Partnership Dynamics among Immigrants and Their Descendants in Four European Countries

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Abstract:
This study investigates union formation and dissolution among immigrants and their descendants in four European countries with different migration histories and welfare state policies (United Kingdom, Estonia, France and Spain). While there is a growing body of literature on migrant families in Europe, there is little comparative research that has benefitted from the opportunities that the European context offers. We use pooled data from the four countries and apply an event history analysis. The analysis shows a significant variation in partnership trajectories across migrant groups in some countries (e.g., South Asians versus Caribbeans in the UK) and similar union trajectories for some migrant groups in different countries (e.g., South Asians in the UK and immigrants from Turkey in France). The descendants of immigrants exhibit partnership patterns that are similar to those of their parents' generation. The country context also matters; specific patterns are observed for Spain and Estonia.

Keywords: Family, marriage, cohabitation, divorce, immigrants, the second generation, Europe, Poisson regression

Acknowledgement: The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Union's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007-2013) under grant agreement no. 320116 for the research project FamiliesAndSocieties.

1. Introduction

In the past decades, European societies have experienced large-scale immigration flows and the growing ethnic and cultural heterogeneity of their populations (Castles and Miller 2009). Research has examined the various life domains of immigrants and ethnic minorities in European countries, including their employment and education (Adsera and Chiswick 2007, Kogan 2007, Rebhun 2010, Rendall et al. 2010), health and mortality (Sole-Auro and Crimmins 2008, Wengler 2011, Hannemann 2012), residential and housing patterns (Musterd 2005, Arbaci 2008), legal status and citizenship (Seifert 1997, Bauböck 2003, Howard 2005), and linguistic, cultural and religious diversity (Kulu and Tammaru 2004, Foner and Alba 2008, Gungor et al. 2011). The recent literature has also shown an increasing interest in the study of family dynamics and patterns among immigrants and their descendants. One research strand investigates the formation and stability of mixed marriages between natives and immigrants (González-Ferrer 2006, Kalmijn and van Tubergen 2006, Dribe and Lundh 2012, Milewski and Kulu 2014). Another strand examines fertility patterns among immigrants and ethnic minorities (Andersson 2004, Toulemon 2004, Kulu and Milewski 2007, Milewski 2007, Goldscheider et al. 2011).

Drawing upon individual-level longitudinal data, recent research has improved our understanding of partnership and the fertility patterns of immigrants and their descendants in European countries. However, most studies have investigated immigrants in one or two countries; there is a lack of truly comparative research on migrant families that researchers have used to benefit from the opportunities that the European context offers. Those few recent studies support that a decent comparison between immigrants and ethnic minorities from several different countries can significantly advance our understanding of how institutional and policy settings shape the family lives of immigrants and their descendants (Milewski 2011, Huschek et al. 2012).

This study investigates union formation and dissolution among immigrants and their descendants in selected European countries. We will analyse longitudinal data from four European countries with different immigration histories and welfare state setups and will compare partnership dynamics of natives, immigrants and their descendants within countries and across countries. The studied countries include the UK and France – the ‘old’ immigration countries; Spain – a ‘new’ immigration country; and Estonia – an Eastern

European country, which experienced large-scale immigration during the post-WWII period due to the specific political and economic circumstances. All of the population subgroups will be included in the same analysis, which allows a direct comparison of the partnership patterns of the various native and migrant groups.

This study will investigate various partnership transitions, including formation and dissolution of cohabitations and marriages, among immigrants and their descendants. Thus, this paper moves beyond the 'one-life-event-at-a-time' approach and will provide a (nearly) complete picture of the formation and dissolution of first unions among immigrants and their descendants in four European countries. The study will provide us with much richer information about the opportunities and constraints that migrants face than a conventional analysis of only the first marriages of migrants would.

This study will also extend the scope of the topic by examining the family trajectories among the descendants of immigrants, whose shares have significantly increased during the last decades. Although the so-called 'second generation' has grown up in the host society, they have faced a number of challenges. Their educational qualifications often remain below those of the majority population, and their labour market performance and social mobility is poor (Fassmann 1997, Alba 2005, Meurs et al. 2006, Aparicio 2007, Brinbaum and Cebolla-Boado 2007, Fibbi et al. 2007, Van Niekerk 2007, Kristen et al. 2008, Aeberhardt et al. 2010).

Our comparative study will, thus, provide valuable information on the demographic behaviour of important population subgroups in Europe and will improve our understanding of how various factors (being descendants of the post-war 'labour migrants'; institutional and policy settings of countries) have shaped partnership behaviour of the 'second generation'.

2. The European context: migration and partnership dynamics

2.1. Migration

For a long time, Europe was a continent of emigration; many families and young people left for overseas in the late 19th and early 20th centuries (Chesnais 1992). The intra-European migration waves of the first half of the 20th century were mostly related to population movements due to war activity, refugee situations and forced resettlements, although the East-

West labour migration, the movement of seasonal agricultural workers, played a role in the 1930s (Castles and Miller 2009). In the second half of the 20th century, European countries largely experienced economic and policy-driven migration (Coleman 2006a, Castles and Miller 2009).

The economic boom of the 1950s and 1960s in Western and Northern Europe attracted a large number of labour migrants. Several countries actively recruited migrants; this was driven by the increasing demand of workers in labour intensive sectors of industry and services (Salt and Clout 1976, Seifert 1997). West Germany, France and the Netherlands, having coped with the reconstruction of their industry and infrastructure, searched for a labour force to satisfy the needs of the economic boom. The labour migrants originated mainly from Southern Europe and regions that were adjacent to Europe (Turkey). Southern European countries, including Italy, Spain and Greece, willingly sent labour migrants, partially to ease the pressure of unemployment and large cohorts that were due to high pre-war fertility levels. While early labour migrants were mainly young, single, short-term employed, educated and male, the later labour streams shifted towards being rural and unskilled, with individuals having a wide age range and including both sexes (Salt and Clout 1976). Eastern European countries with communist regimes and planned economies showed specific migration patterns. Migration streams between the East and the West were modest due to the severe restrictions that were imposed on international migration by communist governments, with the exceptions including migration between East and West Germany until 1961 and migration from Yugoslavia (Fassmann and Münz 1994).

The country of origin for labour migrants varied across the continent, which reflected the economic, demographic and also historical circumstances. Immigration from overseas had strong roots in the colonial past for certain countries, such as the UK, France and the Netherlands. Former territories and dominions had special agreements for immigration and labour permissions. France received large numbers of immigrants from their former colonies in the Maghreb region, the Netherlands received migrants from Indonesia and Surinam and the UK provided free immigration for individuals from India, Pakistan and the Caribbean region (Serow et al. 1990, Peach 1998). Migration from former colonies increased at the time of and after the declaration of independence in the respective countries. Political and crisis driven migration waves also occurred in Spain in the 1960s, mainly from old colonies in South America. Those migration streams that were based on historic connections and

dependencies had a longer tradition than the new waves of labour migrants in the rest of Europe. Additionally, both migration streams co-existed and were partially independent of each other (Serow et al. 1990).

Labour migration in Europe, particularly in German-speaking countries, was largely planned as a temporary measure to bridge periods of extreme labour scarcity (Seifert 1997). However, many migrants became permanent residents after they had spent a few years in their country of destination. Decreasing demands for foreign labour and increasing social concerns urged many countries to change their immigration policies after the oil crisis in 1973. Thereafter, a different immigrant stream caught momentum: the partners and other dependent relatives followed the early labour migrants to the countries that had become their homes (Fassmann and Münz 1994, Seifert 1997). While partners had arrived previously as additional labour migrants, after the recruitment stop, they were categorised as family reunification migrants (González-Ferrer 2006).

Family reunification and marriage migration were not the only processes that contributed to European migration from the 1970s to the 1990s. Various conflicts across the globe increased the number and geographical variety of individuals who were seeking asylum in Europe. Some migration streams were directly related to the independence of former colonies, while others were caused by civil wars. Refugees from former Yugoslavia, Iran, Iraq and certain countries in South America and South East Asia arrived in Northern and Western European countries (Collinson 1993).

Patterns of international migration from the former communist countries of Eastern Europe differed from the patterns of migrants from the rest of Europe in several aspects, although there were also certain similarities (Frejka 1996). Emigration to the West was (almost) prohibited to the citizens of Eastern European countries, with a few exceptions (e.g., Yugoslavia). Interestingly, however, 'labour migration' that was driven by the needs of centrally planned economies also existed within the Eastern Block. People from Vietnam, Angola and Mozambique moved to Central European countries, particularly to Eastern Germany, whereas Russians, Ukrainians and Belorussians moved in large numbers to the Baltic states (particularly Estonia and Latvia), which were annexed by the Soviet Union during WWII and experienced accelerated industrialisation during the post-war period (Kulu 2003). Since the fall of communism, East-West migration has significantly increased, both for

economic reasons and for factors that are related to ethnic and linguistic connections (Fassmann and Münz 1994). Within Eastern Europe, the dissolution of the former Soviet Union triggered large-scale ethnic return migration that turned Russia into the biggest 'immigration' country in the mid-1990s (Coleman 2006b).

In the 1990s, Southern European countries also became the destinations of international migration. Greece, Italy and particularly Spain, especially during the first half of the 2000s, received large numbers of immigrants from North Africa, South East Europe and South America over the past two decades. While economic and demographic factors were important factors behind those migration streams, historical and linguistic ties also played an important role (Cebolla and González-Ferrer 2008, Cebolla and González-Ferrer 2013).

2.2. Union formation and dissolution in Europe

A shift towards earlier family formation and the prevalence of marital unions characterised much of Europe in the 1950s (Lesthaeghe and Neels 2002). New trends, including the postponement of marriages, increasing levels of divorce and remarriage and the rise of non-marital unions, were observed since the late 1960s, first in Northern Europe and later in Western and Southern Europe. These new features in partnership dynamics, especially the increase in cohabitations, showed significant geographical variation in their onset and magnitude. The Nordic countries, particularly Sweden, were the forerunners of these new family forms, while the Central and West European countries, such as France, Switzerland and Germany, followed these patterns after a time lag (Andersson and Philipov 2002, Sobotka and Toulemon 2008). Britain, despite its 'Northern' location, adopted the new patterns of union formation relatively late. However, the spread of new family forms was rapid over the past two decades, especially the rise of cohabitation and the increasing rates of divorce (Berrington and Diamond 2000, Ermisch and Francesconi 2000, Murphy 2000, Beaujouan and NíBhrolcháin 2011).

In Southern Europe, the new family forms emerged only recently. For a long time, marriage was the only socially accepted form of partnership; however, marriage was increasingly postponed, and the age of first marriage increased beyond that of the Northern and Western European countries. A few research studies show that religion may largely explain the specific partnership patterns in Southern European countries, but other studies suggest that

economic factors and traditional family arrangements may have played a role (Reher 1998). The patterns in Eastern Europe are diverse due to both the experience of socialism and the 'North-South' dimension. While younger marriage ages and relatively high divorce levels were common in most Eastern European countries in the 1970s and 1980s, the spread of new family forms significantly varied across countries (Hoem et al. 2010, Puur et al. 2012). A few countries closely followed partnership formation and dissolution dynamics in Nordic countries (e.g., Estonia and Latvia), whereas trends in other Eastern European countries were similar to those in Southern European countries (e.g., Poland), which allowed researchers to discuss 'post-socialist Scandinavia' and 'post-socialist Italy', accordingly.

