

Max-Planck-Institut für demografische Forschung
Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research
Konrad-Zuse-Strasse 1 · D-18057 Rostock · GERMANY
Tel +49 (0) 3 81 20 81 - 0; Fax +49 (0) 3 81 20 81 - 202;
<http://www.demogr.mpg.de>

MPIDR WORKING PAPER WP 2009-012
APRIL 2009

Is Poland really ‘immune’ to the spread of cohabitation?

Anna Matysiak (amatys@sgh.waw.pl)

This working paper has been approved for release by: Jan M. Hoem (hoem@demogr.mpg.de),
Head of the Laboratory of Contemporary European Fertility and Family Dynamics.

© Copyright is held by the authors.

Working papers of the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research receive only limited review.
Views or opinions expressed in working papers are attributable to the authors and do not necessarily
reflect those of the Institute.

Is Poland really ‘immune’ to the spread of cohabitation?

Anna Matysiak
Institute of Statistics and Demography (Unit of Demography)
Warsaw School of Economics
Al. Niepodległości 164
02-554 Warsaw
email: amatys@sggw.waw.pl

Abstract

Various data have constantly pointed out a low incidence of non-marital unions in Poland (at 1.4-4.9% among all unions). In this paper we demonstrate that these data, coming exclusively from cross-sectional surveys, clearly underestimate the scale of the phenomenon. By exploiting data on partnership histories we show that young Poles have been increasingly opting for cohabitation. Consequently, in the years 2004-2006 entries to cohabitation constituted about one third of all first union entries. Consensual unions are more widespread among the low social strata, but recently a clear increase in cohabitation has been observed also among the highly educated. Although the estimates of cohabitation incidence are far below those observed in Northern and Western Europe, our study suggests that Poland is not as ‘immune’ to the spread of consensual unions as it is commonly believed.

1. Introduction

The patterns of family formation in Poland have been often claimed in the literature to be relatively traditional (Sobotka 2008, Toulemon and Sobotka 2008). Indeed, marriages in Poland are still contracted at relatively young ages, the incidence of divorce is low and the out-of-wedlock births are relatively uncommon (Hantrais 2005, Kotowska et al. 2008), even if some progress toward delayed and deinstitutionalised family formation has already been observed. Poles are strongly attached to the family with children based on marriage (Pongracz and Spéder 2008) and express the most negative attitudes towards the changes in family formation patterns in the whole CEE region (Stankuniene and Maslauskaite 2008).

Consistently with the view about the traditional patterns of family formation in Poland, various data sources have constantly pointed out a low incidence of non-marital cohabitation. According to the National Population Census informal unions made up merely 1.3% of all unions in 1988, 1.7% in 1995 and 2.2% in 2002 (Slany 2002, Fihel 2005). The Population Policy Acceptance Study as of 2001 gives an estimate of 1.4% (Kotowska et al. 2003) and the European Social Survey (2006) yields the value of 4.5%¹. Only half of the consensual unions are formed by never married (CSO 2003). The proportions of cohabitants among the partnered but young persons (aged 29 or less) are only slightly higher² and fall well below what is found for many Northern and Western European countries (excluding the Mediterranean countries) (Andersson and Philipov 2002). In these parts of Europe cohabitation largely outdistanced direct marriage as a normative choice of a first union already in the late 1980s. Similar finding has been established recently for Bulgaria, Russia and Hungary (Hoem et al. 2007) as well as for the Czech Republic (Sobotka et al. 2008).

In this paper we analyse the process of first union formation in Poland for the cohorts of women born 1966-1981 with a special focus on non-marital unions. We are fortunate to have access to relatively new retrospective data collected in 2006, which cover women's partnership histories. Taking advantage of this unique opportunity we demonstrate that the cross-sectional data that have been used exclusively so far for assessing the incidence of non-marital cohabitation in Poland clearly underestimate the scale of this phenomenon. The analysis of women's partnership histories reveals that young Poles increasingly choose to cohabit before entering a marriage. Although consensual unions in Poland are still relatively rare by European standards we show that cohabitation has been spreading recently in all social strata.

¹ Based on the computations by the author of the study.

² For instance the National Population Census gives an estimate of 4.9%.

2. Formation of non-marital unions in Europe: a brief overview of the developments

Informal unions are not a new phenomenon in Europe. Before the 1970s they were largely statistically invisible, however. They were practised in some marginal sections of the society, i.e. among the poor who could not afford the marriage ceremony (Trost 1978, Villeneuve-Gokalp 1991), the separated who were legally not entitled to remarry (Haskey 2001) or widows who did not want to lose their pensions (Nazio and Blossfeld 2003). Only in few cases did people choose to cohabit voluntarily. For instance, in Sweden consensual unions were found to be formed by some avant-garde groups who in this way manifested their resistance against the law allowing religious marriage exclusively (Trost 1978).

