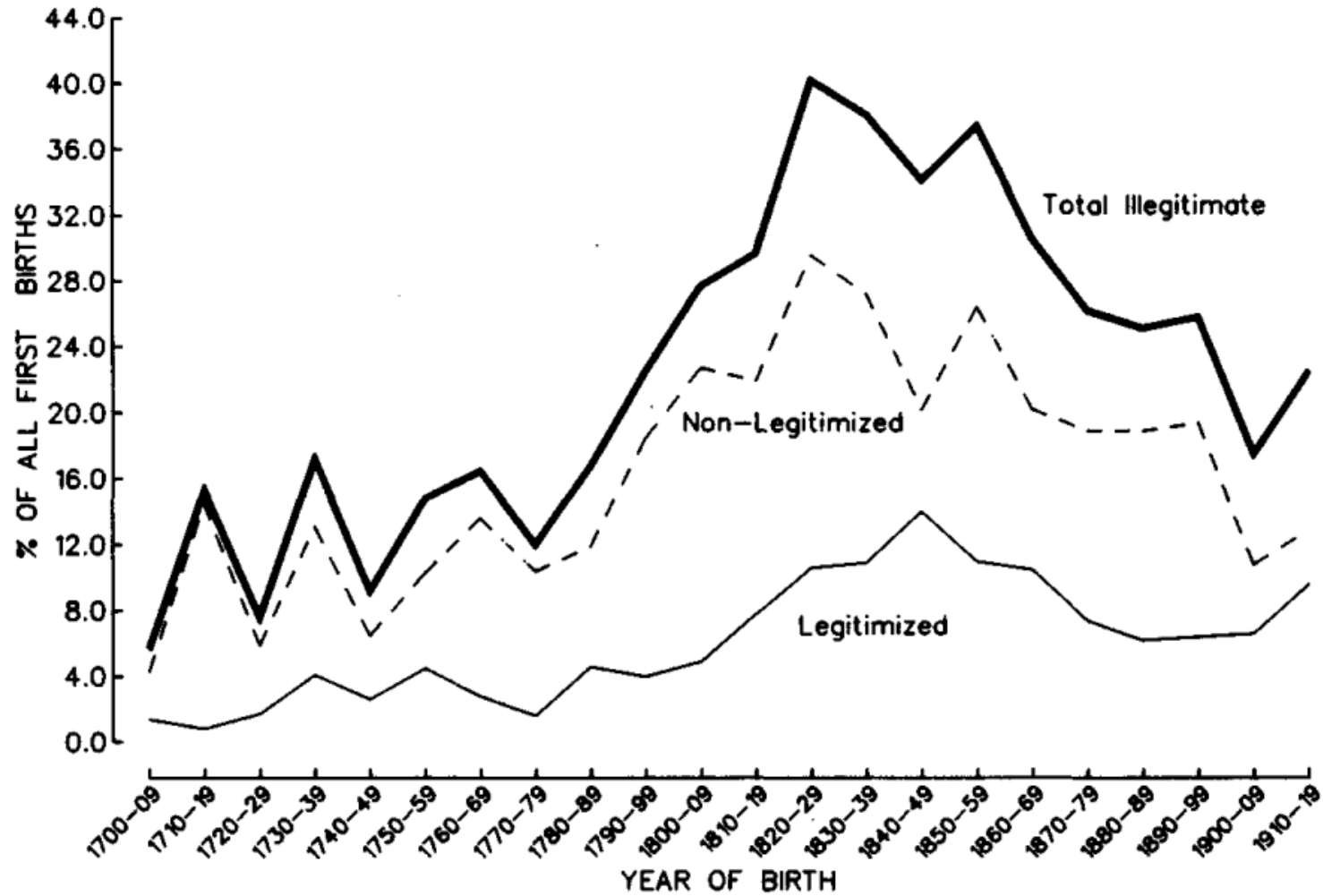
Demographic Change and Illegitimacy

- Landless and low-income groups grow in numbers
- Fear of exploding costs of poor relief
- Political control on marriage
 - Introduced in Bavaria
 - Württemberg
 - **Baden**



Number of illegitimate births among all births in 14 German villages, 1700-1920.

Source: Knodel, Demographic Behavior in the Past, p.193



Number of illegitimate births among **first** births in 14 German villages, 1700-1920.

