

DEMOGRAPHY AND AGING: LONG TERM EFFECTS OF DIVORCE, EARLY WIDOWHOOD, AND MIGRATION ON RESOURCES AND INTEGRATION IN OLD AGE¹

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Do characteristics of the marital and migration history of the elderly population of West-Berlin matter for their present resources and societal integration? To answer this question we analyse data from the Berlin Aging Study. We show that for resources in old age, it is important when and under what circumstances women lost their partner. Divorced women and WWII widows are financially worse off than never married women, still married women, and more recent widows, and they also evaluate their health more negatively than others. The migration history seems equally important. Financial resources, social resources, and societal integration in old age depend on characteristics like region of birth and having experienced flight or expulsion. But contrary to the effects of divorce and early widowhood for women, here we could not generally speak of one group of losers

INTRODUCTION

Most prominent in discussions on demography and aging in Germany is the phenomenon of the 'aging population' and its policy implications (see e.g. Dinkel, 1992 for a description, Klose, 1993 for policy implications). The growing numbers of older persons both absolute and relative have

Paper presented at the conference on "Aging in East and West: Demographic Trends, Sociocultural Contexts and Policy Implications" organized by the Population and Development Studies Center, Seoul National University, Seoul, September 21-22, 1995.

¹The research reported was conducted within the context of the Berlin Aging Study (BASE). The study is directed by a Steering Committee consisting of P.B. Baltes, psychology, H. Helmchen, psychiatry, K.U. Mayer, sociology, and E. Steinhagen-Thiessen, internal medicine and geriatrics. BASE is a project of the Committee on Aging and Societal Development in collaboration with the institutes and research centers belonging to the Psychiatric Clinic of the Free University of Berlin, the Virchow Clinic of the Humboldt University of Berlin and the Max Planck Institute for Human Development and Education where the study is coordinated. The Committee on Aging and Societal Development, initiated in 1987 by the former Academy of Sciences and Technology in Berlin, has been sponsored by the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences since 1994. From 1989 to 1991, BASE was financially supported by the Federal Ministry of Research and Technology. Since 1992, financial support has been awarded by the Federal Ministry of Family Affairs, Senior Citizens, Women, and Youth (314-1722-102/9 + 314-1722-102/9a). The author thanks Karen Aschaffenburg, Andreas Motel, and Michael Wagner for helpful comments.

important consequences both for social policy and for the every day life of individual older persons. The main problem for society and individuals is to provide resources and care for the growing elderly population. There are, however, some positive consequences of population growth for the elderly. Their growing numbers lead to greater economic and political power. As a consequence, the supply of goods that are especially needed by older people increases and political parties can less afford to offend older persons because of their voting power.

Nevertheless, other demographic factors might affect the life of older persons even more than the phenomenon of the 'aging population'. The West-Berlin elderly, who are the subject of this study, experienced high rates of divorce. The women also experienced high rates of early widowhood during and after the Second World War. The very old, born before the turn of the century, had very low fertility. Many of the older persons migrated over rather long distances. In this paper we want to investigate whether some of the characteristics of these family and migration histories matter for resources in old age and for older person's integration in society. We will concentrate on the effects of divorce, early widowhood and migration. Both high divorce rates and high migration will increasingly apply to future generations of older persons. Studying its effects on life in old age therefore can tell us something about possible outcomes for next generations, although it is clear that the high divorce, widowhood and migration rates of the present older generations came about in rather specific historical circumstances.

Several research traditions are combined in this topic. It is connected to the question of whether the social differentiation that dominates life during adulthood continues to be important during old age. There are three contrasting answers to this question (compare Mayer & Wagner, 1995). According to the first view, social differentiation simply continues to be important in old age. According to the second, after the children have left the parental home and after retirement begins, a new phase of life starts that is much less structured by social norms and social differences. A pessimistic version of this view states that in old age social differentiation becomes less important because of the universal appearance of severe health problems that function as 'levellers' (Dowd & Bengtson, 1978). According to the third view, social differences become more important in old age because of an accumulation of social and health problems. Mayer & Wagner (1993, 1995) studied the effects of social resources on several outcomes in old age and found a continuing importance for most of the outcomes.

The research question also fits into the life-course perspective by asking

how characteristics of earlier phases of life affect outcomes later on (Arber & Evandrou, 1993; Elder, 1974, 1978; Hareven, 1978). Both 'critical events' in individual life courses and historical events affecting cohorts might have long term effects that last until old age. In aging research it is now a common view that characteristics of old age and processes of aging can not be fully understood without knowledge of the preceding life course. However, empirical research on the nature of these connections between the life course and aging is still rare.

After a short overview of hypotheses and a description of the data and measurement instruments, we will first describe the marital histories of the West-Berlin population aged 70 years and older. The effects of early divorce and widowhood on resources and integration in society are the topic of the next section. We proceed with a description of some characteristics of the migration histories of our sample, and conclude with an analysis of the effects of region of birth and the experience of fleeing or being expelled on old age outcomes, such as resources and social integration.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Although in this paper we do not aim at providing complete explanations for differences in resources and integration in old age, we do want to point to some hypotheses about the links between divorce, early widowhood, and migration on the one side, and resources and societal integration in old age on the other side.

Early widows and even more so divorced women are often described as problem groups within the West-German older population, having only few financial resources (Infratest Sozialforschung, 1995; Motel & Wagner, 1993). The explanation for this resource deficit can be found in a combination of gender specific division of labor and the calculation of old age pensions (Allmendinger, Brückner & Brückner, 1993; Pfaff, 1979). In Germany, public pensions are the main source of income for most elderly (Burkhauser, Duncan & Hauser, 1994). They are mainly calculated on the basis of the length of the occupational career and the relative income position of occupations. Widows normally receive 60% of the pension of their former partner. The public pensions of divorced women and women who became widows early in life are usually small because their former partner adds little or nothing to their pension, and their own occupational career is not long and successful enough.

