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## A Marriage-Cohort Analysis of Legal Separations in Italy

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**Keywords:** legal separation, marriage-cohort life tables, Italian trends, projections

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**Keywords:** legal separation, marriage-cohort life tables, Italian trends, projections

## 1. Introduction

In Italy, marital dissolution was made legal in 1970 and entails two stages: a period of legal separation followed by divorce. Both legal separation and divorce become effective after a court verdict. The Divorce Act (1970) stipulated the minimum interval between legal separation and divorce to be five years, but in 1987 this was reduced to three years. Although only about 50% of legal separations are actually followed through to a final divorce (where the official sanctions of marriage disappear completely – see table 1), research shows that only a negligible proportion of legal separations lead to a reconciliation between spouses (Barbagli, 1990).

Given this context, an analysis of the continuous increase in legal marital dissolution in Italy is best carried out by focusing on legal separations. Data on each separation verdict are collected by Istat (Italian National Statistical Institute). In this paper, we have used these data since 1970; before 1970, legal separations were permitted, but they were very uncommon.

The aims of this short paper are (1) to illustrate the trends in legal separation in Italy by year of marriage and duration and (2) to forecast possible tendencies in the near future. In order to elaborate on our second point (i) we project the probabilities of legal separation by duration; (ii) we carry out a territorial analysis of the 20 Italian regions, putting forth several possible explanations for observed territorial differences; (iii) we compare Italy with Spain (where divorce became legal in 1981) and with other western countries where marital dissolutions are more common and became widespread earlier (USA, UK, and France). Our intention is not to provide a complete overview of differences in marriage dissolution among western countries; rather, considering Spain and forerunners countries we try to catch a glimpse of the future of legal marital dissolution in Italy.

We adopt a cohort approach, constructing legal separation life-tables by year of marriage. This technique is commonly used by demographers, but has seldom been employed in analyses of marriage dissolution. The most recent and quoted comparative article on this topic (Andersson and Dimiter, 2001) uses a period-approach, which is of little use in explaining a rapidly changing pattern of marital dissolution such as that in Italy over the last few decades. We therefore provide a detailed explanation of the methodology employed (see section 2) in the construction of the separation life-tables, as well as address the problem of interaction with mortality. In order to

illustrate the relevance of the cohort approach, the period life-tables are constructed and results are compared.

The legal separation life-tables by year of marriage help answer a number of important questions: Is separation increasing in intensity? Are there any “period-shocks” (i.e. period changes of probabilities of separation affecting each cohort of marriage, apart from the duration of marriage)? Has the timing of separation changed by marriage-cohort? Is the increase in the number of separations equally distributed by duration of marriage, or is it concentrated in the earlier or later years of marriage?

**Table 1. Marriages, legal separations and divorces in Italy (in thousands), 1971-2004**

	1971	1980	1990	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004
Marriages	404	323	320	290	279	278	280	280	284	264	270	259	251
Legal separations	12	29	44	52	58	60	63	65	72	76	80	82	83
Divorces	17	12	28	27	33	33	34	34	38	40	42	44	45

Sources. ISTAT (The Italian National Statistics Institute), several editions of Demographic Yearbooks

## 2. Methods

### 2.1. The construction of marriage-cohort separation life-tables

The Italian National Statistics Institute (ISTAT) has published national data on legal separations by year of marriage since 1969. Consequently, our analysis deals with those marriages celebrated from 1969-2003. In this section we describe the method of building the marriage-cohort separation life-tables, whereas results are reported and discussed in part 3.1.

The first step in constructing a marriage-cohort separation life-table is to calculate the probability of separation by duration of marriage. Data on legal separation for the years 1969 through 2003 were collected and organised as exemplified for the most recent marriage-cohorts in table 2. The first column shows marriages  $M$  celebrated during the year  $t$ . The following columns show legal separations  ${}_{t+x}S_x$  (that is, those separations occurring in the year  $t+x$ , of marriages celebrated during the year  $t$ , i.e.  $x$  years after marriage).

**Table 2. Legal separations occurring during the first four years after marriage, celebrated in Italy between 1997 and 2003**

Year at Marriage $t$	Number of Marriages	Separations by duration $x$ of marriage (years)			
		0	1	2	3
1997	277,738	322	1,116	2,237	3,182
1998	280,034	258	1,040	2,543	3,444
1999	280,330	217	1,172	2,707	3,709
2000	284,410	103	1,314	2,736	3,788
2001	264,026	91	1,256	2,750	---
2002	270,013	118	1,299	---	---
2003	257,662	86	---	---	---

Sources. ISTAT (The Italian National Statistics Institute): several editions of Demographic Yearbooks

The probability of a couple separating  $x$  years after marriage for those marriages celebrated in year  $t$  ( ${}_tq_x$ ) can be calculated as follows (in table 3 they are calculated using the data in table 2):

$${}_{1997}q_0 = 1000 \times {}_{1997}S_0 / {}_{1997}M = 1000 \times 322 / 277,738 = 1.16$$

$${}_{1997}q_1 = 1000 \times {}_{1998}S_1 / ({}_{1997}M - {}_{1997}S_0) = 1000 \times 1,116 / (277,738 - 322) = 4.02$$

$${}_{1997}q_2 = 1000 \times {}_{1999}S_2 / ({}_{1997}M - {}_{1997}S_0 - {}_{1998}S_1) = 1000 \times 2,237 / (277,738 - 322 - 1,116) = 8.10$$

$${}_tq_x = 1000 \times {}_{t+x}S_x / ({}_tM - \sum_{i=0 \dots x} {}_{t+i}S_i) \quad [1]$$

Beginning with the series  ${}_tq_x$  ( $t=1969\dots 2003$ ), the other parameters (surviving marriages  ${}_tl_x$  and number of separations  ${}_td_x$ ) are easily calculated using the standard methodology of life-table analysis.

**Table 3. Life-table parameters. Legal separations occurring during the first four years after marriage, celebrated in Italy between 1997 and 2003 (see table 2)**

Year at Marriage	PART 1 Prob. of separation (x 1,000) ${}_tq_x$				PART 2 Surviving marriages ${}_tl_x$				PART 3 Number of separations of the life-table ${}_td_x$			
	Duration of marriage				Duration of marriage				Duration of marriage			
	0	1	2	3	0	1	2	3	0	1	2	3
1997	1.2	4.0	8.1	11.6	100,000	99,884	99,482	98,677	116	402	805	1,146
1998	0.9	3.7	9.1	12.5	100,000	99,908	99,536	98,628	92	371	908	1,230
1999	0.8	4.2	9.7	13.4	100,000	99,923	99,505	98,539	77	418	966	1,323
2000	0.4	4.6	9.7	13.5	100,000	99,964	99,502	98,540	36	462	962	1,332
2001	0.3	4.8	10.5	---	100,000	99,966	99,490	98,448	34	476	1,042	---
2002	0.4	4.8	---	---	100,000	99,956	99,475	---	44	481	---	---
2003	0.3	---	---	---	100,000	99,967	---	---	33	---	---	---

The probability of separation just defined, however, does not take into account mortality, and the number of surviving marriages in the denominator is overestimated. Hence, the number of surviving marriages in the life-table  ${}_tl_x$  is overestimated and the number of separations  ${}_td_x$  is underestimated. If we hypothesize independence between the probability of separation and that of death, and no difference in mortality by marital status, then the correct estimate of marriages  ${}_tM_x$  surviving after  $x$  years, for denominators in [1], is:

$${}_tM_1 = {}_tM \times ({}_m\ell_{a(m)+1} / {}_m\ell_{a(m)}) \times ({}_f\ell_{a(f)+1} / {}_f\ell_{a(f)}) - {}_tS_0 \quad [2]$$

$${}_tM_2 = {}_tM_1 \times ({}_m\ell_{a(m)+2} / {}_m\ell_{a(m)+1}) \times ({}_f\ell_{a(f)+2} / {}_f\ell_{a(f)+1}) - {}_{t+1}S_1 \quad \dots$$

where  ${}_m\ell_{a(m)}$  is the number of surviving individuals from a mortality life-table of males, and  $a(m)$  is the mean age at marriage for males (the same goes for females). We applied both methodologies (with and without mortality) in order to estimate the separation life-tables for the 1969 marriage-cohort (the cohort with the highest mortality)<sup>1</sup>. The differences are negligible. For example, if we do not consider mortality, 30 years after marriage the proportion of marital unions ending in legal separation is 7.7%, while it is 8.0% if we do consider mortality. Consequently, in order to simplify calculations the probabilities of separation estimated in this paper use formula [1], which does not take into account mortality. However, it should be noted that if the above described methodology was applied to countries with higher adult mortality, this simplification would not hold.

Finally, migration was not taken into account, thus our probabilities regarding legal separation may be under- or over-estimated due to a number of elements: strength and direction of the migratory flows, their composition by marital status, migrants' place of marriage and eventual legal separation. Since the mid-1980s, Italy has become a receiving country for migration. By the close of 2003, approximately three million people from poor countries were living in Italy (ISMU, 2006). However, most of these migrants were young, single, or had husbands or wives who had remained abroad. Consequently, any distortion induced by failing to correct for migration should be limited, although this will increasingly become an important factor in the future.

The probabilities  ${}_tq_x$  calculated above are also used to construct the period separation life-tables, by compiling the data of the different cohorts. For example, in 2003,  $q_0$  is the ratio of legal separations which occurred in 2003 in marriages of that same year over the total number of marriages in 2003 ( ${}_{2003}q_0$ );  $q_{10}$  is the ratio of legal separations which occurred in 2003 in marriages

<sup>1</sup> According to the Italian 1980 life-tables calculated by ISTAT, the probability of a man dying between the ages of 28-58 is 17%, while for a woman between the ages of 25-55, the probability of dying is 5%. The same parameters from life-tables of 2000 are respectively 10% and 3%.

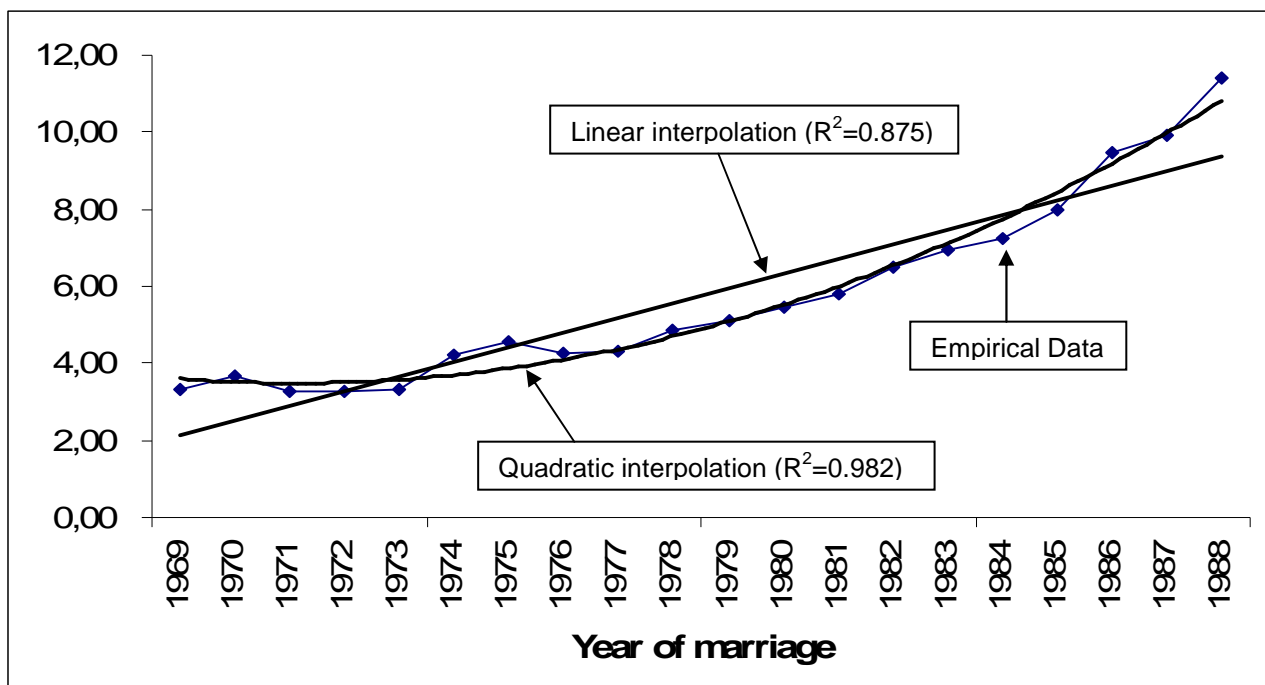
which took place in 1993 over the marriages which took place in 1993 which were still surviving at the beginning of 2003 ( ${}_{1993}q_{10}$ )<sup>2</sup>.

