

FAMILY FORMATION AND DISINTEGRATION IN JAPAN AND SLOVAKIA (SIMILAR AND DIFFERENT FEATURES)

Jana Širočková, Jozef Mládek

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

Abstract: The contemporary demographic research dedicates great attention to formation and disintegration of family. The decisive part of reproduction during the historical development both in Slovakia and in Japan was bound to family. Analysis of selected population processes reveals that in spite of a strong influence of traditions family behaviour also changed in Slovakia. The identified changes are characterised by long-term trends, which were accelerated by social transformation processes. It is especially true of the striking changes of marriage rate and increase of marriage age. Divorce increases more slowly and the level of abortion has distinctly decreased. Informal partner bonds (cohabitations) spread slowly. While in the past the model of early marriage dominated in Slovakia i.e. low marriage age, high share of persons entered matrimony (90%), recently the model of late marriage is increasingly preferred. The family in Japan had traditionally economic, cultural, reproducing and educational functions. Changes concern the increasing marriage age, increasing share of „single“ households or decrease of the share of married couples. On the other hand, the low level of divorce rate, small number of cohabitations, low share of single-parent families, and low level of extra-marital fertility seem to confirm the stability of family. Despite all, their family bonds are strong, they do not easily accept informal cohabitations.

Key words: Family behaviour, marriage, divorce, cohabitation

1. INTRODUCTION

The contemporary demographic research dedicates great attention to formation and disintegration of family. Knowledge of such characteristic features of family, which affect reproduction process, is prioritised. The decisive part of reproduction during the historical development both in Slovakia and in Japan was bound to family environment and a substantial part of population has lived its reproducing period within the formal family environment.

Comparison of family behaviour, process of family formation and disintegration in Japan and Slovakia is a very complicated task. It is caused not only by different size of

populations of these countries, but also different economic and cultural development, and above all religions. The study of some population processes is also encumbered by differing legislations and statistical procedures, especially if more detailed and specific indicators are to be used. In spite of these problems, the aspiration of this paper is recognising and presenting of the principal developmental trends, regional differences and causal implications of those selected population processes, which characterise similar and different features of family behaviour of populations in Japan and Slovakia.

2. SOME DEVELOPMENTAL TRENDS OF FAMILY BEHAVIOUR IN THE PERIOD OF THE 2ND DEMOGRAPHIC TRANSITION

The dominant type of the so-called nuclear family created by two parents is getting broader about such forms, as the family created by single grown-up person is, or by a non-formal couple of partners living in companionate marriage. Van de Kaa (1987) characterizes these changes as a transition from the uniform family, to the broad-diversified forms of family and to the households. Informal unions during recent 20 years become massively widened within majority of the post-industrialized states, and became a common form of the partnership cohabitation, whereby stability of the family as a social institution is markedly affected. It is advisable to find roots of the informal marriages in an overall development of the high developed countries social-economic sphere. For the significant factors are considered an increased level of education of the woman's part of population, higher women's employment rate, which is assuring their economic independence, high effectiveness of the applied methods of the birth-control together with liberalization of the abortion laws.

Despite the strong influence of traditions, also Slovakia is undergoing the changes in the family behaviour. These changes tend to certain long-term trends, which in recent 10 – 15 years are characterized by a definite acceleration. Some of the these changes have the same shape as those, which become manifested in the West-European populations since the sixtieth of the last century and, which are considered to be the characteristic peculiarities of the demographic behaviour during the 2nd demographic transition.

Some information about the informal family unions in Slovakia can be drawn down from the census of population. There are data about the factual marriages – cohabitation (persons sharing the flat, marked as the companionate marriage). According to census 1991, in Slovakia were 20 864 cohabitation. Up to the year 2001 their number considerably increased up to 30 466, what reflects changes of the social conditions, as well as changes of population family behaviour. In 1991 there were 1,65 cohabitants folling on 100 marriage persons and in 2001 has increased up to 2,68. At the same time, together with increase in rate of the cohabitation, there are changing their structures, as well.

Cohabitation and extra-marital birth are much less spread in Japan than in the European populations M. Atoh (2001) reports some reasons of such behaviour. The low share of efficient modern birth control means is significant and their use spreads slowly. In case of cohabitation, unmarried women bear a considerable risk of unwanted pregnancy. In spite of an important emancipation progress, the task of woman in the

family slowly changes. The traditional function of care after the family is also applied in pre-marital cohabitation and it discourages many women from such form of coexistence. In spite of growing individualism and secularisation, strong family feeling and family cohesion are preserved. Bonds to the original family are often stronger than the relationship to the partner or husband. The result is that the prevailing number of single working women prefers a more comfortable coexistence with their parents.

Within the period between censuses, for lack of complete and reliable data about the cohabitation (matrimonial, partnership) are frequently used the utility data, e.g. data on extramarital fertility.

Number of the extramarital birthchildren in Slovakia was traditionally low, in particular in comparison with the Western European countries. In 1950, there were 5,5% of extramarital birthchildren, and up to the year 1990 this ratio increased up to 7,6%. And just in 1990's this indicator increased considerably and in 2001, share of extramarital children increased up to 19,7. In comparison with the Western European countries, the ratio of extramarital birthrate in Slovakia is relatively low.

Situation in Japanese population is different. In spite of the increasing absolute numbers and relative shares of extramarital births, this phenomenon is not important in the framework of population's reproduction. The value of extramarital birth rate was as much as 9.4% at the beginning of the 20th century but it decreased to 1% before the Second World War. It was the result of the idea of love-based marriages and simultaneously the abandoning of usage when partnership of man with several women was tolerated. In 1980, the share of extramarital births reached only 0.8%, before 1990 it increased to 1.07 and in 2000 it represented 1.68%. It is a very low level of extramarital fertility (S. Nakagawa 2003, M. Yamada 1998) not only in comparison with Slovakia but also in comparison with the West European populations.

A certain information about changes in inhabitants family behaviour can be achieved from the other results of the population census, namely from indications about the number, greatness and structure of the summed up households. Development in Slovakia in the years 1961 – 2001 characterizes relatively sudden fall of the Slovak family's size. Average number of the family members in 1961 was 3,53. Within recent 40 years this figure sunk under the limit of 3 family members and, within the year 2001 achieved the average number of 2,66 persons on the census's household (Tab. 1). A significant feature of the development is also a sudden growth of the census's households with one person, i.e. single households. In 1961, ratio of these „single“ households was 9,3%, in 1970 increased up to 11,9%, in the year 1980 up to 19,8% and in the year 1991 jumped up to 21,8%. Within last decade of the last century there was even more notable increase of ratio of the single households up to 30% from the overall number of the census households. In parallel with this tendency, it is possible to observe also decrease of the households with lower number of the family members. While in 1961 was ratio of the households with fertility rate of more than 6 children 11,8%, up to year 2001 their share dropped to 2,8%.

Major part of the SR population live in the complete families even though, that their share is continuously decreasing (Tab. 1). While in 1961, the complete families represented 81,2% of all census families, in 1980 their ratio decreased to 70,6%, and in the year 2001 dropped further to 56,4%. On the contrary, the opposite trend are showing an incomplete families, share of which in 1961 was 8,4%, and up to the year 2001 increased up to 11,9%.

Table 1 Census households by type of family in Slovakia

Kind of households	1961		1970		1981		1991		2001	
	Number	Share in %	Number	Share in %	Number	Share in %	Number	Share in %	Number	Share in %
Complete families without dependent children	960 348	81,2	1 055 744	78,5	1 171 976	70,6	1 234 473	67,4	1 168 023	56,4
Complete families with dependent children	396 875	33,5	461 652	34,3	535 644	32,3	472 137	25,8	524 020	25,3
Incomplete families without dependent children	563 473	47,6	594 092	44,2	636 332	38,3	762 336	41,6	644 103	31,1
Incomplete families with dependent children	99 612	8,4	115 050	8,6	136 360	8,2	190 931	10,4	246 358	11,9
More members nonfamily households	*	*	*	*	76 500	4,6	91 785	5	108 029	5,2
Households of single people	*	*	*	*	59 860	3,6	99 146	5,4	138 329	6,7
Census household total	13 664	1,1	13 091	1	23 953	1,4	7 792	0,4	35 339	1,7
	109 692	9,3	160 802	11,9	328 188	19,8	399 288	21,8	622 023	30,0
	1 183 316	100,0	1 344 687	100,0	1 660 477	100,0	1 832 484	100,0	2 071 743	100,0

Source: Census of Population, Houses and Dwellings, 1961, 1970, 1980, 1991, 2001

Table 2 Census households by type of family in Japan

Kind of households	1960		1970		1980		1990		2000	
	Number	Share in %	Number	Share in %	Number	Share in %	Number	Share in %	Number	Share in %
Nuclear family households	11 788	60,2	17 186	63,5	21 594	63,3	24 218	61,8	27 332	60,1
Total	1 630	8,3	2 972	11,0	4 460	13,1	6 294	16,1	8 835	19,4
a married couple only	8 489	43,4	12 471	46,1	15 081	44,2	15 172	38,7	14 919	32,8
a married couple and their child (ren)	245	1,3	253	0,9	297	0,9	425	1,1	545	1,2
father and his child (ren)	1 424	7,3	1 491	5,5	1 756	5,1	2 328	5,9	3 032	6,7
mother and her child (ren)	919	4,7	2 912	10,8	5 388	15,8	7 908	20,2	11 641	25,6
Oneperson households	74	0,4	88	0,4	62	0,2	77	0,2	192	0,4
Nonrelatives households	18 579	94,9	24 059	88,9	28 657	84,0	31 204	79,6	33 679	74,0
Relatives households	19 571	100,0	27 071	100,0	34 106	100,0	39 189	100,0	45 512	100,0
Total number of households	4,52		3,73		3,25		3,01		2,7	
Number of persons per household										

Source: Population Census of Japan

Similar tendencies are also observable in Japanese households. The average number of persons in household dropped even more distinctly from 4.5 in 1960 to 2.7 in 2000 (Tab. 2). In the initial period, Japanese household was larger and at present it is similar to that in Slovakia. The increase of the number of single-person households is similar. In 1960, their share was 4.7% and increased to 25.6% in the course of 40 years. It is somewhat smaller than the share of single-person households in Slovakia. Certain tradition of family behaviour in Japan is documented by the stable share of what is referred to as nuclear family households. Their number increased in the study period 2.5-times while their share in household structure maintains at 60%. On the other side though, the share of childless families increases (20%) in the household structure and the share of complete families (parents and children) contrastingly decreased from 43% in 1960 to 33% in 2000 (Tab. 2).

