Accelerated Fertility Decline and Postponed Recuperation – Analysis of Recent Fertility Trends by Age of Mother and Birth Order in 2018–2023

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SHORT ABSTRACT (250 words)

We analyse fertility data from the Human Fertility Database to investigate the recent declines in fertility by age and birth order across 22 highly developed countries. In a period marked by global warming and successive shocks, such as the COVID pandemic, the Russian invasion into Ukraine, and economic downturns, fertility dynamics have shifted considerably. The updated database allows a comprehensive, more detailed and up-to-date assessment of fertility trends across diverse national contexts.

While a few single-country studies have examined age and birth order changes in fertility in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic, systematic cross-national evidence remains scarce. Our study contributes to filling that gap by analysing age-specific fertility rates by birth order in the context of multiple overlapping crises. It addresses four main questions: (1) Which age groups have experienced the strongest fertility declines? (2) Are there any signs of recuperation at older ages? (3) Do regional differences in the magnitude and structure of the declines emerge? (4) Do the observed fertility changes follow previous trends or deviate from them?

Preliminary results indicate that fertility decline has occurred in all regions, all birth orders, and age groups up to age 35. So far, there is little or no evidence of recuperation, suggesting a stalled or "postponed recuperation". Regional variations are substantial, with particularly pronounced reductions in countries neighbouring Russia and Ukraine. Finally, the course of fertility rates by age groups and birth orders show clear disruption from the previous trends.

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, fertility levels in the world's most advanced economies have reached unprecedented lows. This trend has even extended to regions that were once considered resilient to "lowest-low" fertility, including Northern and Western Europe, USA, and other high-income societies. For example, total fertility rates (TFRs) in Sweden, Denmark and the United Kingdom fell below 1.5 by 2023, while Finland experienced an even sharper decline to 1.26 (HFD 2025). Southern European countries report even lower levels (e.g., Spain: 1.12 in 2023), and East Asian countries such as South Korea have recorded the world's lowest fertility levels, with a TFR of just 0.72 in 2023. These historic lows are occurring in a period marked by overlapping global crises, including climate change, the COVID-19 pandemic, the Russian invasion of Ukraine, and economic uncertainty. The profound shifts in family formation dynamics necessitate moving beyond overall fertility levels to a finer-grained understanding of the patterns of change.

This study provides a comprehensive cross-national assessment of contemporary fertility dynamics for 22 high-income countries using data from the Human Fertility Database (HFD 2025, www.humanfertility.org). The dataset enables to examine the heterogeneity in recent fertility trends in more detail, i.e., by age group and by birth order, rather than relying on aggregate TFRs alone. While prior research, particularly in the context of the pandemic, has often been limited to single-country studies (e.g., Ohlsson-Wijk and Andersson, 2025; Nisèn et al. 2022; Lappegård et al.; 2024; Fallesen and Cozzani; 2023) or short-term fluctuations (e.g., Sobotka et al.,2024; Jasilioniene et al., 2024), we systematically examine **age-specific fertility rates by birth order** across diverse settings. Specifically, we highlight how declines may differ between younger and older age groups, between first, second, third and subsequent births, and between geographic regions. Through this lens we address four research questions:

1) Which age groups have experienced the sharpest fertility declines?
2) Are there indications of fertility recuperation at older ages?
3) Do regional or national differences emerge in both the magnitude and the structure of fertility declines?
4) To what extent do observed fertility changes continue pre-existing trends, or do they represent a distinct break associated with the succession of recent global shocks?

DATA AND METHODS

We use age-specific fertility rates (ASFR) by birth order (first, second, third and higher) for the age groups (–24, 25–29, 30–34, 35+) from the Human Fertility Database (HFD, 2025). The dataset includes 22 countries, with observations available through 2022[1] for seven countries and through 2023 for the remaining fifteen (Table 1). For Czechia, data for 2022–2023 were supplemented from the Czech Statistical Office (NSO[2]). Our dataset currently includes also data for Estonia and Latvia, which were prepared for the next HFD update. Table 1 summarizes the country coverage and last observation year.

[1] Through the paper, we always refer to 2023, even though for 7 countries (Poland, UK, Belgium, Netherlands, Ireland, Italy, Norway) the data are available only up to 2022. Wherever possible, we label these countries with asterisk. Until the EPC conference in June 2026, more countries should be updated until at least 2023, or even more countries could be added to our analysis.

[2] We use data from National Statistical Offices (NSO) without further specifying the source (they will be added in the final paper).

Table 1 Summary of data availability

REGION	CODE	COUNTRY	LAST YEAR	TFR 2017/18	TFR 2023	BIRTHS 2023 (ths.)
Central-Eastern Europe	CZE	Czechia	2023	1.73	1.45	91
	EST	Estonia	2024	1.63	1.31	11
	LVA	Latvia	2024	1.65	1.35	14
	POL	Poland	2022	1.46	1.26	305
German-sp. countries	AUT	Austria	2023	1.50	1.32	78
	CHE	Switzerland	2023	1.52	1.33	80
Western Europe	BEL	Belgium	2022	1.63	1.53	114
	GBR_NP	United Kingdom	2022	1.67	1.48	673
	IRL	Ireland	2022	1.75	1.53	54
	NLD	Netherlands	2022	1.60	1.49	168
Southern Europe	ESP	Spain	2023	1.28	1.12	320
	ITA	Italy	2022	1.32	1.24	393
	PRT	Portugal	2023	1.40	1.45	86
Northern Europe	DNK	Denmark	2024	1.74	1.50	57
	FIN	Finland	2024	1.45	1.26	43
	NOR	Norway	2022	1.59	1.41	51
	SWE	Sweden	2024	1.77	1.45	100
North America	CAN	Canada	2023	1.52	1.26	352
	USA	USA	2023	1.75	1.62	3596
East Asia	JPN	Japan	2023	1.41	1.20	727
	KOR	Republic of Korea	2023	1.01	0.72	230
	TWN	Taiwan	2023	1.09	0.86	134

Recent data for France, Germany, Hungary, Russia, and Ukraine as well as Eastern Europe or Balkan countries are not available yet and thus were excluded from the analysis. The United Kingdom is treated as a single entity rather than by constituent nations. Moreover, we omitted Iceland from the analysis because of strong fluctuations due to its small size. Data for Portugal are included but results must be interpreted with caution, as the 2021 census revisions are not yet reflected in the HFD data.

