Do divorce and separation deter social trust?

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Content

- Short discussion about existing literature connecting divorce and generalized trust
- Effects of “negative life events”
- Conceptual and Methodological dilemmas
  - Divorce or separation
  - Causality or selection // endogeneity
- Findings
- Implications

Literature

divorce, generalized trust, negative life events

Generalized trust: formation and change

- 1. Theories of (partial) stability
  - trust as a moral value, shaped by early experiences, which remains relatively stable over time (Uslaner, 2002; Bekkers, 2012)

- 2. Theories of change
  - positive and negative life experiences may influence how much one trusts others (Hardin, 2006; Paxton, 2007)
  - contextual influences (Dang, 2012; Dinesen, 2013; Paxton, 2007)
  - people learn trust from their social context, from social norms, from other people who are trusting (Hooghe, 2003; Newton, 1999)

Divorce and generalized trust

- Usually: **implicit causation**, no explanation offered

  (Bühlmann & Freitag, 2009; Kesler and Bloemraad, 2010; Polillo, 2012; Rahn et al, 2009; Sturgis & Smith, 2010)

- Divorce is labeled as "**negative life event**", therefore it is harmful
  - "the experience of divorce could reduce an individual's assessment of the goodwill of others, thereby generally lowering his view of others' trustworthiness" (Paxton, 2007: 49).

- controls for **being married**:
  - without much description for the reasons (Alesina & La Ferrara, 2002; Bekkers, 2012),
  - it involves a **diversification of social networks** (Soroka et al., 2007).

- **Positive effects** of divorce:
  - dissolution of the couple → higher incentives to search for alternate social networks (Ermish & Gambetta, 2009).

Consequences of Stressful Life Events/Trauma: Psychological perspectives

Positive effects

Theory of Cognitive Adaptation (Taylor, 1983)

actively searching to restore their psychological equilibrium, individuals convince themselves of being in control of the event

Deviation Ampli… Model (Aldwin et al, 1996)

Coping w. event → one gathers skills

Stress Inoculation Training
(Melchenbaum, 1985, 2007)

Trauma vaccinates against the next trauma

Distrust?

Negative Effects

Cognitive reworking
(Horowitz/Silver)

individuals face difficulties to rework the traumatic event

Assumptive World Theory
(Janoff-Bulman, 1992)

the traumatic event shatters the positive beliefs in a benign world

How stressful divorce is?

- Being more socially acceptable (Voorpostel et al, 2011: 333), divorce is presumably less stressful and may lead to slighter changes.
- However, it is still a negative life experience (Paxton, 2007; Updegraff & Taylor, 2000), which is supposed to leave imprints on generalized trust.
- It breaks social networks (Amato, 2000), therefore producing a disruption in social life…
- It leads to loneliness and resentment (Sprecher, 1994), hopelessness (Moller et al, 2004) …
- Simpson (1987): "few experiences in life are capable of producing more emotional distress, anguish, and suffering than is the dissolution of an important relationship" (p. 683).
- Interaction with the legal system (Uslaner, 2002: 46-27)

Parental Divorce and Trust

- No direct consequences, except for family-related trust (Franklin et al, 1990)
- Negative consequences on generalized trust only if parental divorced occurred very early in childhood (0-4 years) (King, 2004)
- Mechanism: disruption of social ties

Empirical evidences?

- *experiencing divorce, leads to a more negative view of society, which turns in lower levels of trusting others* (Alessina & La Ferrara, 2002; Paxton, 2007; Rahn, Yoon and Loflin, 2003; Voicu, 2012).

- No relation (Stolle, 1998)

H1

- Divorce has negative impact on generalized trust

Reasons:

- Trust changes with life events (???)
- Divorce = Negative life event (???)
- Divorce affects the nature and structure of social networks (???)

Divorce or separation? (I)

- Apparently should be the same. They imply the rupture of a relation with implications on the related relations…

H2

- NOTE: This is not about cohabitation vs. Legal marriage.
- HOWEVER, Breaking a marriage, a registered partnership, or a cohabitation is likely to produce similar effects onto the social networks, on the positive beliefs about world and people intentions, etc.

Divorce or separation? (II)

- If separation precedes divorce (i.e. the informal break of the tie is legalized later) …
  - What kind of support the separated person needs? From which source?
  - Is this different when divorce is pronounced/agreed?

Henderson & Argyle, 1985: multidimensional aspect of social support. 17 types of support. Friends are more often mentioned. Depending on the type of help, the source will differ in importance.

Divorce or separation? (III)

- Immediate needs in case of separation:
  - Practical support - Typically from relatives (add reference!).

H3

Too much support → too much time to think & too much embeddedness in the kin-network → even lesser trust

  - Emotional support: relatives & friends. Particularly if coming from friends, it should actually diminish the negative impact of separation

H4

Divorce or separation? (III)

- Stage 2: divorce:
  - Practical support – no longer that important. There was some time to adjust to the new situation.

H5

H6

  - Emotional support: relatives & friends. Particularly if coming from friends, it should actually diminish the negative impact of separation

Summary of hypotheses

Hypotheses

1. Dissolution of couple → - Trust
2. Divorce == Separation
3. Separation * Practical Support = -
4. Separation * Emotional Support = +
5. Divorce * Practical Support = 0
6. Divorce * Emotional Support = +

→ causality
== same effect
- Negative effect
+ positive effect
0 no effect

Data and Methods

Data: panel data for causality

- Causality?
- One may imagine that marriage/cohabitation breaks due to lost (lack) of trust ➔ panel data is required

		no. respondents
wave	2001	3994
	2002	3453
	2003	3136
	2004	2699
	2005	2370
	2006	2461
	2007	2737
	2008	2595
	2009	2775
	2010	2811
	2011	2766
	2012	2700

- Swiss Household Panel:
  - Q on TRUST: 2002-2013
  - Marital status: all waves
  - Qs on Support: 2002-2010, 2013

Divorce usually seen as a shift in normal familial life, often due to loosing trust in partner's ability to act unselfishly, which further exacerbates decline of social trust (Brinig, 2011).

