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# Household structure in the EU

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## **Non-technical summary**

This paper maps key indicators of household structure (e.g. household size, number of children) across 24 countries of the expanded EU. Our main aim is to assess the extent to which the new member states of Eastern Europe display differences and similarities with the other countries of the EU.

We use data from the Community Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC). The EU-SILC is an annual survey which provides individual level data on a wide range of social indicators including income, poverty, social exclusion and living conditions. The first wave of data in most countries was collected in 2004; in this paper we use data from the 2007 release.

We first examine a number of indicators which take the household as a unit of analysis, before moving on to focus on groups which are particularly interesting in terms of social policy, and for whom household composition may be particularly crucial in terms of their risk of poverty: children, young adults and elderly people.

Our results show that the Eastern European countries are rather heterogeneous. The Czech Republic and Hungary are not dissimilar to the countries of North-Western Europe; by contrast, households in Slovenia, Slovakia and Poland closely resemble Southern European households. It is the Baltic states – particularly Latvia – where household structure least resembles structures in any of the pre-enlargement EU countries.

# Household structure in the EU

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## Abstract

This paper maps key indicators of household structure across 24 countries of the expanded EU. Our main aim is to assess the extent to which the new member states of Eastern Europe display differences and similarities with the other countries of the EU. We find that the Eastern European countries are rather heterogeneous. The Czech Republic and Hungary are not dissimilar to the countries of North-Western Europe; by contrast, households in Slovenia, Slovakia and Poland closely resemble Southern European households. It is the Baltic states – particularly Latvia – where household structure least resembles structures in any of the pre-enlargement EU countries.

Keywords: Household, family, Europe

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## 1. Introduction

Household structure is an interesting area for cross-national study for several reasons. Cross-national differences in household structure reflect important differences between societies: in culture and norms; in the cost and availability of housing; in the economic means available to different groups in society; and in social policy, where differences in tax and benefit regimes may lead to radically different patterns of household structure.

Household structure is also interesting in terms of its relationship to a number of important outcomes. Poverty, for example, is intimately related to household structure. Poverty rates are calculated on the basis of household equivalent income (the sum of the incomes of all household members, divided by a factor related to the number and ages of these same household members) and household composition is therefore liable to affect both the numerator and the denominator of this calculation. There is a large literature dealing with the relationship between household composition and the risk of poverty (Bane and Ellwood 1986), particularly relating to vulnerable groups: families with children (Bradbury and Jantti 1999); young adults (Aassve et al 2007) and older people (Rendall 1995). Of course, poverty is not the only outcome related to household composition: children's later outcomes, in terms of educational achievement, future earnings and so on, are affected by the composition of the households in which they grow up (Boggess 1998; Francesconi et al. 2005), even after accounting for the effects of poverty associated with certain household structures, while older people's health status is also related to household composition (Hays 2002).

Household structures across the pre-enlargement EU-15 have been widely documented (Iacovou 2003, Tomassini et al 2004, Andersson 2004, Robson and Berthoud 2003, and many others). There are also several studies which include a number of Eastern European countries (Hantrais et al 2006, Hoem et al 2009, Gerber 2009). These are based on surveys such as the Family and Fertility survey and the Gender and Generations survey, which are excellent sources of data for this area of research, but which include only a limited subset of the new EU member states. A smaller number of newer studies have used data covering most or all of the countries of the enlarged European Union: Mandic (2008) deals with home-leaving,

Liefbroer and Fokkema (2008) deal with fertility; while Saraceno (2008) provides an overview of household structure in a number of different age groups, as well as some statistics on labour market status and time use. Our paper is based on the European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC), which at the time of writing covers all countries of the expanded European Union except for Malta. Being a general-purpose data set, the EU-SILC does not allow for such detailed investigation of family formation patterns as some other data sets. However, its strength lies in the scope of its coverage, which makes it possible to draw comparisons of many aspects of family structure, over almost the entire post-enlargement European Union. We believe that this paper provides a unique resource in this respect.

We present detailed figures on household structure separately for each country in the sample. However, we also consider whether there exist groups of countries which display similar sets of characteristics, and which may be thought of as forming clusters. Again, there is a well-developed literature in this area relating to the pre-enlargement EU-15, and our focus in this paper lies in integrating the new member states into this area. In particular, we are interested to uncover the extent to which the new member states may be incorporated into existing typologies of family structure, or whether behaviour in some or all of these countries differs so far from behaviour elsewhere in Western Europe that it is necessary to think in terms of an expanded typology.

The section which follows outlines the typologies which have been used to conceptualise cross-national variations in family structure; we then move on to a discussion of the data, before presenting our results in sections 3 to 8.

### **1.1 Countries and groups of countries**

A great deal of comparative research draws on the work of Esping-Andersen (1990 and 1999), whose threefold typology of welfare states consists of: a 'social-democratic' regime type, characterised by high levels of state support and an emphasis on the individual rather than the family, typified by the Scandinavian countries; a 'conservative', or 'corporatist', regime type, characterised by an emphasis on insurance-based benefits providing support for the family rather than the individual, and typified by the continental European states of France, Germany,

Austria, Belgium and Luxembourg. Esping-Andersen also assigns the Southern European countries to this group; and a 'liberal' regime type, typified by a modest level of welfare state provision and a reliance on means-tested benefits, exemplified by the US, and to a lesser extent by the UK and Ireland.

Several commentators (Liebfried, 1993; Ferrera, 1996; and others) have argued that the Southern European countries constitute a regime type in themselves, rather than belonging to the 'conservative' group. The arguments on this issue are mixed (Arts and Gelissen, 2002) with several scholars arguing that structurally, the Southern welfare states are not dissimilar to those of the 'conservative' group of countries. However, the Southern countries do form an empirically distinct grouping on a wide range of social and economic indicators, and thus are often defined separately for the purposes of empirical research.

In fact, it is not clear that a typology based on welfare regimes is the most appropriate basis on which to study living arrangements and family formation. Berthoud and Iacovou (2004), in an analysis of Western European family structure, argue that a typology based on religious affiliation or geography explains family structure as well or better than one based on welfare regimes, proposing a spectrum ranging from Northern/Protestant to Southern/Catholic. At one end, the Scandinavian countries are characterised by small households (particularly single-adult and lone-parent households), early residential independence for young people and extended residential independence for elderly people; cohabitation as an alternative to marriage; and an almost complete absence of the extended family. At the other end, the Southern European countries are characterised by relatively low levels of non-marital cohabitation, by extended co-residence between parents and their adult children, and by elderly people with their adult offspring; this, together with a much lower incidence of lone-parent families, make for much larger household sizes.

Reher (1998) outlines a typology based on geography and the familialistic legacy of the Catholic church, in explaining features of family structure across Western Europe. He describes a "Northern" cluster (Scandinavia, the UK, the Low Countries and [much of] Germany and Austria), characterised by "weak" family ties, early home-leaving, and a sense of social rather than familial solidarity with elderly or weak members of society; and a "Southern" cluster (the Mediterranean countries,

including Portugal) characterised by “strong” family ties, later home-leaving, and a more family-based sense of solidarity. He notes that Ireland is an indeterminate case, being geographically Northern, but having much more in common with the Mediterranean countries in terms of family structures.

Hajnal (1965 and 1982) describes divisions in marriage patterns along a different East-West axis, with regions east of a line from St Petersburg to Trieste characterised by near-universal and relatively early marriage, and regions west of this line characterised by later marriage, with a higher proportion of individuals remaining unmarried.

In this paper, we use the following fourfold grouping to present our results. The first group is a “Nordic” cluster consisting of the Scandinavian countries (Sweden, Denmark and Finland) plus the Netherlands. The second group consists of the pre-enlargement countries of North-Western Europe: the UK, France, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Luxembourg and Ireland. The third group consists of the Southern European countries: Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece and Cyprus. The final group is an “Eastern” group consisting of the other post-2004 members of the EU: the Czech Republic, Hungary, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Slovenia, Slovakia and Poland.

Of course, not all countries fall neatly into one or other of these groups. Where there are intermediate cases, we have positioned these on the edge of a group. The Netherlands, for example, is defined by Esping-Andersen (1999) as a member of the Conservative rather than the Social-Democratic welfare regime type; empirically, it is in some respects closer to our North-Western cluster than the Nordic cluster, and has been placed on the boundary between the Nordic and North-Western groups. Ireland has been placed on the boundary between the North-Western group (where it belongs geographically) and the Southern group (with which it displays a large number of common features). And Cyprus has been placed on the boundary between the Southern group (with which it has clear geographical and cultural commonalities) and the other new EU members.

As will become clear, the Eastern European countries are very far from forming a homogeneous grouping. This group may be thought of as consisting of three subgroups: the Czech Republic and Hungary (which have a good deal in common with the North-Western cluster); Slovenia, Slovakia and Poland (which are extremely



similar to the Southern cluster; and the Baltic Republics (Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania), which are in some respects most different to any of the pre-enlargement countries.

## **2. Data and methodology**

### **2.1 Data**

The data used in this paper are taken from the Community Statistics on Income and Living Conditions (EU-SILC). The EU-SILC is an annual survey which provides micro data on a wide range of social indicators including income, poverty, social exclusion and living conditions. The first release of data (relating to the year 2004) includes information on 13 member states (Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Portugal, Spain and Sweden), plus Norway and Iceland. From 2005, Germany, the Netherlands and the UK joined, along with the rest of the new member states (Cyprus, Czech Republic, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia). Finally, from 2007 onwards, the EU-SILC represents all 27 member states, and includes Turkey and Switzerland as non-members alongside Norway and Iceland.

The EU-SILC consists of both cross-sectional and longitudinal elements. In most countries the sample design takes the form of a rotational panel: the sample is divided into sub-panels, each sub-panel is retained in the sample for a maximum of four years, and each year one sub-panel is dropped, to be replaced by a new replication. In most countries the sample is divided into four rotational groups giving rise to four-year panels; exceptions are France (nine-year panel); Norway (eight-year panel) and Luxembourg and Sweden (pure panels). The cross-sectional and longitudinal data are released separately; data for the analysis in this paper are taken from version 2007-2 of the cross-sectional SILC.

For the purposes of the analysis in this paper, it is important to note that the data relate to private households only, and that the sample of respondents is drawn from members of these households currently resident at the time of data collection. Those living in institutional settings (hospitals, old people's homes and student accommodation) are not included as part of the sample. In all countries, a large majority of individuals do of course live in private households, but for some groups, a substantial proportion live in institutional settings - most notably older people,

students, and younger men engaged in military service. It is difficult to quantify the impact of these phenomena; Appendix 2 attempts to quantify the problem in relation to the younger groups.

## **2.2 Defining relationships between individuals**

When analysing people's living arrangements, it is necessary to establish the relationships between members of households. Many household-level data sets do this by means of a household grid, which records the nature of the relationship between each pair of household members. Unfortunately, the EU-SILC does not collect this type of information, recording instead only the personal identifiers of each individual's spouse or partner, mother and father, where these are resident in the same household. This enables us to identify which people are living as part of a couple, and/or with their children or parents; we are also sometimes able to identify sibling and grandparent relationships, where a third person is present. However, many relationships cannot be identified – for example, we are generally unable to distinguish a co-resident sibling or cousin from a friend or lodger.

In addition, although we are able to identify the parent/child relationship, there is a degree of uncertainty relating to the specific nature of that relationship. In particular, the role of step-parents is not always clear. It appears that the use of the “mother” and “father” identifiers has not been entirely consistent, so that in some cases they have been used exclusively to indicate natural parents, while in others they have been used to indicate step-parents as well. Given the increase in stepfamilies over recent decades, this is a particularly unfortunate limitation with the data.

We return to these limitations at various points in the paper, and they should be borne in mind while interpreting our analysis. Nevertheless, the EU-SILC allows a great deal of interesting analysis on household structure, and it remains a useful, and in many respects unique, source of data on this topic.

## **2.3 Methodology**

The analysis in this paper is for the most part descriptive – the figures and tables in sections 3-6 present means over the populations of interest, and compare them between countries. All country means are weighted using the cross-sectional weights supplied with EU-SILC.

For most of the analysis, we also present the mean across the EU-15 “old” member states, the mean across the nine “new” member states represented in these data; and the average across all countries in the sample. Analysts normally use one of two methods for computing these cross-country means. One method involves calculating a simple average of the country means (which gives each country, large or small, the same weight). Alternatively, countries may be weighted according to their populations, so that large countries make a larger contribution to cross-country means. We use this second method: countries are weighted according to their populations.

