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**The meaning of marriage vis-à-vis childbearing in the United States and
Europe**

Jennifer A. Holland¹
Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute

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¹ Corresponding author, Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute, Lange Houtstraat 19, 2511 CV The Hague, The Netherlands. Phone: + 31 703 565 214 E-Mail: holland@nidi.nl.

Abstract

Across the United States and Europe, increasing shares of births occur outside of marriage. Consequently, some have suggested that marriage is decoupling from the childbearing process and may be becoming an outmoded institution. However, it is likely that the presence of children is still linked to marriage. Moreover, across Europe and the United States, even when children are born to unmarried parents, a large proportion will experience marriage of their parents (Heuveline and Timberlake 2004; Perelli-Harris et al. 2012). This paper extends Holland's (2013) marriage typology, linking the timing of marriage, childbearing, and cohabitation. The meaning of marriage is organized around six ideal types: *Direct Family Forming*, *Post-Cohabitation Family Forming*, *Conception-Related Legitimizing*, *Birth-Related Legitimizing*, *Reinforcing* and *Capstone* marriage. Using data from the Harmonized Histories, covering 15 European countries and the United States, I demonstrate both continuity and change in the context of marriage in cross-national perspective.

Extended Abstract

Across the United States and Europe, births outside of marriage account for between 20-percent (e.g., Italy and Spain) to more than 50-percent of all births (e.g., Estonia, Iceland, Norway, Sweden and the former GDR (East Germany)) (Sobotka and Toulemon 2008). As a consequence, some have suggested that marriage is decoupling from the childbearing process and may be becoming an outmoded institution (Heuveline and Timberlake 2004; Kiernan 2001). However, it is likely that the presence of children is still linked to marriage. For instance, Holland (2013) demonstrated a close relationship between transitions to marriage and parenthood in Sweden, a country often identified as a context where cohabitation is indistinguishable from marriage. Marriages occurring prior to a first conception constituted the largest share of all marriages to women born between 1950 and 1977 in Sweden (Holland 2013). Moreover, across Europe and the United States, even when children are born to unmarried parents, a large proportion will experience marriage of their parents (Heuveline and Timberlake 2004; Perelli-Harris et al. 2012).

Holland (2013) argued that the temporal ordering of childbearing and marriage is informative as to the meaning of marriage and built a typology of first marriage structured around the relative timing of these two family-life transitions. Marriages occurring prior to a first conception were identified as *Family Forming* marriages. Marriages following a conception or within the 12 months after a birth were termed *Legitimizing* marriage. Marriage after a first-born child is a year old, but prior to subsequent births was termed *Reinforcing* marriage. And marriages after a second or higher-order birth were identified as *Capstone* marriages, where marriage represents the final step in the family building process.

Holland documented lower rates of marriage among younger cohorts, a growing educational gradient in the experience of marriage in Sweden, the decline of *Legitimizing* marriage as an important union type, and the rise of *Capstone* marriage. Further, diverging

marital behavior was observed by educational attainment: marriages among the highly educated were more likely to be tied to childbearing, occurring prior to or immediately after a first birth; among the less educated, greater diversity in marital timing was evident. Due to the limitations of the administrative register data employed in the study, Holland was only able to explore the meaning of marriage by cohort and educational attainment; no information was available about additional individual characteristics. Moreover, since there is no residential register in Sweden, it was not possible to differentiate women who cohabited prior to a first conception, limiting Holland's ability identify the possibly changing nature of *Family Forming* marriages, from direct marriage to marriage after a period of co-residence.

