

# ***WORKING PAPER***

## **Recent Trends in Living Arrangements in Fourteen Industrialized Countries**

*Jean-Pierre Gonnot  
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INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR APPLIED SYSTEMS ANALYSIS  
A-2361 Laxenburg, Austria

## Foreword

The present working paper provides background data on households and particularly on marital status. Its material is a resource for analysis, and among other purposes it has served as reference for the conference held at IIASA in March of this year.

The authors have provided tables that will facilitate comparisons among countries, and the graphical representations will be particularly useful in showing trends.

Nathan Keyfitz  
Leader, Population Program

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## Recent Trends in Living Arrangements in Fourteen Industrialized Countries

Jean-Pierre Gonnott\*, Gabriella Vukovich\*\*

### INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this background paper is two-fold. It presents an overview of trends in living arrangements since 1960 in countries participating in this project. It also intends to serve as a basis for discussing the design of a common set of future scenarios to be used by the different national institutions in the preparation of their country case study.

The present study is purely descriptive. It depicts demographic patterns without inferring any sociological or economic explanation. It is only aimed at documenting general trends, regional contrasts and national discrepancies in order to situate every country in the overall picture.

The study successively addresses the marital composition of the population, the family structure and the household structure as they correspond to the three levels of modelling proposed under this project. A larger part of the paper is, however, devoted to the changes in the marital status composition and of the underlying demographic processes. The first reason for this bias is, besides the *de facto* predominance of traditional living arrangements, that only in the case of marital status is the parallel analysis of stock and flow data possible. The second reason is that because of the frequent lack of using standard definitions in collecting and/or tabulating family and household statistics, international comparisons covering at least a large part of the countries participating in this project are extremely difficult. Moreover, a closer look at some common criteria of classification shows that they are much more polysemious than it is usually assumed.<sup>1</sup> Finally, trends in family and household structures in a number of countries have recently been reviewed by several authors,<sup>2</sup> and repeating their findings did not seem necessary.

### 1. MARITAL STATUS

The first part of this section describes the major changes in the stock of the population of various marital statuses. It relies basically on the computerized data bank of the Population Activities Unit of the UN Economic Commission for Europe. In the second part, these findings are confronted with the analysis of marriage and divorce flows.

\* Population Program, IIASA, A-2361 Laxenburg, Austria.

\*\* Population Activities Unit, United Nations Economic Commission for Europe, Palais des Nations, CH-1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland

<sup>1</sup>For a thorough analysis of this problem, see H. Le Bras (1979), *L'enfant et la Famille dans les Pays de l'OCDE*, Paris, OCDE.

<sup>2</sup>L. Roussel (1983), *Évolution récentes de la structures des ménages dans quelques pays industriels*, *Population* 41(6):913-934; K. Schwarz (1988), *Household trends in Europe after World War II*, in N. Keilman, A. Kuijsten and A. Vossen (eds.), *Modelling Household Formation and Dissolution*, pp. 67-83, Clarendon Press, Oxford; N. Keilman (1987), *Recent trends in family and household composition in Europe*, *European Journal of Population* 3:297-325.

### I. Stock-type aspects

Broadly speaking, the main changes in the marital composition of the total population over the whole period 1960–85 are the following:

- 1) there were a decrease in the proportion married and an increase in the proportion divorced for both sexes;
- 2) opposite trends in the proportion widowed among the male and female populations are observed: a decrease for males and an increase for females;
- 3) the proportion single among males rose;
- 4) there exists a marked regional contrast between Eastern and non-Eastern European countries with respect to both the level and trend in the proportion single among women. In Eastern countries, it is low and generally decreased while it increased in other countries.

Table 1. Marital composition of the population aged 15 and over in 14 countries around 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1985 (total = 100 for each sex).

		males				females			
		single	married	widowed	divorced	single	married	widowed	divorced
all countries	1960	27.9	67.0	3.8	1.3	22.9	61.0	14.0	2.1
	1970	28.6	66.2	3.4	1.7	22.4	60.8	14.1	2.7
	1980	29.5	64.2	3.2	3.0	22.2	59.2	14.5	4.1
	1985	30.7	61.6	3.1	4.5	22.7	56.6	14.7	5.9
Eastern European Countries	1960	23.0	72.2	3.4	1.4	18.1	62.8	16.3	2.8
	1970	26.0	68.8	3.2	2.0	19.5	61.2	15.7	3.6
	1980	24.8	68.6	3.3	3.3	17.1	61.8	16.0	5.0
	1985	25.0	67.5	3.3	4.2	16.9	61.1	16.2	5.8
Non-Eastern European Countries	1960	29.9	65.0	3.9	1.3	24.8	60.2	13.0	1.9
	1970	29.7	65.2	3.5	1.6	23.6	60.6	13.5	2.4
	1980	31.4	62.5	3.2	2.9	24.2	58.1	13.8	3.8
	1985	34.0	58.2	3.0	4.8	26.1	54.1	13.9	6.0

These changes have however not been regular during the whole period and conceal many different national patterns. Moreover, changes over time and national discrepancies can be behavioural and/or compositional.<sup>3</sup> They can result from differences in intensities of marriage, divorce, and to a certain extent, death, or can be due to changes in sex and age structure of the population. Consequently, a conclusion drawn from aggregate measures can only be tentative.

#### 1) Proportion single

Over the whole period 1960–85, East European countries showed the lowest percentage of males and females who are single (see Table 1 in the Appendix): in 1960, 18.5 per cent among males and 16.1 per cent among females in the GDR—the only non-Eastern European country cases of comparable proportions are Belgium and the male populations

<sup>3</sup>In the case of European countries a main source for compositional differences is to be found in the differential impact of the two World Wars on national populations.

of France and the FRG—and, respectively, 23.1 and 14.2 per cent in Hungary in 1985. During this period, the general pattern in Eastern European countries is one of moderate changes in the proportion single marked by a decrease for women. The GDR is the only country which falls out of this regional pattern as the proportions of both single men and single women have increased there quite substantially.

At the other end of the scale, the highest proportion single in 1960 is observed in Italy—34.4 per cent among males and 29.1 per cent among females—in Scandinavian countries and in the Netherlands.

Italy's position in this comparison is accounted for by the traditional nuptiality patterns which, in the 1960s, still prevailed in most Southern European countries.<sup>4</sup> After the 1960s, the proportions single clearly decreased in Italy, while in other countries with high initial proportions, these have decreased among men, whereas there was no uniformity in the direction of changes among women. The highest proportions single ever observed in Europe are in Sweden: 38.7 per cent of men and 30.0 per cent of women in 1985. More generally, the increase in the proportion single among males and the absence of a clear pattern of evolution for females during the period 1960–85 in non-Eastern European countries has led to a widening gap between sexes.

Figure 1 shows the proportion single at ages 20–24 and 30–34, and in 1960 and 1985 (see also Table 2 in the Appendix). The proportion single at age 20–24 is a good indicator of changes in the timing of nuptiality, especially among females while at age 45–49, it is usually taken to reflect the intensity of nuptiality within a cohort. However, for period analysis it is questionable to view it as an indice of intensity as it mostly accounts for nuptiality 20 years before or so. Therefore, it seems preferable to consider changes in the percentage single at a younger age such as 30–34 or 35–39 as reflecting recent changes in the intensity of nuptiality although about one-fifth of first marriages occur after age 35, and still one-tenth after age 40.

A first impression arising from this graph is that there are in 1960 substantial discrepancies in both the timing and the intensity of nuptiality between countries. Eastern European countries show a low percentage single at both ages 20–24 and 30–34 indicating a younger age at marriage and a high nuptiality while Italy indicates a late and low nuptiality. All contrasts were already reflected in aggregate data. Since 1960, the East/West contrast has grown stronger as regional differences also appear in trends.

A general tendency between 1960 and 1970 in the countries investigated seems to be a decrease in the proportions of single men and women in the age groups where marriage intensity is the highest. There are, however, exceptions some of which amount to regional patterns. The proportion of single women aged 20–24 has increased during this period in all Eastern European countries. Another similarity observed in these countries is the increase in the proportion of single men aged 30–34. Other regional patterns do not emerge, but the increase in the proportion of single men aged 35–39 in seven countries (Austria, the GDR, Finland, France, the Netherlands and Poland), the increase in the proportion of single women aged 20–24 in Canada and of single women aged 20–29 in Sweden are exceptions worth noting. A national specificity is the increase in the proportion of single men in all age groups between 20 and 40 years in the GDR.

Contrary to the 1960s, the 1970s are marked by a general increase in the proportions of single men and women. However, the decreasing tendency in the proportion of single women aged 35–39 continued in most of the countries investigated, while male celibacy in this age group decreased in half of them.

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<sup>4</sup>See United Nations (1975), *Economic Survey of Europe in 1974, part II. Post-war demographic trends in Europe and the outlook until the year 2000*, United Nations, New York, pp. 4–22.

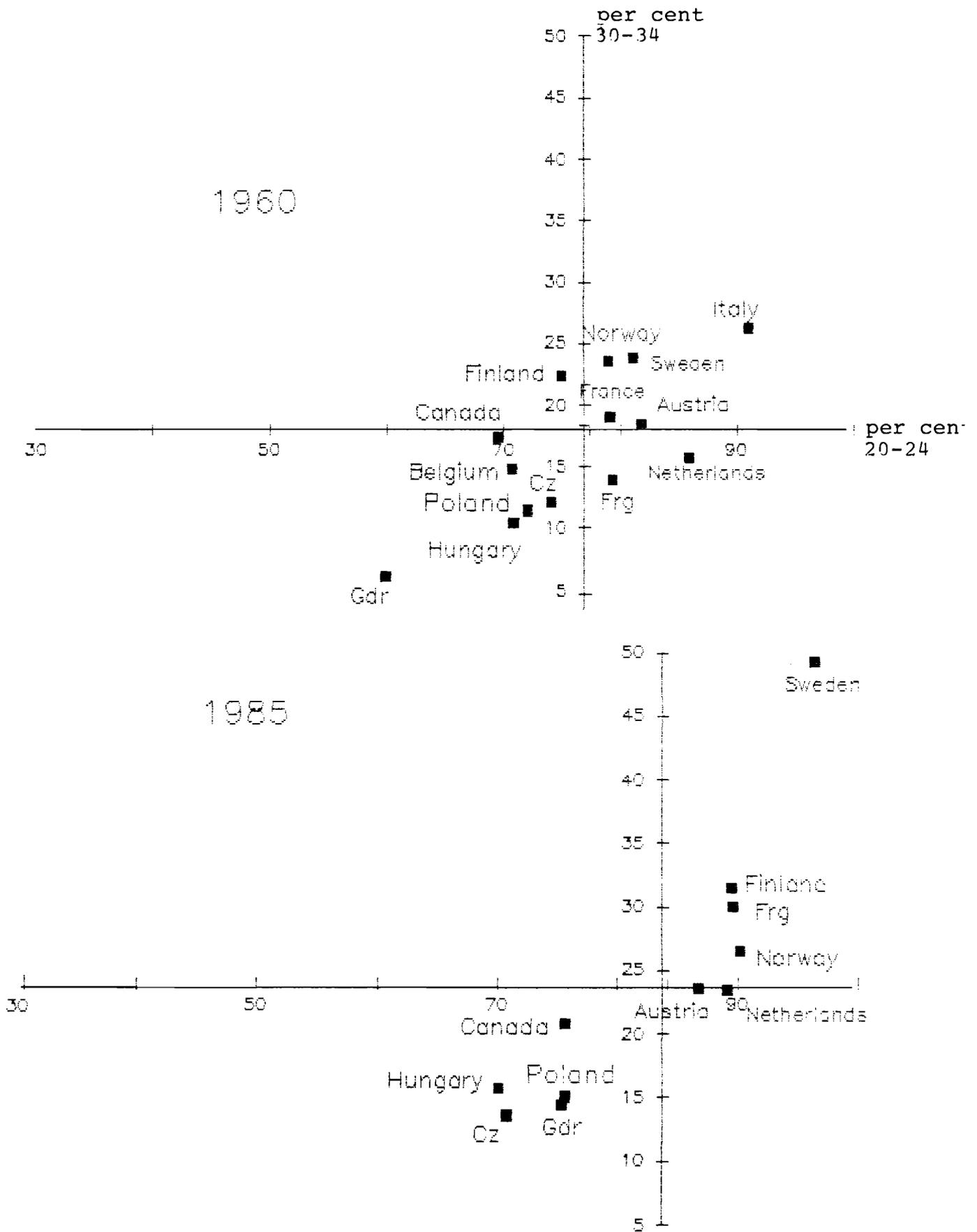


Figure 1a. Proportion single for males at age 20-24 and 30-34 for 1960 and 1985.

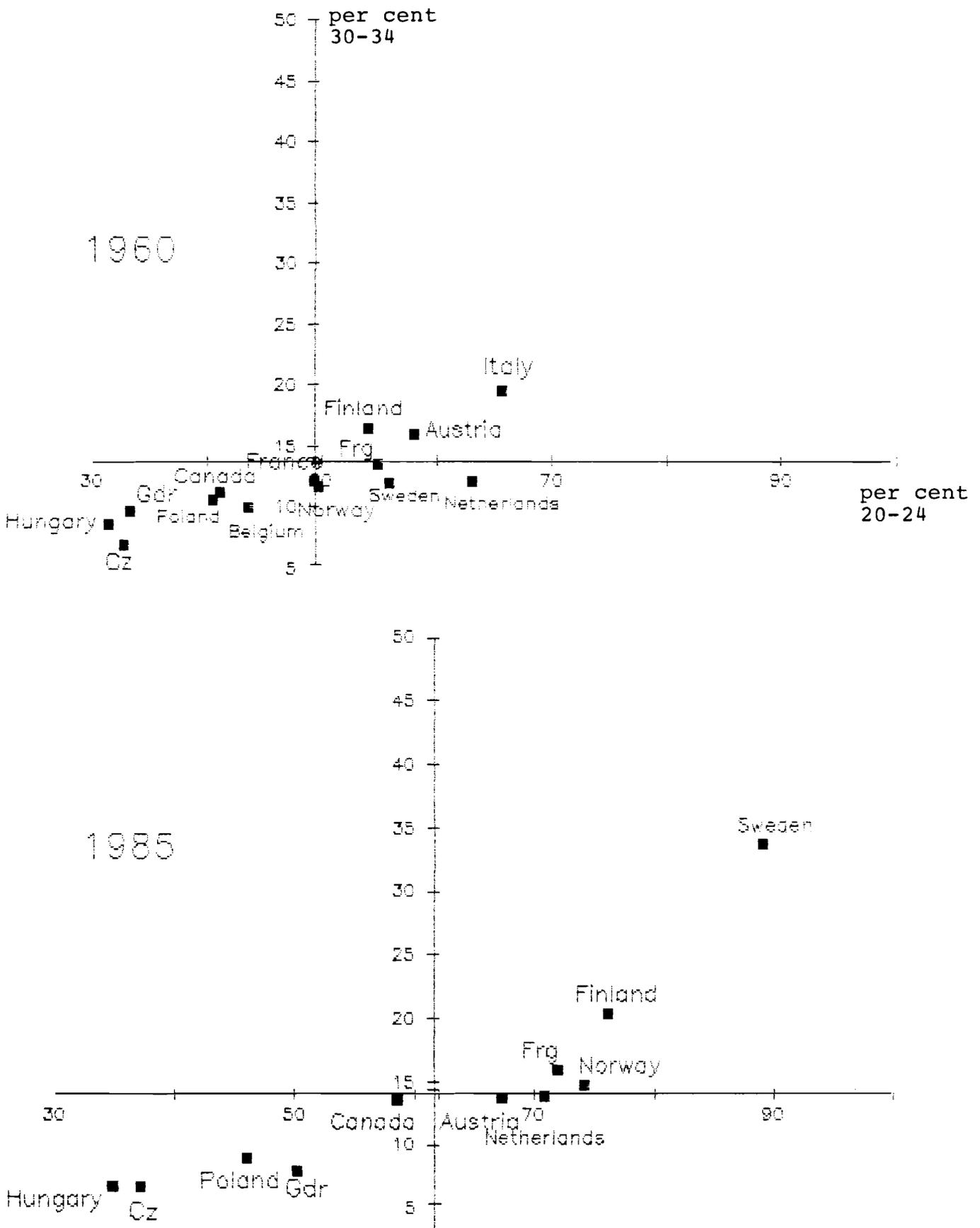


Figure 1b. Proportion single for females at age 20-24 and 30-34 for 1960 and 1985.

The 1980s seems to have brought about a uniformity in the direction of changes in this respect. With the exception of Austrian men and women aged 35–39 and of Hungarian and Polish women aged 25–29, the proportions single among both sexes increased in all age groups between ages 20 and 40, in all the countries included in the study.

The differences between countries in the proportions single are, nevertheless, enormous. In the youngest, 20–24 age group for instance, 96.4 per cent of Swedish men were single, as opposed to 70.1 per cent of their Hungarian counterparts. The range of variations is wider in the female than in the male population: the extreme values among women in the same age group (also observed in Sweden and in Hungary) were 89.0 and 34.8 per cent, respectively. The differences between countries are even larger in the older age groups, which indicates that cross-country variations in the proportions single in the younger age groups are not simply due to cross-cultural differences in the timing of (first) marriages but also to significant differences in the level of overall nuptiality.

In Western countries, the rise in the proportion single has, by far, offset the decrease of the sixties. It should be noted, however, that the magnitude of the increase has been different among men and among women of various ages. In the 20–24 age group the increase was larger among women than among men, resulting in reduced sex differentials at young ages. On the contrary, the gap between the sexes seems to have widened in the 30–34 age group. In other words, the decrease in primo-nuptiality has been more pronounced among men, but the frequency of early marriages has dropped more drastically among women since 1970. As a consequence the ages at which the proportion of single women exceeds the proportion of single men has increased steadily in all country but Canada between 1960 and 1985, although it is well known that while women get married earlier than men, fewer women than men of a given cohort do get married (see Table 2). It would seem therefore that the current decrease in male nuptiality has been strong enough to partly offset the age effect which is thus only carried over the age pyramid by older generations, as a legacy of the past.

