Divorces by Marriage Cohort

A study of national trends in divorce by marriage cohort, a group consisting of all couples married during a given calendar year. For each year of marriage from 1922 to 1931 and from 1948 to 1974, this report presents and analyzes national estimates of the divorces that were granted between selected marriage anniversaries to the respective marriage cohort.

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DIVORCES BY MARRIAGE COHORT

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INTRODUCTION

With the rapid rise in the divorce rate of the United States in recent years, there has been increasing interest in determining what this rise means in terms of the proportion of marriages disrupted by divorce within any specified number of years after marriage. Broad interest focuses on the general question of what proportion of any selected group of marriages has already ended in divorce or will eventually end in divorce. A more specific question involves the problem of determining whether the likelihood of divorce has increased at all durations of marriage. If so, has the increase occurred relatively the same at all durations, or have larger increases in proportions divorced occurred at the shorter or longer durations of marriage? How do the relative rates of increase compare? This report investigates these questions by presenting data on divorces by marriage cohort (a group consisting of all couples married in the same year).

Fluctuations in the national divorce rate during the last 50 years demonstrate that the risk of divorce can change drastically over time (figure 1). Moreover, any change in the variety of conditions—social, economic, cultural, demographic—that may influence the overall risk of marital disruption at any given point in time, will affect the various groups of married couples differently, according to the respective stages in their married lives. That is, the factors affecting the risk of divorce might be expected to have different effects at different durations of marriage. Because divorce data for a single given year provide information on many cohorts, each

at a different point in its married life, there are specific qualifications that must be placed on inferences made from information on divorces granted in a single year as to the proportion of marriages likely to end in divorce after a given marriage duration. An alternative approach, utilized in this report, is to study the past disruption experience of consecutive marriage cohorts, that is, to study divorces by year of marriage of the divorcing couples, rather than by year in which divorce occurred. A quantitative description of past cohort experience can be obtained from vital statistics data by following groups of married couples (cohorts) through their married lives and observing annual losses due to divorce.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

In this report, annual divorce totals, previously tabulated by duration of marriage, are converted into estimates of divorces by year of marriage. A group consisting of all couples married during a given calendar year is referred to as a "marriage cohort." For each marriage cohort, the estimated divorces occurring within that cohort are distributed and analyzed by duration of marriage. Some duration-specific information is available for each cohort from 1922 to 1974, but for no marriage cohort can information be obtained for all intervals of marriage duration; in certain years little or no divorce data are available. Using the durationspecific divorce estimates for each cohort, percents of losses through divorce are computed for each marriage cohort for selected intervals of duration of marriage.

Percents divorced for successive marriage cohorts have increased in all intervals of marriage duration. In the 1957 marriage cohort, 2.1 percent were divorced after the 3d but before the 4th anniversaries (that is, at duration. 3 years), compared with 4.0 percent of the 1971 cohort. After the 7th but before the 8th anniversaries (at duration 7 years), the percent divorced increased from 1.1 percent for the 1951 cohort to 2.7 percent for the 1967 cohort. Percents of cohorts divorced have about doubled at the higher durations of marriage. For example, in the marriage-duration interval 10-14 years, 3.9 percent of the 1950 cohort divorced and 7.7 percent of the 1960 cohort divorced; at duration 25-29 years, 1.0 percent of the 1934 cohort divorced and 2.0 percent of the 1945 cohort divorced.

Cumulative percents divorced indicate the proportion of the original marriages in a cohort that were dissolved by divorce before any specified anniversary. A cumulative percent is obtained by first summing the duration-specific numbers of divorces for a cohort over the period beginning at marriage and ending at a specified anniversary of marriage. This sum is then divided by the original number of marriages in the cohort. For example, of the 1,546,000 marriages in the 1953 cohort, 10.0 percent had ended in divorce by the 5th anniversary, 16.3 percent by the 10th anniversary, and 25.1 percent by the 20th anniversary.

More recent cohorts have reached a given percent divorced at earlier anniversaries. For example, 27.3 percent of the 1955 cohort had divorced by the 20th anniversary, and the 1960 cohort reached 27.0 percent divorced by the 15th anniversary. A divorce level of about 25 percent was reached by the 1950 cohort at the 25th anniversary, by the 1952 cohort at the 20th anniversary, by the 1958 cohort at the 15th anniversary, and by the 1965 cohort at the 10th anniversary.

The duration of marriage up to the 25th anniversary is the longest interval for which available data permit a direct estimate of the cumulative percent divorced. Such an estimate could be made for only three cohorts. Divorce data available through 1975 indicate that about 1 out of 4 marriages contracted in 1948, 1949,

and 1950 had ended in divorce before the 25th anniversary. In order to estimate the ultimate proportion divorced in any cohort, an appropriate procedure would involve adding to the current known proportion divorced for a given cohort a further proportion of marriages that are projected to end in divorce in the future. Although no projections are made in the present analysis, such projections have been made by other authors and some of these are discussed. Preston and McDonald¹ have projected the proportion of marriages that will ever end in divorce (based on 1969 divorce and death rates) at 27.1 percent for the 1950 marriage cohort and at 35.7 percent for the 1964 cohort. According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census, projections based on the June 1975 Current Population Survey indicate that 34 percent of ever-married women born in 1940-44 will eventually end their first marriage in divorce, and that 40 percent of women born in 1940-44, who have been married twice, will eventually end their second marriage in redivorce.

DATA BY MARRIAGE COHORT

Each year a number of marriages in each cohort are broken by judicial decree or dissolved by death of husband or wife. Due to death and divorce, a marriage cohort eventually disappears, but this process takes many decades. Indeed, individual cases of divorce have been reported to occur after more than 60 years of marriage. Statistical data on duration of marriage at death of husband or wife are not available, and consequently the investigation of marital dissolution for marriage cohorts must be limited to divorces, with the understanding that all marriages not disrupted by judicial decree eventually will be broken by death.

Because the number of divorces becomes negligible after 30 years of marriage, a very close approximation to the final number of divorces in a marriage cohort can be determined if uninterrupted annual divorce statistics by duration of marriage are available for a period of 30 years following the year of marriage. For recent cohorts, the proportion of marriages ending in divorce can be determined only for

limited periods of duration, and their lengths vary for individual marriage cohorts, depending on the available data.

Divorce statistics by duration of marriage are available for two comparatively recent periods, 1922-32 and 1948-75. Statistics for 1922-32 and for 1960 are national; those for 1948-59 and 1961-75 are limited to the reporting States. Since 1961, the reporting States have comprised the divorce-registration area (DRA). Duration of marriage has been better reported than any other variable used in tabulations of divorce data for the DRA: The "duration not stated" category usually comprises less than 3 percent of all divorces granted in the reporting States. For the years for which national data are not available, national estimates have been prepared on the assumption that the percent distribution of divorces by duration of marriage (table 1) was the same in the United States as in the reporting States combined.

The appendix to the present report describes in detail the method used for converting national divorce data, tabulated by duration of marriage and by year of decree, into duration-specific divorce estimates by year of marriage. The method was originally described in NCHS' Technical Information Notes.² A similar approach has been used by Ferriss for selected intervals.³ The present report offers cohort divorce experience for consecutive single-year intervals through duration 9 years and then for 5-year-duration intervals through duration 29 years.

Generally the method proceeds by recognizing that divorces, granted during a calendar year and tabulated by single-year-duration intervals, include couples married during 2 calendar years. For the individual duration intervals of 1 through 9 years, the number of divorces granted is divided into two equal parts, which are assigned to the two marriage cohorts. A slightly different ratio is used to divide the interval of less than 1 year.

Divorces granted during a calendar year and tabulated by 5-year-duration intervals (10-14 through 25-29 years) include couples married in 6 calendar years. Divorces in such an interval are divided into 10 equal parts; then 1 part each is assigned to the chronologically earliest and

latest of the 6 marriage cohorts, and 2 parts each are assigned to the remaining 4 cohorts.

Divorces were assigned to marriage cohorts without regard to the numerical size of these cohorts. In the overwhelming majority of cases, this method will provide the same or nearly the same result as that which would be produced by allocation according to relative sizes of adjacent cohorts (proportional allocation). This is due to the fact that the annual number of marriages performed generally varies comparatively little from year to year.

Because divorce estimates by duration of marriage for marriage cohorts have been prepared from annual divorce data, the duration intervals for which such estimates could be made vary from year to year, depending on the availability of the relevant divorce statistics for each year. In particular, divorce statistics by duration were not collected on a national basis for the years 1933-47. Thus for some cohorts only short-duration and long-duration intervals can be obtained (with a gap in between); for others only middle-duration intervals are available. No estimates could be prepared for the open-ended interval of 30 years or more, as discussed in the appendix. In spite of the limitations, some information is presented for each marriage cohort from 1922 through 1974, but for no cohort is information available for all duration intervals (table 2).

Duration-specific divorce estimates assigned to a marriage cohort were used for computing percents of that cohort disrupted by divorce, according to the duration of marriage of the divorcing couples (table 3). Whenever possible, cumulative percents were also prepared, beginning with the percents for divorces granted less than 1 year after marriage (table 4). These cumulative percents tell us what proportion of each cohort was broken by divorce within a certain number of years after marriage.

