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*Title: Descriptive Elements of the Recent Tendencies in the Constitution and Dissolution of Unions in Argentina*

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*Descriptive Elements of the Recent Tendencies in the Constitution and Dissolution of Unions in Argentina\**

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To study the marital structure of the population in Argentina, we chose the marital status variable as recorded during the 1991 census: consensual union, legal union or marriage, divorced of matrimony, widowed of consensual union or marriage, single never in union or marriage.

This information allows us to present the structure of the population “with” or “without” a couple. Among the group of people that voluntarily dissolved the union, the census data reveals significant differences in separated-divorced probabilities according to age, generation and gender. The results revealed that marital disruption is not a recent phenomenon in Argentina.

Notwithstanding the limits from the methodological point of view as regards the way to register the population according to its marital status in Argentina, we will show in an explanatory way some elements about the different states of population that allow us to establish some hypothesis about marriage and divorce phenomena facing the changes of the family profile.

**I. The marital status of the population: cohabitants<sup>1</sup>, married, separated, divorced, widowed and single.**

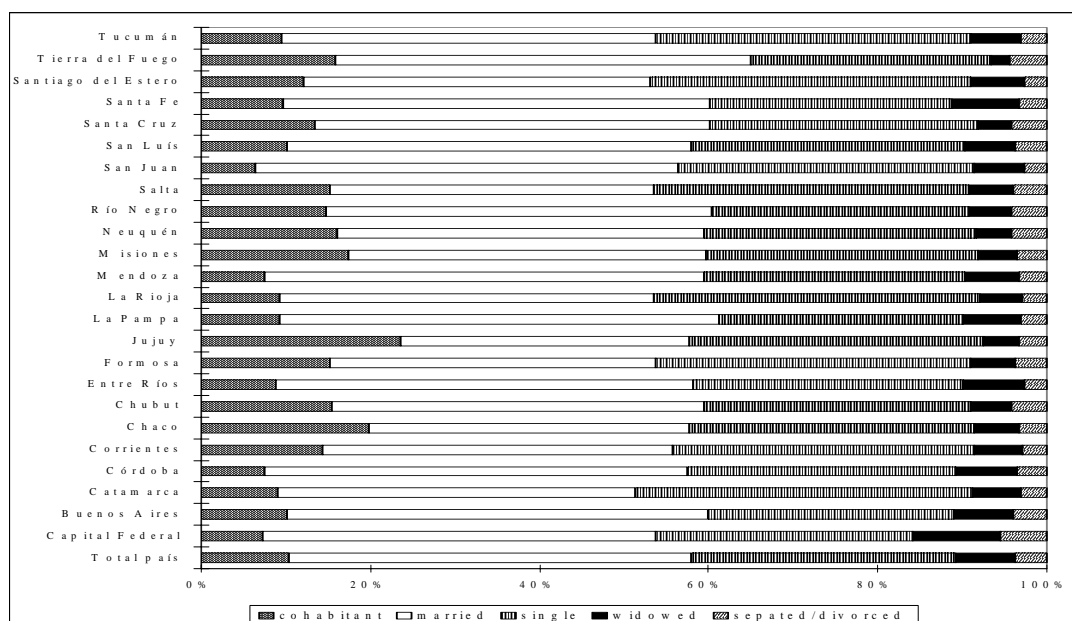
In Argentina, according to data of 1991, from a total of population of 14 years of age and above, 59% of them were couples (14.389.129 individuals), 10.4% of which were cohabitants reaching a number of 2.516.621 individuals of both sexes. The highest number was recorded in the province of Jujuy with approximately 24% of its population of the age of 14 years or more in this category. The lowest number was found in the province of San Juan where 6% were cohabitants. A similar number was found in the provinces of Mendoza and Cordoba.

**Figure 1. Population of 14 years of age and more represented by political territorial division. Argentina, 1991 (in percentages).**

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\* This research is included in the memory of investigation presented in the year 2000 in the Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.

<sup>1</sup> Non legal unions or consensual unions.



Source: INDEC, Population and Housing Census, 1991.

The married population represents almost the 50% of the people that will probably constitute a couple - 11.872.507 individuals-. There are 15 provinces below this percentage and only 9 above it. The minimum of the series was represented by Jujuy with 34% of married people and the maximum in the province of Mendoza with 52% of legal unions.

The population that is separated from a consensual union or matrimony or divorced from matrimony and that has not married or constituted another union, reached in 1991 only a 3.8%, which makes a total of 932.514 people of both sexes. Among them, 21% represented the divorced category. The distribution of population according to the territorial division shows a minimum in the province of Santiago del Estero and a maximum in Capital Federal. As regards the average in the country, sixteen provinces found their position below it and only eight above it. Only five provinces did not exceed the 3.0% of separated or divorced people, twelve registered between a 3.0% and a 3.9%. Six jurisdictions showed a 4.0% and a 4.5% of ruptures, while Capital Federal was first in the series (figure 1).

In 1991, the widowed group represented 7.1% (1.773.086). In Argentineans of 14 years and above, nineteen provinces were below this mean and only five jurisdictions above it. In this category Capital Federal was included as first in the series. It is important to consider the difference between the maximum, Capital Federal, and the minimum, Tierra del Fuego, a significant variation in this category of the variable with respect to its territorial distribution.

As regards the single group, 31% of the Argentine population of 14 years and above is included in this group representing 7.002.392 individuals. In this case, the majority of the provinces exceed the average of the country. The minimum was found in Tierra del Fuego and the maximum in Catamarca. In the former 28% of the population of 14 years old and more are single, while in the latter 40% of the population are single, which expresses alone the big differentials according to provinces.

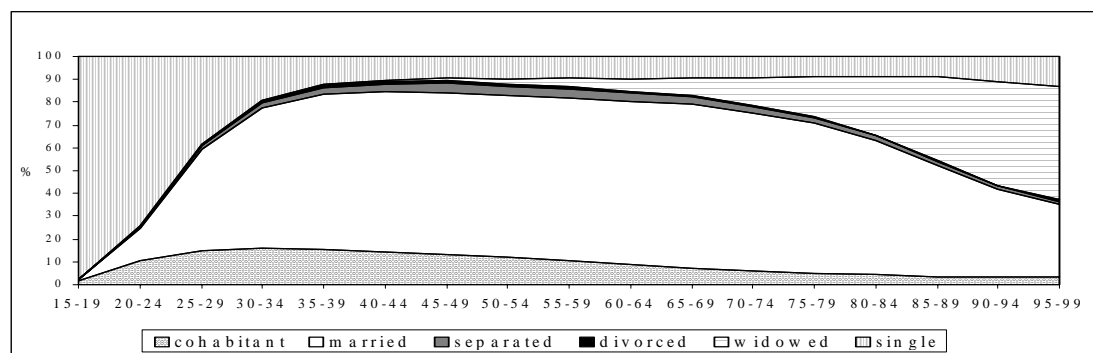
It should be noticed that the distribution of the variable of marital status is not homogeneous as regards jurisdiction. In spite of this, a description will be provided for the Argentine mean.