3. NUPTIALITY MODELS AND THEIR CHANGES

Nuptiality is a separate population process, which lays foundations to a family by conclusion of marriage. The development of number of marriages in both countries was not regular as it was based on the particular overall political, economic and social situation.

The data on the crude marriage rate of both countries is used for comparison of their nuptiality. The curve of crude marriage rate of Japan was, compared to Slovakia, a more uniform moving between 12‰ in 1947 and 5.7‰ in 1987 (Fig. 1). It is the result of Japan's comparatively isolated development lacking any striking interventions from abroad in the first half of the 20th century. The nuptiality level of Slovakia was greatly influenced by the First World War during which the abrupt decrease was followed by even more abrupt increase (from 6.6‰ in 1918 to 16.5‰ in 1919) after the War. It is what is referred to as the compensation phase. The subsequent development is free from such dramatic fluctuations. Marriage rate increase was connected with the fact that the generations born after the First or Second World Wars reached the marital age. Nuptiality was also influenced through pro-natality measures – construction of flats, financial contribution at the childbirth, subsidies into child's goods. Approximately from the 1980s in Slovakia and from the 1970s in Japan, the relatively continuous decrease of nuptiality is observable. In 2001, crude marriage rate of Slovakia was 4.4‰ – from 1992 lower than in Japan where it reached 6.4‰ in 2001.

Reasons for nuptiality behaviour of Japanese population are various. The trend tending to the model of later marriage or no marriage at all originated in the consequence of economic, social, and cultural changes. The Japanese people acquired a different view of marriage institution in the first place. While before 1980 it was almost unimaginable for all to reach financial stability and emotional satisfaction in other way than in marriage, at present the young people, especially those living in cities, do not necessarily imagine a full value and quality life within the wedlock. On the contrary, many of them consider the life out of marriage more comfortable. This is the reason why many young Japanese people (above all women) continue living in common household with their parents.

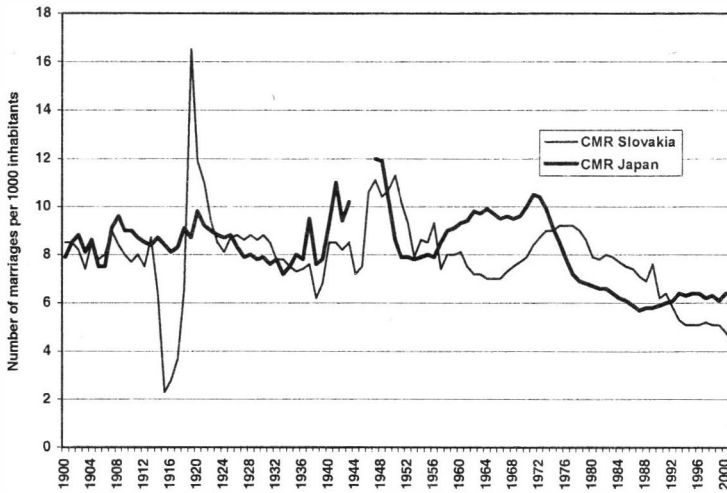


Figure 1 Nuptiality in Japan and Slovakia

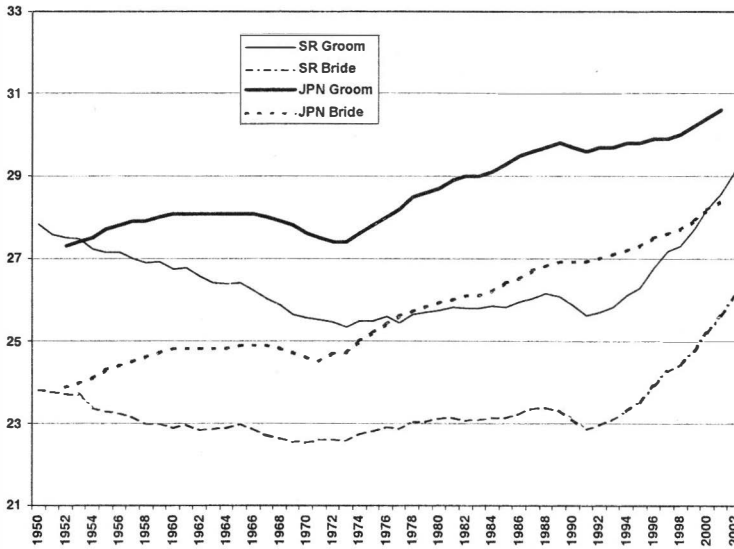


Figure 2 Mean marriage age in Slovakia and in Japan

The increasing divorce rate is also the cause why marriage loses attractiveness. Matrimony is less important from the point of view of perception of this institution as the source of sexual satisfaction. Pursuing the public opinion enquiry, premarital sexual life has become acceptable in Japan (Atoh, M., 1993).

Average age at the conclusion of marriage and average age at the conclusion of the first marriage are important characteristics. Mean marriage age in Japan and in Slovakia was studied in the period 1950-2001. It is characterised by an increasing tendency. The marriage age of men and women in Japan was higher than in Slovakia during the whole study period (Fig. 2). While the distinct increase of the average marriage age in Japan

started approximately in the 1970s, this trend manifested in Slovakia since the 1990s. Now (2001) the average age at marriage of men and women in Japan is 30.6 and 28.4 years respectively. Lower values were recorded in Slovakia – 28.6 for men and 25.6 for women.

Average age of men and women at the first marriage is a much more sensitive characteristic of nuptiality because it ignores the marriages of divorced or widowed persons. In the past, the Slovak statistics recorded the average age at the conclusion of the first marriage only for women. The mean age at first marriage of men and women was considerably lower in Slovakia (Fig. 3). While the mean age at the first marriage continuously increased in Japan, in Slovakia the most intensive increase has been recorded after 1993. At present (2001), Japan records distinctly higher values of the mean first marriage age both of men (29.0) and of women (27.2) than in Slovakia (26.6 men and 24.1 women).

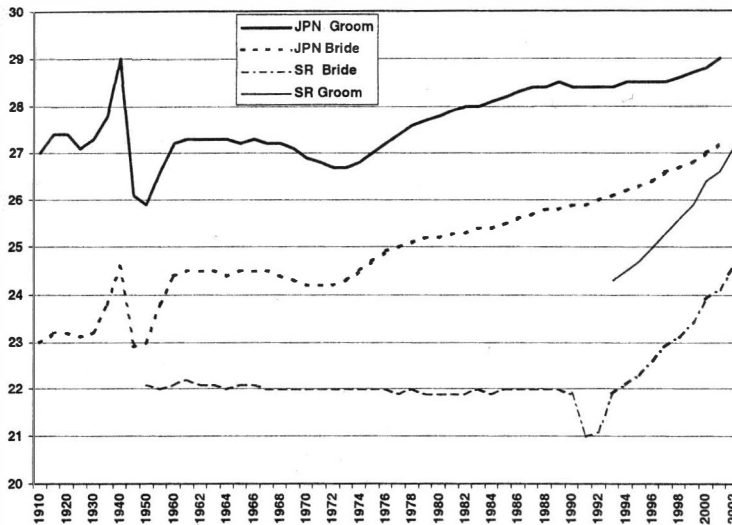


Figure 3 Mean age at first marriage in Japan and Slovakia

Nuptiality by age was analyzed following age categories in 5-year intervals in 1990 and 2000. Relative values i.e. number of marriages per 1,000 women or men were used.

Comparison of 1990 and 2000 showed the decrease of nuptiality of men in Slovakia above all in age categories 15 – 19, 20 – 24, and 25 – 29. While in 1999 there was only one distinct maximum of nuptiality of men in category 20 – 24, in 2000 the curve reached two tops of 20 – 24 and 25 – 29 year old (Fig. 4). Beside other, it confirms the fact that the marriage age of men is higher than that of women.

It is also obvious that in Slovakia the greatest number of women who married were in the 20 – 24 age category in study period (Fig. 5). Nuptiality in the study category decreased from 98.64 to 54.34 in the years 1990 – 2000. On the contrary, slight increase of nuptiality of women was observed in age categories 25 – 29 and 30 – 34. There is an evident difference between nuptiality of men and women by age in the years 1990 and 2000. It is the result of various changes in society, which are reflected at the level of nuptiality values. They include economic, social, and other changes, for instance prolonged preparation for profession.

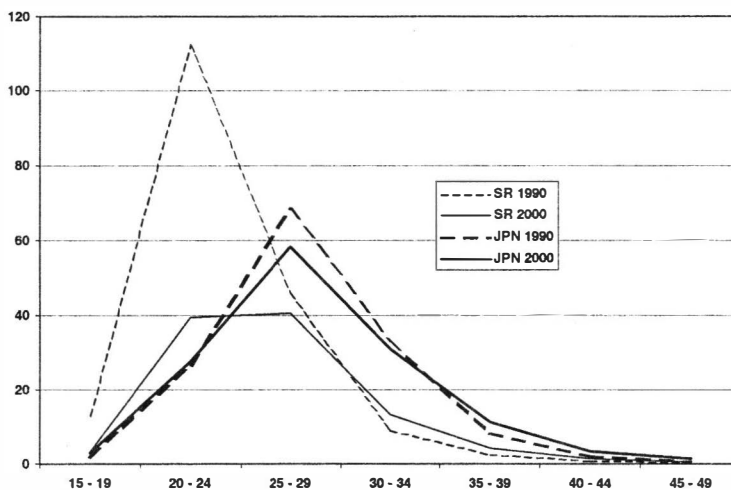


Figure 4 First marriage rates by age of groom in Japan and Slovakia

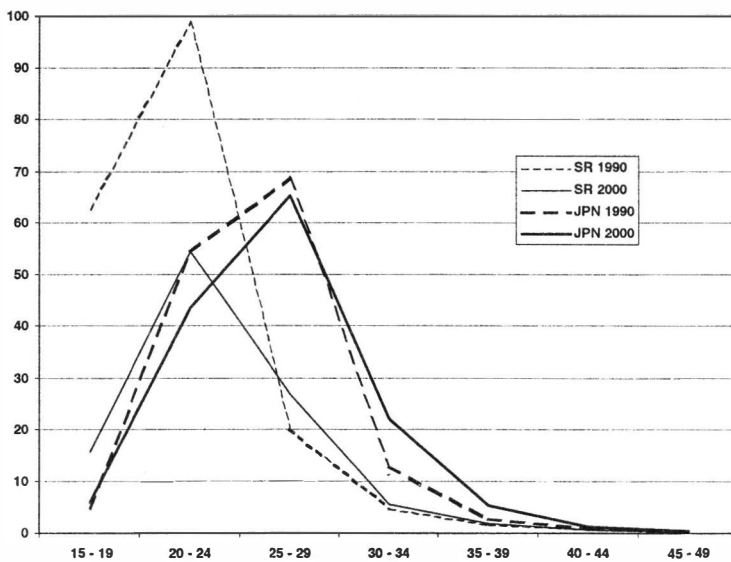


Figure 5 First marriage rates by age of bride in Japan and Slovakia

Nuptiality of Japanese men was permanently the highest in 25 – 29 age category in the given years. In 2000, compared to 1990, nuptiality by age decreased in two categories: 25 – 29 and 30 – 34.