This evolution is also reflected in the changes in the proportion married although the latter is also influenced by modifications in the proportion divorced and widowed. The proportion of married men decreased from between about two-thirds and three-fourths to between one-half and two-thirds. Changes in both level and range have been more limited for females and the proportion married has remarried between about one-half and two-thirds. The only exceptions to this general trend are Italy, which experienced an increase in the proportion married among both sexes, and Poland among females.

## 2) Proportion divorced

In most of the countries, the proportion divorced among both sexes has grown substantially over the period 1960–1985 with generally an acceleration after 1980. In 1960, it ranged from about 0 per cent in countries where divorce was illegal or extremely difficult to obtain (Italy, Canada) to 2.3–2.4 per cent for males in Sweden and Austria and to 4.5 for females in the GDR. In 1985, the lowest proportion is observed in Poland, respectively 1.8 and 2.9 per cent among males and females, and the highest proportion in Sweden where 7.3 per cent of males and 8.7 per cent of females are divorced.<sup>5</sup> No regional pattern appears but three countries depart from the general trend: Italy where the proportion divorced is still very low, and Austria and Poland which show a stabilization after 1980. It is also worth noting that in all countries the proportion divorced is higher among females than among males. The difference ranges in 1985 from 0.8 points in Norway to 2.4 per cent in the GDR.

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<sup>5</sup>No information is available for Italy, but percentages are likely to be lower than in Poland.

Table 2. Age at which the proportion single among females exceeds the proportion around 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1985.

	1960	1970	1980	1985
AUSTRIA	35-40	40-45	45-50	
BELGIUM	45-50	50-55	60-65	
CANADA	80-85	60-65	65-60	
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	45-50	50-55	60-65	65-70
FINLAND	40-45	45-50	55-60	60-65
FRANCE	50-55	60-65	70-75	
FRG	35-40	40-45	45-50	55-60
GDR	30-35	35-40	45-50	50-60
HUNGARY	35-40	45-50	55-60	60-65
ITALY	35-40	40-45	45-50	
NETHERLANDS	35-40	45-50	55-60	55-60
NORWAY	50-55	60-65	65-70	70-75
POLAND	35-40	40-45	45-50	50-55
SWEDEN	55-60	60-65	70-75	75-80

As concerns the proportion of divorcees at various age groups, Table 3 in the Appendix leads to much the same conclusions as did the analysis of aggregate data: low proportions divorced at all ages in 1960, slow increase during the 1960s and faster increase afterwards; but with further insight as to the path of this development.

First of all, while the increase in the proportion divorced has been substantial in all age groups between ages 25 and 60, it was largest in the 35-39 age group. This is the age group where the proportions of divorced men and women were highest in 1985 in most countries—between about 5 and 10 per cent among males and about 7 to 13.5 per cent among females—, whereas the modal value in 1960 was observed at older ages. It is interesting to note that the Swedish population, which experiences unique levels—in 1985, 15.4 per cent of men aged 45-49 and 16.8 per cent of females were divorced—and an almost unparalleled rise in the proportions divorced, is the only one to show no change in the modal age—45-49 years. This suggests that the increase in divorce intensities was more evenly distributed through the age pyramid in Sweden than in other countries during the 1960-85 period.

It should be kept in mind, however, that the interpretation of changes in the proportions divorced remains difficult, as the stock of divorcees at any given age is also influenced by remarriage patterns.

### 3) Proportion widowed

With respect to the proportions widowed, the most striking feature is obviously the difference between men and women, which is mostly due to the combined effect of sex differentials in mortality and to the traditional male seniority in couples. In 1960,

between 2.5 and 5 per cent of men were widowers, while the proportion among women was between 8.8 and 18.1 per cent.

The highest proportions of widows are to be found in some of the Central European countries (in Austria, the FRG, the GDR and, since the mid-1970s, in Hungary), and the lowest percentages in the Netherlands and in Canada. The proportion of widowers decreased in all but two countries (it increased in Hungary and in Poland), while the general tendency is the opposite among women, especially after 1970.

The major outcome of these changes was that extreme values of the proportions widowed have changed: the highest percentage widowed observed among men in 1985 (3.8%) was lower than in 1960 (5%), while the lowest percentage widowed among women increased during the same period (from 8.8% to 11.2%).

#### 4) Marital composition of the aged population

Of major importance to issues related to the aging of population is the marital composition of the elderly population. Data for each sex are presented in Table 4 in the Appendix which also include a further breakdown between the young aged (65-74) and the old aged (75 and over). By far, the most conspicuous feature of this table is the sex difference: between two-thirds and four-fifths of all older males are married while the proportion among older females is between about one-fourth and four-tenths. The comparison is even more striking when broad age groups are considered: more than three-fourths of men aged 65-74 are married compared with between about one-fourth and one-half of women of the same age. And still half or more males aged 75 and over are married while only between about one and two-tenths of females. A consequence of these strong sex differences in the proportion married is the existence of symmetric discrepancies in the proportion widowed. Between one-sixth and one-tenth of older males are widowed, and roughly one-third among those aged 75 and over, compared with about half of all older females and more than two-thirds among the old aged. As these discrepancies mostly result from sex differentials in mortality, it should be kept in mind when comparing the marital composition of the male and female elderly populations that the sizes of these populations are very different: a masculinity ratio of about 70 men per 100 women seems to be common among the population 65 and over. Moreover, this sex imbalance has been accentuated in a number of European countries by the two World Wars: for instance, in 1985 the GDR indicates a masculinity ratio of 49 men per 100 women.

Much smaller proportions of the aged population are single. The proportion of single men ranged from 2 to 13 per cent in 1960, and although the proportion decreased in most countries, it was almost in the same range in 1985. The proportion of aged single women is considerably higher, in many countries twice as high as the proportion of aged single men, and the proportion of aged single women has decreased in all countries between 1960 and 1985. It is also worth noting that the proportions single, with the exception of a very few countries, do not vary too much with age, and the relatively small differences between the two broad age groups are less marked among men than among women.

During the period 1960-85 the proportion widowed has declined among older men in all countries but Poland (since 1970) and Hungary (since 1980). On the contrary, the proportion of married men has increased in most countries (except in the GDR and in Hungary). No such clear trends in changes in the female population, although on the whole period the proportion widowed increased in a majority of countries.

Finally, the proportion divorced which has slightly increased both among men and women plays a minor role among the aged: it is below 2-3 per cent in most countries, both among older men and among older women. The highest proportions in 1985 were observed in Sweden: 5.6 per cent of aged men and 6.4 per cent of aged women were divorced.

## II. Flow-type aspects

### 1) Introduction

The analysis of stock data indicates that substantial changes have recently occurred in the marital behaviour: decline in primo-nuptiality—stronger for males but more marked at young ages for females—, increase in divorce at all ages and, although of different order, decrease in widowerhood and increase in widowhood. With respect to divorce, it also suggests that in several countries a modification of the trend is about to take place. In this section, these tentative conclusions are confronted with the analysis of flow data.

### a) Marriages

Table 3 shows the evolution of the Crude Marriage Rate in the different countries of this study between 1960 and 1985. Although this index can not correct for changes in the age structure of the population and therefore can possibly give a somewhat distorted picture of nuptiality trends, its interpretation remains straightforward.

Table 3. Crude marriage rates, 1960–85 (per 1000's).

	1960	1970	1980	1985
AUSTRIA	8.3	7.1	6.2	5.9
BELGIUM	7.1	7.6	6.7	5.8
CANADA	7.0	8.9	7.8	7.3
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	7.8	8.8	7.7	7.7
FINLAND	7.4	8.8	6.1	5.3
FRANCE	7.0	7.8	6.2	4.9
FRG	9.4	7.3	5.9	6.0
GDR	9.7	7.7	8.0	7.9
HUNGARY	8.9	9.4	7.5	6.9
ITALY	7.7	7.4	5.7	5.2
NETHERLANDS	7.6	9.3	6.4	5.7
NORWAY	6.6	7.6	5.4	4.9
POLAND	8.3	8.6	8.6	7.2
SWEDEN	6.7	5.4	4.5	4.6

The table suggests the distinction of two periods. First, during the 1960s, nuptiality increased in most countries. The exceptions were Austria, the FRG, the GDR, Italy and Sweden. During the second period, after 1970, crude marriage rates decreased in most countries, except for an increase in the GDR and stagnation in Poland between 1970 and 1980, and stagnation in Czechoslovakia and a slight increase in the FRG between 1980 and 1985. Sweden had the lowest crude marriage rates throughout the periods investigated: 6.6 per thousand in 1960 and 4.6 per thousand in 1985. While in 1960 only national specificities could be found and regional patterns could not be established, in 1985 the four Eastern European countries in the study had clearly higher crude marriage rates than any of the other countries (except Canada), with a maximum rate of 7.9 per thousand in the GDR.

More information about the nuptiality decline since the early seventies is found in Table 5 in the Appendix which gives first marriage rates for selected age groups. First, it should be noted that a number of contrasts arising from the analysis of stock data in 1960 are still visible in 1970: the obvious early and high nuptiality in Eastern European countries, the low and late nuptiality in Italy, and the vanguard situation of Sweden with age-specific first marriage rates equal to half of those indicated by Eastern European

countries. More important is the age-pattern of nuptiality decline. Between 1970 and 1980 the fall is very strong and affects all ages. Since 1980, a smoother decline has been observed with reversal trends at older ages in a number of countries, especially among women. A stabilization or a small increase in the nuptiality of women between age 25 and 34 can be observed in Austria, Canada, the GDR, the FRG, Poland. This supports the idea that part of the drop in nuptiality reflects a postponement of nuptiality. However, it should be emphasized that the recent increase is limited and that the decline has been dramatic: broadly speaking, first marriage rates have been divided under age 25 by about 2. Over 25 years the decrease has been smaller but remains substantial. So that nuptiality at young ages is now very low, especially for males. This is illustrated in Figure 2 which shows the evolution of the period age-specific marriage rates for the Dutch males from 1960 to 1985 and of the cohort marriage rates between age 20 and 30 for the generations 1940, 1950, 1960, and 1963. The first graph which displays period rates clearly indicates three stages of the evolution since 1960: rejuvenation, decline at modal ages, drop at younger ages, and small increase at older ages. It also suggests the typical shape of the new age pattern of male nuptiality: few marriage below age 22-23, uniform distribution til about 30 years, and slow decrease afterwards. Ages might be different in other countries but the shape of the curve is likely to be very general. On the other hand, the second graph which presents cohort rates, emphasizes that the main ongoing trend with respect to primo-nuptiality is the extremely fast decline of marriages at young ages.

Table 5 in the Appendix also shows that the level of male and female nuptiality beyond age 25 is more or less similar in many countries. Consequently, the lower male nuptiality seems to be due to higher female nuptiality under age 25. Moreover, cross-country variations in the age pattern of marriages seem to be larger among women than among men. While the modal age at marriage of men has stayed in a number of countries between 25 and 29 years, many countries indicate the modal ages at marriage of women to be either between 20-24 or between 25-29 or, again, no significant differences between the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups.

The overall impact of these age/sex differentials in nuptiality trends is reflected in the evolution of the mean age at first marriage. Although the information presented in Table 4 is not complete, it shows clear trends. From 1960 to 1970, the mean age at first marriage has continued a long-term downward trend in all countries. Then, the period 1970-1980 appears as a turning point: either a smooth decrease in the mean age at first marriage is observed or a stagnation or a slight rise—once again, only Sweden indicates a strong rise. Since 1980, the increase has been strong and general, exceptions being Hungary and Italy. However, it should be noted that in many countries the age at first marriage for both males and females is still lower than it was in 1960 and *a fortiori* in 1950. Only Sweden indicates an unparalleled mean age at marriage: 30.1 years for males and 27.7 for females in 1985. As an example, the evolution of the mean age at first marriage in the Netherlands for the period 1950-1985 is illustrated in Figure 3.

Therefore, a striking feature of nuptiality trends since 1960 has been the scissors effect between intensity and age at marriage. During the increase in nuptiality of the sixties, the mean age at marriage has clearly decreased. On the contrary, since the early seventies, the decline in nuptiality has been accompanied by a rise in the age at marriage. However, a closer look at data for the Netherlands reveals that changes in the age structure of the population have played an important role in the variations of the mean age at marriage and that the uptrend in the mean age at first marriage among cohorts is most recent that it is suggested by period data.

Table 6 in the Appendix illustrates that parallel to the drop in primo-nuptiality, remarriage rates of divorced persons have also declined since the early 1970s. A sharp decrease in the latter, although less marked than for first marriages, was observed between 1970 and 1980 in all countries, except among women aged 20-24 in Czechoslovakia and Poland, and among men aged 20-24 in Poland. The decline of remarriage rates in the

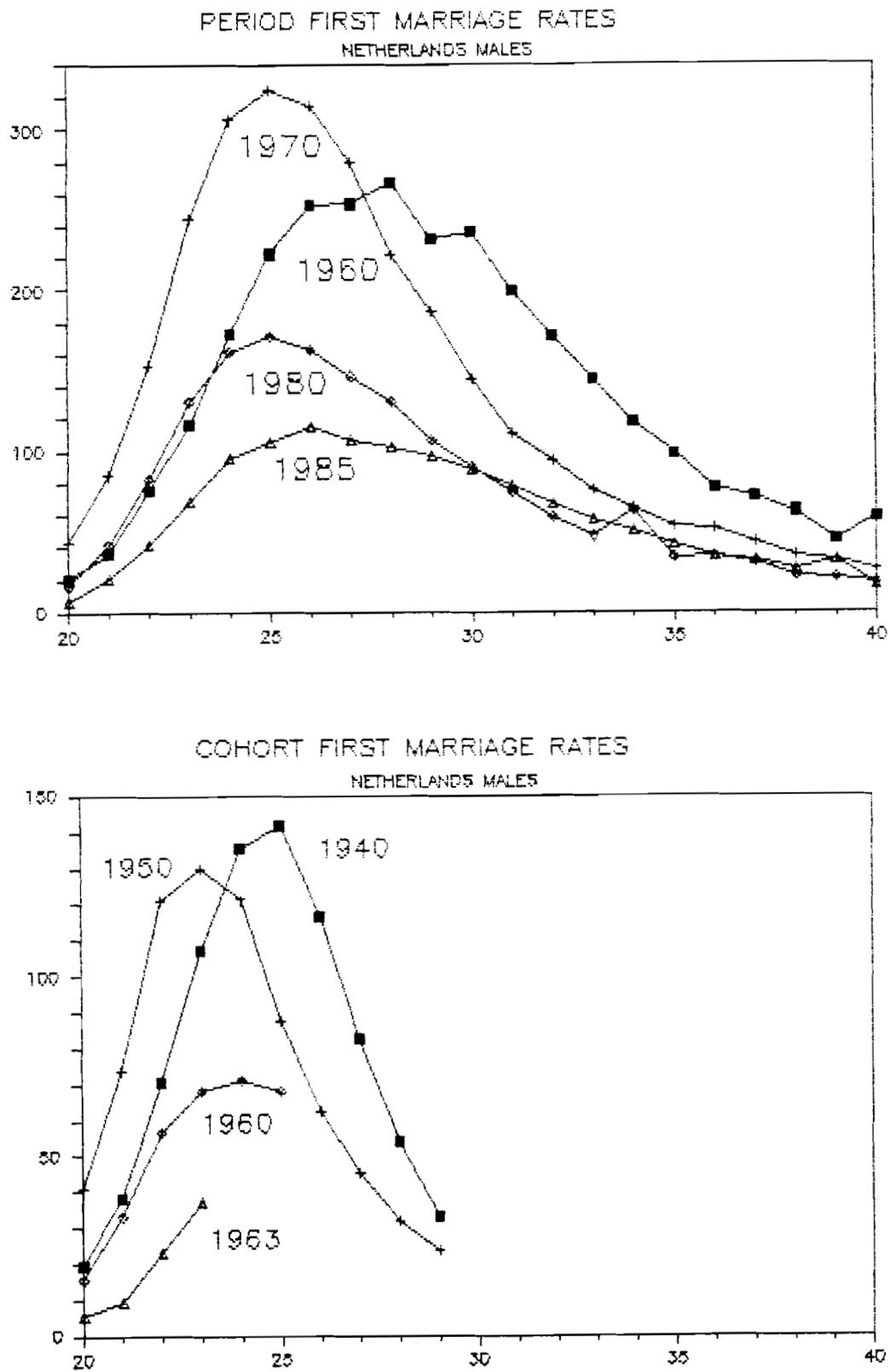


Figure 2. Period-first and cohort-first marriage rates: the Netherlands, males.

Table 4. Mean age at first marriage.

		1960	1970	1980	1985
AUSTRIA	Males		25.7	25.7	26.4
	Females		23.1	23.1	24.0
BELGIUM	Males			24.6	
	Females			22.2	
CANADA	Males	25.8	24.9	25.7	26.7
	Females	22.9	22.6	23.5	24.6
FINLAND	Males			26.5	27.5
	Females			24.5	25.4
FRANCE	Males			25.2	26.4
	Females			23.0	24.3
FRG	Males	25.9	25.6	26.1	27.2
	Females	23.7	23.0	23.4	24.6
HUNGARY	Males	25.3	24.0	24.0	24.3
	Females	21.9	21.1	21.3	21.3
ITALY	Males	28.6	27.5	27.2	27.1
	Females	24.8	24.1	24.0	24.0
NETHERLANDS	Males	26.8	24.8	25.5	26.3
	Females	24.5	23.9	23.2	24.0
NORWAY	Males			26.2	27.5
	Females			23.6	24.8
SWEDEN	Males	27.3	26.2	29.0	30.1
	Females	24.3	24.0	26.4	27.7
average	Males		25.5	26.0	27.0
	Females		23.1	23.5	24.5

\* estimates

1980s is considerably smaller than in the 1970s, especially among women. Moreover, remarriage rates of both men and women have increased in all the three age groups presented in this table in Poland, in the younger age groups of men and women in Czechoslovakia and in Finland, and in the 30-34 age group in Sweden.

There is a clear contrast between Eastern European and non-Eastern European remarriage patterns, as there is for first marriages, too: the former group of countries have considerably higher remarriage rates than the latter.

