

FAMILY BEHAVIOUR (COHABITATIONS, EXTRA-MARITAL BIRTHS) IN SLOVAKIA AND JAPAN

Jozef Mládek, Jana Širočková

*Department of Human Geography and Demogeography, Faculty of Natural Sciences,
Comenius University, Bratislava, Slovakia*

Abstract: Changes of family behaviour of population represent an important component of the population development in the period of the second demographic transition. It is the set of changes concerning marriage, divorce and abortion, and the overall issue of family formation and disintegration. There exists forms of family or partner coexistence including extra-marital fertility are important parts of this set.

Family behaviour of inhabitants of Japan and Slovakia has established many features very similar to the universal behaviour model. Some features of family behaviour are more conservative and the strong effect of traditions is obvious. This is especially true for cohabitation and extra-marital fertility developments in Japanese population. The effect of traditional family bonds, special position of woman and family, as well as the slower implementation of modern birth control methods manifest in these processes. Slovak population is characterised by a somewhat higher incidence of cohabitations and a fairly higher extra-marital fertility. Cohabitation study in Slovakia has shown certain dependence on some socio-cultural traits such as ethnic, religious and educational structures of population.

Key words: cohabitation, family behaviour, extra-marital fertility, second demographic transition, Slovakia, Japan

1. INTRODUCTION

Changes of demographic behaviour recorded by the countries of northern and western Europe in the second half of the 20th century emerged, though in certain modifications, in southern, central and eastern Europe by the end of the century and can be perhaps classified among the most important in the whole population history. They are sometimes rightly referred to as „revolutionary“ and the period in which this characteristic changes took place is denoted the second demographic revolution or the second demographic transition. Where these changes most distinctly manifest, is perhaps in family behaviour particularly in the processes that relate, directly or indirectly, to

formation or disintegration of family and its function in reproduction. The common feature of population's behaviour in the period of the second demographic transition – individualism and personal freedom definitely determine precisely the family behaviour, as its typical feature throughout the development was certain collective social thinking and acting (Van de Kaa 1987, Leshaegee 1983, Pastor 2002, Atoh 1993, 2001, Mládek 1998, Mládek, Širočková 2003).

Changes of family behaviour manifest in a wide set of phenomena and processes such as:

- ♦ postponing of marriage followed by decrease of marriage rates,
- ♦ increase of the mean marriage age and the mean age at the first marriage,
- ♦ increasing cohabitations,
- ♦ increasing count and shares of the unmarried persons,
- ♦ increasing shares of single and of divorced persons who enter the marriage,
- ♦ increasing divorce,
- ♦ apply of the effective oral contraception and connected sexual revolution,
- ♦ decreasing marital fertility,
- ♦ increasing extra-marital fertility,
- ♦ increasing average age of mother at birth of the first child,
- ♦ increased educational level and employment of women which leads to their economic and social independence,
- ♦ decrease of size of households and increase of one person households („single“), the increasing trend of incomplete families.

2. COHABITATIONS

Increasing of cohabitations represent a very significant feature of the above-mentioned changes in demographic behaviour of population. In this context, it is desirable to quote the basic characteristics of this form of partner coexistence and to make an attempt at its typology.

Cohabitation represents such form of coexistence of two adult partners of different sex who live as a man and woman; they share the living place and finances without being married. Children of one or of both partners often live in such bond.

Applying criteria that are more comprehensive, two main types emerge from the great amount of cohabitation classifications and types:

1. *Premarital cohabitations* are such types of partnership where the partners agreed on coexistence with certain outlooks of formalizing their relationship by marriage. In perspective, this type may decisively determine the marriage and reproduction of population. Pursuing the intensity and development of partner relationships two sub-types are discernible:

- a) *cohabitation as a test partnership* („test marriage“). The intention of partners is to check on mutual suitability for a long-term coexistence in the particular conditions of the common household. In this form, the representation of single and divorced partners is abundant while their typical feature is the intention to formalize the coexistence.
- b) *cohabitation as the pre-phase of marriage*. Stronger bonds and belief in future marriage. Young single partners who postpone marriage for different reasons (conclusion of studies, reaching professional stability) prevail.

2. *Cohabitations – long-term, purpose-linked cohabitations* are relatively varied forms of coexistence, where the partners share the common household and do not plan to formalise their relationship by marriage. Two subtypes are discernible:
 - a) *Cohabitation as an alternative to marriage*. Coexistence of partners is very similar to that of a married couple; it can also fulfil its function in education of children. The partners often come of divorced marriages with children and they have consciously given up the option to formalize their bond.
 - b) *Cohabitation as a functional partnership*. Partners agree on such form of coexistence where the practical advantages of the common household (house, social self-reliance, economic reasons, and the like) are important. Older partners with minimum active reproduction prevail in this subtype.

Complete information on cohabitations is difficult to gather, as no stable records of such forms of coexistence exist. As a rule, selective statistical enquiries are used. It is a declarative trait in statistical censuses and it is always questionable how many persons admit such a form of coexistence.

Statistical practice in Slovakia also gathers data about what is referred to as *de facto* marriages (common living place and partners are denoted companions) in fact, cohabitating couples. The 1991 population census recorded 20,864 cohabitations. The increase of cohabitations to 30,466 in 2001 suggests that this form of coexistence spreads further. Comparison of the number of persons living in cohabitations with those who live in formal marriages shows that the rate of cohabitations is not large. In 1991, 1.65 cohabitants corresponded to 100 married persons. This value increased to 2.68 cohabitants in 2001.

Cohabitations in Japan, as expected, are much less represented in coexistence forms. Several authors (Yamada 1998, Atoh 2001) report that the share of cohabitations in total unmarried persons represents about 1% (it is 13% in the USA and 7% in Great Britain). Likewise, the selective census in Japan (1997) shows small representation of cohabitations. Only 1.7% of persons in age categories of 18 – 34 old single men and women possessed experience in cohabitations; and only 0.5% of single men and 1% of single women possess cohabitation experience in the 18 – 19 age category. Most of cohabitations relate to age categories of 20 – 24 year old while the share of women is 2.3% and that of men is 2.1%. It is a very low representation of cohabitations in Japan especially if the same age categories are compared to the share of cohabitants in Italy (4 – 8%), Germany (12 – 40%), Sweden (33 – 77%), and Canada (16 – 46%) (International Comparison of Cohabitation Rates).

M. Iwasawa (2000) distinguishes three forms of partner coexistence and evaluates their developmental trends. The first form is the married relationship (marital cohabitation), the second form is the not formalised relationship (non-marital cohabitations) and the third is the not cohabitating couple (living apart together). This is how the original historic model of binary evaluation – married/non married – changes. The number of married couples has distinctly decreased and reflected the decrease of the nuptiality. Not married cohabitations slightly increased. A distinct increase is observable in the third type of relationships, i.e. the not cohabiting type of coexistence of not married couples. Precisely this type of relationship supports the traditionally strong links of young partners to their parents. Simultaneously, it ensures the higher level of free decision-making (also parting as the case may be), compared to that in cohabitation or in marriage. Iwasawa considers precisely the departure from the traditional form of marriage to non-cohabiting coexistence the most important change of family behaviour of the Japanese population. The Japanese model of behaviour is drawing closer to the models of family behaviour of population in southern Europe.

M. Atoh (2001) presents the detailed analysis of the low level of extra-marital births and cohabitations in Japan. He ascribes it to action of multiple factors. The first of them is application of traditional ways of contraception, while the use of condom, the rhythm method, and interrupted intercourse dominate. Oral hormonal birth control was legalised only in 1999 while certain conservatism persists (including that of health care institutions). In such situation, the woman carries the burden of responsibility for birth control and the risk of its failure in form of pregnancy. All that reflects in disinterest of young women in pre-marital cohabitation and also determines the low level of extra-marital natality.

The second factor is the position of woman in society and above all in family. In the later half of the 20th century, the social and economic emancipation of Japanese women advanced significantly. Educational level of young women increased and so did their participation in labour force, the differences in the wages of men and women have dramatically decreased. However, the traditional role of woman in family changes very slowly. The idea of „the man earning money and women caring after the household“ still persists in great part of population. Participation of men in domestic works for the family is the lowest of all developed countries (Atoh 2001). In such situation, young women are reluctant to decide for marriage. The fright of unequal position of partners, loss of freedom of decision-making and an enormous work load also prevents young women from entering the pre-marital cohabitation.

The traditional Japanese „familism“ is also very important. The trend of changes that occur in the society is the same like in all advanced countries. The difference lies in the fact that secularism and individualism are imposed in a much slower pace. Above all, relationships to the original family seem to be stronger than the new partner relationships (cohabitation, marriage). M. Atoh reports, that as much as 80 – 85% of single working women live with their parents. The durable bond of young people with their original family guarantees certain safety, comfort, and simultaneously poor motivation, above all for young women, to establish partnership in cohabitation or marriage.

Relying on information from population censuses, cohabitations in Slovakia can be characterised in more details.

In comparison with the year 1991, in 2001 have considerably increased number of the cohabitation of the unmarried and divorced people of both sexes. By the other categories, according to the marital status there are not shown such significant changes, even by a widowed persons, in comparison with the year 1991, number of people living in cohabitation decreased.

As far as the age structure of cohabitants in Slovakia is concerned, numbers of women and men by age are very different. The number of female cohabitants quickly increases and culminates in the 25 – 30 age category. The second top is not so distinct, high numbers appear in the 35 – 45 age category. Likewise, the number of male cohabitants increases with age and the first top is in the 25 – 30 age category. However, a distinct maximum number appears in the 40 – 50 age category (Fig. 1). As to the „engaged“ partners living in the cohabitation, there have predominated again the men, whose number was 1186, whereas what the women regards, there were as little as 939. Similar situation, which had appeared in 1991 by the widowed people living in an informal marriage, seems to be also in 2001. In comparison with the widowed men, in the informal unions are markedly dominating the bereaved women. Ratio of the widowed men is nothing but slightly increasing, as late as in the last age categories, in particular within the age-group 70+. Near the women, the ratio is considerably higher from under the age group 20 – 24 (Fig. 2, Tab. 1).

