This article explores recent trends in marriage. Following consistent falls in marriage rates in the last quarter of the 20th century the early years of this century have seen some relatively large fluctuations in marriage numbers and rates.

This article illustrates some of the recent trends in marriage. One innovation is that it presents marriage data by month, controlled for the effect of peak marriage days in the week. It also discusses a recent legislative change, affecting those subject to immigration control that wish to marry, which may be one of many factors affecting latest marriage trends. Readers should bear in mind that the 2005 data shown in the article are provisional.

Introduction

Over the last twenty-five years marriage rates have fallen considerably and the number of marriages in the UK have therefore fallen by more than 30 per cent. The reasons for this general trend have been explored in previous articles in Population Trends and Social Trends. It is widely accepted that important drivers of this trend are that men and women are deciding to delay getting married, or deciding not to marry at all. Meanwhile there has been an increase in the number of people cohabiting, as a precursor to, or instead of marrying.

The start of the new millennium has seen some relatively large fluctuations in the number of marriages. Most recently, the provisional figures for total marriages in England and Wales for 2005 show a large change compared with 2004. There were 273,070 in 2004, and the provisional figure for 2005 is 244,710. This decrease of over 28,000 equates to a 10.4 per cent reduction in marriages. It is essential to note the provisional nature of the data used throughout relating to 2005. As in previous years, the final figure for 2005 is likely to be larger than the provisional figure by two to three thousand marriages. Clearly there will still be a substantial fall in 2005. However, this fall follows three years of increases in the number of marriages.

This article explores some of the recent national and sub-national marriage trends, and considers whether any of the changes in 2005 are related to legislative change. The Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants, etc.) Act 2004 has resulted in various changes to the marriage laws for non-EEA nationals (Box One). These changes came into effect in February 2005, and require any non-EEA national subject to immigration control to meet a number of criteria when giving notice of marriage in the UK. Most of the data in this article relate to England and Wales, although some information is shown for Scotland and Northern Ireland.
Understanding marriage trends

Changes in the number of marriages do not explain marriage trends, unless account is taken of the number of people available to marry. For example, there were just over 150 thousand marriages in 1851 but there were only around 5.5 million unmarried (that is, single, divorced or widowed) adults (age 15 and over), compared with around 250 thousand marriages and 21.4 million unmarried adults (aged 16 and over) in 2005. These differences are apparent in the equivalent general marriage rates calculated from the above figures. In 1851, the rate was 27 marriages per 1,000 unmarried individuals. In 2005, the equivalent number was 12. Therefore, although the number of marriages is much greater in 2005, the marriage rate is less than half that of 1851. Furthermore, within the population available to marry the age pattern is important. Many more of the unmarried population are older today and are less likely to marry or remarry because they have passed the age at which people are most likely to marry. Finally, consideration needs to be given to the current trends in marriage compared with the size of the unmarried population as a whole and the numbers of those that will ever marry in the future. For example, if marriages are being delayed, the number of marriages will fall for a time, but when these people eventually marry there will be an increase in the number of marriages, other things being equal. This last point is to a certain extent illustrated by the latest set of marital status projections which, even though they project continued falls in marriage rates, actually project a slight rise in the number of marriages.  

Short-term changes in the number of marriages have been sufficiently large to suggest real short-term changes in marriage rates, rather than changes in the population available to marry and the population’s characteristics. This article explores some of these changes. However, conclusions about the changes observed are necessarily provisional. It is only with the benefit of hindsight that changes in long-term trends can be confirmed. Additionally, the potential impact of legislative change can only be answered by examining trends before and after the legislation comes into effect, we cannot examine causality. It is also worth considering that recent changes in the factors affecting marriage behaviour (attitudes, legislation etc), may not immediately impact marriage data. Time lags in partnership behaviour due to recent events may not be evident for years to come.

**Box one**

**Changes in marriage legislation in 2005**

**Legislation**

In February 2005, The Asylum and Immigration (Treatment of Claimants, etc) Act 2004 made various changes to the procedure for marriage for anyone subject to immigration control, broadly speaking non-EEA nationals. Where any individual to be married is subject to immigration control and is marrying in England and Wales by superintendent registrar’s certificate, they must give notice in one of 76 designated register offices and meet a qualifying condition. A person subject to immigration control needs a certificate of approval from the Home Office unless he or she has a marriage visa or settled status. The same legislation applies to Scotland and Northern Ireland but it does not apply to Anglican marriages after banns or by licence in England and Wales.

