



J-P GONNOT

Scientific Reports

NUMBER 67 DECEMBER 1984

JACK HAREWOOD

**Mating and Fertility: Results from Three
WFS Surveys in Guyana, Jamaica and
Trinidad and Tobago**

INTERNATIONAL STATISTICAL INSTITUTE
Permanent Office. Director: E. Lunenberg

Mailing Address:
428 Prinses Beatrixlaan, PO Box 950
2270 AZ Voorburg
Netherlands

WORLD FERTILITY SURVEY
Project Director: Halvor Gille

The World Fertility Survey is an international research programme whose purpose is to assess the current state of human fertility throughout the world. This is being done principally through promoting and supporting nationally representative, internationally comparable, and scientifically designed and conducted sample surveys of fertility behaviour in as many countries as possible.

The WFS is being undertaken, with the collaboration of the United Nations, by the International Statistical Institute in cooperation with the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population. Financial support is provided principally by the United Nations Fund for Population Activities and the United States Agency for International Development.

This publication is part of the WFS Publications Programme which includes the WFS Basic Documentation, Occasional Papers and auxiliary publications. For further information on the WFS, write to the Information Office, International Statistical Institute, 428 Prinses Beatrixlaan, Voorburg, The Hague, Netherlands.

L'Enquête Mondiale sur la Fécondité (EMF) est un programme international de recherche dont le but est d'évaluer l'état actuel de la fécondité humaine dans le monde. Afin d'atteindre cet objectif, des enquêtes par sondage sur la fécondité sont mises en oeuvre et financées dans le plus grand nombre de pays possible. Ces études, élaborées et réalisées de façon scientifique, fournissent des données représentatives au niveau national et comparables au niveau international. L'Institut International de Statistique avec l'appui des Nations Unies, a été chargé de la réalisation de ce projet en collaboration avec l'Union Internationale pour l'Etude Scientifique de la Population. Le financement est principalement assuré par le Fonds des Nations Unies pour les Activités en matière de Population et l'Agence pour le Développement International des Etats-Unis.

Cette publication fait partie du programme de publications de l'EMF, qui comprend la Documentation de base, les Documents Non-Périodiques et des publications auxiliaires. Pour tout renseignement complémentaire, s'adresser au Bureau d'Information, Institut International de Statistique, 428 Prinses Beatrixlaan, Voorburg, La Haye, Pays-Bas.

La Encuesta Mundial de Fecundidad (EMF) es un programa internacional de investigación cuyo propósito es determinar el estado actual de la fecundidad humana en el mundo. Para lograr este objetivo, se están promoviendo y financiando encuestas de fecundidad por muestreo en el mayor número posible de países. Estas encuestas son diseñadas y realizadas científicamente, nacionalmente representativas y comparables a nivel internacional.

El proyecto está a cargo del Instituto Internacional de Estadística en cooperación con la Unión Internacional para el Estudio Científico de la Población y con la colaboración de las Naciones Unidas. Es financiado principalmente por el Fondo de las Naciones Unidas para Actividades de Población y por la Agencia para el Desarrollo Internacional de los Estados Unidos.

Esta publicación ha sido editada por el Programa de Publicaciones de la EMF, el que incluye Documentación Básica, Publicaciones Ocasionales y publicaciones auxiliares. Puede obtenerse mayor información sobre la EMF escribiendo a la Oficina de Información, Instituto Internacional de Estadística, 428 Prinses Beatrixlaan, Voorburg-La Haya, Países Bajos.

Scientific Reports

Mating and Fertility: Results from Three WFS Surveys in Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago

JACK HAREWOOD

Institute of Social and Economic Research
University of the West Indies
St Augustine

The recommended citation for this publication is:

Harewood, Jack (1984). *Mating and Fertility: Results from Three WFS Surveys in Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago*. *WFS Scientific Reports* no 67. Voorburg, Netherlands: International Statistical Institute.

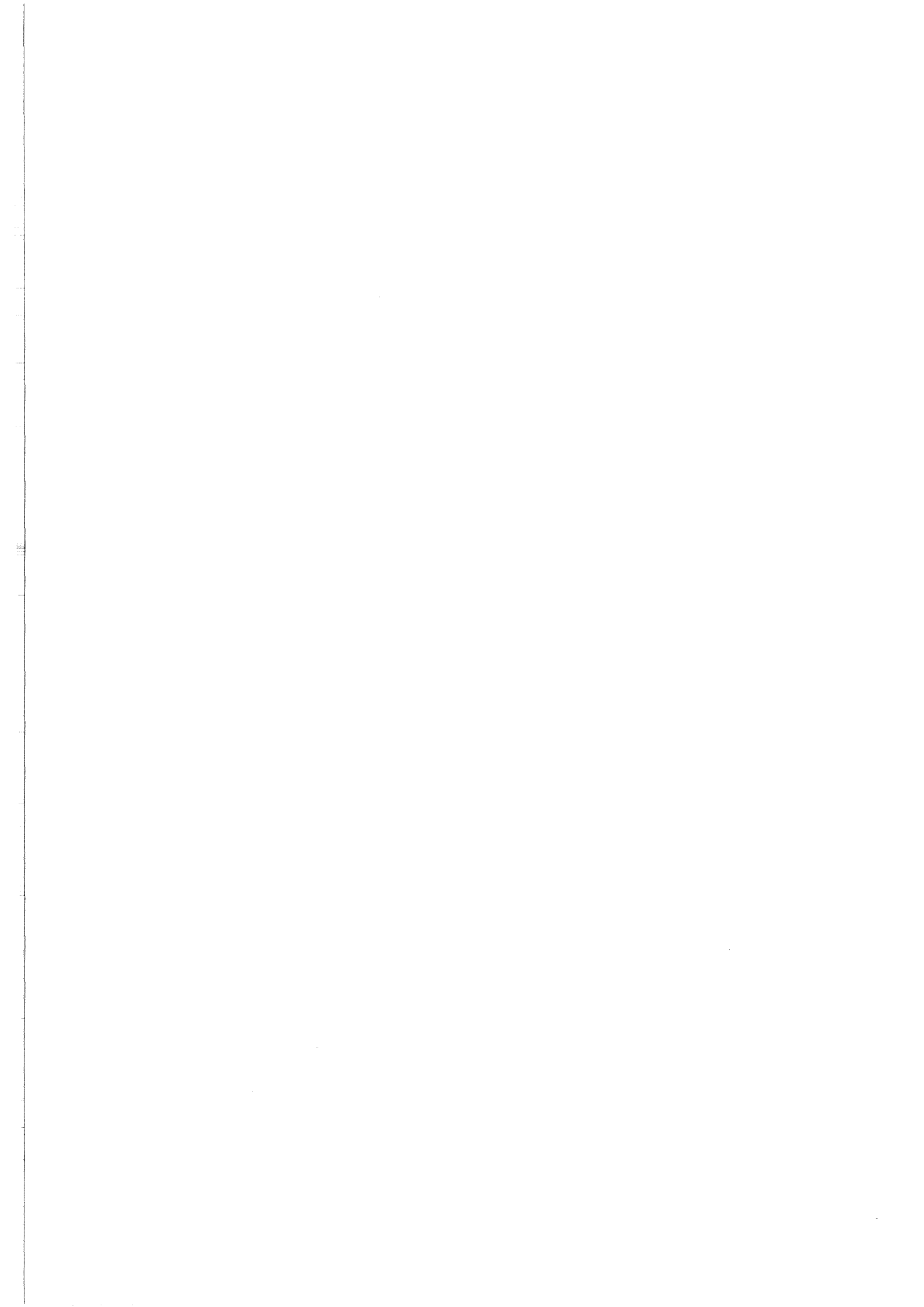
Printed in Great Britain at the Alden Press
Oxford London and Northampton

Contents

PREFACE	7
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	8
1 INTRODUCTION	9
1.1 Survey coverage	9
1.2 Union status or union type	9
1.3 The information collected	9
1.4 The composite mating variables	10
1.5 The methodology	10
2 GUYANA	12
2.1 Mating	12
2.2 Mating and fertility (non-Indians)	22
3 TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO	29
3.1 Mating	29
3.2 Mating and fertility (non-Indians)	38
4 JAMAICA	44
4.1 Mating	44
4.2 Mating and fertility	50
5 CONCLUSION AND COMPARATIVE SUMMARY	55
5.1 Mating	55
5.2 Fertility	58
REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY	60
APPENDIX A – PARTNERS/RELATIONSHIPS	61
APPENDIX B – NUMBER OF CASES (EVER IN A UNION AT AGE x AND ALL WOMEN) IN EACH AGE COHORT	63
APPENDIX C – THE METHODOLOGY OF THE GROSS MATING TABLE	64
TABLES	
1 Percentage of women who at age x were ever in a union, for non-Indians and Indians	12
2 Percentage of women, at age x, never in a union, and ever in a union by type of first union, for age cohorts	13
3 Percentage of all women who have entered their first relationship by age x – by first union type and education for age cohorts of non-Indians	14
4 Per cent distribution of the age cohorts of non- Indian women according to current union status at comparable ages	15
5 Percentage of all non-Indian women who were ever in a union by current union status, educa- tion and age	15

6	Per cent distribution of the cohorts of non-Indian and Indian women according to the number of partners and relationships per woman and the mean numbers of partners and relationships – by age	17	23	Per cent distribution of each age cohort according to current union status at comparable ages, by education	32
7	Mean number of relationships and of partners per woman for non-Indian age cohorts at comparable ages – by first union type	17	24	Per cent distribution of non-Indian women according to the numbers of relationships and partners and the mean numbers of relationships and partners – by age	33
8	Per cent distribution of the age cohorts of non-Indian women according to pattern of relationship change (PRC) at comparable ages	18	25	Per cent distribution of age cohorts of women according to pattern of relationship change (PRC) at comparable ages	34
9	Per cent distribution of the age cohort of Indian women according to pattern of relationship change (PRC) at comparable ages	18	26	Per cent distribution of age cohorts of non-Indian women according to pattern of union and partnership history (PUPH) at comparable ages	35
10	Per cent distribution of the age cohorts of non-Indian women ever in a union according to pattern of union and partnership history (PUPH)	19	27	A Mean number of years since first in a union	36
11	A Mean number of years since first in a union	20	B Proportion of this time spent in union	36	
	B Proportion of this time spent in union	20	C Proportion of time in union spent in the first relationship	36	
	C Proportion of time in union spent in the first relationship	20	28	Per cent distribution of time in union according to union type – by age	37
12	Per cent distribution of time spent in union according to union type	21	29	Effects of age at first union on fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian). Regression coefficients: B	38
13	Effects of age at first union on fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian). Regression coefficients: B	23	30	Effects of first union type on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian)	39
14	Effects of first union type on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian)	23	31	Effects of number of partners/relationships on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian). Regression coefficients: B	39
15	Effects of number of partners/relationships on the cumulative fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian). Regression coefficients: B	24	32	Effects of current union status on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian)	41
16	Effects of current union status on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian)	26	33	Effects of pattern of union and partnership history (PUPH) on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian)	42
17	Effects of pattern of union and partnership history (PUPH) on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian)	27	34	Effects of pattern of relationship change (PRC) on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian)	43
18	Effects of pattern of relationship change (PRC) on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian)	28	35	Percentage of women who, at age x, were ever in a union by first union type	44
19	Percentage of women who, at age x, were ever in a union, for non-Indians and Indians	29	36	Percentage of all women who have entered their first relationship by age x – by first union type and education for age cohorts	45
20	Percentage of women, at age x, never in a union, and ever in a union by first union type, for age cohorts	30	37	Per cent distribution of the age cohorts of women according to current union status – by age	46
21	Per cent distribution of age cohorts according to first union type – by level of education and age	31	38	Percentage of all women who were ever in a union by current union status, education and age	46
22	Per cent distribution of non-Indian cohorts according to current union status – by age	32	39	Per cent distribution of age cohorts according to the number of partners and relationships per woman and the mean numbers of partners and relationships – by age	47

40	Per cent distribution of age cohorts of women according to pattern of relationship change (PRC) – by age	48
41	A Mean number of years since first in a union	49
	B Proportion of this time spent in union	49
	C Proportion of time in union spent in the first relationship – by age	49
42	Per cent distribution of the time in union according to union type – by age	49
43	Effects of age at first union on fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages. Regression coefficients: B	50
44	Effects of first union type on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages	51
45	Effects of number of partners/relationships on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages. Regression coefficients: B	51
46	Effects of current union status on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages	52
47	Effects of pattern of relationship change on the fertility of age cohorts – by age	53



Preface

The policy of WFS is to encourage and to support, where possible, further detailed analysis of the survey data following the publication of the First Country Report. The national meetings, as in the case of other participating countries, held in the three English-speaking Caribbean countries — Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago — and the two regional seminars provided the forum for identifying the topics and for preparing project proposals for such analyses. After a careful review of the proposals, the countries approved the choice of five topics: contraception, infant and child mortality, union patterns and fertility, fertility preferences and socio-economic differentials in fertility. It was also decided that work on the first three topics would be undertaken by experienced researchers in the region while the last two would be done by the two Caribbean nationals working with WFS. The programme was supported by WFS through the funds made available for second-stage analysis.

With the emphasis on country-specific analysis, the Caribbean programme was expected to produce an analytical report on each of the five topics for each of the three countries, which would have resulted in fifteen national reports. However, in view of the similarity of the questionnaires used in the three countries, it was decided to organize the research in such a way that each researcher would carry out the analysis on all three countries, using similar or the same methodology, and to publish one single report on each topic. This approach also had the advantage of allowing comparisons within a single report, for a given topic, and indeed the authors were requested to prepare a short comparative chapter in addition to the main chapters on individual countries.

All the papers have gone through two stages of review and revision. The first stage was a regional seminar, held at

the University of the West Indies, St Augustine, Trinidad, in September 1982, where representatives from each country were invited and the papers were presented. External reviewers commented on each paper: contraception (Halvor Gille), union patterns (Yves Charbit and Basia Beckles), infant and child mortality (Richard Lobdell), fertility preferences (Michael Vlassoff) and socio-economic differentials in fertility (Barbara Boland). The papers were revised following these reviewers' suggestions, and the second stage was a further evaluation of the revised draft reports, mainly done by assigned WFS staff members, but in two cases by external reviewers. A final version, in all cases involving substantial rewriting and condensation, then followed.

The report benefited from the evaluations by the assigned reviewers, Yves Charbit, Michael Bracher and Basia Beckles. Comments by participants of the regional seminar also contributed to the final revision. I wish to thank all of them for their invaluable contribution.

I also wish to congratulate Jack Harewood on the successful completion of this report which reflects his detailed knowledge of the culturally distinct mating patterns of the Caribbean region. We hope that, along with the other four, it will provide valuable insights leading to better understanding of the demographic situation in the three countries and will be of use to the national policy-makers. In conclusion, I wish to thank the national survey directors and their staff for their continued support and most valuable collaboration.

HALVOR GILLE
Project Director

Acknowledgements

I am especially indebted to David Smith, Robert Lightbourne and Susheela Singh of WFS for their invaluable help in assisting me to obtain the tabulations used in this study.

David Smith, who has since left WFS, wrote the computer programs and obtained the first computer tabulations used in the gross mating table analysis. After his departure, Robert Lightbourne modified the programs and produced additional tabulations for this analysis.

The remaining tabulations, including the regression tabulations, were done at WFS London using the SPSS program. Susheela Singh and Robert Lightbourne gave me considerable assistance during the brief period that I spent at WFS preparing the data files. Susheela has directed the running of all the tabulations and has also advised me on various aspects of the tabulations.

Basia Zaba-Beckles agreed at short notice to be a discussant of the draft paper at the meeting held in Trinidad in 1982 to evaluate the various studies in the Caribbean programme. I am grateful to her for her careful reading and penetrating comments.

Norma Abdulah read much of the paper and, much more important, discussed the plans for the study and for the tabulations at an early stage. Her comments enabled me to make important modifications to my original plans.

Bernadette Carrington of the ISER performed all the calculations necessary to obtain the regression tables in their present form from the computer tabulations. Gloria Lawrence, also of ISER, undertook most of the text typing.

All errors and shortcomings remain my own.

1 Introduction

Sociologists and anthropologists involved in the study of the family in the Caribbean have drawn attention to the number and variety of types of family organization in the region. Whatever the origin of this situation, there are many family types in addition to legal marriage, and hence a large proportion of children are born outside of wedlock.

The present study has a dual purpose. First, we shall use the data on unions and partners to study family organization in the region. This will be necessarily restricted since the survey was concerned only with child bearing. But, as Charbit (1975) points out, the data from a demographic survey can be used to provide valuable information on the relative importance and stability of different union types and are thus complementary to the information provided by sociologists and anthropologists on family structure.

We shall begin this part of the study by comparing the proportions of women first entering each of the three union types. This is followed by an investigation into the composition of the population in terms of its mating characteristics such as: current union status, the numbers of relationships and partners, and the patterns of change in unions and partners. Finally, we shall use estimates of the amount of time spent in first and in later relationships, by union type, derived from the gross mating table, to throw some light on the frequency and direction of relationship change.

The second purpose of the study is to investigate the relationship between selected mating characteristics of non-Indian women and their level of fertility. We concentrate on non-Indians to some extent, in this study, because variation in union types and changes between relationships and partners characterizes the majority of these women, but is relatively less important among Indians. We examine the influence of each of these mating variables, controlling for independent variables as well as for the other mating variables which are most likely to confound the impact on fertility.

It is generally believed that there have been important recent changes in mating patterns and fertility in the region. A prime objective of this study is to investigate evidence of such changes both between and within cohorts.

1.1 SURVEY COVERAGE

Because of the union patterns characteristic of this region, it would have been pointless to restrict the coverage of the Fertility Surveys in the Commonwealth Caribbean¹ to ever-married women as was done in most other countries. The comparable population would be women ever in a union and it was decided to obtain detailed information from all such women. At the same time, it was clear that a great deal of information would have to be obtained from each woman to determine whether or not she had ever been in a sexual union.

The survey coverage was, therefore, extended to all women of childbearing age (15–49 years) though, to avoid probable resentment on the part of parents, girls 15–19 years of age who were still attending secondary school were not asked the questions about being in a sexual union or about pregnancies.

1.2 UNION STATUS OR UNION TYPE

Three types of sexual unions are recognized, as follows:

- 1 *Marriage*, in which a man and woman are legally married and living together in the same household;
- 2 *Common law unions*, in which a man and woman live together as man and wife but are not legally married to each other;
- 3 *Visiting unions*, in which a couple do not live together but have a regular sexual relationship.

For classifying women ever in a union, a fourth type had to be recognized to cover women who had formerly been in a sexual union but at a given time were in no such union (had no partner). These are referred to as *single*. Finally, when we extend the study to all women of childbearing age, a fifth group — *women never in a union* — has to be added.

1.3 THE INFORMATION COLLECTED

Section 3 of the Questionnaire, which sought information on unions and partners, followed the questions on pregnancy history as it was likely to be easier to determine that a woman had had a live birth or pregnancy than that she had been in a visiting union. Indeed, information on the former could often prove useful in determining the latter.

A number of questions were asked to determine whether or not the respondent had ever been in a married, common law or visiting union. All women who had ever been in a union were then asked how many partners they had had, and about their partners, relationships and union types (see appendix A). These terms are defined as follows:

- (a) *Partner* designates any man with whom the woman has had a steady sexual relationship;

¹ Guyana (1975), Jamaica (1975/76) and Trinidad and Tobago (1977). Separate reports on the substantive findings of these surveys have been published. They are: (a) *Guyana Fertility Survey 1975: Country Report, Vol 1 and 2*, Statistical Bureau, Ministry of Economic Development, Guyana 1978. (b) *Jamaica Fertility Survey 1975/76: Country Report, Vol 1 and 2*, Department of Statistics, Kingston, Jamaica, 1979. (c) *Trinidad and Tobago Fertility Survey 1977: Country Report, Vol 1 and 2*, Central Statistical Office, Port of Spain, Trinidad, 1981.

- (b) *Union type* or *union status* relates to the different types of sexual relationship – married, common law and visiting;
- (c) *Relationship* relates to the period when a woman was with a given partner in a given union type.

1.4 THE COMPOSITE MATING VARIABLES

Most analyses of fertility differentials by union status have centred on the current union type.² However, since many women participate in more than one union type during their reproductive period, the analysis can be extended by dividing the current union categories according to the previous union types that the women have been in. Thus, Roberts and Braithwaite (1960) established patterns of union change based on the first, second and terminal union types in which each woman had been engaged. In the Country Reports for the Caribbean Fertility Surveys, this approach was also adopted, but because of the small number of women with three or more relationships, the categories were based on the initial and current union types only. This latter approach is adopted in this study, the variable being termed the pattern of relationship change.

Other researchers have emphasized that the fertility of women in any given current union type is very much affected by the number of partners (eg Ebanks, George and Nobbe (1974a)). An alternative to the above approach, therefore, would be to subdivide the current union types according to the number of partners the woman has had. We have decided to introduce such a variable in this study with a view to seeing whether this approach has any advantages over the former for the analysis of fertility and mating. Once again because of the small number of cases, we subdivide each current union type into two categories – simple and complex. The simple category comprises women who have had a single partner and who have not spent more than a specified short period in union types other than the current one. This variable is termed the pattern of union and partnership history.³

A fuller description of these two variables follows.

Pattern of relationship change (PRC)

In this typology, women ever in a union are classified according to the union type of their first and current relationships. In the case of non-Indians, a separate category is made of those women who had shifted from visiting to common law to married (their current status). Because of the small number of cases in some categories these were combined as shown below.

Pattern of union and partnership history (PUPH)

Women were first classified as having either a 'simple' or a

Non-Indian pattern of relationship change categories

First union type	Current union type
1 Married	Married
2 Married Common law	Common law or visiting Visiting
3 Common law	Married
4 Common law	Common law
5 Visiting	Married with an intermediate common law relationship
6 Visiting	Married
7 Visiting	Common law
8 Visiting	Visiting
9 Visiting	Single
10 Married or common law	Single

'complex' history. Classified as having a simple history are those who:

- (a) have had only one partner, and
- (b) have had not more than three relationships with him, and
- (c) for those with more than one relationship with this partner:
 - (i) the shifts in union type were towards more stable relationships (eg visiting → common law → married), and
 - (ii) the last relationship started within two years of the first.

Women with simple histories were subdivided by current union type, except for currently single women, who were classified according to their last union type.

The remaining women were those with a complex history and these too were subdivided according to current union type, but with single as a separate category.

1.5 THE METHODOLOGY

Mating patterns

To investigate the number of women entering each union type, as well as the amount of time spent in each union type, we use a gross mating table approach (see Roberts and Braithwaite (1961)). For this, two sets of life-table tabulations are available, each giving data for single years of age from 11–49 years for the five-year age cohorts. The tabulations are:

- (a) the proportion of women entering their first relationship by exact age x by union type;
- (b) the cumulative proportion of women in: (i) first relationships; and (ii) second or higher order relationships; both by union type.

The methods of deriving the estimates used in this study are set out in appendix C. For more detail on the life-table method as applied to WFS data see Smith (1980).

² Or the union type in which the woman ended her reproductive life, in the case of women of completed fertility.

³ Leridon and Charbit (1981) used a similar variable, which they called the typology of union histories, but without our special concern for the number of partners. They therefore include in their simple categories some women who have had two or three partners.

Fertility

To study the impact of mating on fertility we use regression analysis. As the measure of fertility, we use the number of children ever born to ten-year age cohorts of women when they were 20–29, 30–39 and 40–49 years old.

We investigate, in turn, the impact on fertility of each of seven mating variables. Five of these are simple variables in that each relates to a single aspect of mating. These are:

- 1 age at first union
- 2 first union type
- 3 current union status
- 4 number of relationships
- 5 number of partners.

The other two are the composite mating variables – pattern of relationship change (PRC) and pattern of union and partnership history (PUPH) – described earlier.

We look first at the impact of each mating variable while controlling for four independent variables (ie background characteristics of the woman or her partner). These are:

- 1 level of education
- 2 pattern of residence
- 3 pattern of work
- 4 partner's occupation.

Since there is no control, at this stage, for any other mating variable, we refer to these estimates, for convenience, as unadjusted.

We next examine the impact of each mating variable while controlling for other mating variables. Among the simple mating variables, the number of relationships and the number of partners are treated as alternatives. For the two composite mating variables, the only control used is the age at first union.

Ethnic origin

While the populations of Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago are usually referred to as ethnically heterogeneous, in both countries two ethnic groups predominate – persons of African and of Indian origin. In Guyana, Indians comprise the largest ethnic group, the proportion of women ever in a union in the sample who were Indian was 53 per cent as against 35 per cent African. In Trinidad and Tobago the division was more equal, persons of African and Indian origin comprising 42 and 40 per cent respectively of women ever in a union in the sample. In both countries most of the remainder were of mixed origin, with the remaining small ethnic groups – Chinese, Portuguese, other European, Syrian and others – comprising less than 2 per cent in each case.

Because the family system and level of fertility of Indians are very different from the rest of the population,

in the analyses of the Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago data in this study Indians and non-Indians are treated separately as has been done by earlier researchers (eg Roberts and Braithwaite (1961)).

In Jamaica the number of Indians is very small and persons of African origin are an overwhelming majority of the population. For this reason information on ethnic origin was not sought in the Jamaica Fertility Survey.

Weighting

Much of the analysis in this study involves a comparison of the experience of different age cohorts or of the same cohort at different stages in their life cycle. But from the work of previous researchers as well as the findings of the Country Reports, it is known that the mating characteristics and the fertility of a given woman or cohort of women change appreciably with age. For example, among women aged 20–29 years, the average numbers of relationships and partners, the current union type and the mating history and the fertility (children ever born) of women aged 20 will be quite different from those of women aged 29 years. Differences in the internal age structure of the three age cohorts could, therefore, confound our measures of the differences between the cohorts.

The life-table technique overcomes this problem in the gross mating table analysis. For the analysis of mating characteristics, the problem has been resolved by weighting each observation by a factor of the form C/n_i , where C is a constant and n_i is the number of women at the relevant single year of age in the given cohort. This provides standardized proportions based on a uniform age distribution.

For the analysis of fertility, a similar weighting system was used, the constant in this case being one-tenth of the number of cases in the sample for the given ten-year age cohort. For example, among non-Indians in Guyana there were 656 women aged 20–29 and ever in a union. For this age group, therefore, C was 65.6. The number of women in this cohort who were aged 29 years (n_i) was 49. The appropriate weight, therefore, was 65.6/49.