Nuptiality of Japanese woman by age reached two distinct tops in 1990: in the 20 – 24 and 25 – 29 age categories. In 2000, the maximum in 25 – 29 year old category increasingly started to dominate. The decrease of nuptiality of women is observable in categories of 20 – 24 and 25 – 29 year old accompanied by increase of nuptiality of women in the age categories 30 – 34 and 35 – 39.

Nuptiality increase is typical for higher age categories in both countries. It is connected with increased urbanisation, life style, change of thinking, and different scale of values compared to the past.

From the point of view of choice of partner and conclusion of marriage, two models occur in Japan (M. Yamada 1998). The first model is the conclusion of marriage by agreement (negotiated marriages) – choice of partner and economic condition of life in partnership are agreed by contract as a rule by parents or relatives of partners or the entrusted persons. This model is applied in underdeveloped countries or in regions with such tradition. The second model is the conclusion of marriage based on the relationship of partners (love-based marriages). The determining factors in this model is the mutual affection of partners, and above all, their free decision.

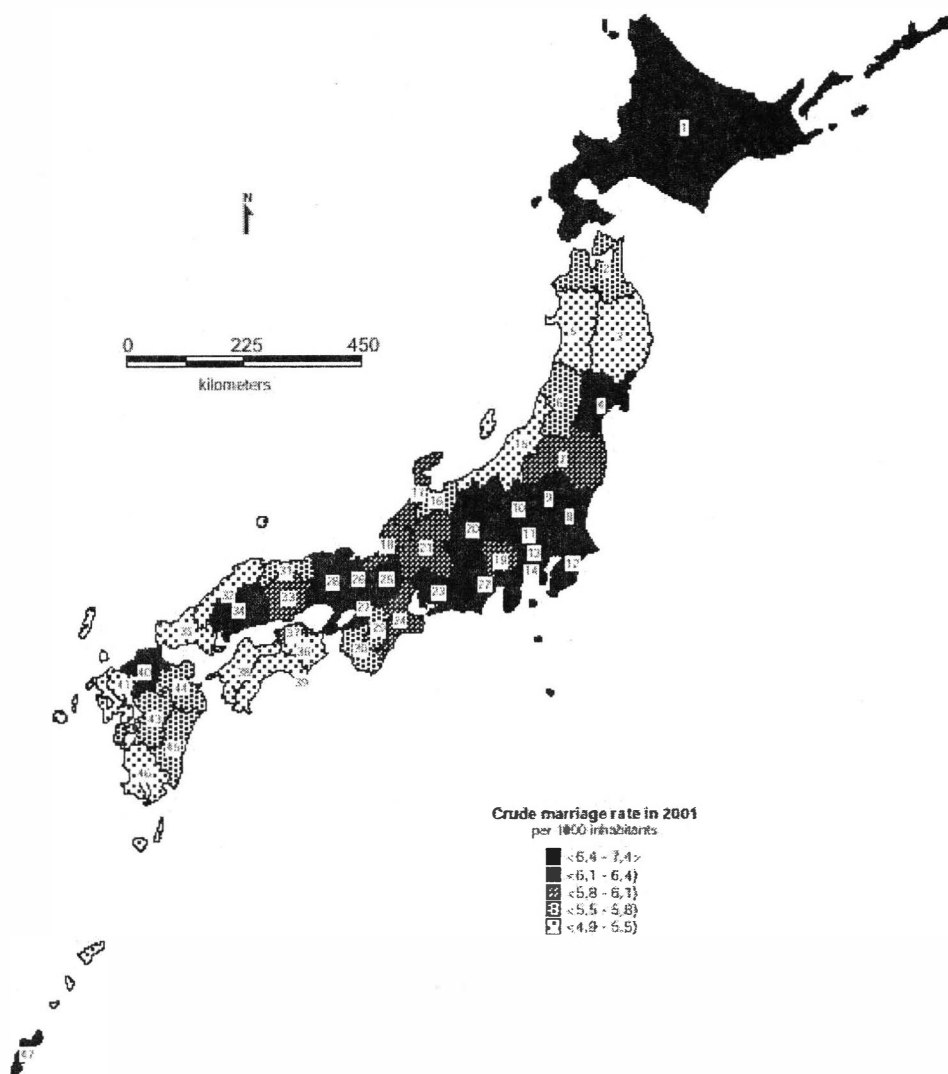


Figure 6 Crude marriage rate i Japan

From the point of view of these models, transformation of marriage behaviour of the inhabitants of Japan is notable. In the period of the Second World War, the share of agreed marriages was still as much as 70%. Love-based marriages with its share of 90% dominated in recent period and the rest are agreed marriages.

Comparatively large differences in crude marriage rate at the level of Japanese prefectures (Akita 4.9‰, Tokyo 7.4‰) characterise spatial differentiation of nuptiality (Fig. 6). Prefectures of large urban structures such as Tokyo (Kanagawa, Chiba, Saitama, Tochigi, Gumma, and Nagano), Kyoto – Osaka (Hyogo, Shiga) and prefectures of large cities – Fukuoka, Hiroshima, and Nagoya reach the highest level. High nuptiality in these regions is influenced by age structure of population. Their economic development offers new jobs and ensures a steady migration influx of young population. Remarkably high level of nuptiality is observable in the marginal prefectures of islands – Okinawa and Hokkaido. In turn, emigration and low natural increase of population accelerate population ageing in many prefectures and one of the consequences is the low level of nuptiality (Akita, Iwate, Niigata, Toyama, Nara, Wakayama, Yamaguchi, Shimane, almost all prefectures of Shikoku and Kyushu islands).

Regional differentiation of the nuptiality in Slovakia is substantial. The map showing the crude marriage rate at the districts level provides a rather complicated picture (Fig. 7). In order to interpret this is offered the need to take into account also effects of two more significant factors. The first is a traditional approach to close the marriage contract and start the family, oftentimes affected by the higher level of religiousness of the population. It makes itself felt, in particular within the set of districts of the northern and eastern Slovakia, where the crude marriage rate achieved value worth of more than 4,5 ‰. Generally, within this set of the districts is in parallel applied also the factor of the inhabitants age structure. It is concerned, in particular the regions with prevalence of the children and the reproducing category, i.e. with higher potential of the inhabitants marriages. Large group of districts in the southern and central Slovakia achieve level of the crude marriage rate less than 4 ‰. Beside the different religious orientation is applied an impact of the inhabitants obsolescence processes, as well. Enhanced level of the marriages ratio is observable also in the western Slovakian districts, in the surroundings of Nitra and Trnava cities (Fig. 7).

4. CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF DIVORCE

Divorce is one form of marriage disintegration based on legal way of ending the marriage. (Mládek et al. 1998). The level of divorce rate as a principle negatively affects the population reproduction although a new marriage and birth of a child can follow. Divorce rate can be influenced, apart from legal system, by social conditions, traditions, religion, degree of urbanisation and other factors.

H. Fukurai and J. Alston 1990 point to the relationship of the demographic and socio-economic factors to divorce in Japan. They assert that divorce increase is connected with the decreasing effect of traditional family values, increased employment of married women and reduced importance of their task in family. Based on the study of divorce and its relationship to demographic and socio-economic factors the authors compiled two divorce models:

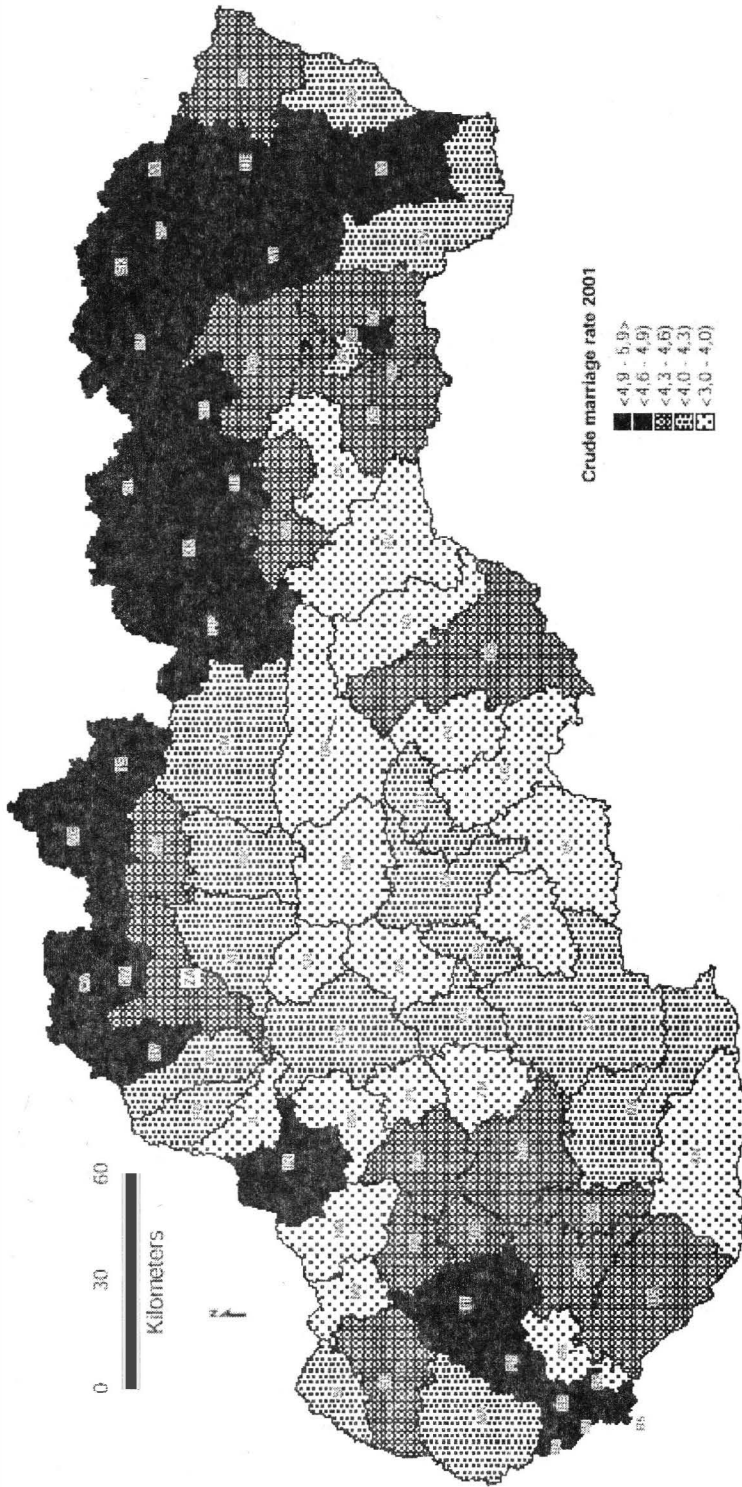


Figure 7 Nuptiality in Slovakia

1. The model with dominance of human factor. The level of divorce rate is closely linked to social origin, investments in education (educational level of partners), employment, participation of women at labour market, change of woman's task (position) in family and society. This model prejudices higher level of divorce in urban structures than in rural area.
2. The model in which the factor of regional-economic development and changes of demographic conditions are considered dominant. The level of divorce is linked to the development of regional economy, which leads to population migration and imbalance on labour market (unequal opportunities for men and women). Traditional dominant function of man in family changes, women obtain financial independence.

