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## ***"Simple" adoption in France: Revival of an old institution (1804-2007)***

Jean-François MIGNOT

Along with so-called "full" adoption, there is in France another form known as "simple" adoption, which adds an additional descendency tie to the adoptee's tie with his family of origin. Nowadays, this form of adoption is mostly used by a step-parent without children to adopt an adult stepchild to whom there is already an attachment in order to transmit his/her estate to it. Simple adoption, about which little is known by sociologists of the family, has now become more common than full adoption. Using historical statistics from the Ministry of Justice on simple adoption since the nineteenth century, we trace the history of this institution since 1804 when it became part of French law. The objective is not just to better understand simple adoption, but also the reasons for its rise since the 1970s and what this reveals about long term socio-demographic and cultural changes within the family.

Keywords: FAMILY - DESCENT - ADOPTION - STEPFAMILY - DIVORCE - INHERITANCE

Two types of adoption are current today in France, which differ from both a legal point of view and a social point of view. On the one hand, there has been, from the Family Code (*Code de la famille*) of 1939 and the Law of 11 July 1966 a so-called "full" or "plenary" (*plénière*) adoption, that is to say, an adoption whose main legal effect is to completely break the legal ties between the adoptee and his/her family of origin (substitutive filiation). In practice, this institution is an adoption of minors for primarily educational aims: typically, a childless couple adopts an orphaned or abandoned foreign or French child in order to raise him/her. On the other hand, from the Civil Code of 1804 (then the law of 11 July 1966) there has been a so-called "simple" adoption, whose main legal effect is to add a descendency tie to a prior legal relationship between the adoptee and his/her family of origin (additive filiation). In practice, this institution is an adoption of adults for primarily inheritance aims: typically, these days, a childless step-parent adopts an adult stepchild, to which he or she is attached, in order to transmit their inheritance to him or her. Both types of adoption, however, have something in common: they create a legal relationship between an adopter and an adoptee without this filiation being based on the procreation of the adoptee by the adopting individual or couple.

In this regard, social science research is faced with a paradox: simple adoption, less well known to the public and also to sociologists of the family, is now the most common form. More precisely, as in France the number of simple adoptions has exceeded that of full adoptions since the 1990s, historical (Gutton 1993; Neirinck, 2000; Fine, 2008; Louyot, 2012), anthropological (Fine, 1998; Fine and Neyrinck, 2000), demographic (Halifax and Villeneuve-Gokalp, 2004, 2005; Villeneuve-Gokalp, 2007; Halifax and Labasque, 2013) and sociological research (Fisher, 2003) on adoption has been focused — with some exceptions (Martial, 2003) — on full adoption. However, the recent development of simple adoption is the result of several current changes in the family, including the rise of step-families after divorce or separation and therefore deserves the full attention of sociologists and, more generally, of researchers engaged in kinship studies (Cicchelli-Pugeault and Cicchelli, 1998; Segalen, 2004; Déchaux, 2006. Singly, 2007).

This article proposes a historical sociology of simple adoption since its introduction into French law in 1804. Its main objective is descriptive: given the limited information available

to date on simple adoption, it is necessary before any attempts at explanation to firmly establish the facts. For this, we use a hitherto untapped source: the quantitative and comprehensive data of the Ministry of Justice on simple adoption since 1841. In addition to this descriptive contribution, the article also seeks some possible explanations for the development of simple adoption and what it reveals about socio-demographic and cultural changes in the family over the long term.

After summarizing the history of adoption law in France, the article presents an analysis of adoption practices since the nineteenth century. It focuses first on the annual number of simple adoptions since 1841 and then on the social profile of simple adoptees and adopters since 1841. We also discuss (simple) adoption by couples of the same sex, which has been permitted since the law of 17 May 2013, although empirical data are still lacking on this subject (Box 1).

## **The French law of simple adoption since 1804**

Simple adoption was introduced into French law by the Civil Code of 1804 (Halpérin, 2001; Carbonnier, 2002). Since then, the main legal arrangements on simple adoption have evolved during three major periods: from the Civil Code of 1804 to the Law of 19 June 1923; from the 1923 Law to the Decree of 29 July 1939, also called the Family Code (*Code de la famille*); and since the Family Code of 1939.

### ***From the Civil Code of 1804 to the 1923 Law: Adoption of adults for inheritance purposes***

From 1804 until 1923, only people over fifty years of age (men or women, single, married, widowed or divorced) without legitimate child, that is to say without a child born within marriage, were able to adopt. Only adults were adoptable, whether French or foreign. For the adoption to take place, the adopter must also have been at least fifteen years older than the adoptee, and given him/her during his minority at least six years of relief and continuity of care (or owed his life to a heroic act on the part of the adopted person). The adoption added the name of the adopter to that of the adoptee and conferred on the adoptee the same rights of succession over the estate of the adopter as those of a legitimate child, without however bringing the adoptee into the family of the adopter (the adoptee inherits only from the adopter, and neither from the ascendants nor collateral kin of the adopter). In addition, the adoption did not sever the bonds the adoptee had with his family of origin (inheritance rights, but also those of alimentary upkeep and marriage prohibitions): it created an additive filiation.

Why was adoption restricted in this way? Firstly, only those *without legitimate children* could adopt, so that the legalization of adoption did not harm the succession of children of the marriage. Then, only those *without legitimate children and more than fifty years old* could adopt, that is to say people who probably would die childless, so that adoption did not lead young fecund couples to adopt rather than to procreate. Finally, only adults could be adopted, to prevent couples or women conceiving children in order to sell them for adoption, but also so that the parents of "natural" (also called "illegitimate") children could not early-adopt the fruits of their dalliance.

In this context, adoption was an institution aimed at inheritance of an estate: it allowed a person or a couple without (legitimate) children but who had contributed to raising a child (and built an emotional bond with him/her) to transmit his surname and especially his estate. More specifically, adoption enables the adopter to avoid the forfeiture of his estate to the state: the inheritance tax to be levied by a direct collateral heir - nephew or cousin - and a natural child until 1972, or a non-relative, was of the order of 60%, as against 5% to 40% for a simple adoptee or any other lineal heir. But adoption also prevented the dispersal of a person's estate between several collaterals, and made it possible to pass it to a person of his/her choice, who would be thankful for it.

***From the 1923 Law to the Family Code of 1939:  
Adoption with both inheritance and educational goals***

Simple adoption was reformed by the Law of 19 June 1923, making minors adoptable. Indeed, the First World War caused the death or disappearance of about 1.3 million soldiers, resulting in about 600,000 widows and 1.1 million war orphans (Faron, 2001, p. 309-322). In this context, the adoption of orphans could be one way of supporting the children of those who had given their lives for their country. From 1923 until 1939, only those over forty years of age without legitimate children could adopt, as was the case for infertile couples but also for many couples who had lost their only child during the war. Also, it was now possible for minors as well as adults to be adopted, whether of French or foreign birth. Adoption generally continued to have the same legal effects in that it still created an additive filiation.

In this context, simple adoption remained an institution aimed at inheritance of an estate, but was also modified to become an educational and charitable institution. It was no longer only a matter of finding an heir for a family, but also a child to be raised. In addition, from the perspective of the state, it was to find a family for a child who had lost one, whether he was an orphan or had been given up by his parents to state foster care (*Assistance Publique* or *Aide sociale à l'enfance*). Specifically, among the orphaned and abandoned children the only adoptable ones were those designated as "wards of the state" (*pupilles de l'État*), that is to say minors without family (orphans, abandoned or removed from their parents) and admitted to the state foster care and therefore adoptable. While from the *Ancien régime* to the 1920s abandoned children were largely entrusted to rural households, from 1923 some children in the state foster care, including war orphans, were adopted by affluent couples in the Paris region (Jablonka, 2006, p. 94-106). In other words, we can see the change from a form of inheritance-focused adoption designed for the interests of the adopter, in order to transmit an estate, towards an adoption with primarily educational aims and designed, from 1923, to be in the interests of the adoptee - in order to give him/her loving parents.

***From the Family Code of 1939 until the present:  
The re-emergence of adoption of adults for inheritance purposes***

The Family Code of 1939 created full (*plénière*) adoption, or "adoptive legitimation" as it was then called. Full adoption ensured that not only did the adopted minor enter the family of the adopter, but it also broke the bonds (including those of inheritance) between the adoptee and his family of origin, thus guaranteeing the exclusivity of the tie between the adoptive parents and their child, which alleviated some of the causes of the reluctance to adopt.