While the postponement of marriages and especially the spread of cohabitation and divorce differ across European countries, the direction of trends is shared by many countries. Figure 1 shows the risk of cohabitation (dashed lines) and direct marriage (solid lines) in the four countries analysed in this study by cohort (for native population only). The reference point is the risk of direct marriage in the UK for the birth cohort of 1950–59; the union formation levels for all of the other groups (countries and cohorts) are measured relative to that baseline. We observe an increase in cohabitation risks in all of the countries, with Estonia showing the highest cohabitation levels and Spain exhibiting the lowest levels and increases. The trends in direct marriage are similar across countries, with the highest levels being shown for the oldest cohorts and the lowest risk being shown for the youngest cohorts, as expected. Unlike for cohabitation, the levels of direct marriage exhibit a noticeable convergence across countries for women born in the 1970s–1980s. The analysis thus shows strong cohort effects and it is critical to include birth cohort in the analysis of partnership trends among immigrants and their descendants across countries to avoid a bias in the results.

(Figure 1 about here)

2.3. Explaining family behaviour among immigrants and ethnic minorities

International migration, inside and across the borders of Europe, combines populations that have different fertility levels, partnership formation and dissolution patterns. There are several approaches to explaining the possible differences in family behaviour between immigrants and the native population. Two of the most established approaches – socialisation and the

adaptation hypothesis – include contrasting explanations for family behaviour among migrants. The socialisation hypothesis argues that migrants will follow the family traditions and values that were dominant in their childhood and, therefore, in their country of origin (Andersson 2004, Kulu and Milewski 2007). If the family trajectories in the home and host country vary significantly, those differences will also emerge in a comparison between immigrants and the native population. The adaptation hypothesis, in contrast, states that over time, migrants will adapt to the family norms and values that are dominant in the host country (Hervitz 1985, Andersson and Scott 2005). Therefore, their family behaviour will gradually adjust to the native patterns.

A competing hypothesis to the above-discussed two is the selection hypothesis (Macisco et al. 1970, Hoem 1975), which argues that migrants are a select population group in the home country due to their characteristics. For example, labour migration favours skills and knowledge, which can be useful for the economy of the host countries. Furthermore, good health is necessary in order to migrate over long distances and adapt to new environments. For refugees, their political and religious background is often the main reason for emigration. In sum, the selection hypothesis emphasises that the family trajectories of migrants do not necessarily represent the dominant family patterns in their home country. Differences in family behaviour between immigrants and the native population can, therefore, be the result of individual characteristics rather than the result of the context of early socialisation (Trilla et al. 2008).

All of the three hypotheses have been successfully used in various studies to explain the presence or absence of differences in family trajectories between immigrants and natives in European countries. Recent research has also included the descendants of post-war immigrants or the second generation, whose share has increased in many European countries, in the analysis (Sobotka 2008, Hernandez et al. 2009). The analysis of family trajectories of the descendants of immigrants offers a new perspective when explaining the family dynamics among ethnic minorities. If the descendants of immigrants mostly grew up under the influences of the mainstream society, and socialisation was the main factor that shaped family behaviour, one would observe similar trends for the second generation and the natives; in contrast, the family behaviour of the descendants of immigrants would be similar to that of their parents if they grew up under the influences of the minority subculture. If the factors of both socialisation and adaptation were important, the descendants of immigrants would

exhibit family formation patterns that are in-between those of immigrants (their parents) and the natives (their peers).

These approaches were mostly developed to explain the fertility behaviour of immigrants. Due to the close connection between partnership formation, dissolution and fertility behaviour, they are valid and equally valuable for the study of union formation and dissolution among immigrants and their descendants (Rahnu et al. 2014).

Recent research has investigated differences in partnership behaviour between immigrants, their descendants and the native population in different European countries and usually also provides a discussion of the country-specific factors. There are two main reasons why the differences between immigrants and natives may vary across countries. First, the origin and composition of immigration streams may be important. Immigrants may come from countries that have similar linguistic and cultural patterns or from those that have very different patterns. For example, post-war immigrants from Southern European countries are more likely to exhibit family patterns that are similar to natives in Western and Northern European countries than those who arrived from Turkey or Northern Africa (Dribe and Lundh 2012). Additionally, immigrants may be a select group of the home country population, as discussed above. The family behaviour of immigrants from the same country is likely to significantly differ based on their ethnic origin or language (e.g., Turkish versus Kurdish migrants from Turkey) or whether or not individuals have mostly moved for employment related reasons or as refugees (e.g., from the former Yugoslavia).

Second, contextual factors may account for the differences across countries. Each country will provide a set of normative expectations and behaviours, which the newcomers (must) accept as a 'baseline level' in the host country, and any adaptation to the mainstream society suggests a convergence towards this baseline. For example, immigrants in Northern Europe are more likely to cohabit prior to marriage or separate from unhappy partnerships than those who live in Southern Europe. Various state policies may be factors that largely (but not only) explain whether or not and how much convergence toward the baseline will take place among immigrants and their descendants. The adaptation of immigrants and their descendants to the dominant behavioural patterns is assumed to be faster and stronger in countries with inclusive integration policies and/or with a wide range of policies that reduce differences between population subgroups and promote equality in all of the spheres of society than in countries

with exclusionist integration policies (e.g., the *ius soli* versus *ius sanguinis* approach to citizenship) or where market forces are expected to dominate people's lives (e.g., social democratic versus liberal welfare states) (Esping-Andersen 1990, Seifert 1997).

This study investigates first union formation and dissolution in four European countries: the UK, France, Spain and Estonia. These countries represent both 'old' (UK and France) and 'new' (Spain) immigration countries; they differ in post-WWII political and economic histories and vary by welfare state setup and policies. The countries that are included in the study represent many of the major regions of Europe and, hence, a broad variety of societal and demographic regimes. The diversity of countries offers favourable opportunities for exploring the variation between migrant groups, as well as across the contexts of the receiving countries.

3. Data and methods

3.1. Data

The data for this study come from national surveys of the four countries; aggregated samples were first prepared by each country's project partners and then merged into one common database. British data come from the Understanding Society study. This analysis uses information from the first wave (2009/2011) including partnership histories (Hannemann and Kulu 2014). Data for Estonia were retrieved from the Estonian Generation and Gender Survey (2004/2005) and the Estonian Family and Fertility Survey (1994), and these surveys cover the partnership histories of individuals, as well as their demographic and socio-economic characteristics (Rahnu et al. 2014). Data for French natives and immigrants were collected from the Trajectories and Origins Survey (2008), a joint project of the French National Institute of Demography (INED) and the French National Statistical Office (INSEE). Records include full partnership histories as well as information of ethnic background of individuals and their parents (Pailhé 2014). For Spain, the study uses data from the Fertility and Values Survey that was conducted by the Centre for Sociological Research (2006) (González-Ferrer et al. 2014).

This study analyses the partnership trajectories of women only. First, information on men was not available for all four countries. Second, we analyse a number of partnership transitions by

immigrant group; clearly, additional analyses by gender would have overloaded the paper. With the focus being on first partnership formation and dissolution among immigrants and their descendants, each country provided data on natives and immigrant groups that were specific to the country. Given the variety of migration histories, this resulted in a total of 26 groups, including respective natives, immigrants (foreign-born individuals) and their descendants, the so-called second generation. An individual is classified as the descendant of immigrant if at least one parent was born abroad. In case of parents with mix backgrounds the priority was given to the father's origin.

There are four immigrant groups for the UK: the first group is composed of individuals from Europe and other industrialised / Western countries (the U.S., Canada, Australia, and New Zealand). The second group consists of individuals from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh (South Asia). Immigrants and their descendants from Caribbean countries, mainly Jamaica, are the third group; individuals from other countries form the fourth group (Other). For Estonia, this study investigates the partnership dynamics of natives and immigrants who are mainly from the Slavic republics of the former Soviet Union (Russia, Belorussia and Ukraine) and their descendants, which form approximately 90% of the ethnic minorities of Estonia.

For France, with its long tradition of immigration, data on four immigration origins are analysed: individuals from the Maghreb states, Sub-Saharan African countries, Turkey, and Southern Europe. Immigrants and their descendants are distinguished for all of the groups; this is possible because the descendants of immigrants have already reached the age of partnership formation and dissolution. For Spain, in contrast, it is only possible to investigate partnership dynamics among immigrants. The country has only recently experienced large immigration streams; therefore, the number of descendants of immigrants who have reached the age of partnership formation is still small. The analysis distinguishes between immigrants from Eastern Europe, Latin America, the EU-15 countries and other countries. Table 1 summarises the countries and immigrant groups that are used in this study.

(Table 1 about here)

3.2. Methods

For a comparative study of *n* countries regarding partnership formation and dissolution, an option is to merge individual-level data from the countries and then fit a hazard regression model (Hoem et al. 2010). However, this is often not possible due to the issues of data confidentiality: individual-level data cannot be released to another country or research group to conduct a comparative analysis. Fortunately, it is possible to overcome this obstacle by using the count-data approach to compare partnership formation and dissolution rates across countries and population subgroups. Researchers need to prepare an event-time (or occurrence-exposure) table for each country, which is defined by a cross-classification over a set of time intervals and covariate categories (Preston 2005). The data for each cell in such a table include the total number of events, E_{jk}; the total time (normally person-years) at risk, R_{jk}; and values of covariates, x_{jk}, for time period *j* and category *k*. For each cell, the ratio of the number of events to the risk-time is a crude hazard:

$$\lambda_{jk} = E_{jk} / R_{jk} \qquad (1)$$

whereλ_{jk} is the hazard for category *k* in time period *j*. Let E_{jk} denote the number of first union formations for group *k* in age group *j*. We treat E_{jk}as the realisation of a Poisson random variable with the mean μ_{jk}:

$$\mu_{jk} = \lambda_{jk} \times R_{jk} \qquad (2)$$

The expected number of first unions is, thus, the product of the hazard of (first) union formation and exposure time. We can present this model in a log-linear format:

$$\ln \mu_{jk} = \ln \lambda_{jk} + \ln R_{jk} \qquad (3)$$

We then rearrange the equation to investigate the hazard of union formation:

$$\ln\left(\mu_{jk} / R_{jk}\right) = \ln \lambda_{jk} \qquad (4)$$

Finally, we present a log-linear model for the hazard of partnership formation, which also includes (additional) covariates:

$$\ln \lambda_{jk} = \alpha_j + x'_k \beta \qquad (5)$$

where $\alpha_j = \ln \lambda_j$ measures the hazard of union formation by age (the 'baseline'), $\boldsymbol{x}'_k$ is a vector of the covariates (migrant status, which is country of origin and country of destination combined, cohort and educational level) and $\boldsymbol{\beta}$ represents a vector of the parameters to measure their effects.

