

Historical types of forms of marital unions in Western and Central Europe

Ekaterina A. Kalabikhina
STUDENT OF ECONOMIC FACULTY
LOMONOSOV MOSCOW STATE UNIVERSITY
ADDRESS: 462 ROOM, POPULATION DEPARTMENT,
ECONOMIC FACULTY, LENINSKIE GORY, MSU, 119991, RUSSIA
TEL.: +7(495) 939-2928
FAX: +7 (495) 9393-0877
E-MAIL: EKALABIKHINA@YANDEX.RU.

In the European population last decades there are enormous changes in nuptiality processes, there is a change of marriage patterns. The research objective – to analyze change of marriage patterns in Europe.

DATA

Following databases for construction of dynamics of the basic indicators of marriage patterns on groups of the European countries have been used: Eurostat (<http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/population/data/database>), Demovision (<http://devision-dmo.econ.msu.ru/>), Demoscope (<http://demoscope.ru/weekly/pril.php>).

THEORETICAL CONCEPTS OF MARRIAGE

The basic concept of historical marriage patterns has put forward J.Hajnal in which opinion in the late Middle Ages the European marriage pattern (Hajnal, 1979) is formed. For this pattern later marriages and higher share of a celibacy in the population are characteristic. J.Hajnal allocates two basic marriage patterns: traditional and European. For the European marriage pattern which J.Hajnal named unique, the later introduction into marriage and a considerable share of the persons who never were married are characteristics. It has arisen in the end of XVII century in the Western Europe and has divided continent on two zones, from St.-Petersburg to Trieste where the line dividing them, passes through the Central Europe. J.Hajnal considered that in all Western Europe there is a uniformity of types of a family and prevails nuclear families.

Adherent J.Hajnal, P.Laslett, has divided Europe not on two, and into four geographical zones. To M.Mitterauer and K.Kaser have given the new form of model J.Hajnal, speaking about certain to "a transitive zone» between the western and east type of a family in Europe (Sholtychek, 2008). R.Fosser and J. Russell on the basis of monastic inventories (poliptics) about the West European country family of the Karoling period (basically — IX century, France) study an early stage of formation of the European marriage pattern, also doing a conclusion about transitivity and a duality of marriage patterns in territory of France during an epoch of the early Middle Ages (Blonin, 1989).

Let's notice that not only the different historical period of time was "start" for development of the European marriage pattern in different parts of Europe, but also distribution of certain marriage pattern in this or that part of Europe varied in due course, at times cardinally. For example, the European marriage pattern after the Second World War was replaced non-European, and then again the population of northwest Europe has returned to the European marriage pattern.

Social and economic, demographic and institutional factors play an essential role in formation of certain marriage pattern. For example, the type of social and economic development of the country, various social and economic transformations or type of managing and economic characteristics of house economy concerns socio-economic factors. To institutional factors there are changes in the family and marriage legislation, inheritance model (for example, majorat), and also attitudes of people concerning marriage and a family, inter-generational and gender relations concern. It is possible to carry to demographic factors: age and sex population structure, structure and the size of households.

Presence of independent family manufacture strengthened institute of marriage, a family. And on the contrary, dependent (serf) peasants had less children, than independent peasants (Avdeev, 1986). In many researches the structure of households and feature of family structure is by the essential factor of formation of certain marriage pattern. For example, first, in Rejmsky and Marseilles abbeys the share of those who concluded marriages with "strangers" (manors was high were the small size and are scattered), and secondly, the share not married to majority was rather high. Possibly, in the dependent population church in territory of the Western Europe in the early Middle Ages there were two marriage patterns — traditional and "European" (Blonin, 1989). Types of families in the Central Europe in the late Middle Ages were traditional or intermediate. Interesting results in studying of family structures were given by M. Sholtychek (communities Bujakov) where 2/3 families were nuclear. Besides, the servants institute (unmarried and unmarried young servants made 12,9 % from the general population) and lodgers (which 3 % of the population of arrival) has been developed (Sholtychek, 2008).

The concept of the Second demographic transition became the second powerful concept, explaining modern changes in processes of nuptiality in Europe (Lesthaeghe, van de Kaa, 1986; van de Kaa, 1987). This putting off marriages in later age, growth of not registered marriage unions (cohabitation pre- and post- marriage or even instead of marriage), growth of illegitimate birth rate, growth of divorce rate, decrease in probability of repeated marriages, growth of level of ultimate childlessness.

The second demographic transition has begun rather recently - in last third of XX-th century - and is caused by a new stage of modernization of a society. Postmodernist changes in system of values of individuals are put in a basis of the second transition. Under statement Lesthaeghe and Surkyn (Lesthaeghe and Surkyn, 2004), the first demographic transition passed under aegis «a traditional family», the second – has changed marriage pattern. They have proved also that the second demographic transition has extended on Southern, Central and the Eastern Europe (see also Zakharov (2005) about these processes in Russia, Sobotka (2008) - in Central and the Eastern Europe), and its elements are observed in the non-European developed countries. Thus Lesthaeghe and Surkyn have shown that the role of cultural factors in this process in Central and the Eastern Europe is more significant, than the economic crisis and social and economic transition as transition signs in this territory were observed before crisis events and have remained on its end.