Since 1939, then, two forms of adoption have co-existed. Full adoption completely severs the ties between the adoptee and his often unknown family of origin: the adoptee replaces the name and the inheritance he would have from his family of origin with those he takes from his adoptive family (substitutive filiation). Nowadays, the main reason to adopt in the full adoption form is, for a sterile adopter or for those for whom assisted reproductive technology has failed, to satisfy their desire to raise a child and to love and be loved by him/her. In contrast, simple adoption does not sever the ties, including those of inheritance, of the adoptee with his family of origin: the adoptee adds the name and the estate he derives from his family of origin to those that he derives from his adopter (additive filiation).

In this context, infertile married couples who wish to adopt a child to raise and love as their own child tend to adopt in full adoption, so that simple adoption has progressively become mainly concerned with inheritance. Those now being adopted through simple adoption are minors or, in particular, adults who are not abandoned or orphaned, and who have no interest in seeing their original parental ties being severed. Nowadays, the main reason to adopt through simple adoption is thus for the step-parent to transmit their estate to his/her stepchildren, without depriving them of the legacy of their original parents.

The reform of adoption law enacted on 11 July 1966 clarifies in particular the establishment of the state of abandonment and thus the adoptability of the child, which avoids certain conflicts between the birth family and the adoptive family. However, it does not fundamentally change the difference in use between simple and plenary adoptions.

## **Simple adoptions in France: quantitative sources**

Having outlined the legal framework of simple adoption, the history of the practices of this form of adoption can now be presented. In order to provide this, the long-term statistical series of the Ministry of Justice – which have not been explored to date although they have the advantage of being annual and comprehensive – are used together with recent survey data. A harmonized presentation of these data in order to trace two centuries of simple adoption in France is offered below.

***Principal data source: Statistical yearbook of the Ministry of Justice (from 1841 to 1980)***

As the adoption process involves legal procedures, the main source of statistics on simple adoption in France is the statistical yearbook published by the Ministry of Justice from the nineteenth century, under a series of titles: "General Account of the administration of civil and commercial justice in France and Algeria" [*Compte général de l'administration de la Justice civile et commerciale en France et en Algérie*] (1841-1932), "General Account of the administration of civil and commercial justice and criminal justice" [*Compte général de l'administration de la Justice civile et commerciale et de la Justice criminelle*] (1933-1960), General Account of the administration of criminal justice and commercial and civil justice [*Compte général de l'administration de la Justice criminelle et de la Justice civile et commerciale*] (1961-1976) and *Statistical Yearbook of Justice* [*Annuaire statistique de la justice*] (1981) (see the data in the Appendix). This source, which is referred to here as the

*Statistical yearbook*, provides annual aggregated and comprehensive data on the number of those adopted in France and certain characteristics of adopters and adoptees from 1841 (data collected over the period 1841-1880 however, are not annual, but five-year averages from the *Statistical yearbook*, 1880, p. LXVI). However, this source no longer provides any information on adoption from the early 1980s. The *Statistical yearbook* covers adoptions made in mainland France and, from the year 1968 (or from the year 1976, as the annuals are not always clear on this point), adoptions made in the whole of France, including the overseas territories. Specifically, the *Statistical yearbook* identifies acts of adoption that are issued by the courts: while from 1841 until 1958, this was adoption acts issued by the (civil) trial courts, whether or not they were subsequently approved by judgments of the courts of appeal, from 1958 to 1966 these were acts of adoption issued by the trial court *and also* approved by courts of appeal. However, rejections of the approval by the courts of acts of adoption drawn up before a magistrate or a notary are sufficiently rare between 1958 and 1966 that this discontinuity is not an issue. From 1966, the *Statistical yearbook* records acts of adoption issued by the courts, the approval procedure for adoption contracts having disappeared along with private acts of adoption themselves.

Although the *Statistical yearbook* is an extremely valuable source, it has several shortcomings, some of which have already been noticed (Marmier, 1969). In addition to being silent on some issues and suffering from the fact that its content has been considerably depleted since the late 1970s, the *Statistical yearbook* contains certain uncorrectable inconsistencies. The sum of simple adopters by sex does not equal the sum of adopters by occupation in the years 1895 (difference of 13), 1899 (difference of 1), and 1935 (difference of 39); the sum of the simple adoptees by sex does not equal the sum of simple adoptees by relationship with the adopter during 1935 (difference of 1), 1945 (difference of 44), 1961 (difference of 90), and 1962 (difference of 30); and the sum of the simple adoptees by sex (or relative of the adopter) does not equal the sum of adoptees according to whether or not they originate from the state foster care from 1968 to 1975 (maximum difference of 32). All told, these inconsistencies are comparatively few, and especially small scale: they are not likely to skew an analysis of simple adoption practices in the long term.

#### ***Additional sources: institutional sources and ad hoc surveys (since 1980)***

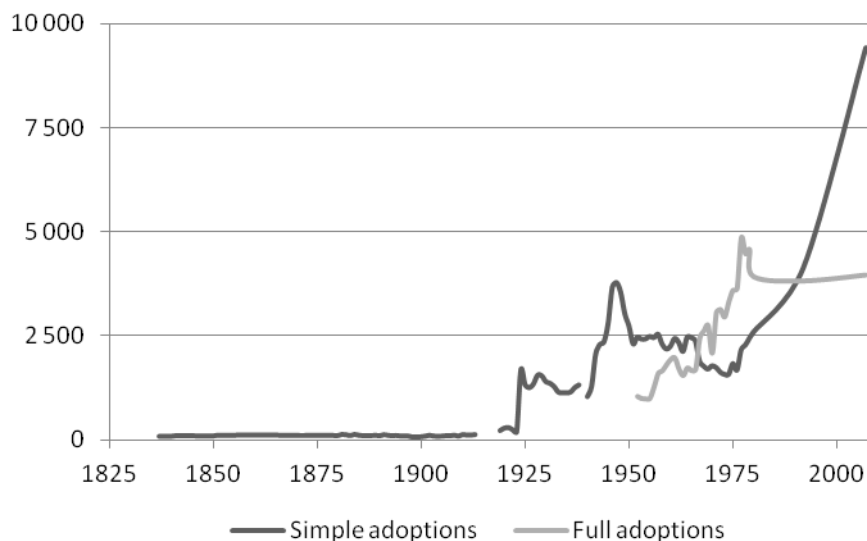
Several ad hoc surveys provide other useful data on simple adoption in France. A research centre of the Ministry of Justice conducted a survey on a sample of 470 simple adoption judgments in 1968-1970 (Marmier-Champenois, 1978). The Ministry of Justice also investigated simple (and full) adoptions in 1992 (Belmokhtar, 1996) and in 2007 (Belmokhtar, 2009b), using samples of adoption judgments of the trial courts and samples of foreign judgment transcripts ordered by the prosecutor of Nantes. These surveys are also used here to extend and enrich the observations from the *Statistical yearbook*, while taking care to extend the series of the *Statistical yearbook* only when the subsequent data are strictly comparable. Unfortunately, no information is currently available about simple adoptions declared since 2007.

### **Number of simple adoptees, 1841-2007**

The number of simple adoptees and the number of simple adoptees per 100,000 of the population varied during three long periods. Firstly, until 1923, when only adults were legally

adoptable, the number of simple adoptees remains very stable, around a hundred a year. Then, from 1923, when minors became adoptable, and until the mid-1970s, the number of simple adoptees crosses a threshold: it increases from about a hundred to about 1,000 to 2,500 per year. Over this period, the number of simple adoptees rises to 3,781 after the war, in 1947: many abandoned or orphaned children found during the conflict were later adopted. That said, the number of simple adoptees was not greatly increasing, especially because some of the minors adopted through full adoption were squeezed out of the "stock" of children adoptable by simple adoption. Finally, and since the mid 1970s, the boom in divorce has quadrupled the number of divorced people residing in France (it has risen from less than one million in 1975 to nearly four million in 2010 [INSEE, 2014]), so the number of step-families after divorce or separation has increased (Burguière, 1993; Sardon, 2005; Barre, 2005; Mignot, 2008; Lapinte, 2013). Consequently, the opportunities for step-parents to adopt their step-children are increasing, so much so that the number of simple adoptees has crossed a second threshold: it has gone up from about 1,500 to about 10,000 per year. The "silent revolution of step-families" (Déchaux, 2009) is thus at the heart of the development of simple adoptions since the mid-1970s (Théry, 2001).