In this paper, we analyse partnership formation and dissolution among immigrants and their descendants in four European countries (the UK, Estonia, France and Spain) (Figure 2). For partnership formation, an individual becomes under risk at age 16 and will be censored at age 45 or the last interview date, whichever comes first. For divorce and cohabitation outcomes (marriage after cohabitation and separation from cohabitation), women are at risk from the beginning of the relationship and censored after 20 years in the relationship, the death of their partner or the last interview date, whichever occurred first. For immigrants we include in the analysis both partnership transitions that occurred prior and after immigration. Table 2 presents an overview of the union formation and dissolution events of interest, the risk period and the respective censoring dates.

(Figure 2 about here)

(Table 2 about here)

The individual-level data were, thus, used to calculate aggregated exposure-occurrence tables for each country, which were aggregated by different combinations of socio-demographic variables; the country files were then merged into one common database and modelled by using a Poisson regression model (5). The variables that were used to prepare exposure-occurrence tables were as follows: migrant group (specific to country), birth cohort (1950-59, 1960-69, 1970-79, 1980-90), age group (16-19, 20-24, 25-29, 30-34, 35-39, 40+) or alternatively union / marriage duration in years (0-1, 1-3, 3-6, 6-10, 10+) and educational level (low, medium and high, according to ISCED (1997) levels 0-2, 3-4 and 5-6). We, thus, investigated the hazard of union formation and dissolution by migrant group when controlling for age (union formation) or union duration (union dissolution), cohort and educational level. Table 3 provides the number of events and person-months for each partnership transition in the four countries by migrant group.

(Table 3 about here)

For the analysis of separation from cohabitation, only migrant groups from Estonia, France and Spain are used. The reason for the exclusion of the UK data was because the analysis had shown relatively high separation risks for all of the UK groups. It is possible that this was due to a bias of cohabitation separation being found in the UK data. It was, thus, decided that women from the UK would be excluded from the analysis of this transition. Consequently, the UK was also excluded from the analysis of union dissolution, which combined events of divorce and cohabitation separation. However, for the analysis of only marital divorce UK data showed high levels of data quality (Hannemann and Kulu 2014) and therefore was included for the analysis of this transition in the comparison model.

The sample size varies by countries and migrant groups. For that reason, all of the calculations were first conducted with weights to adjust for the sample size of each country. However, the results of the models with weights and those without them showed no noticeable differences. Therefore, we will present the results that do not include weights.

4. Results

The first transition to be analysed is union formation, including the events of direct marriage and cohabitation. Native British women are the reference group in all of the comparisons. Figure 3 shows that the native British women have a higher risk of first union formation than most other groups. However, the highest union formation levels are observed for immigrants from South Asia in the UK, those from Turkey living in France and all of the population groups in Estonia. There are also large differences between immigrant groups in their respective countries, as well as between the countries. France and the UK both show similar patterns, with certain immigrants exhibiting low risks of union formation and other immigrants exhibiting relatively high risks. All of the groups in Estonia have a high risk of union formation, with immigrants and their descendants experiencing somewhat higher levels than natives. Additional analysis showed that the elevated risks of union formation mainly reflect the comparatively early entry into first unions that is characteristic of all of the groups, whereas the difference between natives and immigrants stems from the lower proportion of people who were never-partnered within the latter group (Rahnu et al. 2014). In Spain, in

contrast, all of the groups are below the benchmark of the native British women. However, most immigrants in Spain have a significantly higher risk of union formation than the native Spanish women.

(Figure 3 about here)

The models of union formation included the following control variables: age (baseline), birth cohort and educational level. All of the covariates show the expected coefficient signs, with the risk of union formation being highest for women in their twenties, older birth cohorts and lower educational groups. Table 4 provides the detailed information for the full models for union formation.

Next, the pathways of first union formation are analysed, distinguishing between cohabitations and direct marriages. Native British women show a higher risk of cohabitation than most of the other groups (Figure 4). Again, the highest risk of cohabitation is experienced by the Estonian population, particularly the native Estonians. These results reflect the early onset and wide acceptance of cohabitation in Estonia that are based on the trends in Scandinavia rather than those in Eastern and Central European countries (Katus et al. 2008). In comparison with overall union formation, the patterns in Estonia have shifted with the Estonian natives showing now the highest risk, followed by the Russian-speaking immigrants and their descendants.

(Figure 4 about here)

The native French women also show a high risk of cohabitation that is significantly higher than all of the immigrant groups in France, most of whom have low cohabitation levels. The risk is a particularly low for immigrants from the Maghreb states, Sub-Saharan Africa and Turkey and for the descendants of immigrants. In Spain, the opposite picture emerges, with Spanish native women exhibiting the lowest cohabitation levels. Although all of the immigrant groups in Spain have a higher risk of cohabitation than native Spanish women, their levels stay below those of the native British or French women, as well as all of the groups in Estonia. Non-marital unions are still uncommon in Spain. Even after the legalisation of divorce and a decrease in marriage rates over the last decades, cohabitation has

only very recently spread within the population. Immigrants in Spain seem to adapt to the patterns dominant in the country.

The patterns of direct marriage in Figure 5 are the opposite of those in Figure 4. The most distinct groups in both forms of union formation are immigrants from South Asia in the UK and their descendants and people of Turkish origin in France. While those four groups showed a low risk of cohabitation, they all exhibited a high risk of marrying directly (without prior cohabitation), which underlines the traditional pattern of union formation among those immigrant and ethnic minority groups. A similar contrast between cohabitation and direct marriage is observed for Estonia. The native Estonian women have a significantly higher risk of cohabiting than immigrants and their descendants, whereas they display a relatively low propensity of marrying directly. A relatively high risk for direct marriage is also observed for immigrants from the Maghreb states in France and all of the groups in Spain. The native French women have a low risk of direct marriage. The overview of all forms of first union formation and the effects of covariates are provided in Table 4.

(Figure 5 about here)
(Table 4 about here)

The analysis of cohabitation and direct marriage reveals interesting patterns. However, a direct comparison between the levels of competing transitions for each migrant group is only achieved by a model that analyses both of the events simultaneously instead of using two separate models for the analysis. Figure 6 shows the results of the simultaneous analysis, with marriage levels of native British women being the baseline. The opposite patterns for women of South Asian origin in the UK and Turkish women in France are striking in this direct comparison. (The details on these full models are provided in Table 5.) However, for other migrant groups, the comparison of the cohabitation and direct marriage levels is less informative because the patterns significantly vary by birth cohort.

(Figure 6 about here)
(Table 5 about here)

Therefore, the risk of cohabitation and direct marriage was also calculated for migrant groups by birth cohort. For example, for the oldest cohort of native British women, the risk of

starting a first union by marrying is higher than it is by cohabitation. In the subsequent cohorts, this trend reverses as Figure 1 showed. Similar changes are observed among most immigrant groups (the results are available upon request). These findings support the importance of analysing union formation by cohort to properly capture the dynamics of partnership behaviour.

Although direct marriage has lost its importance in most migrant groups in the four countries, cohabitation often leads to marriages after a period of co-residence. Figure 7 shows the levels of marriage formation for cohabitants across countries and immigrant groups (individual records that include separation from cohabitation levels are censored). South Asian women in the UK and Turkish women in France show a very high risk of marriage formation, although the estimated risk levels have wide confidence intervals due to the small number of cohabitants in these groups. Very high risks of cohabitation leading to marriage are also characteristic of Slavic immigrants in Estonia. The analysis thus supports the notion that more traditional patterns are prevalent among these groups because the few individuals who cohabit first will marry thereafter (or soon after).

(Figure 7 about here)

Patterns of union formation vary across countries, migrant groups and cohorts. Hence, differences across countries and between immigrants are also expected in union dissolution. Next, this study analyses the separation from first cohabitation (individual records with marriage being the outcome of cohabitation are censored) and marital divorce. The latter analysis includes women who married directly, as well as women who entered cohabitation first and then married the same partner.

The analysis of separation is only conducted for three countries: Estonia, France and Spain; the native women from Estonia are the reference group. All of the population subgroups in Estonia have a high risk of separation (Figure 8). While native French women and immigrants show a lower risk of separation, the descendants of immigrants in France seem to have somewhat higher separation levels, similar to the levels in Estonia, although the sample is too small for most of the groups for final conclusions to be drawn. Natives, immigrants and their descendants in Spain have a low risk of separation, which is not surprising, given the low risk

to enter cohabitation. Table 6 provides the details of the full models of cohabitation dissolution.

(Figure 8 about here)
(Table 6 about here)

The analysis of divorce largely supports the patterns that are observed for cohabitation dissolution in the three countries. Additionally, we are again able to study patterns in the UK in the comparative context. While women of South Asian origin have a low divorce risk, which is expected, interestingly, those of Caribbean descent have relatively high divorce levels, similar to those observed in Estonia, which is the country with the highest divorce levels among the four analysed (Figure 9). Divorce levels are also elevated for native British women and those from other European countries and their descendants.

(Figure 9 about here)

As the final step, the dissolution of the first (any) union (marriage or cohabitation) is investigated. The analysis of union dissolution supports the previous results of the separate analyses of cohabitation dissolution and of marital divorce. The highest divorce levels are observed for natives and immigrants in Estonia and the descendants of Sub-Saharan African immigrants in France, and the lowest levels are observed for natives and migrants in Spain and immigrants from Turkey in France (Figure 10). Detailed results of separation and divorce and the effect of covariates are displayed in Table 7.

(Figure 10 about here)
(Table 7 about here)

5. Summary and conclusion

This study analysed union formation and dissolution trajectories for immigrants, their descendants and native women in four European countries. Pooling data from the UK, France, Estonia and Spain allowed for a direct comparison between immigrants and natives in the respective countries, as well as between the different countries. The results highlight the following union formation and dissolution patterns for immigrants and their descendants.

First, the analysis showed a significant variation in union trajectories across migrant groups in certain countries. We observed high rates of (direct) marriage and low levels of cohabitation and union dissolution for women from South Asia in the UK and low rates of marriage and high levels of cohabitation and union dissolution for Caribbean women. Similarly, contrasts were also found for immigrants in France: women from Turkey exhibited traditional partnership trajectories, whereas those from Sub-Saharan Africa showed the opposite patterns. Second, immigrants from countries with traditional family trajectories showed strikingly similar patterns of union formation and dissolution across countries. Turkish women in France and South Asians in the UK exhibited very similar partnership trajectories. Those similarities were persistent throughout the range of partnership transitions that were analysed in this study. The results suggest that the factors of socialisation still play an important role in the partnership behaviour of immigrants: immigrants normally bring their own traditions and norms regarding family life, and these shape their family behaviour, although certain changes are also expected, particularly based on the duration of stay in the destination country. However, these changes (or adaptation) can only be detected when comparing the partnership patterns for immigrants to those that are dominant in their countries of origin.