MARRIAGE IN MODERN EUROPE

Despite divergences of authors concerning the marriage pattern's characteristic in East and the Central Europe and other parts of the world, the majority agrees in opinion that Northern and the Western Europe – the advanced countries in changes in marriage pattern (van de Kaa, 1987; Ivanov, 2002; Sardon, 2004; Iwasawa and Kaneko, 2007). We have divided the European countries on marriage pattern into 5 groups: Northern Europe, Western Europe, Southern Europe, Eastern Europe, and European countries of The Commonwealth of Independent States. Results are close to results of the specified authors, however owing to rapprochement of models we have designated medium (transition) conditions (see Table1).

The analysis of the basic nuptiality indicators in Europe for all European regions confirms, as transition of all European population to the European marriage pattern, and the introduction into the second demographic transition. As a rule, a divergence in dynamics of the basic indicators of different European regions is due to that one countries after others enter the second demographic transition. Besides, on separate indicators transition in one countries goes faster, to others more slowly. Rapprochement of almost all nuptiality indicators for all regions of Europe is observed.

Table 1. Patterns of marriage in modern Europe

	<i>Total rate of first marriage</i>	<i>Total rate of divorce</i>	<i>Mean age at first marriage</i>	<i>Cohabitation</i>	<i>Birth out of marriage</i>
NE	L	H	H	H	H
WE	L	H	H	H	M
SE	<u>M/H</u>	L	<u>M/L</u>	L	L
EE	<u>M/H</u>	H	<u>M/L</u>	L	M
CISE	<u>M/H</u>	H	L	L	M

Note: NE – Northern Europe, WE – Western Europe, SE – Southern Europe, EE – Eastern Europe, CISE – European countries of The Commonwealth of Independent States. L – low, H – high, M - medium.

Let's dwell upon separate nuptiality indicators. More and more men and women enter first marriage later, not registered unions become more widespread form of joint residing, and cohabitation turns to marriage less often. Divorces occur more often, the quantity of the people living in the consecutive unions, increases. For example, at the age of 35-39 years, one of four women in Sweden already consisted in the second or more cohabitations. In cohort of 1965 in Sweden four women from ten at the age of 50th years never were married, in Norway - three of ten women, Finland and France also are close to Norway (Prioux, 2006, p.3). And French cohort of 1970 are already close to a parity «four women from ten» (Toulemon, 1996, p.679). Marriage has ceased to carry out social and political functions as it was throughout many centuries when families (parents) concluded the contract on marriage of children for the purpose of association of capitals, the earths, the conclusion of the political unions. Today marriage is the union of loving people is more often, and the marriage purpose is the birth of children. Decrease in the importance of church marriage in the conditions of growth of repeated marriages has affected today and on wedding ceremony – it became a holiday, instead of serious ritual. The role of parents becomes all less significant. If spouses conclude church marriage seven of ten parents participate in ceremony financing, if a civil marriage only four from ten parents participate in it (Bozon, 1992).

In Picture 1 we can see decreasing crude marriage rate (CMR) practically in all regions of Europe over the last 50 years. In Northern and Western Europe CMR by 1960th year was more low, than in Southern and the Eastern Europe. In the Eastern Europe decrease CMR has occurred sharply in the beginning 1990th. The General database which we used (EVROSTAT), does not contain long dynamic numbers across the CIS countries. Growth CMR in the European part of the CIS in second half 2000th is connected with general "warming" of a demographic climate and with improvement of age structure of the population. Dynamics of the general factors is in many respects defined by population ageing, and not just change of marriage behaviour.

Picture 1 (above here).

Crude divorce rate (CDR) growth is observed in all regions of Europe in 2-2,5 times for the last half a century. Lag behind in level of these changes of the country of Southern Europe, advance – the European CIS countries (Picture 2).

Level of CDR in the Mediterranean countries more low on a number the institutional reasons. For example, in Italy the Catholic church is still strong. Besides, the legislation imposes a minimum three years of separate residing of spouses on a judgement before they can achieve divorce again. More than 40 % of the pairs living thus, as a result do not get divorced (Prioux, 2006, p.4).

Picture 2 (above here).

The share of first marriages both at men, and at women in all regions of Europe decreases, among lagging behind again the countries of Southern Europe, to a lesser degree countries of Eastern Europe. The information across the European CIS countries is only for 2006, under this data the share of first marriages is in this region at level of the countries Northern and the Western Europe (Picture 3).

Picture 3 (above here).

