
PART THREE

SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER 6

NEW FORMS OF HOUSEHOLD FORMATION IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE: ARE THEY RELATED TO NEWLY EMERGING VALUE ORIENTATIONS?

The profound economic and political changes in central and eastern Europe since the transition to democracy and a market economy got underway around 1990, have been accompanied by a sharp decline in fertility, which, in relative terms, has been steeper than in western Europe during any period of comparable length since the postwar baby boom ended in the middle of the 1960s. This has left central and eastern Europe as the region with the lowest fertility in the world.

There were three competing explanations – political, economic and social - of these developments which were examined in a tentative and speculative manner in the Economic Survey of Europe 1999 No.1.⁵⁰⁶ These were political instability and the attendant “fear of the future”; the drop in living standards on account of the deep economic crisis; and the spread of new forms of family and reproductive behaviour favouring smaller families, that have prevailed in western Europe since the middle of the 1960s.

A second study,⁵⁰⁷ published in the Economic Survey of Europe, 2000 No. 1, suggested that the social and economic crisis of the 1990s was a major driving force behind the fertility decline and an econometric fertility model was developed to articulate the role of the various social and economic factors at work, including changes in incomes, unemployment, the educational attainment of women and the increase in the average age of motherhood.

The present study is complementary to the previous two papers. It acknowledges the role of the economic and social crisis in the fertility decline but also finds evidence that new forms of fertility and family behaviour have taken root in central and eastern Europe which are associated with changes in social norms and values consistent with the new economic and political order, and many of which, having originated in the west, are branded as “western.” The implication is that the economic recovery underway in central and eastern Europe should be expected to only partly reverse the earlier decline in fertility rates.

6.1 Introduction

6.2 The European Values Surveys of 1999

TABLE 6.2.1

European Values Surveys, 1999: sample size and relative proportion of household positions in three regional groups of countries ^a
(Number, per cent)

	WEST-8		CENTRAL-7		EAST-5	
	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent	Number	Per cent
Respar: resident in parental households	783	15.1	984	22.9	602	19.2
Single: living alone	474	9.1	154	3.6	97	3.1
Coh0: cohabiting without children	719	13.9	337	7.8	102	3.3
Coh+: cohabiting with children	385	7.4	198	4.6	127	4.1
Mar0: married without children	278	5.4	145	3.4	154	4.9
Mar+N: married with children, never cohabited	1 548	29.8	2 114	49.2	1 622	51.8
Mar+E: married with children, ever cohabited	740	14.3	198	4.6	188	6.0
FmNu: Formerly married/in union; not in new union ...	259	5.0	164	3.8	242	7.7
Total	5 186	100.0	4 294	100.0	3 134	100.0

Source: European Values Surveys Consortium, national data sets.

Note: For definitions of household categories and country groups, see section 6.2 of the text.

^a Respondents aged 18 to 45.

TABLE 6.2.2

Unmarried cohabitation of women in the transition economies in the 1990s
(Per cent, number)

		Percentage shares						Sample size
		Age group 20-24			Age group 25-29			
		Total	Without children	With children	Total	Without children	With children	
Baltic states								
Estonia	FFS 1991	13	9	4	19	5	14	659
	EVS 1999	42	33	9	22	4	18	99
Latvia	FFS 1995	8	5	3	6	2	4	778
	EVS 1999	40	26	14	37	19	18	73
Lithuania	FFS 1994	3	2	1	1	–	1	990
	EVS 1999	10	5	5	10	4	6	91
Central Europe								
Croatia	EVS 1999	30	30	–	13	13	–	146
Czech Republic	FFS 1997	10	8	2	9	3	6	601
	EVS 1999	24	22	2	17	11	–	146
Hungary	FFS 1992	7	5	2	2	1	1	1 456
	EVS 1999	33	28	5	27	16	11	87
Poland	FFS 1991	–	–	–	–	–	–	1 194
	EVS 1999	16	11	5	3	–	3	85
Slovakia	EVS 1999	6	6	–	3	3	–	125
Slovenia	FFS 1994	15	6	9	14	4	10	875
	EVS 1999	37	29	8	31	15	16	109
Eastern Europe								
Belarus	EVS 2000	8	6	2	22	14	8	88
Bulgaria	FFS 1997	4	2	2	3	2	1	843
	EVS 1999	3	–	3	–	–	–	60
Romania	EVS 1999	20	20	–	10	7	3	85
Russian Federation	EVS 1999	2	1	1	16	5	11	171
Ukraine	EVS 1999	–	–	–	10	5	5	99

Source: FFS data: UNECE and UNFPA, *Fertility and Family Surveys in Countries of the ECE Region. Standard Country Report*, Economic Studies, No. 10 (various issues) and table 6.7.1; EVS data: European Values Surveys Consortium, national data sets.

Note: Results from Fertility and Family Surveys (FFS) and European Values Surveys (EVS). FFS data for Belarus, Croatia, Romania, the Russian Federation, Slovakia and Ukraine are not available.