We distinguish seven regional groupings (see Table 1): Central-Eastern Europe, German speaking countries, Western Europe, Southern Europe, Northern Europe, North America, East Asia. Despite divergent fertility developments across these regions in the 2010s, the period of 2015–2019 was characterized by a relatively linear evolution of age- and parity-specific fertility rates in most countries. From 2019 onward, however, these previously stable trends were disrupted and fertility declines emerged or accelerated. Consequently, our analysis focusses on the period 2019–2023, using the average of 2017/18 as a pre-decline baseline.[3]

Although temporary fertility fluctuations occurred within this interval, particularly in 2021 when fertility increased in many countries (Nisén et al., 2022; Lappegård et al. 2024; Bujard and Andersson, 2024; Sobotka et al., 2024; Winkler-Dworak et al., 2024), our primary interest lies in the net change over the entire period rather than in year-to-year variations. This approach allows for consistent cross-national comparison and highlights the cumulative magnitude of the fertility shift.

In an additional step, we estimate the linear trend in age- and parity-specific fertility rates based on the years 2015–2019 and compare the observed values for the years 2020 to 2023 with the extrapolated trends. This comparison serves to evaluate whether the observed fertility changes within the study period represent temporary deviations or breaks from pre-existing trends.

We measure fertility changes between the baseline (average 2017/18) and 2023 by absolute differences in the ASFR of each age group and birth order. We primarily use absolute difference rather than relative index as small differences may cause large relative changes for certain age-

[3] For Poland, only 2017 is used as the reference period because parity-specific data for 2018 are unavailable.

parity combinations where fertility is small (particularly among women under age 25 for higher-order births), despite their limited contribution to overall fertility.

Fertility rates of age groups are expressed as the sum of single-year age fertility rates, such that their aggregation equals the total fertility rate. In addition to absolute fertility differences, we also consider further indicators, such as the share of each age-parity group's fertility rate on the total fertility rate and the share of recuperated (positive) change in older age groups relative to negative change in younger age groups, to capture shifts in the age and parity structure of fertility.

Figure 1 Absolute change in TFR in 22 selected countries, from 2017/18 to 2023

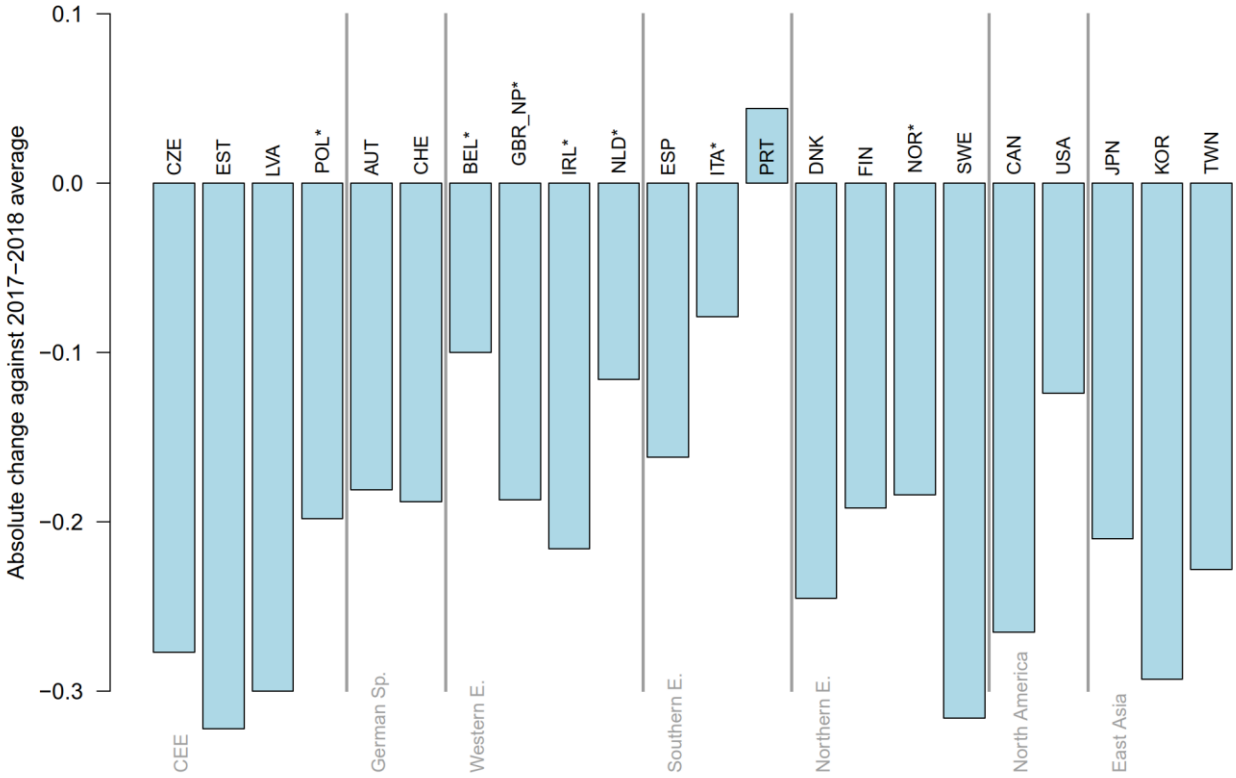

Table 2 Age specific rates by birth order and age group in 2017/18 and in 2023, and the absolute and relative change, weighted[4] average over all 22 countries

PERIOD	TFR	BO1	BO2	BO3+	AG<25	AG25-29	AG30-34	AG35+
2017/18	1.59	0.67	0.54	0.38	0.31	0.44	0.50	0.34
2023	1.44	0.62	0.47	0.34	0.24	0.39	0.46	0.34
change								
absolute	-0.16	-0.05	-0.07	-0.04	-0.07	-0.05	-0.04	0.00
relative	-10.0%	-7.3%	-12.6%	-11.1%	-21.8%	-11.4%	-8.2%	-0.2%

[4] Weighted by total number of births in 2023.

RESULTS

Figure 1 shows the absolute decline in the total fertility rate (TFR) between 2017/18 and 2023 (see also Tables 2 and 3). Of the 22 selected countries[5], all except Portugal experienced a significant decline of around 0.10–0.30. In 2017/18, 13 of the 22 countries included in our analysis still recorded a TFR above 1.50. By 2023, only three countries (Belgium, Ireland, and USA) maintained fertility levels above this threshold. Nineteen countries had fallen below the conventional benchmark of low fertility (TFR<1.50), and eight of these had entered the category of "lowest-low fertility" (TFR<1.30). Two countries of South Korea and Taiwan reported ultra-low fertility below 1.00, an unprecedented level in contemporary demographic history.