This situation started to change in the 1970s. In Northern and later also in the Western Europe consensual unions increasingly began to be accepted and popular, particularly among the young forming their first unions. Gradually they started to replace direct marriage. For instance, in the Nordic countries and France the proportion of women entering cohabitation as their first union exceeded 80% among cohorts born in the 1950s (Anderson and Philipov 2002). In Austria (Prskawetz et al. 2008), England and Wales (Sigle-Rushton et al. 2008), and the Netherlands (Fokkema et al. 2008), where consensual unions started to spread slightly later, around 70% of first marriages contracted by women born in the 1960s were preceded by cohabitation.

Given the developments in cohabitation in the Northern and Western countries scholars distinguished four stages of diffusion of cohabitation, which describe the process of transition in union formation patterns (Prinz 1995, Kiernan 2002). In the first stage cohabitation is rare and is practised by marginal groups of the society. Over time it becomes more popular and becomes adopted by persons from the various social strata. Nevertheless, at this second stage of diffusion cohabitation is still of short duration and it functions mainly as a prelude to marriage or a trial period when the quality of the relationship is tested. It is often perceived as inappropriate environment for childbearing and hence is usually converted into marriage if pregnancy occurs. Gradually, however, cohabitation starts to substitute marriage: it lasts longer and becomes an acceptable arrangement for parenthood (third stage). Finally, in the fourth stage cohabitation and marriage turn out to be indistinguishable, which completes the transition process.

In this context, Sobotka and Toulemon (2008) distinguish three important markers of this transition in union formation patterns:

1. diffusion: cohabitation becomes practised on the larger scale and it spreads among persons from the various social strata,
2. permanency: it lasts longer and is less likely to be converted into marriage,
3. cohabitation as a family arrangement: pregnancy ceases to be a reason for marriage and parenthood becomes more and more common among cohabiting couples.

In this study we follow this perception of the transition in union formation patterns. This implies that besides assessing the temporal change in the intensity of entering cohabitation and marriage we also verify whether (a) cohabitation spread equally likely among people from the various social strata; (b) its rate of conversion into marriage declined over time; (c) the propensity to legitimise a child conceived in cohabitation declined.

3. Data and method

In order to address our research objectives we take advantage of the most recent retrospective data representative for Poland. These data come from the Employment, Family and Education Survey (EFES) which was carried out in the fourth quarter of 2006³. They cover full partnership, childbearing, educational and migration histories collected on a monthly basis for randomly selected 3,000 women born 1966-1981. These women were 25-40 at the time of the interview. The advantage of this observational design is that we have good information on union formation patterns of relatively young cohorts who formed their partnerships largely after the collapse of state socialism, i.e. in the period of a rapid transformation in the family formation processes. The disadvantage is, however, that we have no data on the youngest cohorts, born in the 1980s, who were forming their partnerships in the 2000s, and very limited data on family-related behaviours in the years preceding 1989 when our respondents were relatively young (aged 8-23 in 1989).

For the purpose of our study we estimate three single decrement intensity regressions: entry into a cohabitation, entry into a direct marriage and transition from cohabitation to marriage. In the models of transitions to a first union the process time are the months elapsed since a woman turned 15 while in the models of the conversion of cohabitation into marriage

³ The survey was prepared at the Institute of Statistics and Demography (Warsaw School of Economics) under the project "Cultural and structural conditions of females' labour force participation in Poland" financed by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education and coordinated by Professor Irena E. Kotowska.

it is the duration of the consensual union. Each intensity is described by a piecewise-constant proportional hazard model. Cohabitation and direct marriage are treated as competing risks.

Several fixed- and time-varying covariates are allowed to shift the baseline hazard. Among the former we include the *educational level of woman's mother and father* to account for her social background. The set of time-varying covariates comprises the calendar period, the woman's own educational attainment, her parity-and-pregnancy status, and her place of residence (urban / rural).

The *calendar period* is introduced in our model in order to capture the temporal change in the process of interest. The years 1985-2006 were divided into five intervals, the first of which separates the period of state socialism from that of a market economy. The entry risk is assumed to be constant within each interval, but may vary from one interval to the other.

The *woman's educational level* is another time-varying covariate incorporated in our analysis. Four educational levels are distinguished: primary, vocational, secondary, and tertiary. The first category covers women who completed only the compulsory education of eight years. Women with a vocational education are those who continued for a further two years in order to get a vocational degree. The secondary educated studied longer and accomplished at least four years of education at the secondary level or even undertook post-secondary but non-tertiary education. Women who received a bachelor or master degree are classified as tertiary educated. Finally, those who were still studying were grouped into a separate category 'in education'.

The *parity-and-pregnancy status* accounts for the impact of conception on union formation. A woman is considered as childless and non-pregnant until nine months before she delivers her first child, as childless and pregnant during the time of the pregnancy, and as a mother after she gives birth for the first time. We expect pregnancy to facilitate entry into a union and entry into a marriage in particular.

The *place of residence (urban / rural)* serves as an important control covariate. Other Polish data sources have shown that consensual unions are more likely to be formed in urban rather than rural areas due to the larger anonymity of urban life (Slany 2002, Fihel 2005).

We also introduce some interaction effects in our model. The interaction between duration of cohabitation and educational level allows us to deepen our knowledge of the educational gradient in first union formation patterns. Further, we also interact educational level with calendar period in order to test the hypothesis that cohabitation has been spreading differentially among the various social strata. In particular, we investigate whether the

intensity of forming a consensual union has been increasing among women from all social strata at a similar rate. Likewise, we verify whether the decline in the conversion rate of the informal union into marriage differs according to woman's educational level.