This typology offers a useful starting point for cross-national comparative studies of the meaning of marriage vis-à-vis childbearing. Moreover, there is still more to be learned about the individual characteristics correlated with differential marital behaviors. Building upon Holland (2013) and drawing upon the related findings of by Perelli-Harris et al (2012), I broaden Holland's original four-part marriage typology to capture patterns of marriage behavior in a more diverse range of country contexts, spanning all regions of Europe and the United States. I distinguish *Direct Family Forming* marriage, whereby a couple does not co-reside prior to marriage, and *Post-Cohabitation Family Forming* marriage, where marriage is preceded by a period of cohabitation. Additionally, to capture different types of *Legitimizing* marriages, I distinguish *Conception-Related* and *Birth-Related Legitimizing* marriages, where marriages occur after first conception but before a first birth and after a first birth, and before that child's first birthday, respectively.

Data and Method

I use data from harmonized marriage, birth and cohabitation histories for 15 European countries and the United States, developed by Perelli-Harris and colleagues at the Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research (Perelli-Harris, Kreyenfeld and Kubisch 2010). The primary sources of data for the Harmonized Histories are the Generations and Gender Surveys of Austria (2008-09), Belgium (2008-10), Bulgaria (2004), Estonia (2004-05), France (2005), Germany (2005), Hungary (2004-05), Norway (2007-08), Romania (2005), and Russia (2004). These data are supplemented with data from: the Dutch Fertility and Family Survey (2003); the British Household Panel Survey (2005-06); the Polish Employment, Family and Education Survey (2006); the Spanish Survey of Fertility and Values (2006); the Swiss Household Panel Survey (1999-2007); and the United States 1995 and 2007 National Survey of Family Growth.

I limit the analysis to individuals born between 1947 and 1977 ($n = 104,051$). In the first stage of the analysis, I will provide descriptive results on the risk of first marriage prior to or in first childbearing partnerships (i.e. excluding step-marriages and higher-order marriages) from age 18 for all men and women who are unmarried and childless at age 18 (Kaplan-Meier estimates). I distinguish individuals by gender, birth cohort, and country of residence. Then, I will tabulate the share of each of the six types of marriage by age (25, 35, and 45), cohort, and country. Finally, in order to describe the heterogeneity of marriage within and across countries, I will conduct country- and gender-specific multivariate multinomial logistic analyses. This model takes the form

$$\ln \frac{\hat{\pi}_{icj}}{\hat{\pi}_{icj}} = a_{icj} + \beta_{ijc} X_{icj} \quad (1)$$

with subscripts corresponding to individuals (i) and country (c). The error term (ϵ) is suppressed for simplicity. The dependent variable is the log of the odds of categories of marriage, with j corresponding to one of six categories of marriage: (1) *Direct Family Forming*, (2) *Post-Cohabitation Family Forming*, (3) *Conception-Related Legitimizing*, (4) *Birth-Related Legitimizing*, (5) *Reinforcing* and (6) *Capstone* marriage.² The categories of marriage are defined relative to the experience of co-residence, parity, and age of first-born child.

Even if one of the typologies of marriage is found to be dominant in a country, it is likely that all six marriage patterns may exist simultaneously within a population. Therefore, I will explore cohort and individual differences that may be related to the timing of marriage and childbearing (Baizán, Aassve and Billari 2004; Oppenheimer 1988; Sweeney 2002). I will include time-fixed characteristics indicators for: cohort; highest level of education completed; ethnicity, nationality, and foreign-born status; and background characteristics including maternal education and employment, and parental marital status.³ Country-specific regression models will reveal the extent to which individual-level covariates are similarly associated with marriage type across countries.⁴

This project will demonstrate heterogeneity between and within countries in the meaning of modern-day marriage vis-à-vis childbearing. The analyses will extend previous work (Holland 2013; Perelli-Harris et al. 2012), allowing for more detailed disentangling the association

² Due to small cell sizes of marriage types in particular countries, it may be necessary to combine some marriage types.

³ Additionally, I will investigate the possibility of including an indicator for religious affiliation and residential characteristics (urban, rural or other).

⁴ The feasibility of pooled models with country-level fixed effects and interaction terms, as well as multi-level models will also be explored.

between individual characteristics and population composition, and trends in marriage across a diverse range of countries.