Decrease in total rate of first marriages (at women and at men) also confirms serious changes in marriage pattern which occurred in all European regions about 1960th on the present (Picture 4).

Picture 4 (above here).

Growth of these indicators in separate calendar years (and even excess of it above 1) is connected by that indicators are constructed for synthetic cohorts, and their dynamics depends on current events (change of the legislation, crises and so forth).

The total rate of first marriages has decreased at the North European men and women before all, the West European men and women a little lagged behind. Decrease in the given indicator at the South European population is observed only about 1980th, at the European population of the CIS – sharp falling about 1990th (from higher level to level of the North European countries).

The total rate of divorce also reflects tendencies of transition to new marriage pattern and sequence of the European regions in this process (Picture 5). Northern and the Western Europe begin transition, the Eastern Europe and the European CIS countries enter further (the last are late again and then quickly catch up with the countries Northern and the Western Europe). Countries of Eastern Europe (Slovenia, Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, Croatia) on the given indicator in the end of 2000th in 3 times lag behind Belgium, Sweden, Luxembourg, Switzerland.

Picture 5 (above here).

The share of births out of marriage (this is a fertility indicator, but he is closely connected with marriage pattern) grows in Northern Europe from 1960th, reaching by this time 50 %, and about 1980th growth of this indicator begins in all other regions of Europe and reaches by the end of 2000th of 30-40 % (Picture 6).

Picture 6 (above here).

Thus in a number of the countries (mainly in the Eastern Europe: Croatia, Poland, Bosnia and Herzegovina) the share of births out of marriage remains at level of 10-18 %, and in a number of the countries (Iceland, Estonia, Sweden, Norway) – at level of 55-65 %. We will notice that the most serious changes in level of birth out of marriage in all groups of the countries have occurred on a boundary of the XX-XXI centuries.

Let's dwell upon a calendar (timing) of marriage (mean age at the first marriage). On this indicator of group of the European countries have dispersed to the greatest degree in the relation to dynamics of this indicator (Picture 7).

Picture 7 (above here).

In Northern Europe female mean age at the first marriage decreased to the middle of 1960th, but then constantly grew, having reached to the middle of 2000th of 30 years. In the Western Europe this indicator also decreased prior to the beginning of 1970th, and then grew almost till 29 years. In Southern Europe in 1960th mean age at the first marriage of women was the highest (25 years), then it decreased prior to the beginning of 1980th almost to age 23 years, then grew, having reached 26-27лет. In the Eastern Europe mean age at the first marriage of women was the lowest (22 years) and long time remained at this level, and at first 1990th began to grow and has almost reached 26 years. In the European CIS countries mean age at the first marriage also was one of the highest, then long decreased and has reached to the beginning of 1990th of the lowest level – 21,8 years. Today we observe growth of this indicator and in this group of the countries. In our opinion, the timing of marriage is a key indicator of the European marriage pattern and country introductions on a way of the second demographic transition.

The general almost for all countries is that fact that practically for all events we observe considerable shifts in a calendar of the specified events. "Ageing" of nuptiality and fertility occurs, the education period is extended, almost all events are postponed (Corijn, 2001, p.4). The countries of Southern Europe differ from countries of Western Europe that they finish formation earlier and leave on a labor market, but leave the parental house later. Besides, leave the parental house usually precedes a marriage or creation of the partner union whereas to the Western and Northern Europe the youth leaves the parental house and not at once enters the marriage unions and in partner relations. Eastern Europe (Poland) differs from the above described countries more traditional marriage pattern: the youth early concludes the marriage unions, gives birth to children, changes in a calendar of demographic and social events occur slowly enough.

On the data in this work, we have calculated average indexes on all countries for evident representation of changes in a calendar of different events, representatives of cohorts of 1950th years and 1960th years of a birth (Picture 8). We see that to some extent shifts in a calendar of all events have occurred both at men, and at women: the age of approach of events has increased. It is important to notice that against changes of model of a growing of change in a calendar of marriage are the most significant (Picture 9).

Pictures 8,9 (above here).

For example, in France female mean age at the first marriage has increased since 22,9 years till 28 years from generation of 1955 of a birth to generation of 1970 of a birth. In cohort of 1950 by 25 years three women from four have married, and in cohort of twenty years later - only 30 % of women have married (Toulemon, 1996, p.680-681).

Postpone of official marriages for men has occurred almost 3 years, for women – 1,5 years. All other events have postponed not so strongly. However the birth of the first child at men and in a greater degree at women has postponed more than for 1 year. Exit school system also has postponed for 1 year. The age of the entry into labour market has to a lesser degree increased, especially at men, and age of the first union, especially at women. The age of leaving parental home has slightly increased at men and remained at former level (or even has a little decreased) with women.

Let's remind, mean age of women at the first marriage grows in all groups of the countries, and disorder on this indicator one of the greatest in Europe: in the European CIS countries it the lowest, in Northern Europe – the highest.

