Does re-partnering behavior spread among former spouses?

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Zafer Buyukkececi[1]

Abstract

This study focused on individuals' re-partnering behavior following a divorce and asked whether divorcees influence each other's marital and cohabitation behavior. By exploiting the System of Social statistical Datasets (SSD) of Statistics Netherlands, I identified divorced dyads and examined interdependencies in their re-partnering behavior. Discrete-time event history models accounting for shared characteristics of divorcees that are likely to influence their divorce and re-partnering behavior simultaneously were estimated. Findings showed that the probability of remarriage increased following a former spouse's remarriage. Similarly, a former spouse's cohabitation with a new partner increased the probability of cohabitation. These associations were stronger in the transition to remarriage, more relevant for women and robust to the falsification tests. Overall, findings indicate that the consequences of divorce are not limited to incidence itself and former spouses remain important in each other's life courses even after a divorce. With the increasing number of divorcees and changing family structures, it is noteworthy to consider formers spouses as active network partners that may influence individual outcomes.

Keywords: re-partnering, marriage, cohabitation, post-divorce relationships

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Introduction

Family formation patterns in Western countries have undergone great changes during the twentieth century (see Buchmann and Kriesi 2011 for a review). Recent evidence consistently indicates that young adults postpone entry into marriage and parenthood as well as leaving parental home (Billari and Liefbroer 2010; Gauthier 2007). Moreover, the prevalence and acceptance of living arrangements such as divorce (Schoen and Canudas-Romo 2006), remarriage (e.g., Coleman et al. 2000), and cohabitation with a new partner following a divorce (e.g., de Graaf and Kalmijn 2003) have increased noticeably within the last decades. Indeed, empirical evidence shows that most divorcees re-partner (Coleman et al. 2000; Elzinga and Liefbroer 2007; Sweeney 2002) with a profound preference for cohabitation relative to marriage (Wu and Schimmele 2005) and across a wider age span (Beaujouan 2012).

Several studies turn to social diffusion and interaction processes to explain these changes in family life courses (Bongaarts and Watkins 1996; Hernes 1972; Kohler et al. 2002; Montgomery and Casterline 1996; Watkins 1986). Kohler and colleagues (2002), for instance, highlight the importance of these two processes in explaining the postponement of parenthood and the emergence of lowest-low fertility in Europe. Accordingly, changes in family formation and living arrangements across time and regions might be driven by social interaction effects that escalate the behavioral impact of socioeconomic changes (i.e., social multiplier effects), transitions between equilibriums leading to rapid and persistent changes (i.e., multiple equilibriums), and inertia in normative changes (i.e., status quo enforcement) such as stepfamily formation.

To elicit these effects at the micro-level, studies have focused on networks such as siblings, friends, and colleagues and examined whether the transition to parenthood (Balbo and Barban 2014; Buyukkececi et al. 2020; Lyngstad and Prskawetz 2010) and divorce (de Vuijst et al. 2017) spread among these network partners. Social interaction effects might similarly be relevant in explaining the emergence of new living arrangements such as re-partnering following a divorce. However, studies on social interaction effects and demographic behavior have been limited to specific transitions (i.e., fertility and divorce) and network domains (i.e., colleagues, friends, and siblings).

The role of former spouses in each other’s later life courses have been overlooked in the literature, although up to 40 percent of marriages in Europe end up with divorce (Eurostat 2016). Most divorcees contact and stay informed about each other even after divorce (Fischer et al. 2005). Accordingly, former spouses might be influential in newly emerging life course patterns such as re-partnering/marriage. A large body of research has recognized the direct consequences of divorce for various outcomes including demographic behavior (e.g., Wu and Schimmele 2005), health (e.g., Simon 2002), risk of poverty (e.g., Smock et al. 1999), and well-being (e.g., Leopold and Kalmijn 2016). Yet, no studies have investigated post-divorce relationships or social interaction effects in re-partnering.

In this study, I examine the relationship between former spouses’ re-partnering behavior following a divorce. Specifically, I focus on two key processes of re-partnering – marriage and cohabitation – and investigate whether these two processes are associated with a former spouse's remarriage and cohabitation. I use a series of discrete-time event history models and introduce a strategy that accounts for former spouses' shared characteristics that are likely to influence their divorce decisions and re-partnering simultaneously leading to spurious correlations between divorcees' re-partnering behavior.

The data come from the System of Social statistical Datasets (SSD), which is an integrated longitudinal database comprising various registers provided by Statistics Netherlands (Bakker et al. 2014). It holds information on the entire Dutch population, including marital and cohabitation histories as well as the timing and duration of each event. Consequently, individuals in the database can be linked to their former spouses through unique individual identifiers. This information is exceptionally suitable to trace divorced dyads' re-partnering behavior simultaneously and test whether they are related to each other.

Contact Between Former Spouses

Although marriage is legally terminated by a divorce, it does not necessarily mean the end of a social relationship. Contact, as well as attachment between former spouses, may continue in different ways ranging from telephone calls to visits and joint activities (Jacobson 1983). Using data from a Dutch life-course survey with overrepresented divorced individuals, Fischer and colleagues (2005) reported evidence on post-divorce contact. They found that almost half of the adults surveyed were in contact with their former spouses even after 10 or more years following a divorce.

To gain more insight into the nature and frequency of contact, studies have focused on various determinants (Fischer et al. 2005; Jacobson 1983; Masheter 1991) and listed two main factors: duration since the divorce and the presence of joint children. Contact between former spouses is influenced by duration since divorce because divorcees form new economic, emotional, and social ties as time goes by (Jacobson 1983). Accordingly, attachments between former spouses tend to weaken with the time passed after a divorce, and the intimacy and frequency of relationships diminish over time (Fischer et al. 2005).

Joint attachments of former spouses such as having children also influence post-divorce contact. Former spouses are expected to retain strong social attachments when they have joint children and are likely to remain in frequent contact, especially when their children are still young due to factors such as parental obligations and visiting arrangements (Jacobson 1983; Masheter 1997). In contrast, it is easier for former spouses to avoid each other when they do not have children. Fischer and colleagues (2005) show that about 70 percent of former spouses with children were still in contact after 10 years, whereas the proportion of those who maintained in contact decreased to 40 percent for divorced couples without children.

Apart from direct contact between former spouses, they may remain informed about each other indirectly through different channels. Mutual acquaintances such as common friends, for instance, might be an important source of information about the life course of a former spouse (Masheter 1997). Moreover, studies show that new channels for gathering information have emerged with the advent of the internet and social media. College students reported that they used social media to monitor former partners either through direct linkage or indirect connection in social media through common friends (Lyndon et al. 2011). Although no studies have focused on former spouse interaction in that sense, it is plausible that they remain informed about each other through similar channels.

Taken together, considering the high fraction of individuals who stay in direct contact with their former spouses together with the possibility that they indirectly stay informed of each other, divorce can be seen as a dynamic and complex process of family transition where ex-spouses often remain relevant network partners in an individual's life. Limited evidence, indeed, suggests that preoccupation with a former spouse (Masheter 1991, 1997) and the status updates of an ex-partner in social media (Lyndon et al. 2011) are associated with individuals' well-being. Accordingly, most divorcees might be aware of the life-course transitions and behaviors of their former partners, which in turn may influence their own behaviors.

Former Spouse Influences on Re-partnering

I build on relative deprivation and social comparison theory and qualitative research on social interaction effects and family formation behavior to conceptualize how former spouses may influence re-partnering behavior. Relative deprivation refers to the dissatisfaction or resentment as one feels deprived of some desired outcomes in comparison to standard, real, or imaginary conditions of other people (Crosby 1976). These comparisons might be with a group or be more specific, local, and interpersonal, which is referred to as personal relative deprivation (PRD).