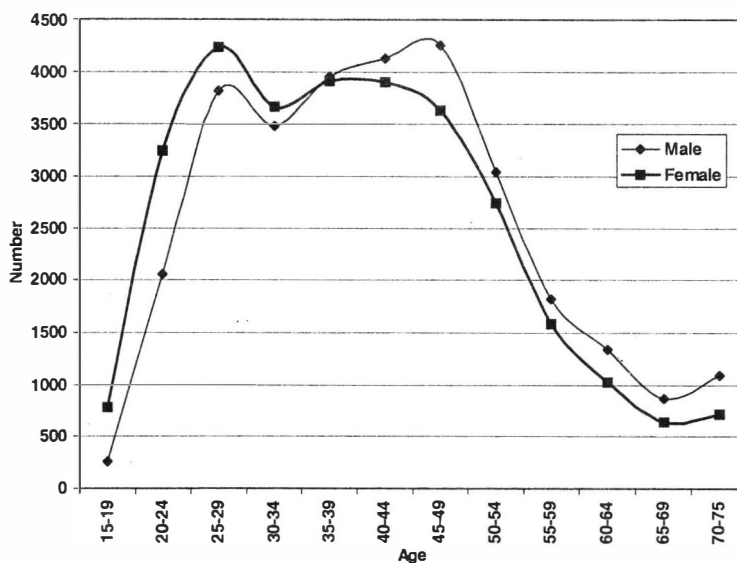


Figure 1 Age Structure of the Cohabitants in Slovakia – 2001

Table 1 Cohabitation in Slovakia by marital status (1991 – 2001)

Year	Sex	Single	Married	Divorced	Widowed	Not declared	Total
1991	Males	7 745	995	9 912	2 088	124	20 864
	Females	6 057	810	8 791	5 101	105	20 864
2001	Males	13 761	1 186	13 056	1 598	865	30 466
	Females	12 206	939	12 123	4 386	812	30 466

Source: Census of Population, Houses and Dwellings 1991, 2001

3. EXTRA-MARITAL BIRTHS

For lack of complete and reliable data about the family unions (matrimonial, partnership), the utility data, e.g. data on extramarital fertility are frequently used for the periods between censuses.

Number of the non-marital children in Slovakia was traditionally low, in particular in comparison with the Western European countries. In 1950, there were 5,5% of non-marital children, and up to the year 1990 this ratio increased up to 7,6%. And just in 1990s this indicator increased considerably and in 2001, share of non-marital children increased up to 19,7% (Fig. 3). From the graphic chart it is possible to see, that curves mapping the total number of the born children, as well as the marital children born noted down, particularly in 1990s recorded the noticeable decrease. Rising tendencies show only the curves representing the count and share of the non-marital birth. As a matter of fact, herewith is emphasized the relative growth of this phenomena.

In comparison with the Western European countries, the ratio of non-marital children in Slovakia is relatively low (Fig. 3, Fig. 4).

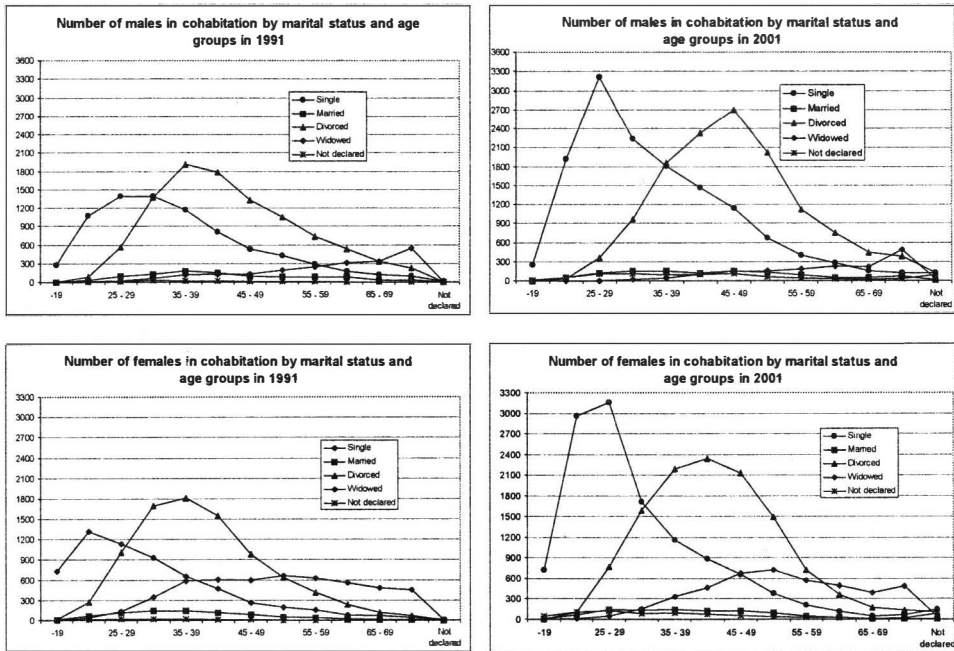


Figure 2 Cohabitation in Slovakia (1991, 2001)

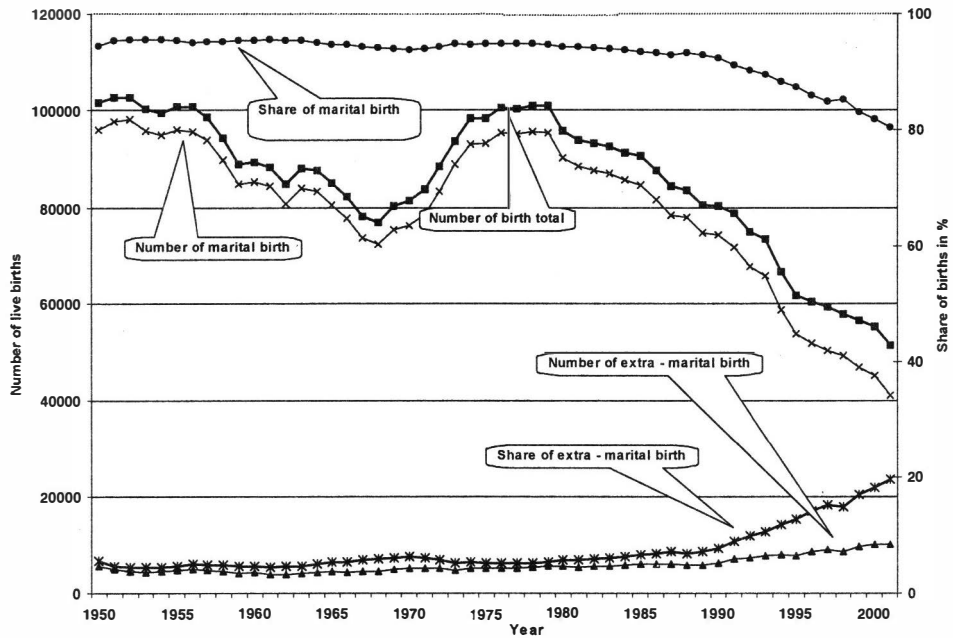


Figure 3 Development of marital and extra-marital natality in Slovakia

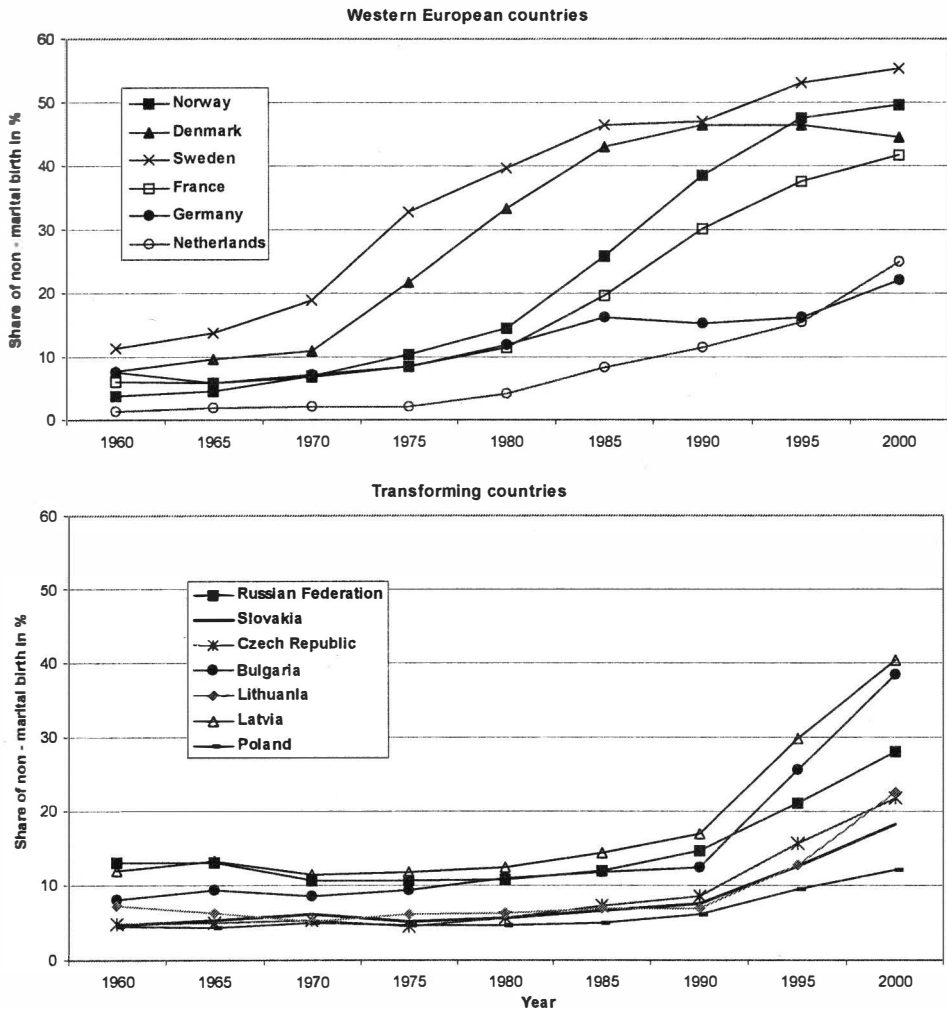


Figure 4 Development of the extra-marital birth in the European countries (1960 – 2000)

Extra-marital fertility in Japan has been subject to a remarkable development in the 20th century. In its first half, the share of extra-marital births was fairly high. In 1910, it was 9.4% and progressively it decreased to 1% in the years of the Second World War (Fig. 5). The high number of children born out of wedlock was connected with traditional partner relationships of many men, above all the young, from higher social strata with several women. This behavioural model gradually changes; the idea of family based on mutual love and trust now prevails and sexual behaviour of especially young men is limited (Yamada 1998).