In this type of analysis, the issue arises of whether means which appear to be different are actually different, in a statistical sense. We have computed standard errors for all the figures we present; however, to present them systematically would run the risk of adding further complication to our already very full tables. These standard errors are sufficiently small that wherever we note systematic differences between groups of countries, these differences are statistically significant; however, smaller differences between countries in the same group may not be statistically significant. Full tables, complete with standard errors, can be found in Appendix I.

The majority of the analysis presents means over *individuals*. In the section on older people, we present means calculated over people aged 65 and over; in the section on children, we present means calculated over people aged under 18. In each case, the population over which we have calculated the means is stated clearly in the footnotes. In some cases, for example, when dealing with concepts which relate to the household rather than to the individual, it is more appropriate to calculate means over *households*. Where we have done this, it is stated clearly in the text and footnotes.

Finally, two sets of results in the paper use different analytical approaches. In Table 5, we present the ages at which young people make a range of life transitions (moving out of the parental home, living with a partner and having children). These ages may be interpreted as representing the mean ages at which these transitions are made; however, they are calculated in a slightly different way. The way in which these calculations are made is explained in the relevant section. Section 7

synthesises the results from the foregoing sections using principal components analysis. Again, this technique is explained further in that section.

Results are presented in the form of tables, graphs and maps. Almost all the results are based on our own analysis of the EU-SILC data; we therefore do not repeat this information in the footnotes.

### **3. Household composition**

In this section, we discuss household composition at its broadest level. The first seven columns of Table 3.1 define seven categories of households, and show how the prevalence of these household types varies across the EU.

The first column relates to single-adult households, where the adult is aged under 65. These make up 17.6% of households across the EU: this proportion ranges from 6% in Portugal up to 30% in Denmark, and in general is lowest in the Southern European countries, plus Slovenia, Slovakia and Poland; rather higher in the rest of Eastern Europe; higher still in the North-Western group of countries; and highest in the Nordic group.

The distribution of couple-only households where both adults are aged under 65 is similar (column 3). These households account for 14% of households across the EU, with the prevalence ranging from only 8% in Slovenia, up to 20% in Finland.

We turn now to households where at least one adult is aged 65 or over. The distribution of these household types does not follow our country groupings neatly; this is to be expected, since many factors contribute to household composition among older people: typical age differences between partners; differences in life expectancy between men and women; rates of divorce and separation; and the decision as to whether to live with adult children or other relatives. Single-adult households among the 65+ age group (column 2) are most common in the Nordic and North-Western groups of countries (where divorce is relatively common and where it is relatively unusual for older people to live with children or other relatives) and least common in the Southern countries (where divorce rates remain low, and where it is common for older people to live with adult children). Couple-only households where at least one partner is aged 65 or over (column 4) are most common in the Southern European countries (low divorce rates) and least common in Eastern Europe (high divorce rates, and a high incidence of multigenerational households).

Table 3.1: Characteristics of households

	Household composition: percentage of households							Household size	
	No children under 18 in household					Children under 18 present		Mean over individuals (8)	Mean over households (9)
	Single adult under 65 (1)	Single adult aged 65+ (2)	Couple both under 65 (3)	Couple, at least one 65+ (4)	Other, no under-18s (5)	Single adult with children (6)	2+ adults with children (7)		
Sweden	<b>24.0</b>	<b>15.6</b>	<b>16.6</b>	<b>11.8</b>	5.7	<b>4.2</b>	22.0	2.8	2.1
Finland	<b>25.6</b>	13.0	<b>19.7</b>	10.1	7.6	3.4	20.8	2.9	2.1
Denmark	<b>30.2</b>	<b>14.0</b>	<b>16.5</b>	9.9	4.4	<b>4.8</b>	20.2	2.7	2.0
Netherlands	<b>23.5</b>	11.7	<b>17.0</b>	<b>11.1</b>	10.0	2.8	23.9	3.0	2.3
UK	16.7	<b>13.6</b>	<b>16.6</b>	10.3	12.8	<b>5.4</b>	24.7	3.1	2.4
France	<b>20.0</b>	<b>14.2</b>	<b>15.9</b>	<b>11.2</b>	11.0	3.5	24.2	3.0	2.3
Germany	<b>24.4</b>	<b>14.0</b>	<b>14.7</b>	<b>14.2</b>	11.5	3.1	18.1	2.7	2.1
Austria	<b>21.7</b>	13.4	12.5	10.2	15.8	3.5	23.0	3.1	2.3
Belgium	<b>20.6</b>	13.5	<b>15.6</b>	10.4	13.4	<b>3.8</b>	22.7	3.1	2.3
Luxembourg	18.0	10.9	13.7	10.4	14.9	2.4	29.7	3.1	2.5
Ireland	11.3	10.1	9.5	7.3	20.5	<b>7.1</b>	<b>34.4</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>2.8</b>
Italy	14.1	<b>15.0</b>	8.5	<b>11.1</b>	24.2	1.9	25.1	3.1	2.4
Spain	8.6	8.7	12.2	10.0	<b>29.2</b>	1.1	<b>30.2</b>	3.3	<b>2.8</b>
Portugal	6.4	10.6	9.5	<b>12.1</b>	<b>26.5</b>	2.0	<b>33.0</b>	3.3	<b>2.8</b>
Greece	10.4	9.7	8.8	<b>12.3</b>	<b>29.9</b>	1.0	28.0	3.3	<b>2.7</b>
Cyprus	8.9	7.2	9.6	<b>11.9</b>	<b>25.3</b>	1.9	<b>35.4</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>2.9</b>
Czech Republic	12.4	11.4	14.4	10.0	22.2	2.9	26.7	3.1	2.5
Hungary	11.5	12.8	12.8	8.6	22.6	3.2	28.6	<b>3.3</b>	2.6
Estonia	18.3	<b>15.4</b>	11.1	7.8	19.1	<b>4.2</b>	24.2	3.1	2.3
Latvia	12.8	12.4	8.6	6.5	<b>25.7</b>	<b>4.0</b>	<b>30.1</b>	<b>3.4</b>	2.6
Lithuania	12.1	<b>14.9</b>	9.6	7.9	21.9	<b>3.8</b>	<b>29.8</b>	<b>3.3</b>	2.6
Slovenia	9.0	11.8	7.8	8.8	<b>30.8</b>	2.0	<b>29.9</b>	<b>3.5</b>	<b>2.8</b>
Slovakia	11.4	13.1	8.0	7.9	<b>30.1</b>	1.3	28.2	<b>3.7</b>	<b>2.8</b>
Poland	11.3	13.4	10.0	6.6	<b>24.6</b>	1.8	<b>32.4</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>2.8</b>
EU25	17.6	13.2	13.5	11.0	17.0	3.1	24.6	3.1	2.4
EU15	18.5	13.3	14.0	11.6	15.8	3.2	23.7	3.0	2.3
EU10	11.6	13.0	10.8	7.7	24.3	2.3	30.3	3.6	2.7

Notes:

In this table, bold type denotes the eight countries with the highest incidence, and italics denote the eight countries with the lowest, incidence of each situation. "Children" are defined as individuals under the age of 18; the children living in the households in columns 8 and 9 are not necessarily the children of the other household members.

Column 5 relates to all other households where children under 18 are not present. In all countries, the majority of these are households containing both parents and their adult children; however, in the Southern and Eastern European countries, a substantial

minority of households are composed differently – for example, with a couple plus another adult of similar age, who may be a sibling. These households are most common in the Southern European countries plus Slovenia, Slovakia and Poland; they are less common in the North-Western Nordic countries, and much less common in the Nordic cluster, where they account for only 4% of households in Denmark.

The remaining household types relate to households with children under 18. Those with a single adult (i.e. lone parent households, column 6) are in a minority everywhere, being most common in Ireland and the UK (7% and 5% of households respectively), as well as in Sweden and Finland and the Baltic states. Lone parent households are least common in Southern Europe plus Slovenia, Slovakia and Poland.

Finally, Column 7 relates to households where two or more adults are living with children. These are not necessarily two-parent families; some are one-parent families with adult children as well as minor children; or they may be extended families with children. These account for 25% of households across the EU-25; while single-adult families with children are considerably more numerous in the Northern than the Southern countries, the opposite is true of families with more than one adult, which are most common in the Southern countries, plus parts of Eastern Europe, and least common in the Nordic countries.

The final two columns in Table 3.1 are concerned with mean household size. Column 8 shows mean household size using the individual as the unit of analysis; Column 9 calculates the mean over households, and thus provides smaller means, because larger households are only counted once. Mean household sizes are lowest in the Scandinavian countries, and also low in the North-Western countries, with the exception of Ireland. The two different methods of calculating mean household sizes produce slightly different rankings for the largest household sizes. Taking the mean over households, the largest households are seen in the Southern European countries, plus Ireland, Slovenia, Slovakia and Poland. If the mean is taken over individuals, on the other hand, the Eastern European countries are those with the largest household sizes: this is because the Eastern European countries have more very large households than the Southern European countries.

## 4. Children

Children's living arrangements are of interest to social scientists because of their relationship to child poverty and to outcomes in later life. We begin this section with a short discussion of childlessness; we then present statistics on family size and children's living arrangements.

*Table 4.1: Childlessness, childbearing and number of children*

	Women aged 33-37: % childless	TFR	Percentage of households where children are present with:			
			1 child	2 children	3 children	4+ children
Sweden	19.2	<b>1.9</b>	43.3	40.6	12.8	3.3
Finland	<b>30.9</b>	<b>1.8</b>	42.7	39.2	13.5	4.6
Denmark	22.1	<b>1.8</b>	41.3	43.4	12.5	2.8
Netherlands	<b>27.1</b>	<b>1.7</b>	38.8	42.7	14.1	4.4
UK	<b>30.4</b>	<b>1.8</b>	46.0	39.6	10.7	3.7
France	23.7	<b>2.0</b>	45.3	39.9	11.7	3.2
Germany	<b>31.5</b>	1.3	48.6	39.5	9.0	3.0
Austria	<b>26.1</b>	1.4	50.1	37.2	10.2	2.4
Belgium	<b>26.8</b>	1.6	44.5	36.8	13.7	5.0
Luxembourg	23.4	<b>1.7</b>	44.8	46.0	8.1	1.2
Ireland	<i>15.8</i>	<b>1.9</b>	43.8	35.2	16.0	5.0
Italy	<b>34.2</b>	1.3	55.2	37.9	6.1	0.8
Spain	<b>33.4</b>	1.4	55.2	39.9	3.9	0.9
Portugal	16.4	1.4	61.4	33.7	4.0	1.0
Greece	25.0	1.4	46.4	47.9	4.3	1.3
Cyprus	17.3	1.5	42.5	46.8	8.5	2.2
Czech Republic	<i>10.7</i>	1.3	53.4	39.6	6.0	1.1
Hungary	<i>12.6</i>	1.3	49.5	36.9	10.5	3.1
Estonia	<i>15.5</i>	1.4	58.0	32.9	7.5	1.5
Latvia	<i>15.2</i>	1.4	62.8	29.5	5.8	1.9
Lithuania	<i>7.1</i>	1.3	59.7	31.4	6.8	2.1
Slovenia	<i>12.4</i>	1.3	49.7	41.5	7.2	1.6
Slovakia	<i>15.5</i>	1.2	53.7	36.0	8.3	2.0
Poland	16.8	1.3	53.5	35.2	8.6	2.7
EU25	27.0		49.5	38.9	9.0	2.6
EU15	29.2		48.7	39.5	9.2	2.6
EU10	14.6		53.5	36.0	8.2	2.4

*Notes: Total fertility rates (column 2) are taken from Eurostat 2008 <sup>1</sup>1990; <sup>2</sup>2000  
In the first two columns, bold type denotes the eight countries with the highest incidence, and italics denote the eight countries with the lowest, incidence of each situation.*

Childlessness is increasing throughout the EU, and is contributing to the below-replacement fertility rates which are evident in many countries, and to an associated level of anxiety related to the dependency ratio (Sobotka 2008). We are not able to calculate rates of childlessness directly from the data we are using here, because while EU-SILC collects information on all children living in respondents' households, it does not collect information on respondents' children who are no longer living in the parental home. We therefore estimate a different indicator of childlessness, using a sample of women aged between 33 and 37 years old. These women are old enough to have had most of the children they are ever going to have; and they are young enough that only a very small proportion of their children will have left home. Thus, the proportion of women in this age group who have none of their own children living with them approximates well to the proportion of this cohort who are childless.