One could broaden this hypothesis and assume that early widows and divorced women are also deprived with respect to other resources, and as a

consequence are less integrated in society. Although health insurance covers a broad range of treatments and more or less the whole German population is insured, other factors, like diet, living conditions, and life style may continue to cause an association between financial resources and health. The importance of socioeconomic resources and health as predictors of integration in society has been shown in many studies (e.g. Schmitz-Scherzer, 1976). However, the opposite hypothesis is also present in the literature. Meyer & Schulze (1984, 1985) describe the extraordinary performance of women in the post WWII years. In the absence of their partners, who had either died or were prisoners of war, they took care of their families, earned a living, provided food, cleared away the rubble of the bombings. Lehr (1987) deduced the hypothesis that experiences of this kind strengthened these generations of women, especially those who stayed without a partner. The data from the Bonn Longitudinal Study seem to confirm that these women were more healthy and more active in old age (Lehr, 1987; Fooker, 1987).

The relationship between migration and resources in old age is complex. There are many reasons why persons migrate. One of those reasons is to better their occupational chances. From this, however, it can not automatically be deduced that those who did move have higher incomes in old age. First, those who moved might come from regions where occupational chances were extraordinary bad. If we compare them with those from the same region who did not move, they might indeed be more successful. However, this does not mean that they are more successful than the population of the region to which they migrated. Second, since pensions are calculated on the basis of the whole occupational career, the unsuccessful start has long-term consequences. Third, those who move to better their occupational chances are not necessarily successful, due, for example, to a lack of social contacts, or because of the cultural differences between themselves and the population of their new place of living.

Furthermore, for the present older generations, many moves were not voluntary. After WWI and WWII the borders of Germany were changed. Many Germans living outside the new borders fled or were forced to leave. As a result circa 11 million Germans formerly living in Eastern European countries such as Poland and Czechoslovakia had to be integrated into German society after WWII (Plato, 1993). Also during WWII large parts of the population fled from one part of the country to other parts, and could not always return to their old homes. The separation of the two Germanies led to a another flow of people from East Germany to West Germany, which was finally stopped by the building of the Wall in 1961. Handl & Herrmann

(1994) show that the refugees from East Germany, and especially the expelled persons from the Eastern European countries who ended up in the south of Germany, very often experienced extreme downward occupational mobility. They also were not very well integrated into society as a whole, as can be seen from the high rates of homogamy. The age at which persons migrated plays an important role in these processes. Especially the older refugees and expelled persons were not able to recover from forced migration.

With respect to health one might also expect that the traumatic experience of losing one's home and fleeing has negative consequences. An interesting but open question is whether these negative consequences continue into old age. Among the social resources, we expect the presence of a partner not to be associated with characteristics of the migration history. We assume, however, that for those who were born in West-Berlin it is more likely that in old age their children also live in this place. For migrants to West-Berlin this is less likely.

DATA

To describe the links between the marital and migration history and outcomes in old age, we will use data from the Berlin Aging Study (BASE), a probability sample of individuals 70 to 105 years old. The sample was drawn from the city registry, designed to be representative of the elderly population in West Berlin, and stratified to level out the uneven age and sex distribution in the population. Data collection began in 1990 and ended in 1993. Of all individuals sampled (the "parent" sample), 64 percent agreed to participate in a multi-disciplinary intake session lasting between 1 and 2 hours; 33 percent agreed to participate in a series of 13 intensive interview sessions covering four academic disciplines (psychology, psychiatry, internal medicine, and sociology); and 27 percent completed the entire sequence. This final sample of persons totals to 516, 43 men and 43 women in each of six age groups (70-74, 75-79, 80-84, 85-89, 90-94, 95+). Analyses on selectivity indicate that the final sample is fairly representative of the original parent sample, with the exception that participants are generally in better physical health than those who drop out (Lindenberger et al., 1995). The multidisciplinary design and the representative sample of both privately living and institutionalized individuals makes this dataset a unique source for the research on aging in Germany, with the only exception that it pertains not to the whole country, but to one large city.

The data on which our analyses are based stem mainly from the three

intensive sessions devoted to the discipline of sociology. These sessions focused on the reconstruction of respondent's family, occupational and migration histories. The interview schedules were shaped by the experiences of earlier life history research (e.g. Mayer & Brückner, 1989). A basic principle of these instruments is that persons are not asked to discuss isolated events along domain-specific trajectories, but are instead asked to reconstruct the entire trajectory from beginning to end. Afterward, the histories are cross-checked for missing and inconsistent data. If necessary, respondents were recontacted to provide or clarify missing or questionable information. When life history data are collected in this way, the resulting information is both reliable and consistent (Blossfeld, 1987; Brückner, 1994).

A common criticism of using life-history methods with older respondents, however, is that older persons may experience more difficulty in systematically recalling information about their lives. Elderly persons must not only recall a much longer span of time, but their capacity to do so may be negatively influenced by cognitive impairments (e.g., dementia). In the BASE study, Helmchen et al. (1995) found that data provided by severely demented persons were missing far more often than data provided by mildly demented or non-demented persons. We conducted a set of similar analyses, focusing instead on the quality of the occupational-history data. Almost all of the non-demented persons were able to completely reconstruct their occupational histories, suggesting that this method of gathering information can be used successfully with older persons. On average, these histories consisted of 9 separate episodes (jobs or interruptions), and only 2 percent of these episodes do not have a clear beginning or end point. As the severity of dementia increased, however, the number of episodes mentioned decreased, and the history was presented in an increasingly less complex manner. This seemed especially true of severely demented persons, where we found significant "holes" in their occupational histories—periods for which respondents could recollect neither the occupational activity in which they were engaged nor the beginning or end of that activity (timing). Of all episodes reported by severely demented respondents, nearly 44 percent did not contain information on timing. For these reasons, we excluded the 14 severely demented men and 25 severely demented women from our analyses. We are left with a sample of 477. We will sometimes divide them into three separate birth cohorts: An older cohort, born between 1887 and 1900 ($N = 136$); a middle cohort, born between 1901 and 1910 ($N = 154$); and a younger cohort, born between 1911 and 1922 ($N = 187$).