## 2.2. The projection of separation probabilities

As enough data on marital dissolution by duration of marriage are available (1969-2003), it is possible to project trends in legal separation probabilities. For the marriages which took place in year  $t$ , we can only calculate the probability of separation up to duration  $2003-t$ , given that 2003 is the last year for which data on legal separations by duration of marriage are available. In order to estimate the proportion of recent marriages that might be dissolved by a legal separation after, say 10, 15, or 20 years, the probability of separation  ${}_tq_x$  was projected for each duration  $x$ . Several curves were fitted to the empirical data. For each duration up to 24 years, the quadratic polynomials fit data with  $R^2 > 0.97$ , whereas the fitting of the linear interpolation was poorer and the increase of fitting for higher order polynomials was negligible. For example, for the duration of 15 years, the goodness-of-fit increases from 0.875 (linear interpolation) to 0.982 (quadratic interpolation), growing only to 0.989 with cubic interpolation (figure 1). We decided not to estimate probabilities after the duration of 24 years, as the number of interpolating points was less than ten.

Aside from the plausibility of this projection, it is important to note that the goodness-of-fit of the quadratic interpolation is quite a bit better than the linear one. This is caused by changes which have occurred in the last 10-15 years. Indeed, when the same procedure is applied to the early 1990 data, there is an appreciable goodness-of-fit of the linear functions when interpolating  ${}_tq_x$  at each duration  $x$  (Castiglioni and Dalla Zuanna, 1994). This result suggests that the increase in the probability of separation accelerated from 1990 to 2003, for each duration  $x$ , providing further evidence of the rapid diffusion of marital dissolutions which took place in Italy after 1990.

**Figure 1. Linear and quadratic interpolation of probability of legal separation at exact duration 15**



<sup>2</sup> Using only data on marriages and legal separations by duration of marriage, the period life-tables are derived by cohort probabilities. An alternative source for the denominator of the period probabilities of separation by duration of marriage would be the population classified by marital status and year of marriage. In Italy these data are available from the Censuses of 1971 (sample of 20%), 1991, and 2001, or from some sample surveys (1983, 1998, 2003).



### 2.3. An estimation of regional differences

For the 20 Italian regions, we estimate the proportion of marriage cohorts (1973-98) dissolved before 20 years of marriage in a simplified way. Following the life-table technique already presented (see formula [1]), the proportion of marriages celebrated at year  $t$  and ended before their 20th anniversary is:

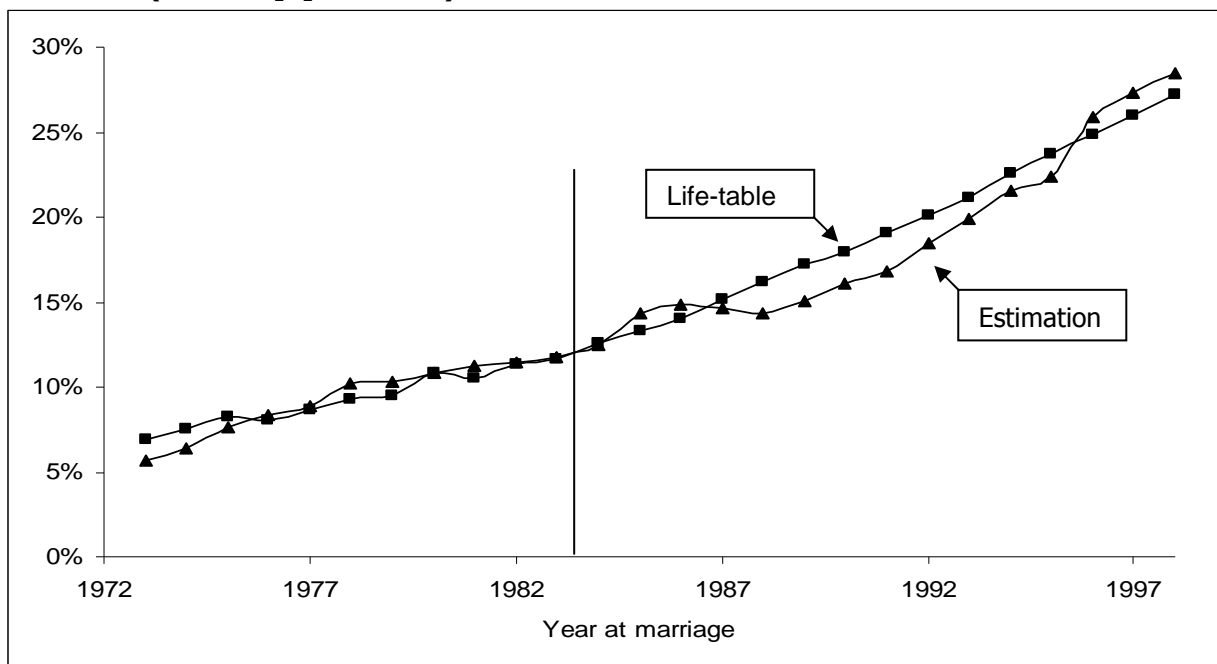
$$(\sum_{x=0...19} {}_tS_x) / {}_tM \tag{3}$$

We substitute the quantity  $(\sum_{i=0...19} {}_tS_i)$  with the separations  ${}_{t+k}S$  registered  $k$  years after  $t$ :

$${}_{t+k}S / {}_tM \tag{4}$$

where  $k$  is chosen in an effort to get the values of the two ratios [3] and [4] as close as possible. For Italy as a whole and for marriages celebrated from 1973-1998, the best estimations are obtained if  $k=4$  (figure 2). For the marriage-cohorts of 1973-83, this result is entirely based on calculated life-tables; for the following cohorts, the results are based on partially projected life-tables.

**Figure 2. Proportion of marriages ended by legal separation in Italy before their 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary. Comparison between the calculation using the life-table (formula [3]) and the estimation (formula [4] with  $k=4$ )**



For marriages celebrated after 1983, some of the life-table data were obtained by projecting  ${}_{t+4}S$

Using this empirical technique, we estimated the proportion of marriages celebrated each year from 1973-1998 which ended in legal separation for each of the twenty Italian regions. We worked under the hypothesis that the elimination process is almost the same in each region, despite the different levels of probability of separation (i.e. in each region the ratio  ${}_{t+4}S / {}_tM$  may approximate the proportion of  ${}_tM$  broken by duration 20)<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> This method for estimating the proportion of broken marriages at a regional level may seem rather rough. Other methods might be more accurate. For example, we could employ an approach similar to the Gini index, used for estimating the fertility of marriages (without knowing births) by duration of marriage (1934), but rearranged to allow for a cohort point of view. Formula [3] becomes:  $(\sum_{x=0...19} {}_tS_x \times w_x) / {}_tM$  where  $w_x$  is a standard distribution of separation by marriage duration. However, this new formula is applicable only if we know the number of total separations for the 20 years following marriage. Thus, in our case, this approach could be used for estimating the

This technique does not take into consideration interregional mobility for marriage. If a region “attracts” the marriages of non-resident couples, the ratio between legal separations and marriages is underestimated due to the fact that marriages are classified by place of celebration, and legal separations by place of residence. During the 1970s, interregional mobility for marriage was not negligible. About 10% of spouses living in the North (mainly in Piedmont and Lombardy) celebrated their marriage in a southern region, returning to the North shortly afterwards. These couples were often southerners who had earlier migrated to the Northern regions. Interregional mobility decreases over time, dropping below 5% in the first few years of the 21st century. Consequently, the technique applied in this short paper overestimates the separation probabilities in the North and underestimates the same probabilities in the South. However this distortion is never above 10% and it decreases with time.

### 3. Results: legal separation in Italy by year of marriage and duration

The parameters  ${}_tq_x$ ,  ${}_td_x$  and  ${}_tl_x$  for the legal separation life-tables of marriages celebrated in each year between 1969 and 1998 were estimated and are presented in Appendix. In order to discuss change over time, we group marriage cohorts in years of five. Table 4 shows the probabilities of legal separation by five-year duration of marriage (i.e. the probabilities for abridged life-tables). In figure 3, we report the probabilities for the first ten durations of marriage, which we were able to calculate for the marriage-cohorts 1969-93 and partially project for the marriage-cohort 1994-98. The projection results will be discussed in the next part.

**Table 4. Probabilities of legal separation (x 1,000) by marriage-cohort and five-year-duration, and proportion of marriage dissolved at some exact duration**

Marriage Cohort	Probabilities of separation						Marriages dissolved (%)			
	Duration of marriage						Exact duration of marriage			
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	10	15	20	25
<b>1969-73</b>	9.6	19.5	18.9	16.5	14.8	12.7	3	5	6	8
<b>1974-78</b>	16.0	26.2	23.0	21.3	20.6	---	4	6	8	10
<b>1979-83</b>	20.0	31.9	29.8	30.3	29.9	---	5	8	11	13
<b>1984-88</b>	22.5	40.8	42.6	44.7	42.7	---	6	10	14	18
<b>1989-93</b>	28.5	53.3	60.7	63.5	58.8	---	8	14	19	24
<b>1994-98</b>	36.7	69.4	82.3	86.7	78.2	---	10	18	25	31
<b>Total</b>	22.2	40.0	42.3	42.6	39.2	---	6	10	14	17

The grey-coloured figures refer to the last years.

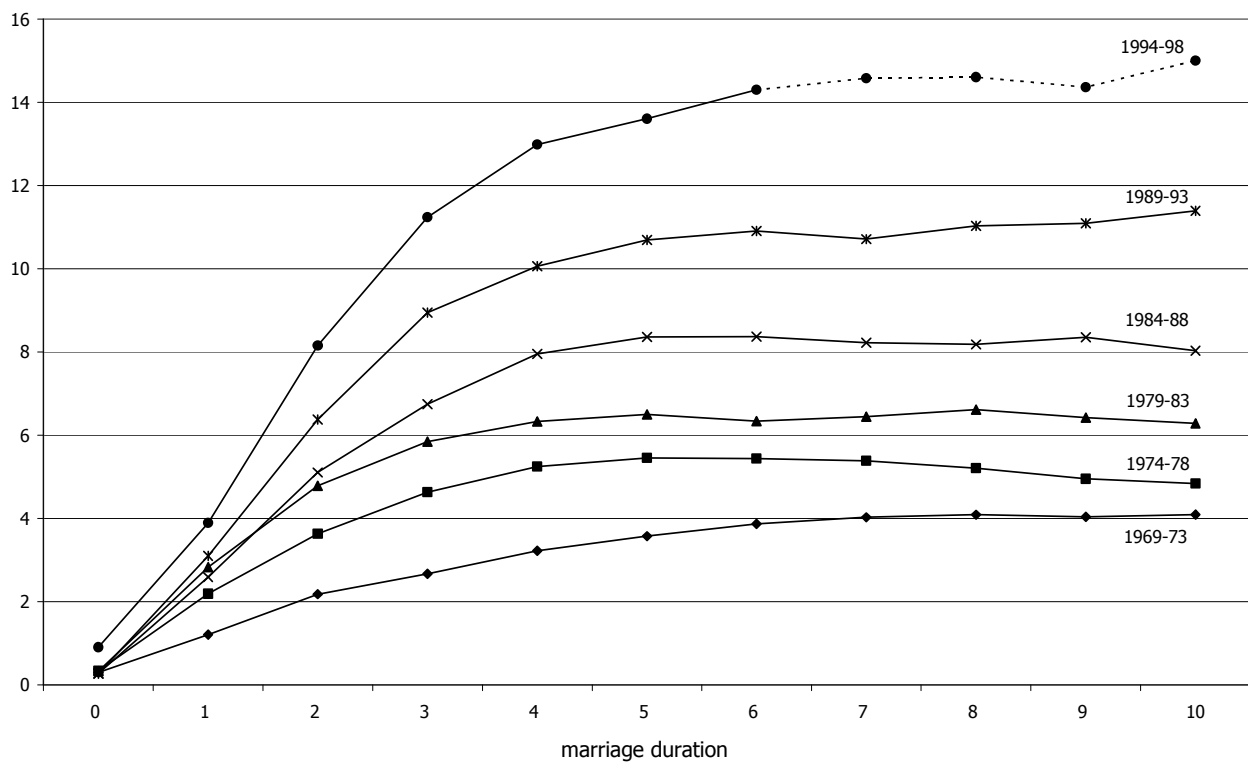
Data in Italics were projected.

proportion of marriages dissolved before 20 years only for those weddings celebrated before 1984. The empirical comparison exemplified in figure 2 shows that the numerator  ${}_tS$  of formula [4] is a good substitute for both  $\sum_{x=0...19} {}_{t+x}S_x$  and  $\sum_{x=0...19} {}_{t+x}S \times w_x$ . In order to stabilize our estimations at a regional level, in formula [4] we used the mean number of separations:  $({}_{t+3}S + {}_{t+4}S + {}_{t+5}S) / 3$  instead of  ${}_tS$ . Ferro and Salvini (2006) constructed regional life-tables for the marriage cohorts of 1979-99. More specifically, for the cohorts married in 1979-84 (i.e. those observable for at least 20 years), their results overlap with our own estimates in the second and third column of table 5. These kind of procedures might be proposed in order to estimate the proportion of marriages ended with a separation before anniversaries other than 20. Our choice is a compromise between a measure of the final proportion of marriages dissolved by legal separation and the desire of avoiding to estimate quantities too far over time.