In France some factors for an explanation of increase in mean age at first marriage, for example, have been put forward: longer education, unemployment among youth at the introduction on a labour market, increase in independence at women, and also severe constraints in the market of rent of habitation (Prioux, 2006, pp. 1-2). The mean age at first marriage is closely connected with the years of leaving parental home. The countries of the Mediterranean differ from countries of Northern Europe of shares of the young men living with parents. Among the women who were born in the mid-sixties, only 60 % have left parents in 25 years to Spain and 66 % in Italy and Portugal, against 98 % in Sweden and 85-95 % in the Western Europe. In Germany after falling of the Berlin wall pair formation occurs today later, the number of marriages and cases of teenage pregnancy was considerably reduced since 1990. Researches in Great Britain and in France testify that the teenagers who have endured divorce of parents, exit education earlier, entry into labour market, leave the parental house, create the partner unions and give birth to children, and more often out of marriage. Especially strongly this dependence is shown in the event that the remained parent concludes new marriage and the child lives in a family in which one of parents is not its biological parent (Fronstin, Greenberg, Robins, 2001; Kiernan, 1992). By data longitude researches of 1958 cohort of three areas of England, by 33 years the girls who have endured divorce of parents, had wages much more low, than girls who did not worry it, and young men showed a smaller occupation level, than young men from families without divorce. Young men and women with divorced parents exit education earlier (Fronstin, Greenberg, Robins, 2001).

CONCLUSION

1. Historical marriage patterns and formations of families in different regions of Europe during the different periods were rather diverse. Presence of signs of the "European" marriage pattern it was observed already during the early periods of the Middle Ages in the Western Europe. For the Central Europe such "transitivity" was characteristic during an epoch of the late Middle Ages. Further we observe cyclic change of marriage patterns in Europe: non-European marriage pattern (mainly to a XVIII-th century) – the European marriage pattern (a XVIII-th century – the XX-th century beginning) - non-European marriage pattern (the third – the fifth decade of the XX-th century) – the European marriage pattern (from the middle of 1960th on the present).

2. Marriage patterns are in many respects defined social and economic, institutional and the demographic factors operating in given territory at a given time. In particular, change of system of values in the concept of the second demographic transition is motive power of change of marriage pattern.

3. Modern marriage patterns are characterised by a great number of indicators (unlike the first classification of J.Hajnal): there are changes not only mean age at first marriage and a celibacy share, but also level of divorce, a share of repeated marriages, extend the unions.

4. Tendencies of changes of marriage patterns in Europe are similar in all groups of the European countries. However owing to non-uniformity of distribution of the second demographic transition in time we can allocate groups of the countries characterized by certain marriage pattern and features of its dynamics. The first groups of the countries which have been captured by the second demographic transition are the countries Northern and the Western Europe, then transition covers Southern and the Eastern Europe. After all transition is entered by the European CIS countries, but rates of change of many indicators in these countries higher, than in the countries-trailblazers.

5. In all groups of the countries the increase in mean age of demographic and social events is observed, but especially it is appreciable concerning increase in mean age at the first official marriage.

