



Copyright © 2015 by Sochi State University

Published in the Russian Federation
Bylye Gody
Has been issued since 2006.
ISSN: 2073-9745
E-ISSN: 2310-0028
Vol. 37, Is. 3, pp. 650-662, 2015
<http://bg.sutr.ru/>



UDC 93

The Fertility of Women in the Primary Sector in Slovakia According to Censuses Conducted Between 1900 and 2001 years

¹ Branislav Šprocha
² Pavol Tišliar

¹⁻² Faculty of Arts, Comenius University, Slovakia

2, Gondova Str., 814 99 Bratislava

¹ Dr. (Demography), PhD, Assistant

E-mail: branislav.sprocha@gmail.com

² Dr. (History), PhD, Professor

E-mail: pavol.tisliar@uniba.sk

Abstract

Slovak population in the 20th century has undergone significant changes in the character of the reproductive behavior. However, these changes not proceed simultaneously and in the entire population at once. One of the most frequently mentioned factors is the economic activity of women and their related affiliation with one of the economic sectors. In this context the primary sector was very important. The study analyzes the realized fertility of women in Slovakia depending on and working in the primary sector between 1900 and 2001. Differential analysis of fertility is based on population censuses results.

Keywords: primary sector, fertility of women, censuses 1900–2001, Slovakia.

Introduction

Historical data of differential fertility of women are extremely rare and valuable sources of information that enable us to form a picture about the reproduction environment and differences between individual social groups. Moreover, over the long run, they permit better understanding of the so-called demographic revolution, specifically the changes in fertility recorded in the Slovak population from approximately the end of 19th century until the 1950s.

Materials and methods

When analysing fertility, one of the most frequently mentioned differentials is the economic activity of women and their related affiliation with one of the economic sectors. Modern censuses are the key sources of such data that allow combining age (or year of birth) of a woman with the number of her live births as well as with her economic activities or the economic sector in which she was working at the time of the census. Such structured data were first provided by a census conducted in the territory of Slovakia in 1930. It was the first census with explicit queries regarding the number of births by married women. Combined with the age and economic sector of a woman or her husband a basic picture of differences in and intensity of fertility of women working in the primary sector can be formed.

The topic of differential fertility thus refers to two levels. First, it is demography, where based on the available data fertility is analysed as one of the demographic processes. Second, it is the development in the primary sector, which to a certain extent helps us explain the changes recorded in the population's fertility.

Discussion

Basic trends in development of the population's economic activities in the 20th century with emphasis on the primary sector

In the first half of the 20th century, the primary sector was the main source of living for people in Slovakia. Given the particular changes that took place in this economic sector in the 20th century, its development should be monitored in two individual stages with the milestone between them being the end of World War II.

The economic dependency of Slovakia's population on agricultural production (both plants/vegetables and animals), plus fishing and forestry is shown by an over 66% share at the beginning of the 20th century [1]; between the wars this share decreased very slowly. These changes in the economic structure of Slovakia up until the 1950s are shown in Table 1. The table illustrates how the population's dependency on the primary sector only dropped below 50% after the end of World War II. In the inter-war period, the share of industry was practically at a standstill; this reflected the weaker competitiveness of the Slovak region and difficulties with finding a place in and adjusting to the new environment after the Czechoslovak Republic was formed. Slow development of industrial production contributed to the problems with employment and due to the slow progress in this sector alternative employment for Slovakia's overpopulated rural areas could not be provided. Agrarian overpopulation in rural areas was typical for Slovakia as early as the last quarter of the 19th century and strongly affected the development of the population when a large number of people in productive age searched for employment abroad. This job migration not only caused changes in the population figures, but also affected the population structure and its fertility, caused mainly by long separation of married couples. However, work migration often affected whole families and frequently resulted in permanent emigration from Slovakia.

Masses of unemployed people started appearing rather early after the establishment of Czechoslovakia. Repatriates who had been returning in flocks during the euphoria after the establishment of the republic only increased the pressure on the labour market and in Slovakia's rather backward labour market the pressure was even stronger than in the western part of the republic, which extended the ranks of the unemployed even further. A new wave of emigration started but this time it had support and partial guidance from the Czechoslovak government. Officially labelled by the political authorities as "*Emigration as a Natural Remedy*", it mainly influenced the population working in the primary sector. [2]

Table 1: Population's of Slovakia affiliation with individual economic sectors between 1900 and 1950 [3]

Sector	Per 100 persons (%)						
	1900	1910	1921	1930	1940	1946	1950
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	66,3	62,6	60,6	56,8	52,0	48,1	41,9
Industry and manufacture	15,8	18,4	17,4	19,1	21,0	22,7	27,1
Trade and finance (commerce)	4,5	4,8	4,1	5,4	9,6	10,0	5,2
Transport*	2,4	3,2	3,5	4,7	-	-	7,2
Public service, health service, freelance and military	4,3	4,5	5,0	6,3	5,5	5,8	7,3
Other / not given	6,8	6,6	9,3	7,6	11,9	11,9	11,3
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

*Transport for the period 1940 – 1946, including commerce

In the first half of 20th century, the transformation of the Slovak economy was influenced by several economic and political changes that took place in its territory and affected the population. First, it was the creation of the Czechoslovak Republic, adjustment of the Slovak economy to a new internal market and competition from stronger industrial and agricultural production from the western regions of the republic as well as attempted land reform, the economic crisis in 1930s that was only overcome in the second half of 1930s, political and legislative changes at the end of 1930s together with the loss of the territories in southern Slovakia and the formation of the first Slovak Republic (1939-1945), the start of the World War II, as well as the Slovak National Uprising and the war front advancing through Slovakia at the end of the war. In addition to these influences, long-term problems such as agrarian overpopulation of rural areas mentioned above, unemployment and emigration need to be pointed out.

This paper's objective is not the analysis of each of the aforementioned events or phenomena, although each more or less influenced the social and population environment that was then reflected in the reproductive behaviour of the population.

From the perspective of social structure, the economically active population of the primary sector was structured into three large, but to great extent equivalent groups. Among these three groups, independent farmers and tenants managing their own or leased land slightly prevailed. Helping family members represented a special group of the population, participating in field work and representing a substitute mainly for day labourers. The last group consisted of workers and day labourers hired mostly in larger estates and for seasonal jobs. This group also represented roughly one-third. Gradually the proportion of these

individual groupings in the primary sector shifted when, particularly in the after-war period, the group of independent farmers and independent tenants was eliminated.

