



Gender differences in relationship preferences after union dissolution



Anne-Rigt Poortman^{a,*}, Belinda Hewitt^{b,1}

^a Dept. of Sociology, Utrecht University, Padualaan 14, 3584 CH Utrecht, The Netherlands

^b School of Social Science, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, The University of Queensland, Brisbane St Lucia, QLD 4072, Australia

ARTICLE INFO

Article history:

Received 30 October 2014

Received in revised form 10 July 2015

Accepted 14 July 2015

Available online 17 July 2015

ABSTRACT

Women less often remarry or cohabit again after union dissolution than men. To develop our understanding of this gender gap, we look at men's and women's relationship preferences following the dissolution of marital and cohabiting unions. Using the Dutch Generations and Gender Survey Study ($N = 973$), results show that divorced or separated women less often want to live with a partner again than men, and this holds for both singles and persons with a steady partner. Men and women generally do not differ in their desire to marry, except when they cohabit. Cohabiting women express a weaker desire for marriage than cohabiting men. Overall, we find women are less willing than men to proceed to the next step in a relationship—from dating, to living together, to marriage. Children from previous relationships are pivotal for both men's and women's relationship preferences. Having (young) resident prior children attenuates women's desire to live together, whereas for men it is the frequency of contact with non-resident prior children that matters. Because women more often than men have primary care of children after divorce or separation, the gender difference in the desire to live with another partner is largely explained by women's greater involvement with children from previous relationships. We conclude that understanding preferences can provide better insight into gendered differences in relationship formation after union dissolution.

© 2015 Elsevier Ltd. All rights reserved.

1. Introduction

A divorce or separation is associated with many adverse consequences for the partners involved (see review by Amato, 2010). Remarriage or unmarried cohabitation after union dissolution is considered to be an important “route to recovery” because it often increases people's economic and social-emotional well-being (Dewilde & Uunk, 2008; Wang & Amato, 2000). Yet, one of the most consistent findings is that women less often remarry or start living with a new partner again than men (De Graaf & Kalmijn, 2003; Ivanova, Kalmijn, & Uunk, 2013; Poortman, 2007; Skew, Evans, & Gray, 2009; Wu & Schimmele, 2005).

This gender difference in rates of marriage and cohabitation following union dissolution is most commonly accounted for by the greater structural *restrictions* that women face on the marriage market. For instance, women more often gain primary physical custody over the children than men, thereby reducing women's opportunities to meet new partners as well as their ability to

attract new partners because of the associated complexities of stepfamily life (Ivanova et al., 2013). Likewise, the pool of potential partners may in general be smaller for divorced women than men, as women face an age penalty in relationship formation and the supply of potential partners decreases with age for women only (Ní Bhrolcháin & Sigle-Rushton, 2005).

The gender gap in remarriage and cohabitation after union dissolution may, however, also be a matter of *choice*. How men and women experience relationships may be inherently different, with men benefiting more from marriage or cohabitation than women (e.g. Bernard, 1982 [1972]; Waite & Gallagher, 2000). Prior research in the Netherlands suggests that women may therefore be more reluctant to enter a subsequent co-residential union (Poortman, 2007). Little is known about the desires of divorced and separated people (but see Parker, 1999). Research about widowhood, however, suggests that choice is an important element in the gender disparity in marriage and cohabitation following widowhood: widows indicate that they do not want to remarry or live with a partner again because they are not willing to give up their newly acquired freedom to once again take care of a household and a man (Davidson, 2002; De Jong Gierveld, 2002).

In this study, we examine people's relationship preferences after union dissolution and aim to gain more insight into the possible gendered nature of these preferences. Relationship

* Corresponding author. Tel.: +31 302534306.

E-mail addresses: A.Poortman@uu.nl (A.-R. Poortman), b.hewitt@uq.edu.au (B. Hewitt).

¹ Tel.: +61 7 336 52022.

preferences refer to the desire to live together (be it married or unmarried) and the desire to marry throughout this study. Most research about marriage and cohabitation following union dissolution has simply documented a gender difference in the rates of marriage and cohabitation after union dissolution (e.g., Ivanova et al., 2013; Wu & Schimmele, 2005). Some research provides tentative explanations for this gender gap, but offer limited insight into the sources of this gender difference as almost all studies examine the correlates of remarriage or cohabitation after union dissolution separately for each gender (De Graaf & Kalmijn, 2003). If explanations for gender differences in (re)marriage or cohabitation after union dissolution are explored, the role of structural factors, such as parenthood, in explaining the gender gap are examined without disentangling whether these structural factors affect people's behavior via the restrictions they impose or the choices people make (e.g., Ivanova et al., 2013). In fact, these structural factors are often interpreted in terms of the barriers they represent on the marriage market rather than in terms of shaping people's preferences (Ivanova et al., 2013). Although we cannot unravel the complex interplay between preferences and restrictions on the likelihood of entering a marriage or cohabitation after union dissolution, our study develops our understanding of these processes, by focusing on relationship preferences, a factor that is particularly likely to influence people's decisions to remarry or cohabit after union dissolution.

First, we examine whether men and women still desire to live with a partner and get married in the future after their previous marriage or cohabitation has ended. If women less often want to co-reside or marry than men, this would suggest that women's lower rates of marriage and cohabitation following union breakdown are not only a matter of greater restrictions – as has most commonly been suggested – but that they may in part be driven by choice. Second, we examine how structural factors – such as economic resources and parenthood – shape people's preferences and whether these factors can account for any gender differences in relationship preferences (mediation). The factors included in this study are similar to those commonly included in research on remarriage and cohabitation after union dissolution. If these factors shape people's preferences, this would suggest that they affect people's behavior not only via the restrictions they impose but also via choice related processes—although we acknowledge that restrictions may shape people's preferences. More importantly, as many of the factors associated with remarriage and cohabitation after union dissolution are known to differ greatly between men and women, they may partly account for any observed gender difference in relationship preferences. We, in particular, examine whether differences between men and women in their economic resources, their involvement with children from previous relationships and in their current romantic attachments can account for gendered preferences. Third, we study whether the influence of structural factors differs between men and women (moderation), as some studies on remarriage show that effects vary by gender.

As far as we are aware, there is very little research on the relationship preferences of divorced and separated men and women. Existing studies about relationship preferences have either focused on a more general sample, including never married persons for instance (e.g., Frazier, Arikian, Benson, Losoff, & Maurer, 1996) or on the relationship preferences of widowed persons (e.g., Carr, 2004). An exception is an Australian study by Parker (1999). She finds that divorced and separated men have a greater interest than women in forming a new relationship (be it marriage, unmarried cohabitation, or steady non-residential relationships) and that the factors associated with this desire are gendered. However, she does not explore the sources of the gender difference and her findings are based on a small sample of

unattached persons. We extend this previous work in several respects. First, we use large-scale data from the Netherlands. The Netherlands is quite an average country when it comes to family behavior; it has intermediate divorce and remarriage rates in cross-national perspective (OECD, 2015; Spijker & Solsona, 2012). In addition, the Netherlands has typically gendered remarriage patterns, with Dutch men being more likely to remarry than Dutch women (Spijker & Solsona, 2012). Second, we include cohabiting men and women as well as those in steady non-residential partnerships (living apart together relationships) when examining relationship preferences. It is important to extend the sample beyond single persons, because those in living apart together relationships are at risk of cohabitation or marriage and cohabitants are at risk of marriage. More importantly, living apart together relationships and cohabitation have become viable alternatives to remarriage among divorced or separated people (Wu & Schimmele, 2005), which is likely to be expressed in their relationship preferences. Finally, we include more detailed measures of economic resources, involvement with prior children and current romantic attachments than earlier studies on marriage and cohabitation following union breakdown to provide further insight into gender differences in relationship preferences.

