

# Population Development in Finland in the 1970s<sup>1</sup>

JARL LINDGREN

and

MARKETTA RITAMIES

Research Associates

The Population Research Institute

Fertility and migration formed the focal point of population development in the 1970s. Mortality, which in earlier decades had been an important factor influencing population development, lost some of its significance. The most important component in population development was fertility, which declined strongly in the 1960s. In the final years of the decade emigration clearly diminished the population, while internal migration indirectly affected other components of population development by skewing the regional population structure.

Thus Finland's population development at the beginning of the 1970s was reaching the phase typical of the industrialized countries; population change was coming to an end. Population growth had definitely slowed down and mortality had stabilized at a relatively low level. Only fertility appeared to be still clearly declining. The 1970s will apparently be noted as a period when the diminishing of fertility ended and stabilization began, that is unless signs of a new population development phase begin to appear.

## Fertility, Nuptiality and Reproduction

The development of fertility in the 1970s shows many special features. The declining tendencies since the end of the 1940s continued and reached their low point in 1973 when the crude birthrate was only 12.2. After that a weak augmentation was noted during the mid-1970s which again ended in 1977 in a decrease. During the last years of the decade the crude birthrate has been somewhat below 13.5 (Table 1).

The crude data indicate rather slight yearly variations. The general fertility rate shows clearly that, on the whole, fertility has declined during the 1970s: in the beginning of the decade the general fertility rate was 63.9 children

<sup>1</sup> The data used in this article are based, if not otherwise mentioned, on statistics published by the Central Statistical Office of Finland.

Table 1. Crude birthrate and live births in 1970—1979

	Live births	Crude birthrate
1970	64 559	14.0
1971	61 067	13.2
1972	58 864	12.7
1973	56 787	12.2
1974	62 472	13.3
1975	65 719	13.9
1976	66 846	14.1
1977	65 659	13.9
1978	63 983	13.4
1979	63 475 *	13.3

\* preliminary data

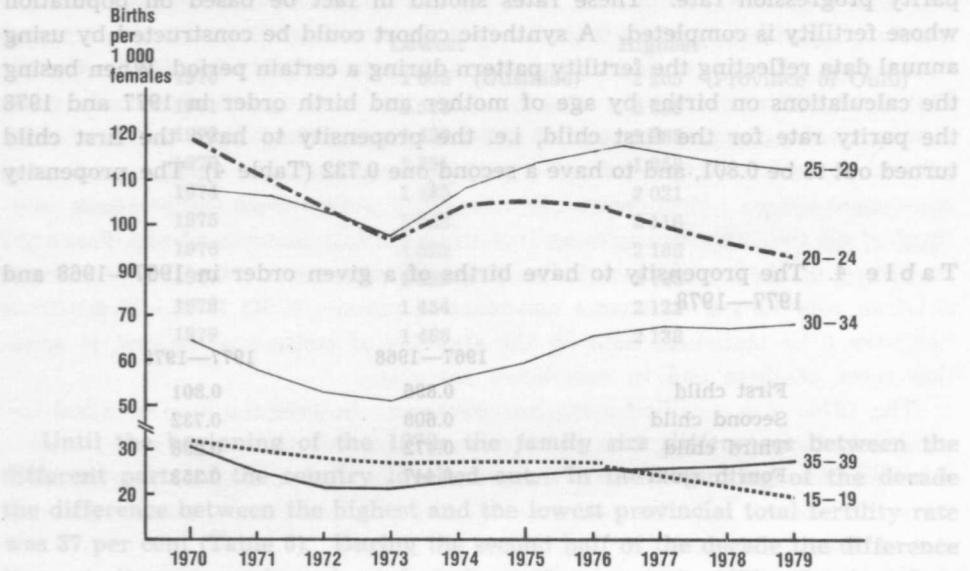
per thousand women, but at the end of the decade only 52.6 (Table 2). The same tendency is visible when comparing the total fertility rates (Table 2). In 1970 the total fertility rate was 1.8 indicating that a synthetic cohort of women formed by all fertile age groups of this year would on the average have almost two children. In 1979 the same figure was only 1.6.

Was the fertility decrease, an overall phenomenon or mainly a change of the fertility pattern? First, *the age-specific fertility rates* indicate that there has been a shift of the bulk of the births from the age group 20—24 to the following age group (Figure 1). In 1970 119 children per thousand women were born in the age group 20—24 and 109 by the 25—29-year-olds. During the following years the rates decreased in all age groups. At the same time the age group 25—29 gradually rose to become the largest childbearing age group, with a rate of 114 in 1979, while the 20—24 age group had only 96. In conformity with the changes in the age-specific birthrate the median childbearing age

Table 2. General fertility rate, total fertility rate and median childbearing age in 1970—1979

	General fertility rate	Total fertility rate	Median childbearing age
1970	63.9	1.82	24.9
1971	60.0	1.69	25.1
1972	50.0	1.59	24.8
1973	47.8	1.50	25.3
1974	52.2	1.62	25.9
1975	54.6	1.68	26.2
1976	55.4	1.72	26.5
1977	54.3	1.69	26.7
1978	52.6	1.65	27.0
1979	52.2	1.64	27.3

Figure 1. Age-specific fertility rates, women aged 15—39.



went up to 27 years, while it was almost 25 years in the beginning of the decade (Table 2).