In the second half of the 20th century the extra-marital fertility stabilised at the level of 1% (1970 – 0.9%, 1980 – 0.8%, and 1990 – 1.1%). This can be interpreted as certain manifestation of conservative demographic behaviour of population and an exception if compared to the European populations. In spite of the fact that such indicators like postponing of marriage, fertility decrease, divorce rate increase and other in Japan

suggest similarity with the demographic behaviour of the European countries in the period of the second demographic transition, extra-marital fertility maintains at a very low level. Implications of this phenomenon are explained in the part dedicated to cohabitations.

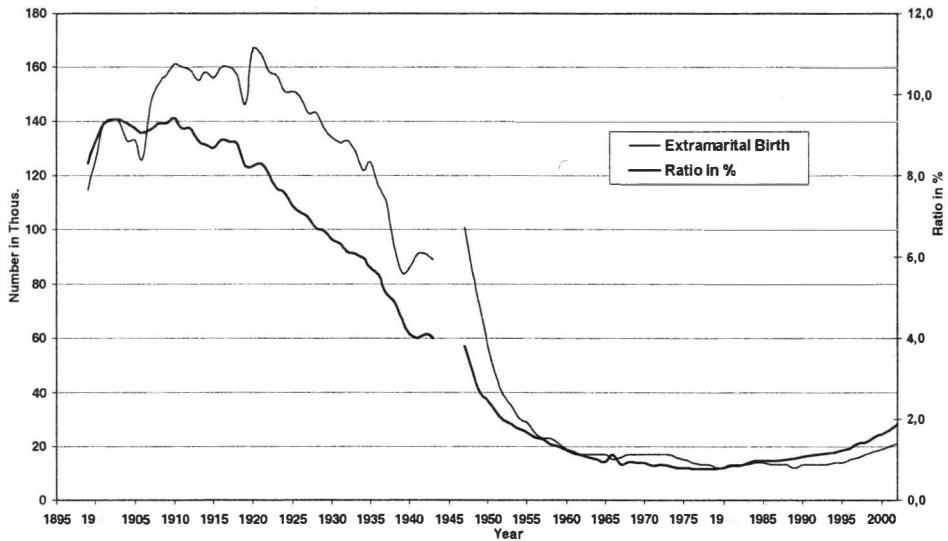


Figure 5 Number and ratio and extra-marital birth

4. SELECTED FEATURES OF COHABITATION AND COHABITANTS IN SLOVAKIA

Additional information was obtained on the set of cohabitants in Slovakia from the 2001 Census of population, houses and flats. The characteristics concerned the ethnic, religious and educational structures of cohabitants, and their classification into regional forms.

Ethnic appurtenance as a cultural characteristic is considered a certain synthesised trait, which partially determines many population phenomena and processes. The results of comparison of ethnic structure of cohabitants and inhabitants in Slovakia point to relative similarities of the two sets. Even small differences can be assessed as significant because precisely these differences offer explanations of the attitude of the individual ethnic members to cohabitation. Like in ethnic structure of population in Slovakia, the appurtenance to the Slovak, Hungarian or Roma ethnicity has the decisive position in structure of cohabitants (Fig. 6). Their weight is decisive not only in the all-Slovakian sets of, but also in regional forms at the lower levels.

The relatively lower representation of the Slovak ethnicity and higher shares of the Hungarian, Roma and Czech ethnicities is obvious at the first glance when observing the graphic representation of the cohabitants and inhabitants shares in Slovakia. In an effort to reach a more exact representation of these efforts, the numbers of cohabitants and

inhabitants of different ethnicities living in Slovakia were arranged in ratio and an index of cohabitant number per 10,000 inhabitants (the average for Slovakia is 113.3) was established. Deviations of these indicators expressed for the individual ethnicities were the results. The positive deviations suggest increased cohabitation rate and the negative deviations express the lower cohabitation rate in the given ethnic group (Fig. 6).

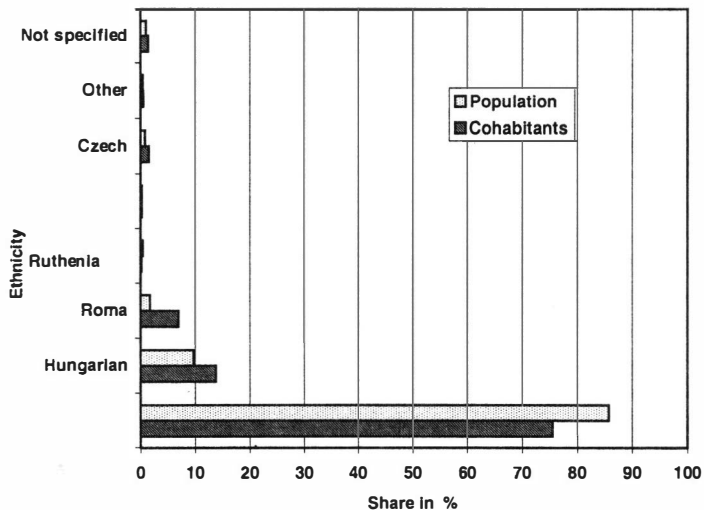


Figure 6a Ethnic Structure of the Cohabitants and Population in Slovakia

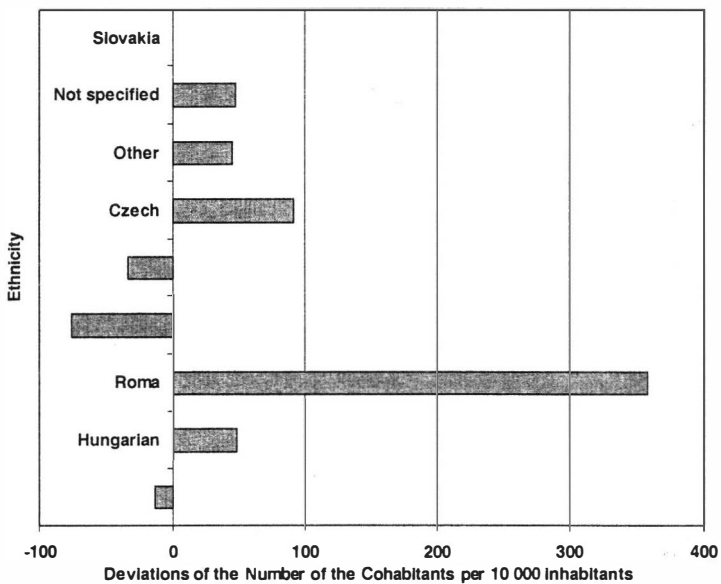


Figure 6b Deviations of the Cohabitants and Population Share in Slovakia

Negative deviations were established for cohabitants of the Slovak, Ruthenian, and Ukraine ethnicities. They suggest certain self-restraint or negative attitude to cohabi-

tations. Cohabitants of the Slovak ethnicity distinctly influence the all-Slovakian statistics, because they outnumber the rest of ethnicities. Positive deviations were established for cohabitants pertaining to the Hungarian, Czech, and Roma ethnicities. The Roma ethnicity displays a surprisingly distinct positive deviation and numerically high representation of cohabitations.

The distinct positive deviation in cohabitation rate of the inhabitant of Roma ethnicity is inherently associated with particularities of contracting and existence of matrimony and family of this population group. The origin of matrimony in the Roma community is subject to inner-group usage and standards. The important thing about this process is that it consists of two stages. The first is the ceremony *mangavipen* (engagement) which takes place when the partners are very young. The engagement is not an institutionally legitimate relationship of man and woman in the universal sense of the term. However, the partners start to live together creating a potentially reproductive unit. According to M. Dubayová's research (2001) carried out in the Roma community living in eastern Slovakia, as much as 40% of cohabitants married only after two years of cohabitation and 10% did not marry at all. The second ceremony is *bijav* (wedding) which in turn has the character of institutionalised partnership in the sense of legal standards. Precisely the interval between the origin of the partner coexistence in the sense of inner-ethnic standards and the wedding explains the relatively higher occurrence of cohabitations among the Roma population.

The positive deviation of the number of cohabitants among the Roma ethnicity also distinctly manifests at the level of administrative regions of Slovakia (Fig. 7). Likewise, the positive deviations are observable among the Hungarian ethnicity. Their level though, is much lower and there are considerable disparities among the individual administrative regions. On the other side, the members of the Slovak ethnicity are characterised by negative deviations in all administrative regions (Fig. 8). Although their values are not high, they manifests most distinctly because of the large number and restrained attitude of the members of this ethnicity. The Ruthenian ethnicity also displays negative deviations, but their effect manifests only in the administrative regions of Prešov and Košice.