1.1. Structural factors, gender and relationship preferences

Men and women who divorced or separated vary greatly in certain background characteristics, most notably in: (a) their levels of economic resources, (b) their involvement with children from a previous relationship, and (c) their romantic attachments (before moving on to cohabitation or marriage). These structural factors may also shape people's relationship preferences, in turn leading to a gender difference in these preferences.

Women have fewer *economic resources* after union dissolution than men: they have lower income and participate less in the labor market (Aassve, Betti, Mazzucco, & Mencarini, 2007; Andreß, Borgloh, Bröckel, Giesselmann, & Hummelsheim, 2006; Poortman, 2000). It is unclear beforehand whether this economic gender disparity leads to a weaker or stronger desire to live together or marry among women than men. First, economic resources may affect preferences indirectly via their association with people's perceived chances of success in finding a new partner. People may have less desire for marriage or living together if they don't think they will find a partner—so preferences may reflect perceived or real restrictions in the marriage market. Although results are not always significant, research suggests that high-resource men and women are more likely to enter a (married or unmarried) co-residential union again after union dissolution (Lampard & Peggs, 1999; Poortman, 2007; Sweeney, 1997). Hence, they may also be more optimistic about their prospects on the marriage market, in turn leading to a stronger preference for repartnering vis-à-vis those with few such resources. Second, a certain minimum of economic resources is required for household formation (Oppenheimer, Kalmijn, & Lim, 1997). Hence, people with few economic resources may simply not be able to afford to establish a new household, which leads them to adjust their preferences accordingly. Although this argument was traditionally reserved for men, the equalization of men's and women's contributions to the household income suggests that the argument may also hold for women nowadays (Oppenheimer, 1988). Third, and contrary to the previous argument, persons with few economic resources may have a stronger desire to enter a new co-residential union or marriage to improve their economic security (De Graaf and Kalmijn, 2003). Although this argument is most often applied to women, reduced gender role differentiation suggests that this argument may nowadays also hold for men. The scant evidence so far does not support either of the contradictory expectations, as

economic resources have been found to bear little association with relationship preferences (Parker, 1999). We therefore refrain from hypotheses about the effects of economic resources on relationship preferences, the gender difference in relationship preferences resulting from the economic gender differences, and the mediating role of economic resources to explain gender differences in preferences.

Another aspect in which men and women differ is the extent to which they continue to be involved with their *children from previous relationships*. Mothers more often gain primary physical custody (Kelly, 2007) and will likely have more contact than men with children living outside the household (be it living with the ex-partner or on their own) as women generally tend to foster kin relationships (Rosenthal, 1985). Involvement with children from previous relationships may in turn affect relationship preferences. First, children are likely to be a barrier to remarriage or cohabitation after union dissolution. The care for children restricts the time that can be spent on searching for a new partner and potential partners may be deterred by the prospect of becoming a stepparent (Ivanova et al., 2013). Research shows that prior children reduce chances of marriage and cohabitation after union dissolution, especially these of women (Beaujouan, 2012; Ivanova et al., 2013; Lampard & Peggs, 1999; Poortman, 2007). To the extent that people are aware of these greater restrictions and adjust their aspirations accordingly, this would imply weaker relationship preferences among those with prior children, particularly if they have a high level of involvement with those children. Second, children may also directly affect people's relationship preferences. Parents, especially those with high levels of childrearing responsibilities, may be more cautious for the sake of the children: children for instance may find it difficult to accept a new partner, especially when the new partner comes to live in the same house as the children. A more prosaic reason for being reluctant to enter a co-residential union, is that the amount of child support to be paid or received may be adjusted as the income of a new partner may be taken into account when calculating child support. In contrast, it is also possible that prior children may increase the desire for marriage or living together, because extra income and support may be especially welcome when raising dependent children (De Graaf and Kalmijn, 2003). There is, however, little empirical evidence for this last argument, as previous research shows that having two or more children reduced the desire for a new relationship among women (Parker, 1999). We thus hypothesize that greater involvement with prior children reduces the desire to live together or marry. We also expect that women with children will have less desire to marry or live together than men, because women are more likely to have primary custody and be more involved with prior children. This implies that women's weaker relationship preferences are (partly) explained by their greater involvement with prior children.

Finally, men and women may differ in the extent to which they are already in a *steady (co-residential) relationship*. As addressed in the introduction, most research finds that women marry or cohabit less than men after divorce or separation. Even when background characteristics are taken into account, women may still be at a disadvantage on the dating and marriage market vis-à-vis men. For instance, the pool of suitable partners is likely to be smaller for women than men after union dissolution (Ní Bhrolcháin & Sigle-Rushton, 2005; England & McClintock, 2009) and men tend to be less willing to marry a divorced partner than women (South, 1991). Women are therefore expected to be less often cohabiting or in a steady relationship than men after a union dissolution, and when they are it may be of lower quality as suggested in the literature on the consequences of shortages on the marriage market (Lichter, Anderson, & Hayward, 1995). A person's current romantic

attachments may in turn affect the desire to start living together or marry, but it is unclear how. People who are in a steady dating relationship have already overcome the restrictions on the repartnering market, so they are likely to be more positive about their chances of actually living together or marrying in the future. This will be all the more true for those in a high quality relationship. In addition, the prospect of getting married or entering cohabitation may have become less hypothetical leading to a stronger desire among those with (high-quality) steady non-residential relationships. The same argumentation goes for cohabitants and their desire to marry. A counterargument is that people in a steady non-residential or a cohabiting relationship regard this as the end-point for their relationship. Divorced persons, for example, may be reluctant to re-enter a committed relationship such as marriage again given their previous experiences. Cohabitation is popular among divorced and separated persons (Wu & Schimmele, 2005). This line of reasoning suggests weaker preferences for cohabitation or marriage among those in steady non-residential or cohabiting relationships. Because of these contradictory expectations, we refrain from hypotheses.

Other factors besides economic resources, prior children and relationship status may affect relationship preferences as well, but these are not likely to vary that much between men and women. Hence, these factors will be relatively unimportant for the association between gender and relationship preferences. Most notably, the *type of union dissolution*, *age* and *religiosity* will likely affect relationship preferences. Research suggests that former cohabitants enter a new co-residential union (be it marriage or unmarried cohabitation) again at a faster rate than previously married persons (Poortman, 2007; Stewart, Manning, & Smock, 2003; Wu & Schimmele, 2005). Divorced people may be more cautious to do so, because a failed marriage, with its greater investments, probably hits harder than a failed cohabitation. Parker (1999) finds that formerly married men more often express no interest in a new relationship than men who cohabited, yet no association was found for women. Older people also have weaker relationship preferences (South, 1991; Van Hoorn, 2000). This may not only arise from their more restricted marriage market opportunities leading older people to adjust their aspirations downwards, but also because age may temper the desire for a partner per se. Older single people may have found other ways to live a fulfilling life without necessarily needing a partner (Poortman and Liefbroer, 2010). Furthermore, religiosity may matter but its role is ambiguous (De Graaf & Kalmijn, 2003). Because many religions are pro-marriage, religious men and women will probably have a stronger desire to remarry than their non-religious counterparts and less desire for unmarried cohabitation (De Graaf & Kalmijn, 2003).