At the same time as the childbearing age increased the average *age at marriage grew*. In the beginning of the decade the average age at first marriage of women was still 23.0 but in the end 24.3. The tendency against a higher age at marriage has been still more accentuated among men, in 1970 the average age for men was 24.7, but in 1979 it was two years higher or 26.3. (Table 3). The rising age at marriage is partly a consequence of demographic changes such as diminishing younger age groups, the growing excess mortality among men and the increasing proportion of divorces.

Table 3. Average age at first marriage in 1970—1979

Year	Men	Women
1970	24.7	23.0
1971	24.8	23.1
1972	25.4	23.0
1973	25.1	23.4
1974	25.2	23.5
1975	25.3	23.5
1976	25.5	23.7
1977	25.8	23.9
1978	26.1	24.2
1979	26.3	24.3

The propensity to have births of a given order could be expressed by the parity progression rate. These rates should in fact be based on population whose fertility is completed. A synthetic cohort could be constructed by using annual data reflecting the fertility pattern during a certain period. When basing the calculations on births by age of mother and birth order in 1977 and 1978 the parity rate for the first child, i.e. the propensity to have the first child turned out to be 0.801, and to have a second one 0.732 (Table 4). The propensity

Table 4. The propensity to have births of a given order in 1967—1968 and 1977—1978

	1967—1968	1977—1978
First child	0.896	0.801
Second child	0.608	0.732
Third child	0.472	0.298
Fourth child	0.447	0.253

to have children of higher parity was much smaller, roughly 0.300 for the third and still lower for the fourth. A comparison with the situation ten years earlier shows that the propensity from zero to first parity had decreased somewhat, but increased from the first to the second one. The third and fourth parity were much smaller than ten years earlier. At the end of the 1960s the youngest age group of mothers giving birth (20—24 years) was proportionally somewhat greater than ten years later. This might have had an increasing effect on the propensity to have the first child. In spite of this the parity figures seem to show that women who have children prefer, more than earlier, to have two children. On the other hand, fewer and fewer wish to have more than two children. The births by birth order show the same tendency as the parity progression rates. The birth by first order had diminished and by second order increased (Table 5).

Table 5. Births by birth order as a percentage of all births in 1970—1979

	I	II	III	IV	V
1970	50.7	28.8	11.4	4.7	4.4
1971	52.9	29.9	10.3	3.8	3.1
1972	54.5	30.2	9.4	3.3	2.6
1973	54.5	30.7	9.3	3.0	2.5
1974	53.9	31.7	9.2	2.9	2.3
1975	52.3	32.9	9.7	2.9	2.2
1976	50.5	34.3	10.0	2.7	2.5
1977	49.1	35.1	10.6	2.8	2.4
1978	48.0	35.9	11.0	2.7	2.4
1979	47.1	35.8	11.7	3.0	2.3

Table 6. Highest and lowest provincial total fertility rate in 1970—1979  
(children per woman)

	Lowest	Highest
1970	1 605 (Uusimaa)	2 205 (Province of Oulu)
1971	1 515	2 085
1972	1 420	1 965
1973	1 351	1 858
1974	1 485	2 021
1975	1 528	2 116
1976	1 528	2 186
1977	1 499	2 125
1978	1 454	2 122
1979	1 466	2 138

Until the beginning of the 1970s the *family size differences* between the different parts of the country levelled out. In the beginning of the decade the difference between the highest and the lowest provincial total fertility rate was 37 per cent (Table 6). During the second half of the decade the difference began to increase again and reached about 45 per cent in 1979. On the whole the development of the lowest and the highest fertility rates seems to follow the same pattern indicating that factors affecting fertility in Finland seem to do it in the same way in low as well as in high fertility provinces, even if the basic preferences concerning family size are different. The increase of the gap seems to be mainly a consequence of the sinking number of children per woman in the low fertility provinces, i.e. in the urbanized and industrialized south of country. In the northern part of the country where forestry and agriculture dominate and religious aspects might affect fertility behaviour, the number of children per woman has been practically unchanged.