Organised registration of divorce in Slovakia was initiated approximately in the 1920s. Historical development of divorce rate in Slovakia is characterised by a relatively low level of its indicators what confirms certain stability of family and its conservative behaviour. Low level of divorce maintained until the end of the Second World War with tendency of slow increase. It was connected with religious feelings of population, historical formation of the family image, and the role of family in education of the young generation. In the following period, the increasing divorce trend manifested while liberalised legal standards represented the decisive factor (E. Halašová 1991). In 1950 the Act on family was approved which established divorce as the only possible way of ending the matrimony and it brought about a dramatic increase of divorce number (632 divorces in 1949, 1,800 divorced matrimonies in 1950). Further legal arrangements (option to divorce in absence of consent of one of the partners in 1955, assessment of function of marriage in 1963, and abolition of the preliminary divorce proceeding in 1973) also led to the increase of divorce. Number of divorces exceeded 5 thousand in 1974, reached almost 9,000 in 1990 and exceeded 10 thousand in 2002. Crude divorce rate increased from 0.5‰ in 1950 to 1.33‰ in 1980, 1.67‰ in 1990, and to 1.82‰ in 2001 (Fig. 8). Divorce increase is connected with social development, social acceptance of divorce, with changes of woman's position, housing problems and low age of partners concluding marriage.

The development of divorce index is somewhat more dramatic albeit more regular. In 1920, its value was 1.22 divorces per 100 marriages concluded in the same year. In 1950 it reached the value 4.6%, and it tripled at the beginning of the 1980s (Fig. 8). Divorce index increases since the mid-1980s in the consequence of the increasing number of divorces and decreasing number of marriages. In 1990, there were 22 divorced to 100 marriages and in 2001, this value index increased to 41.3%.

Two different periods of development are recognisable in assessment of divorce rate in Japan. High divorce indicators characterise the beginning of the 20th century with the progressive decrease to the minimum level at the beginning of the 1940s. Divorce generally increased in the post-war period although this trend also recorded periods of decrease, particularly in the 1960s and end of the 1980s. First, (1950s) the effect of industrialisation and urbanisation manifested and was accompanied by changes of family behaviour (the effect of traditional family values gradually disappeared, educational level increased, employment of women increased, changes of man's function in family, increase of individualism, emancipation process, and the like). The crude divorce rate in 1990 was 1.28‰ and increased to 2.27‰ by 2001. Divorce index increased from 21.8 to 35.7 divorces per 100 marriages in the same period.

M. Yamada, 1998 points to special forms of divorce or marriage disintegration, which may increase the divorce level in Japan. Since 1980s, the number of „separations within the family“ increases. Though the marital partners share the common flat, they do

not have a common household or emotional relationship and practically live separate lives. Among the possible reasons is the complicated divorce procedure (consent of both partner and several years lasting legal procedure) lack of flats, social ostracism.

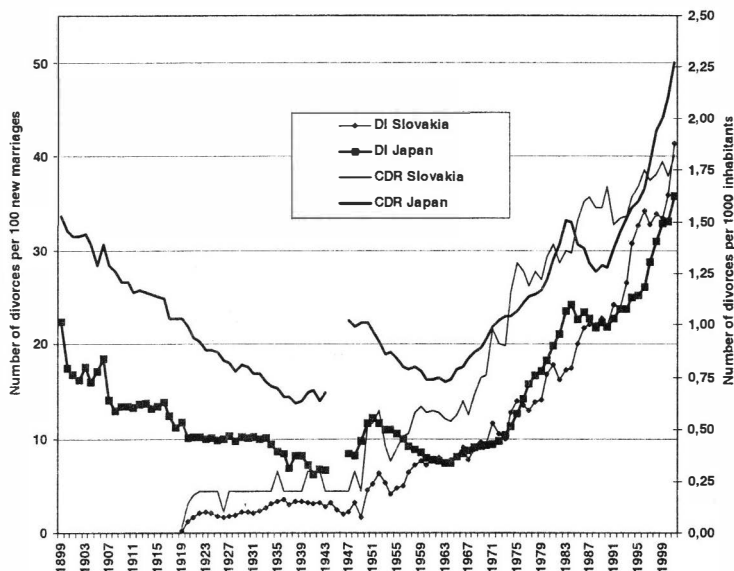


Figure 8 Divorce in Japan and Slovakia

If the divorce curves of Slovakia and Japan area (Fig. 8) are compared, the similarity of developmental trends in recent period is striking. Increase of indicators from the lowest values in the post-war period was recorded in both populations. The curves change their positions in short intervals with increasing trend. Japan is characterised by higher crude divorce rate level while Slovakia has higher divorce index values. It is the result of a more distinct decrease of nuptiality rate of the Slovak population.

The curves of divorce rate of men and women by age in Slovakia were characterised by one top in 2000. In men, it was in the 30 – 34 age category and in women, it was in the 25 – 29 age category. High divorce rate was in age categories of 30 – 34 and 45 – 49 year old men (Fig. 9). Women had high divorce rate in the age categories of 25 – 29 and 45 – 49 year old (Fig. 10). The increase of divorce rate by age is not general above all in recent years. Along the long-term divorce increase in higher age categories, the decrease of rates in age categories 15 – 19 and 20 – 24 both men and women is positively assessed.

Population of Japan is also characterised by divorce rate increase in all age categories. The maximum divorce rate of Japanese men is in the same age category like in Slovakia (30 – 34 year old). The curve of women has two tops; along the long year highest divorce rate in 25 – 29 age category, in 2000 the second tops formed in 2000 in the category of 30 – 34 year old.

General divorce rate increase manifests in both populations while the lowest divorce rate of both men and women moves into higher age categories in the consequence of decreasing nuptiality rate and increasing average marriage age.

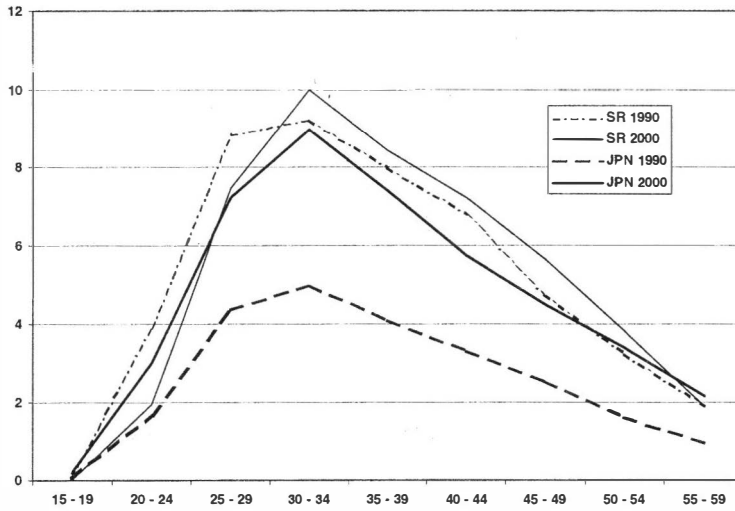


Figure 9 Divorce rates by age of husband in Japan and Slovakia

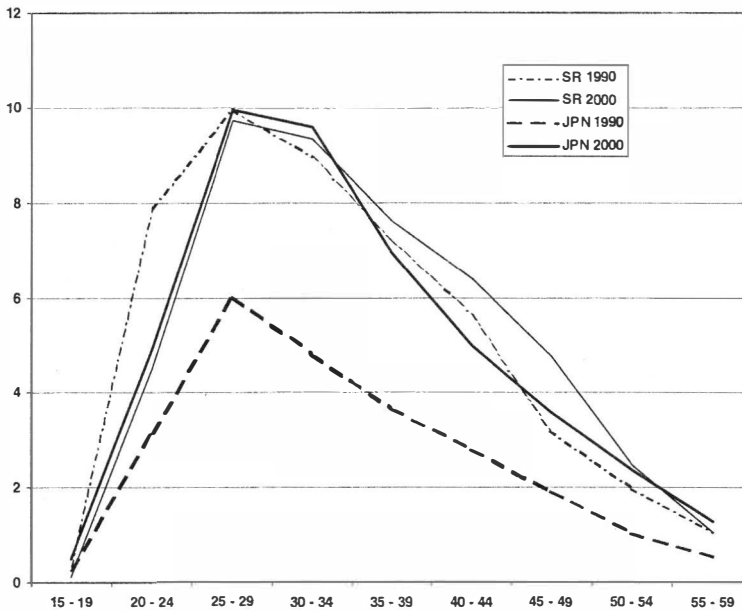


Figure 10 Divorce rates by age of wife in Japan and Slovakia

The assessment of divorce of Japan and Slovakia according the number of children in family shows certain differences. The highest and increasing share of divorces in Japan is in childless couples (Fig. 11). In Slovakia the couples with one child are those that most frequently divorce and their share increases (Fig. 12). Moderate decrease of the share of couples with two children is observable in both populations in the years 1985 – 2000. The share of divorces with higher number of children involved decreases every

year. The larger number of children in family can be considered the stabilising factor of family in both countries.