As we pointed out in Section 2 diffusion of cohabitation may lead to a situation in which pregnancy ceases to be a reason for marriage. Following this line of reasoning we also interact calendar period with parity-and-pregnancy status in order to verify whether the conversion rate of cohabitation into marriage for pregnant women has declined over time.

Finally, we estimate the competing transitions to cohabitation and direct marriage jointly, controlling for the same set of factors as described above (only main effects are considered). In the joint model the decrement type is introduced into the analysis as a time-constant covariate additionally to other risk factors. This technique has been described in detail in Hoem and Kostova (2008) and in the Appendix in Hoem et al. (2007). It allows a direct comparison between the time trends in the entry into a cohabitation and the entry into a direct marriage, which means that we can verify whether cohabitation became more widespread than direct marriage at any time and whether the decline in direct marriage was compensated by an increase in the incidence of informal unions. We refer to the results of the joint model only where we present temporal developments in union formation (Section 4.1). In this part of our study we follow the recommendation of Hoem et al. (2007) and disregard differential impacts of other risk factors, which are then used only for purposes of standardisation.

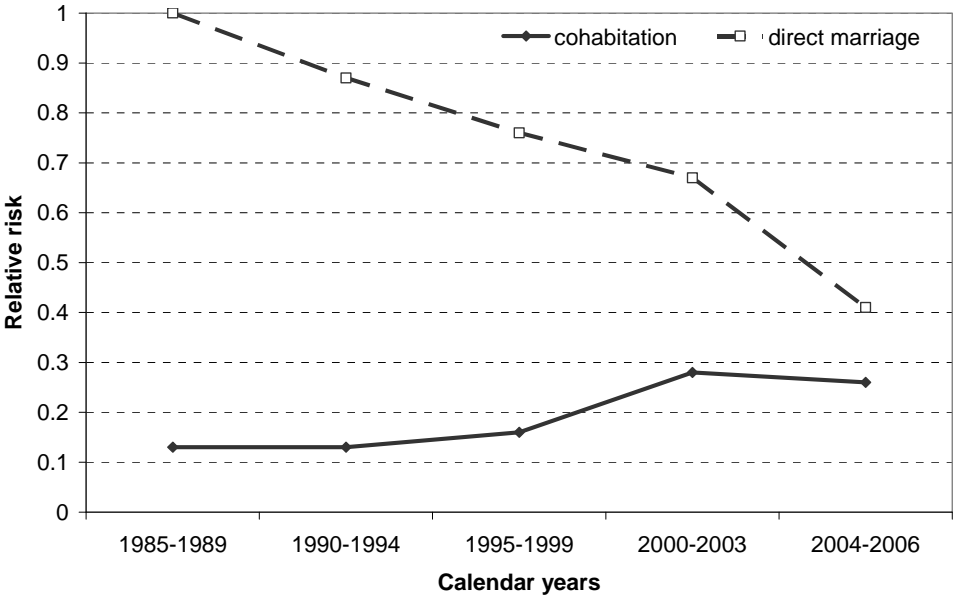
4. Empirical findings

4.1. Trends in first union formation

Figure 1 presents trends in the risks of entry into a cohabitation and a direct marriage, obtained in the joint analysis of the two competing processes. A change in the first union formation patterns is immediately apparent. It is manifested in a clear decline in the entry into a direct marriage, which has taken place already since the second half of the 1980s, and a parallel increase in the incidence of cohabitation since the early 1990s. In the period 1990-1994 entries to cohabitation constituted only 12% of all unions formed. By the years 2004-2006 this percentage has tripled.

It is clear from our data that cohabitation in Poland is a much more attractive option for first union formation than the official statistics and other cross-sectional data suggest. In particular, it has become more and more widespread among young Poles since the beginning of the 1990s. Nonetheless, its incidence is still relatively low if compared to the Northern, Western and also other Central and Eastern European countries. Despite the fact that the gap between direct marriage and cohabitation risks diminishes, the former is still the most popular way of forming a first union.

Figure 1 Trends in (standardised) relative risks of first union formation, by type of union. Poland 1985-2006. Joint competing risk model.



Note: The figure refers to women born 1966-1981. The risks are standardised for current age, woman’s educational level, parity-and-pregnancy status, place of residence, mother’s and father’s educational levels

Source: computations by Jan M. Hoem.

4.2. Permanency of cohabitation?

Given the relatively low general incidence of cohabitation in Poland one could expect cohabitation episodes to be rather short and the intensity of converting them into a marriage to be high. Our findings do not support this view, however. Over the analysed period less than 10% of consensual unions had been converted into a marriage within six months and only 18% within one year since union formation. Furthermore, half of the women living in informal unions were still not married after four years since entering cohabitation. This suggests that the relatively few women who decide for informal unions in Poland do not

marry soon thereafter. It is finally notable that the intensity of conversion of cohabitation into a marriage has been decreasing over time and in the years 2004-2006 it was by 40% lower than in the late 1980s.