While the weighting procedure 'removes' the effect of age structure in the comparison of the cohorts, it of course has the shortcoming that the standard population, like any standard, is somewhat arbitrary. Since the figures in the study are all age standardized, to the extent that there are differences in the age structure of the cohorts, or of the same cohort at different stages, the size and even the direction of the changes may be different from those that would be indicated by the crude figures.

A more serious shortcoming of the weighting procedure is that the tests of significance and analysis of variance from the regression analysis are likely to be biased. These are not, therefore, discussed in this report.

2 Guyana

2.1 MATING

First entry into a sexual union and first union type

Traditionally, Indians have entered their first union much earlier than non-Indians, and this holds for the older cohorts in table 1 among whom the proportion entering their first sexual union by age 20 was 83 per cent for women aged 40 years and over in the case of Indians and under 60 per cent for non-Indians.

But the fundamental difference between the ethnic groups is that most Indians marry early and spend the remainder of their childbearing period in this union or single following the death of or separation from their husband, while a large proportion of non-Indians begin their sexual life in a non-cohabiting visiting relationship and shift, later in life, to a married or common law relationship with the same or another partner. Thus, by age 40, nearly 90 per cent of Indians had first entered a legal married union while only one-quarter of non-Indians had first married and about 15 per cent had entered a common law relationship but 55–60 per cent had first entered a visiting relationship (table 2).

The mating patterns of both ethnic groups have been changing in the past 20 years or so. Among non-Indians, according to table 1, there have been small but fairly uniform increases in the proportion of women entering their first union by age 30 though the changes may not be statistically significant. Among Indians, on the other hand, the proportion of women entering their first sexual union by age 25 is very much less for young women than for

those 30 years and older. As a result of these differential changes, of women 25–29 years of age the proportion entering their first union by age 25 is the same for the two ethnic groups, while among women under 25 years old it is the non-Indians who now have the larger proportion in their first union.

In the case of non-Indians, the proportion of women first entering a visiting relationship has increased slightly for successive cohorts, the increase being more marked for women under 30 years of age. On the other hand, the proportions first entering common law and married relationships have declined, though not uniformly, the latter occurring only among women under 35 years of age (table 2A).

Among Indians, the outstanding change is the decline in the proportion of women marrying by age 25 and at younger ages for women aged under 40 years, and this entirely accounts for the decline in the proportion in a union by this age. But an interesting development is that while the proportion entering a visiting relationship is still small, it is clearly much higher for younger women, and the 25–29 cohort is the first for which more than 10 per cent of the women entered a visiting relationship (table 2B).

The educational level of first union types – non-Indian

The least educated women are the ones most likely to enter a common law relationship, the proportion doing so declining rapidly as education increases and being negligible for women with a complete secondary education. The proportion of women entering legal marriage is much higher

Table 1 Percentage of women who at age x were ever in a union, for non-Indians and Indians

Age x	Age at interview					
	45–49	40–44	35–39	30–34	25–29	20–24
A Non-Indian						
15	7.6	8.5	10.7	11.3	11.1	11.6
20	57.1	59.2	61.4	63.4	64.3	63.6
25	85.4	88.6	85.1	92.8	89.8	
30	92.5	94.8	92.1	97.3		
35	95.3	95.3	94.4			
40	96.7	97.2				
B Indian						
15	26.0	17.9	19.7	14.4	8.6	5.9
20	83.4	83.4	79.2	79.6	72.0	60.0
25	93.9	94.5	94.5	96.1	90.4	
30	97.8	96.8	96.9	98.9		
35	98.9	98.2	97.9			
40	98.9	98.6				

Table 2 Percentage of women, at age x, never in a union, and ever in a union by type of first union, for age cohorts

Age x/ First union type	Age cohort					
	45-49	40-44	35-39	30-34	25-29	20-24
A Non-Indian						
15 Visiting	4.7	6.2	7.0	7.2	7.9	10.9
Common law	1.9	1.0	1.9	2.3	2.3	0.7
Married	0.9	1.4	1.9	1.8	0.9	0
Never in union	92.5	91.5	89.3	88.7	89.0	88.4
20 Visiting	37.3	40.3	40.0	46.2	50.7	57.1
Common law	8.5	9.0	8.4	6.3	7.4	2.9
Married	11.3	10.0	13.0	10.9	6.2	3.6
Never in union	42.9	40.8	38.6	36.7	35.7	36.4
25 Visiting	51.9	55.9	56.3	65.2	69.1	
Common law	12.7	10.9	9.8	8.2	8.8	
Married	20.8	21.8	19.1	19.5	11.9	
Never in union	14.6	11.4	14.9	7.2	10.2	
30 Visiting	54.7	58.3	60.0	68.3		
Common law	13.2	10.9	10.7	8.6		
Married	24.5	25.6	21.4	20.4		
Never in union	7.6	5.2	7.9	2.7		
35 Visiting	55.7	58.3	62.3			
Common law	14.2	11.4	10.7			
Married	25.5	25.6	21.4			
Never in union	4.7	4.7	5.6			
40 Visiting	55.7	59.2				
Common law	14.6	11.4				
Married	26.4	26.5				
Never in union	3.3	2.8				
B Indian						
15 Visiting	0.6	1.8	4.2	1.2	1.2	0.8
Common law	1.1	1.4	1.4	0.9	0.7	0.4
Married	24.3	14.8	14.2	12.3	6.6	4.7
Never in union	74.0	82.0	80.3	85.6	91.4	94.1
20 Visiting	3.3	4.2	5.9	6.3	8.1	8.1
Common law	3.3	3.2	4.8	5.7	5.2	2.3
Married	76.8	76.0	68.5	67.6	58.7	49.6
Never in union	16.6	16.6	20.8	20.4	28.0	40.0
25 Visiting	5.5	6.5	6.9	6.6	11.6	
Common law	3.3	3.7	5.2	6.9	5.9	
Married	85.1	84.3	82.4	82.6	73.0	
Never in union	6.1	5.5	5.5	3.9	9.6	
30 Visiting	5.5	6.9	6.9	6.6		
Common law	3.9	4.6	5.5	7.5		
Married	88.4	85.3	84.4	83.8		
Never in union	2.2	3.2	3.1	2.1		
35 Visiting	5.5	6.9	6.9			
Common law	3.9	5.1	5.5			
Married	89.5	86.2	85.5			
Never in union	1.1	1.8	2.1			
40 Visiting	5.5	7.4				
Common law	3.9	5.1				
Married	89.5	86.2				
Never in union	1.1	1.4				

Table 3 Percentage of all women who have entered their first relationship by age x – by first union type and education for age cohorts of non-Indians

Age/Level of education	Age cohort											
	40–49				30–39				20–29			
	M	CL	V	EU	M	CL	V	EU	M	CL	V	EU
<i>20–29 years</i>												
Prim. 5 yr	14.9	36.5	37.0	88.4	6.8	23.2	70.0	100.0	9.7	31.5	53.8	95.0
Prim. 6–7 yr	17.7	24.5	46.8	89.0	18.9	15.9	57.6	92.4	9.3	14.6	71.4	95.3
Prim. 8 yr	20.5	7.1	60.9	88.5	16.9	7.9	61.5	86.3	13.6	8.2	71.6	93.4
Sec.-none	24.3	3.5	40.5	68.3	19.6	3.1	59.0	81.7	9.7	2.0	73.8	85.5
Sec.-cert.	14.8	0.0	34.3	49.1	28.1	0.0	39.5	67.6	12.6	3.2	59.2	75.0
All women	19.3	11.8	51.9	83.0	18.7	8.6	57.9	85.2	11.3	5.4	68.2	84.9
<i>30–39 years</i>												
Prim. 5 yr	13.5	42.7	37.0	93.2	12.8	17.2	70.0	100.0				
Prim. 6–7 yr	17.9	30.1	49.1	97.1	21.8	16.0	59.9	97.7				
Prim. 8 yr	23.0	8.8	66.0	97.8	20.4	7.7	69.9	98.0				
Sec.-none	40.0	4.4	53.1	97.5	17.7	5.0	69.8	92.5				
Sec.-cert.	38.8	1.0	40.9	80.7	33.9	0.8	53.8	88.5				
All women	24.3	14.5	56.9	95.7	21.3	9.0	65.8	96.1				
<i>40–49 years</i>												
Prim. 5 yr	20.8	35.4	37.0	93.2								
Prim. 6–7 yr	22.0	26.8	50.4	99.2								
Prim. 8 yr	23.1	9.3	66.0	98.4								
Sec.-none	39.1	5.2	53.2	97.5								
Sec.-cert.	46.5	0.6	43.8	90.9								
All women	26.6	13.6	57.3	97.5								

among better educated women than among the less educated though in the sample there are exceptions to the simple direct relationship between education and legal marriage (table 3).

Entry into a visiting relationship is not directly related to education; for the most part women with a middle level of education are most likely to enter this union type, the proportion declining for both better and less educated women. With only one exception, however, more women enter a visiting relationship than any other union type at every level of education.

Entry into a visiting relationship is also higher among younger than among older cohorts at every level of education. Moreover the differential between the education groups has been decreasing, showing that entry into a visiting relationship is now much more uniform than before. Fewer women are, however, tending to enter married and common law relationships at all educational levels, though there are a number of exceptions to this trend.

Current union status – non-Indian

The current union status of the woman is information which is most easily collected and, therefore, is most usually available from censuses and surveys. Attention here is limited to non-Indian women since the majority of Indian women are currently married.

While the majority of non-Indians first enter a visiting relationship, there is a rapid shift from this to other union types, including single. The rapidity and direction of the shift can be seen by comparing the first and current union types of a cohort (tables 3 and 4). The following figures for the 20–29 cohort, extracted from these two tables, show that at the time of the survey two-thirds of the women initially visiting had already shifted out of this union type, the majority marrying while roughly equal numbers either entered a common law relationship or remained single.

	20–29 cohort			
	Married	Common law	Visiting	Single
First union type	11.3	5.4	68.2	–
Current union status	36.5	14.5	25.2	8.7
Change	+25.2	+9.1	–43.0	+8.7

Another indicator of the net change in current union status experienced by a given cohort can be obtained by comparing its union-type distribution at different ages (table 4). The proportion of women married is higher at age 30–39 than at age 20–29 for both of the older cohorts, partly because of a shift from visiting and partly because of

Table 4 Per cent distribution of the age cohorts of non-Indian women according to current union status at comparable ages

Comparable ages/ Age cohort	Current union status				
	Married	Common law	Visiting	Single	Never in union
<i>20–29 years</i>					
40–49 cohort	41.7	15.5	17.3	8.5	17.0
30–39 cohort	39.4	15.1	20.4	10.4	14.8
20–29 cohort	36.5	14.5	25.2	8.7	15.1
<i>30–39 years</i>					
40–49 cohort	55.2	20.2	9.8	10.5	4.3
30–39 cohort	49.9	18.8	16.1	11.2	3.9
<i>40–49 years</i>					
40–49 cohort	48.9	17.4	13.0	18.3	2.5

the later age at entry into a union on the part of women who first marry, reflected in a decline in the proportion never in a union. There is also a small increase in the proportions in common law relationships.

For the oldest cohort there is a decline, by age 40–49, in the numbers married and common law as an increasing number of these older women become single and a few shift to a visiting relationship.

A comparison of the three cohorts at age 20–29 and the two older cohorts at age 30–39 shows an increasingly large proportion in a visiting union for the younger cohorts, while the proportions married and, to a lesser extent common law, have declined. The proportion never in a union has also declined except that there is no change between the two youngest cohorts.

The popular view that visiting relationships are on the increase at the expense of the two cohabiting union types

has, therefore, been confirmed by both the data on initial and current union types. It is possible that the figures reflect, to some extent, a failure on the part of older women to report earlier visiting relationships, but the fact that the changes accord so well with general observation gives us confidence that such misreporting is not sufficiently extensive to discredit the findings.

Level of education

The relationship between education and current union status is similar to that between education and first union type already discussed (see table 5). The common law union is predominantly lower class, with between one-third and one-half of all women in the lowest education group being in this union type except for the 30–39 cohort at age 20–29. On the other hand, in only one instance are any

Table 5 Percentage of all non-Indian women who were ever in a union by current union status, education and age

Age/Level of education	Age cohort/Current union status														
	40–49					30–39					20–29				
	M	CL	V	S	Total EU	M	CL	V	S	Total EU	M	CL	V	S	Total EU
<i>20–29 years</i>															
Prim. 5 yr	25.4	43.6	6.8	12.6	88.4	45.9	12.1	23.8	18.2	100.0	35.9	47.5	7.8	3.8	95.0
Prim. 6–7 yr	37.1	26.3	15.7	10.6	89.7	45.3	23.9	17.6	5.6	92.4	26.4	37.0	22.2	9.7	95.3
Prim. 8 yr	47.4	11.8	21.3	8.0	88.5	34.9	16.7	23.5	11.2	86.3	47.3	16.9	22.7	6.5	93.4
Sec.-none	42.3	7.9	12.1	6.0	68.3	39.9	9.2	22.1	10.5	81.7	31.2	14.4	30.2	9.6	85.5
Sec.-cert.	32.4	0.0	10.5	6.2	49.1	45.4	0.0	9.3	12.9	67.6	39.1	4.0	22.9	9.1	75.0
<i>30–39 years</i>															
Prim. 5 yr	34.6	51.8	0.0	6.8	93.2	37.5	43.9	13.7	4.9	100.0					
Prim. 6–7 yr	44.7	33.0	9.3	10.9	97.9	47.2	25.5	11.0	14.1	97.7					
Prim. 8 yr	60.3	16.2	11.4	9.8	97.8	48.8	21.8	17.6	9.8	98.0					
Sec.-none	63.5	11.6	9.0	13.3	97.5	49.7	5.7	24.2	12.8	92.5					
Sec.-cert.	59.4	0.0	8.6	12.7	80.7	63.4	2.5	10.6	12.0	88.5					
<i>40–49 years</i>															
Prim. 5 yr	31.7	37.8	3.4	20.2	93.2										
Prim. 6–7 yr	37.5	25.9	15.4	20.5	99.2										
Prim. 8 yr	51.5	15.6	12.0	19.2	98.4										
Sec.-none	60.1	9.4	15.3	12.7	97.5										
Sec.-cert.	61.6	2.0	15.6	11.8	90.9										

women with completed secondary education in this union type.

The proportion married is more evenly spread over the education groups but increases with education at ages 30–39 and 40–49. At age 20–29 the pattern is not uniform.

Except for the 30–39 cohort, very few women in the lowest education group were currently visiting at any age. For the two oldest cohorts there were also very few women of the best educated groups in this union type. At ages under 40 years visiting was most popular among the middle education group and fell as education either increased or declined for the two oldest cohorts. For the youngest cohort women with an incomplete secondary education had the highest proportion visiting.

Married unions are much more stable than common law unions which, in turn, are much more stable than visiting unions (Roberts and Braithwaite (1961)). For this reason, it might be expected that there would be fewer single women among the better educated where the incidence of marriage is high, than among less educated women where common law relationships predominate. This is true for the oldest cohort at ages 20–29 and 40–49 but not for the other sets. A possible explanation is that the more frequent dissolution of partnerships among less educated women is accompanied by a quicker entry into a new partnership than is the case among better educated women.

Comparing the cohorts at age 20–29, with only one exception there are more women ever in a union for each education group for each successive cohort. The increase in the proportion ever in a union is particularly large for women with secondary education. At age 30–39 there is again a large increase in this proportion among the best and the least educated groups.

Among women with less than a completed primary education the proportion married was higher for the 30–39 cohort than for the other two. Although the proportion of women in a common law union was slightly lower for the 20–29 cohort than for older women (table 4), this proportion was in fact highest among the youngest cohort for each education group. The slight decline in the overall proportion, therefore, is entirely accounted for by the increase in the numbers of women in the higher education groups. At age 30–39, on the other hand, there were fewer women in common law unions in every education group except the middle one.

Although the proportion of women in a visiting union has increased between successive cohorts at both ages 20–29 and 30–39, and for each education group at the latter age, at age 20–29 the proportion is very much higher for the 30–39 cohort than for the others. There is little change among women with a complete primary education. The largest increase is for the youngest cohort among women with a complete secondary education and for the two younger cohorts for women with an incomplete secondary education.

One change that is outstanding from the above is that very many more of the best educated women aged 20–29 at the time of the survey were in a union and more particularly in visiting and common law unions than was the case among their counterparts in the older cohorts. This, indeed, is the generally conceived change in mating patterns which is concomitant with the changing customs and attitudes among young people.

The number of relationships and partners

As would be expected from the earlier discussion, more non-Indian women have changed relationships and partners than Indian women (table 6). Moreover, while the mean number of relationships and partners per woman has remained stable for Indians, the mean numbers of relationships and partners have increased noticeably for each successive cohort. The increase is particularly large for the youngest cohort, and is the result of many more women changing partners; the proportion who have remained with their first partner but changed relationships has increased very little.

Among Indians, since there are many more women in the 20–29 cohort who have not had a partner, the proportion with a single partner/relationship has fallen. The number of women with more than one relationship has increased slightly since more of them are entering visiting relationships and thereafter shifting to legal marriage. But for this ethnic group the change in union type does not involve a change of partner; indeed the proportion of women with two or more partners has fallen slightly.

Among non-Indians, as women grow older there is an appreciable increase in the mean number of relationships and partners. Women who change relationships with their first partner do so before age 40.

Table 7 shows that women who first enter a visiting relationship are most likely to change partners and relationships and those who marry are least likely to do so. According to this measure, the stability of all union types has declined for successive cohorts.

Pattern of relationship change (PRC) – non-Indians

While it is not of major concern here, it is interesting to see the extent to which there is evidence of a tendency for women to move from less stable to more stable unions in Guyana (table 8). For this the most appropriate figures are for women who have nearly completed their childbearing period, that is the 40–49 age cohort at the time of the survey. Of this group of women, over 18 per cent were single and 2.5 per cent had never been in a union.

One-third of all the women were in the same current union type as their initial one, and 41 per cent had moved from less to more stable relationships, where we accept the order of increasing stability as visiting → common law → married. Only 6 per cent had a regressive relationship history. As Stycos and Back (1964) and Ebanks, George and Nobbe (1974b) have found for Jamaica and Barbados respectively, however, the proportion of women going through the whole progression – visiting → common law → married – was small (6.5 per cent).

In discussing the current union status at pages 14 and 15 above, we drew attention to evidence of a large shift from visiting to other union types. These shifts are clearly seen in table 9. Among the youngest cohort, for example, of the 68 per cent of the women who first entered a visiting relationship, 24 per cent were still in a visiting relationship, 26 per cent had shifted to marriage (including a small number with an intermediate common law relationship) and smaller numbers were common law or single.

As the cohorts age the shift from visiting to legal marriage continues. At age 30–39, therefore, about one-

Table 6 Per cent distribution of the cohorts of non-Indian and Indian women according to the number of partners and relationships per woman and the mean numbers of partners and relationships – by age

Age/Number of partners and relationships	Age cohort					
	40–49		30–39		20–29	
	Non-Indian			Indian		
<i>20–29 years</i>						
Never in union	17.0	14.8	15.1	6.5	7.8	17.3
1 partner/1 relationship	40.3	38.0	23.1	80.8	78.9	66.4
1 partner/2 + relationships	21.6	23.6	25.3	4.6	6.1	9.7
2 + partners/relationships	21.0	23.6	36.4	8.1	7.2	6.6
Mean no. of partners	1.1	1.2	1.4	1.0	1.0	0.9
Mean no. of relationships	1.4	1.5	1.8	1.1	1.1	1.0
<i>30–39 years</i>						
Never in union	4.3	3.9		1.8	1.9	
1 partner/1 relationship	29.3	19.4		78.4	74.7	
1 partner/2 + relationships	27.6	29.4		5.5	5.6	
2 + partners/relationships	38.9	47.3		14.3	17.7	
Mean no. of partners	1.5	1.8		1.1	1.2	
Mean no. of relationships	2.1	2.4		1.2	1.3	
<i>40–49 years</i>						
Never in union	2.5			1.4		
1 partner/1 relationship	25.1			74.8		
1 partner/2 + relationships	23.2			6.2		
2 + partners/relationships	49.2			17.6		
Mean no. of partners	1.8			1.2		
Mean no. of relationships	2.4			1.3		

Table 7 Mean number of relationships and of partners per woman for non-Indian age cohorts at comparable ages – by first union type

Comparable age/ First union type	Age cohort					
	40–49		30–39		20–29	
	Rs	Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs	Ps
<i>20–29 years</i>						
Married	1.1	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.3	1.3
Common law	1.5	1.3	1.6	1.4	2.0	1.7
Visiting	1.9	1.4	2.0	1.5	2.3	1.7
<i>30–39 years</i>						
Married	1.2	1.2	1.6	1.5		
Common law	2.2	1.6	2.6	2.0		
Visiting	2.6	1.8	2.8	2.0		
<i>40–49 years</i>						
Married	1.4	1.3				
Common law	2.5	1.9				
Visiting	2.9	2.0				

Table 8 Per cent distribution of the age cohorts of non-Indian women according to pattern of relationship change (PRC) at comparable ages

Comparable age/ Age cohort	Pattern of relationship change (PRC)										
	M-M	M-CL M-V CL-V	CL-M	CL-CL	V-CL-M	V-M	V-CL	V-V	V-S	M-S CL-S	NU
<i>20-29 years</i>											
40-49 cohort	17.7	1.6	2.3	7.4	4.3	17.4	6.7	16.9	6.4	2.1	17.0
30-39 cohort	15.5	2.2	2.1	5.1	5.6	16.2	9.0	19.2	8.0	2.4	14.8
20-29 cohort	8.7	2.4	1.6	3.0	2.5	23.7	10.5	23.7	7.7	1.0	15.1
<i>30-39 years</i>											
40-49 cohort	19.9	3.8	6.1	6.5	5.8	23.4	11.5	8.2	8.0	2.5	4.3
30-39 cohort	15.1	5.5	3.2	3.1	7.4	24.2	13.7	12.7	7.8	3.4	3.9
<i>40-49 years</i>											
40-49 cohort	17.6	5.7	5.3	4.5	6.5	19.5	9.3	10.9	11.2	7.1	2.5

half of the women who were initially visiting had shifted to legal marriage, and the remainder were fairly evenly distributed between the other union types, with slightly more currently common law than currently visiting.

A comparison of the three cohorts at age 20-29 shows that there has been a steady decline in the proportion of women who were initially and currently either married or common law. The proportion married-married for the youngest cohort is especially small. The proportion who shifted from visiting to marriage (including those with an intermediate common law relationship) was the same for the two older cohorts but was much higher for young women aged 20-29 years. An increasing proportion shifted from visiting to common law, but the proportion who were initially common law and remained in this union type or shifted to marriage fell.

The pattern of change between the two older cohorts at age 30-39 was in general similar to that just described. Unlike the situation at age 20-29, at this older age there was some increase in the proportion who went from visiting to common law to married where women have had more time to make their second union-type change.

In general, then, the really significant changes have occurred, for the most part, in the ten years preceding the survey at age 20-29 and to a lesser extent at age 30-39. Furthermore, the increased first entry into a visiting relationship is now seen to reflect both an increased tendency for women to enter a visiting relationship before marrying, and a greater likelihood that women who first enter a visiting relationship will remain in this union type rather than shift to a more stable type.

Pattern of relationship change - Indian

For Indians, the outstanding change at age 20-29 is that fewer women are entering and remaining in a married relationship, the proportion being much smaller for the youngest than for older cohorts (table 9). This follows the decline in the number entering a union at this age. There is not much change among the other smaller groups except that an increasing number of Indians are entering a visiting relationship and then shifting to legal marriage. While the proportions in these other groups are all small, the number of women participating in non-legal

Table 9 Per cent distribution of the age cohort of Indian women according to pattern of relationship change (PRC) at comparable ages

Comparable age/ Age cohort	Pattern of relationship change (PRC)							
	M-M	M-CL M-V CL-V	CL-M CL-CL	V-M	V-CL V-V	M-S	CL-S V-S	NU
<i>20-29 years</i>								
40-49 cohort	77.6	3.6	3.3	4.4	1.5	2.9	0.2	6.5
30-39 cohort	71.9	3.6	4.1	4.6	1.2	4.5	2.3	7.8
20-29 cohort	60.6	2.5	4.5	7.2	2.3	4.2	1.4	17.3
<i>30-39 years</i>								
40-49 cohort	76.3	5.1	4.3	4.9	0.8	5.8	1.0	1.8
30-39 cohort	71.0	7.4	5.7	4.8	1.3	7.2	0.7	1.9
<i>40-49 years</i>								
40-49 cohort	65.7	5.2	4.0	5.2	0.4	16.5	1.7	1.4

Table 10 Per cent distribution of the age cohorts of non-Indian women ever in a union according to pattern of union and partnership history (PUPH)

Comparable age/ Pattern of union and partnership history (PUPH)	Pattern of union and partnership history									
	Simple				Complex					Never in union
	M	CL	V	Total	M	CL	V	S	Total	
<i>20-29 years</i>										
40-49 cohort	28.3	8.1	15.5	51.9	14.3	8.7	6.2	2.0	31.2	17.0
30-39 cohort	25.3	6.8	17.6	49.7	16.8	9.0	7.0	2.6	35.4	14.8
20-29 cohort	19.4	4.1	11.9	35.4	18.0	10.9	15.8	4.7	49.4	15.1
<i>30-39 years</i>										
40-49 cohort	31.3	4.5	4.5	40.3	26.1	15.9	7.9	5.5	55.4	4.3
30-39 cohort	25.0	3.0	3.4	31.4	26.9	16.8	14.1	7.0	64.8	3.9
<i>40-49 years</i>										
40-49 cohort	28.5	2.6	2.9	34.0	24.5	15.6	12.2	11.1	63.4	2.5

unions has increased from 12 per cent among the older cohorts to 15 per cent among the youngest cohort, most of them being involved in a change of union type. This suggests that there has been some decline in the traditional conservatism of Indians towards family formation though the shift has not been as rapid as that observed for non-Indians.

Pattern of union and partnership history (PUPH) - non-Indian

For the PUPH analysis, women who have had only one partner are classified as having a 'simple' mating history if they meet the other criteria set out in the Introduction. At age 20-29 the simple histories tended to dominate in the case of women 30 years and older, about one-half of the women having such histories as against one-third with a complex history (table 10). For the youngest cohort this position is reversed. At higher ages, too, there are many more women with a complex than with a simple history.

The decline in the proportion with a simple history at age 20-29 indicates an increasing changing of partners as was observed earlier. This also largely explains the life cycle decline in this proportion in the case of older women. In neither case is the changing of union type with the same partner an important contribution to this increase (see table 6).

At ages 20-29 and 30-39, with one minor exception each of the three union types has declined in the case of women with simple histories. On the other hand each of the complex union types has increased, the increase being especially large for the complex visiting. This confirms the view that the decline in the numbers with simple histories is associated with an increasing tendency to change partners.

