

The influence of values in age at first marriage and marital fertility: an analysis in rural Spain at micro level (1880-2009)

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Abstract.

This paper analyzing the way some group values and individual values affected age at first marriage (both of men and women) and marital fertility during the First and Second Demographic Transition. For that purpose, three statistical regressions from microdata of individuals have been realized in nine rural localities of Aragon. Analyzed values are political environment at local level (in terms of electoral results of the polarized 1936 and 1982 elections), political tendency of individuals (political participation), religious values (church assistance) and family values (demographic transmission of behavior). Results show a change of tendency, from the predominance of group values to individual's, and prove that conservative environments fostered an older age at first marriage and a higher fertility.

Keywords.

Values, Demographic Transition, Second Demographic Transition, Politics, Familiar Transmission, Religion.

1. INTRODUCTION

Fertility Transition can be defined as the movement from a high fertility situation to a new stage of low fertility. Transformation that, in most occidental countries, was produced at the end of the nineteenth century and during the first decades of the twentieth. Nevertheless, though we usually analyze this variation in a group setting (whether at a local, provincial, national or international level), this change was only possible since the moment spouses began to act to control their fertility. However, not all spouses obtained same results since all of them did not act with the same intensity. The intensity of the measures relies on the desired fertility which is linked to the values of the spouses. The target of this paper is to increase our knowledge about the influence of individual values in demographic behavior (both in age at first marriage and marital fertility) during the First and Second Demographic Transition. For this purpose, we will approach some group and individual values at a political, religious and familiar level thanks to the different variables that will be used as a proxy.

The analysis is linked to the microdata related to a specific geographic context: aragonese rural environment around the Ebro Valley, and to a specific temporal context: individuals born between 1880 and 1969 (who will be forty years old, which will be used as a necessary limit regarding marital fertility, between 1930 and 2009). Hence this is an analysis linked to a space and time but this will help us to deepen in the relation between group and individual values and demographic behavior.

The main contribution of this paper is linked to the availability of data at individual level, which will allow us to test the influence of values and the interaction between them jointly over a same sample population. The understanding of individual categories of individuals will enable the deepening in other factors as socioeconomic status or educational level. The availability of a set of data about these values on an individual level confirms the exceptional nature of the analysis in the long run.

Our initial hypothesis is that political, religious and family values have had a big impact in the demographic behavior of individuals, conditioning their age at first marriage and marital fertility. This is the reason why, throughout this article, we will try to determine

if our hypothesis is correct, and in the case, which is the impact and the direction of this values.

The paper will keep the following structure. We will analyze briefly the results obtained by similar studies. In the next section, we will present the characteristics of the database and the area under study. Then we will pose the performance of some basic variables that will be analyzed thanks to stylized facts. In the following section, we will expose the methodology. Subsequently, we will indicate the results of statistical regressions. Finally, we will draw basic conclusions.

2. BACKGROUND

Demographic Transition was not only associated with changes in fertility, marriage rate and mortality, but, at least in occidental countries, a change in the value system occurred. There was a movement from predominance of group values to a ruling individualism (i.e. Lesthaeghe, 1980, 1983). These group and individual values were related to behaviors, customs and beliefs that sometimes can be differentiated and studied.

Between these values that can be analyzed we can find the political and religious values. For example, for Scania, in the south of Sweden, a relation between a higher proportion of socialist voters at local level and a higher fertility has been proven to have existed (Dribe, 2008). Meanwhile, the relation between religious values and a higher relative fertility has been proven in United States, especially between practicing Catholics, Northern Ireland and Sweden, as well as their links with a relatively later marriage (Mosher and Hendershot, 1984; Williams and Zimmer, 1990; Sander, 1992, 1993; O'Grada and Walsh, 1995; Lehrer, 1996; Dribe and Stanfors, 2009). These links have been also proved for the second half of the twentieth century in Spain (Adsera, 2006). Existence of family values associated to demographic behavior and the intergenerational transmission has been studied in diverse temporal and geographical contexts, including the case of Spain (Bittles et al., 2008; Reher et al., 2008; Long and Ferrie, 2015; Dribe et al., forthcoming). Results have demonstrated the existence of

these values and their transmission since Demographic Transition, especially in a downward and female direction, from mothers to daughters. In the previous period of Demographic Transition, the existence of a “natural” (Henry, 1961) situation of fertility conditioned marital fertility.

From several different perspectives and especially thanks to microdata and complex statistical regressions the relation between political, religious and family values and the variations in fertility and age at first marriage has been proved in different geographical contexts. However, few of these analyses have considered the interaction of these variables in the same individual or family.

3. AREA AND DATA

The data are from a rural area –about 500 km²- in Aragón, a region in the northeast of Spain (see Figure 1). The distance from the subject area to the capital city of the region, Zaragoza, is between 19 and 40 kilometres. The present study covers nine parishes: Alfamén, Botorrita, Jaulín, Longares, Mezalocha, Mozota, Muel, Tosos, and Villanueva de Huerva- which had, in total, 5,520 inhabitants in 1800, increasing to 7,765 in 1910, and declining to 6,419 in 1970. Growth was below the Spanish average (Nicolau, 2005) due to out-migration to other rural areas and to urban centers. The database, “Alfamén and Middle Huerva Database” (AMHDB), is built following the Family Reconstitution Method developed by Fleury and Henry (1956) and covers 95,817 individuals. We use parish records of births, marriages, and deaths for the period from the late-fifteenth century to the mid-twentieth century. For the period from the mid-twentieth century to the year 2012, we collect a sample based on family surveys with the same demographic information of the previous period (dates, occupation, and education). The database (both records and surveys) contains all those individuals who were either born in or migrated to the parishes in question, although we have little or no data on out-migration. The area studied is located in the Ebro Valley, near the foot of the Algairén Mountains. The landscape is a mixture of plains and foothills. Alfamén is the village at the lowest height above sea level (373 meters) and Villanueva de Huerva is the highest (790 meters). During the studied period, the area was characterized by the production

of grain (especially wheat), wine, and sheep grazing. Additionally, Muel's pottery has been well-known since the Middle Ages, and the villages of Alfamén and Jaulín constituted an important part of glass production in Aragon during the 18th and 19th centuries. To discover the occupation of the head of the family, we use population censuses (1857 and 1860), electoral censuses (1890, 1894, 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1934, 1945, 1951 and 1955), population lists (1824, only for the biggest village: Longares), and information about occupation and education from surveys. The information on occupation is linked to demographic registers.

Figure 1. Studied-area location.