The descriptions of family and migration history are made using retrospective information from survivors into old age. Since we want to

describe the effects of these life course characteristics on outcomes and integration in old age, this seems a defensible strategy. However, due to selective mortality and migration patterns, these descriptions should not be read as pertaining to the total birth cohorts. We know, for example, that divorced persons are less likely to reach old age than married persons (e.g. Gärtner, 1990; Klein, 1993). Existing differences between cohorts in the rates of divorce in the middle of this century might therefore have been wiped out in old age.

MEASURES

Marital history

The questionnaire collects information on the beginning and ending of all marriages. This information is used for describing the marital histories. Partnerships without marriage-certificate are not included, although they may have been rather common in the post-war years and also exist in old age. For the analyses of the effects of the marital history we use a standard marital status variable with two exceptions. First, we distinguish between 'WWII-widows', who lost their partner during or within five years after the Second World War, and more recent widows. Second, we cannot analyze married women and divorced and unmarried men because the numbers are too small in our sample.

Migration history

In the migration history, data are collected on all places where the respondents lived, and on the timing and reasons of their moves. To analyze the effects of the migration history on outcomes in old age, we constructed two variables. The first is region of birth. We distinguish West and East Berlin, West and East Germany, Eastern Europe, and other countries. To distinguish, for example, between East Germany and Poland, we used the borders as they existed between the end of WWII and 1989. The second variable, experience of fleeing or expulsion, is constructed using information on the reasons for each move that the respondents reported. This variable, therefore, measures the subjective experience of fleeing and expulsion, and not the official status of being 'expelled'.

Resources in old age

We analyze the effects of marital and migration history on financial

resources, social resources, and health in old age. The first indicator for financial resources is monthly household income, adjusted for the number of persons in the household (compare Motel & Wagner, 1993). The second indicator is the respondent's report of the possession of wealth. Social resources are indicated by the number of children, and more specifically, the number of children living in Berlin, and by the presence of a partner. To indicate health, we selected a number of mainly subjective variables (see Steinhagen-Thiessen & Borchelt, 1993 for an overview of the measurement of health in the BASE-study). Subjective health is the respondent's rating of their own health on a five point scale. Functional capacity is measured by the report of the respondent's ability to perform a number of basic tasks of daily living (ADL). Mobility is the respondent's answer to the question what distance he/she would be able to walk. Visual acuity is tested using a reading table at two meter distance. Finally, hearing acuity is measured by the respondents report of having serious hearing problems.

Societal integration

To measure societal integration, we use one scale of societal participation, and two more specific indicators. The scale counts the number of societal activities that respondents participated in during the last year (Mayer & Wagner, 1993; Maas & Staudinger, 1995). Respondents were given cards, each illustrating one category of activities. The cards pertained to the following categories: sport, visiting restaurants, dancing, making one-day trips, travelling, attendance at cultural events, cultural activities such as playing musical instruments, hobbies, political engagement, education, volunteer work and playing games. Examining the cards in sequence, participants were asked whether they had engaged in activities 'of this kind'. Activities that were only performed at home were excluded. Besides by this general indicator, societal participation was measured by church attendance (at least once during the last month), and voting behavior (whether they would vote if there would be elections next Sunday).

DIVORCE AND WIDOWHOOD IN THE POST-WAR YEARS

The present family status only sows a small part of the family history. Behind the current family status 15 different combinations of marriage, widowhood and divorce were hidden (Table 1). Two differences between the marriage patterns of men and women leap to the eye. Almost no women married more than twice. And all marriage patterns that end with a present

TABLE 1. MARRIAGE PATTERNS OF WEST-BERLIN MEN AND WOMEN, 70 YEARS AND OLDER¹

	Men (%)	Women (%)
Unmarried	4.0	10.7
Marriage	38.4	6.8
Marriage Widowed	20.5	47.8
Marriage Divorced	4.1	10.8
Marriage Widowed Marriage	5.9	1.2
Marriage Widowed Marriage Widowed	1.3	8.4
Marriage Widowed Marriage Divorced	0.8	1.2
Marriage Divorced Marriage	17.2	1.2
Marriage Divorced Marriage Widowed	4.5	9.2
Marriage Divorced Marriage Divorced	0.7	2.0
Marriage Widowed Marriage Divorced Marriage	0.3	—
Marriage Widowed Marriage Divorced Marriage	—	0.6
Marriage Divorced Marriage Widowed Marriage	0.3	—
Marriage Divorced Marriage Divorced Marriage	1.4	—
Marriage Divorced Marriage Divorced Marriage Divorced Marriage	0.6	—

¹Sample weighed to represent the age and sex distribution of the West-Berlin population of 70 years and older.

marriage are more common men than among women.

First marriages

As we know from statistical sources, divorce rates in Germany were rather stable between World War I and II. After the Second World War they temporarily jumped to a much higher level (Statistisches Bundesamt, 1972). These general patterns are reflected in the marriage histories of our respondents (Maas, Borchelt & Mayer, 1995).