Third, we expected the descendants of immigrants to exhibit partnership patterns that were between those of their parents' generation and the respective natives. However, partnership behaviour of the descendants of immigrants was strikingly similar to that of immigrants (and different than natives), particularly in regard to the pathways to first union formation (marriage versus cohabitation). Very similar partnership trajectories across generations were observed for most of the migrant and ethnic minority populations: South Asians and Caribbeans in the UK; women of Turkish, Sub-Saharan and Maghreb origin in France and the population of Slavic origin in Estonia. The results suggest the presence of minority subcultures in all three of the countries, which significantly shape partnership behaviour of the descendants of immigrants. However, the critical issue is whether the specific partnership patterns are an indicator of cultural diversity or (also) of the poor economic and social integration of these ethnic groups in their respective countries. Large group sizes with high levels of residential and spatial segregation have certainly supported the specific patterns that are observed for the second generation in all three of these countries. These factors have facilitated daily social interaction between members of the same ethnic group and provided

access to a pool of potential co-ethnic partners; in Estonia, separate school systems and languages have further hindered interaction between majority and minority populations.

Fourth, the analysis showed that the country context matters in regard to union formation and dissolution. There was similarity between the partnership trajectories for immigrants in the UK and France (i.e., comparable groups that behaved similarly), which can be explained by their long tradition of immigration and their similar approaches to migration and integration policies. Additionally, both of the countries have experienced similar changes in partnership dynamics over the past half century. Estonia and Spain showed country-specific patterns throughout the analysed trajectories. Although the partnership patterns of immigrants and their descendants were different than those of the natives in Estonia, the differences were not always large when the patterns were compared to other countries (or groups), except for the mode of union formation. The prevalence of non-traditional family forms is characteristic of all of the population subgroups in Estonia, which is 'explained' by the country's communist past (early partnership formation and high divorce) and cultural proximity to Scandinavia (high levels of cohabitation and also divorce). In Spain, in contrast, both natives and immigrants exhibited relatively high (direct) marriage rates and low cohabitation and divorce levels. Previous research has emphasised the role of religion in explaining the specific partnership patterns in Spain, although economic factors (high youth unemployment) may also play a role. Under the regime of Franco, in accordance with the Catholic Church, divorce was illegal, and non-marital unions were not tolerated. Although divorce and cohabitation are legal for some time now, the spread of cohabitation and union dissolution, which is observed in other European countries, is only recently gaining momentum in Spain.

The findings of this study draw a complex picture of partnership trajectories in Europe, which depend on a variety of factors. Partnership patterns are related to change of union formation behaviour over time, also the history and geography of immigration in each country. Family and migration policies shape the amount and type of immigrants in the country, as well as their chances of integration in the host societies. This study provided an in-depth analysis of the formation and dissolution of the first union for natives, immigrants and their descendants in four European countries. To our best knowledge, this is the first study to provide an explicit comparison of both partnership formation and dissolution across different migrant groups in a number of European countries. Future research is needed to deepen our understanding of the

complex links between integration processes and the partnership and fertility patterns for immigrants and their descendants in Europe.

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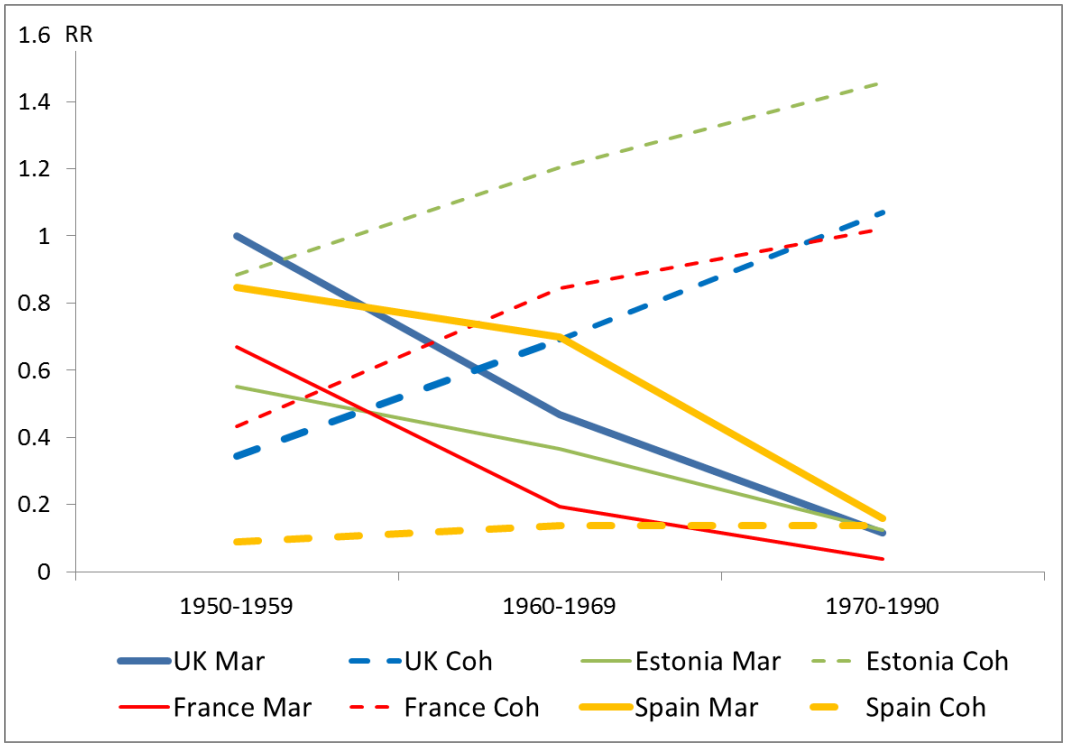
7. Tables and graphs

Figure 1: Relative risks of formation of direct marriage and cohabitation by birth cohort, simultaneous analysis, only natives of the respective countries



Controlled for age and educational level
Individuals are at risk since age 16 and censored at age 45, last interview date or direct marriage for the event of cohabitation and at date of cohabitation for the event of direct marriage

Table 1: Natives, immigrants and their descendants by country

Country	United Kingdom	Estonia	France	Spain
	Native	Native	Native	Native
1st generation	Europe & West South Asia Caribbean Other	Russian Speaking	Maghreb Sub-Saharan Africa Turkey Southern Europe	Eastern Europe Latin America EU 15 Other
2nd generation	Europe & West South Asia Caribbean Other	Russian Speaking	Maghreb Sub-Saharan Africa Turkey Southern Europe	

Figure 2: Partnership transitions analysed in this study

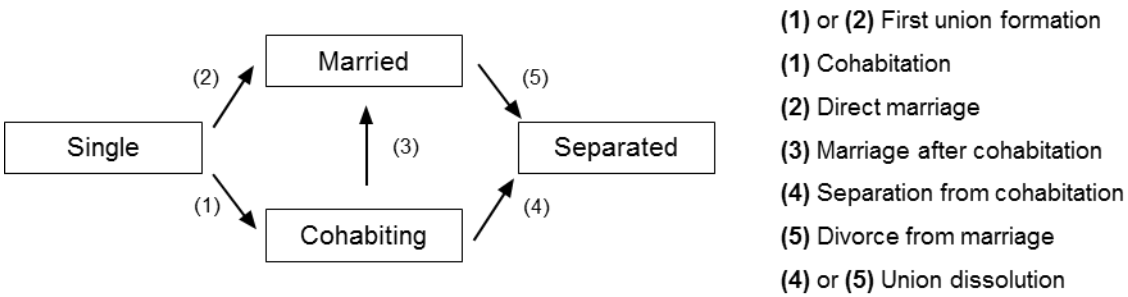


Table 2: Start and censoring time of union formation and dissolution

Transition	**Observation start**	**End of observation\Censorship**
Union formation	16th birthday	Last interview date or age 45
Cohabitation	16th birthday	Last interview date, marriage or age 45
Direct marriage	16th birthday	Last interview date, cohabitation or age 45
Separation from cohabitation	Cohabitation start	Last interview date, after 20 years of cohabitation, marriage or death of partner
Marriage after cohabitation	Cohabitation start	Last interview date, after 20 years of cohabitation, separation or death of partner
Divorce from marriage *(direct and after cohabitation)*	Date of marriage	Last interview date, after 20 years of marriage or death of partner
Union separation *(from cohabitation and marriage)*	Union start *(cohabitation or marriage)*	Last interview date, after 20 years of union, or death of partner

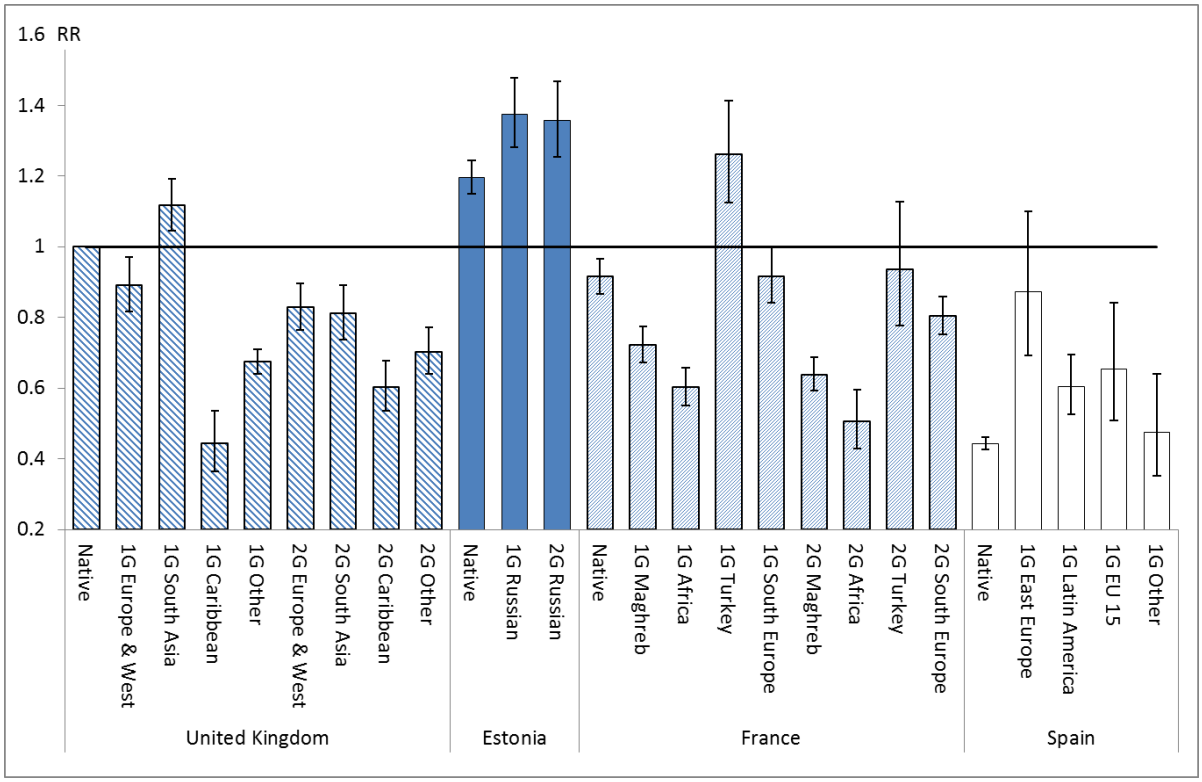
Table 3: Number of events and person-months by union transition and migrant group