A consequence of the smaller decline of remarriages of divorced women, the level of which was well below that of men, is the narrowing gap between the sexes. It should be noted, however, that there are quite a few exceptions from the widely observed general rule of female remarriage rates being lower than male remarriage rates, primarily in the younger age groups (e.g. Austria and Hungary, 1985; Canada, 1970 and 1980; the GDR, Finland, the Netherlands and Norway, 1980 and 1985; the FRG and Sweden, 1970, 1980 and 1985). Age-specific comparisons therefore seem to indicate that while male remarriage rates are, on the whole, higher than female remarriage rates, and this was the general rule prior to or around 1970, exceptions in the 1980s are becoming numerous, especially in younger age groups.

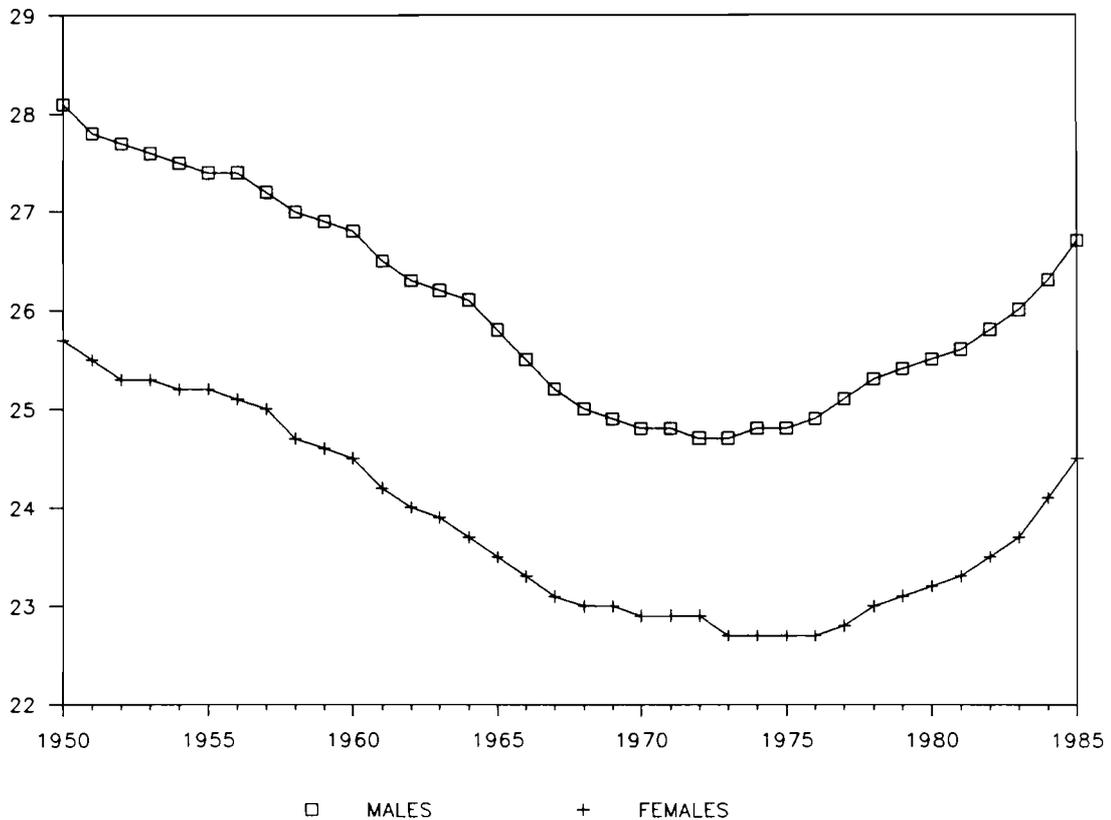


Figure 3. Mean age at marriage for males and females: the Netherlands, 1950-85.

Another interesting feature of recent changes in nuptiality is the inception of a segmentation of the marriage market. In 1965, if we exempt Hungary and the GDR, between 80 and 95 per cent of marriages were first marriages (see Table 5). In 1985, keeping apart Italy, the proportion is about between two-thirds and four-fifths. This evolution is due to the rise in the number of divorced grooms and brides. As a consequence, the proportion of singles marrying a divorcee has significantly increased in most of the countries: in 1985, between 5 and 8 per cent of singles, the percentage being slightly higher among females than among males. Although by far, spinsters prefer to marry bachelors, the evolution is significant and could lead to a more pronounced heterogeneity of the marriage market if it continues. A main reason for heterogeneity is that the mean age at marriage varies extensively with the previous marital status of the spouse. This is illustrated in Table 6 in the case of the Netherlands; however the pattern is general. On average, single persons who marry a divorced partner got married 5 years later than those who marry another single person. In addition, the age differences between the spouses are atypical. Spinsters marry a divorced man who is, on average, 8 years older than they are. On the other hand, in the case of bachelors marrying a divorced woman, the traditional male seniority is inverted, their brides being older than they are. Nevertheless, it should be noted that, at the moment, there still exists a marked preference among divorcees for an "endogamous" marriage: about half of divorcees remarry another divorcee (see Table 7). Moreover, it seems that a large majority of divorcees remarry only once. In the case of Norway, although the percentage of marriages of rank 3 and more has steadily in-

creased since the mid-sixties, it is still about one per cent (see Table 8).

Table 5. Marriages by previous marital status of bride and groom around 1965 and 1985 (in per cent).

		M a r i t a l   s t a t u s				
		Bride Groom	single single	single divorced	divorced divorced single	
AUSTRIA	1965		80.1	5.8	4.6	3.9
	1985		74.3	8.2	8.3	6.3
BELGIUM	1965		87.1	2.5	2.3	2.4
	1983		82.4	5.0	5.7	4.5
CANADA	1965		87.5	2.4	1.4	2.4
	1985		70.3	8.9	9.1	7.3
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	1965		82.0	5.1	4.5	3.8
	1985		74.7	7.1	9.3	6.2
FINLAND	1965		86.7	4.3	1.9	2.8
	1985		77.6	6.9	6.3	6.7
FRANCE	1965		87.1	3.2	2.0	2.9
	1985		77.5	7.1	6.0	6.1
FRG	1965		81.9	4.9	3.2	3.8
	1985		71.4	8.4	9.1	7.7
GDR	1965		72.7	7.5	6.2	5.3
	1985		66.6	8.6	13.4	7.6
HUNGARY	1965		73.2	7.4	6.9	5.6
	1985		68.5	8.4	10.1	8.1
ITALY	1983		95.2	1.6	0.3	0.8
NETHERLANDS	1965		91.4	2.2	1.5	1.4
	1985		78.0	6.2	8.1	5.1
NORWAY	1965		88.1	3.6	1.8	3.3
	1985		78.7	7.5	6.2	5.9
POLAND	1965		85.5	3.7	1.5	2.3
	1985		85.1	4.1	3.3	3.0
SWEDEN	1965		85.2	4.9	3.2	4.2
	1985		69.0	8.5	12.2	8.3

### 3) Divorces

During the fifties low levels of divorce and stable trends had prevailed in many countries. In 1960, only Central European countries such as Austria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the GDR and two of the Scandinavian countries, Finland and Norway, indicate a higher incidence of divorces (see Table 9). Following this period of relative stability, divorce trends have shown a striking upturn in the second half of the sixties. After a moderate rise, the increase in the number of divorces has accelerated and led to a "divorce

Table 6. Mean age at marriage by previous marital status of bride and groom: the Netherlands, 1970 and 1980.

		M a r i t a l   s t a t u s					all
		Bride Groom	single single	single divorced	divorced divorced	divorced single	
1970	Bride		22.3	27.9	36.0	30.2	23.8
	Groom		24.6	36.3	40.8	29.9	26.4
1985	Bride		24.0	28.9	37.5	32.0	26.4
	Groom		26.3	37.9	41.7	31.2	29.2

boom" practically everywhere. Between 1965 and 1985, the number of divorces has doubled in most of the countries. In countries where divorces were fairly low in the sixties, the rise has reached impressive levels: 550 per cent in the Netherlands and about 700 per cent in Canada. A consequence of this fast and strong evolution is that the gap between the different countries has narrowed: among countries in this sample, only Poland still shows a more limited incidence of divorces and Italy an almost nul divortiability.

Table 7. Marriage preference of divorcees in 1985.

	Males			Females		
	Single	Divorced	Widowed	Single	Divorced	Widowed
AUSTRIA	48.4	48.8	2.8	40.5	53.5	6.0
CANADA	47.0	48.1	4.8	42.0	52.3	5.7
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	41.6	54.4	3.9	38.0	56.9	5.0
FINLAND	48.6	44.5	6.9	49.1	46.2	4.7
FRANCE	51.9	43.8	4.4	47.2	46.4	6.4
GDR	47.0	50.6	2.3	42.4	49.9	7.8
FRG	37.4	58.6	4.0	34.0	60.3	5.8
HUNGARY	42.4	51.0	6.7	41.6	51.6	6.9
NETHERLANDS	43.4	56.6	0.0	37.0	59.2	3.7
NORWAY	53.4	44.1	2.5	46.1	48.1	5.8
POLAND	46.0	37.0	17.0	41.9	45.2	12.9
SWEDEN	37.1	53.2	9.6	37.1	54.7	8.2
average	45.4	49.2	5.4	41.4	52.0	6.6

Further insights are permitted by Table 7 in the Appendix which presents the evolution of age-specific divorce rates from 1960 to 1985. A first striking feature arising from this table is that most countries have experienced a steady growth in divorce rates all over the period 1970-1985 without any visible downturn. Nevertheless, between 1980 and 1985, some countries with very high divorce rates indicate such as Canada and Finland stagnating or slightly decreasing rates in certain age groups. A second feature worth noting is that divorce rates have strongly increased at all ages. This increase is, however, slightly more marked below age 40 where divorce rates have usually multiplied by two; so that the number of divorces has mostly doubled as the result of doubling divorce rates.

Table 8. Marriages by marriage number.

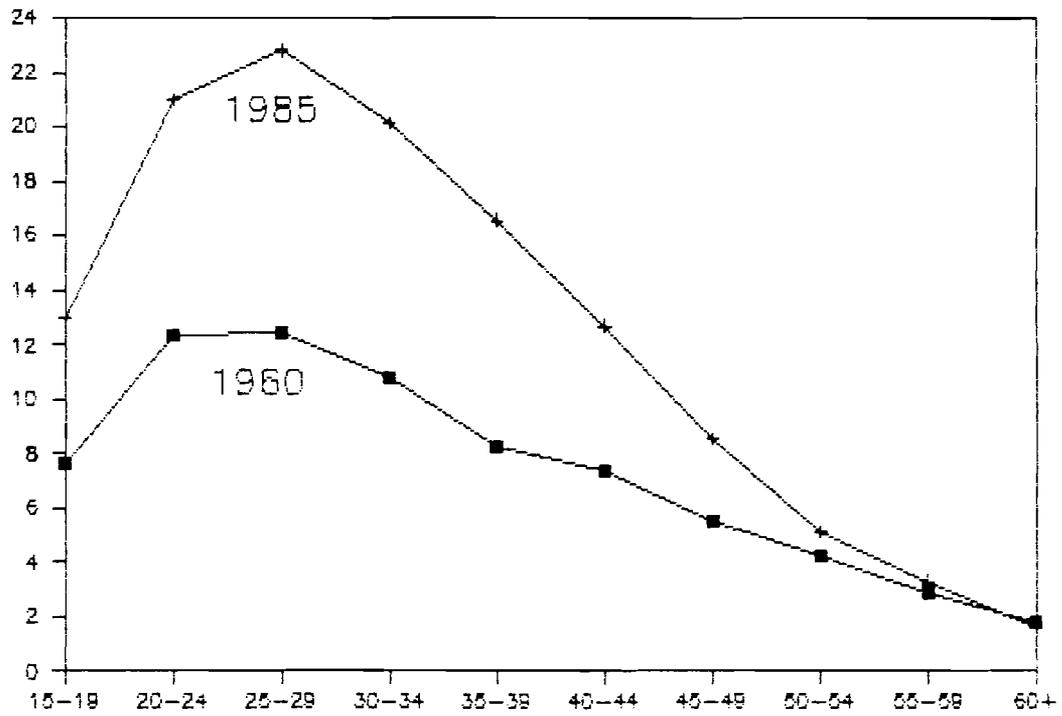
	Total	Marriage number		
		1	2	3+
		Groom		
1966-1970	100.0	92.7	6.8	0.5
1971-1975	100.0	91.4	8.0	0.6
1976-1980	100.0	87.6	11.5	0.9
1981-1985	100.0	85.2	13.6	1.2
		Bride		
1966-1970	100.0	93.3	6.2	0.5
1971-1975	100.0	91.9	7.5	0.5
1976-1980	100.0	88.4	10.8	0.8
1981-1985	100.0	86.4	12.5	1.1

Table 9. Number of divorces per 1,000 married women around 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1985.

	1960	1970	1980	1985
AUSTRIA	5.0	5.9	7.9	8.8
BELGIUM	2.0	2.6	6.0	
CANADA	1.6	6.0	10.5	11.4
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	4.9	7.0	8.9	10.0
GDR	6.3	6.4	10.7	
FRG	3.6	5.1	6.4	8.6
FINLAND	4.3	6.0	9.0	8.5
FRANCE	2.8	3.4	7.1	8.3
HUNGARY	6.6	8.4	9.9	10.9
ITALY	1.5	1.0	1.1	
NETHERLANDS	2.2	3.3	7.5	9.9
NORWAY	2.8	3.7	6.8	8.6
POLAND	2.3	4.6	4.5	5.3
SWEDEN	5.0	6.7	11.1	11.7

A further interesting fact is that male and female age-specific divorce rates are relatively close to each other in all but the youngest (15-19) age group. Nevertheless, divorce rates at younger ages are slightly higher among men than among women and, conversely, they are slightly higher among women than among men at older ages. Maximum divorce rates are found both in the 20-24 and in the 25-29 age group. Moreover, it seems that the strongest increase has usually been observed at the modal ages at divorce. Consequently, the age pattern of divorces is now more pronounced, with a steeper rise in younger ages and a deeper slope beyond the modal age. This is illustrated by Figure 4, through the example of Hungary and Sweden. Besides the generality of the patterns one should also note the atypical slight increase after age 35 in the Swedish male age pattern

### DIVORCE RATES — HUNGARY MALES



### DIVORCE RATES — SWEDEN MALES

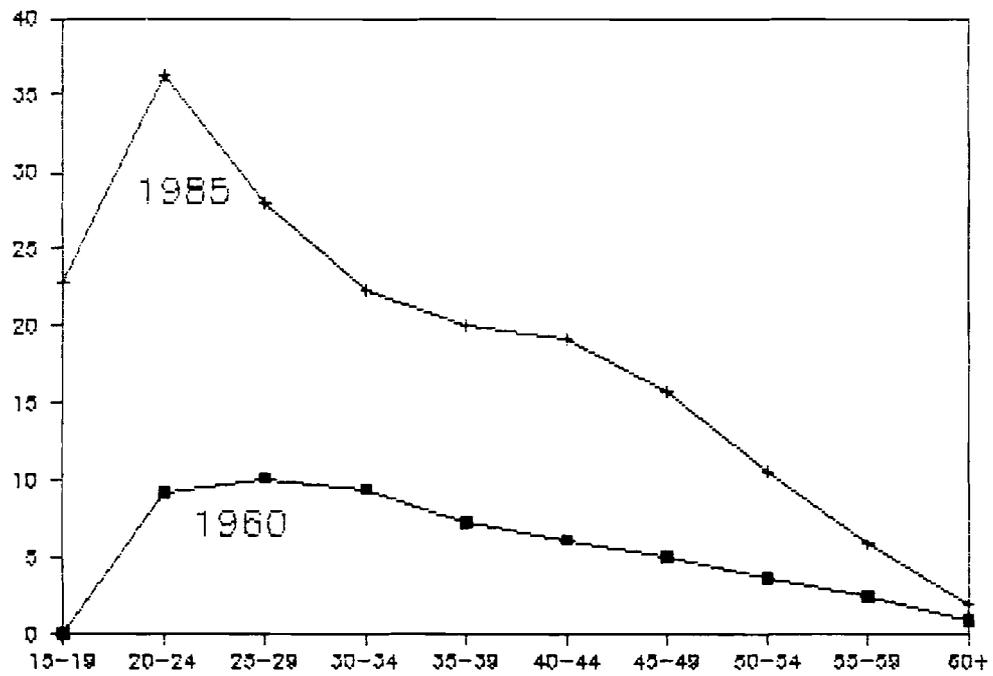


Figure 4. Divorce rates for Hungarian and Swedish males, 1960 and 1985.

of divorces, which is sometimes considered to project the future age pattern of divorces in other countries.<sup>6</sup>

Besides the age pattern of divorce, the characteristic curve of divorce by marriage duration has also been substantially modified. A sketchy representation of this evolution is given by Figure 5 which shows the divorce rates by marriage duration for the marriage cohorts 1950, 1960, and 1970 in Finland. The marriage cohort 1950 indicates low divorce rates at all durations, steeply rising til duration 5, then smoothly decreasing til about duration ten, and levelling off afterwards. This pattern is very general and suggests that, in the past, duration has mostly been discriminant up to a maximum of 5-7 years after marriage. The curve of cohort 1960 is fairly similar although it reaches a slightly higher maximum and levels off immediately after duration 5. This increase at all ages and which is also salient in all intermediate cohorts has usually been interpreted as illustrating the fact that changes in divorces are mostly due to period effects. From cohort 1960 to cohort 1970, two main modifications in the duration pattern of divorce have taken place. First, a substantial increase in divorce rates below duration 10 is observed. Second, the curve shows a steep fall after the maximum til about duration 15. On the other hand, there are evidence that the mean duration at divorce has remained fairly stable in most of the countries, with the exception of Austria and the Netherlands.<sup>7</sup>

Divorce intensity does not only vary according to age and marriage duration but also according to age at marriage. But data on this aspect of divorce are not widely available and it is thus difficult to estimate its real impact and how it has recently evolved. A rough assessment is however possible on the basis of Figure 6 which gives the number of divorces per 1,000 marriages by age at marriage for Finnish males in 1984. Very high divorce rates are observed for marriages at very young ages but rapidly falling til about 23-24 years. Beyond this age, the decrease continues but is much smoother. However, it should be pointed out that the demographic impact of the age at marriage on divorce has decreased in a recent past as a result of the fall in marriages at young ages.