For this research, we employ six categories to delineate the social structure depending on the husband's occupation:

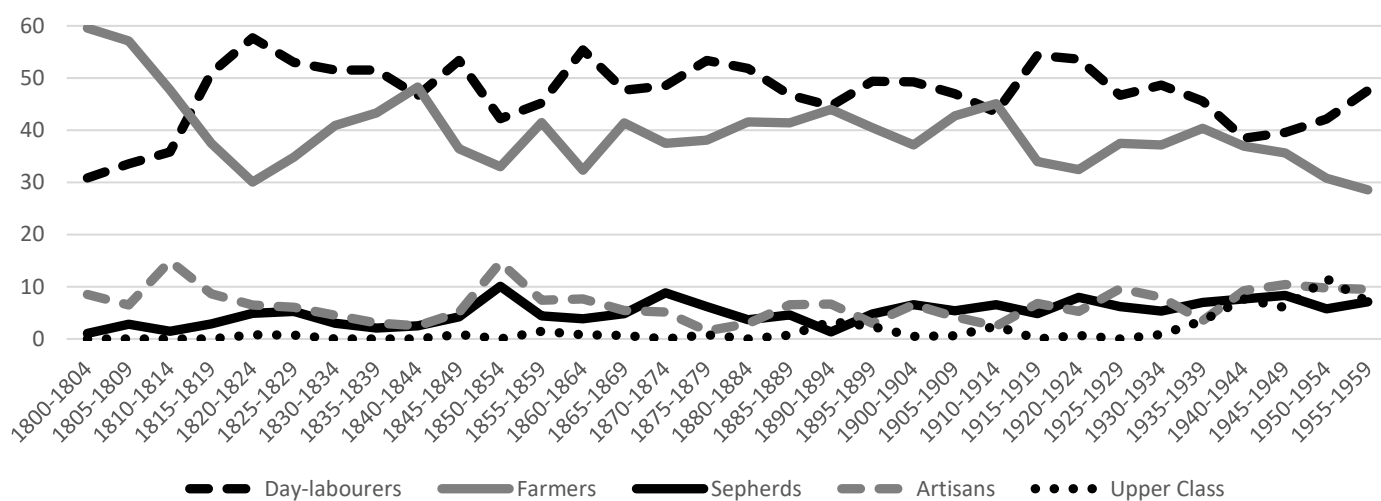
1. The first group consists of agricultural day-labourers and smallholders –landless and semi-landless- who did not have enough land at their disposal for the entire family to live on as a sole source of subsistence.

2. The second group is composed of farmers with sufficient land to support the family's needs. The individuals appear in this category only if they are registered in the censuses in the category of farmer, if they are over 21 years old (never having worked in another occupation). We have not differentiated by amount of land owned, due to the scarcity of quality sources.
3. The third group is composed of shepherds and goatherds (owners or non-owners¹). They are landless or semi-landless. They rent the communal lands for feeding their animals, and are, therefore, affected by drought and other water problems.
4. The fourth group consists of landless or semi-landless artisans –potters, bakers, blacksmiths, tailors, glassmakers, etc. -, which means that a majority of the families were net consumers of wheat.
5. The fifth category includes individuals with prestigious occupations in rural areas –doctors, teachers, veterinarians, notaries, bankers, nurses, and train station chiefs- All of these occupations require a medium or higher level of education.
6. The sixth category, “others”, includes the rest of the population, in a range of occupations –civil servants, military personnel, drivers of various vehicles, etc.

Figure 2 clearly shows a predominance of day labourers and farmers (categories 1 and 2), accounting for about 80% of the total. In a much lower category, less than 10%, are artisans and non-migratory shepherds (permanently in the studied area or in adjacent villages). Finally, workers with medium-high skills are almost non-existent for most of the period.

¹ Our sources sometimes did not allow us to differentiate if they are the owners.

Figure 2. Evolution of the occupation of the head of the household, per date of birth (1800-1959).



Source: AMHDB.

At the same time polls were made, information about Church’s support began to be collected, in this case about every woman who was included in the database they had agreed to answer. They had to answer this question: “do you usually, if possible, attend Church at least once a week (with justified and rare exceptions)? What about your mother?” Every respondent could answer with a YES, or a NO, or not to respond. Many of the answers were relativized, but they were asked to choose a YES or a NO. The responses to these questions allow us to understand the connection between active participation in municipal religious life and demographic variables.

Information about deliberate political participation has been extracted from different sources from 1931 to 2015. In the first place, during Second Spanish Republic (1931-1936) it was obtained from the political stance declared by candidates in local 1931 elections (or their repetitions in the following months). As of 1934, especially after the revolt in October, civil governors, provincial representatives of Spanish government, decided to change some of the councilors from local corporations in order to favor councilors who were closer to their ideology. That is the reason why the fact that councilors who were designated by civil governors (mainly in 1934 and 1936) and accepted the position shared the same political stance than the councilors who designated them has been considered for this analysis. During the whole period of Civil

War (1936-1939) the study area was under Franco's rule, which is why individuals who were repressed by the new system under this pretext² have been esteemed as individuals who participated in left-wing groups. From 1936 to 1978, thanks to records of compulsory military service, we got to know the ones who participated in local policy as councilors. Every one of them was linked to the single ultraconservative party called "*Falange Española Tradicionalista y de las J.O.N.S.*", reason why we consider them as voluntary participants in right-wing parties for this investigation. As of 1979, since the first democratic local elections that have been repeated once every four years, individuals have been classified in terms of social consideration of political tendency of the party³ that they supported in local elections. All individuals that did not support any party during the study period were assigned to a neutral category.

Meanwhile, information about political environment at local level was extracted from results of national 1936 and 1982 elections, from information about results published in Zaragoza's Official Gazette. The percentage obtained of candidacies considered to be linked with left parties⁴ and the percentage obtained of candidacies considered to be linked with right parties⁵ was quantified for both elections. When considering whether a locality supports a political stance or not the fact that candidacies of same political stance had won in the locality in both elections (1936 and 1982) was required. From then on the percentage average of 1936 and 1982 results about most popular political stance in the locality was established, and the fact that a certain locality supported this political stance was solely considered in the case that the average of both election results was 55 percent and above of the votes. With this methodology, we sustain that localities of Alfamén and Muel presented a progressive political environment at local

² Information was extracted from the Dossiers about Political Accountability that can be found in the *Archivo Histórico Provincial de Zaragoza* and Casanova et al. (1999), Peiró (2011) and Ruíz (2014).

³ The following parties' candidates were considered to be on the left: *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (PSOE), *Izquierda Unida* (IU) and the *Chunta Aragonesista* (CHA). The following parties' candidates were considered to be on the right: *Unión de Centro Democrático* (UCD), *Partido Popular* (PP) and the *Partido Aragonés -Regionalista-* (PAR).

⁴ The following parties were considered to be on the left: *Izquierda Republicana*, *Unión Republicana*, *Partido Socialista Obrero Español*, *Partido Comunista de España*, *Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores*, *Candidatura de Unidad Comunista*, *Partido Socialista de Aragón*, *Unificación Comunista de España* and *Partido Comunista de España (Marxist-Leninist)*.

⁵ The following parties were considered to be on the right: *Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas*, *Comunión Tradicional*, *Unión de Centro Democrático*, *Alianza Popular*, *Centro Democrático y Social*, *Solidaridad Española* and *Fuerza Nueva*.

level, while Jaulín, Longares, Mozota and Villanueva de Huerva were conservative. Botorrita, Mezalocha and Tosos did not meet the requirements and, therefore, were assigned to neutral category.