Almost all older men and women in West-Berlin married at least once. This is especially true for the men, and more true for younger cohorts of women than for the oldest one (Table 2). Of the men's first marriages, 32% still existed at the time of the interview, while for women only 5% did so. When comparing cohorts, however, it is more interesting to look at age 70 (the last year for which we have data on all respondents). More than half of the men's first marriages still existed when they reached the age of 70. The situation of the women is less positive. Only 25% were still in their first marriage at age 70. The main reason for the difference is undoubtedly the generally higher mortality of men (combined with their higher age at marriage). There are, however, also historical influences, as can be shown

TABLE 2. SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MARRIAGE HISTORY BY SEX AND BIRTH COHORT

	Birth cohorts		
	1887-1900(%)	1901-1910(%)	1911-1922(%)
Men			
First marriage	99	98	95
Still in first marriage at age 70	70	49	55*
Lost first partner due to divorce before age 70	13	28	27*
Lost first partner due to death before age 70	16	22	13
Second marriage before age 70	21	33	28
Second marriage as a % of widowed and divorced	70	65	62
Still in second marriage at age 70	19	28	22
Women			
First marriage	83	91	89
Still in first marriage at age 70	28	35	20
Lost first partner due to divorce before age 70	5	16	27**
Lost first partner due to death before age 70	50	40	42
Second marriage before age 70	9	16	29**
Second marriage as a % of widowed and divorced	13	25	36*
Still in second marriage at age 70	2	5	10

* Difference between the cohorts significant, $p < .05$.

**Difference between the cohorts significant, $p < .01$.

from the differences between the cohorts. Of the men in the oldest BASE-cohort, 70% were still married to their first wife at age 70; in the middle cohort only 49% were, and in the youngest cohort, 55% were. For women these percentages are respectively 28, 35 and 20.

The men of the oldest cohort married around 1920. At age 70 (around 1965) 13% of them had divorced from their first marriage, and 16% had lost their partner due to death. Divorce was much more common among men from the middle cohort, especially in the post-war years. At age 70 (around 1975) 28% had ended a first marriage by divorce. Also the number of men who lost their first partner due to death at a relatively young age in somewhat larger in this cohort (22%) than in the oldest cohort. As in the middle cohort, many of the marriages of men from the youngest cohort (about 20%) ended by a divorce shortly after the war. At age 70 the cumulative percentage of men divorced from their first partner had risen to 27. The partners of this cohort seem to have lived longer than those from the earlier cohorts. When the respondents were 70 years old, only 13% had lost their partner by death.

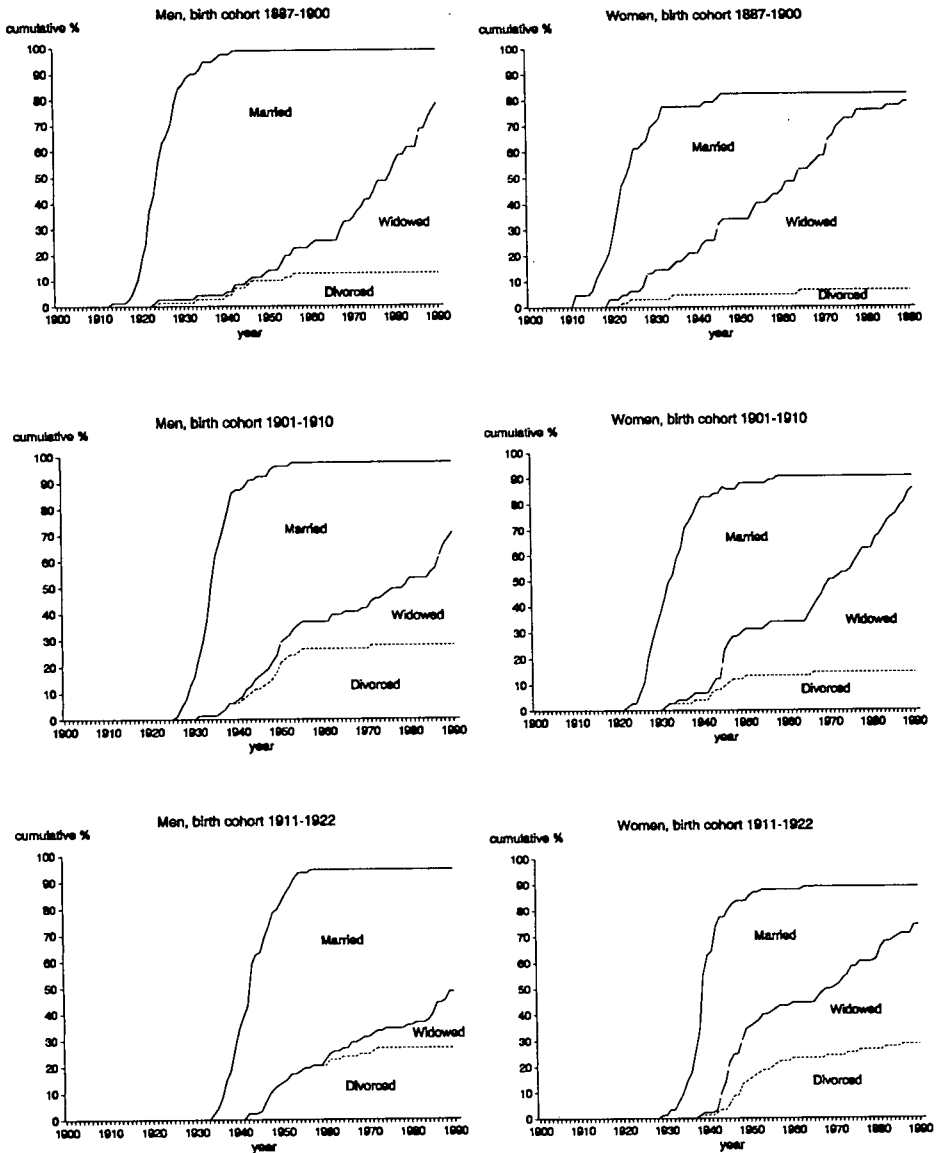


FIGURE 1. FIRST MARRIAGE, WIDOWHOOD AND DIVORCE BY SEX, COHORT AND YEAR

The large difference between the oldest and the middle cohort in the number of men still married to their first partner at age 70 (70% versus 49%), can therefore mainly be explained by the large number of men in the second cohort experiencing a divorce during and directly after the war. The intermediate position of the third cohort (55%) is the result of high divorce rates, especially after the war (comparable to the second cohort), but lower death rates (compare Figure 1).²