FIGURE 1. – *Number of simple and full adoptions, 1841-2007*



*Field* : Adoption judgments of the trial courts in mainland France and then (from 1968 or 1976) in the whole of France including overseas territories.

*Source* : *Statistical yearbook* (1841-1980), Belmokhtar (2009a) (years 1992 and 2007).

Note that the number of simple adoptees by simple adopter seems to have been stable at about 1.05 to the mid-1970s (with a slight rise to 1.1 between 1910 and about 1930), before rising sharply since that time: in 2007, to more than 1.3 simple adoptees per adopter (9,412 adoptees for 7,092 adopters) (Belmokhtar, 2009a). Indeed, in 2007, 76% of simple adopters adopted only one person, but 19% adopted two, and 5% adopted three or more (maximum six) (Belmokhtar, 2009a). In these cases, it is most often the step-parent who simultaneously adopts all his stepchildren (Martial, 1998).

Overall, it appears that simple adoption is more common today than it has ever been. And assuming that, in the long run, most simple adoptees are adults adopted in order to provide them with an inheritance (a mainly succession-driven aim), while the full adoptees are minors adopted to be raised (a primarily educational aim), it appears that, apart from

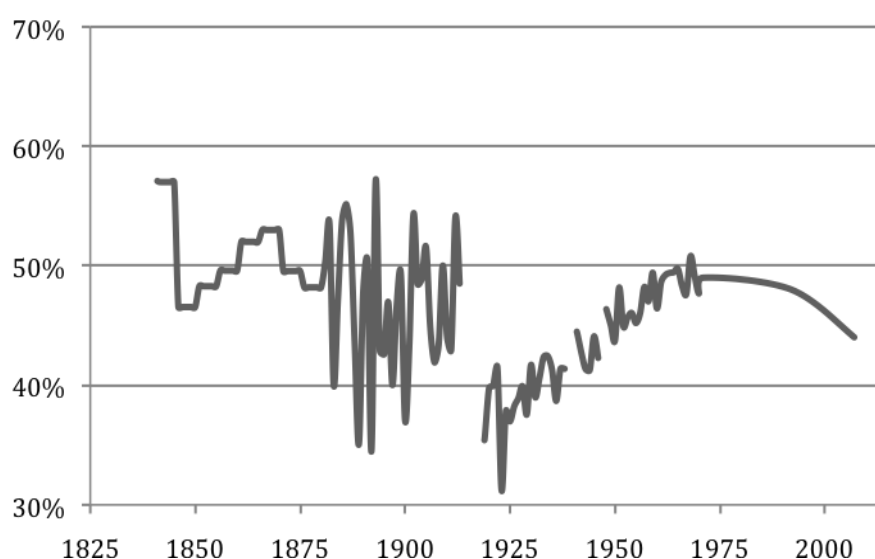
during the 1970s and 1980s, most adoptions in France are mainly succession-driven. This is a fact which has so far gone virtually unnoticed by specialist researchers on the family.

## Profiles of simple adoptees, 1841-2007

### *Sex and age of adoptees*

From the Civil Code of 1804, simple adoptees can be both female and male persons. And from the 1923 Law, they can be not only adults but also minors. In this context, how have the sex and age of simple adoptees changed?

FIGURE 2. – *Proportion of simple adoptees (adults and minors) who are male, 1841-2007*



*Field* : Adoption judgments of the trial courts in mainland France and then (from 1968 or 1976) in all of France including overseas territories

*Source* : *Statistical yearbook* (1841-1971), Belmokhtar (2009a) (years 1992 et 2007).

The proportion of male adoptees has varied significantly since the early nineteenth century. Until 1913, the percentage of men adoptees varies around 49% (average annual percentage over the period 1841-1913). While one might have imagined that an inheritance-driven institution would be more likely to mainly adopt men, perhaps better able legally to lead or operate a heritage, and only likely to transmit their name to the later generation, such is not the case.

Then from the post-great war period where the share of male adoptees drops to its minimum (31% in 1923) to the 1970s, the proportion of adoptees who are male gradually rises to nearly 50%. Insofar as simple adoptees are related to the adopter (niece or nephew, stepchild), the relative paucity of male adoptions could be explained by the fact that, in the case of the death of a mother, boys often stay with their father, while daughters are more often supported and subsequently adopted by an aunt. Where simple adoptees are abandoned minors or orphans from outside the family, and whose sex was chosen by the adopter, could the relative scarcity of postwar adoptions of males be explained by a preference on the part of the adopters for adoptees who would be less likely to be mobilised in the event of another

conflict? This is what is suggested by some interviews conducted in the early 1970s about adoptions following the Second World War in 1950-1954 (Marmier-Champenois, 1978, p. 157), but it is difficult to assess how these preferences might have worked. The relative scarcity of adoptions of males post-war could possibly be explained by the fact that boys are less often abandoned or given up for adoption than girls, especially in a post-war period when men are more rare and therefore more valuable than ever (in the fields, in the shop and at the factory, but also on the marriage market). More generally, could the sex of adoptees be explained by the fact that the girls might be considered more useful (as they say in south-west France, "one is better cared for by one's family than by one's daughter-in-law" [Fine, 1998 p. 77]), or that adopted girls are considered to be more grateful than boys? Whatever the reasons, from 1919 to the 1970s, the majority of adoptees were female.

Since the 1970s, moreover, the proportion of male adoptees has tended to fall again, reaching 44% in 2007. Indeed, stepfathers who represent today the majority of simple adopters, adopt their daughter-in-law more often than their son-in-law, perhaps because they have more often lived with their daughter-in-law (who stayed with her mother) than with their son-in-law (who sometimes stayed with his father).

Unfortunately we do not know the proportion of simple adoptees who were minors from 1923. We only know that in 1968-1970, most simple adoptees were adults (Marmier-Champenois, 1978), and that between 1992 and 2007 the proportion of adult simple adoptees remained stable around 85% (the average age of the simple adoptee also remained stable at 33 years) (Belmokhtar, 1996; Belmokhtar, 2009b).

### ***Family relationships between adoptees and adoptive parents***

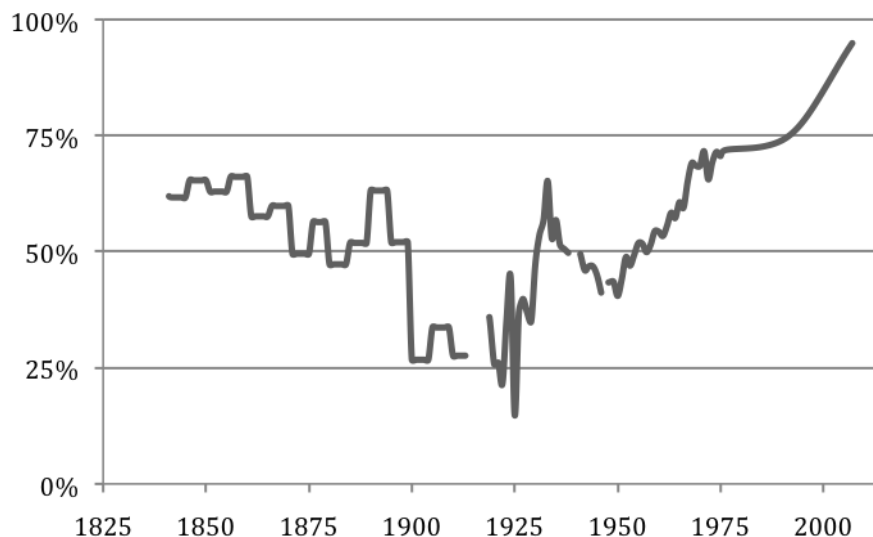
Since the Civil Code, simple adoption has in part been seen as a way of transmitting an estate while keeping it in the family. In this context, to what extent have the adoptees been members of the family of the adopter? And what was their relationship: parent and "natural" child, that is to say born out of wedlock; uncle or aunt and nephew or niece; step-parent and step-child (who are related, in that they are generally not allowed to marry each other); or other kin relationships?