The probability of separation has steadily increased for each duration, cohort after cohort. For all of the marriage-cohorts, the probabilities increase until marital duration 5, and then remain constant until duration 10 (see figure 3). Subsequently, probabilities drop, slowing for the 1969-78 cohorts as the durations increase (see rows of table 4). On the other hand, for the cohorts of 1979-88 the probabilities are constant or higher after duration 10. However, this change may be the result of a “period-shock” rather than a postponement of the duration pattern: the increase of the probabilities of separation accelerates after 1995 for each five-year cohort, notwithstanding the duration (see the grey-coloured figures in table 4).

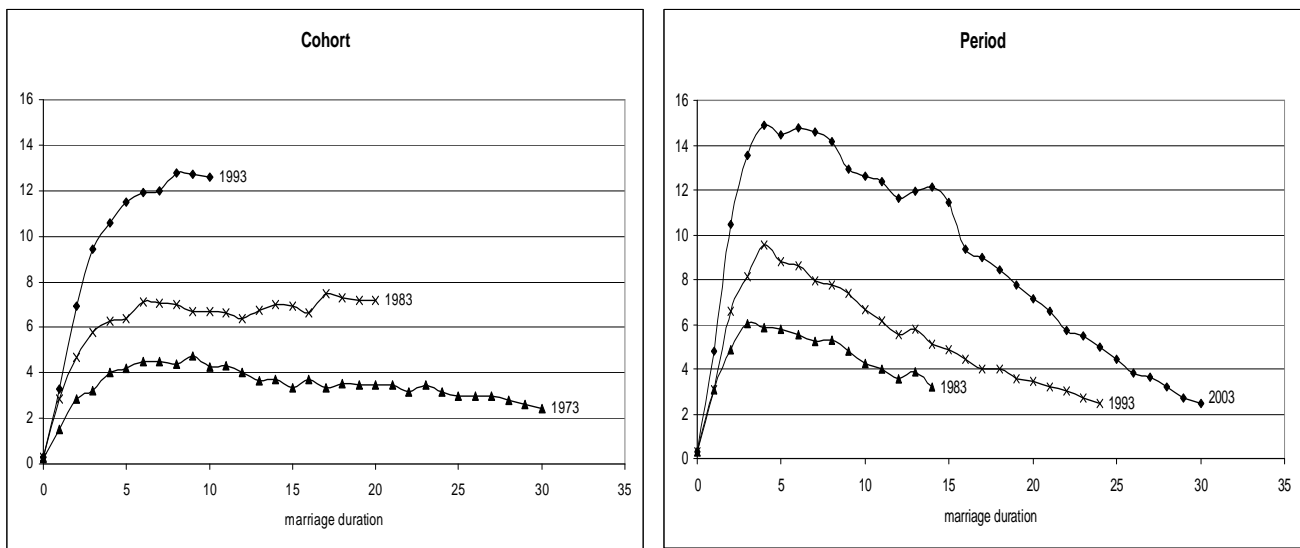
Figure 4 compares the legal separation life-tables by cohort and by period. The shape of the probability  $q_x$  by period looks quite different than that by cohort, with a maximum around the durations 3-8. However this pattern – which mirrors the growing trend of probabilities for each duration – does not correspond to the experience of any of the marriage cohorts.

**Figure 3. Probabilities of legal separation (x 1,000) by marriage-cohort and one-year-duration<sup>1</sup>**



<sup>1</sup> Dotted lines are estimated.

**Figure 4. Probabilities of legal separation by cohort (marriages celebrated in 1973, 1983, 1993) and period (1983, 1993, 2003)**



## 4. Results: a glance to future trends

### 4.1. Legal separation life-tables by marriage-cohort: the analysis of projected probabilities

According to our projections, the proportion of marriages dissolved before their 10<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup> and 25<sup>th</sup> wedding anniversary rises cohort after cohort, accompanied by a progressive acceleration (table 4, last four columns). Among the marriage-cohort of 1994-98, one marriage out of four will end before the couple's 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary. This result seems to be realistic, because the period life-table for 2003 (not reported here) shows that 20% of marriages are dissolved before their 20<sup>th</sup> wedding anniversary, and 24% at the duration 30. For the years that follow it is difficult to imagine that the probability of separation for each duration will fall below the values of 2003, thus 20% and 24% are the "minimum" for the proportion of marriages celebrated during the 1990s which will end in legal separation up to a duration of 20 and – respectively – 30 years.

For all of the marriage-cohorts, after a rapid increase in the probability of separation during the first few years of marriage, the projected probabilities of separation are quite similar. This result suggests that Italian marriages are not characterized by well defined "sensitive periods," (i.e. durations that are at a particularly high risk for legal separation). In part 4.3, we shall see that this characteristic is not shared by other developed countries when the intensity of separations increases.

### 4.2. Regional differences and trends

Legal separations were and still are more widespread in the north-western regions (Piedmont, Val d'Aosta and Liguria), in the north-eastern region of Friuli-Venezia Giulia, and in the two predominantly "red" central regions (Tuscany and Emilia-Romagna, where the Communist Party maintained the majority of votes throughout the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century), see figure 5 and table 5. Lazio, where half of the inhabitants of the region live in the urban area of Rome (the biggest Italian city), also tends to have a higher proportion of separations. The South, on the other hand, displays the lowest levels of separations. Our estimations suggest that only 15% of southern marriages celebrated in 1998 will be dissolved by a legal separation before their 20<sup>th</sup> wedding anniversary. This is the same percentage for those marriages celebrated 20 years earlier in the "forerunner" regions. In the other regions, the occurrence of separation is at a medium level. The region of Veneto (where Venice and Verona are located) presents an interesting case in that it is

characterized by the lowest levels of separations in the North. Indeed, the Veneto has been called “the vineyard of the Lord,” due to the influence of the Catholic Church during the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

The geography of separation is relatively stable: the territorial linear correlation between the proportions of legal separation for marriages celebrated during the years 1973-1998 is never below 0.87 (last row of table 5). Regional differences, however, have declined during the last 15 years with regard to the proportion of marriages dissolved before their 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary (i.e. noticeable is the increase in the regions which had lower levels of separations during the 1970s and 1980s – see the last column of table 5). These results are indicative of a territorial convergence towards higher levels. Some care, however, should be taken in examining the interregional differences of the past, as these figures may be overestimated in the North and underestimated in the South as a consequence of marriage mobility (see part 2.3).

Generally speaking, the territorial association between separation and several indicators of socio-economical development and secularization is very high, even when the relatively backward regions of South are excluded from the analysis in order to avoid polarization (table 6). The diffusion of legal separations follows the same geographical gradients of literacy, diffusion of birth control, and wealth. Table 6 also shows the territorial consistency between the diffusion of separation and three indices of secularization (concerning frequency of mass and out-of-wedlock births). The strength of secularization in influencing the pace of diffusion of new marital and reproductive behaviours in Italy is also confirmed by more sophisticated empirical results, relative to various phases of demographic change<sup>4</sup>.

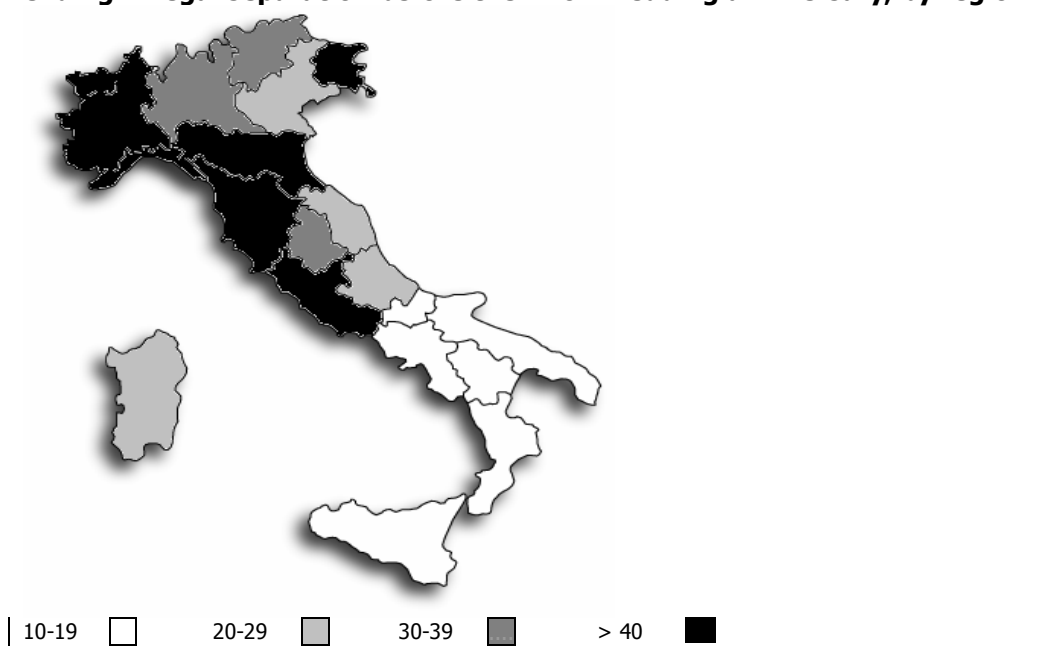
These territorial results are far from exhaustive<sup>5</sup>. They are, however, robust enough to suggest that the geographical distribution of legal separations in Italy recounts a familiar tale. Despite recent changes (i.e. the rapid secularization of Veneto and Sardinia in the last few years), the territorial pattern of the diffusion of legal separation overlaps with the diffusion of socio-economic development and secularization during the last century. Consequently, it seems reasonable to suppose that the process of territorial diffusion of separations will continue, such that the regions of the South and the “backward” regions of the Centre-North will follow in the footsteps of the “forerunner” regions in the Centre-North.

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<sup>4</sup> Taking into consideration the 95 Italian provinces as units of analysis, Livi Bacci (1977) showed that there exists a higher linear correlation between votes for the 1974 referendum on divorce and levels of marital fertility in 1911, 1931, 1951, and 1961, than the correlation with contemporary indicators such as education, industrialization and urbanization (mainly in the central and northern part of Italy). Dalla Zuanna and Righi (1999) conducted a similar analysis using a wider data-set. Their results showed that a geographical view (on a provincial scale) of levels of cohabitation and out-of-wedlock fertility at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is quite similar to the geographical pattern of diffusion of the great fertility decline in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This perspective also overlaps with the territorial diffusion of secularization (measured using different indicators) even when other variables such as income and urbanization, were statistically controlled for.

<sup>5</sup> The region does not provide an exceptionally informative unit. For example, the region of Lombardy (9.5 million inhabitants at the beginning of 2006) should ideally be divided into two parts. One part should include the two eastern provinces, Bergamo and Brescia, as they belonged to the Republic of Venice up until 1797 and are less secularized. The other part would include the provinces that have more in common with Piedmont and Liguria. Indeed, half of the marriages celebrated in Milan around the year 2000 were preceded by pre-marital cohabitation (De Sandre and Ongaro, 2003).

**Figure 5. Estimation of the % proportion of marriages celebrated in 1998 ending in legal separation before their 20<sup>th</sup> wedding anniversary, by region<sup>1</sup>**



<sup>1</sup> Source: table 5, last but one column. The estimation technique is described in part 2.3.