Patterns in the panel sample …

Distribution of T_i:	min	5%	25%	50%	75%	95%	max
	1	1	3	6	10	13	13

Freq.	Percent	Cum.	Pattern
3397	15.69	15.69	1111111111111
2024	9.35	25.04	...1111111111
1182	5.46	30.50	1.....
1129	5.22	35.72	...1.....
683	3.16	38.87	111.....
481	2.22	41.10	...11.....
466	2.15	43.25	11.....
415	1.92	45.17	1111.....
342	1.58	46.75	...111.....
333	1.54	48.28	11111.....
318	1.47	49.75	1
291	1.34	51.10	111111.....
264	1.22	52.32	11111
227	1.05	53.37	1111111
226	1.04	54.41	...1111.....
217	1.00	55.41	1.....1111111
215	0.99	56.41	11
215	0.99	57.40	1111111.....
211	0.97	58.37	1111
197	0.91	59.28	11....1111111
8814	40.72	100.00	(other patterns)
21647	100.00		XXXXXXXXXXXXX

panel variable:
IDPERS (unbalanced)

time variable:
year, 2001 to 2013, but with gaps

delta: 1 unit

Transitions from a wave to another

Married (t)	Married (t+1) 0	1	Total
0	98.29	1.71	100.00
1	1.38	98.62	100.00
Total	52.66	47.34	100.00

A lot of stability
but
enough within variance

Variable		Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max	Observations
trust	overall	6.068684	2.310381	0	10	N = 82727
	between		2.047288	0	10	n = 13987
	within		1.388774	-2.375761	14.95757	T-bar = 5.91456
div	overall	.0593378	.2362567	0	1	N = 142287
	between		.2240424	0	1	n = 21615
	within		.0830527	-.8637391	.9824147	T-bar = 6.58279
sep	overall	.0104788	.1018287	0	1	N = 142287
	between		.0854193	0	1	n = 21615
	within		.0675284	-.8986121	.9335557	T-bar = 6.58279

Distribution of the sample

unweighted sample		Civil status in year of interview					
		single, never married	married	separated	divorced	widower/widow	Total
		Count	Count	Count	Count	Count	Count
an	2002	1.539	3.042	**76**	**341**	**239**	5.237
	2003	1.437	2.815	**69**	**331**	**207**	4.859
	2004	2.282	4.128	**135**	**542**	**353**	7.440
	2005	1.876	3.423	**106**	**477**	**289**	6.171
	2006	1.906	3.531	**100**	**493**	**305**	6.335
	2007	2.082	3.584	**103**	**541**	**311**	6.621
	2008	2.069	3.518	**82**	**561**	**326**	6.556
	2009	2.137	3.654	**88**	**578**	**353**	6.810
	2010	2.243	3.916	**99**	**630**	**365**	7.253
	2011	2.277	3.927	**93**	**636**	**365**	7.298
	2012	2.250	3.822	**87**	**632**	**362**	7.153
	2013	2.168	3.682	**82**	**613**	**351**	6.896

1% 9%

Method

- Fixed effects regression
  - Robust SE.
  - Controls for period effects

  (RE leads to biased estimates according to the Haussman tests)

- Separated models for man/woman led to the same results → (I report only the models for the pooled sample)

- Alternative strategies for causality:
  - SEM
  - Latent Growth Models

Variables

- Generalized trust: 11-point scale

  can't be too careful … Most people can be trusted

- Dummies for divorced, separated, single, widow

- Emotional support
- Practical support

  from Relatives, Friends, Neighbors

- Controls:
  - education, life satisfaction, subjective health, improving health, income*
  - Membership in clubs, number of friends
  - life events in the previous year: illness/accident, illness/accident friend, death, conflict, threat, spliting

*income was not in the initial models due to missingness. All models were repeated with income. Nothing changed

Details on next slide

Exact questions

- Emotional support:

  To what extent can these relatives or these children be available in case of need and show understanding, by talking with you for example, 0 means "not at all" and 10 "a great deal"?

- Practical support:

  If necessary, in your opinion, to what extent can these neighbours provide you with practical help, this means concrete help or useful advice, if 0 means "not at all" and 10 "a great deal"?

- Spliting : TERMINATION OF AN IMPORTANT RELATION

  Since (month-year), has a close and important relationship ended - by break-up, separation, divorce ?

Findings

Univariate: temperature maps by waves

General trust in people

		Civil status in year of interview					
		single, never married	married	separated	divorced	widower/widow	Total
wave	2002	6,01	6,05	6,21	5,72	5,82	6,01
	2003	6,10	6,14	6,06	6,16	6,16	6,13
	2004	6,07	6,16	5,81	6,08	6,01	6,11
	2005	6,32	6,48	6,36	6,23	6,44	6,41
	2006	6,30	6,52	6,10	6,23	6,52	6,42
	2007	6,27	6,57	6,02	6,45	6,48	6,45
	2008	6,38	6,60	6,41	6,42	6,43	6,51
	2009	6,39	6,61	6,81	6,29	6,30	6,50
	2010	6,35	6,55	6,16	6,22	6,32	6,45
	2011	6,31	6,63	6,51	6,38	6,58	6,51
	2012	6,33	6,60	6,17	6,33	6,66	6,49
	2013	6,20	6,50	6,16	6,41	6,48	6,39