6.3 Which values matter?

6.4 The footprints of selection and adaptation: what to expect?

6.5 Measurement and profiles: do we find the footprints of selection and adaptation?

TABLE 6.5.1

European Values Surveys, 1999: overview of 80 values used in the current analysis

<i>Topics and corresponding items</i>	<i>Item description</i>
Marriage and family: A1-A15	Marriage, an outdated institution (A1); children not necessary for life fulfilment (A2); parents should not sacrifice themselves for children (A3); acceptable: casual sex (A4), adultery (A5), divorce (A6), abortion (A7); important for marriage: tolerance and understanding (A8), sharing chores (A9), talking (A10), time together (A11), happy sexual relations (A12); not very important for the success of marriage: faithfulness (A13), children (A14); single motherhood acceptable (A15).
Religion: A16-A24	Not believing in: god (A16), sin (A17), hell (A18), heaven (A19); no comfort from religion (A20); no moments of prayer or meditation (A21); god not at all important in life (A22); distrust church (A23); religious faith not mentioned as socialization trait (A24).
Civil morality: A25-A36	Acceptable: soft drugs (A25), homosexuality (A26), joyriding (A27), suicide (A28), euthanasia (A29), speeding (A30), drunk driving (A31), accepting bribes (A32), tax cheating (A33), lying (A34), tax evasion by paying cash (A35), claiming unentitled state benefits (A36).
Politics: B1-B11	Distrust in institutions: education system (B1), army (B2), police (B3), justice system (B4), civil service (B5); participated or willing to: participate in unofficial strikes (B6), attend unlawful demonstrations (B7), join boycotts (B8), occupy buildings (B9); no more respect for authority (B10); post-materialist (B11).
Identification: B12-B17	Identification with "Europe and world" (B12), not with "own village or town" (B13), not very or quite proud of own nationality (B14); no priority for national workers (B15); no trust in European Union (B16) or United Nations (B17).
Retreat: B18-B21	Not a member of any voluntary organization (B18); no voluntary work (B19); people cannot be trusted (B20); never discuss politics (B21).
Socialization: C1-C7	Not mentioned as desirable traits in educating children: hard work (C1), obedience (C2), good manners (C3), unselfishness (C4), tolerance and respect (C5); stressed as desirable: independence (C6), imagination (C7).
Work qualities: C8-C15	Not mentioned as desirable job aspects: good hours (C8), promotion (C9); stressed as desirable: respected job (C10), responsible job (C11), meeting people (C12), useful for society (C13), interesting work (C14), enabling initiative (C15).
Social distance: C16-C23	Not wanted as neighbours: large families (C16), right-wing people (C17); no objection to having as neighbours: aids patients (C18), unstable people (C19), those with criminal record (C20), drug addicts (C21), homosexuals (C22), immigrants (western countries) or gypsies (central European countries) (C23).

Note: All items are presented from a "non-conformist" perspective.

6.6 Finer distinctions

6.7 Changes in value orientations during the 1990s

TABLE 6.7.1

Trends in selected comparable items among respondents aged 18-49, three groups of countries with transition economies, 1990 and 1999
(Per cent of GDP)

	Baltic states		Central Europe		Eastern Europe	
	<i>Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania</i>		<i>Czech Republic / Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Slovenia</i>		<i>Belarus, Bulgaria, Romania, Russian Federation</i>	
	1990	1999	1990	1999	1990	1999
Family						
Women do not need children for life fulfilment	8.3	26.5	23.5	44.6	10.8	25.1
Marriage an outdated institution	11.1	23.8	12.7	19.5	14.3	23.2
Single motherhood acceptable	57.8	83.9	69.4	78.4	78.5	80.7
Parents must not make sacrifices for children	36.1	32.0	22.9	20.7	28.6	30.3
Homosexuality acceptable	2.3	4.5	11.8	16.0	2.2	4.3
Adultery acceptable	62.6	61.0	56.7	52.6	59.4	58.2
Divorce acceptable	17.1	14.0	21.1	22.6	17.2	18.4
Distrust institutions and politics						
No trust in church	8.0	11.7	20.2	26.6	17.5	15.4
No trust in civil service	7.3	13.6	10.4	16.4	24.2	27.6
No trust in police	80.8	70.4	61.3	56.1	67.6	64.1
No trust in justice system	13.2	17.5	10.9	15.7	18.6	21.5
No trust in education system	54.4	33.5	37.1	29.9	48.4	30.4
Never discuss politics	3.5	19.6	12.9	25.3	13.8	25.0
One cannot trust people	75.9	77.9	74.4	78.6	72.9	75.0
Expressiveness						
Independence stressed	67.4	54.4	34.5	61.2	41.0	38.9
Imagination stressed	12.0	10.2	8.3	13.1	15.9	15.7
Obedience not mentioned	82.2	79.8	71.4	74.7	79.6	79.0
Good manners not mentioned	44.1	39.1	34.5	29.3	25.6	30.0
Unselfishness not mentioned	74.4	82.4	73.5	72.5	75.7	84.2
Civil morality						
Fraudulent claiming of benefits justified	40.2	54.5	59.1	47.8	38.8	46.7
Taking soft drugs justified	12.2	16.8	21.1	29.7	14.6	18.2
Accepting a bribe justified	38.0	37.4	33.2	43.5	28.0	39.3
Tax cheating justified	51.0	64.4	58.2	59.2	57.5	61.1
Identification						
Identification: Europe + world	6.2	8.3	9.9	7.6	11.9	11.7
Identification: not own locality or town	71.0	52.5	61.0	45.3	54.4	52.7
National pride: not proud	13.8	37.1	15.7	12.7	30.6	30.0

Source: Original data sets, European Values Surveys Consortium and World Values Studies.

Note: Each individual country has a weight of unity; in 1999 the data for the Czech Republic and Slovakia were merged to make them comparable to the 1990 data, which covered the whole of Czechoslovakia.

6.8 Conclusions