The comparison references can easily be made in the existence of clear norms as relative deprivation and desired states can be measured by referring to the consensual norms of desirability (Williams 2017). Yet, if the norms are unclear, vague, or ambiguous the references become less certain. In such a situation, comparisons are made among individuals who are exposed to the same deprivation and share similar attributes as the sociopsychological factors become more important in determining the intergroup references and desired outcomes.

Festinger has proposed a sociopsychological theory of social comparison processes that focuses on how individuals compare their situation with others, especially when they are incapable of evaluating their own situation, opinions, and abilities (Festinger 1954; Festinger et al. 1950). Individuals assess their own needs and well-being by comparing themselves in important domains with benchmarks provided by the behavior or situation of others. In most cases, individuals are inclined to choose a comparison benchmark that is closer to them for self-evaluation (Wood 1989), given that more accurate appraisals and diagnostic information are produced when people compare themselves with those who are similar (Festinger 1954).

Qualitative research, indeed, posits evidence for the contagion of family formation behavior through the social comparison mechanism. Keim and colleagues (2013) showed that individuals report exerted social pressure when fertility was common in the workplace. In a similar perspective, normative parental expectations regarding family formation become more relevant and pressure rises to follow suit when a sibling fulfills these parental expectations (Bernardi 2003; Keim et al. 2013).

Re-partnering and the timing of re-partnering are likely to be less certain for divorced individuals in comparison to entry into first union and parenthood. While marriage is related to a matter of "when", remarriage is a matter of "if", especially for individuals who are beyond the normative ages of union formation (de Graaf and Kalmijn 2003). The loss of well-being and loneliness following a divorce might be reduced by remarrying (Amato 2000). Yet, remarriage may also introduce new problems such as conflicts between the new spouse and the children (Furstenberg and Cherlin 1991).

In the presence of such unclear and ambiguous norms, a former spouse's behavior may provide a benchmark. Previous literature has shown that individuals consider their partners as relevant comparison references and are influenced by their partners' life course outcomes (e.g., Brines and Joyner 1999; Buunk and VanYperen 1989). Similarly, spouses also take a step towards forming a family by marrying and usually sharing a deep emotional relationship during the marriage before the divorce (Masheter 1991). Even though these attachments might weaken or disappear over time, a former spouse's behavior may also be relevant through social comparison. Individuals may perceive their ex-partners as closer individuals for self-evaluation in terms of life-course transitions, and a formerly married person can be a reference point for re-partnering behavior.

Importantly, there are two ways in which former spouses can be relevant in terms of social comparison. First, relations between divorcees may remain friendly and cordial. Accordingly, former spouses' life course transitions and their timing might be influential in a similar way as other network partners such as siblings and colleagues. Following a former spouse's re-partnering, both own and relevant others' expectations may rise to follow suit and re-partner. Individuals thereby may change attitudes and behavior toward re-partnering.

Second, even in the case of a bad breakup or hostile and preoccupied relations, a former spouse completing the transitions that were initially planned together may increase the pressure on individuals to follow suit and compensate. Individuals may feel deprived and, as a result, a former spouse's family formation might trigger an individual to form a family as (s)he does not want to be left alone and suffer while the other is striving. Either way, an ex-spouse's re-partnering might change an individual's beliefs from "I am not ready yet" to "if (s)he can do it, then I can do it too."

There might also be gender differences in former spouse effects on re-partnering. As suggested by Scanzoni (1982), both men and women traditionally considered that men possessed most of the rights and privileges, and neither the husbands nor wives acknowledged their partners as equals. Yet, these perceptions of men and women have significantly altered in the last decades with women's movement emphasizing the importance of gender equality. Consequently, men and women started comparing and questioning their position more relative to their partner in gender-egalitarian societies.

Despite these developments, gender inequalities persist in modern societies. Women's contribution is considered supplementary when couples earn similar wages (Potuchek 1997), breadwinning women downplay their financial contribution (Meisenbach 2010), and they continue doing a distinct amount of housework (Bittman et al. 2003; Evertsson and Nermo 2004). Evidence shows that individuals feel deprived when they perceive inequality in a relationship (e.g., Brines and Joyner 1999; Sanchez 1994) and a stronger sense of deprivation may lead to more motivated attempts to change the situation and restore equality (Walster et al. 1973).

Gender differences also exist in re-partnering opportunities and behavior that may trigger the perception of unfairness and inequality between men and women following a divorce. Various factors including the presence of a child and socioeconomic status have different impacts on men's and women's re-partnering. Moreover, it takes a longer time for women to find a new partner, the likelihood of re-partnering is lower for women than men at all time intervals (de Graaf and Kalmijn 2003; Ivanova et al. 2013; Wu and Schimmele 2005) and the difference widens by age (Beaujouan 2012). Marriage market works in favor of men who are likely to find new partners across a broader age range (Gelissen 2004; Goldscheider and Sassler 2006). Evidence also suggests that while men's strain of divorce is temporary, women's is chronic (Leopold 2018).

Apart from the gender differences in re-partnering, the literature also suggests that the impact of social comparison mechanism on family formation behavior is more relevant to women than men through different channels. While men only report the influence of strong ties such as friends and colleagues on family formation behavior, women additionally report the influence of weak ties (Keim et al. 2013). For instance, two German women declared that they were feeling under pressure due to institutional norms and gender roles when their acquaintances who formed a family also expected them to form a family. Taken together, women may experience a stronger sense of deprivation than men following a former spouse's re-partnering directly due to the gender gap in re-partnering opportunities and behavior. Moreover, a former spouse's re-partnering might be more influential for women indirectly through the strong and weak ties that raise the expectations to follow suit after a former spouse's re-partnering.

Other Factors Influencing Re-partnering

Many other factors also affect an individual's re-partnering behavior and its timing following a divorce. The exiting status from the first union is related to the second union formation and its timing, and divorced individuals have different family formation patterns than cohabiters. With the strong family-oriented traits of marriage and social/economic complexities of divorce, divorcees are more likely to remarry than cohabiters, but they have lower overall re-partnering rates (Wu and Schimmele 2005). In the short-term (i.e., the first 5 years), divorced individuals are less likely to re-partner, whereas the risk of forming a second union is higher at all time intervals.

Union duration may also have consequences for their re-partnering prospects, though its effects on re-partnering are less clear. On the one hand, it may have a negative effect as individuals are out of the marriage market for a longer time. On the other hand, it may have a positive effect on re-partnering if individuals who separated from a long union are less willing to live alone. While Bumpass and colleagues (1990) found no effects of former union duration on re-partnering, more recent studies show that longer durations are associated with a higher chance of re-partnering (de Graaf and Kalmijn 2003; Poortman 2007; Wu and Schimmele 2005).

Gender is “the most crucial determinant of the re-partnering process” (Wu and Schimmele 2005, p. 27). Several studies have found that it takes longer for women to re-partner and their overall likelihood of re-partnering is lower (de Graaf and Kalmijn 2003; Ivanova et al. 2013; Poortman 2007; Wu and Schimmele 2005). Poortman (2007) suggests that these differences are driven by the low benefits and high costs of marriage for women. It is often argued that men benefit more from marriage, while women do the emotional work in a relationship (Thompson and Walker 1989). Accordingly, it might take a longer time to recover from the negative consequences of a union disruption for women and they may have less desire to form a new relationship. South (1991) shows that remarriage behavior is not limited to preferences, but men have more objections in forming a union with a woman who has been married or has children. Furthermore, opportunities for re-partnering may not be the same for men and women as men are more likely to continue working after cohabitation, marriage, and having children, and workplaces are important contexts for finding a new partner (de Graaf and Kalmijn 2003).

