

ATLAS OF DIVORCE AND POST-DIVORCE INDICATORS IN EUROPE

Simó, C.

Universitat de València, Spain

Spijker, J.J.A.

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

Solsona, M.

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain

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Abstract

A European atlas of post-divorce indicators is currently in the making that will visualise changes that have taken place in European countries in the prevalence of divorce, repartnering, new parenthood and the living arrangement trajectories that people experience after a separation or divorce where age, sex and cohort differences and changes over time are emphasised. Besides presenting the geographical differences in the divorce and post-divorce indicators in the form of maps, graphs and tables – typical of a standard atlas – a description and brief interpretation of the results will also be provided. This paper introduces the atlas and summarise the main findings.

1. Introduction

Over more than a decade the Demographic Studies Centre (CED) of the Autonomous University of Barcelona has conducted both quantitative and qualitative research on divorce and post-divorce outcomes, a study area that has grown in social importance due to the rapidly changing nature of intimate relationships that has altered family forms and living arrangements.

Despite the large amount of scientific literature that has been written and the regular publications of statistical yearbooks (e.g Eurostat, 2007) that offer tables, graphics and maps on demographic indicators – divorce included – scholars lack a monographic publication that offers a geography of divorce and post-divorce indicators for Europe. A publication of this kind would therefore interest fellow researchers as well as policy makers and students.

This paper introduces a European atlas of divorce and post-divorce indicators that is in the making¹ that will show and describe the geographical differences and changes over time from 1980 onwards in the prevalence of divorce, repartnering, new parenthood and the living arrangement typologies that people experience after divorce in the form of maps, graphs and tables. In addition, an overview of the data sources and an explanation of the methodology used to calculate the indicators are also provided. Moreover, we as social-demographers cannot ignore the context of the increase and geographical differences in the prevalence of divorce and the diversity of post-divorce trajectories. Brief explanations of the changes and international differences in divorce and the post-divorce trajectories are therefore also given. This not only includes social

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transformations and economic fluctuations, but also legislative modifications and international differences in the area of family law.

1.1 Background

As we know, since the late 1960s in many countries of Western and Northern Europe and about a decade later in the rest of Europe, shifts in values related to family life and children have weakened the 'traditional' family, understood as the nuclear family, an institution that caused interrelated changes in partnership behaviour, family formation and fertility. These changes became characteristic of what later became known as the *second demographic transition*, an idea postulated by Van de Kaa (1988; 2004) that describes a substantial and unprecedented progress in cohabitation, the postponement of both the timing of marriage and children bearing, childlessness, lone parenthood, having children outside marriage, having fewer children and the parallel retreat from marriage and from traditional norms of sexual restraint (see also Lesthaeghe and Surkyn, 2006).

While progress in literacy and wealth made the first demographic transition possible, increases in female education, female labour force participation and unemployment, economy uncertainty and technological innovation contributed to the second demographic transition. It was the much improved and highly efficient methods of contraception that played a catalytic role, as did improvements in medical technology and communication. By no longer being constrained by material anxieties and social control, the individual has become more concerned with their higher-order needs centered on self-actualization, individual autonomy and recognition (Lesthaeghe and Surkyn, 2006), thus making 'alternative' forms of family and relationship formation more practical, feasible and eventually socially acceptable (Coleman, 2005). Intimate partnerships and sexuality, but also the relationships between parents and their children, have moved away from the realm of normative control and institutional regulation, giving rise to the new ideal of reflexive 'pure relationships' based on mutual consent and the recognition of individual autonomy (Giddens, 1992).

Nevertheless, European differences exist in the timing of the onset and rate of these changes (see e.g. Billari (2004) in the case of homeleaving and Sobotka and Toulemon (2008) for divorce). Even within countries there is a lack of homogeneity in the transition, for instance secularised vs. non-secularised region or lower versus higher socioeconomic status groups (Van de Kaa, 2002; Sobotka, 2008). Indeed, in pre-industrial Europe, i.e. even before the first demographic transition, some social and individual characteristics of the second transition were considered acceptable such as divorce (Coleman, 2004). The second demographic transition is thus a very complex phenomenon where numerous intervening factors play a role.

1.2 The development of and differences in divorce legislation in Europe

Currently, married couples are legally able to divorce in all European countries except in Malta and the Vatican City, although, in contrast to Japan and the Muslim world, divorce was relatively uncommon until modern times. As summarised by Eurostat (http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_SDDS/en/demo_nup_sm1.htm), the oldest regulations in Europe were made in Iceland, where divorce has been possible since the 16th century. In France divorce was introduced in 1791 and in Luxembourg in 1794. In Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Hungary, the Netherlands, Norway, Slovak Republic, Sweden, Switzerland and England and Wales, divorce was made possible in the 19th century. In Italy (1970), Liechtenstein (1974), Portugal (1975), Scotland (1976), Spain (permitted during the Second Republic (1934-36)

and since 1981) and Ireland (1995), divorce has only been possible since relatively recently. In almost all countries divorces are registered at the court. Iceland, Cyprus and Ireland are the only exceptions. A number of countries also register the divorce on the marriage certificate, or on the birth certificate. In Sweden the information about divorces is sent to the Tax Authority, which forwards it to the Swedish population register. For a number of countries additional remarks can also be made, which are summarised in Table 1:

- In 2005 a reform was introduced in the Spanish Civil Code that abolished the necessity to provide a cause for a divorce, and making it possible to get directly the divorce without the condition of a previous legal separation;
- In Portugal a decision can be taken by the civil registrar if both spouses agree to obtain a divorce. In most countries, structural disruption of the marriage and no prospect of reconciliation are necessary conditions for a divorce;
- In Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Denmark, Iceland, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, and United Kingdom, adultery is a reason to grant a divorce;
- Only in three countries (Czech Republic, Ireland, Slovak Republic) is a lower limit of marriage duration set;
- In 15 countries (Austria, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Norway, Poland, Slovak Republic, Switzerland and United Kingdom), there are regulations regarding the minimum period that the spouses must have lived apart in order to have a divorce granted. This minimum period varies widely among countries.
- In Malta where divorce is yet illegal, separation and annulment are available under the Civil Code and Marriage Act respectively.
- Seven countries (Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Ireland, Norway, Slovak Republic, Slovenia and Spain) require proper provisions for dependent children before a divorce is granted.

1.3 Structure of the atlas

The following section contains an overview of the main data sources and the indicators that have been constructed for the atlas: divorce indicators, indicators related to repartnering, measurements of new parenthoods and a description of post-divorce living arrangements.

This is followed by the main part of the atlas: the presentation of the results. In that section, the indicators are defined and the way they are calculated is explained. Subsequently, results are presented in the form of maps, time-trend charts, whereby gender- and age.-differences will be highlighted when possible. The atlas covers the period from 1980 onwards and follows marriage-cohorts from 1950 onwards. There is one practical and one demographic reason for using this year as the starting point. Firstly, time-series data from 1950 are needed for the construction of the marriage cohort-indicators for 1980 to allow for a minimum of 30 years of marital duration. Secondly, divorce only became legal in southern European countries in the 1970s or early 1980s (Italy, 1970; Portugal, 1975; Spain; 1981) with the exception of Greece (1945) and Malta where it is still not possible. For this reason, the substantial increases in divorce that were observed in northern and western Europe in the 1960s occurred in about two decades later in southern Europe. With regard to the graphical representation of the results, we aimed to present data for all 27 countries of the European Union (EU27), as well as Croatia and Macedonia (two EU candidates), and the four EFTA countries, Iceland, Lichtenstein, Norway and Switzerland. However, as no or insufficient data could be obtained for Liechtenstein, Ireland (as divorce was only legalised in 1995)

nor Malta (because divorce is still illegal), the total number of countries represented in this Atlas was reduced to 30. Apart of the graphical representation of the indicators a brief description of the results is also given.

A more general summary of the main findings is provided in the concluding section of the Atlas, where also an interpretation of the changes in the divorce and post-divorce indicators that have taken place in Europe over the last three decades is given.

2. Data sources and divorce indicators

Most of the data that have been used for this atlas come from the New Cronos database from Eurostat, the Statistical Office of the European Communities. In addition, data have been extracted from the Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS-International), a database managed by the Minnesota Population Center (MPC) that contains harmonised samples of census data. In addition, data from the Family and Fertility Survey (FFS) of the mid 1990s were employed. The FFS was executed by the Population Activities Unit (PAU) of the UN/ECE. When the required data for a particular indicator were not available for a country or year of interest we resorted to the national statistical office of that country by consulting their webpage or, if needed, by writing to them in person.

2.1 Eurostat

Eurostat, the Statistical Office of the European Communities disseminate data through the New Cronos database which is frequently updated and can be consulted freely on the Eurostat's website <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat>. The sources they use to obtain their data are the National Statistical Institutes (NSI) of both Member and non-Member States. Data are categorised into themes, one of them being **Population and social conditions**. In the **Demography** (DEMO) domain detailed figures at the national level are provided in the sub-domains *Main demographic indicators*, *Population*, *Nuptiality and divorce*, *Fertility* and *Mortality*. Data from the first three categories were used to construct the following divorce and post-divorce repartnering indicators:

- *Divorce indicators*
 - Crude divorce rate
 - Divorces per 100 marriages
 - Synthetic index of divorce
 - Divorces by marriage cohort
 - Ratio divorced men/women divorced at moment t
- *Repartnering indicators*
 - Marriages of divorced as a proportion of all second marriages
 - Marriage rates of divorced persons
 - Marriages of divorced by marital status of the spouse

How complete the tables were depended largely on the availability of data from the relevant NSI's who are responsible for the transmission of the data to Eurostat. Although Eurostat thoroughly check, process and introduce the data into the New Cronos database, it did not have all the required time points or countries for the construction of some of the divorce and re-marriage indicators presented in this atlas. In these cases other data sources were consulted, usually through webpages of national statistics institute. If this did not prove to be sufficient, own estimations were made of the missing data, usually by interpolation. More complex estimations

were required to calculate period and cohort divorce rates, as divorce totals by 5-year or open ended marriage duration categories (e.g. 20+) were provided while single years were needed. In such cases the single-year marriage duration structure of surrounding years were applied to the divorce total for the aggregated duration period.

In addition to the data, Eurostat also provides associated documentation (metadata):

http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_SDDS/EN/demo_base.htm gives a description of the coverage (data characteristics), integrity (transparency of practices and procedures), quality (information the user needs to assess data quality) and dissemination formats of the demographic data. Specific concepts, definitions and classifications and other data issues (scope, reference and base period and data processing) regarding the population, and marriage and divorce indicators can be obtained from http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_SDDS/en/demo_pop_esms.htm and http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_SDDS/en/demo_nup_sm1.htm, respectively.

Finally, for more detailed information on the methodology for the calculation of Eurostat's demographic indicators, see Calot and Sardon (2003).

2.2 Fertility and Family Surveys (FFS)

The FFS were conducted in the 1990s in selected Member States of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (UNECE). It was co-ordinated by their Population Activities Unit (PAU) and largely financed by the United Nations. The initiative for this survey came about because of the shifts in partnership and reproductive behaviour patterns that had taken place over much of Europe and North America since the 1960s. Such shifts include the postponement of, and decline in, first marriage along with the increase in divorce and non-marital cohabitation and the postponement of parenthood as well as the increase in extra-marital childbearing and childlessness. One important outcome was the emergence of a plurality of living arrangements and family forms, including one-parent and reconstituted families. However, while changes in partnership and reproductive behaviour have mostly been documented using data from population census, vital registration and/or population registers, they lack depth and breadth (as they do not account for entire individual relationship and family histories and their characteristics), as well as comparability across countries.