Portugal was the only country where the TFR increased between 2017/18 and 2023, although the change was marginal (+0.04) and does not indicate a meaningful shift in fertility dynamics. In contrast, ten countries experienced declines of 0.20 or more, and in Sweden, Latvia, and Estonia the decline exceeded 0.30, signalling a rapid deterioration in fertility levels over a short period.

We identify three regions with particularly strong declines over the observation period, namely Northern Europe, East Asia and Central-Eastern Europe, though their pre-pandemic fertility trajectories differed substantially.

In Northern Europe, fertility was still relatively high by European standards at the beginning of the 2010s (around 1.9 children per woman) but it declined steadily throughout the decade, reaching 1.5–1.7 by 2018, and has continued to fall in recent years.

The situation in East Asia is distinct. Owing to long-term structural and cultural factors (Cheng, 2020), fertility in this region has been on a persistent downward trajectory for the past 10–15 years, a trend that has continued unabated into the 2020s.

A particularly notable development concerns Central and Eastern Europe, where fertility levels have dropped sharply since 2022. The proximity of the war initiated by Russia in Ukraine, and the accompanying atmosphere of insecurity and uncertainty, appear to have contributed to a pronounced decline in fertility in the Baltic states, Poland, and even Finland. Data from national statistical offices (NSO) indicate that the fall has been especially dramatic in Ukraine, where the TFR dropped below 0.9 after 2022, but also substantial in Belarus (from 1.45 in 2018 to 1.08 in 2024) and Russia (from 1.58 to 1.41 overall, with even lower values around 1.0–1.2 in western regions close to Ukraine and around Moscow and St. Petersburg).

Absolute change in ASFR – birth order

Disaggregating fertility trends by birth order reveals that fertility declines across all orders in nearly all countries, with only a few exceptions (Table 3). Poland recorded a small increase in births of third and higher order, and Portugal showed additionally to the slight increase in third and higher birth another one in first births.

Regional differences are clearly visible. The decline in second-birth fertility was particularly pronounced in Central-Eastern Europe (notably Estonia, Latvia, and Poland) and East Asia (South Korea and Japan). Declines in third and higher-order births were also substantial in many countries, especially across Northern Europe and in South Korea.

A decline in BO1 primarily reflects the postponement of family formation and entry into parenthood among younger cohorts. In contrast, declines in BO2 and BO3+ suggest a reduction in further childbearing within already established families. However, when viewed from a period perspective,

[5] In two big important European countries that are missing in HFD data, in Germany the TFR dropped between 2018 and 2023 from 1.56 to 1.35, in France from 1.84 to 1.64 (still highest fertility in Europe).

changes by birth order alone provide limited insight into the dynamics of the fertility decline. For this reason, we analyse birth order in conjunction with age groups.

Absolute change in ASFR – age groups

Figure 2 shows that across all countries, the largest fertility declines occurred among the youngest age group (–24), continuing a long-term downward trend already observed in earlier decades. On average, age-specific fertility rates for women under age 25 fell by about 0.07, with the most pronounced decreases found in Central-Eastern Europe. In some countries, fertility at these ages has reached very low levels (such as 0.02 in South Korea), leaving little room for further decline. In contrast, fertility in this age group remains comparatively high in USA (0.36), the United Kingdom and in Central-Eastern Europe (above 0.20).

Declines of comparably high magnitude were observed in the 25–29 and 30–34 age groups. By contrast, fertility among women age 35 years and older showed no overall decline but also no signs of recuperation. Slight increases of 0.01 or less were recorded in Belgium, Italy, and USA and an increase of 0.04 in Portugal.

This pattern contrasts sharply with the period 2013–2018, when decreases at young ages were partly offset by increases among women age 30–34 and 35+, resulting in stable or even rising TFRs in several countries (e.g., Austria, Switzerland, Spain, Japan, Taiwan, Denmark, and many Central-Eastern European countries). One of the key findings of this study is therefore that **there is no, or very limited recuperation at older ages.**

Absolute change in ASFR – age groups + birth order

To capture the full complexity of recent fertility trends, Figures 3–5 present fertility rates simultaneously by age group and birth order. First births declined by about 0.05–0.15 in most countries, reaching a maximum of 0.17 in Czechia. As evident from Figure 3, the reduction was strongest in Central-Eastern Europe, Northern Europe (especially Denmark and Sweden), and East Asia. While in Central-Eastern Europe, the decline in first births was concentrated among women under 25, it was more pronounced at ages 25–29 in East Asia, Denmark, and Sweden. Furthermore, for women aged 30–34, first-birth rates mostly stagnated, except in Czechia, where first birth rates declined markedly across all age groups up to 35. Lastly, at ages 35+, first birth rates stagnated or rose only marginally, by 0.01 (and up to 0.02 in Portugal and South Korea), indicating no substantial signs of recuperation.

Figure 4 shows that second births also declined in Central-Eastern Europe (except Czechia), Sweden, Canada, and South Korea, with the decrease concentrated among women aged 25–29 and 30–34. A very slight increase (less than 0.01) was observed at ages 35+ in USA and Denmark.

The decline of third and higher order births notably contributed to the recent decline in overall fertility in Nordic countries, Canada, and Ireland, particularly at older ages. In contrast, Poland and Portugal recorded small increases of about 0.03; in Poland among women aged 25–34, and in Portugal particularly at ages 35 and older (see Figure 5).

How has the distribution of fertility by age groups changed?

Even during periods of overall fertility decline or stagnation, the age distribution of childbearing has continued to shift across most countries. Fertility is now increasingly concentrated at older reproductive ages, reflecting a persistent postponement of childbearing.

Across many countries, there has been a notable shift away from the youngest age groups. For example, in Canada and Denmark, the share of births to women under age 30 declined by 5–6% over the past decade, and in South Korea the decline reached nearly 10%. In Korea, only 3% of all births now occur among women under age 25, compared to 22% in USA, which remains one of the

youngest childbearing populations among high-income countries. Conversely, the share of births among women aged 35 and over has risen substantially, reaching 36% in Korea, while remaining relatively lower (around 20%) in Central–Eastern Europe and USA.