It was typical in the first half of the 20th century that more men than women were employed. This disproportion, that was gradually reduced in the inter-war period originated from the economic structure on one hand, but on the other hand a major role was played by social and cultural conditions and impacts as well as by education. [4] The head of the immediate nuclear family in most households was the father – head of the household (head of the family), whose main task in family matters was to “earn money and sustain the family”. The primary task of a woman – mother was to take care of children and the household. This distribution of family roles determined the extent and proportion of female employment in Slovakia’s population, mainly in the primary sector. Not many opportunities to place children in institutions providing child care (nurseries, kindergartens) were available in first half of the 20th century that could have helped mothers share the all-day care of their children. [5] The female employment rate in the 1930s represented approximately 28.5% of the total population in Slovakia and only increased very slowly, even though this share included not only actively working women, but also women helping in household management who were included as helping family members in the statistics prepared in Czechoslovakia in 1930. [6]

The second half of the 20th century was primarily typified by efforts to revive the post-war economy, accompanied by nationalisation and new land reform. The political changes in 1948, the effects of which were felt by the population for four decades, meant among other things coping with the significant impacts of currency reform in the 1950s and subsequent loosening of political tension in the next decade reflected in the effort for political revival but this effort was broken off by the invasion by Warsaw Pact armies and the beginning of a tough political normalisation process. Around that time the government started to show stronger support for families, made an effort to ensure higher purchasing power by the population and improvement in the overall standard of living, factors which were demonstrated by higher natality, mainly in the 1970s. After the events in November 1989, political pressure was lifted and Slovakia embarked on a journey of democratisation of society. However, the insecurity and social situation, especially of the young generation, was largely reflected in the population climate in Slovakia, where lower fertility was recorded and the marriage age increased, while more thought was given to family planning and young people started to prefer families with fewer children. The transition to a new reproduction behaviour started [7].

Table 2: Economically active population in individual economic sectors between 1950 and 2001 [8]

Sector	Per 100 economically active persons (%)					
	1950	1961	1970	1980	1991	2001
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	56,9	29,0	20,4	15,3	13,9	5,4
Industry and manufacture	23,3	30,6	44,7	47,3	42,4	27,5
Trade and finance (commerce)	4,3	4,8	11,5	14,6	17,9	17,8
Transport*	3,6	7,9	5,9	6,4	6,3	5,2
Public service, health service, freelance and military	9,3	21,1	14,7	15,3	15,0	21,3
Other / not given	2,6	7,1	1,3	1,9	4,5	22,7
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

A planned economy was launched in the primary sector the second half of the 20th century which imitated the “soviet success” to a certain extent by introduction of collectivisation and the establishment of several types of agricultural cooperatives (*jednotné roľnícke družstvo – JRD* in Slovak), which substantially influenced the social structure and the composition of the professions of the population, with formerly independent farmers having been practically forced to give up their own land or livestock for collective farms. [9] Gradually, this brought about the end to the traditional large agricultural family in Slovakia. Ultimately, not even the opportunities brought by the post-November 1989 economic policy in Slovakia, namely the permission to engage in business activities, ownership of land gained by restitution, which consequently meant the end of socialist cooperative farming, succeeded in bringing back the traditional model of large farm families.

The changes in the individual sectors of the national economy between 1950 and 2001 can be best demonstrated by the structure of the wage-earning population (Table 2). The difference between wage-earning persons in the primary sector between 1950 and 1961 is particularly obvious. This was due to the establishment of agricultural cooperatives. While in 1950 there were approximately 1,000 cooperative farmers, in 1961 it was 547,000 people in Slovakia with their main livelihoods being co-operative farming. [10] During socialism, employment in the primary sector gradually decreased mainly due to expansion of industry and commerce and ultimately agricultural production and forestry were the sectors with almost the lowest employment among sectors of the national economy at the beginning of the 21st century.

Analysis of female fertility in the primary sector between 1930 and 2001

The data in Table 3 show that women working in agriculture, forestry, and fishing or women with husbands employed in these national economy sectors had the highest fertility rate. The average number of children per one woman was 3.6, almost one child more compared to commerce and finance, and 1.3 children more compared to public service. As illustrated by the table, the most dramatic differences between individual sectors with respect to the average number of children per woman were among younger women, while for women over 35 and especially those over 50 years of age these differences were substantially smaller. Despite this fact, however, the highest fertility rate was typical for women working in the primary sector or women with husbands employed in agriculture, forestry and fishing.

Table 3: Married women by the sector of their or their husbands' economic activities, number of births and age, Slovakia, 1930 [11]

Sector	Number of married women	Average number of children per 1 woman in an age group				
		-24	25-34	35-49	50+	Total
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	411028	0,99	2,64	4,45	5,22	3,61
Mining and metallurgy	8347	1,06	2,67	4,59	5,10	3,28
Industry and manufacture	118093	0,97	2,27	3,93	4,94	3,02
Trade and finance (commerce)	34348	0,81	1,86	3,18	4,48	2,71
Transport*	33690	1,06	2,46	3,89	4,78	3,00
Public service, health service, freelance and military	33895	0,89	1,68	2,78	4,42	2,29
Helping household members and domestic workers	3938	0,77	1,69	2,85	3,58	2,32
Other and not given	36005	1,08	2,35	3,70	4,66	3,73
Total	679344	0,98	2,43	4,12	5,06	3,36

Sector	Number of married women	Average number of children per 1 woman in an age group				
		-24	25-34	35-49	50+	Total
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	411028	0,99	2,64	4,45	5,22	3,61
Mining and metallurgy	8347	1,06	2,67	4,59	5,10	3,28
Industry and manufacture	118093	0,97	2,27	3,93	4,94	3,02
Trade and finance (commerce)	34348	0,81	1,86	3,18	4,48	2,71
Transport*	33690	1,06	2,46	3,89	4,78	3,00
Public service, health service, freelance and military	33895	0,89	1,68	2,78	4,42	2,29
Helping household members and domestic workers	3938	0,77	1,69	2,85	3,58	2,32
Other and not given	36005	1,08	2,35	3,70	4,66	3,73
Total	679344	0,98	2,43	4,12	5,06	3,36

Sector	Number of married women	Average number of children per 1 woman in an age group				
		-24	25-34	35-49	50+	Total
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	411028	0,99	2,64	4,45	5,22	3,61
Mining and metallurgy	8347	1,06	2,67	4,59	5,10	3,28

Industry and manufacture	118093	0,97	2,27	3,93	4,94	3,02
Trade and finance (commerce)	34348	0,81	1,86	3,18	4,48	2,71
Transport*	33690	1,06	2,46	3,89	4,78	3,00
Public service, health service, freelance and military	33895	0,89	1,68	2,78	4,42	2,29
Helping household members and domestic workers	3938	0,77	1,69	2,85	3,58	2,32
Other and not given	36005	1,08	2,35	3,70	4,66	3,73
Total	679344	0,98	2,43	4,12	5,06	3,36