ESTIMATED DIVORCES BY MARRIAGE COHORT

During the 54-year period under study, 1922 through 1975, annual divorce and marriage totals have fluctuated several times, including a decline during the Depression, an increase

and subsequent decline in the 1940's and 1950's with a peak in 1946, and another increase in the 1960's and early 1970's (table 5 and figure 1). For most of the time, the direction of the trend was the same for marriages and for divorces

(both increased or both declined), although for 8 years during this period, marriages declined while divorces increased. During all periods of increase the percent change was usually higher for divorces than for marriages, and the differ-

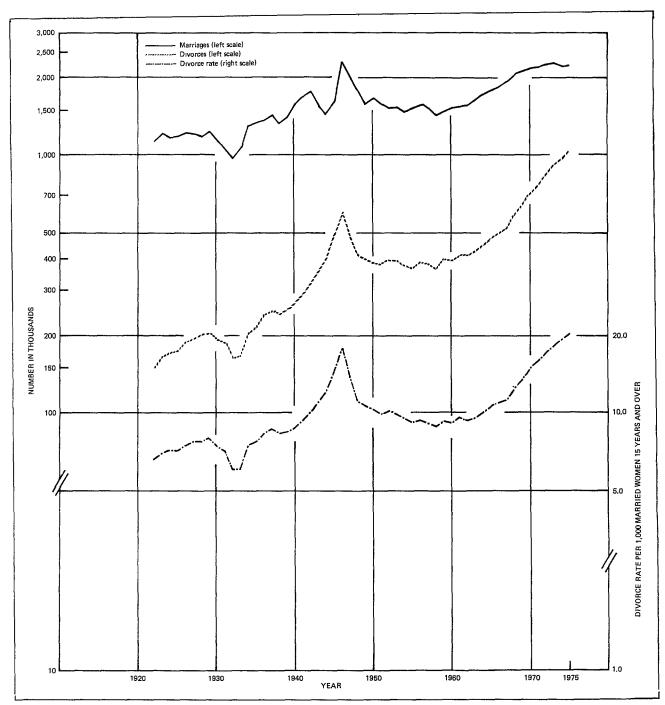


Figure 1. Marriages, divorces, and divorce rates: United States, 1922-75

ence was particularly pronounced in the years 1963-73 when marriages increased 38.1 percent but divorces 113.8 percent. The cumulative result of these differences was that during the entire 1922-75 period annual marriage totals increased 90 percent, from 1,134,151 to 2,152,662, and divorce totals grew almost 600 percent, from 148,815 to 1,036,000.

Reflecting this result, cohort divorce estimates based on divorces granted in 1948 and later years are in all durations much larger than comparable estimates based on 1922-32 data, and the highest divorce estimate prepared from 1922-32 figures was much less than the lowest estimate for the same duration interval based on 1948-75 divorces (table 2).

During the recent increase in divorce beginning with the 1962 marriage cohort, the estimated number of divorces in a given marriage-duration interval for each cohort was higher than that for the same interval of the preceding cohort and lower than that for the succeeding cohort. Indeed, the latest available divorce estimate for each duration interval has represented an all-time high.

The comparison of divorce estimates for various duration intervals of the same marriage cohort (table 2) shows a change in the modal cohort estimate: For most cohorts of the 1948-55 period, the largest estimates were found in the interval of 1 year; for the 1956-63 cohorts the interval of 2 years had the largest estimates, and the largest estimates for 1964 and later years were found in the duration interval of 3 years (figure 2).

The composition of the recent rise in the divorce rate, relative to cohort differentials by duration of marriage, can be illustrated by comparing the experience of the 1949 and 1962 marriage cohorts (table A). These two cohorts were selected because their sizes are very similar: 1,579,798 marriages were performed in 1949 and 1,577,000 marriages in 1962. During the 1949-59 period, annual divorce totals showed no discernible trend and varied only between 368,000 in 1958 and 397,000 in 1949. Annual divorce totals increased rapidly during the years 1962-72, and doubled from 413,000 in 1962 to 845,000 in 1972. As a result, divorce totals for the two 11-year periods were 4,227,000 and 6,341,000, respectively, representing an increase of 50.0 percent. All else equal, duration-specific divorce estimates for the 1962 cohort might be expected to be about 50 percent higher than those for 1949. However, table A indicates that this was not generally the case, and that differences between divorce estimates varied considerably by duration interval.

The estimated number of divorces granted to the 1962 cohort less than 1 year after marriage was 10.4 percent below the corresponding estimate for the 1949 cohort, even though there was an increase in the divorce totals, from which these estimates were prepared, from 782,000 in the 1949-50 biennium to 841,000 in the 1962-63 biennium. The lower number of divorces granted to the 1962 cohort (as compared with the 1949 cohort) less than 1 year after marriage reflects the 21.2-percent decrease in the proportion of divorces granted less than 1 year after marriage (from 6.3 percent of all divorces granted in 1949 and 1950 to about 5.2 percent of all divorces granted in 1962 and 1963).

The remaining estimates for the 1962 cohort were higher than those for 1949, and the difference between the two figures increased from 6.7 percent for the interval of 1 year to about 109 percent for the interval of 9 years (table A and figure 2). This striking increase in the difference between cohorts with respect to the number of divorces by duration of marriage follows the concurrent rise in the divorce rate since 1962. Although the 1949 and 1962 cohorts started out having about the same number of divorces, the recent increase in the period risk of divorce has resulted in an ever-widening gap between the 1949 and 1962 cohorts in the number of divorces at successive durations of marriage. This widening gap appears to be due to a change in the numbers of divorces, rather than a change in the distribution by duration.

COHORT PERCENTS DIVORCED BY DURATION OF MARRIAGE

Insight into the composition of the recent rise in the divorce rate can be obtained by comparing relative changes in the percent divorced at duration intervals for individual marriage cohorts. For this purpose, table 3 presents for each cohort the percent of cohort marriages broken by divorce at single-year duration intervals up

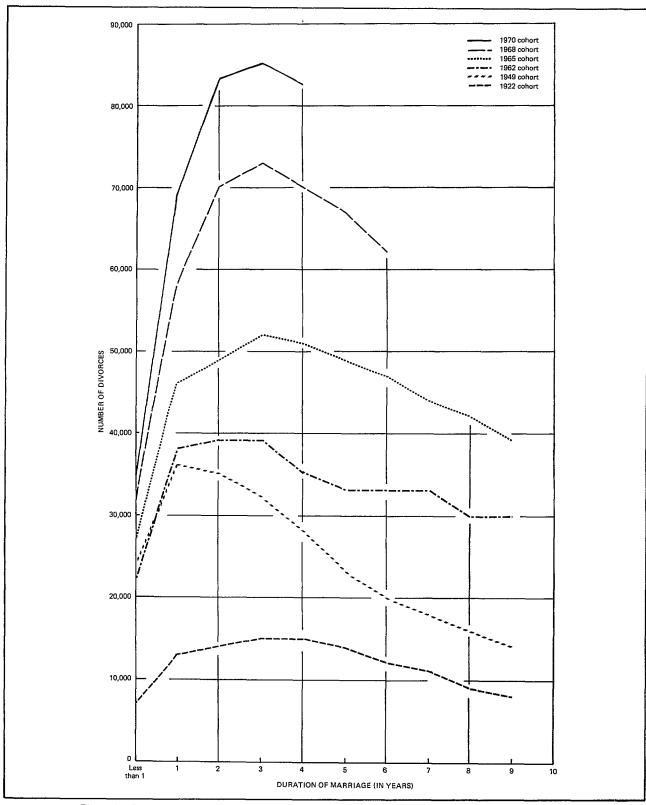


Figure 2. Estimated divorces by single-year-duration intervals: United States, selected marriage cohorts

Table A. Estimated divorces and percent of marriage cohorts divorced, by duration of marriage, with percent change: United States, 1949 and 1962 marriage cohorts

	1949	marriage co	hort	1962	marriage co	hort	Percent change, 1949-62		
Duration of marriage	Year of	Estimated	divorces	Year of	Estimated	divorces	Number	Percent	
	divorce	Number	Percent	divorce	Number	Percent	Number		
Less than 10 years	1949-59	246,377	15.6	1962-72	332,871	21.1	+35.1	+35.3	
Less than 1 year	1949-50	24,292	1.5	1962-63	21,754	1.4	-10.4	-6.7	
1 year	1950-51	35,818	2.3	1963-64	38,204	2.4	+6.7	+4.3	
2 years	1951-52	34,595	2.2	1964-65	39,497	2.5	+14.2	+13.6	
3 years	1952-53	32,063	2.0	1965-66	38,621	2.4	+20.5	+20.0	
4 years	1953-54	27,684	1.8	1966-67	35,260	2.2	+27.4	+22.2	
5 years	1954-55	23,247	1.5	1967-68	33,210	2.1	+42.9	+40.0	
6 years	1955-56	20,493	1.3	1968-69	33,313	2.1	+62.6	+61.5	
7 years	1956-57	18,122	1.1	1969-70	32,717	2.1	+80.5	+90.9	
8 years	1957-58	15,736	1.0	1970-71	30,361	1.9	+92.9	+90,0	
9 years	1958-59	14,327	0.9	1971-72	29,934	1.9	+108.9	+111.1	

to 9 years' duration of marriage, and then at 5-year intervals up to 25-29 years of marriage. Certain data are not available, as previously noted. All percents are based on the initial number of marriages in the respective cohorts.

To facilitate the discussion, figure 3 has been prepared showing percent divorced for marriage cohorts at the odd-numbered, single-year durations only. Figure 4 shows similar data for all 5-year-duration intervals. It is clear that dramatic changes in percent of cohorts divorced have occurred not only in absolute terms, but also in relative terms.

In the cohorts of 1960 and earlier years, percents for each of the five selected single-yearduration intervals show that, despite considerable fluctuation, the rank order of the intervals remained stable from one cohort to the next. In figure 3, the percent for the 1-year-duration interval was always the largest and the percents declined consistently with increasing duration to a minimum for the interval of 9 years. Table 3 shows that percents for marriage duration of less than 1 year were consistently below those for the 1-year interval. Recent rapid increases in percents divorced have considerably altered this picture. The percent for the duration interval of 1 year was equaled or exceeded by the percents for the intervals of 2 and 3 years of marriage in the 1961 cohort, by the percent for the interval of 5 years in the 1964 cohort, and by the percent for the interval of 7 years in the 1966 cohort.

Although the rankings of the intervals of 3, 5, 7, and 9 years remained the same in 1961 and later cohorts, the relative sizes of percents divorced have changed considerably. For example, as shown in table 3, the percent divorced at marriage duration 1 year was 1.4 percentage points greater than that at duration 9 years for the 1951 cohort, but only 0.4 percentage point greater for the same durations in the 1965 cohort. Similarly, the percent divorced at marriage duration 3 years was 0.9 percentage point greater than that at duration 7 years for the 1951 cohort, but only 0.6 percentage point greater for the 1967 cohort at the same durations of marriage. Thus the upward trend in percent divorced for each marriage duration has resulted in a reduction of the differences between the percents divorced at various marriage durations.