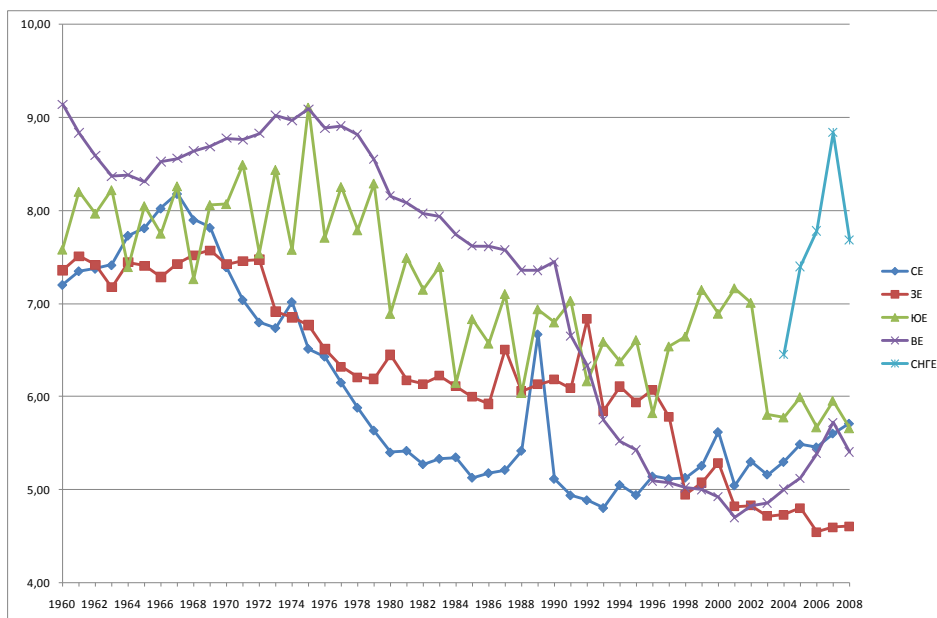
References

1. Avdeev A., 1986. Авдеев А.А. Семья в докапиталистических формациях // Сборник статей «Детность семьи: вчера, сегодня, завтра». Под ред. Томина В.П. М.: Изд. «Мысль», 1986.
2. Blonin V., 1989. Блонин В. А. Некоторые вопросы исторической демографии западноевропейского средневековья (к проблеме формирования «европейского» типа брачности) // Проблемы разложения феодализма и генезис капитализма в Европе: межвузовский сборник научных трудов / Горьк. гос.ун-т. Горький, 1989.
3. Bozon M., 1992, "Sociologie du rituel du mariage", *Population*, 47 (2), p.409-434.
4. Corijn M., 2001, Transitions to adulthood in Europe for the 1950s and 1960s cohort, <http://www-les-lundis.ined.fr/texts/MartineCorijn.pdf>.
5. Fronstin P., Greenberg D., Robins P., 2001, "Parental Disruption and the Labour Market Performance of Children When They Reach adulthood", *Journal of Population Economics*, 1, p. 137-172.
6. Hajnal G., 1979. Хайнал Дж. Европейский тип брачности в ретроспективе // Брачность, рождаемость, семья за три века. М., 1979.
7. Иванов S., 2002. Иванов С.Ф. Новое лицо брака в развитых странах // Население и общество. 2002. №63.
8. Iwasawa M., Kaneko R., 2007, Trends in partnership behaviors in Japan from the cohort respective. Work session on demographic projections. Bucharest.
9. Kiernan K., 1992, "The Impact of Family Disruption in Childhood on Transitions Made in Young Adult Life", *Population Studies*, 46 (2), p. 213-234.

10. Lesthaeghe R., 1991, "The second demographic transition in Western countries: an interpretation", Brussels, Centrum Sociologie, Vrije Universiteit (IPD Working paper 1991-2)
11. Lesthaeghe, R. and D. J. van de Kaa. 1986. "Twee demografische transitie?" In.: D. J. van de Kaa and R. Lesthaeghe (eds.) *Bevolking: groei en krimp*. Van Loghum Slaterus, Deventer.
12. Lesthaeghe, R., Surkyn J., 2004, "When history moves on: The foundations and diffusion of a second demographic transition", Paper presented at the seminar on "Ideational perspectives on international family change", Population Studies Center, Institute for Social Research (ISR), University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
13. Prioux F., 2006, "Vivre en couple, se marier, se séparer: contrastes européens", *Population et sociétés*, 22.
14. Sardon J.-P., 2004, "Évolution démographique récente des pays développés", *Population*, 59 (2), p. 305-360.
15. Sholtychek M., 2008. Шолтычек М. Семья и домохозяйство в центральной Европе // Историческая демография. М., 2008.
16. Sobotka T., 2008, "The diverse faces of the Second Demographic Transition in Europe", *Demographic Research*, vol.19, article 8, pages 171-224. <http://www.demographic-research.org/Volumes/Vol19/8/>.
17. Toulemon L., 1996, "La cohabitation s'installe dans la durée", *Population*, 51 (3), p.675-715.
18. Van de Kaa, D. J., 1987, "Europe's second demographic transition". *Population Bulletin* (United Nations), 42(1), Washington D.C., Population Reference Bureau.
19. Zakharov S., 2005. Захаров С. Перспективы рождаемости в России: второй демографический переход// Отечественные записки, 2005, № 3 (23)