#### 4) Widowhoods

Although in the long term, widowhood is also influenced by changes in intensity of marriage and divorce, from a transversal viewpoint it mostly depends on the sex differentials in age at marriage and mortality. This is because in low mortality countries widowhood mostly occurs at old ages at which remarriage plays, in most of the countries, a very limited role for males and is negligible for females (see Table 10).

Owing to the lower age at marriage and the lower mortality of women, widowhood is essentially a female phenomenon: in 1985 a ratio of around 2.5-3.0 new widows per new widowers was observed in the countries included in Table 11. This table also presents a crude indicator of the relative contribution of divorces and of widowhood to marriage dissolution. In most countries, out of 100 women whose marital status has changed, 50-60 have become widows, with the exception of Poland (73%) and Italy (where divorce is negligible).

The role of the sex differences in mortality on widowhood is illustrated in Figure 7 which shows the proportion married and widowed in 1960 and 1985 among Dutch females and males for each age between 60 and 90. From 1960 to 1985 the proportion married and widowed among older women have remained constant at any age. On the contrary, the proportion married among males has increased in inverse ratio to age and a symmetric decline is observed for the proportion widowed. Therefore, the age at which these

<sup>6</sup>See, for instance, P. Festy (1985) Divorce, judicial separation and remarriage. Recent trends in the member states of the Council of Europe. *Population Studies*, No. 17.

<sup>7</sup>See J-P. Sardon (1986), Évolution de la nuptialité et de la divortialité en Europe depuis la fin des années 1960, *Population* 41(3):463-482 (May-June).

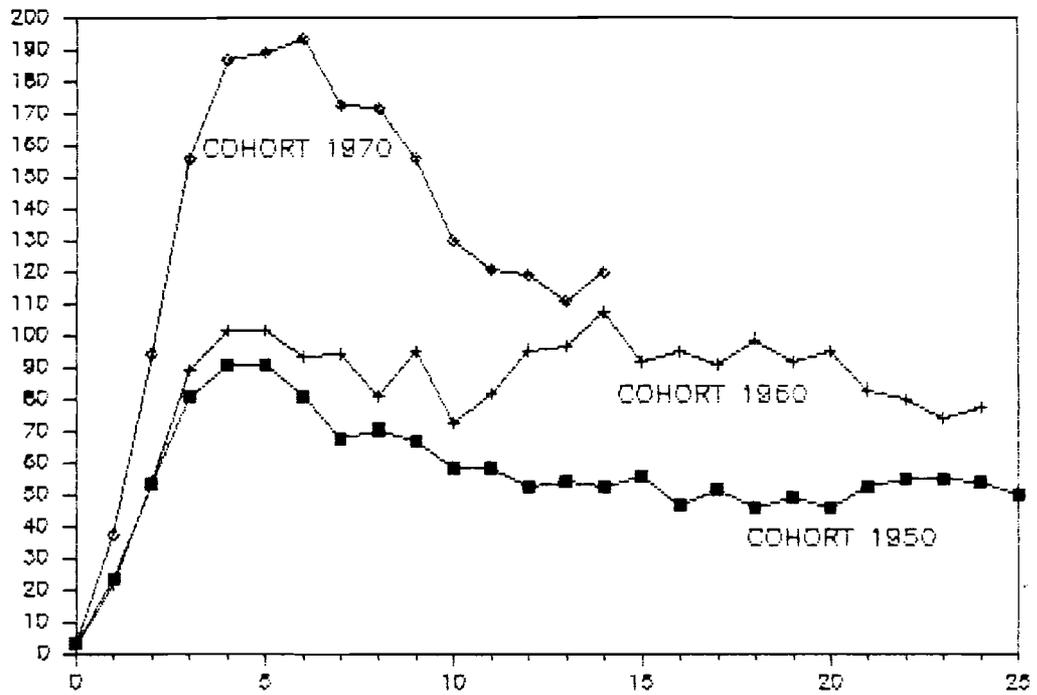


Figure 5. Divorce rates by marriage duration: Finland, cohorts 1950, 1960, and 1970.

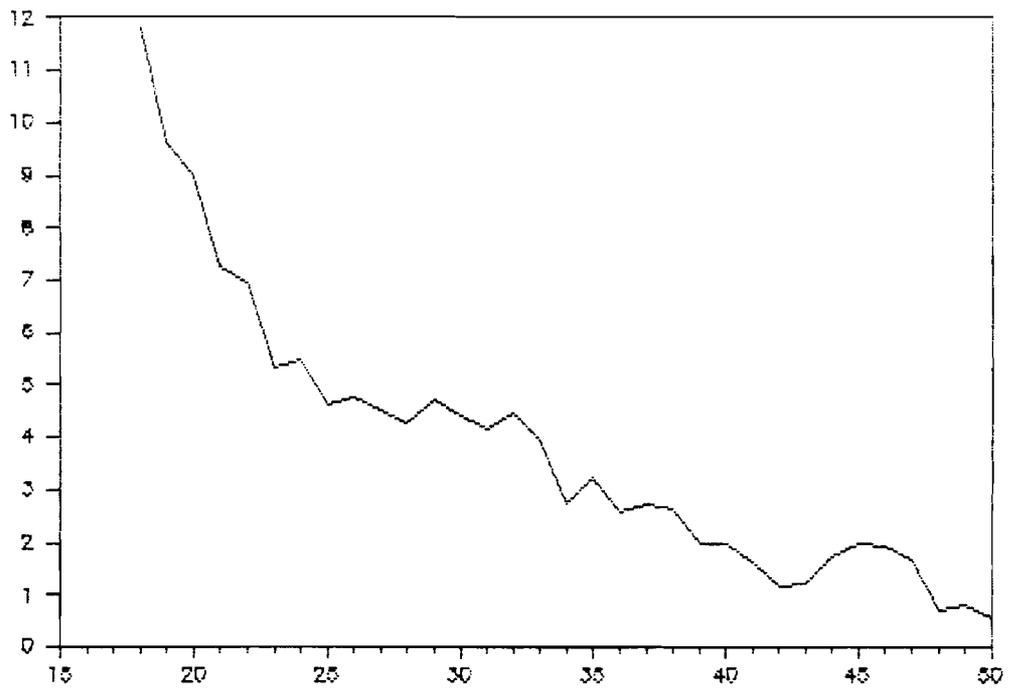


Figure 6. Number of divorces per 1000 marriages by age at marriage: Finland, males, 1984.

Table 10. Remarriage rates of widowed aged 60 and over by sex around 1985.

		Males	Females
AUSTRIA	1985	4.54	0.18
BELGIUM	1981	3.07	0.27
CANADA	1985	19.47	2.70
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	1985	4.45	0.31
GDR	1985	6.10	0.37
FRG	1985	6.45	0.30
FINLAND	1985	4.52	0.49
FRANCE	1980	4.44	0.39
HUNGARY	1985	8.30	0.97
ITALY	1981	4.22	0.30
NETHERLANDS	1985	5.55	0.70
NORWAY	1985	2.39	0.43
POLAND	1984	12.23	1.24
SWEDEN	1985	2.13	0.33

Table 11. New widows and widowers in 1985.

	Widowers	Widows	Sex Ratio	Divorced	Ratio Widows/ Widows+Divorced
AUSTRIA	9359	25334	2.7	15460	62.1
CANADA	25675	61577	2.4	61980	49.8
FINLAND	4843	14165	2.9	9064	61.0
FRANCE	63056	173302	2.7		
FRG	82776	214766	2.6	128124	62.6
ITALY	67224	189761	2.8	15377	92.5
NETHERLANDS	15955	41480	2.6	34044	54.9
NORWAY	5181	13549	2.6	8206	62.3
POLAND	46906	133532	2.8	49095	73.1
SWEDEN	10660	26021	2.4	19763	56.8

percentages are equal has risen by about five years. The main reason for such a contrast is indicated in Table 12. Over the whole period 1960-1985, life expectancy at age 65 has not changed for males while it has increased by 2.8 years for females. This suggests that the excess female increase in life expectancy at age 65 which has been experienced by most of the countries during the period 1965-1985 is likely to be responsible for the decrease in the proportion widowed among males (see above).

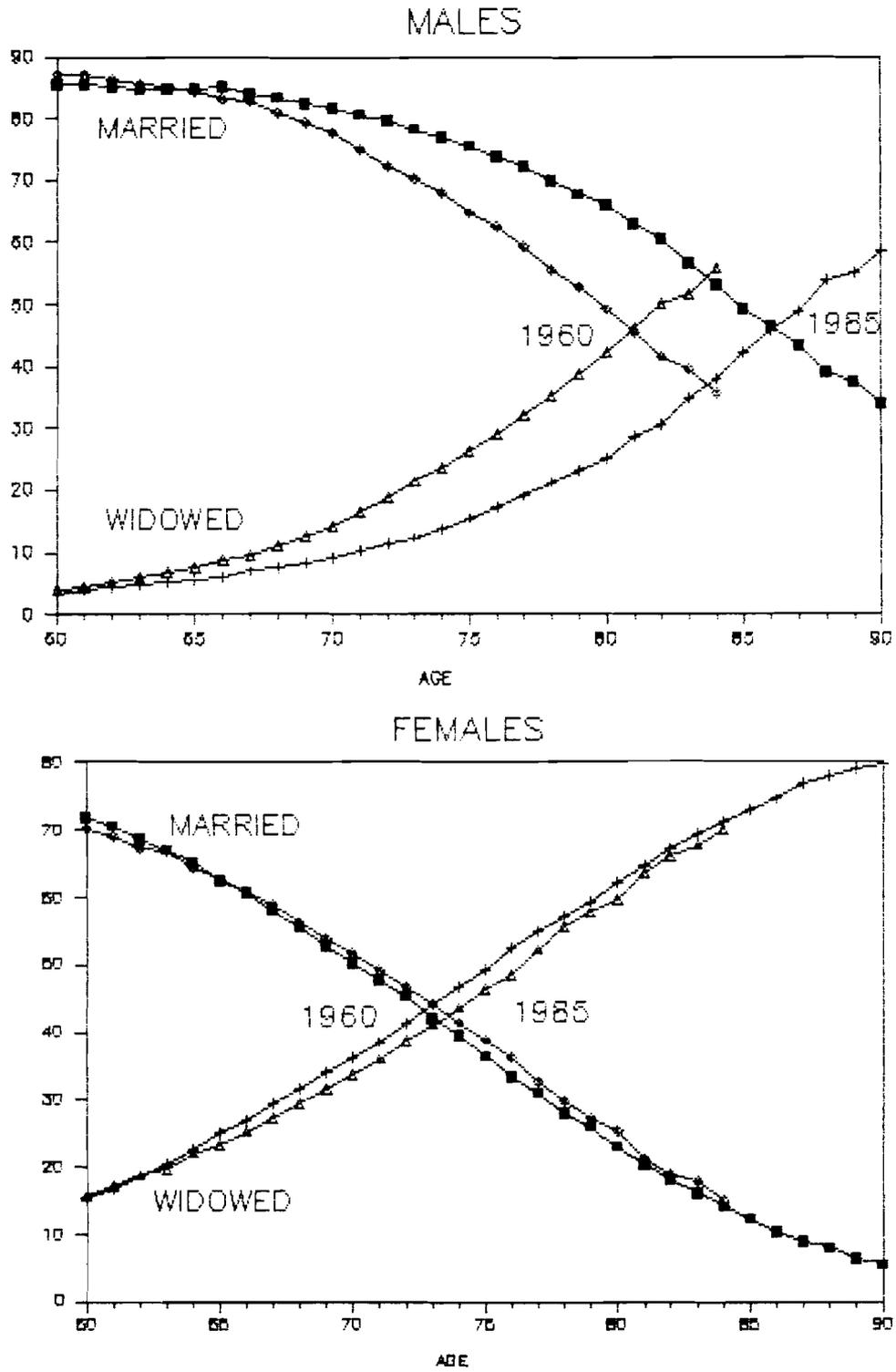


Figure 7. Proportion married and widowed for males and females: the Netherlands, 1960 and 1985.

Table 12. Life expectancy at age 65.

	Males			Females			DIFFERENCE		
	1960/64	1980/84	changes	1960/64	1980/84	changes	1960/64	1980/84	changes
AUSTRIA	12.1	13.2	1.1	15	16.6	1.6	2.9	3.4	0.5
BELGIUM	12.5	13.1	0.6	15	17.1	2.1	2.5	4	1.5
CANADA	13.6	14.7	1.1	16.2	19.2	3	2.6	4.5	1.9
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	12.3	11.6	-0.7	14.6	14.8	0.2	2.3	3.2	0.9
FINLAND	11.5	13.1	1.6	13.8	17.4	3.6	2.3	4.3	2
FRANCE	12.6	14.5	1.9	16	19	3	3.4	4.5	1.1
FRG	12.4	13.2	0.8	14.8	17.1	2.3	2.4	3.9	1.5
GDR	12.6	12.2	-0.4	14.6	15.2	0.6	2	3	1
HUNGARY	12.5	11.6	-0.9	14.2	14.8	0.6	1.7	3.2	1.5
ITALY a/	13.2	13.9	0.7	15.4	17.5	2.1	2.2	3.6	1.4
NETHERLANDS	14.1	14.1	0	16	18.8	2.8	1.9	4.7	2.8
NORWAY	14.2	14.4	0.2	16	18.6	2.6	1.8	4.2	2.4
POLAND	12.6	12.5	-0.1	15.1	16.1	1	2.5	3.6	1.1
SWEDEN	13.9	14.6	0.7	15.7	18.5	2.8	1.8	3.9	2.1
average	12.8	13.3	0.4	15.1	17.1	2.0	2.3	3.8	1.5
a/ 1980/83									

## 2. FAMILIES AND HOUSEHOLDS

Obviously, the fall of marriages, the increase in age at marriage, and the divorce boom have not only considerable impacts on the marital composition of the population but also on the size and structure of the families and households. As may be seen from Table 13, a main consequence has been a more rapid increase in the number of households than in the total population. The largest growth differentials are found in Canada and the Netherlands (more than 40 percentage points!), the Scandinavian countries, Netherlands, and Italy. The smallest margin between the growth in the number of households and the population is observed in the Soviet Union which might be partly to the fact that only family households are considered. The consequence of the faster increase in the number of households than in population is a decrease in the average household size.

The decline of average household size has followed a secular trends but has showed a clear acceleration after 1960 (see Figure 8 for Sweden). A smaller part of this decline results from changes in the age structure of the population: in the case of the Netherlands, it has been estimated to 22 per cent in 1960-1970 and 28 per cent in 1971-1981.<sup>8</sup> But this development is mostly explained by changes in the family formation, size, and structure and by the increase in one-person households.

### 1) Family structure

Two different types of factors have recently played an important role in the evolution of the family: changes in fertility and changes in living arrangements. Changes in fertility have been widely documented in several studies and can be summarized as follows. First, since the early 1960s a substantial drop in total fertility-0.8 child on average in our sample-has been experienced by all countries but Poland (see Table 14). The

<sup>8</sup>J. Brouwer (1988), The application of household models in housing policy, in N. Keilman, A. Kuijsten, and A. Vossen (eds.), *Modelling Household Formation and Dissolution*, pp. 225-239, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Table 13. Percentage change in number of households and population between 1960-80 and average household size around 1960 and 1980.

	Percentage Change		Average household size around	
	Population	Number of Households	1960	1980
AUSTRIA	6	16	3.1	2.8
BELGIUM	8	19	3.1	2.7
CANADA	35	82	3.9	2.9
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	12	22	3.1	2.8
FINLAND	8	35	3.3	2.7
FRANCE	18	30	3.1	2.8
FRG	11	27	2.9	2.5
HUNGARY	7	21	3.1	2.8
ITALY	14	36	3.6	3.0
NETHERLANDS	23	63	3.6	2.8
NORWAY	14	34	3.1	2.7
POLAND	20	33	3.5	3.1
SOVIET UNION a/	24	32	3.7	4.0
SWEDEN	11	35	2.8	2.3

a/ family households only

lowest differences are observed in Eastern European countries which is now the region with the highest fertility. Among non-Eastern European countries, the fall has been in inverse ratio to the fertility of the sixties. Second, this lower fertility has meant a sharp reduction in the number of birth at higher parity (see Table 15). The proportion of fourth and higher births has declined very sharply: from between 15-34 per cent in 1960 to about 6-8 per cent in 1985 among the nine countries included in the table. Once again, the fall was stronger in former high fertility countries. A general decrease is also observed at parity 3 but with strong differences in intensity between countries. Third, since the early seventies, the frequency of childbirth outside legal marriage has grown in most countries. On average, the illegitimacy ratio has been multiplied by 2 among the 13 countries included in Table 16 but marked national discrepancies can be seen with respect to intensity. Broadly speaking, there are four groups of countries with respect to illegitimacy. A first group includes the countries which indicate a very high illegitimacy ratio such as Sweden where about half of the births occur out of wedlock, the GDR (34.4 per cent), and Norway (27.9 per cent). A second group is composed of countries with an illegitimacy ratio of roughly 20 per cent: Austria, France, Finland, and Canada. A third group of countries show much lower illegitimacy ratio (about half of the preceding group) and includes Hungary, the Netherlands, the FRG, and Czechoslovakia. Finally, Belgium (4.5 per cent) and Poland (5.1 per cent) form the small group of low illegitimacy countries. Another striking feature of this evolution is that while in the past illegitimacy was concentrated at young ages, much higher illegitimacy ratios are observed at all adult ages.