The data that provide information on the proportions of simple adoptees who were either related or not to the adopter, are not as good as they might be. Firstly, these data do not distinguish between adoptees unrelated to the adopter ("non-kin") and adoptees related to the adopter but where the relationship is unknown ("non-specified relationship"). Therefore, it is only possible to provide a *minimum* estimate of the proportion of simple adoptees who are related to the adopter, which calls for cautious comment. On the other hand, the low numbers of adoptions in the nineteenth century and the strong annual variations in the proportions of simple adoptees related to the adopter lead us to use five-year averages, not only for the period 1841-1880 (during which the data themselves were collected every five years) but also for the period 1881-1913.

Until 1923, the proportion of simple adoptees related to the adopter (and whose relationship is recorded) tends to decrease from 60-65% in the mid-nineteenth century to 35% in 1923. While it is difficult to clarify who the adoptees are who become increasingly unrelated to the adopter until 1923, we can envisage two types being possible. Firstly, those

adoptees unrelated to the adopter may be descendants of neighbours or friends, that the adopter has taken in during their childhood and then adopts in adulthood. On the other hand, as André Burguière (1999) has emphasized, those adoptees who are unrelated to the adopter may be abandoned children who had become wards of the state (*pupilles de l'État*), that the adopter had helped to benefit from "unofficial guardianship" during their childhood. Indeed, until 1923, unofficial guardianship allowed an adult over fifty years of age and without legitimate child to bring up a child without known parents or whose parents consented to this guardianship; in other words, unofficial guardianship may have become a first step toward adoption, before the future adoptee became an adult. That said, additional research is needed in order to know about these developments with more certainty. Since 1923, however, the proportion of simple adoptees who were related to their adopter (and whose relationship is recorded) increased significantly, reaching 71% in 1975 and 93% in 2007 (Belmokhtar, 2009a).

FIGURE 3. – *Proportion of simple adoptees who are related to the adopter (and whose family relationship with the adopter is recorded), 1841-2007*



*Field* : Adoption judgments of the trial courts in mainland France and then (from 1968 or 1976) in all of France including overseas territories

*Source* : *Statistical yearbook* (1841-1976, Belmokhtar (2009a) (years 1992 and 2007).

*Note* : Annual data are transformed into five-year averages until 1913 inclusive.

The family ties between the simple adoptee and the adopter can be of many types. In the nineteenth century, most simple adoptees related to the adopter were adopted natural children (that is to say, children from two unmarried or adulterous or incestuous parents). Adopting a natural child would then allow, until 1972 and even until today, some illegitimate children (Kimmel-Alcover 2000) to receive a legacy while remaining exempt from paying heavy inheritance taxes. However, from the very end of the nineteenth century, improvements in the legal status of natural children may have decreased the incentives that their parents had to adopt them, thus reducing the proportion of simple adoptees who were natural children.

Two points need to be added on family ties between the simple adoptee and his adopter in the nineteenth century. Firstly, among the natural children who were the beneficiaries of simple adoption, the majority had been recognized by their adopter. This means that most of the natural children who were adopted had already, before their adoption, a filial tie with their prospective adopter. Indeed, the proportion of recognized natural children varies up to the Second World War at around 58%, then goes up from 33% in 1944 to 67% in 1976. On the

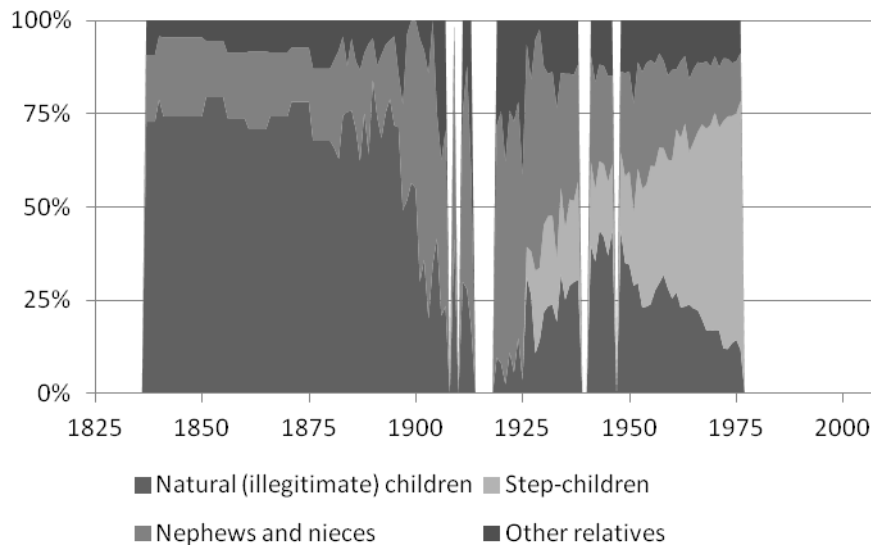
other hand, whilst according to the Civil Code of 1804 simple adoption led the adoptee to add that of the adopter to his/her own name, it does not allow him/her to bear *only* the name of the adopter and to pass for a legitimate child... except when the adopted child is the *recognized* natural child of the adopter (or even, from the law of 13 February 1909, when the adoptee is the non-recognized natural child of the adopter). In this context, the adoption of a recognized natural child would have the added benefit of allowing the child to pass for legitimate (Dol, 2013).

Then, from the early twentieth century to the interwar period, most simple adoptees related to the adopter were nephews or nieces. Again, to adopt a nephew or niece meant exemption from the payment of heavy inheritance taxes in the collateral line, while retaining the estate in the family. Thus, in the rural southwest of the first half of the twentieth century, adoptees were mostly nephews or nieces of the adopter, even though they were sometimes stepchildren or other relatives (often orphans) and more rarely wards of the state (Fine, 1998). In addition, the First World War probably led some people to adopt the children of their brother who had died in the war.

Finally, since the postwar period, a growing proportion of simple adoptees related to the adopter are step-children, that is to say the children (of a first bed) of the wife or the husband of the adopter (the husband//wife of the adopter may be alive or dead, and the other parent of the adoptee may be dead or not involved with the child or consenting to the adoption). Whilst in 1976, 66% of simple adoptees related to the adopter were stepchildren, by 2007 it had become 92% of them. Nowadays, simple adoption is typically for the step-parent to adopt the stepchild he helped to raise and to which he is attached, in order to transmit goods (often the home where the step-family has lived) while reducing the cost of his inheritance taxes (Martial, 2003, p. 221-241). Thus, the recent boom in simple adoption is one of the few phenomena which contradicts the general trend that the "logic of blood relationship is more important than a purely emotional logic where family ties would take precedence as the result of a shared daily life" (Jonas et al., 2007). Simple adoption is probably one of the "purest" cases of the creation of kinship ties following the mutual attachment produced by daily co-residence.

In contrast to full adoption, which comes *before* education begins and *before* attachment begins to operate, mainly for *educational* reasons even though they may also be for inheritance reasons, simple adoption intervenes *once* education has started or even finished, and *once* attachment has occurred, and mainly for *inheritance* purposes. In simple adoption, the adopter adopts the adoptee, who he already knows and loves since he has already helped to raise him/her in order to transmit his estate to him/her in the future.

FIGURE 4. – *Breakdown of simple adoptees related to the adopter according to their kin relationship, 1841-2007*



*Field* : Adoption orders granted by the trial courts in mainland France.

*Source* : *Statistical yearbook* (1841-1976).

The question remains, however, to what extent adoption is the appropriate institution to institutionalize the relationship between step-parent and step-child: adoption, even in its simple form, tends to create a biological sense of rivalry between the stepfather and father, as adding the name of the step-father to that of the biological father may seem, for the latter, to be a denial of paternity (Martial, 2000). The legal relationship between step-parent and step-child to which the French legislature seems to have been heading since the 1990s would be "a step-parent status" or various legal arrangements, which would be significantly less of a commitment than adoption (Damon, 2015). These provisions, which could take the form of a delegation of parental authority to a third party or a sharing of parental authority between parent and step-parent, would be intended to facilitate the lives of the step-families by allowing the step-parent to carry out the usual activities of daily life of the child (immunization, justification of school absence, registration for school meals at the canteen, participating in a school trip, etc.), with the consent of his/her parents but without specific permission. This would grant recognition to the task of the step-parent in civil law, in addition to their role as it is already recognized in tax and social law. This could also help establish the authority of the step-parent. However, the provisions must avoid excluding the non-custodial parent from the child's education, and particularly avoid the creation of rivalries between the stepfather and the father from which the child could suffer. Moreover, it remains to be decided to what extent it is appropriate or not to facilitate the transmission of the estate of the step-parent to his/her step-child.