Preliminary Descriptive Results

Table 1 provides descriptive results about the experience of first marriages prior to or within first childbearing unions for all survey respondents born between 1947 and 1977. Ever experiencing a marriage prior to or in a first childbearing union is most common in Eastern Europe: two-thirds to three-quarters of respondents reported being ever married in Lithuania, Poland, Romania, and Russia. On the other hand, ever entering a marriage prior to or in first childbearing unions was least common in the Anglophone countries (the United Kingdom and the United States). However, it should be noted that in these countries a third of respondents had not yet started family building, consistent with both tempo (the postponement of family behaviors) and quantum (the foregoing of marriage and childbearing) theories of family change. While remaining in a stable, cohabiting partnership with children is uncommon in most countries, there is evidence of some growth in this phenomenon in a handful of countries: Austria (9.2%), Belgium (10.9%), France (9.2%), and Norway (11.5%). The Anglophone countries also stand out as having the largest share of individuals that report that their first childbearing union dissolved prior to entering a marriage (approximately 25-33% of respondents).

Table 2 includes tabulations of the context of first marriage for those who experience a marriage prior to or in a first childbearing partnership. Across all countries, Family Forming marriage, those occurring in prior to the conception of a first child, is the majority marital experience. There is diversity, however, in the experience of cohabitation prior to marriage among those who enter Family Forming marriages. Consistent with research into the incidence of cohabitation (Heuveline and Timberlake 2004; Hiekel, Liefbroer and Poortman 2012), there is

a clear distinction between Eastern and Southern Europe, where Post-Cohabitation Family Forming marriage is rather uncommon, and Northern and Western Europe and the Anglophone countries, where marriages following cohabitation constitute a substantial share of all Family Forming marriages. One exception to this pattern is Estonia, which falls somewhat in between the two regional patterns. Conception-Related Legitimizing (“shotgun”) marriage is most evident in Eastern European countries (Bulgaria, Estonia, Lithuania, Poland, and Russia), although about 17-20% of marriages in Austria, Germany, Hungary and Norway also conform to this pattern. Marriages within one year of the birth of a child are rare overall, but non-marginal (~5%) shares of marriages in Austria, Estonia, Germany and Norway can be characterized as Birth-Related Legitimizing marriages. Reinforcing and Captive marriages constitute only a marginal share of marriages in all countries, excepting Austria and Norway.

Table 3 disaggregates the tabulations contained in Table 2 by birth cohort, in order to explore cohort change in the context of first marriages prior to or in first childbearing unions. The most notable changes observed are with regard to marriage occurring prior to the birth of a child. There is evidence of a reduced share of Direct Family Forming marriage in nearly all country contexts. On the other hand, the share of Post-Cohabitation Family Forming marriage has increased in almost all country contexts. An interesting exception to this trend, the share of Post-Cohabitation Family Forming marriage is stable across cohorts (within surveys) in the United States. The decline in the share of Conception-Related Legitimizing marriages is a distinctly Northern and Western European phenomenon, observed in Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Norway and the UK. To the contrary, we find evidence of a larger share of these types of marriages in Eastern Europe (Bulgaria, Estonia, Hungary, Lithuania, Romania, and Russia) and in the United States.

The phenomenon of the diversification of family life through cross-cohort expansion of Reinforcing and Capstone marriage is only evident in a handful of countries: Estonia, France, Norway, and the UK (in Belgium we see a marginal increase in Reinforcing marriage). However, even in these countries, marriage prior to or coincident with a first birth remains the majority experience among those who marry. Finally, it is notable that there is relative cross-cohort stability in the context of marriage in Austria, Poland, and Romania.

These observed cross-country and within-country, cross-cohort changes are confounded by compositional differences in survey samples and the underlying populations, particularly with respect to age and educational attainment (Holland 2013; Ní Bhrolcháin and Beaujouan 2012; Perelli-Harris et al. 2010). In subsequent multiple regression analysis, I will account for a wider range of individual characteristics to investigate correlates of different marriage behaviors across countries, as detailed above, in order to further explore similarities and differences in the meaning of marriage vis-à-vis childbearing across countries, across time.