The purpose of this legislation was to counter the use of marriage to circumvent UK immigration control (‘sham marriages’). Currently, this legislation is being judicially reviewed under the right to marry and found a family.

**Potential effects on marriage numbers**

The legislation makes it more difficult for a sham marriage to take place and may therefore result in a reduction in the number of such marriages. In addition there may be people marrying legitimately who are either deterred from marrying or whose marriage is delayed by the legislation.

Although not National Statistics, administrative records from the Home Office suggest around 10 to 15 thousand Certificates of Approval are issued a year (these include some for Civil Partnerships rather than marriages). Any conclusion drawn from these figures must be tentative; however, the overall magnitude of the numbers is low compared with the reduction in numbers marrying between 2004 and 2005.

It is not possible to calculate the number of legitimate non-EEA marriages, and the nationality of marrying couples is not currently available. Since 1999, Registrars have been obliged to report suspected sham marriages to the Home Office (See Box Four).

**Long-term trends in marriages**

Data are available on the total number of marriages in England and Wales from 1841 to 2005 (The figures for 2005 are provisional) and the series, from 1862, is shown in Figure 1. The chart also shows the General Marriage Rate for females, using the unmarried female population as a denominator (Box Two).

Broadly, the rise in the number of marriages in the 19th and early 20th century was due to the rise in population. Apart from the disturbance caused by the two world wars, the key historical feature of the marriage trends in the 20th century was an overall rise in marriage rates culminating in a peak in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This was the result of couples marrying at younger ages, the mean ages being the lowest ever recorded.

Since the 1970s the number of marriages has fallen, with the exception of the second half of the 1980s when the large cohorts born in the 1960s entered the peak ages of marriage. Marriage rates have seen an almost linear decline from the beginning of the 1970s through to the end of the 1990s. One of the principal reasons for this decline has been the rise in cohabitation. Figure 2 shows how the proportion of females cohabiting has increased over the last twenty years.
Marriages in the new millennium

The decline in marriage rates ceased in the year 2000, but returned in the year 2001. Given that the timing of marriage is determined by the couple, one might speculate, as Pison has done in France for births,\(^\text{10}\) that there may be a millennium effect. The millennium may have provided a time of review, leading couples to take the decision to marry. Other couples may have chosen the novelty of marrying in the millennium year. The subsequent fall in marriages in 2001 indicates that 2000 was not a change in trend. The combined number of marriages in 2000 and 2001 were in line with the long-term trends.

The next part of this article examines what has happened in the years following 2001 in the light of the longer-term trends discussed in the previous section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>England and Wales total</th>
<th>Annual change</th>
<th>Percentage change</th>
<th>Males marrying per 1,000 unmarried males</th>
<th>Females marrying per 1,000 unmarried females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td>263,515</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
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<td>4,446</td>
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<tr>
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<td>−7</td>
<td>27.4</td>
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</tr>
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<td>6,369</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>27.4</td>
<td>23.9</td>
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<td>270,109</td>
<td>14,513</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28.2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2,961</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>244,710</td>
<td>−28,360</td>
<td>−10</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>21.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 shows the number of marriages and annual changes by number and percentage. Rises in marriages were seen for 2002 and 2003 and the 2004 figure maintained the 2003 levels. The 2005 figure is provisional, and may be increased by as many as three thousand late marriage returns, but even then it would still be the largest absolute and percentage drop in the table.

Therefore, understanding this drop requires it to be seen in the context of the figures for 2002 to 2004, which are ‘above trend’. Figure 3 shows trends in marriages using two different measures of marriage rates over the last decade. There are clear disturbances to the trends in both types of rate. The effect is stronger for the total marriage rate, which controls for age. This reflects the fact that some of the increase in the population available to marry is actually at older ages. Conversely, generations currently entering the peak marrying ages are smaller, reflecting the low fertility in the late 1970s.