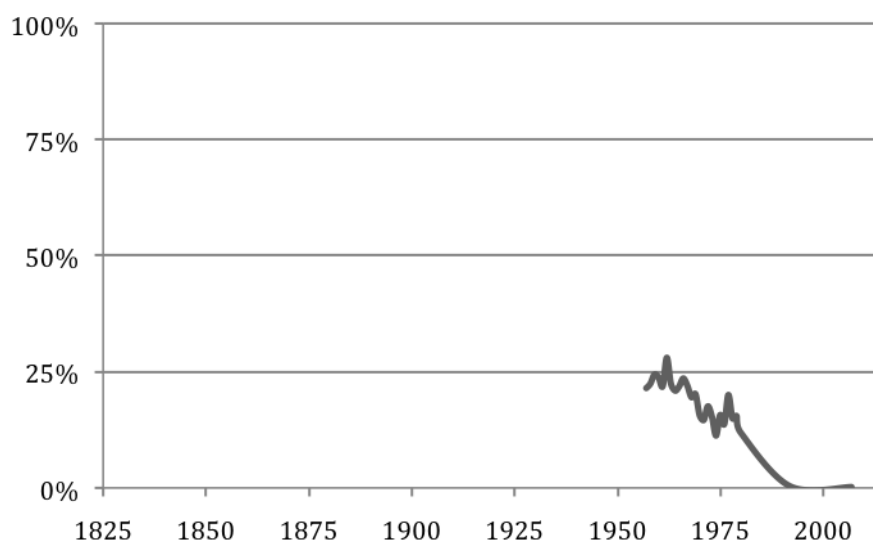
In their report on filiation, Irène Théry and Anne-Marie Leroyer suggest several modifications to family law so as to provide a role for the relationship between the step-parent and step-child. "It is in this spirit of respect for the special place in the family of the step-parents of today, who do not wish to be either substitutes for or rivals of the parents, that we propose a set of measures designed to support this role by opportunities that can be offered but never imposed, since they will be able to use them if they are likely to promote the child's own interests: hence a 'mandate of daily education', a 're-structured families certificate', and the ability to bequeath assets to a step-child under the same tax rules as for their own child. In addition, a range of other proposals are aimed at helping with difficult situations, such as

separation, the serious illness or death of a spouse, with in particular the concern that half- or step-siblings are not separated from each other if the interests of the child so require." (Théry and Leroyer, 2014)

### *Adoptees from state foster care*

Since the law of 1923 authorising the adoption of minors, what proportion of adoptees have been wards of the state (*pupilles de l'État*)?

FIGURE 5. – *Proportion of simple adoptees who are wards of the state (pupilles de l'État), 1957-2007*



*Field* : Adoption judgments of the trial courts in mainland France and then (from 1968 or 1976) in all of France including overseas territories.

*Source* : *Statistical yearbook* (1957-1980), Belmokhtar (1996) [for the year 1992], (2009b) [for the year 2007].

The proportion of simple adoptees who are wards of the state has almost never exceeded 25% since 1950. And since 1962, the proportion of simple adoptees who are wards of the state has never stopped falling, reaching less than 1% in 2007. Indeed, the state foster care service in France (*Aide sociale à l'enfance*) has in fact always preferred to give wards of the state to those couples that wished to adopt a minor using the strongest legal tie available: full adoption.

Although the history of simple adoptees in France includes some constants - for example, virtually all adoptees have always been French rather than foreign (*Statistical yearbook*; Belmokhtar, 1996, 2009b) - it also reveals various developments. From 1804 to 1923, when simple adoption was only applicable to adults and was clearly aimed at the inheritance of an estate (which in no way prevents the adoptee and the adopter being previously attached to each other), simple adoptees, for women as much as for men, were adults who were related in most cases - natural children of the adopter - and then, from 1900, mostly unrelated including friends, distant kin and wards of the state, although the proportion of nieces and nephews is substantial. Then, from the first major reform of adoption in 1923 until the mid 1970s, when simple adoption affected both adults as well as minors and was aimed at both inheritance and education, the simple adoptees were 50% to 70% female, and of all ages, of which one-third and later two-thirds were related to the adopter, especially nieces

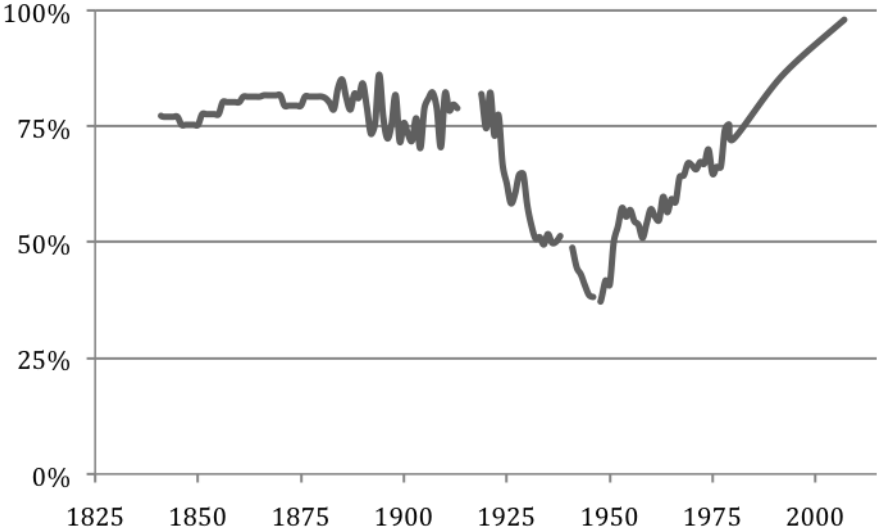
and nephews, and then increasingly stepchildren, but also wards of the state in up to a quarter of all cases. Finally, since the mid-1970s, while step-families have been multiplying and simple adoption has become largely concerned with inheritance, the slight majority of simple adoptees have been female, mostly adult (average age around 30) of which two-thirds are related - especially as stepchildren - to the adopter, even though initially a small proportion of these were wards of the state. To better understand these developments, it is now appropriate to analyze the evolution of the profile of adopters.

**Profile of simple adopters, 1841-2007**

*Marital status, sex and age of adopters*

Since the Civil Code, adoption can create a tie not only between the adoptee and an *individual* adopter (whether that individual is single – with or without a partner - married, widowed or divorced) but also between the adoptee and an adopting married couple (and including couples where the spouses are of the same sex since the law of 17 May 2013). In addition, the adopter acting alone can be a woman as well as man. The Civil Code, however, has always refused adoption to *unmarried couples*, in that both members of a couple living together cannot simultaneously adopt the same person. In this context, have adopters been married couples to a greater extent than single people? And are they more likely to be men or women?

FIGURE 6. – *Proportion of simple adopters who are single individuals, 1841-2007*

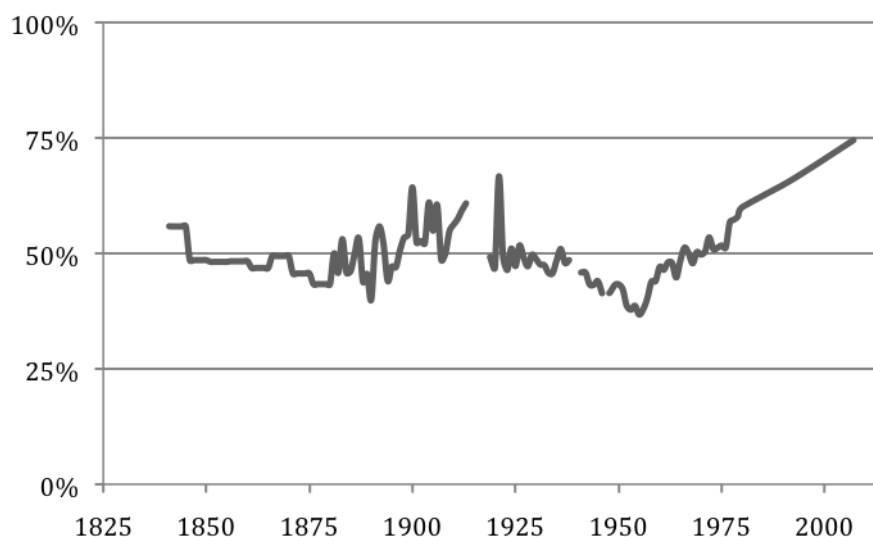


*Field* : Adoption judgments of the trial courts in mainland France and then (from 1968 or 1976) in all of France including overseas territories  
*Source* : *Statistical yearbook* (1841-1980), Marmier-Champenois (1978) (years 1968-1969), Belmokhtar (1996) (year 1992), (2009b) (year 2007).