From the information provided in figure 1 (appendix) and being a guide for further analysis it should be considered that it starts from an initial difference in sex proportions that differs according to age. The married

category is where the majority of the sexes are concentrated, followed by the single, cohabitants, widowed, separated and divorced categories. The difference as regards the sex ratio is evident among the ones not united, increasing the number of widowed women, separated or divorced, and increasing the percentage of the never union group. Contrary to what was expected, there were a greater percentage of single men.

In Argentina the *cohabitant* population is concentrated in the central ages being in the modal category the groups of 30-34 years in the case of men, and of 25-29 years in the case of women.

**Figure 2. Population of men represented by age groups according to their marital status. Argentina, 1991. (percentage about each age group).**



Source: INDEC, Population and Housing Census, 1991.

In the *married* group, for men and women alike, the modal category is centered in the group of 35 to 39 years of age. The distribution by age of this population varies between men and women mainly due to the effects of widowhood. This becomes evident at an early age in women given the importance of the **excess mortality** of men by exogenous causes, accidents being the most frequent cause of death.

**Figure 3. Population of women represented by age groups according to their marital status. Argentina 1991 (percentage about age group).**



Source: INDEC, Population and Housing Census, 1991.

The majority of the population *separated or divorced* is within the group of people of 40-44 of age, including men and women that make the total of the country. It should be remembered that a larger proportion of women are part of this category as was mentioned earlier in this study.

*Widowhood* shows a wider distribution among women than among men, this can be outstandingly appreciated in Argentina, while the *single* population tends to decrease considerably, starting from the modal category placed in the 15-19 group, close to 10% of the effective concentrated in each group of ages.

## II. Structure of the marital status: population with and without a couple.

When we discuss the marital status of a population, the defining characteristic is its union or lack thereof. Therefore, we could consider on the one hand the population that is in union or with a couple, and on the other, the people that are not in a union or who do not have a couple. By definition, the people that became part of the subpopulation of the “in union” group can stay in this category for a certain time (duration of the union) or drop out (because of death or voluntarily dissolution of the union) to be integrated in the “not in a union” group or vice versa.

As for the question formulated in the 1991 census, the population of Argentina of 14 years and above can be classified as being with or without a couple, which represents 59.7% and 40.3% respectively.

In the first group 2.516.621 people from the consensual unions category were included, which constitutes 17.5% of the people with a couple and 11.872.508 people from the married category, which represents the remaining 82.5%.

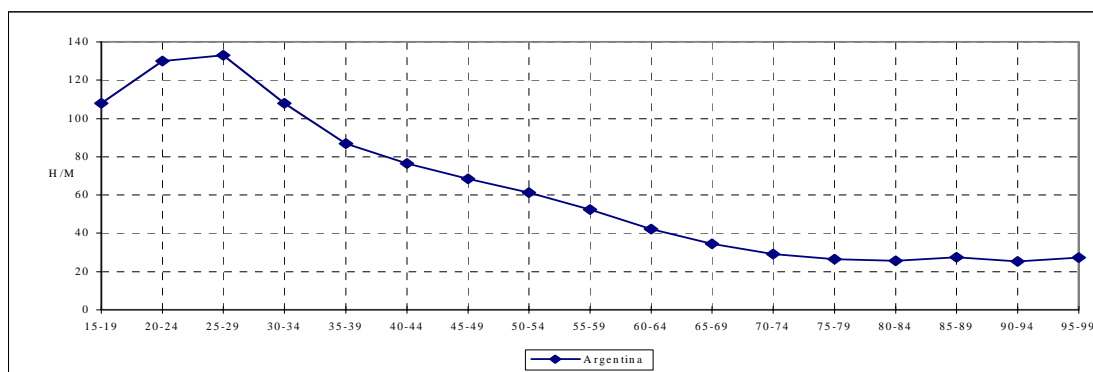
The second group could be divided between the population that was never in the union category (single, which concentrates 72.1% of this grouping, 7.002.392 people) and the group that used ever union (the remaining 27.9% 2.705.600 individuals). From this subpopulation, 34.5% (932.514 individuals) dissolved the consensual union or the matrimony for private reasons, and 65.5% (1.773.086 persons) widowed. In the last place we find the category of those who dissolved the union: 79.3% separated, which in absolute terms means 739.428 people and only 20.7% were divorced (193.086 individuals).

As the distribution of sexes in the category of individuals with a couple is symmetrical, differentials are found in the groups without a couple. Among the population that were never union, a higher percentage of men is evident (53.6%), while among the individuals that at one time or another were in some kind of union, a greater number of women are present (76%), including the people that dissolved their union by joint agreement and the widowed (table 1, appendix).

The distribution by age and sex of the population without a couple is clearly asymmetrical; it is common in 4.405.255 men without a couple in the first age group, which shows the tendency among 5.302.737 women to constitute a union at a much earlier time. As from the group of 35-39 year old, the situation reverts: the women have a much stronger stand in this subpopulation, maybe due to the masculine excess mortality which causes a stronger occurrence of widowhood among this cluster. The percentage of women without a couple decreases from the age of seventy, when the effects of mortality are generally more visible.

If we analyze the sex ratio as one of the elements that make up the structure of the population that recur in the global nuptiality, the unbalance between the masculine and feminine being one of the characteristics inherent in the marriage business, this sex ratio should be analyzed within the population without a couple. By representing this measure among the people without a couple, it decreases as a consequence of age and as a recurrence to the marriage for the second time among men; that is, from the interchange between both collective groups- with or without a couple- interchange more frequently found among men.