This proportion is lowest Lithuania at 7%, and generally across the Eastern European countries plus Ireland. It is highest in Italy and Spain at over 33%, as well as in a number of Nordic and Northern countries. Thus, although childlessness is increasing across the Eastern European countries (Philipov and Dorbritz 2003), childlessness across this cohort has not yet risen to the levels seen elsewhere in Europe.

Comparing these figures on childlessness with figures on total fertility rates (column 2), there is no clear relationship between the two series. In several countries, the relationship runs along the lines which one would expect. France, Luxembourg and Ireland have low levels of childlessness and high TFRs; Italy, Spain and Germany have high levels of childlessness and low TFRs. However, across Eastern Europe, levels of childlessness are low, but total fertility rates are also low – this may be attributed to postponement (and possible permanent reductions) in fertility among the youngest cohorts. By contrast, in a number of Nordic and Northern countries, rates of childlessness among the 33-37 age group are very high, while TFRs are also relatively high (though generally below replacement rate). This has to do with (a) the postponement of fertility being a less recent phenomenon in these countries, and (b) the fact that larger families are more common in these countries.

The four columns on the right-hand side of Table 4.1 present figures on the number of children present in households. These are calculated using the sample of



households where *any* child under 18 is present; it is important to remember (a) that these are means over households rather than individuals, and (b) that they do not include any offspring who are not currently resident in the household, or any offspring over age 18, even if they are resident in the household. Thus, these figures will tend to underestimate the proportions of larger families, particularly in those countries where home-leaving takes place earlier; however, they are indicative of cross-country variations in family size.

The very largest families are found in Ireland, where 21% of families have three or more children, and where 5% of families have four or more children. The next largest families are found in Belgium and the Netherlands, followed by the rest of the Nordic cluster. The smallest families, based on the percentage of households with three or more children, are found in Spain, Portugal, Greece and Italy – in these countries, under 7% of households have three or more children. These countries, in common with a number of other Eastern European countries, also have a relatively large number of households with only one child.

We turn now to a “child’s-eye” view of living arrangements. Declining marriage rates, rising rates of cohabitation and high rates of union dissolution – trends which have all been a feature of recent decades - mean children may spend time growing up in a number of different household types (e.g. lone parent households, cohabiting couple households). Table 4.2 shows the proportions of children (ie, those under age 18) living in four such situations: living with one parent; with two parents who are cohabiting but not married; and two parents who are married to each other. There are also a small number of children who are not living with either natural parent; we include these in the table for completeness.

Because the EU-SILC data do not allow us to distinguish fully between natural parents, “official” step-parents, and other co-resident partners, we have allocated children to these categories as follows. The “one parent” category includes all children living with only one parent, where that parent does not have a co-resident partner. The “two parents, cohabiting” category includes children living with two parents who are cohabiting rather than married, as well as children living with one parent who is cohabiting with a partner who is not defined as the child’s parent. The “two parents, married” category includes children living with two parents who are

married, as well as children living with one parent who is married to an adult who is not defined as the child's parent. Despite these limitations, our findings are similar to those of (eg) Perelli-Harris et al (2009), who cover fewer countries with better data.

*Table 4.2: The living situation of children*

	Percentage of children living with:				% of children in multigenerational households
	0 parents	1 parent	2 parents, cohabiting	2 parents, married	
Sweden	1.3	<b>17.6</b>	<b>30.5</b>	<i>50.6</i>	<i>0.3</i>
Finland	0.9	14.4	<b>15.8</b>	68.9	<i>0.6</i>
Denmark	<b>1.5</b>	<b>17.9</b>	<b>15.1</b>	<i>65.6</i>	<i>0.4</i>
Netherlands	<i>0.3</i>	11.1	13.1	75.5	<i>0.3</i>
UK	1.4	<b>21.5</b>	12.6	<i>64.5</i>	3.4
France	0.9	13.5	<b>21.0</b>	<i>64.5</i>	<i>1.8</i>
Germany	1.3	15.0	5.5	<b>78.2</b>	<i>0.9</i>
Austria	<b>2.2</b>	14.3	7.4	76.1	7.5
Belgium	<b>2.5</b>	<b>16.2</b>	<b>13.7</b>	<i>67.7</i>	2.2
Luxembourg	<i>0.3</i>	<i>10.2</i>	6.9	<b>82.6</b>	2.8
Ireland	<b>1.9</b>	<b>24.3</b>	5.9	<i>67.9</i>	4.5
Italy	<i>0.8</i>	<i>10.2</i>	5.2	<b>83.9</b>	5.0
Spain	1.2	7.2	7.9	<b>83.7</b>	5.8
Portugal	<b>2.9</b>	11.9	9.7	75.5	<b>11.6</b>
Greece	1.2	5.3	1.2	<b>92.3</b>	6.5
Cyprus	<i>0.7</i>	7.2	0.6	<b>91.5</b>	3.0
Czech Republic	<i>0.6</i>	14.9	8.2	76.3	7.7
Hungary	<i>0.8</i>	15.4	9.9	73.9	<b>11.6</b>
Estonia	<b>1.9</b>	<b>21.8</b>	<b>23.9</b>	52.5	<b>12.0</b>
Latvia	<b>3.3</b>	<b>27.1</b>	<b>14.1</b>	55.5	<b>24.4</b>
Lithuania	<b>2.0</b>	<b>18.1</b>	6.1	73.8	<b>14.5</b>
Slovenia	<i>0.6</i>	<i>10.4</i>	<b>19.5</b>	69.4	<b>13.7</b>
Slovakia	1.1	<i>10.6</i>	3.7	<b>84.7</b>	<b>17.6</b>
Poland	<i>0.8</i>	<i>11.0</i>	9.2	<b>79.0</b>	<b>22.0</b>
EU25	1.2	14.1	11.0	73.8	5.4
EU15	1.2	14.3	11.3	73.2	3.1
EU10	0.9	13.1	9.2	76.7	17.4

Notes: "Children" are defined as all those under age 18.

Bold type denotes the eight countries with the highest incidence, and italics denote the eight countries with the lowest, incidence of each situation.

Starting with the left-hand column of Table 4.2, we observe that very few children in any country live with adults who are not recorded as their parents – the figures range from 0.3% in Luxembourg and the Netherlands to 3.3% in Latvia. Table 4.2 is based on a sample of all under-18s, and some of those recorded as living with no natural

parents will be teenagers who have moved out of their parents' home. These account for about one quarter of those recorded in this column.

The second column of Table 4.2 presents the percentage of children living with a lone parent. This percentage ranges from 7% or less in Greece, Spain and Cyprus, up to 24% in Ireland and 27% in Latvia. As we have seen before, there is a high degree of heterogeneity within the Eastern European group: in the Baltic republics, the rates of lone parenthood are among the highest in Europe, while in Slovenia, Slovakia and Poland, they are among the lowest. These figures may usefully be compared with the figures on lone parent households in Table 1.1: in general, those countries with a large proportion of lone parent households are the same countries with a large proportion of children living with a lone parent, and vice versa.

Looking at the percentage of children living with two parents in a cohabiting union (column 3), this follows a broadly similar pattern, with high proportions of cohabiting partnerships in the Nordic countries and the Baltic republics, and low proportions in the Southern European countries plus Slovakia and Poland.

Finally, we look at the percentage of children living with two parents who are married. Over 90% of children in Greece and Cyprus live with two married parents; the proportions are also high across the rest of Southern Europe and in Slovakia and Poland. By contrast, only half of all children live with two married parents in Sweden, largely thanks to the high proportion whose parents are cohabiting rather than married; this is also the case in Estonia and Latvia, where high rates of lone parenthood also play a role.

The final column of Table 4.2 shows the percentages of children who live in multi-generational households (defined here as households where grandparent(s) as well as parent(s) are present). There is a clear regional gradient here. Well under 1% of children in the Nordic cluster live in multi-generational households; 1-5% of children live in multi-generational households in all other North-Western countries except for Austria (where the figure is higher); and around 6% of children live in multi-generational households in Southern European countries (except in Portugal, where the figure is 11.6%). However, in Eastern Europe, the figures are much higher: over 10% of children live in multi-generational households in all countries except the Czech Republic, and this rises to over 20% in Poland and Latvia.

## 5. Young adults

The transition from childhood to adulthood is characterised by a number of transitions: from the parental home to living independently; from the single state to living with a partner; and from childlessness to parenthood. Not all young people make all these transitions, and some never make any; however, the majority do make some of these transitions in their twenties or thirties. These transitions have a direct relationship with young people's wellbeing and life chances: making these transitions at an early age is associated with early independence, but may also (particularly in the case of early home-leaving or early childbearing) be associated with an increased risk of poverty and disadvantage (Aassve et al. 2007). By contrast, the very late transitions observed in the Southern European countries, while being protective against poverty, may delay independence and may also be burdensome for the parents of young people (Schizzerotto and Gasperoni 2001).

Because some of these transitions are reversible – young people may leave home and move back in again, or they may live with a partner for a short time before subsequently splitting up, it is difficult to calculate the mean or median ages at which these transitions are made by observing the transitions themselves. Instead (taking home-leaving as an example), we assume that young people who are currently observed living with their parents *have not* made the transition out of the parental home, and we assume that those currently observed as living independently *have* made the transition. Of course, we will count some young people who have left home and come back again as not having yet made the transition; and we will count some people who are living away from home but for whom the transition is not permanent as having made the transition. But these errors are likely to cancel each other out. We then use non-parametric regression techniques to calculate the age at which 50% of all young people are observed living away from home, or living with a partner or with children, and consider this analogous to the median age of making the transitions.

Before discussing these figures further, it is worth pointing out that they are based only on young people living in private households – those living in institutional settings such as military barracks or university residences will not be sampled. We believe our results are reasonably robust to these issues: see Appendix 2.

The results of these calculations are shown in the first six columns of Table 5.1. Results are shown for men and women separately, because women tend to make all these transitions at an earlier age than men.

The first two columns show the age by which half of all young people have left the parental home. There is a strong divide here between the regional groupings we have defined: for both men and women, the countries where the transition takes place earliest are those of the Nordic cluster; the remainder are in the North-Western group of countries. The transition takes place latest in the Southern European countries, plus three of the Eastern European countries: Slovenia, Slovakia and Poland; home-leaving is also relatively late elsewhere in Eastern Europe. The range is very large indeed: 50% of women have left home by age 20 in Finland and Denmark, while the corresponding age in many Southern European countries is 27 or 28.

The next two columns show the age by which 50% of young people are living with a partner. The regional patterns are essentially the same as those for home-leaving, with partnering taking place relatively early in the Nordic and North-Western countries, and relatively late across Southern and Eastern Europe. However, the differences are not so stark in terms of the ages at which the transitions are made. In the Nordic countries, the median age at partnering is several years higher than the median age at leaving home, indicating that a prolonged period of living alone is the norm in these countries; while in the Southern and Eastern European countries, the mean ages at leaving home and partnering are much closer together, typically around only one year apart. In the case of Poland and Slovakia, partnership on average occurs *earlier* than home-leaving, indicating that it is common for young adults to remain living with their parents while they also live with a partner.

Finally, we look at the age at which young people live with their own children (columns 5 and 6 of Table 5.1). For women, this approximates well to the median age at first birth; for men, the approximation is less good, because some men father children they do not live with. Here, the pattern of cross-national variation is different, with the earliest childbearing evident in Cyprus plus the Eastern European countries; childbearing is relatively late in the Nordic cluster plus some of the North-Western countries, but latest of all in Italy and Spain, where the median age for a first birth calculated in this way is 32 for women and 36.5 and 35.5 respectively for men.