1.2. The role of gender

Women and men also experience relationships differently. A marriage may actually consist of two marriages, his and hers (Bernard, 1982[1972]), with his marriage being better than hers. This would imply that women might be more careful than men the second time around (Poortman, 2007), with women having a weaker desire to marry or cohabit again than men—although it should be noted that recent findings on his and her marriage are inconsistent (see review by Carr & Springer, 2010). In addition, some research shows that the social-psychological impact of union dissolution is stronger for women than men (Willitts, Benzeval, & Stansfeld, 2004; Hewitt et al., 2012). Given this greater impact, we would also expect women to be more cautious leading to weaker preferences for cohabitation or marriage. Available evidence suggests that divorced/separated women have less desire to remarry or form a relationship than their male counterparts (Parker, 1999; Frazier et al., 1996). This research did not account

for gender differences in structural background characteristics when assessing whether men's and women's preferences differ after a break-up. We nonetheless expect that women have less desire to live together or marry than men, once differences in background characteristics are taken into account.

We also expect gender to moderate the influence of structural factors on relationship preferences. That is, the association between background characteristics, on the one hand, and relationship preferences on the other, may differ between men and women. Family research typically finds that these factors have a stronger impact on women's family outcomes than men's, be it for instance work-family balance (Roxburgh, 2002), perceived marital problems (Amato & Rogers, 1997) or divorce initiative (Hewitt et al., 2006; Kalmijn and Poortman, 2006). This may be explained by the fact that women are in general more sensitive to relationship issues than men (Amato & Rogers, 1997). Parker (1999) also showed that many of the factors that were examined significantly affected women's, but not men's, desire for a new relationship. She points at the more difficult and insecure circumstances of women following union dissolution as a possible explanation, making women more sensitive to the many issues involved if one were to form a new relationship again (Parker, 1999: 43). We thus expect that the effects of the examined factors on relationship preferences will be stronger for women than for men.

2. Method

We use data from the first wave of the Dutch Generations and Gender Surveys (also known as the Netherlands Kinship Panel Study–NKPS; Dykstra et al., 2005). This is a large survey conducted between 2002 and 2004. The sample was drawn randomly and is representative with respect to region and urbanization. The response rate was 45%, which is comparable to the response rates of other Dutch family surveys—a country known for a lower public willingness to participate in surveys (De Leeuw & De Heer, 2001). The study is representative of the Dutch population as to region and levels of urbanization, but women, people in the middle age ranges, and those with children living at home were overrepresented (Dykstra et al., 2005). The data are therefore weighted in the descriptive analyses with weights adjusting with respect to household type, gender, age, region and urbanization. The data comprise 8161 respondents who were interviewed face-to-face and in addition, they filled in a self-administered questionnaire. About 92% of the respondents returned the questionnaire (Dykstra et al., 2005).

To examine gender differences in the desire to live with a partner or to marry after union dissolution, we selected men and women who had experienced the dissolution of a marriage or a cohabiting relationship and who were not co-residing with a partner ($n = 1244$) or who were cohabiting at Wave 1 ($n = 340$). Note that the group of respondents who do not co-reside with a partner includes singles as well as people with a steady partner with whom they do not co-reside. We further restricted the sample for analysis. Widowed people ($n = 65$) were excluded. In addition, we excluded respondents of 65, the official retirement age, and older, because these people likely face a different remarriage market than younger persons, due to the loss of social roles (Van Tilburg, 2006) and the higher and gender specific mortality rate among elderly people ($n = 122$). We also excluded respondents with inconsistent information about the desire to live together and desire to marry. As will be explained in more detail in the measurements section, this means that we excluded those who indicated that they did not want to live together and yet did want to get married ($n = 15$). Finally, we selected only those men and women for whom the union dissolution was ten years ago or less (excluded $n = 409$). Older divorce cohorts may have faced quite a

different remarriage market, because only since the 1990s Dutch divorce rates have stabilized, suggesting that at that time divorce was really becoming more 'normalized'. Moreover, older cohorts differ in how they gave form to their relationship, the conditions under which they divorced and the tolerance for cohabiting versus remarriage. This selection also enables us to avoid our results being disproportionately influenced by a group who never enters a new co-residential union or marriage again, because this group is likely to be overrepresented in a cross-sectional sample due to the fact that people who already remarried or entered a new co-residential union are not in the sample.

The eventual sample consists of 973 persons (596 women and 377 men). Of this total sample, 762 (297 men and 465 women) were not co-residing and this sub-sample is used for the analyses of the desire to live together (Sample 1). Sample 1 consists of both singles and people with a steady partner with whom they are not living together. The sub-sample for the analyses of the desire to marry (Sample 2) includes 648 respondents (271 men and 377 women). Sample 2 includes not only people who are single or who have a steady partner with whom they do not co-reside, but also includes cohabiting persons ($n = 211$), as they are at risk of marriage as well. We exclude those who did not want to live together ($n = 325$), because none of these respondents wanted to get married (as marriage implies co-residence).

2.1. Measures of the dependent variables

We examine two dependent variables; the desire to live together and the desire to get married. The *desire for living together* was asked only of respondents who were not co-residing with a partner, although they may have had a steady partner with whom they did not live together. They were asked: "Would you like to live together with a/your partner in the future?". The term "living together" in the Dutch question means living in the same house – be it married or unmarried – and does not refer to unmarried cohabitation only. The response categories were *yes*, *no* and *don't know*. Respondents who answered "yes" are given a score of 1 (and 0 otherwise). For the second dependent variable, respondents who were not married were asked "Would you like to marry in the future?" (*yes*, *no* and *don't know*). Based on this information, a dichotomous variable for the *desire to marry* was constructed (1 = *yes*). We exclude those who would like to marry, but do not want to live with a/their partner ($n = 15$) from the second dependent variable because marriage usually implies that partners co-reside. It may be that these respondents interpreted the question about living together as a question about unmarried cohabitation—although the question does not use the Dutch term for unmarried cohabitation but rather the more general term of living together. Thus the analysis of the desire to marry is conditional upon whether respondents want to co-reside.

2.2. Measures of the independent variables

2.2.1. Gender

A dichotomous variable coded 1 if the respondent is a woman and 0 if male.

2.2.2. Economic resources

Our first measure of economic resources is a respondent's level of *education*, originally ranging from 1 = unfinished primary school to 10 = post-academic, and recoded to the formally required years to obtain this level of education (ranging from 4 to 20 years). Our second measure is a respondent's personal net *monthly income*, which is the sum of income from paid employment and social benefits. Income is divided by 1000 to prevent small estimates in the analyses. The third measure is the number of *hours that*

respondents work per week. If they do not have a job, respondents were assigned 0 h.

2.2.3. Prior children

The presence of prior children is captured by two variables indicating (a) whether the respondent had prior children living in the household, and (b) if not, living somewhere else—the reference group being those who do not have children from prior relationships. The first variable indicates whether respondents had children from previous relationships living in their households (1 if yes), that is whether a prior child lived with the respondent for at least two days a week. The second variable indicates that *all of respondent's prior children live outside the household* (be it with the ex-partner or on his/her own). In addition, a variable indicating *the age of the youngest child living in the household* was constructed (in years). The mean was assigned to those without prior children residing in the household. Also, we constructed a variable indicating *the frequency of contact with non-resident children*, measured as the number of times a year that the respondent had face-to-face contact with prior children (averaged over all of his/her children). And finally, we constructed a variable indicating whether *child support* was being paid or received (1 if yes). Numbers were too few to distinguish payment from receiving child support, but figures show that women most often receive and men most often pay child support.