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		Austria	Belgium	Bulgaria	Estonia	France	Germany	Hungary	Lithuania	Netherlands
Ever married prior to or in a first childbearing partnership		47.1	60.2	64.4	64.4	53.2	54.2	59.7	72.0	61.5
Never married	No children	28.7	18.2	20.5	19.5	26.8	24.2	20.1	16.5	33.1
	1 child, cohabiting union intact	3.8	6.6	1.3	2.6	4.5	1.4	1.0	0.5	0.9
	2+ children, cohabiting union intact	5.4	4.3	1.6	3.6	4.7	1.7	1.0	0.8	1.3
First childbearing union dissolved prior to marriage		15.1	10.7	12.2	9.9	10.9	18.5	18.1	10.3	3.2
N		1,589	1,717	2,728	1,613	2,758	2,638	3,169	1,445	2,320
		Norway	Poland	Romania	Russia	Spain	UK	USA (1995)	USA (2007)	
Ever married prior to or in a first childbearing partnership		52.7	67.7	75.1	69.9	62.7	37.5	38.1	43.3	
Never married	No children	21.0	16.0	12.8	12.3	21.4	24.6	34.1	27.2	
	1 child, cohabiting union intact	6.9	1.0	0.9	1.1	1.6	1.5	0.8	2.3	
	2+ children, cohabiting union intact	4.6	0.9	0.6	1.7	2.1	1.8	1.1	2.6	
First childbearing union dissolved prior to marriage		14.8	14.3	10.6	15.0	12.1	34.7	26.0	24.6	
N		4,218	696	1,742	1,979	1,810	5,081	6,317	3,421	

Source: Harmonized Histories

Table 2. Context of marriages prior to or in first childbearing unions, men and women born 1947-77 (%)									
	Austria	Belgium	Bulgaria	Estonia	France	Germany	Hungary	Lithuania	Netherlands
Direct Family Forming	18.5	47.7	32.2	37.8	38.4	34.5	71.3	66.6	57.9
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming	44.4	39.9	36.8	20.5	39.9	40.7	8.9	11.2	36.1
Conception-Related Legitimizing	18.7	8.8	26.9	33.5	12.9	17.2	18.2	20.0	4.9
Birth-Related Legitimizing	5.7	1.5	2.2	4.0	2.8	4.1	0.7	1.0	0.4
Reinforcing	8.9	1.2	0.7	2.1	2.9	1.9	0.3	0.4	0.4
Capstone	3.6	0.6	0.7	1.8	2.8	1.2	0.4	0.2	0.3
Unknown	0.2	0.2	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.1
N	1,412	2,599	4,928	2,913	3,129	3,128	4,698	3,710	3,700
	Norway	Poland	Romania	Russia	Spain	UK	USA (1995)	USA (2007)	
Direct Family Forming	27.3	60.2	75.4	62.5	76.8	56.8	61.6	48.2	
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming	33.5	5.6	10.3	13.7	9.2	28.0	22.7	32.4	
Conception-Related Legitimizing	20.2	31.4	10.2	18.9	12.0	11.0	12.3	10.6	
Birth-Related Legitimizing	6.6	1.4	1.9	2.7	0.9	1.5	1.3	3.6	
Reinforcing	6.7	0.5	0.9	1.2	0.6	1.5	1.1	2.6	
Capstone	5.6	0.1	0.8	0.4	0.5	0.9	0.8	2.3	
Unknown	0.2	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3	
N	4,697	1,461	5,247	4,597	3,047	3,049	3,883	2,612	
Source: Harmonized Histories									