Age-specific trends

Figure 4 shows age-specific marriage rates for men and women over the main marrying age range (age 20–49) in the last decade. Trends prior to 1999 are broadly downwards for all ages, but more noticeably so for males and females aged under 30. The number of people marrying is relatively small for those ages not shown. The 16- to 19-year-olds show a fairly static rate over the last five years. The rates for people over 49-years-old are similar to those for 45- to 49-year-olds, although the rates become volatile at ages over 70.

After 1999, marriages continue to fall for individuals under 30, but trends at older ages become rather less stable. For males there are slight rises in the year 2000 rates at ages 30–44 and cessation of the previous decrease at other ages, with the exception of age 25–29. A similar change is seen for females, except for the 20–24 age group, where rates continue to fall.

The year 2001 saw falls in marriage rates across all age groups 20–49 for both sexes. From then on is a recovery in rates at ages over 40 for men and over 35 for women, and no further falls at younger ages, except 20- to 24-year-old-men.

Even though the 2005 figures are provisional, it is clear that across all age groups shown, and for both sexes, there has been a fall in rates. This fall is particularly strong at the peak marriage ages of 25–34, but is also strong at ages 20–24. The fall at older ages (over 40) simply returns the rates to those seen around 2001.
The fall in rates at younger ages is also very noticeable when the marriage rates are rearranged in cohort form (Figure 5).

Although the rise and following fall since 2000 is reflected across the age ranges, it appears that the effect is different at different ages. Therefore, the age characteristics of the marriages that were part of the rise were not the same age as the marriages ‘lost’ in 2005. If sham marriage was the dominant reason for the rise and fall it might be expected that the same ages would have been affected. Unless there was a second counterbalancing effect, the rise and the fall cannot, therefore, be predominately attributed to sham marriages.

**Type of ceremony**

There are a number of different types of marriage ceremony in England and Wales. These are usually organised into two main categories: religious and civil marriages. Additionally, it is useful to separate civil ceremonies carried out in approved premises (from total civil ceremonies) to highlight recent trends. Approved premise marriages allow civil ceremonies to be conducted outside of a register office.

Approved venues include stately homes and other prestigious buildings, hotels and restaurants. Figure 6 shows the composition of total marriages by type of ceremony. The composition shows the following:

- Generally, religious ceremonies have declined over recent years. However, this decline appears to have slowed. For the first year ever, religious ceremonies are lower in number than approved premises ceremonies. The total number of religious ceremonies in 2005 was 84,440, a decrease of 3,720 since 2004. Despite this, religious ceremonies do not appear to have a strong relationship with the pattern of total marriages between 2000 and 2005.

- There is a consistent increase in marriages occurring in approved premises. In 2005, there were 88,710 approved premises ceremonies. These have increased every year since their inception in 1995, although the rate of growth has slowed in 2005. As such, they do not demonstrate any direct connection with the trends mentioned earlier.

- Civil ceremonies have decreased by 24,640 between 2004 and 2005. Those civil ceremonies not in approved premises are entirely responsible for this, having decreased by 28,200 over the same time. It should be noted that over this period it is known that some register offices have converted their marriage rooms into approved premises. As such, the availability of approved premises has increased.

**Box two**

**Marriage rates**

- **Crude marriage rates**: The annual number of marriages per 1,000 people over 16 years old. Used to control for variances in population.

- **General marriage rates**: The annual number of marriages per 1,000 men (or women) in the unmarried population over 16 years old.

- **Total marriage rate**: The number of marriages that would be expected to occur per man or woman over their entire life, if their marriage rate at each age reflected current age-specific marriage rates. (Note that this the sum of the age specific marriage rates where the denominator is made up of all marital status categories)
Marriages in register offices (those not in approved premises) are largely responsible for the recent fall in marriage numbers between 2004 and 2005. However the rise in 2003 and 2004 was not driven by register office marriages, but by marriages in approved premises. Between 2003 and 2004, marriages in approved premises increased by 11,366, a similar increase to the previous two years. This compares with an increase of 3,560 between 2004 and 2005. This indicates that the rise in marriages from 2002 was perhaps not related to sham marriages, assuming that those marrying for immigration purposes alone will choose the cheapest alternative to marry (a register office marriage as opposed to one in approved premises). The new legislation is only applicable to marriages by civil preliminaries. Although religious marriages that take place outside the Church of England and marriages in approved premises will also be by civil preliminaries, it is likely that any effect would fall predominately on register office marriages and not those in approved premises. This is because they are generally cheaper, quicker and easier to arrange. The much stronger downturn in civil marriage therefore suggests that sham marriages and subsequent legislation could be one of the effects on recent marriage trends.