2.2.4. Relationship status

First, we constructed a variable indicating whether respondents had a steady partner they did not live with. Respondents were asked whether they currently had a partner with whom they had a relationship for at least three months. If so, they scored 1 on this dichotomous measure. Second, we constructed a variable whether respondents were *cohabiting* (included in the analyses for the desire to marry, 1 = yes). Third, we constructed a variable measuring the *relationship quality* of those who had a steady (co-residential) relationship. Respondents were asked to indicate how satisfied they currently were with the relationship with their partner and indicate the extent of agreement on a five point scale for each of the following statements: “We have a good relationship”, “The relationship with my partner makes me happy”, “Our relationship is strong”, and “The relationship with my partner is very stable”. The mean score on these four items was taken, with high scores indicating high relationship quality. Cronbach's alpha was high (.95).

The analyses control for *duration since the last union was dissolved* (in years), the *type of union that was dissolved* (marriage = 1 and cohabitation = 0; if respondents experienced both kinds of union dissolutions, they got a score of 1), *age* (in years), and *religiosity*, a dummy indicating whether respondents felt they belonged to a church or religion (1 if yes). Because in wave 2 religiosity was asked in the interview instead of the self-administrative questionnaire (as was done in wave 1), part of the missing values (originally 11%) could be solved by using information from wave 2. The remaining missing values (5%) were imputed by means of multiple imputation (see below).

2.3. Analytical strategy

Analysis proceeded in several stages. First, we estimated descriptive results showing whether men and women differ (a) in their economic resources, involvement with children and their romantic attachments, and (b) in their relationship preferences. This provides information about the existence of gender difference in relationship preferences after divorce or separation and whether resources, prior children and relationship status may be mediating factors in explaining any gender differences in relationship

preferences. We also include descriptive statistics of comparable men and women who never experienced a union dissolution to put the findings about gender differences in relationship preferences into perspective.

In the second stage we run two separate analyses. The first examined respondents' desire to live together. For this analysis the subsample (Sample 1) of 762 respondents who were not co-residing (but may or may not have a steady partner) were used. In the second analysis we examine the desire to marry, using the subsample (Sample 2) of 648 respondents who indicated they wanted to live with a partner.

For both analyses we estimated several logistic regression models. In the first model (M1), only the controls and gender are included. This model shows the overall gender difference in relationship preferences. In the second model (M2), the variables measuring economic resources are included to see whether these can explain away any gender difference (mediation). In the third (M3) and fourth models (M4), the variables relating to prior children and measuring relationship status, respectively, are included. In the fifth model (M5), all variables are included. These models are being estimated for the full sample and the first and fifth model are also estimated for singles and respondents with a partner (living apart together and/or cohabiting) separately, to explore whether processes are different depending upon whether people have a partner or not.

In the third stage, the fifth full model is estimated separately for men and women to see whether the examined factors are differently associated with relationship preferences for men and women (moderation). We also test whether the estimates differ significantly for men and women by running a pooled model that includes interaction terms between gender and all independent variables, but it should be noted that the power of these tests is not high, given the relatively low number of cases, especially for men.

Due to variations in unobserved heterogeneity there may be problems with our analytic approach in comparing coefficients from logistic regression models between models or across groups (e.g., men and women) (Mood, 2010). To investigate this issue we re-estimated all our models using linear probability models. Linear probability models are an alternative to logistic regression models that allow for making comparisons across models and across groups (Mood, 2010: Table 6). We found that the results of our linear probability models yielded the same conclusions about gender differences in preferences and whether they can be accounted for by differences in economic resources, prior children and relationship status. Also our conclusions about differences by gender and by relationship status are similar regardless of whether logistic or linear probability models are used.

Although there were no missing values for the dependent variables, there were missing values on the independent variables. Non-response was generally low (<1%), except for income (5%) and variables that were asked for in the self-administrative questionnaire (i.e., religiosity (11%) and relationship quality (11%)). Multiple imputation was used to deal with missing values in all models (mi impute in Stata 12). Multiple imputation is a simulation-based technique, creating several copies of data (in our analyses 25 copies) with missing values being imputed that are analyzed separately and subsequently combined in a single result (StataCorp, 2013: 3). The advantage over single imputation techniques is that it does not overstate significance, because multiple imputation takes into account sampling variability by basing results on several imputed datasets (StataCorp, 2013: 3).

3. Results

Table 1 shows the descriptive statistics of the independent variables for men and women separately for each sub-sample. The

Table 1
Descriptive statistics for the independent and control variables by gender and subsample: Means and *t*-values of test for gender differences.

	Sample 1			Sample 2		
	Men	Women	<i>T</i> -value gender difference	Men	Women	<i>T</i> -value gender difference
Resources						
Educational level	12.37	12.17	-.85	12.73	12.58	-.68
Personal income/1000	1.76	1.21	-7.39**	1.86	1.19	-8.73**
Working hours	29.32	20.84	-7.19**	31.97	22.90	-7.59**
Children						
Prior children present in household	.13	.46	8.76**	.08	.35	7.31**
Age youngest child in household ^a	14.26	9.87	-4.37**	14.23	9.53	-3.70**
Prior children outside household	.37	.17	-6.27**	.31	.10	-6.35**
Contact with non-resident children ^b	47.76	65.78	1.81~	34.59	61.56	2.38*
Child support ^{a,b}	.40	.37	-.60	.43	.40	-.50
Current relationship status						
Steady relationship	.24	.25	.35	.20	.21	.32
Cohabiting				.30	.35	1.40
Relationship quality ^c	4.26	4.10	-1.08	4.41	4.28	-.56
Controls						
Age	42.05	40.45	-2.16*	39.58	36.59	-4.19**
Duration since dissolution	3.93	4.25	1.47	4.13	4.46	1.39
Type of dissolution	.52	.58	1.66~	.42	.43	.23
Religiosity	.35	.45	2.61**	.33	.44	2.73**
<i>N</i>	297	465		271	377	

Note. Gender differences are tested on the imputed data by simple regression (continuous variables) or logistic regression (binary variables) with gender being the independent variable.

~ *p* ≤ .10.

* *p* ≤ .05.

** *p* ≤ .01 (two-tailed).

^a Only if resident children.

^b Only if non-resident children.

^c Only if steady or cohabiting partner.

last column shows whether men and women differ significantly on these variables. Women have significantly fewer economic resources than men, as they have less income and work fewer hours. Women also are more involved with prior children: they more often have children living with them, especially younger children, and have more contact with non-resident children. Hence, these factors may mediate any gender difference in relationship preferences. Surprisingly, no significant differences were found in the relationship status of men and women. Part of the explanation may be that we do not look at instantaneous rates of entering a new non-residential or cohabiting relationship but rather at cross-sectional percentages that result from dynamic processes of entry into and out of such relationships. If women were to stay longer in non-residential or cohabiting relationships than men, or would less often move on to cohabitation, this could result in a higher cross-sectional percentage of women in a non-residential or cohabiting relationship and thus smaller gender differences, despite women's lower chances of entering such relationships. Our data suggest that this may be the case, as women have more often experienced just one union dissolution than men (74 versus 67%). For the other control variables, women are found to be significantly younger and more often religious than men.