Heat stripes by rows: GREEN=higher trust, RED=lower trust

Model 1. No controls for Social Support

trust	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
div						
sep						
widow						
single						
LifeSat	.0681038	.0080899	8.42	0.000	.0522465	.0839611
illAcc	.0108808	.0200763	0.54	0.588	-.0284714	.050233
illAccFR	-.0182951	.0158563	-1.15	0.249	-.0493756	.0127855
ChProb	-.0329696	.027898	-1.18	0.237	-.0876535	.0217143
death	-.009242	.0167711	-0.55	0.582	-.0421157	.0236317
conflict	-.1075981	.0257715	-4.18	0.000	-.1581137	-.0570825
sHealth	.0201894	.0140964	1.43	0.152	-.0074415	.0478203
ImprovH	.011631	.0069477	1.67	0.094	-.0019874	.0252494
Assn	.0825715	.0209081	3.95	0.000	.0415888	.1235541
NbFrnd	.0099229	.0019926	4.98	0.000	.0060172	.0138286

Number of obs = 67017
Number of groups = 13787

see the significant effects of the control variables

Model 2. Add SPLIT

(termination of an important relation)

trust	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
div	-.0377696	.0762611	-0.50	0.620	-.1872517	.1117125
sep	-.0539177	.0973847	-0.55	0.580	-.2448049	.1369695
widow	.1526942	.0975287	1.57	0.117	-.0384753	.3438637
single	-.0066247	.0617248	-0.11	0.915	-.1276137	.1143644
LifeSat	.0671939	.0081027	8.29	0.000	.0513115	.0830763
illAcc	.0103124	.0200623	0.51	0.607	-.0290125	.0496372
illAccFR	-.0189151	.0158554	-1.19	0.233	-.0499938	.0121636
ChProb	-.0292743	.0279204	-1.05	0.294	-.0840021	.0254534
death	-.0083915	.0167733	-0.50	0.617	-.0412695	.0244865
split	-.0744921	.0292733	-2.54	0.011	-.1318717	-.0171125
conflict	-.1007682	.025971	-3.88	0.000	-.1516748	-.0498616
sHealth	.0192669	.0140831	1.37	0.171	-.0083379	.0468717
ImprovH	.0117891	.0069458	1.70	0.090	-.0018256	.0254038
Assn	.0831143	.0209122	3.97	0.000	.0421236	.1241049
NbFrnd	.0097164	.0019643	4.95	0.000	.0058661	.0135668

Number of obs = 66983
Number of groups = 13784

Model 3. Add Emotional Support

(no interactions yet)

trust	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
div	-.0747237	.1285097	-0.58	0.561	-.3266274	.17718
sep	-.185532	.1635563	-1.13	0.257	-.5061339	.1350698
widow	.2502215	.1476329	1.69	0.090	-.0391674	.5396104
single	-.0826828	.1032605	-0.80	0.423	-.2850933	.1197277
PraSupR	.0072592	.0063396	1.15	0.252	-.0051676	.0196861
EmoSupR	.0143004	.0075403	1.90	0.058	-.00048	.0290808
PraSupFr	.0172064	.0078565	2.19	0.029	.0018062	.0326067
EmoSupFr	.0128157	.0093859	1.37	0.172	-.0055826	.0312139
PraSupN	.0087307	.0074415	1.17	0.241	-.005856	.0233175
EmoSupN	.0447291	.0078335	5.71	0.000	.0293739	.0600842
LifeSat	.0424767	.0117375	3.62	0.000	.019469	.0654844
illAcc	-.0165507	.0268414	-0.62	0.538	-.0691649	.0360636
illAccFR	-.0095896	.0210449	-0.46	0.649	-.0508418	.0316625
ChProb	-.0087113	.0352263	-0.25	0.805	-.0777617	.060339
death	-.0013261	.0221042	-0.06	0.952	-.0446545	.0420024
split	-.1345696	.0425093	-3.17	0.002	-.2178961	-.0512431
conflict	-.0390608	.0355844	-1.10	0.272	-.1088131	.0306915
sHealth	.0172887	.0191705	0.90	0.367	-.0202892	.0548666
ImprovH	.0178774	.0092106	1.94	0.052	-.0001772	.035932
Assn	.0703811	.0294094	2.39	0.017	.012733	.1280292
NbFrnd	.007022	.0025221	2.78	0.005	.0020783	.0119657

R = Relatives
Fr = Friends
N = Neighbors

Sup = Support
Pra = Practical
Emo = Emotional

Number of obs = 66983
Number of groups = 13784

Number of obs = 36972
Number of groups = 10382

Model 3. Interactions. No interaction with split (yet).

trust	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
		-1.12	0.263	-.938	
		-0.80	0.422		
		1.71	0.088		
		-0.77	0.4		
		1.53	0.		
	78027	1.77	0.0		
Pra	.0081727	1.98	0.0		
EmoSupFr	.0096579	0.81	0.4		
PraSupN	.007434	1.25	0.212		
EmoSupN	.0078334	5.72	0.000	.02944	.0601585
div#c.PraSupR	.0233828	-0.53	0.5	-.058272	.0333976
div#c.EmoSupR	.0275497	-0.94	0.350	-.0797693	.0282362
sep#c.PraSupR	.0566034	-1.94	0.053	-.2206263	.001281
sep#c.EmoSupR	.0757023	1.78	0.075	-.0135177	.2832645
div#c.PraSupFr	.0302675	0.30	0.768	-.0503856	.0682748
div#c.EmoSupFr	.036243	1.67	0.095	-.0105675	
sep#c.PraSupFr	.078619	-0.08	0.93	.160	
sep#c.EmoSupFr	.1015297	0.19	0.853	.18	
LifeSat	.0117276	3.63	0.000		
illAcc	.0267987	-0.60	0.548	-.	
illAccFR	.0210623	-0.47	0.640	-.	
ChProb	.035226	-0.23	0.819	-.0	
death	.0221107	-0.08	0.939	-.04502	
split	.0424915	-3.12	0.002	-.2158287	-.04
conflict	.0355486	-1.06	0.287	-.1074965	.0318676
sHealth	.0191628	0.93	0.352	-.0197286	.0553971
ImprovH	.0092023	1.93	0.053	-.0002587	.035818
Assn	.0293969	2.39	0.017	.0126683	.1279154
NbFrnd	.0025138	2.80	0.005	.0021212	.0119763