In spite of advancing secularisation, the impact of religion is still perceptible in many population processes. Likewise, family behaviour reflects the attitudes of the individual religions to formation, existence and disintegration of family. The same method was applied in comparison of religious structure of cohabitants and inhabitants in Slovakia as in ethnic structure. The differences between the two structures are obvious from lower representation of cohabitants, members of the Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic and Evangelical Church of Augsburg confession. Restraint or even negative attitudes to cohabitations of the members of these denominations are also evident in negative deviations (Fig. 9). The above-mentioned are the three most numerous denominations in Slovakia while the Roman Catholic Church prevails. On the other side, it is not surprising that persons who do not adhere to either of Churches and persons with not specified religion (category of apurtenance to the rest of Churches is too heterogeneous and numerically small) are characterised by more positive deviations in the structure of cohabitants in Slovakia. Scarce positive deviations were also observed in case of cohabitants adhering to the Orthodox and the Reformed Christian Church.

At the level of administrative regions, negative deviations were observed for inhabitants adhering to the Roman Catholic Church with the exception of the Banská Bystrica region (Fig. 10). Diverse values were observed in case of the inhabitants

adhering to the Greek Catholic religion although only in the formal sense (Fig. 11). The substantial part of members of these denominations concentrates in the administrative regions of Košice and Prešov and their deviations are negative, the same as for the whole Slovakia. Positive deviations in other administrative regions are negligible in terms of numbers of their inhabitants appurtenant to the Greek Catholic religion.

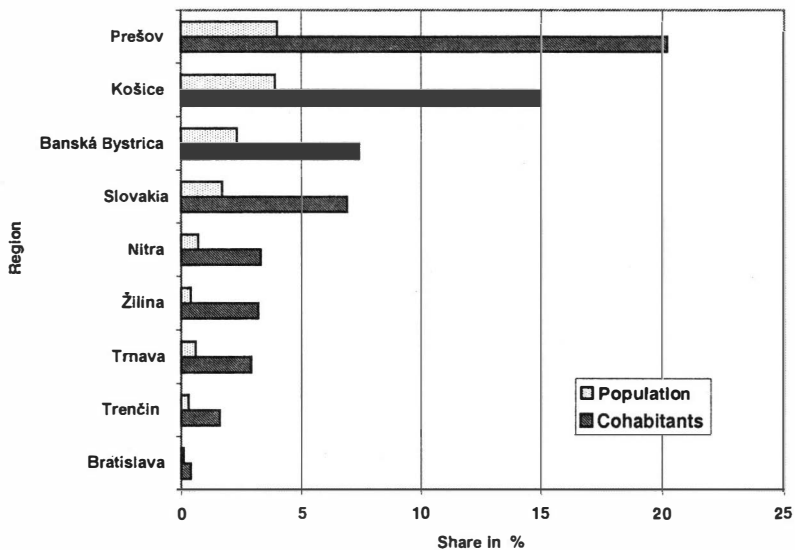


Figure 7a Representation of the Cohabitants and Population of the Roma Ethnicity

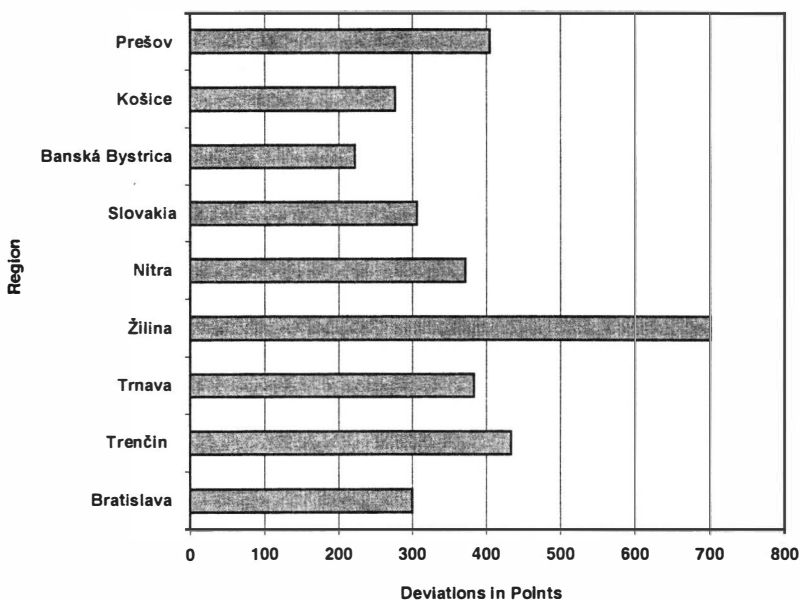


Figure 7b Deviations of the Cohabitants and Population Share of the Roma Ethnicity

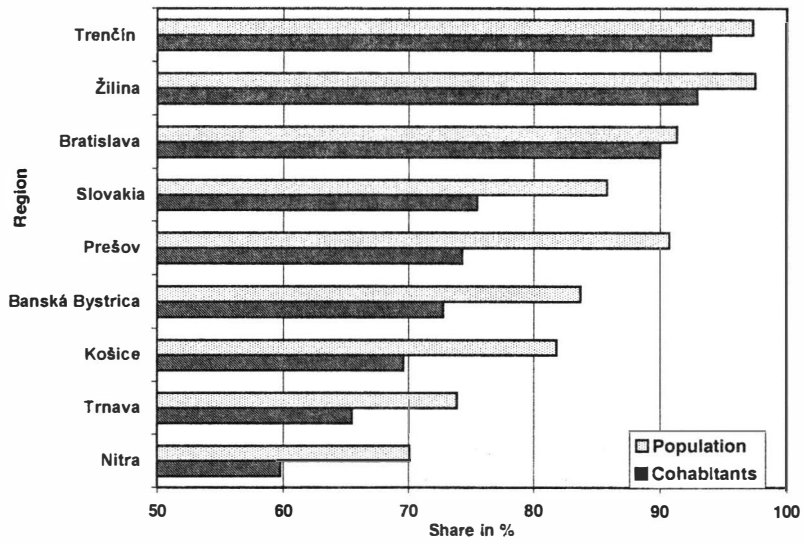


Figure 8a Representation of the Cohabitants and Population of the Slovak Ethnicity

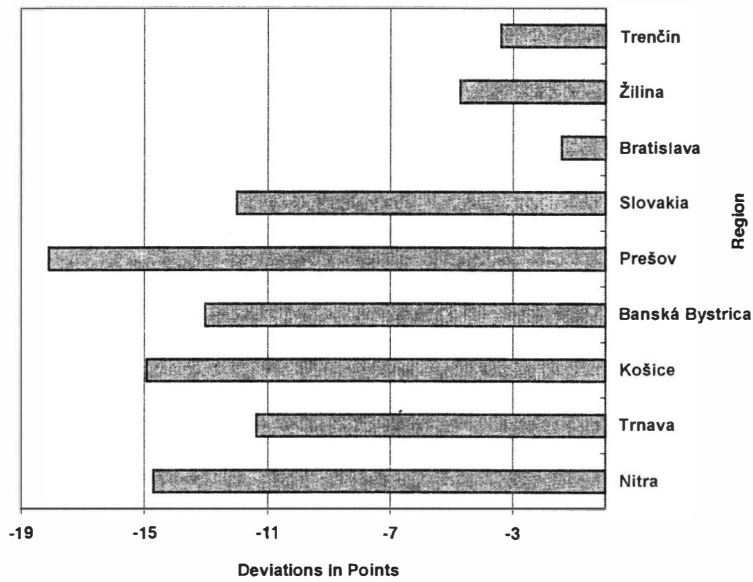


Figure 8b Deviations of the Cohabitants and Population Share of the Slovak Ethnicity