4.3. Diffusion of cohabitation to other social strata?

Two hypotheses were developed in the literature as regards the role of education in the spread of consensual unions. The first views cohabitation as a fashion that expanded from the top of the social hierarchy to the bottom. Such pattern of modern cohabitation diffusion was found in the Netherlands (de Feijter 1991 quoted in Sobotka 2008), Italy (Rosina and Fraboni 2004), and Spain (Baizán et al. 2003). The second competing hypothesis suggests that cohabitation started among the disadvantaged members of the society. This was in fact the case in some Western and Northern European countries as well as in the United States. Recent studies point out a negative educational gradient in cohabitation also in some of the Central and Eastern European countries (e.g., Spéder 2005 for Hungary, Koytcheva and Philipov 2008 for Bulgaria, Hoem et al. 2009 for Romania).

Our results undoubtedly suggest that cohabitation in Poland is more widespread among the low social strata. This finding is consistent with that of Slany (2002: 184-194) and Fihel (2005) who analysed data from the Mikrozensus 1995 and the National Population Census 2002 respectively. Polish cohabitants are more likely to be low educated while the highly educated tend to marry directly. Furthermore, the latter face much higher risk of marriage if they decide to cohabit (Table 1) and the consensual unions they form are shorter (Figure 2).

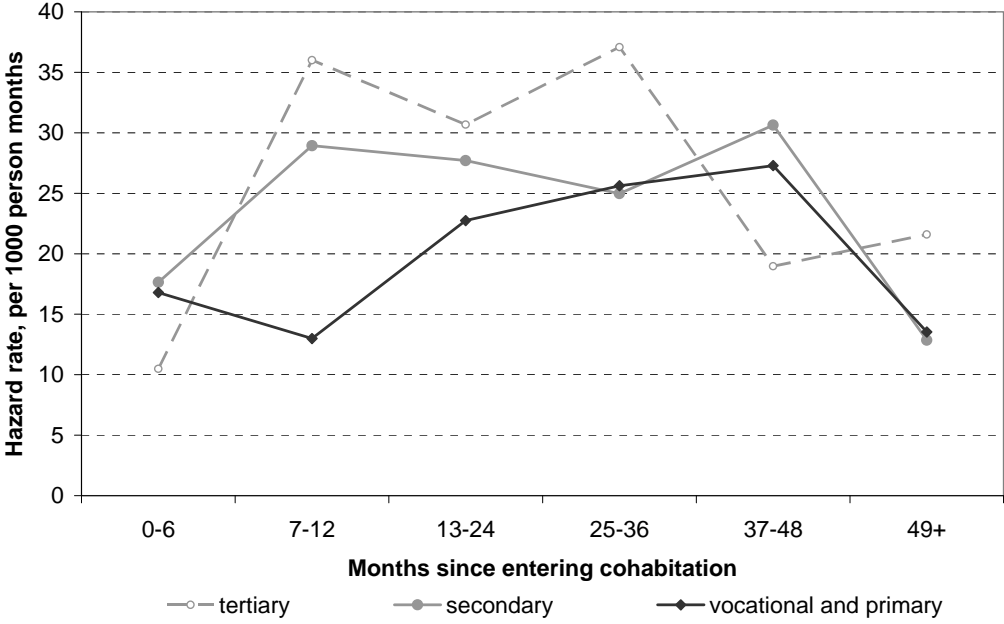
Table 1 Relative risks for education in single decrement models

	Mode of union entry ^{a)}		Conversion of cohabitation to marriage ^{b)}
	cohabitation	direct marriage	
Education			
in education	0.73	0.39	0.82
tertiary	1	1	1
secondary	1.21	0.76	0.89
vocational	1.4	0.76	0.79
primary or lower	1.35	0.55	0.57

Notes: ^{a)} standardized for current age, calendar period, parity-and-pregnancy status, place of residence, mother's and father's educational levels; ^{b)} standardized for current age, calendar period, parity-and-pregnancy status, place of residence, mother's and father's educational levels and union duration.

Source: author's computations.

Figure 2 Hazard rate of conversion from cohabitation to marriage, by educational level. Poland 1985-2006.