Well-focused sample surveys can greatly enhance demographers' ability to document and understand various aspects of partnership and reproductive behaviour. The FFS data are therefore a biographical dataset where family transitions can be calculated using standard demographic analysis techniques such as life table analysis and hazard rate regression. For the purpose of this Atlas, it basically allows for the separation between the moment of divorce and post-divorce events whereby the survival functions and probabilities of the transitions to new relationships and new maternities and paternities according to different types of post-divorce living arrangements can be estimated. The same techniques have also been used to calculate the probability of new living arrangements after divorce (e.g. alone, with parents or with a new partner).

There are, however, three main disadvantages regarding the use of the FFS:

1. It is of limited use as only adults until about the age of 50 were interviewed, the majority women (and in some countries men were not even interviewed);
2. Although country-specific sample sizes are acceptable (between 1700 and 6000 depending on the country) for this Atlas only divorced and separated respondents were considered. This reduced the size was substantially (see Table 1), impeding a more detailed analysis of post-separation and -divorce unions and fertility. In fact, several samples had to be excluded. This included Estonia and

the Czech Republic as, respectively, no male/female and all male separated/divorced respondents lived with a partner, an unlikely reflection of reality; and
 3. It pertains to the situation in the 1990s which may be outdated in some countries.

Table 1. FFS sample of divorced and separated respondents according to sex and country.

	Male	Female	Total
Belgium, 1991-92	124	191	315
Finland, 1989-90	133	472	605
France, 1994	211	528	739
Germany, 1992	207	544	751
Hungary, 1992-93	118	289	407
Norway, 1988-89	111	282	393
Slovenia, 1994-1995	49	109	158
Spain, 1994-95	34	117	151
Austria, 1995-96	94	414	508

The FFS was used to construct the following indicators of new unions and parenthood of (ex)divorcees:

- Odds and survival functions of entering into a new partnership
- Odds and survival functions of entering into new maternities and paternities
 - Through birth
 - Through adoption
 - Step children – the children that new partner brought into the household
 - Foster children

For more on the FFS, see <http://www.unece.org/pau/ffs/ffs.htm>.

2.3 The Integrated Public Use Microdata Series (IPUMS)

The IPUMS-International database, directed and administered by the Minnesota Population Center, contains harmonized variables from census microdata from 44 countries, including 10 from the EU27 (see Table 2), and 130 censuses as at May 2009. Data are made available to researchers free of charge after registering through a web-based data dissemination system. For the making of this atlas data from the most recent available European censuses have been used. A detailed description of the database can be found in www.international.ipums.org.

Table 2. Most recent censuses for which micro-data can be obtained for EU27 countries from the IPUMS-International database as at July 2009, and subsample precision.

Country	Year	Sub-sample	For study	Remarks
Austria	2001	10%	Yes	
France	1999	5%	Yes	
Greece	2001	10%	Yes	
Hungary	2001	5%	Yes	
Italy	2001	5%	Yes	
Netherlands	2001	1,2%	No	Systematic sample of individuals who were not organized into households. Thus not impossible to construct household typology; Microcensus
Portugal	2001	5%	No	Not possible to identify (probable) partners of divorcees
Romania	2002	10%	Yes	
Spain	2001	5%	Yes	

Country	Year	Sub-sample	For study	Remarks
United Kingdom	1991	2%	Yes	Excludes Northern Ireland; the 2001 census sample that is available did not have individuals organised into households (see remark by Netherlands)

The census data were required to construct the last group of indicators published in the Atlas, namely the types of living arrangements that the divorced and separated population live in, a variable that was not directly available from the extracted census data but which could be constructed by combining outcomes from other variables. In order to construct a household typology information was needed on the existence or not of kinship- and relationship ties between household members, including marital and non-marital unions and the presence of own children and parents. However, only in few censuses information was explicitly collected on consensual unions (i.e. as one of the possible marital status categories), namely in Hungary, Romania, and Spain. In the other samples non-marital unions had to be assumed on the basis of other variable characteristics. For instance, in the case of the Greek 2001, Italian 2001, French 1999 and the British 1991 samples this was possible using a variable that described the relationship of the individual to the head of household. This was either directly (as spouse of the head of household) or indirectly (linking a child with a child-in-law or a parent with a parent-in-law present in the household). What was never possible, however, was the reconstruction of living arrangements of remarried divorced persons given that previous marital status is not asked in a census. Besides the information on partner status, the IPUMS samples also contain created variables that identify the presence and location in the household register of possible parents, own children and, as mentioned already, the relationship of each household member to the head of household. This information was also essential for the construction of the household typology for the divorced population. Finally, given the many different possible combinations (i.e. the presence or not of a partner, children, parents, others), the obtained typology that was adhered to has a basic hierarchical structure, namely that cohabitation with a new partner was considered more important than living with children, which was, in turn, more important than living with own parents. This led to the following living arrangement structure:

- *Living arrangements after divorce (household typology)*
 - Single person household
 - With partner with(out) others (no children)
 - With partner and children
 - With partner and children and others
 - Single parent household
 - With parents with(out) other persons (e.g. siblings, but no own children nor partner)
 - Other types of living arrangements

3. Results

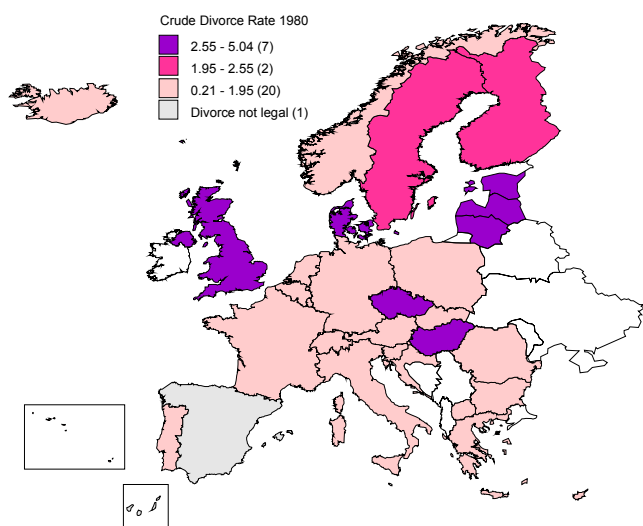
For this IUSSP paper we have selected the most important indicators that illustrate the changes in divorce, new partnerships, remarriage and new maternities and paternities of divorced persons.

3.1 Divorce indicators

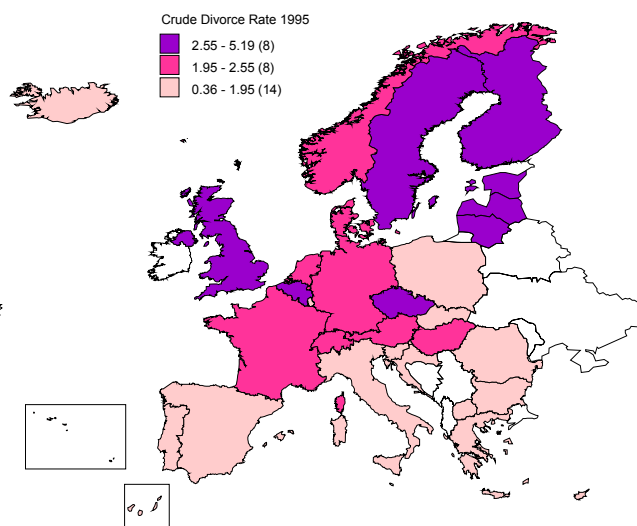
A. Crude Divorce Rate

Definition: The ratio of the number of divorces during the year to the average population in that year. The value is expressed per 1000 inhabitants.

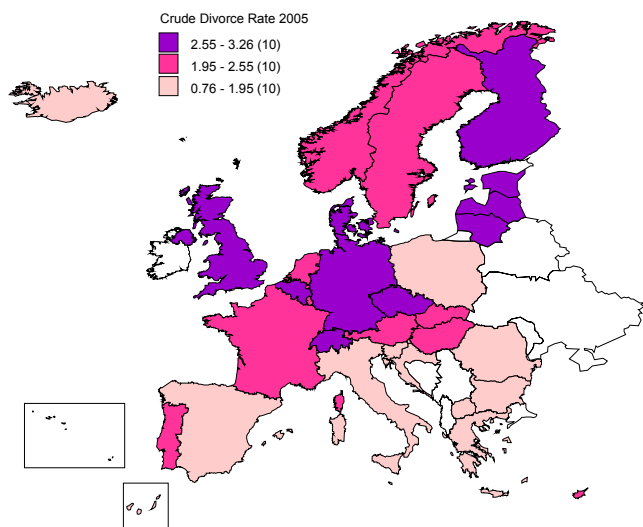
1. Crude divorce rate, 1980



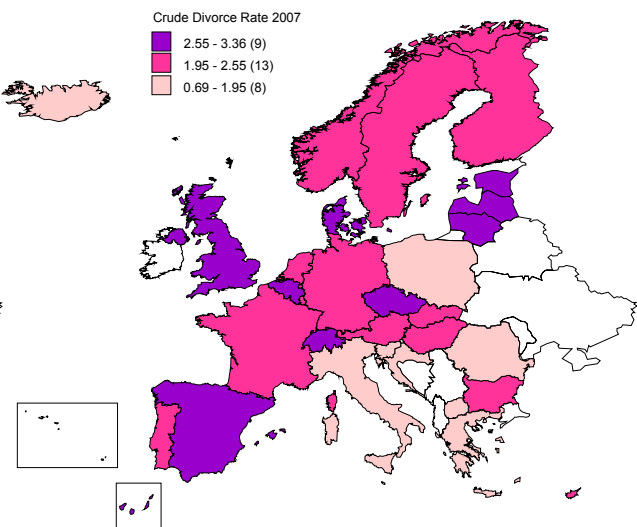
2. Crude divorce rate, 1995



3. Crude divorce rate, 2005



4. Crude divorce rate, 2007



Data source: Eurostat.

Description: Although there is a certain amount of bias in the results due to age-structure differences over time and between countries and because divorce can only occur among adults (and very rarely occurs among the very old), sudden changes in the trend may be a reflection of unforeseen social, economic and legal changes. For instance, this is well observed in Spain when divorce was legalised in 1981 and again after the implementation of a new Spanish Civil Code in 2005 that abolished the necessity to provide a condition for a divorce. Sharp rises in divorce were also witnessed in Eastern Europe after the fall of the communist regimes in the early 1990s.

In fact, particularly the Baltic countries currently have the highest divorce rates, although high rates are found throughout all of northern and western Europe and most of central Europe. As regard to central Europe and the Baltic countries, divorce rates have generally declined since the early 1990s, although in the Czech Republic as well as most Scandinavian countries and the United Kingdom, divorce rates have been remarkably stable since 1980.