The proportion of individual simple adopters, rather than married couples, has varied since the nineteenth century. Until 1923, approximately 75% of simple adopters were individuals. From 1923, when simple adopters were first allowed to adopt children, and until 1948, more and more adopters have been married couples, so that in the 1940s most simple adopters were married couples. But since 1948, more and more simple adopters have been

individuals, to the point where today nearly 100% of simple adopters are individuals. Unfortunately, the marital status (single, married, widowed or divorced) of simple adopters that adopt as individuals is unknown. Among the decreasing numbers of couples who have become simple adopters since the 1960s, the average ages of the spouses at the date of adoption have remained stable at around 60 years. More specifically, the average age of husbands at adoption has increased from 58 in 1968-1970 to 60 in 1992 and 63 in 2007; and the average age of wives at adoption has increased from 56 in 1968-1970 to 58 in 1992 and 59 in 2007 (Marmier-Champenois, 1978; Belmokhtar, 2009a).

FIGURE 7. – *Proportion of single simple adopters who are male, 1841-2007*



*Field* : Adoption judgments of the trial courts in mainland France and then (from 1968/1976) in all of France including overseas territories

*Source* : *Statistical yearbook* (1841-1980), Belmokhtar (1996) (year 1992) (2009b) (year 2007).

The proportion of simple adopters acting alone who are men, rather than women, has also changed since the nineteenth century. Until 1923, only about half of adopters were men and half women (minimum 40% of men in 1890, up to a maximum of 66% in 1921). From about 1923 to 1955, when adopters were first allowed to adopt children, fewer and fewer simple adopters were men, so much so that by 1955, 63% of simple adopters were women. And since 1955, more and more simple adopters have been men: today, 75% of simple adoptive parents are men. Indeed, much as most children of divorced couples live with their mother (rather than their father), simple adoptees similarly also live with their stepfather (rather than a stepmother), so that the relationship between stepfather and stepchild tends to be stronger than the link between stepmother and stepchild; this is why most of the stepchild adoptions by step-parents are performed by a stepfather. Among the increasingly numerous simple adopters who are individuals, the average age at adoption has remained at around 60 years since the 1960s: for men (and respectively women), it has gone from about 60 years (60 years for women too) in 1968-1970 (Marmier-Champenois, 1978) to 57 years (66 years) in 1992 and 57 years again (63 years) in 2007 (Belmokhtar, 2009a). Hence where the simple adoption of a stepchild occurs when the step-father is already relatively old, sometimes this may be partly because the stepfather prefers to adopt after the biological father has died, so as not to hurt or compete with him (Martial, 2003, p. 221-241). As filiation is experienced as an exclusive relationship ("I already have a father"), it is not uncommon that the adoptee feels some discomfort at this type of adoption.

**BOX 1. – *Simple adoption by couples of the same sex***

From the Civil Code of 1804 to the law of 17 May 2013 opening adoption to same sex couples, those who could adopt via simple or full adoption were (1) individuals, regardless of gender, marital status (single - cohabitant or not - married, widowed, divorced) and sexual orientation (the civil Code does not mention this), but also (2) married couples, who must be couples of different sexes (Fine, 2012). However, the homosexuality of candidates for adoption where it was known to the social services was an obstacle to obtaining authorization to adopt. In this context, the law of 17 May 2013 has had the major effect of authorizing adoption by a married couple, whether it is composed of two women or two men.

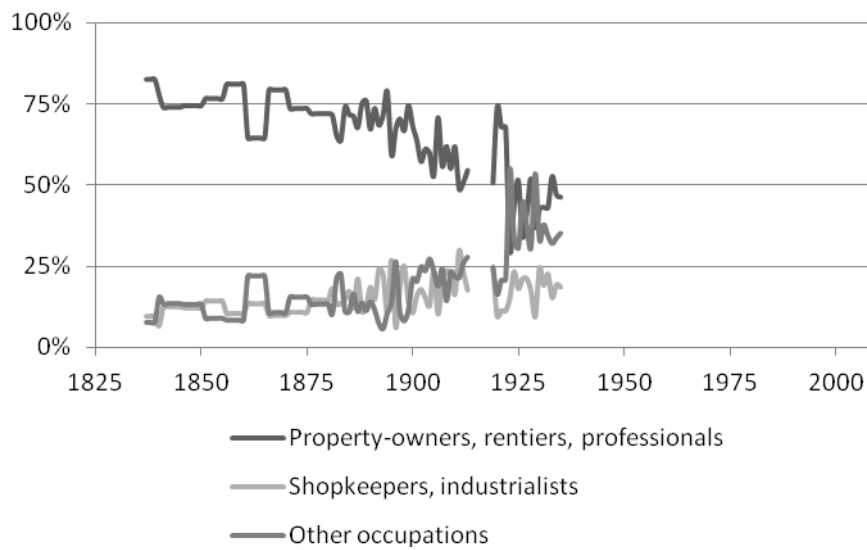
In full adoption - typically one outside the family or even international -, couples of the same sex can now apply for approval of adoption and adopt a *ward of the state* or a minor of foreign origin (Schneider and Vecho 2009). The question is to what extent the French or foreign administrative or judicial authorities will effectively entrust adoptable minors to married homosexual couples, and at this time the empirical data to answer this question is lacking.

In simple adoption - typically an intra-family adoption - the law of 17 May 2013 will remove the last legal obstacles to the adoption of a step-child by a homosexual step-parent. This simple adoption by a step-parent can occur in two main cases in which the adoptee can be an adult or a minor: when a child born of a heterosexual union is or was (at least partly) brought up by one of his relatives who has changed his life to be with a same-sex partner; or when a child adopted by a homosexual single individual has been or is raised by this individual and his/her same-sex partner. Whatever the case is, since simple adoption is most often performed by a single individual (a step-parent), there is probably little demand for simple adoptions by married couples composed of two women or two men.

***Social position and occupation of adopters***

Since the Civil Code, simple adoption has included an inheritance dimension. Does this mean that most simple adopters are of high social position? Available data indicate that until about 1923, more than half of all simple adopters were "property-owners, *rentiers*, professionals", even though their proportion of all adopters tended to decline in favour of "shopkeepers, industrialists," and especially "other" occupations. If these changes are difficult to interpret - are they due to the decline in the propensity of *rentiers* to adopt, to the reduction in size of the *rentier* population in French society after the First World War (Piketty, 2014, Figure 8.2) or to possible changes in the nomenclature of social positions in the Ministry of Justice? -, it is clear that, until 1923 at least, adopters are disproportionately found among the wealthiest classes. Besides, why adopt an adult, if not to transmit a legacy to him/her? This over-representation of the wealthiest classes amongst the simple adopters in fact continued in the interwar period and at least until the 1960s: even in 1968-1970, adopters were disproportionately members of the upper classes (professionals and managers, but also artisans and shop-keepers) and had a higher than average income (Marmier-Champenois, 1978). However, it is not easy to quantify the degree of social selectivity of simple adoption in the long term.

FIGURE 8. – *Occupation of simple adopters, 1841-1935*



*Field:* Adoption judgments of the trial courts in mainland France.

*Source:* *Statistical yearbook* (1841-1935).

*Note:* Non-responses ("occupation not declared"), not shown above, account for less than 20% of responses in 1841-1884 and 1930-1934, but over 20% in 1885-1929 (with a peak at 53 % in 1919).

The long history of the social profile of simple adopters in France reveals certain constants - they seem to have always been a part of the relatively wealthy classes - but also various developments, whether due to legislative changes or other factors. From 1804 until 1923, when simple adoption was clearly concerned with inheritance of an estate, three-quarters of adopters were single individuals of whom half were men and half were women, rather than couples. Then, from 1923 until the mid 1970s, when simple adoption was for both inheritance and educational purposes, the majority of simple adopters were single individuals rather than couples (except during the 1940s), with more single women than single men, and - at least at the end of period - those aged around sixty, a suitable age to decide on the transmission of an inheritance. Finally, since the mid-1970s, while simple adoption has returned to being largely concerned with inheritance, the growing majority of simple adopters have been (and today are almost exclusively) single individuals rather than couples, and three-quarters of them are now men rather than women, with a mean age of sixty years.