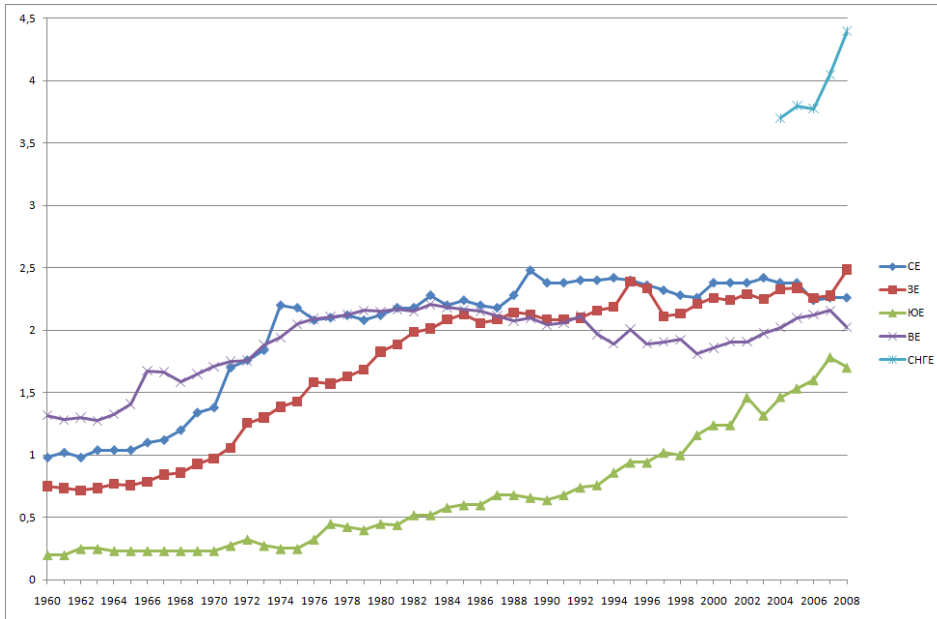
APPENDIXES

Picture 1. Crude Marriage Rate (per 1000)

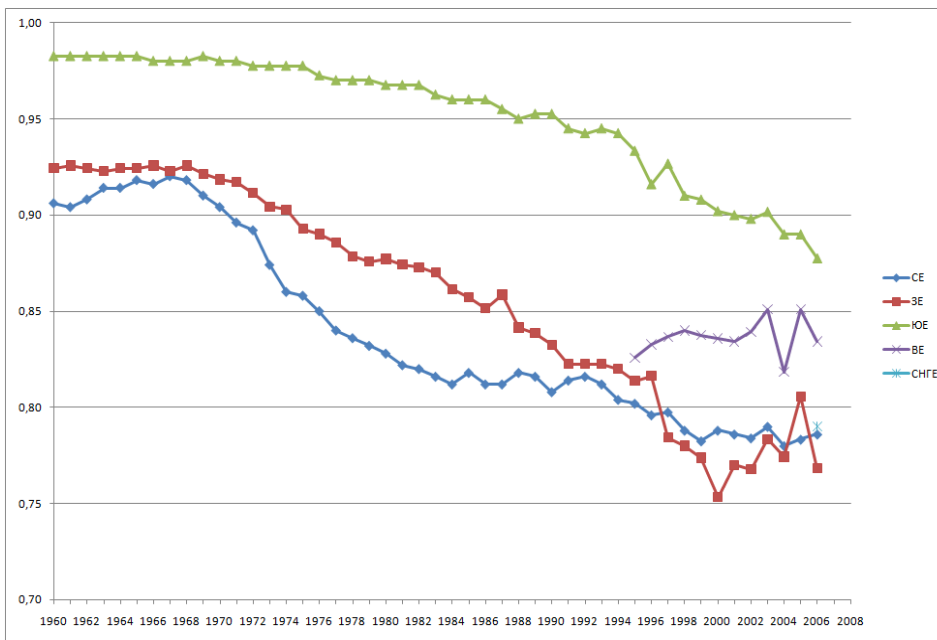


Note for pictures 1-7: CE (NE) – Northern Europe, 3E (WE) – Western Europe, IOE (SE) – Southern Europe, BE (EE) – Eastern Europe, CHFE (CISE) – European countries of The Commonwealth of Independent States

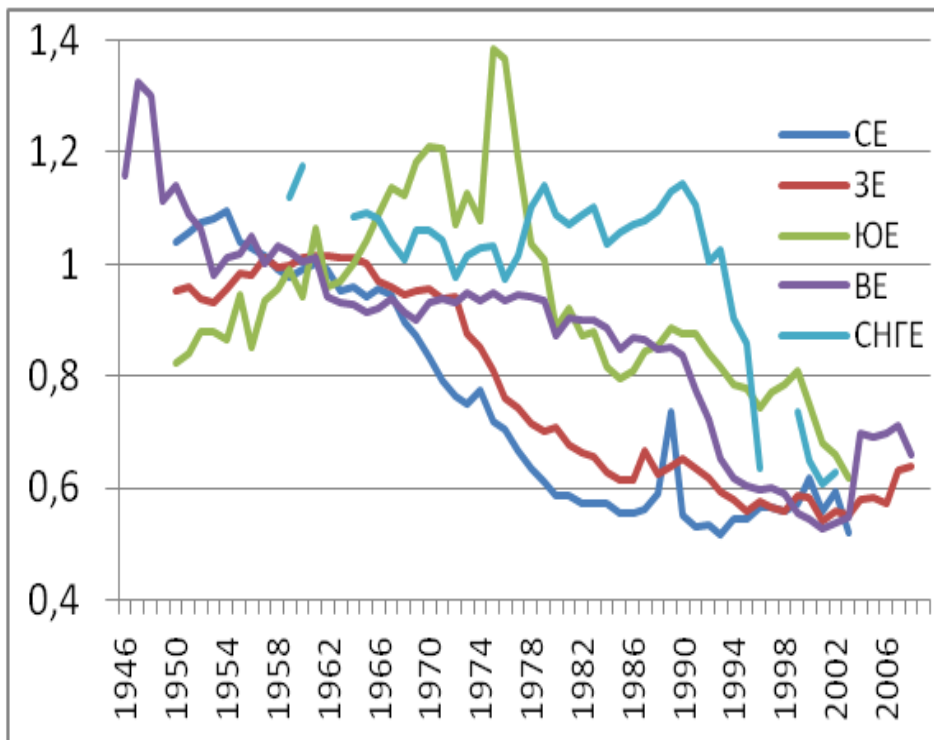
Picture 2. Crude Divorce Rate (per 1000)