The curves for the 5-year-duration intervals in figure 4 show that similar trends are occurring at later durations. For example, the percent of the 1950 cohort divorced fell from 3.9 percent in the 10-14-year interval to 3.3 percent in the 20-24-year interval. This represented a sizable change from the experience of the 1940 cohort, in which 3.1 percent divorced in the 10-14-year interval but only 1.7 percent divorced in the 20-24-year interval. It is apparent that successive

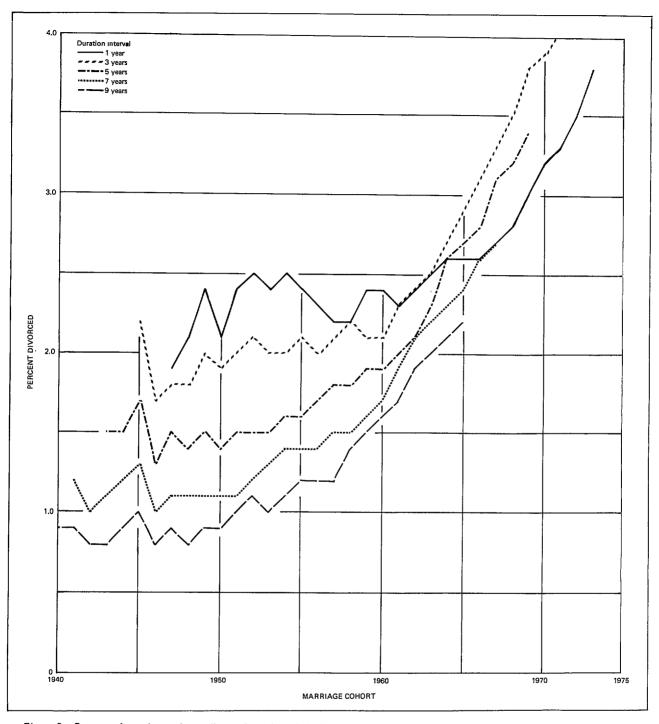


Figure 3. Percent of marriage cohorts divorced at selected single-year-duration intervals: United States, 1940-75 marriage cohorts

cohorts have been experiencing greater percents divorced at each duration interval.

Figures 3 and 4 demonstrate that rapid increases in percents divorced have occurred at all duration intervals. The percent divorced has

doubled at most duration intervals over periods involving roughly 10 to 15 marriage cohorts. To describe graphically the extent to which percents in each duration interval have participated in the recent rise of the divorce rate, the

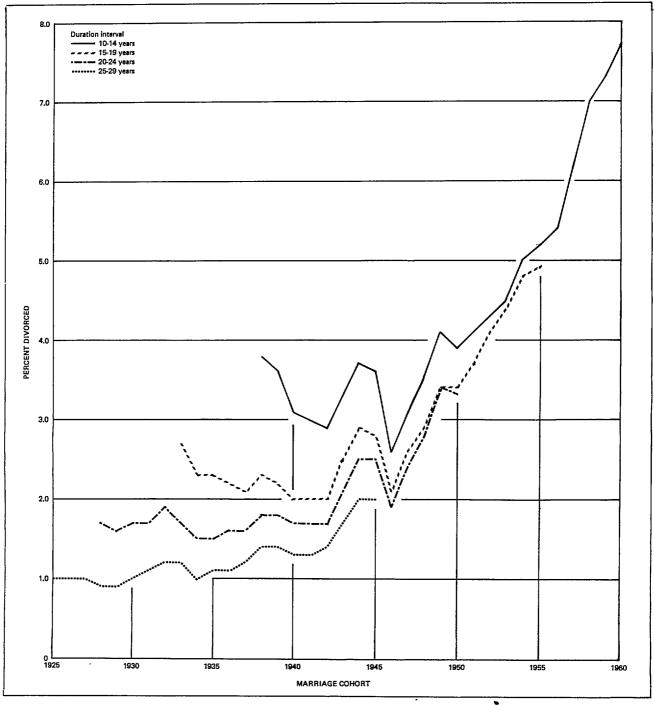


Figure 4. Percent of marriage cohorts divorced at 5-year-duration intervals: United States, 1925-60 marriage cohorts

cohort percents at selected single-year intervals have been plotted according to the year of divorce for each cohort-duration combination. Figure 5 shows the odd-year duration curves (based on the same data used to construct figure 3) plotted by year of divorce (rather than by year of marriage), with the period divorce rate plotted for comparison. Because each cohort percent divorced is estimated from data for two divorce totals, the cohort data have been

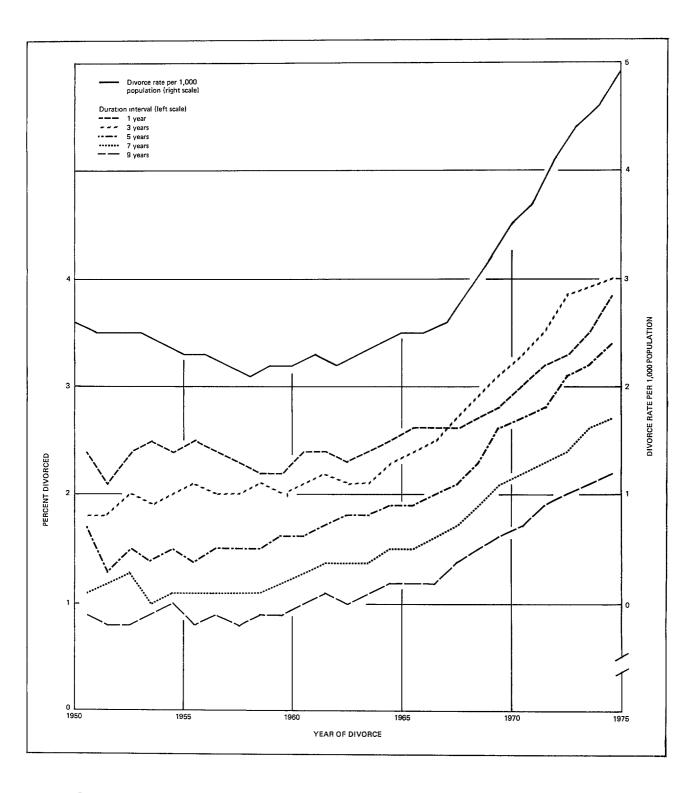


Figure 5. Percent of marriage cohorts divorced at selected single-year-duration intervals, and crude divorce rate, by year of divorce: United States, 1950-75

plotted midway between the 2 years used to estimate each percent divorced.

For the most part, percents divorced in the various marriage-duration intervals followed the trend of the divorce rate (figure 5). Between 1950 and 1958, the divorce rate declined somewhat and then rose gradually between 1958 and 1967. The rate rose very rapidly between 1967 and 1975. Only the duration intervals of 1 year and 2 years reflected the decline in the divorce rate between 1950 and 1958; all other durations remained fairly constant. Between 1958 and 1967 all duration percents increased slightly (as did the divorce rate), and then all increased much more rapidly between 1967 and 1975.

The crude divorce rate (per 1,000 population) doubled in the 11-year period between 1964 and 1975. Between 1950 and 1975, the percent divorced doubled at all intervals except those of less than 1 year and 1 year (table 3). The percent divorced doubled in 15 years at marriage duration 3 years, in 13 years at marriage duration 5 years, in 11 years at marriage durations 8 and 9 years, and in 8-12 years at the higher 5-year marriage-duration intervals. It appears that somewhat steeper increases have occurred at successively higher duration-ofmarriage intervals. The recent rise in the divorce rate thus seems to be a phenomenon associated with marriages of all durations. Proportions divorcing have been increasing very fast at all durations, indeed, perhaps a little faster at the longer durations than at the shorter.

CUMULATIVE PERCENTS

Because all divorce percents for any given marriage cohort (table 3) are calculated on the basis of the initial number of marriages in the cohort, it is possible to calculate the percents divorced from the interval of less than 1 year up to any specified anniversary of marriage. The cumulative percent so obtained indicates the proportion of the original marriages in that cohort dissolved by divorce within the period beginning at marriage and ending at the specified anniversary. Table 4 presents cumulative

percents of marriages ended by divorce, by marriage anniversary, for the cohorts of 1922 through 1931 and 1948 through 1974. Insufficient (or unavailable) data prevented the calculation of cumulative percents for other cohorts.

For purposes of comparison, figure 6 has been prepared showing percents cumulated for anniversaries that correspond to the end of the duration intervals shown in figures 3 and 4. For example, the interval of duration 1 year ends with the 2d anniversary, duration 3 years ends with the 4th anniversary, and so forth.

The differences among cohorts described in the previous section tend to become quite pronounced when the individual duration percents are cumulated. As figure 6 shows, the largest cumulative percent since marriage for the 1922-31 cohort was in all cases much less than the smallest comparable percent for the same interval for cohorts of 1948 and all following years. Cumulative percents for cohorts married after 1956 show a particularly rapid increase at all anniversaries after the second; there were few declines in cumulative percents at these anniversaries.

Table B presents data for selected cohorts and anniversaries that help to highlight the major trends in cohort disruption. For the cohorts of 1950-1973, the percent divorced by the 2d anniversary was about double that for the cohorts of 1924 to 1930. For all cohorts, the percent divorced at least doubled between the 2d and 4th anniversaries with more recent cohorts increasing by a factor of more than 2.5 in this interval. At the 8th anniversary, the percent divorced increased by factors 3.6, 4.0, and 5.3 over the percent at the 2d anniversary for the 1950, 1960, and 1967 cohorts, respectively. Finally, the percent divorced by the 2d anniversary had increased by a factor of approximately 7 at the 25th, 20th, and 15th anniversaries of the 1950, 1955, and 1960 cohorts, respectively. In fact, the ratios at the 2d, 4th, and 8th anniversaries (table B) are very similar for the 1950, 1955, and 1960 cohorts, and differences between these cohorts are most pronounced at the 15th anniversary.