Source: Knodel, Demographic Behavior in the Past, p.193

Illegitimacy Matters

- Part of the population growth shifted from legitimate fertility to illegitimate fertility.
 - In Baden, over 50% of the prevented legitimate births were made up for with illegitimate births. (Knodel, Law, p. 410-411)
 - Data suggests: political control on marriage was not successful
- Why did it fail?**

No Clear Answer in Research

- Research remains on the descriptive side
- Social and cultural history: regional and micro studies
- Lack of comparative studies
- **Unused opportunity: Neo-institutional economics**

Why is Illegitimacy interesting for Neo-institutional Economics?

- Most neo-institutional research concerned with economic growth
- Demographic change as a co-factor of economic growth
- Treat illegitimacy as a side note
- **Presumably**, illegitimacy made up only a small part of demographic growth

Economic Impact

- Far from accurate: illegitimacy rates of up to 60% in Black Forest (Heunisch, Kinder 1840, 25-27)
- **Large impact on economy**
 - **Access to guilds limited to legitimate birth**
 - **Semi-legal work as craftsmen creates insecurity&conflict**
 - **Consequences for customers**

Research Area

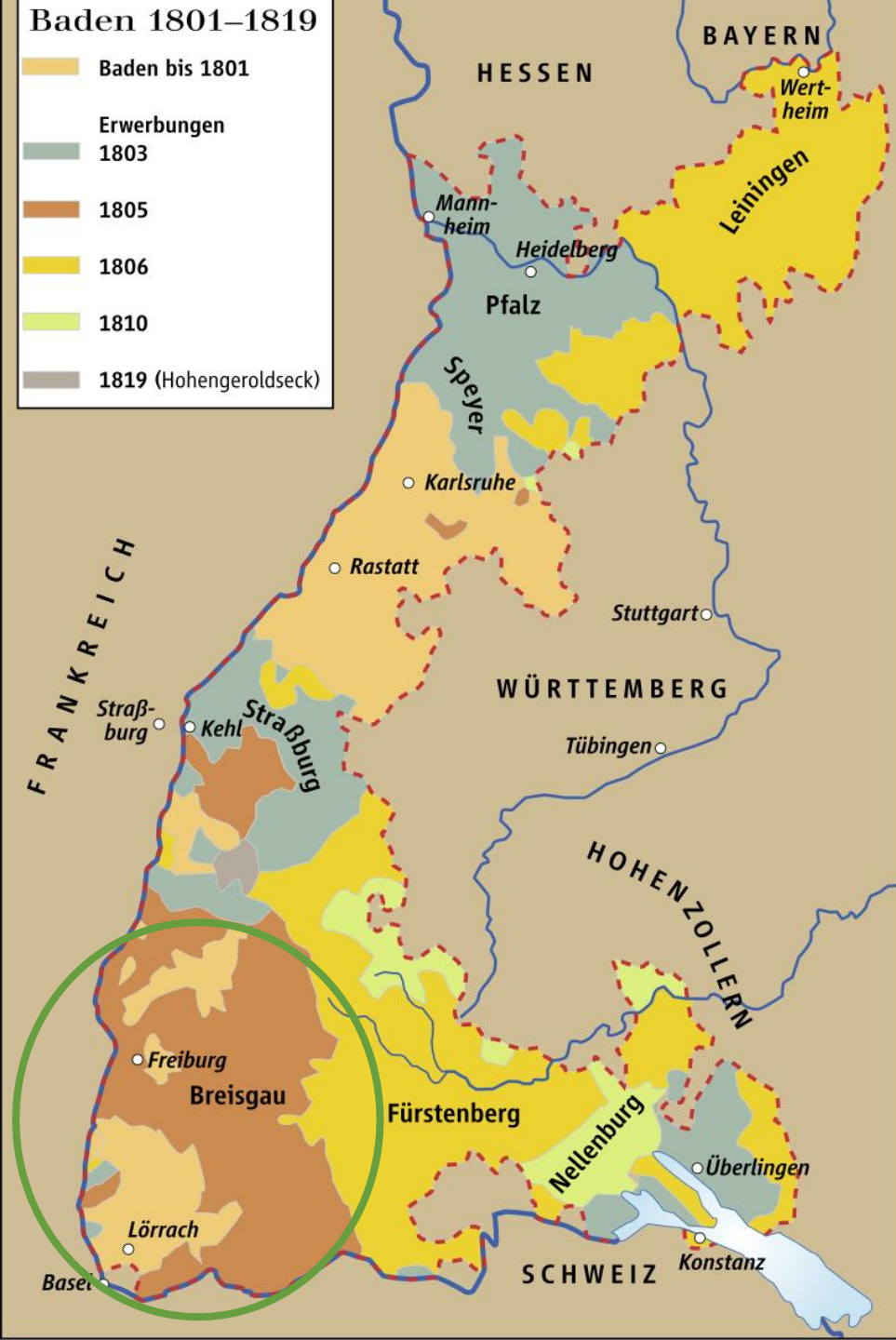
Grand Duchy of Baden



Source:

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Baden_in_the_German_Reich_\(1871\).svg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Baden_in_the_German_Reich_(1871).svg)

accessed 28.10.21



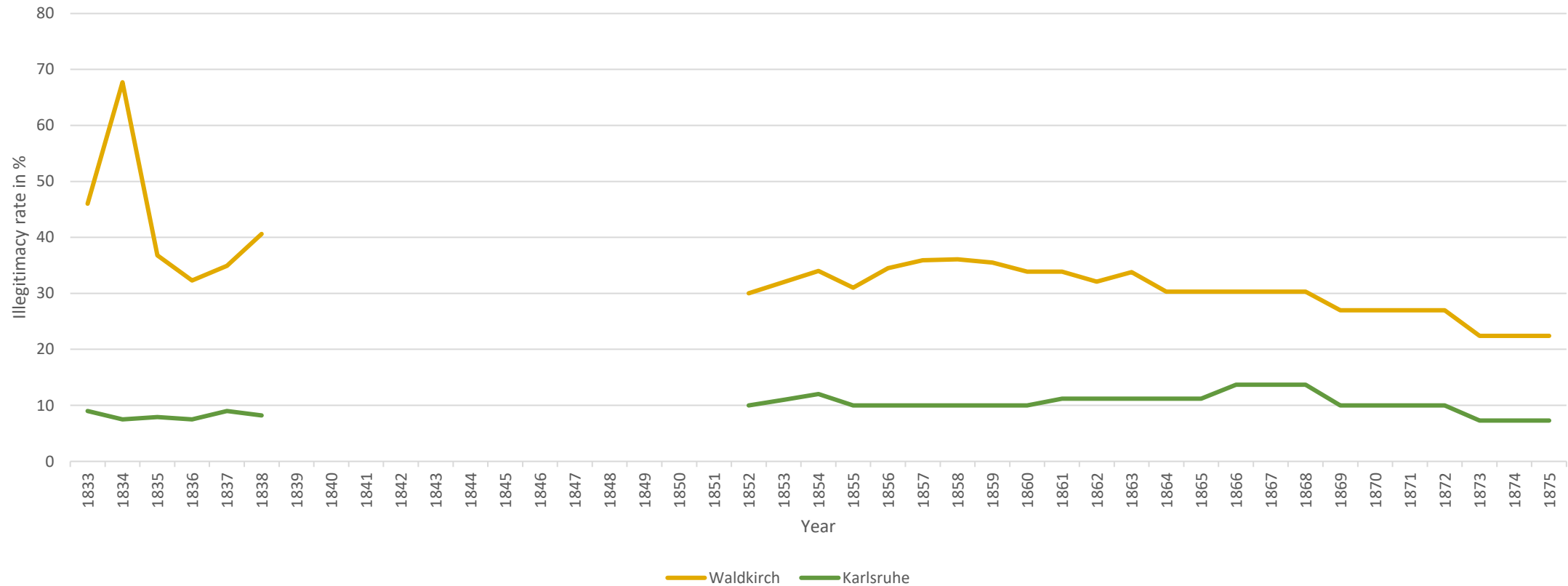
Unification of Baden

- Anterior Austria (brown) becomes part of Baden in 1805
- Margravine provinces like the Markgräflerland (beige) remain seat of capital

Source: kgberger <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Baden.svg> accessed 28.10.21

Different Rates in Margravine and Austrian Territories

Illegitimacy rate in Baden



Illegitimacy in the Grand Duchy of Baden during the 19th century.

Numbers from: Adam Heunisch: Die natürlichen Kinder im Großherzogtum Baden, Karlsruhe 1840 p. 25-6. Auguste Lange: Die unehelichen Geburten in Baden, Karlsruhe 1912 p. 24-31. and Matz: Pauperismus und Bevölkerung, Karlsruhe 1979, p. 246.