Fig. 1 visualizes the relationship preferences of separated and divorced men and women and compares these to those of men and women who never dissolved a union. It shows first that divorced and separated persons less often want to live together or marry than persons who have not experienced a union dissolution. The left side of the graph shows the results for the desire to live together. The majority of men (80%) and women (78%) without any prior dissolution experiences want to live together with a partner in the future, but only 66% men and 57% of women who divorced or separated want that to happen. Similarly, 66% of men and women who never experienced a union dissolution want to marry, and these figures go down to 47% and 53%, respectively, for the

divorced/separated group. Second, for both outcomes, gender differences are virtually non-existent for the group who never divorced or separated, but there are some gender differences among those who previously divorced or separated. We find that divorced and separated women are significantly less likely to express a desire to live together than their male counterparts (*t* = 2.304; *p* = .022).

Next, we examine which factors account for the observed gender difference in the desire to live together. Table 2 shows the results of the sequence of logistic regression models that were estimated to examine the possible mediating role of economic resources, prior children and current relationship status. Models were estimated for the full sample and for singles and people in a steady non-residential relationship separately. Starting with the full sample, Model 1 (M1) again shows a significant gender difference, once the control variables are taken into account. The odds of wanting to live with a

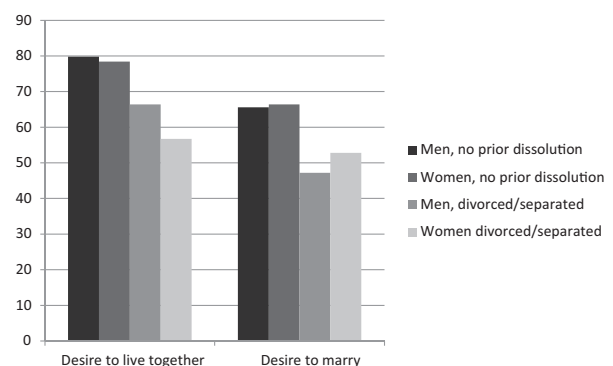


Fig. 1. Relational preferences by gender and relationship history: percentages expressing a desire to live together or to marry. Note. Data are weighted.

Table 2
Logistic regression of desire to live together: unstandardized coefficients.

	Full sample					Single		Steady relationship	
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M1	M5	M1	M5
Being a woman	-.653**	-.543**	-.370*	-.610**	-.248	-.651**	-.271	-.703~	-.522
Resources									
Educational level		.067*			.047		.075*		-.015
Personal income/1000		.059			.078		.109		-.015
Working hours		.009			.004		.000		.021
Prior children									
Prior children in household			-.986**		-.910**		-1.039**		-.262
Age youngest resident child			.051*		.055*		.066*		-.013
Prior children outside household			-.227		-.143		-.180		-.164
Contact non-resident child			-.010**		-.009*		-.013**		-.003
Child support			.141		.004		.170		-.560
Current relationship status									
Steady relationship				.519*	.445*				
Cohabiting									
Relationship quality				1.066**	1.065**				
Controls									
Age	-.069**	-.067**	-.078**	-.062**	-.075**	-.067**	-.081**	-.055*	-.058~
Duration since dissolution	-.011	-.008	-.023	-.029	-.036	-.018	-.026	-.074	-.058
Type of dissolution	-.546**	-.492**	-.161	-.671**	-.264	-.724**	-.314	.003	.326
Religiosity	.318~	.382*	.311~	.294~	.326~	.349~	.423*	.409	.498
N	762	762	762	762	762	572	572	190	190

Note. Current relationship status is not controlled for in the separate analyses for singles and respondents with a partner, because there is no within-group variation on these variables or because variables are not applicable (i.e. relationship quality for singles). If relationship quality is controlled for in the analyses for partnered respondents, the estimate is 1.102 ($p < .01$) for relationship quality and the estimate for gender becomes $-.247$ ($p = .612$).

~ $p \leq .10$.

* $p \leq .05$.

** $p \leq .01$ (two-tailed).

partner are 48% [$1 - \exp(-.653) \times 100\%$] lower for divorced and separated women than for their male counterparts. Model 2 (M2) also includes the indicators for a person's economic resources. The estimate for gender decreases but is still significant. This is not surprising given that few economic resources significantly impact on preferences in model 2. Only educational level significantly affects the desire to live together with higher educated persons being more likely to express a desire for living together. Yet, men and women were not found to differ in their attained education (see Table 1) and therefore, while significant, the mediating role of education is small. In model 3 the variables relating to prior children are added to model 1. The magnitude of the estimate for gender becomes smaller. Women were found to be more involved with children from prior relationships, especially younger children (see Table 1). The estimates in model 3 show that greater involvement is strongly associated with less desire to live together. Respondents with children from previous relationships residing with them in the household have significantly lower odds of wanting to live together than those with no prior children (59%). Older children are associated with a greater desire to live together. Although no significant differences are found between persons with prior children living outside of the household and those with no prior children, the frequency of contact with these non-resident children matters. The more often people see their non-resident children from previous relationships, the less desire they have to live together with a/their new partner. Additional analyses using a discrete rather than linear specification of contact frequency showed that weekly contact or more strongly attenuates the desire to live together. The financial aspects of children do not seem to matter: child support is not significant. Even if the greater involvement of women with their prior children is taken into account, however, there is still a significant gender difference with the odds of wanting to live together being 31% lower for women compared to men.

In model 4 the variables related to a person's current relationship state are added. As expected on the basis of the

non-significant and small differences between men and women in their relationship status (see Table 1), the mediating role of current relationship status is negligible. The estimate for gender is more or less the same as that in model 1. The relationship variables are, however, significant. Persons with a steady relationship and those with higher quality relationships are more likely to indicate that they want to live together than those without a relationship or low quality relationships.

Finally, in model 5 we see that with inclusion of all variables together the estimate for gender becomes non-significant. The estimates for economic resources, prior children and relationship status diminish in magnitude, but are generally the same as in the previous models. Only the significant effect of education found in model 2 disappears once the other factors are taken into account. When it comes to the controls, we further see that age and religiosity matter, where younger and more religious people are more likely to want to live together in the future.

Next, we estimated models 1 and 5 for singles and people with a steady, non-residential partner. Results with respect to the role of gender are remarkably similar and pooled models, with all variables being interacted with partner status (results not shown), also show that the effects of gender do not differ between singles and people with a partner in both models 1 and 5. Note, however, that the number of people with a partner is low which reduces the statistical power of our analyses. This similarity suggests that even when women find a new steady partner, despite their presumably lower chances of being successful in their search, they still have less desire to live together than men (see M1). When resources and prior children are controlled for, gender differences become smaller and non-significant for partnered people and singles (M5). Although estimates for resources, prior children and the controls seem stronger for singles, pooled models including interactions between relationship status and all other variables show no differences between singles and partnered individuals in these estimates.

Table 3
Logistic regression of desire to marry: unstandardized coefficients.