Table 3. Cohort change in the context of marriages prior to or in first childbearing unions, men and women born 1947-77 (%)								
	1947 - 1958		1959 - 1968		1969 - 1977		Total	
Austria	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Direct Family Forming			147	19.0	114	16.5	261	18.5
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming			315	40.8	312	45.2	627	44.4
Conception-Related Legitimizing			150	19.4	114	16.5	264	18.7
Birth-Related Legitimizing			36	4.7	45	6.5	81	5.7
Reinforcing			70	9.1	55	8.0	125	8.9
Capstone			26	3.4	25	3.6	51	3.6
Unknown			2	0.3	1	0.1	3	0.2
Total			772	100.0	691	100.0	1,412	100.0
Belgium								
Direct Family Forming	665	56.0	405	43.1	171	36.3	1,241	47.7
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming	380	32.0	418	44.5	240	51.0	1,038	39.9
Conception-Related Legitimizing	116	9.8	82	8.7	32	6.8	230	8.8
Birth-Related Legitimizing	12	1.0	13	1.4	15	3.2	40	1.5
Reinforcing	9	0.8	11	1.2	10	2.1	30	1.2
Capstone	4	0.3	9	1.0	3	0.6	16	0.6
Unknown	2	0.2	2	0.2	0	0.0	4	0.2
Total	1,188	100.0	940	100.0	471	100.0	2,599	100.0
Bulgaria								
Direct Family Forming	592	38.5	643	30.8	354	27.2	1,589	32.2
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming	545	35.4	792	37.9	477	36.6	1,814	36.8
Conception-Related Legitimizing	337	21.9	564	27.0	427	32.8	1,328	26.9
Birth-Related Legitimizing	28	1.8	51	2.4	29	2.2	108	2.2
Reinforcing	12	0.8	17	0.8	5	0.4	34	0.7
Capstone	18	1.2	13	0.6	4	0.3	35	0.7
Unknown	6	0.4	8	0.4	6	0.5	20	0.4
Total	1,538	100.0	2,088	100.0	1,302	100.0	4,928	100.0

Holland, Meaning of Marriage

Table 3. Continued								
	1947 - 1958		1959 - 1968		1969 - 1977		Total	
Estonia	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Direct Family Forming	641	44.1	342	34.2	118	25.8	1,101	37.8
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming	276	19.0	211	21.1	109	23.8	596	20.5
Conception-Related Legitimizing	442	30.4	356	35.6	178	38.9	976	33.5
Birth-Related Legitimizing	51	3.5	41	4.1	25	5.5	117	4.0
Reinforcing	16	1.1	29	2.9	17	3.7	62	2.1
Capstone	24	1.7	17	1.7	10	2.2	51	1.8
Unknown	4	0.3	5	0.5	1	0.2	10	0.3
Total	1,454	100.0	1,001	100.0	458	100.0	2,913	100.0
France								
Direct Family Forming	844	52.5	271	25.9	86	18.1	1,201	38.4
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming	405	25.2	539	51.6	305	64.1	1,249	39.9
Conception-Related Legitimizing	277	17.2	104	10.0	24	5.0	405	12.9
Birth-Related Legitimizing	32	2.0	36	3.4	19	4.0	87	2.8
Reinforcing	24	1.5	43	4.1	25	5.3	92	2.9
Capstone	21	1.3	52	5.0	16	3.4	89	2.8
Unknown	5	0.3	0	0.0	1	0.2	6	0.2
Total	1,608	100.0	1,045	100.0	476	100.0	3,129	100.0
Germany								
Direct Family Forming	581	42.3	380	28.6	117	27.4	1,078	34.5
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming	473	34.4	602	45.4	198	46.4	1,273	40.7
Conception-Related Legitimizing	245	17.8	215	16.2	79	18.5	539	17.2
Birth-Related Legitimizing	40	2.9	67	5.0	21	4.9	128	4.1
Reinforcing	13	0.9	40	3.0	7	1.6	60	1.9
Capstone	16	1.2	19	1.4	3	0.7	38	1.2
Unknown	6	0.4	4	0.3	2	0.5	12	0.4
Total	1,374	100.0	1,327	100.0	427	100.0	3,128	100.0