Table 5.1: Young people: transitions, and percentages living alone

	Age by which 50% of young people are living:						% of people aged 18-28 who live alone	
	Away from parental home		With a partner		With a child		Men	Women
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women		
Sweden	20.9	20.3	27.3	23.9	31.8	29.1	<b>33.1</b>	<b>23.4</b>
Finland	21.4	19.8	24.8	21.9	<b>34.3</b>	<b>30.1</b>	<b>23.1</b>	<b>21.9</b>
Denmark	20.6	19.8	26.5	24.1	<b>34.4</b>	<b>29.9</b>	<b>37.2</b>	<b>31.5</b>
Netherlands	24.1	24.1	28.0	25.4	33.1	<b>30.8</b>	<b>16.5</b>	<b>19.5</b>
UK	24.0	22.0	27.1	24.5	<b>34.6</b>	<b>29.6</b>	6.5	4.6
France	23.5	22.1	26.8	24.6	32.0	28.4	<b>17.0</b>	<b>14.9</b>
Germany	25.0	22.3	27.5	25.5	<b>34.2</b>	<b>30.9</b>	9.4	<b>17.0</b>
Austria	26.1	23.7	<b>29.7</b>	26.3	33.6	29.1	<b>12.3</b>	<b>10.0</b>
Belgium	24.4	23.3	27.3	25.1	<b>34.2</b>	29.1	<b>12.1</b>	7.4
Luxembourg	26.2	24.2	28.8	26.1	32.8	29.0	7.8	6.7
Ireland	26.5	24.1	<b>29.8</b>	<b>28.4</b>	32.9	28.0	3.0	2.4
Italy	<b>30.1</b>	<b>28.0</b>	<b>33.1</b>	<b>29.4</b>	<b>36.5</b>	<b>32.0</b>	3.9	4.2
Spain	<b>28.5</b>	<b>27.0</b>	<b>31.1</b>	<b>27.9</b>	<b>35.5</b>	<b>32.0</b>	3.5	1.6
Portugal	<b>29.1</b>	<b>27.4</b>	<b>29.9</b>	<b>27.9</b>	32.0	29.1	1.5	2.5
Greece	<b>31.8</b>	<b>27.4</b>	<b>33.6</b>	<b>28.7</b>	<b>35.6</b>	<b>30.5</b>	8.4	<b>9.0</b>
Cyprus	<b>28.3</b>	25.3	29.1	25.8	31.4	27.7	2.9	2.9
Czech Republic	27.7	25.1	28.9	25.9	31.8	27.9	4.8	3.1
Hungary	27.6	25.0	28.4	26.0	31.2	27.9	3.3	3.9
Estonia	25.1	23.0	26.9	24.6	31.0	26.1	<b>11.4</b>	8.0
Latvia	27.7	<b>25.4</b>	27.9	25.9	29.1	25.1	1.8	1.5
Lithuania	27.2	24.8	27.7	<b>26.4</b>	29.8	25.9	3.6	3.6
Slovenia	<b>30.8</b>	<b>28.0</b>	<b>31.2</b>	<b>28.4</b>	33.2	28.9	1.6	1.5
Slovakia	<b>30.3</b>	<b>27.8</b>	<b>30.0</b>	<b>27.7</b>	31.8	28.8	2.0	0.8
Poland	<b>29.1</b>	<b>26.3</b>	28.5	25.7	30.8	27.2	2.5	3.3
EU25							8.6	9.0
EU15							10.0	10.3
EU10							3.0	3.2

Note: Bold type denotes the eight highest numbers, and italic type denotes the eight lowest numbers, in each column.

The last two columns in Table 5.1 indicate the percentage of men and women aged between 18 and 28 who live alone in each country. These figures range from only a few percentage points in Slovenia, Slovakia and Poland, to over 20% in the Scandinavian countries, and over 30% for both sexes in Denmark. This reflects the difference in the median ages of leaving home and living with a partner which we mentioned before: where the gap between these two ages is small, the percentage

of young people living alone is also small, and where the gap between the two ages is large, this is reflected in a high proportion of young people living alone.

## **6. Partnerships: cohabitation and marriage**

One area in which there are substantial differences between Northern and Southern European countries is in the prevalence of cohabitation as a substitute for marriage (Kiernan 1999): non-marital cohabitation is far more common in Northern than in Southern European countries, particularly in the Nordic countries, where it is very much the norm among childless young people.

Table 6.1 shows the percentage of opposite-sex partnerships which are reported as cohabiting rather than marital partnerships in each country, for four age groups: couples where the woman is in her twenties, her thirties, her forties and her fifties. For each age group, two sets of figures are reported: the first for partnerships where there are no co-resident children, and the second for partnerships where the children of one or both partners are resident in the household. It should be noted that this is not a perfect indicator of couples who have children – many couples in their fifties, and some in their forties, will have children who have moved away from the parental home, and will thus not be counted as having children in the data.

It is clear that there is a substantial age gradient in all countries, with couples in their twenties substantially more likely to be cohabiting than couples in their forties and fifties. These figures do not allow us to separate out age effects (sample members in their twenties have not got married yet, but many will) from cohort effects (people born in the 1980s are less likely to get married, ever, than people born in the 1950s). However, some combination of these two effects is leading to a strong gradient: across the EU as a whole, 63% of childless partnerships among people in their twenties are cohabiting, compared with just 8% of childless partnerships among those in their fifties; for partnerships where children are present, the corresponding figures are 28% for those in their twenties, against 3% for those in their fifties.

A steep north-south gradient is also evident from Table 6.1. In the Nordic countries, well over half of all childless couples in their twenties and thirties are cohabiting; in the other Northern European countries, the proportion cohabiting is lower, but still high, while it is much lower in Southern Europe ranging from 7% of childless couples in their thirties in Greece to 29% in Portugal. Levels of non-marital cohabitation in the Eastern

European countries are rather heterogeneous, being as low as Southern European levels in Poland, Slovakia and Lithuania, and comparable with Nordic levels in Estonia.

*Table 6.1: Percentage of partnerships which are cohabiting rather than marital partnerships.*

	<i>Twenties</i>		<i>Thirties</i>		<i>Forties</i>		<i>Fifties</i>	
	<i>No children</i>	<i>Children</i>	<i>No children</i>	<i>Children</i>	<i>No children</i>	<i>Children</i>	<i>No children</i>	<i>Children</i>
Sweden	91.1	68.5	81.5	44.0	44.8	28.6	21.0	13.5
Finland	81.4	44.8	61.0	22.5	37.0	17.3	16.7	8.2
Denmark	81.5	52.0	61.9	21.9	29.4	13.5	10.6	8.4
Netherlands	85.5	34.2	59.5	24.3	38.2	9.1	12.0	4.9
UK	65.2	40.6	37.7	20.4	26.1	9.7	8.2	4.3
France	78.8	46.8	61.5	30.5	37.7	14.7	12.1	6.0
Germany	64.4	18.6	41.1	7.3	15.7	5.1	5.8	2.5
Austria	54.6	24.6	46.6	10.3	15.3	5.5	7.0	1.4
Belgium	67.5	45.2	45.0	18.5	27.5	10.1	8.7	4.3
Luxembourg	58.5	18.5	25.7	9.4	22.2	8.5	8.4	1.3
Ireland	67.2	50.8	37.0	8.6	9.4	3.9	4.8	1.0
Italy	22.4	16.8	23.1	7.2	16.5	4.1	3.7	2.5
Spain	51.7	29.6	27.4	9.2	20.4	3.9	4.3	2.0
Portugal	39.2	30.1	28.5	8.2	16.0	5.1	8.2	3.3
Greece	25.2	0.3	6.9	0.3	5.0	0.8	4.4	0.5
Cyprus	32.7	1.9	15.1	0.5	2.3	0.1	3.2	0.0
Czech Republic	58.4	21.7	42.0	8.7	17.9	5.8	6.9	2.1
Hungary	56.6	24.2	49.6	11.8	19.7	7.0	13.4	3.6
Estonia	76.5	53.9	74.5	35.8	29.3	16.0	16.8	12.4
Latvia	52.3	28.9	57.5	14.7	25.7	9.6	13.7	5.2
Lithuania	45.8	11.7	26.9	6.8	11.3	2.3	3.5	0.9
Slovenia	65.1	36.5	44.8	22.8	35.7	17.0	11.9	11.0
Slovakia	17.5	5.4	22.5	3.8	15.2	1.9	3.7	1.5
Poland	25.8	6.6	11.2	2.2	13.5	1.5	2.4	1.6
EU25	62.9	28.4	38.4	13.8	22.5	7.1	8.2	3.1
EU15	65.8	33.3	39.2	15.5	23.3	7.8	8.5	3.3
EU10	40.0	13.2	25.9	6.3	16.3	3.7	6.2	2.3

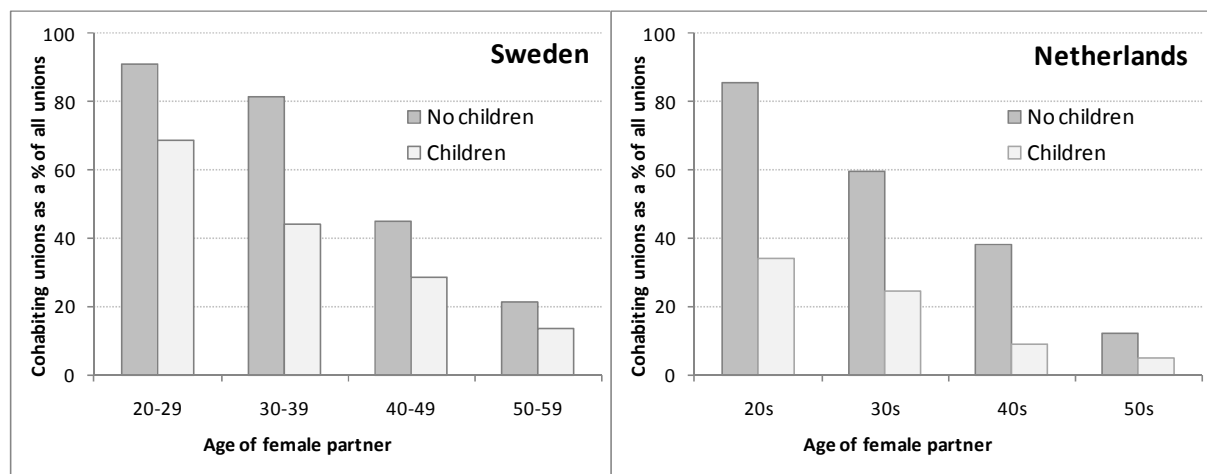
*Note: Sample consists of partnerships where the woman is aged 30-5; couples with children are defined as couples where the offspring of at least one member of the couple lives in the household. Bold type denotes the eight highest numbers, and italic type denotes the eight lowest numbers, in each column.*

There are also strong differences between couples with and without children: in all countries, for all age groups, couples with children are less likely to cohabit than couples without children, and in nearly all cases these differences are large. However,



in some countries these differences are systematically larger than in others. Figure 6.1 shows the percentage of cohabiting unions by age group for Sweden and the Netherlands. For childless couples, the percentage in cohabiting unions is somewhat higher in Sweden than in the Netherlands, but the numbers are not hugely dissimilar: 91% against 86% for those in their twenties, and 45% versus 38% for those in their forties. However, when we turn to look at couples with children, much larger differences emerge: for those their twenties with children, 69% of Swedish couples are cohabiting, compared with only 35% in the Netherlands; for people in their forties, the figures are 29% versus 9%.

Figure 6.1: Percentage of unions which are cohabiting: Sweden and the Netherlands



This difference between couples with and without children does not follow predictable regional lines. The difference does tend to be smaller where cohabitation rates are higher (Sweden, Denmark, Estonia and Slovenia) – but the difference is large in the Netherlands, Germany and Austria (where cohabitation rates are high) and also in Cyprus, Greece and Slovakia (where cohabitation rates are low).

## 7. Older people

Increasing life expectancy and declining fertility mean that the elderly are set to form a progressively larger proportion of our population over future decades. Older people's living arrangements are of key interest to policy-makers: as well as being a key determinant of older people's well-being, living arrangements are related to levels of social expenditure on elderly people.

Table 7.1 shows the proportion of older people living in four situations: alone; without a partner but with other people; with just a spouse or partner; and with a spouse or

partner plus other people. Before commenting on the table, it is worth noting that these figures relate to older people in private households: older people in institutions such as nursing homes are not sampled by the EU-SILC and are not included in this analysis.