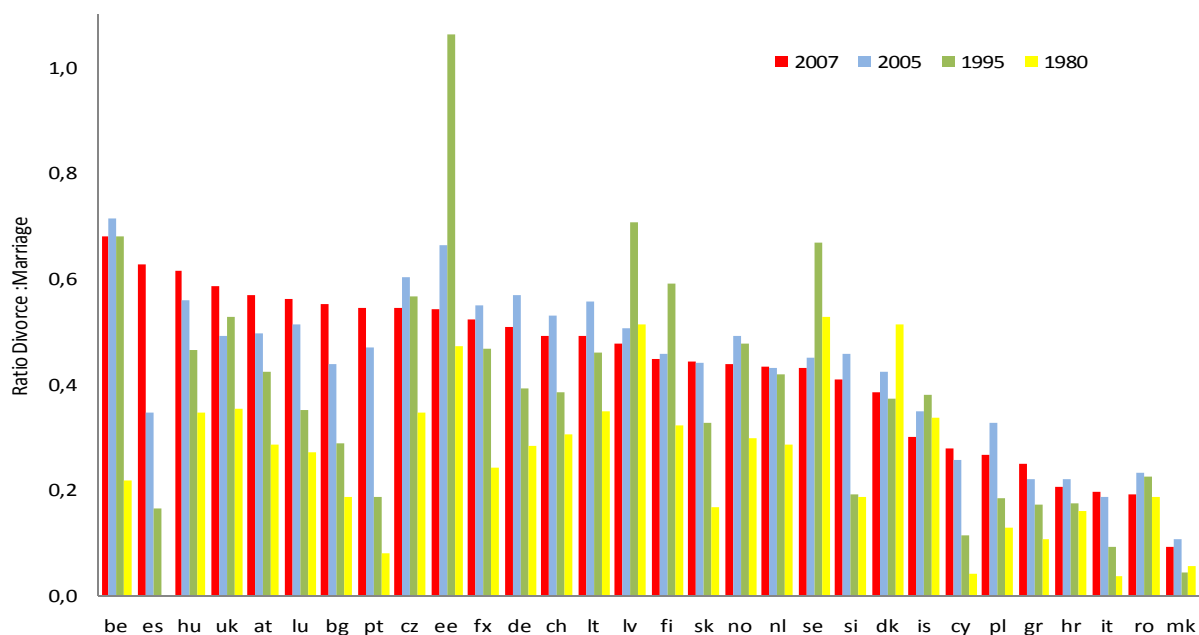
In general, the south of Europe and other countries such as Slovenia, Romania and Poland observe the lowest divorce rates, although substantial increases have been observed since the 1980s. Spain is an outlier in this respect. Although divorce was allowed until 1981, it currently observes one of the highest divorce rates as divorce was made easier in 2005.

B. Divorce Marriage Ratio

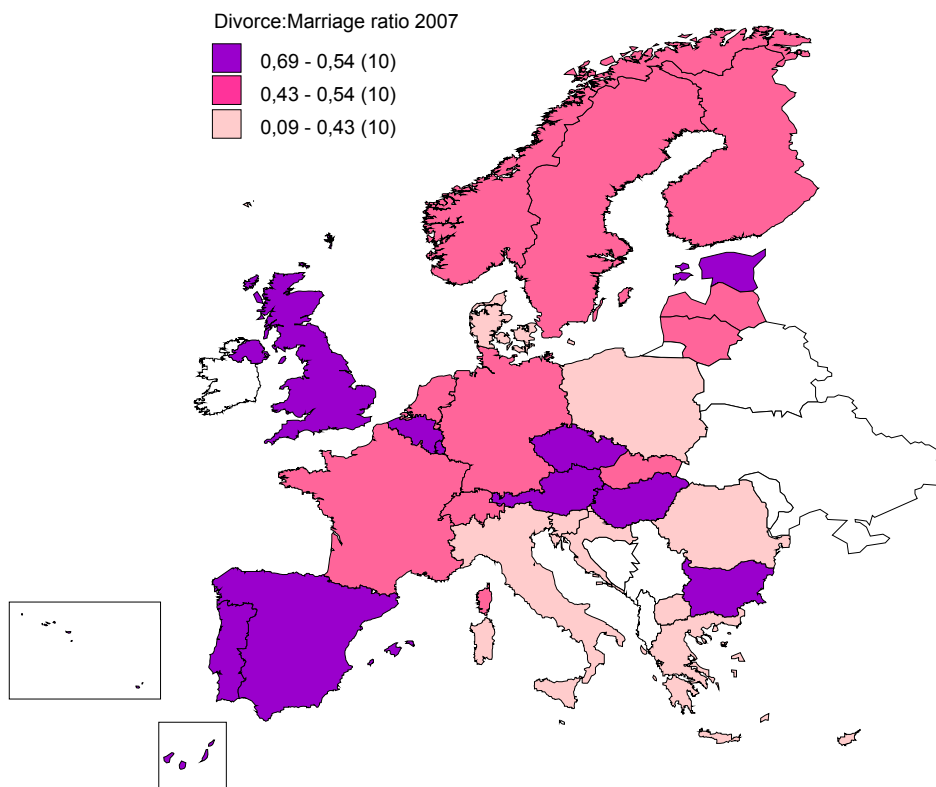
Definition: Number of divorces per marriage during one calendar year.

Description: The divorce to marriage ratio is a slightly different indicator than the previous one, because the reference here is not the total population but the number of marriages that have taken place during one particular year. Although the variations depend on both the number of divorces and the number of marriages –much more affected by economic fluctuations- the geographic and time pattern is, however, quite similar. As illustrated in the graph Latvia and Estonia register very high values in this indicator (even higher than 100 per cent of marriages) in 1995 as a consequence of the marriage decline and the increase of divorce following the economic transformations during the transition into the capitalism. In 2007 the delay or decline of marriage is also observed jointly with the increase of divorces in Belgium, Spain, Hungary, United Kingdom, Austria, Luxembourg, Bulgaria and Portugal. The values that are registered for this indicator suggests that, concerning divorce, the duality between catholic and non catholic countries and the gap between the northern and the southern European countries become less relevant.

1. Number of divorces per marriage, 1980, 1995, 2005 and 2007



2. Number of divorces per marriage, 2007



Data source: Eurostat.

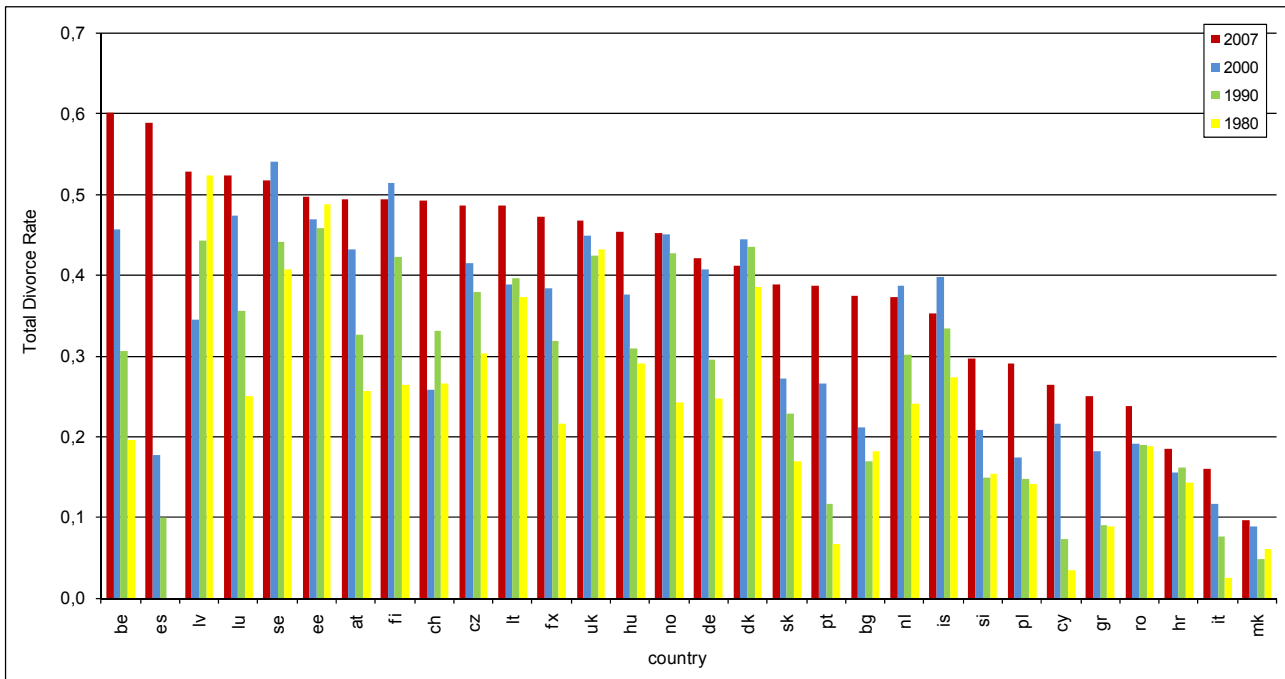
C. Total Divorce Rate

Definition: The mean number of divorces per marriage in a given year. It is not weighted according to the structure of marriage duration; in other words, the size of the different marriage cohorts is assumed to be the same. The total divorce rate is computed by adding the divorce rates by duration of marriage for the year in question. It does not separate out the different marriage cohorts and therefore it cannot be associated to the divorce rate of any specific marriage cohort; rather, it is the divorce rate of a hypothetical generation subjected at each marriage duration to the current marriage conditions (vis-à-vis the total fertility rate). As a result, neither the number of survivor unions is taken into consideration nor the effect of mortality or migration.

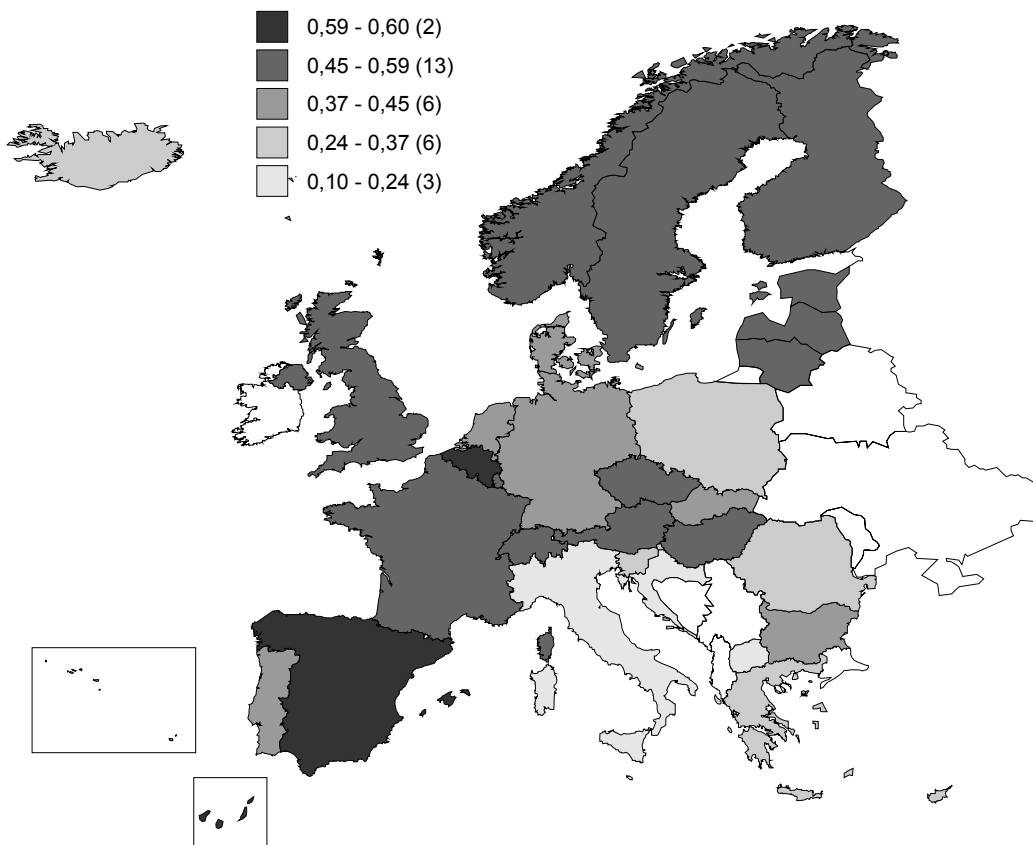
The disadvantage of this indicator is that more detailed data are required than that was the case for the previous indicators, i.e. the number of divorces by marriage duration and the size of those marriage cohorts. For instance, to calculate the total divorce rate for 2000, the proportion of marriages that dissolved in the year 2000 after 50 years of marriage (marriage cohort 1950) are added to the proportion of dissolved marriages after 49 years of marriage (marriage cohort 1951), etc. This provides the proportion of divorces by duration. The total rate of divorce is then obtained by summing these proportion

Description: A more stable divorce indicator is the total divorce rate. Although it is a synthetic indicator (i.e. a divorce rate of a hypothetical generation subjected at each year of marriage duration to current marriage conditions) the denominator is closer to the real population at risk as the marriage cohort is used (although it still excludes mortality and migration among members of those marriage cohorts).