The amount of time spent in a sexual union

The length of time since a woman was first in a union is a crude but readily available indicator of her exposure to the risk of childbearing. Indeed, this is the measure of the duration of exposure used in the Country Reports as well as in many other studies of fertility in the region.

But for the study of fertility it is the amount of time that a woman has been in a sexual relationship (in union) that is appropriate as a measure of exposure. Moreover, in the analysis of mating, a breakdown of this time by relationship order and by union type can both provide useful insights into union stability and its effect on fertility. This latter is particularly important in the light of the findings that differentials in fertility exist according to union types, union changes and number of partnerships (see Ebanks *et al* (1974a) and Lightbourne and Singh 1982). One intermediate variable that may partly explain these differentials is frequency of sexual intercourse. Roberts and Sinclair (1978) have found differences in the frequency among women in different types of unions. Nevertheless it is not clear that once intercourse is at a moderate level and regular in occurrence, that increases in the frequency would greatly increase the chances of pregnancy, and therefore increase fertility.⁴

Based on the gross mating table, table 11 shows the mean number of years since first union (ever in union) for five-year age cohorts, and the proportion of time since first union that was spent in union.

Among the older cohorts the mean number of years since first union was higher for Indians than for non-Indians. However, duration in this sense has been declining for Indians and increasing slightly for non-Indians, so that for the youngest cohort the situation is reversed.

The proportion of time since first union that was spent in union is very much higher for Indians, particularly at younger ages.

Among non-Indians the proportion is inexplicably much lower for the oldest cohort than for all other cohorts, the difference declining with the age of the cohort. For women under 45 years old, the principal difference between the

⁴ Indeed, when fertility rates per year of exposure were calculated for different union types, visiting unions, which have the lowest frequency of intercourse, did not have noticeably lower fertility, and in several cases, were higher than other union types. It is quite likely that women who spend a large proportion of their reproductive years in visiting unions may have lower cumulative fertility, but this may result from longer periods of non-exposure between unions, rather than lower frequency of intercourse during the periods when they are exposed (see Lightbourne and Singh 1982).

Table 11 A Mean number of years since first in a union
 B Proportion of this time spent in union
 C Proportion of time in union spent in the first relationship

Up to age x	Item	Age cohort					
		45-49	40-44	35-39	30-34	25-29	20-24
A Non-Indian							
15	A Mean years ever in union	0.22	0.23	0.28	0.31	0.27	0.30
	B Time in union (% of A)	67.2	74.8	74.8	72.3	67.0	62.6
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	88.5	78.1	90.2	84.8	93.0	87.9
20	A Mean years ever in union	2.30	2.40	2.53	2.58	2.62	2.80
	B Time in union (% of A)	73.6	80.2	80.1	77.4	78.9	78.9
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	83.2	74.3	75.7	73.8	67.7	68.1
25	A Mean years ever in union	6.30	6.48	6.59	6.85	6.82	
	B Time in union (% of A)	79.0	84.9	84.4	82.7	84.0	
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	68.0	60.5	58.9	54.1	47.9	
30	A Mean years ever in union	10.82	11.16	11.13	11.66		
	B Time in union (% of A)	82.2	86.4	86.0	86.0		
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	55.0	51.0	48.1	42.3		
35	A Mean years ever in union	15.56	15.92	15.84			
	B Time in union (% of A)	84.3	86.9	86.4			
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	47.2	44.6	41.0			
40	A Mean years ever in union	20.39	20.77				
	B Time in union (% of A)	85.1	86.9				
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	42.2	40.6				
B Indian							
15	A Mean years ever in union	0.71	0.50	0.49	0.39	0.25	0.17
	B Time in union (% of A)	71.6	66.0	68.3	70.7	68.6	64.9
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	99.6	100.0	86.4	98.2	91.8	90.9
20	A Mean years ever in union	4.18	4.02	3.70	3.58	2.90	2.34
	B Time in union (% of A)	86.6	87.5	85.9	84.8	85.2	85.1
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	95.7	95.3	90.7	93.5	89.7	89.7
25	A Mean years ever in union	8.80	8.64	8.30	8.22	7.20	
	B Time in union (% of A)	91.1	92.9	89.6	89.3	90.4	
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	92.6	91.4	89.7	89.6	85.7	
30	A Mean years ever in union	13.64	13.45	13.12	13.10		
	B Time in union (% of A)	92.9	94.0	90.4	91.2		
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	90.0	88.8	87.2	86.2		
35	A Mean years ever in union	18.56	18.33	17.99			
	B Time in union (% of A)	93.8	94.3	91.4			
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	87.7	87.0	84.5			
40	A Mean years ever in union	23.50	23.25				
	B Time in union (% of A)	93.5	93.5				
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	86.1	85.6				

Table 12 Per cent distribution of time spent in union according to union type

Age/Union type	Age cohort					
	45-49	40-44	35-39	30-34	25-29	20-24
A Non-Indian						
15 Married	24.3	30.1	23.7	17.3	14.9	2.3
Common law	17.4	7.9	18.7	19.6	20.0	7.9
Visiting	58.3	62.0	57.6	63.1	65.1	89.8
20 Married	33.2	28.3	30.8	29.9	24.7	17.6
Common law	17.7	23.3	20.8	16.3	21.0	12.5
Visiting	49.1	48.4	48.4	53.7	54.3	69.9
25 Married	42.6	43.7	42.4	43.5	38.8	
Common law	19.7	24.0	22.4	16.1	20.4	
Visiting	37.7	32.4	35.2	40.4	40.8	
30 Married	50.8	51.4	49.5	51.3		
Common law	20.5	24.6	22.6	16.4		
Visiting	28.6	24.0	27.9	32.3		
35 Married	55.0	55.8	53.1			
Common law	21.2	24.1	22.6			
Visiting	23.7	20.1	24.3			
40 Married	57.7	57.8				
Common law	21.5	23.8				
Visiting	20.8	18.4				
B Indian						
15 Married	97.0	85.3	82.7	89.5	81.3	84.8
Common law	1.7	7.4	8.6	4.2	10.9	3.3
Visiting	1.4	7.3	8.7	6.3	7.8	11.9
20 Married	95.3	90.5	89.5	91.3	87.3	86.9
Common law	3.1	6.2	7.3	5.1	8.4	5.7
Visiting	1.6	3.3	3.2	3.6	4.3	7.4
25 Married	94.8	90.5	91.2	92.8	88.7	
Common law	3.5	7.0	6.6	5.4	8.1	
Visiting	1.8	2.6	2.2	1.8	3.2	
30 Married	94.3	90.3	90.5	91.6		
Common law	4.2	7.4	7.5	6.8		
Visiting	1.4	2.3	2.0	1.6		
35 Married	93.6	90.1	89.2			
Common law	5.2	7.6	8.9			
Visiting	1.3	2.3	2.0			
40 Married	93.3	90.0				
Common law	5.7	7.9				
Visiting	1.1	2.0				

cohorts is that the proportion is slightly higher, at ages 25 and under, for women more than 34 years old than for younger women. In the case of Indians, the differences between the cohorts in the proportion of time in union are small and the direction of change is not consistent.

Table 11 also shows the proportion of time in union that was spent in the first relationship. This gives some indication of the level of stability of these first relationships and how this has been changing over time.

The proportion of time spent in the first relationship was very much higher for Indians than for non-Indians.

Furthermore this proportion does not change much as the cohort ages in the case of Indians. Among non-Indians, on the other hand, the proportion declines rapidly with age because of the greater tendency of this ethnic group to change union types and partners.

Comparing the cohorts at like ages, however, the proportion of time spent in the first relationship has been declining fairly steadily for both ethnic groups.

We next look at how much of the time in union was spent in each union type (table 12). Among Indians aged 20 and older, the proportion of time in union which was spent

in legal marriage fell slightly. There was little life cycle change in this proportion. Time spent in common law and visiting relationships tended to increase but on the whole change has not been uniform.

Compared with Indians, non-Indians spent less time in legal marriage, although the proportion of time since first union spent in marriage increases appreciably with age. There was a noticeable decline in the time spent in marriage on the part of the two youngest cohorts. For the youngest cohort time spent in visiting relationships increased appreciably, while the time spent in each of the two cohabiting union types fell.

Summary

Most non-Indian women first enter visiting relationships. The remainder are about twice as likely to enter legal marriages as common law relationships. But women who enter visiting unions soon begin to shift to other union types, and most of these contract marriages. By age 20–29, therefore, marriage is the largest current union type and by age 30–39 the proportion married is larger still. At age 20–29 the proportion currently in visiting unions remains slightly higher than the proportion in common law unions, but the reverse holds by age 30–39.

While this pattern remains true for all cohorts, there have been some important changes. The proportion of women entering their first relationship by any given age has not changed much, but the proportion first entering visiting unions has increased appreciably while the proportion entering the other two union types have declined. In particular, in the ten years preceding the survey the proportion of women who remained in visiting unions has increased remarkably and this is reflected in the much higher proportion currently in these unions at age 20–29 and 30–39. While the proportion shifting to legal marriage has also increased, this is offset by a decline in first marriages. As a result, the proportion currently married has declined. There has been little change in the proportion currently in common law unions.

The increased first entry into a visiting relationship in the ten years before the survey has been accompanied by an increase in the number of women who change partners.

As a result of the above changes, the average number of years spent in union has increased slowly and steadily for successive cohorts but a declining proportion of this time has been spent in the first relationship. The proportion of this time in union which has been spent in a visiting relationship has also increased, the increase being exceptionally large for the youngest five-year age cohort (20–24 years). Time spent in the other two union types has declined.

There were more women with a simple pattern of union and partnership history (PUPH) with complex histories for the two older cohorts at age 20–29 but the reverse was true for the youngest cohort and for other cohorts at ages 30–39 and 40–49.

The situation for Indians is much simpler. Legal marriage predominates both as the first and the current union type. The principal shift from legal marriage is to the single state through widowhood and other types of marital dissolution. The outstanding change that has occurred is that the proportion of women entering their first union by age 20

has declined considerably, and there has also been some decline in this proportion at age 25 in the case of the 25–29 cohort. This decline is confined to the dominant union type – marriage. There is some evidence of increase, in the case of the youngest cohort, in the proportion of women entering visiting unions.

Among older women Indians entered their first relationship at a younger age on average than did non-Indians. This situation has gradually changed and among the youngest cohort it is the non-Indians who have the younger average age at entry into first union.

2.2 MATING AND FERTILITY (NON-INDIANS)

In this section we investigate the relationship between each of the mating variables and fertility, and explore the possibility that there has been a change in this relationship on the part of younger women. The five simple mating variables (age at first union, first union type, number of relationships, number of partners and current union status) are considered first.

Effects of the simple mating variables

Age at first union

For each cohort and at all ages⁵ there is an inverse relationship between the age at which a woman first entered a sexual union and the number of children she has had. Except for the youngest cohort, where age at first union is somewhat less important, a woman could be expected to have one less child for every 3½ to 5 years added to her age at first union.

The inverse relationship between age at first union and fertility is to be expected since the later the entry into her first union, the shorter is the duration of the woman's exposure to childbirth. But other factors are also involved in this relationship. Some of these have already been taken into account. For example, women who enter their first union at a higher age are more likely to be better educated urban dwellers who are themselves employed outside of the home and whose partners are of higher socio-economic status, and each of these factors is likely to be associated with lower fertility. In table 13, however, as in all the tables in this section, these background variables have been controlled.

However, the relationship between age at first union and fertility will be affected by some of the other mating characteristics of the woman. It was seen above that women who enter their first relationship at an early age are more likely to enter a visiting relationship. But the fertility of women who first enter a visiting relationship is lower than that of women first entering the other two union types (table 14). If, therefore, there were not so many visiting women among those entering at an early age, the impact of age at first union would have been even greater than observed, as is seen when adjustment for first union type is made.

On the other hand, those who enter their first union

⁵ For convenience the term *set* is sometimes used in this study to designate a cohort at a given age.

Table 13 Effects of age at first union on fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian). Regression coefficients: B

Cohort/ Measure	Adjusted up to variable					
	Back-ground variables	First union type	Partners/ Relationships		Current union status	
			Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs
<i>At age 20–29 years</i>						
40–49 cohort	–0.23	–0.25	–0.24	–0.22	–0.23	–0.22
30–39 cohort	–0.27	–0.28	–0.27	–0.25	–0.25	–0.24
20–29 cohort	–0.16	–0.17	–0.17	–0.15	–0.15	–0.14
<i>At age 30–39 years</i>						
40–49 cohort	–0.22	–0.24	–0.23	–0.22	–0.23	–0.22
30–39 cohort	–0.28	–0.28	–0.29	–0.26	–0.27	–0.25
<i>At age 40–49 years</i>						
40–49 cohort	–0.20	–0.22	–0.21	–0.19	–0.20	–0.18

Table 14 Effects of first union type on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian)

Cohort/ Measure	Adjusted up to variable					
	Back-ground variables	Age at first union	Partners/ Relationships		Current union status	
			Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs
A At age 20–29 years						
<i>40–49 cohort</i>						
Married	2.5	2.7	2.8	3.0	2.6	2.8
Common law	2.2	2.2	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3
Visiting	2.1	2.0	2.0	1.9	2.1	2.0
<i>30–39 cohort</i>						
Married	2.8	2.9	2.9	3.2	2.6	2.8
Common law	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.4	2.2	2.3
Visiting	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.3	2.2
<i>20–29 cohort</i>						
Married	2.3	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.3	2.4
Common law	3.1	3.0	3.0	3.1	3.0	3.0
Visiting	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0
B At age 30–39 years						
<i>40–49 cohort</i>						
Married	4.2	4.4	4.5	4.8	4.5	4.7
Common law	5.0	5.0	5.1	5.1	5.1	5.1
Visiting	3.8	3.6	3.6	3.5	3.6	3.5
<i>30–39 cohort</i>						
Married	5.1	5.2	5.1	5.3	5.1	5.3
Common law	5.7	5.6	5.6	5.5	5.6	5.6
Visiting	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0
C At age 40–49 years						
<i>40–49 cohort</i>						
Married	6.1	6.4	6.5	6.8	6.4	6.8
Common law	6.2	6.2	6.3	6.3	6.2	6.2
Visiting	5.9	5.7	5.7	5.5	5.7	5.6

Table 15 Effects of number of partners/relationships on the cumulative fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian). Regression coefficients: B

Cohort/ Measure	Adjusted up to variable							
	Background variables		Age at first union		First union type		Current union status	
	Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs
<i>At age 20–29 years</i>								
40–49 cohort	0.37	0.48	0.12	0.26	0.21	0.47	0.27	0.40
30–39 cohort	0.33	0.48	0.14	0.29	0.17	0.44	0.23	0.29
20–29 cohort	0.07	0.26	–0.05	0.14	–0.02	0.23	0.08	0.15
<i>At age 30–39 years</i>								
40–49 cohort	0.38	0.42	0.19	0.22	0.28	0.47	–0.23	0.44
30–39 cohort	0.09	0.37	–0.13	0.16	–0.14	0.20	–0.06	0.25
<i>At age 40–49 years</i>								
40–49 cohort	0.42	0.45	0.26	0.27	0.33	0.47	0.59	0.61

earlier can be expected to have more relationships and partners, and table 15 shows that fertility increases as the number of relationships and partners increase. Part of the impact of age at first union, therefore, reflects the larger numbers of partners and relationships, and the regression coefficient is consequently reduced when these two variables are controlled.

The single exception to the above pattern is for the 30–39 cohort at age 30–39, because for this set there is a negative relationship between number of partners and fertility (table 15).

We would expect that the importance of age at first union would decline somewhat for a cohort as it ages, as those women who marry later have time to 'catch up' with their births. This appears to be borne out by the 40–49 but not the 30–39 cohort. In both cases, however, the changes are small.

The negative influence of age at first union on fertility is marginally greater for the 30–39 than for the 40–49 cohort at both ages 20–29 and 30–39. In general the slight differential is not affected by controlling for other mating variables except that at age 30–39 the difference disappears when the number of partners is controlled. A significant change appears to have occurred with the youngest cohort, however, for whom age at first union has much less influence on fertility than it does for the two older cohorts. Here again adjustment for the other mating variables does not affect the differential. This change accords with the generally held view that contraceptive prevalence is much higher among young women than it was among the older cohorts when they were young.

First union type

Women who first entered a visiting relationship had fewer children, on average, than those who entered either of the other two union types (see table 14). One reason for this is that women in a visiting relationship may have spent less time in unions, over the reproductive years, than other union types, as mentioned earlier. It was shown earlier (see current union status and pattern of relationship change, pages 14–15 and 16–19) that most of these women soon

shift from visiting to one of the cohabiting union types, and this must largely explain why the differentials are not large. Another, increasingly important reason is differential use of contraception – this would help to explain the high level of fertility among the lower social status common law group. The reversal at age 40–49, when the married group had highest fertility, could have resulted from the increasing shift of high fertility common law women into married unions.

For the two cohorts at age 30–39 as well as the youngest cohort at age 20–29 common law wives have a much higher fertility than married women. Since women entering a common law relationship have a lower socio-economic status (see educational level of first union types, pages 12–14) it might be surmised that this accounts for their higher fertility even after controlling for education and the other background variables. But the situation is just the reverse for the two older cohorts at age 20–29: it is possible that the higher social status married group did not control their fertility in the first ten years or so of marriage, but started to use contraception after reaching an average family size of nearly three children. This would coincide with external data on the timing of the decline in fertility and the rise in contraception from the early 1960s onwards (see Singh 1979 and Balkaran 1982).

Adjustment for the other mating variables does not change the fertility of women in a visiting relationship. Nor does it affect the differentials between married and common law fertility at age 20–29. At age 30–39, however, the higher fertility of women initially in a common law union is largely associated with the fact that these women have more relationships than those who were initially married.

Fertility at age 20–29 has not changed much between the two oldest cohorts. For the youngest cohort, however, fertility has fallen for the two higher status union types (married and visiting) but has increased for the low status type – common law. At age 30–39, fertility has increased for the three union types the increase being particularly large for women first in a visiting relationship. This rise in fertility is also supported by external data from censuses and vital statistics.

Numbers of relationships and partners

The more relationships and partners that a woman has, the higher her fertility is likely to be. Ebanks *et al* (1974a), and more recently Brody (1981) and Lightbourne and Singh (1982), have found evidence that each time a woman enters a new partnership she feels compelled to have one or more children for the new partner. This is supported by the figures in table 15 except for the 30–39 cohort at age 30–39 where there is a negative relationship between the variables.

But the number of relationships is more consistent in its direct association with fertility and, moreover, the mean number of children increase much more with each additional relationship than with each additional partner. Since there is a change of relationship whenever there is a change of partner as well as when there is a change of union type with the same partner, it follows that this latter event also has an important direct relationship with fertility. In this case it is likely that higher fertility is a cause rather than an effect of a change of relationship. In other words, women with many children are more likely to shift to a more stable union type with the same partner than those with few children.

The association between the numbers of relationships/partners and fertility is affected by age at first union and first union type as discussed earlier. In the case of relationships, however, the effects of these two variables roughly cancel each other out for all but one set. In the case of partners, however, the net effect of adjustment for age at first union and first union type is to reduce the impact of this variable on fertility.

At age 20–29 for all cohorts, as well as at age 30–39 for the oldest cohort, the association between relationships and fertility partly reflects the likelihood that a woman with many relationships will be currently in one of the two high fertility union types. Consequently, when adjustment is made for current union status the impact of the number of relationships is reduced in these cases. But this adjustment has the opposite effect on the impact of partners on fertility probably because women who change partners are more likely to be in a visiting relationships than those who change relationships with the same partner.

The association between fertility and both the number of relationships and the number of partners has declined during the ten years preceding the survey at both ages 20–29 and 30–39. Once again the change is greatest for the youngest cohort. It is possible that the pressure on a woman to have children for each additional partner has been declining with the increasing education and improving status of women. This would explain at least in part the reduction in the impact of number of partners on fertility. The reason for the change is likely, however, to be more complex than this.

Current union status

As for first union type, the level of fertility is much less for women currently in a visiting relationship than for those in one of the cohabiting relationships (table 16). In most instances the fertility of visiting women is also less than that of the residual group of 'single' women. The sole exception is the 40–49 cohort at age 30–39, where the fertility of visiting women exceeds that of all other union types. From tables 17 and 18 it is evident that it was

women who had visiting relationships with two or more partners who had a very high fertility. It is just such a group that Brody (1981) described for Jamaica. By age 40–49, however, the fertility of this group had fallen as some of those with the largest families shifted to common law or married relationships (table 18).

In general, married women have a slightly higher fertility than common law wives, except for the 20–29 cohort where the reverse is true. Because women in common law relationships are of a lower socio-economic status, it might have been expected that they would have the higher fertility, but this is to some extent offset by the greater continuity of married unions (Roberts and Braithwaite 1960). But more importantly the highest fertility was among currently married women who were initially in a common law relationship (see analysis of the pattern of relationship change variable, pages 26–27 below).

At ages 20–29 and 30–39, the fertility of common law wives has been increasing while that of visiting women has been tending to fall. There is no consistent change in the case of married women.

Adjustment for the other mating variables does not have much effect on the mean number of children born to women of different current union types.

Effects of the composite mating variables

In the study of mating patterns it has been found useful to introduce variables derived by combining two or more simple mating variables. As noted in chapter 1, in this study we have used two such derived variables – the pattern of relationship change (PRC) and the pattern of union and partnership history (PUPH). The association between these variables and fertility is now investigated.

Pattern of union and partnership history (PUPH)

Women with a complex history have had, in general, more partners and more relationships than those with a simple history. As a consequence, the fertility of women with complex histories is, in most instances, higher than that of women in the same current union type but with a simple history. But the mean number of partners is much smaller for currently married women than for those in the other two union types,⁶ and for this reason the difference in fertility between married women with simple and complex histories is not generally large.

When adjustment is made for the higher age at entry into a union on the part of women with a simple history, the differential between the fertility of women with simple and complex histories is reduced, and in the case of married women it is those with a simple history who have the higher fertility. Indeed, for the 30–39 cohort at ages 20–29 and 30–39 as well as for the 40–49 cohort at age 40–49 married women with a simple history have the highest fertility of all.

For those with a simple history, married women have the highest fertility, followed by those in common law and then those in visiting unions. The single exception is the youngest cohort where women in common law unions have a slightly higher fertility than married women.

Among women with a complex history women in a visiting union again have the lowest fertility for most sets,

⁶ Guyana Fertility Survey 1975: Country Report 1, table 3.1.5.

Table 16 Effects of current union status on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian)

Cohort/Measure	Adjusted up to variable				
	Background variables	Age at first union	First union type	Partners/Relationships	
				Ps	Rs
A At age 20–29 years					
<i>40–49 cohort</i>					
Married	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.5	2.3
Common law	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.2	2.2
Visiting	1.7	1.7	1.8	1.8	2.0
Single	1.8	1.8	1.9	1.9	2.1
<i>30–39 cohort</i>					
Married	2.9	2.9	2.8	2.9	2.8
Common law	2.6	2.5	2.6	2.5	2.4
Visiting	1.4	1.6	1.7	1.6	1.8
Single	2.0	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.0
<i>20–29 cohort</i>					
Married	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.6	2.5
Common law	2.9	2.7	2.7	2.6	2.6
Visiting	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5
Single	1.5	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6
B At age 30–39 years					
<i>40–49 cohort</i>					
Married	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.2	4.2
Common law	4.0	3.9	3.9	3.7	3.7
Visiting	5.0	4.9	5.1	4.9	5.0
Single	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.8	3.0
<i>30–39 cohort</i>					
Married	5.3	5.3	5.4	5.3	5.4
Common law	5.4	5.3	5.2	5.3	5.1
Visiting	4.6	4.6	4.6	4.7	4.5
Single	4.2	4.5	4.4	4.5	4.5
C At age 40–49 years					
<i>40–49 cohort</i>					
Married	6.5	6.5	6.4	6.7	6.6
Common law	6.0	6.1	6.1	5.8	5.7
Visiting	4.9	4.8	4.9	4.5	4.6
Single	5.5	5.4	5.4	5.4	5.5

while the fertility of common law wives is marginally higher than that of married women. There are, however, a number of exceptions to this simple pattern.

When we compare the three cohorts at age 20–29, one consistent trend is that visiting women, whether with a simple or a complex history, are having fewer children, as are married women (both with simple and complex histories) but only in the last decade – from the 30–39 cohort, to the 20–29 cohort. On the other hand, there was a slight increase in the fertility of women in simple common law relationships and also that of women in complex common law relationships when age at first union is controlled.

At age 30–39, the fertility of all categories, except the complex visiting, has increased over time, from the 40–49 cohort to the 30–39 cohort.

Pattern of relationship change (PRC)

The expectation that women who join in a common law union are of lower socio-economic status and would therefore have a higher fertility than married women was not borne out when first and current union types were analysed. Among women currently married, however, women who were initially common law have by far the highest fertility. The next highest subgroup is those who

Table 17 Effects of pattern of union and partnership history (PUPH) on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian)

Cohort/PUPH ^a	Adjusted up to variable							
	Background variables		Age at first union		Background variables		Age at first union	
	A At age 20–29 years		B At age 30–39 years		C At age 40–49 years			
<i>40–49 cohort</i>								
S-Married	2.4	2.6	3.9	4.2	6.4	6.6		
S-Common law	2.0	2.1	3.5	4.2	3.9	4.9		
S-Visiting	1.2	1.3	1.5	1.7	1.8	2.4		
C-Married	2.5	2.2	4.4	4.1	6.4	6.2		
C-Common law	2.9	2.5	4.1	3.8	6.1	6.1		
C-Visiting	2.8	2.7	5.6	5.4	4.9	4.8		
C-Single	2.4	2.0	3.7	3.7	6.6	6.2		
<i>30–39 cohort</i>								
S-Married	2.9	3.1	5.2	5.6				
S-Common law	2.1	2.2	4.3	4.7				
S-Visiting	1.1	1.4	2.2	3.2				
C-Married	2.9	2.5	5.3	5.1				
C-Common law	2.8	2.6	5.5	5.2				
C-Visiting	2.2	2.0	4.9	4.8				
C-Single	2.7	2.3	4.9	4.7				
<i>20–29 cohort</i>								
S-Married	2.3	2.5						
S-Common law	2.6	2.7						
S-Visiting	0.9	1.1						
C-Married	2.6	2.5						
C-Common law	2.9	2.7						
C-Visiting	1.8	1.8						
C-Single	1.7	1.6						

^a In row labels S = Simple and C = Complex.

were initially visiting but were also common law before their current marriage.