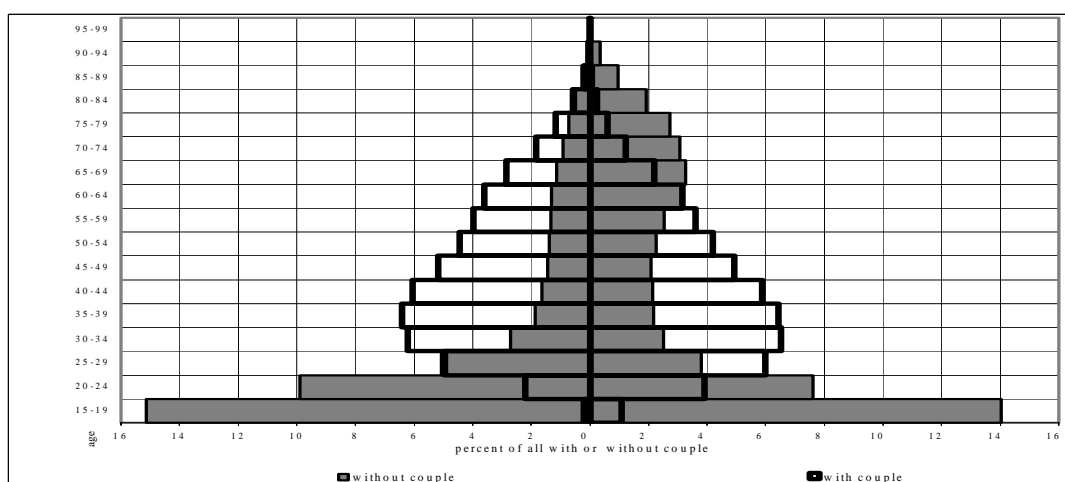
**Figure 4. Sex ratio of the population without a union. Argentina, 1991.**



Source: INDEC, Population and Housing Census, 1991.

On the other hand, the pyramid of the category with a couple is also asymmetrical. The proportion of the category of people 'in a union' in the early ages is low, but this is not the case with women, where the proportion is higher mainly due to the age difference between the spouses.<sup>2</sup>

**Figure 5. Population arranged according to age groups with or without a couple. Argentina, 1991.**

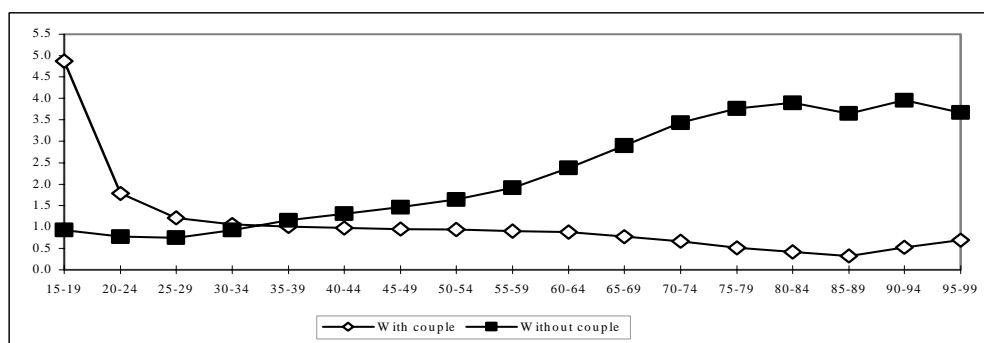


Source: author's calculation, on the basis of Census data.

If we consider the quotient between the percentage of women and men according to their ages (Figure 6), the group of women predominates until the ages of 25-29, in the graph the curve that represents it reaches a common point between the ages of 30-44 years. From the age of 45, this measure goes below one, which indicates that it is the men who represent higher proportions of the united category. The quotient between the percentage of men and women goes above the unit of the group of 35-39 years old, which emphasizes what has been observed before: that women prevail among the people that are not 'in a union' from the previous mentioned group.

**Figure 6. Quotient between the percentage of men and women that belong or not to the 'in union' category. Argentina, 1991.**

<sup>2</sup> According to the data provided by Celton (1994), in the year 1920 it was recorded in Cordoba the highest difference of age in marriage (6.2 years), and the recorded in the year 1991 (2.5) the lowest of the studies years: 1901, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980 and 1991.

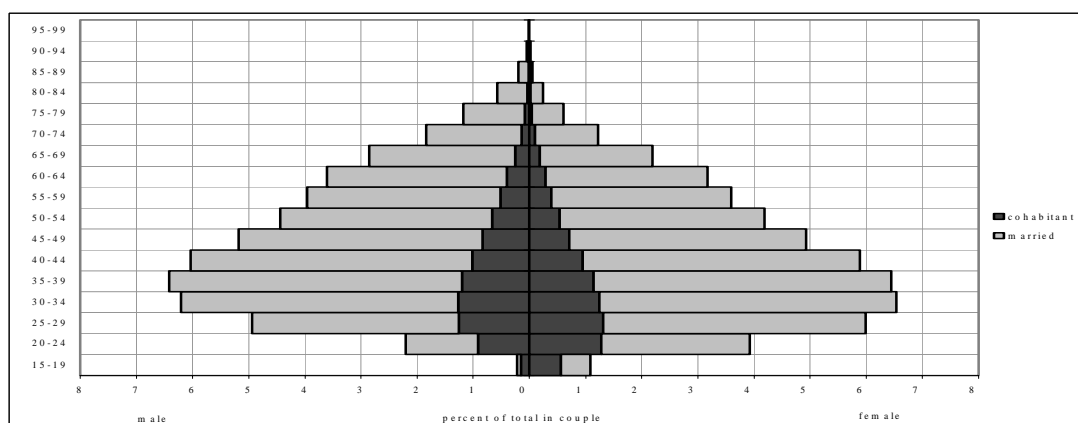


Source: author's calculation, on the basis of Census data.

## II.1. Population in a union.

In the following section we will describe the characteristics of the united population (married and united), considering that this category is liable to suffer dissolution. In Argentina 14.389.129 people above the age of 14 are united, 11.872.508 being married and 2.516.621 cohabitating, which in general terms represents 82.5% and 17.5% respectively (see table1).

**Figure 7. Structures according to sex, age and the type of union. Argentina, 1991.**



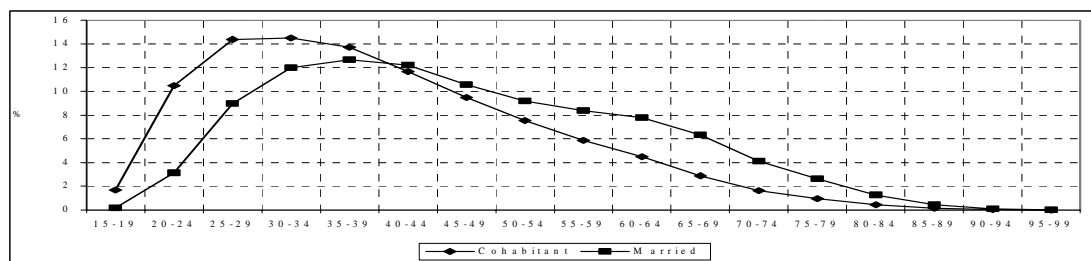
Source: author's calculation, on the basis of Census data.