1. Total divorce rate, 1980, 1990, 2000 y 2007



2. Total divorce rate, latest available year



Data source: Eurostat; **note:** in 1980 the maximum marriage duration equals 30 years. This increases to 50 years for the divorce cohorts 2000-2007. In addition, the data source provided a maximum marriage duration of 35+ years, an open-ended category. As these divorces could not be linked to their corresponding marriage cohorts, they were re-distributed to single-year duration categories. This was done by applying an exponential function whereby a marriage duration of 50 years was chosen as the upper limit and the sum of the number of yearly divorces after 35 to 50 years of marriage approximated the published total number of divorces after 35+ years of marriage. To map the data a “natural break” scaling has been applied.

The first observation that can be made from the results is that all countries have experienced an increase in the total divorce rate since 1980, although with differences in intensities between countries. Indeed, Estonia, Latvia and Denmark who already recorded high levels of divorce in 1980 and Romania, Croatia and Macedonia who recorded low levels during the same time, observed only slightly higher levels 27 years later with few fluctuation in between the two periods. On the other hand, a number of countries experienced very high increases. For instance, according to the divorce structure by marital duration in 2007 one can expect that almost six out of every 10 marriages will end in divorce in Spain. This was 4 more than in the year 2000 and in 2007 was second only to Belgium. Other countries where more than half of all marriages can be expected to end in divorce are Sweden, Luxembourg and Latvia, with ten more countries above 45%.

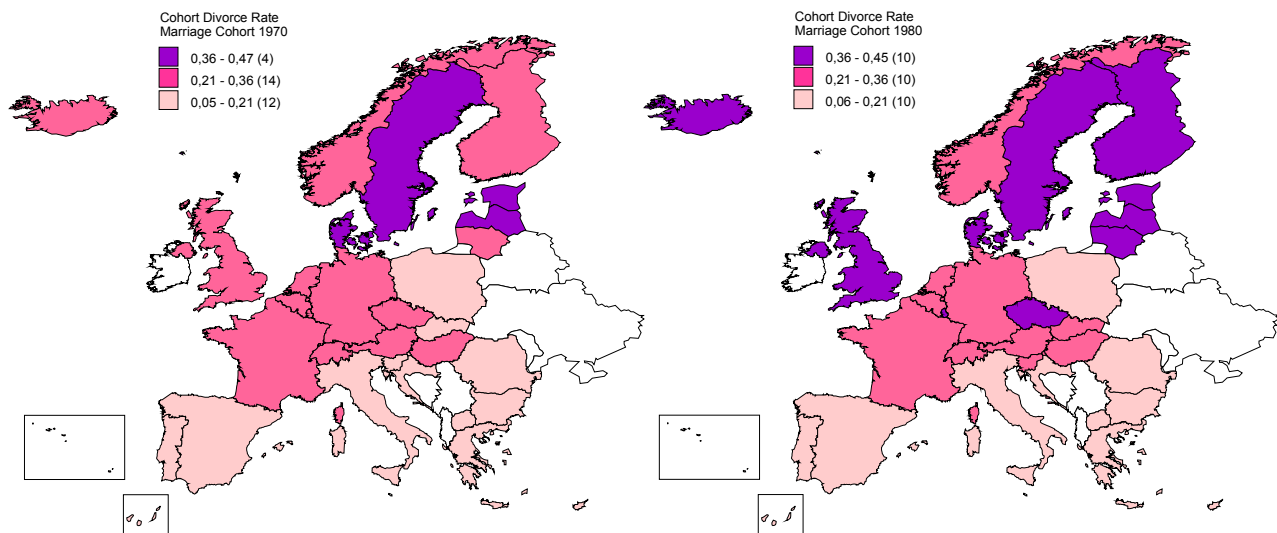
D. Cohort Divorce Rate

Definition: The sum of the divorce rates by duration of marriage calculated for n calendar years for a marriage cohort. This gives the proportion of marriages dissolved by divorce for a marriage cohort after n years. Although, contrary to the total divorce rates, marriage cohorts are in that sense followed, neither the effect of mortality nor of migration has been taken into consideration here.

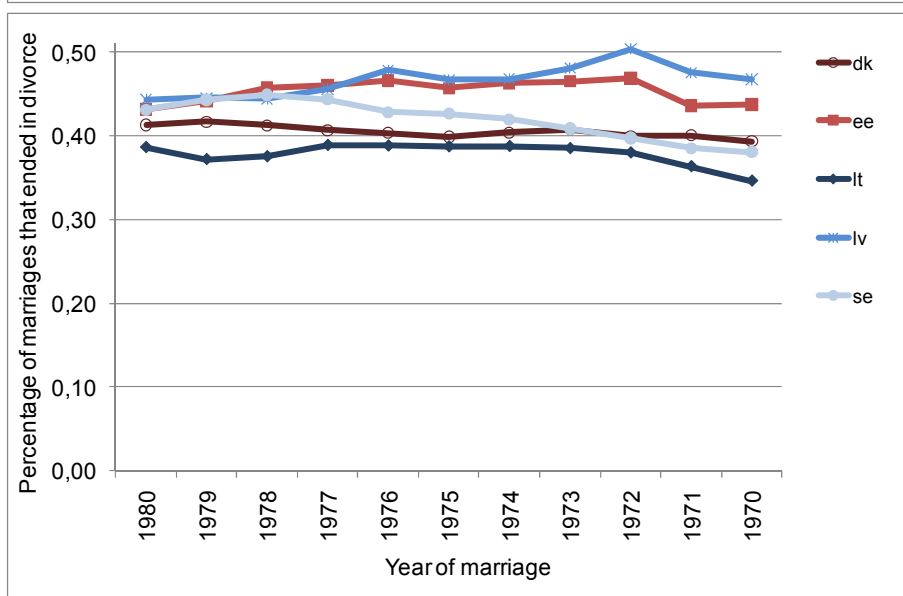
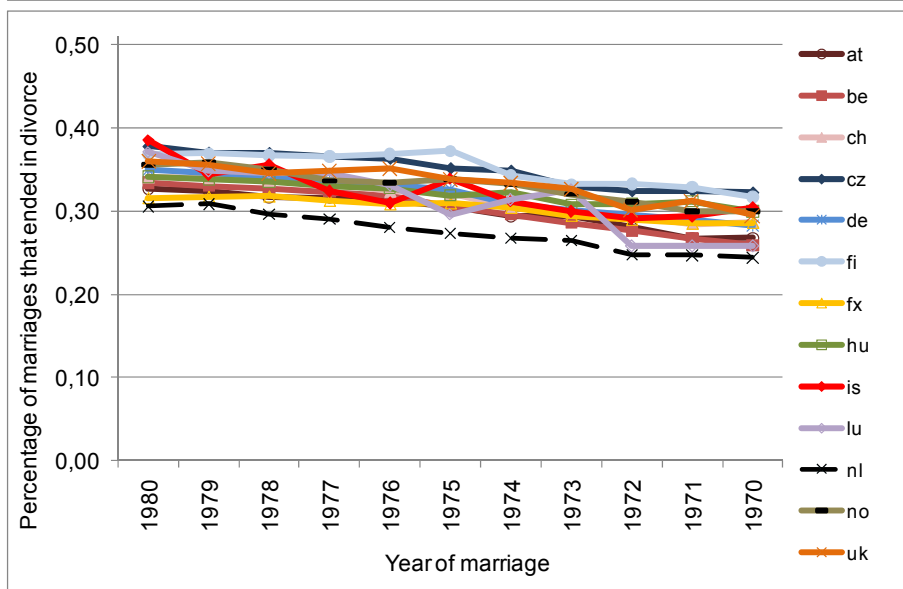
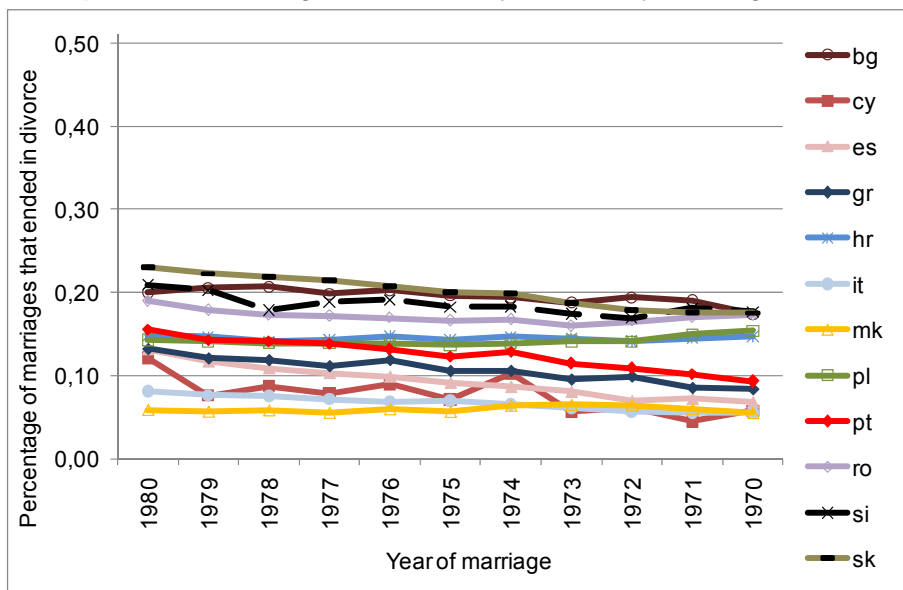
Description: Just as the cohort fertility rate is a more stable indicator than the period fertility rate, the same can be said with regard to cohort versus the period divorce rates. As is shown by the 1970 and 1980 maps, the geographical pattern of cohort divorce rates is little different for the two cohorts and quite homogeneous: northern and western Europe have the highest rates and eastern and southern Europe the lowest rates in both instances. As cohorts are analysed rather than chronological time, legislative or acute economic changes, which tend to be period-specific will have more effect on period indicators than on cohort indicators.

Results showed that in all but Estonia, Latvia and Poland the divorce rate increased between the 1970 and 1980 cohorts even though individuals from older cohort have been longer exposed to a possible break-up than those from younger ones.