According to the 1930 census, substantial differences between individual groups of women were caused mostly by the different start of the second stage of demographic revolution. The demographic revolution process can, in a simplified way, be labelled as the shift from extensive to intensive reproduction. This is a qualitative and quantitative change in the nature of reproduction unmatched in the history of humankind, the effects of which can be best demonstrated by changes in mortality and fertility rates and by age structure shifts. In addition, the very attitude of the population towards reproduction markedly changed from biologically-driven to socially-driven. [12] However, these changes did not occur at the same time in one population or globally. The progress over time and the speed of these changes differed in individual populations just as various subpopulations marked by territories (e.g. urban and rural areas) or social status (ethnicity, nationality, profession, social groups) differed. [13]

The reproduction change is usually initiated in each country's centres, i.e. the largest cities where new patterns of reproductive behaviour are more likely to be accepted, especially by members of society's upper classes. The changes subsequently diffuse from these centres to other parts of the country and to other social classes. Simply said, the demographic revolution then hits the closest regions and the hierarchically-closest social classes. Given the fact that inter-war Slovakia was primarily an agrarian society concentrated mainly in rural areas, these groups of the population were least influenced by the gradual dissemination of changes in fertility behaviour and, consequently, the population of Slovakia as a whole had one of the highest fertility rates in the European region. On the other hand, it must be noted that the spread of the second stage of the demographic revolution in the territory of Slovakia had a rather unconventional aspect. The initiating areas included mainly southern regions of central Slovakia, namely Gemer, Novohrad and Hont counties [14] characterised by large proportions of the population earning their living in agriculture. This brings to our attention the fact that the qualitative and quantitative transformation of demographic reproduction was conditioned by several factors, with the affiliation to a certain social group or economic sector being only one of many.

The following two tables, Tables 4 and 5, provide more details of differential fertility that confirm the social aspect of the spreading demographic revolution.

A certain restriction that needs to be mentioned in the frame of the first group of women deals with the overall number in individual groups. Specifically, the mining and metallurgy, as well as the transport sector employed less than 1,000 married women according to the 1930 census. Despite these restrictions it was confirmed that women employed in agriculture, forestry and fishing, especially women working as workers or day labourers, generally showed the highest fertility rate. On the other hand, women working in commerce, finance and public services showed the lowest average number of children.

Table 4: Economically active married women by number of births, sector, job position and age, Slovakia, 1930 [15]

Sector and status in profession	Number of married women	Average number of children per 1 woman in an age group				
		-24	25-34	35-49	50+	Total
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	36210	1,04	2,58	3,98	4,40	3,18
<i>independent and renters</i>	16974	1,37	2,76	3,92	4,13	3,40
<i>clerks</i>	6	0,00	0,33	5,00	2,50	1,83
<i>assistant clerks</i>	27	1,67	2,00	2,64	3,40	2,48
<i>workers and day labourers</i>	19203	0,95	2,44	4,04	4,68	2,98
Industry and manufacture	8372	0,68	1,72	3,22	4,01	2,13
<i>independent and renters</i>	1208	0,56	1,61	2,47	3,93	2,14
<i>clerks</i>	191	0,00	0,52	0,39	5,00	0,46
<i>assistant clerks</i>	70	0,42	0,97	2,08	5,40	1,57

<i>workers and day labourers</i>	6903	0,71	1,79	3,46	4,02	2,18
Trade and finance (commerce)	2973	0,55	1,40	2,64	3,86	2,21
<i>independent and renters</i>	1761	0,94	1,99	3,02	4,04	2,91
<i>clerks</i>	211	0,00	0,38	0,78	1,50	0,42
<i>assistant clerks</i>	378	0,40	1,12	2,05	4,15	1,54
<i>workers and day labourers</i>	623	0,53	1,10	1,65	2,02	1,23
Transport	802	0,59	1,27	1,76	3,36	1,45
<i>independent and renters</i>	16	2,00	1,22	0,17	0,00	0,88
<i>clerks</i>	528	0,00	1,08	1,21	1,82	1,09
<i>assistant clerks</i>	167	0,47	2,09	3,53	4,22	2,61
<i>workers and day labourers</i>	91	0,67	1,13	1,43	4,25	1,56
Public service, health service, freelance and military	3706	0,45	1,17	2,08	3,95	1,81
<i>independent and renters</i>	1127	1,09	1,92	2,92	4,46	3,14
<i>clerks</i>	1774	0,00	0,99	1,53	1,66	1,09
<i>assistant clerks</i>	280	0,35	1,17	2,01	4,08	1,84
<i>workers and day labourers</i>	525	0,51	1,03	1,55	3,16	1,39
Helping household members and domestic workers	2221	0,76	1,70	2,78	3,17	2,29
<i>independent and renters</i>	25	1,00	0,83	1,38	1,50	1,24
<i>clerks</i>	1	0,00	0,00	3,00	0,00	3,00
<i>assistant clerks</i>	9	1,00	1,00	1,67	0,00	1,22
<i>workers and day labourers</i>	2186	0,76	1,71	2,81	3,17	2,30
Other and not given	6734	1,00	2,18	3,29	3,96	2,99
<i>independent and renters</i>	4347	0,90	2,07	3,03	3,90	2,99
<i>clerks</i>	0	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
<i>assistant clerks</i>	0	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
<i>workers and day labourers</i>	2387	1,09	2,31	3,73	4,18	3,01
Total	61115	0,90	2,20	3,55	4,18	2,83
<i>independent and renters</i>	25458	1,18	2,53	3,61	4,07	3,22
<i>clerks</i>	2715	0,00	0,91	1,38	1,75	1,00
<i>assistant clerks</i>	931	0,44	1,33	2,31	4,16	1,85
<i>workers and day labourers</i>	32011	0,87	2,17	3,69	4,37	2,70

Similar differences are also obvious in analysis of economically inactive women by economic sector and their husbands' job positions. Thus, it can be generally asserted that in the inter-war period rather dramatic differences were recorded in realised fertility and these were largely dependent on the sector in which the women or their husbands worked and their job positions.