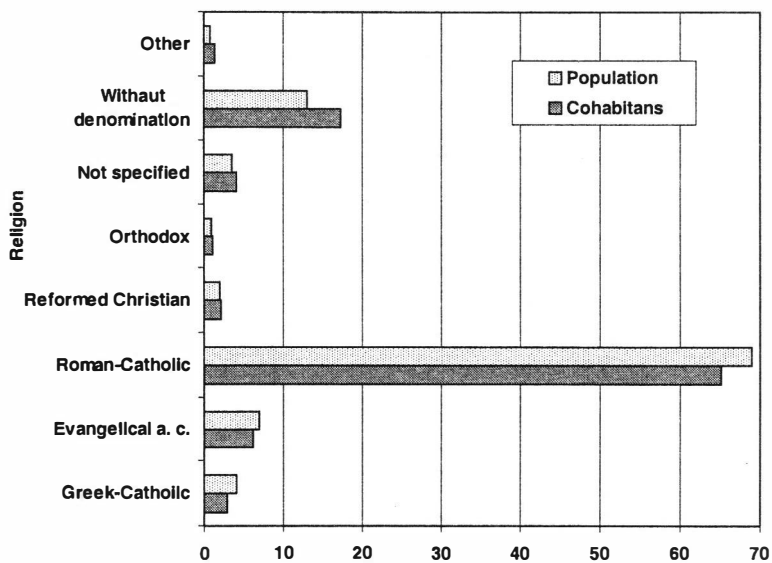


Figure 9a Religious Structure of the Cohabitants and Population in Slovakia

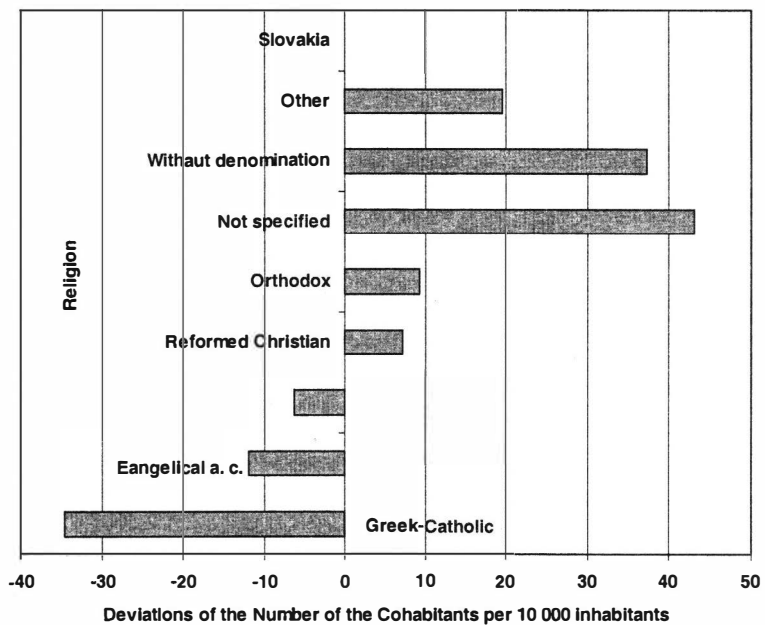


Figure 9b Deviations of the Cohabitants and Population Share in Slovakia

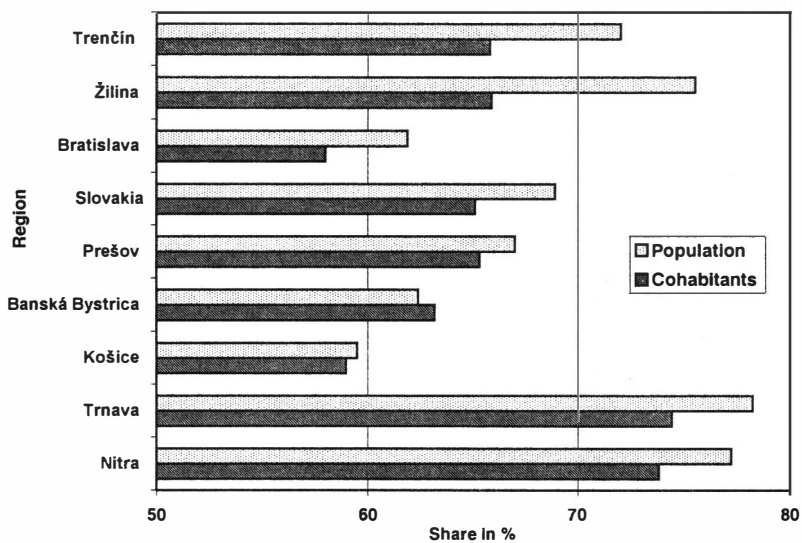


Figure 10a Representation of the Cohabitants and Population of the Roman-Catholic Religion

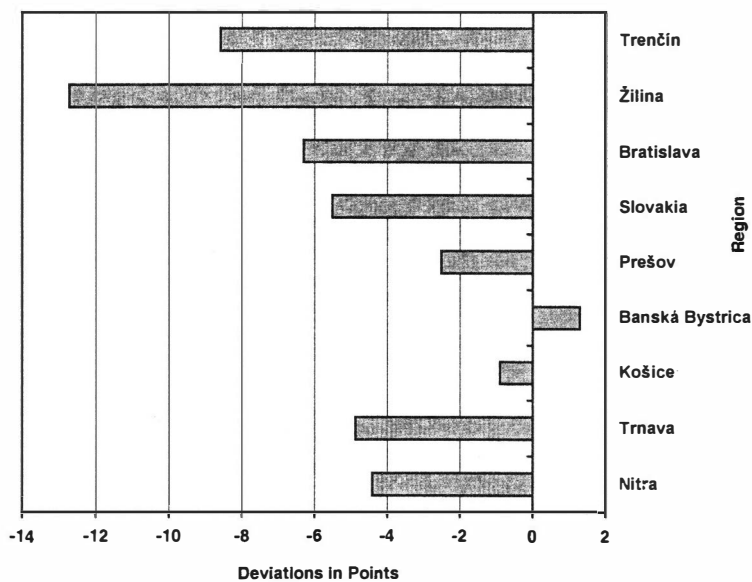


Figure 10b Deviations of the Cohabitants and Population Share of the Roman-Catholic Religion

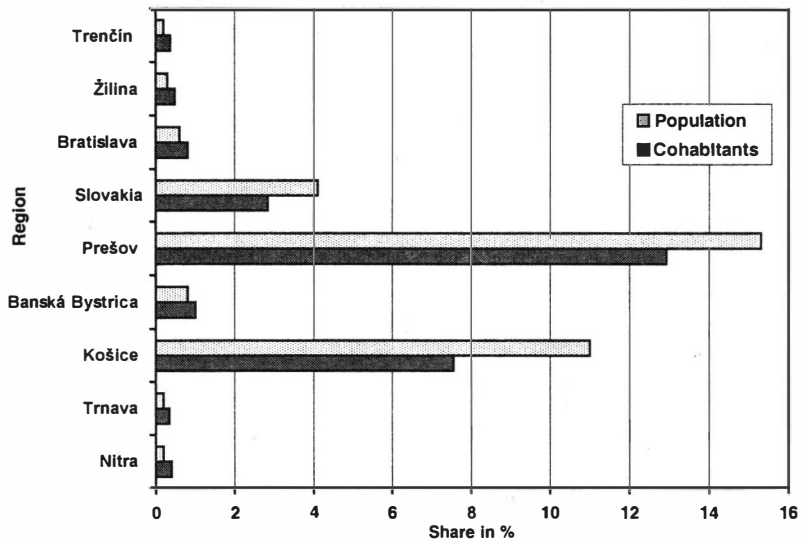


Figure 11a Representation of the Cohabitants and Population of the Greek-Catholic Religion

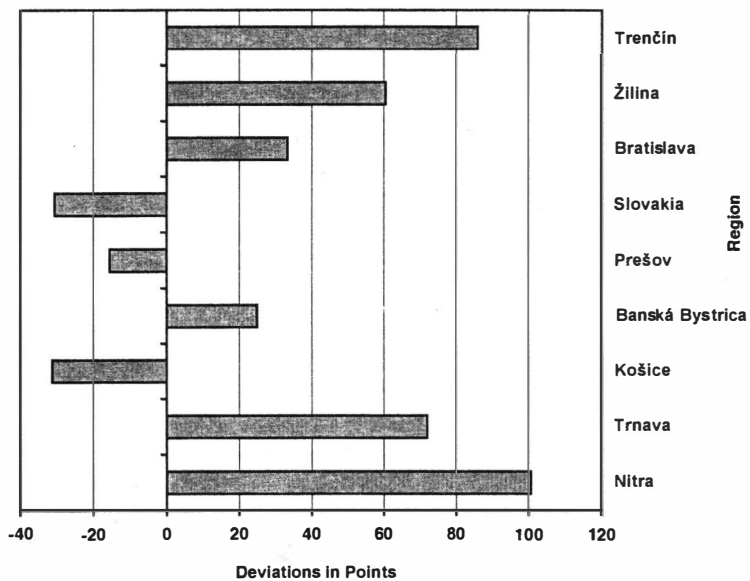


Figure 11b Deviations of the Cohabitants and Population Share of the Greek-Catholic Religion

Evaluation of the relationship between the educational level and cohabitation rate is complicated and it varies. At the beginning (the 1960s and 1970s) the experience that cohabitation is the form of coexistence linked to population with higher educational level was emphasised (Pohl 1985) and it was mostly associated with the educational level of women. It is more difficult for women with lower education to decide for informal coexistence than for women with higher education. This is the reason why the number of educated women participating in cohabitation is higher while their economic independence also plays a certain role (Lapierre, Adamcyk, Charvet 2000). Further development (the 1980s and 1990s) brought about modification of the relationship between the educational level of population and cohabitations above all in the consequence of the changing age structure of cohabitants. It is then logical that their educational level is lower or they are in stage of preparation for profession (Peuckret 1999). The study of pre-marital cohabitation potential, which is higher in the population group with elementary education (Fialová, Hamplová, Kučera, Vymětalová 2000), confirms such trend.

Similar developmental trends were also confirmed in assessment of the educational level of inhabitants and cohabitants of Slovakia. Most of cohabitations concern persons with elementary and apprenticeship types of education; they represent 68.3% in total number of cohabitations, while the share of inhabitants of Slovakia with the same educational level is only 55.8%. The comparative characteristics with positive deviations (Fig. 12) confirm it. It is the consequence of an increasing occurrence of cohabitations in lower age categories, which was proven in 2001. Certain effect may be ascribed to higher number of members of the Roma ethnicity, educational level of which is low. Cohabitants with secondary or university level of education do not reach proportional representation and negative deviations are typical for both of these educational categories.