**Table 5. Estimation of the % proportion of marriages ending in legal separation before their 20<sup>th</sup> wedding anniversary, by year of marriage and region. Marriages celebrated in Italy, 1973-98<sup>1</sup>**

	1973	1978	1983	1988	1993	1998	1998 / 1978
<b>CENTRE- NORTH</b>							
Piedmont	8	16	20	23	28	40	2.50
Valle D'Aosta	8	21	22	34	40	42	2.00
Liguria	10	18	24	25	31	46	2.56
Lombardy	6	13	17	19	25	34	2.62
Trentino-Alto Adige	5	11	13	17	23	30	2.73
Veneto	4	8	11	11	22	25	3.13
Friuli-Venezia Giulia	7	13	16	32	31	40	3.08
Emilia-Romagna	6	14	23	25	31	42	3.00
Tuscany	5	11	16	20	28	40	3.64
Umbria	2	8	11	15	25	31	3.88
Marche	2	6	8	13	17	28	4.67
Lazio	7	16	15	21	26	42	2.63
Abruzzo	2	5	5	7	18	25	5.00
Molise	1	2	3	5	11	18	9.00
Sardegna	1	5	8	10	15	21	4.20
<b>SOUTH</b>							
Campania	3	5	6	7	11	15	3.00
Puglia	2	4	5	8	11	14	3.50
Basilicata	1	3	3	4	9	10	3.33
Calabria	1	3	5	5	8	11	3.67
Sicily	3	5	7	8	12	17	3.40
<b>Italy (Mean)</b>	5	10	12	15	20	27	2.70
<b>Variation coefficient <sup>2</sup></b>	0.56	0.57	0.57	0.61	0.46	0.44	---
<b>Linear correlation with 1998 series</b>	0.87	0.92	0.92	0.91	0.95	1.00	- 0.45

<sup>1</sup> The estimation technique is described in part 2.3.

E.g.  $100 \times (1976, 1977, 1978 \text{ Separations}_{\text{Piedmont}} / 1973 \text{ Marriages}_{\text{Piedmont}}) / 3 = 8$

<sup>2</sup>  $\sigma/\text{Mean}$

**Table 6. Linear correlation between the estimated proportion of marriages of 1998 ending in legal separation before their 20<sup>th</sup> wedding anniversary and some indicators of socio-economic development and secularization. The 20 Italian regions and the 15 regions of the Centre-North**

	Education	Fertility decline	Income	Secularization (1)	Secularization (2)	Secularization (3)
Italy	- 0.85	- 0.83	0.88	- 0.75	0.79	0.84
Centre-North	- 0.76	- 0.82	0.71	- 0.77	0.76	0.71

**Education:** Cohort when 50% of the women were literate (Population Census, several years, Castiglioni and Dalla Zuanna, 1988)

**Fertility decline:** Estimation for the female cohort when marital fertility declined 10% without subsequent recovery (Castiglioni and Dalla Zuanna, 1988)

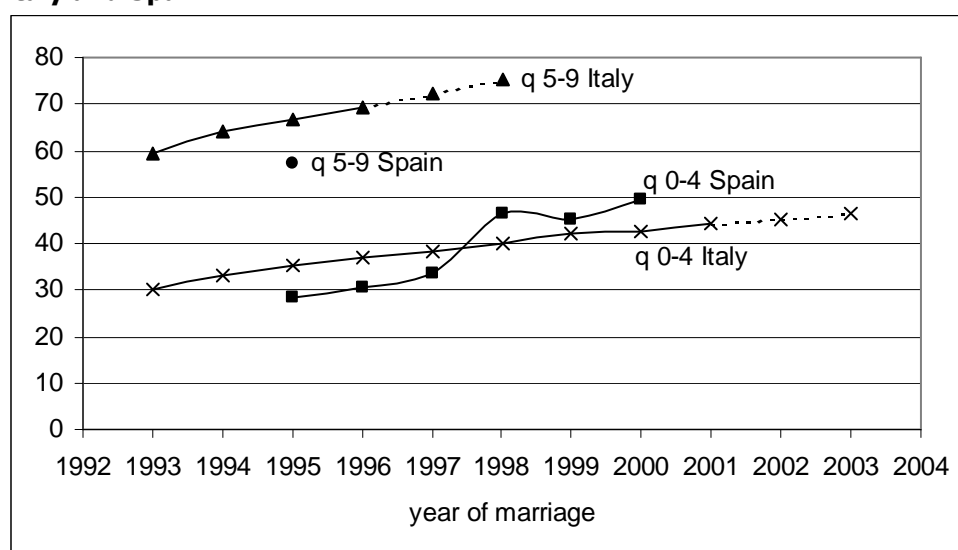
**Income:** Per-capita income at the end of the 1990s (Istat, General Yearbook of 2005)

**Secularization:** (1) Proportion of people (14 years or older) attending Mass once or more a week, 2001; (2) Proportion of people (14 years or older) who never attended Mass in the last year (Istat, Informazioni, 24, 2003); (3) Proportion of out-of-wedlock births during 2004 (ISTAT, General Yearbook of 2005).

### 4.3. International comparison

In order to go further in discussing the future of legal separation in Italy, in this part we consider some countries where marital dissolutions increased some years before (USA, UK and France). Although these comparisons are only descriptive, and do not explain differences and similarities, the idea is to see if Italy will follow the path where other countries have already walked. We adopt the same cohort perspective. We compare firstly the levels (proportion of marriages broken before 20 years), and secondly the pattern by duration.

This analysis is preceded by a short comparison between Italy and Spain, that is interesting because – until the new law introduced in 2005 – Spain shared with Italy the two-step process of marriage dissolution (at least one year of legal separation before the final divorce). Moreover, Spain is a catholic country like Italy and divorce was introduced relatively late, in 1981. Data on legal separation by duration of marriage (single year) in Spain are available only from 1995. For the marriage cohorts of 1995-2002, the probabilities of separation during the first years of marriage are similar in Spain and Italy, although Spain shows a more rapid increase in the number of legal separations for the more recent marriages (figure 6).

**Figure 6. Legal separation probabilities (x 1000) for duration 0-4 and 5-9 by year of marriage. Italy and Spain<sup>1</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> For Italy, dotted lines are estimated.

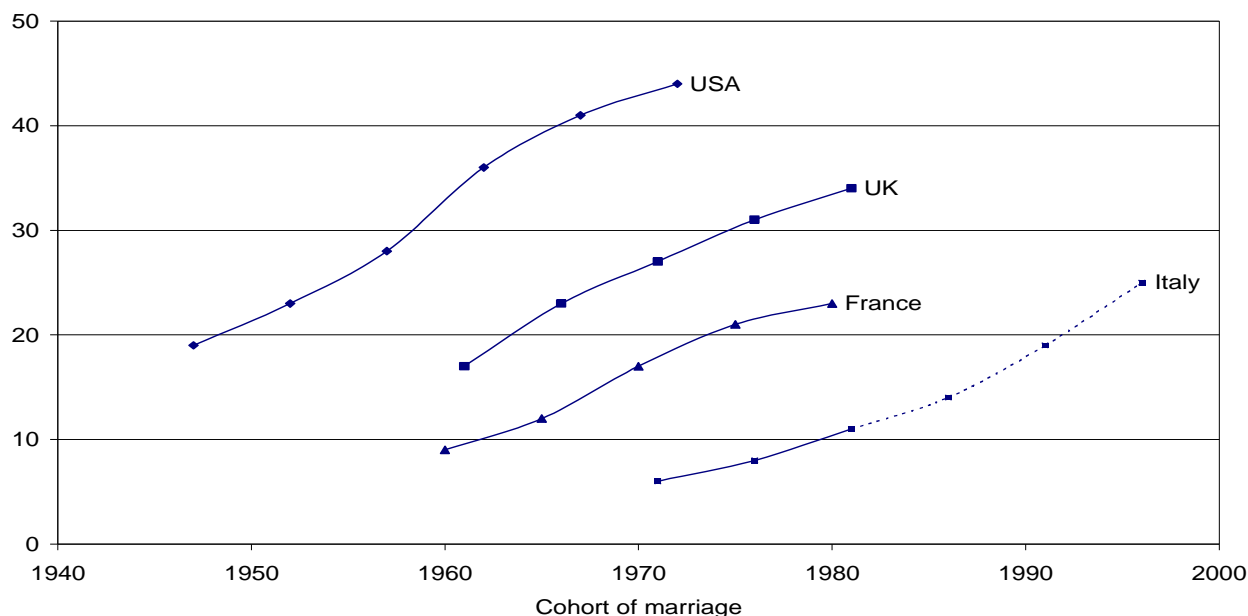
Sources. Spain: Official data on marriages – <http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu>, accessed 4/5/07; Legal separations – We are grateful to Montse Solsona director of the Research Group on Divorce (Demographic Studies Centre) for having elaborated the micro-data on legal separation by duration and year of marriage.

During the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, marriage dissolution increased in the countries here considered, as throughout the developed world. Italy (as Spain) was characterized by a delayed diffusion (figure 7). If our estimates prove to be true, 20% of marriages celebrated in Italy at the beginning of 1990s will end in legal separation before their 20th wedding anniversary. This same level was reached or slightly surpassed for those marriages celebrated in the early 1940s (in the USA), in the 1960s (United Kingdom), and in the 1970s (France). However, as seen above, the low level of marriage dissolutions in Italy hides tremendous regional differences. We surmise that in the forerunner regions (Piedmont, Val d'Aosta, Liguria and Emilia-Romagna), the proportion of marriages celebrated in the early 1980s ending in legal separation before their 20th wedding anniversary surpassed 20%. This equals the level registered in France for the same marriage cohorts (compare table 5 and figure 7).

As shown in part 3, the shape of  $q_x$  function in Italy is similar for each marriage cohort; increasing until duration 5 and then remaining nearly constant (figures 3 and 4). This shape closely resembles that observed for marriages celebrated in the USA around 1950, in the UK around 1960, and in France in 1960-70 (figure 8) – when the proportion of dissolved marriages is at the same level as our projection for Italian marriages celebrated during the 1990s.

Figure 8 shows that for marriages that were celebrated in the years which followed, the shape of the  $q_x$  function changed in a similar manner in the USA, the UK and in France; there was a progressive increase in the maximum in the 5-9 year duration. It is not possible to ascertain if this empirical result reveals a “general rule” that other countries will follow, and this is not the place for discussing possible interpretations<sup>6</sup>. We do not know if Italy will follow the pattern observed in USA and in the other two European countries, or whether it will continue to have stable or growing probabilities at higher durations (as our projections suggest).

**Figure 7. Proportion of marriages dissolved before duration 20, by year of marriage: USA, UK, France, and Italy<sup>1</sup>**



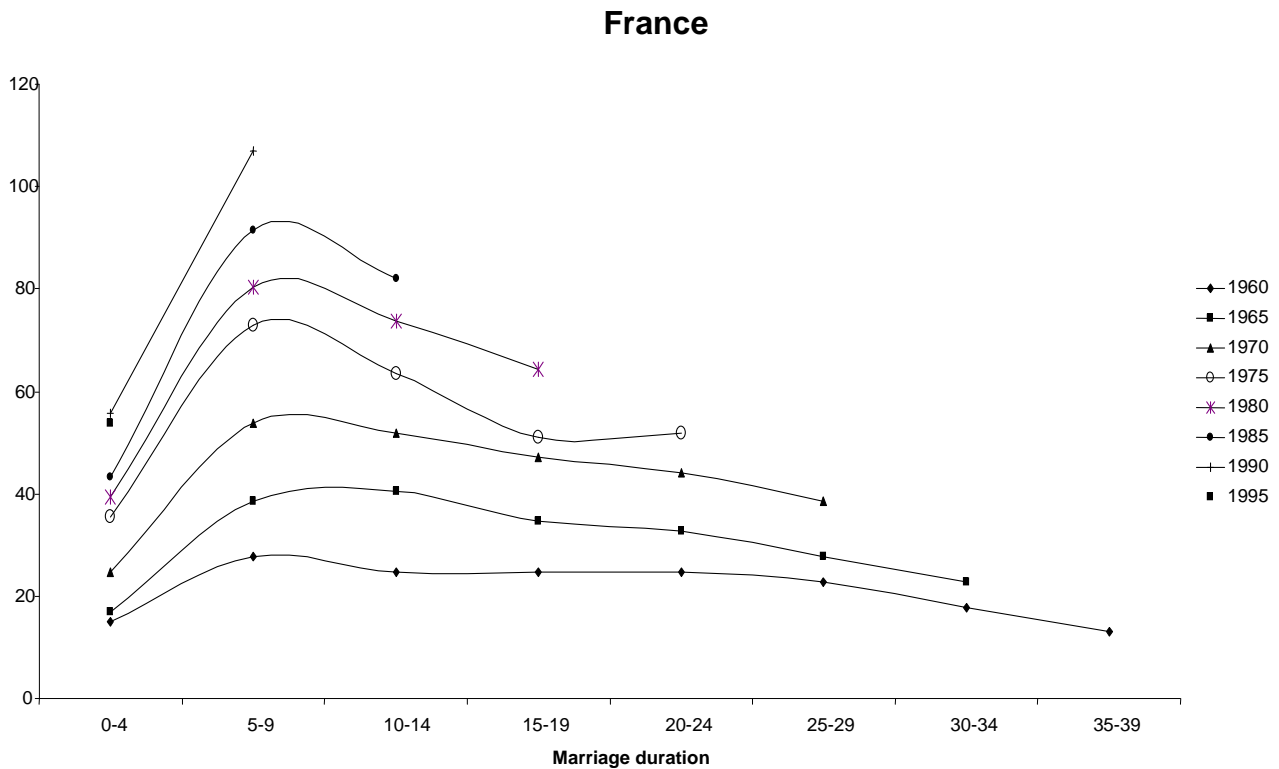
<sup>1</sup> For Italy, data for marriage cohorts following 1983 are estimated (dotted line).

