

# HOUSEHOLDS IN SLOVAKIA IN THE 1930 CENSUS

Branislav Šprocha – Pavol Tišliar

**Abstract:** The study presents data on the nature of households and families in Slovakia in the interwar period from a source that is unique in the world. In the 1930 census, a survey of kinship ties to the head of the household were included among the content elements, and persons living in the same flat or house and persons belonging to the same household were strictly distinguished. The aim of the article was to provide not only basic methodological data, but also to characterise the fundamental traits of households in Slovakia on the example of selected results. We focused on the size of the household, the type of household, the presence of children, as well as other relations of the families. The data in question were also analysed with regard to the size groups of municipalities, and an effort was also made to identify any spatial differences.

The results show that Slovak households in the interwar period were characterised by a strong orientation towards the nuclear family model, with more than 87% of all households made up of only one family. In multi-generational households, the families of the household head dominated together with the families of his or her children, while co-habitation with parents or combined forms was marginal. The average household size was 4.4 persons, with the largest households typical for rural areas and the smallest for large cities. Similarly, the average number of children per household showed significant regional and socio-professional differences – households of the heads working in agriculture and mining had the highest number of children, and the lowest values were recorded among civil servants, the military and the freelance professions. Significant differences were also manifested between regions: the highest average number of children was recorded in the districts of northern and north-eastern Slovakia, while below-average values were seen in southern and urban areas. The article overall reveals significant geographical and social patterns in the formation of households in Slovakia and points to the great importance of the census as a source of data for scholarly research on households and families in the period before the Second World War.

**Keywords:** households, families, Slovakia, size groups of municipalities, districts, 1930 census

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## Introduction

A population is not only a set of individuals, of individual persons, but is made up of various larger or smaller social collectives (Kučera, 1994: 81). These are set apart on the basis of certain characteristics (e.g., nationality, religious confession) or relationships between persons (family, economic, common housing, etc.). These are groups that have different “durability”, structure, size, social function and degree of organisation (Kučera – Kalibová, 1994: 91). One of the most important such social collectives, particularly for the existence of the human race, its demographic reproduction and thus also for human society itself, is the family. The existence of such a social collective basically follows from the natural way of life of most people. They live most (or possibly all) of their life in the company of other (mostly family-related) persons.

Their existence, however, is not important only for the members themselves; it also has an irreplaceable place for the whole society. They are the environment in which one’s own social life is created, where the socialisation of an individual takes place, as the social collective provides him with protection, material and mental support and emotional fulfilment (Pilinská – Lukáčová – Mészáros – Vaňo, 2005: 5).

Only a relatively few empirical sources of mass data are available in Slovakia for the study of social collectives defined by family ties. This applies in particular to the historical period, when the subjects of various conscriptions, inventories and later modern censuses were mainly persons or groups of persons who lived together in one house (flat), regardless of whether they were relatives or subtenants, or otherwise persons not linked by family ties. Only after the First World War, with the expansion of demographic statistics and also due to practical efforts to identify in more detail the reasons for declining fertility in interwar Czechoslovakia, did issues related to families and households begin to come to the fore (Sekera, 1938: 7\*). This was also conditioned by the fact that the new republic absorbed three demographically quite different entities. While the western parts were already characterised by relatively low fertility due to a more advanced phase of transformational changes within the (first) demographic transition (Fialová, 1987: 3–7; Fialová – Pavlík – Vereš, 1990: 89–106), Slovakia (Šprocha – Tišliar, 2010: 103–119; Šprocha – Tišliar, 2016; Vereš, 1983: 202–207; Vereš, 1986: 110–117) and especially Subcarpathian Ruthenia (Šprocha – Tišliar, 2009) were characterised by a later start of conscious regulation of family size and thus higher realised fertility.<sup>[1]</sup>

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[1] For example, in the interwar period, the total fertility rate in Czechia fell well below the limit of 2 children per woman (essentially the current level), while in Slovakia, women still had more than 3 children on average, and in Subcarpathian Ruthenia, the average was even 4 children.

Even though the first efforts at such a type of survey can be seen in the 1921 census, the lack of financial resources in particular did not allow its practical implementation. Therefore, the first census in which a transition was seen from broader social groups such as residential households to smaller and more detailed collectives such as families was the 1930 census (Kučera – Kalibová, 1994: 91; Sekera, 1938: 7\*–8\*). This was a unique undertaking at its time that had no parallel worldwide. Nevertheless, it is all but unknown in historical demography in Slovakia and analytically has been little processed (Šprocha – Tišliar, 2012) despite a detailed source publication (Sčítání lidu, 1938) containing various combination classifications. The aim of the article is not a detailed analysis of all possible perspectives that are enabled by the published data from the 1930 census on households and families, nor a detailed interpretation of the obtained results. However, in this initial phase of processing, we are trying to present these data and the methodologically unique census to the wider academic community and, using the example of selected results, identify some basic features of households and families in Slovakia at the beginning of the 1930s.

## Methodology for the collection of household data in the 1930 census

The results of our work are based on processed and collectively published data on households and families from the 1930 census in source work *Sčítání lidu v Republice Československé ze dne 1. prosince 1930. Díl IV. Část 2. Domácnosti a rodiny* [The Population Census in the Czechoslovak Republic of December 1, 1930. Volume IV. Part 2. Households and families]. Therefore, in the following section, we will present in detail the methodology and method of collecting data on households and families in Czechoslovakia in the 1930 census, further the processing of the obtained census material, as well as the content and scope of the published data. Since we are working with a statistical source of a collective nature, we would like to point out to the reader at the outset that in our analysis we are fully dependent on the nature of the published data, the typology of families and households used in the source work from the census, as well as other classifications (e.g. socio-professional classification) that were applied in the 1930 census and the data subsequently processed for them. In addition, our study only presents some selected main findings.