		First union (1) or (2)				**Cohabitation (1)**				**Direct marriage (2)**				**Marriage after cohabitation (3)**			
		Events		Person-months		Events		Person-months		Events		Person-months		Events		Person-months	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
United Kingdom	Native	10800	34.81	1073566	29.20	6917	40.10	1073566	29.13	3883	27.97	1073566	28.03	3404	39.60	314647	36.72
	1G Europe & West	557	1.80	65860	1.79	401	2.32	65860	1.79	156	1.12	65860	1.72	192	2.23	15121	1.76
	1G South Asia	1003	3.23	90699	2.47	34	0.20	90699	2.46	969	6.98	90699	2.37	19	0.22	772	0.09
	1G Caribbean	119	0.38	20931	0.57	85	0.49	20931	0.57	34	0.24	20931	0.55	36	0.42	3438	0.40
	1G Other	1667	5.37	243611	6.63	721	4.18	243611	6.61	946	6.81	243611	6.36	362	4.21	26511	3.09
	2G Europe & West	663	2.14	76610	2.08	445	2.58	76610	2.08	218	1.57	76610	2.00	192	2.23	21150	2.47
	2G South Asia	460	1.48	63493	1.73	75	0.43	63493	1.72	385	2.77	63493	1.66	33	0.38	3408	0.40
	2G Caribbean	292	0.94	47406	1.29	233	1.35	47406	1.29	59	0.42	47406	1.24	98	1.14	12289	1.43
	2G Other	457	1.47	69002	1.88	327	1.90	69002	1.87	130	0.94	69002	1.80	130	1.51	15815	1.85
Estonia	Native	3734	12.03	283786	7.72	2948	17.09	283786	7.70	786	5.66	283786	7.41	1572	18.29	90273	10.54
	1G Russian	951	3.06	63484	1.73	445	2.58	63484	1.72	506	3.64	63484	1.66	275	3.20	6853	0.80
	2G Russian	699	2.25	53254	1.45	369	2.14	53254	1.44	330	2.38	53254	1.39	246	2.86	8231	0.96
France	Native	1534	4.94	165792	4.51	1160	6.72	166074	4.51	374	2.69	224958	5.87	583	6.78	83891	9.79
	1G Maghreb	873	2.81	100455	2.73	189	1.10	105085	2.85	684	4.93	105351	2.75	131	1.52	8533	1.00
	1G Africa	550	1.77	77220	2.10	289	1.68	78033	2.12	261	1.88	90452	2.36	152	1.77	17967	2.10
	1G Turkey	308	0.99	22060	0.60	48	0.28	24362	0.66	260	1.87	22862	0.60	40	0.47	1468	0.17
	1G South Europe	574	1.85	51554	1.40	252	1.46	51788	1.40	322	2.32	61319	1.60	168	1.95	15718	1.83
	2G Maghreb	789	2.54	121111	3.29	366	2.12	122585	3.33	423	3.05	141998	3.71	167	1.94	27325	3.19
	2G Africa	150	0.48	33450	0.91	103	0.60	33445	0.91	47	0.34	38828	1.01	32	0.37	6427	0.75
	2G Turkey	114	0.37	14275	0.39	20	0.12	14265	0.39	94	0.68	15121	0.39	10	0.12	965	0.11
	2G South Europe	993	3.20	119291	3.24	746	4.32	118989	3.23	246	1.77	159561	4.17	352	4.10	54991	6.42
Spain	Native	3358	10.82	757041	20.59	896	5.19	757041	20.54	2564	18.47	754830	19.71	329	3.83	98340	11.48
	1G East Europe	72	0.23	8744	0.24	41	0.24	8744	0.24	31	0.22	8695	0.23	21	0.24	4016	0.47
	1G Latin America	206	0.66	35177	0.96	101	0.59	35177	0.95	109	0.79	35065	0.92	35	0.41	13886	1.62
	1G EU 15	62	0.20	10555	0.29	28	0.16	10555	0.29	35	0.25	10546	0.28	11	0.13	3347	0.39
	1G Other	43	0.14	8123	0.22	12	0.07	8123	0.22	31	0.22	8123	0.21	5	0.06	1460	0.17
Total		**31028**	**100**	**3676551**	**100**	**17251**	**100**	**3685969**	**100**	**13883**	**100**	**3829413**	**100**	**8595**	**100**	**856841**	**100**

Table 3: Number of events and person-months by union transition and migrant group (continuation)

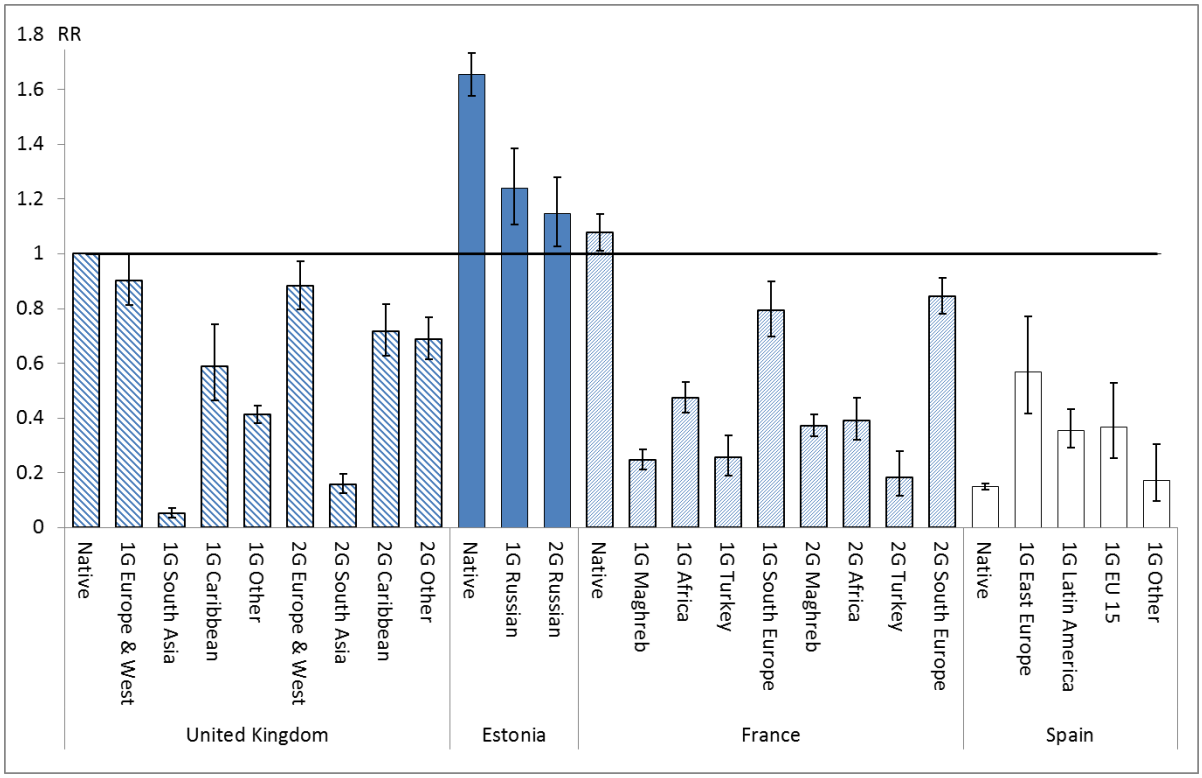
		Separation from cohabitation (4)				**Divorce (5)**				**Union dissolution (4) or (5)**			
		Events		Person-months		Events		Person-months		Events		Person-months	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
United Kingdom	Native					2267	43.18	1157753	32.67				
	1G Europe & West					76	1.45	45500	1.28				
	1G South Asia					87	1.66	154764	4.37				
	1G Caribbean					27	0.51	10893	0.31				
	1G Other					276	5.26	180599	5.10				
	2G Europe & West					123	2.34	64398	1.82				
	2G South Asia					75	1.43	52975	1.50				
	2G Caribbean					64	1.22	21650	0.61				
	2G Other					71	1.35	31977	0.90				
Estonia	Native	381	29.84	90273	16.48	662	12.61	308492	8.71	1043	30.14	398765	16.82
	1G Russian	37	2.90	6853	1.25	252	4.80	113029	3.19	289	8.35	119882	5.06
	2G Russian	44	3.45	8231	1.50	173	3.30	66841	1.89	217	6.27	75072	3.17
France	Native	276	21.61	123330	22.51	216	4.11	151107	4.26	492	14.22	274437	11.58
	1G Maghreb	22	1.72	20163	3.68	154	2.93	122212	3.45	176	5.09	142375	6.01
	1G Africa	66	5.17	25463	4.65	102	1.94	53268	1.50	168	4.85	78731	3.32
	1G Turkey	4	0.31	6056	1.11	21	0.40	48175	1.36	25	0.72	54231	2.29
	1G South Europe	40	3.13	34556	6.31	91	1.73	95860	2.71	131	3.79	130416	5.50
	2G Maghreb	106	8.30	31137	5.68	122	2.32	55214	1.56	228	6.59	86351	3.64
	2G Africa	39	3.05	5577	1.02	19	0.36	4697	0.13	58	1.68	10274	0.43
	2G Turkey	5	0.39	865	0.16	13	0.25	6331	0.18	18	0.52	7196	0.30
	2G South Europe	176	13.78	74357	13.57	122	2.32	82493	2.33	298	8.61	156851	6.62
Spain	Native	68	5.32	98340	17.95	189	3.60	656851	18.54	257	7.43	755191	31.85
	1G East Europe	2	0.16	4016	0.73	4	0.08	11546	0.33	6	0.17	15562	0.66
	1G Latin America	7	0.55	13886	2.53	29	0.55	29345	0.83	36	1.04	43231	1.82
	1G EU 15	3	0.23	3347	0.61	10	0.19	9734	0.27	13	0.38	13081	0.55
	1G Other	1	0.08	1460	0.27	5	0.10	7689	0.22	6	0.17	9149	0.39
Total		**1277**	**100**	**547911**	**100**	**5250**	**100**	**3543391**	**100**	**3461**	**100**	**2370794**	**100**

Figure 3: Relative risk of union formation (direct marriage and cohabitation)