Another characteristic feature of the fertility pattern of the 1970s had been the growing rate of *children born out-of-wedlock*. While in the beginning of the 1970s only 5.8 per cent of all live births occurred out-of-wedlock, the proportion was 12.0 in 1979 (Table 7).

Table 7. Proportion of children born out of wedlock in 1970—1979

1970	3 766	5.8
1971	3 368	5.3
1972	3 934	6.7
1973	4 501	7.9
1974	5 648	9.0
1975	6 670	10.1
1976	7 273	10.9
1977	7 317	11.1
1978	7 263	11.4
1979	7 603	12.0

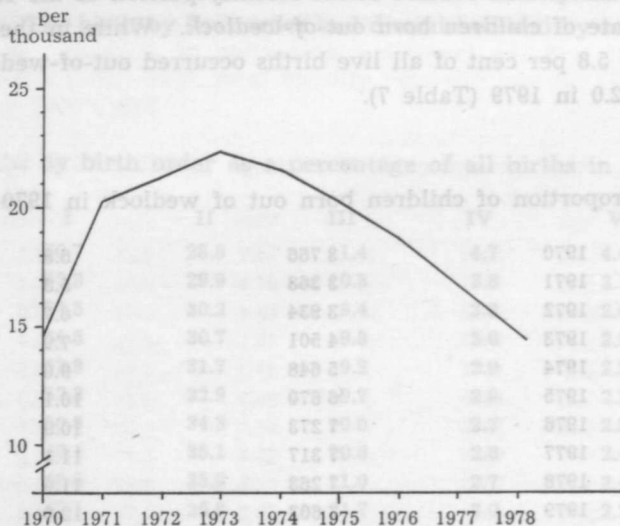
Even though premarital relationships have always been rather common in Finland, the reason here has mainly been increasing *cohabitation without marriage*. Until now rather little has been known about the number of consensual unions. An idea of their frequency is given in a study made by the Central Statistical Office in 1978 (Aromaa, et al., 1970). According to this study about 5 per cent the population above 15 years of age or about eight per cent of all persons living in conjugal unions — marriages and consensual unions — formed consensual unions. Most spouses in consensual unions were rather young: one-third of all the individuals living in consensual unions were 15—24 years old. One-third of the couples were families with children. Of all families with children only 1.3 per cent were non-married parents (CSO 1979). Even if one has very little statistical data on the stability of consensual unions, it seems that most of them end in contracted marriage.

The 1970s also signified a rise in *abortions*. In 1970 the free abortion law came into force meaning that the law was expanded to include social reasons as a basis for abortion. In 1979 the act was amended so that an abortion done for social reasons must be performed during the first twelve weeks instead of sixteen weeks as previously.

During the first years of the liberalization of the abortion law, the porportion of abortions increased rather rapidly. In 1974 there were 23 legal abortions per thousand women aged 15 to 44 years. After that a decrease has been evident and in 1978 the corresponding figure was roughly 16 per thousand (Figure 2). The largest age group with induced abortion has been the 20—24-year-olds.

It is not assumed that the liberalization of the abortion act has had an decreasing effect on fertility. For a long time the small family idea has been

Figure 2. Legal abortions per 1 000 women aged 15—44.



generally accepted and the decreasing tendency could already be observed in the beginning of the 1950s (Ritamies 1979). The sinking abortion figure at the end of the decade could be explained as a consequence of the worsening economic climate which among other factors was manifested in growing unemployment. When economic development is on the decline people seem to consider more carefully whether or not to have children and try to be more careful than usual in the use of birth control.

In conformity with the general fertility development the *reproduction rate* decreased in the beginning of the decade, increased at the middle of the decade, but diminished again at the end of the 1970s when it stabilized on a level of about 0.8 (Table 8).

Table 8. Net reproduction rate in 1970—1979

1970	0.870	1975	0.798
1971	0.812	1976	0.814
1972	0.751	1977	0.804
1973	0.709	1978	0.787
1974	0.776	1979	0.790