\*

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In conclusion, a synthetic view of the history of simple adoption in France since the Civil Code is presented. This makes it possible to observe some major changes in the French family in the long run.

From 1804 until 1923, simple adoption was a very rare practice (about 100 adoptees per year), which was aimed at enabling adopters of fifty years or more and without (legitimate) children to transmit their estate to an adult adoptee that they had helped to raise when he was still a minor - and which, if he was not adopted, could not succeed them or would have to pay ruinous inheritance duties. In this context, three quarters of adopters were single individuals rather than couples, about half and half men and women, and single or widowed rather than married or divorced. Adoptees, also equally shared between women and men, were adults and

mostly related - as natural children - to the adopter and then, from 1900, mostly unrelated, including wider kin and wards of the state, although the proportions of nieces and nephews among them was not negligible. Typically, a mature person adopted their natural child or another close-kin who he helped to raise when he or she was still a minor, so as to transmit his estate to them.

The first major reform of adoption in 1923 - in a context where there were many children orphaned by war - was to suddenly multiply the number of adoptions, a process which continued until the mid-1970s, during which simple adoption grew from about 1,000 to about 2,500 adoptees per annum. Originally restricted to adopters over the age of forty years, — later thirty years — and without (legitimate) children, simple adoption was not only concerned with inheritance but also for educational purposes (especially in terms of war orphans from 1923-1939), then returned to being mainly concerned with inheritance (from 1939 when full adoption became better able than simple adoption to ensure the educational function). In this context, the adopters were, for the most part, individuals rather than couples (except for during the 1940s), mostly single women rather than single men, and at least by the end of the period, older people with an average age of sixty. The adoptees were 50% to 70% female and of all ages, went from one-third and then two-thirds of them being related to the adopter (especially nieces and nephews, and more and more step-children), but also almost a quarter of them being wards of the state, the other adoptees being neighbours, friends or their children. Typically, a single or widowed and childless aunt or stepmother adopted a niece or step-daughter (or another person) that she helped to bring up while the child was still a (motherless) minor in order to transmit her estate to this adopted daughter.

Since the mid 1970s, simple adoption, that had been by then available to adopters over thirty, then twenty-eight years old, *with* children but still widely aimed at inheritance, went through a very strong process of renovation: there are currently about 10,000 simple adoptees per annum, because of the increase in step-families after divorce or separation, which increases the number of step-parents who are able to adopt their stepchildren. In this context, the adopters are in the majority and a growing proportion, single individuals rather than couples, and men rather than women, with a mean age of sixty years. Adoptees, of whom a small majority are female and for the most part adults (an average of thirty years old) were two-thirds, and now almost all of them related - especially as step-children - to the adopter, even though initially only a small proportion of them were also wards of the state. Typically, the stepfather adopts the stepchild he helped to raise when it was still a minor, to transmit his estate to it.

Since the nineteenth century, the adopter and the simple adoptee knew or most often still know the biological parents of the adoptee - they are even, in most cases, related parties. But the adopter, who helped raise the adoptee and established with him/her ties of emotional attachment (even though this is not a parental tie) adopts in order to transmit their estate to him/her, rather than to see it taken by the state or dispersed among several heirs. Simple adoption thus creates a bond of filiation whose particularity is that it is both a kind of *affinity* (no one adopts their stepchild if they are not attached to him/her) and has an *inheritance* purpose (no one adopts his stepchild if he has no estate to transmit to him/her). Accepting, with Florence Weber (2005), that the parental relationship has biological (kin), legal (lineage) and everyday (household) dimensions, simple adoption is the institution that turns a tie based on *daily* solidarity and affection into a *legal* filiation with the aim of transmitting not so much love (that's already "done") as an estate. In its current practice, simple adoption is also an

institution that turns a relationship of mutual affection between stepparent and stepchild into a parental tie (between adopter and adoptee).

The history of simple adoption also allows us to trace the evolution, over the long term, of the types of child that were legally strangers to the family but who were despite that raised within it. From this point of view, it offers a striking insight into certain changes in the family. From 1804 to the 1890s, most simple adoptees were natural children and from adulterous relationships, because they were, in law, strangers to the family. Then, from the 1890s to 1970s, most simple adoptees are nieces and nephews and wards of the state. And since the 1970s, most simple adoptees have been stepchildren.

Finally, the history of simple adoption can reveal more about full adoption. Simple adoption creates an additive filiation for a minor or, more often, an adult, who is part of the family of the adopter even before the adoption (national intra-familial adoptee) and often has already been raised by him/her. Thus, the simple adopter adopts the adoptee that he already knows and loves since he has already helped raise him/her, to transmit his estate to him/her *in the future*. In contrast, full adoption creates a replacement filiation for a minor who may be born outside France (international adoptee) or within France (national extra-familial adoptee) but is not in any way a part, before the adoption, of the family of the adopter and therefore has not been raised by him/her. Thus, the full adopter adopts the adoptee, that he does not know and love as yet because he has not contributed to his upbringing, to love him/her as his child (and incidentally to transmit to him/her his inheritance) in the future. While simple adoption begins after he has started or even completed education, and once the commitment has been made, and mainly for inheritance reasons, full adoption occurs before education begins and before attachment starts to operate, mainly for educational reasons even though they may also be concerned with inheritance.

APPENDIX. – *Statistics on simple adoption from the Statistical yearbook of the French Ministry of Justice*

TABLE A1. – *Simple adopters (1841-1980)*

	Sex and type of adopter			Occupation of adopter			
	Men	Women	Husband and wife together	Property owners & rentiers	Shopkeepers, industrialists	Other occupations	Occupation not stated
1841-1845	43	34	23	65	11	12	12
1846-1850	34	36	23	61	10	11	11
1851-1855	40	43	24	75	14	9	9
1856-1860	43	46	22	85	11	9	6
1861-1865	45	51	22	67	14	23	14
1866-1870	44	45	20	80	10	11	8
1871-1875	37	44	21	61	9	13	19
1876-1880	36	47	19	64	13	12	13
1881	49	49	23	75	19	11	16
1882	44	52	24	73	15	24	8
1883	43	38	22	56	12	20	15
1884	50	59	22	85	17	13	16
1885	42	49	16	58	14	9	26
1886	41	41	19	64	11	15	11
1887	41	36	21	48	15	8	27
1888	36	46	18	54	8	10	28
1889	41	49	21	66	11	10	24
1890	32	48	15	47	13	10	25
1891	50	45	25	75	15	12	18
1892	43	34	28	54	19	6	26
1893	40	37	25	60	19	5	18
1894	41	52	15	59	8	8	33
1895	33	37	21	42	19	10	33
1896	32	36	26	43	4	17	30
1897	34	33	22	52	14	8	15
1898	31	27	13	32	12	4	23
1899	26	22	19	32	6	5	23
1900	36	20	18	32	5	10	27
1901	33	30	23	28	7	9	42
1902	39	35	29	32	10	14	47
1903	36	33	21	36	9	14	31
1904	36	23	25	37	8	17	22
1905	39	32	19	29	13	13	35
1906	49	32	19	41	6	11	42
1907	36	38	16	39	14	17	20
1908	41	41	22	34	13	8	49
1909	34	28	26	33	13	14	28
1910	54	42	21	45	12	16	44
1911	50	37	24	36	22	16	37
1912	51	35	22	35	16	18	39
1913	59	38	26	37	12	19	55
1914							
1915							
1916							
1917							
1918							
1919	80	83	36	47	23	23	106
1920	92	104	67	161	21	36	45
1921	142	71	46	107	18	33	101
1922	80	82	60	90	15	28	89
1923	65	75	41	33	17	61	70
1924	485	465	476	380	205	295	546