The basic driver for expanding the content of the census to include a new type of social collective was the awareness that members of several families, parts of families or individuals can live together in one flat or house. The potentially large variability of such forms of cohabitation during the life cycle of individual members of a household then significantly distorted the information obtained about households and families.

In the 1930 census, the term *household* meant a group of people who not only lived together in one house or flat but also declared joint management of it. Upon

finding several such collectives in one house or flat, each census commissioner was obligated to clearly separate them with a horizontal line. The household of the property owner was to be listed first on the census sheet, with the name of the owner of the house or flat being the first name recorded. Then, people living and managing in the same household with the head were attributed to him, and their ties to household head were also determined. Only after the exhaustion of all members of the owner's household were other people living in the flat or house, or other households and their members, entered into the census sheet. Families were then constructed on the basis of data so obtained. For the needs of the 1930 census, these were defined as a union of cohabiting and co-managing spouses, a partner and a partner together with their child(ren), if they lived with them in the same household. A household with a single parent with a child or children was also considered a family. As stated by Sekera (Sekera, 1938: 11\*), since this definition related to the crucial moment when the census was carried out, this concept did not include family members who had died earlier or lived outside the household for a long time. The census likewise did not allow data on divided families and households to be obtained. These were situations where spouses, partners or parents and children did not live in the same household for a long time. On the other hand, the innovation of the 1930 census also lay in the fact that it enabled the acquisition of information not only about a person physically present at the crucial moment of data collection in the house or flat in question, but also about the persons who actually lived there but who were temporarily outside the household at the time of the census. Those people who lived permanently in a given place were also considered to be such a "resident" population (Sekera, 1938: 11\*-12\*).

The census sheet was mandatory and authorised exclusively by the owner of the flat or an adult member of his family. If the relevant person was unable or did not know how to fill out the census sheet, he had to wait for the arrival of the census commissioner, who filled it out for him. Overall, the sheet was divided into two parts, A and B. To part A was written all persons who:

- 1) spent the night in a given apartment or house from 1 to 2 December 1930,
- 2) lived in a given flat or house, but spent the crucial moment of the census away from their residence (e.g., at work, at a party, etc.) but did not spend the night anywhere else,
- 3) were travelling and found their first shelter in the given flat.

To part B were written persons who lived in a given flat but who were temporarily away from their municipality of residence at the time of the census.

Those who met the following conditions were then considered temporarily absent persons:

- 1) they were for a short period of time temporarily outside the municipality in which they regularly reside,

- 2) they left the municipality of residence for seasonal work but planned to return here after its completion,
- 3) they regularly travel to another municipality for employment and sleep there, but then return to their home in the municipality of residence after a shorter or longer period.

These persons were to be registered as temporarily absent in the municipality of residence in section B, and in the place where they were at the time of the census as temporarily present persons in section A.

The inventory of persons present on the census sheet had its own specific order. The owner of the flat – the head of the household – was listed first, followed by his wife or partner. Any children were listed below them, arranged by age, with the exception of those who had set up their own separate household in the given flat or house. Next in order were other relatives and in-laws, again excluding those who had set up their own household in the house or flat. The last persons listed were servants or other employees of the head of the household (if they lived with him), then subtenants (regardless of whether they dined in the household) and finally overnight guests. In the next column, the kinship, in-law or other relationship to the head of the household was indicated for each person belonging to the same household (e.g., wife, partner, son, daughter, father, brother, father-in-law, brother-in-law, maid, servant, assistant, apprentice, subtenant, overnight guest, etc.). Further, the “owner of the flat” was to be indicated for the owner of the house or flat. In the case of guests who were visiting the household at the time of the census, this was to be indicated next to the name. If, however, there was any kinship relationship with the head of the household, this was also to be noted. If other households were identified in the flat or house, the relationship to the property owner was also to be stated next to the name of the head of the second and other households. For example, there were combinations such as: “head of the second household, son of the owner of the flat”, “head of the second household, father of the owner of the flat”, “head of the second household in sublet”, etc.. In the case of other people belonging to such an additional household, only the relationship to the head of the household in question was listed.

From the methodological overview above, it is clear that thanks to the set procedure, even those persons in their household and therefore also their family who were not present in the house or flat at the time of the census but had their permanent residence there were also counted. As Sekera adds (Sekera, 1938: 10\*), not taking this aspect into account would mean a significant distortion of the characteristics of households and families, since most often it is the household or family head who lives outside of them for work reasons.

The Czechoslovak census of 1930 was in this regard the first and only census in the world at the time that provided such detailed information about households and families. Along with the classic data on the number of heads of households,

their wives, children, relatives and other members, it enabled the creation of a typology of households based on whether they were made up of one or more families, a group of persons outside family ties, or individuals. What's more, the census results also provided a more detailed view of the composition of families (Sekera, 1938: 8\*). They were characterised by high quality in terms of completeness. This, according to Sekera, was even higher than in the case of the census of individuals, because it was easier for the individual to be missed on a census than an entire household consisting of several people (Sekera, 1938: 11\*). According to Sekera's estimates, the Czechoslovak census of 1930 did not capture at most 3 % of all the potential forms of families (Sekera, 1938: 11\*).

The phases of processing and publication of data was also specific. In the first part, summaries of the tracked characteristics for individuals were created. Only then did the processing of data for households and families begin. First, variables from the census that served for their construction were selected. These were then entered into the so-called family sheets and subsequently marked on punched cards. The family sheet itself consisted of 4 parts:

The first contained basic information about the place of the census (district, municipality, census district number, flat number, serial number of the block of flats).