1. Proportion of marriages dissolved by divorce. Marriage cohorts 1970 and 1980



2. Proportion of marriages dissolved by divorce by marriage cohort 1970-80.

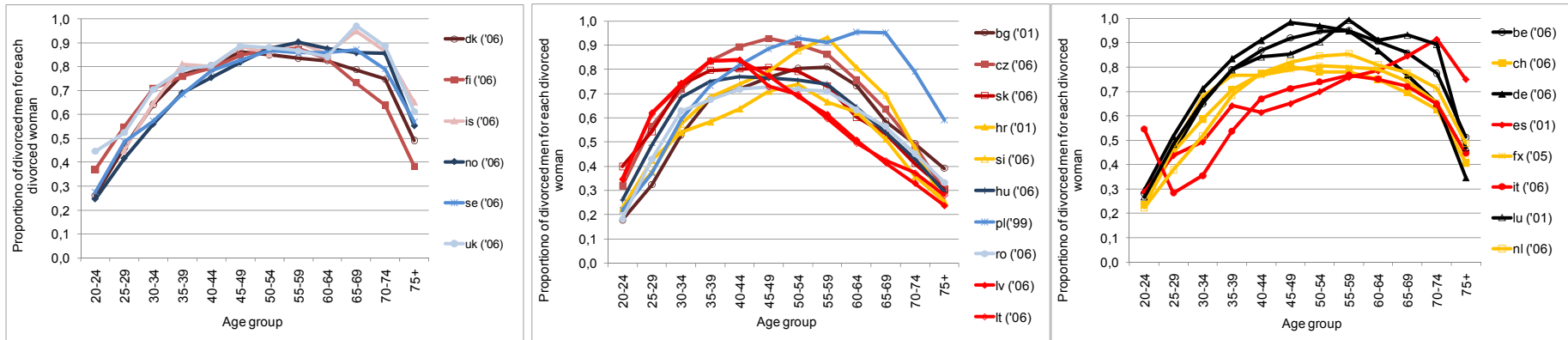


Data source: Eurostat. Interpretation note: the 1970 cohort divorce rate includes divorces that occurred after up to 37 years of marriage while in the case of 1980 this is after only 27 yrs.

F. Sex ratio of the divorced population by age

Definition: Male Female ratio of the divorced population by age at time t.

1. Sex ratio of the divorced population by age group, 2006 or latest available year.



2. Sex ratio of the divorced population in 1991, 1995, 2001 and 2006¹. A selection of countries.

i. Germany

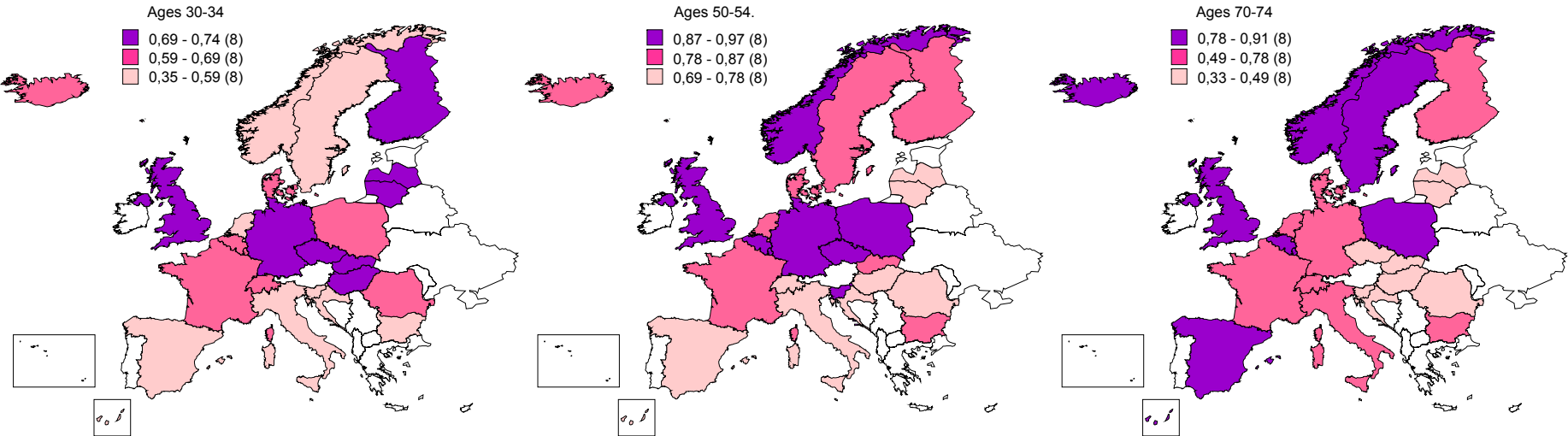
ii. France

iii. Hungary

iv. Norway



3. Sex ratio of the divorced population aged 30-34, 50-54 and 70-74 in 2006 or latest available year¹.



¹ Poland (1999), Bulgaria, Spain, Croatia and Luxembourg (2001) and France (2005). For the UK, data excludes Northern Ireland.

Main data source: Eurostat and websites of national statistical institutes.

Description: This cross-sectional indicator informs on the gender asymmetry related to divorce: causes and consequences of union disruption impact differently upon men than upon women. The overall observation from the figures below is that there are fewer divorced men than divorced women, irrespective of age-group or country and that the pattern is \cap -shaped: the ratio is most skewed among younger adults and the elderly. This is because men are more likely to remarry (or to die) and at a faster rate than women.

This is not to say that there are no changes over time or differences between countries. As the first three geographically grouped line-graphs show, the ratio is closest to 1 at middle age (40-54) in Belgium and Germany and is lowest in Spain, followed by Croatia and Italy. Moreover, apart from the similarity between the Nordic countries up to the age of 64, there is no real geographic pattern in the age-distribution of the sex ratio of the divorced population. Only if we consider several bordering countries or former republics of a country we observe similar patterns (e.g. Germany, Belgium and Luxembourg; Romania and Hungary; and Latvia and Lithuania), though there are some notable exceptions (the Czech and Slovak Republics; Slovenia and Croatia; and the Netherlands that shows more similarities with France and Switzerland than with its neighbours Belgium and Germany).

The second set of graphs show how these age-specific sex ratios changed over time for Germany, France, Hungary and Norway. Particularly in Germany and to a lesser extent in France, older ages observed progressively higher sex ratios with time. For instance, while in 1991 there were still almost 3 times as many divorced women than men aged 65-69, in 2006 this was less than 1,3 times. In Hungary and Norway some reduction in the sex gap appears only to have taken place between 1996 and 2001 and only from the 55-59 year age group, while sex ratios of the divorced population stock actually increased slightly among the youngest age groups. Finally, the case of Spain and Poland appears peculiar as the lowest sex ratio was recorded for a higher age group than in the other countries. This may be due to the fact that, until relatively recently, divorce was uncommon there (or even illegal as in the case of Spain), particularly among the elderly.

The last figures show the geographical differences of the sex ratios for three specific age groups: 30-34, 50-54 and 70-74. Only few countries maintain the same relative position in each age group: Croatia, with all three sex ratios in the lowest category, France with middle category ratios and the UK with ratios always in the top third. Conversely, there are countries where sex differences in the divorced population are high (i.e. a low ratio) among 30-34 year olds compared to other countries while among 70-74 year olds the sex ratio is close to one (e.g. Spain) or where the opposite pattern is observed (e.g. Latvia and Lithuania).

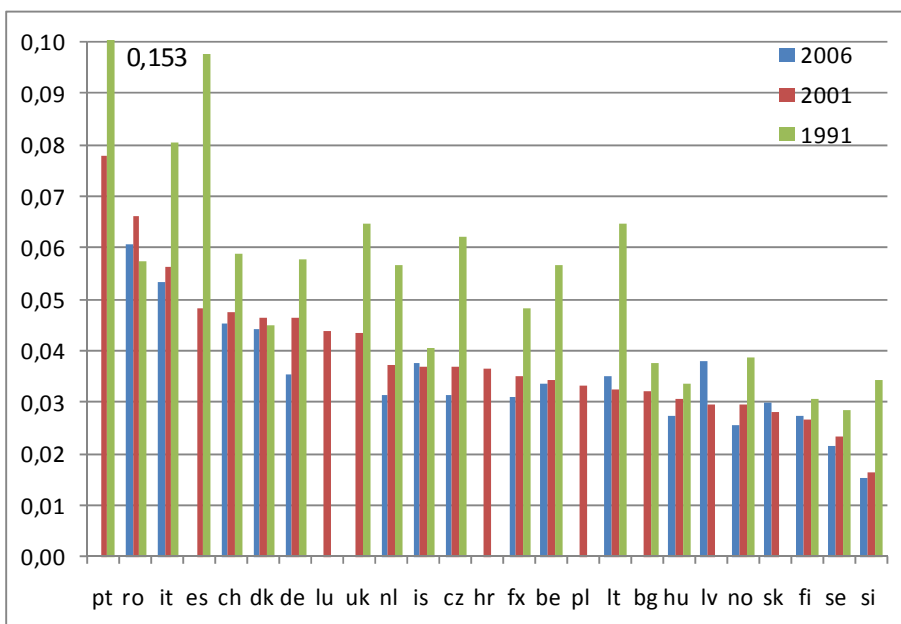
3.2. Repartnering indicators

A. Marriage rates of divorced persons (by sex)

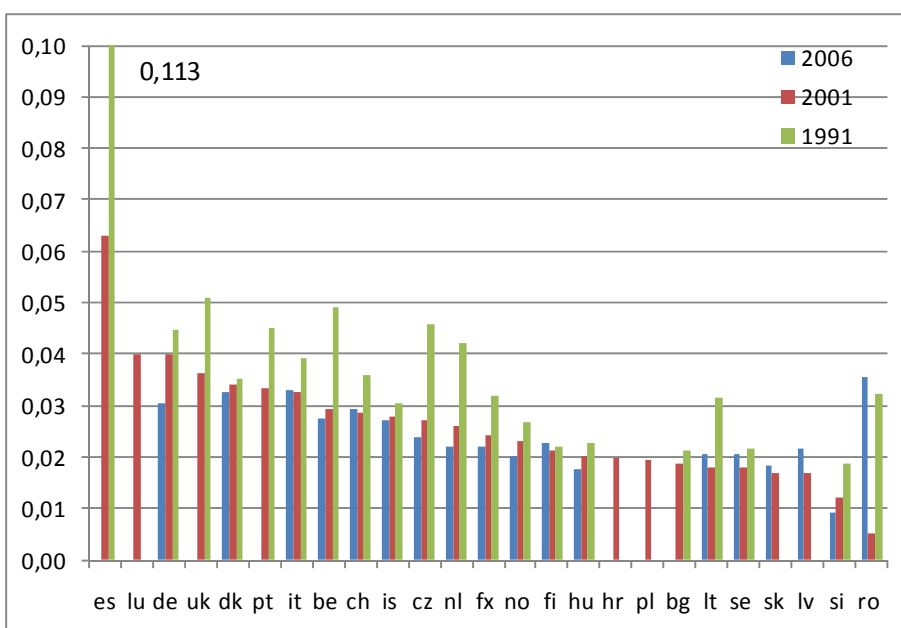
Definition: The number of remarriages of divorced men/women in relation to the average male/female divorced population.

1. Marriage rates of divorced persons, 1991, 2001 and 2006.

a. Men



b. Women



Data source: Eurostat and websites of national statistical institutes.