A similar pattern is observed when focusing specifically on first births. Fertility at first birth also continues to shift towards older ages; however, considerable regional variation persists. In Central-Eastern Europe and USA, approximately 60% of first births still occur before age 30, indicating a comparatively earlier transition to parenthood. By contrast, in Western and Southern Europe, Switzerland, and East Asia, only around 40% of first births occur below age 30, and in Korea this share is as low as 22%.

Is the recent decline in fertility surprising? Could it have been anticipated?

Finally, we examine the extent to which the observed fertility changes reflect a continuation of pre-existing trends or constitute a distinct break associated with the succession of recent global shocks. To address this question, we analyse age-specific fertility rates by birth order and age group over the period 2015–2019, a period characterised by relative stability and largely linear trends. Figure 6 presents eight countries representing the regions under investigation (Figures for all countries are available upon request). For each country, the linear trend estimated for 2015–2019 is extrapolated and then compared with the observed data for 2020–2024.

When examining ASFR trends by age group (Figure 6), fertility rates declined among women under 25, 25–29, and 30–34 years in almost all regions. The main exceptions were Central-Eastern Europe and Portugal, where fertility increased among women aged 25–34, and the German-speaking countries and Western Europe, where rates stagnated among women aged 30–34. In contrast, fertility increased in the 35+ age group in nearly all regions, with only a few exceptions observed in parts of Western Europe, Northern Europe, and East Asia, where stagnation or early signs of decline emerged.

These findings suggest that the post-2018 downturn in fertility was, to some extent, a continuation of earlier trends. However, what is particularly striking is the abrupt reversal of fertility trends in Central-Eastern Europe, the speed of the decline, and the complete cessation of fertility recuperation at ages 35 and above, even in countries where this had previously been increasing.

CONCLUSIONS AND NEXT STEPS

A decline in fertility between 2018 and 2023 was observed across all regions and age groups, as well as among all birth orders, among the 22 studied countries. The only notable exception was Portugal, which experienced a rise in total fertility rate (TFR). The reduction was fairly uniform among the age groups under 25, 25–29, and 30–34, with some regional differences. In the 35+ age group, there was little to no decline or increase, except for minor rises in Portugal, Belgium, and the USA. In about half of the countries, a slight increase of 0.01–0.02 in first births was offset by declines in higher birth orders. In summary: **(1) fertility declined in all age groups up to 35**; and **(2) there was no recovery at older ages, supporting the idea of stalled or postponed recuperation.**

Here is a summary of the regional differences identified in our analysis:

- **Central-Eastern Europe:** This region experienced the most abrupt and pronounced decline in fertility, which was also largely unanticipated. The decrease affected all age groups and was also significant among women aged 35 and older. We hypothesise that this development is closely related to the proximity of the war initiated by Russia in Ukraine in 2022 and the resulting atmosphere of persistent insecurity, which may discourage family formation or having second child**.**

- **German-speaking countries:** The moderate decline observed in this region reflects a continuation of pre-existing trends, combined with a recent stagnation of fertility recuperation at older reproductive ages.
- In **Western Europe**, developments between 2018 and 2023 indicate the continuation of earlier trends, characterised by stagnating overall fertility levels and declining fertility among younger age groups. Decline was mainly concentrated among second and higher births, indicating that the transition to parenthood has been less affected.
- **Southern Europe** has recorded the lowest overall fertility levels in Europe. The most recent decline continues the long-term downward trend among younger women, now accompanied by stalled or further postponed fertility recuperation at older ages. Portugal represents a notable exception, as it is the only country in the region to have recently experienced an increase in fertility.
- **Nordic countries**, on the contrary, long maintained the highest fertility levels in Europe. However, this changed in the 2010s, when fertility began to decline steadily across all age groups, a pattern that has persisted into the 2020s.
- **North America:** While Canada's fertility pattern closely resembles that of the Nordic countries, USA shows a more distinct trajectory. With fertility still comparatively higher (1.62 in 2023) and a relatively large share of births occurring among women under 25, there remains considerable space for further postponement of childbearing and potential fertility decline.
- **East Asia** continues to exhibit the lowest fertility levels globally. Persistent unresolved social and cultural barriers to family formation have contributed to a continued decline, with no signs of stabilisation or recovery. Fertility is still falling among younger women, and there is no longer evidence of recuperation at older ages.

In conclusion, the post-2018 decline in fertility could have been anticipated to some extent. However, the sharp reversal in Central-Eastern Europe, along with the rapid pace of decline, and the complete absence of fertility recuperation among women aged 35 and over, even in countries where it had previously been increasing, are both striking and unexpected developments.

This study represents an initial step toward understanding the recent developments in fertility across highly developed countries. As new data become available, it will soon be possible to determine whether the broad fertility decline observed in the early 2020s will persist or whether a partial recovery may emerge in the coming years.

Future research should also extend the analysis beyond Europe, East Asia and North America to include other world regions, such as Latin America, South-East Asia, and the Middle East, which have recently experienced unprecedented declines in fertility despite differing socioeconomic contexts.

An important next step is to identify the underlying drivers and mechanisms of these trends at the societal level, including economic uncertainty, changing gender norms, housing and labour market constraints, and the effects of global crises. Understanding these factors will be essential for interpreting the nature of the current fertility downturn and for assessing its potential long-term demographic implications.