Sources. USA: Kreider R.M. and Fields J.M., 2002 (survey data on divorces, the point represents the central year of each five-year cohort); UK: [www.statistics.gov.uk](http://www.statistics.gov.uk) accessed in Spring 2006 (official data on divorces, five-year cohorts); France: Prioux F., 2005 (official data on divorces, one-year cohorts); Italy: our calculations and estimations, see table 4 (official data on legal separations, five-year cohorts).

<sup>6</sup> A concentration of divorces at duration 3-4 has been shown, for example, by Fisher (1992, chap.5) who compared period data from 62 societies, suggesting some explanations.





**Figure 8. (Continued)**

## 5. Conclusion

We conclude by responding to the questions posed in the final paragraph of introduction to this paper, both with regard to recent trends in legal separation levels in Italy, as well as to what may lie ahead in future.

Beginning with those marriages celebrated in the early 1970s (when the law legalizing divorce was introduced), the number of legal separations in Italy has consistently risen. The rate of increase in the probability  $q_x$  of a marriage being dissolved accelerated at similar pace for each marital duration up until the mid-90s, when data then show evident period changes of probabilities of separation affecting each cohort of marriage, apart from the duration of marriage.

Data and projections suggest that after a rapid increase in the probability of separation during the first few years of marriage, the risk of a marriage ending in legal separation will hold almost constant during the long interval between the 5<sup>th</sup> and the 25<sup>th</sup> wedding anniversary. These probabilities by duration of marriage emerge clearly thanks to an analysis by marriage cohorts. A similar overall pattern can be observed in the USA, UK, and in France, when the level of dissolved marriages was similar to that of contemporary rates in Italy. A different pattern, however, emerged in these countries when the level of marital dissolution grew: the risk of legal separation has become concentrated in the 5-9 year duration.

In order to reflect on possible future trends regarding legal separations in Italy, we used four analytical tools: projection of  $q_x$  on a national level; estimation of legal separations after 20 years of marriage for marriage cohorts on a regional level; study of the ecological correlation between marriage dissolution and several indicators of socio-economic development; selective comparison on an international level. Taken together, the results strongly suggest that the number of legal separations in Italy continues to increase.

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Appendix A. Legal separations life-tables: surviving marriages  $l_x$ , by duration. Years at marriage 1969-2003

	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
0	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000
1	99981	99952	99963	99975	99976	99970	99961	99968	99966	99963	99963	99970	99968	99961	99969
2	99893	99846	99838	99840	99826	99786	99753	99754	99730	99709	99725	99697	99657	99656	99681
3	99738	99658	99616	99601	99539	99484	99412	99404	99320	99298	99259	99230	99173	99152	99216
4	99520	99449	99351	99282	99218	99087	98965	98931	98845	98786	98706	98632	98588	98561	98640
5	99278	99168	99035	98915	98822	98632	98446	98427	98304	98209	98129	97968	97962	97922	98020
6	98987	98839	98695	98517	98408	98137	97934	97907	97714	97640	97524	97262	97332	97302	97395
7	98688	98493	98300	98092	97963	97660	97421	97345	97172	97071	96960	96650	96737	96676	96703
8	98359	98110	97907	97657	97522	97185	96882	96836	96638	96507	96386	96058	96163	95979	96019
9	98010	97713	97510	97227	97092	96692	96371	96338	96147	95975	95873	95380	95542	95283	95349
10	97675	97327	97122	96826	96631	96227	95874	95872	95681	95485	95385	94673	94952	94641	94711
11	97309	96929	96729	96404	96221	95784	95411	95435	95228	94962	94896	94003	94370	94029	94079
12	96972	96562	96332	96018	95804	95362	94968	95038	94771	94448	94415	93411	93835	93449	93453
13	96638	96156	95991	95643	95422	94982	94561	94661	94297	93904	93907	92871	93313	92819	92857
14	96316	95786	95624	95276	95075	94612	94141	94249	93811	93431	93410	92334	92759	92273	92227
15	96009	95452	95313	94929	94720	94238	93700	93848	93379	92968	92936	91791	92237	91670	91584
16	95689	95102	95000	94617	94403	93842	93274	93446	92976	92518	92460	91291	91702	91074	90950
17	95390	94793	94709	94300	94051	93474	92863	93054	92566	92067	92005	90753	91145	90492	90347
18	95115	94480	94429	93928	93734	93110	92475	92680	92143	91642	91508	90227	90605	89917	89674
19	94843	94159	94106	93584	93406	92775	92105	92285	91743	91170	91017	89692	90080	89302	89020
20	94588	93800	93801	93269	93082	92444	91746	91932	91327	90699	90540	89183	89513	88676	88381
21	94318	93485	93509	92965	92761	92098	91398	91555	90926	90248	90087	88643	88953	88057	87748
22	94064	93202	93241	92665	92442	91765	91020	91181	90546	89800	89597	88112	88380	87478	<i>87104</i>
23	93825	92931	92962	92373	92152	91422	90658	90835	90144	89347	89150	87608	87874	<i>86926</i>	<i>86516</i>
24	93590	92678	92676	92106	91833	91098	90305	90488	89743	88919	88703	87129	<i>87363</i>	<i>86384</i>	<i>85939</i>
25	93362	92434	92431	91835	91545	90777	89979	90132	89348	88490	88264	<i>86652</i>	<i>86846</i>	<i>85833</i>	<i>85349</i>
26	93139	92197	92193	91565	91270	90477	89640	89790	88990	88097	<i>87846</i>	<i>86212</i>	<i>86375</i>	<i>85335</i>	<i>84821</i>
27	92933	91961	91959	91305	90998	90179	89320	89451	88650	<i>87734</i>	<i>87466</i>	<i>85821</i>	<i>85965</i>	<i>84912</i>	<i>84382</i>
28	92711	91734	91721	91073	90729	89884	89002	89128	<i>88313</i>	<i>87383</i>	<i>87099</i>	<i>85445</i>	<i>85571</i>	<i>84507</i>	<i>83963</i>
29	92502	91516	91510	90822	90474	89607	88716	<i>88828</i>	<i>88000</i>	<i>87059</i>	<i>86761</i>	<i>85099</i>	<i>85209</i>	<i>84135</i>	<i>83579</i>
30	92303	91311	91277	90608	90236	89364	<i>88466</i>	<i>88568</i>	<i>87733</i>	<i>86786</i>	<i>86479</i>	<i>84813</i>	<i>84914</i>	<i>83835</i>	<i>83272</i>

*(continued)*

Note: Data in italics are estimated

Appendix A (continued). Legal separations life-tables: surviving marriages  $l_x$ , by duration. Years at marriage 1969-2003

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
0	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000
1	99971	99968	99965	99979	99976	99971	99973	99974	99974	99970
2	99721	99701	99724	99735	99683	99666	99690	99648	99665	99644
3	99220	99253	99281	99180	99083	99034	99153	98989	99008	98952
4	98640	98684	98640	98442	98264	98137	98348	98098	98101	98021
5	97965	97906	97839	97607	97435	97198	97419	97107	97059	96982
6	97222	97042	97035	96788	96576	96239	96454	96032	95979	95867
7	96470	96255	96247	95955	95679	95328	95439	94963	94873	94725
8	95739	95495	95482	95119	94819	94400	94467	93976	93806	93588
9	95019	94751	94713	94326	93945	93486	93485	92993	92697	92390
10	94316	93990	93959	93483	93058	92581	92505	91964	91627	91214
11	93638	93306	93216	92668	92211	91667	91507	90917	90501	90062
12	92988	92586	92488	91850	91365	90727	90510	89878	89383	<i>88902</i>
13	92334	91890	91744	91077	90498	89795	89515	88831	<i>88292</i>	<i>87747</i>
14	91602	91167	90957	90029	89461	88756	88445	<i>87635</i>	<i>87015</i>	<i>86386</i>
15	90879	90460	90026	89050	88432	87681	<i>87278</i>	<i>86388</i>	<i>85681</i>	<i>84963</i>
16	90223	89736	89175	88167	87422	<i>86653</i>	<i>86173</i>	<i>85208</i>	<i>84421</i>	<i>83619</i>
17	89521	88964	88396	87342	<i>86537</i>	<i>85714</i>	<i>85174</i>	<i>84153</i>	<i>83306</i>	<i>82443</i>
18	88815	88212	87602	<i>86494</i>	<i>85634</i>	<i>84754</i>	<i>84152</i>	<i>83073</i>	<i>82164</i>	<i>81238</i>
19	88119	87470	<i>86806</i>	<i>85648</i>	<i>84735</i>	<i>83800</i>	<i>83137</i>	<i>82001</i>	<i>81032</i>	<i>80045</i>
20	87436	<i>86722</i>	<i>86005</i>	<i>84795</i>	<i>83826</i>	<i>82832</i>	<i>82107</i>	<i>80912</i>	<i>79880</i>	<i>78829</i>
21	<i>86736</i>	<i>85970</i>	<i>85198</i>	<i>83936</i>	<i>82910</i>	<i>81858</i>	<i>81069</i>	<i>79815</i>	<i>78720</i>	<i>77605</i>
22	<i>86050</i>	<i>85237</i>	<i>84416</i>	<i>83109</i>	<i>82033</i>	<i>80931</i>	<i>80087</i>	<i>78782</i>	<i>77635</i>	<i>76466</i>
23	<i>85429</i>	<i>84581</i>	<i>83724</i>	<i>82382</i>	<i>81271</i>	<i>80133</i>	<i>79249</i>	<i>77909</i>	<i>76725</i>	<i>75519</i>
24	<i>84821</i>	<i>83938</i>	<i>83046</i>	<i>81673</i>	<i>80527</i>	<i>79354</i>	<i>78433</i>	<i>77060</i>	<i>75840</i>	<i>74599</i>
25	<i>84194</i>	<i>83273</i>	<i>82340</i>	<i>80930</i>	<i>79744</i>	<i>78531</i>	<i>77567</i>	<i>76154</i>	<i>74893</i>	<i>73612</i>
26	<i>83639</i>	<i>82687</i>	<i>81724</i>	<i>80287</i>	<i>79073</i>	<i>77830</i>	<i>76834</i>	<i>75394</i>	<i>74104</i>	<i>72794</i>
27	<i>83189</i>	<i>82225</i>	<i>81251</i>	<i>79805</i>	<i>78581</i>	<i>77330</i>	<i>76324</i>	<i>74878</i>	<i>73581</i>	<i>72265</i>
28	<i>82759</i>	<i>81785</i>	<i>80799</i>	<i>79346</i>	<i>78114</i>	<i>76855</i>	<i>75841</i>	<i>74389</i>	<i>73086</i>	<i>71765</i>
29	<i>82367</i>	<i>81383</i>	<i>80389</i>	<i>78929</i>	<i>77690</i>	<i>76425</i>	<i>75403</i>	<i>73947</i>	<i>72640</i>	<i>71314</i>
30	<i>82055</i>	<i>81066</i>	<i>80066</i>	<i>78604</i>	<i>77362</i>	<i>76094</i>	<i>75069</i>	<i>73611</i>	<i>72302</i>	<i>70974</i>

*(continued)*

Note: Data in italics are estimated

Appendix A (continued). Legal separations life-tables: surviving marriages  $l_x$ , by duration. Years at marriage 1969-2003