The marital histories of the women show some major differences. As mentioned before, the number of women who did not marry at all is larger than the number of men who did not marry. Among women in the oldest cohort, the cumulative percentage of marriage only reaches 83 percent. Almost none of these marriages still existed at the time of the interview. At age 70, however, 28% of the women of the oldest cohort were still married to their first partner. The marriages of only a few women of this cohort (5%) ended with a divorce. The cumulative effects of WWI and WWII are reflected in the high percentage of women who lost their first partner due to death before the age of 70 (50%). Women from the middle cohort more often experienced a divorce than the women from the oldest cohort. As in the case of the men, these divorces mainly took place during and directly after the war (Figure 1). The number of divorce does not reach the same level as in the case of the men (16% at age 70, versus 28% for the men of this cohort). For the women, however, the main effect of the war is on widowhood, not on divorce. Between 1943 and 1945, the partners of 20% of all women of the second cohort died. At age 70, the cumulative percentage of women whose first partner died had risen to 40%. In the youngest cohort, around 25% of the women were widowed due to the war. The high divorce rates directly after the war meant the end of their marriage for an additional 20% of the women. At age 70 only 20% of the women in this cohort was still married to their first partner. Thus, among women there was an even larger increase of divorce rates over the cohort than for men.³

²The cohort differences we observe are also partly caused by selective mortality. It is a well known fact that married men live longer than unmarried men, who in their turn live longer than divorced and widowed men (Gärtner, 1990; Klein, 1993b). A comparison of the male BASE-cohort with the male Berlin-participants of the MZ71 shows similar differences. Compared to the Microcensus there are more men who were married and fewer men who were widowers in 1971 in the oldest BASE-cohort. In the younger cohort there are no such differences (Maas, 1994).

³A comparison of marital status of women in 1971 in the MZ71 and in the same year according to BASE shows no differences. Selective mortality by marital status is generally found to be smaller for women than for men (Gärtner, 1990). In our data it is not visible for women.

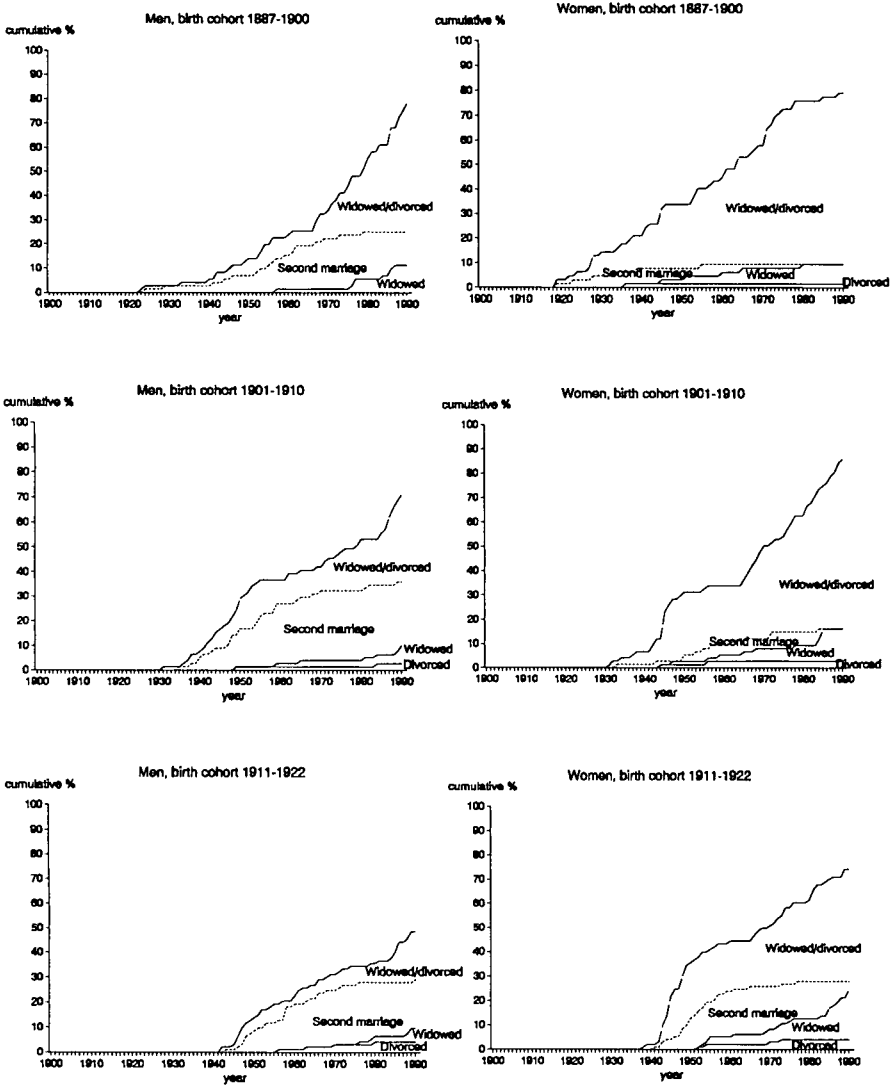


FIGURE 2. SECOND MARRIAGE, WIDOWHOOD AND DIVORCE BY SEX, COHORT AND YEAR

Second marriages

Of all men, 28% experienced a second marriage before the age of 70.⁴ This means that around 65% of the men who lost their first partner found a new partner (Table 2). In all three cohorts, almost all men who lost their partner when they were still relatively young, remarried after only a few years. Only later in life did the chance for a second marriage become much smaller. Most of the second marriages still existed at the age of 70. Among the small group of men who lost their second partner, some married for the third or even fourth time (compare Figure 2).