Figure 2 Absolute change in ASFR by age group between 2017/18 and 2023

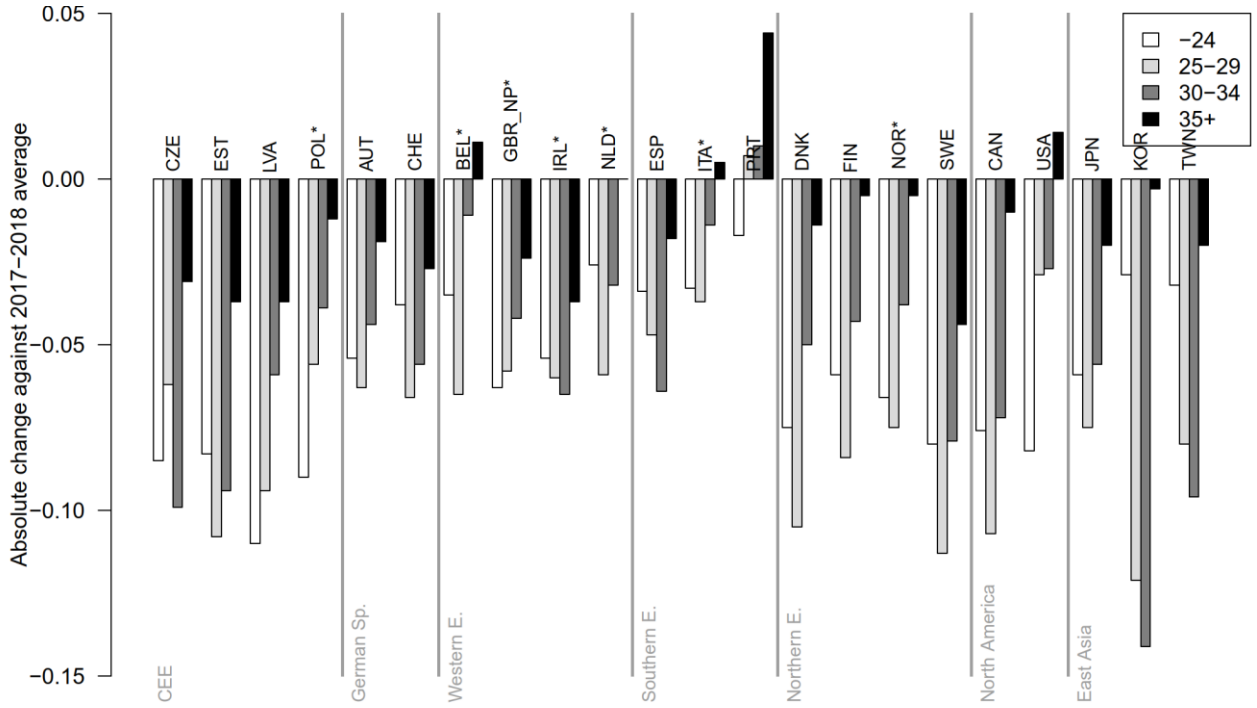

Figure 3 Absolute change in ASFR1 by age group between 2017/18 and 2023

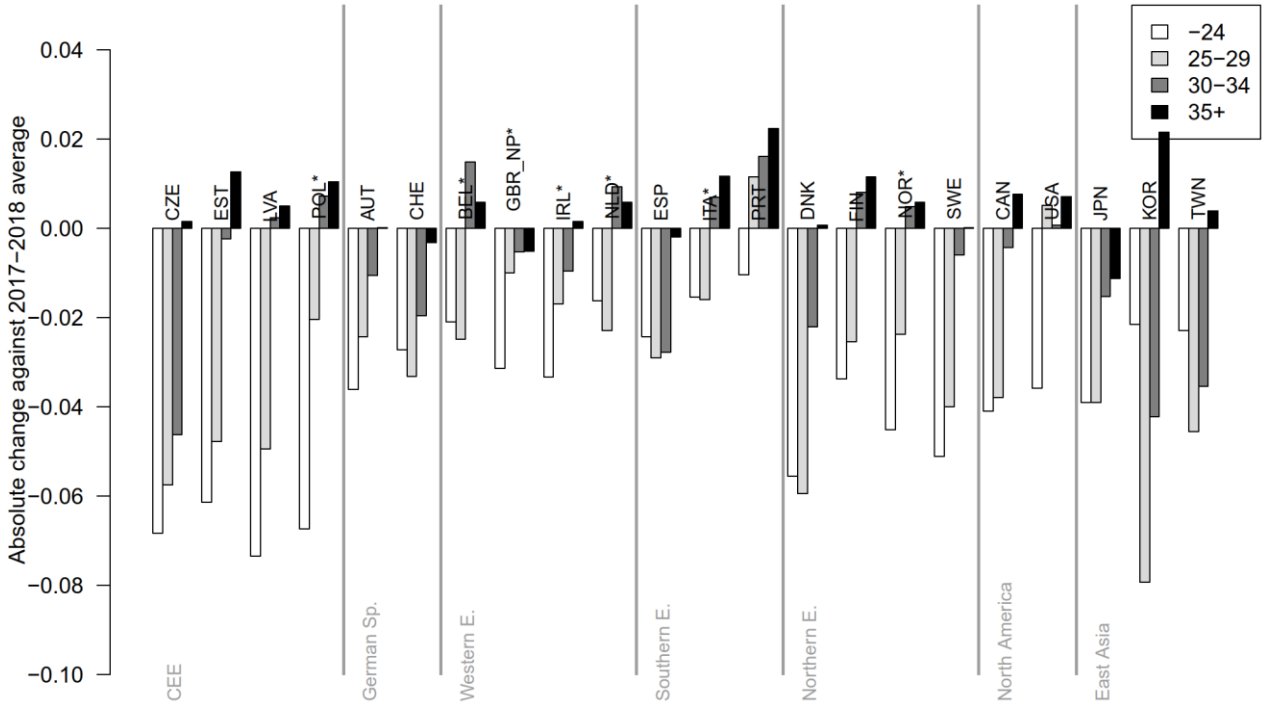

Figure 4 Absolute change in ASFR2 by age group between 2017/18 and 2023

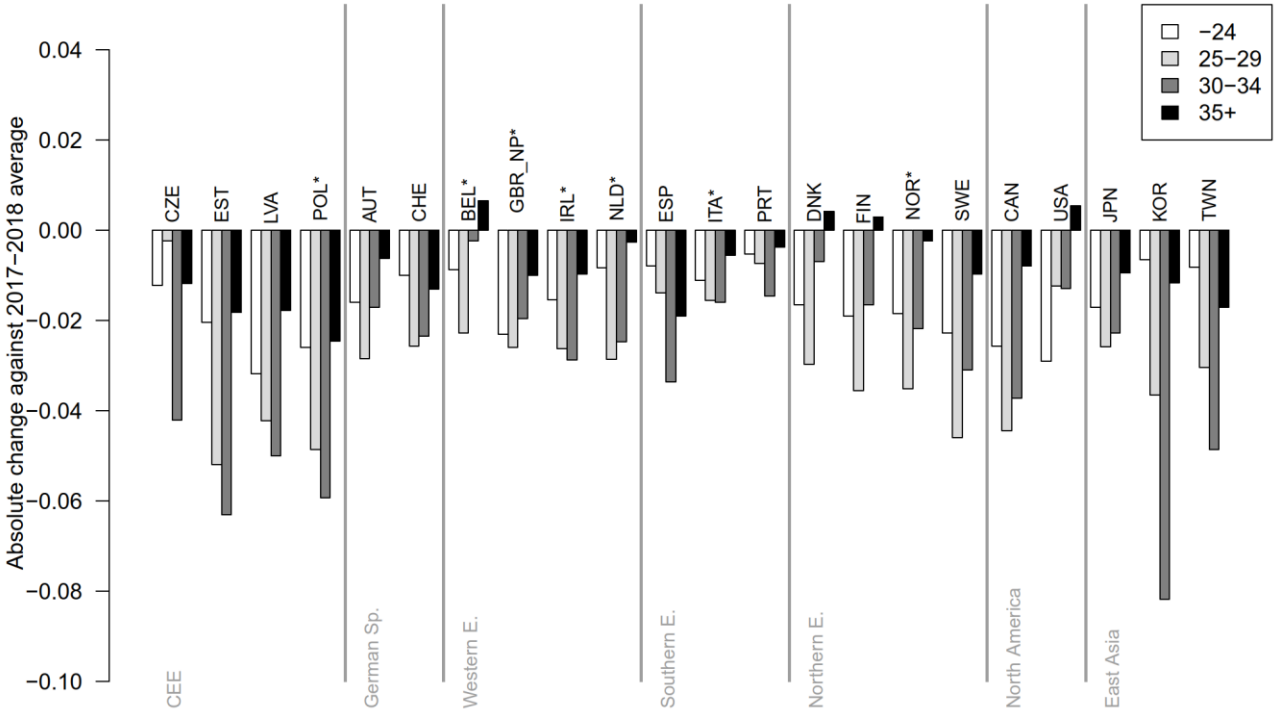

Figure 5 Absolute change in ASFR3+ by age group between 2017/18 and 2023

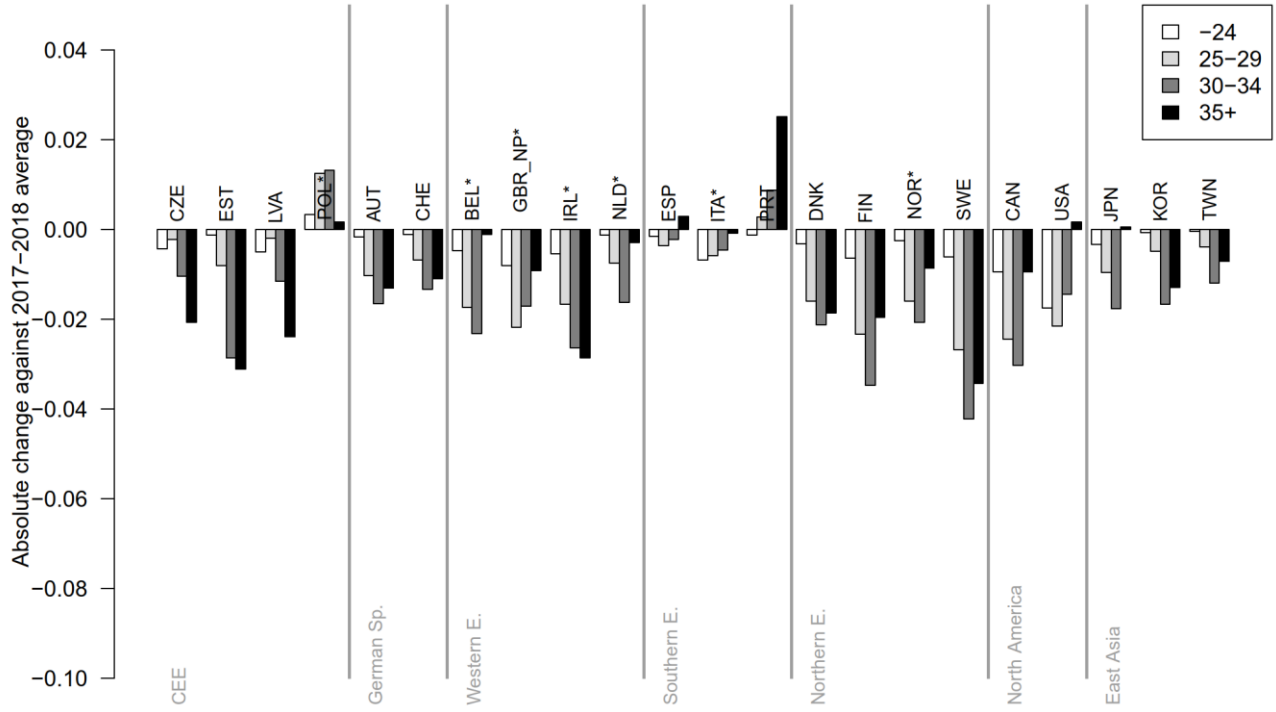

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Table 3 Summary of findings

CODE	COUNTRY	Value in 2023								*Change in value between 2017/18 and 2023*							
		TFR	BO1	BO2	BO3+	<25	25-29	30-34	AG35+	*TFR*	*BO1*	*BO2*	*BO3+*	*<25*	*25-29*	*30-34*	*AG35+*
AUT	**Austria**	1.32	0.64	0.46	0.22	0.17	0.37	0.46	0.32	*-0.18*	*-0.07*	*-0.07*	*-0.04*	*-0.05*	*-0.06*	*-0.04*	*-0.02*
BEL	**Belgium**	1.53	0.67	0.53	0.33	0.18	0.46	0.56	0.33	*-0.10*	*-0.03*	*-0.03*	*-0.05*	*-0.04*	*-0.07*	*-0.01*	*+0.01*
CAN	**Canada**	1.26	0.57	0.42	0.27	0.14	0.32	0.46	0.34	*-0.27*	*-0.08*	*-0.12*	*-0.07*	*-0.08*	*-0.11*	*-0.07*	*-0.01*