**Marriages by month**

The Asylum and Immigration legislation received Royal Assent in July 2004 and took effect in February 2005. It can be expected that the successful introduction of the legislation might result in the following:

- an increase in non-EEA marriages in the months prior to February 2005. This would represent a rush to complete marriages prior to the legislation taking effect
- a decrease in the number of non-EEA marriages once the legislation takes effect

In order to investigate both of these, it is possible to look at the monthly marriage trends. Evidence of one or the other might be demonstrated if the seasonal pattern was different for the last quarter of 2004 or the first quarter of 2005.

Clearly marriages are seasonal, with more marriages in the summer months; however marriages are also highly concentrated on certain days of the week, particularly Saturday, but also Friday. This makes comparing monthly data more difficult as months will be affected by how many Fridays and Saturdays they contain. The unadjusted figures for marriages by month, and average daily figures by month adjusted for days of the week are shown in Figures 7a and 7b (Box Three describes the adjustment made for days of the week). The overall monthly data are difficult to compare because of the ‘weekday’ effect. Controlling for the days of the week within months we can see that the patterns of marriage by month in 2003 and 2004 were almost identical. There is some evidence that 2005 is below the previous two years, although in March and May the difference is negligible. For the second half of the year the 2005 line is below the 2003 and 2004 lines, but closely follows their path. This, coupled with the lack of any discernible increase in daily marriage rates in the months preceding the introduction of the marriage legislation suggests there is little conclusive evidence of a direct effect in monthly marriage data.
Table 2 shows the proportion of marriages that occurred on each day of the week during 2003 (the latest year for which data was not provisional when the analysis was carried out). It shows that almost 80 per cent of marriages in England and Wales took place on a Friday or Saturday. The table also shows the equivalent proportions for London. Interestingly, London has a very different daily pattern from the rest of England and Wales. The number of marriages taking place between Sunday and Thursday is between 18 and 20 per cent for all Government Office regions except London. For London, the figure is 40 per cent. It is clear that London has a different marriage pattern from elsewhere. This is discussed further in the geography section.

Geography
In order to investigate geographical differences in marriage behaviour, the following are explored:

- the difference between London and the general pattern
- the difference between designated offices and the general pattern
- Scotland and Northern Ireland marriage patterns

London
London is highly diverse. In 2001, 8.3 per cent of the total population of the UK were born overseas. For Inner London boroughs, the equivalent figures ranged between 23.9 per cent (Lewisham) and 44.5 per cent (Kensington and Chelsea). For Outer London the equivalent figures ranged between 5.6 per cent (Havering) and 46.6 per cent (Brent). Although this is not an ideal indicator of nationality, it shows that London is more likely to have more marriages that could involve a non-EEA national. This is reinforced by the fact that in 2001 only 33.1 per cent of foreign born UK nationals were from Europe. 12

Figures 8a and 8b show the monthly marriage numbers and the adjusted daily rates for London. They are comparable to Figure 7a and 7b, which...
show the same results for the whole of England and Wales, except Figure 8b is adjusted for weekdays according to the pattern of marriages in London rather than England and Wales (the different proportions are shown in Table 2). Both these charts show a more noticeable divergence from the general pattern. Figure 8b shows that although the distribution of marriages by weekday has a clear effect, the difference between 2005 and previous years is considerable.

Between 2004 and 2005, there has been a decrease of over 30 per cent in the number of marriages in London. This is a much larger decrease than the overall drop of 10 per cent, and accounts for approximately half of the decrease in the number of marriages. There is no doubt that there is a considerable difference between marriage behaviour in London and the rest of England and Wales. The adjusted monthly data show that London marriages started to fall from around April 2004. However, from March 2005 there is a further substantial drop. Clearly the effect of the change in the law is one possible factor. However a downward trend was seen between 2003 and 2004 following the early months of the year. So in part the drop could reflect a real change in marriage trends in the region. The figures may also reflect the capacity of the registration services in some areas of London. Finally, it is known that a good proportion of the late marriages that will be added to the provisional figures are from London register offices.