Unlike the men, there are large differences between the second-marriage-experiences of the cohorts of women. Women from the oldest cohort who lost their partner were doomed to stay alone for the rest of their life.⁵ The percentage of women marrying for a second time is below 10 in this cohort. In addition, almost all of these second marriages ended before the women reached age 70. The chance to remarry was somewhat higher in the second cohort. The third cohort showed still larger percentages of remarriage. The absolute numbers of second marriages do not differ between women and men of this cohort (29% versus 28%). But since many more women lost their first partner, the chances of remarriage were still much smaller for women (36% versus 62%). Another striking difference is that almost all of the women who remarried lost their second partner before age 70, while more than half of the men who remarried still lived with their partner at this age.

OLD AGE CONSEQUENCES OF THE MARITAL HISTORY

In our sample 26 women experienced a divorce and did not remarry. Thirty-eight women were widowed during or shortly after the war (before 1950) and did not remarry. These numbers are relatively small. We will therefore only discuss differences that are clearly significant at the $p < .05$ level. Table 3 shows some consequences of this early loss of the partner by comparing economic resources in old age of these women with those of women who never married, women who lost their partner later in life, married and widowed men. The divorced women who did not find a new partner are the clear financial losers (compare Motel & Wagner, 1993). On

⁴Some men from the older cohorts married for the second time after the age of 70. For the sake of comparability between the cohorts, they are not included.

⁵Of course some women voluntarily avoided a second marriage, often for financial reasons (compare Pfaff, 1979).

the average they have 1700 DM per month at their disposal. This is almost 500 DM less than the unmarried women. The two groups of widowed women are in between. However, the WWII widows are much closer to the divorced women and the more recent widows closer to the unmarried women. The number of still-married women in our sample is very small. Nevertheless, we can estimate their financial resources by looking at the equivalence income of the married men. On the average this group has 2130 DM at their disposal. Widowed men have the highest incomes. The percentages of men and women reporting the possession of some kind of wealth mainly mirror these income differences. Again, the divorced women and WWII widows are worse off. The higher incomes of widowed men are not reflected in a higher percentage of wealthy widowed men. This can be explained by the fact that their high income is of recent date. After the death of their partner the absolute amount of money they received hardly changed, but they no longer have to share this income. Because the marital status groups we distinguished also differ with respect to age, we performed multivariate analyses (analyses of variance for income and logistic regression for the possession of wealth) to check whether our results can be explained by these age differences. They cannot; the differences between marital status groups remain significant. We may conclude from this that for women's financial resources in old age, it did not matter

TABLE 3. MARITAL STATUS, RESOURCES, AND SOCIETAL INTEGRATION IN OLD AGE

	Married men (N = 130)	Widowed men (N = 95)	Unmarried women (N = 28)	Divorced women (N = 26)	WWI widows (N = 38)	Recent widows (N = 122)
Income ¹	2130	2820	2180	1700	1880	2030 **
Wealth (%)	68.8	63.4	59.3	40.0	42.1	51.2 **
Subjective health	3.1	3.1	2.8	2.5	2.5	2.8 *
Functional capacity	4.7	4.5	4.1	4.6	4.3	4.6
Mobility	4.9	4.5	4.3	4.7	3.7	4.3 **
Visual acuity	.36	.39	.29	.36	.26	.29**
Hearing problems (%)	33.1	29.5	28.6	42.3	21.1	27.9
Societal activities (#)	3.5	2.7	2.4	3.7	2.9	2.8 *
Church attendance ² (%)	10.2	11.0	15.4	11.5	18.9	13.3
Vote next sunday (%)	92.7	86.8	100.0	84.6	84.2	90.0

¹Monthly household income, adjusted for the number of persons in the household.

²At least once during the last month.

* Difference significant, $p < 0.5$.

**Difference significant, $p < 0.1$

whether they invested in their own occupational career, or whether they married. However, when their marriage ended relatively early in life, especially by divorce, they were in risk of poverty in old age.

Can this deprived financial position of divorced women and early widows be broadened to include their health and societal integration? With respect to health this seems to be the case. Table 3 shows the average scores of the marital status groups on the health indicators. Several indicators show significant differences between the groups. However, because of the high correlation between age and health, the interesting question is whether these differences hold after controlling for age. In the case of subjective health they do. With widowed women as the reference category, there exist significant positive effects for widowed and married men, indicating that men report to be more healthy than women. There are, however, also significant negative effects for divorced women and WWII widows. They evaluate their own health more negatively than the other women. Functional capacity does not significantly differ between the marital status groups, neither before, nor after controlling for age. Men report being able to walk longer distances than women. But within the group of women, WWII widows score significantly lower than others, even after controlling for age differences. The initial differences in visual acuity appear to be caused by differences in average age and disappear when we perform multivariate analyses. We see the opposite pattern for hearing problems. Although not initially significant, after controlling for age, WWII widows more often report serious hearing problems than the other groups. We conclude that indeed divorced women and WWII widows are also deprived with respect to health, at least if we measure health by subjective indicators.

The analyses of societal participation seem, at first sight, to give the first indications for the greater strength and activity of women who lost their partner early in life. Besides married men, divorced women in particular perform relatively many societal activities. Societal participation, however, is also a characteristic that correlates highly with age. If we control for age, the exceptional participation of divorced women disappears. What remains is a gender difference. The two groups of men are significantly more active than the women. Church attendance and voting behavior do not follow the pattern of the summary score of societal participation. Both kinds of behavior do not differ significantly between the groups before or after controlling for age.