Among the male cohabitants, the highest point of distribution according to age in this category can be found in the group of 30-34 years of age. In the case of women, the modal category corresponds to the group of 25-29 years of age. This fact confirms the tendency to form earlier unions, this being also the case in the distribution of married women. Actually, when we analyze the pyramid previously presented, we can observe that in relation to men, women always show an earlier tendency to form a union. Independently from the type of union, a higher percentage of married women are now more evident until the ages of 35-39. From the age of 40, a higher percentage of married men are placed in this position, possibly due to a higher incidence of widowhood among women.

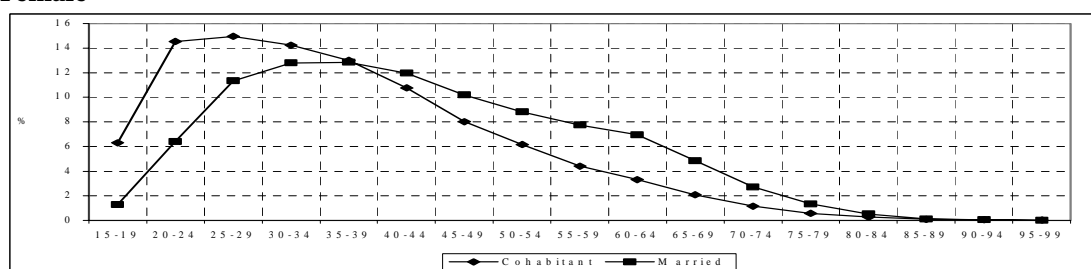
When we compare the structure according to age and sex of cohabitants and married people (Figure 8), an earlier pattern can be observed in the case of cohabitation, cohabitation that prevails among men until the ages of 35-39, ages from which the collective group of the married stands out. Cohabitation among women starts at an earlier age as compared to that among men, and marriage is quite common until the ages of 30-34, when it reverts in favor of married women.

**Figure 8. Percentage of cohabitants and married people over the total of each category according to sex.**

## Male



## Female

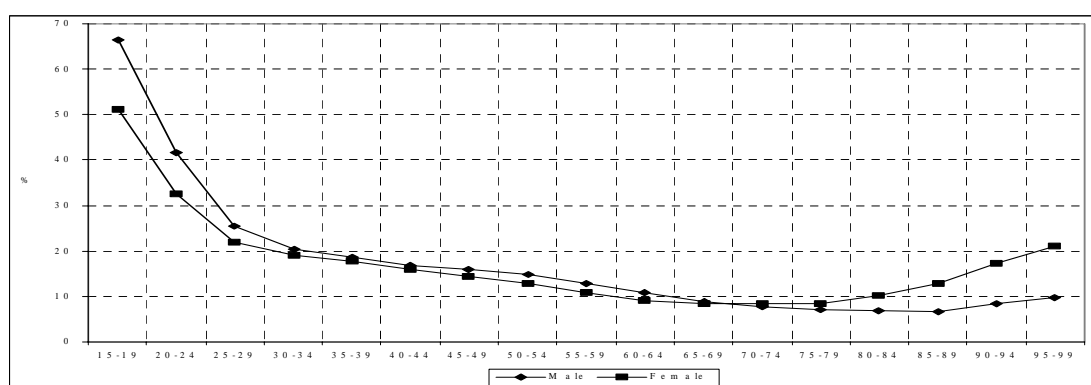


Source: author's calculation, on the basis of Census data.

Nevertheless, if we calculate the percentage of cohabitants over the total of those who have a couple (Figure 9), we can observe that the percentage tends to decrease with age. From those who have a couple in Argentina<sup>3</sup>, between the ages of 15-19, 66.5% of men are cohabitants while 51.2% of women do.

It is important to emphasize the high percentage of men cohabitants, since they are accepted by the social standards, which are more permissible towards them. Another important aspect is the distribution of the increasing percentage of cohabitant women from the ages 75-79 onwards, which could be more important in the older generations in this classification. Nevertheless, at this stage of our research no conclusion can be provided. This should be further analyzed in future research.

**Figure 9. Percentage of cohabitants over the total of unions of each age group. Argentina, 1991.**



Source: author's calculation, on the basis of Census data.

## II.2 Population not 'in a union'.

This section will deal with the population which is not 'in a union', as in the cases of single, widowed and divorced individuals mainly because the population that has no couple can later enter a relationship

<sup>3</sup> In order to observe this register in European countries see Domingo (1997). In accordance to the data presented in this research, it could be considered that not only the intensity of cohabitation but also the calendar in Argentina is similar to the one observed in Norway. Nevertheless, the cohabitation characteristics in Argentina shall be

independently of their former state. Among the group that could constitute a couple, it is important to consider the characteristics of the people who were cohabitant or married and have dissolved their union voluntarily, which in the context of this study will be considered a sign of instability.

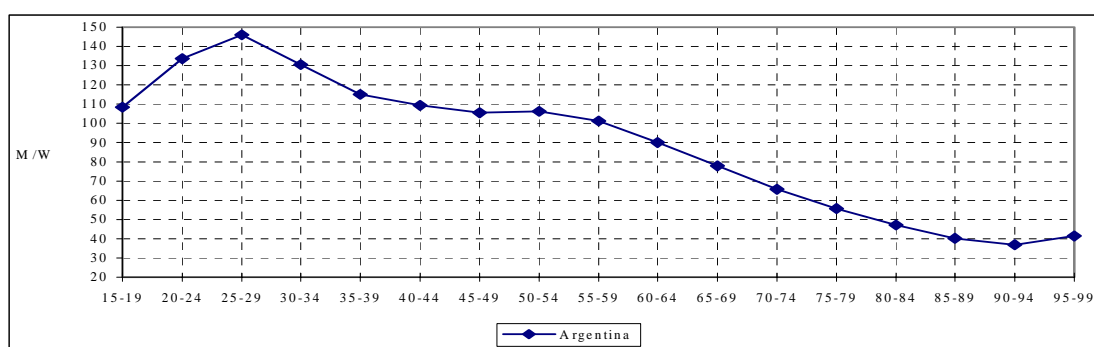
Taking into account the group without a couple, the category of single people is the most prominent, followed in order of importance by the widowed and in the last place by the separated and the divorced. In Argentina out of 9.707.992 individuals 72.1% are single, 18.3% are widowed and 9,6% are separated or divorced.