Table 5: Economically inactive married women by sector and their husbands' job position, number of births and age, Slovakia, 1930 [16]

Sector husband (householder)	Number of married women	Average number of children per 1 woman in an age group				Total
		-24	25-34	35-49	50+	
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	374818	0,98	2,65	4,51	5,27	3,65
<i>independent and renters</i>	278853	0,95	2,61	4,40	5,18	3,63
<i>clerks</i>	1666	0,72	1,62	2,76	4,17	2,43
<i>assistant clerks</i>	5301	1,16	2,80	4,78	5,70	4,15
<i>workers and day labourers</i>	88998	1,09	2,77	4,87	5,61	3,73
Mining and metallurgy	8250	1,07	2,68	4,60	5,11	3,29
<i>independent and renters</i>	1	0,00	0,00	5,00	0,00	5,00
<i>clerks</i>	340	0,58	1,51	2,59	3,42	2,11
<i>assistant clerks</i>	583	0,93	2,06	4,00	4,71	3,30
<i>workers and day labourers</i>	7326	1,08	2,77	4,77	5,31	3,34
Industry and manufacture	109721	1,00	2,32	3,98	4,97	3,09
<i>independent and renters</i>	39183	1,02	2,36	3,93	5,05	3,36
<i>clerks</i>	2970	0,58	1,14	1,94	3,42	1,63
<i>assistant clerks</i>	6513	0,96	2,13	3,77	4,61	3,13
<i>workers and day labourers</i>	61055	1,01	2,38	4,19	5,01	2,98
Trade and finance (commerce)	31375	0,84	1,91	3,24	4,53	2,76

<i>independent and renters</i>	21634	0,86	2,09	3,45	4,66	3,08
<i>clerks</i>	2822	0,62	1,27	1,89	3,28	1,55
<i>assistant clerks</i>	4917	0,83	1,66	2,75	3,94	2,12
<i>workers and day labourers</i>	2002	1,02	2,01	3,61	4,52	2,59
Transport	32888	1,07	2,50	3,93	4,80	3,04
<i>independent and renters</i>	2474	1,06	2,61	4,43	5,61	3,52
<i>clerks</i>	5486	0,81	1,52	2,36	3,18	1,89
<i>assistant clerks</i>	15000	1,22	2,73	4,13	4,75	3,30
<i>workers and day labourers</i>	9928	1,04	2,65	4,49	5,29	3,18
Public service, health service, freelance and military	30189	0,94	1,75	2,86	4,49	2,35
<i>independent and renters</i>	2433	0,87	1,54	2,62	3,72	2,18
<i>clerks</i>	13459	0,72	1,48	2,46	3,80	1,98
<i>assistant clerks</i>	12289	1,17	1,92	3,19	5,18	2,53
<i>workers and day labourers</i>	2008	1,28	2,86	4,36	5,04	3,99
Helping household members and domestic workers	1717	0,78	1,67	2,96	4,17	2,37
<i>independent and renters</i>	984	0,75	1,68	2,71	3,73	2,12
<i>clerks</i>	12	1,00	3,00	2,83	4,25	3,17
<i>assistant clerks</i>	56	1,00	2,15	3,18	4,38	2,86
<i>workers and day labourers</i>	665	0,82	1,59	3,40	4,45	2,68
Other and not given	29271	1,10	2,42	3,83	4,76	3,90
<i>independent and renters</i>	18775	1,03	2,10	3,42	4,71	4,13
<i>clerks</i>	0	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	0,00
<i>assistant clerks</i>	1	1,00	0,00	0,00	0,00	1,00
<i>workers and day labourers</i>	10495	1,12	2,56	4,40	5,01	3,48
Total	628724	0,99	2,46	4,19	5,12	3,42
<i>independent and renters</i>	364337	0,95	2,52	4,21	5,09	3,58
<i>clerks</i>	26756	0,71	1,43	2,35	3,64	1,91
<i>assistant clerks</i>	55154	1,11	2,32	3,89	4,98	3,12
<i>workers and day labourers</i>	182477	1,06	2,59	4,57	5,38	3,41

Subsequent censuses also surveyed economic sector and number of births, but the published findings were not as equally detailed as in the 1930 census. Moreover, a major transformation in the classification of individual sectors was made, substantially impeding any attempts for more detailed comparison of the collected data.

The publication of the first after-war census has the most limited content. The available data only enabled us to quantify the share of women by a specific number of children and the approximate number of children per woman by economic sector, but we were not able to correlate these data with the women's age. The results are therefore greatly encumbered by the effects of age structure and do not permit more in-depth and detailed analysis of the actual completed fertility rate. However, despite these drawbacks it transpired that the findings of the inter-war period were more-or-less also present in the Slovak population after World War II. This means that women working in agriculture, forestry and fishing still had the highest fertility, while those working in commerce, finance and services showed the smallest average number of children per woman. On the other hand, it is obvious that the overall fertility rate dropped and the differences between individual sectors were also reduced to an extent.

Table 6: Married women by economic sector and by number of live births from the last marriage, Slovakia, 1950 [17]

Economic sector	Proportion of women (%) without children	Proportion of women (%) with 3 or more children	Average number of children per 1 woman
Industry	18,2	32,4	2,24
Manufacture (craft)	17,1	36,0	2,38
Agriculture, forestry and fisheries	11,2	49,4	3,11
Construction	15,0	39,4	2,60
Transport	11,9	38,1	2,53
Trade and finance (commerce)	21,6	26,1	1,90
Public service	20,4	27,4	1,99
Helping household members and domestic workers	32,9	21,0	1,59

Without employment	14,2	60,2	3,81
Not specified	21,7	30,7	2,28
Total	14,4	42,4	2,76

This fact was even more evident in the population and housing census conducted in 1961 with women working in the primary sector for the first time recording less than 3 children on average. A more thorough comparison of these findings is presented in Table 7, which, again, shows a significant difference in the actual fertility rate between women working in the primary sector and women working, for example, in construction, transport, services and commerce.

No data combining age, number of children and sector were published from the 1980 population census, rather only in combination with social class. As shown in Table 8, this census again confirmed the highest fertility of women working in agriculture. On average, more than three children per woman were reported for women employed as workers and members of agricultural cooperatives. Female employees showed the lowest fertility.

Table 7: Economically active married women by age, number of live births from the last marriage and economic sector, Slovakia, 1961 [18]

Economic sector	Number of married women	Average number of children per 1 woman in an age group				
		-24	25-34	35-49	50+	Total
Industry	80536	0,75	1,64	2,26	1,93	1,65
Construction	8599	0,73	1,51	2,13	2,11	1,54
Agriculture and forestry	181936	0,94	2,39	3,15	3,39	2,96
Transport	11112	0,70	1,53	2,17	1,83	1,60
Trade (commerce)	34963	0,70	1,70	2,16	1,89	1,71
Public service and administration	71778	0,72	1,56	2,16	1,99	1,65
Economically inactive persons	25835	0,98	1,83	2,10	2,85	2,62
Total	389471	0,77	1,86	2,71	3,05	2,26

Table 8: Married women by social group, number of live births and age, Slovakia, 1980 [19]