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
0	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000	100000
1	99963	99896	99894	99884	99908	99923	99964	99966	99956	99967
2	99585	99520	99475	99482	99536	99505	99502	99490	99475	<i>99504</i>
3	98835	98727	98672	98677	98628	98539	98540	98448	<i>98460</i>	<i>98453</i>
4	97841	97660	97563	97531	97399	97216	97208	<i>97099</i>	<i>97059</i>	<i>97000</i>
5	96709	96459	96292	96185	96009	95769	<i>95740</i>	<i>95575</i>	<i>95477</i>	<i>95359</i>
6	95509	95211	94968	94789	94623	<i>94312</i>	<i>94225</i>	<i>94002</i>	<i>93844</i>	<i>93665</i>
7	94222	93916	93620	93391	<i>93159</i>	<i>92785</i>	<i>92630</i>	<i>92340</i>	<i>92112</i>	<i>91861</i>
8	92944	92593	92256	<i>91993</i>	<i>91695</i>	<i>91256</i>	<i>91030</i>	<i>90670</i>	<i>90368</i>	<i>90042</i>
9	91709	91285	<i>90922</i>	<i>90594</i>	<i>90230</i>	<i>89726</i>	<i>89429</i>	<i>88999</i>	<i>88624</i>	<i>88224</i>
10	90521	<i>90040</i>	<i>89617</i>	<i>89229</i>	<i>88803</i>	<i>88237</i>	<i>87874</i>	<i>87377</i>	<i>86934</i>	<i>86465</i>
11	<i>89309</i>	<i>88765</i>	<i>88276</i>	<i>87818</i>	<i>87321</i>	<i>86685</i>	<i>86246</i>	<i>85675</i>	<i>85154</i>	<i>84605</i>
12	<i>88087</i>	<i>87476</i>	<i>86918</i>	<i>86388</i>	<i>85818</i>	<i>85108</i>	<i>84591</i>	<i>83942</i>	<i>83340</i>	<i>82710</i>
13	<i>86872</i>	<i>86196</i>	<i>85570</i>	<i>84969</i>	<i>84328</i>	<i>83547</i>	<i>82954</i>	<i>82230</i>	<i>81550</i>	<i>80842</i>
14	<i>85430</i>	<i>84666</i>	<i>83949</i>	<i>83254</i>	<i>82517</i>	<i>81641</i>	<i>80947</i>	<i>80121</i>	<i>79339</i>	<i>78525</i>
15	<i>83919</i>	<i>83062</i>	<i>82248</i>	<i>81454</i>	<i>80616</i>	<i>79640</i>	<i>78839</i>	<i>77909</i>	<i>77018</i>	<i>76096</i>
16	<i>82495</i>	<i>81553</i>	<i>80650</i>	<i>79765</i>	<i>78834</i>	<i>77768</i>	<i>76870</i>	<i>75845</i>	<i>74858</i>	<i>73838</i>
17	<i>81261</i>	<i>80258</i>	<i>79292</i>	<i>78342</i>	<i>77347</i>	<i>76218</i>	<i>75253</i>	<i>74164</i>	<i>73110</i>	<i>72025</i>
18	<i>79996</i>	<i>78929</i>	<i>77898</i>	<i>76882</i>	<i>75820</i>	<i>74626</i>	<i>73594</i>	<i>72438</i>	<i>71318</i>	<i>70167</i>
19	<i>78746</i>	<i>77617</i>	<i>76523</i>	<i>75443</i>	<i>74318</i>	<i>73063</i>	<i>71965</i>	<i>70747</i>	<i>69564</i>	<i>68351</i>
20	<i>77469</i>	<i>76277</i>	<i>75118</i>	<i>73972</i>	<i>72781</i>	<i>71463</i>	<i>70299</i>	<i>69017</i>	<i>67769</i>	<i>66492</i>
21	<i>76185</i>	<i>74929</i>	<i>73706</i>	<i>72495</i>	<i>71239</i>	<i>69859</i>	<i>68629</i>	<i>67285</i>	<i>65974</i>	<i>64637</i>
22	<i>74997</i>	<i>73689</i>	<i>72413</i>	<i>71149</i>	<i>69841</i>	<i>68412</i>	<i>67130</i>	<i>65738</i>	<i>64379</i>	<i>62994</i>
23	<i>74017</i>	<i>72674</i>	<i>71362</i>	<i>70063</i>	<i>68720</i>	<i>67260</i>	<i>65945</i>	<i>64521</i>	<i>63131</i>	<i>61718</i>
24	<i>73065</i>	<i>71689</i>	<i>70345</i>	<i>69012</i>	<i>67638</i>	<i>66148</i>	<i>64802</i>	<i>63350</i>	<i>61932</i>	<i>60492</i>
25	<i>72041</i>	<i>70626</i>	<i>69243</i>	<i>67872</i>	<i>66460</i>	<i>64935</i>	<i>63553</i>	<i>62067</i>	<i>60617</i>	<i>59145</i>
26	<i>71198</i>	<i>69757</i>	<i>68347</i>	<i>66950</i>	<i>65513</i>	<i>63966</i>	<i>62559</i>	<i>61053</i>	<i>59581</i>	<i>58090</i>
27	<i>70666</i>	<i>69221</i>	<i>67807</i>	<i>66407</i>	<i>64968</i>	<i>63420</i>	<i>62013</i>	<i>60506</i>	<i>59035</i>	<i>57546</i>
28	<i>70163</i>	<i>68714</i>	<i>67298</i>	<i>65895</i>	<i>64455</i>	<i>62907</i>	<i>61498</i>	<i>59993</i>	<i>58523</i>	<i>57035</i>
29	<i>69710</i>	<i>68259</i>	<i>66841</i>	<i>65436</i>	<i>63995</i>	<i>62447</i>	<i>61039</i>	<i>59534</i>	<i>58065</i>	<i>56579</i>
30	<i>69370</i>	<i>67919</i>	<i>66501</i>	<i>65096</i>	<i>63655</i>	<i>62109</i>	<i>60702</i>	<i>59199</i>	<i>57732</i>	<i>56248</i>

Note: Data in italics are estimated

## Appendix B. Legal separations life-tables: probability of separation $q_x$ (x 1 000), by duration. Years at marriage 1969-2003

	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
0	0.19	0.48	0.37	0.25	0.24	0.30	0.39	0.32	0.34	0.37	0.37	0.30	0.32	0.39	0.31
1	0.88	1.06	1.25	1.35	1.50	1.84	2.08	2.14	2.36	2.54	2.38	2.73	3.11	3.05	2.88
2	1.55	1.88	2.22	2.39	2.88	3.03	3.42	3.51	4.12	4.12	4.67	4.68	4.86	5.05	4.66
3	2.19	2.10	2.66	3.20	3.22	3.99	4.50	4.76	4.78	5.15	5.58	6.03	5.90	5.96	5.81
4	2.43	2.83	3.18	3.70	3.99	4.59	5.24	5.09	5.48	5.85	5.84	6.73	6.35	6.48	6.29
5	2.93	3.32	3.43	4.02	4.18	5.02	5.20	5.28	6.00	5.79	6.17	7.21	6.43	6.34	6.37
6	3.02	3.50	4.00	4.32	4.53	4.86	5.24	5.74	5.54	5.83	5.79	6.28	6.12	6.43	7.10
7	3.33	3.89	4.00	4.43	4.50	4.87	5.53	5.23	5.50	5.81	5.92	6.13	5.93	7.21	7.07
8	3.55	4.05	4.06	4.40	4.40	5.07	5.28	5.15	5.08	5.51	5.33	7.06	6.46	7.26	6.98
9	3.42	3.94	3.97	4.12	4.75	4.81	5.16	4.84	4.85	5.12	5.09	7.42	6.18	6.74	6.69
10	3.74	4.09	4.05	4.36	4.24	4.60	4.82	4.56	4.74	5.47	5.13	7.07	6.13	6.46	6.67
11	3.46	3.78	4.10	4.00	4.34	4.40	4.64	4.16	4.80	5.41	5.06	6.30	5.67	6.17	6.65
12	3.44	4.21	3.54	3.91	3.99	3.98	4.28	3.97	5.00	5.75	5.39	5.78	5.56	6.74	6.38
13	3.34	3.85	3.82	3.84	3.64	3.90	4.44	4.35	5.15	5.04	5.29	5.78	5.94	5.88	6.78
14	3.18	3.49	3.26	3.65	3.73	3.96	4.69	4.25	4.61	4.95	5.08	5.89	5.63	6.53	6.97
15	3.33	3.67	3.29	3.28	3.34	4.20	4.54	4.28	4.32	4.85	5.12	5.44	5.80	6.50	6.93
16	3.12	3.25	3.06	3.35	3.73	3.92	4.41	4.20	4.41	4.87	4.92	5.89	6.07	6.40	6.63
17	2.88	3.30	2.96	3.95	3.37	3.90	4.18	4.02	4.57	4.62	5.40	5.80	5.93	6.35	7.45
18	2.86	3.40	3.42	3.66	3.50	3.59	4.00	4.26	4.34	5.15	5.37	5.93	5.80	6.84	7.29
19	2.69	3.82	3.24	3.37	3.47	3.57	3.90	3.82	4.54	5.17	5.24	5.67	6.29	7.01	7.18
20	2.85	3.35	3.12	3.26	3.45	3.75	3.79	4.09	4.38	4.98	5.01	6.05	6.26	6.98	7.17
21	2.70	3.03	2.86	3.22	3.44	3.61	4.14	4.08	4.19	4.95	5.44	5.99	6.44	6.57	<i>7.33</i>
22	2.54	2.91	3.00	3.15	3.13	3.74	3.97	3.80	4.43	5.05	4.99	5.73	5.72	<i>6.31</i>	<i>6.75</i>
23	2.51	2.73	3.08	2.89	3.46	3.55	3.89	3.82	4.45	4.79	5.01	5.46	<i>5.82</i>	<i>6.23</i>	<i>6.67</i>
24	2.44	2.63	2.63	2.94	3.14	3.52	3.61	3.93	4.40	4.83	4.96	<i>5.48</i>	<i>5.92</i>	<i>6.38</i>	<i>6.87</i>
25	2.39	2.57	2.58	2.94	3.00	3.30	3.78	3.79	4.01	4.45	<i>4.73</i>	<i>5.07</i>	<i>5.43</i>	<i>5.80</i>	<i>6.19</i>
26	2.21	2.56	2.54	2.84	2.98	3.29	3.57	3.78	3.82	<i>4.12</i>	<i>4.33</i>	<i>4.54</i>	<i>4.75</i>	<i>4.96</i>	<i>5.17</i>
27	2.39	2.47	2.59	2.54	2.95	3.27	3.55	3.61	<i>3.80</i>	<i>4.00</i>	<i>4.19</i>	<i>4.39</i>	<i>4.58</i>	<i>4.78</i>	<i>4.97</i>
28	2.26	2.37	2.30	2.76	2.81	3.08	3.21	<i>3.37</i>	<i>3.54</i>	<i>3.71</i>	<i>3.88</i>	<i>4.05</i>	<i>4.22</i>	<i>4.40</i>	<i>4.57</i>
29	2.15	2.24	2.55	2.35	2.63	2.71	<i>2.82</i>	<i>2.93</i>	<i>3.03</i>	<i>3.14</i>	<i>3.25</i>	<i>3.36</i>	<i>3.47</i>	<i>3.57</i>	<i>3.68</i>
30	1.90	2.22	2.25	2.53	2.45	<i>2.69</i>	<i>2.84</i>	<i>2.98</i>	<i>3.12</i>	<i>3.26</i>	<i>3.40</i>	<i>3.54</i>	<i>3.68</i>	<i>3.82</i>	<i>3.97</i>

*(continued)*

Note: Data in italics are estimated



Appendix B (continued). Legal separations life-tables: probability of separation  $q_x$  (x 1000), by duration. Years at marriage 1969-2003