When we analyze this group according to sex it can be observed that women occupy the first place more frequently. In fact, in Argentina of the group without couple 54.6% are women and the rest are men, which in absolute terms means 5.302.737 women and 4.405.255 men. Of the total of women with no couple, 3.246.856 are single, 1.478.069 are widows and 577.812 are separated or divorced, which in relative terms represents 61.2%, 27.9% and 10.9% respectively. Of the group of men without couple, 85.3% are single, 8.1% are separated or divorced and 6.7% are widowers, which in absolute terms makes a total of 3.755.536 single, 354.702 separated or divorced, and 295.017 widowers.

Summing up, if we compare the behavior according to sex of the group without a couple, men are more strongly concentrated in the single category. It is also true that single women are predominant. Widows, separated women and divorced acquire higher percentages than the ones observed in men. This means that the differences between sexes are marked by the categories of widowed and divorced, where women predominate in each category. It is also important to mention that among men without a couple, the second category in importance is constituted by separated and divorced men, while among women with no couple it is widows who are in the second category of importance.

On the other hand, if we consider the sex ratio of the group who were never union, we can observe that the single predominate until the age of 59. Above that age, single women surpass the number of men. This could be explained as an effect of age, taking into account that the masculine sex exhibits a higher mortality. It is unknown if this mortality is differential due to the marital status of the Argentine context.

**Figure 10. Sex ratio of singles. Argentina, 1991.**



Source: author's calculation, on the basis of Census data.

The representation that corresponds to the group of single people is wider at the base and narrower and asymmetrical in the higher ages. The pyramid represents the widowed category that is clearly asymmetrical makes the role of women of all ages predominant. This emphasizes the effects of excess mortality of men at an

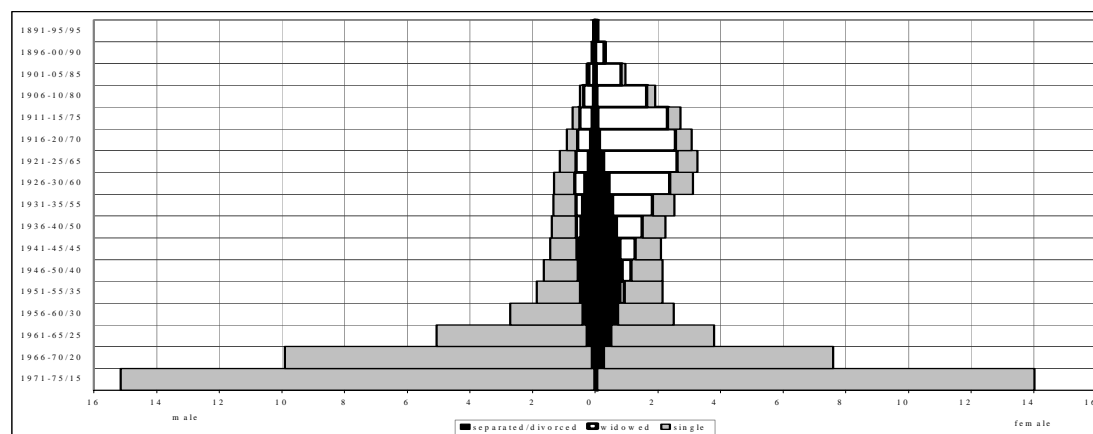
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interpreted by making the difference between urban and rural cohabitation, which would possibly be connected to different norms of behavior as regards the consensual union and the matrimony.



early age, from 35 to 39. In the case of divorced and separated where the concentration of the effective stands out in the center as it is shown in the calculation of the mean age of 46 among women and 48 in the case of men. At the same time, an overrepresentation of women of all ages is shown. This could reveal a lower tendency among women to start new unions after a break-up, as studies of divorce<sup>4</sup> have already shown.

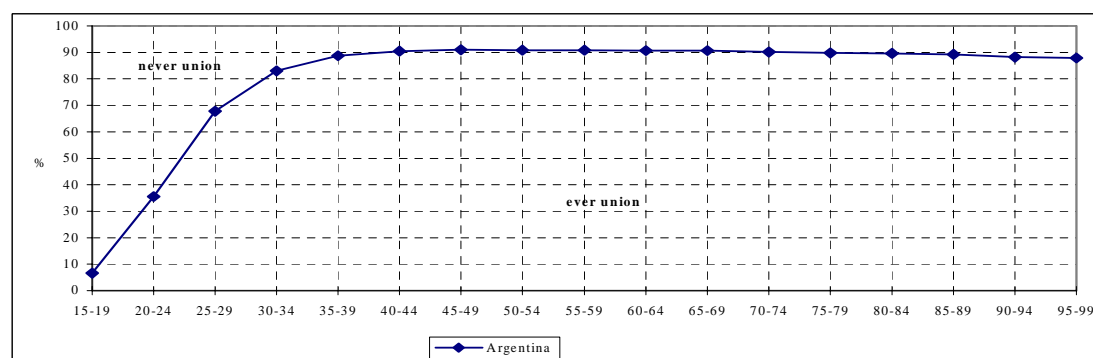
**Figure 11. Structure of the population without couple according to sex, age and marital status. Argentina, 1991.**



Source: author's calculation, on the basis of Census data.

As regards the percentage of people that have once been united according to age, it can be observed that between 15 and 19 years of age, nearly 6.5% of the individuals in this group have once been in a kind of union. Between the ages of 45-49, 90.1% were in this condition, which definitely justifies starting a research on the dissolution of unions.

**Figure 12. Percentage of people once united according to age. Argentina, 1991.**



Source: author's calculation, on the basis of Census data.

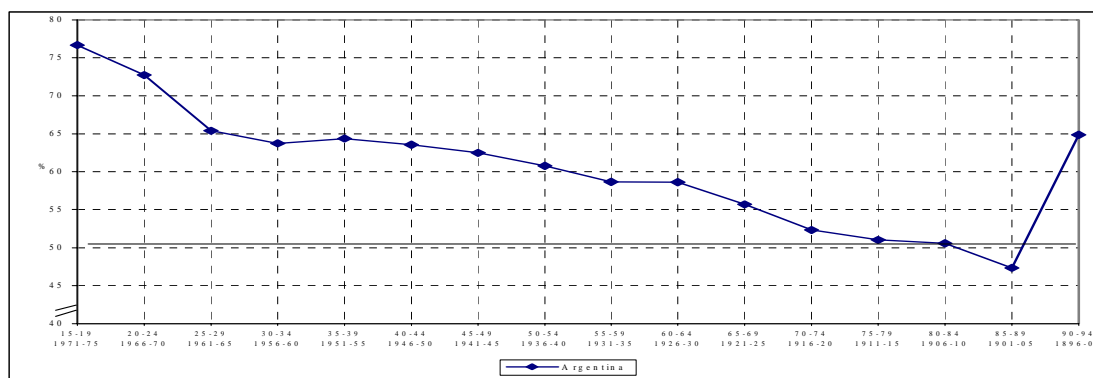
### II.2.1. Characterization of the population who voluntarily dissolved the union.