Children add a further dimension to remarriage or re-partnering and may account for differences between men and women. Individuals’ attractiveness to potential partners may decrease in the presence of children because more investment (e.g., potential role as a stepparent) is required in the presence of a child from a previous union (Stewart et al. 2003). Apart from attractiveness, children may influence re-partnering chances in two ways. First, individuals with children will be less interested in forming a new union as their desire to have a child is already met. Second, they will have limited time for leisure activities and fewer opportunities to meet potential new partners due to caring obligations (Koo et al. 1984).

Earlier studies, indeed, showed that divorced parents are less likely to form a new relationship than childless divorcees, and both the residency and age of children influences re-partnering decisions (Bumpass et al. 1990; Teachman and Heckert 1985). The consequences of children, however, are not the same for men and women. While some studies show that mothers are less likely to form a union than men and childless women, especially in the presence of resident and younger children (de Graaf and Kalmijn 2003; Ivanova et al. 2013; Poortman 2007), Wu and Schimmele (2005) found that having young children does not impede women’s second union formation.

The effect of children on men’s re-partnering chances may differ as women are more willing to form a union than men when the potential partner has children (South 2001). While Stewart and colleagues (2003), and Wu and Schimmele (2005) found that children influence the propensity of re-partnering positively, others (de Graaf and Kalmijn 2003; Poortman 2007) found no effects of children on forming a new union for men. Although findings on the consequences of children for men’s re-partnering are mixed, children play a crucial role in explaining gender differences. As shown by Ivanova and colleagues (2013), gender differences in re-partnering become insignificant when only childless men and women are compared, suggesting that the gender gap in re-partnering is mainly driven by children.

The influence of socioeconomic status also differs by gender. The propensity to remarry of low-educated women is no less than their risk of the first marriage, whereas college-educated women have the lowest chances of remarrying (Shafer and James 2013) as women with low-income compensate for declines in economic well-being by forming a new union (Dewilde and Uunk 2008). Different from women, the least educated men have the lowest chances of remarrying (Shafer and James 2013).

Method

Data and Sample

The data I use come from the System of Social statistical Datasets (SSD) of Statistics Netherlands. The SSD is a harmonized longitudinal database consisting of various registers and surveys provided by Statistics Netherlands. The central unit types comprising the database are individuals, households, buildings, and organizations with unique identifiers (Bakker et al. 2014). Through these unique identifiers, datasets can be linked to each other. In this study, I mainly focused on registers. The central database included information on personal identification numbers (PIN, i.e., anonymized citizen service numbers), year and month of birth, gender, and education. This data allowed me to trace both former spouses' post-divorce re-partnering behavior dynamically and to link them to each other.

As SSD holds information on the entire Dutch population, I made a number of selections to create a sample for the analyses. First, I restricted the sample to individuals born between 1970 and 1979. The main reason for this selection was the extensive set of data available for these cohorts owing to an expansion of the SSD (de Vuijst et al. 2017). Consequently, the age difference between former spouses was set to a maximum of 9 years.

Second, I restricted the sample to divorced individuals. Although union formation patterns have changed substantially in many Western countries (Eurostat 2015), unmarried cohabiting individuals were not included in the analyses. This is because cohabiting individuals comprise a highly heterogeneous group. They may regard cohabitation in many different ways ranging from a precursor to marriage to a more favorable way of living than a non-cohabiting relationship (Steele et al. 2005). Marriage, however, is based upon greater commitment and mutual dependence, and higher relationship quality than cohabiting unions (Wu and Schimmele 2005). Consequently, unmarried cohabiting partners may be less relevant to an individual's life after separation than former spouses, as a stronger commitment towards each other and traditional meaning attached to marriage might be absent for unmarried partners.

After the identification of divorced individuals, I restricted the study population to individuals who were heterosexually married. Former spouses who remarried to each other or had a child together after a divorce were also excluded from the analyses. Lastly, former spouses who had two or more children together before divorce were excluded to avoid more complicated family structures. Nevertheless, the findings were robust to the inclusion of all types of former spouses. After these restrictions, the final sample consisted of 28,317 dyads (i.e., 56,634 individuals).

Analytical Strategy

The probability of marriage and cohabitation after a divorce was estimated by discrete-time event history models with random effects at the individual level. The inclusion of random effects allowed me to control for the time constant unobservable individual-specific factors. Furthermore, I included time-constant and time-varying controls that are likely to influence both re-partnering behavior and the interaction between former spouses.

With this strategy, I assumed that correlations among former spouses' re-partnering behavior are driven by the interaction between former spouses. Yet, these associations might also be driven by contextual factors such as shared environment or selection effects (Manski 1993). Although the inclusion of random effects and various controls accounted for these contextual and selection effects to some extent, further considerations were required to disentangle direct former spouse effects.

It has been documented that similar individuals are more likely to get married, and homogamy in marriage occurs along various dimensions including education, ethnicity, age, and even attractiveness (see Kalmijn 1998, for a comprehensive review). Accordingly, spurious correlations between the re-partnering behavior of former spouses might be due to unrelated but similar life-course trajectories and family formation preferences. For instance, divorcees are more likely to get married than cohabiters because of their family-oriented attitudes (Wu and Schimmele 2005). The timing of re-partnering and the type of re-partnering might be similar between former spouses due to shared contextual characteristics or preferences that are likely to influence divorce and re-partnering behavior simultaneously. As a result, divorce and re-partnering might not be independent of each other.

To address this potential source of bias, I considered two additional factors. First, I used robust standard errors clustered at the former couple-level to deal with the spurious correlations among divorcees' re-partnering behavior leading to smaller standard errors (Cameron and Miller 2015). Second, I estimated the probability of re-partnering and getting divorced in first marriages – using the whole married Dutch population born in the 1970s – jointly with correlated error terms. Subsequently, the calculated error term in the second equation entered as a regressor in the first equation (Heckman 1979). With this strategy, unobserved former couple-specific characteristics influencing divorce behavior were also considered in re-partnering behavior. The 2-step equations for former spouse effects model took the following form:

$$(1)\ \log\left(\frac{h_i(t)}{1-h_i(t)}\right) = \alpha D_i(t) + \beta_1 A_i(t) + \beta_2' X_i + \beta_3' Z_i(t) + \beta_4 \lambda_i + \sum_{s=1}^{3} \gamma_s' M_s(t_i) + \sum_{s=1}^{3} \sigma_s' C_s(t_i) + \varepsilon_i \quad (1)$$

$$(2)\ \Phi^{-1}(\Pr(g_i = 1)) = \alpha D_i + \beta_1' X_i' + \varepsilon_i \quad (2)$$

In equation 1, I estimated individual *i*'s risk of remarrying and cohabitation. The second equation predicted the probability of getting divorced based on similarities between former spouses that are recurrently emphasized in the homogamy literature (see Kalmijn 1998 for a review). h_i was the risk of getting married and starting cohabiting in the transition to marriage and cohabitation models respectively. $D_i(t)$ A_i (t) were the quadratic functions at time t of individual i for age and duration since the divorce. Including these functions allowed me to control for both age and duration since the divorce in the models. Z_i denoted time-varying covariates and X_i were a set of time constant covariates shown in Table 1. M_s and C_s were the main predictors. They both included three time-varying dummies for the former spouse's entry into marriage and cohabitation, respectively. They took the value 1 if the former spouse experienced marriage or cohabitation in the last 0-11 months, 12-23 months, or 24-35 months and 0 otherwise.

In equation 2, $\Pr(g_i = 1)$ was the probability of getting divorced until December 2016 – i.e., the month of last observation – for individual *i*. It was estimated using a probit model. D_i was the quadratic function of marital duration. X_i' denoted a set of variables related to homogamy and shared by the couples: the absolute value of the age difference between the spouses, whether they have the same educational level, same ethnicity, and same parental marital status. ε_{ij} represented the individual error term.