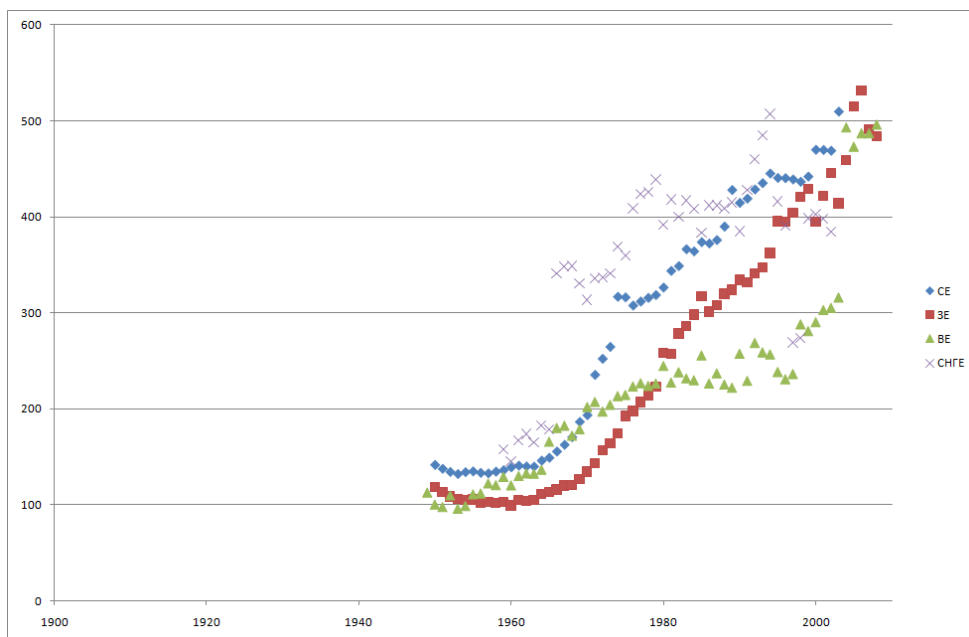
Picture 3. First marriages (% women)



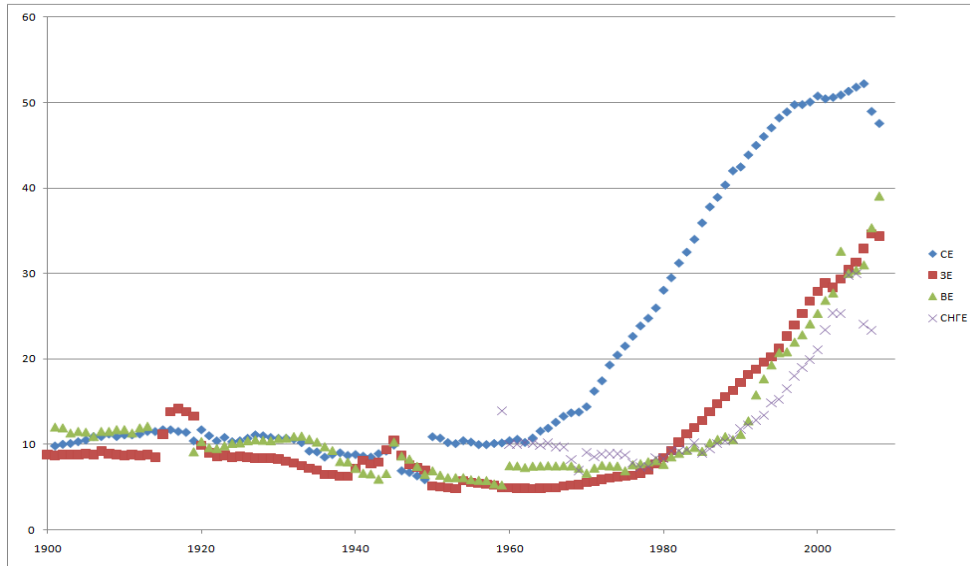
Picture 4. Total rate of first marriage, women