MIGRATION

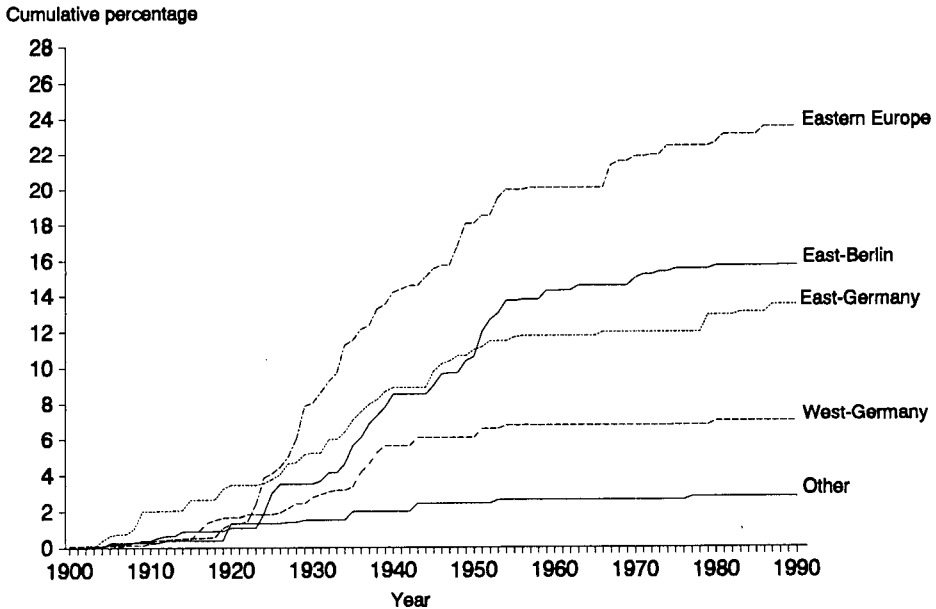
Keeping German history in mind, it does not come as a surprise that of the present elderly population of West-Berlin, only 38% were born there (Table 4). Another 16% were born in East-Berlin and moved at one point in life to the western part of the city. Of course, if they did so before 1945 it is just an inner-city move. On the other hand, if they moved after this date and especially after the 1961 building of the Berlin Wall, it is a move between countries, and even between hostile power-blocks. The same remarks apply to migrants from East and West-Germany. Migrants before 1945 moved into the capital city of their country. For migrants after this year, it mattered considerably whether they came from the west or from the east. The second largest group among the present elderly population was born in the eastern European countries of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, they were Germans, whose ancestors had left Germany in the past. Migration from other countries has been very rare.

In Figure 3 the data on region of birth are combined with historical time. It shows very clearly that most of the migrants among Berlin's older population moved to West-Berlin before 1940. But, as could be expected, in the second half of the 1940s there is an increase in the numbers of migrants from Eastern Europe and from East-Berlin. The increase in the number of migrants from East-Germany is less impressive, but visible. After the Second World War West-Berlin became an unattractive place to move to for people from the West. All migration from West-Germany and from 'other countries' took place before WWII. The figure also shows that migration

TABLE 4. REGION OF BIRTH AND THE EXPERIENCE OF FLIGHT OR EXPULSION¹

Region of birth	%	Experience of flight or expulsion (%)
West-Berlin	37.6	33.1
East-Berlin	15.7	46.6
East-Germany	7.0	37.5
East-Germany	13.5	35.0
Eastern Europe	23.5	49.3
Other countries	2.8	55.9
Total	100.0	40.2
	(N = 477)	

¹Sample weighed to represent the age and sex distribution of the West-Berlin population of 70 years and older.



Sample weighed to represent the age and sex distribution of the West-Berlin population of 70 years and older

FIGURE 3. REGION OF BIRTH AND TIMING OF FIRST MIGRATION TO WEST-BERLIN

from Eastern European countries was a very common phenomenon starting in the early 1920s and lasting until approximately 1950, only disrupted by the lower migration during the war. Pre-WWII moves from other parts of Germany were especially common in the years immediately preceding the War.

The experience of forced flight or expulsion was very common among the older West-Berlin population. More than 40% report experiences of this kind in the migration history. Although the percentages of refugees and expelled persons are somewhat higher among those born in East-Berlin and Eastern European countries, fleeing also characterizes the migration of other groups. One third of the elderly who were born in Berlin fled at least once, most often during WWII.

OLD AGE CONSEQUENCES OF MIGRATION

Resources

Characteristics of the migration history are only weakly related to income in old age (Table 5). Persons who were born in Eastern Europe or East Berlin

TABLE 5. MIGRATION AND RESOURCES IN OLD AGE

	Region of birth				
	West Berlin (N = 170)	West Germany (N = 42)	East Berlin (N = 63)	East Germany (N = 71)	Eastern Europe (N = 119)
Income ¹	2300	2360	2100	2170	2040
Wealth (%)	58.1	69.0	59.0	62.3	50.8
Children ever born (#)	1.6	1.8	1.5	1.2	1.9*
Children living in Berlin	.9	1.0	.8	.6	1.1*
Still married (%)	29.4	47.6	30.2	29.6	28.6
Widowed	54.1	40.5	49.2	54.9	59.7
Divorced	8.2	7.1	9.5	8.5	6.7
Never married	8.2	4.8	11.1	7.0	5.0
	Experience of flight or expulsion				
	yes (N = 146)	no (N = 331)			
Income	2000	2280*			
Wealth (%)	52.1	60.6			
Children ever born (#)	1.8	1.5			
Children living in Berlin	1.0	0.8*			
Still married (%)	26.7	32.3			
Widowed	54.1	54.1			
Divorced	14.4	4.8**			
Never married	4.8	8.8			

¹Monthly household income, adjusted for the number of persons in the household.

* Difference significant, $p < .05$.

**Difference significant, $p < .01$.

on the average have somewhat lower equivalence income than persons born in West Germany and West-Berlin ($p = .06$). Only if we compare those who experience fleeing or expulsion and those who did not, can we see clear differences in financial resources in old age. Those who were forced to leave their place of living on the average have almost 300DM per month less to spend in old age than those whose migration histories were not characterized by such forced moves. Further analyses show that those who were forced to flee were more often women (60%) than men (40%). If we control for gender, the income differences become much smaller. However, this does not make them less important. This means that women more often than men had both kinds of negative experiences: forced flight during adulthood and low incomes during old age.

On the question whether or not they possess some form of wealth,

persons born in West Berlin, East Berlin and East Germany do not differ. Around 60% of these groups give a positive answer. Migrants from West Germany more often possess wealth and migrants from Eastern Europe less often. The experience of fleeing or expulsion does not matter much.