Among those currently in a common law union, too, those initially common law have a higher fertility than those initially visiting in most of the sets. Among those initially visiting, except for the oldest cohort at age 30 and higher, once again those who shifted to a common law union (including those who shifted again to legal marriage) have the highest fertility of the subset.⁷

Table 18 further demonstrates that the reason why common law fertility is not clearly higher than married fertility according to the first and current union type of the woman is that women with the highest fertility are the ones who shift to legal marriage from an initial or intermediate common law union. On the other hand, women initially married or visiting who were currently in the same type had the lowest fertility of all.

The fact that women who change union type have a higher fertility than those who do not is in accordance with

the earlier observation that fertility increases with the number of partners and relationships.

Summary

These results show an inverse relationship between age at first union and fertility. In addition the more partners and relationships a woman has had, the more children she is likely to have, the effect of relationships being larger than that of partners. These relationships hold for all cohorts and at all ages with a few exceptions in the case of partners when adjustment is made for other mating variables.

For both the initial and the current union type, women in a visiting relationship had fewer children than those in the other two union types. The single exception is for the 40–49 cohort at age 30–39 where women currently in a visiting relationship had the highest fertility. This may be the result of an unusual sample selection for this set.

In the classification by PUPH, women with a complex history had a larger number of children, on average, than those in the same current union type but with a simple history. Among those with a simple history married women had the highest fertility while among those with a complex history women currently common law had the highest

⁷ There were too few women currently visiting who were initially in another union type or, indeed, who shifted from married to common law, to be analysed separately. These are grouped together in the table but not discussed for this reason.

Table 18 Effects of pattern of relationship change (PRC) on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian)

Cohort/PRC	Adjusted up to variable					
	Background variables		Age at first union		Background variables	
	A At age 20–29 years		B At age 30–39 years		C At age 40–49 years	
<i>40–49 cohort</i>						
M → M	2.1	2.3	3.6	3.8	5.7	5.9
M, CL → V; M → CL	(0.0)	(0.0)	(5.7)	(6.5)	(1.0)	(2.0)
CL → M	5.5	5.9	7.3	7.1	9.8	9.9
CL → CL	2.3	2.2	4.1	5.0	5.4	6.5
V → CL → M	2.6	2.3	3.7	3.6	5.6	5.4
V → M	2.3	2.3	3.9	3.9	6.5	6.5
V → CL	2.8	2.5	3.7	3.4	6.4	6.2
V → V	1.8	1.8	4.8	4.6	5.6	5.3
<i>30–39 cohort</i>						
M → M	2.5	2.5	4.8	5.0		
M, CL → V; M → CL	(0.0)	(0.3)	(5.4)	(5.4)		
CL → M	6.3	6.6	7.8	6.9		
CL → CL	2.8	2.5	6.8	7.0		
V → CL → M	3.2	2.7	6.2	5.8		
V → M	2.8	2.8	5.1	5.2		
V → CL	2.6	2.5	5.3	5.0		
V → V	1.5	1.7	4.4	4.5		
<i>20–29 cohort</i>						
M → M	1.8	2.0				
M, CL → V; M → CL	(1.6)	(1.6)				
CL → M	7.0	7.5				
CL → CL	2.7	2.6				
V → CL → M	2.9	2.6				
V → M	2.4	2.4				
V → CL	2.6	2.5				
V → V	1.5	1.5				

fertility in most instances. In both instances women currently visiting had the lowest fertility except for the special case just mentioned, where the exception was for women with a complex history, the fertility of these visiting women being the highest of all categories.

Women who were initially visiting or married and were currently in the same union type had the lowest fertility of all PRC categories, the fertility of visiting women being the lower of the two, except for the special case of the 40–49 cohort at age 30–39 where this group had the highest fertility of all. The expected high fertility of women who have been in a common law relationship is well demonstrated – of women initially visiting those who were currently common law had the highest fertility; of those currently common law or married, those who were initially common law had the highest fertility. The relatively low level of fertility of women currently common law is seen to be the result of the likelihood of a shift of common law wives with the highest fertility to legal marriage.

The relationship between each of the above mating variables and fertility is different for the youngest cohort than for women 30 years and older. Thus, the fertility of

women aged 20–29 is much less associated with the age at first union, the number of partners or the number of relationships than is the case with older women. This is believed to reflect the greater importance of contraception among these younger women, given that contraceptive prevalence has increased appreciably over time. The importance of the number of relationships and of partners, but not the importance of age at first union, is also less for women aged 30–39 than for the oldest cohort, 40–49 year olds, at age 30–39.

The fertility of women in a common law relationship has been increasing. In the case of current union type the increase has been at both ages 20–29 and 30–39 for women in a common law relationship, while the fertility of the two other union types has fallen. In the case of initial union type the increase for common law wives at age 20–29 is only for the youngest cohort, while at age 30–39 the fertility of the other two union types has also increased. For the most part, then, fertility has increased among the union type which is much more common among the less educated, while the fertility of the two other types of higher socio-economic status has fallen.

3 Trinidad and Tobago

3.1 MATING

First entry into a sexual union and first union type

As in Guyana, the mating patterns of Indians and non-Indians are very different as regards age at entry into first union and the union types that they first enter. Among the older cohorts, Indians enter their first union much earlier than non-Indians (table 19) and most Indians first join in legal marriage, though the proportion entering a visiting relationship has been increasing. On the other hand, most non-Indians first enter a visiting relationship (table 20).

A comparison of the age cohorts shows that the age at entry into their first union has not changed much in the case of non-Indians, but there has been a dramatic decline in the proportion of Indians entering their first union by age 25 (table 19). As a result, among women under 30 years of age it is non-Indians who enter their first union at an earlier age.

In the case of non-Indians, the proportion of women who first enter a visiting relationship is very much higher for young women under 30 years old than for older cohorts and conversely the proportion of women entering the two cohabiting union types is very much lower for the younger cohorts under 30 years old. Among Indians, too, more young women are entering a visiting relationship and fewer are entering married and common law relationships, but the change started five years earlier with women now 30–34 years of age and, moreover, entry into a visiting relationship has continued to increase and entry into legal marriage has continued to decline for successive younger cohorts (table 20).

The education level of first union types

There is an interesting difference between Indians and non-Indians in the relationship between education and first union type. Among non-Indians 30 years and older, better educated women were more likely to marry and less likely to enter a visiting or common law relationship than less educated women. Among Indians, on the other hand, better educated women were more likely to enter a visiting union than less educated women while the reverse was true for the other two union types. There were exceptions in both instances, however, as can be seen from table 21.

For the youngest cohort, the proportion of the best educated non-Indian women who were first married was very much higher than that of less educated women, while the proportion first in a visiting union was very much lower. The situation was just the opposite for Indians.

At age 20–29 the proportion of women marrying has declined and the proportion first entering a visiting relationship has increased between successive cohorts for each education group in the case of non-Indians and for most education groups in the case of Indians. In the case of non-Indians the proportion first in a common law relationship is higher for women 30–39 than for the older cohort, but is very much lower for the youngest cohort particularly among women with a secondary education. In the case of Indians, except for the lowest education group, the proportion first common law initially fell and then increased.

At age 30–39 the decline in the proportion married and the increase in the proportion visiting for non-Indians have occurred for each education group except the least

Table 19 Percentage of women who, at age x, were ever in a union, for non-Indians and Indians

Age x	Age at interview					
	45–49	40–44	35–39	30–34	25–29	20–24
A Non-Indian						
15	9.8	14.7	9.1	12.6	8.9	9.8
20	61.5	64.5	61.6	58.6	63.2	64.0
25	85.1	88.5	88.1	84.0	89.3	
30	93.8	93.7	95.4	94.5		
35	96.9	97.1	97.5			
40	97.3	98.0				
B Indian						
15	29.1	22.6	15.3	10.3	10.0	8.1
20	77.2	82.0	70.4	59.9	55.8	46.8
25	96.3	93.9	88.7	86.2	81.8	
30	97.2	96.7	92.5	93.4		
35	97.8	97.8	95.2			
40	97.8	98.3				

Table 20 Percentage of women, at age x, never in a union, and ever in a union by first union type, for age cohorts

Age x/First union type	Age cohort						
	45-49	40-44	35-39	30-34	25-29	20-24	
A Non-Indian							
15	Visiting	6.5	11.6	6.8	9.5	8.9	9.3
	Common law	2.1	0.9	0.7	2.4	0.0	0.2
	Married	1.3	2.3	1.6	0.7	0.0	0.2
	Never in union	90.2	85.3	90.9	87.4	91.1	90.2
20	Visiting	44.0	47.7	46.3	45.1	59.3	59.5
	Common law	8.0	7.6	6.7	6.5	1.7	2.8
	Married	9.4	9.2	8.6	7.0	2.3	1.7
	Never in union	38.5	35.5	38.4	41.4	36.8	36.0
25	Visiting	57.2	62.1	62.6	64.0	80.4	
	Common law	9.2	8.4	8.2	8.2	3.4	
	Married	18.7	18.0	17.3	11.9	5.5	
	Never in union	14.9	11.5	11.9	16.0	10.7	
30	Visiting	61.0	65.1	67.3	71.4		
	Common law	9.2	9.3	8.2	8.2		
	Married	23.5	19.2	19.9	15.0		
	Never in union	6.2	6.3	4.6	5.5		
35	Visiting	62.3	66.9	68.4			
	Common law	9.2	9.8	8.5			
	Married	25.3	20.5	20.7			
	Never in union	3.1	2.9	2.5			
40	Visiting	62.3	67.7				
	Common law	9.2	9.8				
	Married	25.8	20.5				
	Never in union	2.8	2.0				
B Indian							
15	Visiting	0.7	3.8	2.4	3.8	4.0	4.1
	Common law	2.1	1.7	2.5	1.1	1.0	1.1
	Married	26.4	17.2	10.4	5.8	5.1	2.9
	Never in union	70.9	77.3	84.7	89.4	89.9	91.9
20	Visiting	8.2	13.8	12.1	14.4	18.9	20.4
	Common law	4.8	8.5	8.6	3.6	3.6	3.9
	Married	64.1	59.7	49.7	41.9	33.3	22.5
	Never in union	22.8	18.0	29.6	40.1	44.3	53.2
25	Visiting	9.5	17.4	15.8	19.1	29.1	
	Common law	7.0	9.1	9.8	5.0	6.6	
	Married	79.9	67.4	63.1	62.0	46.1	
	Never in union	3.6	6.1	11.3	13.8	18.2	
30	Visiting	10.3	17.4	16.2	20.9		
	Common law	7.0	9.1	10.3	5.3		
	Married	79.9	70.1	66.0	67.4		
	Never in union	2.8	3.3	7.5	6.4		
35	Visiting	10.3	17.9	16.6			
	Common law	7.0	9.1	10.3			
	Married	80.5	70.8	68.3			
	Never in union	2.2	2.2	4.8			
40	Visiting	10.3	18.4				
	Common law	7.0	9.1				
	Married	80.5	70.8				
	Never in union	2.2	1.7				

Table 21 Per cent distribution of age cohorts according to first union type – by level of education and age

Comparable age/Level of education	Age cohort/First union type											
	40–49				30–39				20–29			
	M	CL	V	EU	M	CL	V	EU	M	CL	V	EU
A Non-Indian												
<i>20–29 years</i>												
Prim. 7 yr	15.1	12.8	65.5	93.4	10.2	17.7	67.4	95.4	4.2	5.7	83.1	93.0
Prim. 8–9 yr	16.1	5.7	61.4	83.2	8.9	8.6	67.7	85.2	3.4	4.0	81.7	89.1
Sec.-none	25.5	7.7	48.5	81.8	15.3	5.2	60.6	81.1	2.1	3.7	83.9	89.6
Sec.-cert.	37.1	1.1	35.8	74.0	20.6	1.2	40.2	61.9	10.7	1.0	60.2	71.9
All women	19.6	7.8	57.8	85.3	14.3	8.2	60.4	82.9	5.2	3.2	76.1	84.6
<i>30–39 years</i>												
Prim. 7 yr	11.6	15.3	71.8	98.8	11.2	16.0	72.2	99.4				
Prim. 8–9 yr	18.9	7.3	70.3	96.5	11.1	8.3	76.8	96.1				
Sec.-none	30.5	6.0	58.6	95.1	21.1	4.5	70.4	96.1				
Sec.-cert.	49.5	2.2	45.1	96.8	31.7	1.7	59.9	93.3				
All women	23.7	8.7	64.1	96.5	18.0	8.5	69.9	96.4				
<i>40–49 years</i>												
Prim. 7 yr	12.2	13.6	73.6	99.3								
Prim. 8–9 yr	16.6	7.9	74.4	99.0								
Sec.-none	31.7	5.4	55.6	92.6								
Sec.-cert.	43.0	4.5	49.4	96.8								
All women	24.1	8.9	64.9	97.9								
B Indian												
<i>20–29 years</i>												
Prim. 7 yr	75.3	8.8	11.4	95.4	67.5	9.9	12.9	90.4	44.9	6.7	31.7	83.3
Prim. 8–9 yr	53.5	5.6	19.6	78.7	59.9	4.1	19.4	83.4	44.9	7.0	25.3	77.2
Secondary	59.2	4.9	23.5	87.6	35.7	0.9	22.1	58.7	24.6	2.0	33.5	60.1
All women	70.5	8.0	13.7	92.1	61.0	6.8	16.7	84.5	40.6	5.0	27.2	72.8
<i>30–39 years</i>												
Prim. 7 yr	78.6	9.0	11.5	99.1	71.0	10.1	15.0	96.1				
Prim. 8–9 yr	59.0	6.4	24.3	89.6	66.4	4.5	24.8	95.8				
Secondary	69.8	0.8	24.9	95.4	64.8	2.1	25.7	92.6				
All women	74.5	8.2	14.6	97.2	68.9	7.5	19.2	95.6				
<i>40–49 years</i>												
Prim. 7 yr	78.5	9.4	11.2	99.1								
Prim. 8–9 yr	58.5	5.5	29.5	93.6								
Secondary	76.2	0.0	23.8	100.0								
All women	74.6	8.3	15.2	98.1								

educated, there being little change for this group. Among Indians the decline in the proportion married and the increase in the proportion visiting were not uniform for all education groups.

Current union status – non-Indian

An aspect of mating among non-Indians that has attracted much attention is the tendency for women to change their

initial union type either with the same or another partner. In particular, very many of the women who first enter a visiting relationship soon shift to legal marriage and, to a lesser extent, to a common law union or to the single state (see discussion of PRC below). As a consequence, even at age 20–29, except for the youngest cohort, there were many more women currently married than currently visiting or common law (table 22). By age 30–39 more than one-half of the women in the survey were currently married.

Table 22 Per cent distribution of non-Indian cohorts according to current union status – by age

Comparable age/ Age cohort	Current union status				
	Married	Common law	Visiting	Single	Never in a union
<i>20–29 years</i>					
40–49 cohort	43.6	15.2	19.3	7.1	14.7
30–39 cohort	35.6	18.2	20.9	8.2	17.1
20–29 cohort	27.6	15.6	31.1	10.3	15.4
<i>30–39 years</i>					
40–49 cohort	60.6	18.9	8.5	8.5	3.5
30–39 cohort	50.9	17.5	18.4	9.5	3.6
<i>40–49 years</i>					
40–49 cohort	58.4	14.1	8.7	16.7	2.1

The life cycle change in current union type also gives an indication of the magnitude and direction of changes in union type. The proportion of women currently married increases between ages 20–29 and 30–39 as women who were initially in a visiting relationship or not yet in a union ten years earlier enter a married relationship.

Comparing the age cohorts, the proportion of women currently married has declined at both ages 20–29 and 30–39. There has been little change in the other union types between the two oldest cohorts at age 20–29. During the ten years preceding the survey, however, the proportion currently visiting has increased appreciably at ages 20–29 and 30–39.

Level of education – non-Indian

Among non-Indians 30 years and older the proportion of women currently married increases and the proportion currently in a common law union falls as education increases (table 23). Only very few women with a completed secondary education were in a common law union. The proportion of women in a visiting relationship did not change uniformly with education. However, very few of the best educated women 40–49 years old were in a visiting relationship at any age.

Among the youngest cohort the proportion currently in a common law union again fell as education increased

Table 23 Per cent distribution of each age cohort according to current union status at comparable ages, by education

Age/Level of education	Age cohort														
	40–49					30–39					20–29				
	M	CL	V	S	Total EU	M	CL	V	S	Total EU	M	CL	V	S	Total EU
<i>20–29 years</i>															
Prim. 7 yr	38.1	28.0	21.4	5.9	93.4	34.8	33.3	15.6	11.8	95.4	33.1	20.5	25.9	13.4	93.0
Prim. 8 yr	42.9	19.5	16.2	11.2	89.8	29.1	28.8	27.4	10.0	95.3	16.6	25.7	29.7	16.2	88.2
Prim. 9 yr	38.0	10.1	23.4	9.1	80.6	35.3	17.3	20.2	9.4	82.2	23.7	21.7	33.9	9.9	89.3
Sec.-none	54.6	4.3	17.5	5.4	81.8	39.2	9.3	26.7	5.8	81.1	28.3	14.3	36.8	10.2	89.6
Sec.-cert.	59.9	2.2	8.0	3.8	74.0	36.9	3.0	19.3	2.6	61.9	31.9	7.1	24.2	8.7	71.9
<i>30–39 years</i>															
Prim. 6 yr	49.8	32.7	8.8	7.4	98.8	43.3	32.6	15.5	8.0	99.4					
Prim. 7 yr	58.1	25.4	11.0	5.5	100.0	42.9	20.9	29.1	7.1	100.0					
Prim. 8 yr	60.6	14.1	7.0	13.3	95.1	47.2	15.7	20.3	11.7	94.9					
Sec.-none	60.2	7.5	13.5	10.2	91.4	57.0	12.5	20.1	6.5	96.1					
Sec.-cert.	94.2	0.0	2.5	0.0	96.8	66.3	3.7	11.1	12.2	93.3					
<i>40–49 years</i>															
Prim. 6 yr	57.1	20.2	7.4	14.6	99.3										
Prim. 7 yr	55.7	17.9	8.4	18.0	100.0										
Prim. 8 yr	53.1	14.1	11.9	19.5	98.6										
Sec.-none	56.9	7.0	12.1	16.7	92.6										
Sec.-cert.	80.2	1.9	0.0	14.6	96.8										

Table 24 Per cent distribution of non-Indian women according to the numbers of relationships and partners and the mean numbers of relationships and partners – by age

Age/Number of partners and relationships	Age cohort					
	A Non-Indian			B Indian		
	40–49	30–39	20–29	40–49	30–39	20–29
<i>20–29 years</i>						
Never in union	14.7	17.1	15.4	7.9	15.3	27.2
1 partner/1 relationship	38.9	32.5	23.7	74.2	64.8	45.3
1 partner/2 + relationships	24.1	22.8	21.0	10.0	10.0	19.1
2 + partners/relationships	22.2	27.6	39.8	7.8	9.8	8.3
Mean no. of partners	1.2	1.2	1.5	1.1	1.1	1.3
Mean no. of relationships	1.5	1.6	1.9	1.0	1.0	1.1
<i>30–39 years</i>						
Never in union	3.7	3.6		2.8	4.4	
1 partner/1 relationship	27.3	18.9		66.1	64.7	
1 partner/2 + relationships	30.3	28.0		13.8	11.9	
2 + partners/relationships	38.8	49.4		17.3	19.1	
Mean no. of partners	1.6	1.8		1.2	1.2	
Mean no. of relationships	2.2	2.1		1.4	1.4	
<i>40–49 years</i>						
Never in union	2.1			1.9		
1 partner/1 relationship	20.9			63.2		
1 partner/2 + relationships	29.3			13.8		
2 + partners/relationships	47.6			21.1		
Mean no. of partners	1.8			1.2		
Mean no. of relationships	2.6			1.5		

while, except for the best educated group, better educated women were more likely to be in a visiting relationship. For this cohort there was a uniform increase in the proportion married, with rising education, except that the least educated group had a higher proportion married than the next education group.

At age 20–29 the proportion of married women declined between successive cohorts for each education group. On the other hand, the proportion currently in a common law relationship increased for all education groups between the two oldest cohorts and for the youngest cohort it continued to increase for women with a completed primary education or higher, but declined for less educated women. The proportion in a visiting union did not change uniformly between the two oldest cohorts. This proportion increased, however, in the ten years preceding the survey for every education group.

The proportion of women currently married has declined for all education groups, at age 30–39, while the proportion in a visiting union has increased.

There were too few Indian women in common law and visiting relationships for a cross-classification by education. In general the proportion of women who were married fell and the proportion never in a union increased as education increased.

The numbers of relationships and partners

Table 24 clearly demonstrates how widespread is the practice of changing partners and relationships among non-Indian women. By age 40–49 nearly one-half of the oldest cohort had changed partners (the survey did not collect information on how many of these partnerships were dissolved through the death of the partner) and only one in five had not changed from their first partner and relationship. Most of these changes had taken place by age 30–39.

The outstanding difference between the cohorts of non-Indians is that in the ten years preceding the survey there was a large increase in the proportion of women changing partners, while there were fewer women who had changed relationships but remained with their first partner.

Pattern of relationship change (PRC)

The extent to which non-Indian women who first entered a visiting relationship soon shifted to other union types is clearly indicated in table 25. Of the women aged 20–29, 76 per cent had first entered a visiting relationship but only 31 per cent remained in this union type. Of the remainder, 22 per cent shifted to legal marriage, a few of them with an

Table 25 Per cent distribution of age cohorts of women according to pattern of relationship change (PRC) at comparable ages

Comparable age/ Age cohort	Pattern of relationship change (PRC)										
	M-M	M-CL M-V CL-V	CL-M	CL-CL	V-CL-M	V-M	V-CL	V-V	V-S	M-S CL-S	NU
A Non-Indian											
<i>20-29 years</i>											
40-49 cohort	17.9	1.5	1.7	5.0	5.1	18.9	9.7	18.4	5.7	1.4	14.7
30-39 cohort	11.2	1.9	2.2	5.3	4.2	18.0	12.2	19.8	6.2	2.0	17.1
20-29 cohort	4.9	0.7	1.0	1.8	3.4	18.3	13.5	30.8	10.0	0.2	15.4
<i>30-39 years</i>											
40-49 cohort	20.2	2.1	2.9	5.0	8.2	29.3	12.8	7.5	6.2	2.3	3.5
30-39 cohort	13.7	4.1	3.3	2.9	8.3	25.6	13.4	15.6	7.0	2.5	3.6
<i>40-49 years</i>											
40-49 cohort	17.0	4.9	3.5	2.7	12.1	25.8	9.1	6.1	11.8	4.9	2.1
Comparable age/ Age cohort	Pattern of relationship change (PRC)										
	M-M	M-CL M-V CL-V	CL-M	CL-CL	V-M	V-CL V-V	M-S	CL-S V-S	NU		
B Indian											
<i>20-29 years</i>											
40-49 cohort	65.0	4.2	7.1	7.8	4.5	2.5	0.9	7.9			
30-39 cohort	54.8	3.9	6.1	9.2	5.3	3.1	2.1	15.5			
20-29 cohort	36.1	1.8	5.4	17.3	8.4	1.8	2.0	27.2			
<i>30-39 years</i>											
40-49 cohort	63.7	8.6	6.9	8.0	5.3	3.2	1.4	2.8			
30-39 cohort	58.5	7.7	6.0	11.8	4.8	3.7	3.2	4.4			
<i>40-49 years</i>											
40-49 cohort	56.2	10.2	6.8	9.9	3.7	9.7	1.6	1.9			

intermediate common law relationship, 14 per cent shifted to a common law relationship and 10 per cent were without a partner at the time of the survey.

As women age from 20-29 to 30-39, there continues to be a shift away from a visiting relationship to marriage and, to a very small extent, to a common law union.

Among Indians fewer women first enter a visiting relationship but here too there is soon a shift to legal marriage. This has become much more common among the youngest cohort and there was also an increase at age 30-39. From the preceding discussion of the numbers of partners and relationships it is clear that much of this increased shifting from visiting to marriage involves women changing their union type with the same partner.

Comparing the cohorts of non-Indians at age 20-29, the two notable changes are that the proportion of women initially and currently married has fallen over the 20-year period while the proportion remaining in a visiting relationship has increased appreciably in the last ten years. This accords with the generally held view that young women, particularly better educated ones, are increasingly tending

to enter and remain in a visiting union rather than contracting a legal marriage.

Earlier researchers have investigated the extent to which shifts in union type among non-Indians tend to be towards more stable unions - Roberts (1955), Stycos and Back (1964), Ebanks, George and Nobbe (1974b). Of particular interest in this connection is the cohort of non-Indian women approaching the end of their childbearing period. For this cohort 47 per cent of the women had shifted from visiting to common law or married unions, most of them shifting to legal marriage. If we add the small number who shifted from common law to married about one-half of all women shifted to a more stable union. For about one-quarter of the women the current union type was the same as the initial type while nearly one-fifth were either single or never in a union. Only 5 per cent were currently in a union type which was less stable than their initial union type. Interestingly many more Indians than non-Indians shifted to a less stable union type, most of them being initially married.

Table 26 Per cent distribution of age cohorts of non-Indian women according to pattern of union and partnership history (PUPH) at comparable ages

Comparable age/ Age cohort	Pattern of union and partnership history (PUPH)									
	Simple				Complex					Never in a union
	M	CL	V	Total	M	CL	V	S	Total	
<i>20-29 years</i>										
40-49 cohort	29.9	7.3	15.7	52.9	14.8	8.7	7.6	1.4	32.3	14.7
30-39 cohort	21.4	7.2	15.8	44.4	15.7	11.6	8.6	2.8	38.7	17.1
20-29 cohort	12.1	4.4	17.8	34.3	16.1	11.4	17.5	5.3	50.3	15.4
<i>30-39 years</i>										
40-49 cohort	34.0	3.6	5.1	42.7	30.1	10.6	4.0	7.6	52.3	5.0
30-39 cohort	23.3	3.8	3.7	30.8	29.3	14.4	16.5	5.4	65.6	3.8
<i>40-49 years</i>										
40-49 cohort	31.0	1.6	1.4	34.0	32.9	13.1	6.5	9.4	63.9	2.1

Pattern of union and partnership history (PUPH)

Women are classified as having a simple or a complex history, the former group containing around 70-80 per cent of the women with a single partner (see section 1 for the criteria).

When the oldest women were 20-29 years old about one-half of them had had simple histories and about one-third had had complex histories (table 26). But the pattern has gradually changed for succeeding cohorts so that among the youngest cohort it was just the other way around. At age 30-39 also, there was an increase from the older (40-49) cohort to the younger (30-39) cohort, in the proportion with a complex history, and among both, the majority have had complex histories. At age 40-49 only about one-third of the women still had a simple history as against nearly two-thirds with a complex history.