	Full sample					Single		Steady relationship or cohabiting	
	M1	M2	M3	M4	M5	M1	M5	M1	M5
Being a woman	-.066	-.056	.004	-.068	-.001	.402	.551 [~]	-.519 ⁺	-.464
Resources									
Educational level		.030			.032		.047		.023
Personal income/1000		-.003			.016		.058		.048
Working hours		.001			-.000		-.004		-.002
Prior children									
Prior children in household			.178		.255		.078		.259
Age youngest resident child			.031		.031		.017		.056
Prior children outside household			.479		.531		-.367		.556
Contact non-resident child			-.006		-.006		-.053 ⁺		-.003
Child support			-.696 ⁺		-.751 ^{**}		-1.196 ⁺		-.469
Current relationship status									
Steady relationship				.449 [~]	.437 [~]				
Cohabiting				.201	.190				
Relationship quality				.200	.212				
Controls									
Age	-.090 ^{**}	-.091 ^{**}	-.101 ^{**}	-.088 ^{**}	-.102 ^{**}	-.087 ^{**}	-.095 ^{**}	-.097 ^{**}	-.115 ^{**}
Duration since dissolution	.081 ^{**}	.084 ^{**}	.077 ⁺	.066 ⁺	.066 ⁺	.132 ^{**}	.120 ^{**}	.022	.022
Type of dissolution	-.196	-.152	-.102	-.232	-.107	-.851 ^{**}	-.590	.337	.393
Religiosity	.472 ⁺	.482 ^{**}	.449 ⁺	.470 ⁺	.458 ⁺	.396	.401	.561 ⁺	.544 ⁺
N	648	648	648	648	648	304	304	344	344

Note. Current relationship status is not controlled for in the separate analyses for singles and respondents with a partner, because there is no within-group variation on these variables or because variables are not applicable (i.e. relationship quality for singles). If cohabitation and relationship quality are controlled for in the analyses for partnered respondents, the estimate is $-.180$ ($p = .466$) for cohabitation and $.176$ ($p = .312$) for relationship quality and the estimate for gender becomes $-.476$ ($p = .105$).

[~] $p \leq .10$.

⁺ $p \leq .05$.

^{**} $p \leq .01$ (two-tailed).

Table 3 shows the different models for the desire to marry. Consistent with the bivariate analyses (see Fig. 1), results for the full sample show that there are no significant differences between men and women in their desire to marry. This suggests that once people want to live together, men and women are equally likely to express a willingness to get married in the future. This is true for all the models that we estimated for the full sample. Interestingly, financial aspects of having prior children matter when it comes to the desire to marry, but not children's residence and contact with children. People who pay or receive child support are less willing to marry. Other characteristics that are found to affect people's desire to marry are whether they are engaged in a steady relationship (albeit only borderline significant), their age, the time since union dissolution and religiosity. Those who have a steady relationship have a stronger desire to marry than people without a relationship, this is also the case for younger people, those whose union dissolved longer ago, and more religious persons.

In the last columns of Table 3, we explore whether results differ between singles and people with a steady or cohabiting partner. Gender differences appear to be in opposite directions for single and partnered individuals, with pooled models including interactions between all variables and partner status (results not shown) showing a significant difference in the effect of gender (for both M1 and M5). Due to the low numbers per group, gender effects are not always significant, but results suggest that among single individuals, women appear to be slightly more willing to marry, whereas the reverse holds for partnered individuals. Gender differences are more or less similar regardless of whether resources and prior children are controlled for in both the single and partnered group. In additional analyses (not shown), we split the partnered group in those with a nonresidential partner and those with a cohabiting partner. For both models 1 and 5, we find that gender differences are small and not significant for those with a nonresidential partner, whereas gender differences are significant for people who

cohabit ($b = -.663$ ($p = .042$) in M1 and $b = -.658$ ($p = .100$) in M5). Thus cohabiting women in particular are less likely to express a desire for marriage than cohabiting men. Focusing on the complete model (M5), results for the other variables are more or less similar to those for the full sample; child support, age, duration since union dissolution and religiosity are significantly related to the desire to marry, and for singles, a higher level of contact with nonresident children lowers the desire to marry. Estimates seem larger and more often significant for singles, but a pooled model with interactions between relationship status and the other variables (not shown) shows that only the estimate for contact with nonresident children differs between singles and persons with a partner. Note, however, that the number of cases is small.

Finally, in Table 4 we examine whether the effects differ for women and men. We expected that the effects of background characteristics would be stronger for women than men. When looking at the results for the desire to live together, the findings are mixed. Some effects are stronger and only significant for women, whereas other effects are stronger and significant only for men. Most notably, current relationship status only affects women's desire to live together, not men's, and the same holds for religiosity. For women only, those with steady and higher quality relationships and those who are religious, are more likely to want to live together. Economic resources and prior children are associated with both men's and women's preferences, but in a different way. With respect to the role of economic resources, it is income that matters for men's desire to live together, whereas it is educational level for women, with higher income men and higher educated women wanting to live together more often than their lower income and lower educated counterparts. For women, having a young child from a previous relationship living with them in the household reduces their desire to live together, whereas for men it is frequent contact with non-resident children from previous relationships that makes them less willing to live

Table 4

Logistic regression of desire to live together and of desire to marry by gender: unstandardized coefficients.

	Desire to live together		Desire to marry	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Resources				
Educational level	.014	.081*	-.035	.072
Personal income/1000	.355~	-.131	.370*	-.363~
Working hours	-.001	.011	-.014	.010
Prior children				
Prior children in household	-.963~	-.926**	.351	.135
Age youngest resident child	.041	.063*	.080	.006
Prior children outside household	-.300	.132	.200	.634
Contact non-resident child	-.023**	-.002	-.013	-.005
Child support	-.067	.193	-.920	-.423
Current relationship status				
Steady relationship	.336	.468~	.854*	.321
Cohabiting			.871*	-.031
Relationship quality	.510	1.318**	.354	.093
Controls				
Age	-.078**	-.086**	-.181**	-.064**
Duration since dissolution	-.025	-.029	.140*	.010
Type of dissolution	-.179	-.256	.686	-.510
Religiosity	.115	.529*	.742*	.295
<i>N</i>	297	465	271	377

~ $p \leq .10$.* $p \leq .05$.** $p \leq .01$ (two-tailed).

together again. Additional analyses using a discrete specification of contact frequency showed that especially men who see their children weekly or more have less desire to live together (as compared to men who see their children less often). Although the low number of cases reduces the statistical power of the models, pooled models including interactions with gender (not shown) show that only the effects of income and contact with nonresident children differ significantly between men and women.

The results for the desire to marry (see last columns Table 4), show a more consistent pattern. Contrary to our expectations, most factors bear a stronger (instead of weaker) association with men's desire to marry than with women's. For women, we only find a strong and significant effect of age: older women less often want to marry than younger women. The negative effect of age is, however, significantly stronger for men (results of the interaction model not shown), and for men more factors are important for their desire to marry as compared to women. Men with higher income are more willing to marry than lower income men and in this respect they differ significantly from women (not shown), where income appears to have the opposite effect (be it borderline significant). The results also suggest that men who are in a steady or cohabiting relationship increases men's, not women's, desire to marry, and the same holds for being religious or having been divorced/separated for a longer time—but these effects do not differ between men and women (interaction models not shown).

4. Discussion

A well-established finding in family research is that women less often marry or cohabit with a new partner after union dissolution than men (Sweeney, 2010). To develop our understanding of why women less often marry or cohabit again after union dissolution, this study examined people's relationship preferences and the gendered nature of these preferences, using large scale survey data from the Netherlands.

Our findings suggest first that women's lower rates of marriage and cohabitation after divorce or separation may in part be a matter of choice. The gender gap in rates of (re)marriage and cohabitation following union dissolution has often been attributed to the greater restrictions faced by women on the remarriage market (e.g., Ivanova et al., 2013), but our study found that women also have less desire than men to co-reside again. In contrast to those who had not experienced separation or divorce, large gender differences were observed among divorced or separated persons in their desire to start living together with a partner in the future. Whereas about two thirds of the men wanted to live together, little over 55% of women expressed such a desire. The observed gender difference in the desire to live together corroborates Parker's finding (1999) that women were less interested in a new relationship than men after relationship break-up. The percentages in the current Dutch data are similar to the Australian data (65 and 43%) in Parker's study, despite differences in the country, sample criteria and measures.