Percents for the longest interval, 25-29 years of duration of marriage, were available for 23

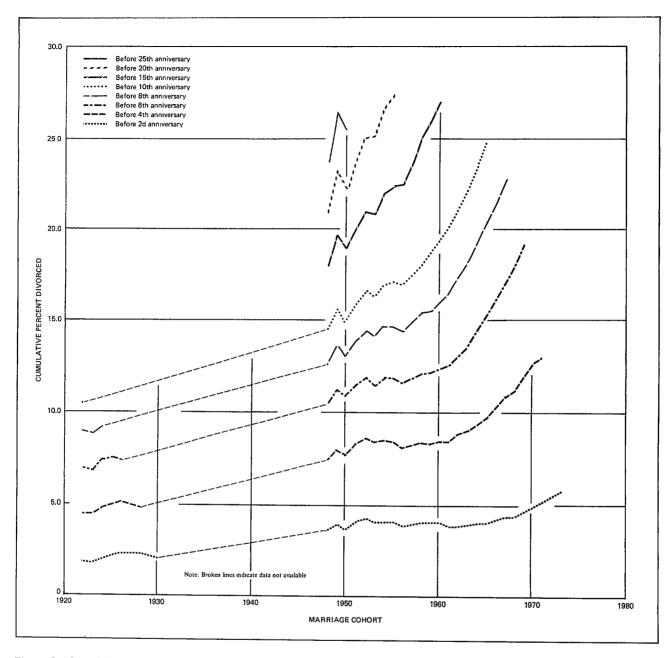


Figure 6. Cumulative percent of marriage cohorts divorced before specified anniversaries of marriage: United States, 1922-31 and 1948-73 marriage cohorts

cohorts, 1923-45, as shown in table 3. However, they could not be included in cumulative percents since marriage, because in all cases there was no information about one or more intervals of shorter duration. Percents for the interval of 20-24 years were available for 23 cohorts, 1928-50; but cumulative percents to the 25th

anniversary could not be computed for 20 of these cohorts. In order to obtain some information about cumulative changes of long-duration intervals, cumulative percents divorced after the 10th anniversary were prepared for the cohorts shown in table C. After the 10th anniversary, the 1955 cohort cumulated more than

Table B. Cumulative percent of marriage cohorts divorced and ratio to 2d anniversary percent, by anniversary of marriage: United States, selected cohorts

	Anniversary of marriage													
Marriage cohort	2d	4th ·	8th	15th	20th	25th	2d	4th	8th	15th	20th	25th		
		c	Cumulative percent						1	Ratio				
1973	5.7	<u> </u>					1.0							
1971	5.1	13.0					1.0	2.5						
1967	4.3	10.9	22.8				1.0	2.5	5.3					
1963	3.9	9.0	18.1				1.0	2.3	4.6					
1960	4.0	8.4	16.0	27.0			1.0	2.1	4.0	6.8				
1955	4.0	8.4	14.7	22.3	27.3		1.0	2.1	3.7	5.6	6.8			
1950	3.6	7.7	13.1	18.8	22.2	25.5	1.0	2.1	3.6	5.2	6.2	7.1		
1930	2.0						1.0							
1928	2.2	4.8					1.0	2.2						
1924	1.9	4.8	9.2				1.0	2.5	4.8					

10 percent divorced by the 20th anniversary; in comparison, the 1949 cohort exceeded a cumulative 10 percent divorced between the 10th and

Table C. Cumulative percent of marriage cohorts divorced after the 10th anniversary of marriage, by anniversary interval: United States, 1938-60 marriage cohorts

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			9.0
3.8	6.1	8.0	9.3
	Marrie st 10th and 15th 7.7 7.3 7.0 6.2 5.4 5.2 5.0 4.5 4.3 4.1	Toth and 15th 20th 20th 20th 20th 20th 20th 20th 20	Marriage interval defir stated anniversari 10th and 10th and 15th 20th 25th Cumulative percent di 7.7 .

25th anniversaries, and the 1944 cohort showed more than 10 percent divorced by the 30th anniversary. Thus, the more recent cohorts are cumulating a given level of divorce at shorter intervals after the 10th anniversary.

PROJECTIONS OF COHORT PROPORTIONS EVEN TUALLY DIVORCED

The duration of marriage up to the 25th anniversary is the longest interval for which available data permit a direct estimate of the cumulative percent divorced. As shown in table 4, such an estimate could be made for only three cohorts. Divorce data available through 1975 indicate that about 1 out of 4 marriages contracted in 1948, 1949, and 195() had ended in divorce before the 25th anniversary. For later cohorts, marital histories are truncated at successively shorter durations. Consequently, for the purpose of studying trends in long-duration cohort divorce experience, it is desirable to obtain estimates of the proportion of marriages that may eventually end in divorce for selected cohorts.

An appropriate procedure to estimate the ultimate proportion divorced for the 1948-50 and later marriage cohorts would involve adding to the current known proportion divorced for a given cohort a further proportion of marriages that are projected to end in divorce in the

fixture, but had not clone so by the current date. J.n a recent paper, Preston and McDonald1 presented a projection of the proportion of marriages that will ever end in divorce for each marriage cohort between 1915 and 1964. They began by preparing an estimate of the cumulative proportion of each cohort of marriages ending in divorce by the beginning of 1970. These estimates were prepared by proportional allocation of divorces according to duration of marriage (irrespective of marriage order), and they agree very closely with the estimated proportions presented in this report for each cohort at the appropriate duration experienced in 1969. Periods of missing divorce data were bridged by interpolation.

To project the divorce experience of each cohort beyond 1969, Preston and McDonald (1) estimated the fraction of marriages contracted in a particular year that had not been dissolved by 1970 and (2) applied divorce and death risks beyond a particular duration to marriages that had survived to that duration in 1970. The divorce and death risks used in this projection method were calculated on the basis of events recorded in 1969. In short, their procedure "assumes that the divorce and death rates of 1969 will be maintained throughout the remaining life of all marriage cohorts that survived to the beginning of 1970."

Preston and McDonald found that the projected proportion of marriages that will ever end in divorce (based on 1969 divorce and death rates) increased from 26.4 percent of the 1948 cohort to 35.7 percent of the 1964 cohort. Projections for the 1950, 1955, and 1960 cohorts were 27.1 percent, 29.9 percent, and 33.8 percent, respectively. In view of the continuing rise in the divorce rate since 1969, it is quite probable that these projections are underestimates of the eventual proportions of these cohorts that will end in divorce. Preston and McDonald made: no projections for marriages contracted after 1964 because these later cohorts would have had less than one-third of their expected divorce incidence by 1970.

Similar projections of the proportion of marriages that may eventually end in divorce have been made by Glick and Norton.⁴ These authors prepared projections based on marital histories

from the June 1971 Current Population Survey (CPS),5 and these differed from those made by Preston and McDonald in several key respects. The projections based on 1971 CPS data were made for birth cohorts (in 5-year intervals of birth), not for individual marriage cohorts, and were presented for first marriages and second marriages separately, not for all marriages combined. Glick and Norton cumulated percents divorced as of 1971 for each birth cohort, and then made a projection of the proportion of women in the cohort whose first marriage "may eventually end in divorce, if their future divorce experience is similar to that of older cohorts during 1965-70."4 The projected percents increased from 19 percent for the 1920-24 birth cohort to 29 percent for the 1940-44 cohort, with percents of 21, 23, and 27 for the three intervening 5-year birth cohorts. Because the median age at first marriage is about 21 years for American women, the 1940-44 birth cohort would probably make up a large proportion of the 1961-65 marriage cohorts, and consequently a rough comparison would indicate that the CPS-based projections are somewhat lower than those of Preston and McDonald.

A more recent projection for both first and second marriages has been made by Glick and Norton using marital histories from the June 1975 CPS.6 Using these more recent data, it was found that the percent of ever-married women whose first marriage may eventually end in divorce increased from 20 percent for the 1920-24 birth cohort to 38 percent for the 1945-49 birth cohort, with percents of 24, 26, 31, and 34 for the four intervening cohorts. Moreover, the percent of persons married twice whose second marriage may eventually end in redivorce increased from 15 percent for the 1920-24 birth cohort to 44 percent for the 1945-49 birth cohort, with percents of 23, 26, 31, and 40 for the four intervening cohorts. Projections for men were somewhat less than for women in the same birth cohorts. These more recent CPS-based projections for the various birth cohorts reflect the fact that the divorce rate continued to increase rapidly in the period 1970-75, appreciably affecting all marriage cohorts in all duration intervals.

CONCLUSION

For the earlier marriage cohorts, the projections of the proportion of marriages that will eventually end in divorce will undoubtedly be very close to the actual outcome. However, for more recent cohorts, the outcome is somewhat more indeterminate. The projections for the recent cohorts do suggest that an unprecedented proportion of these couples will eventually divorce. Yet, the future experience of recent cohorts will depend on how the people who comprise these cohorts react to changing social. economic, demographic, and cultural factors at the higher durations of marriage. We have provided data in this report that indicate that there is a very strong period effect on the risk of divorce at all durations. That is, as the period divorce rate has increased, so has the cohort proportion divorced at each duration of marriage. Consequently, the likelihood of divorce at each duration appears to respond generally to the same factors that influence the overall period divorce rate, especially when the divorce rate is increasing rapidly.

Divorce rates for 1976 and 1977 have not shown the rapid growth that was experienced in the years from 1967 to 1975. The divorce rate increased from 2.6 to 4.9 (per 1,000 population) between 1967 and 1975; the final rates for 1976 and 1977 were both 5.0. Thus the growth in the divorce rate has slowed considerably, especially in comparison with the period of 1967 to 1973 when the average annual rate of increase was 11.5 percent. If the current level of divorce should continue indefinitely, then the projections given in the preceding section for recent birth cohorts, based on 1975 crosssectional survey data, should be quite close to what eventually occurs. However, if for some reason the divorce rate declines in the near future, then these projections might well be overstated. This would depend on the extent to which the proportions divorcing at later duration-of-marriage intervals respond to the changing social, economic, and other factors in the same way as the divorce rate responds. We must wait several years for the sequel to this analysis as the various cohorts accumulate their divorce experience at later and later durations of marriage.