CHE	**Switzerland**	1.33	0.66	0.49	0.19	0.10	0.32	0.51	0.40	*-0.19*	*-0.08*	*-0.07*	*-0.03*	*-0.04*	*-0.07*	*-0.06*	*-0.03*
CZE	**Czechia**	1.45	0.70	0.55	0.20	0.22	0.47	0.48	0.28	*-0.28*	*-0.17*	*-0.07*	*-0.04*	*-0.09*	*-0.06*	*-0.10*	*-0.03*
DNK	**Denmark**	1.50	0.66	0.60	0.24	0.10	0.45	0.59	0.36	*-0.25*	*-0.14*	*-0.05*	*-0.06*	*-0.08*	*-0.11*	*-0.05*	*-0.01*
ESP	**Spain**	1.12	0.57	0.40	0.15	0.12	0.22	0.38	0.40	*-0.16*	*-0.08*	*-0.08*	*0.00*	*-0.03*	*-0.05*	*-0.06*	*-0.02*
EST	**Estonia**	1.31	0.56	0.44	0.31	0.20	0.39	0.40	0.32	*-0.32*	*-0.10*	*-0.15*	*-0.07*	*-0.08*	*-0.11*	*-0.09*	*-0.04*
FIN	**Finland**	1.26	0.55	0.42	0.28	0.15	0.33	0.44	0.33	*-0.19*	*-0.04*	*-0.07*	*-0.08*	*-0.06*	*-0.08*	*-0.04*	*-0.01*
GBR_NP	**UK**	1.48	0.66	0.50	0.32	0.24	0.39	0.48	0.37	*-0.19*	*-0.05*	*-0.08*	*-0.06*	*-0.06*	*-0.06*	*-0.04*	*-0.02*
IRL	**Ireland**	1.53	0.64	0.52	0.37	0.16	0.30	0.53	0.54	*-0.22*	*-0.06*	*-0.08*	*-0.08*	*-0.05*	*-0.06*	*-0.07*	*-0.04*
ITA	**Italy**	1.24	0.61	0.45	0.18	0.12	0.28	0.44	0.40	*-0.08*	*-0.01*	*-0.05*	*-0.02*	*-0.03*	*-0.04*	*-0.01*	*+0.01*
JPN	**Japan**	1.20	0.57	0.44	0.20	0.09	0.33	0.45	0.33	*-0.21*	*-0.11*	*-0.08*	*-0.03*	*-0.06*	*-0.08*	*-0.06*	*-0.02*