Emotional support from Relatives increases TRUST in case of separation

Practical support from Relatives decreases TRUST in case of separation

Emotional support from Friends increases TRUST in case of divorce

R = Relatives
Fr = Friends
N = Neighbors

Number of obs = 36972
Number of groups = 10382

Model 5. Interactions with SPLIT

trust	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
div	-.0736163	.1285607	-0.57	0.567	-.32562	.1783873
sep	-.1845608	.1633104	-1.13	0.258	-.5046806	.1355589
widow	.2504369	.1475911	1.70	0.090	-.03887	.5397438
single	-.0825877	.1032262	-0.80	0.424	-.2849309	.1197555
PraSupR	.0071418	.0064386	1.11	0.267	-.0054791	.0197628
EmoSupR	.0151337	.0077554	1.95	0.051	-.0000685	.0303358
PraSupFr	.0174405	.0080618	2.16	0.031	.0016377	.0332433
EmoSupFr	.0127222	.0095381	1.33	0.182	-.0059744	.0314187
PraSupN	.0086984	.0074424	1.17	0.243	-.0058902	.023287
EmoSupN	.0447665	.007833	5.72	0.000	.0294124	.0601206
split#c.PraSupR						
yes	.0018406	.0236446	0.08	0.938	-.0445074	.0481886
split#c.EmoSupR						
yes	-.0110252	.02581	-0.43	0.669	-.0616179	.0395674
split#c.PraSupFr						
yes	-.0043663	.0283361	-0.15	0.878	-.0599105	.1779
split#c.EmoSupFr						
yes	.0006676	.0364579	0.02	0.985	-.0707968	.0721321
LifeSat	.042427	.0117355	3.62	0.000	.0194233	.0654308
illAcc	-.0166509	.0268471	-0.62	0.535	-.0692764	.0359745
illAccFR	-.0096394	.021044	-0.46	0.647	-.0508898	.031611
ChProb	-.0086637	.035269	-0.25	0.806	-.0777978	.0604704
death	-.0012529	.0220975	-0.06	0.955	-.0445682	.0420624
split	-.0318569	.2356703	-0.14	0.892	-.493816	.4301023
conflict	-.0391215	.0355558	-1.10	0.271	-.1088178	.0305748
sHealth	.0173857	.0191624	0.91	0.364	-.0201763	.0549478
ImprovH	.0178578	.0092086	1.94	0.052	-.0001928	.0359084
Assn	.0705679	.0294111	2.40	0.016	.0129164	.1282194
NbFrnd	.0070348	.0025245	2.79	0.005	.0020863	.0119833

R = Relatives
Fr = Friends
N = Neighbors

No effect at all

Number of obs = 36972
Number of groups = 10382

R-square & Co.

23% of variance due to within level

4% explained variance (model 4)

- Low
- RE models: substantially increase of the R^2 (but the Haussman test indicates that the estimates are significantly different; however, they are not different as interpretation)
- I did not discussed size-effects: I am not very much interested in them for the moment. However, the impact is very low… (remember that the significance levels of interaction terms were lower than 0.10, but over 0.05)

Alternate models

- Three-ways interactions with gender ➔ nothing changes
  (same conclusion if running the models on subsamples)
- Controlling for income: no change.
- SEM models (without interactions, for the moment) ➔ no impact of divorce/separation on trust or of trust on couple dissolution

  [Caution: I did not test yet using SPLIT]
- LGM : idem.

Implications

Catalonia's Choice: Chaotic Divorce or Loveless Marriage

wolfstreet.com / by Don Quijones / October 3, 2014

Basic finding

- Divorce
- развод
- Scheidung
- Divorț
- Rozwód
- Divorce
- Divorzio
- Divorcio
- Válás
- Echtscheiding
- Διαζύγιο
- 離婚
- Skilsmässa
- Ամուսնալուծություն
- Usaldus
- გაყრა
- Divórcio
- Розлучення

Not a simple causal relation!

- Trust
- Доверие
- Vetraut
- Încredere
- Zaufanie
- Confiance
- Fiducia
- Confianza
- Bizalom
- Vertrouwen
- Εμπιστοσύνη
- 信任
- Tillit
- Վստահել
- Lahutus
- ობის
- Confiança
- Довіру

Hypotheses?