The second part contained data on the household and family, namely the completeness of the family, the makeup of the family, the presence of a related family, the number of household members, the number of children (of whom those born before 1 December 1916 were asked whether they were gainfully employed), the number of other relatives (total, gainfully employed, parents, grandparents), the number of domestic servants, subtenants, boarders and overnight guests.

The third part of the family card contained data on the head of the household (family). Specifically, this was gender, marital status, month and year of birth, month and year of marriage, number of live and stillborn children (for women), level of occupation, standing in occupation, gainful activity for women and whether the person was employed in the public sector.

The fourth and last part presented the sex and month and year of birth of each child in the household.

A household for the purposes of the 1930 census was defined as a group of people who lived and worked together (in the sense of jointly participating in the running of the household). A family was considered as a union of spouses living together, a cohabiting couple, or one or both parents with their child(ren).

Households were divided into three main groups:

- 1) one-person households,
- 2) multiperson households (persons who do not form a family household – there are no direct family ties between them; supplemented by authors),
- 3) family households.

Family households (families) were further divided into the following five subgroups:

- 3a) married couple,
- 3b) married couple with a child (children),
- 3c) cohabiting couple,
- 3d) cohabiting couple with a child (children),
- 3e) lone-parent with a child (children).

Given the methodological concept of household surveying, it was possible to distinguish whether another related family lived in the household (e.g., a married daughter, married son). Within households, some information was also published for individuals or persons forming a separate household, but without a family relationship to the head (owner) of the flat or house.

The results of the 1930 census on households and families were not published until early 1938. Compared to other source works from the census, it was a publication with a small number of pages and a very limited range of combination classifications. This significantly limits analytical possibilities. Moreover, several of these classifications were available only at the level of individual countries (Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Slovakia, Subcarpathian Ruthenia). Among the most important ones we can mention:

- 1) population living in private households according to relationship to the head of household and according to the size of the municipality of residence,
- 2) population living in residential institutions (hotels, monasteries, medical institutions, barracks, prisons, etc.) in combination with the size of the municipality and with gender,
- 3) households according to the number of persons the size of the residence,
- 4) households according to the occupation and social affiliation of the head of household in combination with the number of persons,
- 5) households according to the number of employees in personal services and according to the size of the residence,
- 6) households of individuals by gender and marital status,
- 7) households according to their composition, the number of related families residing in them in combination with the size of the residence,
- 8) households with two or more members according to the number of children and parents in combination with the size of the residence,
- 9) households with two or more members by occupation and social affiliation affiliation of the head of household in combination with the total number of children, with the number of children over 14 years of age and children of gainfully employed persons who lived in this household,
- 10) families of heads of households and families of their children who lived in the same household by occupation and social affiliation and number of children of the head of household,

- 11) families of private workers by age, marital status of the head of household in combination with the age of children under 19 years of age who lived in their family,
- 12) population in private dwellings by relationship to the head of household in combination with nationality and sex,
- 13) households by number of boarders, subtenants and overnight guests,
- 14) households by sex, marital status of the head of household in combination with the number of his children and related families living in the same household,
- 15) households by occupation, social affiliation of the head of household in combination with household size, number of children, number of children over 14 years of age and gainfully employed children who lived in the same household,
- 16) households by occupation, social affiliation of the head of the household in combination with the number of relatives and gainfully employed relatives living in the same household,
- 17) families of heads of households and families of their children living in the same household by gender, and marital status of the head of the household in combination with the composition of the family and the number of children of the head of the family,
- 18) families of heads of households and families of their children living in the same household by occupation and social affiliation of the head of the household in combination with the number of children of the head of the family,
- 19) families of private officials and orderlies by age and marital status of the head of the household, in combination with the age of children under 19 who lived in the same family,
- 20) families of workers in private services by age and marital status of the head of the household in combination with the age of children under 19 who lived in the same family.

Some combined classifications for households and families have been published down to the district level:

- 1) population present by type of accommodation and by relationship to the household head,
- 2) households by number of persons and personal service employees living in the household,
- 3) households by type of composition and by number of related families living in the household,
- 4) households by number of children and parents and grandparents of the household head living in the same household.



The greatest analytical possibilities are potentially provided by direct work with census sheets and the construction of households and families in combination with all the variables that were surveyed in the 1930 census. However, this approach is of course currently only possible at the local level thanks to the availability of census sheets by the Slovak National Archive.

## Characteristics of households in Slovakia

The dynamics of the number and structure of families and households are the result of the complex effects of several demographic phenomena. The key actor is the frequency and timing of marriages, since these are the factors that play a fundamental role in the formation of marriages and, consequently, families. The rates of divorce and mortality among persons living in a marriage also significantly affect development, impacting the duration and continuity of family cohabitation. The intensity and time dimension of reproduction, which shape the size and composition of family units, are equally important aspects.

Family structures, however, are also shaped by broader cultural and social factors, such as the traditions of cohabitation of several generations of relatives under one roof, the availability of housing and the economic background of households.

When comparing regions, it is further necessary to take into consideration the demographic structure of the population, especially its age composition, since the individual phases of the population's life cycle are closely linked to changes in the typology and composition of families and households. Reflecting these aspects in the analysis and interpretation of empirical data is essential.

In terms of family and reproductive behaviour, in the case of Slovakia, it is first necessary to speak about the relatively low age at which single persons (especially women) enter marriage. It was also shown that life in a married union was an almost universal phenomenon and was experienced by most young people<sup>[2]</sup>. A no less important characteristic in the interwar period was also the very low risk of divorce (Majo – Šprocha, 2016: 43–44; Šprocha – Tišliar, 2018: 142–143; Srb, 2002: 14); therefore, the divorce rate played no major role in the formation of so-called single-parent families in the form of a lone parent with a child or children. The birth of children outside marriage similarly played a rather small role in the formation of single-parent families in this period, the share of which remained stable below 10% (Majo – Šprocha, 2016: 73; Šprocha – Tišliar, 2008b: 70–71). In contrast, mortality and the associated higher probability of widowhood at a relatively young age operated as a risk factor due to the generally unfavourable and only slightly changing mortality rates for adult men and women

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[2] A rather non-European type of marital behavior was typical for Slovakia (Hajnal, 1965: 103–143; Livi-Bacci, 2003).