In Argentina, as it has been mentioned before, the total of the population separated or divorced reached in 1991, 932.514 people, from which 577.812 were women and 354.702 were men, which in relative terms represented 62% and 38% respectively. In fact, among the divorced and separated categories, a higher percentage of women can be observed. All of the same age with the exception of the people engaged between the ages of 85 and 89, in which men exceeded the number of women. On the other hand, the percentage of women

<sup>4</sup> Solsona, M., Houle, R, Simó, Treviño, R. (1997) and Ruiz Becerril, D (1999).

over the total of separated or divorced shows the highest percentage of the separated or divorced in the group of 15-19 years old, reaching 76.7% of the total considered. Later the percentage goes down to find its balance between 60% and 65% between the ages of 25 and 54. From 55 years onwards and until 84, the percentage of divorced women fluctuates between 50% and 59%. Other changes should be considered as the result of the small number of survivors in advanced years.

**Figure 13. Percentage of women over the total of separated or divorced of each age group. Argentina, 1991.**

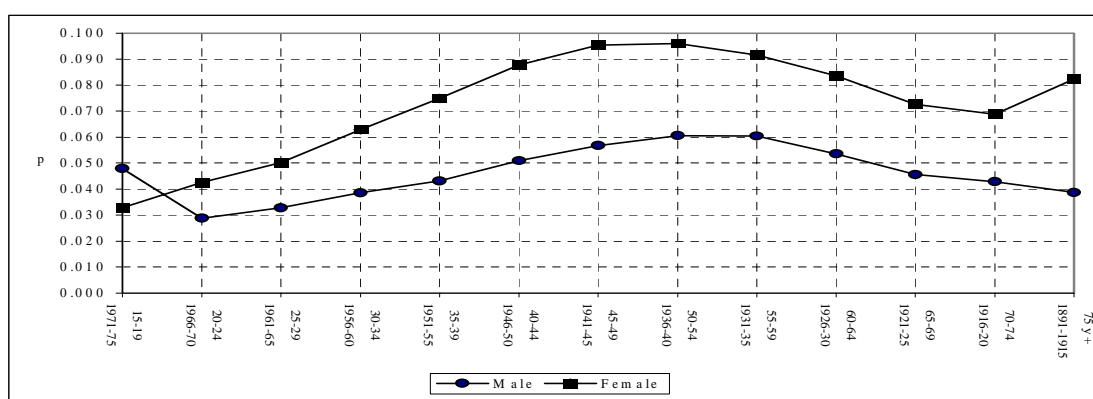


Source: author's calculations, on the basis of Census data.

On the other hand, the modal category of age can be found in the group of 40-44 years of age, which corresponds to the generation of 1946-50 that includes nearly 14% of the analyzed population. If we calculate the average age of divorced and separated people, it will be situated in the ages 47.8 in the case of men, and 45.5 in the case of women.

By calculating the probabilities<sup>5</sup> of being separated or divorced in the year 1991 we can find that they are higher among women in each age group, with the exception of the group of 15-19 year olds, where men have a higher probability of being separated or divorced. We could suppose that the measures among men are low because men have a stronger tendency to remarry.

**Figure 14. Probability of being separated or divorced in the year 1991 according to sex. Argentina, 1991.**



Source: author's calculations, on the basis of Census data.

From a general perspective, in Argentina approximately 5 out of every 100 males were separated or divorced in the year 1991, whereas in the case of women the number increased to 7 out of every 100. If we take into account the age, the highest probability among women corresponded to the age groups of 45-49 and 50-54.

Among men, it included the age groups of 50-55 and 55-59. These measures increase to 6 out of every 100 men and to 10 of every 100 women.

At the same time, the probabilities of having dissolved the union or the matrimony voluntarily differ according to the generations<sup>6</sup>. In the case of women, although the generation of 1946-50 concentrates 14% of separated or divorced women, the highest probabilities were registered in the cohorts 1936-40 and 1941-45 of a 10%. Diagram 1 shows that these generations were influenced by the article 67 bis, LCM-1968, mainly because during the time of its sanction this number of people were undergoing the age when the majority of the ruptures commonly occur. It is probable that when new census data is provided, it will be possible to corroborate if the probabilities of the new generations are higher than the preceding<sup>7</sup> ones.

Among men, it is also the generation of 1946-50 which concentrates a higher percentage of separations and divorces (13.2%), cohorts 1931-53, 1936-40 and 1941-45 being the ones who exhibit the probabilities of the highest group, which constitutes approximately 6 men out of every 100. These should also belong to the previously mentioned law.

Another characteristic that was highlighted in the diagram was the population included in the first age group can be considered as the result of the latest divorce law passed in the year 1987. Nevertheless, it is important to consider that the separations and divorces sanctioned prior to the Law 23.515 could have adopted the state of absolute divorce in accordance to the new law and by Articles 216 and 238 in the case of separations and in accordance to Article 8 of the previously mentioned divorce law.

Therefore, the population mentioned in this article has been socialized with a negative perspective about what a divorce or a separation<sup>8</sup> is, mainly the ones belonging to older generations.

**Lexis Diagram 1. Separated and divorced population by age and generation. Absolute and relative values. Probability of divorced and separated in 1991. Argentina, 1991.**