Description: While divorce has increased over the last decades, this cannot be said about remarriage rates of the divorced population, although the decline was most notable in the 1990s. Results also show that remarriage rates are higher for men than for women and that for the three time points analysed the highest remarriage rates are observed in catholic Europe, Germany and Denmark and the lowest in Scandinavia and the Baltic countries. It would therefore appear that in countries that have observed high levels of divorce for many decades remarriage is not a necessary or preferred option for repartnering divorcees.

B. Marriages of divorced as a proportion of all marriages

Definition: Proportion of remarriages of divorced men/women in relation to all marriages.

1. Marriages of divorced as a proportion of all marriages, 1980, 1996 and 2006.

	Men			Women		
	2006	1996	1980	2006	1996	1980
Estonia	0,29	0,29		0,26	0,29	
United Kingdom	0,27 ^c	0,27	0,22	0,27 ^c	0,28	0,21
Belgium	0,27	0,21	0,10	0,26	0,22	0,10
Latvia	0,26	0,25		0,24	0,24	
Luxembourg	0,25	0,19	0,11	0,24	0,18	0,12
Austria	0,25	0,20	0,15	0,25	0,20	0,13
Czech Republic	0,25	0,24	0,20 ^a	0,24	0,23	0,20
Germany	0,25	0,21		0,26	0,23	
Switzerland	0,23	0,19	0,12	0,21	0,17	0,11
Denmark	0,23	0,22	0,22	0,22	0,22	0,21
Lithuania	0,22	0,18		0,19	0,15	
Finland	0,21	0,20	0,13	0,22	0,19	0,12
Hungary	0,21	0,18		0,20	0,16	
Norway	0,21	0,19	0,13	0,20	0,18	0,11
Sweden	0,19	0,27	0,20	0,21	0,26	0,20
France	0,19	0,17	0,13	0,18	0,16	0,11
Netherlands	0,19	0,17	0,12	0,18	0,16	0,10
Iceland	0,18	0,16	0,13	0,16	0,16	0,13
Cyprus	0,16	0,16		0,14	0,15	
Romania	0,14	0,13		0,13	0,11	
Slovakia	0,14	0,09	0,09 ^a	0,12	0,11	0,07 ^a
Portugal	0,14	0,08	0,05	0,12	0,06	0,03
Greece	0,12	0,10	0,06	0,11	0,09	0,04
Bulgaria	0,12	0,11		0,11	0,10	
Spain	0,10	0,06	0,00	0,09	0,04	0,00
Slovenia	0,09	0,09	0,09	0,08	0,08	0,07
Poland	0,09	0,07		0,08	0,06	
Macedonia	0,09	0,05		0,07	0,04	
Croatia	0,08	0,07 ^b		0,08	0,07 ^b	
Italy	0,07 ^d	0,05	0,02	0,07 ^d	0,04	0,01

^a 1982; ^b 1997; ^c 2003; ^d 2005.

Data source: Eurostat and websites of national statistical institutes.

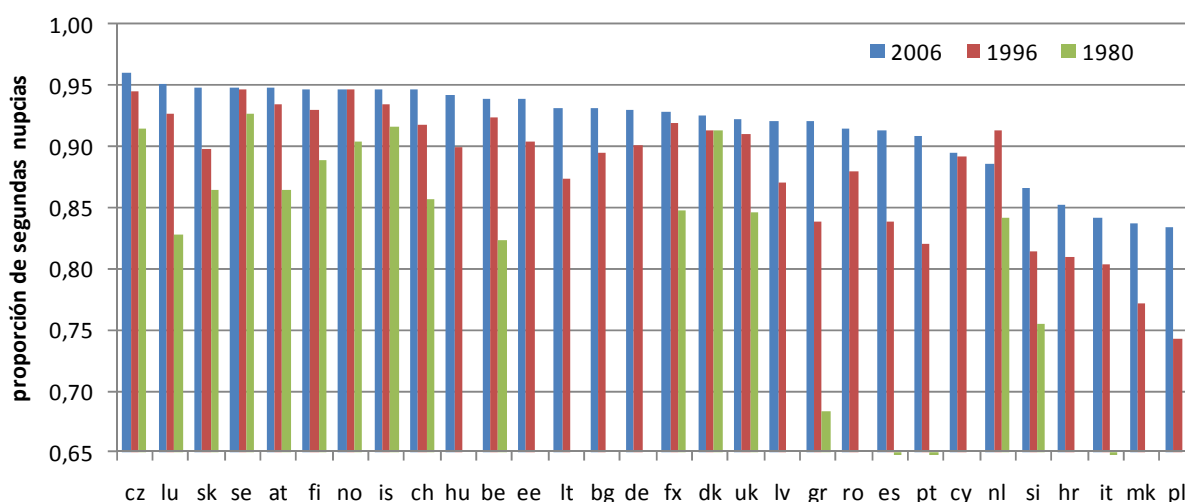
Description: Since 1980, the proportion of remarriages of divorced men and women in relation to all marriages has increased substantially. While in the UK, the Nordic and Baltic countries this increase was only marginal during the last decade, in southern countries such as Spain and Portugal the increase was more substantial due to the very small stock of divorcees in the 1980s. Small gender differences can also be observed, the most obvious being that proportions for women are lower in almost each country, although differences are not large.

C. Marriages of divorced persons as a proportion of all second marriages

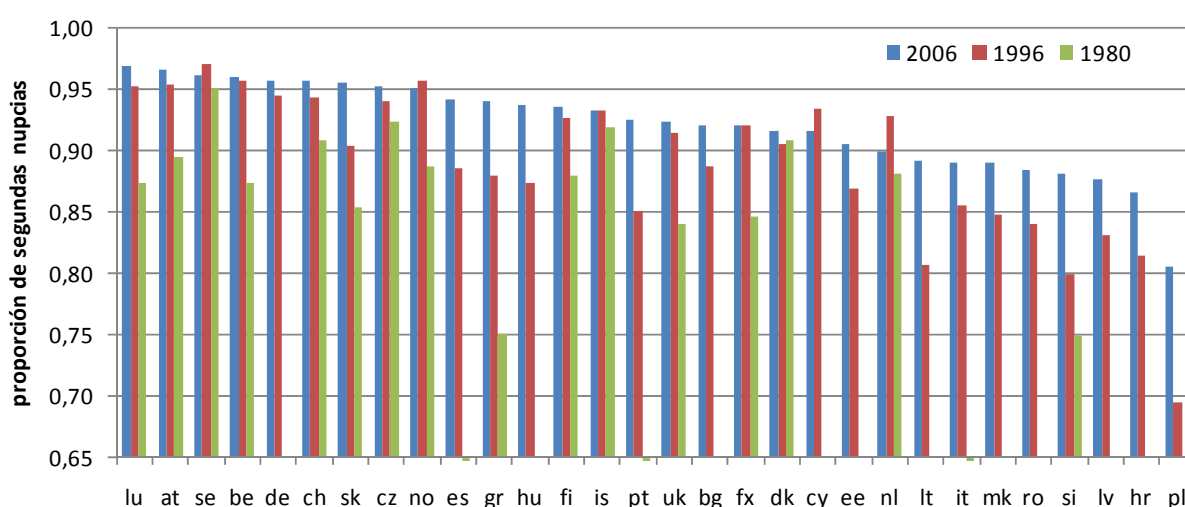
Definition: The proportion of remarriages of divorced men/women in relation to all remarriages (i.e. that of divorced and widowed persons).

1. Marriages of divorced as a proportion of all second marriages, 1980, 1996 and 2006.

a. Men



b. Women



Data source: Eurostat and websites of national statistical institutes.

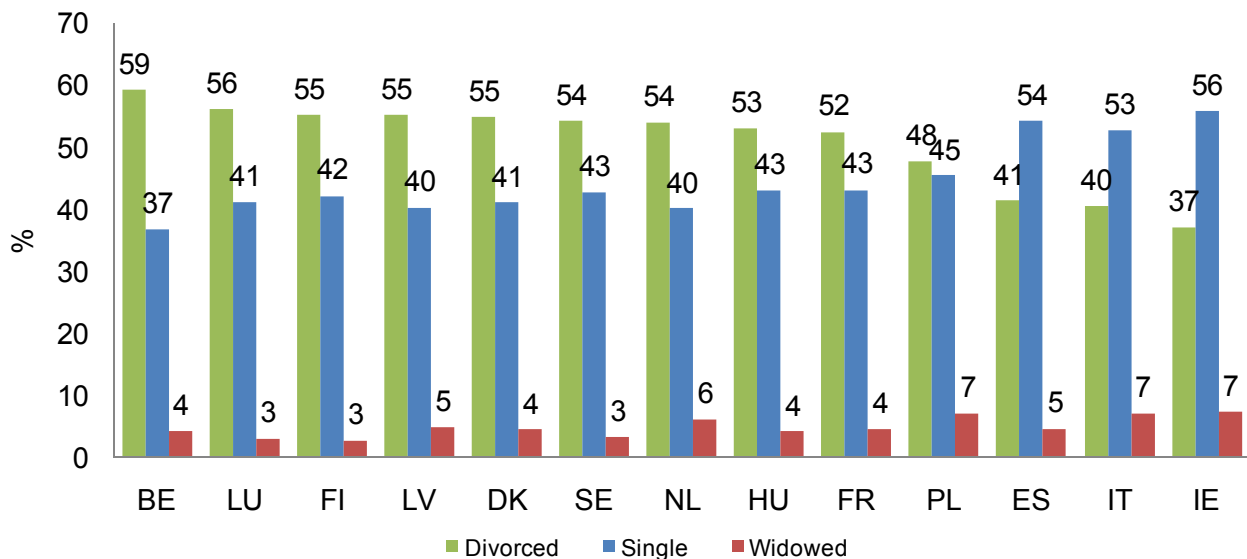
Description: As fewer people become widowed at young or middle age due to a rise in life expectancy and it has become socially accepted that divorced persons remarry, the proportion of all remarriages that involves at least one divorced person has continued to increase over the last decades in almost all countries observed. In most Nordic countries as well as in several central and western European countries, this proportion already reached 95% in 1996. In most southern European and Balkan countries, on the other hand, only between 80-85% of all remarriages were of persons who were divorced in 2006, although this was significantly higher than ten years earlier (unfortunately, few data could be obtained for 1980). The proportion is slightly higher for women

than for men as widowers are still more likely to remarry than widows, even though the stock of widows is much lower.