The decline in the number of women with a simple history, for successive cohorts, is entirely accounted for by the decline in the numbers married. The increase in the proportions with a complex history at age 20-29 is the net result of some increase in each union type. The increases are small except between the two youngest cohorts where there was a large increase in the proportion in a visiting relationship and no increase in the proportion common law. At age 30-39 there was a large increase in the proportion in a visiting union and a smaller increase in the proportion common law, while the other two union types sustained very small declines.

The amount of time spent in a sexual union

Since among older women aged 40 years and over Indians entered their first union at a much younger age than non-Indians (table 19), at any age the mean number of years since first union is much higher for Indians among the older cohorts (table 27). But the age of entry into their first union has fallen for Indians and therefore their mean number of years since first union, which provides a first crude indication of the duration of exposure to childbirth, has fallen steadily for successive cohorts in the sample. There has, however, been little change in the duration for

non-Indians. As a result, the duration of Indians is only slightly longer than that of non-Indians in the case of women aged 30-39 years, while for women under 30 years of age non-Indians have the longer duration.

Because of the greater instability of non-Indian unions, these women spend a smaller proportion of the time since first union actually in union as is indicated by table 27.

The proportion of the time in union which was spent in the first relationship is a measure of the stability of relationship.⁸ The stability of Indian relationships is much higher than those of non-Indians on this basis, the differential increasing as the cohorts age (table 27). For both ethnic groups there has been some decline in this stability in recent years. In the case of non-Indians the stability of cohorts under 35 years of age is somewhat lower than that of older women; for Indians the fall is for cohorts under 30 years of age. One peculiarity of these figures is that the stability of the first relationship is very much higher for the oldest cohort than for all younger cohorts in the case of Indians. This could be explained by this oldest cohort omitting some first unions which were of short duration, possibly not married unions.

Time spent in union is classified by union type in table 28. For both ethnic groups, at age 20 and higher, the time spent in legal marriage has declined for each successive cohort. The decline is larger for women under 30 years of age. In the case of Indians, the peculiarity of the oldest cohort just referred to is reflected in the relatively very high percentage of time in union spent in legal marriage in the case of this cohort.

The increasing popularity of visiting unions is reflected by the steady increase in the percentage of the time in union which has been spent in this union type by both ethnic groups. Once again the change has accelerated for younger women; in this instance the acceleration in the increase has started earlier for Indians (ie with the 30-34 cohort as against the 25-29 cohort for non-Indians).

⁸ The term 'stability' is somewhat misleading since the first relationship could be dissolved through the death of the partner. Information on the cause of the dissolution of relationships was not collected in the survey.

Table 27 A Mean number of years since first in a union
 B Proportion of this time spent in union
 C Proportion of time in union spent in the first relationship

At age		Age cohort					
		45-49	40-44	35-39	30-34	25-29	20-24
A Non-Indian							
15	A Mean years ever in union	0.28	0.38	0.24	0.34	0.24	0.25
	B Time in union (% of A)	56.4	66.7	71.0	75.9	72.2	67.4
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	89.1	86.9	88.4	92.8	87.3	88.4
20	A Mean years ever in union	2.69	2.78	2.56	2.59	2.49	2.69
	B Time in union (% of A)	78.0	80.5	80.1	81.1	77.3	79.9
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	68.8	74.5	71.6	68.0	70.7	63.0
25	A Mean years ever in union	6.67	6.86	6.62	6.47	6.68	
	B Time in union (% of A)	83.4	85.3	85.6	85.1	83.0	
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	56.8	56.9	55.0	50.1	49.4	
30	A Mean years ever in union	11.23	11.53	11.28	11.07		
	B Time in union (% of A)	86.6	88.4	88.1	87.8		
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	48.1	47.5	45.0	39.3		
35	A Mean years ever in union	16.05	16.35	16.13			
	B Time in union (% of A)	87.4	88.9	89.0			
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	42.6	41.5	38.2			
40	A Mean years ever in union	20.92	21.23				
	B Time in union (% of A)	87.8	88.2				
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	38.8	37.0				
B Indian							
15	A Mean years ever in union	0.81	0.56	0.41	0.34	0.26	0.19
	B Time in union (% of A)	78.3	70.8	69.3	73.6	65.8	65.6
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	97.1	89.0	89.5	96.7	78.6	92.2
20	A Mean years ever in union	4.13	3.99	3.13	2.66	2.20	1.85
	B Time in union (% of A)	88.9	87.4	84.4	85.7	83.7	83.3
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	93.8	84.6	86.7	88.1	78.8	76.8
25	A Mean years ever in union	8.74	8.50	7.37	6.72	5.99	
	B Time in union (% of A)	92.3	91.6	88.8	90.2	90.5	
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	89.6	80.3	82.1	81.3	72.1	
30	A Mean years ever in union	13.58	13.32	11.96	11.31		
	B Time in union (% of A)	93.5	93.1	90.3	92.7		
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	86.9	76.9	78.1	77.0		
35	A Mean years ever in union	18.47	18.20	16.70			
	B Time in union (% of A)	93.7	93.6	91.2			
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	84.6	74.0	75.2			
40	A Mean years ever in union	23.36	23.10				
	B Time in union (% of A)	93.8	93.8				
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	82.4	71.4				

Table 28 Per cent distribution of time in union according to union type — by age

Age	Union type	Age cohort					
		45-49	40-44	35-39	30-34	25-29	20-24
A Non-Indian							
15	Married	20.5	19.8	25.1	7.7	2.3	3.5
	Common law	19.2	13.7	11.7	20.8	2.3	6.8
	Visiting	60.3	66.5	63.2	71.5	95.4	89.7
20	Married	31.9	27.7	24.9	17.8	9.6	10.2
	Common law	21.4	18.0	23.9	24.5	14.0	14.0
	Visiting	46.6	54.3	51.2	57.7	76.5	75.8
25	Married	44.9	40.0	36.1	31.1	22.3	
	Common law	20.9	19.0	23.8	25.2	19.6	
	Visiting	34.2	41.0	40.1	43.7	58.2	
30	Married	51.9	47.6	44.0	40.7		
	Common law	21.1	20.7	23.0	24.9		
	Visiting	27.0	31.7	33.0	34.4		
35	Married	57.1	52.5	49.0			
	Common law	20.7	21.7	22.2			
	Visiting	22.2	25.7	28.8			
40	Married	60.5	55.6				
	Common law	20.6	21.8				
	Visiting	18.9	22.6				
B Indian							
15	Married	92.4	76.9	68.5	61.4	61.4	43.6
	Common law	7.0	11.4	23.5	11.0	16.0	17.2
	Visiting	0.6	11.7	7.9	27.6	22.6	39.2
20	Married	90.6	79.0	76.7	72.9	69.1	59.8
	Common law	7.3	15.5	14.9	11.1	13.6	14.3
	Visiting	2.1	5.5	8.4	16.0	17.3	25.9
25	Married	88.0	79.3	78.1	78.0	71.9	
	Common law	10.5	16.8	14.7	11.3	15.9	
	Visiting	1.5	3.8	7.2	10.7	12.2	
30	Married	86.6	79.3	78.9	79.3		
	Common law	12.1	17.2	14.6	12.1		
	Visiting	1.2	3.4	6.4	8.6		
35	Married	85.9	79.3	79.2			
	Common law	12.9	17.3	14.8			
	Visiting	1.2	3.4	6.0			
40	Married	85.0	79.2				
	Common law	13.5	17.1				
	Visiting	1.5	3.8				

Despite the very small proportion of non-Indians who first enter a married relationship, the percentage of time spent in this union type increases as cohorts age so that by age 35 one-half or more of the time in union was spent in legal marriage. Somewhat more time was spent in a visiting than in a common law relationship. In the case of Indians

the percentage of time spent in legal marriage also increases as cohorts age, for women under 40 years of age but the increase is smaller than for non-Indians. This increase, of course, reflects the growing tendency for Indians to follow the pattern of non-Indians by entering a visiting relationship and then shifting later to legal marriage.

Summary

In Trinidad and Tobago, as in Guyana, Indian women have traditionally entered their first union at an earlier age than non-Indians. But while this is true for the older cohorts, age at entry has been increasing for Indians but has remained unchanged for non-Indians. As a result, among women under 30 years old, the proportion already in a union by the time of the survey was higher for non-Indians.

The majority of non-Indian women first enter a visiting relationship, while among Indians an even larger proportion first enter a married union but the proportion entering a visiting relationship is not negligible. For both ethnic groups, particularly in the 10 to 15 years preceding the survey, an increasing number of women are first entering a visiting relationship and fewer are joining in legal marriage at the outset. The change is remarkable at age 20 where, for the youngest cohort, there were almost equal numbers of Indians first entering married and visiting relationships, and for non-Indians under 30 years of age less than 5 per cent of all women had first entered married or common law unions.

But women who enter visiting relationships are likely to shift to other union types soon after, most of them becoming legally married and smaller numbers shifting to common law relationships or to the single state. But a large and rapidly growing proportion have remained in a visiting relationship signifying an increasing acceptance of this union type for longer-term relationships.

For the most part better educated non-Indians are more likely to marry, and the less educated are more likely to join in a common law relationship. This holds for both initial and current union status. Entry into a visiting relationship is popular among all education groups and has become increasingly so among both non-Indian and Indian women.

In the case of Indians, better educated women were more likely to enter a visiting relationship but the reverse was true for the other two union types.

The increase in first entry into a visiting relationship and subsequent shift to other union types has been associated with an increase in the mean numbers of partners and relationships among non-Indians and, to a much lesser extent, among Indians also. For this reason, women

classified as having a simple mating history (PUPH) have declined relative to those with a complex history among non-Indians.

3.2 MATING AND FERTILITY (NON-INDIANS)

Age at first union

The later a woman first joins in a union the fewer children she is likely to have (table 29). For the three cohorts at age 20–29 this relationship is modified by the fact that women who enter their first union at an early age are more likely to join in a visiting relationship and the fertility of this union type is less than that of the cohabiting types (table 30). On the other hand, part of the higher fertility of women who join in their first union at an early age is due to their having more partners/relationships on average (table 31).

The impact of age at first union on fertility is much less for the youngest cohort than for older women at the same age. This supports the generally held view that young women in Trinidad and Tobago are using contraceptives to a much greater extent than did older cohorts when they were young.

At higher ages the negative relationship between age at first union and fertility continues and is less affected by the other mating variables than at age 20–29.

First union type

At age 20–29, except for the oldest cohort where the fertility of the three union types is the same, fertility is highest among women first in a common law relationship and lowest among those first in a visiting relationship (see table 30). This is in accordance with expectation since the women who enter common law unions are on average the least educated while women in a visiting union tend to be less exposed to childbirth than other women in a union because their union is the least stable and there is a somewhat lower frequency of sexual intercourse. When adjustment is made for the number of relationships the women have had and their current union status, the rank order of the union types remains the same for the two younger cohorts. For the oldest cohort, however, the

Table 29 Effects of age at first union on fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian). Regression coefficients: B

Cohort/ Measure	Adjusted up to variable					
	Background variables	First union type	Partners/Relationships		Current union status	
			Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs
<i>At age 20–29 years</i>						
40–49 cohort	–0.22	–0.23	–0.22	–0.20	–0.21	–0.21
30–39 cohort	–0.24	–0.24	–0.24	–0.21	–0.22	–0.22
20–29 cohort	–0.10	–0.12	–0.11	–0.09	–0.10	–0.10
<i>At age 30–39 years</i>						
40–49 cohort	–0.19	–0.19	–0.19	–0.18	–0.18	–0.19
30–39 cohort	–0.22	–0.22	–0.24	–0.22	–0.23	–0.22
<i>At age 40–49 years</i>						
40–49 cohort	–0.21	–0.21	–0.22	–0.21	–0.21	–0.21

Table 30 Effects of first union type on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian)

Cohort/Measure	Adjusted up to variable							
	Background variables		Age at first union		Partners/Relationships		Current union status	
	Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs
A At age 20–29 years								
<i>40–49 cohort</i>								
Married	2.1		2.4		2.5	2.7	2.2	2.4
Common law	2.2		2.1		2.1	2.3	1.8	1.8
Visiting	2.2		2.1		2.1	2.0	2.3	2.2
<i>30–39 cohort</i>								
Married	2.4		2.6		2.6	2.8	2.4	2.5
Common law	3.1		3.0		3.0	3.2	2.8	2.9
Visiting	2.1		2.1		2.1	2.0	2.1	2.1
<i>20–29 cohort</i>								
Married	2.1		2.3		2.3	2.5	1.9	2.0
Common law	2.4		2.4		2.4	2.4	2.1	2.1
Visiting	1.5		1.5		1.5	1.4	1.5	1.5
B At age 30–39 years								
<i>40–49 cohort</i>								
Married	3.8		4.1		4.1	4.2	4.0	4.0
Common law	5.1		5.0		5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0
Visiting	4.2		4.1		4.1	4.0	4.1	4.1
<i>30–39 cohort</i>								
Married	3.6		3.8		3.8	3.8	3.7	3.8
Common law	4.7		4.6		4.5	4.6	4.5	4.6
Visiting	3.5		3.5		3.5	3.5	3.5	3.5
C At age 40–49 years								
<i>40–49 cohort</i>								
Married	4.7		5.1		5.1	5.1	5.0	5.1
Common law	6.9		6.7		6.7	6.7	6.9	6.9
Visiting	5.2		5.0		5.1	5.0	5.0	5.0

Table 31 Effects of number of partners/relationships on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian). Regression coefficients: B

Cohort/Measure	Adjusted up to variable							
	Background variables		Age at first union		First union type		Current union status	
	Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs
<i>At age 20–29 years</i>								
40–49 cohort	0.42	0.54	0.19	0.35	0.21	0.48	0.22	0.22
30–39 cohort	0.21	0.37	–0.04	0.18	0.06	0.36	0.10	0.20
20–29 cohort	0.11	0.31	0.03	0.26	0.05	0.30	0.12	0.18
<i>At age 30–39 years</i>								
40–49 cohort	0.18	0.24	–0.06	0.05	–0.04	0.10	0.12	0.07
30–39 cohort	0.01	0.16	–0.24	–0.06	–0.21	0.01	–0.08	0.04
<i>At age 40–49 years</i>								
40–49 cohort	0.07	0.16	–0.17	–0.05	–0.16	–0.02	0.01	0.06

pattern is different, married women having the highest and common law wives the lowest fertility, after adjustment.

At higher ages, the one consistent pattern is that women first in a common law relationship have the highest fertility. The differences between women first in visiting and those first in married unions is not large. This may well be because so many of the women first in a visiting relationship soon shift to a married union.

Comparing the three cohorts at age 20–29, the fertility of women initially in a common law or married relationship was higher for the 30–39 cohort than for older women. The fertility of the youngest cohort was, however, lower than that of the two older cohorts for each union type. At age 30–39, too, the fertility of the younger cohort is lower for all union types, indicating a general decline in fertility during the ten years preceding the survey.

Numbers of relationships and partners

The more partners and relationships a woman has had the more children she will have on average. But this relationship to a large extent merely reflects the fact that women who have the most partners and relationships are likely to be those who have been in a union at the earliest ages and, therefore, have been exposed, in this crude sense, for the longest period. As a result, when adjustment is made for age at first union, the impact on fertility of these two variables is greatly reduced and, indeed, is negative in a number of instances. In addition these results show that the number of relationships has a closer association with fertility than the number of partners. The increase in the number of relationships may, however, be an effect rather than a cause of the increased fertility. This would be the case if women who have one or more children are more likely to change their union type with the same partner.

A number of authors (eg Ebanks, George and Nobbe (1974b)) have commented on the pressure on women to have additional children for each new partner and they have concluded that this explains the higher fertility of women with many partners. The figures in table 31 show that instead this relationship may be the result of the longer period of exposure of women with many partners. A further possibility is that although women with more partners and relationships tend to enter their first union at a younger age, age at entry may be an intermediate factor, and not the true cause of higher fertility. The previous evidence of the declining importance of age at entry, as contraceptive use rises, suggests that persistence of the age at entry—number of partners/relationships association may be due to more fundamental socio-economic characteristics of this group of women.

The association between the numbers of relationships and of partners on the one hand, and fertility on the other, is less important for younger than for older cohorts even when adjustment is made for all the independent and mating variables used in this study. One of the factors not taken into account in the regression analysis and which may explain this to some extent is the use of contraception which is believed to be higher among younger cohorts at any age. But this itself may be merely an indication that with the increased education and independence, young women in Trinidad and Tobago no longer feel compelled to have children for each partner and that shift to a more

stable union has become less dependent on having many children.

Current union status

Of women currently in a union,⁹ women in a common law relationship had slightly more children, on average, than those currently married while those in a visiting union had the least number of children (table 32). When the age at first union, first union type and number of relationships are all controlled, among the oldest cohort fertility was higher for common law than for married women at age 20–29 but the married women had the higher fertility at older ages. For the younger cohorts there is little difference in fertility between these two union types. In all instances the fertility of women in a visiting relationship is lowest.

As observed above in the discussion on first union type, the fertility of common law wives was expected to be higher than that of married women because of the lower social status of the former union type.¹⁰ The fact that in all but one instance the fertility of currently married women is equal to or higher than that of women currently common law is no doubt partly explained by the greater stability and hence the longer period of exposure of married unions (Roberts and Braithwaite (1962)). But as will be seen in the PRC analysis below, for most sets the women with the highest fertility were those who were currently married but initially common law.

Comparing the age cohorts at age 20–29, the fertility of the different union types has remained the same for the two oldest cohorts, except that the very high fertility of common law wives fell. The fertility of each union type was much lower for the 20–29 than for the older cohorts.

At age 30–39, the fertility of married and common law wives fell but that of visiting women increased, although they still had the lowest level.

Pattern of union and partnership history (PUPH)

Women classified as having a simple mating history have all had only one partner, while most of those with a complex history have had two or more partners. As a consequence, for each union type women with a complex history have a higher fertility than those with a simple history (table 33). There is only one exception to this — common law women of the oldest cohort at age 30–39.

Particularly in the case of married women, the lower fertility of women with a simple history is accounted for by the fact that they enter their first union, on average, later than women with a complex history. When age at first union is controlled, therefore, among married women, those with a simple history have as many or more children, on average, than those with a complex history. Controlling for this variable also reduces the differential for common law and visiting women but, with the single exception already mentioned, women with a complex history still have as high and in most instances a somewhat higher fertility than those with a simple history after adjustment.

⁹ Figures for single women are shown in the table but are not discussed because of the heterogeneity of this group.

¹⁰ It must be remembered that the level of education is controlled throughout in the regression analysis.

Table 32 Effects of current union status on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian)

Cohort/Measure	Adjusted up to variable				
	Background variables	Age at first union	First union type	Partners/Relationships	
				Ps	Rs
A At age 20–29 years					
<i>40–49 cohort</i>					
Married	2.4	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.4
Common law	2.9	2.8	2.9	2.8	2.9
Visiting	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.3	1.5
Single	1.3	1.4	1.4	1.4	1.4
<i>30–39 cohort</i>					
Married	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6
Common law	2.7	2.6	2.5	2.5	2.4
Visiting	1.4	1.5	1.6	1.5	1.6
Single	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.0	2.0
<i>20–29 cohort</i>					
Married	2.0	2.1	2.0	2.1	2.0
Common law	2.1	2.0	2.0	2.0	1.9
Visiting	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.0	1.1
Single	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.2	1.3
B At age 30–39 years					
<i>40–49 cohort</i>					
Married	4.4	4.5	4.5	4.6	4.5
Common law	4.4	4.2	4.1	4.0	4.1
Visiting	2.5	2.6	2.7	2.6	2.7
Single	3.2	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.2
<i>30–39 cohort</i>					
Married	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9	3.9
Common law	4.1	4.1	4.0	4.1	4.0
Visiting	2.9	2.8	2.8	2.9	2.8
Single	2.9	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0
C At age 40–49 years					
<i>40–49 cohort</i>					
Married	5.6	5.6	5.6	5.6	5.6
Common law	4.8	4.7	4.6	4.6	4.5
Visiting	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.4
Single	4.7	4.7	4.6	4.6	4.7

Fertility at age 20–29 was uniformly lower for all PUPH categories of the youngest cohort than for older women. By comparison with the oldest cohort, however, the fertility of women aged 30–39 has not changed uniformly. At both ages 20–29 and 30–39 fertility increased for a number of the PUPH categories, and fell or remained unchanged for the others.

Pattern of relationship change (PRC)

In all instances, women whose initial and current union type were either both married or both visiting had the

lowest fertility, the married women having the higher fertility of these two groups (table 34). On the other hand, apart from the oldest cohort at age 20–29, women who were initially common law and either remained in the same type or shifted to legal marriage had the highest fertility of all women, those who shifted to marriage having the higher fertility of the two groups.

Of women initially in a visiting union those who shifted to a common law union had a higher fertility than those who either remained in the same union type or shifted directly to legal marriage. Of the two groups – visiting–married and visiting–common law–married – those

Table 33 Effects of pattern of union and partnership history (PUPB) on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian)

Cohort/PUPH	Adjusted up to variable							
	Background variables		Age at first union		Background variables		Age at first union	
	<i>A At age 20–29 years</i>		<i>B At age 30–39 years</i>		<i>C At age 40–49 years</i>			
<i>40–49 cohort</i>								
S-Married	2.3	2.6	4.1	4.4	5.1	5.5		
S-Common law	2.6	2.5	4.7	4.7	4.5	4.6		
S-Visiting	1.1	1.2	1.8	2.4	1.8	33.6		
C-Married	2.8	2.4	4.8	4.5	5.8	5.6		
C-Common law	3.2	3.0	4.4	4.2	4.9	4.8		
C-Visiting	2.0	1.8	2.9	2.7	4.6	4.5		
C-Single	1.1	0.8	2.9	2.6	4.9	4.5		
<i>30–39 cohort</i>								
S-Married	2.5	2.7	3.8	4.1				
S-Common law	2.5	2.6	3.5	3.8				
S-Visiting	1.1	1.3	1.7	2.7				
C-Married	2.7	2.5	3.9	3.7				
C-Common law	2.9	2.6	4.4	4.2				
C-Visiting	1.9	1.7	3.0	2.8				
C-Single	2.5	2.3	3.2	3.0				
<i>20–29 cohort</i>								
S-Married	1.9	2.1						
S-Common law	2.0	2.0						
S-Visiting	0.8	0.9						
C-Married	2.1	2.0						
C-Common law	2.2	2.1						
C-Visiting	1.1	1.0						
C-Single	1.6	1.5						

who passed through the three union types had the higher fertility.

In general, then, women who were at any stage in a common law relationship tend to have a higher fertility than others, reflecting the fact that the common law type includes the greatest proportion of women of lower socio-economic status as it includes most of the least educated women. Additionally, except for the very few women 20–29 years old who were initially common law, women who have changed their union type have a higher fertility than those who have not changed and, of those initially visiting, those who have been in three union types have a higher fertility than those who have been in only two types.

Comparing the PRC categories at ages 20–29 and 30–39, with only a few exceptions the fertility of all categories have declined.

Summary

There is an inverse relationship between fertility and age at first union and a direct relationship between fertility and both the number of relationships and the number of partners. The latter association is, however, largely accounted for by the former as women who enter their first union at an earlier age are more likely to have more partners/relationships. When age at first union is controlled the association between fertility and the number of

relationships and partners is even reversed in some instances. However age at entry is simply an intermediate variable, intervening between these two factors, and there are probably deeper socio-economic causes for both relationships.

Some earlier studies have shown that women in a visiting union have a lower frequency of intercourse and hence a lower risk of pregnancy than those in a common law or a married union (Roberts and Sinclair (1978)). On the other hand, above a minimum required frequency, it is not clear that higher frequencies greatly increase the probability of pregnancy. It is more likely that the greater instability or less continuous nature of visiting unions, with longer periods of non-exposure between unions, may explain their lower fertility. This is more important for analysis by current than by first union type since most of the women currently in a visiting relationship have not been in another union type while most of those initially in a visiting relationship would have shifted to one of the cohabiting types. The fertility of women either initially or currently in a visiting union has, therefore, been found to be lower than that of other women, the differential being more significant when current union status is being analysed. For both initial and current union types the fertility of married women is sometimes higher and sometimes lower than that of common law wives and the difference is often not large.

When women in a given current union type are sub-

Table 34 Effects of pattern of relationship change (PRC) on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages (non-Indian)

Cohort/PRC	Adjusted up to variable					
	Background variables	Age at first union	Background variables	Age at first union	Background variables	Age at first union
	A At age 20–29 years		B At age 30–39 years		C At age 40–49 years	
<i>40–49 cohort</i>						
M → M	1.9	2.2	3.9	4.1	4.8	5.0
M, CL → V; M → CL	(0.9)	(1.0)	(0.8)	(0.5)	(4.5)	(4.4)
CL → M	5.4	5.3	8.1	9.0	9.7	10.7
CL → CL	2.4	2.0	4.6	4.1	6.8	6.6
V → CL → M	2.9	2.6	5.2	4.9	6.2	5.9
V → M	2.6	2.5	4.2	4.2	5.2	5.1
V → CL	3.3	3.2	4.6	4.4	4.8	4.7
V → V	1.4	1.4	2.8	2.9	4.4	4.5
<i>30–39 cohort</i>						
M → M	2.0	2.2	3.2	3.5		
M, CL → V; M → CL	(3.6)	(3.2)	(3.2)	(3.0)		
CL → M	5.6	5.8	6.8	6.8		
CL → CL	3.8	3.4	6.1	5.3		
V → CL → M	2.5	2.1	4.5	4.1		
V → M	2.6	2.6	3.7	3.7		
V → CL	2.8	2.6	4.1	4.0		
V → V	1.3	1.4	2.8	2.8		
<i>20–29 cohort</i>						
M → M	1.4	1.5				
M, CL → V; M → CL	(1.3)	(1.3)				
CL → M	5.7	6.7				
CL → CL	7.2	7.1				
V → CL → M	2.2	2.1				
V → M	1.9	2.0				
V → CL	2.1	2.0				
V → V	1.0	1.0				

divided by the number of partners they have had (the PUPH factor) the above rank order of the union types is retained. For women currently in a visiting or a common law relationship those with a complex history have a higher fertility than those with a simple history. For those currently married the reverse is often true, particularly when age at first union is controlled.

Women who were initially and currently visiting or married had the lowest fertility of all PRC categories, the married women having the higher fertility. On the other

hand, women who were initially and currently in a common law union had a much higher fertility. Of the women who shifted from an initial visiting relationship, those who shifted directly to a married relationship had a lower fertility than those who shifted to a current or intermediate common law relationship. Of those initially common law except for the youngest cohort, those who shifted to legal marriage had more children than those who remained in a common law relationship.