1. Dissolution of couple → - Trust — but it depends
2. Divorce == Separation — With respect to the main effect
3. Separation * Practical Support = - — Relatives only
4. Separation * Emotional Support = +
5. Divorce * Practical Support = 0
6. Divorce * Emotional Support = + — Friends only

→ causality
== same effect
\- Negative effect
\+ positive effect
0 no effect

Summary of findings

- Couple dissolution is harmful to generalized trust for those who consider the relation as being important.
- However, the impact is rather low.
- Social support, particularly the emotional one, in case of both separation and divorce, actually boosts generalized trust. But the most important source of support differs from separation to divorce

Further research

- Add interaction effects for the presence of children (& their age)
- Include effects of parental divorce?
- Analyze another context (UK) 
- Include contextual effects – country level
- Include the local context, the peer-group…
- Include the reasons for separation

Implications

- Counseling: make sure that social support is to be found, particularly the emotional one.
- Research: predict TRUST rather with marriage ☺

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Cross-sectional results

Contextual embeddedness

- The meaning of negative life experiences is shaped by their social definition
- When a negative life experience is more frequent within the population, it is reasonable to assume that preparedness to cope with it is higher, and its deterring effects are fader
- Context for divorce:
  - frequency of divorces
  - attitudes towards divorce

Data: EVS & ESS

EVS 2008-2009

- cross-sectional, **47** societies, ~67000 respondents
- Dependent: binary
- Independent (individuals):
  - marital status (see next slide)
  - Various controls

ESS 2010-2011

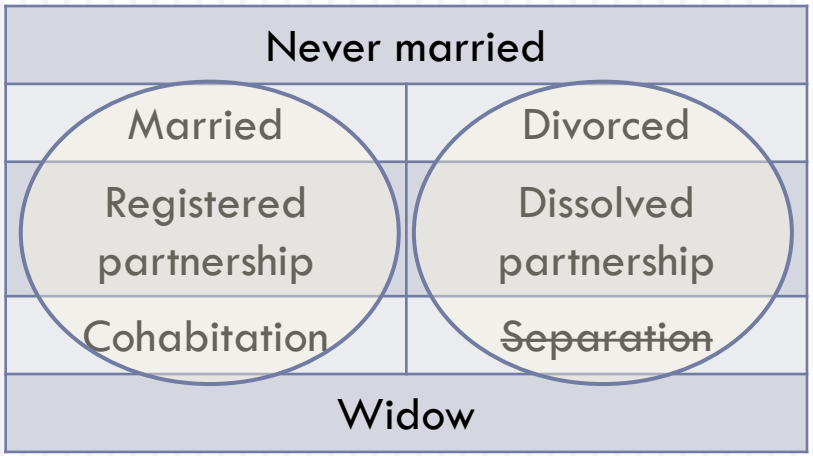
- cross-sectional, **26** societies, ~50781 respondents
- Dependent: continuous (3-items average)
- Independent (individuals):
  - marital status (see next slide)
  - Various controls

- Independent (country level):
  - <Divorce to Marriage Ratio> or <Crude Divorce Rate>
  - Divorce=justifiable (10-point scale) → country averages
  - Control: GDP/capita
- Method: MLM
  - H3: interaction of being separated and country-level independents

Data: EVS & ESS → marital status

EVS 2008-2009

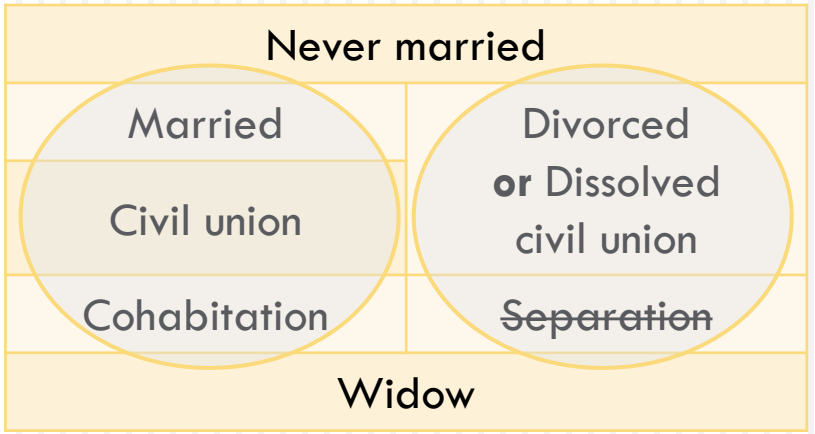
- Using various items one may get to:



- (~~Experience of past separation~~)
- No info about former separation for those not in a couple;
- Several inconsistencies across items
- Info on re-marriage.