*Table 7.1: The living arrangements of people aged 65 years and over*

	Living alone		No partner, living with other people		Living with just a partner		Living with a partner, plus other people	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Sweden	<b>28.3</b>	<b>52.8</b>	<i>1.4</i>	<i>1.8</i>	<b>67.9</b>	<b>44.7</b>	<i>2.4</i>	<i>0.8</i>
Finland	<b>21.6</b>	<b>48.0</b>	4.2	9.2	<b>66.1</b>	39.2	<i>8.1</i>	<i>3.7</i>
Denmark	<b>28.8</b>	<b>56.2</b>	<i>0.8</i>	<i>1.9</i>	<b>68.4</b>	<b>41.1</b>	<i>2.0</i>	<i>0.8</i>
Netherlands	19.2	<b>49.1</b>	<i>1.4</i>	<i>3.4</i>	<b>74.9</b>	<b>45.9</b>	<i>4.5</i>	<i>1.6</i>
UK	<b>26.3</b>	45.3	<i>3.1</i>	<i>9.1</i>	60.4	40.2	<i>10.1</i>	<i>5.4</i>
France	<b>21.4</b>	<b>48.6</b>	<i>3.9</i>	<i>7.5</i>	<b>64.7</b>	<b>40.3</b>	<i>10.1</i>	<i>3.6</i>
Germany	<b>21.8</b>	44.2	<i>1.8</i>	<i>3.8</i>	<b>71.4</b>	<b>49.8</b>	<i>4.9</i>	<i>2.2</i>
Austria	19.0	44.5	6.5	13.7	58.4	33.7	16.2	8.1
Belgium	<b>22.5</b>	<b>45.7</b>	4.2	9.1	62.4	<b>40.2</b>	<i>10.8</i>	<i>5.0</i>
Luxembourg	18.4	42.0	3.5	8.5	<b>65.8</b>	<b>43.4</b>	12.3	6.2
Ireland	<b>25.6</b>	38.5	<b>10.3</b>	21.0	50.4	34.4	13.7	6.1
Italy	<i>16.4</i>	<i>40.1</i>	6.8	18.3	<i>51.5</i>	<i>30.9</i>	<b>25.3</b>	<b>10.7</b>
Spain	<i>10.1</i>	<i>25.5</i>	<b>9.0</b>	<b>25.7</b>	49.9	32.1	<b>31.0</b>	<b>16.7</b>
Portugal	<i>10.9</i>	<i>29.8</i>	<b>8.6</b>	<b>24.6</b>	57.5	34.9	<b>23.0</b>	<b>10.8</b>
Greece	<i>7.9</i>	<i>28.7</i>	<i>4.1</i>	<i>21.7</i>	53.6	33.4	<b>34.4</b>	<b>16.3</b>
Cyprus	<i>10.3</i>	<i>28.1</i>	4.8	18.0	<b>64.6</b>	<b>44.0</b>	20.3	<b>9.9</b>
Czech Republic	17.2	41.7	4.5	19.5	64.0	33.9	14.3	4.9
Hungary	17.1	42.3	<b>7.3</b>	<b>26.7</b>	57.8	25.4	17.9	5.6
Estonia	21.1	<b>47.2</b>	5.8	<b>22.5</b>	54.9	23.3	18.2	7.0
Latvia	<i>15.1</i>	<i>34.5</i>	<b>14.1</b>	<b>36.5</b>	<i>43.2</i>	<i>18.0</i>	<b>27.7</b>	<b>10.9</b>
Lithuania	19.4	44.5	<b>8.0</b>	<b>24.1</b>	51.4	23.3	21.2	8.1
Slovenia	<i>10.8</i>	<i>38.8</i>	<b>8.4</b>	<b>22.5</b>	52.2	26.0	<b>28.6</b>	<b>12.7</b>
Slovakia	<i>14.7</i>	<b>45.3</b>	4.7	21.2	54.1	23.8	<b>26.5</b>	9.7
Poland	20.8	44.0	<b>9.3</b>	<b>25.5</b>	<i>43.9</i>	<i>20.7</i>	<b>26.1</b>	<b>9.8</b>
EU25	19.5	42.1	4.7	13.5	60.5	37.3	15.3	7.0
EU15	19.6	42.0	4.3	11.7	61.7	39.6	14.3	6.8
EU10	18.6	43.0	7.9	24.7	50.8	23.8	22.8	8.5

*Note: Bold type denotes the eight highest numbers, and italic type denotes the eight lowest numbers, in each column.*

Each set of figures is calculated separately for men and women, and the differences between the sexes are starker here than elsewhere in this report, because of differences in life expectancy between men and women, and the consequently higher proportion of elderly women who are widowed. As we mentioned in Section 1, the proportion of older people who are living with and without a partner is also related to the prevalence of divorce and separation in each country.

Two “ideal types” are visible. In the Scandinavian countries plus many Northern European countries, in particular Germany and France, the predominant living arrangement for older people is either with a spouse or partner, or alone. Typically, living in a household with anyone except a spouse or partner accounts for only 10% or less of older people.

In the Southern European countries, by contrast, it is much more common for older people to live with people other than a partner: in Spain, 42% of older women and 40% of older men live with others. This type of living arrangement is also relatively common in the new member states, particularly Latvia, Slovenia and Poland.

Using EU-SILC data it is not possible to determine the relationships of older people with the others with whom they live in every case. However, in every country, the large majority of older people who are observed living with people other than a spouse or partner, are observed living with at least one of their adult children. These are generally not the same households which form the group considered in section 5, of young adults living with their parents; in most cases, the parents in these households would be too young to be included in the analysis in this section. The relationship between these groups is worthy of further analysis. In one sense, the groups are clearly related, in that they are both composed of adults in the same household as their parents; moreover, they both tend to be found in the same groups of countries. However, there is a conceptual difference between the two household types. In the case of adult children living with their parents, it is the parental generation who may be thought of as providing support for their children; in the case of elderly people living with their adult children, the locus of support may often be the other way round, with the younger generation providing not only the majority of the income, but also an element of care for the parents.

## 8. Synthesising the differences: Factor analysis

From the figures in the preceding sections, a number of patterns have emerged. One way in which these may be synthesised is via the use of factor analysis. Principal components analysis identifies three main factors, which together explain 83% of the variation between countries in the factors explored. Factor loadings are given in Table 8.1, with the most important loadings being highlighted via shaded cells. We identify the first factor as being related to the importance of the extended family: the variables contributing positively to this factor are young adults living at home; older people co-resident with their own children, household size, and multigenerational households. Negatively related to this first factor are young adults living alone and prime-aged people living alone.

*Table 8.1: Factor loadings*

	Factor 1 – the extended family	Factor 2 – the intimate relationship	Factor 3 – childbearing
Babies living with lone parent	0.34	0.79	0.06
Children living with lone parent	0.03	0.95	0.03
Young adults living at home	0.94	0.02	-0.17
Young adults living alone	-0.89	-0.14	0.01
Prime-aged people cohabiting	-0.64	-0.02	0.49
Prime-age people divorced	0.19	0.90	-0.06
Prime-aged people living alone	-0.80	0.47	-0.21
Women aged 33-37 with no children	-0.16	-0.28	-0.87
Women aged 33-37: mean number of children	-0.12	0.09	0.93
Old people living with their own children	0.92	-0.01	-0.17
Old people living alone	-0.34	0.72	-0.14
Household size	0.74	-0.35	0.40
Multigenerational households	0.91	0.26	0.09
Proportion of variance explained	0.40	0.26	0.17

If the first factor relates to the extended family, the second factor may be thought of as relating to the stability of the intimate relationship. The only variables which are related to this factor are babies living with a lone parent; children living with a lone parent; prime-aged people who are divorced or separated (and not living with another partner) and old people living alone. This variable does appear to be related to the stability of the intimate relationship rather than to notions of social liberalism,

since cohabitation as an alternative to marriage makes no contribution to this factor at all.

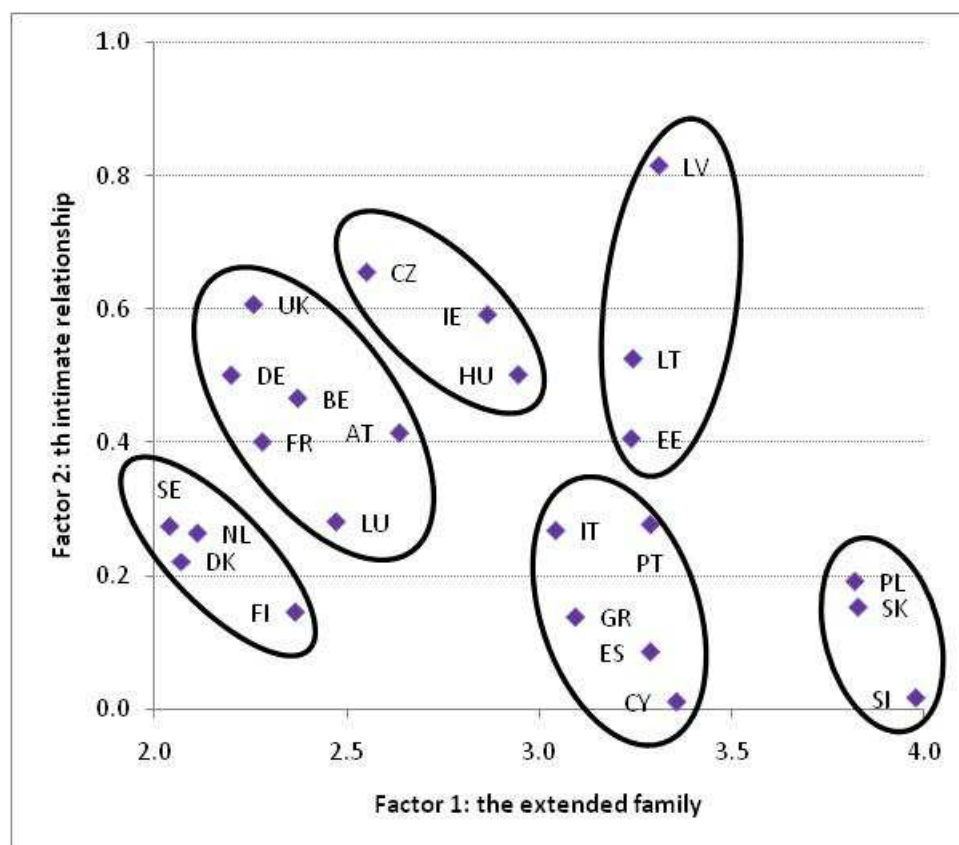
The third factor relates to fertility, with childless women making a negative contribution, and the number of children per woman making a positive contribution.

Factors 1 and 2 are plotted on Figure 8.1. Six clusters of countries have been identified. Clearly, there is no unique way of identifying these clusters – clusters towards the centre of the graph could be combined, as could the two clusters in the south-east of the graph. First, we note that the “old” EU-15 form the clusters which might have been expected based on previous research. The social-democratic countries (including the Netherlands) form one group, scoring low on both the extended family and the relationship instability axis. The Southern European countries score high on the extended family axis and low on the relationship instability axis, while the remaining countries of North-Western Europe occupy an intermediate position on the extended family axis, and score generally higher on the relationship instability axis. Ireland occupies a position slightly apart from this group, scoring almost as high on the extended family axis as the Southern European countries, and also very high on the relationship instability axis.

The new member states are rather heterogeneous. Cyprus falls very close to the other Southern European countries, which is to be expected given commonalities of geography, language and culture. Three of the Eastern European countries display similar, but more extreme, characteristics to the Southern European group, scoring even higher on the extended family axis and at similar very low levels on the relationship stability axis. These countries are Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, all of which have maintained a Catholic tradition through the Communist years (see Table 10.1 in Appendix 2).

The remaining countries include the three Baltic states – Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia – and the Czech Republic and Hungary. All these countries occupy a more “north-easterly” position on the graph than the other countries, scoring high on both the extended family and the relationship instability axes. Ireland – previously an outlier in relation to the other North-Western countries – occupies a position close to the Czech Republic and Hungary.