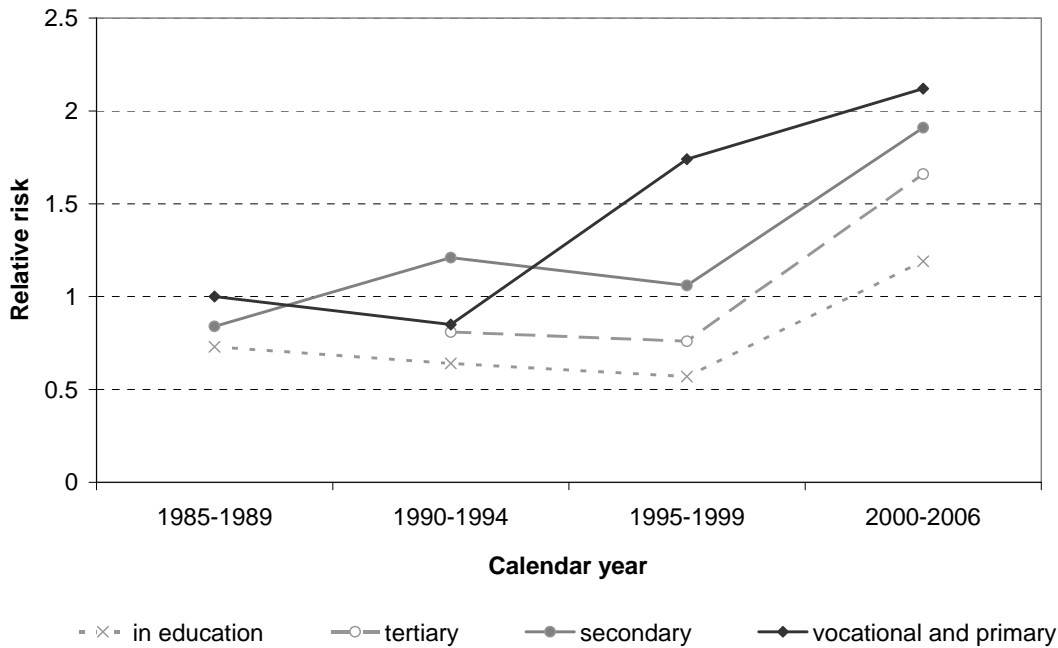


Note: The figure refers to women born 1966-1981. The risks are standardised for current age, calendar year, parity-and-pregnancy status, place of residence, and mother’s and father’s educational levels.

Source: author’s computations.

Nonetheless, a two-way interaction between educational level and calendar period reveals an important change in the educational gradient in the patterns of first union formation. While in the second half of the 1990s the rise in the risk of entry into a cohabitation was most pronounced among the low educated, in the following years it was definitely the secondary and tertiary educated who increased their interest in this type of union (Figure 3). A marked rise in the risk of entering into an informal union was also recorded among persons in education. Furthermore, women with secondary and university degree experienced also the strongest decline in marriage intensity after the episode of cohabitation (Figure 4). Overall, these findings point out that Poland started to experience a diffusion of cohabitation to better educated social strata.

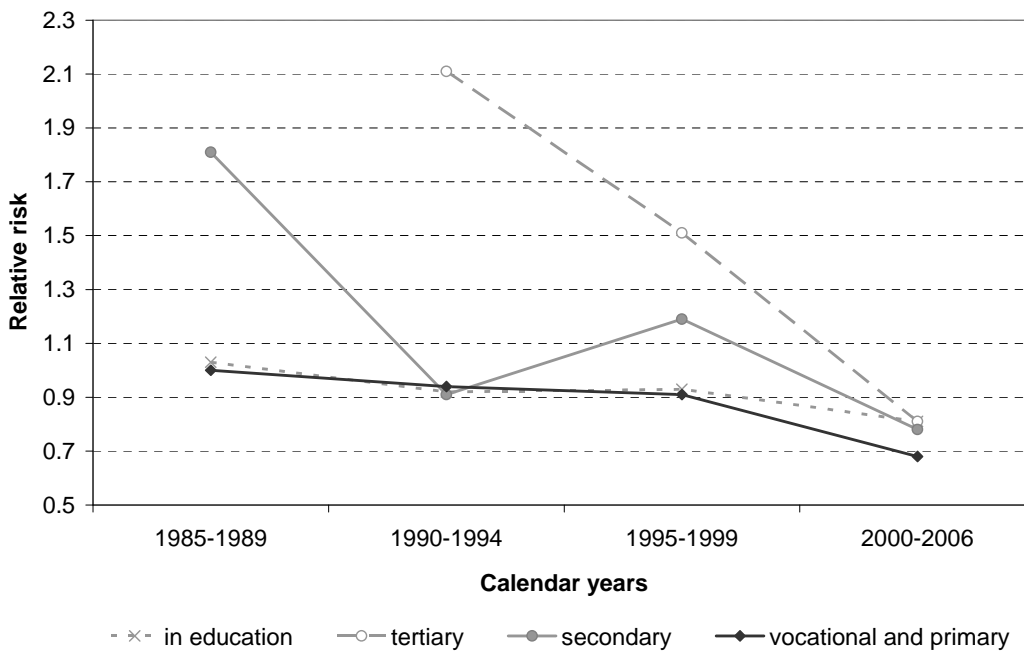
Figure 3 Trends in the (standardised) relative risks of entering cohabitation, by educational level. Poland 1985-2006. Single decrement model.



Note: The figure refers to women born 1966-1981. The risks are standardised for current age, woman's educational level, parity-and-pregnancy status, place of residence, and mother's and father's educational levels

Source: author's computations.

Figure 4 Trends in the (standardised) relative risks of entering marriage during cohabitation, by educational level. Poland 1985-2006.



Note: The figure refers to women born 1966-1981. The risks are standardised for current age, parity-and-pregnancy status, place of residence, mother's and father's educational levels, and duration of cohabitation.

Source: author's computations.