Related to increasing illegitimacy, a major change in living arrangements has been the upsurge of consensual unions. Although it is extremely difficult to document this phenomenon, tentative conclusions are suggested by Table 17. In the five countries included in this table, consensual unions represent around 1985 less than 10 per cent of the total number of unions: 1.3 per cent in Italy, 2.5 per cent in Austria, 4.4 in Belgium, 7.4 in the Netherlands, and probably about the same in France. This range of values is probably widely valid: only in Denmark and Sweden—where the cohabitation uptrend has started much earlier than in other countries—there are evidence of a cohabitation rate of

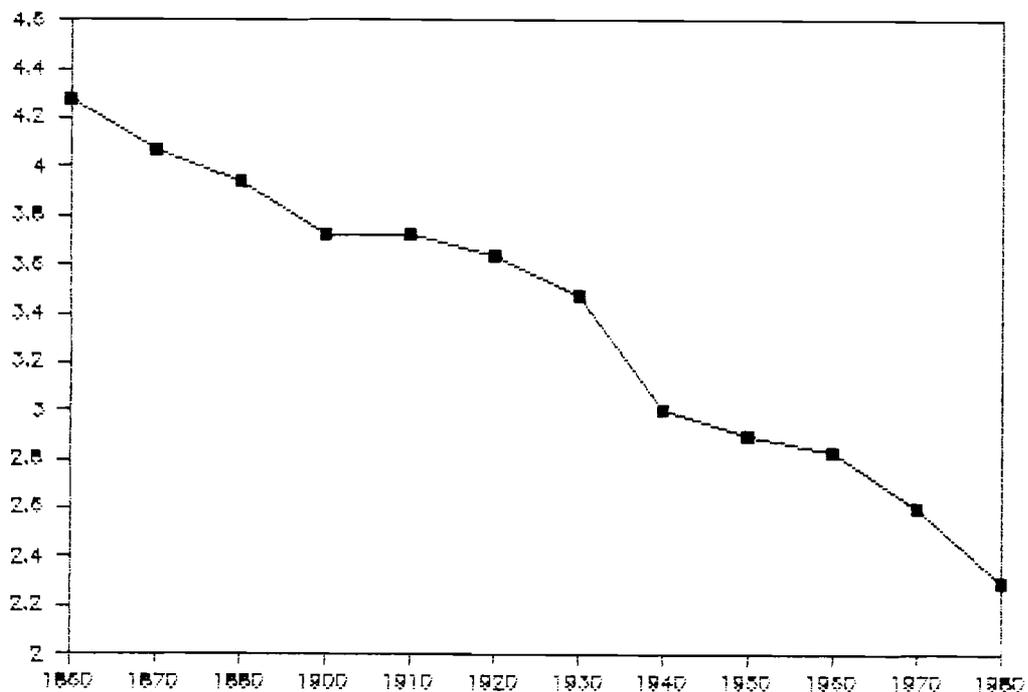


Figure 8. Average household size: Sweden, 1860-1980.

about 15-20 per cent. Both countries present a typical age pattern of cohabitation but with considerable differences in intensities. Consensual unions are extremely frequent under age 20: except for Italy, between about one- to three-fourths of girls under 20 living in union are cohabiting. After this age, the proportion sharply drops but France and the Netherlands still indicate a proportion of about one-third among women aged 20-24 and of about 15 per cent among women aged 25-29. Therefore, the fall in marriage and the rise in the proportion single at young ages partly hide a shift from legal to paperless marriage. This is also true for remarriages: in France about one-fourth of cohabiting women aged 21-44 are divorced.<sup>9</sup> To which extent this has led to a compensation and whether this change affects the pattern of formation and dissolution of unions is difficult to say and seems to greatly vary from one country to another. Evidence of discrepancies between countries are partly found in the fact that no one-to-one relation exists between the intensity of cohabitation and illegitimacy. For instance, although the level of cohabitation is fairly similar in France and the Netherlands, the illegitimacy ratio is more than twice as big in France than it is in the Netherlands.

Another development in living arrangements supports the idea that the prevalence of couples among the young adult population has recently decreased. In a number of countries, there are evidences that the proportion of young adults living with their parents shows an evolution parallel to age at marriage. In the 1960s and early 1970s, this proportion had decreased with age at marriage while since the late 1970s reversal trends have

<sup>9</sup>See H. Leridon and C. Villeneuve-Gokalp (1988), *Les Nouveaux Couples*, *Population* 43(2):331-374 (March-April).

Table 14. Total fertility rates in 1960-65, 1970-75, and 1980-85.

	1960-65	1970-75	1980-85	changes 1980-85/1960-65
AUSTRIA	2.78	2.01	1.61	-1.17
BELGIUM	2.66	1.94	1.59	-1.07
CANADA	3.61	1.97	1.66	-1.95
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	2.40	2.34	2.09	-0.31
FINLAND	2.58	1.62	1.69	-0.89
FRANCE	2.85	2.31	1.87	-0.98
FRG	2.48	1.62	1.36	-1.12
GDR	2.45	1.71	1.83	-0.62
HUNGARY	1.82	2.08	1.80	-0.02
ITALY	2.55	2.27	1.55	-1.00
NETHERLANDS	3.12	1.97	1.51	-1.61
NORWAY	2.90	2.25	1.69	-1.21
POLAND	2.01	2.63	2.33	0.32
SOVIET UNION	2.54	2.44	2.35	-0.19
SWEDEN	2.33	1.89	1.66	-0.67
unweighted average	2.61	2.07	1.77	-0.83

Table 15. Live births by birth order around 1960 and 1985.

		Birth-order			
		1	2	3	4+
CANADA	1960	24	24	19	34
	1985	44	35	15	6
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	1960	37	32	15	16
	1984	45	36	13	6
FINLAND	1960	29	26	18	27
	1985	40	36	16	8
GDR	1960	36	29	17	18
	1985	48	37	11	4
HUNGARY	1960	41	31	13	15
	1985	44	38	12	5
ITALY	1981	46	36	13	6
NETHERLANDS	1960	30	27	17	26
	1985	43	36	14	7
POLAND	1960	31	28	18	23
	1985	39	34	16	11
SWEDEN	1985	41	36	17	7
unweighted average	1960	33	28	17	23
	1985	43	36	14	7

Table 16. Illegitimacy ratios around 1970 and 1985 (number of illegitimate births per 100 total births).

		15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	Total
AUSTRIA	1971	37.8	13.7	6.1	5.7	13.0
	1983	55.8	27.4	12.8	10.4	22.4
BELGIUM	1970	7.6	2.8	1.7	2.1	2.8
	1981	15.2	4.3	3.0	4.0	4.5
CANADA	1971	35.4	8.6	3.4	3.4	9.0
	1985	71.5	25.4	10.5	8.7	17.8
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	1970	16.8	4.2	3.2	4.6	5.7
	1985	18.3	4.9	4.4	7.5	7.0
GDR	1970	34.4	8.9	4.7	6.6	13.5
	1986	80.9	40.9	20.4	20.3	34.4
FRG	1970	19.5	5.7	2.4	2.6	5.5
	1986	39.0	13.2	6.1	6.0	9.6
FINLAND	1970	17.9	6.3	2.9	2.7	5.8
	1986	62.4	28.0	13.4	12.2	18.0
FRANCE	1970	19.8	6.8	4.1	4.3	6.8
	1986	60.9	26.7	16.9	17.2	21.9
HUNGARY	1970	15.2	3.6	2.7	4.5	5.4
	1987	23.2	7.3	6.0	10.4	10.2
NETHERLANDS	1970	14.0	2.2	0.9	0.9	2.1
	1985	37.4	12.1	5.6	6.7	8.3
NORWAY	1970	27.9	7.3	2.5	1.8	6.9
	1986	78.4	41.7	19.6	15.4	27.9
POLAND	1970	16.8	4.6	2.7	3.0	5.0
	1986	17.1	4.1	3.3	5.1	5.1
SWEDEN	1970	71.2	23.3	7.8	6.7	18.4
	1986	85.7	67.8	47.1	35.2	48.4
unweighted average	1970	25.7	7.5	3.5	3.8	7.7
	1985	49.7	23.4	13.0	12.2	18.1

been observed. In the Netherlands, for instance, results of the 1984 lifestyle survey show that the percentage of young adults aged 20 living in parental household falls from 76 to 52 per cent from birth cohorts 1930-39 to 1950-59 and then rises to 67 per cent with cohort 1960-66.<sup>10</sup> Although there is no doubt about the trends, the measurement and the interpretation raise a number of questions. It is well known that, for a number of reasons such as taxation, more children report to live with their parents than actually do. Moreover, both processes of leaving the parental home and beginning living with a partner have tended to be more gradual with intermediate situations which are not clear-cut. Finally, a number of young adults, especially among women, return home after divorce or disruption of union.

<sup>10</sup>See N. Keilman, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

Table 17. Consensual unions as percentage of total unions around 1985.

		age of women							
		TOTAL	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	65+
AUSTRIA	1985	2.5	73.2	10.4	4.5	3.7	2.3	2.2	1.2
BELGIUM	1985	4.4	- 23.8	-	- 7.7	-	- 4.0	-	2.0
FRANCE	1986			35.8	14.0	10.1	6.0	5.5	
ITALY	1983	1.3	4.0	2.4	1.6	1.8	1.0	1.1	1.9 a/
NETHERLANDS	1985	7.4	63.0	36.3	15.9	6.7	4.0	2.2	3.4

a/ 65-74

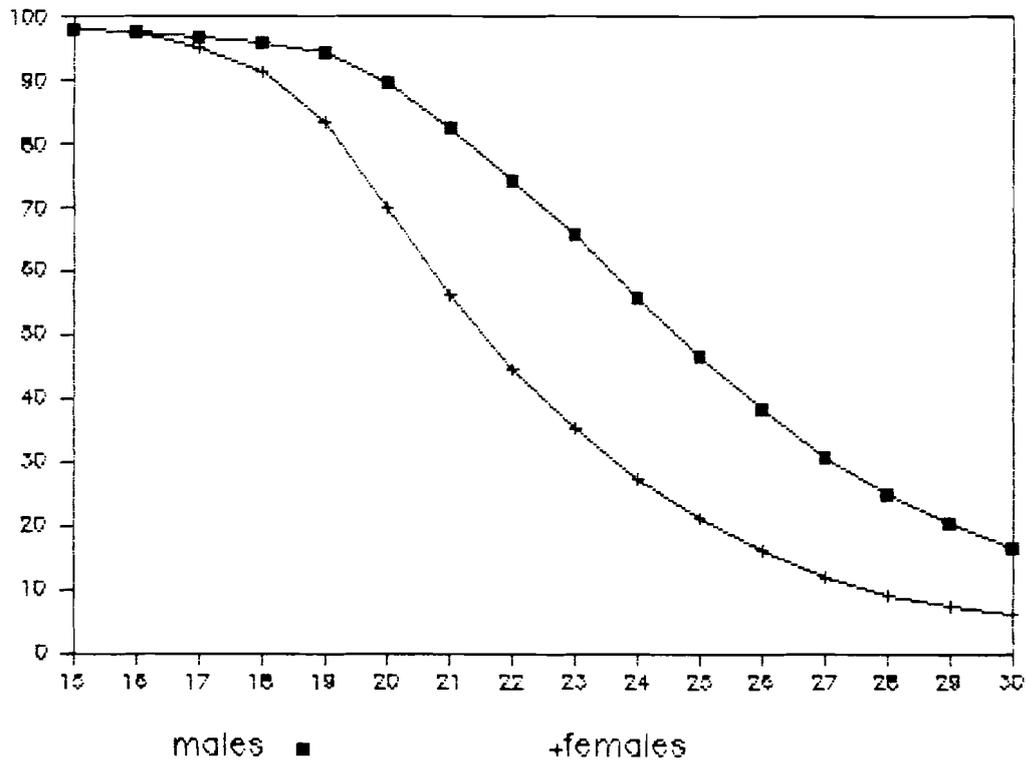


Figure 9. Children living with their parents: Austria, 1981.

A further important change in the family structure which has received considerable attention is the growth of one-parent families. It can be seen from Table 18 that the increase in the proportion of one-parent families shows substantial variations between countries. In Canada and Norway it has roughly been multiplied by two, while in Finland and the Netherlands it has stagnated and slightly decreased in Hungary. In all countries, about nine-tenths of one-parent families are now headed by a women and the ratio seems to have increased. A better comprehension of these trends is possible by looking at the

evolution of the marital status of lone-mothers (see Table 19). Within only ten years, from around 1970 to around 1980, the marital composition of lone-mothers have been substantially modified. In two of the three countries, the proportion of lone-mothers widowed has sharply declined: from 55.9 to 31.1 per cent in France and from 74.1 to 51.5 per cent in the Netherlands. A smoother decline was observed in the FRG—from 38.9 to 25.8 per cent—where the percentage was much lower. On the other hand, the proportion of single and divorced mothers has strongly increase: 54 per cent in France and 60 per cent in the FRG of lone-mothers were divorced around 1980. Moreover, the percentage changes in the absolute numbers show that in France and the FRG there was an offsetting effect between the decrease in the number of widows and the increase in the number of single and divorced mothers. This suggests that the increasing incidence of one-parent families has mostly resulted from increasing births out of wedlock and divorces, and decreasing remarriages.

All the developments presented above had considerable effects on the family size and structure. First, the decline of fertility and nuptiality together with the rise in cohabitation have led to a decrease in the proportion of households which are families (see Table 19). In Belgium, the percentage of family-households has declined from 82.2 to 73.2 per cent between 1961 and 1981, in Canada from 88.6 to 74.9 between 1961 and 1986, and more strikingly in the Netherlands from 85.2 to 67.2 per cent between 1960 and 1985. Only in Italy, which indicated a low proportion of family-households in 1961, has it increased from 68 to 70 per cent within 20 years.

Second, as a result of the drop in fertility and of the increasing incidence of one-parent families and despite the longer stay of children in the parental home, the average number of children per family and the average family size have declined. It can be seen from Table 20 that this decline has been especially strong in countries where fertility was high in the sixties: minus 0.8 child in Canada within 25 years and probably about 0.6 in the Netherlands. Finland also indicates a strong decrease in the average number of children per family—0.5 child—while in other countries it has been limited to about 0.2 child. The difference between the average number of children per couple and per one-parent family everywhere is about 0.3–0.4 child. However, it only seems to influence the average number of children in countries such as Canada, Finland, and Hungary which indicate the higher percentages of one-parent families unless the age structure of families plays a disturbing role.

The drop in fertility and particularly the decline of births at high parity, are clearly reflected in the distribution of families by the number of children (see Table 21). This is especially true when only children under age 15 are considered: in the FRG and Hungary the proportion of families having at least three children has been divided by two between around 1960 and 1985 and is now about 8 per cent. No clear trends appear for families with one and two children. On the contrary, the proportion of couples with no children seems to have slightly increased (see Table 18). But because children and parents of all ages are included in this table, this rise could also result from the improved joined survivorship of older couples.

## 2) One-person households

Besides changes in family structure, a major factor behind the decrease in average household size is the sharp increase in the number and the proportion of one-person households. Table 22 shows that the proportion of one-person households has increased, on the average, by 50 per cent between 1960 and 1980 in the 14 countries included in the table. The increase was much larger in Canada and in the Netherlands: the percentage of one-person households has more than doubled in these two countries between 1960 and 1985. The highest proportions of one-person households are to be found in the FRG and in Sweden (around one-third of all households), and the lowest in Italy.

Table 18. Families by family type and as a percentage of all households around 1960 and 1985.

		Couple		Lone Parent			Total
		without children	with children	mother	father	total	
AUSTRIA	1985	32.8	57.3	9.8	0.2	9.9	100.0
BELGIUM	1961						
	1981	34.5	55.8	7.7	1.9	9.7	100.0
CANADA	1961	27.4	66.7	4.6	1.3	5.9	100.0
	1986	32.7	54.6	10.4	2.3	12.7	100.0
FINLAND	1960	20.1	65.5	12.5	1.9	14.4	100.0
	1985	26.1	58.5	13.3	2.1	15.6	100.0
HUNGARY	1960	30.8	55.8	12.2	1.2	13.4	100.0
	1984	35.6	51.8	10.3	2.2	12.6	100.0
ITALY	1961						
	1981	24.3	66.7			9.0	100.0
NETHERLANDS	1960	26.6	66.1			7.3	100.0
	1985	32.2	59.0			8.8	100.0
NORWAY	1960	25.3	65.4	6.4	2.9	9.3	100.0
	1987	28.8	54.6	13.9	2.7	16.6	100.0

Table 19. Lone mothers by marital status in France and FRG around 1970 and 1980.

		single divorced/ widowed separated			total
FRANCE	1968	9.2	34.9	55.9	100.0
	1982	15.0	54.0	31.1	100.0
percentage changes		129.2	117.6	-21.6	40.9
FRG	1972	15.2	45.9	38.9	100.0
	1981	14.2	60.0	25.8	100.0
percentage changes		16.0	61.6	-18.3	23.6
NETHERLANDS	1971	2.8	23.1	74.1	100.0
	1981	7.0	41.5	51.5	100.0
percentage changes		281.8	172.5	5.4	51.6

Table 20. Average number of children by family type around 1960 and 1985.

		couple	one-parent family	total
AUSTRIA	1987	1.87	1.43	1.78
BELGIUM	1961	2.11	1.59	2.04
	1981	1.90	1.49	1.87
CANADA	1961	2.70	2.10	2.60
	1986	1.90	1.60	1.80
FINLAND	1960	2.50	1.70	1.90
	1980	1.80	1.50	1.69
FRG	1961	1.88	1.48	1.80
	1985	1.75	1.34	1.69
HUNGARY	1960	1.88	1.57	1.82
	1984	1.67	1.41	1.62
ITALY	1983	2.21	1.75	2.16
NETHERLANDS	1960	2.61	1.89	
	1985	1.96	1.62	1.95

Table 21. Families by number of children around 1960 and 1980 (only families with children).

		number of children		
		1	2	3+
		children all ages		
BELGIUM	1961	46.8	27.5	25.7
	1981	45.6	33.3	21.1
CANADA	1961	28.6	29.2	42.2
	1986	39.0	40.2	20.8
FRG	1985	50.3	35.6	14.1
ITALY	1981	41.0	37.9	21.1
NETHERLANDS	1985	35.2	45.1	19.8
		children under 15		
FRG	1961	50.1	30.9	19.1
	1985	57.9	33.3	8.9
HUNGARY	1960	51.7	31.8	16.5
	1984	50.3	41.3	8.3

Table 22. One-person households as a percentage of all households around 1960, 1970, 1980, and 1985.

	around 1960.00	around 1970.00	around 1980.00	around 1985.00
AUSTRIA	20.00	25.00	26.00	
BELGIUM	17.00	19.00	23.00	
CANADA	9.00	13.00	20.00	22.00
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	14.00	18.00	22.00	
GDR		26.00	27.00	
FRG	21.00	25.00	31.00	34.00
FINLAND	22.00	24.00	27.00	28.00
FRANCE	20.00	22.00	25.00	
HUNGARY	14.00	18.00	20.00	20.00
ITALY	11.00	13.00	14.00	13.00
NETHERLANDS	12.00	17.00	22.00	28.00
NORWAY	18.00	21.00	28.00	
POLAND	16.00	16.00	17.00	
SWEDEN	20.00	25.00	33.00	
unweighted average	16	20	24	

Table 23. One-person households by sex and marital status: the Netherlands, 1960 and 1985.