Children who live near by are a potentially important resource in old age. We compare the average numbers of children born and children presently living in Berlin of the groups of migrants. There are clear differences with respect to region of birth. Families from Eastern Europe were larger. More surprising, however, is that they were able to keep their families together. Although they migrated from other countries to Berlin, in old age they still have on the average more children living in the near vicinity than older people who lived their whole life in Germany. Older persons from East Berlin and East Germany have fewer children living in West Berlin. One might tend to explain this by the fact that the Cold War kept these families from moving together. However, the real explanation lies in the smaller number of children that were born in these families. The association between being born in Eastern Europe and experiencing flight or expulsion probably explains the higher number of children in living in Berlin of persons who made these experiences. Their families were somewhat larger from the beginning and they succeeded in staying together.

The marital status of the groups of migrants born in different regions in very similar, with one exception. Persons who migrated from West-Germany are more often still married ($p < .05$ if tested against the other groups). It is unclear why this is the case. These migrants are among the oldest in our population (on the average 86 years old). And although there are somewhat more men among them, analyses show that age and gender do not account for the high numbers of married persons among migrants from West-Germany. The clearest effect of migration history on marital status in old age, however, is shown by the positive association between fleeing and divorce. Among those experiencing these forced moves, 14.4% divorced and did not marry again. Among the others this percentage is only 4.8%. This difference is only partly explained by the fact that those experiencing flight or expulsion are on the average somewhat younger and more often women. After controlling for these two characteristics, those who experienced flight or expulsion are still 2.5 times as likely to be divorced.

We also tested whether characteristics of the migration history are associated with health and physical performance in old age. Here it is quite clear that bivariate analyses are of little value. Since migration histories differ between men and women and between age groups, and because

TABLE 6. MIGRATION AND RESOURCES IN OLD AGE

	Region of birth				
	West Berlin (N = 170)	West Germany (N = 42)	East Berlin (N = 63)	East Germany (N = 71)	Eastern Europe (N = 119)
Societal activities (#)	3.5	2.6	3.3	2.9	2.4**
Church attendance ¹ (%)	8.9	9.8	10.2	17.4	15.8
Vote next sunday (%)	89.2	92.7	85.0	82.9	94.7
	Experience of flight or expulsion				
	yes (N = 146)	no (N = 331)			
Societal activities (#)	3.4	2.9*			
Church attendance ¹ (%)	9.9	13.4			
Vote next sunday (%)	89.5	89.3			

¹At least once during the last month

* Difference significant, $p < .05$.

**Difference significant, $p < .01$.

health is also closely related to gender and age, we have to control for these two characteristics. We analyzed differences in subjective health, activities of daily living, mobility, vision, and hearing. In only one case does the association with migration history remain significant after controlling gender and age. Persons born in East Germany more often report problems with hearing than the other groups. Explanation of this difference seems complicated.

Integration

Finally, we ask whether the migration history is associated to integration in the West-Berlin society in old age. We investigate three indicators of societal integration: number of societal activities, church attendance, and whether they would vote if their would be elections next Sunday.

The data only partly confirm our expectations (Table 6). The analyses of region of birth show that those who were born in Berlin (West or East) perform on the average more societal activities than migrants. Migrants from Eastern Europe clearly perform fewest societal activities. Even after controlling for age and gender, these differences are highly significant ($p < .01$). However, this pattern is not reflected in church attendance and only partly in voting propensity. Those born in East Germany, including East Berlin, report a lower propensity to vote than the other groups. Persons originating in Eastern Europe, on the contrary, report almost unanimously

that they would participate in elections. Having experienced flight or expulsion is not associated with any form of societal participation when we control for the fact that they are more often women and on the average younger.

CONCLUSIONS

The question of whether characteristics of the marital and migration history of the elderly population of West-Berlin matter for their present resources and societal integration, can be answered with yes. We have shown that for resources in old age, it is important when and under what circumstances women lost their partner. Divorced women and WWII widows are not only financially worse off than never married women, still married women, and more recent widows. They also evaluate several aspects of their own health more negatively than others. What matters is not so much whether there is a partner around in old age, but rather how this came about. We could not investigate whether the same is true for men. Widowed men are financially well off. This might also be true for divorced and long term widowed men. The higher mortality of divorced men suggest that they, like women, might not evaluate life, and health in specific so positively.

Also in the case of place of living, the past seems to be important. Financial resources, social resources, and societal integration in old age depend partly on characteristics of the migration history like region of birth and having experienced flight or expulsion. But contrary to the effects of divorce and early widowhood for women, here we could not generally speak of one group of losers. Those coming from Eastern Europe seem financially somewhat less well off and they are clearly less integrated in West-Berlin society. However, they had more children from the beginning and have more children living in Berlin in old age. Similarly refugees and expelled persons have fewer financial resources, experienced divorce more often, but have more children living near by in old age.

Future generations will be characterized by other types of divorces, far fewer early widows, and other types of migrants. The negative financial effects of divorce have been lessened by changes in the pension-law and by the increasing labor force participation of women. However, the separation of unmarried couple might in the future take the place of divorce and early widowhood (Hauser & Wagner, 1992). Among single parents poverty rates are high and will probably continue to be high in old age. Two kinds of migrants are future candidates for the position of the migrants from Eastern

Europe, and the refugees and expelled persons. First, consider migrant workers from the south of Europe, who in West-Berlin usually come from Turkey. Like the migrants from Eastern Europe and the refugees, they will have relatively small pensions, will be less integrated in German society, but will have relatively small pensions, will be less integrated in German society, but will have more children around. The second group are those who moved after the fall of the Berlin Wall from East to West Germany. Time will tell whether they will be occupationally successful and whether they will completely integrate in their new place of living. They definitely have better chances than the migrant workers with this respect. However, it is already clear that in old age they cannot count on the presence and support of large families.

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