## Mortality

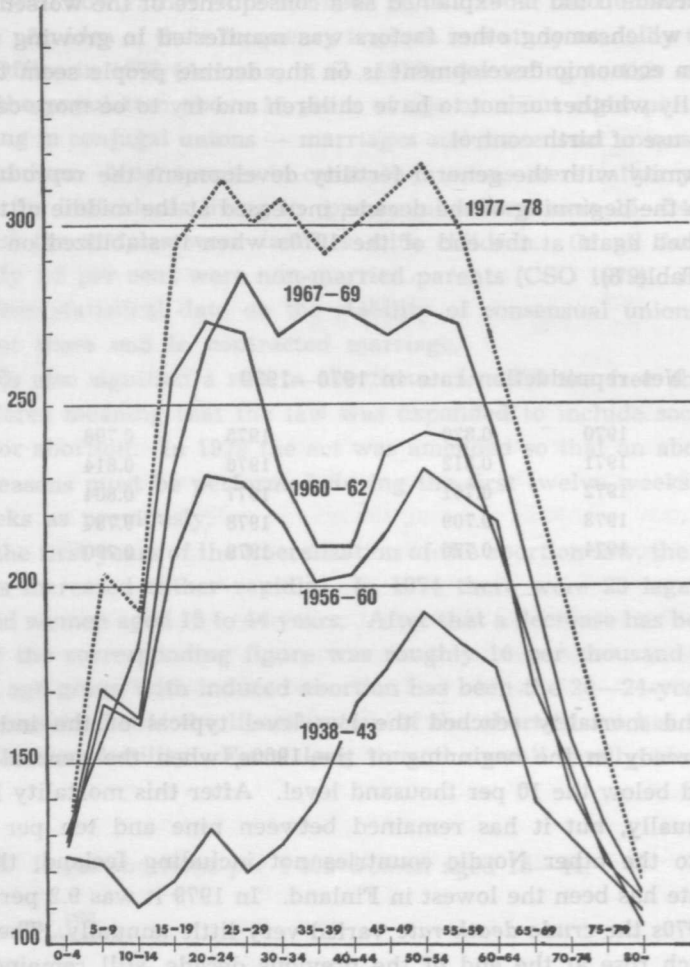
In Finland mortality reached the low level typical of the industrialized countries already in the beginning of the 1960s, when the general mortality rate dropped below the 10 per thousand level. After this mortality has varied slightly annually, but it has remained between nine and ten per thousand. Compared to the other Nordic countries not including Iceland, the general mortality rate has been the lowest in Finland. In 1979 it was 9.2 per thousand.

In the 1970s the *crude death rate* varied very little annually. The mortality figures, which rose at the end of the previous decade, still remained in 1970 and 1971 at the 9.6 and 9.9 per thousand levels, but after that they have declined and have not reached above 9.5 per thousand.

The *age-specific mortality rates* in the 1970s have declined somewhat from the previous decade. This is true for both men and women. While the mortality rate of 50—54 year-old men, for example, was 14.3 per thousand at the end of the 1960s, the corresponding figure ten years later in 1979 was only 11.2. In the corresponding female age group the figures were 5.2 and 3.7.

The increasing of the average *length of life* in the 1970s demonstrates the favorable development in mortality. While the average life expectancy of men in the second half of the 1960s was 65.9 years and 73.6 years for women, the corresponding figures in 1978 were 68.5 years and 77.1 years. However, the difference between the sexes has grown during this period from 7.7 years to 8.6 years, which is one of the significant features typical of Finnish mortality.

Figure 3. Age-specific male excess mortality rates in 1938—1978. Age specific female mortality = 100.



The index representing the male excess mortality is  $\frac{d_m}{d_w} \cdot \frac{L_w}{L_m}$  where

- $d_m$  = male deaths of age group x,
- $L_w$  = number of women of age group x,
- $d_w$  = female deaths of age group x and
- $L_m$  = number of men of age group x.

There are certain features in Finnish mortality which are not apparent in the mortality of other developed countries, at least not to this extent. Infant mortality is low compared to many European countries, but nevertheless the mortality of other age groups is high. Especially notable is the excess mortality of Finnish men compared with the level of other developed countries. Only in



the Soviet Union and in Northern Ireland was a similar excess mortality apparent in the early 1970s (Valkonen 1977, 1).

*Infant mortality* continued to decline in the 1970s. While in the 1970s the number of deaths under the age of one among one thousand live births was 13.2, in 1979 the corresponding figure was only 7.7. This figure was the second lowest in the world, with Sweden's 7.5 the lowest. Infant mortality declined in the 1970s at a faster rate than in the previous decade.

The *excess mortality of men* compared with women is apparent in all measures of mortality. The general mortality rate in 1978 was 10.4 per thousand for men and 8.1 for women. The average life expectancy was already shown previously to be lower for men than women.

Excess mortality was found in Finland already in 1938—43 (Kannisto 1947), on 1956—60 (Piepponen—Ritamies 1966), in 1960—62 and 1967—69 (Leppo—Lindgren—Ritamies 1972). Attempts at clarifying the problem in the 1970s were made and studies on the subject are currently underway.

Male excess mortality has continuously risen and has spread from the older age groups to now include the entire adult population. While the emphasis in male excess mortality shifted in the early 1960s to the young, the 15—29 year-old age group, at the end of the 1960s it came to include the other adult age groups, especially the 35—44-year-olds. A two-peaked mortality curve was no longer visible (Figure 3).