Holland, Meaning of Marriage

Table 3. Continued								
	1947 - 1958		1959 - 1968		1969 - 1977		Total	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Hungary								
Direct Family Forming	1,899	78.6	947	68.2	502	56.3	3,348	71.3
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming	107	4.4	137	9.9	174	19.5	418	8.9
Conception-Related Legitimizing	388	16.1	278	20.0	189	21.2	855	18.2
Birth-Related Legitimizing	10	0.4	10	0.7	13	1.5	33	0.7
Reinforcing	2	0.1	9	0.6	4	0.4	15	0.3
Capstone	5	0.2	6	0.4	8	0.9	19	0.4
Unknown	6	0.2	2	0.1	2	0.2	10	0.2
Total	2,417	100.0	1,389	100.0	892	100.0	4,698	100.0
Lithuania								
Direct Family Forming	1,083	72.9	945	66.9	443	54.6	2,471	66.6
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming	139	9.4	148	10.5	130	16.0	417	11.2
Conception-Related Legitimizing	235	15.8	289	20.5	219	27.0	743	20.0
Birth-Related Legitimizing	11	0.7	17	1.2	9	1.1	37	1.0
Reinforcing	4	0.3	7	0.5	5	0.6	16	0.4
Capstone	3	0.2	2	0.1	1	0.1	6	0.2
Unknown	10	0.7	5	0.4	5	0.6	20	0.5
Total	1,485	100.0	1,413	100.0	812	100.0	3,710	100.0
Netherlands								
Direct Family Forming	1,399	71.0	574	41.5	171	49.4	2,144	57.9
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming	451	22.9	729	52.7	155	44.8	1,335	36.1
Conception-Related Legitimizing	106	5.4	62	4.5	12	3.5	180	4.9
Birth-Related Legitimizing	6	0.3	5	0.4	3	0.9	14	0.4
Reinforcing	3	0.2	9	0.7	3	0.9	15	0.4
Capstone	5	0.3	3	0.2	2	0.6	10	0.3
Unknown	1	0.1	1	0.1	0	0.0	2	0.1
Total	1,971	100.0	1,383	100.0	346	100.0	3,700	100.0

Holland, Meaning of Marriage

Table 3. Continued								
	1947 - 1958		1959 - 1968		1969 - 1977		Total	
Norway	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Direct Family Forming	754	32.5	345	21.3	183	24.2	1,282	27.3
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming	658	28.3	603	37.3	311	41.1	1,572	33.5
Conception-Related Legitimizing	686	29.5	211	13.0	51	6.7	948	20.2
Birth-Related Legitimizing	111	4.8	149	9.2	50	6.6	310	6.6
Reinforcing	70	3.0	157	9.7	87	11.5	314	6.7
Capstone	38	1.6	149	9.2	75	9.9	262	5.6
Unknown	6	0.3	3	0.2	0	0.0	9	0.2
Total	2,323	100.0	1,617	100.0	757	100.0	4,697	100.0
Poland								
Direct Family Forming			231	62.8	649	59.4	880	60.2
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming			12	3.3	70	6.4	82	5.6
Conception-Related Legitimizing			113	30.7	346	31.7	459	31.4
Birth-Related Legitimizing			6	1.6	14	1.3	20	1.4
Reinforcing			3	0.8	4	0.4	7	0.5
Capstone			1	0.3	1	0.1	2	0.1
Unknown			2	0.5	9	0.8	11	0.8
Total			368	100.0	1093	100.0	1,461	100.0
Romania								
Direct Family Forming	1,863	78.2	1278	74.8	816	70.6	3,957	75.4
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming	210	8.8	162	9.5	166	14.4	538	10.3
Conception-Related Legitimizing	217	9.1	194	11.4	125	10.8	536	10.2
Birth-Related Legitimizing	39	1.6	38	2.2	22	1.9	99	1.9
Reinforcing	23	1.0	13	0.8	11	1.0	47	0.9
Capstone	21	0.9	11	0.6	8	0.7	40	0.8
Unknown	9	0.4	13	0.8	8	0.7	30	0.6
Total	2,382	100.0	1,709	100.0	1156	100.0	5,247	100.0