Figure 8.1: Clusters arising from Principal Components Analysis



These results are fairly robust to the particular variables included in the analysis. In particular, we experimented with different formulations of the variables indicating divorce, since it was unexpected (to us at least) that the Scandinavian countries, which score rather low on the relationship instability axis, while they have some of the highest divorce rates in the world. In fact, it appears that this factor does not relate to divorce *per se*, but rather to the proportion of people living alone following divorce or separation (and similarly, to the proportion of children living with an unpartnered parent following divorce or separation). It seems that the Scandinavian countries, while having high divorce rates, also have relatively high rates of subsequent repartnering, and thus have a much lower proportion of divorced or separated adults still living alone. We also explored the phenomenon of cohabitation in some detail; we had been expecting this analysis to generate a factor indicating social liberalism, which would be explained by cohabitation as well as by divorce and lone parenthood. However, we were unable to formulate any indicator of cohabitation which contributed significantly to any such factor; the second factor remained

stubbornly as an indicator of partnership breakdown without subsequent re-partnering.

## **9. Conclusions**

In this paper, we have mapped a range of indicators of household structure across the expanded European Union. One of our main aims has been to focus particularly on the newer member states of the EU, and to assess the extent to which household structures in these countries display similarities and differences to household structures in the “old” EU-15.

Of the new member states, we find that Cyprus is extremely similar to the Southern European countries, as might be expected with reference to cultural, geographic and religious factors. We also find that there is a great deal of heterogeneity among the Eastern European countries. One group of countries – Slovenia, Slovakia and Poland – are consistently very similar to the Southern European countries. In these three countries, the extended family is the norm: young adults leave home late, older people often live with their adult children, three-generational households are common, and lone-parent families are relatively uncommon. In terms of mapping onto a geographical/religious spectrum, Slovenia is the only one of these countries which is geographically Southern, but all three of these countries remain strongly Catholic or Orthodox.

The Czech Republic and Hungary, by contrast, have more in common with the countries of the North-Western cluster. On a large number of indicators, these countries occupy an intermediate position between the Nordic cluster on the one hand, and the Southern/Catholic cluster on the other; and in the factor analysis, they occupy a position close to the other countries of the North-Western cluster – particularly Ireland.

Of the Eastern European countries, it is in the Baltic countries where family patterns diverge most widely from the geographical/religious spectrum. These countries display a number of features in common with the Southern European countries; chiefly, a large number of large and multigenerational households. However, they also display a number of striking dissimilarities with the Southern European countries, particularly in terms of the very large numbers of lone-parent families, and other single-adult households. In many respects, the Baltic states are very

heterogeneous: for example, non-marital cohabitation is much more common in Estonia, and very much less common in Lithuania; while lone parenthood and multi-generational households are more common in Latvia than in the other two Baltic states.

In this paper we have answered a number of questions, but these in turn raise further questions. One question, which we raised in Section 6, relates to the nature of multi-generational households. We have shown that, in a swathe of countries across Southern and much of Eastern Europe, co-residence between generations is very common, particularly so in contrast to the Nordic group of countries, where it is extremely unusual. We have shown that this co-residence is manifested both by young adults remaining in the parental household, but also by older people living with their adult children. The question which this raises, and which in this analysis we have not yet been able to answer, is whether the second household type is merely a persistent form of the first (ie, that the young adults whom we see living with their parents become the same prime-age adults who live with their elderly parents) or whether the two household types are in fact drawn from different social groups.

Two other questions also arise relating to multi-generational households. The first is the extent to which they arise as a result of social and cultural preferences (people actually like living with other family members, and make a positive choice to do this) as opposed to arising as a result of economic constraints (young people who would like to leave the parental home but cannot afford to; or older people who cannot afford to live alone). There is limited evidence to suggest that in Southern European countries, at least part of young people's extended residence in the parental home arises from preferences (Manacorda and Moretti 2006). However, this has not been systematically addressed for other age groups, or across the new member states.

Another question which we might pose in relation to multi-generational households is the degree to which individuals are supporting each other, both economically and in other ways, by living together. The assumption tends to be that when young adults are living with their parents, it is the parents who are supporting the young adults; while when very elderly individuals are living with their adult offspring, it is the elderly people who are receiving that support. However, this too has not been systematically tested, particularly in the context of the expanded European Union.



Finally, the picture we have presented has been essentially static: we have not addressed the important issue of how household structures are evolving (Billari et al 2002). We are unable to answer this question definitively with the cross-sectional data we have at our disposal; however, we may make inferences based on evidence drawn from elsewhere. As far as attitudes are concerned, there is some evidence that these are converging across Europe, with smaller between-country differences among younger people than their parents. Rosina and Fabroni (2004) find that although marriage remains the predominant route out of the parental home in Italy, cohabitation is becoming more prevalent and is set to increase further. Billari (2005) investigates trends in a range of indicators, concluding that there is limited evidence of general convergence in attitudes and behaviours, but that on a number of indicators, convergence is apparent. A further clue towards the evolution of living patterns lies in the fact that incomes in the new Eastern European member states are growing faster than those in the “old” EU-15 (Van Kerm, 2009). To the extent that behaviour is driven by economic factors – for example, to the extent that inter-generational co-residence is driven by economic constraints – this suggests that again, we may observe a degree of convergence in living arrangements between the countries of the expanded European Union.

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## 11. Appendix I

In this appendix we present full versions of the tables presented earlier, complete with standard errors.

*Table A3.1a: Characteristics of households*

Country	N	Single adult <65	S.E.	Single adult 65+	S.E.	Couple both <65	S.E.	Couple, at least one 65+	S.E.	Other, no under- 18s	S.E.	Single adult with children	S.E.	Two or more adults with children	S.E.
SE	7172	0.240	0.0050	0.156	0.0043	0.166	0.0044	0.118	0.0038	0.057	0.0027	0.042	0.0024	0.220	0.0049
FI	10624	0.256	0.0042	0.130	0.0033	0.197	0.0039	0.101	0.0029	0.075	0.0026	0.034	0.0017	0.208	0.0039
DK	5782	0.302	0.0060	0.140	0.0046	0.165	0.0049	0.099	0.0039	0.044	0.0027	0.048	0.0028	0.202	0.0053
NL	10218	0.235	0.0042	0.117	0.0032	0.170	0.0037	0.111	0.0031	0.100	0.0030	0.028	0.0016	0.239	0.0042
UK	9272	0.167	0.0039	0.136	0.0036	0.166	0.0039	0.103	0.0032	0.128	0.0035	0.054	0.0023	0.247	0.0045
FR	10498	0.200	0.0039	0.142	0.0034	0.159	0.0036	0.112	0.0031	0.110	0.0031	0.035	0.0018	0.242	0.0042
DE	14146	0.244	0.0036	0.140	0.0029	0.147	0.0030	0.142	0.0029	0.115	0.0027	0.031	0.0015	0.181	0.0032
AT	6805	0.217	0.0050	0.134	0.0041	0.125	0.0040	0.102	0.0037	0.158	0.0044	0.035	0.0022	0.230	0.0051
BE	6348	0.206	0.0051	0.135	0.0043	0.156	0.0046	0.104	0.0038	0.134	0.0043	0.038	0.0024	0.227	0.0053
LU	3884	0.180	0.0062	0.109	0.0050	0.137	0.0055	0.104	0.0049	0.149	0.0057	0.024	0.0024	0.297	0.0073
IE	5608	0.113	0.0042	0.101	0.0040	0.095	0.0039	0.072	0.0035	0.205	0.0054	0.071	0.0034	0.344	0.0063
IT	20979	0.141	0.0024	0.150	0.0025	0.085	0.0019	0.111	0.0022	0.242	0.0030	0.019	0.0010	0.251	0.0030
ES	12321	0.086	0.0025	0.087	0.0025	0.122	0.0030	0.100	0.0027	0.292	0.0041	0.011	0.0010	0.302	0.0041
PT	4310	0.063	0.0037	0.106	0.0047	0.095	0.0045	0.121	0.0050	0.265	0.0067	0.020	0.0021	0.330	0.0072
GR	5642	0.103	0.0041	0.097	0.0039	0.088	0.0038	0.123	0.0044	0.299	0.0061	0.010	0.0013	0.280	0.0060
CY	3505	0.089	0.0048	0.072	0.0044	0.096	0.0050	0.119	0.0055	0.253	0.0073	0.019	0.0023	0.354	0.0081
CZ	9672	0.124	0.0033	0.114	0.0032	0.144	0.0036	0.099	0.0030	0.222	0.0042	0.029	0.0017	0.267	0.0045
HU	8669	0.115	0.0034	0.128	0.0036	0.128	0.0036	0.086	0.0030	0.226	0.0045	0.032	0.0019	0.286	0.0049
EE	5142	0.183	0.0054	0.154	0.0050	0.111	0.0044	0.078	0.0037	0.190	0.0055	0.042	0.0028	0.242	0.0060
LV	4470	0.128	0.0050	0.124	0.0049	0.085	0.0042	0.065	0.0037	0.257	0.0065	0.040	0.0029	0.301	0.0069
LT	4975	0.121	0.0046	0.149	0.0050	0.096	0.0042	0.079	0.0038	0.219	0.0059	0.038	0.0027	0.298	0.0065
SI	8694	0.090	0.0031	0.118	0.0035	0.077	0.0029	0.088	0.0030	0.308	0.0050	0.020	0.0015	0.299	0.0049
SK	4939	0.114	0.0045	0.131	0.0048	0.080	0.0039	0.079	0.0038	0.301	0.0065	0.013	0.0016	0.282	0.0064
PL	14286	0.113	0.0026	0.134	0.0028	0.100	0.0025	0.066	0.0021	0.246	0.0036	0.018	0.0011	0.324	0.0039

*Table A3.1b: Household size*

Country	Individual level		Household level	
	Mean household size	S.E.	Mean household size	S.E.
SE	2.8	0.0106	2.1	0.0145
FI	2.9	0.0097	2.1	0.0123
DK	2.7	0.0114	2.0	0.0157
NL	3.0	0.0090	2.3	0.0129
UK	3.1	0.0098	2.4	0.0134
FR	3.0	0.0093	2.3	0.0127
DE	2.7	0.0075	2.1	0.0098
AT	3.1	0.0118	2.3	0.0165
BE	3.1	0.0128	2.3	0.0171
LU	3.1	0.0128	2.5	0.0206
IE	3.6	0.0134	2.8	0.0201
IT	3.1	0.0056	2.4	0.0087
ES	3.3	0.0066	2.8	0.0111
PT	3.3	0.0121	2.8	0.0193
GR	3.3	0.0102	2.7	0.0164
CY	3.6	0.0127	2.9	0.0227
CZ	3.1	0.0087	2.5	0.0128
HU	3.3	0.0101	2.6	0.0148
EE	3.1	0.0123	2.3	0.0183
LV	3.4	0.0157	2.6	0.0216
LT	3.3	0.0135	2.6	0.0197
SI	3.5	0.0085	2.8	0.0149
SK	3.7	0.0139	2.8	0.0221
PL	3.8	0.0087	2.8	0.0135