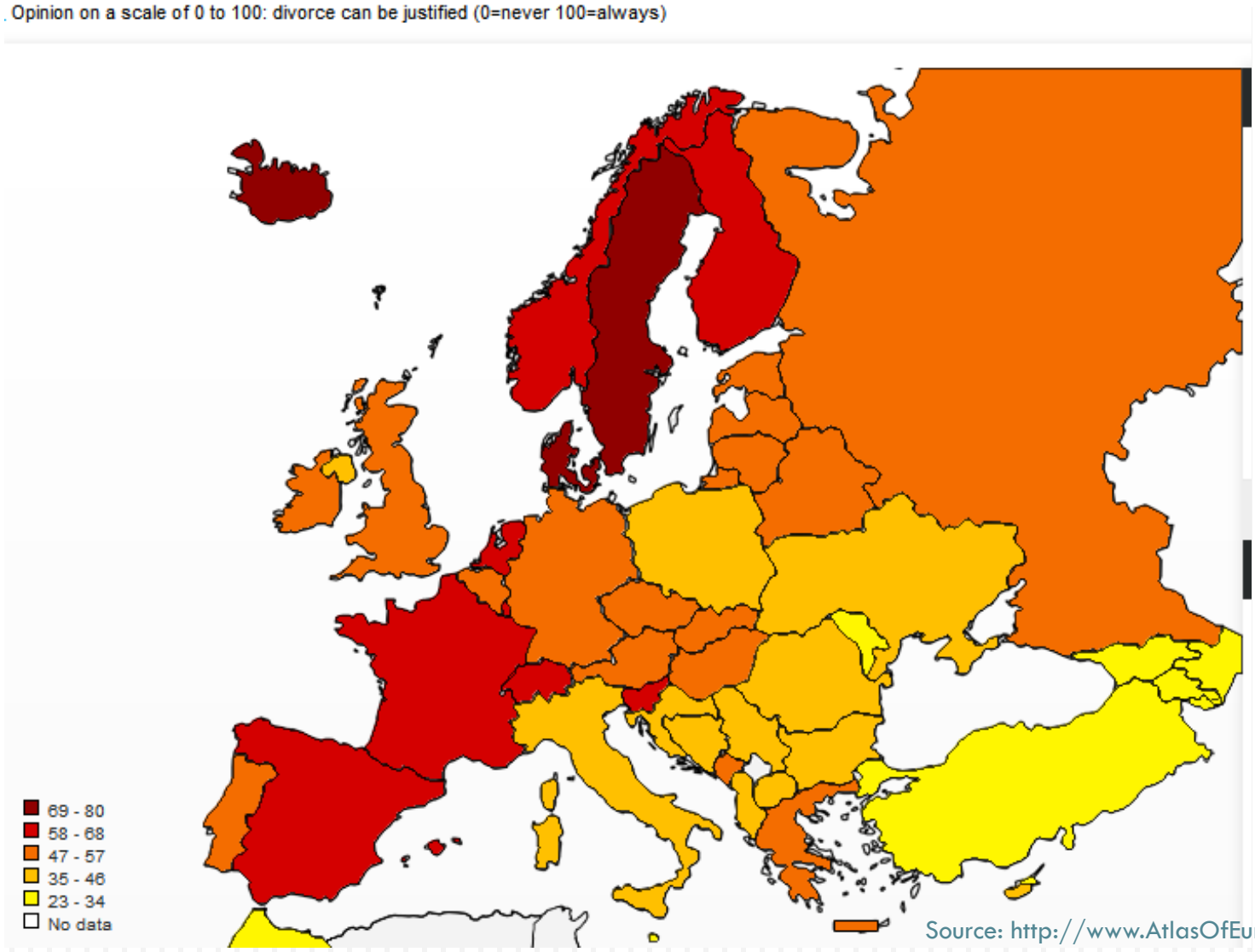
ESS 2010-2011

- More straightforward identification of:



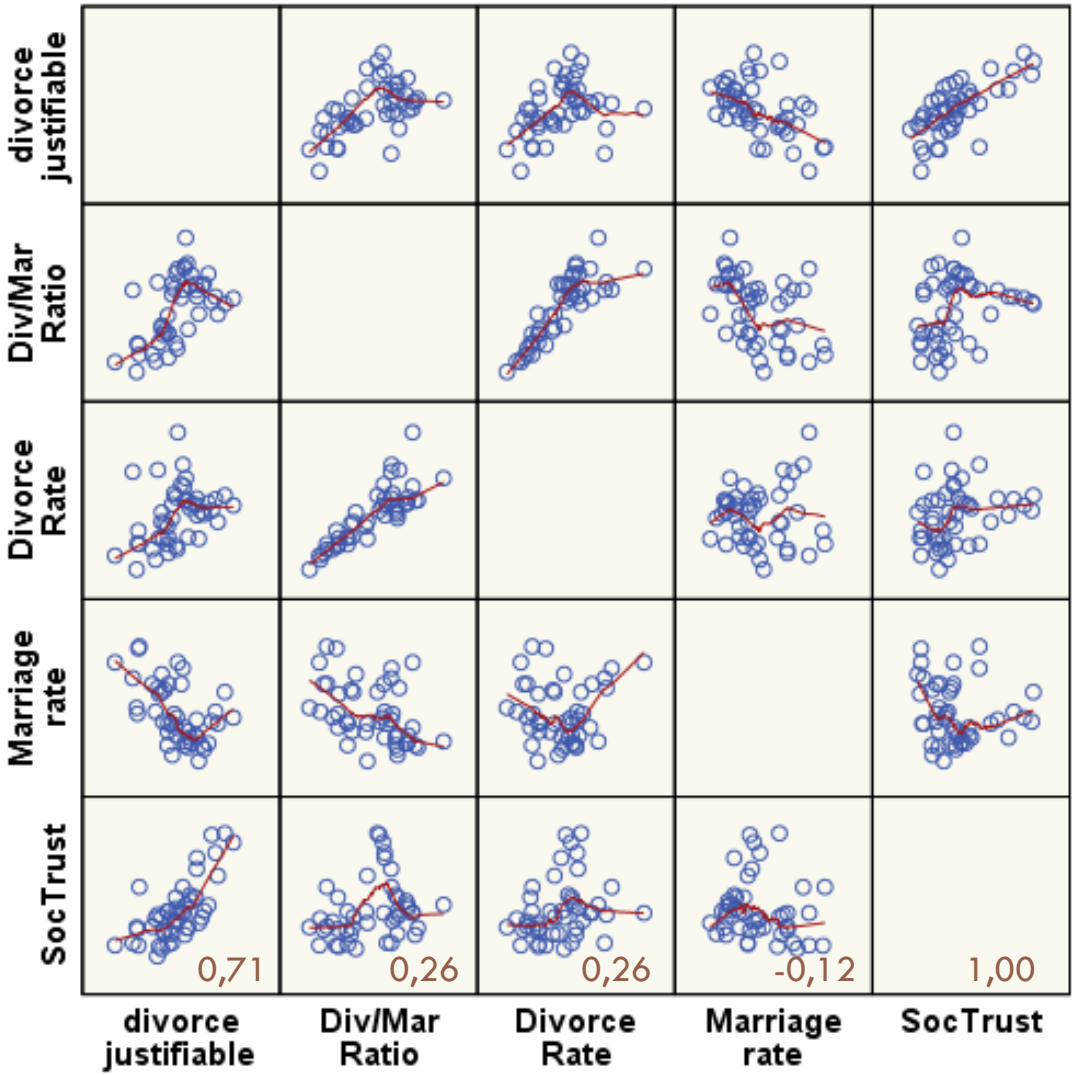
- (Experience of past separation)
- No info about former separation for those in a nonregistered cohabitation;
- Even more inconsistencies across items
- (Info on re-marriage)