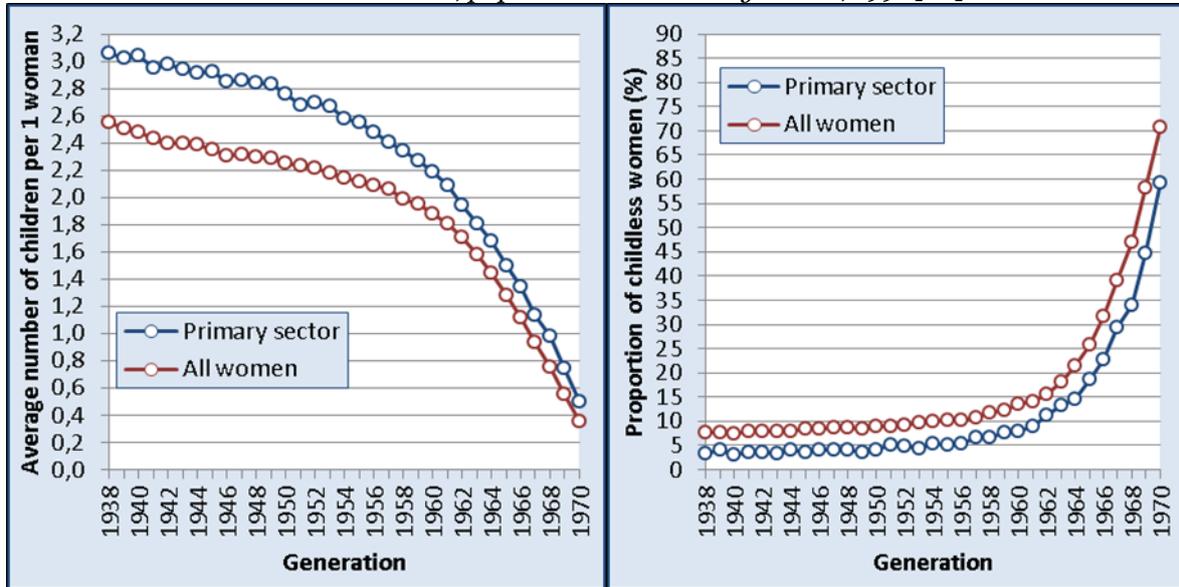
Social group	Number of married women	Average number of children per 1 woman in an age group				
		-29	30-34	35-39	40+	Total
Working women in agriculture	65362	2,08	2,97	3,18	3,18	3,04
Other working women	392253	1,70	2,55	2,78	2,92	2,50
State employee	552363	1,37	2,06	2,25	2,43	2,02
Members of JRD (agricultural cooperatives)	144847	1,88	2,78	2,98	3,01	2,88
Total	1191257	1,54	2,29	2,53	2,78	2,36

The population and housing census of March 1991 was the last census carried out in Czechoslovakia and to a large degree it documented the status of Slovak society before the commencement of the dynamic changes roughly occurring in the past two decades. As stated above, the number of persons employed in the primary sector further decreased over this period, with the female population being no exception. As such, the data taken from this census represent the last probe into the multiple set of women economically active in agriculture, forestry and fishing. The fact that only digitally processed data have been preserved and are now available makes this insight the more valuable, since it substantially enhances the possible analysis of the fertility process.

The following figures 1 and 2 clearly show that the fertility rate of women working in the primary sector was in all generations higher than that of all women in Slovakia. The completed fertility rate of women born at the end of the 1930s and in the early 1940s oscillated around three children while for all women in Slovakia this indicator ranged from 2.4 to 2.6 children. Between generations, however, a decrease in the average number of children per woman is obvious for both groups, therefore women who were born in the

late 1940s and early 1950s and were economically active in the primary sector at the time of 1991 census had 2.7 to 2.8 children on average while all women in Slovakia had 2.2 children. In addition, all censuses showed an intergenerational lower rate of childless women working in the primary sector. The share of childless women in generations from the late 1930s until the early 1950s ranged from 4 to 5% and from 8 to 10% for the whole population of Slovakia.

Figures 1 and 2: Completed fertility and childlessness of women working in the primary sector and all women in Slovakia, population and housing census, 1991 [20]



Differences in the completed fertility between women working in the primary sector and the overall population of Slovakia are mostly the result of more frequent births of higher order. The dominance of children of third and higher order was recorded mostly among women born by 1950 in which this group represented a proportion of over 50% of the given generation. According to the data from the 1991 census, in the overall Slovak population however, women with three or more children did not match such a high score even in the oldest generations. They only exceeded the 40% share for generations from 1938 to 1943.

Figure 3: Structure of women working in the primary sector by year of birth and number of live births, Slovakia, population and housing census, 1991 [21]

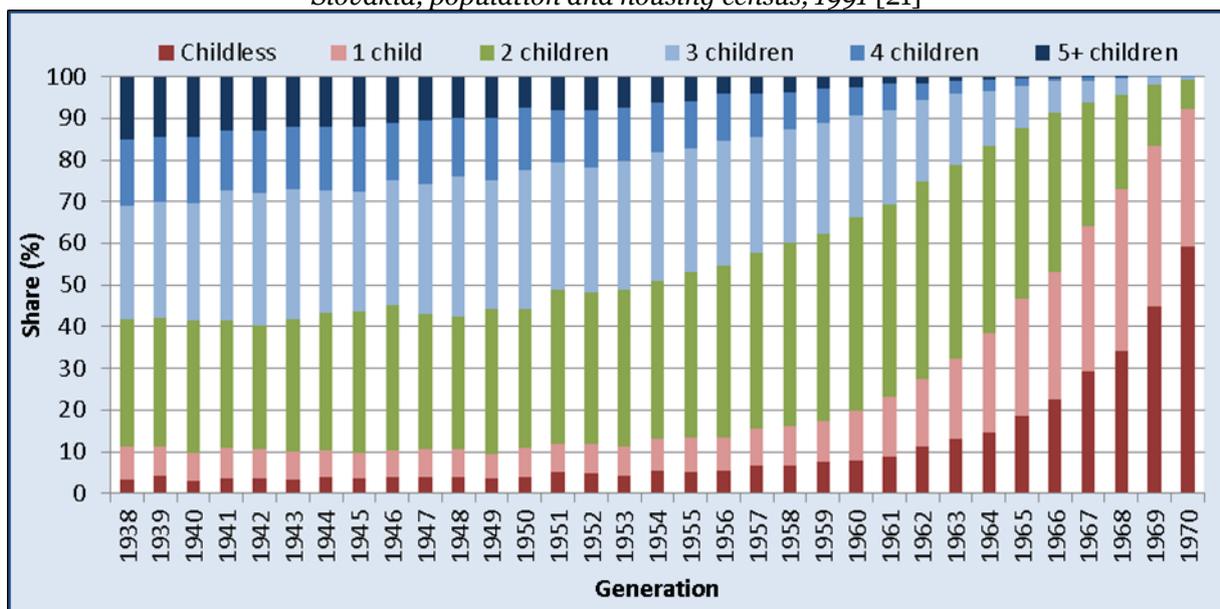
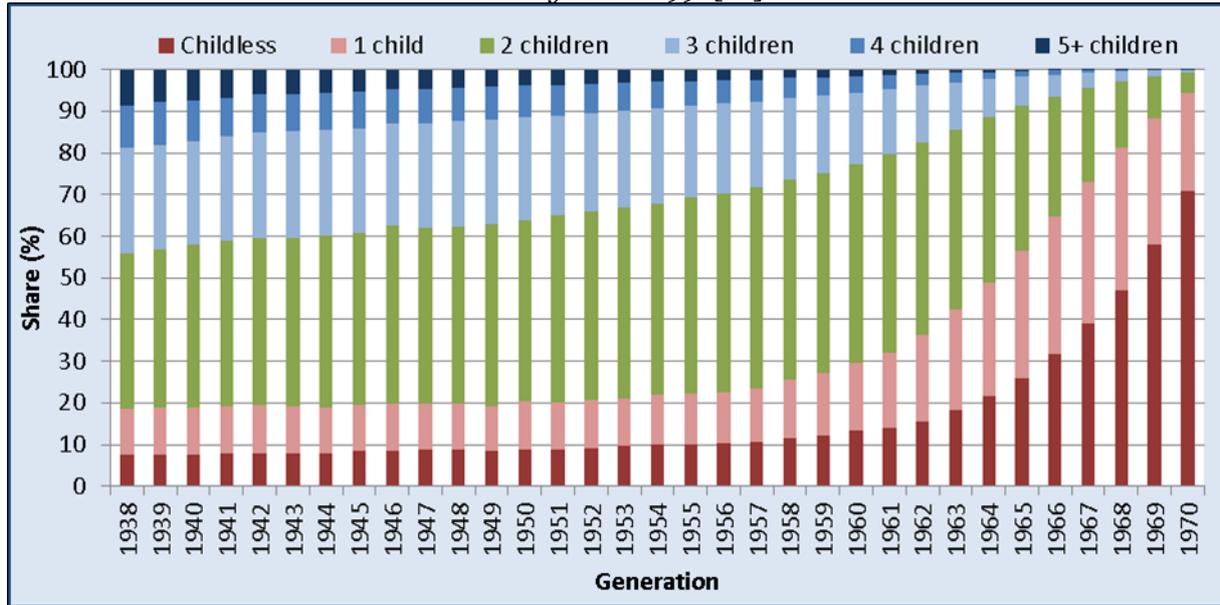