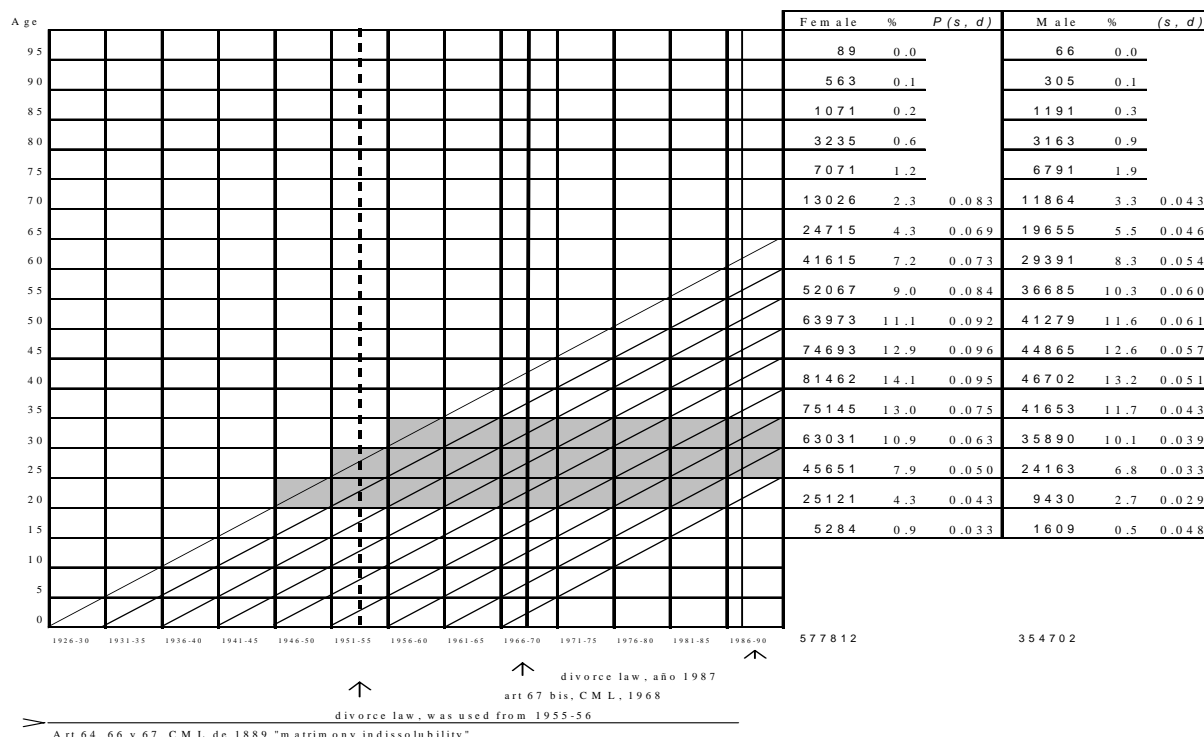
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<sup>5</sup> For a formal discussion about the subject see Ruggles, S. (1997), Oppenheimer, V. (1997) and Preston, S. (1997).

<sup>6</sup> It is important to mention that the present analysis is not strict enough, but in order to be so, the probability should be calculated on the basis of the original effective of each cohort, which is not possible at the moment. So this appreciation should only be considered as approximate.

<sup>7</sup> It is possible that the probabilities of being separated or divorced are influenced by the remarriages; therefore a new factor should be introduced, which should be differential according to sex. In the case of Cordoba, the percentage of remarriages in 1996, was 5.1% for men and 3,0% for women.

<sup>8</sup> It could be sustained that in Argentina, from 1889 until the 9 of July of 1987 divorce from bed and board was evident, from that date onwards, the individual could choose between a divorce from bed and board and absolute divorce. Throughout this extensive period, an innovation in divorce legislation occurred in the 1968 with reference to the article 67 bis of the law of civil matrimony, which made possible the right to divorce by consent of the spouses, by joint presentation. Before this law the separation from bed and board existed which only could be granted as contested divorce. The main difference between divorce before or after prescribed article 67 bis is that while the former could be declared by unilateral fault, in divorces by consent the sentence blamed both parties.



\*shading area shows the general age that the studies consider the most frequently of dissolution  
 Source: author's calculation, on the basis of Census data.

This has been a discouraging event, an unwanted one in the society of Argentina for men and women alike in the social and personal aspects that might have influenced in the transmission of the instability of the unions. To the interpersonal problems that emerge in every couple, we should add the internalized personal values for each of the persons involved who could have been acting as vehicles of transmission, which in the point of view of divorced people imply negative values. If a change were possible in the ideal model of the Argentine family, could we expect the new generations to transmit a wider perspective of the implications every process of separation involves?

**III. Conclusion.**

In Argentina it is difficult to obtain reliable sources for this type of study but the information in this demographic field lets us imply some approaches to thematic fields that are in connection with the social sciences as is the case of Demography and Psychology. As regards this field of study, it is practically impossible not to include them.

There is a coincidence with respect to underlying mechanisms from which the marital instability is transmitted but this is far from being clarified. Some studies about this field reveal that the etiology of the transmission of the marital instability is psychological and not tied to the socioeconomic wellbeing. Knowing the experience in other countries will not be enough, what is of considerable importance is determining how this situation will affect the Argentine society.

It is also difficult to find accurate and precise sources. At present there is no systematic register to study the divorce phenomenon. This clearly shows the difficulty to perform biographic surveys, which are the proper sources for this type of study, together life histories complementary instruments of analysis. With the sources available at present (censuses, marriage register and permanent family home surveys) merely exploratory and descriptive lines of investigation can be provided, which will show the elements about the state of the

population. This would intensify the interest of studying the phenomena of marriage and divorce to face the changes in the family profile including their possible models and ideals.

The groups that do not comply with the social model must be supported, putting emphasis in the inequities between the "ideal" and the "possible" model of family, incorporating the differences that in this context show signs of involution. Moreover, for those who, as a result of their socio-demographic and socio-affective characteristics are placed in vulnerable groups in a context where there is an absence of education and sanitary programs; therefore, programs to assist families in times of emergency must be introduced. Therefore there is the necessity to use the already available resources, which are limited from the methodological point of view to record recent tendencies in the constitution and in the dissolution of unions in Argentina.

Tendencies that reveal different behaviors according to the provinces and which are highly influenced by the age and sex of the initial population and by different standards of behavior related to the initiation, permanence and dissolution of the union. The extreme points are the provinces of San Juan and Jujuy as regards the case of cohabitation. As for the dissolution of unions the maximum point corresponds to Capital Federal and the minimum corresponds to San Juan, Santiago del Estero and Entre Rios.

At a national scale, the sex ratio of the state of each marital status will impact on the configuration by sex of the population without union increasing the percentage of widows, separated and divorced and producing even a much higher percentage of single men, a tendency that changes with age. The probability of being separated or divorced in Argentina in 1991 is differential by age and gender. These are higher in the case of women of all ages with exception of those between the ages of 15-19 years. In Argentina the generation that concentrates the highest percentage of separated and divorced men and women correspond to 1946-50. But the highest probabilities are registered in the cohorts 1936-40 (50-54 years old) and 1941-45 (45-49 years old) in the case of women and men in the cohorts 1936-40 (50-54 years old), 1931-35 (55-59 years old) and 1941-45 (45-49 years old).

We can conclude by saying that the presented percentage of the consensual unions evidences the different forms of constitution, permanence and break up of the union, which presents peculiar characteristics according to the province in question (cultural context of reference), the gender and age. In the particular case of the separated or divorced population, which shows signs of instability in the union, we could suppose that it might have been socialized with a negative conception about what a divorce or a separation is, mainly the one belonging to older generations, which might have had influenced on the intergenerational transmission of the instability of the unions.