Context: divorce justifiable



Source: http://www.AtlasOfEuropeanValues.eu

Bivariate country-level relations



Pearson Correlations
(47 societies)

Results EVS – MLM logistic

Various types of separation & couples

	b	SE	sig.
ln(Crude Marr rate)	0,06	(0,06)	
ln(Crude Div rate)	0,56	(0,49)	
GDP/c (000 PPP)	0,04	(0,00)	***
Never Married	0,12	(0,05)	**
Widow	0,13	(0,04)	**
Divorced	0,00	(0,10)	
divorced*ln(CDR)	-0,06	(0,09)	
Separated*ln(CDR)	0,01	(0,07)	
Separated*ln(CDR)	0,04	(0,04)	
Cohabitation	-0,09	(0,05)	*
Reg. Partnership	-0,01	(0,09)	
Remarried	-0,14	(0,07)	+
Remarried*ln(CDR)	0,11	(0,07)	

Reference category: being married

No legal differences for living with partner

	b	SE	sig
ln(Crude Marr rate)	0,06	(0,06)	
ln(Crude Div rate)	0,56	(0,50)	
GDP/c (000 PPP)	0,00	(0,00)	***
Never Married	0,14	(0,04)	***
Widow	0,13	(0,04)	***
disoluted couple	0,00	(0,06)	
disoluted*ln(CDR)	0,01	(0,04)	
Remarried	-0,14	(0,07)	+
Remarried*ln(CDR)	0,11	(0,07)	

Reference category: living with partner

Controls for gender, age, education, employment status, religious faith, immigration status, number of children, postmaterialism

Results ESS – MLM

Various types of separation & couples

	b	SE	sig.
ln(Div/mar ratio)	0,35	(0,28)	
GDP/c (000 PPP)	0,00	(0,00)	**
Never Married	1,64	(1,29)	
Widow	-0,18	(0,05)	***
divorced	-0,33	(0,18)	+
divorced*ln(DMR)	-0,23	(0,20)	
Cohabitation	0,03	(0,04)	
Registered Partnership	0,04	(0,09)	
Remarried	-0,42	(0,13)	***
Remarried*ln(DMR)	-0,37	(0,16)	**

Reference category: married or civil union

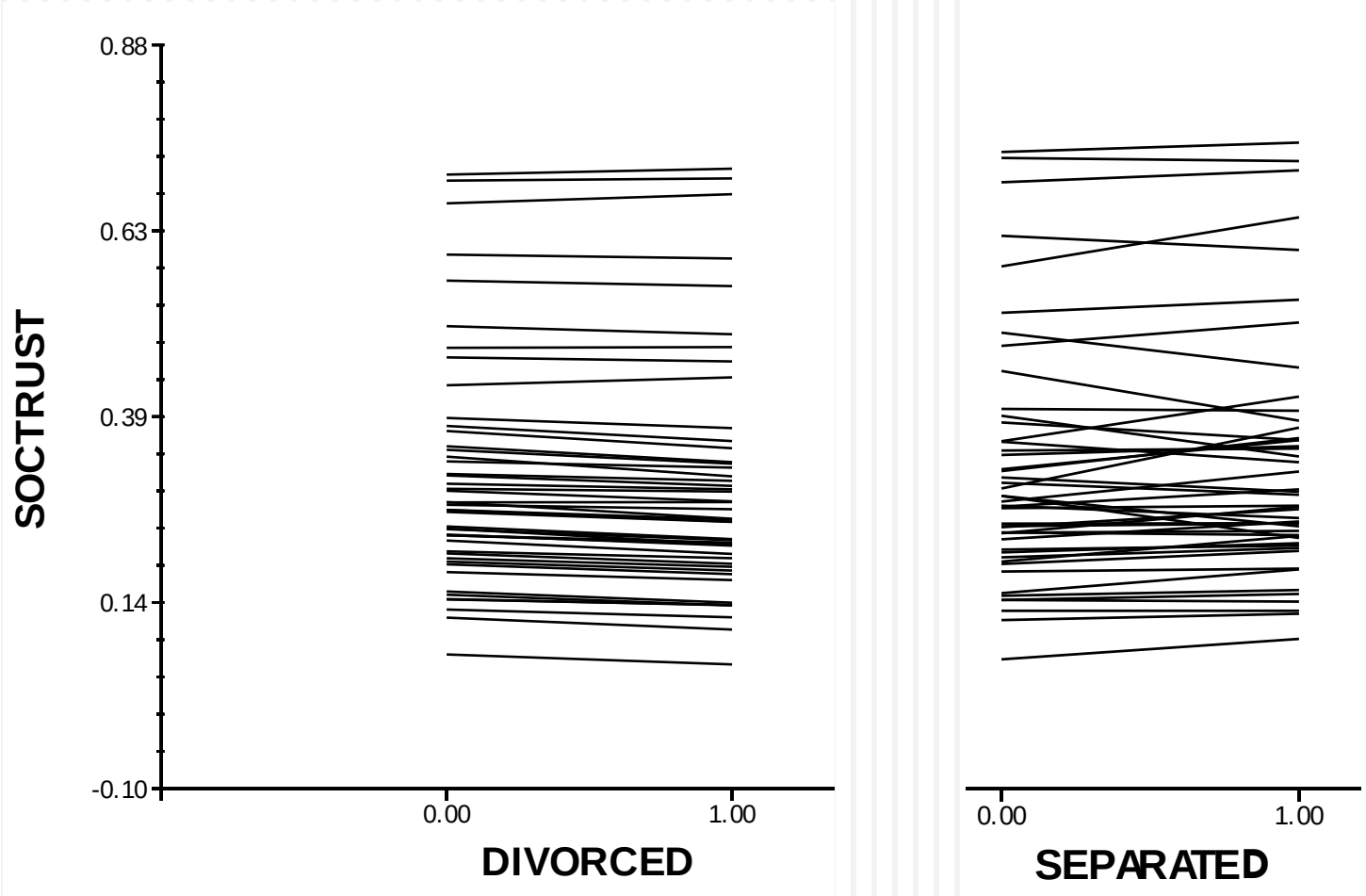
No legal differences for living with partner