4 Jamaica

4.1 MATING

First entry into a sexual union and first union type

Of the oldest cohort of women in the survey, nearly one-half had entered their first sexual union by age 20, and by age 35 over 95 per cent of them had already joined in a union (table 35). Most of them began their sexual-reproductive activity in a visiting relationship. Thus, by age 40, 70 per cent of the women aged 45-49 had entered a visiting relationship. Of the remainder, about 20 per cent had entered a common law union while those whose first union was legal marriage comprised only 8 per cent of the total.

Except for the 25-29 cohort, an increasing proportion of women have entered their first union by ages 20 and 25, and except for the 35-39 cohort the proportion has also increased at age 30. This increase in the proportion of women entering their first union at these earlier ages has

come about through a large and steady increase in the proportion first entering a visiting relationship. The evaluation of the data quality of this survey concluded that some of this 'rise' in the proportion entering visiting unions was due to omission of early, possibly short-duration visiting unions, by older women (Singh 1982). The proportion marrying has not changed much, while the proportion first in a common law relationship, though fluctuating, has tended to decline.

Since over 98 per cent of the older women had entered a sexual union by age 40, it follows that the earlier entry into their first union on the part of the younger cohorts will reduce the average age at entry into a union but cannot have much effect on the proportion of women who will eventually enter a union. However, because of poor reporting by older women, not all of this decline in the age at entry is real, although the evaluation report concluded that an actual decline of 1-1.5 years probably occurred.

Table 35 Percentage of women who, at age x, were ever in a union by first union type

Age x	First union type	Age at interview					
		45-49	40-44	35-39	30-34	25-29	20-24
15	Ever in union	6.1	6.5	12.0	9.8	14.6	13.4
	Visiting	4.9	4.4	9.7	7.7	13.8	12.3
	Common law	1.2	2.1	2.1	1.8	0.8	1.1
	Married	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0
20	Ever in union	48.5	57.1	62.9	74.6	69.6	77.0
	Visiting	37.8	43.8	50.9	59.9	60.9	69.1
	Common law	9.5	12.1	9.7	11.8	7.5	6.8
	Married	1.2	1.2	2.4	2.8	1.2	1.1
25	Ever in union	82.0	84.9	89.3	93.8	92.9	
	Visiting	60.4	63.3	66.6	71.7	77.1	
	Common law	16.5	16.6	14.6	14.7	9.7	
	Married	5.2	5.0	8.1	7.5	6.1	
30	Ever in union	91.2	95.9	94.5	98.2		
	Visiting	65.9	69.2	70.2	73.5		
	Common law	18.3	19.2	15.4	15.7		
	Married	7.0	7.4	8.9	9.0		
35	Ever in union	96.3	97.9	96.9			
	Visiting	68.6	70.1	71.0			
	Common law	19.2	19.8	16.2			
	Married	8.5	8.0	9.7			
40	Ever in union	98.2	98.5				
	Visiting	70.1	70.7				
	Common law	19.5	19.8				
	Married	8.5	8.0				

Table 36 Percentage of all women who have entered their first relationship by age x – by first union type and education for age cohorts

Age/Level of education	Age cohort											
	40–49				30–39				20–29			
	M	CL	V	EU	M	CL	V	EU	M	CL	V	EU
<i>20–29 years</i>												
Prim. 5 yr	2.6	24.3	56.7	83.5	2.2	17.2	69.8	89.2	4.6	9.7	76.7	91.1
Prim. 6–7 yr	1.6	21.3	63.3	86.2	0.0	18.0	74.1	92.1	1.1	12.3	83.8	97.2
Prim. 8 yr	3.0	11.6	72.1	86.7	5.3	13.7	73.8	92.8	1.9	9.9	80.7	92.5
Sec.-none	6.2	6.9	68.6	81.8	25.2	8.4	58.3	91.8	6.4	5.4	82.6	94.5
Sec.-cert.	31.7	0.0	36.6	68.3	26.9	1.9	35.1	64.0	10.2	2.9	68.7	81.9
All women	4.5	16.8	62.9	84.2	6.4	14.1	69.1	89.5	4.1	8.6	78.8	91.5
<i>30–39 years</i>												
Prim. 5 yr	4.5	28.9	64.9	98.3	3.7	20.5	72.7	96.9				
Prim. 6–7 yr	2.5	24.3	70.8	97.6	0.0	22.1	76.8	98.9				
Prim. 8 yr	6.9	12.5	78.5	97.9	6.9	15.0	76.7	98.7				
Sec.-none	5.9	7.4	86.7	100.0	26.0	8.5	62.6	96.9				
Sec.-cert.	49.6	2.6	39.0	91.2	46.6	1.9	45.4	93.8				
All women	7.9	19.3	70.8	97.5	8.9	16.3	72.7	97.9				
<i>40–49 years</i>												
Prim. 5 yr	4.5	29.5	65.9	100.0								
Prim. 6–7 yr	3.0	24.7	71.8	99.5								
Prim. 8 yr	6.8	12.6	79.3	98.8								
Sec.-none	5.9	7.5	86.6	100.0								
Sec.-cert.	49.4	2.6	39.2	91.2								
All women	8.0	19.6	71.2	98.8								

The educational level of first union types

Apart from women who have completed their secondary education and, in the case of the 30–39 cohort, those with an incomplete secondary education, very few women (7 per cent or less) join in legal marriage before entering one of the other union types (table 36). On the other hand, about one-half of the best educated women ever in a union were first married.

Conversely, very few women with a secondary education enter a common law relationship, and the proportion is also less for women with a completed primary education than for less educated women. A very large proportion of each education group first enter a visiting relationship, though this proportion is highest for the middle education groups and least for the best educated women. In the case of the youngest cohort the proportions are the same for the best and the least educated women.

Comparing the age cohorts at ages 20–29 and 30–39, apart from the high proportion married and the compensatingly low proportion visiting among women with an incomplete secondary education in the 30–39 cohort, the outstanding change is for the youngest cohort. Among these young women entry into a married union, even on the part of the best educated, is very rare while the overwhelming majority of women of all education groups (84–87 per cent) first enter a visiting relationship. In addition to this, fewer of the less educated women have been entering a common law relationship.

For women 30 years and older, therefore, it would be true to categorise marriage as predominantly the first union type of women of highest socio-economic status, common law as almost exclusively restricted to lower status women, and visiting as widespread but slightly more popular among the middle status women, using educational attainment as a measure of social status. For the youngest cohort these distinctions have largely disappeared although the slight variations that do occur are still in accordance with the pattern just described.

Current union status

Most of the women who enter a visiting relationship soon shift to one of the cohabiting union types or to the single state. Even at age 20–29, therefore, there were more women currently in a common law union than in a visiting one, and the number visiting was only slightly higher than the number married. The number of single women was also appreciable.

As women get older, an increasing number of them shift from a visiting relationship while the number never in a union falls quickly to a very low level. The net result of the changes is a large and rapid increase in the proportion of the women currently married at higher ages. The discussion of pattern of relationship change (PRC) below gives more details of these changes in union type.

There has been hardly any change, from older to younger cohorts, in the distribution of the cohorts by

Table 37 Per cent distribution of the age cohorts of women according to current union status – by age

Age/Age cohorts	Current union status				
	Married	Common law	Visiting	Single	Never in a union
<i>20–29 years</i>					
40–49 cohort	18.8	27.4	23.8	14.1	15.8
30–39 cohort	22.9	30.1	22.3	14.2	10.5
20–29 cohort	19.7	32.6	24.3	14.8	8.5
<i>30–39 years</i>					
40–49 cohort	44.3	27.1	11.0	15.0	2.5
30–39 cohort	42.6	28.6	11.6	15.1	2.1
<i>40–49 years</i>					
40–49 cohort	50.1	19.8	7.9	21.1	1.2

current union status. The only noticeable differences between the cohorts is that slightly fewer women remained never in a union and slightly more were in a common law relationship.

Current union status – level of education

As was the case with first union type, as education increases the proportion of married women increases and that of common law wives falls (see table 38). The proportion of women in a visiting union is highest for the middle education groups. This pattern is in fact more uniform over the cohorts here than when analysis is by first union type as the distribution of the youngest cohort by current union status is not different from that of the older cohorts.

Slightly more of the 30–39 cohort of women were currently married at age 20–29 than of the 40–49 cohort. This is also true for each education group except the women with completed secondary education, among whom the proportion fell steadily. The proportion of women currently common law increased slightly for each of the education groups at age 20–29. The proportion in a visiting union fell slightly among women with only primary education but for women with secondary education was very much higher for the youngest cohort than for older women.

At age 30–39 the change between the cohorts was not the same for the different education groups. One change worthy of comment is that many more of the women with secondary education were in a visiting relationship in the 30–39 cohort than for older women.

Table 38 Percentage of all women who were ever in a union by current union status, education and age

Age/Level of education	Age cohort/Current union status														
	40–49					30–39					20–29				
	M	CL	V	S	Total EU	M	CL	V	S	Total EU	M	CL	V	S	Total EU
<i>20–29 years</i>															
Prim. 5 yr	18.0	32.3	18.6	14.7	83.5	22.6	33.7	16.5	16.4	89.2	15.1	48.7	14.2	13.2	91.1
Prim. 6–7 yr	13.0	36.5	23.7	13.0	86.2	15.7	40.0	23.5	13.0	92.1	11.6	44.4	22.5	18.7	97.2
Prim. 8 yr	17.9	23.0	29.4	16.4	86.7	21.2	30.5	25.5	15.5	92.8	15.1	37.2	22.5	17.8	92.5
Sec.-none	38.5	13.1	24.4	5.9	81.8	42.8	13.4	23.8	11.7	91.8	28.0	23.4	32.4	10.8	94.5
Sec.-cert. +	44.3	0.0	13.3	7.7	68.3	41.1	1.9	14.0	7.0	64.0	36.3	7.8	30.8	7.0	81.9
<i>30–39 years</i>															
Prim. 5 yr	38.7	30.0	12.6	17.0	98.3	42.1	27.8	12.2	14.8	96.9					
Prim. 6–7 yr	39.1	34.7	9.2	14.7	97.6	31.4	42.1	10.2	15.2	98.9					
Prim. 8 yr	46.5	24.2	13.0	14.1	97.9	41.9	29.2	11.6	16.1	98.7					
Sec.-none	53.5	19.3	6.8	20.4	100.0	62.8	12.6	13.2	8.3	96.9					
Sec.-cert. +	72.6	2.5	4.1	12.0	91.2	66.7	0.0	13.4	13.7	93.8					
<i>40–49 years</i>															
Prim. 5 yr	46.1	27.0	6.8	20.0	100.0										
Prim. 6–7 yr	48.9	22.1	6.7	21.8	99.5										
Prim. 8 yr	51.2	17.0	9.7	20.9	98.8										
Sec.-none	61.1	7.5	14.6	16.8	100.0										
Sec.-cert. +	59.3	2.5	4.8	24.6	91.2										

Table 39 Per cent distribution of age cohorts according to the number of partners and relationships per woman and the mean numbers of partners and relationships – by age

Age/Number of partners and relationships	40–49	30–39	20–29
<i>20–29 years</i>			
Never in union	15.8	10.5	8.5
1 partner/1 relationship	39.3	31.4	23.6
1 partner/2 + relationships	20.8	21.4	22.3
2 + partners/relationships	24.1	36.6	45.6
Mean no. of partners	1.1	1.4	1.6
Mean no. of relationships	1.5	1.8	2.1
<i>30–39 years</i>			
Never in union	2.5	2.1	
1 partner/1 relationship	17.9	17.1	
1 partner/2 + relationships	33.7	23.4	
2 + partners/relationships	46.0	57.3	
Mean no. of partners	1.6	1.9	
Mean no. of relationships	2.3	2.7	
<i>40–49 years</i>			
Never in union	1.2		
1 partner/1 relationship	11.7		
1 partner/2 + relationships	34.0		
2 + partners/relationships	53.1		
Mean no. of partners	1.9		
Mean no. of relationships	2.8		

The numbers of relationships and partners

As a cohort ages the proportion of women who have had only one relationship rapidly falls (table 39). Indeed, for the oldest cohort, even at age 20–29 only 39 per cent of all women (less than one-half of those ever in a union) were still in their initial relationship. The number never in a union also falls rapidly of course. On the other hand, the number of women who had changed their first partner increased rapidly to more than one-half of the cohort by age 40–49. The number of women who had changed their first relationship but were still with their first partner also increased by age 30–39 but did not change thereafter.

A comparison of the cohorts at age 20–29 shows that many more women have been changing their first partner before age 30 while the number who remained in their first relationship fell sharply. At age 30–39 too the number of women with two partners increased but here it was the number who had had two or more relationships with the same partner that fell. These trends will be somewhat overstated because of omission of some early unions by the oldest cohort of women.

The mean numbers of relationships and partners were very much lower for women initially married than for the other two union types (table 40). The means for women initially common law and visiting were not very different for the oldest cohort but for women under 40 years old the means were noticeably higher for women initially in a visiting relationship.

Pattern of relationship change (PRC)

Table 40 gives more details of the magnitude and direction of the changes in union by the age cohorts. At age 20–29 only about one-third of the women who originally entered a visiting relationship remained in this union type, this proportion being somewhat higher for women aged 40–49 than for younger women. Of those who changed to another union type the largest proportion shifted to a common law relationship while the remainder were fairly equally divided between legal marriage (including the small number with an intermediate common law relationship) and single.

Of those who joined a common law relationship at the outset, most remained in this union type at age 20–29 and roughly equal but small numbers shifted to the other union types and to the single state. Nearly all those who were initially married were still married at age 20–29.

As the cohorts age, an increasing proportion shift from their initial visiting union type. The largest proportion shift to legal marriage but by age 30–39 almost equal numbers in each cohort had shifted to this type directly and with an intermediate common law relationship. Most of the others shift to a current common law relationship while slightly more were single than still in a visiting relationship at age 30–39; this differential was much larger at age 40–49.

At ages 30–39 and 40–49 an increasing proportion of women also shift from an initial common law relationship to legal marriage. The small proportion who were initially and currently married even at age 40–49 shows that the

Table 40 Per cent distribution of the age cohorts of women according to pattern of relationship change (PRC) – by age

	Pattern of relationship change										
	M–M	M–CL M–V CL–V	CL–M	CL–CL	V–CL–M	V–M	V–CL	V–V	V–S	M–S CL–S	NU
<i>20–29 years</i>											
40–49 cohort	4.0	0.3	2.1	12.8	3.7	9.0	14.7	23.5	12.0	2.1	15.8
30–39 cohort	5.9	1.5	1.8	9.1	4.6	10.7	20.9	20.8	12.1	2.1	10.5
20–29 cohort	4.2	0.9	1.1	5.7	4.0	10.5	26.8	23.4	14.0	0.8	8.5
<i>30–39 years</i>											
40–49 cohort	7.1	0.5	7.6	8.5	13.4	16.3	18.8	10.5	11.5	3.5	2.5
30–39 cohort	7.9	1.5	5.2	8.4	13.4	16.0	20.3	10.1	12.9	2.1	2.1
<i>40–49 years</i>											
40–49 cohort	6.3	1.1	10.4	4.3	17.2	16.2	15.3	6.9	15.7	5.4	1.2

large increase in this proportion at the higher ages (see table 37) is the result of women shifting from the other two union types. Of the women who were currently married at age 40–49, two out of three were initially visiting, one in five were initially in common law relationship and fewer than one in seven were initially married.

The distribution by PRC has not changed much for the younger cohorts. At age 20–29 the principal changes are that fewer women are remaining in their initial common law union type while more are shifting from visiting to a common law union. The principal changes at age 30–39 were a very small increase in the proportion shifting from visiting to common law and a marginally larger decline in the proportion shifting out of common law into legal marriage.

Interestingly, in Jamaica at age 40–49 the largest PRC category comprised the women who had progressed through the three union types, about one in six women being in this category. In all, 44 per cent of the women aged 40–49 had been initially in a visiting or common law relationship and were currently married while another 15 per cent had shifted from visiting to common law, so that nearly six out of ten women had shifted towards a more stable union type.

The amount of time spent in a sexual union

The mating experience of a cohort of women determines the amount of time that they spend in union and therefore exposed to the risk of childbirth. A breakdown of this time according to union type throws further light on exposure because of differences in the stability and in the frequency of intercourse of the union types.

Table 41 shows the increase in the duration of unions (mean years since first union) which is the result of the declining age at first union. Although there is some fluctuation in the amount of this time which has been spent in union, this has increased up to age 25 but there is little change at higher ages. The amount of time that women are at risk has therefore increased at younger ages where fertility is highest.

On the other hand, an increasing amount of this time

has been spent in visiting relationships which are known to have the lowest fertility (see section 4.2, below), up to age 25 (table 42).

The relative amount of time spent in each union type at different ages is therefore of interest. Up to age 25 nearly one-half of the time in union was spent in a visiting relationship by each cohort. As the cohorts age less time is spent in visiting and more in married relationships. The fact that a high proportion of the most fertile years (under age 30) is spent in the low fertility visiting type of union will tend to depress the overall level of fertility. This will also be conducive to a decline in fertility since the time spent in visiting relationships is increasing.

The duration of time since first union has been increasing because of the earlier entry into first union on the part of younger cohorts. An increasing amount of this time is being spent in a visiting relationship. The two trends will have opposite influences on the level of fertility. As the cohorts age an increasing amount of time is spent in married relationships and a declining proportion in visiting relationships.

Summary

About one-half of the women aged 45–49 at the time of the survey had entered their first union by age 20, most of them entering a visiting relationship. The age at entry into a union has declined for younger cohorts and the proportion entering a visiting relationship has increased. The best educated women are more likely to enter a married union and the least educated a common law union. The proportion of women entering a visiting relationship is high for all education groups but highest for the middle groups.

Women who enter a visiting relationship, however, are likely to change their union type fairly soon, shifting to the other union types or to the single state. As a result the proportion of women currently married rapidly increases with age. The relationship between first union type and education is similar to that described for first union type. The distribution by current union status has not changed much between cohorts.

The more detailed analysis of changes in union type

Table 41 A Mean number of years since first in a union
 B Proportion of this time spent in union
 C Proportion of time in union spent in the first relationship – by age

Age	Measure	Age cohort					
		45–49	40–44	35–39	30–34	25–29	20–24
15	A Mean years ever in union	0.16	0.22	0.29	0.25	0.40	0.34
	B Time in union (% of A)	59.4	65.3	60.9	62.3	67.7	66.5
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	77.4	73.7	91.3	94.5	86.2	90.6
20	A Mean years ever in union	1.94	2.22	2.66	3.09	3.16	3.40
	B Time in union (% of A)	70.9	73.4	71.0	70.4	74.6	75.8
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	70.7	74.1	73.2	71.5	70.2	64.4
25	A Mean years ever in union	5.71	6.18	6.82	7.55	7.58	
	B Time in union (% of A)	77.0	77.0	78.3	76.1	79.2	
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	57.7	56.7	53.8	50.5	47.6	
30	A Mean years ever in union	10.18	10.86	11.47	12.38		
	B Time in union (% of A)	80.3	80.7	81.3	80.0		
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	45.5	43.3	41.5	38.4		
35	A Mean years ever in union	14.93	15.73	16.30			
	B Time in union (% of A)	81.8	82.5	82.6			
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	37.5	35.0	34.5			
40	A Mean years ever in union	19.82	20.64				
	B Time in union (% of A)	82.0	83.2				
	C Time in first relationship (% of B)	31.8	29.4				

Table 42 Per cent distribution of the time in union according to union type – by age

Age	Union type	Age cohort					
		45–49	40–44	35–39	30–34	25–29	20–24
15	Married	0.0	1.4	1.0	2.5	0.6	1.0
	Common law	26.8	51.5	23.0	21.3	16.5	11.7
	Visiting	73.2	47.1	76.1	76.2	82.9	87.3
20	Married	7.0	6.2	8.0	7.2	4.2	6.1
	Common law	36.4	37.6	30.6	31.7	26.8	24.6
	Visiting	56.6	56.3	61.4	61.0	69.0	69.4
25	Married	18.1	16.4	19.0	17.3	14.2	
	Common law	36.8	39.1	36.4	36.6	35.7	
	Visiting	45.1	44.5	44.6	46.1	50.0	
30	Married	26.5	27.0	28.4	26.4		
	Common law	38.0	39.1	37.4	38.9		
	Visiting	35.4	33.8	34.3	34.7		
35	Married	33.6	34.5	34.4			
	Common law	37.7	37.9	37.2			
	Visiting	28.8	27.7	28.4			
40	Married	39.6	40.3				
	Common law	35.8	36.2				
	Visiting	24.6	23.5				

Table 43 Effects of age at first union on fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages. Regression coefficients: B

Cohort/Measure	Adjusted up to variable					
	Background variables	First union type	Partners/Relationships		Current union status	
			Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs
<i>At age 20–29 years</i>						
40–49 cohort	–0.11	–0.11	–0.10	–0.07	–0.08	–0.08
30–39 cohort	–0.10	–0.10	–0.07	–0.06	–0.07	–0.07
20–29 cohort	–0.13	–0.14	–0.11	–0.10	–0.10	–0.10
<i>At age 30–39 years</i>						
40–49 cohort	–0.13	–0.13	–0.13	–0.11	–0.12	–0.11
30–39 cohort	–0.16	–0.17	–0.14	–0.13	–0.14	–0.13
<i>At age 40–49 years</i>						
40–49 cohort	–0.15	–0.15	–0.14	–0.12	–0.14	–0.12

provided by the PRC shows that at age 20–29 the dominant shift is from visiting to a common law relationship while the remainder who changed union type shifted to legal marriage and the single state in fairly equal numbers. Only one-third of those initially in a visiting relationship were currently in this union type at age 20–29. At ages 30–39 and 40–49 an increasing proportion of women shift from visiting and common law relationships to legal marriage which almost entirely accounts for the high proportion married at these ages.

4.2 MATING AND FERTILITY

Fertility differentials according to the mating variables discussed above are considered in this section. We present differentials adjusted only for the selected background variables (termed ‘unadjusted’ for convenience) and differentials adjusted for the other mating variables also.

Age at first union

The later a woman enters her first union the fewer children she is likely to have. Furthermore, the influence of age at first union, as measured by the multiple regression coefficient, increases with age (table 43). This influence is somewhat modified by the fact that women who enter their first union at an early age are likely to enter a visiting relationship and this union type has a lower fertility than the common law type¹¹ (table 44). On the other hand, part of the influence of age at first union is related to the fact that the earlier the age at entry into first union the more partners and relationships the woman has had, and these two variables are directly associated with fertility (table 45).

The impact of age at first union was the same for the two oldest cohorts at age 20–29. During the ten years preceding the survey, however, the influence of this variable increased slightly at both ages 20–29 and 30–39. This is somewhat unexpected. The National Family Planning

Programme has been very active during this period and one might have expected that the result would be greater use of contraception on the part of younger women and hence a reduced influence of age at first union on fertility.

First union type

Except for the oldest cohort when they were 20–29 years old, the fertility of married women is least and that of common law wives is highest for all sets. The low fertility of married women is largely due to their later age at entry into a sexual relationship which is itself a consequence of their higher social status. When age at first union is controlled, the fertility of married women exceeds that of women first in a visiting relationship for the two younger age cohorts as well as for the oldest at age 20–29. Indeed at age 20–29 married women have the highest fertility in the case of the two oldest cohorts, while for women aged 20–29 the fertility of married and common law women was the same.

At age 20–29 the fertility of each first union type was higher for the 30–39 cohort than for the older one. There was, however, a small decline in the fertility of married women among the youngest cohort but hardly any change for the other union types. The fertility of the 30–39 cohort was also higher than that of older women at age 30–39.

In general, then, the differentials between the first union types have not changed much during the past ten years.

Numbers of relationships and partners

There is a positive association between the numbers of relationships and partners on the one hand and fertility on the other. Unlike Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago where for all sets the impact of relationships was greater than that of partners, in Jamaica for the oldest cohort the number of partners had the greater impact at age 20–29 while the number of relationships had the greater impact at ages 30–39 and 40–49. For the two younger cohorts the impact of the two variables is almost identical.

When the effects of the other mating variables (age at first union, first union type and current union status) are

¹¹ Fertility is lowest among women who first enter a married union but these comprise a very small proportion of all women (table 36).

Table 44 Effects of first union type on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages

Cohort/Measure	Adjusted up to variable										
	Background variables		Age at first union		Partners/Relationships		Current union status				
	Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs			
A At age 20–29 years											
<i>40–49 cohort</i>											
Married	2.4		2.6		2.6		3.0		2.1		2.7
Common law	2.2		2.2		2.3		2.5		2.1		2.4
Visiting	2.0		2.0		2.0		1.9		2.0		1.9
<i>30–39 cohort</i>											
Married	2.5		2.8		2.9		3.1		2.5		2.9
Common law	2.7		2.6		2.7		2.9		2.6		2.8
Visiting	2.5		2.5		2.4		2.4		2.5		2.4
<i>20–29 cohort</i>											
Married	2.2		2.6		2.7		2.8		2.2		2.6
Common law	2.6		2.6		2.6		2.8		2.5		2.7
Visiting	2.4		2.4		2.4		2.3		2.4		2.4
B At age 30–39 years											
<i>40–49 cohort</i>											
Married	3.5		3.8		3.8		4.1		3.6		3.9
Common law	4.5		4.5		4.5		4.6		4.4		4.5
Visiting	4.1		4.1		4.1		4.0		4.1		4.1
<i>30–39 cohort</i>											
Married	4.4		4.9		5.1		5.4		4.9		5.3
Common law	5.1		5.1		5.2		5.3		5.1		5.3
Visiting	4.7		4.7		4.6		4.6		4.7		4.6
C At age 40–49 years											
<i>40–49 cohort</i>											
Married	4.6		5.0		5.1		5.6		4.8		5.3
Common law	6.3		6.3		6.3		6.4		6.3		6.4
Visiting	5.5		5.5		5.5		5.4		5.5		5.4

Table 45 Effects of number of partners/relationships on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages. Regression coefficients: B

Cohort/Measure	Adjusted up to variable							
	Background variables		Age at first union		First union type		Current union status	
	Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs	Ps	Rs
<i>At age 20–29 years</i>								
40–49 cohort	0.48	0.30	0.36	0.27	0.39	0.32	0.43	0.28
30–39 cohort	0.57	0.52	0.51	0.48	0.53	0.55	0.53	0.46
20–29 cohort	0.35	0.39	0.27	0.33	0.28	0.36	0.32	0.31
<i>At age 30–39 years</i>								
40–49 cohort	0.11	0.41	–0.03	0.29	–0.03	0.33	0.07	0.23
30–39 cohort	0.46	0.46	0.33	0.35	0.35	0.43	0.38	0.41
<i>At age 40–49 years</i>								
40–49 cohort	0.18	0.51	0.05	0.40	0.04	0.43	0.14	0.41

Table 46 Effects of current union status on the fertility of age cohorts at comparable ages

Cohort/Measure	Adjusted up to variable				
	Background variables	Age at first union	First union type	Partners/Relationships	
				Ps	Rs
A At age 20–29 years					
<i>40–49 cohort</i>					
Married	2.7	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.4
Common law	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.1	2.0
Visiting	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.6	1.9
Single	1.8	1.7	1.7	1.8	2.0
<i>30–39 cohort</i>					
Married	2.9	2.9	2.9	3.0	2.7
Common law	2.8	2.8	2.8	2.7	2.7
Visiting	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.4
Single	2.0	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.1
<i>20–29 cohort</i>					
Married	2.6	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.6
Common law	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	2.5
Visiting	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.0	2.1
Single	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.2	2.3
B At age 30–39 years					
<i>40–49 cohort</i>					
Married	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5	4.5
Common law	4.4	4.4	4.3	4.3	4.3
Visiting	3.5	3.6	3.6	3.6	3.7
Single	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1
<i>30–39 cohort</i>					
Married	4.8	4.8	4.8	5.0	4.8
Common law	4.9	4.9	4.9	4.8	4.8
Visiting	5.1	5.1	5.1	4.9	5.1
Single	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.0	4.1
C At age 40–49 years					
<i>40–49 cohort</i>					
Married	6.1	6.1	6.1	6.1	6.1
Common law	5.3	5.4	5.3	5.3	5.2
Visiting	5.4	5.6	5.6	5.5	5.5
Single	4.9	4.8	4.8	4.8	4.9

controlled, the impact of the number of relationships is slightly greater and that of the number of partners is appreciably greater when women are young (aged 20–29) than at higher ages.