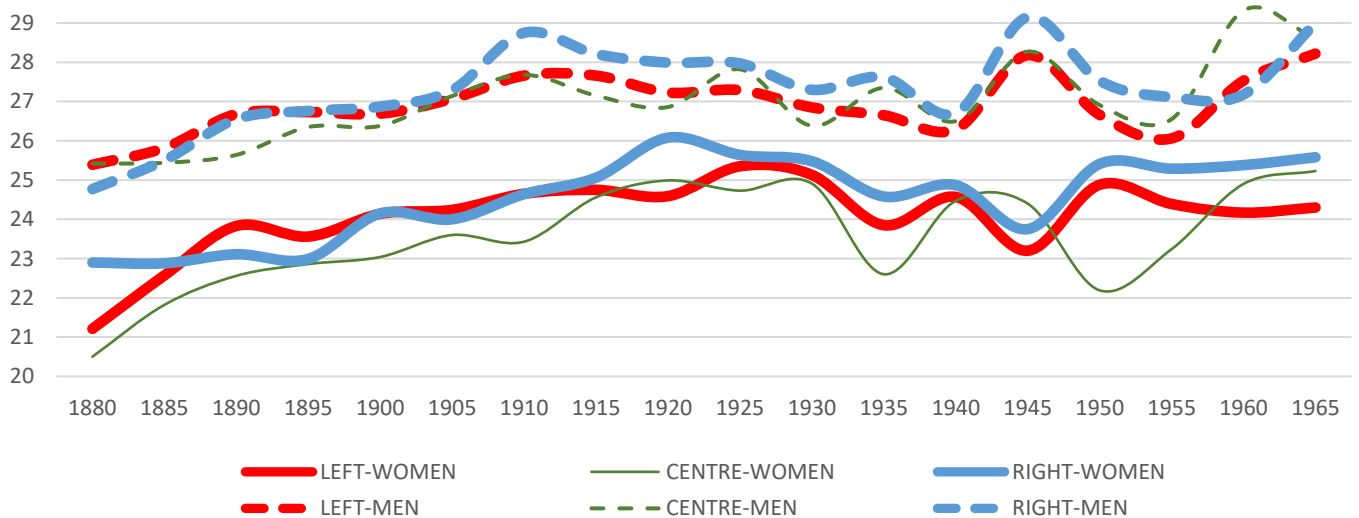
4. SOME STYLIZED FACTS

Firstly, let's observe the way age at first marriage and marital fertility vary, regarding some variables associated to group values (political environment at local level) and individual values (family, religious and political values).

4.1 Local political environment

We will use political environment variable, built as explained above, as an approach to the existence of group values over reproductive behavior at local level. As may be seen in Figure 3, age at first marriage both of women and men tends to be higher within conservative municipalities than within progressive environments.

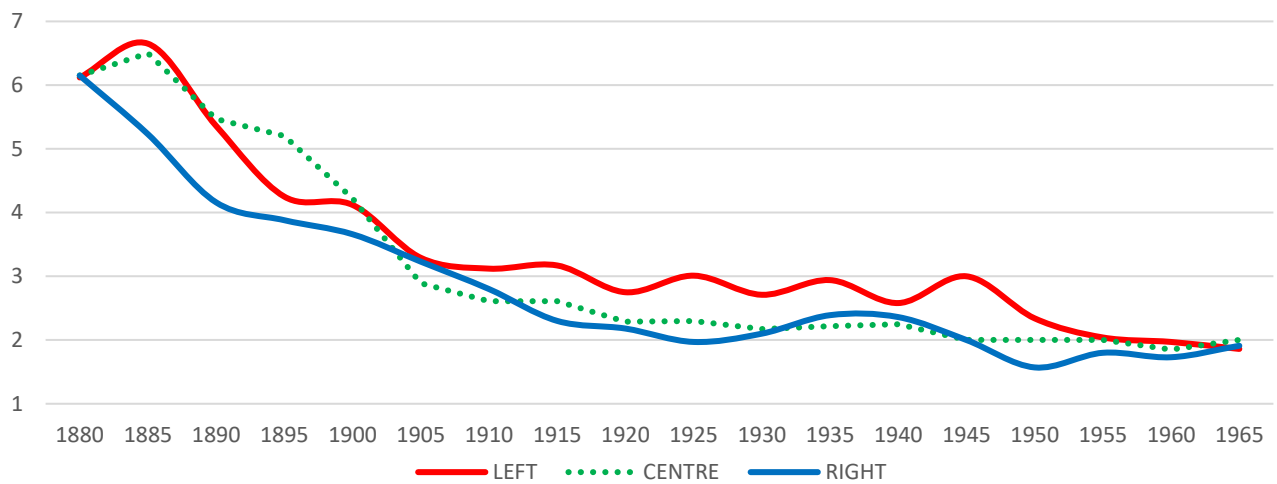
Figure 3. Average age at first marriage regarding his voluntary political participation at individual level. By birth date (1880-1969).



Source: AMHDB.

When comparing marital fertility in marriages where both spouses were aged forty and above according to political ideology at local level, it can be observed that progressive villages present during the whole period under study higher fertility than conservative localities. Uncategorized towns on these categories present variant tendencies. Progressive localities are also large-size localities which suffered to a lesser extent rural exodus, which is why other factors that are not analyzed may interfere.

Figure 4. Marital fertility of couples (both spouses aged forty and above) regarding the political tendency prevailing in their home residence. By woman's birth date (1880-1969).

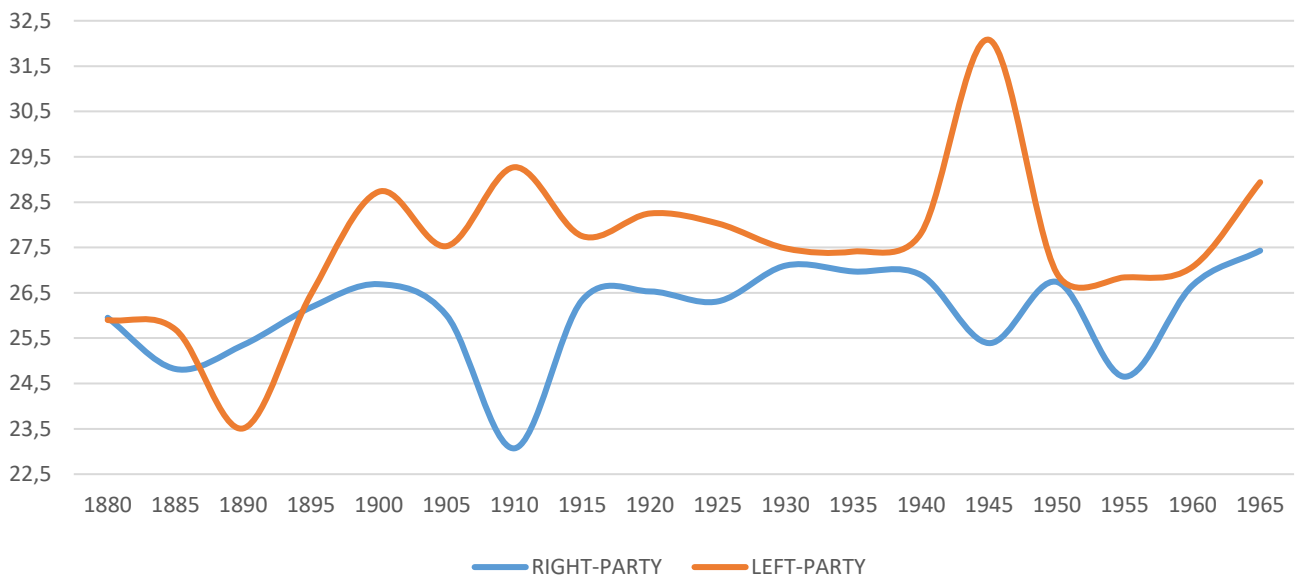


Source: AMHDB.