4.4. Cohabitation as a family arrangement?

As expected, pregnancy boosts the risk of entering a union, particularly marriage, among the non-partnered women. It is notable that also among the cohabiting women the arrival of a pregnancy elevates the intensity of marriage formation (Table 2). This suggests that cohabitation mostly does not function as a family arrangement in Poland and that parenthood is still strongly tied with marriage. Furthermore, the two-way interaction between calendar time and parity-and-pregnancy status does not show any clear temporal change in the

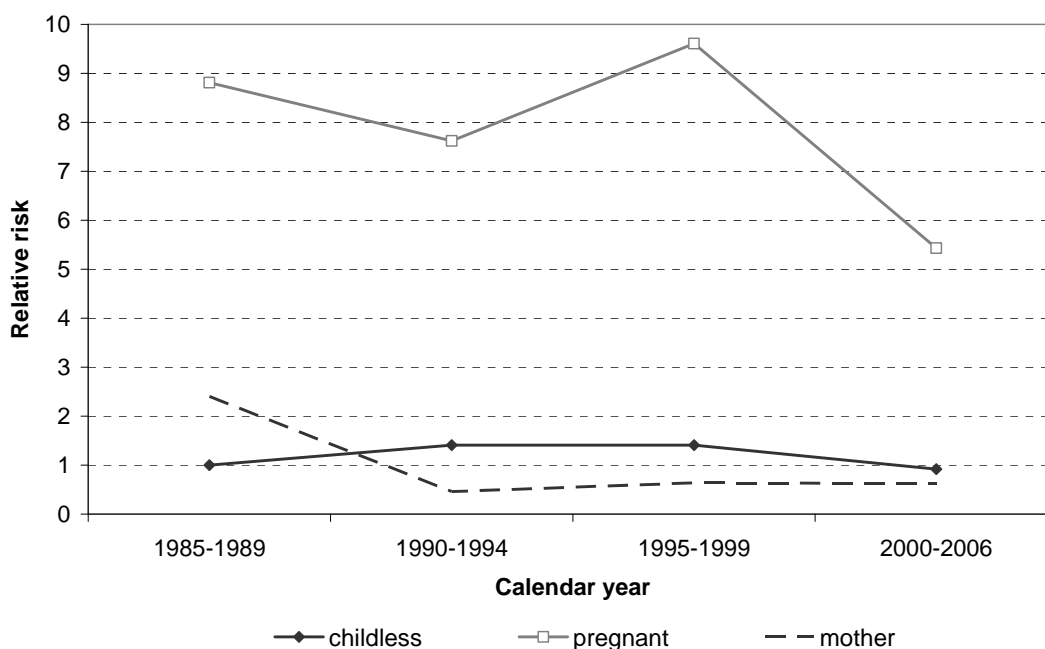
Table 2 Relative risks for parity-and-pregnancy status in single decrement models

Parity-and-pregnancy status	Mode of union entry ^{a)}		Conversion of cohabitation to marriage ^{b)}
	cohabitation	direct marriage	
childless and non-pregnant	1	1	1
childless and pregnant	6.11	19.81	6.18
mother	1.88	2.35	0.61

Notes: ^{a)} standardized for current age, calendar period, parity-and-pregnancy status, place of residence, mother's and father's educational levels; ^{b)} standardized for current age, calendar period, parity-and-pregnancy status, place of residence, mother's and father's educational levels and union duration.

Source: author's computations.

Figure 5 Trends in the (standardised) relative risks of entering marriage after cohabitation, by parity-and-pregnancy status. Poland 1985-2006.



Note: The figure refers to women born 1966-1981. The risks are standardised for current age, woman's educational level, place of residence, mother's and father's educational levels, and duration of cohabitation.

Source: author's computations.

risk of converting cohabitation into marriage upon the occurrence of a pregnancy (Figure 5). Consequently, we have no reasons to claim that acceptance of cohabitation as appropriate environment for childbearing has increased.

These results are consistent with the findings established by Mynarska and Bernardi (2007). Their analysis of semi-structured interviews conducted in Warsaw in 2003 revealed that cohabitation in Poland was treated mainly as a trial period, ‘an interim step in the family formation process’ (Mynarska and Bernardi 2007: 545). Yet, what Poles are opting for is a commitment which, in their view, can be achieved only through marriage.

5. Conclusions and discussion

In their overview of the changes in partnership behaviour in Europe Sobotka and Toulemon claim Poland to be ‘immune’ to the spread of cohabitation, together with Romania and Southern European countries (Sobotka and Toulemon 2008: 100). This conclusion is fully in line with the common belief about cohabitation in Poland itself (e.g., Kwak 2005, Fihel 2005) and it had been so far fully justified given the available data on cohabitation in Poland. These data come exclusively from cross-sectional surveys. They yield a proportion of consensual unions among the total number of unions at 1.4-4.9%.

In this study we demonstrated that the available cross-sectional data clearly underestimate the incidence of cohabitation in Poland, however. Although consensual unions are still relatively little popular there if compared to other European countries, it turns out that Poland is not as ‘immune’ to the spread of cohabitation as it is commonly believed. This conclusion is drawn on the basis of relatively recent (as of 2006) retrospective data providing detailed information on partnership histories. These data show that Polish women born 1966-1981 have been increasingly choosing cohabitation as their first union. This upward trend in the incidence of consensual unions has been taking place since the early 1990s, being accompanied by a decline in direct marriage. Although the latter is still the most popular way of forming a first union, in the years 2004-2006 entries to cohabitation constituted already about one third of all first union entries. Furthermore, our study has revealed clear signs of the spread of cohabitation to the various social strata.