Together with these models, I further assessed the reliability of my results by generating unrelated dyads and examining the correlation in the re-partnering behavior of these unrelated dyads. This tested whether the associations of former spouses' re-partnering behavior were (partly) driven by common factors between the former spouses such as the similarities in the timing of life-course transitions (Neugarten 1979). For instance, while the likelihood of re-partnering is less common in the first five years following a divorce, the probability of forming a second union is higher in all time intervals (Wu and Schimmele 2005). If former spouses' interdependencies between re-partnering behavior were driven by such factors, similar relationships should be observed between the unrelated dyads' re-partnering behaviors.

To equalize the variation of life-course transitions between divorced dyads and unrelated dyads, I performed a conditional assignment. Unrelated dyads were matched based on their birth composition (i.e., an unrelated partner was born in the same year as the former spouse), year of marriage, year of divorce, and parity. This strategy consequently allowed me to match the unrelated dyads based on their age at first marriage and age at divorce. Lastly, to further reduce variation in family formation preferences, I used mother's age at first birth, which is highly correlated with observed and unobserved characteristics of family formation behavior (Fasang and Raab 2014). I created three broad groups for mother's age at first birth – mother had her first child in early adulthood (15-24), middle adulthood (25-34), or late adulthood (35+) – and the unrelated partner shared the same category with the actual former spouse. 5,135 dyads (i.e., 10,270 individuals) were matched at the first step. Following that, I matched the remaining individuals by excluding (i) mother's age at first birth (≈ 10,000 dyads), (ii) year of marriage (≈ 5,000 dyads), and (iii) year of divorce (≈ 2,500 dyads) from the conditional assignment criteria respectively. The sample consisted of 22,420 unrelated dyads (i.e., 44,840 individuals).

Measures

The outcome measures were based on the marital and cohabitation registers of the SSD. In the Netherlands, like many other Western countries, cohabitation is a broadly used alternative to marriage (Manting 1994). Accordingly, excluding cohabitation after a divorce from the analysis might not reflect the complete re-partnering behavior following a divorce. Indeed, 31

% (i.e., 17,439 individuals) of my focus group started cohabiting but did not marry in the observation period, which ended in December 2016. Furthermore, almost half of the remarried individuals (i.e., 16,496 individuals) started cohabiting with a new partner before marriage.

I created a person-month file and two binary outcome measures for marriage and cohabitation. In the interests of computation time, I randomly selected half of the whole sample. Individuals were defined to be under risk of marriage and cohabitation after they experienced a divorce. The marriage dummy took the value 1 in the month of entry into marriage and 0 in all preceding months. Likewise, the cohabitation dummy took the value 1 in the month of starting living with a new partner and 0 in all preceding months.

My main predictors were the former spouse's remarriage and first cohabitation with a new partner following a divorce. I created three time-varying dummies for both events. These dummies took the value 1 if the former spouse experienced marriage and cohabitation in the past 11 months, 12 to 23 months, and 24 to 35 months, respectively.

I further included a set of time-varying and time-constant controls in the analyses. Time-varying controls included the duration since the divorce and the presence and age of a joint child as these factors are important determinants of contact between former spouses (Fischer et al. 2005) and re-partnering behavior following a divorce (Poortman 2007; Wu and Schimmele 2005). Duration since the divorce was measured by the number of months passed since the divorce.

I created two dummies for the presence of a small child (i.e., whether former spouses had a joint child aged between 0 and 3), and the presence of an older child (i.e., whether former spouses had a joint child older than 3 years) given that contact between former spouses is more frequent (Fischer et al. 2005) and the likelihood of re-partnering is lower (Ivanova et al. 2013) in the presence of a small child.

The quadratic function of age was included to account for the time dependency of the processes of marriage and cohabitation. Additionally, I controlled for cohabitation status in the model for transition to marriage. Parental marital status was also considered as it is associated with offspring's family formation behavior (e.g., Amato 1996).

Time-constant controls included covariates such as union duration (Wu and Schimmele 2005), socioeconomic status (Dewilde and Uunk 2008; Shafer and James 2013), parental socioeconomic status and mother's age at first birth (Fasang and Raab 2014), which are strongly related to family formation behavior. To control for individuals' and their parents' socioeconomic status, I included individuals' education and their income, and their parents' income and house ownership respectively. Information on income was in percentiles and available between 2006 and 2010. Accordingly, I took the average income between 2006 and 2010. Gender and ethnicity were also considered as they are relevant determinants of family formation behavior (e.g., Wu and Schimmele 2005). Table 1 gives an overview of the variables used in the models.

Table 1 *Descriptive Statistics*

	Marriage					Cohabitation				
	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Person months	Mean	SD	Min	Max	Person months
Time-varying covariates										
Ex-spouse got married within…										
0-11 months	0.04		0	1	2,339,020	0.04		0	1	1,250,251
12-23 months	0.03		0	1	2,339,020	0.03		0	1	1,250,251
24-35 months	0.03		0	1	2,339,020	0.02		0	1	1,250,251
Ex-spouse started cohabiting within…										
0-11 months	0.07		0	1	2,339,020	0.08		0	1	1,250,251
12-23 months	0.06		0	1	2,339,020	0.06		0	1	1,250,251
24-35 months	0.05		0	1	2,339,020	0.04		0	1	1,250,251
Age	35.22	4.99	15	47	2,339,020	34.57	5.15	15	47	1,250,251
Joint child (0-3)	0.02		0	1	2,339,020	0.024		0	1	1,250,251
Joint child (3+)	0.31		0	1	2,339,020	0.35		0	1	1,250,251
Duration since divorce (in months)	63.68	50.84	1	308	2,339,020	45.18	43.11	1	290	1,250,251
Cohabiting	0.40		0	1	2,339,020	0.4		0	1	1,250,251
Parental marital status										
Single	0.36		0	1	2,339,020	0.36		0	1	1,250,251
Married	0.45		0	1	2,339,020	0.46		0	1	1,250,251
Previously married	0.19		0	1	2,339,020	0.18		0	1	1,250,251
Time-constant covariates										
Female	0.50		0	1	2,339,020	0.52		0	1	1,250,251
High education	0.15		0	1	2,339,020	0.16		0	1	1,250,251
Income (in percentiles)	58.57	24.28	0	100	2,209,303	58.90	23.07	0	100	1,154,102
Ethnicity										
Dutch	0.76		0	1	2,339,020	0.75		0	1	1,250,251
Moroccan	0.03		0	1	2,339,020	0.03		0	1	1,250,251
Turkish	0.05		0	1	2,339,020	0.06		0	1	1,250,251
Surinamese	0.05		0	1	2,339,020	0.05		0	1	1,250,251
Dutch Antillean/Aruba	0.01		0	1	2,339,020	0.01		0	1	1,250,251
Other non-Western	0.02		0	1	2,339,020	0.02		0	1	1,250,251
Other Western	0.08		0	1	2,339,020	0.08		0	1	1,250,251
Marital duration	53.89	36.61	0	291	2,339,021	59.11	39.53	0	291	1,250,251
Mother's age at first birth	23.38	4.24	12	55	2,274,589	23.47	4.22	12	55	1,210,474
Parental income (in percentiles)	50.79	25.32	0	99	2,142,587	51.39	25.36	0	99	1,137,582
Parents' home ownership										
Own house	0.58		0	1	2,147,490	0.59		0	1	1,140,038
Rent (with allowance)	0.14		0	1	2,147,490	0.14		0	1	1,140,038
Rent (without allowance)	0.27		0	1	2,147,490	0.27		0	1	1,140,038

Source: System of Social statistical Datasets (SSD) of Statistics Netherlands.

Results

Panel a of Figure 1 presents the estimated main effects for the transition to marriage with random effects at the individual-level and controls (discrete-time event history model estimates are located in the Appendix, Table A1). The model was estimated jointly with the probability of experiencing a divorce to account for the unobserved factors shared by the former spouses that influence divorce and re-partnering behavior simultaneously (the selection equation is located in the Appendix, Table A2).