4.2 Political participation at individual level

When comparing age at first marriage and marital fertility according to political tendency (in the two following graphics exclusively husband's) we mean to approach individual political values. As may be observed in Figure 5, practically during the whole study period individuals linked to left tendencies presented an older age at first marriage.

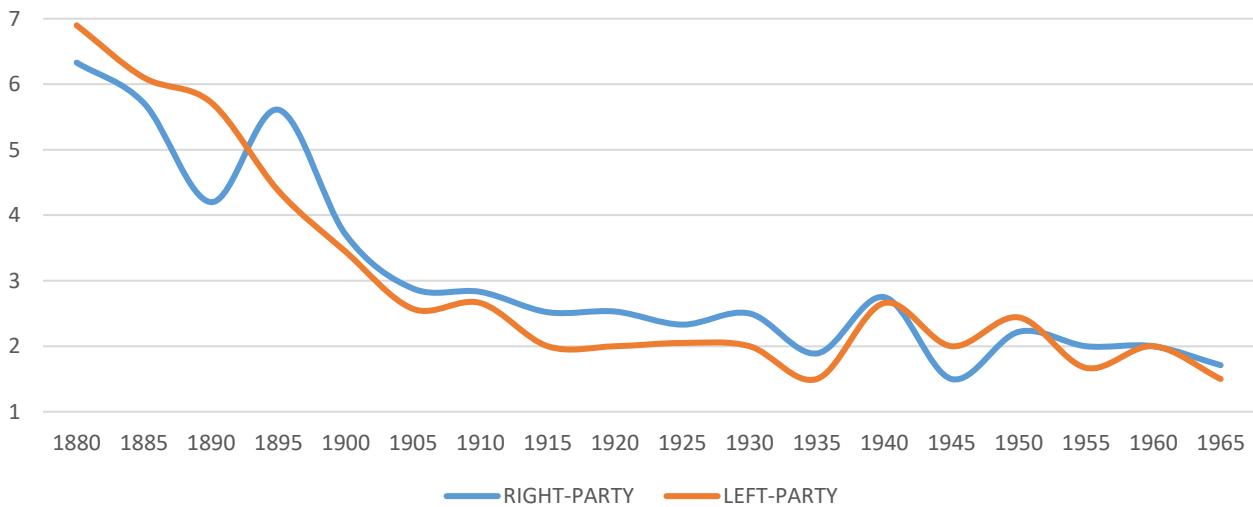
Figure 5. Average groom's age at first marriage in terms of his voluntary political participation.
By birth date (1880-1969).



Source: AMHDB.

In the Figure 6 marital fertility according to husband's political participation in parties associated to conservative or progressive positions is displayed. Tendency is not clear at the beginning or at the end of the period; nevertheless, it seems to reflect the fact that among those who were born in the period from 1895 to 1939, in the case that the husband was linked to conservative positions, they were more likely to have a higher average number of children.

Figure 6. Marital fertility of couples (both spouses aged forty and above) in terms of husband's individual political participation. By husband's birth date (188-1969).

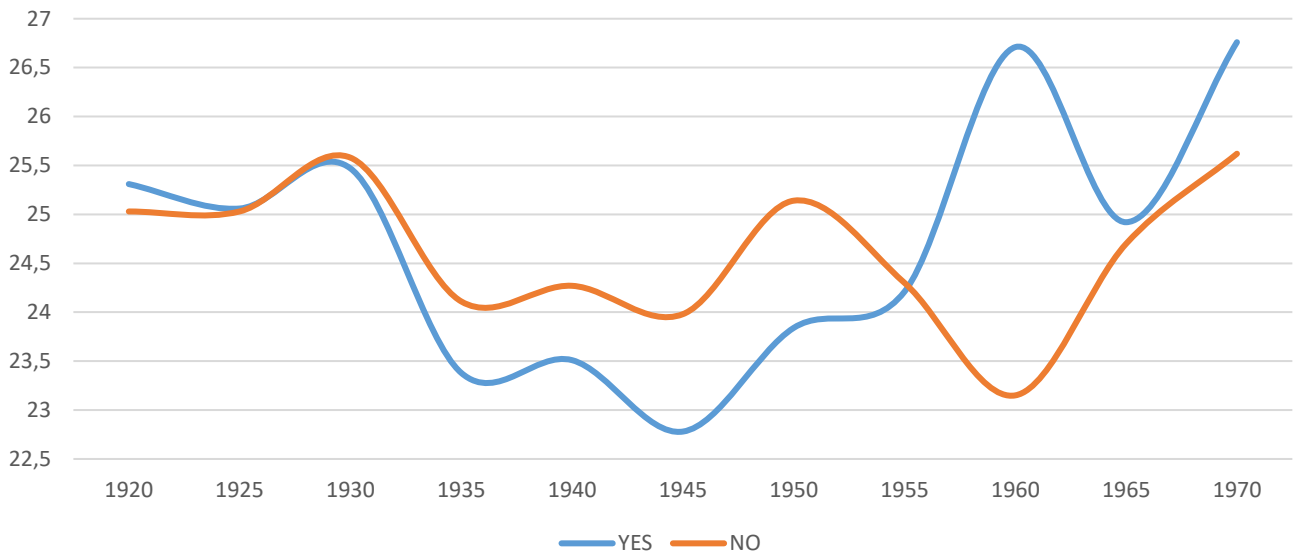


Source: AMHDB.

4.3 Regular church attendance.

Another available variable for this study is women's regular church attendance, which will be used as a proxy to personal religious and nuclear family values. The Catholic Church has been defending positions against the use of contraceptive methods (Iglesias de Ussel, 1990; Lehrer, 1996; McQuillan, 2004). Church attendance is only available for women who were born after 1919. When collecting this data women were the only ones considered due to the traditions of the area under study, and in most of the country, developed due to Political Transition, which discouraged masculine participation (Brañas-Garza, 2004). There was none or only one man who assisted regularly to church service in some of the analyzed localities (i.e. in Mozota o Tosos). As may be noticed in Figure 7 regarding women's age at marriage in terms of their weekly church attendance. In the first decade results do not show differentiated patrons. Between women born in 1930 and those who were born in 1950, the Figure 7 indicates the fact that the ones who did not assist to church service tended to marry being older. In the case of those who were born in the cohort 1960-1964 and following, though, women who attended church married older.