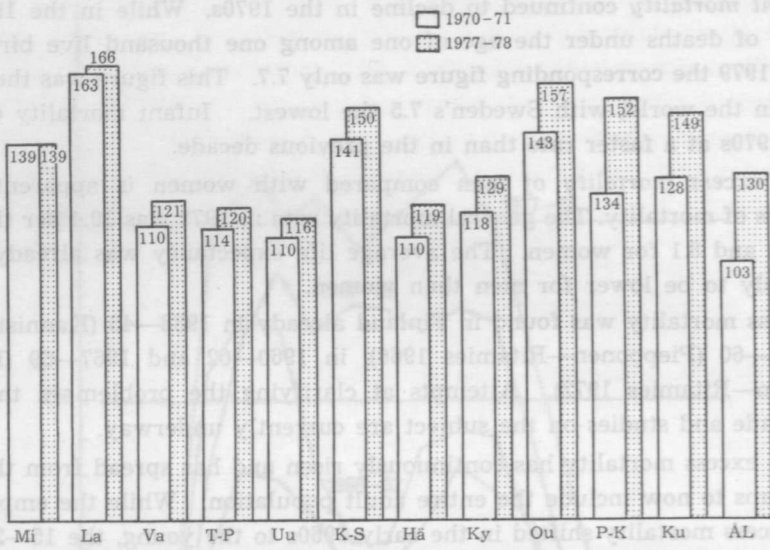
During the past decade male excess mortality has continued to rise. The emphasis has again shifted to the older age groups, it is now highest among the 45—54 year-old men. Two peaks are now again more clearly evident, with the 20—34 year-old males forming the other peak of male mortality (Figure 3).

Because the mortality figures presented concerned the entire country attention will be paid in the following to regional changes and regional development in mortality in the 1970s. Figure 4 shows male excess mortality in the different provinces at the beginning of the 1970s, in 1970—71 and at the end of the decade in 1977—78 as graphbars. The index figures have been found by comparing male deaths according to province and their relation to the entire male population of the country with the corresponding relation among women.

When the regional differences in male excess mortality were calculated similarly for 1960—62 and 1967—68, it was found that male excess mortality had increased throughout the country, not including the province of Kymi. The growth percentage of male excess mortality was highest in the northernmost and southernmost provinces of the country.

The clearest changes occurring in the regional excess mortality of men in the 1970s were similar in that, excess mortality grew in all provinces, the province of Mikkeli excepted. No longer was the increase highest, however, in the southernmost and northernmost provinces. Not including Åland and the province of Oulu, the growth in excess mortality had shifted to eastern Finland, to the provinces of Kuopio, Northern Carelia and Kymi.

Figure 4. The male excess mortality index in 1970—71 and 1977—78, according to province



Provinces

Hä	Province of Häme	Ou	Province of Oulu
KS	» Central Finland	P-K	» Northern Carelia
Ku	» Kuopio	T-P	» Turku and Pori
Ky	» Kymi	Va	» Vaasa
La	» Lapland	Uu	» Uusimaa
Mi	» Mikkeli	Al	» Åland

The index representing the excess mortality is  $\frac{d_p^m}{d_p^w} \cdot \frac{L^w}{L^m} \cdot 100$ , where

- $d_p^m$  = total number of deaths among men of different provinces,
- $d_p^w$  = total number of deaths among women of different provinces,
- $L^w$  = number of women in the whole country and
- $L^m$  = number of men in the whole country.

There is still not enough known about the reasons for male excess mortality, although it has been seen to be associated with, for example, socioeconomic development in Finland, smoking, traffic accidents, suicide and other violent causes of death. The studies currently underway will probably shed more light on this problem in the near future.

## Migration

The 1970s was a decade of migration. In the beginning of the decade the increasing migration trend of the preceding decade continued and reached its peak in the mid-1970s. The first year of the decade also represented a culmination of Finnish emigration after the Second World War.

Yearly about 600 000 or 12 per cent of the whole population took part in *internal migration* if migration between and within municipalities is included in the migration figures. Those who moved from one municipality to another totaled one-third of all migrants.

While in the 1960s the migrants yearly averaged 48 persons per thousand inhabitants, the corresponding figure during the first half of the 1970s was 52 persons (Table 9). During the second half of the decade the migration flow decreased considerably as a consequence of the depression that began in 1975, but also a more active regional policy and smaller age cohorts entering the labor market contributed to ease migratory pressure.

Until the mid-1970s the province of Uusimaa received the main part of the in-migrants. Uusimaa and especially the metropolitan area around the capital received migrants from the whole country. Other cities mostly had their in-migrants from the province where they are situated.

Compared with the migration pattern of earlier decades 1970s shows an apparent change. In the preceding decade the migratory flow was very strong from rural areas to urban centers. In the 1970s migration between urban municipalities increased continually: at the end of the decade one-third of the migratory flow was between cities (Table 10).