Observation in Grand Duchy

- Unification brings unity of formal institutions:
Law, administration, state
 - But provinces maintain old informal and semi-formal institutions
 - Those differ vastly in Anterior Austria and Markgräflerland
- **Allows comparative examination of different institutions' influence on demographic behaviour**

Observation in Grand Duchy

- illegitimacy rates high in places with permissive informal and semi-formal institutions: **former Anterior Austria**
- low in places with informal and semi-formal institutions that were restrictive and punishing towards illegitimate parenthood: **former Markgräflerland**

Hypothesis

- Regional differences in institutional structure surviving from Unification era responsible for difference in demographic behaviour
- Informal institutions had more power than formal institutions in matters of demographic behaviour

→ Challenges current consensus:

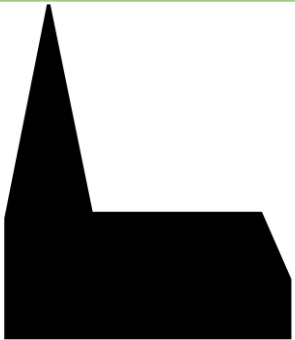
Formal Institutions are usually believed to be more powerful than informal

Who Controls Demographic Behavior?



State

- Marriage Law
- Citizenship Law
- Poor Law
- Village Visitation



Church

- Religious teaching
- Church vice court
- Wedding ceremony (until 1805)
- Wedding records



Community

- Village vice court
- Social interactions
- Bastard-prone subsociety

Formal

Informal

Markgräflerland

- Powerful semi formal-institutions
- Organisations that enforce rules
- Main tool: Vice courts
- Path dependency enforces behavior after unification

Markgräflerland

- Entanglement between state and church
 - Tight control and surveillance through semi-formal institutions
 - Poor-relief given by communities
- **high interest in controlling access to poor-relief& number of poors**
- High population density & equal partition
- **high interest in controlling access and distribution of land**

An Example of Social Control



Results: Markgräflerland

- Increase in surveillance by the early 18th century
- Main tools vice courts: Utilisation of church and community for state's purposes
 - „Church prevents bad things from happening
state sanctions bad things once they happened“**
- High degree of cooperation in village society

Anterior Austria

- Centralism causes weakness of local organisations
- Lack of semi-formal institutions
- Lack of organisations that enforce rules
- Counter-culture against state (?)



Anterior Austria

- Catholicism prevents instrumentalisation of the church for ruler's purposes
 - **Power-struggle between state and church, state wins**
 - Lack of semi-formal institutions
 - Poor-relief through alms & state-owned workhouses: generates profit
 - Examined exclaves densely populated (unlike Black Forest)
- **Little interest in controlling population's behaviour**

Grand Duchy of Baden

- Secularisation: De-tanglement of state and church
 - Vice courts loose power
- Freedom of marriage
- Criticism: this leads to irresponsible marriages among the poor
- **Fear of Malthusian Trap**

How can we still control demographic behaviour?

Now also in Anterior Austria!

And without vice courts!

Political Control on Marriage

- New way to control demographic behaviour
 - Citizenship needed to gain access to poor relief and marriage
 - Most efficient way to restrict number of poor: restricting the access to citizenship
- Alternative to vice courts?

Political Control on Marriage

- Marriage bound on ownership of a community citizenship
- Buy-in fees paid to gain access to community
- Through high fees, communities sought ways to prevent young and poor from becoming community citizens

Buy-in Fees: The Example of Haltingen

	Haltingen native	Badenians	Foreigners		
Men	43fl 50 xr	44 fl	88 fl		
		22 fl if marrying a women from Haltingen	44 fl if marrying a woman from Haltingen		
			600 fl if no intention to marry		
Women	Proof of sufficient wealth if not marrying a man from Haltingen	150 fl to marry a man from Haltingen	300 fl to marry a man from Haltingen		

Findings in the Grand Duchy

- Over 50% of prevented legitimate births transform into illegitimate
- Lack of social security for illegitimate children
- Economic drawbacks & costs for state
- **Especially places with little social control through informal/semi-formal institutions were affected**

→ Anterior Austria

Findings in Grand Duchy

- Anterior Austria lacked self-enforced social control of the community
- Markgräflerland strictly controlled demographic behaviour
- Difference in illegitimacy rates under political control on marriage
because of **different levels of social control in both regions**

Conclusion

- Without a cooperating population, formal institutions prove useless
- Cooperation can be created through indoctrination and subsequent Path Dependency
- **Path Dependency achieved through use of semi-formal institutions**
- **Informal and semi-formal institutions are more powerful than formal ones**

Who Controlled Demographic Behaviour?

The Community



Thank you for your
attention!



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Images

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