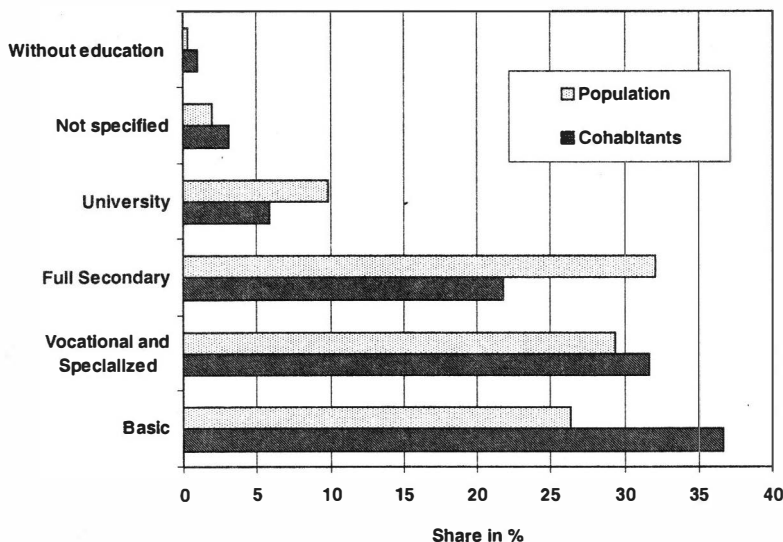


Figure 12a Education Structure of the Cohabitants and Population in Slovakia

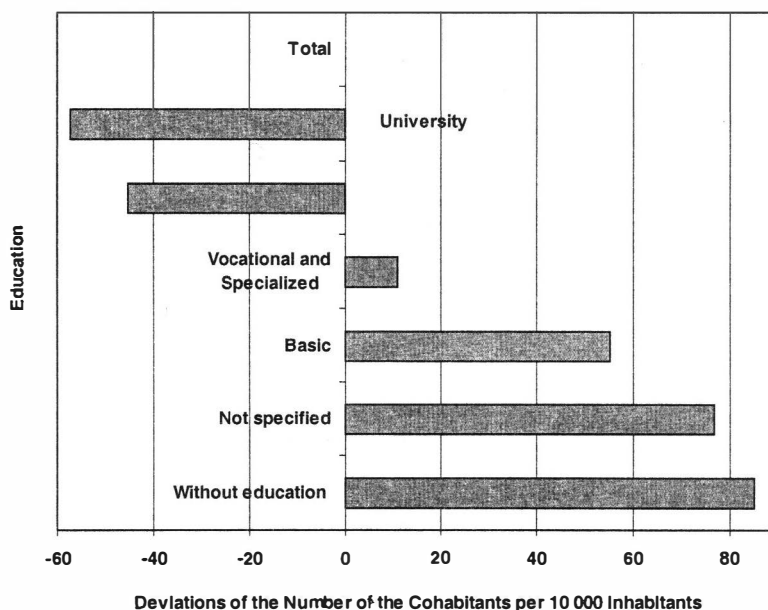


Figure 12b Deviations of the Education Structure of the Cohabitants and Population

5. SPATIAL DIFFERENTIATION OF COHABITATIONS

Assessment of spatial differentiation of cohabitations and their distribution in Slovakia was carried out at the level of administrative regions, districts and in the sets of urban and rural settlements.

The number of cohabitants at the level of administrative regions was compared with indicators which are presumably connected with cohabitations: number of inhabitants, number of women older than 15 years, and number of married women. The calculations of relative indicators, and above all their cartographic representations, point to considerable spatial stability of cohabitations in Slovakia. It is expressed by similarity of cohabitation distribution in the sense of the applied indicators. Two administrative regions, those of Banská Bystrica and Košice are the forms with relatively high cohabitation levels. On the other side, administrative regions of Žilina and Prešov, as all indicators suggest, are the forms with the lowest cohabitation level. Two other administrative regions – Nitra and Trnava were always ranked at the medium level. Certain variation in classification into the established categories of cohabitation level was found only in the administrative regions of Bratislava and Trenčín (Fig. 13).

Explanation of such spatial disparities is not simple and definite. One of the possibilities is to make use of the disparities and point deviation in the rate of cohabitation occurrence linked to the ethnic and religious structures of population and cohabitants in Slovakia. Higher share of religions (Roman-Catholic, Evangelical of A. c., and Greek Catholic) with negative deviation of cohabitation rate was established in the administrative regions of Žilina and Prešov. Their share is 86% or 87% while the

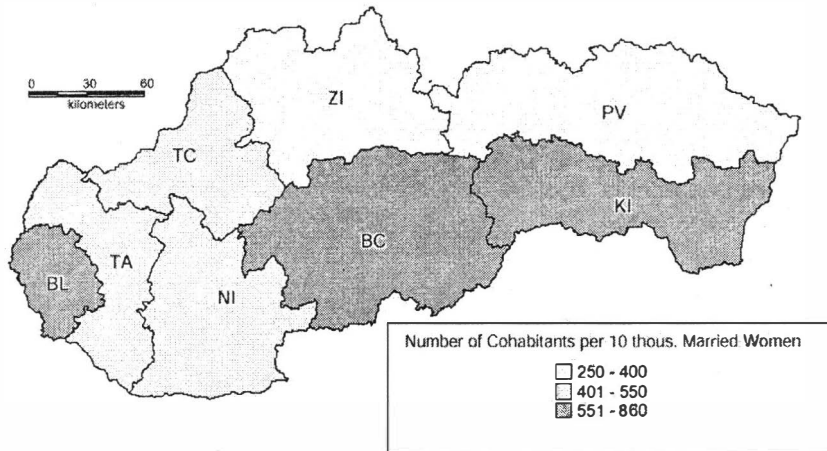
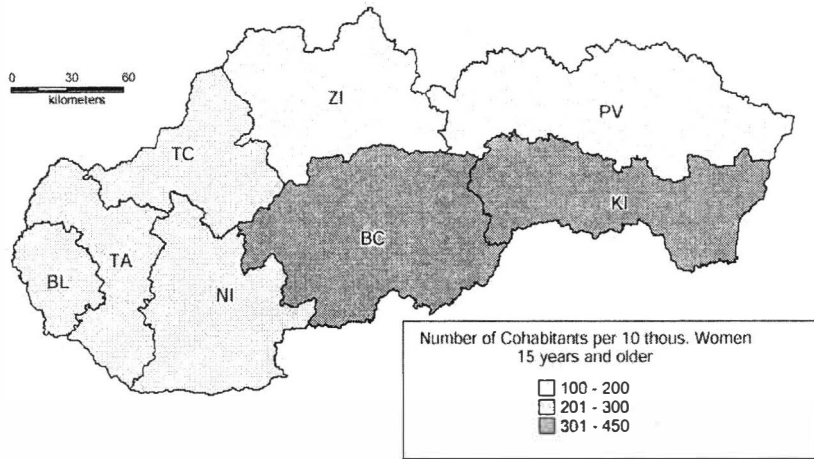
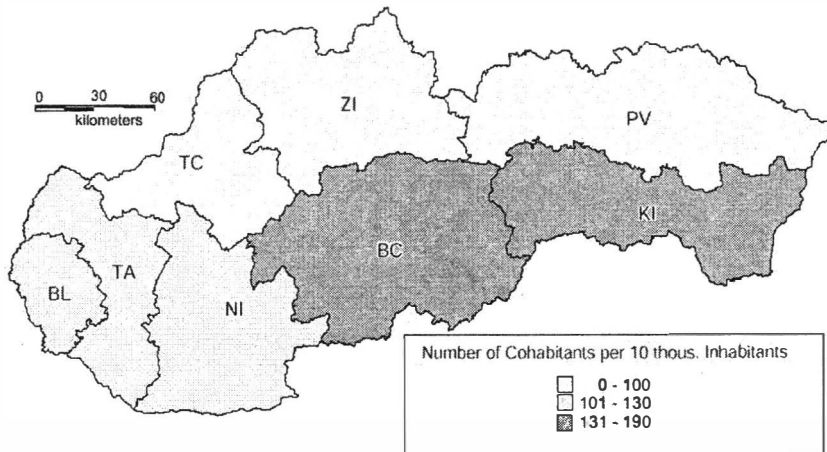


Figure 13 Cohabitations in Slovakia – 2001

national average of these religions is 80% (Tab. 2). Simultaneously, a very low representation of religions with very low cohabitation rate deviations – lacking confession, with no specified confession, Reformed Christian, and Orthodox with the share of 13% or 12% was established and it is much lower than the national average (19%). Representation of the individual ethnic groups in the administrative regions of Žilina and Prešov can be evaluated in the same way. Representation of ethnic groups with negative deviations of cohabitation rate in both administrative regions is much higher (94% or 97%) than their share in the whole Slovakia (87%). Simultaneously, representation of ethnicities with positive deviation of cohabitation rate (1% or 4%) is relatively lower than their national average (12%).

Table 2 Representation of the Ethnic and Religious Elements in the Regional Structures

Ethnic Structure of Population						
Ethnicity	Slovakia	Žilina	Prešov	B. Bystrica	Košice	
Slovak	85.8	97.5	90.7	83.7	81.8	negative deviation
Ruthenia	0.4	0.0	2.7	0.0	0.3	
Ukrainian	0.2	0.0	0.9	0.0	0.3	
Total	86.4	97.5	94.3	83.7	82.4	
Hungarian	9.7	0.1	0.1	11.7	11.2	positive deviation
Roma	1.7	0.4	4	2.3	3.9	
Czech	0.8	0.9	0.5	0.7	0.6	
Total	12.2	1.4	4.6	14.7	15.7	
Religious Structure of Population						
Religion	Slovakia	Žilina	Prešov	B. Bystrica	Košice	
Roman-Catholic	68.9	75.5	67.0	62.4	59.5	negative deviation
Evangelical a. c.	6.9	10.5	5.1	13.0	4.4	
Greek-Catholic	4.1	0.3	15.3	0.8	11.0	
Total	79.9	86.3	87.4	76.2	74.9	
Without denomination	13.0	10.4	5.6	18.8	11.8	positive deviation
Not specified	3.5	2.9	2.5	4.3	4.0	
Reformed Christian	2.0	0.0	0.1	1.8	6.4	
Orthodox	0.9	0.1	4.0	0.2	1.8	
Total	19.4	13.4	12.2	25.1	24.0	

Source: Census of Population, Houses and Dwellings 2001

Religious and ethnic structures of inhabitants in administrative regions of Banská Bystrica and Košice with the relatively highest cohabitation level compared to the two preceding administrative regions are significantly different. Representation of religions with the negative deviation of cohabitation rate is lower (75% and 76%) than the national share (80%), while representation of religions with positive deviations is significantly higher (25% and 24%) than their share in the whole Slovakia (19%). At the same time, the share of ethnicities with positive deviation (15% and 16%) is higher than their representation in the all-Slovakian average (12%).