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**APPENDIX**

**Table 1. Population of 15 years or more by conjugal state. Argentina, 1991.**

Total Population			%
Total	24.097.121		100,0
Male	11.587.720		48,1
Female	12.509.401		51,9

Couple Population: 59.7%			Without couple population: 40.3%		
Total	14.389.129		Total	9.707.992	100,0
Male	7.182.465		Male	4.405.255	45,4
Female	7.206.664		Female	5.302.737	54,6

Union: 17,5%			Married: 82,5%		
Total	2.516.621		Total	11.872.508	
Male	1.255.556		Male	5.926.909	
Female	1.261.065		Female	5.945.599	

Never union -single-: 72,1%			Ever union: 27,9%		
Total	7.002.392	100,0	Total	2.705.600	100,0
Male	3.755.536	53,6	Male	649.719	24,0
Female	3.246.856	46,4	Female	2.055.881	76,0

Volunteer dissolution: 34,5%			Widowed: 65,5%		
Total	932.514	100,0	Total	1.773.086	100,0
Male	354.702	38,0	Male	295.017	16,6
Female	577.812	62,0	Female	1.478.069	83,4

Separated: 79,3%			Divorced: 20,7%		
Total	739.428	100,0	Total	193.086	100,0
Male	287.641	38,9	Male	67.061	34,7
Female	451.787	61,1	Female	126.025	65,3

Source: INDEC, Population and Housing Census, 1991.

**Table 2. Population of 14 years or more distribution by conjugal state and territorial-political division. Argentina, 1991.**

Territorial-political Division	Total 100,0	Cohabitants	Married	Separated Divorced	Widowed	Single never married
Total país	23288242	10,4	47,6	3,8	7,1	31,1
Capital Federal	2441140	7,3	46,4	5,5	10,3	30,6
Buenos Aires	9194813	10,2	49,6	3,9	7,1	29,1
19 partidos del GBA	5779329	10,7	49,3	4,0	6,7	29,3
Resto de Bs. As	3415484	9,4	50,3	3,7	7,8	28,8
Catamarca	173337	9,0	42,2	3,1	5,6	40,0
Córdoba	2014620	7,5	49,9	3,5	7,3	31,8
Corrientes	517670	14,4	41,3	2,9	5,7	35,7
Chaco	534996	19,9	37,9	3,3	5,3	33,6
Chubut	238497	15,4	44,1	4,1	5,0	31,5
Entre Ríos	709845	8,8	49,3	2,7	7,2	32,1
Formosa	324272	15,3	38,4	3,8	5,3	37,3
Jujuy	248900	23,5	34,1	3,3	4,2	34,9
La Pampa	183839	9,2	51,9	3,1	6,8	28,9
La Rioja	145640	9,3	44,2	2,8	5,2	38,5
Mendoza	989502	7,4	52,0	3,4	6,2	31,0
Misiones	490019	17,3	42,4	3,6	4,6	32,1
Neuquén	253082	16,1	43,3	4,2	4,2	32,1
Río Negro	337907	14,7	45,7	4,1	5,2	30,3
Salta	553320	15,1	38,5	4,0	5,2	37,2
San Juan	362103	6,3	50,1	2,7	6,0	35,0
San Luís	197750	10,2	47,8	3,7	6,0	32,3
Santa Cruz	107328	13,4	46,7	4,1	4,1	31,7
Santa Fe	202467	9,8	50,3	3,4	7,9	28,6
Santiago del Estero	429471	12,2	40,9	2,7	6,3	37,9
Tierra del Fuego	45671	15,8	49,2	4,3	2,3	28,3
Tucumán	769846	9,5	44,2	3,1	6,0	37,3

Source: INDEC, Population and Housing Census.

**Table 3. Population of 15 years of age and more represented by sex and conjugal state. Argentina, 1991.**

Male	Total	Cohabitant	Married	Separated	Divorced	Widowed	Single
Generation Total	11587720	1255556	5926909	287641	67061	295017	3755536
1971-75 15-19	1501784	21276	10709	1508	101	823	1467367
1966-70 20-24	1277960	131683	185285	8744	686	734	950828
1961-65 25-29	1202532	180612	530980	20430	3733	1366	465411
1956-60 30-34	1157086	182260	711832	28460	7430	2432	224672
1951-55 35-39	1104879	172163	750875	32707	8946	4551	135637
1946-50 40-44	1028372	146497	722553	36327	10375	8046	104574
1941-45 45-49	885277	119072	626565	35526	9339	11970	82805
1936-40 50-54	772867	94847	544473	33223	8056	17204	75064
1931-35 55-59	698820	73864	496655	29629	7056	24645	66971
1926-30 60-64	646533	56727	462209	24526	4865	35841	62365
1921-25 65-69	520079	36166	374925	16536	3119	41782	47551
1916-20 70-74	351474	20459	243856	10242	1622	43077	32218
1911-15 75-79	239605	11850	157363	5935	856	41972	21629
1906-10 80-84	129416	5644	76012	2624	539	32954	11643
1901-05 85-89	53619	1832	26185	952	239	19610	4801
1896-00 90-94	14287	497	5430	238	67	6460	1595
1891-95 95-99	3130	107	1002	34	32	1550	405

Female	Total	Cohabitant	Married	Separated	Divorced	Widowed	Single
Generation Total	12509401	1261065	5945599	451787	126025	1478069	3246856
1971-75 15-19	1517736	79783	76097	5041	243	1591	1354981
1966-70 20-24	1303729	183231	381344	22837	2284	2263	711770
1961-65 25-29	1231875	188696	674071	38364	7287	4479	318978
1956-60 30-34	1183972	179520	760648	48930	14101	8607	172166
1951-55 35-39	1137534	163957	763853	56786	18359	16685	117894
1946-50 40-44	1054989	135732	710904	61091	20371	31276	95615
1941-45 45-49	912752	101300	607396	55782	18911	50803	78560
1936-40 50-54	820520	77707	524385	49517	14456	83781	70674
1931-35 55-59	761670	55693	460929	40993	11074	126829	66152
1926-30 60-64	758413	41722	414126	32857	8758	191675	69275
1921-25 65-69	632085	26361	289187	19905	4810	230823	60999
1916-20 70-74	475271	14781	161488	10536	2490	237003	48973
1911-15 75-79	351963	7269	79727	5495	1576	219021	38875
1906-10 80-84	220105	3460	30428	2400	835	158249	24733
1901-05 85-89	102399	1149	7832	759	312	80427	11920
1896-00 90-94	36200	543	2580	433	130	28200	4314
1891-95 95-99	8188	161	604	61	28	6357	977

Source: INDEC, Population and Housing Census, 1991.