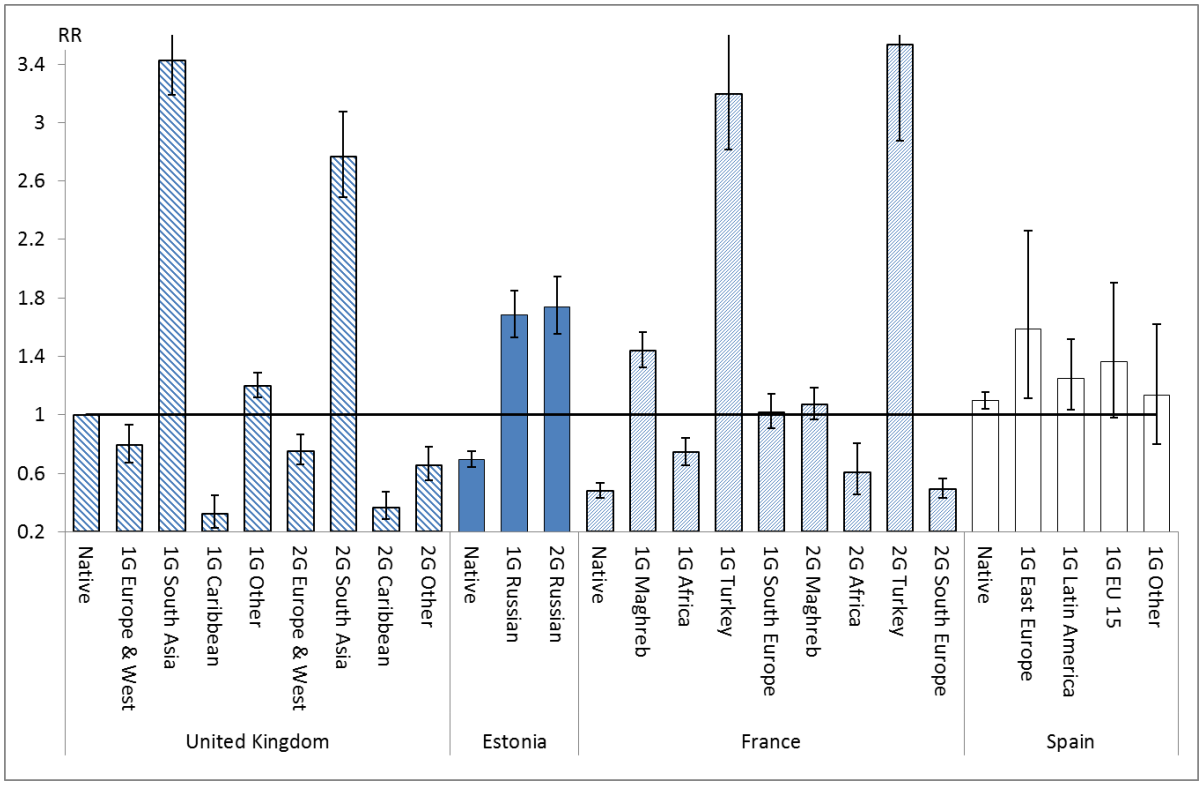
Controlled for age, cohort and educational level
Individuals are at risk since age 16 and censored at age 45 or last interview date

Figure 4: Relative risks of formation of first cohabitation



Controlled for age, cohort and educational level
Individuals are at risk since age 16 and censored at age 45, direct marriage or last interview date

Figure 5: Relative risks of formation of direct marriage



Controlled for age, cohort and educational level
Individuals are at risk since age 16 and censored at age 45, cohabitation or last interview date

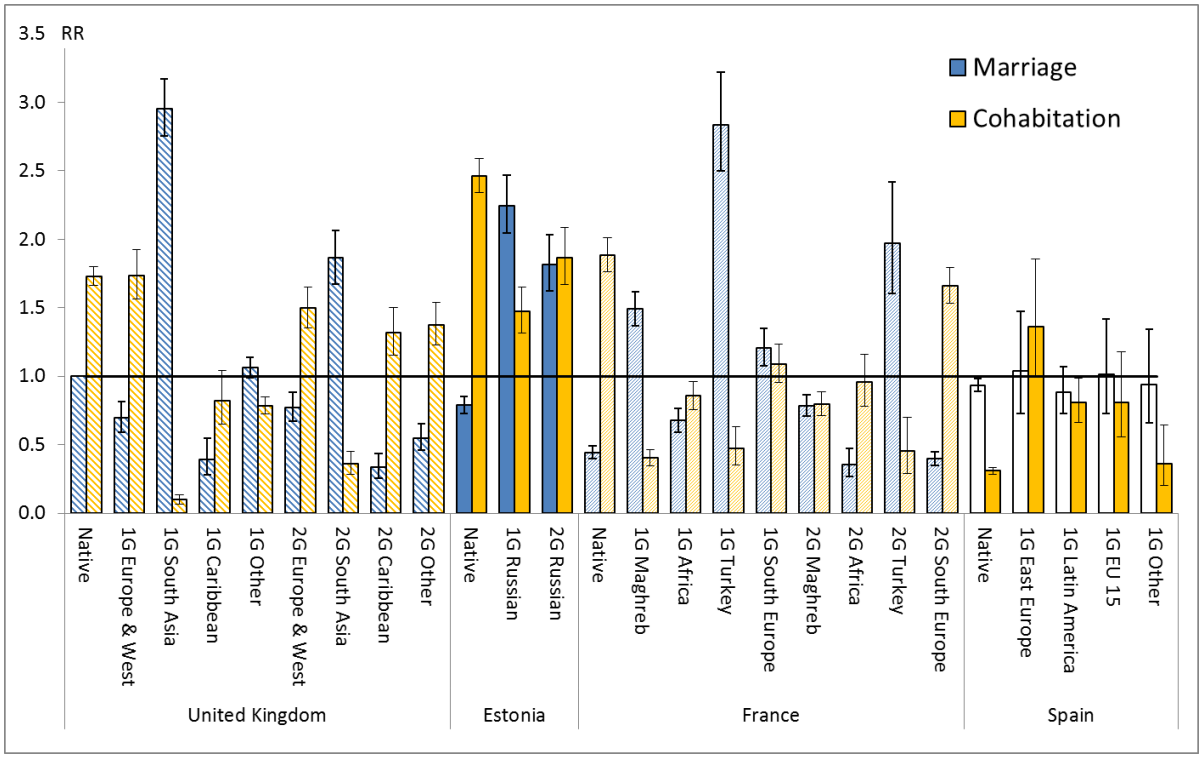
Table 4: Relative risk of union formation, cohabitation and direct marriage

Variable		Category	Union formation (1) or (2)			Cohabitation (1)			Direct Marriage (2)		
			RR	Sign.	95% Conf. Int.	RR	Sign.	95% Conf. Int.	RR	Sign.	95% Conf. Int.
Age group		16-19	1			1			1		
		20-24	2.46	***	*2.39 - 2.52*	2.36	***	*2.27 - 2.45*	2.56	***	*2.46 - 2.66*
		25-29	2.43	***	*2.34 - 2.51*	2.54	***	*2.42 - 2.66*	2.30	***	*2.19 - 2.42*
		30-34	1.36	***	*1.29 - 1.44*	1.63	***	*1.51 - 1.76*	1.09	*	*1.00 - 1.19*
		35-39	0.69	***	*0.63 - 0.76*	0.93		*0.82 - 1.06*	0.47	***	*0.40 - 0.55*
		40+	0.39	***	*0.33 - 0.46*	0.68	***	*0.55 - 0.83*	0.19	***	*0.15 - 0.26*
Birth cohort		1950-1959	1			1			1		
		1960-1969	0.92	***	*0.89 - 0.95*	1.62	***	*1.54 - 1.70*	0.60	***	*0.58 - 0.62*
		1970-1979	0.90	***	*0.87 - 0.93*	2.18	***	*2.07 - 2.29*	0.37	***	*0.35 - 0.39*
		1980-1990	0.67	***	*0.65 - 0.70*	2.19	***	*2.07 - 2.31*	0.17	***	*0.16 - 0.18*
Country and	United	Native	1			1			1		
Migrant group	Kingdom	1G Europe & West	0.89	**	*0.82 - 0.97*	0.90	*	*0.81 - 1.00*	0.79	**	*0.68 - 0.93*
		1G South Asia	1.12	**	*1.05 - 1.19*	0.05	***	*0.04 - 0.07*	3.42	***	*3.19 - 3.68*
		1G Caribbean	0.44	***	*0.36 - 0.54*	0.59	***	*0.46 - 0.74*	0.32	***	*0.23 - 0.45*
		1G Other	0.67	***	*0.64 - 0.71*	0.41	***	*0.38 - 0.44*	1.20	***	*1.12 - 1.29*
		2G Europe & West	0.83	***	*0.77 - 0.90*	0.88	*	*0.80 - 0.97*	0.75	***	*0.66 - 0.87*
		2G South Asia	0.81	***	*0.74 - 0.89*	0.16	***	*0.12 - 0.20*	2.77	***	*2.49 - 3.08*
		2G Caribbean	0.60	***	*0.54 - 0.68*	0.71	***	*0.63 - 0.82*	0.37	***	*0.28 - 0.48*
		2G Other	0.70	***	*0.64 - 0.77*	0.69	***	*0.62 - 0.77*	0.66	***	*0.55 - 0.78*
	Estonia	Native	1.20	***	*1.15 - 1.25*	1.65	***	*1.58 - 1.73*	0.69	***	*0.64 - 0.75*
		1G Russian	1.38	***	*1.28 - 1.48*	1.24	***	*1.11 - 1.38*	1.68	***	*1.53 - 1.85*
		2G Russian	1.36	***	*1.26 - 1.47*	1.15	*	*1.03 - 1.28*	1.74	***	*1.56 - 1.95*
	France	Native	0.92	**	*0.87 - 0.97*	1.08	*	*1.01 - 1.15*	0.48	***	*0.43 - 0.54*
		1G Maghreb	0.72	***	*0.67 - 0.77*	0.25	***	*0.21 - 0.28*	1.44	***	*1.32 - 1.56*
		1G Africa	0.60	***	*0.55 - 0.66*	0.47	***	*0.42 - 0.53*	0.74	***	*0.66 - 0.84*
		1G Turkey	1.26	***	*1.12 - 1.41*	0.25	***	*0.19 - 0.34*	3.20	***	*2.81 - 3.63*
		1G South Europe	0.92	*	*0.84 - 1.00*	0.79	***	*0.70 - 0.90*	1.02		*0.91 - 1.15*
		2G Maghreb	0.64	***	*0.59 - 0.69*	0.37	***	*0.33 - 0.41*	1.07		*0.97 - 1.19*
		2G Africa	0.51	***	*0.43 - 0.60*	0.39	***	*0.32 - 0.48*	0.60	**	*0.45 - 0.81*
		2G Turkey	0.94		*0.78 - 1.13*	0.18	***	*0.12 - 0.28*	3.54	***	*2.87 - 4.35*
		2G South Europe	0.81	***	*0.75 - 0.86*	0.84	***	*0.78 - 0.91*	0.49	***	*0.43 - 0.56*
	Spain	Native	0.44	***	*0.43 - 0.46*	0.15	***	*0.14 - 0.16*	1.10	***	*1.04 - 1.15*
		1G East Europe	0.87		*0.69 - 1.10*	0.57	***	*0.42 - 0.77*	1.59	*	*1.11 - 2.26*
		1G Latin America	0.61	***	*0.53 - 0.70*	0.35	***	*0.29 - 0.43*	1.25	*	*1.03 - 1.52*
		1G EU 15	0.66	**	*0.51 - 0.84*	0.37	***	*0.25 - 0.53*	1.37		*0.98 - 1.90*
		1G Other	0.48	***	*0.35 - 0.64*	0.17	***	*0.10 - 0.31*	1.14		*0.80 - 1.62*
Education		Low	1			1			1		
		Medium	0.84	***	*0.81 - 0.87*	0.86	***	*0.82 - 0.90*	0.85	***	*0.81 - 0.88*
		High	0.61	***	*0.59 - 0.63*	0.68	***	*0.65 - 0.71*	0.55	***	*0.53 - 0.58*
Constant			0.009	***	*0.009 - 0.009*	0.003	***	*0.003 - 0.003*	0.005	***	*0.009 - 0.009*

Significance: *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05

Individuals are at risk since age 16 and censored at age 45 or last interview date for Model 1 and additionally at date of direct marriage for Model 2 and date of cohabitation in Model 3