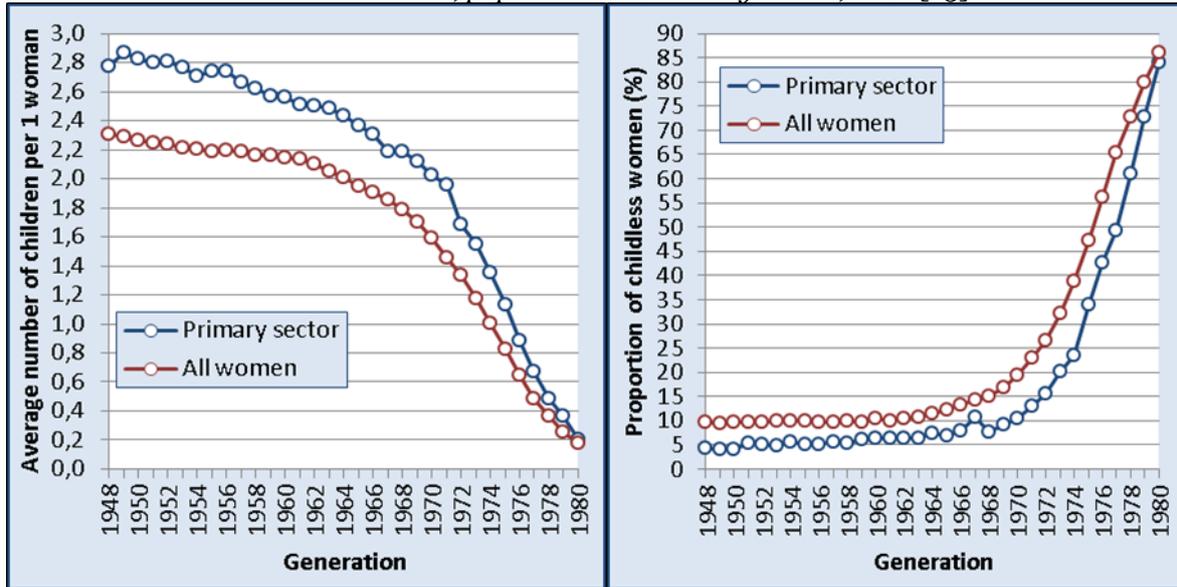
Figure 4: Structure of all Slovak women by number of live births and by generation, population and housing census 1991 [22]



The results of the 2001 census showed that the completed fertility of women working in the primary sector that were born in late 1940s and early 1950s fluctuated between 2.7 to 2.8 children per woman. For the overall Slovak population, the average number of children per woman born in this period represented 2.2 to 2.3 children. Although younger generations had not completed their reproduction at the time of the census, it was true even in this case that the level of fertility of women working in the primary sector was higher than that of all women in Slovakia.

The proportion of childless women working in the primary sector and born between 1948 and 1960 ranged from 4.0 to 6.5% which compared to overall female population in Slovakia was less by approximately 3.7 to 5.6%. Similarly, with younger generations it can also be asserted that women working in agriculture have had a lower rate of childlessness than all women in Slovakia. The most prominent differences are found in generations born in the 1970s with the childlessness rate lower by almost 10 percentage points. It is the generation of women born in the 1970s that have been the source of changes in reproductive behaviour that started to appear in the last 20 years. It can be asserted based on these data that women working in the primary sector have been less strongly influenced by this trend. The proof is both the lower childlessness rate, or higher proportion of women with at least one child, and the overall realised fertility of these critical generations. For example all Slovak women born in 1970 had 1.6 children on average while women working in the primary sector had more than 2 children. Similarly, women from the second half of the 1970s are characterised by higher fertility and lower childlessness. Based on these data we can assume that women working in the primary sector born in the 1970s became mothers earlier and with a higher intensity than the whole population of Slovakia. However, an earlier start in reproduction does not necessarily mean higher completed reproduction. Therefore, we will only be able to analyse the overall level of differences in realised fertility of women working in the primary sector and other national economy sectors once the results of the 2011 census and other data are available.

Figures 5 and 6: Completed fertility and childlessness of women working in the primary sector and all women in Slovakia, population and housing census, 2001 [23]



The outcome of the reproduction paths at the end of reproductive age is the structure of women by parity. When comparing women working in the primary sector in 2001 with all women in Slovakia who had completed or had reached the end of their reproductive period (40 years of age and older), it is obvious by perusing the following two figures that the first group includes more women with three or more children. It was this fact that brought higher completed fertility figures which were identified in the findings of almost all censuses presented in this paper.