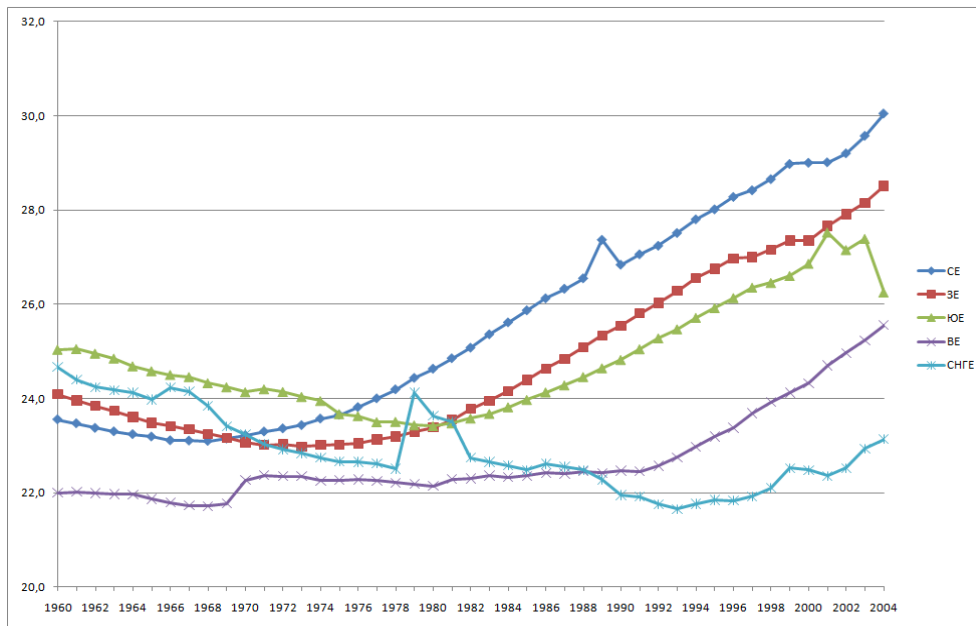
Picture 5. Total rate of divorce



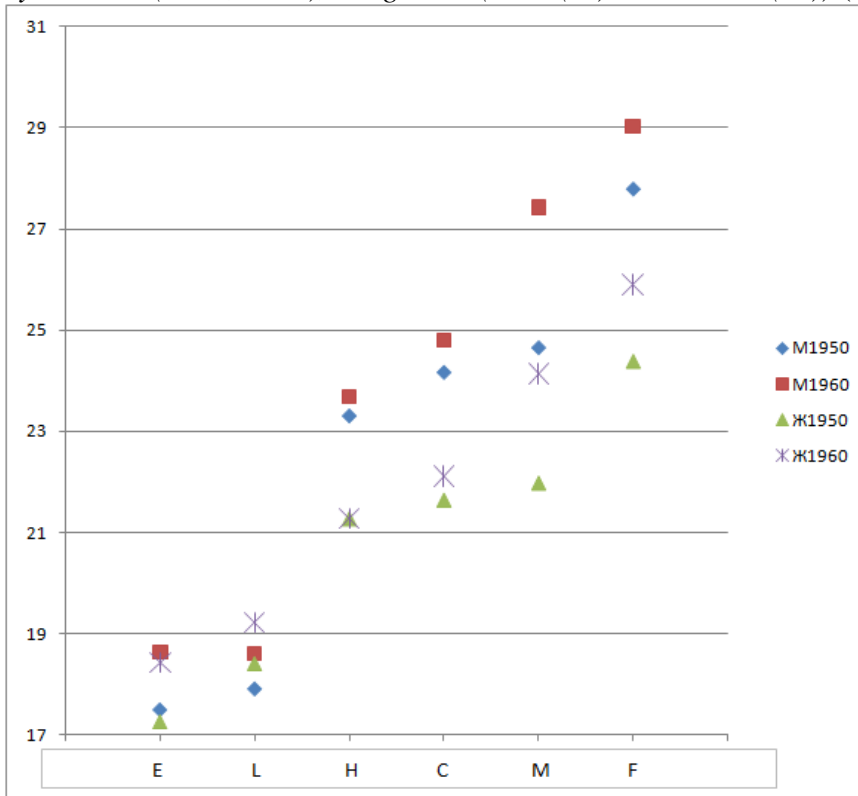
Picture 6. Birth out of marriage (%)



Picture 7. Mean age at first marriage, women



Picture 8. Median ages of some events of transitions to adulthood in some European countries, by cohorts (1950, 1960), and gender (men (M) and women (Ж)) (in years)



Note for picture 8-9: E - exit school system, L- entry into labour market, H - leaving parental home, C - first union, M - first marriage, F - first birth. Source: calculated on data from Corijn M., 2001, Transitions to adulthood in Europe for the 1950s and 1960s cohort, [http:// www-les-lundis.ined.fr/texts/MartineCorijn.pdf](http://www-les-lundis.ined.fr/texts/MartineCorijn.pdf).

Picture 9. Shifts in Median ages of some events of transitions to adulthood in some European countries, by cohorts (1950, 1960), and gender (men (M) and women (Ж)) (in years)