Figure 6: Relative risks of formation of marriage and cohabitation, simultaneous analysis



Controlled for age, cohort and educational level
Individuals are at risk since age 16 and censored at age 45, last interview date or direct marriage for the event of cohabitation and at date of cohabitation for the event of direct marriage

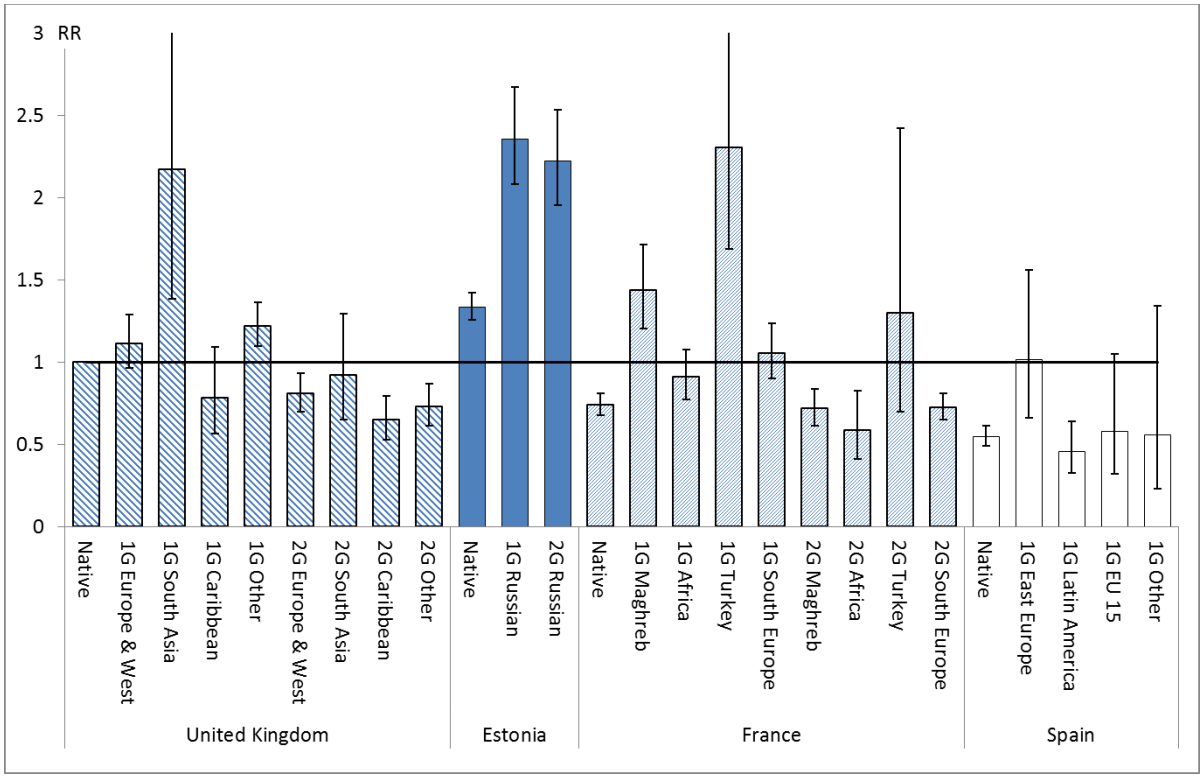
Table 5: Relative risks of marriage and cohabitation, simultaneous analysis

Variable		Category	Simultaneous Analysis (1) and (2)				
			Marriage			Cohabitation	
			RR	Sign.	95% Conf. Int.	RR	Sign. 95% Conf. Int.
Age group		16-19	1				
		20-24	2.44	***	*2.37 - 2.50*		
		25-29	2.35	***	*2.27 - 2.43*		
		30-34	1.28	***	*1.21 - 1.35*		
		35-39	0.64	***	*0.58 - 0.70*		
		40+	0.36	***	*0.31 - 0.43*		
Birth cohort		1950-1959	1				
		1960-1969	0.92	***	*0.89 - 0.95*		
		1970-1979	0.89	***	*0.86 - 0.92*		
		1980-1990	0.67	***	*0.64 - 0.69*		
Country and Migrant group	United Kingdom	Native	1			1.73	*** 1.66 1.80
		1G Europe & West	0.70	***	*0.59 - 0.82*	1.74	*** *1.56 - 1.93*
		1G South Asia	2.95	***	*2.75 - 3.17*	0.10	*** *0.07 - 0.14*
		1G Caribbean	0.39	***	*0.28 - 0.55*	0.82	*0.65 - 1.04*
		1G Other	1.06		*0.99 - 1.14*	0.78	*** *0.72 - 0.85*
		2G Europe & West	0.77	***	*0.67 - 0.88*	1.50	*** *1.35 - 1.65*
		2G South Asia	1.86	***	*1.68 - 2.07*	0.36	*** *0.28 - 0.45*
		2G Caribbean	0.34	***	*0.26 - 0.44*	1.32	*** *1.15 - 1.50*
		2G Other	0.55	***	*0.46 - 0.65*	1.37	*** *1.23 - 1.54*
	Estonia	Native	0.79	***	*0.73 - 0.85*	2.46	*** *2.34 - 2.59*
		1G Russian	2.25	***	*2.05 - 2.47*	1.48	*** *1.32 - 1.65*
		2G Russian	1.82	***	*1.63 - 2.04*	1.87	*** *1.67 - 2.09*
	France	Native	0.44	***	*0.40 - 0.49*	1.88	*** *1.76 - 2.01*
		1G Maghreb	1.49	***	*1.37 - 1.62*	0.40	*** *0.35 - 0.47*
		1G Africa	0.68	***	*0.60 - 0.77*	0.86	* *0.76 - 0.97*
		1G Turkey	2.84	***	*2.50 - 3.22*	0.47	*** *0.36 - 0.63*
		1G South Europe	1.21	**	*1.08 - 1.35*	1.09	*0.96 - 1.24*
		2G Maghreb	0.78	***	*0.71 - 0.87*	0.80	*** *0.72 - 0.89*
		2G Africa	0.36	***	*0.27 - 0.48*	0.95	*0.78 - 1.16*
		2G Turkey	1.97	***	*1.60 - 2.42*	0.45	*** *0.29 - 0.70*
		2G South Europe	0.40	***	*0.35 - 0.45*	1.66	*** *1.53 - 1.80*
	Spain	Native	0.94	*	*0.89 - 0.98*	0.31	*** *0.29 - 0.33*
		1G East Europe	1.04		*0.73 - 1.48*	1.37	* *1.00 - 1.86*
		1G Latin America	0.88		*0.73 - 1.07*	0.81	* *0.66 - 0.99*
		1G EU 15	1.02		*0.73 - 1.42*	0.81	*0.56 - 1.18*
		1G Other	0.94		*0.66 - 1.34*	0.36	*** *0.21 - 0.64*
Education		Low	1				
		Medium	0.84	***	*0.82 - 0.87*		
		High	0.61	***	*0.60 - 0.63*		
Constant			0.003	***	*0.003 - 0.003*		

Significance: *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05

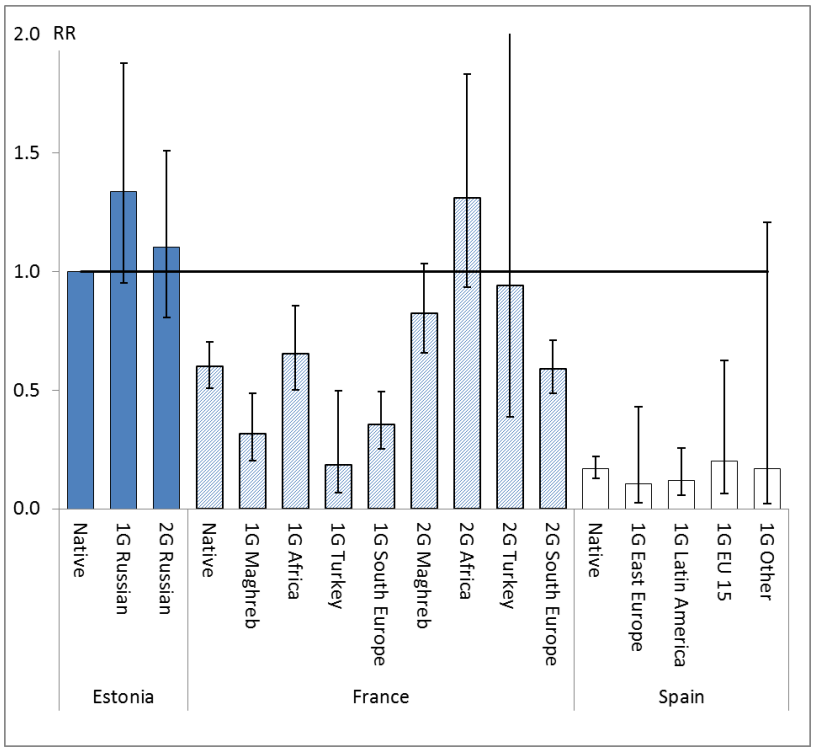
Individuals are at risk since age 16 and censored at age 45, last interview date and additional at date of direct marriage for cohabitation and date of cohabitation for direct marriage

Figure 7: Relative risks of marriage formation following an initial cohabitation



Controlled for age, cohort and educational level
Individuals are at risk since age 16 and censored after 20 years in union, separation or death of partner

Figure 8: Relative risks of separation from cohabitation



Controlled for age, cohort and educational level
Individuals are at risk since age 16 and censored after 20 years in union, marriage or death of partner

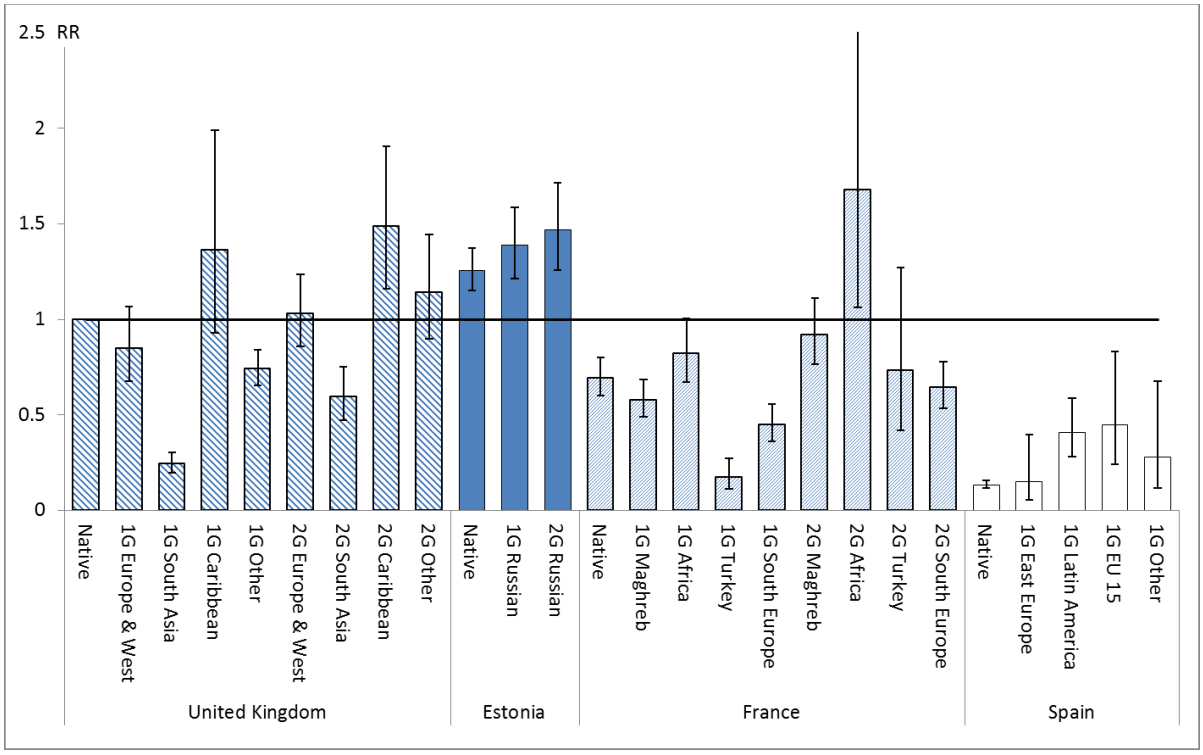
Table 6: Relative risks of marriage after cohabitation and separation from cohabitation