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
0	0.29	0.32	0.35	0.21	0.24	0.29	0.27	0.26	0.26	0.30
1	2.50	2.67	2.40	2.45	2.94	3.05	2.83	3.26	3.09	3.27
2	5.03	4.49	4.45	5.56	6.02	6.34	5.38	6.61	6.59	6.94
3	5.85	5.74	6.46	7.45	8.27	9.05	8.12	9.00	9.16	9.41
4	6.85	7.88	8.12	8.48	8.44	9.57	9.45	10.10	10.62	10.60
5	7.58	8.82	8.21	8.39	8.81	9.86	9.91	11.07	11.13	11.49
6	7.74	8.11	8.12	8.60	9.30	9.47	10.52	11.13	11.52	11.91
7	7.58	7.90	7.95	8.72	8.98	9.73	10.19	10.39	11.25	12.01
8	7.52	7.78	8.06	8.33	9.22	9.69	10.39	10.46	11.82	12.80
9	7.40	8.04	7.96	8.94	9.44	9.67	10.49	11.06	11.54	12.73
10	7.19	7.27	7.91	8.71	9.11	9.87	10.79	11.39	12.29	12.62
11	6.94	7.72	7.81	8.84	9.17	10.26	10.90	11.42	12.35	<i>12.89</i>
12	7.04	7.52	8.05	8.41	9.49	10.27	10.99	11.65	<i>12.21</i>	<i>12.98</i>
13	7.93	7.87	8.58	11.50	11.45	11.57	11.96	<i>13.46</i>	<i>14.46</i>	<i>15.51</i>
14	7.88	7.75	10.24	10.87	11.50	12.12	<i>13.19</i>	<i>14.23</i>	<i>15.33</i>	<i>16.48</i>
15	7.23	8.01	9.46	9.92	11.42	<i>11.71</i>	<i>12.66</i>	<i>13.66</i>	<i>14.71</i>	<i>15.81</i>
16	7.77	8.60	8.74	9.36	<i>10.13</i>	<i>10.84</i>	<i>11.60</i>	<i>12.38</i>	<i>13.20</i>	<i>14.06</i>
17	7.89	8.46	8.98	<i>9.71</i>	<i>10.44</i>	<i>11.20</i>	<i>12.00</i>	<i>12.83</i>	<i>13.71</i>	<i>14.62</i>
18	7.84	8.41	<i>9.08</i>	<i>9.77</i>	<i>10.49</i>	<i>11.26</i>	<i>12.06</i>	<i>12.89</i>	<i>13.77</i>	<i>14.68</i>
19	7.76	<i>8.55</i>	<i>9.24</i>	<i>9.96</i>	<i>10.73</i>	<i>11.54</i>	<i>12.39</i>	<i>13.29</i>	<i>14.22</i>	<i>15.19</i>
20	<i>8.00</i>	<i>8.67</i>	<i>9.38</i>	<i>10.13</i>	<i>10.92</i>	<i>11.76</i>	<i>12.64</i>	<i>13.56</i>	<i>14.52</i>	<i>15.53</i>
21	<i>7.91</i>	<i>8.53</i>	<i>9.18</i>	<i>9.86</i>	<i>10.58</i>	<i>11.33</i>	<i>12.11</i>	<i>12.93</i>	<i>13.79</i>	<i>14.67</i>
22	<i>7.21</i>	<i>7.70</i>	<i>8.21</i>	<i>8.74</i>	<i>9.29</i>	<i>9.86</i>	<i>10.46</i>	<i>11.08</i>	<i>11.72</i>	<i>12.39</i>
23	<i>7.12</i>	<i>7.60</i>	<i>8.09</i>	<i>8.61</i>	<i>9.15</i>	<i>9.72</i>	<i>10.30</i>	<i>10.91</i>	<i>11.53</i>	<i>12.18</i>
24	<i>7.39</i>	<i>7.93</i>	<i>8.50</i>	<i>9.10</i>	<i>9.72</i>	<i>10.37</i>	<i>11.05</i>	<i>11.75</i>	<i>12.48</i>	<i>13.24</i>
25	<i>6.60</i>	<i>7.03</i>	<i>7.47</i>	<i>7.94</i>	<i>8.42</i>	<i>8.92</i>	<i>9.44</i>	<i>9.98</i>	<i>10.53</i>	<i>11.11</i>
26	<i>5.38</i>	<i>5.59</i>	<i>5.80</i>	<i>6.01</i>	<i>6.22</i>	<i>6.43</i>	<i>6.64</i>	<i>6.85</i>	<i>7.06</i>	<i>7.27</i>
27	<i>5.17</i>	<i>5.36</i>	<i>5.56</i>	<i>5.75</i>	<i>5.95</i>	<i>6.14</i>	<i>6.34</i>	<i>6.53</i>	<i>6.73</i>	<i>6.92</i>
28	<i>4.74</i>	<i>4.91</i>	<i>5.08</i>	<i>5.25</i>	<i>5.42</i>	<i>5.59</i>	<i>5.77</i>	<i>5.94</i>	<i>6.11</i>	<i>6.28</i>
29	<i>3.79</i>	<i>3.90</i>	<i>4.01</i>	<i>4.12</i>	<i>4.22</i>	<i>4.33</i>	<i>4.44</i>	<i>4.55</i>	<i>4.66</i>	<i>4.77</i>
30	<i>4.11</i>	<i>4.25</i>	<i>4.39</i>	<i>4.53</i>	<i>4.67</i>	<i>4.81</i>	<i>4.96</i>	<i>5.10</i>	<i>5.24</i>	<i>5.38</i>

*(continued)*

Note: Data in italics are estimated

Appendix B (continued). Legal separations life-tables: probability of separation  $q_x$  (x 1000), by duration. Years at marriage 1969-2003

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
0	0.37	1.04	1.06	1.16	0.92	0.77	0.36	0.34	0.44	0.33
1	3.79	3.77	4.20	4.02	3.72	4.18	4.62	4.76	4.81	<i>4.63</i>
2	7.53	7.96	8.07	8.10	9.12	9.70	9.67	10.47	<i>10.21</i>	<i>10.56</i>
3	10.06	10.81	11.24	11.61	12.47	13.43	13.52	<i>13.71</i>	<i>14.23</i>	<i>14.76</i>
4	11.57	12.30	13.02	13.80	14.26	14.89	<i>15.10</i>	<i>15.69</i>	<i>16.30</i>	<i>16.92</i>
5	12.41	12.93	13.75	14.51	14.44	<i>15.21</i>	<i>15.83</i>	<i>16.46</i>	<i>17.11</i>	<i>17.76</i>
6	13.47	13.60	14.20	14.76	<i>15.48</i>	<i>16.19</i>	<i>16.93</i>	<i>17.68</i>	<i>18.46</i>	<i>19.26</i>
7	13.57	14.08	14.57	<i>14.97</i>	<i>15.71</i>	<i>16.48</i>	<i>17.27</i>	<i>18.09</i>	<i>18.93</i>	<i>19.79</i>
8	13.29	14.13	<i>14.46</i>	<i>15.20</i>	<i>15.97</i>	<i>16.77</i>	<i>17.58</i>	<i>18.43</i>	<i>19.30</i>	<i>20.20</i>
9	12.95	<i>13.64</i>	<i>14.34</i>	<i>15.07</i>	<i>15.82</i>	<i>16.60</i>	<i>17.40</i>	<i>18.22</i>	<i>19.07</i>	<i>19.94</i>
10	<i>13.39</i>	<i>14.17</i>	<i>14.97</i>	<i>15.81</i>	<i>16.68</i>	<i>17.59</i>	<i>18.52</i>	<i>19.48</i>	<i>20.48</i>	<i>21.51</i>
11	<i>13.69</i>	<i>14.52</i>	<i>15.38</i>	<i>16.28</i>	<i>17.22</i>	<i>18.19</i>	<i>19.19</i>	<i>20.23</i>	<i>21.30</i>	<i>22.40</i>
12	<i>13.79</i>	<i>14.63</i>	<i>15.51</i>	<i>16.42</i>	<i>17.36</i>	<i>18.34</i>	<i>19.35</i>	<i>20.40</i>	<i>21.48</i>	<i>22.59</i>
13	<i>16.61</i>	<i>17.75</i>	<i>18.94</i>	<i>20.19</i>	<i>21.48</i>	<i>22.81</i>	<i>24.20</i>	<i>25.64</i>	<i>27.12</i>	<i>28.66</i>
14	<i>17.69</i>	<i>18.94</i>	<i>20.25</i>	<i>21.62</i>	<i>23.04</i>	<i>24.51</i>	<i>26.03</i>	<i>27.61</i>	<i>29.24</i>	<i>30.93</i>
15	<i>16.97</i>	<i>18.17</i>	<i>19.43</i>	<i>20.74</i>	<i>22.10</i>	<i>23.51</i>	<i>24.97</i>	<i>26.49</i>	<i>28.06</i>	<i>29.67</i>
16	<i>14.95</i>	<i>15.88</i>	<i>16.84</i>	<i>17.84</i>	<i>18.87</i>	<i>19.94</i>	<i>21.04</i>	<i>22.17</i>	<i>23.35</i>	<i>24.55</i>
17	<i>15.57</i>	<i>16.56</i>	<i>17.58</i>	<i>18.64</i>	<i>19.74</i>	<i>20.88</i>	<i>22.05</i>	<i>23.27</i>	<i>24.52</i>	<i>25.80</i>
18	<i>15.63</i>	<i>16.62</i>	<i>17.65</i>	<i>18.71</i>	<i>19.81</i>	<i>20.95</i>	<i>22.13</i>	<i>23.34</i>	<i>24.59</i>	<i>25.88</i>
19	<i>16.21</i>	<i>17.27</i>	<i>18.36</i>	<i>19.50</i>	<i>20.68</i>	<i>21.90</i>	<i>23.16</i>	<i>24.46</i>	<i>25.81</i>	<i>27.19</i>
20	<i>16.58</i>	<i>17.67</i>	<i>18.80</i>	<i>19.97</i>	<i>21.19</i>	<i>22.45</i>	<i>23.75</i>	<i>25.09</i>	<i>26.48</i>	<i>27.91</i>
21	<i>15.60</i>	<i>16.55</i>	<i>17.54</i>	<i>18.56</i>	<i>19.62</i>	<i>20.71</i>	<i>21.84</i>	<i>23.00</i>	<i>24.19</i>	<i>25.42</i>
22	<i>13.07</i>	<i>13.78</i>	<i>14.51</i>	<i>15.27</i>	<i>16.04</i>	<i>16.84</i>	<i>17.66</i>	<i>18.51</i>	<i>19.37</i>	<i>20.26</i>
23	<i>12.85</i>	<i>13.54</i>	<i>14.26</i>	<i>14.99</i>	<i>15.75</i>	<i>16.53</i>	<i>17.33</i>	<i>18.15</i>	<i>18.99</i>	<i>19.86</i>
24	<i>14.02</i>	<i>14.83</i>	<i>15.67</i>	<i>16.53</i>	<i>17.42</i>	<i>18.34</i>	<i>19.28</i>	<i>20.25</i>	<i>21.24</i>	<i>22.27</i>
25	<i>11.70</i>	<i>12.31</i>	<i>12.94</i>	<i>13.58</i>	<i>14.25</i>	<i>14.93</i>	<i>15.63</i>	<i>16.35</i>	<i>17.09</i>	<i>17.84</i>
26	<i>7.48</i>	<i>7.69</i>	<i>7.90</i>	<i>8.11</i>	<i>8.32</i>	<i>8.53</i>	<i>8.74</i>	<i>8.95</i>	<i>9.16</i>	<i>9.37</i>
27	<i>7.12</i>	<i>7.32</i>	<i>7.51</i>	<i>7.71</i>	<i>7.90</i>	<i>8.10</i>	<i>8.29</i>	<i>8.49</i>	<i>8.68</i>	<i>8.88</i>
28	<i>6.45</i>	<i>6.62</i>	<i>6.79</i>	<i>6.96</i>	<i>7.13</i>	<i>7.31</i>	<i>7.48</i>	<i>7.65</i>	<i>7.82</i>	<i>7.99</i>
29	<i>4.87</i>	<i>4.98</i>	<i>5.09</i>	<i>5.20</i>	<i>5.31</i>	<i>5.41</i>	<i>5.52</i>	<i>5.63</i>	<i>5.74</i>	<i>5.85</i>
30	<i>5.52</i>	<i>5.66</i>	<i>5.80</i>	<i>5.94</i>	<i>6.09</i>	<i>6.23</i>	<i>6.37</i>	<i>6.51</i>	<i>6.65</i>	<i>6.79</i>

Note: Data in italics are estimated

Appendix C. Legal separations life-tables: number of separations  $d_x$  ( $l_x=100\ 000$ ), by duration. Years at marriage 1969-2003