Conclusion

The transformation of reproductive behaviour during the demographic revolution influenced mainly higher order births as an indication of intentional limitation of family size. Consequently, Slovak families were becoming smaller which was reflected in the number of women with more children in the respective generations. Women born in the 1940s and later who had spent most of their reproductive lives in the previous political regime showed strong inclination for families with two children. One of the specific features of the so-called East-European reproduction model was the two-child family model together with low childlessness bordering on biological abilities and a very small share of women with one child. As shown in Figure 8, among all generations of women born between 1948 and 1960 women with two children had the biggest share, namely over 40%. The share of women with three and more children gradually dropped from 38% to 30%. One-tenth of all women in Slovakia had a single child.

When compared to all Slovak women, women working in the primary sector had a higher proportion of three and more children. The proportion of these women in generations from the late 1940s was almost 20 percentage points higher. Although a gradual decrease in this group can be observed between generations, the 1960 generation was still dominated by women working in the primary sector with three and more children, as they represented more than 46% of all women of the same year of birth. Only a small portion of women working in the primary sector had one child. On average that was only 5 to 8% of all women. Women with five and more children took a bigger share; in generations from 1948 to 1958 they usually formed approximately one-tenth of all women. For younger generations born after 1960, a prevalence of women with two children is recorded, but in view of their age their reproduction cannot be considered as completed yet; it is probable that a certain portion of them will bear at least one more child in the future. From this perspective, the structure of women born in the 1970s is also noteworthy. We have already mentioned higher fertility and lower childlessness rates among these women working in the primary sector. The results of the 2001 census, however, show that these women much more often gave birth to children of second and higher order. Thus we can assert that in contrast with all Slovak women these women become mothers earlier and with higher intensity in their younger age, often with repeated motherhood. Based on these results it appears that even for these breakthrough generations the overall intensity of fertility will eventually be higher than in the case of older generations and that women working in the primary sector will in future hold their first position regarding the intensity of fertility. On the other hand it should be noted that in future they will represent an ever shrinking group and their reproductive behaviour will become more marginal without a dramatic effect on the republic-wide level.

Figure 7: Structure of women working in the primary sector by number of births and by generation, population and housing census, 2001 [24]

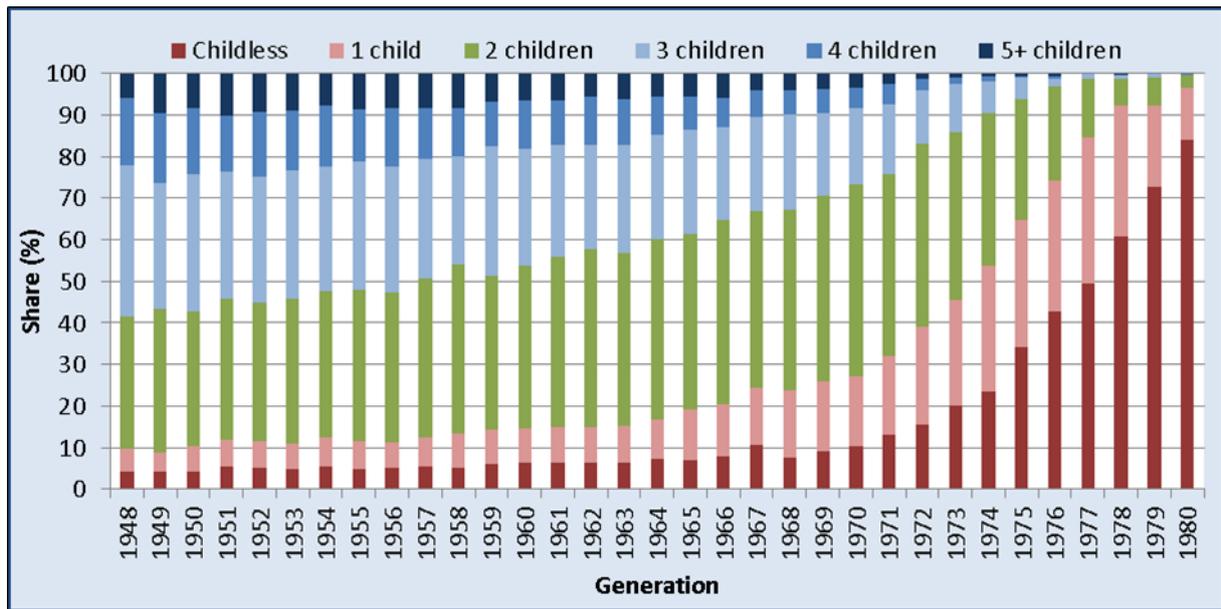
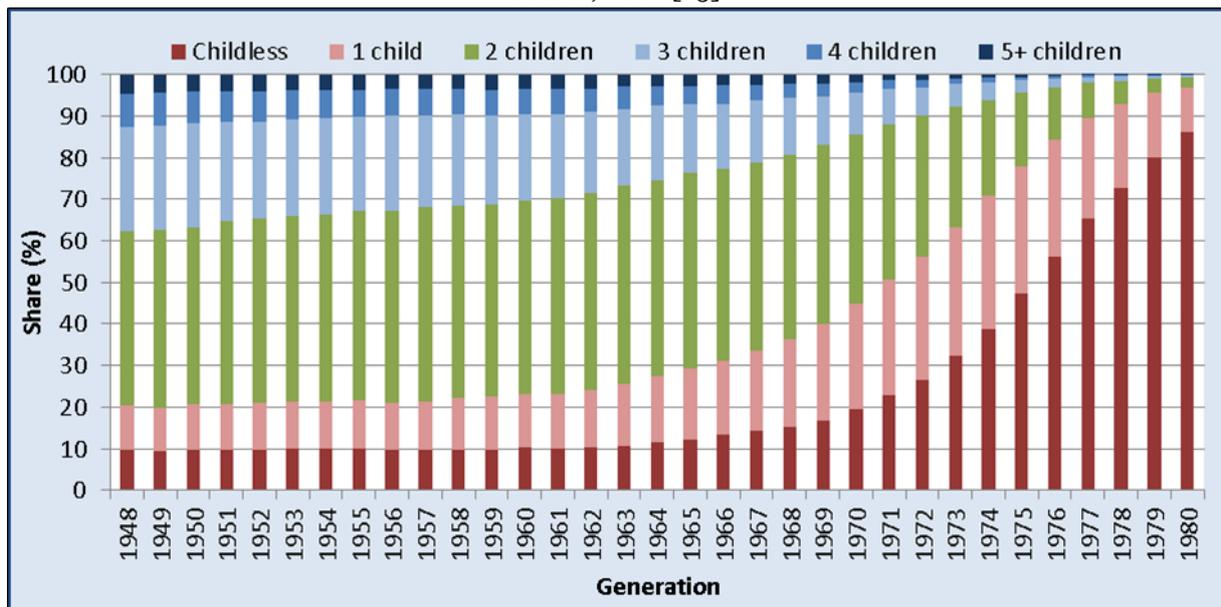