Holland, Meaning of Marriage

Table 3. Continued								
	1947 - 1958		1959 - 1968		1969 - 1977		Total	
Russia	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Direct Family Forming	1,414	67.9	1001	62.1	456	50.6	2,871	62.5
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming	239	11.5	217	13.5	173	19.2	629	13.7
Conception-Related Legitimizing	322	15.5	315	19.5	231	25.6	868	18.9
Birth-Related Legitimizing	49	2.4	46	2.9	27	3.0	122	2.7
Reinforcing	27	1.3	21	1.3	6	0.7	54	1.2
Capstone	14	0.7	5	0.3	0	0.0	19	0.4
Unknown	19	0.9	7	0.4	8	0.9	34	0.7
Total	2,084	100.0	1,612	100.0	901	100.0	4,597	100.0
Spain								
Direct Family Forming	951	80.7	923	74.3	465	74.2	2,339	76.8
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming	70	5.9	129	10.4	81	12.9	280	9.2
Conception-Related Legitimizing	132	11.2	164	13.2	70	11.2	366	12.0
Birth-Related Legitimizing	9	0.8	12	1.0	5	0.8	26	0.9
Reinforcing	6	0.5	6	0.5	5	0.8	17	0.6
Capstone	6	0.5	7	0.6	1	0.2	14	0.5
Unknown	4	0.3	1	0.1	0	0.0	5	0.2
Total	1,178	100.0	1,242	100.0	627	100.0	3,047	100.0
UK								
Direct Family Forming	1,012	70.7	552	46.6	169	39.0	1,733	56.8
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming	214	14.9	448	37.8	191	44.1	853	28.0
Conception-Related Legitimizing	181	12.6	124	10.5	31	7.2	336	11.0
Birth-Related Legitimizing	11	0.8	23	1.9	13	3.0	47	1.5
Reinforcing	3	0.2	24	2.0	20	4.6	47	1.5
Capstone	8	0.6	12	1.0	8	1.8	28	0.9
Unknown	3	0.2	1	0.1	1	0.2	5	0.2
Total	1,432	100.0	1,184	100.0	433	100.0	3,049	100.0

Holland, Meaning of Marriage

Table 3. Continued								
	1947 - 1958		1959 - 1968		1969 - 1977		Total	
USA (1995)	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Direct Family Forming	1,356	65.8	987	57.2	48	50.0	2,391	61.6
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming	441	21.4	418	24.2	21	21.9	880	22.7
Conception-Related Legitimizing	209	10.1	246	14.2	21	21.9	476	12.3
Birth-Related Legitimizing	19	0.9	28	1.6	5	5.2	52	1.3
Reinforcing	18	0.9	23	1.3	1	1.0	42	1.1
Capstone	12	0.6	19	1.1	0	0.0	31	0.8
Unknown	5	0.2	6	0.3	0	0.0	11	0.3
Total	2,060	100.0	1,727	100.0	96	100.0	3,883	100.0
USA (2007)								
Direct Family Forming			596	50.0	662	46.6	1,258	48.2
Post-Cohabitation Family Forming			393	33.0	453	31.9	846	32.4
Conception-Related Legitimizing			117	9.8	161	11.3	278	10.6
Birth-Related Legitimizing			32	2.7	62	4.4	94	3.6
Reinforcing			24	2.0	44	3.1	68	2.6
Capstone			27	2.3	34	2.4	61	2.3
Unknown			2	0.2	5	0.4	7	0.3
Total			1,191	100.0	1,421	100.0	2,612	100.0
Source: Harmonized Histories								