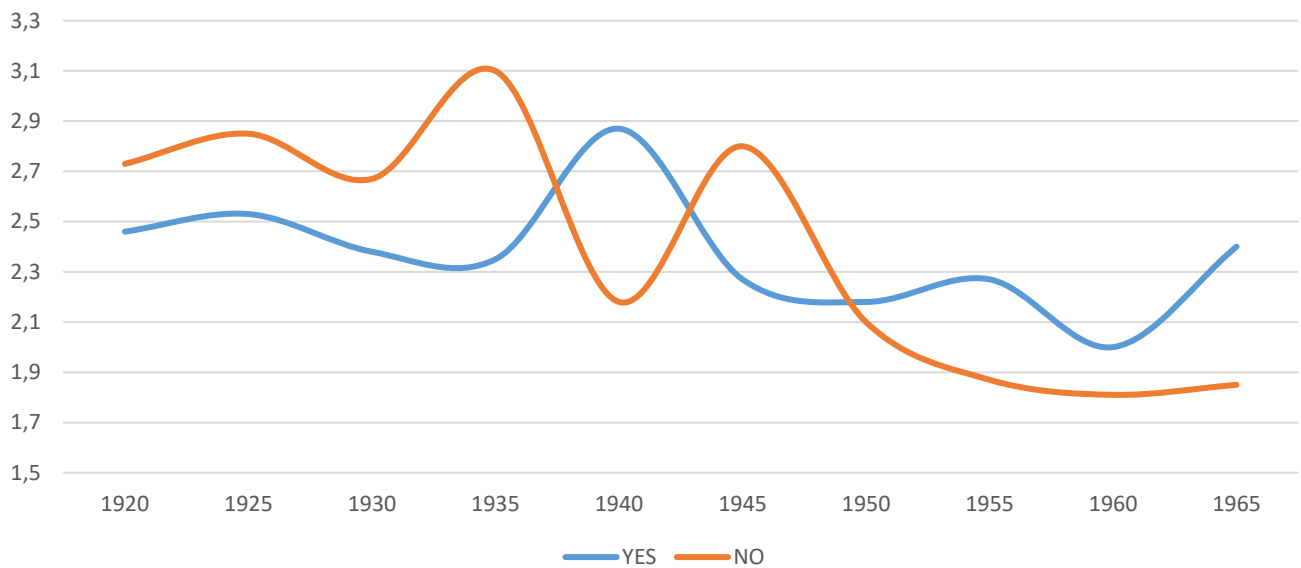
Figure 7. Average bride's age at first marriage in terms of their weekly church attendance. By birth date (1920-1972).



Source: AMHDB.

When analyzing marital fertility regarding church attendance, as presented in Figure 8, we can observe that in the first two decades high fertility among women who did not assist weekly to Church (which were the minority group for these age groups) looks to predominate. In the following decades the effect is not precise. It can be clearly observed that fertility drop, known to be prevalent during the First and Second Demographic Transition, had a more mitigated tendency (and therefore, higher fertility) among women who shared religious values, for those women who were born in the quinquennium from 1950 to 1954 and following quinquenniums.

Figure 8. Marital fertility of couples (where both spouses aged forty and above) in terms of the bride's weekly church attendance. By women's birth date (1921-1969).



Source: AMHDB.

4.4 Initial family situation

Comparing demographic variables both of parents and children aims at analyzing whether there is a transmission of values related to fertility and age at marriage within a family group or not. In Table 1 we will analyze age at first marriage regarding these family values. We will reckon that an individual has an on par with the average age at marriage when their age at first marriage matches their quinquennium's average, and in the case it is between two years older and two years younger (in order to define their quinquennium we must bear in mind their birth date and genre). We will consider that they married late when their age at first marriage is at least two years older than their quinquennium's average, regarding their birth date and genre. And lastly we will consider they married early when their age at first marriage is at least two years younger than their quinquennium's average, regarding their birth date and genre. Table 1 shows us that the most common demographic behavior was the one linked to getting married at their quinquennium's average age, considering their birth date and genre. However, father's influence (for sons) and mother's influence (for daughter) is reflected in the

existence of a slight tendency from children to reproduce their parents' behavior. That is to say that if the mother married late, her daughter presents a slightly higher probability of marrying late. These results remain the same when analyses are realized separately in terms of individual's genre.

Table 1. Comparison of children's relative age at first marriage with their parents' relative age at first marriages (all spouses are older than fifteen years old and younger than forty). N=1,803.

AGE AT MARRIAGE	AGE AT MARRIAGE FATHER/MOTHER		
	YOUNG	AVERAGE	OLD
YOUNG	27.38%	25.32%	18.42%
AVERAGE	52.78%	57.14%	53.29%
OLD	19.84%	17.54%	28.29%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

Source: AMHDB.

We will analyze marital fertility regarding family value now. We have considered that an individual has an on par with the average fertility when their fertility matches their quinquennium's average (or a child more or less). They present a high fertility when they have at least two more children than their quinquennium's average. And lastly, they present a low fertility when they have at least two less children than their quinquennium's average (minimum limit is presenting one child). Table 2 shows us that the most common situation is matching average fertility. Nevertheless, there is a slight tendency of daughters' relative fertility to match their mothers'. In other words, daughters whose mothers had a high fertility regarding their quinquennium's presented higher probabilities of displaying a high fertility regarding their quinquennium's.

Table 2. Comparison of family relative size of daughters regarding her quinquennium in terms of family relative size of mothers (all spouses were aged forty years or above). N=925.

DAUGHTERS' FAMILY SIZE	MOTHERS' FAMILY SIZE (WIFE WAY)		
	BIG	AVERAGE	SMALL
BIG	22.13%	16.39%	15.77%
AVERAGE	57.18%	59.82%	56.85%
SMALL	20.69%	23.79%	27.39%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

Source: AMHDB.

5. METHODOLOGY

In order to analyze effects of values and individuals' socioeconomic features in a combined manner, we will use a manifold linear regression, whose annotation is the following (Wooldridge, 2003):

$$y = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \cdot x_1 + \dots + \beta_k \cdot x_k + u$$

Where y is the dependent variable which can assume any numeric value, β_0 is the constant term which represents tendency, $\beta_2, \beta_3, \beta_k$ are the parameters that indicate relational coefficient, x_2, x_3, x_k are values taken by every independent variable, and u is the error term which is common to all regressions.

Let's realize three types of regressions for the three different dependent variables. All dependent variables will be classified according to year of birth for the period from 1880 to 1969. The first regression will be realized in order to analyze determinants of women's age at first marriage, another one to analyze determinants of men's age at first marriage, and the last one, in order to analyze marital fertility. When analyzing the first regression women in the area under study whose age at first marriage is known and which married being at least forty years old will be borne in mind, in order to avoid

extreme cases, where determinants would be relativized due to the fact that the priority would be getting married. It has also been established a minimum age at marriage of 15 years old in order to prevent sampling errors. The same criteria apply for men. Once we implemented the criteria and made a set of individuals with their age at first marriage available, this age has to be compared with their quinquennium's average (1880-1884, 1885-1889, etc.) in terms of their genre. Thanks to this comparison we obtained the average deviation between their age at marriage and their quinquennium's, which is our dependent variable (Reher and Ortega, 2004). That is to say, if a woman born in 1892 married when she had exactly 25 years old, and age at first marriage of women born in the quinquennium 1890-1894 was 23,06 years old, average deviation of the woman who is being analyzed is +1,94, which is our dependent variable. The same applies for men.