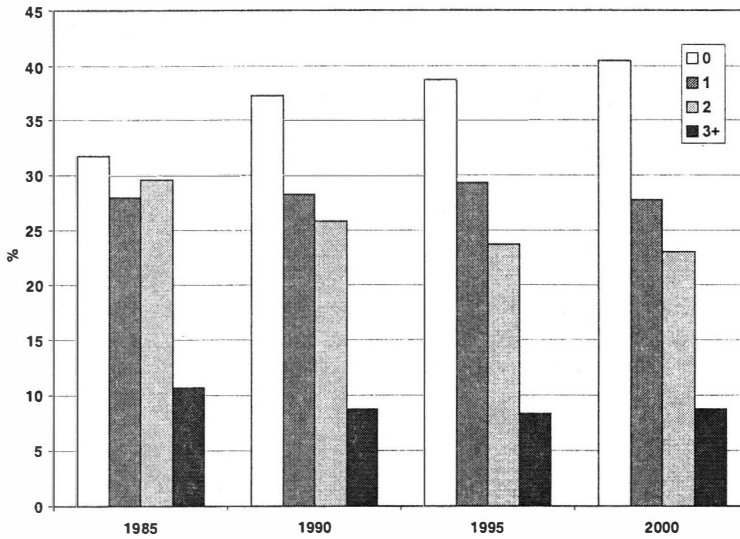


Figure 11 Divorce by number of children in Japan

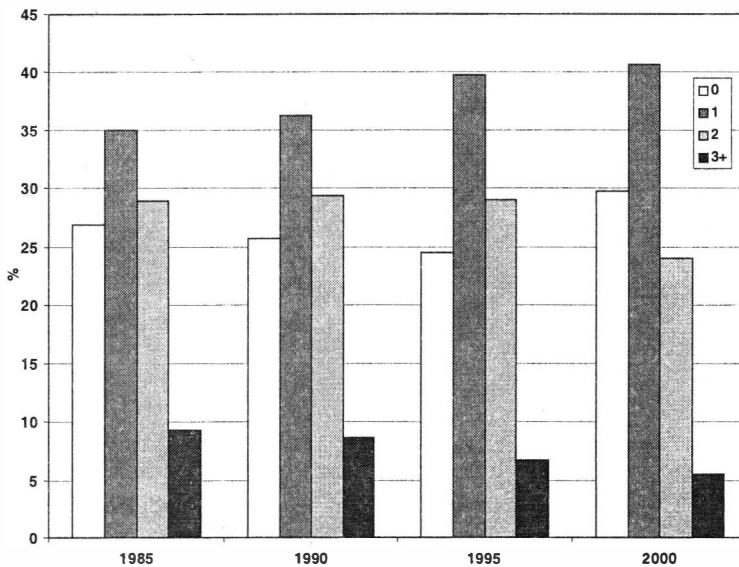


Figure 12 Divorce by number of children in Slovakia

Divorce rate by length of marriage duration can be also considered the rate of marriage stability. In Japan the highest number of marriages divorce after 0 – 4 years (Fig. 13). After M. Yamada (1988), it is caused by poor preparation of partners for life in an independent household. Many partners return to families of their parents after divorce. In Slovakia, the share of marriages divorced after 1 to 5 years consistently decreases. It is

supposed that it is the result of decrease of inconsiderately concluded marriages (pregnancy, low age of partners) Compared with Japan, in Slovakia there is a higher share of divorced marriages after 5 and more years. Moderate increase of the share of divorced marriages after 20 and more years is observable in Japan (their share was 5.7% in 1975 and 15.7% in 1997). The possible reason is the conclusion of raising children and the loss of motivation to maintain the family (M. Yamada 1988).

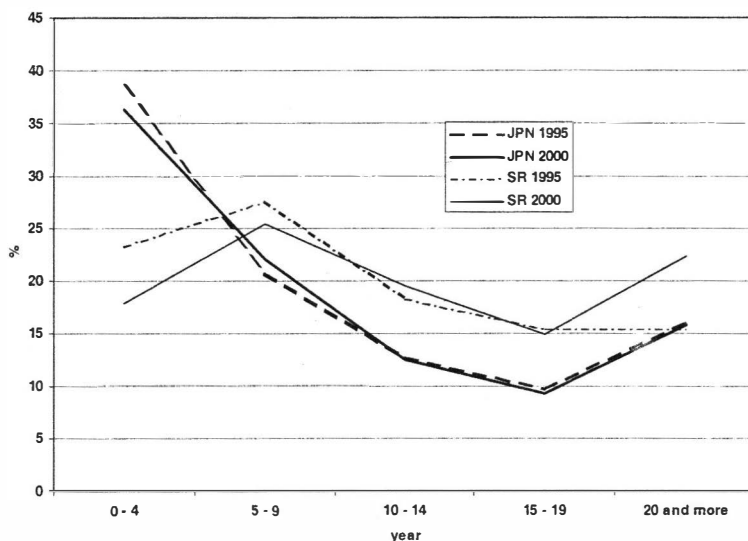


Figure 13 Divorce by duration of living together in Japan and Slovakia

The divorce characterizes a certain spatial differentiation in Slovakia (Fig. 14). It is caused by various factors among them it is possible to assign level of economic development, national and religious structure, degree of the urban development, the age structure, etc. In an effort to present more complex view of the spatial differentiation, regionalization of the divorce has been elaborated. In the Slovak territory were identified three types of regions: region of the high level of the divorce, region of the mean level of the divorce, and region with low level of the divorce. Classification of the individual districts into the specified types of regions was realized on the basis of their incidence within the extremely high, or low divorce indicator levels (crude divorce rate, divorce index).

To the region with the high level of the divorce belong largely the districts situated in the middle and in the south Slovakia, in addition two independent regional units – districts Bratislava and Košice. Districts with the above-average divorce are characterized by a higher ratio of the urban population (Bratislava, Košice, Martin, Banská Bystrica), as well as by higher degree of concentration of the occupancy in the district seat. In these districts it is manifested by the reduced natality, changes in the family structure, low number of families with more children, and the above-average number of families with one child.

Region with the mean level of the divorce is consisted of three regional units- the region of the almost entire western Slovakia, after it 3 districts on the northern Slovakia – Ružomberok, Liptovský Mikuláš, Poprad and 2 districts in the eastern Slovakia –

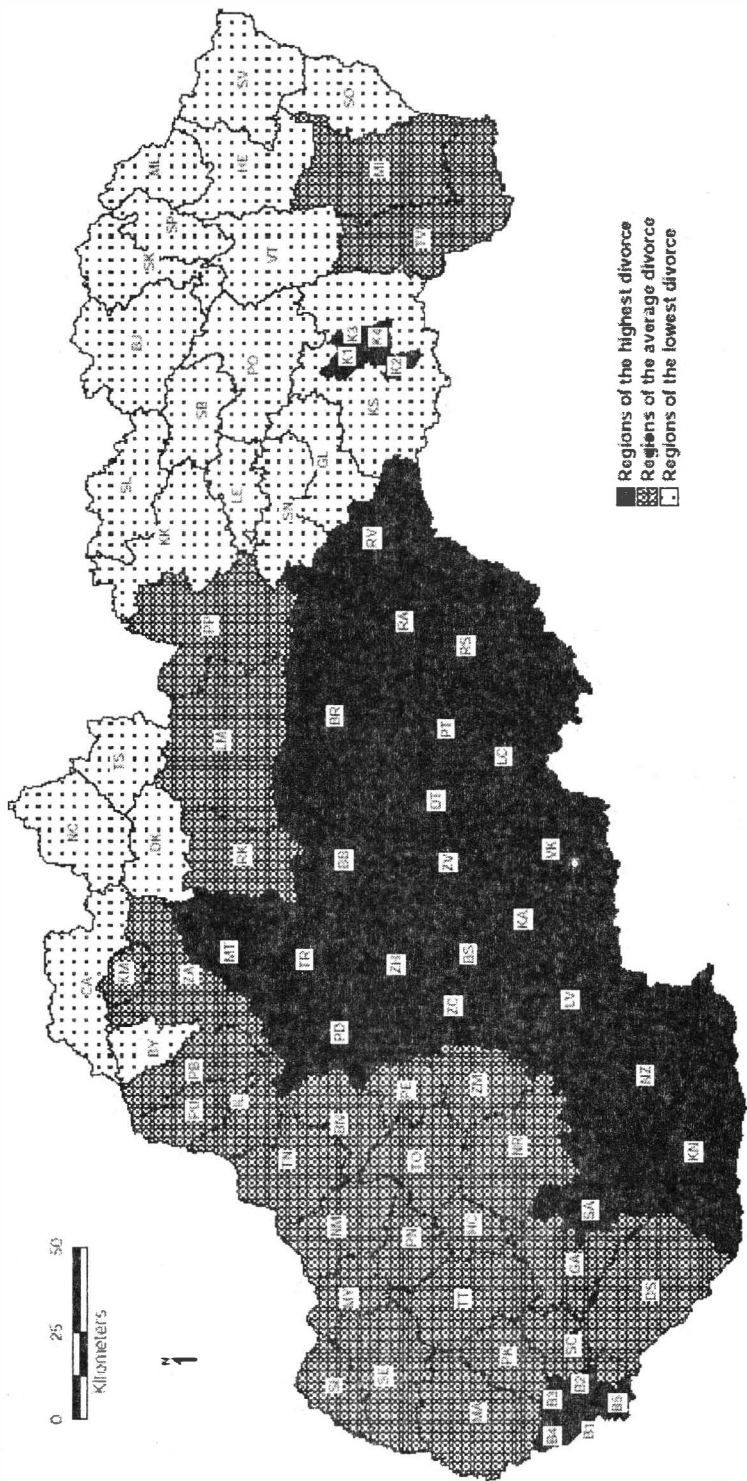


Figure 14 Divorce regions in Slovakia

Michalovce and Trebišov. In the field of the reproductive and of the family behaviour is shown trend of the more smoothed-out development. Partly, there are still maintaining impacts of the conventional values and norms, adhered firmly on the cultural and the religious traditions of the population in the given area.