Table A4.1: Childlessness and number of children

Country	Proportion of women aged 33-37 who are childless			Proportion of households where children are present with:								
	N	p	S.E.	N	1 child	S.E.	2 children	S.E.	3 children	S.E.	4 children	S.E.
SE	612	0.192	0.0159	2,455	0.433	0.0100	0.406	0.0099	0.128	0.0067	0.033	0.0036
FI	706	0.309	0.0174	3528	0.427	0.0083	0.392	0.0082	0.135	0.0058	0.046	0.0035
DK	509	0.221	0.0184	2102	0.413	0.0107	0.434	0.0108	0.125	0.0072	0.028	0.0036
NL	1013	0.271	0.0140	3598	0.388	0.0081	0.427	0.0082	0.141	0.0058	0.044	0.0034
UK	799	0.304	0.0163	2808	0.460	0.0094	0.396	0.0092	0.107	0.0058	0.037	0.0036
FR	898	0.237	0.0142	3383	0.453	0.0086	0.399	0.0084	0.116	0.0055	0.032	0.0030
DE	935	0.315	0.0152	3,644	0.486	0.0083	0.395	0.0081	0.090	0.0047	0.030	0.0028
AT	640	0.261	0.0174	2,114	0.501	0.0109	0.372	0.0105	0.102	0.0066	0.024	0.0033
BE	553	0.268	0.0188	1,959	0.445	0.0112	0.368	0.0109	0.137	0.0078	0.050	0.0049
LU	446	0.233	0.0200	1,544	0.448	0.0127	0.460	0.0127	0.081	0.0069	0.012	0.0028
IE	363	0.158	0.0191	1,604	0.438	0.0124	0.352	0.0119	0.160	0.0092	0.050	0.0055
IT	1990	0.342	0.0106	5,664	0.552	0.0066	0.379	0.0064	0.061	0.0032	0.008	0.0012
ES	1293	0.334	0.0131	4,076	0.552	0.0078	0.399	0.0077	0.039	0.0030	0.009	0.0015
PT	337	0.164	0.0202	1,315	0.614	0.0134	0.337	0.0130	0.040	0.0054	0.009	0.0027
GR	528	0.250	0.0188	1,574	0.464	0.0126	0.479	0.0126	0.043	0.0051	0.013	0.0029
CY	388	0.173	0.0192	1,314	0.425	0.0136	0.468	0.0138	0.085	0.0077	0.022	0.0041
CZ	821	0.107	0.0108	2,610	0.534	0.0098	0.396	0.0096	0.060	0.0046	0.011	0.0020
HU	775	0.126	0.0119	2,561	0.495	0.0099	0.369	0.0095	0.105	0.0060	0.031	0.0034
EE	423	0.155	0.0176	1,802	0.580	0.0116	0.329	0.0111	0.075	0.0062	0.015	0.0029
LV	333	0.152	0.0196	1,331	0.628	0.0132	0.295	0.0125	0.057	0.0064	0.019	0.0038
LT	347	0.071	0.0138	1428	0.597	0.0130	0.314	0.0123	0.068	0.0067	0.021	0.0038
SI	786	0.124	0.0118	2899	0.497	0.0093	0.415	0.0091	0.072	0.0048	0.016	0.0024
SK	429	0.155	0.0175	1565	0.537	0.0126	0.360	0.0121	0.083	0.0070	0.020	0.0035
PL	1317	0.168	0.0103	5336	0.535	0.0068	0.352	0.0065	0.086	0.0038	0.027	0.0022

Table A4.2: The living situation of children

Country	Proportion of children living with:									Proportion of children in multigenerational h/holds		
	0 parents			1 parent		2 parents, cohabiting		2 parents, married		N	p	S.E.
	N	p	S.E.	p	S.E.	p	S.E.	p	S.E.			
SE	4795	0.013	0.0016	0.176	0.0055	0.305	0.0067	0.505	0.0072	4795	0.003	0.0008
FI	7257	0.009	0.0011	0.144	0.0041	0.158	0.0043	0.689	0.0054	7257	0.006	0.0009
DK	4044	0.015	0.0019	0.179	0.0060	0.151	0.0056	0.656	0.0075	4044	0.004	0.0010
NL	7069	0.003	0.0007	0.111	0.0037	0.131	0.0040	0.755	0.0051	7069	0.003	0.0007
UK	5304	0.014	0.0016	0.215	0.0056	0.126	0.0046	0.645	0.0066	5304	0.034	0.0025
FR	6507	0.009	0.0012	0.135	0.0042	0.210	0.0051	0.645	0.0059	6507	0.018	0.0017
DE	6409	0.013	0.0014	0.150	0.0045	0.055	0.0028	0.782	0.0052	6409	0.009	0.0012
AT	3812	0.021	0.0023	0.143	0.0057	0.074	0.0042	0.761	0.0069	3812	0.075	0.0043
BE	3737	0.025	0.0026	0.162	0.0060	0.137	0.0056	0.677	0.0077	3737	0.022	0.0024
LU	2825	0.003	0.0010	0.102	0.0057	0.069	0.0048	0.826	0.0071	2825	0.028	0.0031
IE	3398	0.019	0.0023	0.243	0.0074	0.059	0.0041	0.679	0.0080	3398	0.045	0.0036
IT	9328	0.008	0.0009	0.102	0.0031	0.052	0.0023	0.839	0.0038	9328	0.050	0.0022
ES	6866	0.012	0.0013	0.072	0.0031	0.079	0.0032	0.837	0.0045	6866	0.058	0.0028
PT	2084	0.029	0.0037	0.117	0.0070	0.098	0.0065	0.755	0.0094	2084	0.116	0.0070
GR	2801	0.012	0.0021	0.053	0.0042	0.012	0.0020	0.923	0.0050	2801	0.065	0.0047
CY	2591	0.007	0.0016	0.072	0.0051	0.006	0.0015	0.915	0.0055	2591	0.030	0.0033
CZ	4465	0.006	0.0011	0.149	0.0053	0.082	0.0041	0.763	0.0064	4465	0.077	0.0040
HU	4545	0.008	0.0013	0.154	0.0054	0.099	0.0044	0.739	0.0065	4545	0.116	0.0048
EE	3301	0.019	0.0023	0.218	0.0072	0.239	0.0074	0.525	0.0087	3301	0.120	0.0057
LV	2231	0.033	0.0038	0.271	0.0094	0.141	0.0074	0.555	0.0105	2231	0.244	0.0091
LT	2412	0.020	0.0028	0.181	0.0078	0.061	0.0049	0.738	0.0090	2412	0.145	0.0072
SI	5117	0.006	0.0011	0.104	0.0043	0.195	0.0055	0.694	0.0064	5117	0.137	0.0048
SK	2870	0.011	0.0019	0.106	0.0057	0.037	0.0035	0.847	0.0067	2870	0.176	0.0071
PL	9700	0.008	0.0009	0.110	0.0032	0.092	0.0029	0.790	0.0041	9700	0.220	0.0042

*Table A5.1: Young people living alone*

Country	Proportion of people aged 18-28 who live alone					
	Men			Women		
	N	p	S.E.	N	p	S.E.
SE	1,348	0.330714	0.0128	1,206	0.23426	0.0122
FI	1,929	0.230597	0.0096	1,579	0.21949	0.0104
DK	745	0.37206	0.0177	736	0.31526	0.0171
NL	1,241	0.165271	0.0105	1,179	0.1954	0.0115
UK	1,090	0.06514	0.0075	1,234	0.04586	0.0060
FR	1,728	0.170052	0.0090	1,725	0.14869	0.0086
DE	1,610	0.094473	0.0073	1,673	0.17015	0.0092
AT	1,023	0.12325	0.0103	1,058	0.10008	0.0092
BE	1,005	0.121282	0.0103	1,049	0.07411	0.0081
LU	718	0.077702	0.0100	793	0.06674	0.0089
IE	781	0.029869	0.0061	791	0.02421	0.0055
IT	3,040	0.039445	0.0035	3,086	0.0417	0.0036
ES	2,459	0.035097	0.0037	2,306	0.01583	0.0026
PT	818	0.015298	0.0043	723	0.02473	0.0058
GR	954	0.083794	0.0090	913	0.08994	0.0095
CY	918	0.029191	0.0056	863	0.02921	0.0057
CZ	1,564	0.047953	0.0054	1,542	0.03116	0.0044
HU	1,555	0.033393	0.0046	1,499	0.03941	0.0050
EE	1,347	0.114354	0.0087	1,248	0.08021	0.0077
LV	863	0.017651	0.0045	784	0.01456	0.0043
LT	852	0.035606	0.0063	788	0.03599	0.0066
SI	2,925	0.015813	0.0023	2,618	0.01474	0.0024
SK	1,551	0.020009	0.0036	1,496	0.00805	0.0023
PL	3,687	0.024534	0.0025	3,505	0.03324	0.0030



Table A6.1: Proportion of partnerships which are cohabiting rather than marital partnerships.

Country	Twenties						Thirties					
	no children			children			no children			children		
	N	p	S.E.	N	p	S.E.	N	p	S.E.	N	p	S.E.
<b>SE</b>	336	0.911	0.0155	199	0.685	0.0329	159	0.814	0.0308	874	0.440	0.0168
<b>FI</b>	441	0.814	0.0185	287	0.448	0.0294	226	0.610	0.0324	1068	0.225	0.0128
<b>DK</b>	223	0.815	0.0260	109	0.520	0.0479	116	0.619	0.0451	734	0.219	0.0153
<b>NL</b>	308	0.855	0.0201	188	0.342	0.0346	261	0.595	0.0304	1376	0.243	0.0116
<b>UK</b>	282	0.652	0.0284	230	0.406	0.0324	233	0.377	0.0318	880	0.204	0.0136
<b>FR</b>	390	0.788	0.0207	288	0.468	0.0294	152	0.615	0.0395	1205	0.305	0.0133
<b>DE</b>	262	0.644	0.0296	199	0.186	0.0276	243	0.411	0.0316	1166	0.073	0.0076
<b>AT</b>	134	0.546	0.0430	197	0.246	0.0307	109	0.466	0.0478	774	0.103	0.0109
<b>BE</b>	240	0.675	0.0302	192	0.452	0.0359	134	0.450	0.0430	672	0.185	0.0150
<b>LU</b>	181	0.585	0.0366	245	0.185	0.0248	145	0.257	0.0363	631	0.094	0.0116
<b>IE</b>	55	0.672	0.0633	66	0.508	0.0615	69	0.370	0.0581	397	0.085	0.0140
<b>IT</b>	271	0.224	0.0253	350	0.168	0.0200	459	0.231	0.0197	2098	0.071	0.0056
<b>ES</b>	262	0.517	0.0309	268	0.296	0.0279	363	0.274	0.0234	1482	0.092	0.0075
<b>PT</b>	67	0.392	0.0596	92	0.301	0.0478	53	0.285	0.0620	485	0.082	0.0125
<b>GR</b>	80	0.252	0.0486	155	0.003	0.0045	85	0.069	0.0275	723	0.003	0.0020
<b>CY</b>	103	0.327	0.0462	153	0.019	0.0111	46	0.150	0.0527	499	0.005	0.0033
<b>CZ</b>	197	0.584	0.0351	360	0.217	0.0217	80	0.420	0.0552	1203	0.087	0.0081
<b>HU</b>	209	0.566	0.0343	335	0.242	0.0234	97	0.496	0.0508	1127	0.118	0.0096
<b>EE</b>	113	0.765	0.0399	238	0.539	0.0323	30	0.744	0.0796	583	0.358	0.0199
<b>LV</b>	51	0.523	0.0699	177	0.289	0.0341	25	0.575	0.0989	384	0.147	0.0181
<b>LT</b>	46	0.458	0.0735	142	0.117	0.0270	25	0.269	0.0887	494	0.068	0.0114
<b>SI</b>	132	0.651	0.0415	248	0.365	0.0306	88	0.448	0.0530	1187	0.227	0.0122
<b>SK</b>	98	0.175	0.0384	182	0.054	0.0168	38	0.225	0.0677	612	0.038	0.0077
<b>PL</b>	267	0.258	0.0268	789	0.066	0.0088	115	0.112	0.0294	1949	0.022	0.0033

cont/d

Table A6.1: Proportion of partnerships which are cohabiting rather than marital partnerships (cont/d)

Country	Forties						Fifties					
	no children			children			no children			children		
	N	p	S.E.	N	p	S.E.	N	p	S.E.	N	p	S.E.
SE	151	0.448	0.0405	1024	0.285	0.0141	567	0.210	0.0171	394	0.135	0.0172
FI	282	0.370	0.0288	1616	0.173	0.0094	1,131	0.167	0.0111	845	0.082	0.0094
DK	145	0.294	0.0378	995	0.135	0.0108	660	0.106	0.0120	299	0.084	0.0161
NL	324	0.382	0.0270	1667	0.091	0.0070	983	0.120	0.0104	558	0.049	0.0092
UK	253	0.261	0.0276	1043	0.097	0.0092	676	0.082	0.0106	428	0.043	0.0098
FR	189	0.377	0.0352	1384	0.147	0.0095	786	0.121	0.0116	594	0.060	0.0097
DE	434	0.157	0.0174	1735	0.051	0.0053	1,121	0.058	0.0070	673	0.025	0.0060
AT	194	0.153	0.0259	882	0.055	0.0077	464	0.070	0.0119	383	0.014	0.0060
BE	140	0.275	0.0377	734	0.101	0.0111	453	0.087	0.0132	348	0.043	0.0109
LU	104	0.222	0.0408	479	0.085	0.0127	225	0.084	0.0185	262	0.012	0.0069
IE	103	0.094	0.0287	641	0.039	0.0076	275	0.048	0.0129	403	0.010	0.0049
IT	333	0.165	0.0203	2910	0.041	0.0037	773	0.037	0.0068	2009	0.025	0.0035
ES	197	0.204	0.0287	2083	0.039	0.0042	504	0.043	0.0090	1278	0.020	0.0039
PT	72	0.160	0.0432	672	0.051	0.0085	282	0.082	0.0164	441	0.033	0.0085
GR	119	0.050	0.0200	748	0.008	0.0033	300	0.044	0.0119	514	0.005	0.0030
CY	34	0.023	0.0257	643	0.001	0.0013	198	0.031	0.0124	344	0.000	0.0000
CZ	136	0.179	0.0329	928	0.058	0.0077	843	0.069	0.0087	556	0.021	0.0061
HU	141	0.197	0.0335	915	0.07	0.0084	647	0.134	0.0134	643	0.036	0.0074
EE	91	0.293	0.0477	811	0.16	0.0129	314	0.168	0.0211	374	0.124	0.0170
LV	106	0.257	0.0425	434	0.096	0.0141	241	0.137	0.0221	234	0.052	0.0145
LT	135	0.112	0.0272	686	0.023	0.0057	407	0.035	0.0091	340	0.009	0.0052
SI	104	0.357	0.0470	2053	0.17	0.0083	432	0.119	0.0156	1446	0.110	0.0082
SK	46	0.152	0.0529	974	0.019	0.0044	240	0.037	0.0122	600	0.015	0.0050
PL	246	0.135	0.0218	2156	0.015	0.0026	943	0.024	0.0050	1645	0.016	0.0030