In the case of marital fertility regression, the reference point is the year of birth of the woman. It has been imposed as a condition the fact that both spouses are aged forty or above. With this condition (the most common rule is to be over 49 years old) we can approach to those who were born in the 1968, who reached 40 years old in 2009. In all cases, birth of children when being aged forty and above, complete marital fertility was taken into account. The second requirement to gain access to the analysis was the fact that the couple had at least one child, in order to avoid analyzing couples who had serious fertility problems and chose not to have children. Once again average deviation to the woman's quinquennium has been studied.

A regression for the whole period studied, 1880-1969, and three regressions for smaller periods have been conducted. The first stage handles cohorts born between 1880 and 1919, that is to say, last previous years to Demographic Transition (which in the area under study begins with those who were born around 1885) and first stages of Demographic Transition. A second period includes cohorts born between 1920 and 1949, that is to say, later stages of Demographic Transition and Baby Boom. And a last period stands for cohorts born between 1950 and 1969, which include individuals linked to the Second Demographic Transition in the study area, whose fertility was below replacement level (2,1 children).

Dependent variables introduced in all regressions have been:

- 1) Family socio-economic status is taken into account from the head of family's occupation, classified in six groups (landless and semi-landless, farmers, shepherds, artisans, high class, and others). This is an important control variable because our main aim is to identify differences in fertility due to differences in socio-economic status among families.
- 2) Political environment. As explained above, it alludes to the political tendency (left, right or undetermined) that was voted by each locality under study (following the average of the polarized 1936 and 1982 elections). The target of this variable is to measure whether political environment influenced individual's age at marriage and marital fertility or not.
- 3) Political participation at individual level. Whether one spouse participated in politics (conservative or progressive parties or no participation) following the criteria above exposed or not. With this variable we intend to measure whether individual political values influenced in demographic variables or not.
- 4) Church attendance. As explained above, measured exclusively in the case of the bride, since they are, by a social norm, the ones who attend more regularly to Church in rural localities (Brañas-Garza, 2004). Categorized in terms of: 1. Does not assist regularly. 2. Assists regularly. 3. Unknown/Does not answer. The target is to analyze religious values.
- 5) Transmission of family values. Whether nuptial and reproductive behavior patterns transmit from parents to their children interests us. In this case, transmission from fathers to sons and mothers to daughters will be considered, since these links have been proved to be the strongest regarding transmission of behaviors (Reher et al., 2008). When discussing regressions about age, mother or father's age at first marriage, for their daughter or son's analysis respectively, the variable has been introduced continuously. In the analysis of marital fertility, the reference point is the fertility of the bride's mother. In this case, mothers' fertility have been classified in three groups: 1. At least one child above their quinquennium's average, 2. On par with their quinquennium's average, 3. At least one child below their quinquennium's average (minimum limit is presenting

one child). The target of this variable is analyzing family values transmission in demographic variables.

- 6) Place of birth of spouses. Depending on whether they live in the village where they were born (both live in the same village, only one born in the same village, neither born there). With this control variable, we are interested in controlling whether one or both of the spouses is importing fertility or breastfeeding behaviour from another place.
- 7) Age difference between spouses. Three groups: wife is older, husband is older by less than six years, or husband is older by six year or more. With this variable we are trying to control whether unequal marriages have a different fertility rate or breastfeeding behaviour.
- 8) Educational level. Available solely for the last period. The goal is to discover how educational level (primary, secondary, university or unknown studies) has influence age at marriage and marital fertility.

In the case of the regression about marital fertility a control variable about the place where the marriage was performed (within or outside their resident parish) has also been introduced.

6. RESULTS

Below are the results of regressions of women's age at first marriage, men's age at first marriage and marital fertility of families that at least had a child and spouses were above forty years old.

1.1 Age at marriage of women who were born between 1880 and 1969

In the Table 3 we can observe the manifold lineal regression for women's age at marriage. In order to get a complete period, we count on more than 2000 women, who are congregated at first stages. This is due to, in the area under study, from the sixties on, that is to say mainly among those who were born in the second third of the 20th century, marrying in cities became trendy (because of the availability of better

infrastructures for the celebration) which led to the fact that the database counts with lower number of individuals from who we know their marriage date and, therefore, age at marriage. All of this applies only for rural exodus which reduced resident population in the study area during twentieth century.

Table 3. Minford linear regression on age at marriage of women who were born between 1880 and 1969.

Difference in Age at Marr.	%	1880-1969	1880-1919	1920-1949	1950-1969
Number of obs.		2,118	1,334	608	176
F		14.71	13.44	4.40	2.03
Prob. > F		0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0141
R-squared		0.0950	0.1088	0.1003	0.1697
Father's Socioeconomic St.		Non-migrant shepherds (ref.)			
Day-labourer	33.47	1.15	1.95*	0.18	-1.75*
Farmer	27.81	2.57**	2.50**	1.38	-0.38
Artisan	4.25	2.24**	2.76***	-0.01	-0.48
High qualification	0.14	0.35	(omitted)	0.26	(empty)
Other/Unknown	29.32	1.67*	2.12**	0.36	-0.77
Politic environment		Equilibrated (ref.)			
Left	38.29	4.21***	3.62***	2.42**	-0.32
Right	41.41	5.52***	4.25***	3.78***	-0.35
Individual politic particip.		No participation (ref.)			
Left	6.61	-0.51	-0.64	1.02	-1.80*
Right	8.88	1.96*	1.80*	1.97**	-1.06

Attendance at Eucharist		No (ref.)			
Yes	17.14	-1.05		-0.68	-0.88
Unknown	67.28	-1.27		-2.03**	-0.30
Mother's Age at 1 Marriage		1.82*	1.92*	0.67	1.26
Place of Birth of Spouses		Both in parish of residence (ref.)			
One or none in parish of r.	26.25	-6.26***	-5.81***	-2.96***	0.01
Age Diff. between Spouses		Husband is older by <6 years (ref.)			
Wife is older	20.93	10.75***	8.98***	5.44***	2.75***
Husband is older by >6 y.	10.76	6.36***	5.85***	2.61***	(empty)
Educative Level		Primary School (ref.)			
Secondary School	46.59				2.46**
University	20.45				1.86*
Unknown	4.55				0.55
_cons		1.80*	-0.24	1.75*	0.85

Source: AMHDB.