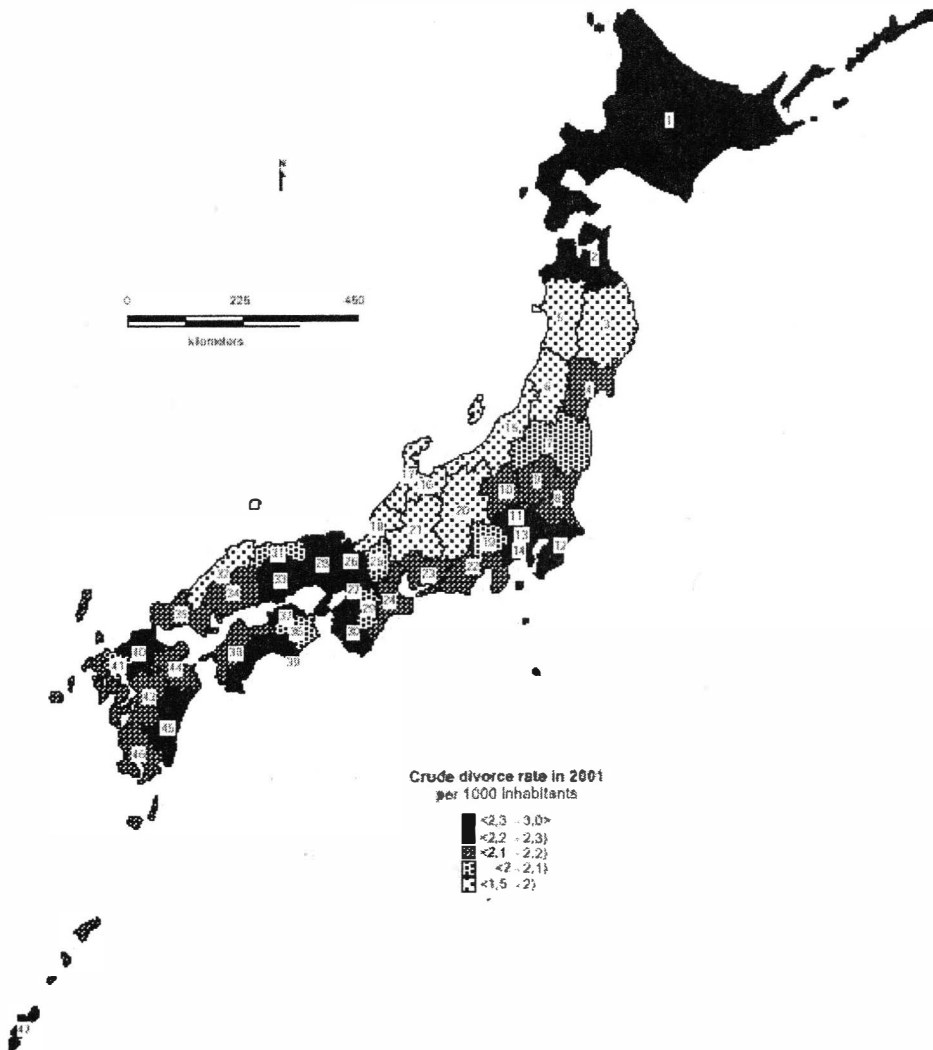


Figure 15 Crude divorce rate in Japan

Region with a low level of the divorce is constituted of two regional units, first in the north of Slovakia – Orava, Kysuce districts, and the second regional unit is represented by the Spiš, Šariš and North Zemplin districts. These districts are largely situated in the north and east of Slovakia. Almost in all cases it is related the areas being less developed in the past, and also today these regions are prevailingly economically underdeveloped. Demographical behaviour of the population is relatively strongly affected by the religiousness, what is reflected also in the marriage, and the family behaviour. Divorce is acceptable solution of the matrimonial causes just in the extreme.

Assessment of regional differentiation of divorce in Japan is a comparatively complicated task as it is subject to many factors. It is possible to exclude the effect of legal system at the level of prefectures because it is generally applicable and unified. The Japanese society is relatively homogeneous above all from the point of view of social composition, income, education, language composition and the effect of these factors is small (H. Fukurai, J. Alston 1990). The particularity of regional structure is the high divorce rate of marginal and boundary prefectures of Japan, such as Hokkaido, Aomori, Okinawa, and Miyazaki with the crude rate of 2.3 – 3‰ (Fig. 15). Above all the two island prefectures are not only geographically separated, but they also boast special migration and cultural features. Strikingly increased divorce rate is observable in all large urban structures such as Tokyo, Kanagawa, Saitama, Chiba, as well as Osaka, Kyoto, Okayama, Hyogo and in isolated Fukuoka. Numerous factors, which increase divorce rate, act in these structures (traditional values disappear, higher employment of married women, migration of population, young age structure, and the like). Large urban agglomerations are surrounded by prefectures with the lowest divorce rate – Iwate, Akita, Yamagata, Niigata, Toyama, Nagano, as well as Gifu, Fukui, Shiga, and Nara. These are prevalingly rural regions stricken by emigration and accelerated population ageing.

5. SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF ABORTION

Abortion is the demographic process, which negatively affects population's reproduction and may reduce fertility rate. Abortion also reflects the life standard of population, processes of industrialisation and urbanisation, level of health care and hygiene, education and position of women in society, religiousness, morals, age structure of population, and other. There is immediate connection of abortion with the level, accessibility, and distribution of contraception methods among population.

The development of the process of legally induced abortion started approximately in the same period in Japan and in Slovakia. It was legalised by the Japanese Act of eugenic protection enacted in 1948 (its amendment was adopted only in 1996 – The Act on health protection of mother). The consequence of the Act was an enormous increase of induced abortion (almost 1.2 mill. abortions in 1955) with the maximum value of abortion ratio (71.6 in 1957) (Fig. 16). It probably relates to the level of ways and methods of contraception. According to M. Atoh, 2001 was abortion main method of contraception in the 1950s and 1960s. Less than half of married women (younger than 50) contraception and their share slowly increased to 55 – 60% in the 1990s. Induced abortion has distinctly participated in fertility decrease from the 1950s to the mid-1970s (M. Yamada 1998). The programme of family control was introduced in 1952. The abortion index started to decrease dramatically in the following years. Economic prosperity reached by Japan in the 1950 has certainly contributed. Increase of the index in 1966 is also interesting. According to the Chinese astrology, this year was under the sign of Fire Horse when women born in this year are believed to be deadly dangerous for men. Religious population limited its fertility using different ways including increased abortion. By the end of the 1960s, the abortion index dropped below 40% and maintained at the level of 34 – 39% for a long time. Another striking decrease was

recorded in Japan at the beginning of the 1990s. Now it is at the level of 27 – 29% with 341 thousand induced abortions in 2000.

Development of abortion in Slovakia was quite different and more complicated. Adoption of the first interruption Act in 1950 legalised artificial interruption of pregnancy under very strictly defined circumstances (health condition of the mother was the only legal reason for abortion). The abortion level was very low (abortion index below 10%, up to 10 thousand induced abortions a year). The whole following development was subject to adoption of further, more liberal laws on abortion (1957 – induced abortion for health reasons, 1973 – another broadening of acceptable reasons) and the result was the abortion increase. This trend culminated in 1988 (abortion index 61.3 and 51 thousand induced abortions) after adoption of the amendment of the Act in 1986. Pursuing the Act, it is possible to interrupt pregnancy, which does not last more than 12 weeks based on the written application of woman. The extreme increase of abortion at the end of the 1980s reflects not only the easy accessibility of abortions guaranteed by the law and supported by practice, but also social acceptance, sexual behaviour, and lack of modern contraception methods. Interruption was applied as a tool of retroactive birth control. Abortion decreased significantly in the 1990s (Fig. 16). In the course of 10 years the number of induced abortions dropped by 60% (abortion index was 33.4 in 2000 and the number of abortions decreased to 18.5 thousand). Many factors, such as sexual education of young population, accessibility of efficient contraception methods, increased moral pressure against abortions are behind this change.

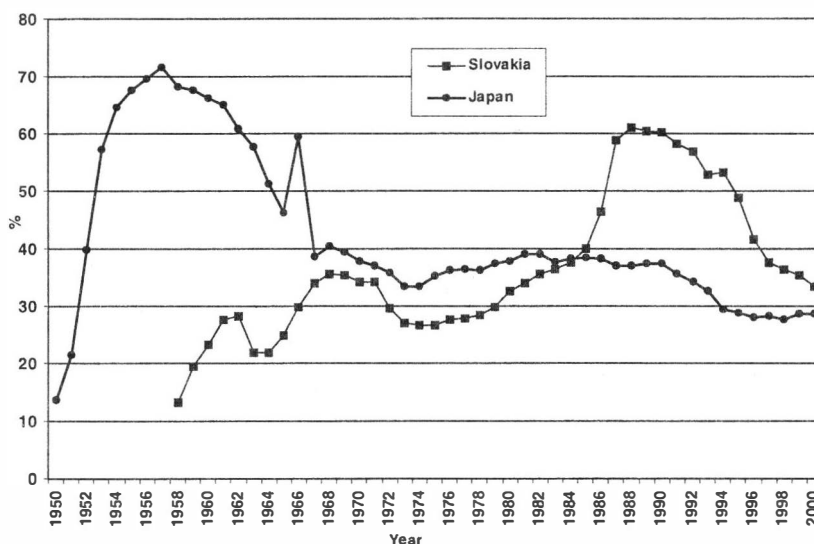


Figure 16 Induced abortion ratio in Slovakia and Japan (to 100 live-born children in %)

The outlined trends of abortion development in Japan and Slovakia are quite different. The most striking disparities appeared in the 1950s and in the end of the 1980s. The first period (1950 – 1966) is characterised by higher values of abortion indicators in Japan. In the second period (1967 – 1998), the abortion level was approximately the same both in Japan and Slovakia or still slightly higher in Japan. In the third period (1986 – 1998), the level of abortion in Slovakia was much higher while the stability of

indicators in Japan was obvious. Recently the tendency to decreasing abortion in both populations is observable. Because of the quicker decrease in Slovakia, the level of abortion is balanced in both populations. In 2000, the crude abortion rates of Slovakia and Japan were 3.42‰ and 2.69‰ while the abortion indexes were 33.4‰ and 28.7‰ respectively.

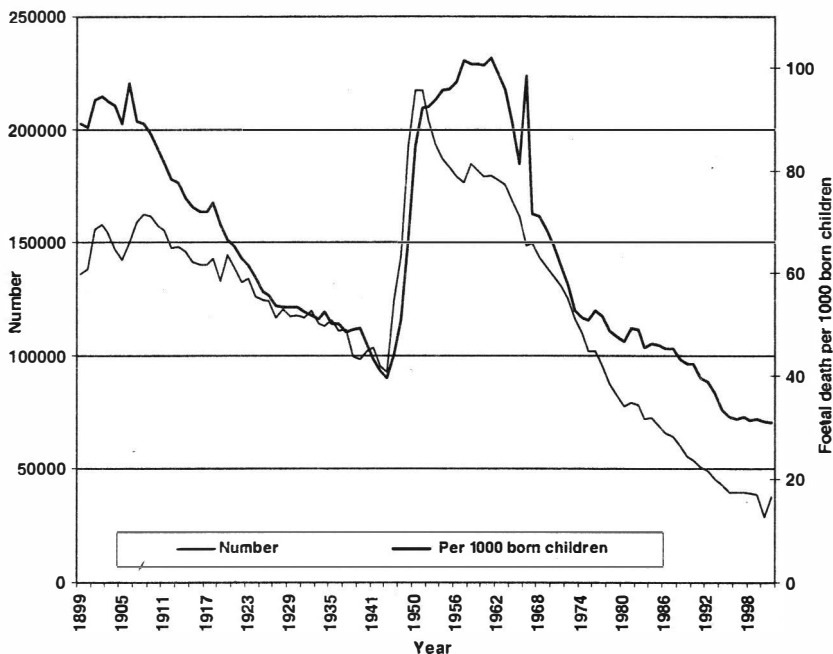


Figure 17 Foetal death in Japan

Disparities in development of abortion are also confirmed by the rates of specific abortions by age of women. Before 1995, the induced abortion in Slovakia was characterised by a distinct maximum in the 25 – 29 age category (Fig. 19). Decrease of abortion was recorded in all age categories in the 1985 – 2000 period while the distribution by the age of women changed. Differences between the individual categories diminished and no striking maximum manifested. Decrease of abortion in the youngest age category (15 – 19 year old) is especially positively estimated.