Such distribution of cohabitation was also confirmed at the level of districts, but the differences in intensity are much larger. The belt of districts in southern Slovakia with high representation of cohabitants, both in comparison of the number of married women and total number of inhabitants is distinct. The lower rate of cohabitations is associated

with the belt of districts, which starts in western Slovakia, stretches over the northern parts and ends in eastern Slovakia (Fig. 14, Fig. 15). Relationships with religious and ethnic structure are similar to those at the level of administrative regions.

The effect of urbanisation level is often considered in connection not only with formation and disintegration of family, but also the rate of cohabitation occurrence. It is precisely in urban environment where generally favourable conditions for cohabitations exist. This form of coexistence occurs more frequently in large settlements – cities, towns and rural centres.

This is also true in case of Slovakia. In 2001, 56.2% of inhabitants of Slovakia lived in urban structures. As much as 62% of all cohabitations concentrated in these structures and only 37.1% of cohabitations existed in rural settlements. This indicates conservative attitude of the rural environment to this form of coexistence. Higher concentration in towns and cities was definitely confirmed in assessment of cohabitation distribution in the territories of administrative regions. The strongest effect of urbanisation factor manifests in the administrative regions of Žilina, Trenčín, Trnava, and Nitra. Their deviations in distribution of inhabitants and cohabitations are higher than the all-Slovakian average. On the other side, four administrative regions – Bratislava, Banská Bystrica, Prešov, and Košice also show positive deviations but the effect of urbanisation factor is weaker than at the all-Slovakian average.

6. CONCLUSION

Changes of family behaviour of population represent an important component of the population development in the period of the second demographic transition. It is the set of changes concerning marriage rate, divorce and abortion rates, and the overall issue of family formation and disintegration. Forms of family or partner coexistence including extra-marital fertility are important parts of this set.

Assessment of reproduction and family behaviour of inhabitants of Japan and Slovakia established many features very similar to the universal behaviour model or the tendency of some of them to convergence (Mládek 1998, Mládek, Širočková 2003, Atoh 2001). Some features of family behaviour are more conservative and the strong effect of traditions is obvious. This is especially true of cohabitation and extra-marital fertility developments in Japanese population. The effect of traditional family bonds, special position of woman and family, as well as the slower implementation of modern birth control methods manifest in these processes. Slovak population is characterised by a somewhat higher incidence of cohabitations and a fairly higher extra-marital fertility although compared to the advanced west or north European countries the tempo of both processes is slower.

Cohabitation study in Slovakia has shown certain dependence on some socio-cultural traits such as ethnic, religious and educational structures of population. Spatial disparities in cohabitation rate also greatly depend on distribution of inhabitants appurtenant to the individual religions or ethnic groups.