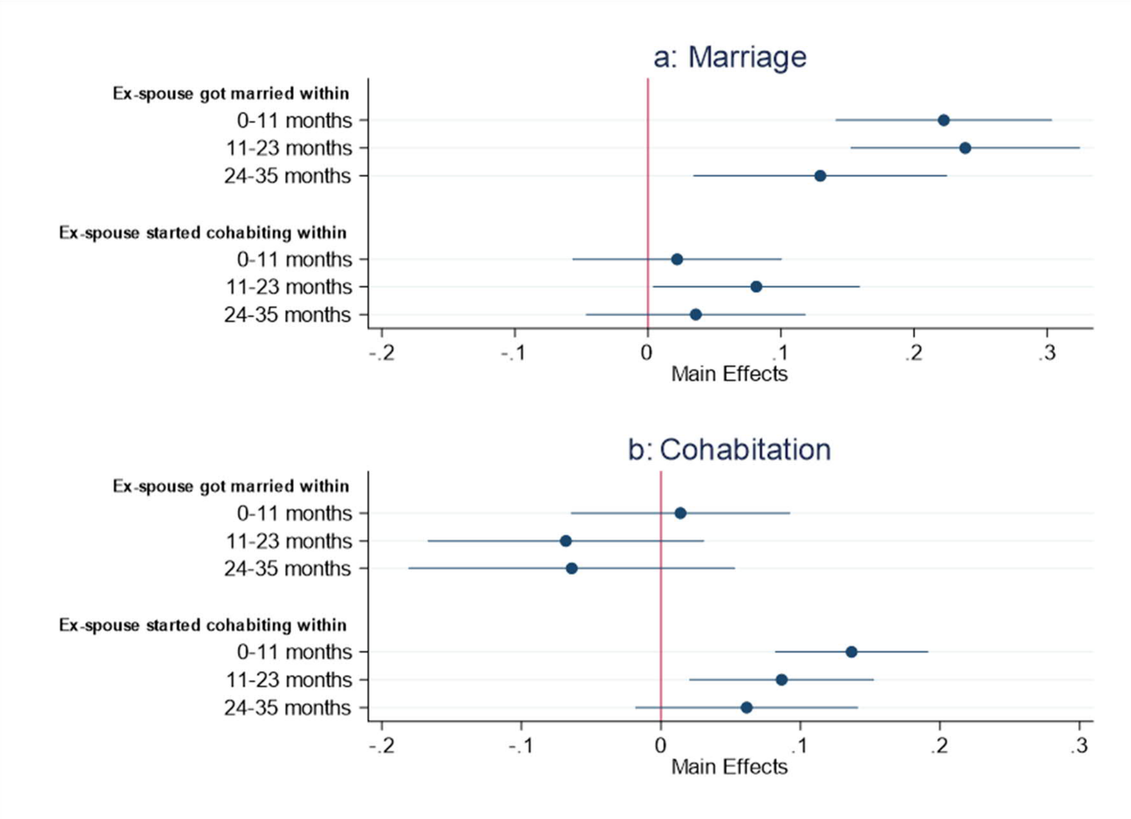

Figure 1 *Main effects for the transition to marriage and cohabitation (source: System of Social statistical Datasets (SSD) of Statistics Netherlands*

Results showed significant effects of a former spouse's marriage on an individual's propensity to marry. The effects were significant in the three consecutive years following a former spouse's marriage. Moreover, they were strongest within the second year and declined afterward.

Above and beyond the effects of a former spouse's marriage, a former spouse's transition to cohabitation did not have notable consequences for an individual's risk of marriage. The effects were only significant within the second year following a former spouse's cohabitation at a 5 % level. Yet, the impact of a former spouse's cohabitation on the risk of marriage was noticeably weaker than the impact of a former spouse's marriage.

As for the control variables, I found a curvilinear baseline hazard: The risk of re-marriage increased by age. The effects continued increasing until 36 and declined thereafter. Duration since the divorce had a positive impact on remarriage in the short-run and a negative effect in the long-run. The likelihood of remarrying peaked in the sixth year following a divorce and became negative in the twelfth year of union dissolution. Having a child was negatively associated with remarriage and the effects were stronger in the presence of a small child. In line with the literature (de Graaf and Kalmijn 2003; Poortman 2007; Wu and Schimmele 2005), longer union duration in the former marriage was associated with a higher chance of remarriage. Interestingly, no gender differences in remarriage were observed in the Dutch context. Ethnic differences, however, influenced the chance of remarrying noticeably: Individuals with a Turkish and Moroccan origin were more likely to form a union after a divorce.

Panel b of Figure 1 shows the estimated coefficients of the main predictors for the hazard of cohabitation while controlling for potential time-constant and time-variant confounders and including random effects at the individual level (the complete set of estimates is located in the Appendix, Table A1). The model was also estimated jointly with the probability of experiencing a divorce.

Findings indicated that cohabitation behavior following a divorce spread among former spouses. The risk of cohabitation increased in the first and second years following a former spouse's transition to cohabitation. Effects were strongest in the short-term and became insignificant after the second year. A former spouse's marriage, however, had no impact on an individual's propensity to start cohabiting. Taken together with the findings on the transition to marriage, these results suggest that re-partnering behavior among former spouses are likely to spread across similar behavioral domains (i.e., marriage-marriage and cohabitation-cohabitation). Moreover, the estimated coefficients suggested that the spread of marital behavior among former spouses are stronger than the spread of cohabitation behavior.[1]

A curvilinear baseline hazard was also observed for the risk of cohabitation. Until age 30, the risk of cohabitation following a divorce was positive, but it became negative thereafter. Duration since the divorce was negatively associated with cohabitation. Similar to the risk of remarriage, having children decreased the likelihood of transition to cohabitation. Contrarily to the transition to marriage, gender differences were observed in the risk of cohabitation. Women were less likely to start cohabiting with a new partner following a divorce. While Moroccans and Turks were more likely to remarry, they were less likely to start cohabiting after a divorce.

Additional analyses

In Panel a and b of Figure 2, I present the results on matched unrelated dyads for both the risk of remarriage and cohabitation, respectively (the complete set of estimates is located in the Appendix, Table A1). This analysis aimed to ascertain that the effects attributed to the behavior of the ex-spouse on family formation behavior did not reflect spurious correlations driven by

1 For the comparability of the models, I also calculated the marginal effects using each main predictor (not shown). Estimated effects further showed that the spread of marital behavior is stronger than the spread cohabitation among former spouses.

unobserved shared factors influencing the timing of life-course transitions. None of the main predictors included in the models for matched unrelated dyads were significant supporting that the main findings in Figure 1 were not driven by spurious correlations in divorcees' timing of re-partnering behavior.