The Table 3 results indicate that, at the first stages of Demographic Transition, and previous years, family socioeconomic status influenced women's age at marriage. Those who were born between 1880 and 1949 also were affected by political environment, increasing their age at marriage both in conservative and progressive environments. However, it was a longer period in conservative environments. Regarding individual values, her or her husband's political participation in conservative parties, especially in Franco dictatorship's single party, was linked to a higher women's age at marriage at the same period. Whilst in the last period under study, those women who were born

between 1950 and 1969, participating in left-wing parties was linked to a lower age at marriage. At this period, women's level of education influenced their age at marriage, since it was increased in the case of having secondary or university studies. Among those who were born in the first phases of Demographic Transition, from 1880 to 1919, mother's age at first marriage affected daughter's age at first marriage. Nevertheless, the explanation might be that both of them shared the same family socioeconomic status and hence were influenced by an identical reproductive behavior. That is to say, there could be an indirect mechanism that would link both variables. The place where the marriage came into existence also influenced age at marriage. Couples where one or none of its members had been born in the locality of reference had a lower age at marriage. Likewise, a significant age difference between them also had its effects. At all stages, woman being older than the groom was tied to a women's higher age. Simultaneously, a wide age gap, being the husband six or more years older than his woman, was also linked to women who had overcome the average age at marriage of their quinquennium, and consequently, they had accepted less homogeneous in age marriages, prioritizing the fact of getting married.

1.1 Age at marriage of men who were born between 1880 and 1969

In the Table 4 we include, once again, more than 2000 cases for the complete period that, nevertheless, are distributed unevenly due to the fact that, from the sixties on, marrying in cities became trendy. That is why their marriage date remains unknown, and consequently, we cannot calculate their age even when they were permanently residents in the area under study. In addition, there was a significant rural depopulation, especially as of the second half of the twentieth century, which drove a reduction of population of childbearing age who was resident in the study area.

Table 4. Minford linear regression on age at marriage of men who were born between 1880 and 1969

Difference in Age at Marr.	%	1880-1969	1880-1919	1920-1949	1950-1969
Number of obs.		2,118	1,304	616	198
F		29.53	24.85	7.42	2.06
Prob. > F		0.0000	0.0000	0.0000	0.0091
R-squared		0.1740	0.2003	0.1564	0.1715
Socioeconomic Status		Non-migrant shepherds (ref.)			
Day-labourer	33.88	-0.49	-0.42	-0.04	-0.64
Farmer	24.60	0.75	0.63	0.55	-0.46
Artisan	3.68	-0.39	-0.22	-0.04	-0.55
High qualification	0.90	1.14	-0.13	1.31	0.52
Other/Unknown	33.60	-0.37	-0.43	-0.41	-0.15
Politic environment		Equilibrated (ref.)			
Left	40.53	0.34	0.86	-0.86	0.42
Right	40.62	2.49**	1.66*	1.79*	0.67
Individual politic particip.		No participation (ref.)			
Left	6.50	-0.86	-0.83	-0.80	0.42
Right	10.32	1.34	1.18	1.34	-0.18
Wife's Attend. at Eucharist		No (ref.)			
Yes	14.14	0.59		-0.59	1.26
Unknown	71.96	-1.04		-1.10	0.60

Father's Age at 1 Marriage		0.96	0.67	2.48**	-1.39
Place of Birth of Spouses		Both in parish of residence (ref.)			
One or none in parish of r.	21.11	0.71	0.27	0.11	0.42
Age Diff. between Spouses		Husband is older by <6 years (ref.)			
Wife is older	12.28	-5.72***	-5.68***	-1.91*	-1.23
Husband is older by >6 y.	12.04	18.18***	15.18***	8.37***	5.02***
Educative Level		Primary School (ref.)			
Secondary School	23.23				-0.20
University	2.53				-0.15
Unknown	33.84				0.60
_cons		-1.26	-1.21	-2.10**	0.60

Source: AMHDB.

In the case of men, as it can be observed in the Table 4, there are fewer significant variables to age at marriage. Conservative environments at local level also foster an older age at marriage for those who were born in the period from 1880 to 1949. However, left environments do not present significance just as individual political participation nor educational values do not either. Parents' age at first marriage influenced the age at marriage of children born between 1920 and 1949. Similarly, age differences also influenced, but in this case during most of the period. If the bride was older than the individual, grooms presented a lower age at first marriage than his quinquennium's average (1880-1949). If the groom was, at least, six years older than the bride, the groom's age at marriage is very likely to be clearly higher than his quinquennium in all the studied stages.

1.1 Marital fertility (spouses aged 40 and above), 1880-1969

In the Table 5 we can observe regressions realized over the determinants of marital fertility. As commented above, there will be only taken into account marriages where both spouses were aged forty and above and had, at least, a child. Unlike preceding regressions, the period which had more cases was between 1920 and 1949. Since the previous period presents greater difficulties to achieve the condition of being above forty years old for being a period in Transition regarding adult mortality. Once again the period of women who were born between 1950 and 1969 is the one that presents least cases, due to the low number of individuals of childbearing age who were permanently settled in the localities under study and did not migrate to cities in pursuit of better employment opportunities. Owing to a problem of representativeness educational categories have not been included in the analysis, though in flawed analysis none of them resulted significant regarding marital fertility.

Table 5. Minford linear regression on Marital fertility (spouses aged 40 and above), 1880-1969.

Difference in Fertility	%	1880-1969	1880-1919	1920-1949	1950-1969
Number of obs.		1,275	321	682	272
F		6.63	2.17	6.30	1.77
Prob. > F		0.0000	0.0074	0.000	0.0317
R-squared		0.0822	0.0964	0.1388	0.1061
Socioeconomic Status		Non-migrant shepherds (ref.)			
Day-labourer	27.13	-0.65	-0.46	-0.42	0.43
Farmer	21.11	0.12	0.56	-0.18	0.25
Artisan	3.67	-0.71	0.48	-0.73	-0.90
High qualification	2.74	-1.03	-1.67*	-0.37	-0.09
Other/Unknown	41.36	-1.36	-1.24	-0.74	0.30

Politic environment		Equilibrated (ref.)			
Left	42.60	5.12***	1.51	5.37***	2.09**
Right	37.62	-0.24	-0.06	-0.09	0.98
Individual politic particip.		No participation (ref.)			
Left	6.85	0.88	0.25	1.09	-0.15
Right	15.11	1.75*	0.71	1.67*	-0.30
Attendance at Eucharist		No (ref.)			
Yes	39.72	0.06		-0.63	2.79***
Unknown	32.94	-2.70***		-3.92***	-0.82
Mother's Fertility		Common (ref.)			
High	35.36	1.68*	0.29	2.08**	1.02
Low	25.00	0.20	-0.41	0.89	-0.45
Place of Marriage		Another parish (ref.)			
Parish of residence	68.22	-1.06	0.41	-1.43	0.10
Place of Birth of Spouses		Both in parish of residence (ref.)			
One or none in parish of r.	28.74	-1.61	-2.37**	-0.33	0.59
Age Diff. between Spouses		Husband is older by <6 years (ref.)			
Wife is older	32.34	1.05	-1.28	1.85*	2.04**
Husband is older by >6 y.	1.17	0.74	0.26	0.91	-0.48
_cons		-0.54	0.28	-1.08	-1.73*

Source: AMHDB.

The Table shows that family socioeconomic status (measured with the father's occupation) has hardly influenced marital fertility. Solely during the first decades of Demographic Transition, and previous years, the fact that elites presented a lesser fertility appears as a significant fact. This is consistent with the pre-existing bibliography (Molitoris and Dribe, 2016). Local political environment, which influenced age at marriage in the first periods, has become important in the two last periods and only in progressive environment. Therefore, in localities where there was a majority of progressive (mainly social democrat) votes, there were stronger incentives for procreation.