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Table 1. Percent distribution of divorces, by duration of marriage: Total reporting States, 1922-32 and 1948-75 [Data for 1960-75 based on probability sample; data for earlier years, on complete counts]

	T	Ī	I					······································	Ouratio	n of m	arriage	in yea	rs				
Year of divorce	Report- ing States	Total	Less than 1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30 or more
								P	ercent	distrib	ution						
1975	129 129 129 129 129 128	100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0	4.5 4.6 4.7 4.7 4.6 4.8	8.6 8.7 8.3 8.3 8.8 8.5	9.4 9.1 9.0 9.8 9.5 9.4	8.9 8.7 9.2 9.2 8.8 8.5	8.1 8.5 8.1 7.7 7.5 7.7	7.4 7.2 6.9 6.5 6.4 6.9	6.2 6.1 5.8 5.8 5.9 5.6	5.2 5.1 5.1 4.9 4.8 5.0	4.4 4.4 4.4 4.3 4.1 4.1	4.0 3.8 3.8 3.7 3.7 3.6	13.6 13.1 13.2 13.3 13.5 13.8	8.0 8.2 8.6 8.9 9.0 9.0	5.6 5.9 6.1 6.5 7.0 7.0	3.7 3.8 3.9 3.8 3.6 3.3	2.5 2.7 2.7 2.7 2.6 2.6
1969	128 126 122 122 122 122 122 121 120 U.S.	100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0	5.2 5.1 5.8 5.6 5.3 5.2 5.1 5.6 6.2	8.6 8.7 9.1 8.9 9.3 8.8 8.6 9.4 8.1	9.2 9.3 8.4 9.0 8.6 8.4 8.3 8.0 8.1	8.5 8.5 8.1 7.8 8.0 7.3 7.5 7.6 7.7	7.5 7.2 6.9 6.9 6.8 6.8 6.6 7.3 7.3	6.4 6.0 6.0 6.0 5.9 6.2 5.7 7.0 6.1 6.4	5.4 5.5 5.3 5.4 5.1 5.2 5.5 5.1 5.6 5.0	4.7 4.8 4.7 4.6 4.5 5.0 5.0 4.9 4.9	4.2 4.3 3.9 4.0 4.2 4.6 4.0 4.4 4.0	3.8 3.7 3.4 3.8 3.9 3.8 3.7 3.9 4.0 3.9	13.8 14.2 14.4 14.1 13.7 14.6 14.9 15.1 15.5	9.5 9.6 10.0 10.8 11.2 11.4 11.5 10.3 9.7 8.9	7.1 7.3 7.1 6.7 6.5 6.3 6.8	3.5 3.6 3.9 3.8 3.6 3.4 3.5 13.2 12.2 12.0	2.5 2.4 2.8 2.8 3.1 2.9 3.0
1959	16 12 24 23 23 23 23 23 23 19 16	100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0 100.0	5.9 7.6 6.1 6.4 6.3 6.1 6.6 6.7 6.3 6.1	8.2 9.4 9.8 9.7 9.7 10.0 9.9 9.5 9.0 9.7	9.1 10.1 9.2 9.4 10.0 9.6 9.7 9.0 8.9 10.2	8.3 8.2 8.0 8.2 8.5 8.5 8.1 8.3 9.0	7.1 6.6 7.1 7.1 7.4 7.2 7.2 8.1 8.8 9.4	6.0 6.2 6.4 6.2 6.1 7.0 7.8 8.1 6.0	5.4 5.1 5.4 5.4 5.4 6.2 6.8 7.1 5.2 4.6	4.7 4.7 4.7 4.8 5.8 5.9 6.1 4.6 4.3 4.4	4.3 4.1 4.3 4.7 5.3 5.6 4.0 3.6 4.1 4.4	3.9 3.6 4.1 4.8 4.7 3.6 3.1 3.5 4.0 3.7	16.2 15.2 15.1 14.1 12.8 13.0 13.2 13.0 12.5	9.0 8.5 8.6 8.1 7.8 7.9 7.8 7.7 7.8 7.5	5.6 5.4 5.4 4.8 4.7 4.7 4.7 4.9 5.2 5.3	3.1 2.7 2.9 2.8 3.0 3.0 3.1 3.1 3.3 3.2	3.2 2.9 3.2 3.2 2.9 2.9 2.8 3.0 3.1 3.0
1949 1948	12 12	100.0 100.0	6.4 7.2	9.4 9.2	10.5 10.5	9.7 7.8	6.8 6.6	5.5 6.5	5.3 5.8	5.1 4.9	4.3 4.1	3.8 3.4	13.2 13.7	7.7 8.0	5.8 5.7	3.5 3.5	3.0 3.0
1932	U.S. U.S. U.S.	² 100.0 ² 100.0 ² 100.0	4.6 4.9 5.1	7.3 7.9 8.1	8.4 8.5 8.3	8.5 8.2 8.5	7.9 7.7 7.8	7.1 6.9 7.1	6.4 6.3 6.3	5.6 5.7 5.6	5.1 4.9 4.8	4.5 4.3 4.7	16.3 16.3 15.6	8.3 8.2 8.2		9.9 10.0 10.0	
1929	U.S. U.S. U.S. U.S. U.S. U.S.	2100.0 2100.0 2100.0 2100.0 3100.0 3100.0 3100.0 3100.0	5.1 5.3 5.4 4.7 4.6 4.5 4.6	7.8 8.1 8.2 8.2 8.2 7.7 7.4 8.6	8.5 8.6 8.8 8.9 8.6 8.1 9.4 10.1	8.7 8.5 8.7 8.6 8.2 9.2 10.1 8.7	7.8 8.1 7.8 7.6 8.5 9.3 8.0 7.9	7.3 7.2 6.9 7.7 8.3 7.1 7.2 6.8	6.2 6.0 6.9 7.3 6.2 6.4 6.3	5.4 6.0 6.5 5.4 5.6 5.5 5.1 4.9	5.4 5.7 4.7 4.8 4.8 4.5 4.4	5.1 4.1 4.2 4.0 3.8 4.2 4.3	14.6 14.3 14.2 13.9 14.4 15.1 14.9	8.2 8.3 8.1 8.2 8.5 8.4 8.5 8.6		10.0 9.9 9.9 9.9 10.0 10.2 10.0	

¹Divorce-registration area (1961-75).
²For annulments, the duration interval of 5-9 years was distributed by single years of duration (1926-32).
³Absolute divorces only. Information on annulments not available (1922-25).

Table 2. Marriages and estimated divorces for marriage cohorts, by duration of marriage: United States, 1922-74 marriage cohorts

[For estimating method see the Technical Notes]

Marriage							Dur	ation of m	arriage in y	years					
cohort	Marriages	Less than 1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29
		j						Number o	of divorces	1					
1974	2,229,667	45,916			١	i		1					1		٠
1973 1972	2,284,108 2,282,154	44,128 41.623	87,048	20.440				• • • •							
971	2,282,154	37,969	80,473 73,041	93,146 85,629	88,602	ł ::.									• • •
970	2,158,802	34,897	69,080	82,580	84,590	83,481									
969	2,145,000	33,667	64,102	78,123	80,960	78,581	73,504								
968	2,069,000	31,781	57,567	69,994	72,822	69,591	66,740	61,915							
967	1,927,000 1,857,000	30,014 29,330	52,881 49,201	62,670 56,550	64,102 57,248	61,521 56,246	59,031 52,199	56,334 51,040	51,850	44 206			• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •		• • •
965	1,800,000	26,871	46,003	49,122	51,248	51,221	49,162	47,309	48,247 44,036	44,286 41,624	39,283		:::		
964	1,725,000	24,741	44,480	44,421	46,002	44,987	44,874	42,628	39,255	38,298	35,948		1 :::		
963	1,654,000	23,181	42,074	43,052	40,643	39,068	37,968	37,077	36,252	34,015	33,018				
962	1,577,000	21,754	38,204	39,497	38,621	35,260	33,210	33,313	32,717	30,361	29,934				
961	1,548,000	21,954	36,163	36,876	35,585	33,742	30,660	29,920	29,033	27,933	27,045				
1960	1,523,000	23,681	37,217	35,116	32,475	31,826	29,101	27,333	26,307	25,975	24,885	116,961			•••
959	1,494,000	23,920	35,375	33,700	31,744	29,852	28,081	25,688	23,768	22,755	22,945	108,662			
958	1,451,000	25,264	32,112	32,477	31,633	28,181	26,148	23,915	22,255	20,179	19,695	100,896			• • •
957	1,518,000 1,585,000	25,982 23,748	33,491 35,965	33,890 36,557	31,463 31,917	28,740 29,456	26,653 27,082	23,470 22,302	22,028 21,950	20,039 20,409	18,372 18,822	93,404 86,297			
955	1,531,000	24,155	37,196	36,110	31,481	28,368	25,203	22,124	20,819	18,910	17,891	79,688	75,376		
954	1,490,000	23,486	36,812	35,480	30,328	26,167	24,426	21,417	20,262	17,646	16,468	74,233	71,519		
953	1,546,000	24,220	37,235	36,804	30,902	25,670	22,890	20,490	19,772	17,366	15,972	70,069	67,315		
952	1,539,318	25,960	38,255	37,042	31,685	27,087	22,851	20,049	18,912	16,730	16,334	66,858	62,763		• • •
951	1,594,694	25,314	37,925	37,107	32,130	27,510	24,035	19,671	17,931	16,943	15,944	64,945	58,904		• • •
950	1,667,231	23,786	35,765	36,555	31,903	27,593	23,911	20,601	17,602	16,037	15,367	64,444	56,329	55,257	• • •
949	1,579,798	24,292	35,818	34,595	32,063	27,684	23,247	20,493	18,122	15,736	14,327	64,392	54,382 52,756	53,183	
1948	1,811,155 1,991,878	27,075	37,332 37,427	36,590 40,478	33,413 36,395	29,916 32,640	25,210 28,938	21,928 25,009	19,159 21,172	17,169 18,968	14,435 16,979	63,438 62,170	51,096	50,638 47,540	::
946	2.291.045		37,427	42,263	38,505	34,859	30,719	27,176	23,076	20,603	18,028	60,656	48,747	43,693	
1945	1,612,992				35,167	31,593	26,981	23,822	20,911	18,412	15,682	57,770	45,507	39,784	32,719
1944	1,452,394					26,962	22,468	18,761	17,208	14,856	12,867	54,366	42,064	36,239	29,748
1943	1,577,050						24,178	19,376	16,662	14,686	12,905	52,295	38,695	33,184	26,805
1942	1,772,132							22,353	18,594	16,281	14,480	51,192	35,924	30,803	24,168
1941 1940	1,695,999 1,595,879	. :							20,120	17,006 16,900	14,743 14,666	50,181 49,736	34,024 32,546	28,914 27,261	22,109 20,609
1940	1,395,679	l	'''			'''				10,300	14,000	43,750	32,040	27,20.	20,000
1939	1,403,633]									14,479	50,111	31,427	25,842	19,292
1938	1,330,780				-			• •	• • • •			51,021	30,780	24,295	17,980
1937	1,451,296	•••											30,436	22,745 21,468	16,741 15,534
1936 1935	1,369,000 1,327,000												29,882	20,271	14,456
1935 1934	1,302,000					l :.:						<i>-</i>	29,891	19.293	13,646
1933	1,098,000												30,176	18,709	12,836
1932.	981,903													18,418	12,032
1931	1,060,914	8,290				-			• •					18,430	11,478
1930 .	1,126,856	9,588	13,471											18,846	11,134
1929 .	1,232,559	10,211	15,403	14,898										19,635	10,960
1928 .	1,182,497	10,316	15,946	16,166	14,729									20,649	11,088
1927 .	1,201,053	10,224	16,090	16,974	16,043	13,749	12 257						1		11,413 11,711
1926	1,202,574	10,152 9,242	16,109	17,456 17,267	17,220	14,942	12,357 13,472	11,197			:::				12,000
1925 1924	1,188,334 1,184,574	9,242 8,144	15,543 14,735	16,862	16,981	16,085	14,448	12,110	9,928						12,354
		7,678	13,807					12,607	10.811						12,825
1923	1,229,784	1,678	13,507	15,791	16,467	15,798	14,697	12,007	10,011	9,248					12,020

¹Data exclude annulments granted during 1922-25.