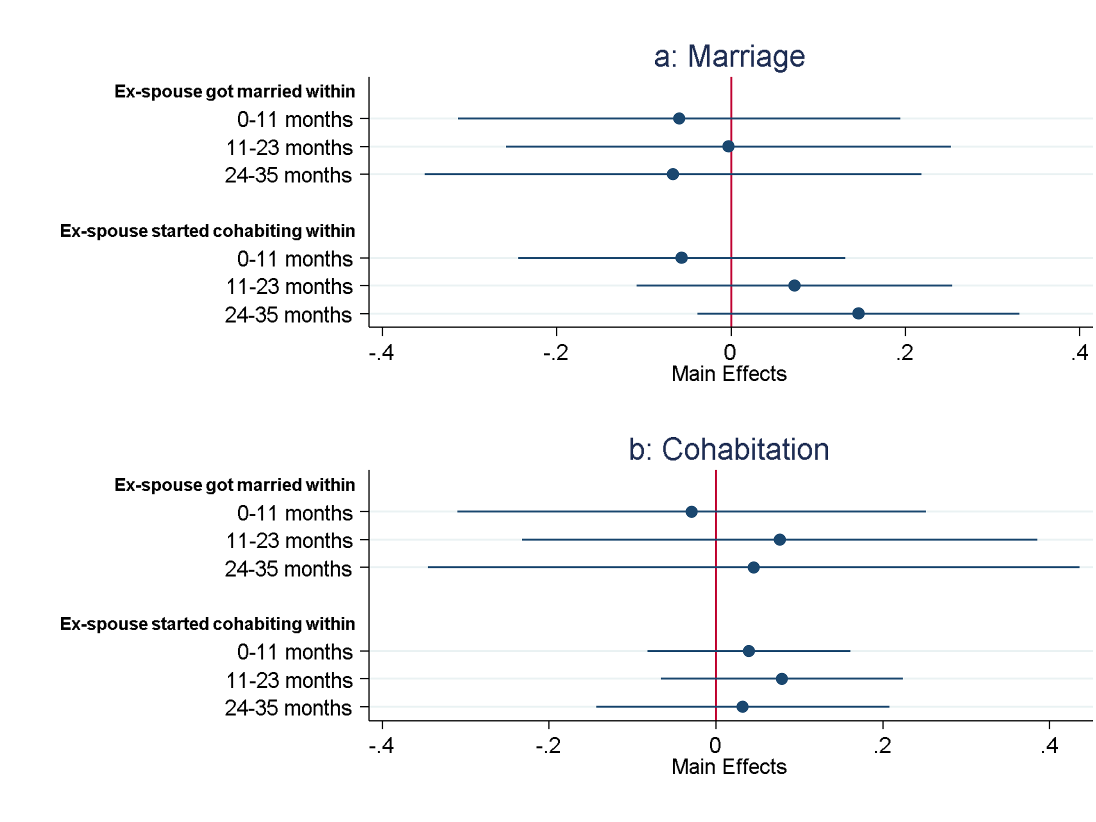

***Figure 1** Main effects for the transition to marriage and cohabitation using unrelated dyads (source: System of Social statistical Datasets (SSD) of Statistics Netherlands)*

Panel a and b of Figure 3 show how the main effects for the risk of marriage and cohabitation differ by gender respectively (full estimates are located in the Appendix, Table A3). Both men's and women's likelihood of marriage increased with a former spouse's transition to marriage. Yet, the effects on women remained significant in the long-term, whereas men's risk of marriage was not altered significantly in the third year following a former wife's marriage. Moreover, estimated effects were relatively stronger for women than men and the risk of women's marriage also slightly increased in the second year following a former husband's cohabitation.

In line with Wu and Schimmele (2005), I found no effects of children on women's transition to remarriage. In contrast, the probability of remarrying decreased for men in the presence of a child. Former union duration and income were positively associated with men's propensity to remarry, whereas they had no significant impact on women's remarriage.

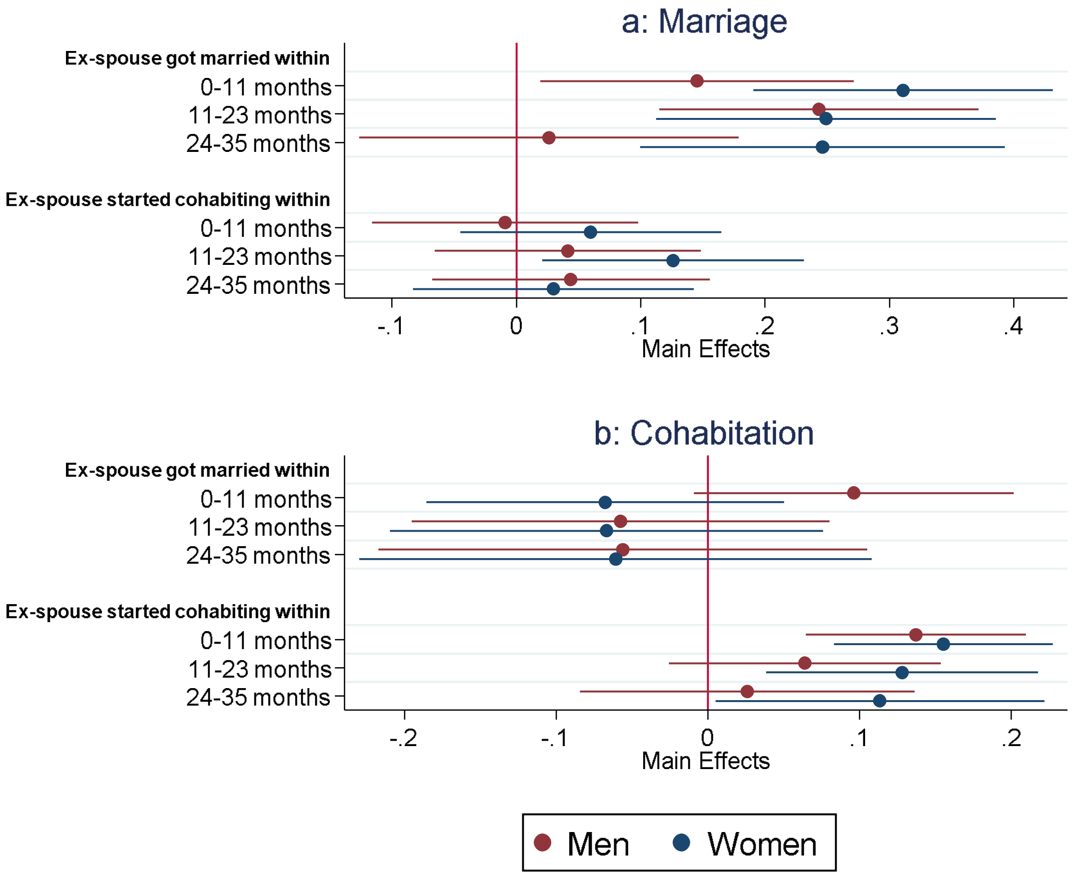

Figure 3 *Main effects for the transition to marriage and cohabitation (by gender) (source: System of Social statistical Datasets (SSD) of Statistics Netherlands)*

Former spouse influences on the risk of cohabitation also differed by gender. Men's transition rates to cohabitation only increased in the year after following a former wife's cohabitation. Conversely, women's probability of cohabitation increased significantly in the first three years following a former husband's cohabitation. Taken together, these findings indicate that former spouse influences on re-partnering behavior were stronger for women than men.

Different from the propensity to remarry, the presence of a child was negatively associated with entry to cohabitation for women and the impact became stronger in the presence of a small child. Yet, men's risk of cohabitation was only influenced negatively by having an older child and the effect was significant at a 5 % level. While income increased men's likelihood of cohabitation after a divorce, it had no significant impact on women.

In additional robustness checks (not shown), I took a randomly selected 10 % of the whole sample in the interests of computation time and convergence of the models and applied a three-level multilevel model with random effects both at the individual and dyadic level. Occasions were nested within individuals and individuals were nested within the ex-couple dyads with this specification. Consequently, unobserved time-constant characteristics shared by former spouses were controlled in these models and the results were qualitatively robust to the main findings. Moreover, I included more complicated family structures (i.e., former spouses who had two or more children together before divorce) in additional analyses and the findings were not altered with this consideration. I further replicated the falsification tests using only the most similar unrelated dyads who were matched based on birth composition, year of marriage, year of divorce, and mother's age at first birth. The main effects of most similar unrelated dyads remained insignificant suggesting that the relationship between former spouses' re-partnering behavior cannot be explained by common factors that simultaneously affect the behavior of former spouses. Lastly, I estimated the risk of re-partnering by focusing on double selectivity (Tunali 1986) in two main underlying decision processes: First, the transition to marriage was estimated using all Dutch individuals born between 1970 and 1979. Second, the transition to divorce was estimated using the married individuals. The main findings were robust to the double selectivity corrected estimations.