By contrast, when analyzing voluntary political participation, participation in conservative parties from one or both spouses only appears as significant, fostering a higher marital fertility, among women who were born in the period from 1920 to 1949. Over the following decades, 1950-1969, participation did not remain significant. However, Women's weekly church attendance, other indicator that tends to be associated to traditional and conservative values, was positively significant for this period. We also have analyzed family transmission from patterns linked to marital fertility, in this case from bride's mother to her daughter, which is the most common behavior of family values transmission linked to fertility (Reher et al., 2008). Solely for those who were born between 1920 and 1949, and exclusively regarding transmission of behaviors linked to a clearly above to their quinquenium's average, this transmission has been significant. This could be related to the fact that demographic family values are a consequence of the popularization of individualism since Demographic Transition (Lesthaeghe, 1983). However, due to Politic Transition and the young Spanish people's opening to less traditional values a split of understanding between parents and children occurred, especially among generations born in 1950s and 1960s, which partially cancelled these family values, reason why they would not be significant in the next period.

If both spouses were not born in the resident locality the fact that within this marriage fertility was higher during first stages of Demographic Transition is the most probably situation. This may be associated to the fact that these spouses tend to proceed from places (like cities) where the Transition was on a later stage, though the demonstration

of this idea would require further research. Finally, when the wife was older than the husband, among those women who were born in the period from 1920 to 1969, presenting a higher fertility was the most probably situation.

7. CONCLUSIONS

Individuals' socio-economic status does not seem to have had great influence in individuals' reproductive behavior. Only during the first decades of Demographic Transition it appears as a significant variable when setting women's age at first marriage, fostering a higher age at first marriage. In the case of marital fertility, solely highly qualified individuals presented a tendency to reduce their fertility in the first decades of Demographic Transition. These results are consistent with the Classic Theory of Demographic Transition, which claims that elites were pioneers in the drop of fertility.

Political environment at local level had different effects over age at first marriage regarding marital fertility. Women's age at marriage was benefited, during the two first periods: 1880-1919 and 1920-1949, while men's age at marriage was benefited solely in conservative environments. Conversely, political environment conditioned marital fertility, increasing it in the case of progressive environment, but only during the two last periods: 1920-1949 and 1950-1969. In any case, results raise doubts about whether the conclusions for these rural localities can be extended to other areas or not.

When political values allude to one of the spouses' deliberate political participation, effects vary. Participation in conservative parties increased marital fertility, but exclusively in the period from 1920 to 1949, in other words, among individuals who predominantly participate in the single extreme right-wing parties and in the first democratic elections with conservative parties. Regarding age at first marriage, some of the spouses' participation in conservative parties was linked to a higher men and women's age at marriage, both in years 1880-1919 and 1920-1949, while participation in left-wing parties only conditioned women's age at marriage in the period from 1950 to 1969, decreasing it.

Religious values, linked to active participation in the activities of the local church, only affected to the marital fertility from the latest analyzed cohorts, women born between 1950 and 1969. These results can be associated to the fact that until the last quarter of twentieth century there was in Spain a dictatorial regime self-declared as “national-catholic”. Priests had an outstanding role in town’s daily life, being its presence necessary in plenty of cases. After 1978 democratic Constitution, Spanish State was recognized as “non-confessional”, which was the reason why participation in local ecclesiastic life turned to be increasingly voluntary. Women who were born as of 1950 were the ones who lived their youth and first adult age in changing times resulting of arrival of Democracy and who could freely decide their position on religion. Active participation in the activities of the local church tends to be linked to traditional and conservative attitudes. Results show that religious values appear only associated to marital fertility, without affecting the age at first marriage. Catholic Church keeps a pronatalist position that, possibly when interiorized by individuals who share their values, have stimulated a lower reduction of fertility among Christian women in the last decades. This circumstance, this smaller drop, has also been reflected in the Table 2 when comparing religious women’s fertility with the rest.

Family values regarding marital fertility and age at marriage seem to be transmitted to a larger extend in a more traditional and conservative society. At the same time, they seem to be more closely linked to individual values than to group values. Therefore, among men born between 1920 and 1949, father’s age at marriage conditioned groom’s age at marriage, along the same lines. In other words, if the father was married young in relation to married men in his quinquennium, the son has more possibilities to marry young in relation to married men in his quinquennium. Marital fertility of families who completed their reproductive cycle tends to resemble bride’s mother in the same period (1920-1949). A marital fertility clearly above maternal grandmother’s average meant a higher probability that fertility would be above mother’s average. It is not significant in the case of low fertility.

Based on the results, daughters’ age at marriage was linked to mother’s age at marriage, but solely in the period from 1880 to 1919. Nevertheless, the importance of socio-economic paternal status in women’s age at marriage in the same period could be truly

reflecting that mothers and daughters tend to share same familiar socio-economic status, which influences in their age at marriage. That is to say we cannot confirm whether a direct link exists or it is an indirect consequence of familiar socio-economic status.

The fact that one of the spouses was born in a locality which is not their place of residence is significant, both in a reduction of women's marriage age and in a reduction of marital fertility, in the first phases of Demographic Transition, especially in the period from 1880 to 1919. The place where marriage was performed does not seem to influence in marital fertility.

Age differences between spouses clearly affect age at first marriage, both of men and women, and to marital fertility. If the bride is older than the groom, she predictably was married in an above-average age, he in a below-average age and her marital fertility, in the period from 1920 to 1969, was upper. If the husband was significantly older than his wife (at least six years older) marital fertility was not affected, but age at marriage was, since their age at first marriage was above average. Consequently, it seems that this wide age gap between spouses responds to late marriages where spouses prioritize their wish to get married rather than age homogeneity.

Educational level of spouses was solely significant in the case of brides where age at first marriage of women with secondary and university studies was significantly higher.

Therefore, results as a whole seem to prove the move from a situation where group values prevail, during pre-transition and first stages of Demographic Transition, to a predominance of individual values in the following periods. Traditional values, linked to conservative stances, were reflected in a higher age at first marriage of women and a higher marital fertility. Family values, however, were linked to a development of Demographic Transition, but they will no longer act among women born in the period from 1950 to 1969. These cohorts, both male and female, are characterized by a rupture and disengagement from their parents' values aggravated by political modernization (Aguirre and Rodríguez, 1997). Therefore, it is acceptable for family values to be linked to individual values once during the "natural" fertility period (Surkyn and Lesthaeghe, 2004), however, they could have lost their validity because of the generational rupture

and ideational rupture between parents and children in the last third of the twentieth century.

In summary, group values, as ideological environment, have affected and still affects (to a lesser extent) marital fertility and age at first marriage. Individual values linked to political positioning, religious participation and family played an important role that conditioned both age at marriage and marital fertility during the later stages of Demographic Transition. In the area under study three stages can be clearly distinguished: the first one, 1880-1919, linked to first stages of Demographic Transition; the second one, 1920-1949, linked to a higher individual's development, typical of later stages of Demographic Transition; and the third stage, 1950-1969, linked to the Second Demographic Transition, where individual's circumstances, as educational level, affected demographic performance.

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