It is apparent that consensual unions in Poland are mostly formed by the low educated. The incidence of cohabitation in the low social strata increased particularly strongly in the 1990s, which might be related to the worsening of the relative living conditions in this population group. Furthermore, consensual unions formed by the low educated have lasted relatively long before they are converted into marriage. Since the early 2000s another group

of cohabitants has been emerging, however. It consists of the secondary and tertiary educated. The incidence of cohabitation in this social group is still lower than among the low educated, and the consensual unions formed by the better educated are shorter. Nonetheless, we found a clear increase in the intensity of entering cohabitation as well as a decline in the risk of converting a non-marital to a marital union in the higher social strata.

Given these outcomes we conclude that Poland has reached the second stage of cohabitation diffusion. This conclusion is consistent with that of Mynarska and Bernardi who arrived at a similar finding using qualitative data (Mynarska and Bernardi 2007: 546). Informal unions have become more popular among the various social strata. Still, it is apparent that consensual unions are perceived as a prelude to marriage, a trial period, and are not accepted as an appropriate environment for parenthood. Further research on cohabitation, particularly on younger cohorts, born in the 1980s, is highly desirable for a better understanding of the transition in partnership behaviours in Poland.

Finally, a question emerges why the estimates of the incidence of cohabitation we obtained are so distinct from the estimates yielded by other data sources. We see at least two reasons for this state of affairs. First refers to the fact that the existing estimates of cohabitation incidence are computed on the basis of cross-sectional data. In our opinion this type of data is not suitable to capture a phenomenon of limited duration, particularly if it is in the relatively early phase of diffusion. The changes in partnership behaviours can be much more appropriately assessed with longitudinal data that allow to trace cohabitation episodes of any durations and occurring at different stages in individual's life course. This statement can easily be supported by the data from the third wave of the European Social Survey (2006). During the interview, respondents were asked not only whether they *currently* live with a partner without being married, but also whether they had *ever* done it. Apparently, the proportion of respondents aged 25-40 (i.e. cohorts corresponding to those covered by our study) who answered positively to the first question was only one fourth of the proportion of those who reported cohabitation with the second question (5.4% versus 21.7%)⁴.

The second possible reason behind the higher estimates obtained in our study may lie in the way interviewed respondents were asked about cohabitation. In Poland there is no well recognised word that would describe the fact of living together without being married in a neutral way. The term 'cohabitation' (*pol.* 'kohabitacja') is hardly understood (Slany 2002: 239) and it is not common to say 'we live in a partnership'. Instead, there exists a word

⁴ Computations by the author based on the European Social Survey.

‘concubinage’ (*pol.* 'konkubinat') which has clearly negative connotations (Mynarska and Bernardi 2007: 539). Surveys often use at least one of these terms. It is very likely that the use of an uncommon term or a term which is pejorative led to the situation in which cohabiting respondents did not want to reveal the truth on the status of their union. Only in few surveys, including the survey we used in this study, partnered but unmarried respondents were asked whether they co-reside with their partner and the word ‘concubinage’ was not mentioned. We believe that this way of interviewing could have contributed to a higher accuracy of the collected data.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was conducted thanks to the financial support from the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research (MPIDR), Rostock, Germany. It was inspired by a series of papers written by Prof. Jan M. Hoem and colleagues on first union formation and traces of Second Demographic Transition in Central and Eastern European countries. The author is grateful to Prof. Jan M. Hoem for his support in conducting the joint analysis of entry into a cohabitation and a direct marriage as well as for his remarks provided to this paper. Furthermore, we highly appreciate the comments of Monika Mynarska and Marta Styrac.

References:

- Andersson, G. and D. Philipov (2002). Life-table representations of family dynamics in Sweden, Hungary and 14 other FFS countries: A project of description of demographic behaviour. *Demographic Research* 7 Article 4: 67-144.
- Baizán, P., A. Aassve, and F. C. Billari (2003). Cohabitation, marriage, and first birth: The interrelationship of family formation events in Spain. *European Journal of Population* 19(2): 147-169
- CSO (2003). Central Statistical Office (CSO). *National Census 2002. Population. State and demographic-social structure*. Warsaw: Central Statistical Office.
- de Feijter, H. (1991). *Voorlopers bij demografische veranderingen*. NIDI Reports No. 22, The Hague: Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute.
- Fihel, A. (2005). Consensual unions in Poland: an analysis of the 2002 Population Census. *Studia Demograficzne* 1/147: 104-120.
- Fokkema, T., H. de Valk, J. de Beer and C. Van Duin (2008). The Netherlands: Childbearing within the context of a “Poldermodel” society. *Demographic Research* 19 Article 21: 743-794.
- Hantrais, L. (2005). Living as a family in Europe. In: L. Hantrais, D. Philipov and F. C. Billari (Eds.), *Policy Implications of Changing Family Formation*. Strasburg: Council of Europe Publishing, pp. 117–181
- Haskey, J. (2001). Demographic aspects of cohabitation in Great Britain. *International Journal of Law, Policy and Family*. 15: 51-67.
- Hoem, J.M., D. Kostova, A. Jasilioniene and C. Muresan (2009). The structure of recent first-union formation in Romania. MPIDR Working Paper 2009-002. Rostock: Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research.
- Hoem, J.M. and D. Kosotva (2008). Early traces of the second Demographic Transition in Bulgaria: A joint analysis of marital and non-marital union formation, 1960-2004. *Population Studies* 62(3): 259-271.
- Hoem, J.M., D. Kostova, A. Jasilioniene and C. Muresan (2009). Traces of the Second Demographic Transition in four selected countries in Central and Eastern Europe: Union formation as a demographic manifestation. MPIDR Working Paper 2007-026. Rostock: Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research.
- Kiernan, K. (2002). Cohabitation in Western Europe: trends, issues and implications In: A. Booth and A. Crouter (Eds.): *Just Living Together: implications of cohabitation on families, children and social policy*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, pp. 3-31.
- Kotowska, I.E., J. Józwiak, A. Matysiak and A. Baranowska (2008). Poland: Fertility decline as a response to profound societal and labour market changes?. *Demographic Research* 19 Article 22: 795 – 854.
- Kotowska I.E., A. Abramowska, B. Balcerzak-Paradowska, I.Kowalska, M.Muszyńska and W.Wróblewska (2003). Polityka ludnościowa – cele, rozwiązania, opinie (Population Related Policy – Goals, Measures, Opinions). Research report from the Population Policy Acceptance Study. Warsaw: Institute of Statistics and Demography, Warsaw School of Economics.

- Koytcheva, E. and D. Philipov (2008). Bulgaria: Ethnic differentials in rapidly declining fertility. *Demographic Research* 19 Article 13: 361-402
- Kwak, A. (2005). *Rodzina w dobie przemian. Małżeństwo i kohabitacja*. (Family in the Age of Change. Marriage and Cohabitation). Warsaw: Żak.
- Mynarska, M. and L. Bernardi (2007). Meanings and attitudes attached to cohabitation in Poland: Qualitative analyses of the slow diffusion of cohabitation among the young generations. *Demographic Research* 16 Article 17: 519-554.
- Nazio, T. And H-P. Blossfeld. (2003). The diffusion of cohabitation among young women in West Germany, East Germany and Italy. *European Journal of Population*, 19, 47-82.
- Prskawetz, A., T. Sobotka, I. Buber, H. Engelhardt and R. Gisser (2008). Austria: Persistent low fertility since the mid-1980s. *Demographic Research* 19 Article 12: 293-360
- Pongrácz, M. and Z. Spéder. 2008. Attitudes towards forms of partnership. In: Ch. Höhn, D. Avramov, and I. Kotowska (Eds.) *People, Population Change and Policies: Lessons from the Population Policy Acceptance Study*. Volume 1. Berlin: Springer, pp. 93-112.
- Prinz, C. (1995). *Cohabiting, Married or Single*. England: Avebury.
- Rosina, A. and R. Fraboni (2004). Is marriage losing its centrality in Italy? *Demographic Research* 11 Article 6: 149-172.
- Sigle-Rushton, W. (2008). England and Wales: Stable fertility and pronounced social status differences. *Demographic Research* 19 Article 15: 455-502
- Slany, K. (2002). *Alternatywne formy życia małżeńsko-rodzinnego w ponowoczesnym świecie*. (Alternative forms of marital-family settings in the post-modern world). Krakow: Nomos.
- Sobotka, T. (2008). Overview Chapter 6: The diverse faces of the Second Demographic Transition in Europe. *Demographic Research* 19 Article 8: 171-224
- Sobotka, T. and L. Toulemon (2008). Overview Chapter 4: Changing family and partnership behaviour: Common trends and persistent diversity across Europe. *Demographic Research* 19 Article 6: 85-138.
- Sobotka, T., A. Šťastná, K. Zeman, D. Hamplová and V. Kantorová (2008). Czech Republic: A rapid transformation of fertility and family behaviour after the collapse of state socialism. *Demographic Research* 19 Article 14: 403 – 454.
- Spéder, Z. (2005). The rise of cohabitation as first union and some neglected factors of recent demographic developments in Hungary. *Demográfia*, English Edition 48: 77-103.
- Stankuniene, V. and E. Maslauskaitė (2008). Family transformations in the post-communist countries: Attitudes toward changes and the ideational shift, In Ch. Höhn, D. Avramov & I. E. Kotowska (Eds.), *People, Population Change and Policies: Lessons from the Population Policy Acceptance Study* Volume 1 Volume 1. Berlin: Springer, pp. 113–137.
- Trost, J. (1978). A renewed social institution: non-marital cohabitation. *Acta Sociologica*, 21(4), 303-315.
- Villeneuve-Gokalp, C. (1991). From marriage to informal union: recent changes in the behaviour of French couples. *Population: An English Selection* 3: 81-111.