	1960			1985		
	males	females	both sexes	males	females	both sexes
never married	16.9	26.3	43.2	25.3	25.1	50.4
divorced/separated	4.8	6.2	11.0	9.0	6.4	15.4
widowed	9.6	36.3	45.9	6.2	28.0	34.2
total	31.3	68.8	100.0	40.5	59.5	100.0

Table 23 gives an idea of changes over time in the distribution of one-person households by sex and marital status, through the example of the Netherlands. In 1960, the never married and the widowed represented an almost equal share (43 and 46 per cent, respectively), the rest being divorced or separated. Two-thirds of one-person households were headed by a woman, one-quarter of all one-person households by single women, and two-thirds by widows. The major changes over the 1960-1985 period were strong increases in the share of single and divorced men and a substantial decrease in the proportion of widows, whereas the percentages of both single and divorced women among one-person households have remained approximately the same. As a consequence of these changes, the masculinity ratio rose sharply: from 45 men per 100 women in 1960 to 68 men per 100 women in 1985. The marital composition of one-person households in the

Netherlands was dominated in 1985 by three groups of more or less equal sizes (each about one-quarter of all single households): single women, single men and widows or, in other words, half of all one-person households are headed by single persons and one-third by widowed persons.

Table 24. One-person households by broad age group and marital status: the Netherlands, 1981.

	never divorced/ widowed			total	
	married	separated		absolute	per cent
under 30	247.5	10.1	0.8	258.4	23.8
30-44	120.7	27.5	2.5	150.7	13.9
45-64	91.4	44.8	84.5	220.7	20.3
65-74	42.7	17.0	177.0	236.7	21.8
75 and over	24.7	4.9	190.0	219.6	20.2
total	527.0	104.3	454.8	1086.1	100.0

Table 25. Percentage of widows and widowers not living alone around 1960 and 1980.

	widowers			widows		
	1960.0	1980.0	1985.0	1960.0	1980.0	1985.0
Belgium		10.0	6.0	27.3	20.0	
FRG		37.1	32.1		29.1	
Italy	68.8	54.1		60.3	47.5	
Netherlands	25.3		36.0	35.8		36.0

There is an additional factor to influence the proportion of one-person households headed by a widowed person: as can be seen in Table 25, substantial decreases in the proportion of widowed persons not living alone are observed in some countries (though the Netherlands shows an increase in the percentage of widowers who do not live alone). The increasing proportion of widowed persons who form their own households is also consistent with a more general tendency: the disappearance of multi-generational households. In 1985, multi-generational households represented around 3 per cent of all households in Austria and Hungary, where their incidence has been traditionally high, while they have almost totally disappeared in the Netherlands. Finally, it should be noted that beyond differences in intensity national discrepancies also result from differences in the age structure.

## CONCLUSION

In the recent past, and within a remarkably short period of time, unparalleled changes in nuptiality and divortiality have taken place. The post-war increase and rejuvenation of nuptiality, which was observed in most countries, levelled off in the early 1970s and has been followed by a dramatic drop and a rise in the mean age at marriage. Broadly speaking, first marriages rates have been divided on average by 2 under age 25 and by about 1.5 over 25 in the past 10 or 15 years and first marriages occur one year later in 1985 than in 1980 but still, in almost all countries, at a younger age than in the early 1950s. During the same period, both the number of divorces and the divorce rates have been multiplied by two.

These developments, combined with the fertility fall and, more recently in Western countries, with the fast improvement of mortality at older ages, have considerable impact on the marital composition of the population and on the size and structure of the families and households. Amongst the main consequences are the decrease in the proportion married and the increase in the proportion divorced, the rise in the proportion widowed among women and the decrease among men, the acceleration of the secular decline of the average household size and the increase in the number and proportion of one-person households, the decrease in the average family size and the increase in the number and proportion of one-parent families.

Whether these trends will continue or not in the future is a question which cannot be answered directly because of the complexity of the dynamics of living arrangements. However, much uncertainty arises from the future evolution of nuptiality and divortiality.

On the one hand, the possibility of a stabilization of both nuptiality and divortiality in the near future in "more advanced countries" is suggested by the most recent data. First marriage rates over age 25 seem to be stabilized in many countries and sometimes even slightly increase while under 25, the rapid fall continues. In parallel, a stagnation in divorce rates at certain ages is indicated in a number of countries—especially those where divorce is high—although upward trends still prevail.

On the other hand, the future of nuptiality is strongly dependent on future developments in consensual unions. In a number of countries, the fall and aging of nuptiality is obviously related to the increasing prevalence of consensual unions among young adults: between one-fourth or one-third of couples under 25 is probably a common value. A somewhat similar parallel can also be drawn between the decline in remarriage of divorcees and the increase, although more limited than below 25, in the proportion of paperless marriages at higher ages. But time-trends and national differences in the fertility and nuptiality behaviours of cohabiting people are poorly documented at present. Therefore, it is still very difficult to assess to which extent consensual union can be seen as a transition situation before or after legal marriage or as the second term of an alternative to legal marriage and consequently to anticipate the future.

Finally, it should be pointed out that, even if the overall nuptiality and divortiality levels remain constant, their future impact on living arrangements could be substantially modified if the segmentation of the marriage market due to the increasing supply of divorced partners will continue.

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### Appendix Tables

- Table 1.* Marital composition of the population aged 15 and over for each sex around 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1985.
- Table 2.* Proportion single in selected age groups around 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1985.
- Table 3.* Proportion divorced in selected age groups around 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1980.
- Table 4.* Population aged 65 and over by sex and marital status 1960, 1970, 1980, 1985.
- Table 5.* Age and sex specific first marriage rates around 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1985.
- Table 6.* Remarriage rates of divorcees in selected age groups around 1970, 1980 and 1980.
- Table 7.* Age-sex specific divorce rates around 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1985.

TABLE 1. MARITAL COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION AGED 15 AND OVER FOR EACH SEX AROUND 1960, 1970, 1980 AND 1985  
(total = 100 for each sex)

		MALES				FEMALES			
		SINGLE	MARRIED	WIDOWED	DIVORCED	SINGLE	MARRIED	WIDOWED	DIVORCED
AUSTRIA	1961	29.1	64.4	4.0	2.4	24.9	53.5	18.1	3.5
	1971	27.4	66.1	3.8	2.7	21.9	55.4	18.7	4.0
	1980	31.7	61.4	3.4	3.4	24.5	52.9	17.8	4.8
	1985	32.3	61.1	3.3	3.3	24.6	53.2	17.5	4.7
BELGIUM	1961	24.2	69.8	5.0	1.0	19.7	65.0	13.9	1.3
	1970	25.0	69.2	4.6	1.2	19.4	64.5	14.6	1.5
	1981	26.9	66.8	4.0	2.4	20.1	62.4	14.7	2.7
CANADA	1961	29.9	66.4	3.3	0.4	23.0	66.8	9.7	0.5
	1971	31.6	64.9	2.5	1.0	25.0	63.9	9.8	1.3
	1980	31.5	64.3	2.2	2.0	24.7	62.5	9.9	2.9
	1985	30.0	61.5	2.4	6.0	22.7	57.1	11.9	8.2
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	1961	24.9	69.8	3.5	1.7	18.0	64.3	15.2	2.5
	1970	26.5	67.7	3.4	2.4	18.8	62.5	15.3	3.3
	1980	24.4	68.5	3.4	3.6	15.9	63.2	16.0	4.8
	1985	24.5	67.9	3.2	4.5	15.7	62.6	16.0	5.7
FINLAND	1961	33.6	62.0	3.1	1.4	29.2	55.2	13.2	2.4
	1970	34.3	60.9	2.8	2.0	28.7	55.1	13.0	3.2
	1980	35.0	57.9	2.7	4.4	27.8	52.9	13.7	5.7
	1985	35.8	56.2	2.7	5.3	28.1	51.5	13.7	6.6
FRANCE	1960	27.3	66.4	4.3	1.9	20.7	60.3	16.6	2.5
	1970	29.6	64.7	3.6	2.1	22.2	59.6	15.4	2.7
	1980	29.4	64.9	3.2	2.5	22.6	59.2	14.7	3.5
FRG	1961	26.8	67.9	3.9	1.5	22.7	57.7	17.0	2.6
	1970	24.3	70.4	3.5	1.8	18.9	60.3	17.8	3.0
	1980	30.4	63.7	3.3	2.7	22.2	56.8	17.4	3.7
	1985	33.5	59.8	3.2	3.5	24.4	54.3	16.9	4.4
GDR	1964	18.5	75.6	4.2	1.7	16.1	59.9	19.5	4.5
	1970	21.3	72.6	4.0	2.1	17.2	59.0	19.0	4.9
	1980	24.6	67.8	3.6	4.0	18.3	57.5	17.6	6.5
	1985	25.9	65.3	3.4	5.3	19.0	56.7	16.7	7.7
HUNGARY	1960	23.7	71.5	3.4	1.4	17.3	64.4	15.7	2.6
	1970	24.8	69.7	3.2	2.3	17.3	63.7	15.2	3.8
	1980	22.0	70.6	3.5	3.9	13.7	64.1	16.5	5.7
	1985	23.1	68.0	3.8	5.0	14.2	61.5	17.4	6.9
ITALY	1961	34.4	62.1	3.5	0.0	29.1	58.0	12.9	0.0
	1971	32.3	64.2	3.4	0.1	26.1	60.5	13.4	0.1
	1981	30.8	65.8	3.1	0.3	24.5	61.1	14.0	0.4
NETHERLANDS	1960	30.7	64.9	3.6	0.8	26.9	63.0	8.8	1.3
	1970	29.7	66.3	3.1	1.0	24.2	64.3	10.0	1.5
	1980	31.3	63.4	2.7	2.6	24.4	61.3	10.9	3.4
	1985	33.5	60.0	2.6	3.9	26.4	57.6	11.2	4.8
NORWAY	1960	31.0	63.9	4.0	1.1	26.0	62.2	10.1	1.7
	1970	30.7	64.3	3.5	1.5	24.3	62.4	11.2	2.1
	1980	31.5	62.2	3.4	2.9	24.0	59.8	12.6	3.6
	1985	34.3	58.5	3.3	3.9	26.2	56.1	13.0	4.7
POLAND	1960	24.9	71.7	2.5	0.8	21.1	62.5	14.8	1.5
	1970	31.3	65.3	2.2	1.3	24.7	59.7	13.4	2.2
	1980	28.1	67.6	2.5	1.8	20.6	62.6	14.0	2.8
	1984	26.6	68.9	2.7	1.8	18.8	63.7	14.7	2.9
SWEDEN	1960	31.6	61.9	4.3	2.3	26.2	60.7	10.1	3.0
	1970	32.0	61.0	3.8	3.2	24.9	59.9	11.1	4.1
	1980	35.9	54.3	3.6	6.2	27.6	52.5	12.5	7.4
	1985	38.7	50.4	3.5	7.3	30.0	48.4	12.9	8.7
AVERAGE	1960	27.9	67.0	3.8	1.3	22.9	61.0	14.0	2.1
	1970	28.6	66.2	3.4	1.7	22.4	60.8	14.1	2.7
	1980	29.5	64.2	3.2	3.0	22.2	59.2	14.5	4.1
	1985	30.7	61.6	3.1	4.5	22.7	56.6	14.7	5.9

TABLE 2. PROPORTION SINGLE IN SELECTED AGE GROUPS AROUND 1960, 1970, 1980 AND 1985

		MALES				FEMALES			
		1960	1970	1980	1985	1960	1970	1980	1985
AUSTRIA	20-24	81.8	74.2	80.6	86.7	58.0	45.0	56.5	67.2
	25-29	38.8	33.6	43.5	47.9	24.2	18.6	26.2	29.6
	30-34	18.4	17.7	23.4	23.6	15.9	12.3	14.1	13.7
	35-39	11.0	11.8	14.3	13.7	14.4	10.6	10.0	8.4
BELGIUM	20-24	70.7	64.5	71.4		43.5	40.1	47.2	
	25-29	26.6	22.0	26.8		14.5	11.7	15.3	
	30-34	14.7	12.5	13.4		9.9	7.3	7.8	
	35-39	11.0	10.1	9.6		9.4	6.6	5.8	
CANADA	20-24	69.5	67.6	71.1	75.6	40.5	43.5	50.0	58.5
	25-29	29.6	25.6	31.1	38.7	15.4	15.4	19.3	26.4
	30-34	17.3	13.3	14.6	20.8	10.5	9.1	10.2	13.5
	35-39	13.0	10.3	9.3	10.1	9.2	7.3	7.2	8.1
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	20-24	74.1	66.4	68.0	70.8	32.8	34.8	33.3	37.1
	25-29	25.8	21.9	23.7	26.6	10.0	10.1	10.9	11.5
	30-34	12.0	11.2	11.6	13.5	6.9	5.4	6.2	6.7
	35-39	8.1	7.9	8.4	9.2	6.5	4.2	4.5	4.9
GDR	20-24	59.9	67.0	66.9	75.3	33.3	34.4	38.1	50.2
	25-29	17.9	19.4	23.3	30.4	12.6	9.4	11.8	15.6
	30-34	6.1	8.6	10.7	14.3	9.5	7.2	6.4	7.9
	35-39	3.1	4.4	7.2	8.8	10.5	7.4	4.8	5.2
FRG	20-24	79.4	74.7	83.7	89.6	54.8	41.6	58.9	71.9
	25-29	35.9	32.4	45.7	56.0	21.0	14.2	23.3	32.9
	30-34	13.8	15.6	23.3	29.9	13.4	8.9	9.7	15.8
	35-39	7.5	9.1	7.2	18.5	12.8	8.2	4.8	7.9
FINLAND	20-24	74.9	71.6	85.2	89.5	54.1	52.5	67.8	76.1
	25-29	36.7	32.0	46.9	56.4	23.9	23.0	30.9	38.8
	30-34	22.3	20.3	24.3	31.5	16.3	14.4	15.6	20.3
	35-39	15.6	16.1	16.1	19.6	14.3	12.0	11.3	12.7
FRANCE	20-24	79.1	68.6	75.0		49.3	45.6	51.6	
	25-29	34.4	29.0	31.8		19.1	16.7	20.9	
	30-34	19.0	19.2	15.9		12.1	10.7	11.3	
	35-39	13.6	14.5	11.2		10.0	8.9	8.2	
HUNGARY	20-24	70.8	67.4	64.6	70.1	31.4	32.1	30.1	34.8
	25-29	22.9	22.8	25.8	29.8	11.2	10.4	11.2	10.9
	30-34	10.4	11.0	11.8	15.6	8.5	5.9	6.5	6.7
	35-39	6.8	6.3	8.5	9.5	7.6	4.5	4.8	5.1
ITALY	20-24	90.9	86.6	87.6		65.6	56.5	58.8	
	25-29	55.2	45.7	46.0		31.1	23.2	23.4	
	30-34	26.1	22.2	18.9		19.4	14.5	11.8	
	35-39	15.2	15.1	11.7		15.9	12.8	9.2	
NETHERLANDS	20-24	85.9	72.8	82.3	89.1	63.1	47.7	57.1	70.8
	25-29	39.3	25.9	36.2	49.8	21.4	14.1	20.2	30.9
	30-34	15.7	14.0	16.9	23.4	12.0	8.3	9.3	13.8
	35-39	9.9	10.6	10.5	12.6	10.6	7.6	6.1	7.6
NORWAY	20-24	78.9	73.1	83.3	90.2	49.7	47.6	60.6	74.2
	25-29	40.7	31.6	40.9	55.0	17.9	16.0	22.6	33.8
	30-34	23.5	16.7	18.6	26.4	11.6	7.9	9.7	14.6
	35-39	17.7	13.6	12.2	14.5	10.9	6.5	6.6	7.8
POLAND	20-24	72.1	75.7	74.5	75.6	41.1	46.6	45.9	46.0
	25-29	28.6	27.6	27.9	31.1	15.7	14.1	15.1	15.1
	30-34	11.4	13.3	12.8	15.0	11.1	7.4	8.5	8.9
	35-39	6.2	7.5	8.8	9.3	10.2	6.2	6.1	6.5
SWEDEN	20-24	81.1	82.7	94.2	96.4	55.8	59.4	82.6	89.0
	25-29	40.6	40.3	67.2	76.8	20.4	22.8	47.4	59.2
	30-34	23.8	20.5	37.5	49.2	11.9	11.4	22.6	33.7
	35-39	18.2	15.5	21.1	29.9	10.1	8.3	12.0	18.4
AVERAGE	20-24	76.4	72.4	77.7	82.6	48.1	44.8	52.8	61.4
	25-29	33.8	29.3	36.9	45.3	18.5	15.7	21.3	27.7
	30-34	16.8	15.4	18.1	23.9	12.1	9.3	10.7	14.2
	35-39	11.2	10.9	11.1	12.9	10.9	7.9	7.3	7.7