Table A7.1a: The living arrangements of people aged 65 years and over (men)

Country	N	Living alone	S.E.	No partner, living with other people	S.E.	Living with just a partner	S.E.	Living with a partner, plus other people	S.E.
SE	1184	0.283	0.0131	0.014	0.0034	0.679	0.0136	0.024	0.0044
FI	1454	0.216	0.0108	0.042	0.0052	0.661	0.0124	0.081	0.0072
DK	907	0.288	0.0150	0.008	0.0030	0.684	0.0154	0.020	0.0046
NL	1329	0.192	0.0108	0.014	0.0032	0.749	0.0119	0.045	0.0057
UK	1842	0.263	0.0103	0.031	0.0040	0.604	0.0114	0.101	0.0070
FR	1792	0.214	0.0097	0.038	0.0045	0.647	0.0113	0.101	0.0071
DE	3147	0.218	0.0074	0.018	0.0024	0.714	0.0081	0.049	0.0039
AT	1207	0.190	0.0113	0.064	0.0071	0.584	0.0142	0.162	0.0106
BE	1072	0.225	0.0128	0.042	0.0061	0.624	0.0148	0.108	0.0095
LU	469	0.184	0.0179	0.035	0.0085	0.658	0.0219	0.123	0.0152
IE	1298	0.256	0.0121	0.103	0.0084	0.504	0.0139	0.137	0.0095
IT	4749	0.164	0.0054	0.068	0.0037	0.515	0.0073	0.253	0.0063
ES	2678	0.101	0.0058	0.090	0.0055	0.499	0.0097	0.310	0.0089
PT	1018	0.109	0.0098	0.085	0.0087	0.577	0.0155	0.229	0.0132
GR	1444	0.079	0.0071	0.041	0.0052	0.536	0.0131	0.344	0.0125
CY	708	0.103	0.0114	0.048	0.0081	0.646	0.0180	0.203	0.0151
CZ	1732	0.172	0.0091	0.045	0.0050	0.640	0.0115	0.143	0.0084
HU	1359	0.171	0.0102	0.073	0.0071	0.578	0.0134	0.179	0.0104
EE	845	0.211	0.0140	0.058	0.0080	0.549	0.0171	0.182	0.0133
LV	793	0.151	0.0127	0.140	0.0123	0.432	0.0176	0.277	0.0159
LT	1087	0.194	0.0120	0.080	0.0082	0.514	0.0152	0.212	0.0124
SI	1625	0.108	0.0077	0.084	0.0069	0.522	0.0124	0.286	0.0112
SK	727	0.147	0.0131	0.047	0.0079	0.541	0.0185	0.265	0.0164
PL	2361	0.207	0.0083	0.093	0.0060	0.439	0.0102	0.261	0.0090

Table A7.1b: The living arrangements of people aged 65 years and over (women)

Country	N	Living alone	S.E.	No partner, living with other people	S.E.	Living with just a partner	S.E.	Living with a partner, plus other people	S.E.
SE	1263	0.528	0.0140	0.018	0.0037	0.447	0.0140	0.008	0.0024
FI	1658	0.480	0.0123	0.092	0.0071	0.392	0.0120	0.037	0.0046
DK	941	0.562	0.0162	0.019	0.0044	0.411	0.0160	0.008	0.0028
NL	1475	0.490	0.0130	0.034	0.0047	0.459	0.0130	0.016	0.0033
UK	2091	0.453	0.0109	0.091	0.0063	0.402	0.0107	0.054	0.0050
FR	2211	0.486	0.0106	0.075	0.0056	0.403	0.0104	0.035	0.0039
DE	3395	0.442	0.0085	0.038	0.0033	0.498	0.0086	0.022	0.0025
AT	1554	0.445	0.0126	0.137	0.0087	0.337	0.0120	0.081	0.0069
BE	1210	0.457	0.0143	0.091	0.0083	0.402	0.0141	0.050	0.0062
LU	471	0.420	0.0227	0.085	0.0128	0.434	0.0228	0.062	0.0111
IE	1598	0.385	0.0122	0.210	0.0102	0.344	0.0119	0.061	0.0060
IT	6338	0.401	0.0062	0.183	0.0049	0.309	0.0058	0.107	0.0039
ES	3488	0.255	0.0074	0.257	0.0074	0.321	0.0079	0.167	0.0063
PT	1469	0.298	0.0119	0.245	0.0112	0.349	0.0124	0.108	0.0081
GR	1787	0.286	0.0107	0.217	0.0098	0.333	0.0112	0.163	0.0087
CY	816	0.281	0.0157	0.180	0.0135	0.440	0.0174	0.099	0.0105
CZ	2480	0.417	0.0099	0.195	0.0080	0.339	0.0095	0.049	0.0043
HU	2426	0.423	0.0100	0.267	0.0090	0.254	0.0088	0.056	0.0047
EE	1445	0.472	0.0131	0.225	0.0110	0.233	0.0111	0.070	0.0067
LV	1647	0.345	0.0117	0.365	0.0119	0.180	0.0095	0.109	0.0077
LT	1660	0.445	0.0122	0.241	0.0105	0.233	0.0104	0.081	0.0067
SI	2182	0.388	0.0104	0.225	0.0089	0.260	0.0094	0.127	0.0071
SK	1163	0.453	0.0146	0.212	0.0120	0.238	0.0125	0.097	0.0087
PL	3567	0.440	0.0083	0.255	0.0073	0.207	0.0068	0.098	0.0050

## 12. Appendix II

In this appendix, we present figures which do not relate directly to the analysis in the paper, but which are useful for its interpretation.

Table 12.1

	% Catholic or Orthodox (1)	National service for young men – months (2)
Sweden	2	11-15 (<20% conscripted)
Finland	1	6-12
Denmark	1	4
Netherlands	31	-
UK	8	-
France	85	-
Germany	34	9
Austria	74	6
Belgium	75	-
Luxembourg	87	-
Ireland	88	-
Italy	90	-
Spain	94	-
Portugal	94	-
Greece	98	9-12
Cyprus	78	25
Czech Republic	36	-
Hungary	55	-
Estonia	14	8-11
Latvia	32	-
Lithuania	83	-
Slovenia	60	-
Slovakia	73	-
Poland	91	-

Source: (1) Nationmaster website <http://www.nationmaster.com> (2) Wikipedia [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military\\_service](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Military_service)

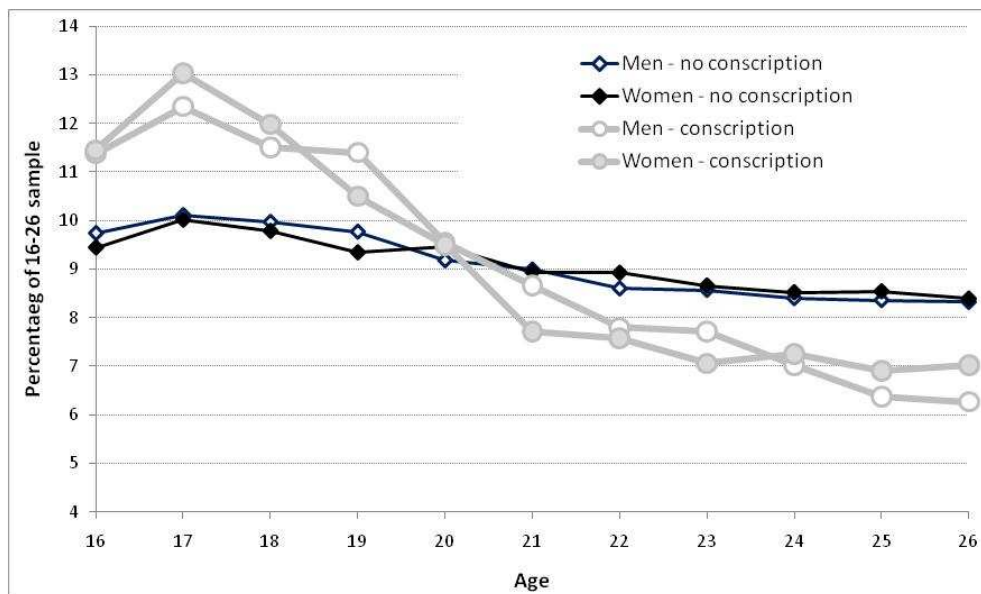
Below, we also present some simple analysis to assess the impact of national service and living in student accommodation on the presence of young people in the EU-SILC sample. While it is likely that older people living in institutional accommodation are unlikely to be reported as living at a private address in a survey such as EU-SILC, it is likely that some younger people temporarily living away for reasons of study or military service might be reported by their families as still living in the household, particularly if they still return home frequently.

First, we consider military service. As shown in Table 12.1, eight of the countries require young men to engage in national service; typically, this becomes an obligation on leaving secondary education aged 18 or 19, although in most cases it

may be deferred for reasons including study or family obligations. Because conscription only affects young men (in some countries women are allowed to register for national service, but in these cases women volunteer only in small numbers), then if young men engaged in military service are systematically missing from the survey, we should observe a substantial difference in the numbers of men and women in the survey at the ages when young men are most likely to be engaged in military service.

Figure 12.1 takes as a sample all people aged between 16 and 26 and plots the (unweighted) age distribution within this group for men and women separately. The thick grey lines on the chart plots the distribution for the countries where conscription takes place (excluding Sweden, where only a minority of men are conscripted). The black line plots the distribution for all other countries. If young men engaged in national service were systematically missing from the sample, we would observe a much smaller percentage of men over the age range concerned (18 to 19 years) in the relevant countries. In fact, there is no evidence of this: men are very slightly under-represented at ages 17 and 18, but they are slightly over-represented at age 19. We have repeated this exercise for all countries where conscription occurs, and there is no evidence that young men are systematically missing from the household grid at these ages. It is possible that it is more difficult to *interview* young men engaged in national service, but it appears that they are being reported by their families as living at home.

Figure 12.1: the age distribution of the EU-SILC sample.



We repeat the exercise to assess the degree to which students are missing from the EU-SILC data, plotting four countries: Italy, where home-leaving is late and where it is unusual for students to live in college accommodation; and France, the UK and Denmark, where home-leaving is earlier and where stays in college accommodation are more common (Figure 12.2). In countries where stays in university residential accommodation are the norm, they tend to be most common between ages 18 and 20, and are progressively less common up to the mid-twenties. Thus, if the problem were that young people living at private addresses had a high probability of being

sampled, while young people at institutional addresses had a very low probability of being sampled, we would expect the graphs to dip steeply at ages 18 to 20, and to rise thereafter. In fact, in Denmark we observe a steep decline in the graph between ages 17 and 23, with no subsequent rise. In the UK, we observe a more moderate decline after age 17, and only a very modest rise towards the mid-twenties. This suggests that there *is* an issue with younger people being under-sampled, but that this issue arises only partly because of stays in institutional accommodation, and that a factor at least equally important is that young people living in their own private households are less likely to participate in surveys than their parents' generation.

Figure 12.2: age distribution for four countries.