Table 3. Marriages and percent of marriage cohorts divorced, by duration of marriage: United States, 1922-74 marriage cohorts

	1						ı	Duratio	n of m	arriage	in years				
Marriage cohort	Marriages	Less than 1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29
					 -			Pe	ercent (divorce	d ¹	!	· !		
974	2,229,667	2.1						· · · ·]						
973	2,284,108	1.9	3.8	1 :::				1]						
972 971	2,282,154 2,190,481	1.8	3.5 3.3	4.1 3.9	4.0				1		1				• • •
970	2,158,802	1.6	3.2	3.8	3.9	3.9	:::		:::	:::	:::		:::		
969	2,145,000	1.6	3.0	3.6	3.8	3.7	3.4								
968	2,069,000	1.5	2.8	3.4	3.5	3.4	3.2	3.0	: : :		1	• • • •	• • • •		• • •
967	1,927,000	1.6	2.7	3.3	3.3	3.2	3.1	2.9	2.7						
966	1,857,000	1.6	2.6	3.0	3.1	3.0	2.8	2.7	2.6	2.4	:::	:::			
965	1,800,000	1.5	2.6	2.7	2.9	2.8	2.7	2.6	2.4	2.3	2.2				
964	1,725,000	1.4	2.6	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.5	2.3	2.2	2.1				
163	1,654,000	1.4	2.5	2.6	2.5	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.0	١			
962	1,577,000	1.4	2.4	2.5	2.4	2.2	2.1	2.1	2.1	1.9	1.9				
961	1,548,000	1.4	2.3	2.4	2.3	2.2	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.8	1.7				
960	1,523,000	1.6	2.4	2.3	2.1	2.1	1.9	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.6	7.7			
959	1,494,000	1.6	2.4	2.4	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.6	1.5	1.5	7.3			
958	1,451,000	1.7	2.2	2.2	2.2	1.9	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.4	7.0			
957	1,518,000	1.7	2.2	2.2	2.1	1.9	1.8	1.5	1.5	1.3	1.2	6.2			
56	1,585,000	1.5	2.3	2.3	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.2	5.4	!		
955	1,531,000	1.6	2.4	2.4	2.1	1.9	1.6	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.2	5.2	4.9		
954	1,490,000	1.6	2.5	2.4	2.0	1.8	1.6	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.1	5.0	4.8		
953	1,546,000	1.6	2.4	2.4	2.0	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.3	1.1	1.0	4.5	4.4		
952	1,539,318	1.7	2.5	2.4	2.1	1.8	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.1	1.0	4.3	4.1		
951 950	1,594,694 1,667,231	1.6 1.4	2.4	2.3	2.0 1.9	1.7 1.7	1.5 1.4	1.2	1.1	1.1	1.1 0.9	4.1 3.9	3.7 3.4	3.3	• •
		.								''•	0.0	0.5	0.4	0.0	• • •
949	1,579,798	1.5	2.4	2.2	2.0	1.8	1.5	1.3	1.1	1.0	0.9	4.1	3.4	3.4	
948	1,811,155	1.5	2.1	2.0	1.8	1.7	1.4	1.2	1.1	0.9	0.8	3.5	2.9	2.8	
947	1,991,878		1.9	2.0	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.3	1.1	1.0	0.9	3.1	2.6	2.4	
946	2,291,045			1.8	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.0	0.9	0.8	2.6	2.1	1.9	• •
44	1,612,992				2.2	2.0	1.7	1.5	1.3	1.1	1.0	3.6	2.8	2.5	2.0
943	1,452,394 1,577,050					1.9	1.5	1.3	1.2	1.0	0.9	3.7	2.9	2.5	2.0
942	1,772,132						1.5	1.2	1.1	0.9	8.0	3.3	2.5	2.1	1.7
41	1,695,999							1.3	1.0 1.2	0.9	0.8	2.9	2.0	1.7	1.4
40	1,595,879								1.2	1.0 1.1	0.9 0.9	3.0 3.1	2.0 2.0	1.7 1.7	1.3 1.3
120		ļ													
39	1,403,633										1.0	3.6	2.2	1.8	1.4
38	1,330,780						• • • •					3.8	2.3	1.8	1.4
37	1,451,296												2.1	1.6	1.2
35	1,369,000								•••				2.2	1.6	1.1
34	1,327,000 1,302,000	:::											2.3	1.5	1.1
33	1,098,000									:::			2.3	1.5	1.0
32	981,903	1											2.7	1.7	1.2
31	1,060,914	0.8									- : :			1.9	1.2
30	1,126,856		1.2											1.7 1.7	1.1 1.0
20	1 000 550					. [j	
29	1,232,559 1,182,497		1.2	1.2			••••							1.6	0.9
27			1.3	1.4	1.2	1 1							j	1.7	0.9
26	1,201,053 1,202,574		1.3	1.4	1.3	1.1	1.0	••••					[1.0
25			1.3	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.0							•	1.0
24	1,188,334		1.3	1.5	1.5	1.3	1,1	0.9							1.0
23	1,184,574		1.2	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.2	1.0	0.8						1.0
22	1,229,784 1,134,151		1.1	1.3	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.0	0.9	0.7					1.0
	1.134.151	U.O I	1.1	1.3	1 .K I				1.0	0.8	0.7				

¹Data exclude annulments granted during 1922-25.

Table 4. Cumulative percent of marriage cohorts divorced, by anniversary of marriage: United States, 1922-31 and 1948-74 marriage cohorts

[Percents are cumulated from marriage to the specified anniversary of marriage. No cumulative percents are available for anniversaries later than 25 years]

						Anniv	ersary o	f marria	ge				
Marriage cohort	1st	2d	3d	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th	15th	20th	25th
					C	Cumulat	ive perce	ent divo	ced ¹		•		
1974	2.1	۱ ۱		1 1	1		1	ا ا				ا	
1973	1.9	5.7											
1972	1.8	5.4	9.4										
1971	1.7	5.1	9.0	13.0									
1970	1.6	4.8	8.6	12.6	16.4							• • •	
1969	1.6	4.6	8.2	12.0	15.6	19.1							
1968	1.5	4.3	7.7	11.2	14.6	17.8	20.8						
1967	1.6	4.3	7.6	10.9	14.1	17.1	20.1	22.8					
1966	1.6	4.2	7.3	10.4	13.4	16.2	18.9	21.5	23.9				
1965	1.5	4.0	6.8	9.7	12.5	15.2	17.9	20.3	22.6	24.8	• • • •		
1964	1.4	4.0	6.6	9.3	11.9	14.5	16.9	19.2	21.4	23.5	• • •		
1963	1.4	3.9	6.5	9.0	11.4	13.7	15.9	18.1	20.2	22.1	• • • •	• • • •	
1962	1.4	3.8	6.3	8.8	11.0	13.1	15.2	17.3	19.2	21.1	• • • •		
1961	1,4	3.8	6.1	8.4	10.6	12.6	14.5	16.4	18.2	20.0	27.0	• • • •	
1960	1.6	4.0	6.3	8.4	10.5	12.4	14.2	16.0	17.7	19.3	27,0		
1959	1.6	4.0	6.2	8.3	10.3	12.2	13.9	15.5	17.1	18.6	25.9		
1958	1.7	4.0	6.2	8.4	10.3	12.1	13.8	15.3	16.7	18.0	25.0		
1957	1.7	3.9	6.2	8.2	10.1	11.9	13.4	14.9	16.2	17.4	23.6		
1956	1.5	3.8	6.1	8.1	9.9	11.7	13.1	14.4	15.7	16.9	22.4		
1955	1.6	4.0	6.4	8.4	10.3	11.9	13.4	14.7	16.0	17.1	22.3	27.3	
1954	1.6	4.0	6.4	8.5	10.2	11.9	13.3	14.7	15.8	16.9	21.9	26.7	
1953	1.6	4.0	6.4	8.4	10.0	11.5	12.8	14.1	15.2	16.3	20.8	25.1	
1952	1.7	4.2	6.6	8.6	10.4	11.9	13.2	14.4	15.5	16.6	20.9	25.0	
1951	1.6	4.0	6.3	8.3	10.0	11.5	12.8	13.9	15.0	16.0	20.0	23.7	
1950	1.4	3.6	5.8	7.7	9.3	10.8	12.0	13.1	14.0	14.9	18.8	22.2	25.5
1949	1.5	3.8	6.0	8.0	9.8	11.2	12.5	13.7	14.7	15.6	19.7	23.1	26.5
1948	1.5	3.6	5.6	7.4	9.1	10.5	11.7	12.7	13.7	14.5	18.0	20.9	23.7
1932-47													
1931	8.0												
1930	0.9	2.0											
1929	0.8	2.1	3.3										
1928	0.9	2.2	3.6	4.8			'						
1927	0.9	2.2	3.6	4.9	6.1								
1926	8.0	2.2	3.6	5.1	6.3	7.3]			
1925	0.8	2.1	3.5	5.0	6.3	7.5	8.4						
1924	0.7	1.9	3.4	4.8	6.1	7.4	8.4	9.2					
1923	0.6	1.7	3.0	4.4	5.7	6.8	7.9	8.8	9.5				
1922	0.6	1.8	3.0	4.4	5.7	6.9	8.0	9.0	9.8	10.5			
	<u></u>			L		<u> </u>		L		<u> </u>	<u> </u>		<u> </u>

¹Data exclude annulments granted during 1922-25.