TABLE 3. PROPORTION DIVORCED IN SELECTED AGE GROUPS AROUND 1960, 1970, 1980 AND 1985

		MALES				FEMALES			
		1960	1970	1980	1985	1960	1970	1980	1985
AUSTRIA	25-29	1.5	2.9	3.2	2.2	2.5	4.5	4.8	3.6
	35-39	3.1	3.3	6.4	5.3	4.9	4.4	7.8	8.8
	45-49	4.3	3.7	4.6	4.9	5.4	5.9	5.7	7.0
	55-59	3.7	3.9	3.8	3.4	4.6	5.4	6.3	5.8
BELGIUM	25-29	0.4	0.7	1.6		0.8	1.3	2.8	
	35-39	1.3	1.7	4.3		1.8	2.2	5.0	
	45-49	1.8	1.9	3.9		2.3	2.3	4.0	
	55-59	1.6	1.8	2.8		1.8	2.0	3.0	
CANADA	25-29	0.2	0.9	1.5	6.0	0.4	1.5	2.8	7.9
	35-39	0.4	1.5	3.3	9.6	0.7	2.1	5.3	13.5
	45-49	0.6	1.6	3.6	8.7	0.9	2.0	5.0	12.1
	55-59	0.6	1.5	3.1	6.2	0.7	1.7	3.7	8.9
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	25-29	1.2	2.3	2.9	3.3	2.3	3.8	4.4	5.3
	35-39	2.5	3.4	5.6	7.2	3.5	4.7	7.3	8.7
	45-49	2.7	3.9	5.7	7.1	3.7	5.3	7.3	8.3
	55-59	2.3	3.4	4.8	5.5	3.1	4.2	6.3	7.1
FINLAND	25-29	0.8	1.4	2.6	2.1	1.4	2.2	4.4	3.7
	35-39	1.8	2.7	7.4	8.3	3.0	4.0	8.7	10.0
	45-49	2.5	3.3	7.3	9.8	4.1	5.0	8.7	11.4
	55-59	2.3	3.3	5.8	7.6	3.7	5.1	7.1	8.8
FRANCE	25-29	0.5	1.0	2.1		1.1	1.7	3.6	
	35-39	2.2	2.2	4.2		3.3	2.9	5.7	
	45-49	3.9	3.3	3.7		4.8	4.3	5.0	
	55-59	3.1	4.2	3.2		3.2	5.1	4.2	
FRG	25-29	0.9	1.6	5.7	2.4	1.6	2.7	7.1	3.9
	35-39	1.7	2.3	7.2	6.7	3.3	3.1	9.5	7.4
	45-49	2.6	2.2	5.4	6.1	4.3	4.3	8.2	6.4
	55-59	2.4	2.7	2.9	3.6	3.5	4.2	7.9	4.8
GDR	25-29	2.1	3.3	5.7	6.8	3.3	4.5	7.1	9.1
	35-39	1.9	3.0	7.2	9.5	5.2	5.2	9.5	11.7
	45-49	1.9	2.2	5.4	8.0	7.4	7.0	8.2	10.3
	55-59	2.1	2.1	2.9	4.3	6.5	7.4	7.9	8.2
HUNGARY	25-29	1.1	2.3	3.3	4.1	2.6	4.0	5.6	6.7
	35-39	1.8	3.5	6.2	8.2	3.4	5.4	8.2	10.2
	45-49	2.0	3.3	6.0	8.1	3.7	5.6	8.4	9.7
	55-59	1.9	2.8	4.5	5.7	3.2	4.8	6.9	8.4
ITALY	25-29	0.0	0.0	0.1		0.0	0.0	0.1	
	35-39	0.0	0.1	0.3		0.0	0.1	0.6	
	45-49	0.0	0.1	0.5		0.0	0.1	0.7	
	55-59	0.0	0.1	0.5		0.0	0.1	0.7	
NETHERLANDS	25-29	0.4	0.7	2.2	2.3	0.6	1.2	3.4	4.2
	35-39	0.9	1.2	4.2	6.8	1.4	1.7	5.5	8.2
	45-49	1.4	1.5	4.0	6.8	2.2	2.2	4.7	7.8
	55-59	1.4	1.6	3.4	5.0	2.0	2.4	4.1	5.4
NORWAY	25-29	0.6	1.0	2.0	1.8	0.9	1.5	3.5	3.7
	35-39	1.2	1.7	4.8	6.9	1.7	2.2	5.8	8.3
	45-49	1.7	2.2	5.0	7.9	2.4	2.8	5.1	8.5
	55-59	1.8	2.4	3.8	5.4	2.6	3.2	4.2	5.4
POLAND	25-29	0.6	1.1	1.1	0.9	1.4	2.3	2.2	2.1
	35-39	1.0	2.1	2.9	2.6	2.1	3.6	4.7	4.5
	45-49	1.1	2.1			2.2	3.6		
	55-59	1.2	1.7			1.8	2.8		
SWEDEN	25-29	1.2	1.8	2.4	1.9	2.0	3.0	4.6	4.1
	35-39	2.9	4.3	10.1	9.7	3.8	5.4	12.5	13.2
	45-49	3.5	5.2	11.7	15.4	4.5	6.5	12.7	16.8
	55-59	3.1	4.9	8.7	11.8	3.9	5.8	9.5	12.1
AVERAGE	25-29	0.8	1.5	2.6	3.1	1.5	2.4	4.0	4.9
	35-39	1.6	2.4	5.3	7.3	2.7	3.4	6.9	9.5
	45-49	2.1	2.6	5.1	8.3	3.4	4.1	6.4	9.8
	55-59	2.0	2.6	3.9	5.8	2.9	3.9	5.5	7.5

TABLE 4. POPULATION AGED 65 AND OVER BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS 1960, 1970, 1980, 1985  
(total = 100 for each sex)

			MALES				FEMALES			
			SINGLE	MARRIED	WIDOWED	DIVORCED	SINGLE	MARRIED	WIDOWED	DIVORCED
AUSTRIA	1961	65+	7.3	69.8	20.8	2.1	14.6	28.2	54.7	2.5
		65-74	7.2	76.7	13.6	2.4	14.7	35.7	46.6	3.0
		75+	7.4	55.3	35.7	1.5	14.3	14.1	70.1	1.5
	1971	65+	6.8	72.0	18.6	2.6	13.4	28.1	55.3	3.2
		65-74	6.9	77.7	12.5	2.9	12.9	36.0	47.2	3.8
		75+	6.6	57.7	33.8	1.8	14.2	14.0	69.5	2.3
	1980	65+	6.4	72.8	17.8	3.0	11.8	27.3	56.7	4.1
		65-74	6.3	79.5	10.9	3.3	11.2	36.5	47.3	5.0
		75+	6.6	60.3	30.7	2.4	12.8	14.2	70.2	2.8
BELGIUM	1961	65+	7.0	66.7	25.4	0.8	11.4	37.8	49.7	1.1
		65-74	6.7	75.9	16.5	1.0	11.0	47.4	40.4	1.2
		75+	7.6	48.9	42.9	0.6	12.1	21.0	65.9	1.0
	1970	65+	6.9	69.1	22.8	1.1	10.0	37.8	50.9	1.3
		65-74	7.1	76.4	15.2	1.3	9.2	47.6	41.8	1.4
		75+	6.4	53.0	39.8	0.7	11.5	20.7	66.8	1.0
	1981	65+	7.2	70.4	20.6	1.8	9.0	36.4	52.6	2.0
		65-74	7.4	77.9	12.6	2.1	8.3	48.7	40.6	2.3
		75+	6.7	56.6	35.4	1.3	9.8	20.4	68.2	1.6
CANADA	1961	65+	10.8	68.5	20.4	0.4	10.2	41.2	48.4	0.2
		65-74	10.8	75.0	13.7	0.4	10.1	50.3	39.4	0.3
		75+	10.6	56.6	32.6	0.3	10.4	25.7	63.9	0.1
	1971	65+	10.6	71.8	16.7	0.9	10.7	39.2	49.4	0.7
		65-74	10.8	78.2	9.9	1.1	10.6	49.7	38.7	1.0
		75+	10.2	60.3	28.8	0.6	10.8	23.5	65.3	0.4
	1980	65+	8.7	75.3	14.3	1.7	9.7	39.8	49.1	1.4
		65-74	8.4	81.1	8.5	2.0	9.2	51.7	37.2	1.9
		75+	9.3	63.8	25.8	1.1	10.3	22.0	67.0	0.7
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	1961	65+	3.8	72.0	22.8	1.4	8.5	30.2	59.6	1.6
		65-74	3.8	79.3	15.3	1.6	9.0	37.8	51.2	1.9
		75+	3.6	54.9	40.5	1.0	7.6	14.1	77.3	0.9
	1970	65+	4.2	73.9	19.7	1.9	8.0	32.3	57.2	2.3
		65-74	4.2	79.5	14.1	2.1	7.6	40.5	49.1	2.7
		75+	4.1	57.9	35.7	1.3	8.8	15.0	74.2	1.6
	1980	65+	4.1	73.7	19.3	2.9	6.2	31.7	58.6	3.4
		65-74	4.2	79.5	13.0	3.2	5.5	41.4	49.0	4.0
		75+	3.8	59.3	34.8	1.9	7.3	15.3	74.8	2.5
	1985	65+	4.1	73.2	19.6	3.1	5.6	29.5	61.2	3.8
		65-74	4.1	80.0	12.3	3.6	4.9	40.2	50.2	4.6
		75+	4.0	61.8	32.0	2.1	6.3	16.4	74.4	2.8
FINLAND	1961	65+	9.7	65.9	22.8	1.6	17.9	25.3	54.8	2.0
		65-74	10.0	72.2	16.1	1.7	18.5	31.5	47.5	2.4
		75+	9.0	49.4	40.5	1.1	16.6	12.3	69.9	1.2
	1970	65+	9.4	69.1	19.4	2.2	18.2	27.5	51.1	3.2
		65-74	9.4	74.5	13.7	2.4	18.0	34.2	44.1	3.7
		75+	9.2	53.4	35.9	1.6	18.7	12.6	66.5	2.1
	1980	65+	8.2	71.1	17.1	3.5	15.6	29.0	50.2	5.1
		65-74	8.2	76.6	11.4	3.9	14.3	37.3	42.6	5.7
		75+	8.4	57.8	31.2	2.6	17.9	14.4	63.5	4.1
	1985	65+	7.7	71.0	17.2	4.1	14.2	29.1	51.0	5.7
		65-74	7.7	77.0	10.7	4.6	12.5	39.2	41.8	6.5
		75+	7.8	59.8	29.4	3.1	16.5	15.5	63.2	4.8

TABLE 4. POPULATION AGED 65 AND OVER BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS 1960, 1970, 1980, 1985  
(total = 100 for each sex)

		MALES				FEMALES				
		SINGLE	MARRIED	WIDOWED	DIVORCED	SINGLE	MARRIED	WIDOWED	DIVORCED	
FRANCE	1960	65+	6.0	69.4	22.8	1.8	10.7	30.0	57.5	1.9
		65-74	6.4	76.3	15.4	1.9	11.2	39.3	47.4	2.1
		75+	5.4	56.4	36.7	1.5	9.7	15.3	73.3	1.6
	1970	65+	6.6	71.8	18.9	2.7	10.4	33.3	53.6	2.8
		65-74	7.1	77.1	13.0	2.8	10.3	44.4	42.3	3.1
		75+	5.3	59.3	33.0	2.4	10.6	16.9	70.2	2.3
	1980	65+	7.7	73.2	16.9	2.2	9.4	35.3	52.4	3.0
		65-74	8.3	78.8	10.5	2.5	8.6	48.1	39.7	3.5
		75+	6.7	63.3	28.5	1.5	10.3	19.7	67.7	2.3
FRG	1970	65+	4.3	75.1	19.0	1.7	11.7	31.6	54.2	2.6
		65-74	4.4	81.5	12.2	1.9	11.6	39.5	46.0	2.9
		75+	4.1	58.9	35.9	1.1	11.9	16.4	69.8	1.9
	1980	65+	2.4	76.1	17.8	2.0	9.9	30.1	56.8	3.3
		65-74	1.3	83.0	10.8	2.3	8.8	39.2	48.1	4.0
		75+	4.5	62.9	31.2	1.4	11.5	16.1	70.1	2.3
	1985	65+	3.9	75.3	18.8	2.0	9.2	28.3	58.8	3.7
		65-74	3.6	83.8	10.3	2.4	8.3	39.8	47.4	4.5
		75+	4.3	63.8	30.4	1.6	10.2	16.0	71.0	2.8
GDR	1964	65+	2.3	75.6	20.7	1.5	9.0	33.4	54.3	3.3
		65-74	2.3	84.3	11.8	1.6	9.3	41.6	45.2	3.8
		75+	2.1	58.0	38.7	1.2	8.3	17.3	72.2	2.2
	1970	65+	2.3	76.8	19.2	1.7	8.6	32.7	54.6	4.2
		65-69	2.4	87.1	8.5	2.0	7.8	46.3	40.4	5.5
		70+	2.2	69.4	27.0	1.5	9.0	25.0	62.6	3.5
	1980	65+	1.9	75.7	20.5	1.9	6.7	29.6	57.7	5.9
		65-74	1.8	84.3	11.7	2.2	5.9	38.9	48.4	6.9
		75+	2.1	61.0	35.4	1.5	8.1	15.7	71.7	4.5
	1985	65+	1.7	74.1	22.2	2.0	6.5	26.3	60.9	6.3
		65-74	1.5	84.6	11.6	2.3	6.1	37.1	49.4	7.4
		75+	1.9	61.7	34.8	1.6	6.9	15.0	72.9	5.2
HUNGARY	1970	65+	3.6	75.8	18.7	1.8	6.6	32.9	57.7	2.7
		65-74	3.9	81.4	12.7	2.0	6.8	41.8	48.3	3.2
		75+	3.1	60.9	34.7	1.3	6.4	14.9	77.0	1.7
	1980	65+	3.9	75.2	18.3	2.5	6.4	32.2	57.7	3.7
		65-74	4.0	81.3	11.9	2.9	6.2	41.6	47.9	4.4
		75+	3.7	61.4	33.2	1.7	6.8	15.7	74.9	2.6
	1985	65+	3.6	72.6	20.9	2.8	6.0	28.1	61.6	4.3
		65-74	3.5	80.6	12.5	3.4	5.6	38.8	50.1	5.4
		75+	3.9	59.2	35.1	1.9	6.5	14.1	76.5	2.9
ITALY	1961	65+	6.7	70.9	22.4	0.0	12.7	34.4	52.8	0.0
		65-74	6.6	78.5	14.9	0.0	13.2	42.8	44.0	0.0
		75+	7.0	56.3	36.7	0.0	11.9	18.5	69.6	0.0
	1971	65+	10.7	70.0	19.2	0.1	15.8	34.2	50.0	0.0
		65-74	11.2	76.2	12.5	0.1	16.1	43.5	40.3	0.0
		75+	9.7	56.1	34.2	0.0	15.1	18.1	66.7	0.0
	1981	65+	6.6	76.6	16.6	0.3	12.7	36.0	51.1	0.3
		65-74	6.8	82.6	10.2	0.3	12.3	46.6	40.7	0.3
		75+	6.1	63.5	30.3	0.2	13.2	19.3	67.3	0.1

TABLE 4. POPULATION AGED 65 AND OVER BY SEX AND MARITAL STATUS 1960, 1970, 1980, 1985  
(total = 100 for each sex)

			MALES				FEMALES			
			SINGLE	MARRIED	WIDOWED	DIVORCED	SINGLE	MARRIED	WIDOWED	DIVORCED
NETHERLANDS	1961	65+	7.6	68.3	23.2	1.0	13.0	43.9	41.5	1.6
		65-74	7.2	77.9	13.8	1.1	12.7	53.5	32.0	1.8
		75+	8.2	49.3	41.7	0.7	13.7	25.8	59.3	1.3
	1970	65+	6.9	72.1	20.0	1.1	12.2	42.4	43.6	1.9
		65-74	7.0	81.0	10.7	1.3	11.7	52.3	33.9	2.1
		75+	6.7	55.6	37.0	0.7	12.9	25.3	60.3	1.5
	1980	65+	6.5	74.2	17.1	2.2	11.2	39.5	46.4	3.0
		65-74	6.4	81.8	9.3	2.5	10.5	51.1	35.0	3.4
		75+	6.6	60.7	31.0	1.7	12.1	23.2	62.3	2.4
	1985	65+	6.0	75.0	16.2	2.9	10.2	38.4	47.8	3.6
		65-74	5.8	82.1	8.8	3.3	9.1	51.8	35.0	4.1
		75+	6.3	62.8	28.7	2.2	11.6	22.3	63.1	2.9
NORWAY	1961	65+	12.7	63.9	22.1	1.4	21.2	36.6	40.5	1.8
		65-74	13.0	71.9	13.6	1.5	21.2	45.7	31.0	2.1
		75+	11.9	48.9	38.1	1.1	21.0	21.5	56.2	1.2
	1970	65+	12.5	67.6	18.1	1.8	19.9	37.0	40.4	2.7
		65-74	12.8	74.9	10.4	1.9	19.0	46.6	31.4	3.0
		75+	11.9	54.1	32.5	1.5	21.4	21.5	54.8	2.3
	1981	65+	11.6	69.8	16.3	2.2	15.7	37.7	43.5	3.1
		65-74	11.4	76.7	9.3	2.6	13.1	50.2	33.4	3.4
		75+	12.0	57.5	29.0	1.6	19.2	20.9	57.1	2.7
	1985	65+	11.0	70.7	15.7	2.6	13.2	38.4	45.0	3.4
		65-74	10.7	77.2	9.0	3.1	10.2	52.2	33.7	3.9
		75+	11.5	59.5	27.2	1.8	16.9	21.4	58.9	2.8
SWEDEN	1960	65+	12.9	61.9	23.0	2.2	20.7	35.4	40.8	3.1
		65-74	13.3	69.8	14.6	2.4	20.5	43.9	32.3	3.3
		75+	12.0	46.8	39.3	1.9	21.1	20.3	56.0	2.6
	1970	65+	13.2	65.2	18.8	2.9	18.7	36.7	40.9	3.8
		65-74	13.6	72.1	11.0	3.3	17.5	46.8	31.6	4.1
		75+	12.3	51.6	34.0	2.2	20.5	20.1	56.1	3.3
	1980	65+	12.5	66.9	16.0	4.6	14.0	38.2	42.5	5.3
		65-74	12.5	72.7	9.3	5.4	11.3	50.8	31.6	6.2
		75+	12.5	56.2	28.2	3.1	17.6	20.9	57.5	4.0
	1985	65+	11.8	67.1	15.5	5.6	11.6	38.4	43.6	6.4
		65-74	11.6	72.8	8.9	6.7	8.7	52.4	31.2	7.7
		75+	12.0	58.0	26.1	3.9	14.9	22.1	58.2	4.8