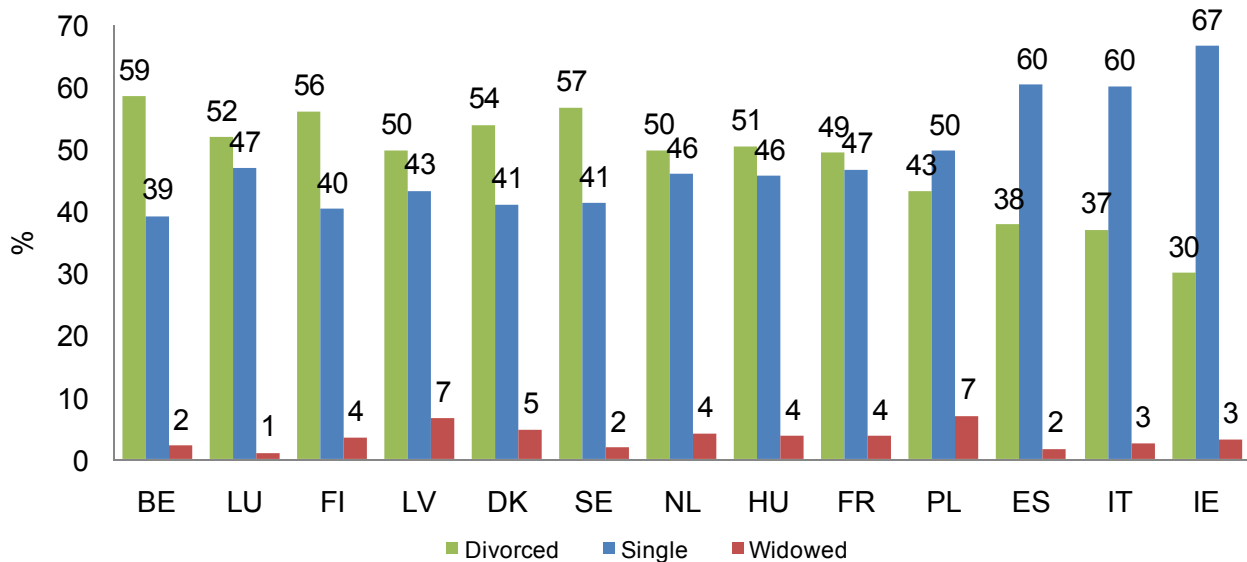
D. Marriages of divorced by marital status of the spouse

Definition: The proportion of marriages of divorced men/women by the marital status of the spouse (heterosexual marriages only).

1. Marriages of divorced women according to husband's previous marital status (% of total)



2. Marriages of divorced men according to wife's previous marital status (% of total)



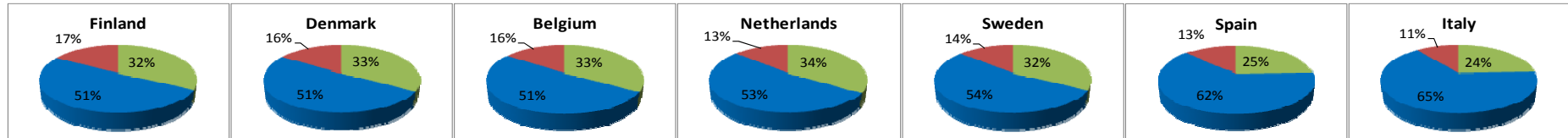
Data source: National statistical institutes (websites and personal communication).

Description: The majority of divorced men and women who remarry do so with someone who is also divorced (between 50 and 60% of the total), followed by singles ($\pm 40\%$) and widows ($\pm 5\%$), with few male-female differences. The exceptions are Spain, Italy and Ireland as not only divorced men but also divorced women are more likely to remarry singles although in the case of men in the case of men the proportions are higher (Poland shows different proportions for men and women).

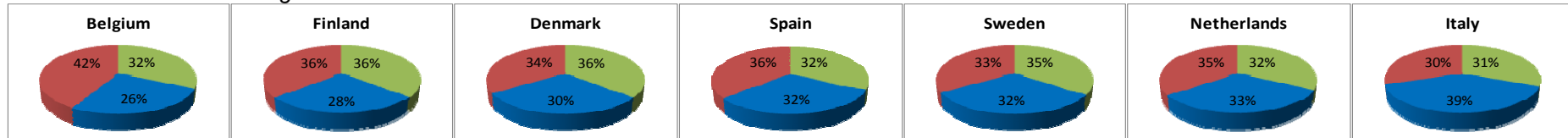
E. Newly-wed divorcees by relative age of spouse and partner's previous marital status. 2006 or thereabouts.

Definition: Age differences at marriage between partners of which at least one is divorced.

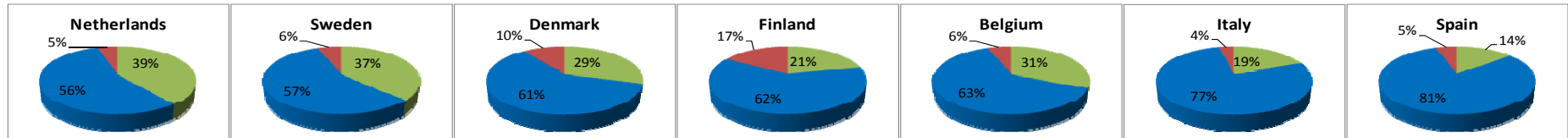
1. Divorced women and divorced men



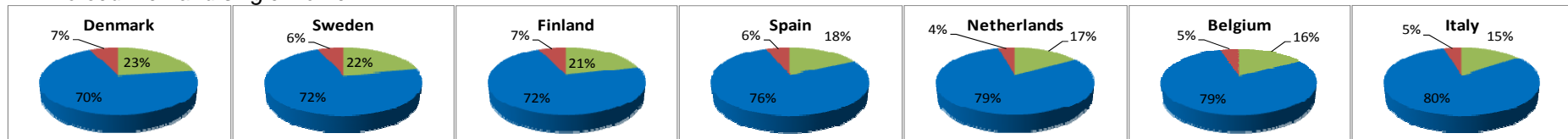
2. Divorced women and single men



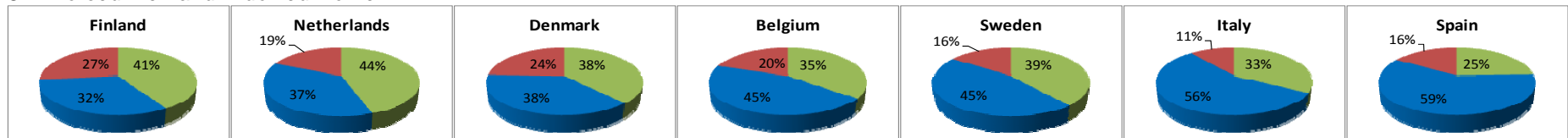
3. Divorced women and widowed men



4. Divorced men and single women



5. Divorced men and widowed women



Legend: ■ Same age (within same 5-year age interval) ■ Husband > Wife ■ Wife > Husband.

Data source: National statistical institutes (websites and personal communication).

Description: Husbands are older than their wives in just over half of the marriages between two divorced persons that took place around 2006 in the five western and northern European countries for which data could be obtained. This increased to about two-thirds in the two southern European countries Italy and Spain. Age differences were often even larger when divorced men married single women as over 70% were older according to the criterion that was used and only about 5% were younger. When divorced men marry widows, men were older than their spouses in 32%-45% of newly-weds in northern and western Europe with a similar proportion being of the same age. The wives were older in the remaining quarter to fifth of the marriages. As regards to Italy and Spain, husbands were older in close to 60% of marriages. Conversely, when divorced women who marry widowers the distribution of age differences is even more skewed as about 60% of the husbands are older. In the two southern European countries this rises to about 80%. Finally, the distribution of age differences is about equal when divorced women marry single men: marriage partners in a third of all marriages are of approximately the same age, in another third the husbands are older and in the remaining third the wives are older. In the case of the latter this rises to 42% in Belgium.

F. Odds of living in a partnership among the divorced

Data on repartnering derived from civil registrations have a selection bias because it can only pertain to remarriage, not to repartnering in general. There is also another selection effect, namely that separated men and women who did not divorce are also excluded from analysis as they cannot marry. Particularly for countries (or years) where one has to separate for a certain period before being able to divorce, repartnering is likely to be underestimated using official registers. One alternative is to look at survey data. Although conducted between 13-20 years ago, the FFS is still the most comprehensive in terms of participating countries and data availability.

Definition: An odd is the probability that an event occurs divided by the probability that it does not occur. The following table shows the odd that divorcees live in a partnership:

Description: Results show that divorced and separated men always have a higher odd of living in a partnership than women with the same marital status. In terms of country differences, the odds ratio is highest for Austria, followed by France and Finland and is closest to one in Hungary, Belgium and Norway. In terms of the sex-specific odds, Slovenian and Austrian males are almost as likely to live with a partner, than without. The lowest odds are observed for Hungary and Germany (respectively 0,40 and 0,45). With respect to separated and divorced women, the odds to live with a partner is about a third for five of the countries, including the three for which the highest male female odds ratio was observed, and about 0,6 for the remaining three (Norway, Belgium and Hungary).

Although no country-analysis was performed due to a lack of sample size for the majority of countries in the FFS, if we would introduce the presents or not of household members, i.e. children or parents, the overall odds to live with partner stays at about 1/3 for separated or divorced women if they have children living with them or not. However, when there are also parents present, the odds are substantially lower. Again, the odds to live with partner is generally higher for men than for women (odds ratio = 1,52), although especially when there are children involved (odds ratio = 4,88). It is highly likely that the children that live with the divorced or separated male are fruit of the

new relationship. In addition, *not* living with parents provokes a higher than average risk of living with a new partner among separated or divorced men, while there is no effect for women.

1. Odds of living in partnership among divorced and separated men and women

Country	Men	Women	Odds ratio
Austria, 1995-96	0,81	0,29	2,75
France, 1994	0,56	0,30	1,89
Finland, 1989-90	0,56	0,33	1,71
Germany, 1992	0,45	0,30	1,47
Slovenia, 1994-1995	0,88	0,63	1,41
Norway, 1988-89	0,68	0,58	1,18
Belgium, 1991-92	0,65	0,57	1,16
Hungary, 1992-93	0,40	0,36	1,13

2. Odds of living with partner with and without other types of household members

Odds of respondent to live with partner	M	F	Odds ratio	< 10 cases in at least one cell
Overall	0,49	0,32	1,52	No
For those who don't live with children	0,24	0,35	0,70	No
For those who live with children	1,55	0,32	4,88	No
For those who don't live with parents	0,58	0,35	1,67	No
For those who live with parents	0,09	0,09	1,04	No
For those who don't live with children nor parents	0,29	0,39	0,74	No
For those who don't live with children but with parents	0,07	0,05	1,34	Si
For those who live with children but not with parents	1,72	0,34	5,09	No
For those who live with children and parents	0,26	0,10	2,68	Si

Source: FFS data (own calculations).

G. Rate of entering into a new union

Besides the fact that men are more prone in starting a new relationship after a union break-up, they also tend to enter a new union at a faster rate than women. One way to verify this is by conducting survival function analyses on the same FFS data. Subsequently, an equality test on the survival function distributions by sex can be done to estimate significance or not any gender differences in the rate of entering into a new union. These final results are shown below. Unlike in the previous analysis, all those who have experienced a dissolution in a relationship is used, not only those who are legally separated or divorced.

Description: As shown in the table, in the same countries that previously showed the highest odds ratios of living in a partnership among divorced and separated persons, men also entered into new unions quicker. In addition to these, the Czech Republic and Spain (not previously analysed) can also be added. On the other hand, in Slovenia, Hungary, Estonia (not previously analysed), Norway and Belgium, men and women enter equally quickly into a new relationship.

1. Equality test (Log Rank (Mantel-Cox)) between male and female differences in survival functions (i.e. from the end of the first union to the beginning of a second union)

Country	Chi-squared	df	Sig.
France, 1994	36,674	1	0,000
Austria, 1995-96	18,413	1	0,000
Czech Republic, 1997	16,736	1	0,000
Finland, 1989-90	14,969	1	0,000
Germany, 1992	6,081	1	0,014
Spain, 1994-95	5,746	1	0,017
Slovenia, 1994-1995	2,203	1	0,138
Hungary, 1992-93	1,867	1	0,172
Slovenia, 1994	1,666	1	0,197
Norway, 1988-89	1,635	1	0,201
Belgium, 1991-92	1,240	1	0,265

Source: FFS data (own calculations).