**Designated offices**

Figures 9a and 9b examine the trends in marriages for the 76 designated offices. The trends here are less marked, although there appears to be a drop in marriages from around March 2005. However, there are a number of reasons that make interpreting the trends here difficult. The changes in legislation make designated offices responsible for all civil preliminaries where one or both individuals are subject to immigration control. A person subject to immigration control has to attend, together with the person he or she wishes to marry, to give both notices at a designated register office. However, the marriage itself may take place in any register office or approved premises if it is a religious marriage, it must take place in the district where they live, unless an exemption applies (for example if it is a usual place of worship). Thus a marriage affected by the legislation may not necessarily take place in a designated office area.

There is currently no information available to investigate the marriage location of non-EEA nationals. Therefore, the changes in marriages at designated offices is not an easy figure to interpret, and may be misleading. For example, designated offices may process fewer marriages due to the additional administrative burden of non-EEA notices. Conversely, if the legislation caused fewer non-EEA citizens to marry in the UK, there may be drop in designated office notices, but again this drop will not be easily discernable. A further important factor is that non-EEA citizens needing to use a designated office can choose any designated office in which to give notice of marriage.

As for London, many of the 76 offices have seen a considerable drop in marriages. However, it is difficult to draw any conclusions from the distribution of marriages within designated offices. Differences will reflect workload and processing time differences between the designated offices, as well as the individual marriage behaviour.

**Scotland and Northern Ireland**

Both Scotland and Northern Ireland saw a rise in the number of marriages at the start of the decade, with the rise being particularly strong between 2003 and 2004, rather than 2002 and 2003 in England and Wales.

Scotland had a four per cent decrease in total marriages between 2004 and 2005 (from 32,154 to 30,881). This decrease is composed of a 5 per
cent decrease in religious marriages and a 3 per cent decrease in civil marriages. Compared with England and Wales data, the recent variations in marriages are not as pronounced (Figure 10). However, despite the smaller variations, the pattern between 2000 and 2005 is similar to that of England and Wales.

Northern Ireland also shows a drop in marriages between 2004 and 2005 (from 8,328 to 8,140) although the drop is proportionately much smaller. Nevertheless, the pattern for Northern Ireland between 2000 and 2005 is broadly similar to that of Scotland and England and Wales with falls in 2001, rises 2002-2004 and then a fall in 2005 (Figure 10). Although the recent change in legislation relating to those subject to immigration control applies across the UK, the conclusion cannot be drawn that the falls across the UK are related solely to the legislation change.

Discussion
Determining explanations of occasional rapid year on year changes is extremely difficult. Further, the data for 2005 are provisional and will change. However, it is clear that marriage trends in the new millennium appear to have become more variable, even without the effect of legislative change.

There are many factors that affect people’s decision to enter into a marriage and the timing of that marriage. The rise in marriages at older ages in 2003 and 2004 reflect long-term trends for marrying later in life. They may also have resulted from media discussion about marriage rights, perhaps particularly with discussions around the proposal and implementation of civil partnerships. The new millennium has seen major changes in other key demographic trends. There has been a rapid rise in fertility rates. In the same way that cohabitation has become a precursor to marriage, childbearing may also lead to decisions about formal commitment through marriage. Since the late 1990s there have been increases in inward international migration. Many of these migrants are young, but may also come from a cultural background where marriage is still the predominant form of living for a couple. Potential determinants of the timing of marriage are numerous, including parental views, income, cultural values, welfare benefits, migration and the availability of venues, family and friends.

Along with the issues about decisions to marry and timing, a third factor needs to be considered, choice of marriage location. There is evidence that marrying abroad is becoming a significant option, but there is no requirement for UK citizens to register marriages abroad. The extent to which the number of people making this choice varies from year to year will affect the level of marriages that take place. If it is the case that marriages abroad are becoming more popular then this would explain some of the fall in marriages in the UK.