Comparing the cohorts, the impact of the two variables was greater for the 30–39 cohort than for either of the other cohorts at either age 20–29 or 30–39. There is no evidence of any clear trend.

Current union status

Unlike the relationship for type of first union, currently married women had the highest fertility (table 46). The

single exception was the 30–39 cohort at age 30–39 where the differences between the union types were negligible but the fertility of married women was the lowest. In all sets, however, except for the early and late stages for the oldest cohort, there is hardly any difference in fertility between married and common law wives. One might have expected that because of the higher socio-economic status of married women (table 38) their fertility would be the lower but variables not taken into account in our study, including greater exposure on the part of married women, may have partly offset this. But more importantly, as is shown in the PRC analysis below, the married women with high fertility are those who were initially common law.

Table 47 Effects of pattern of relationship change on the fertility of age cohorts – by age

Age cohort/Measure	Adjusted up to variable							
	Background variables		First union type		Background variables		First union type	
	A At age 20–29 years		B At age 30–39 years		C At age 40–49 years			
<i>40–49 cohort</i>								
M → M	1.8	1.8	3.1	3.2	4.7	4.7		
M, CL → V; M → CL	(2.7)	(3.0)	(7.2)	(7.3)	(6.6)	(6.9)		
CL → M	3.7	4.0	5.3	5.4	6.8	7.0		
CL → CL	2.5	2.6	6.0	6.1	10.3	10.6		
V → CL → M	3.5	3.5	4.8	4.7	6.5	6.3		
V → M	2.6	2.5	4.5	4.5	5.7	5.7		
V → CL	2.3	2.2	4.4	4.4	5.3	5.3		
V → V	1.6	1.6	3.3	3.4	5.3	5.4		
<i>30–39 cohort</i>								
M → M	2.1	2.1	4.0	4.2				
M, CL → V; M → CL	(3.5)	(3.5)	(5.4)	(5.5)				
CL → M	4.4	5.0	6.2	6.6				
CL → CL	3.2	3.2	6.1	6.1				
V → CL → M	3.2	3.1	5.1	4.9				
V → M	2.9	2.9	4.6	4.5				
V → CL	2.9	2.9	5.1	5.0				
V → V	2.1	2.1	5.0	5.0				
<i>20–29 cohort</i>								
M → M	2.2	2.3						
M, CL → V; M → CL	(3.1)	(3.0)						
CL → M	3.1	4.3						
CL → CL	3.5	3.2						
V → CL → M	3.1	3.0						
V → M	2.6	2.6						
V → CL	2.7	2.6						
V → V	2.0	2.0						

For all cohorts at age 20–29 and for the 40–49 cohort at age 30–39, the fertility of women in a visiting relationship is much lower than that of women in the cohabiting union types. For the 30–39 cohort at age 30–39, however, the fertility of visiting women is slightly higher than that of other unions.

On the whole, adjustment for the other mating variables in the regression analysis does not have much effect on the fertility differentials by current union status.

At age 20–29 fertility was higher for the 30–39 cohort than for the oldest cohort, the difference being much less for married women than for the other two union types. Fertility then declined for the three union types for the youngest cohort but only slightly, so that the fertility of common law and visiting women was higher for the youngest than for the oldest cohort. The fertility of women aged 30–39 was also higher at age 30–39 compared to the oldest cohort, the increase being much greater for currently visiting women than for the other two types.

At age 40–49 fertility (for the one cohort represented here) was very much higher for married women while the visiting and common law had much the same level of fertility. It will be remembered that at this age most of the married women were previously in a common law union,

including those who were initially visiting (table 40). The conclusion must be that women with larger families were more likely to join in legal marriage towards the end of their childbearing period than those with relatively few children.

Pattern of relationship change (PRC)

The two categories with the lowest fertility were those women who were initially and currently in a married or a visiting relationship (table 47). At age 20–29 the married women had the slightly higher fertility of the two groups, at higher ages the fertility of married women was lower.

For the two oldest cohorts at age 20–29 the fertility of women initially and currently in a common law relationship was also low as compared with other groups but for the other sets this group has one of the highest levels of fertility. Indeed, apart from the two sets just mentioned, of the women initially in a common law relationship, those who remain in (or revert to) this union type have a higher fertility than those who shift to legal marriage.

In all sets, women who shift to legal marriage from a previous common law relationship, including those who were initially visiting have a very high fertility.

Unlike women initially common law, those who were initially in a visiting relationship and shift to another union type have more children than those who were currently visiting. Furthermore, those who shift to legal marriage have a higher fertility than those who shift to and remain in a common law relationship; those who shift from visiting to common law to married have the highest fertility of the women initially visiting.¹²

The figures in table 46 confirm the conclusion above (see current union status pages 52–53) that, particularly at higher ages, it is the women with many children who are likely to shift to legal marriage. Since most of these shifts occurred after age 30, many of them when the women were aged 40–49 (table 40) it is evident that by the time the women shifted to legal marriage they already had large families.

The large differences in fertility between the PRC categories of women currently in the same union type justifies the use of this categorisation in the analysis of fertility.

Summary

Age at first union is negatively associated with fertility. The impact of this variable for a given cohort increased slightly as the cohort aged. There has been a slight increase in the effect of age at first union during the ten years preceding the survey both at ages 20–29 and 30–39.

Women who were initially married had the lowest fertility except for the oldest cohort at age 20–29. For all sets women initially common law had the highest fertility. The low fertility of married women is largely explained by their relatively late entry into a first union. At both ages 20–29 and 30–39 the fertility of the 30–39 cohort was slightly higher for each first union type than that of the older cohort. At age 20–29 there was a small decline in the fertility of married women for the youngest cohort.

The more relationships and partners a women has had

the higher her fertility is likely to be. Unlike Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago the impact of relationships is not always superior to that of partners. When adjustment is made for the other mating variables the effect of these variables reduces as a cohort ages. For these variables too the impact was greatest for the 30–39 cohort.

Women who were currently married had more children than those who were currently common law in the case of the oldest cohort at ages 20–29 and 40–49. In the remaining sets the difference between these two union types was very small though in all but one instance married women had the higher fertility. The fertility of visiting women was much lower than that of the other two types at age 20–29 and for the oldest cohort at age 30–39. For the 30–39 cohort at age 30–39 visiting women had a slightly higher fertility than the other types. The fertility of each union type was higher for the 30–39 cohort than for the other two. At age 20–29 the fertility of the youngest cohort was lower than that of the 30–39 cohort for each union type but not as low as for the oldest cohort.

In the PRC analysis, women who were initially and currently visiting or initially and currently married had the lowest fertility with visiting having the lower level. On the other hand, with a single exception women who were initially common law had the highest fertility with those who shifted to marriage having a higher level for the two oldest cohorts at age 20–29 than for those who remained in this union type. Except for the 30–39 cohort at age 30–39 where there was little difference, the fertility of those who remained in a common law relationship was much higher compared to those who shifted to marriage in the other sets. For the most part the differences between the other PRC categories was not large.

At ages 20–29 and 30–39 the fertility of the 30–39 cohort was higher than that of the older cohort for all PRC categories with only one small exception. On the other hand, except for women who were initially common law, the fertility of the youngest cohort was equal to or lower than that of the 30–39 cohort for each category. However, this decline in fertility from the 30–39 to the 20–29 cohort was not very large, and in several cases the 20–29 group still had higher fertility than the oldest, 40–49 cohort.

¹² Although the group of women who shifted to less stable unions (M, CL–V) is shown separately in table 47, it is not discussed because of the small number of women in this group.

5 Conclusion and Comparative Summary

From the work of earlier researchers (see References, p. 60) it is known that in the two countries in the Commonwealth Caribbean where there are large numbers of Indians (Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago), the mating patterns and fertility of this ethnic group are very different from those of non-Indians. In these countries, therefore, demographers have often studied Indians and non-Indians separately, and this method has been followed here. Five separate populations have therefore been studied: the Indian populations of Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago, the non-Indian populations of these two countries, and the total population of Jamaica which can be considered as non-Indian since the number of Indians is negligible.

5.1 MATING

The mating patterns of women 40 years and older in the fertility surveys of the three countries covered have been found to be similar to those described by earlier researchers. Thus, among these older cohorts, Indians entered their first sexual union at an earlier age than non-Indians, though the proportions ever in a union were about the same by age 40 years. For example, at age 20 less than 65 per cent of non-Indians had entered their first union as against over 80 per cent of Indians. By age 25 the proportions were similar for Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago for each ethnic group; the proportion for Jamaica was somewhat lower than non-Indians of the other two countries. By age 40, however, 98–99 per cent of each of the five populations had entered a union.

Another important difference between the ethnic groups, is that while nearly all Indians first enter a married union and remain in that relationship with the same partner throughout their childbearing period, the majority of non-Indians first enter a non-cohabiting visiting relationship and after (many of them soon after) shift to a common law or married union, many of them also changing their first partner. Still dealing with women 40 years and older, by age 40 between 60 and 70 per cent of non-Indians had entered a visiting relationship, the proportion being highest for Jamaica and lowest for Guyana. In Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago more non-Indian women entered a married than a common law relationship but the opposite was true of Jamaica.

In the case of Indians in Guyana the proportion first entering a married union by age 40 was somewhat less than 90 per cent. The proportion, though high, was much less for Trinidad and Tobago Indians (70–80 per cent). In both countries many more Indian women first entered a visiting than a common law relationship.

In the three non-Indian populations, the more educated a woman is the more likely she is to first enter a legal

married relationship and the less likely she is to enter a common law relationship; indeed few if any of the best educated women enter a common law relationship. A large proportion of all education groups enter a visiting relationship, however, the proportion tending to be highest for the middle education groups.

The non-Indians who first enter a visiting relationship at an early age soon begin to shift to one of the other union types or to the single state. As a result, even at age 20–29 and increasingly at higher ages, in Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago more women are married than in any other union type. The numbers currently common law in these two countries is somewhat higher than the number visiting which, in turn, is somewhat higher than the number single. In Jamaica the shift out of a first visiting relationship is even more rapid but at age 20–29 most of the shifts are to common law rather than to married relationships. As a result, at this age most Jamaican women are currently in a common law relationship.

By age 40–49, about one-half of the non-Indians of Guyana and Jamaica were married while the proportion in Trinidad and Tobago was somewhat higher. Only about 13 per cent of the women in Guyana and 8 per cent in the other two countries were still in a visiting relationship by this age. There were more women in a common law than in a visiting relationship at age 40–49, the proportion being highest in Jamaica and least in Trinidad and Tobago. In turn, the proportion single was slightly higher than the proportion common law in each country and was again highest in Jamaica and lowest in Trinidad and Tobago.

In the three non-Indian populations, with only minor exceptions, as education increases the proportion of women currently married increases and the proportion currently common law declines as is the case with first union type. There is, however, no clear relationship between level of education and the proportion of women currently in a visiting union.

The distribution of non-Indian women 40–49 years old according to the numbers of relationships and partners at age 20–29 is remarkably close in the three countries – about 15–17 per cent of the women had never been in a union, about 40 per cent had had only a single relationship and the remainder were evenly divided between those having two or more relationships with their first partner and those having two or more partners. As the cohorts age the proportion of women with a single relationship rapidly declines and the proportion with two or more partners increases rapidly. The number with a single partner but with two or more relationships increases somewhat by age 30–39 but does not increase thereafter.

By age 40–49 the proportion who have had only one relationship is highest for Guyana (25 per cent) and lowest for Jamaica (12 per cent) As we would expect given the propensity to move from a visiting to a more stable union,

the larger the number of women who first enter a visiting relationship the fewer would be the number of those remaining in their first relationship by age 40–49. However, the proportion of women with a single partner (regardless of the number of relationships with him) is about the same (48–50 per cent) by age 40–49 in the three countries' non-Indian populations. The mean numbers of relationships and of partners are slightly higher for Jamaica than for the other two non-Indian populations.

Among the 40–49 cohort of Indians, at age 20–29 about 75–80 per cent had a single relationship. As the cohort aged the proportion with a single relationship declined, much more so for Trinidad and Tobago than for Guyana, but this was mainly because women changed their partners, most of them through a second marriage.

The PRC shows the extent to which, and the speed with which women shift from their first visiting relationship. Even at age 20–29, of the non-Indian cohorts aged 40–49 years only one-third of the women initially visiting were still in this union type in Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago, but the proportion was somewhat higher in Jamaica. In the former two countries about one-third of them had shifted directly to marriage and a small number had shifted to marriage after an intermediate common law relationship. Relatively few women had shifted to a common law relationship and fewer yet were single at age 20–29. In Jamaica the situation was different in that more women shifted to a common law than to a married relationship.

By age 30–39, in all three non-Indian populations, the shift out of a visiting relationship continued but thereafter the shift was much smaller in Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica while there was a reversal of the trend in Guyana. In all three countries more women shifted to marriage than to a common law relationship between ages 20–29 and 30–39 while the proportion shifting to the single state hardly changed. By age 40–49, however, the proportion initially visiting and currently single had increased appreciably while the proportions initially visiting and currently common law had declined. The proportion who shifted from visiting to married remained the same at age 30–39 as at age 40–49 in Trinidad and Tobago, fell somewhat in Guyana and increased in Jamaica indicating a later age at legal marriage in this country.

Fewer women entered a common law relationship in Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana than in Jamaica. By age 40–49 slightly more than one-half of these had shifted to legal marriage in the former two countries as against nearly three-quarters in Jamaica. In Jamaica then, women who first entered a common law relationship were much more likely to marry by age 40–49 than those who were initially visiting, the proportion married being 71 per cent of common law, compared to 46 per cent of visiting. The same is true for Guyanese non-Indians though the difference is much less – 54 per cent of those initially common law and 45 per cent of those initially visiting were currently married at age 40–49. In Trinidad and Tobago the likelihood of marrying was about the same for those initially visiting or common law.

The PUPH analysis was undertaken for non-Indians of Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago only. For these two countries the proportions with simple and complex histories were remarkably close. At age 20–29, of the oldest cohort about one-half had simple and one-third had

complex histories, the remainder never having been in a union.

As the cohort aged and women changed partners, the number of women with a simple history declined and the number with a complex history increased. Among those with a simple history the numbers in visiting and common law relationships fell very steeply, most of them shifting to complex histories by age 30–39, with a further small decline by age 40–49. On the other hand, the number of women currently married increased somewhat by age 30–39 before declining again. The increase no doubt included some women shifting within two years to legal marriage from one of the other union types and others who married at age 30 or higher.

As the cohorts aged the number of women with a complex history increased for each union type in both countries, except for visiting in Trinidad and Tobago which fell at first and for married and common law relationships in Guyana where there was a small decline between ages 30–39 and 40–49. Over the whole period until age 40–49 the proportion married increased much more for Trinidad and Tobago while the proportions in the other three union types increased more for Guyana.

Finally, in our review of the mating patterns of women aged 40 years and over, we look at the amount of time spent in a sexual union by the five populations. The mean number of years since the first union – a crude indicator of union duration – was higher for the two Indian than for the non-Indian populations. Comparing the non-Indian populations, the mean number of years since the first union was about the same for Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago and somewhat lower for Jamaica.

Because of the greater stability of Indian unions, the proportion of time since the first union which was actually spent in union is much higher for this ethnic group than for non-Indians. This proportion was inexplicably low for non-Indian women 45–49 years old in Trinidad and Tobago but for those aged 40–44 the proportions for this country and Guyana were similar and somewhat higher than Jamaica's. The proportion of time actually in union was similar for the two Indian populations.

The proportion of time since the first union which was spent in the first relationship gives some indication of the stability of relationships. This is much higher for Indians, as would be expected. Furthermore, as the cohort ages this proportion declines rapidly for non-Indians, particularly in the earlier years because of the rapid shift from the first relationship with or without a change of partner. On the other hand this proportion declines very slowly in the case of Indians.

The Indians of both countries spent most of their time in union in legal marriage though this proportion was much higher for Guyana than for Trinidad and Tobago. On the other hand the proportion of this time spent in common law relationships was much higher in Trinidad and Tobago. The time spent in visiting unions by women 40 years and older was negligible in both Indian populations.

For the non-Indians of Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago, because of the rapid shift from an initial visiting to a married relationship, even at age 20 the proportion of time spent in a visiting relationship by the older cohorts is not much greater than that spent in a married relationship, and by age 25 more time is spent in legal marriage than in

either of the other two union types. Much more time is spent in a visiting than in a common law relationship at the earlier ages but the difference declines continually until age 40 when slightly more time is spent in common law relationships.

In Jamaica, where the early shift from visiting is more likely to be to a common law than to a married relationship, more time was spent by women aged 40–49 years in a visiting relationship than in either of the other two union types up to age 25. Thereafter most time was spent in common law relationships until age 40 when slightly more time was spent in legal marriage. Up to age 25 relatively little time was spent in legal marriage, but this proportion increased rapidly thereafter.

Recent trends in mating patterns

The data from the fertility surveys show that there have been important and appreciable changes in mating patterns in recent years, particularly among younger women in the ten years or so preceding the surveys.

The most fundamental change in the relative positions of the two ethnic groups is that among women under 30 years of age in Trinidad and Tobago and under 25 years in Guyana non-Indians now enter their first union at an earlier age than Indians. This has come about because there has been a large decline in the proportion of Indians entering their first union at young ages for women under 40 years of age in Trinidad and Tobago, and under 30 years of age in Guyana. On the other hand, this proportion has either remained unchanged or has increased for the non-Indian populations.

Comparing the three non-Indian populations, the proportions entering their first union by ages 20 and 25 have hardly changed in the case of Trinidad and Tobago, have increased slightly for Guyana and have increased appreciably for Jamaica. As a consequence, Jamaica had the highest proportions entering their first union at these ages among women aged 30 and younger.

In all five populations there has been a large increase in the incidence of visiting unions. This increase started earliest (with the 35–39 cohort) in Jamaica, in Trinidad and Tobago (both ethnic groups) and among non-Indians in Guyana. Among Guyanese Indians the increase started with the 25–29 cohort.

For each population the increased incidence of visiting has been accompanied by a reduction in the numbers first entering a married relationship and in most, but not all, instances by a reduction also in the numbers first entering common law relationships. Because of the significant differences in the mating patterns of women according to their level of education, the changes that have occurred may in part be the result of the large increase in the proportion of women with better education in all five populations. But the changes have also tended to occur among all women regardless of education. For example, at ages 20–29 and 30–39 more women are entering visiting and fewer are entering married relationships at every educational level. The pattern of change is not uniform for common law relationships.

The change in current union status among non-Indians is similar to that in first union type in Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago in that the incidence of visiting relationships

has increased and that of married relationships has declined, the changes in Trinidad and Tobago being particularly large in the ten years preceding the survey. The proportion currently in common law relationships has declined in these two countries. In Jamaica, on the other hand, it is the incidence of common law relationships that has increased while the proportions in the other two union types increased at first but were only very slightly higher for women 20–29 years old than for those 40–49 years old. The proportion never in a union declined in Jamaica but not in the other two non-Indian populations.

With the increased first entry into a visiting relationship in the three non-Indian populations, the proportion of women who have had only one relationship is very much lower for the youngest cohorts, the decline being particularly large in the ten years preceding the surveys at ages 20–29 and 30–39. Conversely, the proportion of women with two or more partners has increased very rapidly, once again more so in the ten years preceding the surveys. There has been little change in the proportions of women who have changed relationships but remain with their first partner. The increased entry into a first visiting relationship on the part of the younger cohorts is not, therefore, merely a matter of women entering this union type and then changing to a cohabiting type with the same partner.

Among Indians, too, the proportion of women with only one relationship is much lower for the younger cohorts but here this is primarily because of the large decline in the numbers entering a union at an early age. For this ethnic group there has been little change in the numbers of women with two or more partners but the number with two or more relationships with their first partner has increased in the case of the youngest cohort only. This is a reflection of the increased tendency for Indian women to first enter a non-legal union for a short while and then shift to legal marriage.

For the non-Indian populations some significant changes have occurred in the PRC. In Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago the proportion of women initially and currently married fell sharply in the ten years preceding the surveys. In these two countries the proportion of women shifting from visiting to common law has fallen while the proportion always common law has increased. The proportions initially visiting and shifting directly to each of the current union types increased for successive cohorts at both ages 20–29 and 30–39 with a single minor exception in Guyana. The outstanding change here was in Trinidad and Tobago where the proportion of women who entered and remained in a visiting relationship increased sharply during the ten years preceding the survey indicating an increasing willingness to remain in this union type for a long time rather than quickly shift to a cohabiting relationship.

By comparison there was little change in Jamaica, the principal change being a decline in the proportion always common law at age 20–29 and a uniform increase over the 20-year period in the proportion initially visiting and currently common law.

In the distribution by PUPH, which was done only for the non-Indians of Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago, as would be expected, there has been a large decline in the numbers of women with a simple history and an increase in the numbers with a complex history.

In both countries the proportions of women with simple married and common law patterns declined between successive cohorts, the decline in Guyana being particularly large in the ten years preceding the survey. The proportion in simple visiting relationships has not changed uniformly.

In the light of the increasing tendency to change partners and the increased incidence of visiting, in both countries the proportion with complex visiting relationships increased considerably within the ten-year period preceding the survey at both ages 20–29 and 30–39. At age 20–29 the proportions with complex married and common law relationships also increased in both countries reflecting the increased tendency for women to change partners. The proportion with complex common law relationships also increased at age 30–39, but there was no change in the proportion in complex married unions.

With the increasing age of entry into their first union on the part of Indians, the mean number of years since the first union, taken as a crude indicator of union duration, has declined appreciably for this ethnic group. For non-Indians, on the other hand, duration has fluctuated in Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago, with a slight indication to increase in the former, and has increased appreciably in Jamaica. As a result, among the younger cohorts duration is longer for non-Indians than for Indians.

The proportion of time since the first union which has been actually spent in union has not changed much over time, the only clearly discernible changes being for women under 30 years old for whom there has been a decline in Trinidad and Tobago and an increase in Jamaica.

If we consider the proportion of time since the first union which has been spent in the first relationship as an indicator of relationship stability, then this stability has declined for the whole period of the surveys for all five populations because of the increased incidence of entry into a first visiting relationship and the subsequent shift out of this union type.

In the two Indian populations, the proportion of time in union which has been spent in legal marriage has declined over time, the decline being very much larger than for Trinidad and Tobago. In the case of the latter country the proportion of time spent in a visiting relationship up to age 20 has increased a great deal, with more than one-quarter of the time in union on the part of Indians being in this union type in the case of women aged 20–24 years.

In the case of non-Indians too there has been a substantial increase in the proportion of time spent in a visiting union up to age 20 and to a lesser extent up to age 25 years. This increase began with the 30–34 cohort in Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago and with the 25–29 cohort in Jamaica. Time spent in the other two union types has, on the other hand, declined.

In summary, the principal changes that have taken place are that more women are spending more of their child-bearing period in visiting relationships and less in legal marriage. This is accompanied by an increase in the number of relationships that a woman is likely to have and, in the case of non-Indians, an even greater increase in the number of partners. These two trends are likely to have opposing influences on fertility as the increased incidence of visiting will tend to reduce the level of fertility while there is evidence that fertility increases with the numbers of partners and relationships.

5.2 FERTILITY

The relationship between each of the mating variables discussed above and fertility has been investigated, controlling for selected background characteristics of the respondents or their partners (education, residence, partner's occupation and pattern of work). Because of the lower variation in mating characteristics of the Indian populations, this analysis has been confined to the three non-Indian populations.

In all three countries there was a strong negative association between age at first union and fertility the association being much less for Jamaica than for the other two countries. It might have been expected that as a cohort grows older the effect of age at first union would decline as women who married later had time to 'catch up' on their births. But this appears to hold only for the 40–49 cohort of Guyana and, in the case of Trinidad and Tobago, for the same cohort but only by age 30–39. In Jamaica, to the contrary, the effect of this variable increases as the cohorts age.

Jamaica differs from the other two countries also in that at age 20–29 the effect of age at first union is greater for women aged 20–29 than for older women in that country while in Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago the effect is much less for this youngest cohort.

In general, women who first entered a visiting relationship had fewer children than those who first entered one of the cohabiting union types, with a single exception in Trinidad and Tobago and two exceptions in Jamaica. One reason for this is undoubtedly the fact that visiting women tend to have a more unstable or less continuous union pattern, and less importantly, because of their lower frequency of intercourse than those living in the same household with their partners. On the other hand, we have found that most of the women who first enter a visiting relationship shift to a cohabiting relationship, many of them quite soon. Despite this fact, however, the lower level of fertility persists up to age 40–49 in Guyana and, to a lesser extent, in Trinidad and Tobago as well.

In most instances, at age 20–29, and in every instance at ages 30–39 and 40–49, when adjustment is made only for the background variables, fertility is higher for women initially in common law unions than for those who first entered legal marriage. This is what we would expect in the light of the evidence that women who first enter a common law relationship are less educated and, presumably, of lower socio-economic status than those who first enter a married or visiting relationship.