	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
0	19	48	37	25	24	30	39	32	34	37	37	30	32	39	31
1	88	106	125	135	150	184	208	214	236	254	238	273	310	305	288
2	155	188	222	239	287	302	341	350	410	411	466	467	485	504	465
3	218	209	265	319	321	397	447	473	475	512	554	599	585	591	576
4	242	281	316	367	396	455	518	504	541	578	577	664	626	639	621
5	291	329	340	398	414	495	512	520	589	569	605	706	630	621	625
6	299	346	395	425	446	477	513	562	542	569	564	611	596	625	692
7	329	383	393	435	441	475	539	509	534	564	574	592	574	697	684
8	349	397	398	430	430	493	511	498	491	531	513	678	621	696	670
9	335	385	387	401	461	465	498	466	466	491	488	708	590	642	638
10	366	398	394	422	410	443	463	437	454	523	489	670	582	612	632
11	337	367	396	386	417	422	443	397	457	514	480	592	535	581	626
12	334	406	341	375	382	380	407	377	474	543	508	540	522	630	596
13	323	370	367	367	348	370	420	412	486	474	497	537	554	546	630
14	307	334	311	347	355	374	441	401	432	462	475	543	522	603	642
15	320	350	313	311	317	396	425	402	403	450	475	499	535	596	634
16	299	309	291	317	352	368	411	392	410	450	455	538	557	582	603
17	275	313	280	372	317	364	388	374	423	425	497	526	540	575	673
18	272	321	323	344	328	334	370	395	400	472	491	535	526	615	654
19	255	359	305	315	324	331	359	353	417	471	477	509	567	626	639
20	270	315	292	304	322	346	348	376	400	451	453	540	560	619	634
21	254	283	268	300	319	333	379	374	381	447	490	531	573	579	<i>643</i>
22	239	271	280	292	290	343	362	346	402	453	447	505	506	<i>552</i>	<i>588</i>
23	235	253	286	267	319	324	353	347	401	428	446	479	<i>512</i>	<i>542</i>	<i>577</i>
24	228	244	244	271	289	321	326	355	395	429	440	<i>477</i>	<i>517</i>	<i>551</i>	<i>590</i>
25	223	237	238	270	275	300	340	342	358	393	<i>418</i>	<i>439</i>	<i>471</i>	<i>498</i>	<i>528</i>
26	206	236	235	260	272	298	320	339	340	<i>363</i>	<i>380</i>	<i>391</i>	<i>410</i>	<i>423</i>	<i>438</i>
27	222	227	238	232	269	295	317	323	<i>337</i>	<i>351</i>	<i>367</i>	<i>376</i>	<i>394</i>	<i>406</i>	<i>420</i>
28	209	218	211	251	255	277	286	<i>300</i>	<i>313</i>	<i>324</i>	<i>338</i>	<i>346</i>	<i>361</i>	<i>371</i>	<i>383</i>
29	199	205	233	213	238	243	<i>250</i>	<i>260</i>	<i>267</i>	<i>274</i>	<i>282</i>	<i>286</i>	<i>295</i>	<i>301</i>	<i>308</i>
30	175	203	205	230	221	<i>241</i>	<i>251</i>	<i>264</i>	<i>274</i>	<i>283</i>	<i>294</i>	<i>300</i>	<i>313</i>	<i>321</i>	<i>330</i>

*(continued)*

Note: Data in italics are estimated

Appendix C (continued). Legal separations life-tables: number of separations  $d_x$  ( $l_x=100\ 000$ ), by duration. Years at marriage 1969-03

	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993
0	29	32	35	21	24	29	27	26	26	30
1	250	267	240	245	293	305	283	326	309	327
2	502	448	443	554	600	632	537	659	657	692
3	580	569	642	739	819	896	805	891	907	931
4	675	777	801	835	829	939	930	991	1042	1039
5	742	864	804	819	858	959	965	1075	1080	1115
6	752	787	788	832	898	911	1015	1069	1106	1142
7	731	760	765	837	860	928	972	987	1067	1138
8	720	743	769	792	874	914	982	983	1109	1198
9	703	761	754	843	887	904	980	1029	1070	1176
10	678	684	743	815	847	914	998	1047	1126	1151
11	650	720	728	819	845	941	997	1039	1118	<i>1161</i>
12	654	696	744	773	867	932	995	1047	<i>1091</i>	<i>1154</i>
13	732	723	787	1048	1036	1039	1071	<i>1196</i>	<i>1277</i>	<i>1361</i>
14	722	707	931	979	1029	1075	<i>1166</i>	<i>1247</i>	<i>1334</i>	<i>1424</i>
15	657	724	851	883	1010	<i>1027</i>	<i>1105</i>	<i>1180</i>	<i>1261</i>	<i>1344</i>
16	701	772	779	825	<i>885</i>	<i>940</i>	<i>999</i>	<i>1055</i>	<i>1115</i>	<i>1176</i>
17	706	752	794	<i>848</i>	<i>903</i>	<i>960</i>	<i>1022</i>	<i>1080</i>	<i>1142</i>	<i>1205</i>
18	696	742	<i>796</i>	<i>845</i>	<i>899</i>	<i>954</i>	<i>1015</i>	<i>1071</i>	<i>1131</i>	<i>1193</i>
19	684	<i>748</i>	<i>802</i>	<i>853</i>	<i>910</i>	<i>967</i>	<i>1030</i>	<i>1090</i>	<i>1152</i>	<i>1216</i>
20	<i>699</i>	<i>751</i>	<i>806</i>	<i>859</i>	<i>916</i>	<i>974</i>	<i>1038</i>	<i>1097</i>	<i>1160</i>	<i>1224</i>
21	<i>686</i>	<i>733</i>	<i>782</i>	<i>828</i>	<i>877</i>	<i>927</i>	<i>982</i>	<i>1032</i>	<i>1085</i>	<i>1139</i>
22	<i>621</i>	<i>656</i>	<i>693</i>	<i>726</i>	<i>762</i>	<i>798</i>	<i>838</i>	<i>873</i>	<i>910</i>	<i>947</i>
23	<i>608</i>	<i>643</i>	<i>678</i>	<i>710</i>	<i>744</i>	<i>779</i>	<i>816</i>	<i>850</i>	<i>885</i>	<i>920</i>
24	<i>627</i>	<i>666</i>	<i>706</i>	<i>743</i>	<i>783</i>	<i>823</i>	<i>867</i>	<i>906</i>	<i>947</i>	<i>988</i>
25	<i>556</i>	<i>585</i>	<i>615</i>	<i>642</i>	<i>672</i>	<i>701</i>	<i>732</i>	<i>760</i>	<i>789</i>	<i>818</i>
26	<i>450</i>	<i>462</i>	<i>474</i>	<i>482</i>	<i>492</i>	<i>500</i>	<i>510</i>	<i>516</i>	<i>523</i>	<i>529</i>
27	<i>430</i>	<i>441</i>	<i>452</i>	<i>459</i>	<i>467</i>	<i>475</i>	<i>484</i>	<i>489</i>	<i>495</i>	<i>500</i>
28	<i>392</i>	<i>401</i>	<i>410</i>	<i>417</i>	<i>424</i>	<i>430</i>	<i>437</i>	<i>442</i>	<i>446</i>	<i>451</i>
29	<i>312</i>	<i>317</i>	<i>322</i>	<i>325</i>	<i>328</i>	<i>331</i>	<i>335</i>	<i>336</i>	<i>338</i>	<i>340</i>
30	<i>337</i>	<i>344</i>	<i>351</i>	<i>356</i>	<i>361</i>	<i>366</i>	<i>372</i>	<i>375</i>	<i>379</i>	<i>382</i>

*(continued)*

Note: Data in italics are estimated

Appendix C (continued). Legal separations life-tables: number of separations  $d_x$  ( $l_x=100\ 000$ ), by duration. Years at marriage 1969-03

	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003
0	37	104	106	116	92	77	36	34	44	33
1	379	376	419	402	371	418	462	476	481	<i>463</i>
2	750	792	803	805	908	966	962	1042	<i>1015</i>	<i>1051</i>
3	994	1068	1109	1146	1230	1323	1332	<i>1349</i>	<i>1401</i>	<i>1453</i>
4	1132	1201	1271	1346	1389	1447	<i>1468</i>	<i>1524</i>	<i>1582</i>	<i>1641</i>
5	1200	1248	1324	1396	1387	<i>1457</i>	<i>1516</i>	<i>1573</i>	<i>1633</i>	<i>1694</i>
6	1287	1295	1348	1399	<i>1464</i>	<i>1527</i>	<i>1595</i>	<i>1662</i>	<i>1733</i>	<i>1804</i>
7	1278	1323	1364	<i>1398</i>	<i>1464</i>	<i>1529</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1670</i>	<i>1744</i>	<i>1818</i>
8	1235	1308	<i>1334</i>	<i>1399</i>	<i>1465</i>	<i>1530</i>	<i>1601</i>	<i>1671</i>	<i>1744</i>	<i>1818</i>
9	1188	<i>1245</i>	<i>1304</i>	<i>1365</i>	<i>1428</i>	<i>1489</i>	<i>1556</i>	<i>1621</i>	<i>1690</i>	<i>1759</i>
10	<i>1212</i>	<i>1275</i>	<i>1342</i>	<i>1411</i>	<i>1482</i>	<i>1552</i>	<i>1627</i>	<i>1702</i>	<i>1780</i>	<i>1860</i>
11	<i>1222</i>	<i>1289</i>	<i>1358</i>	<i>1430</i>	<i>1504</i>	<i>1577</i>	<i>1655</i>	<i>1733</i>	<i>1813</i>	<i>1895</i>
12	<i>1215</i>	<i>1280</i>	<i>1348</i>	<i>1418</i>	<i>1490</i>	<i>1561</i>	<i>1637</i>	<i>1712</i>	<i>1790</i>	<i>1869</i>
13	<i>1443</i>	<i>1530</i>	<i>1621</i>	<i>1715</i>	<i>1811</i>	<i>1906</i>	<i>2008</i>	<i>2108</i>	<i>2212</i>	<i>2317</i>
14	<i>1511</i>	<i>1604</i>	<i>1700</i>	<i>1800</i>	<i>1901</i>	<i>2001</i>	<i>2107</i>	<i>2212</i>	<i>2320</i>	<i>2429</i>
15	<i>1424</i>	<i>1510</i>	<i>1598</i>	<i>1689</i>	<i>1782</i>	<i>1872</i>	<i>1969</i>	<i>2064</i>	<i>2161</i>	<i>2258</i>
16	<i>1233</i>	<i>1295</i>	<i>1358</i>	<i>1423</i>	<i>1488</i>	<i>1550</i>	<i>1617</i>	<i>1682</i>	<i>1748</i>	<i>1813</i>
17	<i>1265</i>	<i>1329</i>	<i>1394</i>	<i>1460</i>	<i>1527</i>	<i>1591</i>	<i>1660</i>	<i>1726</i>	<i>1792</i>	<i>1859</i>
18	<i>1251</i>	<i>1312</i>	<i>1375</i>	<i>1438</i>	<i>1502</i>	<i>1563</i>	<i>1628</i>	<i>1691</i>	<i>1754</i>	<i>1816</i>
19	<i>1276</i>	<i>1340</i>	<i>1405</i>	<i>1471</i>	<i>1537</i>	<i>1600</i>	<i>1667</i>	<i>1731</i>	<i>1795</i>	<i>1858</i>
20	<i>1284</i>	<i>1348</i>	<i>1412</i>	<i>1477</i>	<i>1542</i>	<i>1604</i>	<i>1670</i>	<i>1732</i>	<i>1794</i>	<i>1855</i>
21	<i>1188</i>	<i>1240</i>	<i>1293</i>	<i>1346</i>	<i>1398</i>	<i>1447</i>	<i>1499</i>	<i>1547</i>	<i>1596</i>	<i>1643</i>
22	<i>980</i>	<i>1016</i>	<i>1051</i>	<i>1086</i>	<i>1121</i>	<i>1152</i>	<i>1186</i>	<i>1217</i>	<i>1247</i>	<i>1276</i>
23	<i>951</i>	<i>984</i>	<i>1018</i>	<i>1050</i>	<i>1082</i>	<i>1112</i>	<i>1143</i>	<i>1171</i>	<i>1199</i>	<i>1226</i>
24	<i>1024</i>	<i>1063</i>	<i>1102</i>	<i>1141</i>	<i>1178</i>	<i>1213</i>	<i>1249</i>	<i>1283</i>	<i>1316</i>	<i>1347</i>
25	<i>843</i>	<i>869</i>	<i>896</i>	<i>922</i>	<i>947</i>	<i>969</i>	<i>993</i>	<i>1015</i>	<i>1036</i>	<i>1055</i>
26	<i>532</i>	<i>536</i>	<i>540</i>	<i>543</i>	<i>545</i>	<i>545</i>	<i>547</i>	<i>546</i>	<i>546</i>	<i>544</i>
27	<i>503</i>	<i>506</i>	<i>509</i>	<i>512</i>	<i>513</i>	<i>513</i>	<i>514</i>	<i>514</i>	<i>513</i>	<i>511</i>
28	<i>453</i>	<i>455</i>	<i>457</i>	<i>459</i>	<i>460</i>	<i>460</i>	<i>460</i>	<i>459</i>	<i>458</i>	<i>456</i>
29	<i>340</i>	<i>340</i>	<i>340</i>	<i>340</i>	<i>340</i>	<i>338</i>	<i>337</i>	<i>335</i>	<i>333</i>	<i>331</i>
30	<i>383</i>	<i>385</i>	<i>386</i>	<i>387</i>	<i>387</i>	<i>387</i>	<i>387</i>	<i>385</i>	<i>384</i>	<i>382</i>

Note: Data in italics are estimated



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