	b	SE	sig
ln(Div/mar ratio)	0,35	(0,28)	
GDP/c (000 PPP)	0,04	(0,00)	**
Never Married	1,63	(1,29)	
Widow	-0,16	(0,05)	***
divorced	-0,34	(0,18)	+
divorced*ln(DMR)	-0,23	(0,20)	
Remarried	-0,41	(0,13)	**
Remarried*ln(DMR)	-0,37	(0,16)	*

Reference category: living with partner

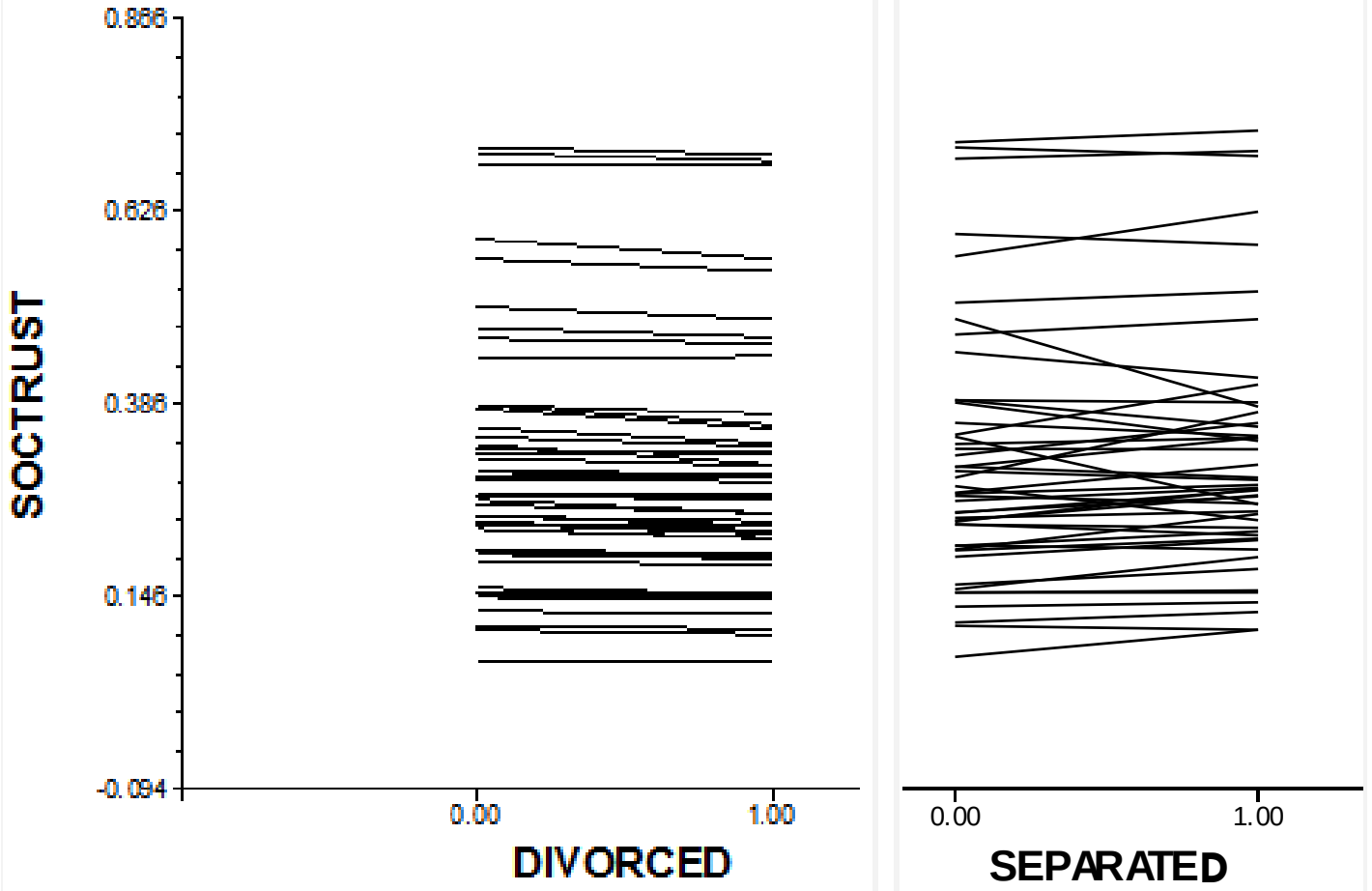
Controls for gender, age, education, employment status, religious faith, immigration status, number of children.

Results EVS – Random effects



Reference category: being married

Results EVS – Random effects, after controlling L2 variables



Reference category: being married

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