(Srb, 2002: 15; Šprocha – Tišliar, 2008c: 95–96). In connection with the size of households and families, fertility was a particularly important factor, as was the birth of higher-order children, since childlessness and single-child families remained relatively low in Slovakia and the two- or three-child family model was only gradually beginning to take hold among cohorts (Šprocha – Šprochová, 2015: 52–54).

The results of the 1930 census overall captured slightly more than 745 thousand households in Slovakia, the vast majority of which (almost 671 thousand, 90%) were family households. Households made up of several individuals outside the family comprised only 4% (29 thousand), and households of individuals accounted for the remaining 6% (45.5 thousand). Focusing especially on families, we see that 775.5 thousand of them were identified in the 1930 census, and the families of the heads of households clearly predominated (670.5 thousand, 86%). The families of the children of the heads of households comprised approximately 13% (99.4 thousand) and the families of the parents of the heads of households accounted for less than 1% (5.6 thousand). From the above overview it is evident that households in Slovakia were most often made up of only members of one family. More than 87% of all identified households were this type of private household. The remaining not quite 13% were households in which, in addition to the main family, other related families lived and managed the household together in one household. Cases in which the kinship family consisted of the families of the children of the head of household (more than 94% of kinship families) effectively predominated. Kinship families of parents were only minimally represented (5%), and kinship families of both the children and parents of the head of household were only marginally represented (1%). If we look at the composition of kinship families, situations when there was only one family (both the kinship family with children and the kinship family of parents) clearly predominated. From the total of 96 thousand kinship families, multi-family cases accounted for only about 8% (8.1 thousand families).

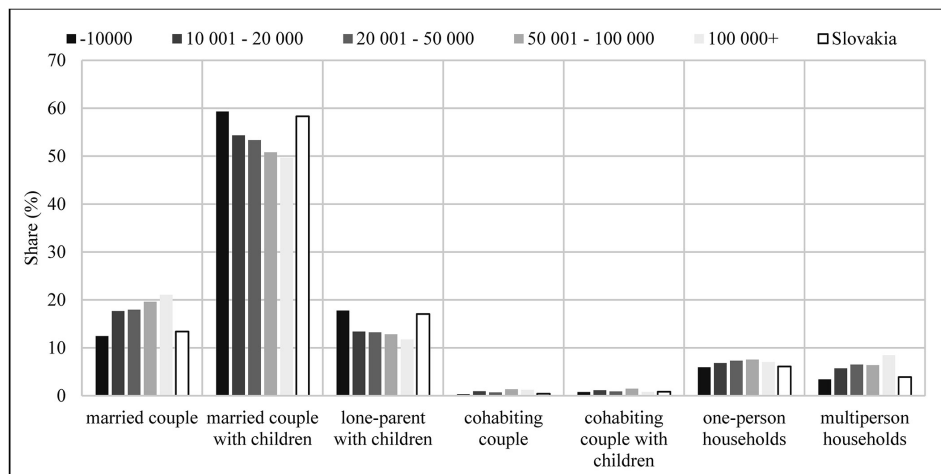
In Slovakia in 1930, in nearly two-thirds of cases the families of household heads were made up of a married couple with children. Approximately 15% were cases where the household consisted of a married couple. Incomplete families in the form of a single parent with children accounted for another about 19%. Situations when the household consisted of a man with a partner or a man with a partner and children were a marginal phenomenon in this period (only slightly more than 1% of all family households; 9.2 thousand).

If we look at the size of the place of residence, certain differences in the composition of households can be observed. Although married couples with children clearly predominated in all size groups, in the largest cities they made up only about half of all households, while in contrast, in settlements with up to 10 thousand inhabitants, they represented almost 60%. On the other hand, the representation of households consisting only of a married couple and households

of several persons outside the household of the household head increased slightly with the size of the settlement. Households consisting of only one person were also somewhat more common in larger cities. In both cases, however, these groups had less than a 10% share, regardless of the size of the place of residence. Cases of cohabitation were even more marginal, since these formed not quite 3% in settlements with 50–100 thousand inhabitants, while in other size groups their share ranged from 1% (municipalities up to 10 thousand inhabitants) to 2% (10–20 thousand and 100 thousand and more inhabitants). Also of interest is the slightly more frequent occurrence of single-parent households with a child in the smallest category of settlements, while with the increasing size of the town their representation among households showed a slightly decreasing tendency.

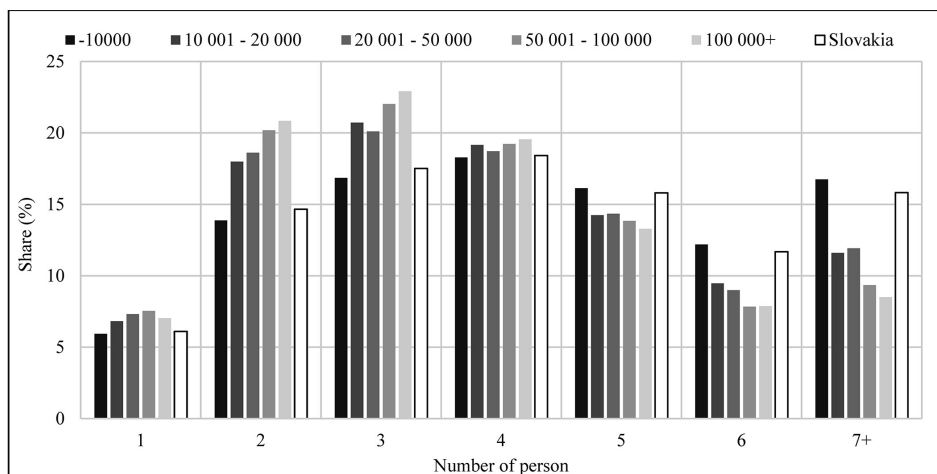
From the viewpoint of number of members, there were roughly 4.4 people per household in Slovakia in 1930. Households with four (18%), three (18%) and five members (16%) were the most common. A similar share (almost 16%) was also seen, however, in the aggregate category of households with seven or more members. The mentioned households of one person had the smallest share (6%).