The preliminary analysis here points to a complex picture of changing marriage trends over the start of the new millennium. Although the decrease in total marriages between 2004 and 2005 is the largest percentage decrease since 1962, it is broadly in line with the general downward trend in marriage rates. It is important not to look at the change between 2004 and 2005 in isolation. The cessation of the fall in marriages in 2000, the drop in marriages in 2001, and the rises in 2002 and 2003 are also significant variations from the general trend.

This article shows that the year on year variations have affected different age groups in different ways. There is evidence from the monthly data that London, a location with a greater than average proportion of non-EEA nationals, may have seen an effect from the legislation, either in removing sham marriages, or in delaying or deterring marriages.

However, there is insufficient information to prove the extent of this effect. In particular, the lack of information on the nationality of those marrying severely hampers any direct analysis of the issue. The introduction of the new Registration Online (RON) system for the recording of civil preliminaries, will provide a new central database of information that will assist in future analysis of marriages by nationality.

The numbers of certificates of approval issued under the new legislation (see Box One) are of an order of magnitude that is lower than the fall seen between 2004 and 2005. The Home Office also receives reports of suspicious marriages (Box Four). These figures will not necessarily reflect marriages delayed by or foregone because of the legislation and are based on the judgement of Registrars. Still, although these are not a count of the numbers of sham marriages, the maximum number of reports was only two to three thousand a year. This is certainly not enough to explain a drop in marriages of over 25,000.

Box four
Home Office data on suspect marriages
Since 2001, the Home Office have collected data on suspect marriages reported by registrars. These data are based on Section 24 reports completed by registrars when they suspect that a marriage may be an attempt to circumvent UK immigration control. It is important to note that the form is completed if the registrar is suspicious that a marriage may be a sham marriage. It does not represent a count of the number of sham marriages. For example, the figures may be overstated if registrars are overly suspicious, or understated if registrar’s suspicions are not aroused, despite the marriage being sham.

The Explanatory Memorandum to the Immigration (Procedure for Marriage) Regulations 2005 includes the following text giving the number of reports since the inception of the scheme. The number of marriages notified since the inception of the scheme is as follows:

Registrars have a duty to report any suspicious marriages to the Immigration Service under Section 24 of the Asylum and Immigration Act 1999. There were 756 such reports in 2001 when reporting was introduced and this figure rose to 1,256 reports in 2002, 2,712 reports in 2003 and over 3,000 reports last year [2004].

The Home Office has provided ONS with data for 2005. The total number of reports was less than 270, suggesting a considerable decrease in suspicious marriages. Some limited information is available on the characteristics of these marriages, which suggests that marrying individuals reported as suspicious are two to three years younger on average than all those marrying. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that suspicious marriages are not the same as sham marriages. Also, these numbers are relatively small compared to the overall fall in marriages in 2005.

Conclusion
Provisional data for marriages in 2005 show a substantial drop in marriage rates. It is apparent that legislation is one of many factors affecting recent marriage trends. More data and further analysis is required before the different factors can be adequately separated to draw any reliable conclusions. Nevertheless, this investigation provides a template for future investigations of marriage trends, including consideration of the effects of days of the week on seasonal patterns.
Key findings

- The provisional 2005 general marriage rate for England and Wales fell by approximately 12 per cent compared with 2004. Over the same period, the number of marriages fell by over 10 per cent after three previous years of rises.

- The fall in marriage rates in 2005 was in line with the long-term trend. Marriage rates have fallen since a peak in 1972.

- In February 2005, legislation resulted in changes to the marriage laws for non-EEA nationals subject to immigration control. These changes may have had some effect on marriage trends, but the effect is not clear. Analysis of age specific trends and type of ceremony suggests recent marriage trends cannot be explained simply by changes in marriages involving non-EEA nationals.

- Provisional figures show the number of civil ceremonies in register offices in England and Wales dropped by 13 per cent between 2004 and 2005.

- Provisional figures show the number of marriages in London decreased by approximately 35 per cent between 2004 and 2005. The number of civil ceremonies in register offices in London decreased by approximately 39 per cent.

- In 2005, there was a clear difference between the general seasonal pattern and the seasonal pattern for London. As London is more diverse it may be that any effect of the legislation change was greater in London.

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Notes and references