Table 9. Internal migration in the 1970s

	Between municipalities		Within municipalities	Total
	1 000	per thousand	1 000	1 000
1970	267.7	58.1	..	..
1971	171.4	37.7	..	..
1972	234.8	50.6	..	..
1973	246.2	52.7	..	..
1974	276.0	58.8	..	..
1975	239.6	50.9	386.0	625.6
1976	208.9	44.2	374.5	583.4
1977	188.7	39.8	393.0	581.6
1978	180.8	38.0	393.8	574.6
1979 *	191.6	40.1	404.1	595.8

\* preliminary data

Table 10. The direction of internal migration flow and net migration in the 1970s

	From rural to urban municipalities 1 000	From urban to rural municipalities 1 000	Between urban municipalities 1 000	Between rural municipalities 1 000	Total	Net migration to urban municipalities per 1 000 thousand *
1970	84.2	63.7	72.1	47.6	267.8	20.5
1971	61.2	34.1	49.3	26.9	171.4	27.1
1972	70.2	49.2	80.1	35.3	234.8	21.0
1973	69.4	53.7	87.8	35.3	246.2	15.7
1974	74.4	63.5	101.3	36.8	276.0	10.9
1975	61.7	57.6	89.8	30.5	239.6	4.0
1976	53.3	52.7	74.9	28.1	208.9	0.6
1977	47.2	48.3	68.4	24.8	188.7	-1.0
1978	44.5	46.9	65.3	24.1	180.8	-2.5
1979	48.2	48.2	70.1	25.3	191.8	0.0

\* per 1 000 of respective mean population in district of out-migration

Another characteristic feature was the growing flow out of urban municipalities to rural areas which became more and more accentuated toward the end of the decade. As a consequence the net in-migration to cities changed gradually to a net out-migration. However, the migration from the country to cities was still considerable, although decreasing.

According to a study under preparation at the Statistical Office the main reason for migration in Finland is seeking employment: 46 per cent of the in-migrants into urban centers belonged to this category. The second most important reason was housing and housing environment, mentioned by 20 per cent of the migrants. In the third place came family matters such as marriage etc., amounting to 16 per cent (Nieminen 1980). The migrants to rural areas principally show the same reasonal structure: 41 per cent mentioned occupational reasons and 30 per cent housing and housing environment.

Most of the migrants are young people, two-thirds of the age group was 15 to 35 years old. The age structure of the migrants to cities diverges somewhat from those moving to the countryside. More families with children move to the rural areas than to urban centers.

In 1970 the post-war external migration from Finland culminated. That year accurate statistics of inter-Nordic migrants were also introduced.

After the Second World War Sweden has played a dominant role as a host country for Finnish emigrants. Emigration to countries outside Scandinavia has been almost negligible. Although the expanding oil industry in Norway has emerged as a new attraction, emigration to Norway has been rather low.

After the culmination of Finnish emigration in 1970, the outflow decreased sharply and during the first years of the decade return migration was higher than emigration. During the period 1971—1975 net migration was only 0.3 per cent. In the mid-1970s the migration flow again began to increase. The data concerning the annual number of migrants between Sweden and Finland are presented in Table 11.

External migration is unevenly distributed by regions, sex, age and occupation etc. Emigration rates in the 1970s were highest in the north and west of Finland. Until the late 1960s emigration was heaviest in the Swedish-speaking western provinces (Åland and Vaasa). From 1968 onwards, however, the regional distribution shifted towards the north: during the whole decade nearly 30 per cent of the emigrants came from the two northernmost provinces (Lapland and Oulu), whose population is only 13 per cent of the total. On the other hand, the return migration to the northern provinces shows the highest rates during the whole decade.

Data concerning the *occupational and educational structure of emigrants* are rather scanty. According to the few investigations made about one-fifth of the emigrants have worked in agriculture and forestry before departure, 25 to 30 per cent in manufacturing industries and 20 to 30 per cent in service occupations (Majava 1977). Emigrants are less well educated than Finland's population as a whole. Men emigrating to Sweden are more poorly educated than female emigrants. Although the share of emigrants who have passed the lower level of secondary school is about the same as among the total population, emigrants with higher education are rare. About three-fourths of the emigrants had received no general education beyond primary school (Majava 1977).