FIGURE 1. TYPES OF HOUSEHOLDS IN SLOVAKIA BY SIZE GROUPS OF MUNICIPALITIES, 1930 CENSUS



Source: *Sčítání lidu*, 1938: 21\*.

FIGURE 2. STRUCTURE OF HOUSEHOLDS IN SLOVAKIA BY NUMBER OF MEMBERS AND SIZE GROUPS OF MUNICIPALITIES, 1930 CENSUS



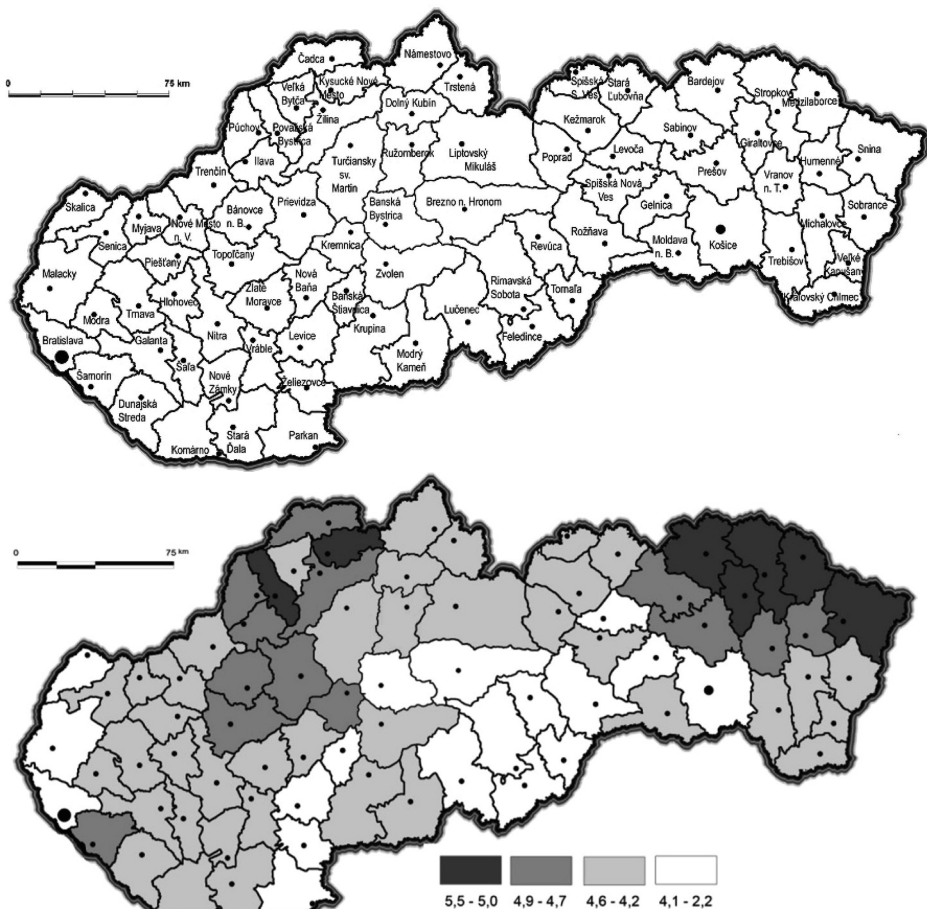
Source: *Sčítání lidu*, 1938, 18\*.

The results obtained from the census also indicated certain differences in the size and structure of households by number of members depending on the size of the residence. The largest households (4.5 people) are clearly found in the smallest settlements having up to 10 thousand inhabitants. Then the average number of persons in households decreased slightly with each additional size group. On average, the smallest households (fewer than 3.8 persons) were identified in cities with 100 thousand or more inhabitants. The mentioned differences are associated with the more frequent occurrence of households with two and three members in large and largest cities in Slovakia. In contrast, households with 5 or more members were more often counted in smaller cities and rural settlements (Figure 2), where they made up approximately 45% of all households, while in cities with 100 thousand or more inhabitants this was not even 30%. Only a slightly higher share (31%) could be identified in cities with 50–100 thousand inhabitants.

Within the territorial divisions of Slovakia, the lowest average size of private households was found mainly in the southern part of the country. These regions included, for example, Párkány (today Štúrovo), Želiezovce, Lučenec, Feledince (today Jesenské), Tornaľa or Rožňava, and they were fluidly connected by the districts of Rimavská Sobota and Revúca. A similar trend was also noticeable in the west, where a lower number of persons per household was concentrated in the band from Skalica through Malacky to the rural hinterland of the capital. The exception in central Slovakia was the district of Brezno and in the north-east Levoča. From the viewpoint of average household size, the district of Košice-environs stood out as the smallest.

This indicator was even lower in urban locations, and in some cases the average number of household members fell below four. Such a situation was typical for settlements such as Petržalka, the capital Bratislava, Komárno, Trenčín, Banská Bystrica, Banská Štiavnica, Banská Belá, Zvolen, Lučenec or Košice.