Variable		Category	Marriage after cohabitation (3)			Separation from cohabitation (4)		
			RR	Sign.	95% Conf. Int.	RR	Sign.	95% Conf. Int.
Union duration		1-12	1			1		
in months		13-36	0.88	***	*0.83 - 0.92*	1.48	***	*1.26 - 1.75*
		37-72	0.57	***	*0.53 - 0.60*	1.29	**	*1.09 - 1.53*
		73-120	0.30	***	*0.28 - 0.33*	0.68	***	*0.55 - 0.84*
		121+	0.11	***	*0.09 - 0.12*	0.50	***	*0.40 - 0.63*
Birth cohort		1950-1959	1			1		
		1960-1969	0.79	***	*0.75 - 0.84*	1.19		*0.98 - 1.43*
		1970-1979	0.56	***	*0.52 - 0.59*	1.33	**	*1.10 - 1.60*
		1980-1990	0.32	***	*0.29 - 0.35*	2.14	***	*1.71 - 2.67*
Country and	United	Native	1					
Migrant group	Kingdom	1G Europe & West	1.12		*0.96 - 1.29*			
		1G South Asia	2.17	**	*1.38 - 3.42*			
		1G Caribbean	0.79		*0.57 - 1.09*			
		1G Other	1.22	***	*1.10 - 1.36*			
		2G Europe & West	0.81	**	*0.70 - 0.94*			
		2G South Asia	0.92		*0.65 - 1.30*			
		2G Caribbean	0.65	***	*0.53 - 0.79*			
		2G Other	0.73	***	*0.61 - 0.87*			
	Estonia	Native	1.34	***	*1.26 - 1.42*	1		
		1G Russian	2.36	***	*2.08 - 2.67*	1.34		*0.95 - 1.88*
		2G Russian	2.23	***	*1.96 - 2.54*	1.10		*0.81 - 1.51*
	France	Native	0.74	***	*0.68 - 0.81*	0.60	***	*0.51 - 0.70*
		1G Maghreb	1.44	***	*1.21 - 1.72*	0.32	***	*0.20 - 0.49*
		1G Africa	0.91		*0.78 - 1.08*	0.65	**	*0.50 - 0.86*
		1G Turkey	2.31	***	*1.69 - 3.16*	0.19	**	*0.07 - 0.50*
		1G South Europe	1.06		*0.90 - 1.24*	0.35	***	*0.25 - 0.50*
		2G Maghreb	0.72	***	*0.61 - 0.84*	0.82		*0.66 - 1.03*
		2G Africa	0.59	**	*0.41 - 0.83*	1.31		*0.94 - 1.83*
		2G Turkey	1.30		*0.70 - 2.42*	0.94		*0.39 - 2.29*
		2G South Europe	0.73	***	*0.65 - 0.81*	0.59	***	*0.49 - 0.71*
	Spain	Native	0.55	***	*0.49 - 0.62*	0.17	***	*0.13 - 0.22*
		1G East Europe	1.01		*0.66 - 1.56*	0.11	**	*0.03 - 0.43*
		1G Latin America	0.46	***	*0.33 - 0.64*	0.12	***	*0.06 - 0.26*
		1G EU 15	0.58		*0.32 - 1.05*	0.20	**	*0.06 - 0.63*
		1G Other	0.56		*0.23 - 1.34*	0.17		*0.02 - 1.21*
Education		Low	1			1		
		Medium	1.07	*	*1.01 - 1.14*	1.00		*0.86 - 1.16*
		High	1.07	*	*1.01 - 1.14*	0.90		*0.78 - 1.03*
Constant			0.0244	***	*0.0227 - 0.0264*	0.0032	***	*0.0026 - 0.0040*

Significance: *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05

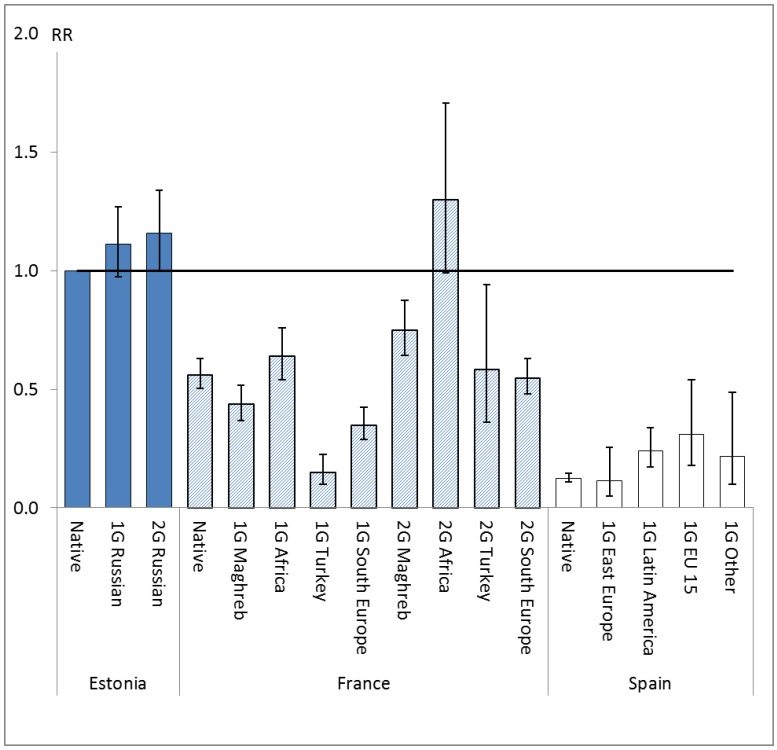
Individuals are at risk since age 16 and censored after 20 years in union, marriage or death of partner

Figure 9: Relative risks of divorce from marriage (direct or after cohabitation)



Controlled for marriage duration baseline, cohort groups and education level
Individuals are at risk since marriage and censored after 20 years in marriage or death of partner

Figure 10: Relative risks of union dissolution – divorce and separation from cohabitation



Controlled union duration baseline, cohort groups and education level
Individuals are at risk since union start and censored after 20 years in union or death of partner

Table 7: Relative risks of marriage after cohabitation and separation from cohabitation

Variable		Category	Divorce (5)			Union dissolution (4) or (5)		
			RR	Sign.	95% Conf. Int.	RR	Sign.	95% Conf. Int.
Union duration in months		1-12	1			1		
		13-36	1.75	***	*1.52 - 2.02*	1.39	***	*1.24 - 1.57*
		37-72	2.19	***	*1.91 - 2.52*	1.31	***	*1.16 - 1.47*
		73-120	1.95	***	*1.69 - 2.23*	0.96		*0.84 - 1.09*
		121+	1.76	***	*1.54 - 2.02*	0.82	**	*0.72 - 0.93*
Birth cohort		1950-1959	1			1		
		1960-1969	1.40	***	*1.32 - 1.49*	1.22	***	*1.12 - 1.33*
		1970-1979	1.45	***	*1.34 - 1.58*	1.24	***	*1.12 - 1.38*
		1980-1990	1.86	***	*1.59 - 2.19*	1.92	***	*1.65 - 2.24*
Country and Migrant group	United Kingdom	Native	1					
		1G Europe & West	0.85		*0.67 - 1.07*			
		1G South Asia	0.24	***	*0.20 - 0.30*			
		1G Caribbean	1.36		*0.93 - 1.99*			
		1G Other	0.74	***	*0.65 - 0.84*			
		2G Europe & West	1.03		*0.86 - 1.24*			
		2G South Asia	0.60	***	*0.47 - 0.75*			
		2G Caribbean	1.48	**	*1.16 - 1.90*			
		2G Other	1.14		*0.90 - 1.44*			
	Estonia	Native	1.26	***	*1.15 - 1.37*	1		
		1G Russian	1.39	***	*1.22 - 1.59*	1.11		*0.97 - 1.27*
		2G Russian	1.47	***	*1.26 - 1.72*	1.16		*1.00 - 1.34*
	France	Native	0.69	***	*0.60 - 0.80*	0.56	***	*0.50 - 0.63*
		1G Maghreb	0.58	***	*0.49 - 0.68*	0.44	***	*0.37 - 0.52*
		1G Africa	0.82		*0.67 - 1.01*	0.64	***	*0.54 - 0.76*
		1G Turkey	0.18	***	*0.11 - 0.27*	0.15	***	*0.10 - 0.22*
		1G South Europe	0.45	***	*0.36 - 0.56*	0.35	***	*0.29 - 0.42*
		2G Maghreb	0.92		*0.76 - 1.11*	0.75	***	*0.64 - 0.87*
		2G Africa	1.68	*	*1.06 - 2.65*	1.30		*0.99 - 1.71*
		2G Turkey	0.73		*0.42 - 1.27*	0.58	*	*0.36 - 0.94*
		2G South Europe	0.65	***	*0.54 - 0.78*	0.55	***	*0.48 - 0.63*
	Spain	Native	0.13	***	*0.12 - 0.16*	0.12	***	*0.11 - 0.14*
		1G East Europe	0.15	***	*0.06 - 0.40*	0.11	***	*0.05 - 0.26*
		1G Latin America	0.41	***	*0.28 - 0.59*	0.24	***	*0.17 - 0.34*
		1G EU 15	0.45	*	*0.24 - 0.83*	0.31	***	*0.18 - 0.54*
		1G Other	0.28	**	*0.12 - 0.68*	0.22	***	*0.10 - 0.49*
Type of union		Marriage				1.00		
		Cohabitation				1.5081	***	*1.3967 1.6284*
Education		Low	1			1		
		Medium	0.94		*0.87 - 1.01*	0.98		*0.89 - 1.07*
		High	0.71	***	*0.66 - 0.77*	0.74	***	*0.68 - 0.81*
Constant			0.001	***	*0.001 - 0.001*	0.002	***	*0.002 - 0.003*

Significance: *** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05

Individuals are at risk since union start and censored after 20 years in union/marriage or death of partner