Table 5. Marriages, divorces, and percent change from preceding year: United States, 1922-75

	Marria	ges	Divor	ces
Year of occurrence	Number	Percent change	Number	Percent change
1975	2,152,662	-3.5	1,036,000	+6.0
1974	2,229,667	-2.4	977,000	+6.8
1973	2,284,108	+0.1	915,000	+8.3
1972	2,282,154	+4.2	845,000	+9.3
1971	2,190,481	+1.5	773,000	+9.2
1970	2,158,802	+ 0.6	708,000	+10.8
1969	2,145,000	+3.7	639,000	+9.4
1968	2,069,000	+7.4	584,000	+11.7
1967	1,927,000	+3.8	523,000	+4.8
1966	1,857,000	+3.2	499,000	+4.2
1965	1,800,000	+4.3	479,000	+6.4
1964	1,725,000	+4.3	450,000	+5.1
	1,654,000	+4.9	428,000	+3.6
1963			•	-0.2
1962	1,577,000	+1.9	413,000	
1961	1,548,000	+1.6	414,000	+5.3
1960	1,523,000	+1.9	393,000	-0.5
1959	1,494,000	+3.0	395,000	+7.3
1958	1,451,000	-4.4	368,000	-3.4
1957	1,518,000	-4.2	381,000	-0.3
1956	1,585,000	+3.5	382,000	+1.3
1955	1,531,000	+2.8	377,000	-0.5
1954	1,490,000	-3.6	379,000	-2.8
1953	1,546,000	+0.4	390,000	-0.5
1952	1,539,318	-3.5	392,000	+2.9
1951	1,594,694	-4.4	381,000	-1.0
1950	1,667,231	+5.5	385,000	-3.0
1949	1,579,798	-12.8	397,000	-2.7
1948	1,811,155	-9.1	408,000	~15.5
1947	1,991,878	-13.1	483,000	-20.8
1946	2,291,045	+42.0	610,000	+25.8
1945	1,612,992	+11.1	485,000	+21.3
1944	1,452,394	-7.9	400,000	+11.4
1943	1,577,050	-11.0	359,000	+11.8
	1,577,030	+4.5	•	+9.6
1942			321,000	
1940	1,695,999 1,595,879	+6.3 +13.7	293,000 264,000	+11.0 +5.2
		.,,,,	201,000	
1939	1,403,633	+5.5	251,000	+2.9
1938	1,330,780	~8.3	244,000	-2.0
1937	1,451,296	+6.0	249,000	+5.5
1936	1,369,000	+3.2	236,000	+8.3
1935	1,327,000	+1.9	218,000	+6.9
1934	1,302,000	+18.6	204,000	+23.6
1933	1,098,000	+11.8	165,000	+0.5
1932	981,903	-7.4	164,241	~12.6
1931	1,060,914	-5.9	188,003	-4.1
1930	1,126,856	-8.6	195,961	-4.8
1929	1,232,559	+4.2	205,876	+2.8
1928	1,182,497	-1.5	200,176	+2.0
1927	1,201,053	-0.1	196,292	+6.3
1926	1,202,574	+1.2	184,678	+5.3
1925	1,188,334	+0.3	175,449	+2.6
1924	1,184,574	-3.7	170,952	+3.5
1923	1,229,784	+8.4	165,096	+10.9
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	1,134,151		148,815	• • • • •
1922				

APPENDIX

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APPENDIX

TECHNICAL NOTES

Divorce Data by Duration of Marriage

The term "divorce," as used in this report, covers those types of judicial decrees that, according to the law of the State where they are rendered, dissolve the bonds of matrimony and permit the spouses to remarry. This includes decrees of absolute divorce, of annulment, and of marriage dissolution; the last type of decree has replaced divorces in many States in recent years. Excluded are all types of limited decrees, such as legal separations, divorces from bed and board, separate maintenance, and other similar arrangements. The number of annulments granted is very small for all years under consideration and represents only a few percent of the combined total of divorces and annulments. For the years 1922-25, data on annulments were not collected; for the years 1926-32, they were published separately from divorces. For the purpose of this report annulment data were combined with divorce figures.

Annual divorce statistics by duration of marriage at time of decree are available for the years 1922-32 and 1948-75. Statistics for 1922-32 and for 1960 are national; those for 1948-59 and 1961-75 are limited to the reporting States (table I). Since 1961, the reporting States have comprised the divorce-registration area (DRA). Duration data for 1960-75 are based on a probability sample and are subject to sampling variability. Sampling errors are shown in table II. For years with no national data, national estimates were prepared on the assumption that the percent distribution of divorces by duration of marriage was the same in the United States as in the reporting States combined. Cases with duration not stated were distributed proportionally for all data years. This adjustment was comparatively negligible, because duration of marriage is better reported than any other statistical variable routinely used in tabulations of divorce data: The "not stated" category for the DRA comprises between 1 and 4 percent of the total each year.

In a few cases, divorce data previously tabulated for a calendar year had wider duration intervals than the distribution used throughout the report. Thus, for 1960, 1961, and 1962, the upper open-ended interval was "20 years or more," and not "30 years or more," as was the case for other years. The "20 years or more" interval was sub-divided into three intervals, "20-24 years," "25-29 years," and "30 years or more," using the average of the percent distributions of the "20 years or more" interval into the three narrower intervals, based on data for the four nearest calendar years, 1958, 1959, 1963, and 1964.

Duration Data by Marriage Cohort

After the national divorce data by duration of marriage were estimated, the cross-sectional distribution by year of decree was converted into a longitudinal distribution by year of marriage. Divorce estimates were assigned to appropriately identified marriage cohorts (all couples married in the same year), and, from marriage cohort data, percents were computed using as a basis the original number of marriages in a given cohort. Slightly different methods were used for the single-year-duration intervals, 1 through 9 years, for the interval of less than 1 year, and for 5-year-duration intervals from 10 through 29 years. Cohorts included in

Table I. Available data on divorces, by duration of marriage: Each State and the District of Columbia, 1948-75

[X denotes that data are available]

State	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
Number of States	13	13	16	19	23	23	23	23	23	24	12	16	U.S.	20
Alabama					х	×	х	х	×	×	х	х	х	×
Alaska		1		1		1	1	1		Į	1	X	X	×
Arizona				İ	i		ļ		1		1		(1) (1)	
Arkansas		J	}	j	j	J		J	J	J	J	}	(1)	}
California						1				l	i	ì	(1)	
Colorado				l		1		1					(1)	
Connecticut	×	х	x	x	х	l x	l x	х	l x	х	İ		(1)	
Delaware				l x		Ιx	l x	х	l x	х	İ		(1)	
District of Columbia							1				[(2)	
Florida	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	<u> </u>		(1)	
Georgia				ŀ	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Hawaii			l	l	^	· ^	1 ^	l ^	l ^	l ^`	^	l ^	Ιŝ	l ŝ
Idaho			×	×	l x	l x	l x	l x	l x	x	x	×	Ιŝ	l â
			l ^	l ^	^	^	l ^	^	1 ^	^	^ '	1 ^	(2)	1 ^
Illinois		1	ľ	ľ	i	1	Ì	i	ì	ľ	i	ľ	(1)	l
Indiana		l ,,					١.,	l						١ ,
lowa	×	×	×	×	l X	l X	X	l Ÿ	X	×	×	×	×	X X
Kansas		ł	ł	ł	×	×	×	×	×	\	1	1 ×	(¹)	/ ×
Kentucky			l	ļ		i	Ī		Ì				(1)	l
Louisiana		1				١.,						1	(1)	ĺ
Maine			×	X	X	×	×	×	×	×	Ì	j	(-)	}
Maryland	×					l		l	,				×	×
Massachusetts	X	X	ľ	Į	X				i	1		ŀ	(1)	
Michigan		, x	X	X	X	X	X) x	X	x	J	j	(1)) x
Minnesota							1						(1)	
Mississippi	Х	X	X) X	X	X	X) X	X	X			(1)	ì
Missouri		i	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Х	ļ		(1)	X
Montana				X	X	X	Х	X	X	X	X	X	X	×
Nebraska		Х	х	X	X	l x	х	Х	Х	X	l x	X	X	l x
Nevada			l	ļ		1				Ì	l		(1)	l
New Hampshire	×	×	×	×	(×	×	×	(×	×	×		[(¹)	
New Jersey								İ			l '	1	(1)	
New Mexico		ļ .			1				l	l	1		(1)	l
New York		1	[-	j	1	l						(1)	1
North Carolina			1			1	İ				l	ļ	(1)	1
North Dakota			l x	l x	×	×	×	×	×	l x		\	(1)	l
Ohio		İ	^	l "	ĺχ	ĺŝ	x	x	x	x	ĺ		(1)	ĺ
Oklahoma		l	ļ		\ ^	l ^	l ^	^	·	l ^			(1)	
Oregon	х	l x	l x	×	l x	×	×	×	×	×	×	l x	\ ×	х
Pennslyvania	^	^	l ^	^	^	^	1 ^	^	^	_ ^	^	Î	l â	Ιŝ
Rhode Island				İ	1	ľ	<u> </u>	i				^	(1)	i ^
Count Counting													(¹)	
South Carolina	,													
South Dakota	X	X	X	l X	l X	l X	X	X	X	×	X	X	X	l ×
Tennessee	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	X	×
Texas			l	I	1]	ļ		1				(1)	
Utah			l	١		١	۱.,	١	ا ا	X	×	(×	X X	×
Vermont				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	١		(¹)	
Virginia	Х) ×	×	X	X	X	X	×	×	×	×	×	X	×
Washington		J	Į	1	i	1	j	ı	ļ	!	1	1	(1)	1
West Virginia]			1				l	l		Į.	(1)	
Wisconsin	(3)	_	l	Į.	1		l	l	l		l	X	X	X
Wyoming	/31	(3)	х	X	X	X	l x	l x	l x	X	Ι×	X	Ι×	l x

See footnotes at end of table.

the upper open-ended interval, "30 years or more," could not be identified, but this interval represents only a small proportion of all divorces, 2.7 percent in 1973 and 1974, and 2.5 percent in 1975.

Divorces are tabulated by completed years of duration of marriage, and, consequently, marriages included in the duration interval of 3 years actually lasted from 3.00 to 3.99 years. Couples divorced in the beginning of 1965

Table I. Available data on divorces, by duration of marriage: Each State and the District of Columbia, 1948-75—Con.