FIGURE 3. AVERAGE NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS IN THE DISTRICTS OF SLOVAKIA, 1930 CENSUS



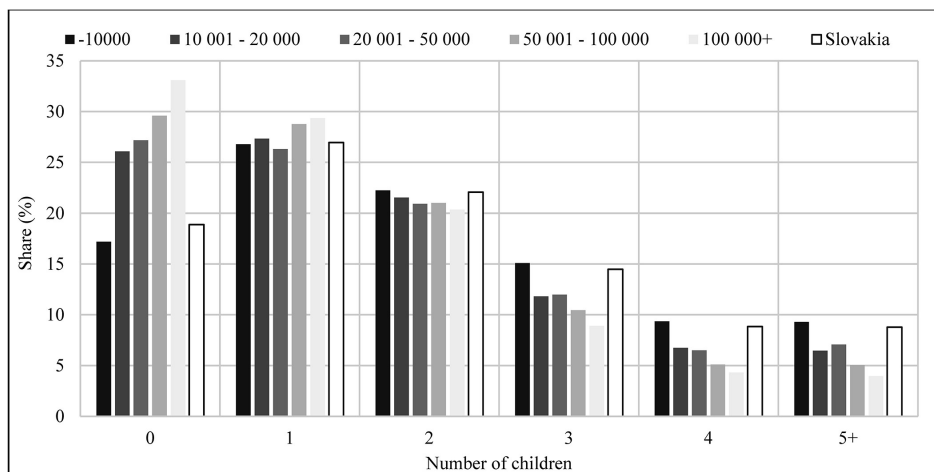
Source: *Sčítání lidu*, 1938: 24–25. Adapted by: P. Tišliar.

The results of the 1930 census confirmed the presence of children in more than 81% of households. Thus, less than one-fifth of all identified households in Slovakia were childless. In terms of internal structure, households with one (27%)

and two children (22%) predominated, and together they comprised almost half of all households. The three-child household model occurred in roughly 14% of cases, and approximately 9% of households had four children. The model with five or more children accounted for less than 9%. On average, there were 2 children per household, though if we limit ourselves only to households with children, then it was nearly 2.5 children.

More detailed results also showed that this average decreased with the size of the municipality. Households located in settlements with up to 10 thousand inhabitants had almost 2.1 children per household on average, but in cities with 50–100 thousand inhabitants this was about 1.5 children and in the largest cities with 100 thousand inhabitants and more this was below 1.4 children. The primary reason is that in large and the largest cities 30–33% of households were without children, an in municipalities up to 10 thousand inhabitants such cases made up only 17% on average. Households with only one child were identified slightly more often in large cities, while in smaller settlements, in contrast, households with three or more children achieved a higher representation.

FIGURE 4. STRUCTURE OF HOUSEHOLDS IN SLOVAKIA BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN AND SIZE GROUPS OF MUNICIPALITIES, 1930 CENSUS



Source: *Sčítání lidu*, 1938, 22\*.

Relatively significant differences in households by occupation of the household head in Slovakia are identified, even if we look at them through the average number of children, the average number of children over 14 years of age and the average number of gainfully employed children in such a household. As mentioned above, there were on average 2 children per household in Slovakia. The average

number of children aged 14 and over was approximately 0.8 per household, and the average number of gainfully employed children was 0.25 children. The results clearly showed that on the whole the highest average numbers of children were achieved by those households in which the household head worked in mining and metallurgy (2.4 children), in transport (2.3 children), in agriculture, animal husbandry, horticulture (2.1 children) and forestry, hunting and fishing (2.1 children). With other occupations of the household head, the average number of children was already below the national average. The lowest average numbers were clearly seen in by households of military officials (1 child) and in public services and the liberal professions (1.5 children). In terms of social standing, the lowest average numbers of children were in households of officials (1.2 children) and, conversely, the highest were in households of workers and day labourers (2.1 children).

The 1930 census revealed that there was only about 0.8 children aged 14 and over per household. This, too, indirectly indicates the relatively early start of marriage and motherhood, when people at a relatively young age started their own households and did not remain in their family of origin. According to a more detailed analysis, a child older than 14 was not found at all in more than half of all households. In approximately one-quarter of cases, there was only one such child, and another about 14% were households with two children aged 14 and over.

In light of the above findings, it is not surprising that the highest average numbers of such children can be found in households working in agriculture, animal husbandry and gardening (0.9 children) and, conversely, the lowest average number was reported by households of military chiefs (0.12 children) and in public services and liberal professions (0.41 children).

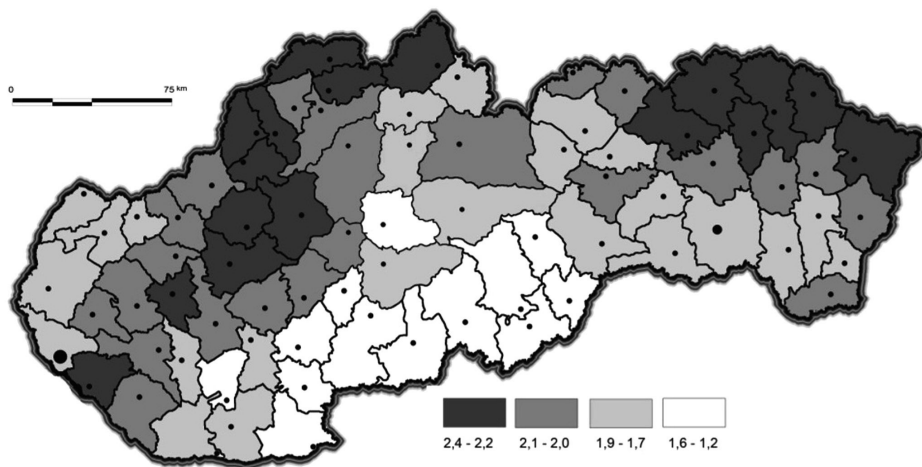
A specific subgroup were the children in households of gainfully employed persons. Their average number was very low overall, since most gainfully employed persons were older individuals who, due to the timing of marriage and parenthood, were more likely to form their own households than to remain part of their parents' households. A certain exception was the specific households of heads working in domestic and personal services, which on average had almost 0.5 gainfully employed children per such household (the average for Slovakia was 0.25 children). The situation was completely the opposite for household heads working in the military (0.13 gainfully employed children).