KOR	**Korea**	0.72	0.43	0.23	0.05	0.02	0.11	0.34	0.26	*-0.29*	*-0.12*	*-0.14*	*-0.04*	*-0.03*	*-0.12*	*-0.14*	*0.00*
LVA	**Latvia**	1.35	0.58	0.46	0.31	0.25	0.41	0.40	0.29	*-0.30*	*-0.12*	*-0.14*	*-0.04*	*-0.11*	*-0.09*	*-0.06*	*-0.04*
NLD	**Netherlands**	1.49	0.69	0.53	0.27	0.12	0.41	0.60	0.36	*-0.12*	*-0.02*	*-0.06*	*-0.03*	*-0.03*	*-0.06*	*-0.03*	*0.00*
NOR	**Norway**	1.41	0.62	0.53	0.26	0.11	0.42	0.54	0.34	*-0.18*	*-0.06*	*-0.08*	*-0.05*	*-0.07*	*-0.08*	*-0.04*	*-0.01*
POL	**Poland**	1.26	0.60	0.41	0.26	0.21	0.44	0.40	0.21	*-0.20*	*-0.07*	*-0.16*	*+0.03*	*-0.09*	*-0.06*	*-0.04*	*-0.01*
PRT	**Portugal**	1.45	0.79	0.46	0.20	0.19	0.36	0.49	0.42	*0.04*	*+0.04*	*-0.03*	*+0.04*	*-0.02*	*+0.01*	*+0.01*	*+0.04*
SWE	**Sweden**	1.45	0.65	0.54	0.27	0.14	0.41	0.53	0.37	*-0.32*	*-0.10*	*-0.11*	*-0.11*	*-0.08*	*-0.11*	*-0.08*	*-0.04*
TWN	**Taiwan**	0.86	0.47	0.30	0.10	0.09	0.20	0.32	0.25	*-0.23*	*-0.10*	*-0.10*	*-0.02*	*-0.03*	*-0.08*	*-0.10*	*-0.02*
USA	**USA**	1.62	0.64	0.51	0.47	0.36	0.46	0.47	0.34	*-0.12*	*-0.02*	*-0.05*	*-0.05*	*-0.08*	*-0.03*	*-0.03*	*+0.01*