Most emigrants are unmarried; in the year 1978, for example, 58 per cent of the emigrants were unmarried. Unmarried people predominate among

Table 11. Migration between Finland and other Nordic countries in 1970—1979

	Emigrants	Immigrants	Net emigration	per thousand *
1970	40 554	9 208	31 346	6.8
1971	16 421	16 918	— 497	0.1
1972	11 124	16 097	— 4 973	1.1
1973	9 358	14 982	— 5 624	1.2
1974	10 566	11 017	— 451	0.1
1975	11 147	5 558	5 589	1.2
1976	15 772	5 315	10 457	2.2
1977	15 402	5 435	9 967	2.1
1978	12 817	5 121	7 696	1.6
1979	13 793	7 720	6 073	1.3

\* per thousand of mean population

emigrants from rural areas to an even larger extent than among those who moved from urban centers.

The causes of emigration and return migration have not been exhaustively explored, although various studies made in recent years have shed light on the migrants' personal motives and on certain institutional and structural factors. The rapid structural change of the society during the postwar decades may be taken as a major cause of emigration pressure, while persistence of labor shortages in Finland and higher wages in Sweden have acted as important causes. Since there were no legal barriers and the geographic, social and cultural hindrances are relatively minor, the migration flow has been considerable.

Particularly in the northern and eastern provinces of Finland structural unemployment has been an important repellent force, which was effective when the Swedish reception capacity was high — during booms. According to several studies only a minority of the migrants has actually been unemployed at the time of departure. Often it is the threat of unemployment that has caused people to move to Sweden.

### Population growth

In the 1970s Finland's population grew by 173 000 persons and totaled 4 771 098 in 1979. Compared to the previous decade growth slowed down; in the 1960s the population grew by 257 000 persons. The 1960s had ended, due to great emigration, in a loss of population and this development still continued in 1970, after which the population again increased annually. However, toward the end of the decade this growth slowed down.

Urbanization continued in the 1970s almost as strongly as in the previous decade. While in 1960 the proportion of the urban population was 38 per cent

Table 12. The percentage of change in the population in 1960—69 and 1970—79, according to province

Province	1960—69	1970—79
Uusimaa	22.1	11.4
Turku — Pori	3.4	3.9
Aland	2.9	9.2
Häme	10.1	4.2
Kymi	3.1	0.3
Mikkeli	-4.8	-4.6
Northern Carelia	-8.2	-4.7
Kuopio	-2.7	-1.5
Central Finland	0.8	1.8
Vaasa	-1.8	2.1
Oulu	3.1	3.2
Lapland	6.6	-1.0
Entire country	5.9	3.2

and at the end of the decade it was one-half of the population; in 1978 60 per cent of the population lived in urban areas.

At the same time as urbanization occurred, changes took place in the *regional population balance* between different parts of the country. As in the 1960s, the population increased in the southern and southwestern parts of the country, although in the provinces of Uusimaa and Häme, for example, this growth definitely slowed down. The population continued to decrease in the 1970s in the provinces of Mikkeli, Northern Carelia and Kuopio, but in the province of Vaasa it increased. The increase in the population of the province of Lapland became a decrease in the population during the past decade (Table 12).

A change in the *structure of the population* occurred in the 1970s, in that the aging of the population continued and therefore the proportion of the unmarried decreased. The female majority remained unchanged, however.

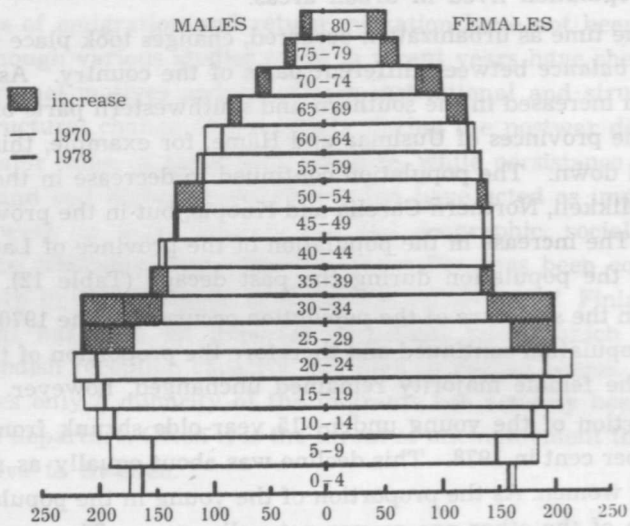
The proportion of the young under—15 year-olds shrunk from 30 per cent in 1960 to 21 per cent in 1978. This decline was about equally as strong among men as among women. As the proportion of the young in the population shrunk, the proportion of the other age groups naturally grew. The proportion of the working age population in 1978 was already 67.5 per cent, which is higher than in Sweden and Norway, for example. The proportion of the elderly has also continuously increased; in 1978 they made up 11.8 per cent. However, in Finland the proportion of the elderly is still quite small compared to other developed countries. In Sweden, for example, 16 per cent of the population in 1978 were old people (Statistisk årsbok 1980, 41).