The average number of children in households in Slovakia in 1930 also showed notable spatial differentiation, which reflected differences in demographic behaviour, socioeconomic conditions, population structure, level of urbanisation, and cultural characteristics of the population. We can identify several main geographical patterns from Figure 5.

The highest average number of children per household were typical especially for districts in the north of central Slovakia in the Orava and Kysucké regions (Námestovo, Čadca, Kysucké Nové Mesto districts), which were followed by

districts in the Považie (Púchov, Považská Bystrica, Ilava) and some other units, such as Prievidza, Bánovce nad Bebravou, Topoľčany, Hlohovec and Šamorín, in western Slovakia. The second area with an above-average number of children in households was formed by border units in the north of eastern Slovakia. These were mainly the districts from Sabinov, through Bardejov, to Snina (Figure 5). If we look at some regional fertility analyses (Šprocha – Šprochová, 2015: 59–62; Šprocha – Tišliar, 2016: 275–279), we see that this spatial distribution of Slovakia according to the number of children in households fully corresponded to the higher realised fertility. At the same time, the south of central Slovakia, in the strip from the Párkány (today Štúrovo) district to the Tornaľa and Revúca districts, represented an area with a significantly below-average number of children in households, since these populations were also characterised by the lowest realised fertility rate in Slovakia (Šprocha – Šprochová, 2015: 59–62; Šprocha – Tišliar, 2016: 275–279). The Banská Bystrica district also belonged in this group.

FIGURE 5. AVERAGE NUMBER OF CHILDREN IN HOUSEHOLDS IN THE DISTRICTS OF SLOVAKIA, 1930 CENSUS



Source: *Sčítání lidu*, 1938, 42–43. Adapted by: P. Tišliar.

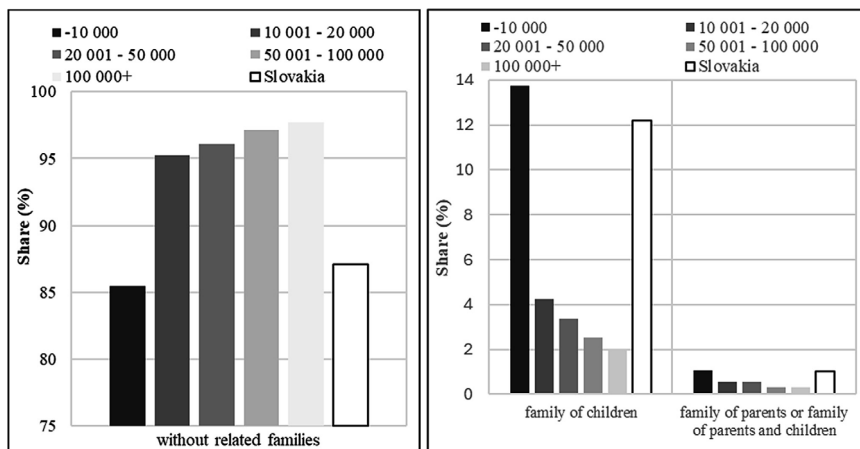
The coexistence of several families in a single household was identified in the results of the 1930 census in approximately 13% of cases. The most common form was the coexistence of the head of the household (and his family) with the family of his children. The presence of the family of his parents or of both groups in the form of families of parents and children was basically a marginal phenomenon.



As with the preceding cases, the obtained results also confirmed certain differences in terms of the size groups of municipalities. Additional families were most often present in smaller municipalities, and with an increase in municipality size the proportion of such cases decreased. This related not only to families with children, but also families of parents and children living in the same household with the head of the household (Figure 6 and 7).

A spatial representation of the coexistence of related families within a single household in 1930 points to significant regional differentiation within Slovakia. The highest share of multi-generational or kinship-related households was concentrated in the north-eastern part of the country. In the Vyšný Svidník district, the share of these households was higher than one-third, which was the highest value in the Slovak context. A significant occurrence of a similar type of cohabitation was also recorded in districts such as Stropkov, Giraltovec, Bardejov, Medzilaborce, Humenné, Snina, Sobrance, Michalovce and Vranov nad Topľou, where more than one-fifth of households was made up of two or more related families. Aside from the north-east, an increased representation of such a model of cohabitation was also found in some southern Slovak districts – especially in Krupina and Modrý Kameň.