Figure 6A

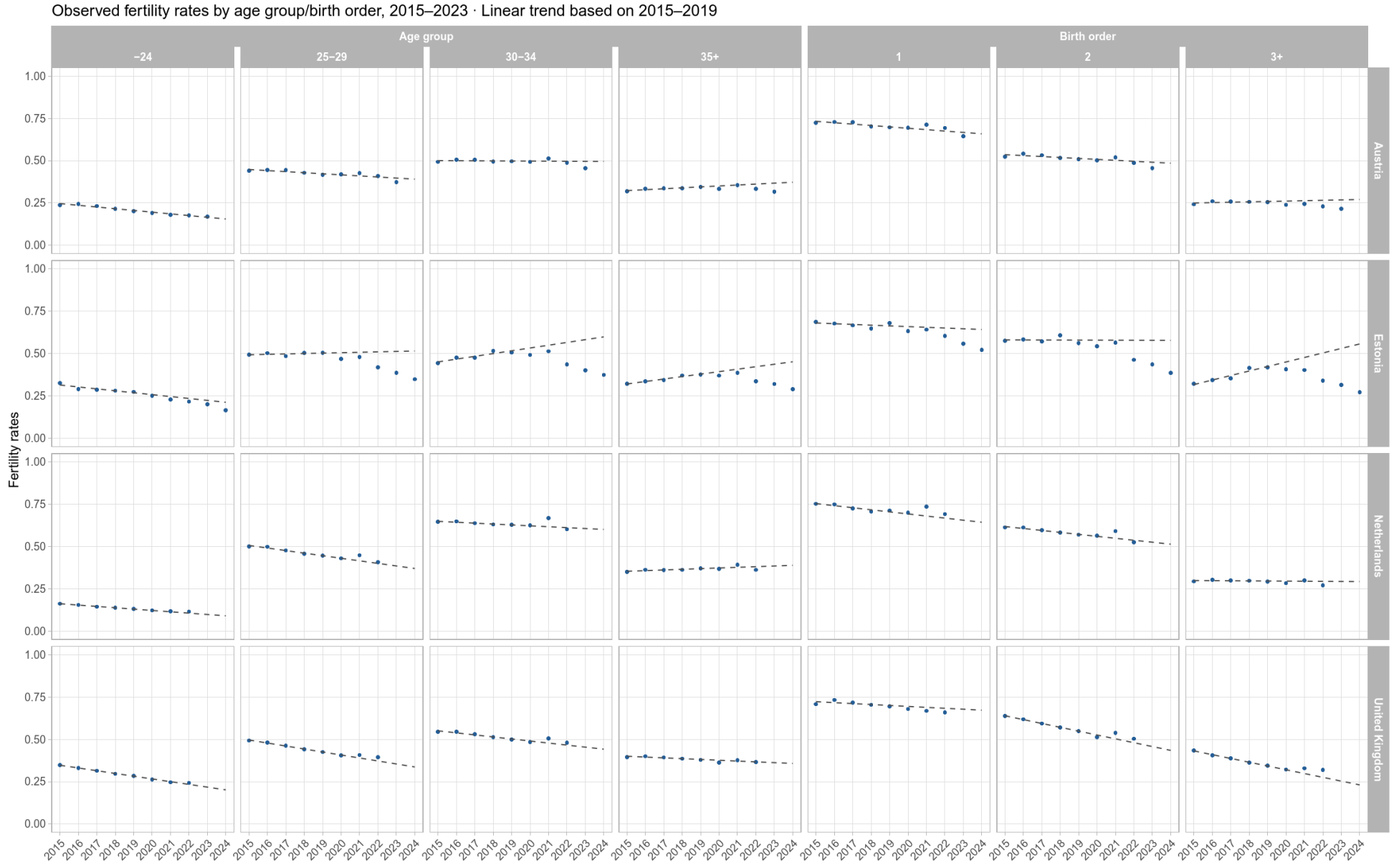
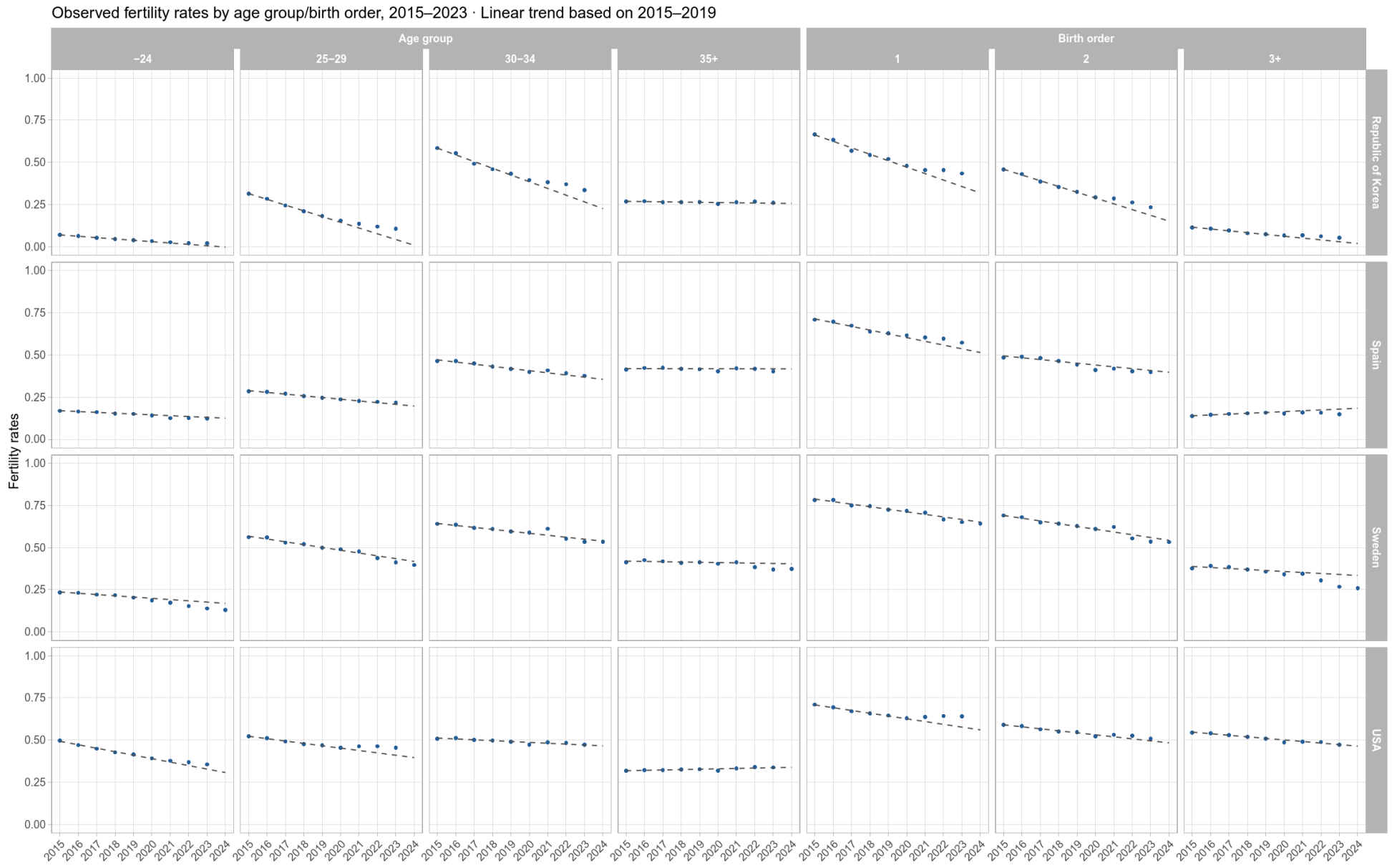

Observed fertility rates by age group/birth order, 2015–2023 · Linear trend based on 2015–2019
Age group
−24
25−29
30−34
35+
Birth order
1
2
3+
Austria
Estonia
Netherlands
United Kingdom
Fertility rates
1.00
0.75
0.50
0.25
0.00
2015
2016
2017
2018
2019
2020
2021
2022
2023
2024

Figure 6B


Observed fertility rates by age group/birth order, 2015–2023 · Linear trend based on 2015–2019
Age group
−24
25−29
30−34
35+
Birth order
1
2
3+
Republic of Korea
Spain
Sweden
USA
Fertility rates
1.00
0.75
0.50
0.25
0.00
2015
2016
2017
2018
2019
2020
2021
2022
2023
2024