[X denotes that data are available]

State	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975
Number of States	21	22	22	22	22	22	26	28	28	29	29	29	29	29
AlabamaAlaskaAlizona	×	×	×	X X	×	X X	× ×	x x	X X	×	×	×	X X	×
Arkansas California							x	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Colorado							×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Georgia	×	×	×	×	x	x	x	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
HawaiildahoIlinois	×	×	×	X X	×	×	× ×	× × ×	× × ×	X X X	× ×	× × ×	× × ×	X X X
Indianalowa Iowa Kansas	×	X X	×	×	X	X X	X X	X X	X X	×	×	X X	×	×
Kentucky Louisiana Maine	^	^	^	^	^	^	^	x	x	x	Ŷ	×	×	×
Maryland Massachusetts	×	×	×	x	x	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Michigan	×	x	×	×	×	×	x	×	×	×	×	(²)	(²)	×
Missouri	x x	x x	X X	X X	X X	x x	X X	X X	X X	X X	X X	×	X X	×
Nebraska	â	â	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	×
New Jersey New Mexico														
New York								X	х	Х	X	X	X	X
OhioOklahoma	x	x	×	x	×	x	×	×	×	×	×	×	х	×
Oregon Pennsylvania	X X	X X	X X	X X	××	X X	×	X ·	X X	X	X X	×	X X	X X
Rhode Island		x	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	X	×	×	×
South Carolina	x x	x x	x x	×	×	×	×	×	× ×	X X	× ×	X X	X X X	X X X
Texas Utah Vermont	×	×	×	×	×	×	x x	x x	x x	x x	X X	x x	x x	×
Virginia	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	x	×	X	×	×	×
Wisconsin	×	×	×	X X	X X	×	X X	X X	X X	X X	X	X X	X X	X X

after 3.99 years of marriage were married in January 1961, and couples divorced in December 1965 after 3.00 years of marriage were married in December 1962. Therefore, couples divorced in 1965 after 3 years of marriage were

married during a 2-year period, January 1961 through December 1962. From this observation a general statement can be made, that each single-year-duration interval includes couples married during two different calendar years,

Data included in the U.S. total, but not available for the State.
 1973 and 1974 data from Michigan exclude Wayne County.
 3Wyoming reported for 1948 and 1949, but data were omitted because of divorce intervals used.

Table II. Sampling errors of estimated percents: United States, 1960 and divorce-registration area, 1961-75

Vanaf	Number								
Year of divorce	of States reporting	1 or 99	10 or 90	25 or 75	50				
		Sampling error							
1975	29 29 29 29 28 28 26 22 22 22 22 22	0.03 0.04 0.04 0.04 0.04 0.05 0.05 0.06 0.06 0.07 0.10	0.10 0.10 0.11 0.11 0.11 0.12 0.13 0.14 0.16 0.17 0.17 0.18 0.21 0.30	0.14 0.15 0.16 0.17 0.16 0.17 0.18 0.20 0.24 0.25 0.25 0.25 0.30	0.17 0.18 0.19 0.19 0.20 0.21 0.23 0.27 0.28 0.29 0.35 0.49				
1961 1960	20 50	0.10 10.2	0.31 0.5	0.45 0.7	0.52 1.0				

¹Sampling error of estimated percent 2 or 98.

namely the year that preceded the year of divorce by the number of years of duration and the year before that. Thus, in the example given above, the years of marriage were 1965 - 3 = 1962 and 1965 - 3 - 1 = 1961. The estimated 38,320 divorces granted in 1965 to couples with a marriage duration of 3 years were divided into two halves of 19,160 divorces each: One half was assigned to the 1961 marriage cohort and the other half to the 1962 cohort.

Data for a marriage cohort were obtained by combining divorces with the same duration, granted to the same cohort, in two different calendar years. In general, for a cohort married in year N, the years of divorce corresponding to a specified duration of marriage are shown in table III. For example, there were an estimated 19.160 couples with a 3-year duration of marriage who married in 1961 and divorced in 1965; these were assigned to the 1961 cohort, and were added to the estimated 16,425 couples of the same cohort and duration who divorced in 1964. Thus the duration of marriage at divorce was 3 years for an estimated total of 35,585 couples married in 1961. The remaining 19,160 couples divorced in 1965 with a 3-year duration of marriage were assigned to the 1962 cohort and added to the 19,461 couples di-

Table III. Years of divorce, by duration of marriage: Marriage cohort of year N

vorced in 1966 who had the same duration of marriage; a total of 38,621 divorces with 3 years of duration of marriage was obtained for the 1962 cohort. Since 1,548,000 marriages were performed in 1961 and 1,577,000 in 1962, an estimated 2.3 percent of the 1961 cohort and 2.4 percent of the 1962 cohort were divorced between the 3d and 4th marriage anniversary. In the same manner, all divorces with single-year duration, 1 through 9, were assigned to the appropriate marriage cohort, and percents were computed.

The situation is slightly different for the duration interval of less than 1 year. A lag of at least 2 months can be assumed between the marriage and divorce of a couple. Under this assumption, no couple can be divorced during the calendar month of marriage, the following calendar month, and a part of the third calendar month that depends on the date of marriage, averaging roughly one-half of that month. Table IV shows the possible months of divorce of couples divorced after less than 1 year of marriage, by month of marriage. It can be seen that the sum of months of marriage classified by month of decree is 50 for couples married and divorced in the same calendar year (year N) and 70 for those divorced in the year immediately following the year of marriage (year N+1). This is why the total numbers of divorces granted after less than 1 year of marriage were not divided into two equal parts, as it was done with those that had I through

Table IV. Possible month of divorce of couples divorced less than 1 year after marriage, by month when married: Marriage cohort of year N [Based on the assumption that divorces are unlikely within 2 months after marriage]

Month of	To	otal		Year and month of divorce																										
marriage,	Year							Y	ear N											Year	N + 1									
year N	~		N+1	N+1	N+1	N+1	N+1	J	F	М	А	M	J	J	Α	s	0	N	а	J	F	М	Α	М	j	J	Α	S	0	N
Annual total	50	70			%	11/2	2½_	31/2	4%	5%	6%	7%	81/2	9½	10	10	9½	8½	71/2	6½	5½	4½	3½	2½	11/2	1/2				
January	9%	1/2	-		1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1/2				-			-				Γ.				
February	81/2	11/2		. '	- 1	1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11	1/2	-	-	-	-	-			-		١.				
March	71/2	21/2			-	-	1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1/2		-	-		-	-	-		١.				
April	6%	3%	-				_	1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	7/2	- :		١.	-	- ') -	i -] .				
May	51/2	41/2	-		-	-	-	.	1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1/2	-	-	-	- 1		-	١.				
June	41/2	5%		١.	-	-			-	1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1/2				٠.		Ι.				
July	31/2	6%	١.		-	-		l - '			1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1/2	-	۱ -		-	١.				
August	21/2	7%	١.	-	-	-	-	- 1	-		-	1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1/2	-	٠.	-	.				
September	11/4	81/2	١.			-	-	. '	٠.	-	٠.	· '	1/2	1	1 1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1/2			١,				
October	1/2	9%	-	-	- 1	-		-	-		-			1/2	1 1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1/2		-				
November	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-				-		-	1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1/2					
December	-	10		-	-	-		-	•	١.	-	٠.	-	-	٠	1/2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1/2				

9 years of duration, but in the ratio of 50:70, or 42 percent to be assigned to the cohort of the divorce year and 58 percent to that of the preceding year.

Divorces with a marriage duration of over 9 years are tabulated in 5-year intervals. There are 4 such intervals: 10-14 years, 15-19 years, 20-24 years, and 25-29 years. Each 5-year interval of divorces granted during a calendar year includes couples that belong to six marriage cohorts. Conversely, each 5-year duration interval of divorces granted to a marriage cohort includes couples divorced during six calendar years, from N+d through N+d+5. where N is the year of marriage and d is the shortest duration in the 5-year group. To each cohort was assigned one-tenth of divorces for the year N+d and N+d+5 and one-fifth of those for the years N+d+1, N+d+2, N+d+3, and N+d+4. The general format for this distribution procedure is displayed in table V.

When divorce data by duration of marriage were converted in to marriage-cohort data, information was obtained on duration-of-marriage intervals, which vary from cohort to cohort depending on annual divorce statistics available

for the computation. When the present report was prepared, divorce data were not available for years after 1975, and marriage-cohort data come to an end with the duration intervals based on divorces granted in 1974-75. In addition, divorce statistics by duration of marriage have not been collected for the years 1933-47. Hence, for some marriage cohorts only short-duration and long-duration intervals are available, with a gap in between; for others, only middle-duration intervals are available. In spite of these limitations, some information was obtained for each marriage cohort, 1922 through 1974, but for no cohort could information be obtained for all duration intervals.

From frequencies estimated for each marriage cohort, percents were computed based on the original number of married couples in each cohort, that is, on the national marriage total in the year when the cohort was married. Whenever possible, cumulative percents since marriage were also prepared. They could be computed only for cohorts for which information exists for the "less than 1 year" interval and other short-duration intervals, and they were interrupted by the first break in the duration series.

Table V. Proportions of divorces in 5-year-duration intervals allocated to marriage cohort of year N

[d is the 1st year of a 5-year duration interval, either 10, 15, 20, or 25]

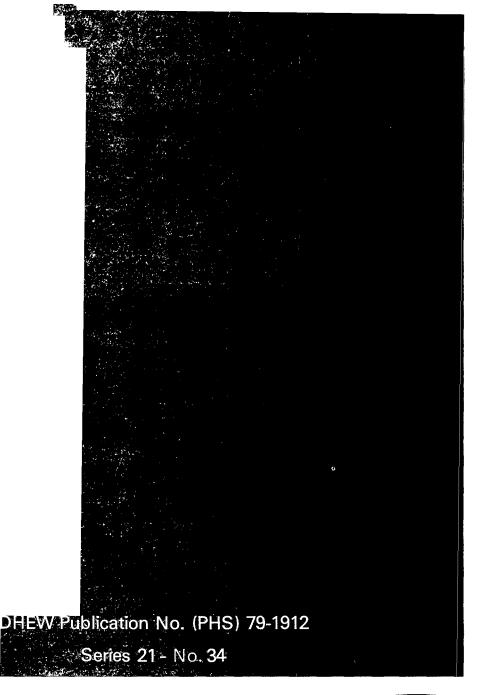
	Total			Year	of divorce		
Marriage cohort dur ation interval	propor- tion	N.+d	N + d + 1	N+d+2	N+d+3	N + d + 4	N + d + 5
				Proporti	on		
Total 5-year interval: d to $d+4$	1_1	1/10	2/10	2/10	2/10	2/10	1/10
d	1/5 1/5 1/5 1/5 1/5	1/10 - - - -	1/10 1/10 - - -	- 1/10 1/10 - -	1/10 1/10	1/10 1/10	- - - 1/10

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