In case of Japanese population, the decrease of specific abortion rates is much smaller and more differentiated. The decrease in higher age categories is distinct (Fig. 18). On the other side, no such decrease was observed in the youngest age categories. Decrease of abortion was found in the age category of 15 – 19 year old and the maximum specific abortion was observed in the age category 20 – 24. It may have implications in reduced access to information of such categories or with delayed application of modern contraception. A. Goto, Ch. Fujijama-Koriyama, A. Fukao, M. R. Reich (2000) pointed to the above quoted ways of interpretation of the phenomenon. As much as a third of induced abortions is performed to women younger than 25 years and the share increases. The level of abortion is determined by three principal factors:

1. sexual relationships initiated earlier and before marriage,
2. obsolete methods of contraception (the government approved oral hormonal contraception and other kinds of protection for women against unwanted pregnancy only in 1999),
3. deficient service to performance of abortions (consent of parents or husband required, high price).

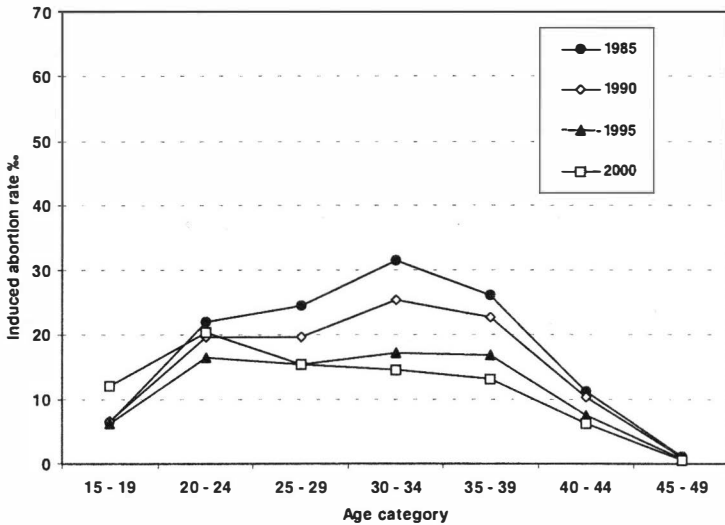


Figure 18 Development of the induced abortion by age group in Japan (per 1000 females)

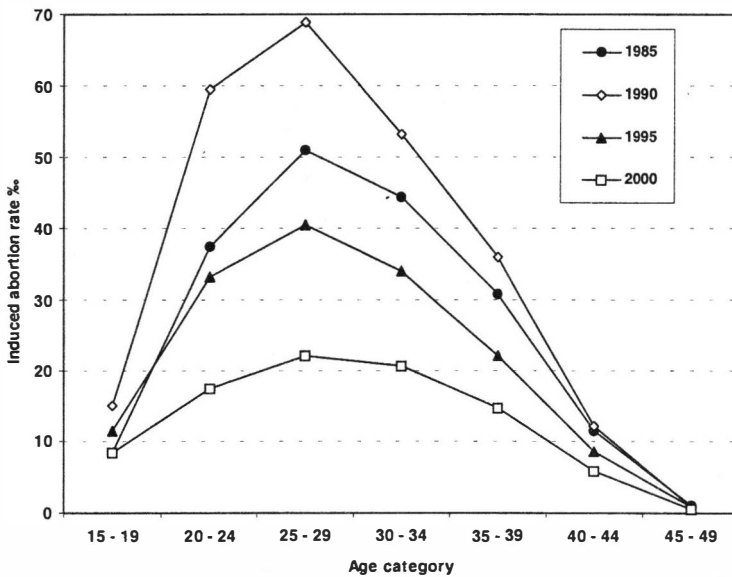


Figure 19 Development of the induced abortion by age group in Slovakia (per 1000 females)

Abortion level in Slovakia is regionally differentiated. The abortion index values by districts (Fig. 20) create a varied regional mosaic. With certain generalisation, Slovakia can be divided into three regional types. The first region covers the districts, which form a continuous west-south oriented region characterised by higher abortion level. The second type includes the districts of the northern and eastern Slovakia with the lowest abortion level. In between these two types are the districts with medium level of abortion.

Explanation of such distribution is rather complicated just like the relationships of abortion to social phenomena. One of the known factors, which determine abortion, is religion. High level of religiousness is typical precisely for the territory of the northern and eastern Slovakia. The Roman-Catholic church dominates in the north and Greek-Catholic church prevails in the east. These churches do not admit abortions. Traditionally, the population in the above-mentioned regions prefers families with more children and is characterised by high natality and fertility rates.

Abortion is also closely related to urbanisation. Urban settlements form special conditions for demographic behaviour and beside other, abortion is more accepted by urban population than in rural settlements. Abortion level is high not only in the largest cities – Bratislava and Košice, but also in districts with higher urbanisation level – Banská Bystrica, Zvolen, Martin, Trenčín and other.

Regional differentiation of abortion in Japan was assessed according to of the foetal mortality index (number of abortions from the third month of pregnancy to birth giving). The range of foetal mortality index at the level of prefectures is from 11 to 34 abortions per 1,000 born children. Extremely high index values were found in southern and northern prefectures (Fig. 21) High level of index is in all prefectures of the Kyushu island (Miyazaki, Kunamoto, Kagoshima, Saga, Nagasaki) and in the northern prefectures (Fukushima, Miyagi, Akita, Yamagata, Aomori, and Hokkaido). Lower foetal mortality level was observed in prefectures of the central part of Japan, including the regions around Tokyo (Kanagawa, Saitama, Chiba, Yamashi, and Nagano) and the group of prefectures around agglomeration of Osaka, Kyoto (Nara, Shiga, Hyogo, and Mie).

6. CONCLUSION

Family behaviour of inhabitants is the result of long-term development and reflects the effects of many economic, cultural, demographic and other factors. In the second half of the 20th century, family behaviour of inhabitants, above all those of advanced countries, has changed and affected reproduction of population.

Analysis of selected population processes reveals that in spite of a strong influence of traditions family behaviour also changed in Slovakia. The identified changes are characterised by long-term trends, which were accelerated by social transformation processes. It is especially true of the striking changes of marriage rate, namely its decrease and subsequent increase of marriage age of both men and women. Divorce increases more slowly and the level of abortion has distinctly decreased. Informal partner bonds (cohabitations) spread slowly. While in the past the model of early marriage dominated in Slovakia i.e. low marriage age, high share of persons entered matrimony (90%), recently the model of late marriage is increasingly preferred.