The possible role of choice for women's lower rates of (re)marriage and cohabitation after union dissolution is further corroborated by the finding that these gender differences are not only found for single persons but also for those with a steady non-residential partner. For single women one could argue that their weaker desire may in part be due to the greater restrictions faced by women on the dating and remarriage market, but this argument is less valid for women with a steady partner, who have overcome these restrictions. Our results suggest that women, who have overcome the gendered restrictions in the dating and marriage market, still have less desire to live together than men.

We find that once people wanted to live together, men and women did not differ significantly in their desire to marry. This suggests that for women, compared to men, it is the prospect of moving in together rather than marrying that is less desirable. An important qualification to this general conclusion is that partner status matters: whereas little gender differences are found for singles, women with a partner, especially cohabiting women, are less willing to marry than their male counterparts. Together, our findings suggest that women are less willing than men to proceed to the next step in a relationship (from dating, living together to marriage), which may in part explain their lower overall levels of marriage or cohabitation after union dissolution.

Second, our study points at the pivotal role of prior children in explaining people's relationship preferences and in explaining why women have less desire to live together. Children from previous relationships were found to be one of the strongest determinants of relationship preferences, but the associations differed between wanting to live together and to marry. The desire to live together was associated with the amount of time parents spent with their children and not with the financial aspects of having prior children, whereas the reverse was true for the desire to marry. Resident children, in particular of a young age, attenuated the desire to live together and so did frequent contact with non-resident children from previous relationships. These factors were not related to the desire to marry, but child support did affect the wish to marry: people who paid or received child support were less likely to express a desire for (re)marriage. The greater influence of child support on the desire to marry may be explained by legal and administrative differences between marriage and cohabitation, resulting in a higher likelihood of child support adjustments in case of remarriage.

Prior children were also central in explaining the gender difference in the desire to live together. Because women were more involved with their prior children than men, their weaker desire for living together could partially be explained by this greater involvement. Women's fewer economic resources did not explain women's weaker desire to live together, because people's desires

were hardly affected by their economic resources. Also their current relationship status could not explain why women have less desire to live together. Although people with a steady partner and those with better quality relationships more often wished to live together, men and women did not differ from each other in these respects. Once all structural factors were taken into account, women were no longer found to be less willing to live together than men.

The central role of prior children in shaping people's partnering preferences and in explaining the gender gap is consistent with earlier studies on remarriage and cohabitation following union dissolution (Beaujouan, 2012; Lampard & Peggs, 1999; Ivanova et al., 2013). Our study underscores that women's greater caring responsibilities are key to their lower rates of entering a married or unmarried co-residential union, not only because children are a barrier on the marriage market – as research has already suggested – but also because children influence people's choices. Although preferences may partly reflect restrictions, it is also very likely that people are hesitant to enter a new co-residential union with children, because the children may have difficulties accepting the new partner or because of financial considerations relating to reductions in child support should they co-reside or marry.

Third, the way that structural factors shape people's relationship preferences was found to be gendered. Although statistical power issues meant that few significant differences between men and women were observed, two significant and notable differences were found. First, our results suggest that income matters more for men's relationship preferences than women's: men's higher income was associated with a stronger desire to live together and to marry, whereas income mattered little for women's relationship preferences. This finding likely reflects continuing traditional gender roles and expectations, with men taking on the role of the main breadwinner. In the Netherlands, the most common arrangement is that men work full time and women part time (Cloin & Bierings, 2012). Men with few economic resources may thus be less attractive on the marriage market or not be able to afford to establish a new household, which leads them to adjust their preferences accordingly (Oppenheimer et al., 1997). Second, we found that involvement with prior children was differently associated with the desire to live together for men and women. For women it was resident children from previous relationships, particularly young children, that made them less likely to want to live together. Whereas for men it was frequent contact with non-resident children, especially weekly contact or more, that was important. This finding mirrors standard custody arrangements with mothers more often obtaining physical custody over the children and fathers becoming non-resident parents with visitation arrangements.

Our finding that prior children were important for men's relationship preferences, offers some insight into how prior children and parenthood affects men's chances to (re)marry or enter a unmarried co-residential union (see review by Ivanova et al., 2013). Prior research so far has been inconclusive on this issue. Most previous studies only included indicators for parenthood or the residence of prior children. Our findings indicate that the amount of contact with non-resident children was more important for men's preferences than whether they had prior children, be it living outside or inside their household. This suggests that some of the inconsistencies observed in previous research may be due to the use of limited measures. We therefore strongly encourage research that takes into account the level of contact with non-resident children to examine its relevance for men's actual behavior. This is all the more important given that most fathers are (still) the non-resident parent: contact with non-resident children reflects the day-to-day reality of parenthood for most men.

This study focused on the Netherlands, which is average regarding divorce and remarriage patterns within Europe (OECD,

2015; Spijker & Solsona, 2012). Cross-national research on the level of men's and women's post-divorce economic resources and children's custody arrangements suggest the Netherlands to be an intermediate country (Aassve et al., 2007; Bjarnason & Arnarsson, 2011; Van Damme, Kalmijn, & Uunk, 2009). Therefore, we don't expect our findings using a Dutch sample to be an extreme case. Given that the Netherlands are an average country in many respects, future research replicating our study would benefit from a focus on countries that are more extreme in these family behaviors (e.g., the United States) and see whether our findings also hold in these countries.

The results do need to be viewed with some caution in that the data we used had relatively low response rates and were not completely representative of the Dutch population as to gender, household composition and age (Dykstra et al., 2005). This may have led to a more homogenous sample than otherwise would have been the case, and thus likely to an underestimating of the associations examined in this study. Finally, our study focused on preferences only and could not unravel the complex interplay between restrictions, preferences and behavior. In addition, our study used a cross-sectional design, probably containing an overrepresentation of men and women who indicate that they do not want to co-reside or remarry again. Prospective data following people right after divorce or separation, which include measures for relationship preferences and people's union formation behavior are needed to overcome both limitations. Ideally, these data would include measures for whether people want a partner (without necessarily living together or getting married) and whether they have a steady partner. Most of our knowledge about union formation following union dissolution relates to co-residential relationships, but living apart together relationships may be a likely alternative to such relationships, especially for divorced and separated women as our study suggests. To our knowledge, such data are not available. Our study is therefore an important first step in that it is one of the first studies to show that choice may be an important element in explaining why people don't remarry and in particular, why women marry or cohabit less than men after union dissolution.

Acknowledgements

The Netherlands Kinship Panel Study is funded by grant 480-10-009 from the Major Investments Fund of the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), and by the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI), Utrecht University, the University of Amsterdam and Tilburg University.