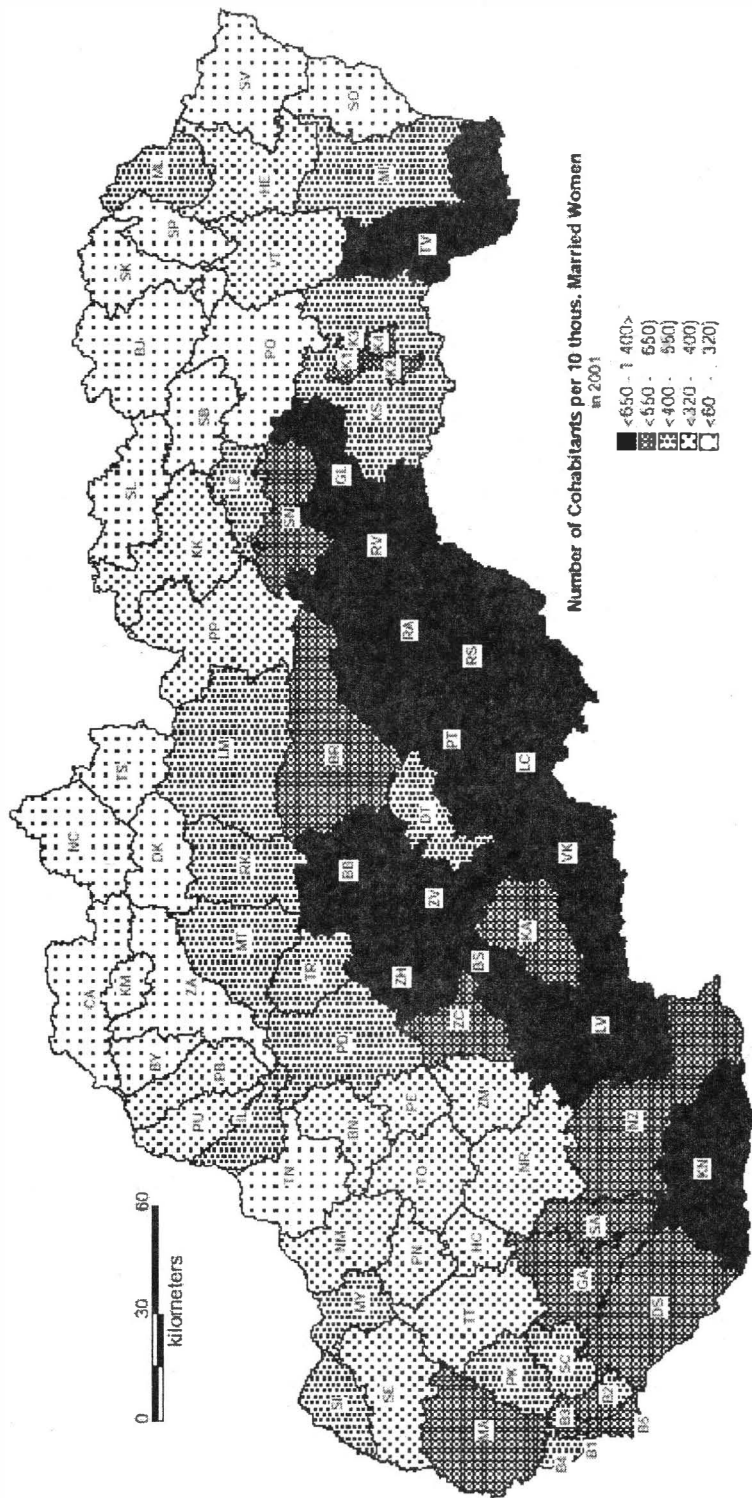


Figure 14 Intensity of Cohabitation in Slovakia I

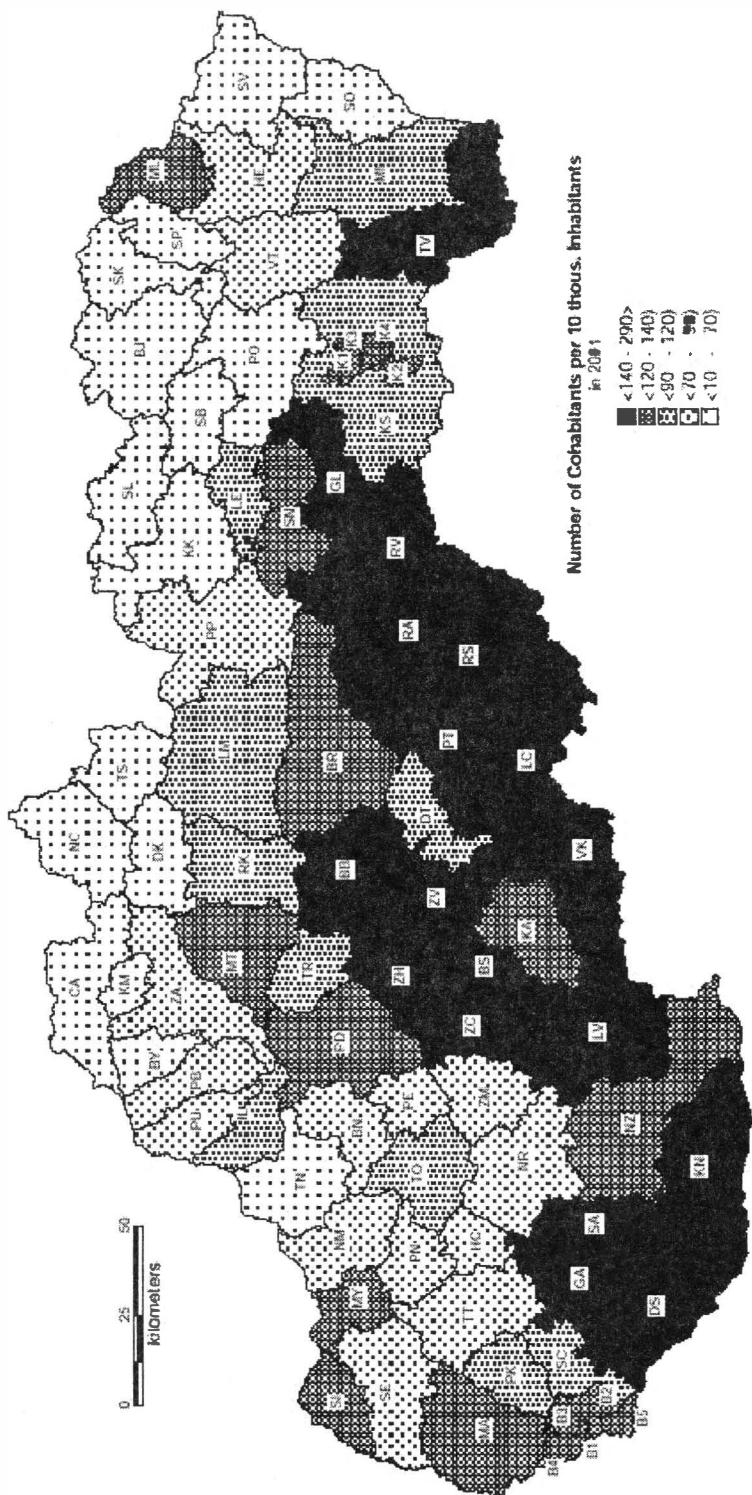


Figure 15 Intensity of Cohabitation in Slovakia II

References

- ATOH, M., (1993): Attitude Toward Marriage among the Youth: Causes for the Recent Rise in the Proportion Single among the Twenties in Japan, Institute of Population Problems, No. 15, Japan.
- ATOH, M., (2001a): Very Low Fertility in Japan and Value Change Hypotheses, Review of Population and Social Policy, No. 10, Tokyo. 1-21.
- ATOH, M., (2001b): Why are cohabitation and extra-marital births so few in Japan?, Paper presented at the EURESCO conference „The second Demographic Transition in Europe“, Bad Herrenalb, Germany, 24.
- DUBAYOVA, M. (2001): Rómovia v procesoch kultúrnej zmeny. Kultúroantropologická štúdia (Roma community in processes of the cultural changes. Cultureanthropological study). Acta Fcultatis Philosophicae Universitatis Prešovensis. Monographia 30. Prešov.
- FIALOVÁ, L., HAMPLOVÁ, D., KUČERA, M., VYMĚTALOVÁ, S. (2000): Představy mladých lidí i manželstve a rodičovství (Yang People's Ideas about Marriage and the Family). Sociologické nakladatelství, Praha.
- Foetal death, Perinatal death, Marriages, Divorces. Summary of Vital Statistics. Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare. Japan. 2003.
http://www.mhlw.go.jp/english/database/db-hw/vs_8/vs0.html
- GERHARDT, U., HRADIL, S., LUCKE, D., (1995): Familie, der Zukunft, Lebensbedingungen und Lebensformen, Socialstructuralanalyse, Opladen
- International Comparison of Cohabitation Rates. Statistics. Vital Statistics.
<http://jin.jcic.or.jp/stat/stats/02VIT34.html>
- Induced Abortions and Sterilization. Selected Demographic Indicators for Japan. National Institute of Population and Social Security Research. Japan 2002. <http://www.ipss.go.jp/index-e.html>
- IWASAWA, M., (2000): The Transformation of Partnerships of Japanese Women in the 1990 s: Increased Reluctance towards Traditional Marriages and the Prevalence of Non – Cohabiting Couples. National Institute of Population and Social Security Research. Working Paper, Series (E). Tokyo. 1-28.
- IWASAWA, M. (2001): Partnership Transition in Contemporary Japan: Prevalence of Childless Non – Cohabiting Couples. Paper presented at the IVSSP Conference on „International Perspectives on Low Fertility“. Tokyo 2001.
- LAPIERRE-ADAMCYK, E., CHARVET, C., (2000): Nichteheliche Lebensgemeinschaft und Ehe: Bestandsaufnahme der demographischen Arbeiten. Zeitschrift für Bevölkerungswissenschaft. Jg. 25/1. 203-210.
- LESTHAGHE, R. (1983): A Century of Demographic and Cultural Change in Western Europe: An Exploration of Underlying Dimensions. Population and Development Review, Vol. 9, No. 3 (september 1983). 411-435.
- MLÁDEK, J. (1998): Druhý demografický prechod a Slovensko (Second demographic Transition and Slovakia). ACTA Universitatis Prešovensis Folia Geographica 2. XXX. Prešov. 42-52 p.
- MLÁDEK, J., ŠIROČKOVÁ, J., (2003): Demographic Approaches to the Family Behaviour, European Integration and Regional Development, 5th Czech-Slovak-Polish Conference, Přírodovědecká fakulta UK, Praha.
- MLÁDEK, J., (2003): Kohabitácie a kohabitanti na Slovensku – národnostná, religiózna, vzdelanostná a priestorová štruktúra (Cohabitation and Cohabitants in Slovakia, National, Religious and Education Structure). 9. Slovak Demographic Conference – Family, Slovenská štatistická a demografická spoločnosť, Tajov. 18-24.
- National institute of population and social security research (2003): Population Statistics of Japan, Tokyo, Japan.
- PASTOR, K. (2002): Rodina a rodinná politika v 2. demografickej revolúcii. In: Rodina v ohrození – výzva pre sociálne vedy (Family and Family Policy in the Second Demographic Transition). Fakulta humanistiky Trnavskej univerzity. Trnava. 30-41.

- PEUCKERT, R. (1999): Familienformen im sozialen Wandel. 3. Auflage. Laske + Budrich, Opladen
- POHL, K. (1985): Wende oder Einstellungswandel? Heiratsabsichten und Kinderwunsch 18 bis 28 jähriger deutscher Frauen 1978 und 1983. Zeitschrift für Bevölkerungswissenschaft Jg. 11. 87-100.
- Population, Live birth, Deaths, Infant deaths, Neonatal deaths, Natural increase. Summary of Vital Statistics. Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare. Japan. 2003.
<http://www.mhlw.go.jp/english/database/db-hw/populate/index.html>
- SCHULZ, E. (2002): Auswirkungen des demographischen Wandels auf die Familienstandstruktur. Entwicklung 1991 bis 1999 und Vorausschätzungen bis 2005. Zeitschrift für Bevölkerungswissenschaft Jg. 27. 2. 213-245.
- ŠIROČKOVÁ, J. (2003): Zmeny a nové formy rodinného správania (Changes and new Formes of the Family Behaviour). 9. Slovak Demographic Conference – Family, Slovenská štatistická a demografická spoločnosť, Tajov. 49-56.
- Štatistický úrad SR (2003): Sčítanie obyvateľov, domov a bytov 2001. Osoby žijúce v manželstve podľa poradia manželstva a faktické manželstvá spoločne bývajúcich osôb podľa rodinného stavu, pohlavia a 5-ročných vekových skupín za SR, kraje a okresy (Census of Population, Houses and Dwellings 2001).
- van de KAA, D., J., (1987): Europe/s Second Demographic Transition, Population Bulletin, Vol. 42. No. 1. 1-51.
- WAGNER, M., FRANZMAN, G. (2000): Die Pluralisierung der Lebensformen. Zeitschrift für Bevölkerungswissenschaft Jg. 25. 1. 151-173.
- YAMADA, M., (1998): The Japanese Family in Transition, Foreign Press Center, Japan.

Rodinné správanie (kohabitácie, narodení mimo manželstva) na Slovensku a v Japonsku

Resume

Zmeny rodinného správania obyvateľstva sú podstatnou súčasťou populačného vývoja v období druhého demografického prechodu. Je to súbor zmien, ktoré sa týkajú najmä procesov sobášnosti, rozvodovosti a potratovosti, ako aj celkovej problematiky formovania a rozpadu rodiny. Významnou súčasťou tohto súboru sú formy rodinného a partnerského spolužitia ako i mimomanželská pôrodnosť.

Ak posudzujeme reprodukčné a najmä rodinné správanie obyvateľstva Japonska a Slovenska, tak konštatujeme mnoho znakov veľmi podobných všeobecnému modelu správania, alebo niektoré z nich majú tendenciu sa mu približovať (Mládek 1998, Mládek, Širočková 2003, Atoh 2001). Niektoré črty rodinného správania sú konzervatívnejšie, prejavuje sa v nich silný vplyv tradícií. Platí to predovšetkým o vývoji kohabitácií a mimo manželskej plodnosti v japonskej populácii. V týchto procesoch sa uplňuje vplyv tradičných rodinných väzieb, osobitné postavenie ženy v rodine ako i pomalší rozvoj moderných antikoncepčných metód. Slovenská populácia má o niečo vyššie zastúpenie kohabitácií a o dosť vyššiu mimo manželskú pôrodnosť, ale v porovnaní s vyspelými západo- a severoeurópskymi krjinami je rozvoj oboch procesov pomalší.

Štúdium kohabitácií na Slovensku ukázalo ich určitú závislosť predovšetkým s niektorými spoločensko-kultúrnymi znakmi. Sú to najmä národnostná, religiózna, a vzdelanostná štruktúra obyvateľstva. Aj priestorové odlišnosti v intenzite kohabitácií sú v silnej závislosti od rozmiestnenia obyvateľov jednotlivých národností a religii.

スロバキアと日本における家族行動（同棲、婚外出生）

ヨセフ・ムラーデク、ヤナ・シロツコヴァー

人口に関する家族行動の変化は、第二次人口転換期における人口増減を左右する一つの重要な要素である。その変化は、婚姻率や離婚率、中絶率に関係し、家族の形成と崩壊、その全般に及ぶものである。また、そこでは婚外出生も含めて家族やパートナーとの共生の形態が重要になってくる。

日本とスロバキアにおける人口再生産および家族行動を評価することで、世界共通の行動モデルもしくはそのなかの傾向性ときわめて類似している部分が明らかになった（ムラーデク 1998、ムラーデク・シロツコヴァー 2003、阿藤 2001）。しかし、家族行動にはいくつか保守的な特徴がみられ、いわゆる伝統的なものの影響が強いことも明らかである。この点はとくに日本の同棲と婚外出生において顕著である。これらのプロセスには、伝統的な家族の絆やそこでの女性の地位、近代的な避妊法の普及の遅れが影響している。スロバキアに関しては、日本よりも同棲が多く婚外出生も若干多い点を特徴とするが、西欧および北欧の先進諸国と比べてそれらの進行は緩やかである。

スロバキアの同棲に関する研究によれば、同棲の態様は社会的・文化的な特徴によって異なることがはっきりと示されており、例えば民族や宗教、教育に関する人口構成と密接に関わっている。同棲率の空間的差異に関しても、個々の宗教や民族に属する人々の分布状況に大きく依存している。