Conclusion

Over the last decades, families in Western societies became more complex through union dissolution, re-partnering/marriage, and stepfamilies (Thomson 2014). Divorce rates have increased markedly and remained high in Europe during the past half-century (Amato and James 2010). At the same time, the majority of these divorcees re-partner (Coleman et al. 2000; Sweeney 2002) and enter into higher-order unions (Elzinga and Liefbroer 2007). A large body of research emphasizes the importance of social interaction effects in explaining changing family formation patterns (Bongaarts and Watkins 1996; Hernes 1972; Kohler et al. 2002; Montgomery and Casterline 1996; Watkins 1986).

Former spouses often remain in touch even after a divorce. Yet, we still know little about post-divorce relationships and the role of former spouses on life courses after divorce. An important gap in knowledge concerns re-partnering behavior. Considering the noteworthy direct and indirect contact between former spouses and the growing literature on the relevance of network partners on family formation behavior, former spouses might be relevant in the emergence of new living arrangements. This study asked whether remarriage and cohabitation are associated with former spouses' re-partnering behaviors.

The analysis yielded three central findings. First, after a former spouse remarriage, the propensity to remarry increased. Second, the risk of cohabitation increased when a former spouse started living with a new partner. The spread of marital behavior was stronger among divorcees compared to the spread of cohabitation. It is plausible that a former spouse's marital behavior is more influential for an individual because exposure to a former spouse's marriage in comparison to cohabitation might be more likely and stronger either directly or indirectly through common acquaintances. Moreover, the traditional meaning attached to marriage is absent in cohabitation, and cohabiters might be less committed to their relationship (Thomson and Colella 1992).

Furthermore, former spouse influences on re-partnering behavior were relevant in the same behavioral domains (i.e., marriage-marriage and cohabitation-cohabitation). A former spouse's marriage did not have a notable impact on the risk of cohabitation and vice versa. Social comparison theory posits that individuals compare themselves with those who are perceived to be similar in the presence of unclear and ambiguous norms and consider their behavior as benchmarks. Norms and timing of re-partnering might be ambiguous as well for individuals and a former spouse's "actual" re-partnering behavior may provide a benchmark. Accordingly, divorcees' re-partnering may be relevant in the same behavioral domains.

Third, former spouse influences on re-partnering were stronger and more significant for women than men. The literature suggests that this is driven by two factors. First, evidence shows that individuals are influenced by their partners' outcomes and feel deprived when they perceive inequalities in a relationship (e.g., Brines and Joyner 1999; Sanchez 1994). With the large gender gap in re-partnering persisting in modern societies (e.g., Ivanova et al. 2013; Poortman 2007), it is possible that a former spouse's re-partnering affects women's fairness perception more than men. Second, qualitative literature indicated that women's family formation behavior is influenced by both strong and weak ties, whereas men are only influenced by the strong ties (Keim et al. 2013). A former spouse's re-partnering thereby might be more influential on women through more channels.

These central findings on re-partnering behavior were supported by further analyses, considerations, and falsification tests in which similar but unrelated dyads were compared. Despite the benefits of my data for identifying divorcees and determining their re-partnering behavior, I note that I lacked direct information about whether and to what extent former spouses interacted and were informed of each other. However, given the theoretical and empirical background on post-divorce contact and indirect contact, it is plausible that a large majority of the sample were aware of family formation events of former spouses. Moreover, I note that I was unable to examine the role of relative deprivation and social comparison as the main mechanisms that I expected to give rise to interdependencies among former spouses in the process of re-partnering. As a result, it remains unclear whether and to what extent the interdependencies observed in my analyses were due to social comparison or other factors.

With the increasing availability of register data in various countries (e.g., Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden), it became possible to examine different networks simultaneously, such as siblings, colleagues, and former spouses. If the life-course transitions of these network partners are followed, this will enable researchers to test whether similar associations exist between network partners – including former spouses – in these countries. This, in turn, may shed light on changing family formation patterns across time and regions. Furthermore, my findings showed no gender differences in the propensity to marry. This is different from previous studies that focus on relatively older cohorts and show that women are less likely to remarry (Bumpass et al. 1990; Ivanova et al. 2013; Poortman 2007; Teachman and Heckert 1985; Wu and Schimmele 2005). An explanation could be that these patterns are changing for younger cohorts with new types of complex families. Accordingly, it would be interesting to test whether these patterns differ across cohorts and countries. Lastly, my analyses emphasize the relevance of former spouses on life-course transitions after a divorce. Other individual outcomes such as health and/or well-being might also be influenced by former spouses' behavior and post-divorce relationships. It would thereby be worthwhile to study in future research whether different outcomes are also influenced by the behaviors of former spouses.

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Appendix

Table A1 Discrete-time event history models

	Marriage		Cohabitation		Marriage (unrelated dyads)		Cohabitation (unrelated dyads)	
	Coefficient	Std. Err.	Coefficient	Std. Err.	Coefficient	Std. Err.	Coefficient	Std. Err.
Age	0.183 ***	(0.024)	-0.050 **	(0.019)	0.227 ***	(0.034)	-0.000	(0.001)
Age squared	-0.003 ***	(0.000)	-0.002 ***	(0.000)	-0.003 ***	(0.000)	-0.000 ***	(0.000)
Ex-spouse got married within…								
0-11 months	0.222 ***	(0.041)	0.014	(0.040)	-0.059	(0.129)	-0.029	(0.143)
12-23 months	0.238 ***	(0.044)	-0.068	(0.050)	-0.003	(0.130)	0.076	(0.158)
24-35 months	0.129 **	(0.048)	-0.064	(0.060)	-0.067	(0.145)	0.045	(0.199)
Ex-spouse started cohabiting within…								
0-11 months	0.022	(0.040)	0.137 **	(0.028)	-0.056	(0.096)	0.039	(0.062)
12-23 months	0.081 *	(0.040)	0.086 *	(0.034)	0.073	(0.092)	0.079	(0.074)
24-35 months	0.036	(0.042)	0.061	(0.041)	0.146	(0.094)	0.032	(0.090)
Joint child (0-3)	-0.276 **	(0.082)	-0.302 ***	(0.040)	-0.266 *	(0.106)	-0.353 ***	(0.049)
Joint child (3+)	-0.092 ***	(0.025)	-0.131 ***	(0.018)	-0.090 **	(0.031)	-0.191 ***	(0.021)
Duration since divorce	0.007 ***	(0.001)	-0.001	(0.000)	0.007 ***	(0.001)	-0.000	(0.000)
Duration since divorce squared	-0.000 ***	(0.000)	-0.000 ***	(0.000)	-0.000 ***	(0.000)	-0.000 ***	(0.000)
Cohabiting	2.548 ***	(0.033)			2.582 ***	(0.040)		
Parental marital status (Ref: Single)								
Married	0.094 ***	(0.026)	-0.020	(0.019)	0.054	(0.033)	-0.050	(0.023)
Previously married	-0.001	(0.035)	-0.008	(0.025)	0.003	(0.043)	-0.003	(0.030)
Female	0.036	(0.023)	-0.176 ***	(0.016)	0.057 *	(0.029)	-0.184 ***	(0.021)
Education	0.037	(0.033)	0.074 **	(0.022)	0.062	(0.040)	0.050	(0.027)
Income (in percentiles)	0.003 ***	(0.001)	0.003 ***	(0.000)	0.003 ***	(0.001)	0.003 ***	(0.001)
Ethnicity (Ref: Dutch)								
Moroccan	0.861 ***	(0.076)	-0.654 ***	(0.060)	1.073 ***	(0.101)	-0.803 ***	(0.082)
Turkish	0.408 ***	(0.066)	-0.533 ***	(0.047)	0.439 ***	(0.081)	-0.507 ***	(0.059)
Surinamese	-0.373 ***	(0.068)	-0.372 ***	(0.043)	-0.373 ***	(0.084)	-0.435 ***	(0.054)
Dutch Antillean/Aruba	-0.250	(0.172)	-0.247 *	(0.114)	-0.776 **	(0.278)	-0.604 ***	(0.162)
Other non-Western	-0.136	(0.109)	-0.182 *	(0.071)	-0.045	(0.132)	-0.170	(0.089)
Other Western	-0.249 ***	(0.046)	-0.177 ***	(0.031)	-0.289 ***	(0.056)	-0.108 **	(0.037)
Marital duration	0.002 *	(0.001)	0.001	(0.000)	0.002 **	(0.001)	0.000	(0.001)
Mother's age at first birth	-0.006 *	(0.003)	-0.004 *	(0.002)	-0.008 *	(0.003)	-0.007 **	(0.002)
Parental income (in percentiles)	0.001 **	(0.001)	-0.000	(0.000)	0.000	(0.001)	-0.001	(0.000)
Parents' home ownership (Ref: Own house)								
Rent (with allowance)	-0.014	(0.041)	0.004	(0.029)	-0.008	(0.050)	0.015	(0.035)
Rent (without allowance)	-0.017	(0.027)	0.001	(0.019)	-0.028	(0.033)	-0.023	(0.024)
λ	0.076	(0.059)	-0.033	(0.042)	0.008	(0.073)	0.009	(0.051)
rho	0.178	(0.015)	0.034	(0.300)	0.185	(0.018)	0.093	(0.134)
N	56,210		55,793		37,912		37,593	
N of spells	2,339,020		1,250,251		1,561,111		839,026	
BIC	128743.4		177143.9		85203.18		118162	