References

- Aassve, A., Betti, G., Mazzucco, S., & Mencarini, L. (2007). Marital disruption and economic well-being: A comparative analysis. *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society: Series A (Statistics in Society)*, 170(3), 781–799.
- Amato, P. R. (2010). Research on divorce: Continuing trends and new developments. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(3), 650–666.
- Amato, P. R., & Rogers, S. J. (1997). A longitudinal study of marital problems and subsequent divorce. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 59, 612–624.
- Andréß, H. J., Borgloh, B., Bröckel, M., Giesselmann, M., & Hummelsheim, D. (2006). The economic consequences of partnership dissolution—A comparative analysis of panel studies from Belgium, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, and Sweden. *European Sociological Review*, 22(5), 533–560.
- Beaujouan, E. (2012). Repartnering in France: The role of gender, age and past fertility. *Advances in Life Course Research*, 17(2), 69–80.
- Bernard, J. (1982). *The future of marriage* (2nd ed.). New York, NY: Bantam Books.
- Bjarnason, T., & Arnarsson, A. M. (2011). Joint physical custody and communication with parents: A cross-national study of children in 36 western countries. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 42, 871–890.
- Carr, D. (2004). The desire to date and remarry among older widows and widowers. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 66(4), 1051–1068.
- Carr, D., & Springer, K. W. (2010). Advances in families and health research in the 21st century. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72(3), 743–761.

- Cloin, M., & Bierings, H. (2012). De combinatie van betaalde arbeid en zorgtaken. In A. Merens, M. Hartgers, & M. van den Brakel (Eds.), *Emancipatiemonitor 2012* (pp. 87–102). Den Haag: SCP/CBS.
- Davidson, K. (2002). Gender differences in new partnership choices and constraints for older widows and widowers. *Ageing International*, 27(4), 43–60.
- De Jong Gierveld, J. (2002). The dilemma of repartnering: Considerations of older men and women entering new intimate relationships in later life. *Ageing International*, 27(4), 61–78.
- De Graaf, P. M., & Kalmijn, M. (2003). Alternative routes in the remarriage market: Competing-risk analyses of union formation after divorce. *Social Forces*, 81(4), 1459–1498.
- De Leeuw, E. D., & De Heer, W. (2001). Trends in household survey nonresponse: A longitudinal and international comparison. In R. M. Groves, D. A. Dillman, J. L. Eltinge, & R. J. A. Little (Eds.), *Survey nonresponse* (pp. 41–54). New York, NY: Wiley.
- Dewilde, C., & Uunk, W. (2008). Remarriage as a way to overcome the financial consequences of divorce—A test of the economic need hypothesis for European women. *European Sociological Review*, 24(3), 393–407.
- Dykstra, P. A., Kalmijn, M., Knijn, T. C. M., Komter, A. E., Liefbroer, A. C., & Mulder, C. H. (2005). Codebook of the Netherlands kinship panel study: A multi-actor, multi-method panel study on solidarity in family relationships, wave 1. In *NKPS working paper no. 4*. The Hague: Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute.
- England, P., & McClintock, E. A. (2009). The gendered double standard of aging in US marriage markets. *Population and Development Review*, 35(4), 797–816.
- Frazier, P., Arikian, N., Benson, S., Losoff, A., & Maurer, S. (1996). Desire for marriage and life satisfaction among unmarried heterosexual adults. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 13(2), 225–239.
- Hewitt, B., Turrell, G., & Giskes, K. (2012). Marital loss, mental health and the role of perceived social support: findings from six waves of an Australian population based panel study. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 66(4), 308–314.
- Hewitt, B., Western, M., & Baxter, J. (2006). Who decides? The social characteristics of who initiates marital separation. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 68(5), 1165–1177.
- Ivanova, K., Kalmijn, M., & Uunk, W. (2013). The effect of children on men's and women's chances of re-partnering in a European context. *European Journal of Population/Revue européenne de Démographie*, 29(4), 417–444.
- Kalmijn, M., & Poortman, A. (2006). His or her divorce? The gendered nature of divorce and its determinants. *European Sociological Review*, 22(2), 201–214.
- Kelly, J. B. (2007). Children's living arrangements following separation and divorce: Insights from empirical and clinical research. *Family Process*, 46(1), 35–52.
- Lampard, R., & Peggs, K. (1999). Repartnering: The relevance of parenthood and gender to cohabitation and remarriage among the formerly married. *The British journal of sociology*, 50(3), 443–465.
- Lichter, D. T., Anderson, R. N., & Hayward, M. D. (1995). Marriage markets and marital choice. *Journal of Family Issues*, 16(4), 412–431.
- Mood, C. (2010). Logistic regression: Why we cannot do what we think we can do, and what we can do about it. *European Sociological Review*, 26(1), 67–82.
- Ní Bhrolcháin, M., & Sigle-Rushton, W. (2005). Partner supply in Britain and the US. *Population (English edition)*, 60(1), 37–64.
- OECD (2015). *OECD Family Database*. Paris: OECD (www.oecd.org/social/family/database.htm).
- Oppenheimer, V. K. (1988). A theory of marriage timing. *American Journal of Sociology*, 94, 563–591.
- Oppenheimer, V. K., Kalmijn, M., & Lim, N. (1997). Men's career development and marriage timing during a period of rising inequality. *Demography*, 34, 311–330.
- Parker, R. (1999). Repartnering following relationship breakdown. *Family Matters*, 53, 39–43.
- Poortman, A. (2000). Sex Differences in the economic consequences of separation. A panel study of the Netherlands. *European sociological review*, 16(4), 367–383.
- Poortman, A. (2007). The first cut is the deepest? The role of the relationship career for union formation. *European sociological review*, 23(5), 585–598.
- Poortman, A., & Liefbroer, A. C. (2010). Singles' relational attitudes in a time of individualization. *Social Science Research*, 39(6), 938–949.
- Rosenthal, C. J. (1985). Kinkeeping in the familial division of labor. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 47, 965–974.
- Roxburgh, S. (2002). Racing through life: The distribution of time pressures by roles and role resources among full-time workers. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 23(2), 121–145.
- Skew, A., Evans, A., & Gray, E. (2009). Repartnering in the United Kingdom and Australia. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 40, 563–585.
- South, S. J. (1991). Sociodemographic differentials in mate selection preferences. *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 53, 928–940.
- Spijker, J. J. A., & Solsona, M. (2012). Atlas of divorce and post-divorce indicators in Europe. In *Papers de Demografia 412*. Barcelona, Spain: Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- StataCorp (2013). *Multiple imputation reference manual, release 13*. College Station, TX: Stata Press.
- Stewart, S. D., Manning, W. D., & Smock, P. J. (2003). Union formation among men in the US: Does having prior children matter? *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 65(1), 90–104.
- Sweeney, M. M. (1997). Remarriage of women and men after divorce: The role of socioeconomic prospects. *Journal of Family Issues*, 18(5), 479–502.
- Sweeney, M. M. (2010). Remarriage and stepfamilies: Strategic sites for family scholarship in the 21st century. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 72, 667–684.
- Van Hoorn, W. D. (2000). Glad to live alone or happier together, diversity among young and middle-aged single people. *Maandstatistiek van de bevolking*, 48, 16–23.
- Van Damme, M., Kalmijn, M., & Uunk, W. (2009). The employment of separated women in Europe: Individual and institutional determinants. *European Sociological Review*, 25(2), 183–197.
- Van Tilburg, T. (2006). Sociaal kapitaal in de derde en vierde levensfase. *Geron*, 8, 15–18.
- Waite, L. J., & Gallagher, M. (2000). *The case for marriage: Why married people are happier, healthier, and better off financially*. New York, NY: Doubleday.
- Wang, H., & Amato, P. R. (2000). Predictors of divorce adjustment: Stressors, resources, and definitions. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 62(3), 655–668.
- Willitts, M., Benzeval, M., & Stansfeld, S. (2004). Partnership history and mental health over time. *Journal of Epidemiology and Community Health*, 58(1), 53–58.
- Wu, Z., & Schimmele, C. M. (2005). Repartnering after first union disruption. *Journal of Marriage and Family*, 67(1), 27–36.