3.3. Indicators of new parenthood of (ex)divorcees.

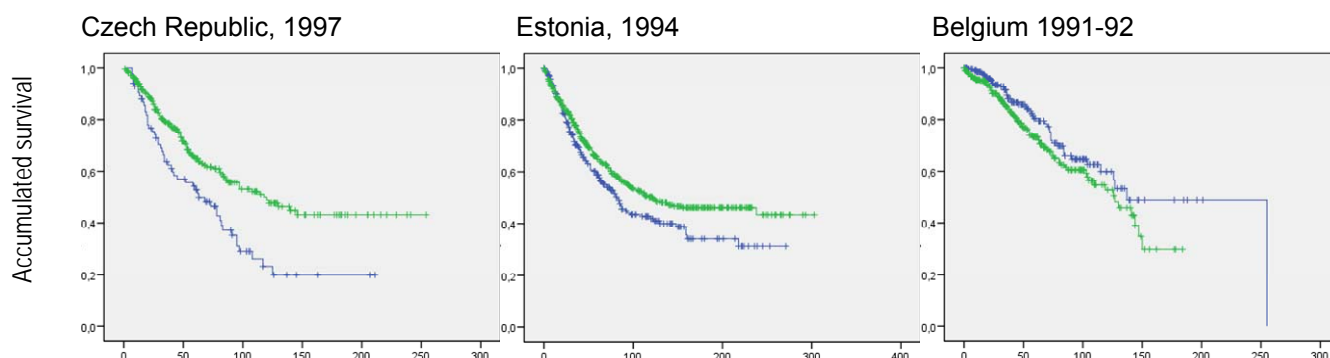
A. Rate of entering into new parenthood

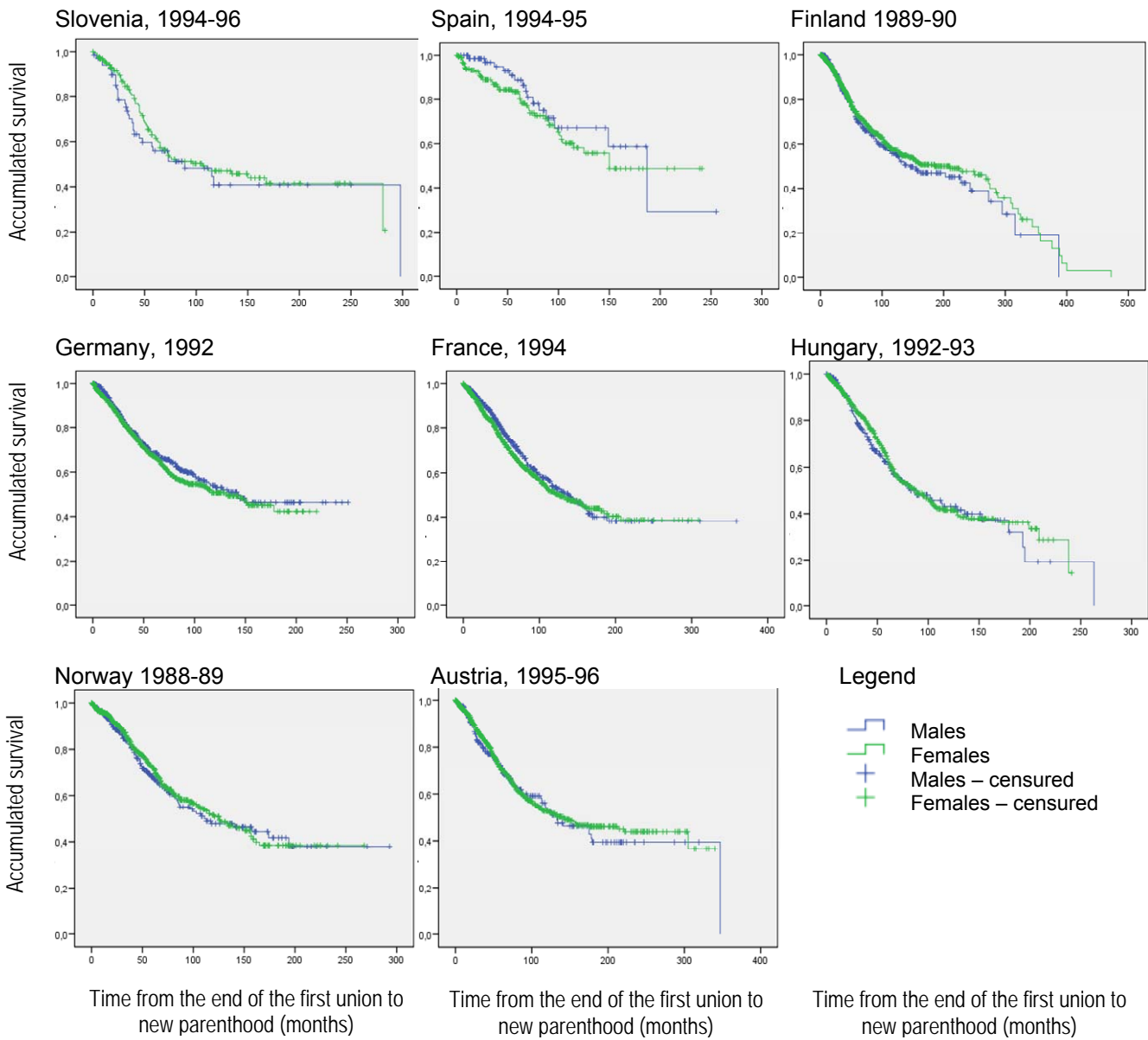
In a similar way that entering into new unions was analysed, it is possible to calculate survival functions of the time from the end of the first union to new parenthood.

As the results show below, gender differences in new parenthood are most apparent in Estonia and Czech Republic (where paternities occur faster), but are less important in Belgium, Spain and Slovenia (where it appears that maternities occur faster). In the remaining countries no gender differences are found.

As to the timing of new parenthood, in most countries about half have become parents ten years (120 months) after the end of the first union, although this occurs earlier for Estonian and Czech men and later for Spanish men.

1. Survival functions (from the end of the first union to new parenthood)





Source: FFS data (own calculations).

4. Living arrangements after divorce

As the post-divorce repartnering indicators showed, women are generally less likely to remarry or re-partner after divorce than men are. This would imply that sex differences are also likely to exist in different types of living arrangements, such as living alone, with a partner or with children. For eight EU27 countries it was possible to reconstruct a simple household typology using data from the IPUMS database (see section 2.3) for the purpose of analysing country- and sex-differences in living arrangements. The results are shown below:

1. Household structure of the divorced population¹ in eight European countries.

	Austria '01	France '99	Greece '01	Hungary '01	Italy '01	Romania '02	Spain '01	Great Britain '01
Males								
One person household	28,9%	33,7%	26,0%	24,1%	26,3%	21,3%	15,3%	26,7%
With partner ²	22,0%	10,3%	3,2%	8,5%	6,0%	5,3%	4,3%	9,4%
With partner + own child(ren) ³	17,7%	13,5%	2,4%	12,6%	10,9%	9,8%	12,9%	12,2%
With own child(ren) ⁴	26,9%	37,6%	51,0%	41,4%	48,7%	51,5%	53,5%	42,3%
With parent(s) ⁵	1,4%	1,6%	8,9%	4,5%	5,5%	7,8%	5,3%	2,8%
Other living arrangements	3,1%	3,2%	8,5%	8,9%	2,7%	4,3%	8,8%	6,6%
Divorced population	349740	1267420	97750	359760	811360	313480	475060	1093500
Females								
One person household	28,9%	33,7%	26,0%	24,1%	26,3%	21,3%	15,3%	26,7%
With partner	22,0%	10,3%	3,2%	8,5%	6,0%	5,3%	4,3%	9,4%
With partner + own child(ren)	17,7%	13,5%	2,4%	12,6%	10,9%	9,8%	12,9%	12,2%
With own child(ren)	26,9%	37,6%	51,0%	41,4%	48,7%	51,5%	53,5%	42,3%
With parent(s)	1,4%	1,6%	8,9%	4,5%	5,5%	7,8%	5,3%	2,8%
Other arrangements	3,1%	3,2%	8,5%	8,9%	2,7%	4,3%	8,8%	6,6%
Divorced population	410970	1741400	182280	523500	1063560	487790	678120	1508800

Source: www.international.ipums.org (see Table 3); own elaboration and calculations. Notes:

¹ In the case of Austria, France and Hungary sample includes those living in collective dwellings (groups quarters).

² Excludes partners of children of head of household in France, Greece and Italy. May include other persons, but excludes children that form part of the family nuclei.

³ 'Child' usually includes adopted and step-children. In Romania also includes foster children. May include other persons.

⁴ Excludes partner, but may include other persons.

⁵ Excludes partner and children, but may include other persons.

Results show that around the turn of the millennium some divergence between the traditionally family-orientated countries of southern Europe and more individual northern and eastern European countries can still be observed. To the former countries Romania may also be included. For instance, fewer divorced men live with a new partner (generally less than 10%) and even less women (6% or less). At the same time, 41% of Austrian men and 22% of Austrian women do so. On the other hand, when there are also children in the household with the new partner, North-South differences largely disappear, except for Greece. Conversely, in southern European countries divorcees are more likely to live only with their children, women in particular (i.e. about 50% of all female divorcees in Greece, Italy, Romania and Spain). As to divorcees who only live with their parents, this is more likely among men than among women and especially those from Greece and Romania (about a quarter of the total). In terms of the largest category, one-person households, there is no clear geographical pattern, although this form of living arrangement is more popular among men (up to about 45% in France and Italy) than among women (up to one-third of French divorcees). Finally, there is a division in countries between those who live in "other forms of living arrangements", that is, those who do not live alone, with a partner, with children or with their parents (for instance with other relatives like siblings, aunts or uncles or with non-relatives). In Greece, Hungary, Spain and the UK this proportion among male divorcees is 10-13% and among female divorcees about 8%, while in Austria, France, Italy and Romania it ranges from 4-5% among men and 3-4% among women.

4. Summary

While still a lot of work has to be done in terms of the design of the European atlas of divorce and post-divorce indicators, the process of data collection and the construction of relevant indicators – including the prevalence of divorce, repartnering, new parenthood and the living arrangement trajectories that people experience after divorce – are almost completed.

While the main purpose of the Atlas is to present the geographical differences in the indicators in the form of maps, graphs and tables, rather than dig into possible sociological explanations for the observed differences, some description and brief interpretation of the results will also be provided, as was done for this paper.

The main findings of the Atlas may be briefly summarised as followed:

- Crude divorce indicators as well as the Total Divorce Rate, a synthetic indicator, are useful for analysing the effects of sudden economic, social or legislative changes on divorce, as we have seen for Eastern European countries, Spain or Sweden. On the other hand, cohort indicators show more long-term trends, although per definition one has to wait many years before one could accurately state anything about the completed divorce rates of recent marriage cohorts.
- In terms of the obtained results, clear north-south differences still exist in Europe, but there is clear converging trend occurring as the south is “catching up” on the behavioural patterns of the Nordic countries. Countries of western, central and eastern Europe usually take on a position somewhere in the middle, although there are numerous exceptions. For instance, Catholic Poland shows patterns often similar to southern Europe and the Czech Republic to northern Europe.

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