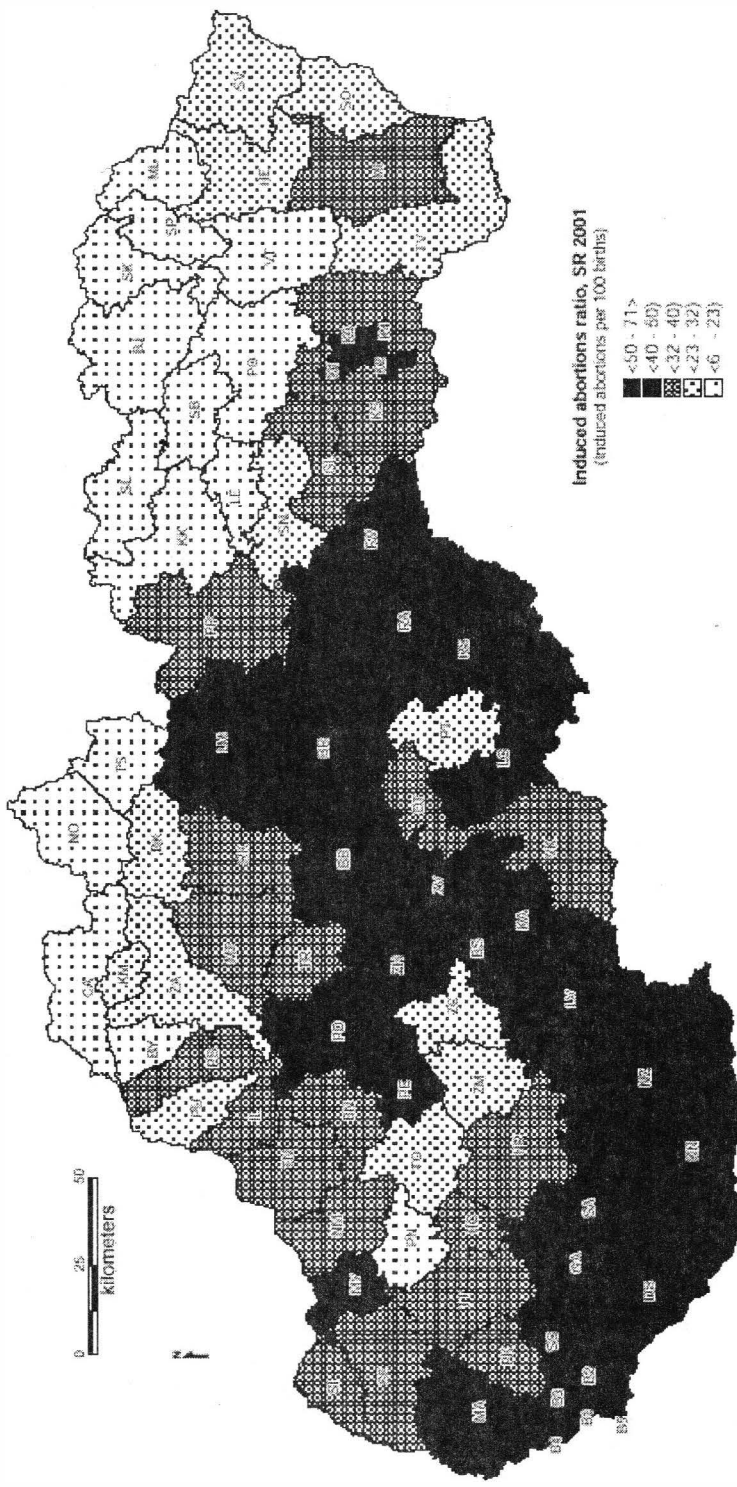


Figure 20 Induced abortion in Slovakia

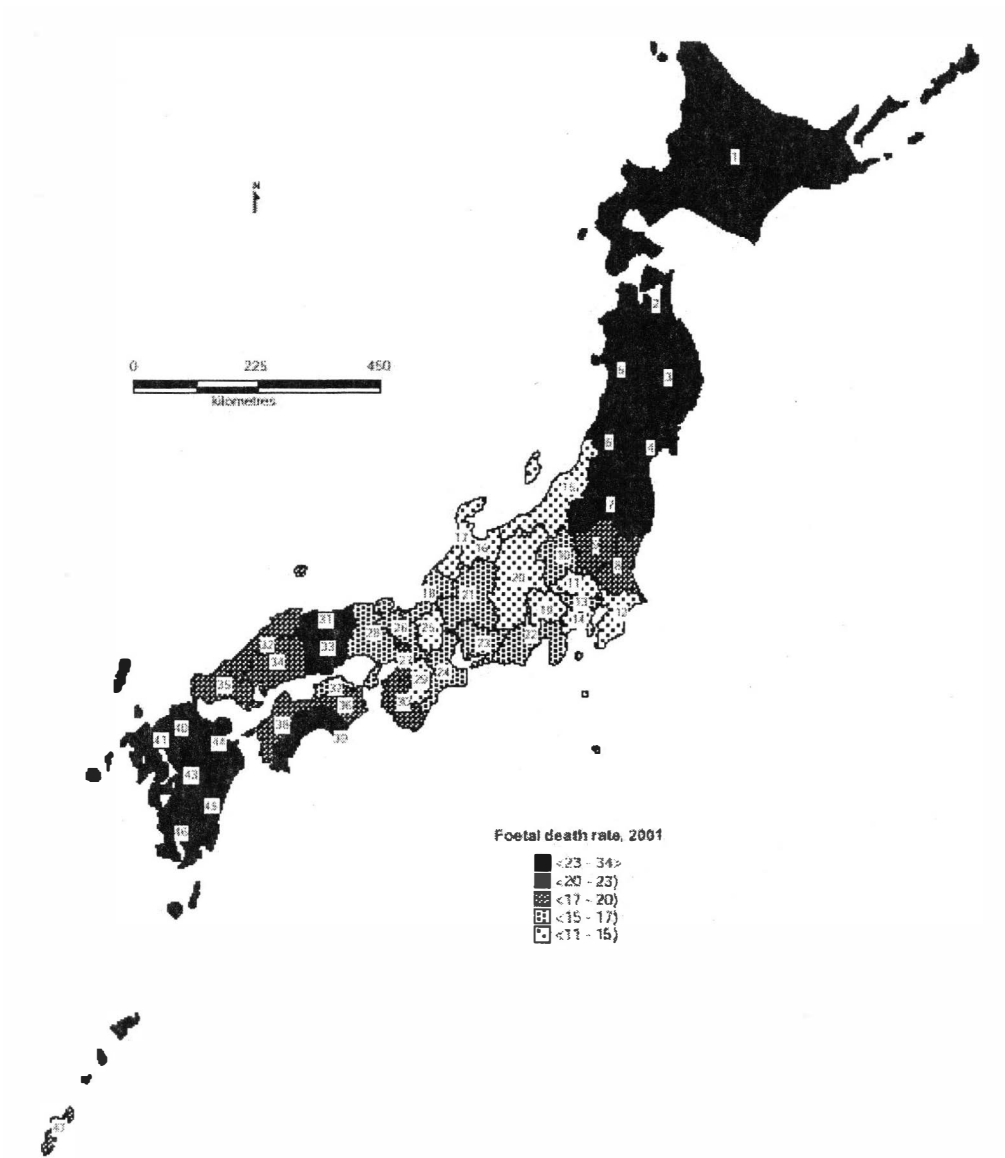


Figure 21 Foetal death in Japan

The family in Japan had traditionally economic, cultural, reproducing and educational functions. In spite of certain changes of family behaviour, these functions are preserved. Changes concern the increasing marriage age, increasing share of „single“ households or decrease of the share of married couples, accompanied by the fertility decrease. On the other hand, the low level of divorce rate, small number of cohabitations, low share of single-parent families, and low level of extra-marital fertility seem to confirm the stability of family. Function of women in family also changes above all in the consequence of their increased educational level and economic independence. Despite all, their family bonds are strong, they do not easily accept either informal cohabitations with partners or the idea to remain single.

The character of some changes of family behaviour of inhabitants in Japan and Slovakia is similar to that of changes, which appeared in the West European countries in the 1960s and which are considered the characteristic features of the demographic behaviour in the period of the 2nd demographic transition.

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Formovanie a rozpad rodiny v Japonsku a na Slovensku (podobnosti a odlišnosti)

Resume

Formovaniu a rozpadu rodiny sa v demografickom výskume venuje veľká pozornosť. Dominantná je orientácia na poznanie tých charakteristických znakov rodiny, ktoré ovplyvňujú reprodukčné procesy. V celom historickom vývoji sa na Slovensku a v Japonsku rozhodujúca časť reprodukcie viazala na rodinné prostredie a podstatná časť obyvateľstva prežila svoje reprodukčné obdobie v rodinnom, formálnom prostredí.

Rodinné správanie obyvateľov je výsledkom dlhodobého vývoja a odráža vplyv mnohých ekonomických, kultúrnych, demografických a i. faktorov. V 2. polovine 20. storočia sa rodinné správanie obyvateľov najmä v rozvinutých krajinách výrazne mení a ovplyvňuje reprodukciu obyvateľstva.

Analýzy vybraných populačných procesov ukazujú, že napriek silnému vplyvu tradícií dochádza aj na Slovensku k zmenám rodinného správania. Tieto zmeny majú určité dlhodobé trendy, ktoré urýchlili transformačné spoločenské procesy. Platí to o výrazných zmenách procesu sobášnosti, ako je pokles mier sobášnosti a následne zvyšovanie sobášneho veku mužov a žien. Rozvodovosť vzrastá pomalším tempom a výrazne sa znížila úroveň potratovosti. Neformálne partnerské zväzky (kohabitácie) sa rozširujú pomalším tempom. Pokiaľ v minulosti na Slovensku dominoval model skorej sobášnosti – nízky sobášny vek, vysoký podiel osôb vstupoval do manželstva (90%), v poslednom období sa stále viac prejavujú znaky neskorého modelu sobášnosti.

Tradične mala rodina dôležitú ekonomickú, kultúrnu, reprodukčnú a výchovnú funkciu v Japonsku. Napriek určitým zmenám rodinného správania sa táto funkcia zachováva. Zmeny sa týkajú stále rastúceho sobášneho veku, zvyšujúceho sa podielu „single“ domácností, resp. poklesu podielu zosobášených osôb. S tým súvisí i pokles plodnosti. Stabilitu rodiny na druhej strane potvrdzuje nízka úroveň rozvodovosti, malý počet kohabitácií, nízky podiel jedno-rodíčovských (single-parent) rodín, nízka úroveň mimomanželskej plodnosti (extra-marital fertility). Mení sa i funkcia ženy v rodine, najmä v dôsledku zvyšovania vzdelanostnej úrovne a ekonomickej nezávislosti žien. Napriek tomu je silná ich väzba na rodinu, ťažšie akceptujú neformálne kohabitácie s partnerom, alebo žiť ako slobodné.

Niektoré z týchto zmien rodinného správania obyvateľov Japonska a Slovenska majú podobný charakter ako tie, ktoré sa v západoeurópskych populáciách začali prejavovať od 60. rokov minulého storočia a ktoré sa považujú za charakteristické črty demografického správania v období 2. demografického prechodu.

日本とスロバキアにおける家族の形成と解体（類似点と相違点）

ヤナ・シロツコヴァー、ヨセフ・ムラーデク

今日の人口学研究は、家族の形成と解体に大きな関心を寄せている。再生産過程に影響を与えるこうした家族の特色ある特徴は研究上の重要性が高い。スロバキアにおいても日本においても、これまでの歴史の流れを見るかぎり、再生産の重要な部分は家族環境と結びついていたのであり、人口の大部分はフォーマルな家族環境のなかでその再生産を行ってきたのである。

住民の家族行動は、長期にわたる家族の発展の帰結であり、多くの経済的・文化的・人口学的及びその他の要因の影響を反映している。二十世紀の後半において、住民とりわけ先進諸国の住民の家族行動は変化してきたし、人口の再生産に影響を与えてきた。

人口過程をいくつかを分析してみると、スロバキアでは、強い伝統の影響力にもかかわらず、家族行動もまた変化してきたことが分かる。明白な変化の特徴は、それらが、社会の変革過程により加速された長期的な趨勢を有していることにある。それは、とりわけ婚姻率の著しい変化に、すなわち婚姻率の低下とそれに伴う男女双方における結婚年齢の上昇に当てはまる。離婚はそれよりゆるやかに増加し、妊娠中絶の水準は明らかに低下した。

パートナーとのインフォーマルな結びつき（同棲）は、ゆるやかに拮がりつつある。スロバキアでは、過去には、早婚モデルが支配的であって、人々は若くして結婚したし、結婚生活にはいる人の割合も高かったが（90%）、最近では晩婚モデルがますます選好されるようになった。

日本の家族は、伝統的に、経済的・文化的・再生産的そして教育的機能を有してきた。家族行動には何らかの変化が見られるものの、これらの機能は保持されている。家族行動の変化は、結婚年齢の上昇、「未婚」世帯割合の増加、換言すれば夫婦の割合の減少、及びそれに伴う出生率の低下である。他方、低い離婚率水準、同棲数の少なさ、一人親家族割合の低さ、そして婚姻外出生の低水準、これらは家族の安定性を強化しているように思われる。家族における女性の機能もまた変化している。これらの変化は、とりわけ女性の教育水準の上昇と経済的自立の帰結である。それでもなお、彼らの家族のきずなは強い。パートナーとのインフォーマルな同棲は容易には受け入れられないし、独身にとどまるという考えも容易には受け入れられない。日本およびスロバキアの住民の家族行動にみられるいくつかの変化の特徴は、1960年代の西ヨーロッパ諸国に現れた変化の特徴に、そして、人口の第二次転換期における人口学的行動の特徴的な特性に類似している。