The higher fertility of women first in common law unions (as compared with those first married) is in part accounted for by the fact that they tend to enter their first union earlier and to have more partners and relationships. When these two variables are controlled, therefore, in many instances the fertility of married women becomes higher while in other instances the difference is appreciably reduced.

The more relationships and partners a woman has had the more children she is likely to have. In Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago in every instance the number of relationships has a greater impact on fertility than does the number of partners. In Jamaica, on the other hand, for the two older cohorts at age 20–29 the impact of the number of partners is the greater.

Since the numbers of partners/relationships and age at first union are positively associated, when adjustment is made for this variable the positive impact of relationships and partners on fertility is greatly reduced and in many instances in Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago there is, in fact, a negative association between the number of partners (but not of relationships) and fertility.

Some earlier researchers have found evidence of the positive relationship between the number of partners and fertility and have seen this as resulting from the pressure on women to have a child or children for each new partner. The evidence from the fertility surveys that in Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago the mean number of children increases much more with each additional relationship than with each additional partner requires some different explanation. One possibility is that women with many children are more likely to get the opportunity to shift to a more stable relationship with the same partner than those with fewer children; if this is so then the higher fertility would be a cause rather than an effect of the larger number of relationships.

As in the case of first union type, the fertility of women currently visiting was generally found to be much lower than that of women in the other two union types. Unlike first union type, however, in most, but not all instances, currently married women had more children than those currently common law. Because women currently in a common law union are, in general, of lower socio-economic status than those currently married, it might have been expected that the fertility of the latter union type would be lower, not higher, than the former. This is probably entirely explained by the fact that women who have always been married have a relatively low fertility, but the highest fertility in most sets of the three countries was among women currently married but initially common law as will be seen in the discussion of PRC below.

In the three countries the difference in fertility between married and common law wives was highest at age 40-49 when many women of high fertility who were initially in another union type shifted to legal marriage.

A comparison of the three 10-year age cohorts shows that in Jamaica the fertility level of each union type increased between the two oldest cohorts at ages 20-29 and 30-39. At ages 20-29, in Jamaica and in Guyana, however, the fertility of each union type was lower for the 20-29 than for the 30-39 cohort. In Guyana, fertility at age 30-39 saw declines from the 40-49 to the 30-39 cohort, for most union types. In Trinidad and Tobago, on the other hand, there was a decrease for most but not all union types at both ages 20-29 and 30-39.

Adjustment for the other mating variables modifies the differences and trends described above but does not affect the general picture described.

In the three populations, women initially and currently (referred to for convenience as 'always') in married and visiting relationships had the lowest fertility of all PRC groups. In all instances at age 20-29 the fertility of always married women was the higher of these two, no doubt reflecting the greater stability of, and the lower incidence of contraception in this union type. At higher ages the fertility of women always visiting was in most instances higher than that of women always married suggesting that the married group control their fertility after achieving the

desired family size. The fertility of women always in a common law relationship was appreciably higher than for the other two types, at all ages, as would be expected, given their lower social status.

In general women who changed union type had a much higher fertility than those who remained in the same union type except that at ages 30-39 and 40-49 women who were always common law had a very high and in some instances the highest fertility. This too is in accordance with our expectation that fertility would tend to be highest among women of lower socio-economic status. Among those who changed union types, too, those who were either initially or at an intermediate stage (V-CL-M) in a common law relationship tended to be among the categories with the highest fertility.

The analysis by PUPH is carried out only for Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago. In general, women with a complex history, who have had in most instances more than one partner, have a higher fertility than those with a simple history and hence a single partner. But in general those with a complex history joined in their first union at a relatively early age. When the age at first entry into a union is controlled the difference in fertility between women with simple and complex histories is reduced and, in the case of married women, it is those with a simple history who have the higher fertility.

For women with a simple history, in most instances those currently or last married have the highest fertility and those visiting have the lowest fertility in both countries. Among those with a complex history, again in most instances those currently visiting have a lower fertility than those currently married or common law.

Among women with a complex history married women have a higher fertility than common law wives for the oldest cohort at ages 30-39 and 40-49 in both countries. In Guyana there is little difference between the two union types for the 30-39 cohort at age 30-39. In all other instances in both countries it is women currently common law who have the higher fertility.

Comparing the cohorts at age 20-29, the fertility of the youngest cohort was uniformly lower for all PUPH categories than for older women in Trinidad and Tobago. In Guyana the fertility of women currently visiting with both simple and complex histories fell between successive cohorts. There was no other uniform trend in either country.

In comparing the cohorts in each country it has been found that the fertility of most categories of the different mating variables at ages 20-29 and 30-39 was highest for the 30-39 cohort. Indeed this was the case as well when the total fertility rates of the cohorts were compared, with the exception of Trinidad and Tobago where there was a decline in fertility at age 30-39. This rise in fertility from the oldest age group to the 30-39 age group has been supported by other data sources as well.

In conclusion, in the analysis of the three non-Indian populations, we have found the association between the various mating variables and fertility to be generally similar in the three countries. Where differences do occur they are almost always between the two countries with a large Indian population (Guyana and Trinidad and Tobago) on the one hand, and the country with few Indians (Jamaica) on the other.

References and Bibliography

- Balkaran, Sundat (1982). Evaluation of the Guyana Fertility Survey 1975. *WFS Scientific Reports* no 26.
- Braithwaite, L. and Roberts, G.W. (1961). Mating Patterns and Prospects in Trinidad. *Paper presented to the Conference of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (1961)*.
- Brody, Eugene B. (1981). *Sex, Contraception and Motherhood in Jamaica*. Harvard University Press.
- Charbit, Yves (1980). Union Patterns and Family Structure in Guadeloupe and Martinique. *International Journal of Sociology in the Family*.
- Cleland, J.G., Little, R.J.A. and Pitaktesombati, P. (1979). Socio-Economic Determinants of Contraceptive Use in Thailand. *WFS Scientific Reports* no 5.
- Ebanks, G. Edward, George, P.M. and Nobbe, Charles E. (1974a). Fertility and Number of Partnerships in Barbados. *Population Studies* 28(3).
- Ebanks, G. Edward, George, P.M. and Nobbe, Charles E. (1974b). Patterns of Sex-Union Formation in Barbados. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 11(3).
- Guzman, Jose Miguel (1980). Evaluation of the Dominican Republic National Fertility Survey 1973. *WFS Scientific Reports* no 14.
- Hunte, Desmond (1983). Evaluation of the Trinidad and Tobago Fertility Survey 1977. *WFS Scientific Reports* no 44.
- Leridon, H. and Charbit, Y. (1981). Patterns of Marital Unions and Fertility in Guadeloupe and Martinique. *Population Studies* 35(2).
- Lightbourne, R.E. and Singh, S. (1982). Fertility, Union Status and Partners in the WFS Guyana and Jamaica Survey, 1975-76. *Population Studies* 36(2).
- Little, Roderick J.A. and Perera, Soma (1981). Socio-Economic Differentials in Cumulative Fertility in Sri Lanka - A Marriage Cohort Approach. *WFS Scientific Reports* no 12.
- Nobbe, Charles E., Ebanks, G. Edward and George, P.M. (1976). A Re-exploration of the Relationship between Types of Sex Unions and Fertility: the Barbadian Case. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 7(2).
- Ram, Bali and Ebanks, G. Edward (1973). Stability of Unions and Fertility in Barbados. *Social Biology* 20, June.
- Roberts, G.W. (1955). Some Aspects of Mating and Fertility in the West Indies. *Population Studies* 8(3).
- Roberts, G.W. (1957). *The Population of Jamaica*. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Roberts, G.W. (1975). *Fertility and Mating in Four West Indian Populations*. Institute of Social and Economic Research. University of the West Indies, Jamaica.
- Roberts, G.W. and Braithwaite, L. (1960). Fertility Differentials by Family Type in Trinidad. *Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences* 4(17).
- Roberts, G.W. and Braithwaite, L. (1961). A Gross Mating Table for a West Indian Population. *Population Studies* 14(3).
- Roberts, G.W. and Braithwaite, L. (1962). Mating Among East Indian and Non-Indian Women in Trinidad. *Social and Economic Studies* 11(3).
- Roberts, George W. and Sinclair, Sonja A. (1978). *Women in Jamaica: Patterns of Reproduction and Family*. New York: KTO Press.
- Singh, Susheela (1979). Demographic Variables and the Recent Trend in Fertility in Guyana, 1960-1971. *Population Studies* 33(2).
- Singh, Susheela (1982). Evaluation of the Jamaica Fertility Survey 1975-76. *WFS Scientific Reports* no 34.
- Singh, Susheela (1984). Guyana, Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago: Socio-Economic Differentials in Cumulative Fertility. *WFS Scientific Reports* no 57.
- Smith, David P. (1980). Life Table Analysis. *WFS Technical Bulletin* no 6.
- Smith, M.G. (1962). *West Indian Family Structure*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Smith, Raymond T. (1956). *The Negro Family in British Guiana*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul; New York: Humanities Press.
- Stycos, J. Mayone and Back, Kurt W. (1964). *The Control of Human Fertility in Jamaica*. Cornell University Press.

Appendix A – Partners/Relationships

	FIRST RELATIONSHIP					SECOND RELATIONSHIP					
	318. When you and your (first, second..... present, last) partner first started together were you married to him, living common law, or was he a visiting partner?	319. In what month and year did this (M/CL/V) relationship start? IF D.K. ASK: How old were you when this (M/CL/V) relationship started?	320. In what month and year did this(M/CL/V) relationship with him end? IF D.K. ASK: How many years and months did you live/go together as (M/CL/V)?	321. Right after this were you without a partner for any length of time?	322. How many years and months did you remain without a partner then?	323. IF MORE THAN ONE PARTNER (SEE 314, 316) ASK: After this was your next relationship with this same partner or with another partner?	324. In your next relationship with this partner were you married to him, living common law, or was he a visiting partner?	325. In what month and year did you and he start this(M/CL/V) relationship? IF D.K. ASK: How old were you when this (M/CL/V) relationship started?	326. In what month and year did this(M/CL/V) relationship with him end? IF D.K. ASK: How many years and months did you live/go together as (M/CL/V)	327. Right after this were you without a partner for any length of time?	328. How many years and months did you remain without a partner then?
FIRST PARTNER	M <input type="checkbox"/> 1 CL <input type="checkbox"/> 2 V <input type="checkbox"/> 3	(MONTH) (YEAR) IF D.K. ↓ (AGE-YRS)	STILL GOING ON <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 398 ON PAGE 13) (MONTH) (YEAR) (YEARS) (MONTHS)	YES <input type="checkbox"/> 1 NO <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (SKIP TO 323)	UNTIL NOW <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 398 ON PAGE 13) (YEARS) (MONTHS)	SAME <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 324) AN-OTHER <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (GO TO 318 FOR SECOND PARTNER)	M <input type="checkbox"/> 1 CL <input type="checkbox"/> 2 V <input type="checkbox"/> 3	(MONTH) (YEAR) IF D.K. ↓ (AGE-YRS)	STILL GOING ON <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 398 ON PAGE 13) (MONTH) (YEAR) (YEARS) (MONTHS)	YES <input type="checkbox"/> 1 NO <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (SKIP TO 329)	UNTIL NOW <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 398 ON PAGE 13) (YEARS) (MONTHS)
SECOND PARTNER	M <input type="checkbox"/> 1 CL <input type="checkbox"/> 2 V <input type="checkbox"/> 3	(MONTH) (YEAR) IF D.K. ↓ (AGE-YRS)	STILL GOING ON <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 398 ON PAGE 13) (MONTH) (YEAR) (YEARS) (MONTHS)	YES <input type="checkbox"/> 1 NO <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (SKIP TO 323)	UNTIL NOW <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 398 ON PAGE 13) (YEARS) (MONTHS)	SAME <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 324) AN-OTHER <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (GO TO 318 FOR THIRD PARTNER)	M <input type="checkbox"/> 1 CL <input type="checkbox"/> 2 V <input type="checkbox"/> 3	(MONTH) (YEAR) IF D.K. ↓ (AGE-YRS)	STILL GOING ON <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 398 ON PAGE 13) (MONTH) (YEAR) (YEARS) (MONTHS)	YES <input type="checkbox"/> 1 NO <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (SKIP TO 329)	UNTIL NOW <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 398 ON PAGE 13) (YEARS) (MONTHS)
THIRD PARTNER	M <input type="checkbox"/> 1 CL <input type="checkbox"/> 2 V <input type="checkbox"/> 3	(MONTH) (YEAR) IF D.K. ↓ (AGE-YRS)	STILL GOING ON <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 398 ON PAGE 13) (MONTH) (YEAR) (YEARS) (MONTHS)	YES <input type="checkbox"/> 1 NO <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (SKIP TO 323)	UNTIL NOW <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 398 ON PAGE 13) (YEARS) (MONTHS)	SAME <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 324) AN-OTHER <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (GO TO 318 FOR FOURTH PARTNER)	M <input type="checkbox"/> 1 CL <input type="checkbox"/> 2 V <input type="checkbox"/> 3	(MONTH) (YEAR) IF D.K. ↓ (AGE-YRS)	STILL GOING ON <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 398 ON PAGE 13) (MONTH) (YEAR) (YEARS) (MONTHS)	YES <input type="checkbox"/> 1 NO <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (SKIP TO 329)	UNTIL NOW <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 398 ON PAGE 13) (YEARS) (MONTHS)

THIRD RELATIONSHIP							1 - 13 IDENTIFICATION												
329. IF MORE THAN ONE PARTNER (SEE 314, 316) ASK: After this was your next relationship with this same partner or with another partner?	330. In your next relationship with this partner were you married to him living common law, or was he a visiting partner?	331. In what month and year did you and he start this (M/CL/V) relationship? IF D.K. ASK: How old were you when this (M/CL/V) relationship started?	332. In what month and year did this (M/CL/V) relationship with him end? IF D.K. ASK: How many years and months did you live/go together as (M/CL/V)	333. Right after this were you without a partner for any length of time?	334. How many years and months did you remain without a partner then?	335. IF MORE THAN ONE PARTNER (SEE 314, 316) ASK: After this was your next relationship with this same partner or with another partner?													
SAME <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 330)	M <input type="checkbox"/> 1	(MONTH)	STILL GOING ON <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 398 ON PAGE 13)	YES <input type="checkbox"/> 1	UNTIL NOW <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 398 ON PAGE 13)	SAME <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO SUPPL. SHEET 3A)	<input type="checkbox"/> 14	<input type="checkbox"/> 16	<input type="checkbox"/> 17	<input type="checkbox"/> 19	<input type="checkbox"/> 21	<input type="checkbox"/> 22	<input type="checkbox"/> 24	<input type="checkbox"/> 26	<input type="checkbox"/> 27	<input type="checkbox"/> 28	<input type="checkbox"/> 30	<input type="checkbox"/> 32	
AN-OTHER <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (GO TO 318 FOR SECOND PARTNER)	CL <input type="checkbox"/> 2 V <input type="checkbox"/> 3	(YEAR) IF D.K. ASK: (AGE-YRS)	(MONTH) (YEAR) (YEARS) (MONTHS)	NO <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (SKIP TO 335)	(MONTHS) (YEARS) (MONTHS)	AN-OTHER <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (GO TO 318 FOR SECOND PARTNER)	<input type="checkbox"/> 33	<input type="checkbox"/> 35	<input type="checkbox"/> 36	<input type="checkbox"/> 38	<input type="checkbox"/> 40	<input type="checkbox"/> 41	<input type="checkbox"/> 43	<input type="checkbox"/> 45	<input type="checkbox"/> 46	<input type="checkbox"/> 47	<input type="checkbox"/> 49	<input type="checkbox"/> 51	
							<input type="checkbox"/> 52	<input type="checkbox"/> 54	<input type="checkbox"/> 55	<input type="checkbox"/> 57	<input type="checkbox"/> 59	<input type="checkbox"/> 60	<input type="checkbox"/> 62	<input type="checkbox"/> 64	<input type="checkbox"/> 65	<input type="checkbox"/> 66	<input type="checkbox"/> 68	<input type="checkbox"/> 70	<input type="checkbox"/> 79
							<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 2											
SAME <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 330)	M <input type="checkbox"/> 1	(MONTH)	STILL GOING ON <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 398 ON PAGE 13)	YES <input type="checkbox"/> 1	UNTIL NOW <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 398 ON PAGE 13)	SAME <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO SUPPL. SHEET 3A)	<input type="checkbox"/> 14	<input type="checkbox"/> 16	<input type="checkbox"/> 17	<input type="checkbox"/> 19	<input type="checkbox"/> 21	<input type="checkbox"/> 22	<input type="checkbox"/> 24	<input type="checkbox"/> 26	<input type="checkbox"/> 27	<input type="checkbox"/> 28	<input type="checkbox"/> 30	<input type="checkbox"/> 32	
AN-OTHER <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (GO TO 318 FOR THIRD PARTNER)	CL <input type="checkbox"/> 2 V <input type="checkbox"/> 3	(YEAR) IF D.K. ASK: (AGE-YRS)	(MONTH) (YEAR) (YEARS) (MONTHS)	NO <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (SKIP TO 335)	(MONTHS) (YEARS) (MONTHS)	AN-OTHER <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (GO TO 318 FOR THIRD PARTNER)	<input type="checkbox"/> 33	<input type="checkbox"/> 35	<input type="checkbox"/> 36	<input type="checkbox"/> 38	<input type="checkbox"/> 40	<input type="checkbox"/> 41	<input type="checkbox"/> 43	<input type="checkbox"/> 45	<input type="checkbox"/> 46	<input type="checkbox"/> 47	<input type="checkbox"/> 49	<input type="checkbox"/> 51	
							<input type="checkbox"/> 52	<input type="checkbox"/> 54	<input type="checkbox"/> 55	<input type="checkbox"/> 57	<input type="checkbox"/> 59	<input type="checkbox"/> 60	<input type="checkbox"/> 62	<input type="checkbox"/> 64	<input type="checkbox"/> 65	<input type="checkbox"/> 66	<input type="checkbox"/> 68	<input type="checkbox"/> 70	<input type="checkbox"/> 79
							<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3											
SAME <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 330)	M <input type="checkbox"/> 1	(MONTH)	STILL GOING ON <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 398 ON PAGE 13)	YES <input type="checkbox"/> 1	UNTIL NOW <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO 398 ON PAGE 13)	SAME <input type="checkbox"/> 1 (GO TO SUPPL. SHEET 3A)	<input type="checkbox"/> 14	<input type="checkbox"/> 16	<input type="checkbox"/> 17	<input type="checkbox"/> 19	<input type="checkbox"/> 21	<input type="checkbox"/> 22	<input type="checkbox"/> 24	<input type="checkbox"/> 26	<input type="checkbox"/> 27	<input type="checkbox"/> 28	<input type="checkbox"/> 30	<input type="checkbox"/> 32	
AN-OTHER <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (GO TO 318 FOR FOURTH PARTNER)	CL <input type="checkbox"/> 2 V <input type="checkbox"/> 3	(YEAR) IF D.K. ASK: (AGE-YRS)	(MONTH) (YEAR) (YEARS) (MONTHS)	NO <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (SKIP TO 335)	(MONTHS) (YEARS) (MONTHS)	AN-OTHER <input type="checkbox"/> 2 (GO TO 318 FOR FOURTH PARTNER)	<input type="checkbox"/> 33	<input type="checkbox"/> 35	<input type="checkbox"/> 36	<input type="checkbox"/> 38	<input type="checkbox"/> 40	<input type="checkbox"/> 41	<input type="checkbox"/> 43	<input type="checkbox"/> 45	<input type="checkbox"/> 46	<input type="checkbox"/> 47	<input type="checkbox"/> 49	<input type="checkbox"/> 51	
							<input type="checkbox"/> 52	<input type="checkbox"/> 54	<input type="checkbox"/> 55	<input type="checkbox"/> 57	<input type="checkbox"/> 59	<input type="checkbox"/> 60	<input type="checkbox"/> 62	<input type="checkbox"/> 64	<input type="checkbox"/> 65	<input type="checkbox"/> 66	<input type="checkbox"/> 68	<input type="checkbox"/> 70	<input type="checkbox"/> 79
							<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4											

Appendix B—Number of Cases (Ever in a Union at Age x and All Women) in Each Age Cohort

Population/Comparable age	Age cohort		
	40–49	30–39	20–29
Guyana: Non-Indian			
<i>Women ever in a union at age</i>			
20–29 years	333	364	656
30–39 years	390	410	
40–49 years	396		
All women	408	426	788
Guyana: Indian			
<i>Women ever in a union at age</i>			
20–29 years	365	564	746
30–39 years	383	600	
40–49 years	385		
All women	390	612	926
Trinidad and Tobago: Non-Indian			
<i>Women ever in a union at age</i>			
20–29 years	396	509	808
30–39 years	450	417	
40–49 years	457		
All women	467	620	976
Trinidad and Tobago: Indian			
<i>Women ever in a union at age</i>			
20–29 years			534
30–39 years		496	
40–49 years	309		
All women	315	520	763
Jamaica			
<i>Women ever in a union at age</i>			
20–29 years	537	654	1 001
30–39 years	625	719	
40–49 years	634		
All women	642	734	1 101

Appendix C – The Methodology of the Gross Mating Table

The gross mating table data used in this study are based on two life-table tabulations from computer programs by David Smith and Robert Lightbourne of WFS (London). These tabulations give:

- (a) the cumulative proportion of the women in a given five-year age cohort who had entered their first union by exact age x – by first union type;
- (b) the proportion of all women in first and higher order relationships – by union type.

The methodology of the computer programs and the methods used to derive the tables in this study from the tabulations are described below.

THE CUMULATIVE PROPORTIONS ENTERING THEIR FIRST UNION BY AGE X

The method of constructing a life table of first entry into a sexual union (a gross mating table) is similar to that described by Smith (1980) for constructing a life table for marriage dissolution with marriage duration replaced by age. The information required is:

- (i) the number of women who, at exact age x , had never been in a union – $nu(x)$;
- (ii) the number of these women who, by exact age $x + 1$, had entered their first union – $eu(x)$.

With this information, the proportion of women entering their first union by exact age $x + 1 - p(x + 1)$ ¹³ – is obtained as:

$$p(x + 1) = eu(x) \div nu(x) \quad (1)$$

For the present study it is assumed that no woman entered a sexual union before her tenth birthday; any isolated cases of women reporting their first union as starting before their tenth birthday are treated, for the purposes of the life-table tabulations, as having entered their first union in their tenth year of age. For each age cohort then, the proportion of women who at exact age 11 had already entered their first union – $p(11)$ – is the proportion of women never in a union at exact age ten who entered their first union before their eleventh birthday. Thus $p(11) = eu(10) \div nu(10)$.

Similarly, the proportion of women entering their first union at age 12 – $p(12)$ – is the proportion of the women never in a union at age 11 who entered their first union before their twelfth birthday, where the number of women never in a union at exact age 11 is the corresponding number at exact age ten less the number who entered a union at age ten; i.e. $nu(11) = nu(10) - eu(10)$.¹⁴

The cumulative proportion ever in a union at exact age

$12 - c(12)$ – is obtained as $p(11) + \{1 - p(11)\} \cdot p(12)$, which is the sum of the chance of entering a union at age 11 plus the chance of entering a union at age 12, after remaining never in a union at age 11. More generally, then:

$$c(x + 1) = \sum_{s=11}^x \{1 - p(s - 1)\} \cdot p(s) \quad (2)$$

where $c(x) = 1 - l(x)$ in the normal life-table terminology.

The breakdown of equation (2) by first union type is derived by merely subdividing the number of women entering their first union at age x – $eu(x)$ – into the three union types – married, common law and visiting. It follows that:

$$c(x) = c_m(x) + c_{cl}(x) + c_v(x) \quad (3)$$

The cumulative proportions derived as in equations (2) and (3), expressed as percentages, are the figures given in tables 1, 2, 19, 20 and 35.

The mean number of years since first union or ever in a union per woman – $C(x)$ – is derived from $c(x)$ by a method analogous to that used in the life table to derive $L(x)$ from $l(x)$ as:

$$C(x) = \frac{1}{2} \{c(x) + c(x + 1)\} \quad (4)$$

The mean numbers of years ever in a union derived as in equation (4) are given in tables 11, 27 and 41.

THE PROPORTION OF ALL WOMEN IN FIRST AND HIGHER ORDER RELATIONSHIPS

Of the women in a given cohort, let us designate the mean number who were in their first relationship during the year from their x th to their $x + 1$ th birthday as $U_1(x)$. If then the total number of women in the cohort is N , the proportion of women in their first relationship during their x th year of age – $pU_1(x)$ – is: $U_1(x) \div N$.

The mean number of women in their first relationship during the year from their x th to their $x + 1$ th birthday has been approximated as the mean number of women in this state at the middle of each of the 12 months of the interval.

Of the women in a given cohort, let us designate the number who, in the i th month of the year from their x th to their $x + 1$ th birthday, were in their first relationship as

¹³ In the usual life-table terminology, the proportion *never in a union* by age would be designated $q_x = 1 - p_x$.

¹⁴ In the general case it would also be necessary to deduct from $nu(x)$ the number of women who did not attain age $x + 1$ in order to obtain $nu(x + 1)$. In the present study, however, where the analysis is for five-year age cohorts, we have confined our attention to the experience of the full cohort in each case. In the case of the 20–24 cohort, for example, the proportion ever in a union is calculated only up to exact age 20.

$U_{1i}(x)$. The mean number of women in their first relationship during the year is then approximated as:

$$U_1(x) = \sum_{i=1}^{12} U_{1i}(x) \quad (5)$$

The proportion of the women in the cohort who were in their first relationship during their x th year of life is then obtained as:

$$pU_1(x) = U_1(x) \div N \quad (6)$$

where N is the total number of women in the cohort.

The mean number of years spent by the cohort in first relationships up to age $x - tU_1(x)$ - is derived simply as:

$$tU_1(x) = \sum_{i=11}^x \frac{U_1(x_i)}{N} \quad (7)$$

From the tabulations - see (b) above - this approach can provide, as well, estimates of the mean number of years spent in first and higher order relationships - $tU_2(x)$ - by union type.

The sum of the means for the first and higher order relationships is the mean number of years spent in union - $tU(x)$:

$$tU(x) = tU_1(x) + tU_2(x) \quad (8)$$

The mean number of years per woman in the single state up to age $x - s(x)$ - is obtained as the difference between the mean number of years ever in a union (4) and actually in union (9):

$$s(x) = C(x) - tU(x) \quad (9)$$

Data obtained using equations (5)-(9) are included in tables 11, 27 and 41.