1925	349	389	441	430	152	258	339
1926	344	321	475	216	134	285	505
1927	349	362	468	280	143	255	501
1928	419	468	489	501	167	299	409
1929	431	436	475	284	73	411	574
1930	366	384	547	455	261	357	224
1931	320	352	584	455	202	400	199
1932	280	310	575	429	226	345	165
1933	252	298	529	504	147	308	120
1934	240	285	538	433	178	312	140
1935	269	285	519	445	179	340	148
1936	267	257	529				
1937	282	306	588				
1938	306	324	600				
1939							
1940							
1941	266	314	616				
1942	398	470	1,086				
1943	410	537	1,259				
1944	386	507	1,311				
1945	456	580	1,659				
1946	552	781	2,171				
1947							
1948	518	733	2,111				
1949	511	675	1,665				
1950	455	595	1,533				
1951	449	612	1,064				
1952	472	748	1,070				
1953	495	813	975				
1954	489	775	1,017				
1955	469	805	967				
1956	471	771	1,040				
1957	495	732	1,061				
1958	479	612	1,055				
1959	487	619	942				
1960	551	619	882				
1961	569	655	983				
1962	597	645	1,030				
1963	559	607	787				
1964	589	725	1,017				
1965	656	699	934				
1966	663	631	916				
1967	557	556	627				
1968	510	555	591				
1969	526	520	517				
1970	546	551	553				
1971	533	524	553				
1972	555	483	506				
1973	503	484	489				
1974	524	499	440				
1975	568	530	599				
1976	537	511	536				
1977	768	586	692				
1978	895	667	544				
1979	989	714	558				
1980	1,020	680	657				

TABLE A2. – *Simple adoptees (1841-1980)*

	Number	Sex		Family tie between adoptees and adopter						Wards and non-wards		Nationality		Maintaining or breaking the ties between adoptees to their birth family	
		Men	Women	Recognised natural children	Non-recognised natural children	Step-son or step-daughter	Nephews or nieces	Other family	Non-family or relationship not recorded	Wards of the state (Pupilles de l'aide sociale à l'enfance) ( )	Other adoptees	French	Foreign	Ties maintained	Ties broken
<b>1841-1845</b>	107	61	46	26	23		14	3	41						
<b>1846-1850</b>	101	47	54	34	15		14	3	35						
<b>1851-1855</b>	116	56	60	39	19		11	4	43						
<b>1856-1860</b>	121	60	61	37	22		14	7	41						
<b>1861-1865</b>	125	65	60	26	25		15	6	53						
<b>1866-1870</b>	117	62	55	30	22		12	6	47						
<b>1871-1875</b>	111	55	56	24	19		8	4	56						
<b>1876-1880</b>	110	53	57	30	12		12	8	48						
<b>1881</b>	137	69	68	36	8		16	7	70						
<b>1882</b>	129	69	60	15	24		18	5	67						
<b>1883</b>	110	44	66	15	20		10	2	63						
<b>1884</b>	138	65	73	31	12		7	7	81						
<b>1885</b>	119	64	55	35	12		12	3	57						
<b>1886</b>	107	59	48	25	14		10	6	52						
<b>1887</b>	110	58	52	29	4		13	7	57						
<b>1888</b>	108	47	61	32	11		9	5	51						
<b>1889</b>	117	41	76	27	14		19	4	53						
<b>1890</b>	105	50	55	32	21		7	3	42						
<b>1891</b>	129	65	64	13	36		9	8	63						
<b>1892</b>	116	40	76	20	32		17	7	40						
<b>1893</b>	105	60	45	27	31		14	5	28						
<b>1894</b>	112	48	64	31	29		12	4	36						
<b>1895</b>	101	43	58	24	27		17	3	30						
<b>1896</b>	98	46	52	10	30		8	8	42						
<b>1897</b>	95	38	57	15	11		15	12	42						
<b>1898</b>	75	35	40	5	9		12	1	48						
<b>1899</b>	73	36	37	7	6		10		50						

1900	81	30	51	4	7		9		61					
1901	95	41	54	5	1		13	1	75					
1902	116	63	53	3	6		14	2	91					
1903	99	48	51	4	3		23	5	64					
1904	92	45	47	6	4		19		63					
1905	97	50	47	8	2		8	6	73					
1906	107	48	59	4	1		10	9	83					
1907	105	44	61	7	5		24	15	54					
1908	120	52	68											
1909	98	49	49	14	2		18	4	60					
1910	134	59	75											
1911	121	52	69	6	6		18	10	81					
1912	122	66	56	4	3		15	3	97					
1913	134	65	69	3	4		16	16	95					
1914														
1915														
1916														
1917														
1918														
1919	229	81	148	4	4		51	23	147					
1920	287	114	173	4	2		50	18	213					
1921	303	121	182	1	1		47	30	224					
1922	251	104	147	6			35	13	197					
1923	199	62	137	1	3		47	19	129					
1924	1,675	633	1,042	51	61		471	162	930					
1925	1,334	493	841	7			108	82	1,137					
1926	1,259	481	778	70	74	38	251	30	796					
1927	1,342	522	820	67	75	62	245	85	808					
1928	1,555	620	935	22	40	127	356	29	981					
1929	1,548	581	967	46	31	106	346	13	1,006					
1930	1,406	586	820	74	71	156	281	82	742					
1931	1,365	532	833	99	73	176	278	105	634					
1932	1,285	521	764	78	96	175	281	100	555					
1933	1,155	489	666	74	71	125	306	177	402					
1934	1,134	481	653	91	101	140	184	84	534					
1935	1,133	468	665	78	84	122	268	92	490					
1936	1,156	447	709	79	93	138	200	85	561					
1937	1,263	522	741	91	100	139	216	93	624					

1938	1,325	548	777	94	107	173	207	78	666						
1939															
1940	1,042														
1941	1,278	568	710	113	137	142	180	59	647						
1942	2,061	880	1,181	141	195	184	272	156	1,113						
1943	2,296	949	1,347	169	301	200	278	127	1,221						
1944	2,356	972	1,384	157	306	216	290	134	1,253						
1945	2,798	1,233	1,565	198	259	244	351	184	1,518						
1946	3,667	1,550	2,117	278	385	267	356	224	2,157						
1947	3,781														
1948	3,552	1,644	1,908	245	429	320	334	211	2,013						
1949	3,034	1,366	1,668	173	289	306	366	186	1,714						
1950	2,738	1,197	1,541	179	204	277	297	151	1,630						
1951	2,311	1,113	1,198	120	174	201	296	227	1,293						
1952	2,467	1,108	1,359	149	209	369	343	134	1,263						
1953	2,425	1,107	1,318	110	153	363	355	158	1,286						
1954	2,429	1,118	1,311	130	149	391	390	136	1,233						
1955	2,489	1,125	1,364	141	168	478	365	137	1,200						
1956	2,460	1,132	1,328	167	185	423	350	147	1,188						
1957	2,541	1,225	1,316	206	170	461	319	112	1,273	545	1,996			1,629	912
1958	2,301	1,082	1,219	216	161	402	277	128	1,117	516	1,785			1,371	930
1959	2,188	1,081	1,107	174	162	410	269	175	998	534	1,654			1,333	855
1960	2,253	1,046	1,207	158	154	453	296	162	1,030	535	1,718			1,385	868
1961	2,441	1,187	1,254	163	178	548	202	164	1,096	534	1,907			1,454	987
1962	2,337	1,150	1,187	171	133	596	271	144	1,052	655	1,682			1,406	931
1963	2,128	1,051	1,077	122	168	609	225	118	886	477	1,651			1,326	802
1964	2,471	1,222	1,249	176	162	578	276	223	1,056	517	1,954			1,634	837
1965	2,458	1,222	1,236	174	166	664	292	194	968	536	1,922			1,676	782
1966	2,378	1,148	1,230	153	164	675	264	158	964	560	1,818	2,286	92	1,612	766
1967	1,890	900	990	152	93	642	201	141	661	416	1,474	1,837	53		
1968	1,774	901	873	130	78	662	221	134	549	352	1,454	1,744	62		
1969	1,706	838	868	129	70	643	182	144	538	349	1,382	1,683	48		
1970	1,783	850	933	121	85	715	183	117	562	280	1,517	1,715	82		
1971	1,739	852	887	125	86	676	202	156	494	258	1,513	1,730	41		
1972	1,627			82	47	651	179	108	560	290	1,365	1,587	68		
1973	1,578			76	55	681	169	112	485	245	1,359	1,549	55		
1974	1,580			112	41	687	161	128	451	180	1,427	1,562	45		
1975	1,836			102	85	786	180	143	540	290	1,563	1,791	62		

<b>1976</b>	1,682			96	47	804	156	105	474	230	1,452	1,629	53		
<b>1977</b>	2,167									433	1,734	2,078	89		
<b>1978</b>	2,281									341	1,940	2,149	132		
<b>1979</b>	2,445									377	2,068	2,319	126		
<b>1980</b>	2,597									308	2,289	2,434	163		

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