Figure 8: Structure of all Slovak women by number of births and by generation, population and housing census, 2001 [25]



References:

1. This work was supported by the Slovak Research and Development Agency under contract No. APVV-0199-12 „Historický atlas obyvateľstva Slovenska (18. – 1. pol. 20. storočia)“. Research underlying this paper was also supported by the MŠ SR VEGA grant No. 1/0026/14 „Transformácia plodnosti žien Slovenska v 20. a na začiatku 21. storočia a jej prognóza do roku 2050.“ Statistická ročenka republiky Československé: 1938 (henceforth: SRRČS 1938). Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1938, p. 15.
2. Svetoň, J. Obyvateľstvo Slovenska za kapitalizmu /J. Svetoň. Bratislava: SVPL, 1956, p. 164 ff; Kačírek, L. Modernizácia Uhorska v 19. storočí a slovenské národné hnutie / L. Kačírek // M. Martinkovič (ed.). Idey a vývoj slovenského národnotvorného myslenia. Krakov: Spolok Slovákov v Poľsku, 2011, pp. 246-338.
3. Compiled based on data from SRRČS 1938, ref. 2, p. 15; Demografická príručka (henceforth: DP) / V. Srb (ed.). Praha 1967, p. 35; Průcha, V. Hospodárske dejiny Československa v 19. a 20. storočí / V. Průcha. Bratislava: Pravda, 1974, p. 574; MVSR – Slovak National Archives, fonds Slovak Statistical Office, 1945 – 1951, box no. 38, no shelf mark.
4. Šprocha, B., Tišliar, P. Úmrtnosť na Slovensku v rokoch 1919 – 1937 / B. Šprocha, P. Tišliar. Bratislava: Stimul, 2008, p.11 ff.

5. MVSR – Slovak National Archives, fonds Slovak Statistical Office, 1952 – 1960, box no. 50, no shelf mark.
6. DP, ref. 3, p. 34.
7. For details, see also Vaňo, B. *Obyvateľstvo Slovenska 1945 – 2000* / B. Vaňo. Bratislava: Infostat, 2001, p. 14 ff.; *Sobášne tabuľky slobodných : Slovenská republika 1996 – 2000* / B. Vaňo. Bratislava: Infostat, 2001.
8. Compiled based on data from DP, ref. 3, p. 34; Průcha, V., ref. 3, p. 574; *Sčítanie ľudu, domov a bytov k 1. 12. 1970 : tabuľky za SSR. FŠÚ, SŠÚ, 1971, pp. 39-44; Sčítanie ľudu, domov a bytov 1. 11. 1980 SSR // Československá štatistika 1982. Bratislava: SŠÚ, 1982, pp. 52-56; Sčítanie ľudu, domov a bytov k 3. 3. 1991. Interné údaje Štatistického úradu Slovenskej republiky, 1992, pp. 46-53; Sčítanie obyvateľov, domov a bytov 26. 5. 2001. Interné údaje Štatistického úradu Slovenskej republiky, elektronické spracovanie SODB 2001.*
9. For details, see also Němcová, L., Průcha, V. *K dějinám družstevnictví ve světě a v Československu* / L. Němcová, V. Průcha // *Studie z hospodářských dějin č. 13. Praha: VŠE, 1999.*
10. DP, ref. 3, p. 36.
11. *Sčítání lidu v Republice Československé ze dne 1. prosince 1930. Díl IV. Část 1. Počet dětí živě narozených v posledním manželství // Československá statistika sv. 126 (henceforth: ČSS sv. 126). Řada VI. Sčítání lidu, sešit 12. Praha: Státní úřad statistický 1936, pp. 106-109.*
12. Pavlík, Z. *Demografická revoluce jako globální zákonitost populačního vývoje* / Z. Pavlík. Praha: Přírodovědecká fakulta, Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 1977, p. 215.
13. Pavlík, Z., Rychtaříková, J., Šubrtová, A. *Základy demografie* / Z. Pavlík, J. Rychtaříková, J. Šubrtová. Praha: Academia, 1986, p. 322.
14. Vereš, P. *Vývoj plodnosti na Slovensku v letech 1880–1910* / P. Vereš // *Demografie*, 25/1983, pp. 203-208; Vereš, P. *Regionální vývoj plodnosti na Slovensku v letech 1910 – 1980* / P. Vereš // *Demografie*, 28/1986, pp. 110-117.
15. ČSS sv. 126, ref. 11, pp. 106-109.
16. Ibidem.
17. *Sčítání lidu v Republice Československé ke dni 1. března 1950. Díl III. Plodnost žen. // Československá statistika, Řada A., sv. 6. Praha: Státní úřad statistický, 1957, p. 12.*
18. *Sčítání lidu, domů a bytů v Československé socialistické republice k 1. březnu 1961. Díl I. Demografické charakteristiky obyvatelstva. Praha: Ústřední komise lidové kontroly a statistiky, 1965, pp. 286-309.*
19. *Sčítanie ľudu, domov a bytov 1. 11. 1980. Plodnosť žien – Manželské páry. SSR. Bratislava: Federálny štatistický úrad. Slovenský štatistický úrad, 1982, p. 262.*
20. *Štatistický úrad Slovenskej republiky: Sčítanie ľudu, domov a bytov k 3. 3. 1991. Authors calculations.*
21. Ibidem.
22. Ibidem.
23. *Štatistický úrad Slovenskej republiky: Sčítanie obyvateľov, domov a bytov k 26. 5. 2001. Authors calculations.*
24. Ibidem.
25. Ibidem.

УДК 93

**Плодовитость женщин в первичном секторе
в Словакии (1900–2001 гг.)**

¹Бранислав Шпроха

²Павол Тишляр

Философский факультет Университета Коменского, Словакия
814 99, г. Братислава, ул. Гондова 2

¹ доктор естественных наук

E-mail: branislav.sprocha@gmail.com

² доктор философии и ист. наук, профессор истории

E-mail: pavol.tisliar@uniba.sk

Аннотация. В XX веке словацкое населения прошло значительными изменениями в характере репродуктивного поведения. Эти изменения произошли одновременно и в всего населения сразу. Одними из наиболее часто упоминаемых факторов, которые влияли на репродуктивное поведение, является экономическая активность женщин и, особенно, первичный сектор экономики. Статья анализирует плодородие женщин в Словакии в зависимости от работы в первичном секторе между 1900–2001 гг. Дифференциальный анализ плодородия обсуждается на основе результатов переписей населения.

Ключевые слова: первичный сектор, плодовитость женщин, переписи 1900–2001 гг., Словакия.