TABLE 5. AGE AND SEX SPECIFIC FIRST MARRIAGE RATES AROUND 1960, 1970, 1980 AND 1985

		MALES			FEMALES		
		1970	1980	1985	1970	1980	1985
AUSTRIA	UNDER 20	6.5	6.2	3.7	50.8	33.0	18.5
	20-24	106.4	79.1	53.1	175.0	130.7	93.2
	25-29	136.7	106.0	95.7	120.5	90.6	93.9
	30-34	91.7	62.6	68.0	65.8	42.6	50.8
BELGIUM	UNDER 20	10.5	6.9		51.7	38.5	
	20-24	184.8	125.9		288.3	188.7	
	25-29	216.6	134.2		194.4	117.3	
	30-34	82.5	53.6		73.8	45.4	
CANADA	UNDER 20	13.0	6.8	3.5	54.2	30.1	18.2
	20-24	157.2	97.8	78.5	219.5	150.7	128.2
	25-29	185.2	139.8	136.2	146.7	133.7	135.4
	30-34	102.7	90.1	87.0	73.9	67.0	74.9
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	UNDER 20	11.2	11.2	14.5	69.5	68.9	70.2
	20-24	170.4	147.3	144.1	276.6	267.6	261.1
	25-29	200.0	166.5	160.0	154.2	151.5	145.0
	30-34	88.8	64.2	63.0	69.8	62.9	59.2
GDR	UNDER 20	15.8	12.4	6.1	71.8	54.3	31.4
	20-24	189.7	147.6	105.9	328.3	246.8	188.8
	25-29	224.4	149.8	137.3	157.9	111.3	118.6
	30-34	102.1	77.4	66.6	64.1	48.6	51.6
FRG	UNDER 20	8.3	5.0	2.2	63.5	26.3	13.2
	20-24	130.3	64.5	41.1	248.8	122.0	83.8
	25-29	170.2	104.0	88.9	176.1	107.5	107.4
	30-34	99.0	65.4	65.1	81.2	60.0	56.8
FINLAND	UNDER 20	11.9	3.8	2.5	45.3	18.5	11.9
	20-24	133.0	59.6	40.9	189.1	101.0	71.7
	25-29	151.6	97.5	83.0	133.2	110.7	92.1
	30-34	74.4	58.1	51.6	65.6	54.2	51.1
FRANCE	UNDER 20	11.6	6.0		50.7	33.8	
	20-24	159.5	103.6		228.4	149.0	
	25-29	148.7	118.8		140.2	105.3	
	30-34	60.5	63.0		57.3	53.8	
HUNGARY	UNDER 20	12.6	18.0	14.5	88.5	94.4	74.2
	20-24	171.0	131.3	125.5	277.5	244.7	230.8
	25-29	230.0	158.8	139.6	161.5	152.0	141.2
	30-34	102.5	63.4	58.5	77.3	67.9	65.4
ITALY	UNDER 20	4.7	2.5		42.7	28.9	
	20-24	74.7	57.6		178.9	127.5	
	25-29	199.8	150.2		187.9	142.3	
	30-34	135.7	110.6		81.4	70.8	
NETHERLANDS	UNDER 20	9.1	2.0	0.9	42.7	18.9	8.0
	20-24	158.0	82.0	47.4	276.9	153.6	93.9
	25-29	240.9	126.2	93.3	208.7	108.5	93.5
	30-34	89.3	56.0	59.1	75.7	48.3	51.8
NORWAY	UNDER 20	10.0	3.3	1.6	46.7	21.1	10.1
	20-24	131.2	65.0	38.6	227.5	120.8	77.1
	25-29	174.7	112.5	84.2	172.1	118.0	98.8
	30-34	93.8	69.1	61.3	86.1	61.7	60.8
POLAND	UNDER 20	5.0	6.1	7.6	44.7	42.8	46.3
	20-24	138.7	130.2	126.0	221.2	234.9	234.2
	25-29	225.1	177.5	160.9	162.6	160.9	171.5
	30-34	123.1	77.2	70.3	77.5	67.6	71.1
SWEDEN	UNDER 20	2.2	0.8	0.7	17.0	5.4	3.9
	20-24	65.8	23.3	16.5	121.5	52.8	37.8
	25-29	105.8	64.4	53.0	118.5	81.0	71.6
	30-34	61.1	57.2	52.9	57.3	53.2	51.6
AVERAGE	UNDER 20	9.5	6.5	5.3	52.8	36.8	27.8
	20-24	140.8	93.9	74.3	232.7	163.6	136.4
	25-29	186.4	129.0	112.0	159.6	120.7	115.4
	30-34	93.4	69.1	63.9	71.9	57.4	58.6

TABLE 6. REMARRIAGE RATES OF DIVORCEES IN SELECTED AGE GROUPS AROUND 1970, 1980 AND 1985

		MALES			FEMALES		
		1970	1980	1985	1970	1980	1985
AUSTRIA	20-24	173.7	124.9	85.2	164.5	124	118.4
	25-29	181.6	127.3	102.9	127.8	112.7	100.1
	30-34	152.1	115.9	93.2	109.1	83.2	72.6
BELGIUM	20-24	268.9	199.7		208.6	192.3	
	25-29	271.3	179.5		200.6	154.9	
	30-34	190.5	124		130.8	93.1	
CANADA	20-24	327.6	269.4		369.2	318.2	
	25-29	408.8	349.9		284.7	249.9	
	30-34	351.1	308.9		203.6	166.2	
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	20-24	361.1	293.1	299.2	277.5	284.7	294.4
	25-29	304.5	246.9	220.4	192.1	183.3	164
	30-34	200.1	157.1	133.9	114.8	111.9	97.4
GDR	20-24	295.4	144.2	104.9	282	185.8	160.3
	25-29	298.8	164.8	139.3	197.9	146.7	137.1
	30-34	241.7	147.1	125.2	130.2	106.7	98.1
FRG	20-24	237.2	169.4	126.7	250.8	241.4	194.1
	25-29	243.9	181.4	132.5	202.5	187.6	164.7
	30-34	200.2	151.6	127.2	149.1	126.4	117.6
FINLAND	20-24	262.8	85.1	95.9	207	106.3	109.7
	25-29	211	104.2	91.2	148.2	95.2	97.8
	30-34	146	80.9	71	83	67.4	62.9
FRANCE	20-24	273.5	147.8		216.4	132.2	
	25-29	219.8	147.7		150.8	109	
	30-34	143.3	125.6		106.6	75.3	
HUNGARY	20-24	373.7	249.1	218	331.8	222.5	221.2
	25-29	401.7	243.1	191.8	245.8	158.9	140.4
	30-34	261.2	154.6	117.3	143	98.3	82.9
ITALY	20-24		158.1			113.5	
	25-29		121.4			114.8	
	30-34		202.4			94	
NETHERLANDS	20-24	253.6	122.6	83.7	328.9	144.2	111.2
	25-29	299	118.5	91.4	249	109.3	100.3
	30-34	252.3	104	86.9	153.9	79.4	73.7
NORWAY	20-24	345.8	131.1	73.5	281.7	144.1	121.4
	25-29	263.7	143.1	96.6	226.4	124.1	94
	30-34	207.4	125.8	84.7	141.4	78.2	68.5
POLAND	20-24	214.7	236.7	361	130.3	203.8	212.1
	25-29	270.6	217.8	289.4	125.5	123.7	148.9
	30-34	199.9	153	184.6	82.4	70.6	82.3
SWEDEN	20-24	148.5	67.9	60.7	156.9	84.9	82
	25-29	132.7	77.4	70.8	124.1	87.6	81.7
	30-34	101.5	69.2	69.9	83.2	64.1	69.2
AVERAGE	20-24	272	171.4	150.9	246.6	178.4	162.5
	25-29	269.8	173.1	142.6	190.4	139.8	122.9
	30-34	203.6	144.3	109.4	125.5	93.9	82.5

TABLE 7. AGE-SEX SPECIFIC DIVORCE RATES (per 1000's) AROUND 1960, 1970, 1980 AND 1985

		MALES				FEMALES			
		1960	1970	1980	1985	1960	1970	1980	1985
AUSTRIA	15-19			10.6	26.6			20.8	40.4
	20-24			25.3	33.9			22.1	27.8
	25-29			18.8	22.1			16.4	18.8
	30-34			15.6	15.8			13.4	14.0
	35-39			12.6	13.6			10.4	12.1
	40-44			8.3	11.2			6.6	9.2
	45-49			5.3	7.0			3.6	5.3
	50-54			3.4	3.9			2.6	2.6
	55-59			2.2	2.4			1.7	1.8
	60+			0.9	1.0			0.9	0.9
BELGIUM	15-19	0.5	0.3	0.0		0.5	1.0	1.8	
	20-24	1.2	1.9	5.1		2.3	3.4	8.0	
	25-29	3.3	5.3	12.1		4.0	5.6	13.6	
	30-34	3.7	5.2	12.7		3.5	5.0	11.4	
	35-39	3.4	4.5	10.7		3.1	4.0	9.4	
	40-44	2.5	3.6	7.1		2.1	2.8	5.8	
	45-49	1.8	2.1	4.6		1.4	1.9	3.7	
	50-54	1.0	1.5	3.1		1.0	1.2	2.3	
	55-59	0.5	1.0	1.9		0.5	0.7	1.7	
	60+	0.2	0.3	0.9		0.1	0.2	0.8	
CANADA	15-19			1.8	1.1			3.6	2.6
	20-24			10.0	8.7			13.8	12.8
	25-29			18.2	17.6			19.3	20.1
	30-34			18.1	21.0			16.4	19.3
	35-39			14.9	18.6			13.0	16.5
	40-44			12.2	15.9			10.4	13.4
	45-49			9.3	6.3			7.7	5.0
	50-54								
	55-59								
	60+								
CZECHOSLOVAKIA	15-19	3.9	4.7	4.8	10.4	5.9	8.1	10.8	13.1
	20-24	9.7	15.3	19.3	20.1	9.4	16.4	19.7	20.9
	25-29	9.1	15.7	17.6	18.7	8.4	13.7	16.1	18.2
	30-34	7.9	11.8	14.7	17.4	7.1	8.9	12.9	15.3
	35-39	6.8	9.0	12.2	14.6	6.3	7.4	10.6	12.9
	40-44	6.5	7.0	9.3	11.8	5.3	6.1	7.5	9.8
	45-49	4.6	5.6	7.1	7.9	3.5	4.4	5.2	5.7
	50-54	3.2	4.1	4.5	5.0	2.2	3.0	3.1	3.1
	55-59	1.8	2.6	2.9	2.9	1.3	1.8	1.9	1.9
	60+	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.2	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.9
GDR	15-19	27.0	8.7			17.5	12.0		
	20-24	22.0	19.6			19.4	18.2		
	25-29	14.0	15.9			12.1	14.0		
	30-34	9.0	11.2			8.0	9.9		
	35-39	7.0	8.0			6.3	7.2		
	40-44	5.8	6.1			5.1	5.4		
	45-49	4.7	4.2			4.2	3.6		
	50-54	3.8	3.3			3.0	2.5		
	55-59	2.7	2.2			1.8	1.6		
	60+	1.3	1.0			0.9	0.7		
FRG	15-19		1.1	2.3	7.1		5.5	4.0	9.5
	20-24		10.6	12.6	21.2		12.5	14.5	21.5
	25-29		11.6	15.6	21.2		10.6	14.8	19.5
	30-34		8.9	14.2	18.5		8.0	11.7	15.8
	35-39		6.4	10.1	15.6		5.7	8.4	12.9
	40-44		5.0	7.3	12.2		4.3	6.1	10.0
	45-49		4.1	4.8	7.9		3.3	3.8	6.1
	50-54		3.3	3.1	4.6		2.6	2.3	3.3
	55-59		2.0	2.1	2.6		1.3	1.6	1.7
	60+		0.8	0.8	0.9		0.5	0.8	0.7

TABLE 7. AGE-SEX SPECIFIC DIVORCE RATES (per 1000's) AROUND 1960, 1970, 1980 AND 1985

		MALES				FEMALES			
		1960	1970	1980	1985	1960	1970	1980	1985
FINLAND	15-19		6.6	7.4	8.7		6.7	12.1	12.7
	20-24		11.9	15.8	15.4		12.3	17.1	18.0
	25-29		11.2	15.9	15.5		10.3	15.2	14.3
	30-34		9.0	14.5	13.8		8.1	13.5	13.2
	35-39		7.6	12.5	12.7		6.4	11.5	11.8
	40-44		6.3	11.2	11.2		5.4	10.0	9.9
	45-49		5.3	8.4	8.8		4.5	7.5	7.5
	50-54		3.7	5.8	5.8		3.5	4.7	4.7
	55-59		2.7	3.7	3.5		2.5	2.8	3.0
60+		1.4	1.7	1.5		1.3	1.5	1.2	
FRANCE	15-19	0.0	0.1		1.2	1.0	1.2		6.9
	20-24	2.1	3.1		11.7	3.1	4.8		14.6
	25-29	3.7	6.7		16.1	4.6	7.0		16.6
	30-34	4.9	5.8		16.2	4.9	5.6		15.5
	35-39	4.6	4.9		14.0	4.1	4.5		13.0
	40-44	4.3	4.3		11.6	3.8	3.7		10.0
	45-49	3.0	3.3		7.8	2.4	2.9		6.2
	50-54	2.2	2.8		4.9	1.7	2.2		3.6
	55-59	1.5	1.6		2.9	1.2	1.1		2.1
60+	0.6	0.6		1.0	0.5	0.5		0.8	
HUNGARY	15-19	7.6	7.7	11.1	13.0	9.9	12.6	19.2	19.2
	20-24	12.3	18.5	20.8	21.0	12.6	18.9	21.5	23.3
	25-29	12.4	18.1	21.0	22.8	11.0	16.2	18.9	20.6
	30-34	10.8	14.1	17.1	20.1	8.8	11.1	14.5	18.1
	35-39	8.3	10.8	13.8	16.6	6.9	8.9	11.3	14.1
	40-44	7.4	8.8	10.2	12.7	6.6	7.4	8.2	10.0
	45-49	5.5	6.9	7.6	8.5	4.3	5.2	5.8	6.1
	50-54	4.2	5.3	5.0	5.1	3.4	4.1	3.8	3.6
	55-59	2.9	3.6	3.4	3.3	2.5	2.7	2.6	2.5
60+	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.6	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.2	
ITALY	15-19		0.0	0.0			0.0	0.0	
	20-24		0.0	0.0			0.0	0.1	
	25-29		0.5	0.3			0.5	0.7	
	30-34		0.4	1.0			0.8	1.5	
	35-39		0.9	1.6			1.3	1.5	
	40-44		1.5	1.4			1.8	1.2	
	45-49		2.2	1.1			2.3	1.0	
	50-54						6.9	2.0	
	55-59								
60+									
NETHERLANDS	15-19	1.8	2.2	5.2	7.4	3.3	4.1	10.0	13.5
	20-24	4.0	4.5	9.2	13.0	4.5	5.3	11.3	15.1
	25-29	3.4	5.0	12.1	16.0	3.3	5.4	12.8	17.1
	30-34	3.4	5.3	12.2	16.1	3.1	4.9	11.3	15.8
	35-39	3.0	4.3	10.3	15.0	2.7	3.8	9.4	13.9
	40-44	2.8	3.6	8.6	12.8	2.3	3.1	7.7	11.8
	45-49	2.0	3.1	6.6	10.6	1.9	2.8	5.2	8.8
	50-54					1.8	3.2	5.9	8.7
	55-59								
60+					0.4	0.7	1.3	1.5	
NORWAY	15-19	0.0	2.0	2.6	0.0	2.0	3.2	4.6	3.2
	20-24	5.6	7.0	9.2	12.5	6.0	8.3	12.0	16.7
	25-29	5.8	8.5	13.4	16.5	5.3	8.0	14.2	17.5
	30-34	5.2	7.1	12.6	15.8	4.1	6.0	11.6	15.0
	35-39	3.9	5.4	11.5	14.1	3.4	4.3	10.4	12.5
	40-44	3.0	4.1	9.7	12.3	3.1	3.1	8.4	11.2
	45-49	2.9	3.2	7.3	10.1	2.2	2.9	5.2	7.8
	50-54	1.8	2.6	4.8	6.5	1.8	2.0	3.2	4.5
	55-59	1.6	1.6	2.8	4.1	1.3	1.3	1.9	2.4
60+	0.8	0.7	0.9	1.1	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.8	

TABLE 7. AGE-SEX SPECIFIC DIVORCE RATES (per 1000's) AROUND 1960, 1970, 1980 AND 1985

		MALES				FEMALES			
		1960	1970	1980	1985	1960	1970	1980	1985
POLAND	15-19	6.0	1.5	1.5	2.7	3.4	4.8	4.0	6.3
	20-24	6.1	6.1	5.9	8.6	4.5	7.0	7.1	9.7
	25-29	4.1	8.8	8.0	10.0	3.7	8.3	7.9	10.1
	30-34	3.2	7.7	7.1	9.6	2.7	6.9	6.2	8.7
	35-39	2.5	6.2	6.5	7.8	2.1	5.6	5.4	6.5
	40-44	4.5	8.3	4.5	5.6	3.6	7.0	3.8	4.6
	45-49								
	50-54	2.7	8.5	3.1	2.8	2.3	6.1	2.3	2.3
	55-59								
60+									
SWEDEN	15-19	0.0	0.0	26.5	22.8	2.9	4.5	30.3	34.6
	20-24	9.1	11.0	35.0	36.4	9.9	13.7	33.0	36.1
	25-29	10.1	13.8	25.1	28.0	9.9	14.1	24.0	26.6
	30-34	9.4	12.8	20.5	22.3	8.1	10.9	19.6	21.3
	35-39	7.3	10.2	18.9	20.1	6.8	9.6	18.6	19.8
	40-44	6.2	8.7	16.9	19.2	5.4	7.2	15.4	17.9
	45-49	5.0	6.8	13.6	15.8	4.2	5.7	10.2	12.7
	50-54	3.7	5.0	8.9	10.6	3.0	3.6	5.9	7.0
	55-59	2.5	3.2	5.2	5.8	1.6	2.4	3.4	3.8
	60+	0.9	1.1	1.7	1.9	0.7	0.8	1.3	1.4

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