Source: System of Social statistical Datasets (SSD) of Statistics Netherlands.
Note: The sample mean was assigned to the missing values of income, mother's age at first birth, parental income, and dummies for the missing values of these variables – also for parental house ownership – were included. *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001

Table A2 Selection Model for the Probability of Divorce

	Probability of Divorce
Marital duration	-0.006 ***
	(0.000)
Marital duration squared	-0.000 ***
	(0.000)
Absolute age difference	-0.002 ***
	(0.000)
Educational homogamy (Ref: No)	-0.222 ***
	(0.004)
Ethnic homogamy (Ref: No)	-0.024 ***
	(0.005)
Both partner's parents are not divorced (Ref: No)	-0.188 ***
	(0.004)
Constant	0.197 ***
	(0.010)
N	739,916
Log-likelihood	-308774.4

Source: System of Social statistical Datasets (SSD) of Statistics Netherlands.

Table A3 Discrete-time event history models by gender

	Marriage (men)		Marriage (women)		Cohabitation (men)		Cohabitation (women)	
	Coefficient	Std. Err.	Coefficient	Std. Err.	Coefficient	Std. Err.	Coefficient	Std. Err.
Age	0.192 ***	(0.043)	0.254 ***	(0.040)	0.118 ***	(0.028)	-0.070 **	(0.026)
Age squared	-0.002 ***	(0.001)	-0.004 ***	(0.001)	-0.002 ***	(0.000)	-0.002 ***	(0.000)
Ex-spouse got married within…								
0-11 months	0.145 *	(0.064)	0.311 ***	(0.061)	0.096	(0.054)	-0.068	(0.060)
12-23 months	0.243 ***	(0.066)	0.249 ***	(0.070)	-0.058	(0.070)	-0.067	(0.073)
24-35 months	0.026	(0.078)	0.246 **	(0.075)	-0.056	(0.082)	-0.061	(0.086)
Ex-spouse started cohabiting within…								
0-11 months	-0.009	(0.055)	0.060	(0.054)	0.137 ***	(0.037)	0.155 ***	(0.037)
12-23 months	0.041	(0.055)	0.126 *	(0.054)	0.064	(0.046)	0.128 **	(0.046)
24-35 months	0.044	(0.057)	0.030	(0.058)	0.026	(0.056)	0.113 *	(0.055)
Joint child (0-3)	-0.340 **	(0.110)	-0.226	(0.126)	-0.063	(0.082)	-0.618 ***	(0.062)
Joint child (3+)	-0.184 ***	(0.034)	-0.027	(0.037)	-0.058 *	(0.052)	-0.258 ***	(0.027)
Duration since divorce	0.005 **	(0.001)	0.009 ***	(0.002)	0.001	(0.024)	-0.002	(0.002)
Duration since divorce squared	-0.000 ***	(0.000)	-0.000 ***	(0.000)	-0.000 ***	(0.000)	-0.000 **	(0.000)
Cohabiting	2.465 ***	(0.046)	2.640 ***	(0.055)				
Parental marital status (Ref: Single)								
Married	0.083 *	(0.036)	0.110 **	(0.040)	-0.031	(0.026)	-0.010	(0.028)
Previously married	-0.060	(0.049)	0.055	(0.050)	0.003	(0.034)	-0.019	(0.036)
Education	0.029	(0.046)	0.073	(0.048)	0.079 *	(0.032)	0.108 **	(0.032)
Income (in percentiles)	0.008 ***	(0.001)	-0.000	(0.001)	0.005 ***	(0.001)	-0.001	(0.001)
Ethnicity (Ref: Dutch)								
Moroccan	0.963 ***	(0.118)	0.821 ***	(0.113)	-0.625 ***	(0.093)	-0.663 ***	(0.085)
Turkish	0.509 ***	(0.091)	0.384 ***	(0.096)	-0.343 ***	(0.065)	-0.693 ***	(0.075)
Surinamese	-0.399 ***	(0.101)	-0.325 ***	(0.093)	-0.331 ***	(0.062)	-0.371 ***	(0.061)
Dutch Antillean/Aruba	-0.432	(0.160)	-0.038	(0.243)	-0.170	(0.159)	-0.317	(0.172)
Other non-Western	0.024	(0.19)	-0.255	(0.152)	-0.196	(0.105)	-0.172	(0.099)
Other Western	-0.191 **	(0.064)	-0.291 ***	(0.066)	-0.163 ***	(0.045)	-0.184 ***	(0.045)
Marital duration	0.002 **	(0.001)	0.001	(0.001)	0.001	(0.001)	-0.000	(0.001)
Mother's age at first birth	-0.006	(0.004)	-0.005	(0.004)	-0.004	(0.003)	-0.004	(0.003)
Parental income (in percentiles)	0.001	(0.001)	0.002 **	(0.001)	-0.000	(0.000)	-0.000	(0.001)
Parents' home ownership (Ref: Own house)								
Rent (with allowance)	0.001	(0.055)	-0.010	(0.061)	0.058	(0.039)	-0.053	(0.044)
Rent (without allowance)	0.004	(0.038)	-0.034	(0.040)	0.026	(0.027)	-0.027	(0.029)
λ	-0.023	(0.082)	0.141	(0.087)	0.047	(0.059)	-0.030	(0.062)
rho	0.177	(0.030)	0.214	(0.031)	0.000	(0.044)	0.030	(0.025)
N	28,098		28,112		27,883		27,910	
N of spells	1,171,076		1,167,944		598,129		652,122	
BIC	66085.91		62945.61		91015.37		86274.96	

Source: System of Social statistical Datasets (SSD) of Statistics Netherlands.
Note: The sample mean was assigned to the missing values of income, mother's age at first birth, parental income, and dummies for the missing values of these variables – also for parental house ownership – were included. *p<0.05, **p<0.01, ***p<0.001