The aging of the population is also evident in the age pyramid of the population shown in Figure 5. It shows that the smallest birth groups narrow the pyramid at its base. The large age groups born in 1946—50 belonged at the beginning of the 1970s to the 20—24 year-old age group, in 1978 their influence was seen in the growth of the 25—34 year-olds. The aging of the population is demonstrated by the broadening of the top of the pyramid.

The aging of the population is also evident in the *civil status structure*. As the proportion of young people began to decline from the 1960s on, it also meant a decrease in the proportion of the unmarried. This is shown in the statistics by a decrease in the proportion of the unmarried from 52 per cent in 1960 to 45 per cent in 1978, even though there was no change during this period in the proportion of the unmarried of the 15—44 year-olds. Correspondingly, there has been an increase in the proportion of the married, as well as the widowed and divorced.

The *female majority* in the population has remained almost unchanged in the 1970s. In 1970 there were 1071 women per 1000 men; in 1978 the corresponding figure was 1068. Not much change has occurred compared to 1960, because then there were 1075 women per 1000 men. The female majority in the urban areas has declined somewhat in the 1970s; in the rural areas there has been an equal amount of men and women since the 1960s.

Figure 5. Age structure in 1970—1978



### Summary

The preceding decade showed many interesting features from a demographic point of view. Fertility continued its decreasing trend and reached its low point in 1973 with a crude birthrate of 12.2, after which there was little annual variation. Although the so-called large age groups born after the Second World War entered into the childbearing age during the first half of the 1970s the birthrates continued to sink. Obviously the difficulties these large age groups met when entering the labor market affected their fertility pattern. Another occurrence that had a diminishing effect on fertility was the slump beginning in the preceding decade, which resulted in widespread unemployment. Toward the end of the decade the crude birth rate stabilized and was 13.3 in 1979.

In 1970 the abortion law was liberalized to include social indications. After the introduction of the new law there were practically no more illegal abortions and now the statistics prove that of all pregnancies more than one-third ended in an induced abortion.

A predominant feature of the 1970s was internal migration which culminated in 1974. During the second half of the decade migration diminished somewhat. Simultaneously the flight from the countryside decreased and the flow between cities increased. In the year 1970 emigration was very high. During this period, which included 1968, the net emigration loss was nearly 2 per cent of the population. Gradually when the economic upswing intensified, emigration decreased and changed to return migration. The second half of the decade was again characterized by an augmenting net emigration loss.



In general the mortality trends continued in the same way as during earlier decades, with both positive and negative features. Simultaneously the length of life has increased although at a slower rate than in earlier decades. A positive feature to note is the continually sinking infant mortality, which is now perhaps the lowest in the world of 7.7 per 1 000 live births. A negative feature, on the other hand, is the growing excess mortality of men which is one of the highest in Europe: in 1978 the life expectancy for women was 78 years and for men only 67 years.

As a consequence of the decreasing fertility and the growing length of life the age structure has gradually grown older. However, now and for several decades on, the age structure of the Finnish population measured by international standards will be favorable. Although the reproduction rate has been rather low, roughly 0.8 during the whole decade, the population of Finland has increased annually. During the 1970s the excess of births as a consequence of a favorable age structure has remained at an annual mean level of somewhat more than four per thousand inhabitants.

## References

- Aromaa, K. — Cantell, I. — Jaakkola, R., Parisuhde yhä useammin virallisesti vahvistamatta. *Sosiaalinen Aikakauslehti* no. 1, 1979, pp. 49—50.
- Kannisto, Väinö, Kuolemansyyt väestöllisinä tekijöinä Suomessa. Helsinki 1947.
- Leppo, Kimmo — Lindgren, Jarl — Ritamies, Marketta, Mortality Trends in Finland in the 1960's. *Yearbook of Population Research in Finland XII*, 1971.
- Majava, Altti, External Migration of the Finns in the 1970s. *Yearbook of Population Research in Finland XV*, 1977, pp. 46—64.
- Nieminen, Mauri, Kaupunkiseudun muuttoliikkeen uudet piirteet. Paper presented at a symposium organized by the Institute of Migration, Nov. 19—21, 1980.
- Official Statistics of Sweden. *Statistical Abstracts of Sweden 1980*. Volume 67, Stockholm 1980.
- Piepponen, Paavo — Ritamies, Marketta, Miesten ylikuolevuus Suomessa. *Publications of the Population Research Institute, Series B, No. 8*, Helsinki 1966.
- Ritamies, Marketta, Fertility and Legal Abortions. *Yearbook of Population Research in Finland XVII*, 1979, pp. 45—52.
- Valkonen, Tapani, Excessive Adult Male Mortality in Finland. Its Origins and Development since 1870. *Working Papers No. 3*, University of Helsinki. Department of Sociology, Helsinki 1977.