FIGURE 6 AND 7. SHARE OF HOUSEHOLDS WITHOUT RELATED FAMILIES AND SHARE OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH AN ADDITIONAL RELATED FAMILY BY SIZE GROUPS OF MUNICIPALITIES, SLOVAKIA, 1930 CENSUS



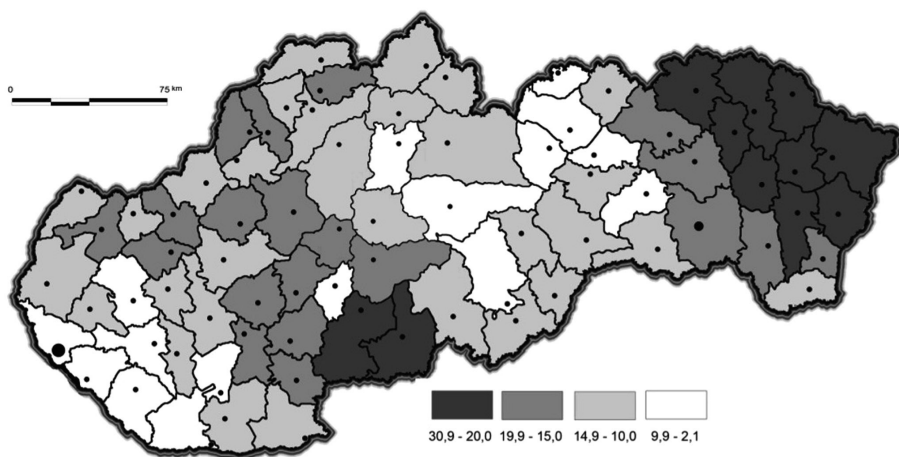
Source: *Sčítání lidu*, 1938: 21\*.

At the opposite end of the spectrum were primarily urbanised districts and areas of south-western Slovakia, where multi-generational households occurred significantly less often. This is especially the case in Bratislava and its

surroundings, in addition to the districts of Šamorín, Dunajská Streda, Komárno, Trnava, Galanta and Nové Zámky, while in eastern Slovakia, low values were concentrated in the districts of Gelnica, Spišská Nová Ves, Levoča, Poprad and Kežmarok.

The share of households in which two related families lived together did not reach the 10% mark even in some districts of central Slovakia, namely in Banská Štiavnica, Brezno and Ružomberok, as well as in Rimavská Sobota in the south part of central Slovakia. Thus, these were areas where household individualisation took hold earlier than in the rest of the country.

FIGURE 8. SHARE OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH ANOTHER RELATED FAMILY IN THE DISTRICTS OF SLOVAKIA, 1930 CENSUS



Source: *Sčítání lidu*, 1938: 42–43. Adapted by: P. Tišliar.

## Conclusion

The census of 1930 in Czechoslovakia represents an exceptional demographic and methodological milestone in the history of statistical surveys in our territory. It was the first census that systematically recorded not only individuals, but also more complex social collectivities in the form of families and households, by identifying kinship ties to the head of the household. Unlike the censuses that preceded it, which were focused mainly on residents of houses or flats regardless of their internal social ties, the 1930 census allowed for a deeper insight into the structure of coexistence and social organisation of the population in the interwar period.

The methodological innovation lay mainly in the consistent distinction between residential households and actual economic units defined by common management, as well as in the possibility of identifying multiple households within one dwelling. An exceptionally important component of the methodological approach was the construction of family sheets that made it possible for comprehensive information on the composition of families and households to be compiled, including data on the number of children (including children older than 14 years), the economic activity of members, the type of relationship to the household head and their age or professional structure. A fundamental advantage of the census was also the possibility of registering in the household persons who were not physically present in the dwelling at the actual time of the census – for example, due to work outside the home – but who had permanent residence in it. In this way the risk of distortion was minimised, which otherwise may have led to an underestimation of the size and composition of households.

The analysis of data from this census brought valuable knowledge about the nature of households in Slovakia at the beginning of the 1930s. The dominant type was clearly the family household consisting of only one family – up to 87% of all households belonged to this category. Multi-generational households or households in which other related families lived were represented in approximately 13% of cases, with households dominated by those in which, in addition to the main family of the household head, the family of his children also lived. Cohabitation with the the household head's parents or combined multi-generational models was significantly less common.

From the perspective of family typology, married couples with children made up the most numerous group, representing almost two-thirds of all households. Married couples with no children made up about 15% and single-parent households approximately 19%. In contrast, forms of cohabitation, whether childless or with children, occurred only rarely (approximately 1%), which indicates a strong normative dominance of marriage as the basic form of family cohabitation in this period.

The average household size was 4.4 persons, with the smallest households being typical of large cities (e.g., Bratislava, Košice, Trenčín), while the largest were located in smaller municipalities and in the countryside, particularly in the districts of northern and north-eastern Slovakia. The size structure of households was also markedly differentiated by type of settlement – in the largest cities, households with two to three members occurred most frequently, while in smaller municipalities, households with five or more members predominated.

Significant differences were also shown in the number of children in households. The presence of children was recorded in more than 81% of cases, with households having one or two children being the dominant model. Households with three or more children were less common, but more typical of rural areas and regions with higher fertility – for example, north-central Slovakia and the

north-east part of the country. In contrast to this, urban and southern districts showed a lower average number of children and a higher share of childless households.

From the viewpoint of the occupational standing of the household head, the highest number of children were found in households where the household head worked in traditional sectors such as agriculture, mining or forestry. In contrast, the households of civil servants, members of the military and the free tradesmen had the lowest number of children, which probably reflects their higher urbanisation, lower realised fertility and different lifestyle and housing standards.

In terms of social mobility, of interest is the fact that children older than 14 years were present in fewer than half of the households, with an average number of only 0.8 children per household. These data indicate the early entry of young people into independent life and the early establishing of their own households, particularly in the case of men and women from rural areas. What's more, the share of gainfully employed children in households was also very low, which corresponds more to an agrarian and family-oriented model of production than to an industrial system requiring longer training and schooling.

On the whole, it can be concluded that Slovak households in the period around 1930 were characterised by a high degree of nuclearity, a relatively high number of children, a strong influence of traditional patterns of marital and family life and relatively significant differences depending on the size of the settlement, region, and socio-professional status. The census of 1930 thus offers not only an exceptionally rich set of empirical data, but also a unique opportunity for historical reflection on the forms and dynamics of cohabitation of persons in households and families before the end of the fundamental economic and demographic changes that occurred in Slovakia after the Second World War.

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